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

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

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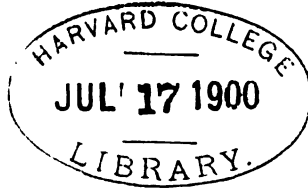
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"The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia: and
within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by
man or produced by nature."—SIR WILLIAM JONES.



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 ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1896.

On Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.—By

G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D.

[Read March, 1896].

In the Modern Vernaculars of Western and Central India, certain causal verbs insert a *ḍ*, an *r*, an *l*, or an *n*, before or after the causal suffix. As an example I may quote the Hindi causal verb *di-l-ānā*, 'to cause to give,' derived from *dēnā*, 'to give.'

The following is a brief summary of the distribution of these, so-called, irregular forms.

NORTH-WESTERN FAMILY.

Sindhi. In verbs ending in *i*, *u* or *iḥ*, and certain others, e.g., \sqrt{sikh} 'to learn,' *r* is inserted after the causal *ā*. E.g., $\sqrt{ḍḍi}$, 'give,' causal, $\sqrt{ḍḍi-r}$; \sqrt{sikh} , 'learn,' causal $\sqrt{sikhā-r}$. If a root ends in *ā*, *r* is inserted *before* the causal *ā*.

Kāçmiri. Many verbs insert *an* before the causal *āv*; e.g. $\sqrt{pak-an-āv}$ from \sqrt{pak} , 'go.' Monosyllabic roots in *k*, *m*, *l* and *ṣ*, insert *r* before the causal *āv*, thus $\sqrt{bal-r-āv}$, 'heal,' from \sqrt{bal} , 'be convalescent.'

Western Pañjābi. Several verbs insert an *l* before the causal *āv* e.g., $\sqrt{sikh-l-āv}$, 'teach,' $\sqrt{pi-l-āv}$, 'cause to drink,' from \sqrt{pi} , 'drink.' Sometimes the *l* is inserted in the middle of the root as an infix, e.g., from \sqrt{samh} 'sleep,' caus. $\sqrt{samlāh}$, from \sqrt{bah} , 'sit,' caus. $\sqrt{balhāv}$.

J. I. 1

CENTRAL FAMILY.

WEST CENTRAL GROUP.

Eastern Pañjābī. Here in many verbs the causal suffix *āu* is changed to *lāu* or *āl*. E. g., √ *sikkh*, causal, √ *sikkhā-l* or √ *sikkh-l-āu* (also spelt *sikkh-ā-l* *sikkh-l-āu*).

Gujarātī. When the root contains any vowel except *a* or *ā*, the causal suffix becomes *ā-ḍ*; e. g., √ *bēs*, 'set,' causal, *bēs-ā-ḍ*. If such a root ends with a vowel or *h*, the causal suffix is *vā-ḍ*, e. g., √ *lē*, 'take,' causal, *le-vā-ḍ*.

Rājputānī. Certain monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel take *r-āv* as the causal suffix; e. g., √ *dē*, 'give,' causal √ *dī-r-āv*.

Hindī. Monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel change the causal suffix to *lā*; e. g., √ *dē*, causal √ *dī-l-ā*. So also √ *sikh*, causal √ *sikh-l-ā* or √ *sikh-ā-l* (dial.) (Old Braj √ *sikh-ā-r*).

These irregular forms do not occur in the Northern Group, nor in the Eastern Family (including Marāṭhī).

The origin of these forms has hitherto been considered obscure. Beames (Cp. Gr., ii, 81) says that they start 'I know not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances.' He then suggests that it is not impossible, and indeed it is highly probable, that the forms are connected by an interchange between the two semi-vowels *l* and *v*. Hoernle (Gd. Gr., 320) says, 'the origin of these strange forms is very obscure.' He rejects Beames' hypothesis, but gives none of his own, beyond pointing out that certain Prakrit causals insert the letter *ḍ*.

Before proceeding to suggest an explanation, I must add another parallel form which has not been noticed by writers in this connexion. In the Mārwarī dialect of Rājputānī, certain verbs insert an *r* before *ij*, the suffix which forms the passive. Thus the passive of *lēnō* 'to take' is *li-r-ijnō*, and of *dēnō* 'to give' *dī-r-ijnō*.

In Sanskrit, many verbs add consonants (usually nasals) to their roots to form the present stem. This, indeed, is not peculiar to Sanskrit, but occurs throughout all Aryan languages. In Sanskrit, however, some of these consonantal root suffixes or infixes are formally recognized by grammarians, and are then called class suffixes (*na*, *nā* and *nu*), and serve as the basis of arrangement of the verbal conjugation. Examples are, (suffixes) *kri-ṇā-ti*, 'he buys,' *su-nō-ti*, 'he squeezes out,' (infix) *yu-na-k-ti*, 'he joins.' When *na* is suffixed, the verb is not considered to belong to any special class, but is conjugated in the 1st or 6th class, thus *vē-na-ti* (Cl. I), 'he is anxious,' *pa-ṇa-ti*

(Cl. I), 'he bargains,' *mr-ṇa-ti* (Cl. VI), 'he kills.'¹ Frequently this nasal suffix gives a causal meaning; e.g., from √ *mṛ* 'die,' we have *marati* (Vedic), 'he dies,' but *mr-ṇa-ti* or *mr-ṇā-ti*, 'he kills.'

Sometimes the suffix takes the form *ana*. Thus from the root *kṛp*, 'have pity,' we have for causal, *kṛp-ṇya-ti* or *kṛp-āp-aya-ti*, 'he is weak,' and *kṛp-āna-tē*, 'he is a suppliant.' Again √ *iṣ*, *iṣ-a-tē*, 'he escapes,' *iṣ-ya-ti* or *iṣ-ṇā-ti* 'he impels,' *iṣ-āna-ya-tē*, 'he excites.' So also, we have another group of verbs which take *anya*. E. g., *kṛp-anya-ti*, 'he is a suppliant;' *iṣ-anya-ti*, 'he excites;' *tur-a-ti* or *tur-anya-ti*, 'he hastens;' *bhur-a-ti* or *bhur-anya-ti*, 'he is active;' *di-dhṛṣ-ti*, 'he sounds,' *dhiṣ-anya-t* (pres. part.) 'desirous to praise;' *rēṣ-a-ti* or *riṣ-anya-ti*, 'he injures,' *ruv-a-ti* (Ved.) or *ruv-anya-ti* 'he utters a harsh noise;' *hṛay-a-ti* or *huv-anya-ti*, 'he cries out.' Most of these (especially those with *ana* and *anya*) are recognized by native grammarians as denominative verbs. But, as Brugmann (l. c.) says, all these nasalised verbs are denominatives; *kṛi-ṇā-ti*, *su-ṇō-ti* and *yu-na-l-ti*, are as much denominatives as *vē-na-ti* (from *vē-na*, 'anxious') or *kṛp-āna-tē* (from *kṛp-āna*, pitiable). That is to say, in Sanskrit, verbal roots can take as suffixes (especially in the case of Denominatives and Causals) certain suffixes which are generally used to form nouns, before adding the personal terminations. The suffixes hitherto examined in regard to this, are *na*, *nā*, *ana*, *anya* and *nu*. These are all well-known nominal suffixes.

If these nominal suffixes are added in Sanskrit, it need not surprise us to find others similarly used in the old Vulgar Aryan speech of which we have survivals in the Prakrits. For instance, there is the Prakrit pleonastic suffix *ala*, *alla*, *illa* or *ulla* (H.-c., ii, 164, 165, 166, 173; iv, 429, 430). This can be added to a noun without changing its sense, and, by parity of reason, can also be added to a verbal root. Two instances of the use of this suffix attached to verbs occur in Sanskrit. The √ *pā* 'protect,' has two forms of conjugation, viz., *pā-ti* and *pā-l-aya-ti*, 'he protects.' The latter form is said, by European writers, to be a denominative derived from *pāla*, 'a protector;' but that, if the truth, is only half the truth. It is just as much a denominative as *vē-na-ti*, and no more. So also the √ *li* or *lā*,² 'to adhere,' has for its causal √ *lā-p-aya-ti*; *li-n-aya-ti* or *lā-l-aya-ti*. Here there is no question of the verb being denominative. It is a pure causal formation.

Other pleonastic suffixes added in Prakrit to nouns are *ḍa* (H.-c., iv, 429, 430), and *ka* (H.-c., ii, 164; iv, 429, 430). There is no reason

¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii, 972, 973, 979, 986, 1089. These references are made once for all, and will not be repeated.

² I quote from Benfey's *Grammar*, Second Edition, p. 41. The *Siddh. Kaumudī*, ii, p. 193; Pa, 7, 3, 39, gives √ *lā*. The point is immaterial.

why these should not be added to verbal roots, as we have seen to be the case with *na* and *la*.¹

A remarkable instance of this has survived in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. There is an Aryan root *der*, 'run,' which appears in Sanskrit as *drā-ti*, 'he runs.' To this root, pleonastic suffixes have been added even in Sanskrit times, so that we also find the forms *dr-ava-ti* and *dr-ama-ti*, 'he runs,' and even with more than one suffix *dr-ava-s-ya-ti*, 'he attends upon a person.' This root appears under the following forms in the modern Indian languages:—

Kāçmīri, *dōri*, 'he will run.'

Western Pañjābī, *drukē*, 'he runs.'

Sindhi, *ḍōrē* or *ḍōkē*.

Pañjābī, *daurē*.

Gujarātī, *dōḍē*.

Rājputānī, *dōḍē*.

Hindī, *daurē*, *dhaurē*.

Central Pahārī, not noted.

Naipālī, *dugurē*.

Baiswārī, *dōrē*.

Bihārī, *daugā*, *dhaugē*, *dhaurē*.

Marāṭhī, *daudē*.

Bengalī, *daurē*.

Assamese, not noted.

Oṛiyā, *daurē*.

Here we have the following groups:—

(1) *druk*, *ḍōk*, *daug*, *dhaug*,²

(2) *dōr*, *ḍōr*, *daur*, *dōḍ*, *dhaur*,² *daud*,

(3) *dugur*.

The first, or *k*, group shows that the root has taken the suffix *ka*, and *drukē*, &c., must be referred back to a low Sanskrit **dr-ava-ka-ti*.

¹ It must not be supposed that the *n* and *l* forms are the only cases of Sanskrit roots with nominal suffixes.

As Brugmann (ii. 1020 and ff.) shows, there are many parallel instances. E. g., $\sqrt{bhā}$ (*bhā-sa-ti*) 'shine' is really a denominative, based on the $\sqrt{bhā}$ (*bhā-ti*), with the nominal suffix *sa*. So also many other roots in *s*. Again stems in *cch* (e. g., *gacchati*, 'he goes') are old denominatives, with the nominal termination *śka* (prakritised to *cch*) added. Thus *gacchati* is for *ga-śka-ti*. Again many roots in *t* are denominatives formed from nouns in *ta*. Thus from \sqrt{ci} (*ci-nō-ti*, 'he sets in order,' also a denominative form), we have the past participle *ci-ta*, and also the root *ci-t* (*cē-ta-ti*, 'he understands');² so also from \sqrt{yam} , we have the present *ya-ccha-ti* (i. e., *ya-śka-ti*), or (Vedic) *yam-a-ti*, 'he supports,' the past participle *ya-ta*, and the denominative verb *ya-t* (*yā-ta-tē*, 'he connects').

² The *dh* in this form is due to confusion with another root, *dhāv* having the same meaning.

H.-c., iv, 398, especially authorises the retention of the *r* in *druk* in the Western Pañjāb, where Apabhraṃṣa was spoken; and in iv, 396 allows the *k* to be retained, or changed to *g*,¹ instead of the elision which we should expect in Prakrit.

The second or *ḍ* group, shows that the root took the suffix *ḍa*, so that *daurē*, &c., must be referred to a low Sanskrit **dr-ava-ḍa-ti*. Finally, the Naipāli form *dugur*, is an instance of both suffixes, which (H.-c., iv, 430) may be used together in the same word. *Dugurē*, represents a low Sanskrit form **dr-ava-ka-ḍa-ti*.

Other instances of these pleonastic suffixes occur in Prakrit, in forming causals. Thus we have² *bhamāḍēi* (beside the regular *bhamā-ṭēi*) causal of √*bhram* 'roam' (H.-c., iii, 151; iv, 30, 161), *tanāḍai*, 'he causes to roam' (H.-c., iv, 30), *dhamśāḍai*, 'he looses' (H.-c., iv, 91).

We also find them in the case of other modern vernacular verbs, as well as √*daur*, though the lessons obtained from them are not so complete. Thus modern √*thahal* or *thahar*, 'wait' (Skr. √*sthā*), √*laggar*, 'limp' (Skr. √*lagg*), √*jhapaṭ* 'spring upon' (Skr. √*jhamp*), and many others in which a pleonastic *l*, *r*, *ḍ*, or even *ṭ* has been added (Cf. Hoernle, Gḍ. Gr., 178).

The above remarks make the origin of these irregular causal suffixes, and also of the irregular Rājputāni (Mārwāri) Passive in *r-ij*, clear. These suffixes are specially common in Sanskrit in the case of Denominative verbs, and, the close connexion between Causals, Denominatives, and Passives need not be insisted upon. The pleonastic character of the suffixes is shown by their use in the I. A. V's. They are most commonly added to monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel, i. e., the roots which are weakest in form, and require the strengthening given of a consonant. In other cases, their use is almost optional. E. g., H. has √*sikh-ā* as well as √*sikh-l-ā*, √*dikh-ā*, 'cause to see,' as well as *dikh-l-ā*, and so on. Finally their apparently capricious use, sometimes preceding, and sometimes following the true causal suffix, is strongly characteristic of their pleonastic character.

As regards the derivation of each of these modern suffixes, I connect the *l* with the Pr. *lla*. The Kāçmiri *ana*, may be the Skr. *anya* (used for forming denominatives), or it may be derived from the Pr. *lla*. The *ḍ* and *r* forms, are naturally to be referred to the Pr. *ḍa*, from which, moreover, it is possible that the *l* forms are also derived.

¹ Cf. Skr. *ḍag* (*ḍa-ga-ti*), *gamanā*.

² Also quoted by Hoernle, Gḍ. Gr., 321.

*On a Copperplate-grant of Viçva-rūpa, one of the Sēna Kings
of Bengal.—By NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU.*

(With Plates I and II.)

[Read December, 1895.]

In the village Madanapāḍa, Post Office Pinjāri, Parganāh Kōṣāli-pāḍa of the Faridpur district, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper-plate and made it over to the land-holder, who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakṣmicandra-sāṅkhyatīrtha, in 1892, and I noticed the contents of this inscription and published a facsimile of the whole plate in the *Viçvakōṣa*.¹ But this is the first time that I publish the whole text.

The plate measures $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and 10 inches in breadth, with a thickness of $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch. It has a curvature at the top, bearing a ten-handed image of Sadāçiva, similar to that in the grant first brought to notice in the Society's *Journal* by J. Prinsep in 1838 (Vol. VII, Part. I, p. 42).²

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters may be described as Bengali of the 12th or 13th century A.D., and they resemble closely the characters of the Dēopādā Inscription of Vijaya-sēna. The only letters deserving of notice are *ē, k, t, dh, n, bh, r, s,* and *h* which have a much more modern look than those of the Dēopādā inscription.

It contains 60 lines on both sides. The language of the grant is Sanskrit. Except the opening words *Oṃ namō nārāyaṇāya*, the inscription is in verse as far as line 31. From there to the end, the formal part of it is in prose, with the introduction of some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 54 to 59.

As regards orthography, the only points calling for remark, are, that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides it may be noted that the letter *r*, which before another consonant is denoted by the

¹ See *Viçvakōṣa* Vol. IV., Art. Kāçava-sēna-dēva.

² See also Prinsep's Useful Tables, Ed. Thomas, p. 272, note 1.

superscript sign, is written on the line in the conjuncts *rgg*, *rmn*, *rnn*, *rpp*, *rvv*, *rmm*, e.g., in *durggam* line 23, *vargga*, line 27, *nirṇṇikta*, line 8, *rmmiyamita*, line 9; and that the sign of the *avagraha* is employed thrice, to indicate the elision of the vowel *a*, e.g., *vandē 'ravinda*, line 1.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the God Nārāyaṇa, of the Sun, and of the Moon. It then relates that:—

From this famous lineage (of the Moon) sprung Sudbā-kiraṇa-Çekhara (the moon-crested Çiva), in the shape of Vijaya-sēna, the touch of the nails of whose feet made kings cheerful (L. 8). From him was born a very powerful king named Ballāla-sēna. In battlefields, torrents of blood used to flow from the bodies of his enemies (L. 11). From him sprang a son named Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, who possessed extraordinary prowess, and whose charities obtained renown like those of the *Kalpa-druma* (L. 13). During his reign sacrificial posts were erected to celebrate victories achieved by the king on the coasts of the southern sea, where exist the images of *Muṣaladhara* (Balarāma) and *Gadāpaṇi* (Jagannātha), also in *Viçvêçvara-kṣētra* (Benares), at the confluence of the *Asi*, the *Varaṇā*, and the *Gaṅgā*, and also at the *Trivēṇi* (near Allāhābād), where the lotus-born (Brahmā) performed the sacrificial ceremony (L. 19). His wife Çitala-dēvi (P) earned the *tri-varga*, i.e., virtue, wealth, and all objects of desire (L. 21). As Çakti-dhara (Kārtikēya) was born from Çaçi-çekhara (Çiva) and Giriḷā (Durgā), so was born from the king, and his queen, the crest-jewel of the rival kings, Viçvarûpa-sēna-dēva (L. 22).

The inscription then records:—

In the victorious camp pitched at the village of Phalgu (L. 31), Gaudêçvara Viçvarûpa-sēna-dēva, the most devout worshipper of Mahêçvara, the Lord of the Açva-pati, Gaja-pati and Nara-pati, meditated on the feet of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa-sēna-dēva (L. 35), in the presence of all the Rājās, Rājanyas (L. 38), queens, and all the officers of the Court (L. 40), declares that in Vaṅga, included in the kingdom of Pauṇdra-vardhana, within the limits of Vikrama-pura (L. 42), bounded on the east by the village-boundary of Aṭhapāga, on the south by the village of Vārayipaḍā (L. 43), on the west by the village of Uñcakāṭṭhi, (L. 44), and on the north by the village-boundary of Virakāṭṭhi, and situated in the village of Piñjakāṭṭhi (L. 43), certain lands are presented by this copper-plate grant, with the hope of the future reward known as *Bhūmi-dāna* mentioned in the Çiva-purāṇa, to the Çruti-pāṭhaka (reader of the Vēdas), the illustrious Viçvarûpa-dēva-çarman¹ of the Vatsa-gōtra, of the Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnuvata, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya *pravara*,

¹ He was a brother of Içvara-dēva-çarman the donee of the other grant by same king, dated 3rd year.

a great-grandson of Parāçara-dēva-çarman, grandson of Garbhēçvara-dēva-çarman and son of Vanamāli-dēva-çarman, in a proper manner and in accordance with the rules in force, stamped with the mark of Sadāçiva in the month of Bhādra of the 14th year (L. 38-51), effected by the illustrious Kōpiviṣṇu, the chief officer for peace and war in Gauḍa. (Engraved) on the 1st Āçvina of the year 14 (L. 60).

Of the places mentioned in this inscription Pinjakāṣṭhi, the village granted by it, is evidently identical with Pinjāri, a postal village in the Parganah Kōṭālipāḍa, near the village of Madanapāḍa, where the grant was found.

The other important point for notice, is the distinctive titles of the four Sēna kings mentioned in this inscription, and which have, I think, hitherto escaped the attention of the antiquarians; thus:—Mahārāja Vijaya-sēna-dēva was styled as Vṛṣabha-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara, his son Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna-dēva as Niḥçaṅka-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara, his son Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa-sēna-dēva as Madana-Çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara (L. 35), and his son Mahārāja Viçvarûpa-sēna-dēva as Vṛṣabhāṅka-çaṅkara-gauḍēçvara.

The contents of the grant published by Prinsep as that of Kēçava-sēna, agree closely with those of the grant under review, with a slight exception. The place where the name of the pseudo Kēçava-sēna occurs in the grant, is in such a state as to show that, originally there was some other name, in the place of which, that of Kēçava-sēna had been put in. This circumstance led Prinsep to believe that at the time of the copper-plate being engraved, Kēçava-sēna's elder brother Mādharma-sēna suddenly expired, hence his name was erased for that of his brother's. But in the face of the copper-plate grant under review, Prinsep's inference can scarcely hold good. The reading, moreover, of Prinsep is not correct. The 10th verse of his published reading gives:—

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवत्प्रतो ।

विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वन्द्यो ऋषः ॥

(J. A. S. B., Vol. VII., Pt. I., p. 44).

The correct reading of it according to the facsimile published by him, of the original grant of the 3rd year, and as shewn in the newly discovered grant of the 14th year (9th verse), is as follows:—

एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवद्भ्रतो ।

विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो ऋषः ॥

It is evident from the above Çloka that both the plates have the name Viçva-rûpa. In the 10th verse of Prinsep's facsimile and in the

9th of the copper-plate grant under review the name *Viṣvarūpa* is perfectly legible and in large characters, but in other places in the former as well as in similar places in the latter (line 22 and 38) the name appears in small characters. Prinsep's fac-simile not having been in clear print, the above name in small characters does not appear very legible, whereas these small characters in the lines noted in the present copper-plate give the name most clearly. What Prinsep calls marks of erasures, are not so, I think, because where they appeared to him to be such, in the very same places occur the small characters. I regard these in both the grants as Royal sign-manuals.

L. 1. । श्रीं नमो नारायणाय ॥

वन्देऽरविन्दवगवान्धवमन्धकार-

कारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् ।

पर्यायविकृतसि-

L. 2. तासितपक्षयुग्म-

सुधान्तमद्भुतखगं गिगमद्भुमस्य ॥

[1]

पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं विखग्विसुद्रीभवन्

सुक्ताकुण्डलमब्धिम-

L. 3. स्मरनदो वन्यावगङ्गं नमः ।

उद्भिन्नक्षितमङ्गरो परिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन्

प्रत्यम्भौसतु पुष्यसायकयशो जन्मान्तरं

L. 4. चन्द्रमाः ॥

[2]

एतस्मात् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिशरो दर्वीकरग्रामयो-

विश्रामोत्सवदानदोक्षितसुजास्ते भूसुजो जक्षिरे ।

येषामप्र-

L. 5. तिमन्दविन्नमकथारब्धप्रवन्धाद्भुत-

द्यास्थानन्दविगिन्नसान्द्रपुलकैर्याता सदस्यैर्दिशः ॥

[3]

अवातरदधान्वये महति तत्र देवः

L. 6. स्वयं

सुधाकिरखशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया ।

यदंजिनखधोरखिस्फुरितमीलयः क्षामुजो

दद्यास्यनतिविभ्रमं विद-

- L. 7. धिरे किवैकैकः । [4]
 नीजाम्भोबहसोदरोपि दलयन्मन्माधि कादम्बिनौ-
 कान्तोपि अजयन्मनांसि मधुपखिग्धोपि तन्वन्-
 यम् ।
- L. 8. निर्विह्वलानसन्निभोपि जनयन्नेवममं वैरिणां
 वस्याश्रेषणनाङ्गुताय समरे कौच्येकः खेति । [5]
 ईषन्निखिंशनि-
- L. 9. द्राविरहविकसितैर्वैरिभूयाणवग्ना-
 युष्किद्योष्किद्य भूलावधि सुवमखिणां प्रासतो यस्य राक्षः ।
 आसीत्तेजो जिगीषा सह दिव-
- L. 10. सकरेयैव दोष्यास्तुलाभू-
 द्भूर्तेवाश्रीविषाणामजनि दिग्धिपैरेव सीमावैवादः । [6]
 खेनतुखपुनतापमार्जनकृतप्रत्यर्थि-
- L. 11. द्यम्बर-
 क्तादादप्रतिमङ्गकौर्त्तिरभवद्वह्नाजसेनो ष्यः ।
 वस्या भोघनसौमि शोषितसरिदुःसखरावां हृताः
 संसङ्गदिप-
- L. 12. दन्तद्वष्ट्रिविकामारोप्य वैरिभिवः । [7]
 औकान्तोपि व मायया वजिजयो वागीश्वरोप्यक्षरं
 वल्लुं नैत्वपहुः कनानिधिरपि
- L. 13. प्रोमुक्तदोषायः ।
 भोगोन्द्रोपि व निष्पगैः परिहृतस्त्रैजोक्वरेखाहुत-
 क्ताङ्गाङ्गायसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूषोककल्पमुमः । [8]
- L. 14. प्रत्युषे निगडस्वनेर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमिमुजां
 मध्याङ्गे जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गाजघट्टारवैः ।
 सायं वेष्टविनासिनोज-
- L. 15. नरखम्भोरमङ्गस्वने
 र्बेनाकारि विभिन्नशब्दघटना वन्धं चितन्धं नमः । [9]
 पर्वं जन्मश्लेष भूमिपतिना सन्यथ्य मुक्तिप्र-

L. 16.

ॐ

नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतोरे हरः प्रीक्षितः ।
एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधक्यवह्नगतो
विस्थातश्चित्तिपाजमौ-

L. 17.

लिरभवत् श्रीविष्णुरूपोऽयः ॥

[10]

न गगनतल एव शीतरश्मिः न ज्ञानकभूधर एव काश्यपाखी
न विबुधपुर एव देवराजो

L. 18.

विलसति वज्र घरावतारभाणि ॥ [11]

वेलायां दक्षिणाब्धेर्भ्रुंसलधरगदापाखिसंवासवेद्यां
क्षेत्रे विष्णेश्वरस्य स्मरदसिवर-

L. 19.

शास्त्रेणगङ्गोष्मिभाणि ।

तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेद्याः कमलमवमखारम्भनिर्व्याजपूते
देवोच्चै रंक्षयुपैः सह समरजयस्त-

L. 20.

भमाला न्यघायि ॥

[12]

यां निर्माय पवित्रपाणिरभवहेघः सतीनां शिखा-
रत्नं वा किर्मायि स्वरूपपरितैर्भिन्नं यथाजङ्गलं ।

L. 21.

ज्योतीर्भूरपि वाञ्छिताणि विदधे यस्याः सपत्न्यौ महा-
राज्ञी श्रीतान्द्रा¹ देवि² तदस्य³ महिषी साभूत्तवर्णोऽधिता ॥ [13]
एताभ्यां शशिप्रेत-

L. 22.

रगिरिजाभ्यामिव वभूव शक्तिधरः ।

श्रीर्विश्वरूपसेनदेवप्रतिभटभुपालमुकुटमणिः ॥

[14]

आकौमारमपारसङ्गरमरथापा-

L. 23.

रट्टावप्र-

खान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषद्वन्द्वस्य दोर्विक्रमं ।
नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकितै दुर्म्यं प्रविशन्न द्रुतं
निर्मा-

1. I am very doubtful about this word: metre requires श्रीतल or शीतल ।

2. Read देवी ।

3. Read ऋपय ।

L. 24. द्विररातिभूपनिवहैर्भान्धद्विरेवास्यते । [15]

कल्पस्यासहकावनानि कनकक्ष्माभृदिभागाग्निधे
रत्नानां पुणिनान्तरास्थि च परि-

L. 25. अन्य प्रयासासता ।

एतत्पादपयोधरप्रथयिनि ष्वायावितानाश्चले
विभ्राम्यन्ति सतामनिद्रविदश्रोद्धान्तामनोदत्तयः । [16]

L. 26. किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुण्ठितलोकपालावजौ-
विशोकितविश्टुलः प्रधनजैत्रयात्राभरः ।
शशास पृथिवीमिमां प्रथितवौरव-

L. 27. र्थायथीः

स गर्भयवनाम्वयप्रलयकालस्रग्नौ मृपः । [17]
पद्मालयेति या स्थिति लक्ष्म्या एव जगन्नये ।
सरस्वत्यपि तां लेभे यदानन-

L. 28. कृताशया । [18]

आवद्याभंलिहृष्टहृष्टिखामस्य सौन्दर्यरेखां
पश्यन्तीभिः पुरि विहरतः पौरसौमन्तिगौभिः ।
वार्ताश्रुतैर्नय-

L. 29. नवजितैर्विभ्रमं दर्शयन्त्यो

दृष्ट्याः सख्यः क्षयविघटितप्रेमरक्षैः कटाक्षैः । [16]
एतेनोन्नतवेश्मशश्रुटभुवः खोतस्वती-

L. 30. सैकत-

क्रीडाकोलमरालकोमलकलत्वाद्यप्रथीतोत्सवाः ।
विप्रेभ्यो ददिरे महामघवता नाकप्रतिष्ठाभृतः
प्राक् प्र-

Reverse,

L. 31. क्रमशालिशालिशवणक्षेत्रोत्कटाः कर्बटाः । [20]

इह खलु पश्युयामपरिसरसमावासितश्रीमञ्जयस्त्वन्धावारात् सम-

L. 32. क्तसुप्रशस्त्युपेतत्परिराजद्वयमशश्रुत्तगौडेन्धरश्रीमद्विजयसेनदेव-

पादानुध्यातसमस्तसुप्रशस्त्युपेतत्परिराज

- L. 33. निःशङ्कशङ्करगौडेश्वरश्रीम¹वज्जालसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्त-
सुप्रशस्त्युपेतसम्पत्तिगणपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधि-
- L. 34. पतितेनकुलकमकविकासभास्करसोमवंशप्रदोपप्रतिपन्नकार्यसत्य-
प्रतगाङ्गेयश्वरखागतवक्षपद्मरपरमेश्व-
- L. 35. रपरमभट्टारकपरमसौरमहाराजाधिराजश्वरिराजमदनशङ्कर-
गौडेश्वरश्रीम²कल्पयसेनदेवपादानुध्या-
- L. 36. लसम्पत्तिगणपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतितेनकुलकमकविकास-
भास्करसोमवंशप्रदोपप्रतिपन्नकार्यसत्यप्र-
- L. 37. तगाङ्गेयश्वरखागतवक्षपद्मरपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरमसौर
महाराजाधिराजश्वरिराजदृषभाङ्कशङ्कर-
- L. 38. गौडेश्वरश्रीमत्³विश्वरूपसेनदेवपादाविजयिणः । समुपगताश्वेवराज-
राजन्यकराञ्चौराण्यकराजपुत्रराजामात्यम-
- L. 39. हापुरोहितमहाधर्माध्यक्षमहासान्धिवियहिकमहासेनापति-
दौःसाधिकचौरोद्भयिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोम-
- L. 40. द्विजाजाविकादिद्याष्टगौल्लिकदक्षपाशिकदक्षनायकविषय-
पत्यादौनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-
- L. 41. प्रवरान् चट्टमट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च यथाहं
मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिसन्ति विदितमस्तु भवतां य-
- L. 42. था भौखडवर्द्धनसुत्तयन्तःपाति वक्त्रे विक्रमपुरभागे पूर्वे अठपाग-
ग्रामजङ्गलभूः सीमा दक्षिणे वारयोपडायामभूः सी-
- L. 43. मा पश्चिमे उच्चोकाष्टीग्रामभूः सीमा उत्तरे वीरकाष्टीजङ्गलसीमा
इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः पिम्बोकाष्टीग्राममध्यात् कन्दर्पाशङ्करा
- L. 44. ³मोपपदातिष्ठाधामाकर्षां⁴द्वात्रिंशत्पुराणोत्तरचत्तो⁵श्रतिक १ इत्
वह्निः सी भूहि ५०० तथा कन्दर्पाशङ्कराशभूमौ नारान्तपर्यामे..६..
- L. 45. द्वाभ्यां सप्तत्रिंशत्पुराणाधिकसंश्लिप्ता षट्श्रतिकापत्तिकपिम्बोकाष्टी-
ग्रामः सजलख्यलः ससाटविटपः सोषरसगुवाकवारिकेजस्तृणह-
- L. 46. तिपूर्व्वान्त उपरोक्लिखितचतुःसि⁷मावच्छिन्नपिम्बोठा⁸ग्रामोऽयं
शिवपुराणोक्तभूमिदानप्र-

1. Read श्रीमत् । 2. Read श्रीमत् । 3. Obscure. 4. Obscure.

5. Read चतुर्लिंगनिक । 6. Obscure. 7. Read सीमा । 8. Obscure.

- L. 47. कप्रान्निकामनया वत्ससगोजस्य भार्गवच्यवनश्चाप्सुवतःशौर्व
जामदग्नप्रवरस्य परासरदेवशर्मन्तः प्रपौलाय व-
- L. 48. त्ससगोजस्य भार्गवच्यवनश्चाप्सुवतःशौर्वजामदग्नप्रवरस्य
गर्भेश्वरदेवशर्मन्तः पौलाय वत्ससगोजस्य भार्गव
- L. 49. च्यवनश्चाप्सुवतःशौर्वजामदग्नप्रवरस्य वनमाग्निदेवशर्मन्तः
पुलाय वत्ससगोजाय भार्गवच्यवनश्चाप्सुवतः
- L. 50. शौर्वजामदग्नप्रवरस्य चा¹तिपाठकाय श्रीविश्वरूपदेवशर्मन्ते
ब्राह्मणाय विधिवदुत्सृज्य शीतदाश्रिवमुद्रया सु-
- L. 51. प्रथित्वा भूच्छिन्नन्यायेन चतुर्दश्रीयाब्दीवभाद्रादिना ताम्रश्रासपी-
ह्यत्प्रदत्तोऽस्मानिः । पञ्चचतुःशोमावच्छि-
- L. 52. न्न सां श्रासनभूहि इ२० तद्भवधिः सर्वैरेवालुमन्तर्क भाविमि-
रधिन्तपतिमिरपहरणे नरकपातम-
- L. 53. धात् पाजने शर्मन्गौरवात् पाञ्चगौवम् ॥ भवन्ति चात्र घर्मांशु-
शक्तिनः श्लोकाः ॥ आसक्तोऽयन्ति पितरो वर्येभ-
- L. 54. ऋति पितामहाः ।
भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स वक्ष्याता भविष्यति ।
भूमिं यः प्रतिच्छेदति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ॥
समौ
- L. 55. तौ पुण्यकर्माद्यौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥
वज्रभिर्बसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- L. 56. तस्य तदा फलं ॥
यद्विष्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आक्षेप्ता चावमन्ताश्च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥
खद-
- L. 57. तां परदत्ता वा योहरेत वसुन्वराम् ।
स विष्ठायां ह्यभिर्भूत्वा पित्रभिः सह पच्यते ॥
इति कमजदशाम्बुविन्दुजो-

1. Read ऋति ।

- L. 58. कां श्रियमनुचिन्त्यमनुष्यजीवितम् ।
सकलमिदमुदाहृतम् बुद्धा गहि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विषोप्याः ॥
सधिव-
- L. 59. श्रुतमौषिकानितपदाम्बुजस्यानुशासने दूतः ।
श्रीकोपिविष्णुरभवत् गौडमहासान्धिविग्रहिकः ॥
श्रीमन्महा
- L. 60 सांकरयनि ॥ श्रीमहामत्तकरयनि ।
श्रीमत्करयनि ॥ सं १४ आश्विनदिने १ ॥



Chronology of the Sēna Kings of Bengal.—By NAGĒNDRA-NĀTHA VASU.

(Read January, 1896).

The history of the Sēna kings occupies an important and prominent position in that of Bengal. Considerable research has, from time to time, been made by Hindu and foreign scholars to discover materials from which to construct a genuine history of this dynasty, and though much light has been thrown on the subject by the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions much yet remains to be done.

My new materials are a hitherto unpublished inscription, which I have discovered at Madanapāḍa in Faridpur, some old works on brahmanic genealogy of considerable historical value, and some ancient manuscripts. These materials will serve to correct the chronology and dynastic links of these rulers as set forth by previous inquirers; a summary of which, for easy reference, is here given.

A. James Prinsep stands first in this field of inquiry. He gives, as the result of his researches, the following list of Sēna kings in chronological order:—

A.D.

1063. Vijaya-sēna (Sukha-sēna).

1066. Ballāla-sēna.

1116. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.

1123. Mādhava-sēna.

1133. Kēçava-sēna.

1151. Sadā-sēna or Sura-sēna.

1154. Nanjēb or Nārāyaṇa.

1200. Lakṣmaṇya (the last.)¹

B. Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra, after further inquiries, supports Mr. Prinsep. He had certain inscriptions of Vijaya-sēna, Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, Kēçava-sēna and Açōka of Gayā before him, and gave the

¹ See *J. A. S. B.*, 1838, pt. I, p. 41; and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* (Ed. Thomas), Vol. II, p. 272.

following succession of kings in Eastern and littoral Bengal with initial years of their reigns. ¹

In Eastern and littoral Bengal :—

A.D.

986. I. Vira-sēna.
1006. II. Sāmanta-sēna.
1026. III. Hēmanta-sēna.

In the whole of Bengal :—

1046. IV. Vijaya *alias* Sukha-sēna.
1056. V. Ballāla-sēna.
1106. VI. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.
1136. VII. Mādhaba-sēna.
1138. VIII. Kēçava-sēna.
1142. IX. Açōka-sēna.

In Vikramapur.

- Ballāla-sēna.
Su-sēna.
Sura-sēna, &c.

C. Sir Alexander Cunningham on the authority of the inscriptions of Deopādā, Tarpaṇadighi, Bākargaūj and of the *Āin-i-Akbari* gives a fresh list. ²

A.D.

650. Vira-sēna, from whom descended
975. Sāmanta-sēna.
1000. Hēmanta-sēna.
1025. Vijaya-sēna or Sukha-sēna.
1050. Ballāla-sēna.
1076. Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.
1106. Mādhaba-sēna.
1108. Kēçava-sēna.
1118. Lākṣmaṇēya (reigned 80 years.—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāşiri*).
1198. Conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiar Khiljī.³

Sir Alexander makes also the following remarks with reference to certain princes of this dynasty :—

‘Now just as we have seen in the case of Gō-pāla, the progenitor of the Pāla Rājās, who is also called by the synonymous names of Bhū-pāla

¹ See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIV. pt. I, p. 128, XLVII. pt. I, p. 396; and *Mitra's Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 262.

² *Rep. Arch. Sur.* XV. p. 158. In a note on the subject he writes: ‘As A.D. 1107 was the first year after the expiry of Lakṣmaṇa's reign, his death must have taken place in A.D. 1106.’

and Lōka-pāla, so I believe that Vira-sēna may have been also known as Sura-sēna. This prince I would identify with king Sura-sēna, who married the princess Bhōga-dēvī, the sister of Amṇu-varmā Rājā of Nēpāla, who was the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang, and of whom Pandit Bhagawān-lāl Indrajī has published inscriptions, dated in A.D. 645 and 651. In No. 14 of these Nēpāl records, the son of Sura and Bhōga-dēvī is named Bhōga-varmā, while in another record (No. 15) he is said to be the son of the great Āditya-sēna, the illustrious Lord of Magadha. Hence it seems probable that the later Sēna Rājās of Bengal were the direct descendants of Āditya-sēna-dēva; the great king of Magadha.'

Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra again comes out with the observation that 'Vira-Sēna' mentioned in the inscription of Vijaya-sēna, the founder of the Sēna Dynasty, was no other than Ādiçūra, who brought five Brāhmaṇas and five Kāyasthas from Kanauj.'¹

D. Dr. Hoernle, in his Review of the Sēna Kings of Bengal, says:—

'It was Vijaya-sēna, who, after defeating the king of the Pāla Dynasty of Gauḍa, became the first king of Bengal, and his predecessors, Sāmanta and Hēmanta, were rulers of some territories in Pauḍra-varḍhana, at a time when Nārāyaṇa-pāla reigned in Bengal, between the years A.D. 1006 and 1026.'

He says further that 'Vijaya-sēna's other name was Ādiçūra'² and adds:—

'It was probably the successor of the latter (Nārāyaṇa-pāla), who was supplanted in the Bengal kingdom by Vijaya-sēna (or Sukha-sēna), the first Bengal king (though the fourth in descent) of the Sēna family, whose date is about A.D. 1030.'³

E. In a Bengali work,⁴ the author Babu Mahimā-candra Mazūm-dār gives his view of the subject thus: 'The *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives the commencement of the reign of Ballāla-sēna in 1066 A.D., and Mr. Prinsep accepts this; but in respect of the ancient rulers of Gauḍa, the *Āin* cannot be relied upon as an authority. The writer (presumably Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra) of an article in the *Rahasya Sandarbha*, believing the year of this event to be Çaka 1019, supports his statement by a citation from the *Samaya-prakāça*, which, however, as a matter of fact indicates the year as Çaka 1091.' . . . Assuming A.D. 1066 as the correct year of Ballāla-sēna's accession to the throne and A.D. 1203 as the year in which his son lost it, the difference would be 137 years—a

¹ See Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 241.

² Centenary Review of the Researches of the Society, 1784-1883, pp. 209-10.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV. p. 165.

⁴ *বৌদ্ধ ব্রাহ্মণ* (Brahmans in Gauḍa). pp. 90 and ff.

period which the writer of the above article considers too long for the reign of only two successive kings; he therefore makes Lakṣmaṇa-sēna as the great grandson of Ballāla-sēna, the same who was defeated by Bakhtīār Khilji. He further adds:—‘Let us suppose that Ballāla wrote the Dāna-sāgara in Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169), and died two or three years later, when Lakṣmaṇa, an elderly person, ascended the throne which he lost after a reign of 25 or 30 years in 1203 A.D. This according to Miñhāju-d-dīn happened on the king’s attaining his 80th year. If it be true it indicates no doubt old age; but there is no certainty about it The two copper-plate grants by Lakṣmaṇa-sēna—one to Içvara-candra-dēva-çarmā and the other to Kṛṣṇa-dhara-dēva-çarmā—bear respectively the dates 3rd Bhadra, year 7, and 10th Māgha, year 2. These years are believed to be those of the Lakṣmaṇa era. An era may commence from the date of the birth of a prince, from that of his appointment as an heir-apparent, from that of the actual commencement of his reign, or from that of any important event. The Lakṣmaṇa era, it is evident from the copper-plates did not commence from the time of his birth, but dates either from his inauguration as the prince elect, or from his accession to the throne of Gauḍa.’¹

F. In an able article on the era of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna² Mr. Beveridge says:—

‘The last Hindu king of Bengal mentioned in the Abū-l-faẓl’s list (*Āin*, p. 413, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition) is Rājā Nōjah, who ruled three years. This is the Rājā Noe or Najah of Gladwin, for he has both spellings, and the Rājāh Bhōja of Lassen. Abū-l-faẓl says that when Rājā Nōjā died the kingdom passed to Lakṣmaṇa who ruled at Nadiā and was expelled by Bakhtīār Khilji (*Āin*, p. 414). In my humble opinion this Lakṣmaṇa is the Lachman-sēna of the *Akbar-nāma* and the prince who gave his name to the Lakṣmaṇ era.

G. Dr. Kielhorn in his article on the Deḍ-pārā Inscription of Vijaya-sēna in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. (1892), thus writes on the subject:—

‘According to Dr. Rājēndrālāla Mitra. (Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Vol. I, p. 151) Ballāla-sēna in the Dāna-sāgara calls himself the son of Vijaya-sēna and grandson of Hēmanta-sēna, and according to the same authority, the Dāna-sāgara was composed in A. D. 1097. The statement I am unable to verify Vijaya-sēna is eulogised as having defeated and imprisoned besides others, the Kings Nānya and Vīra (page 306). Nānya we find again (as was first pointed out to me by Dr. Burgess) in Nānya-

¹ जोड़े ब्राह्मण pp. 90-96.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII. Pt. I, p. 5.

dēva, the founder of the Karnāṭaka Dynasty of Nēpāl, who is placed in Qaka 1019=A. D. 1097, close enough to the time when our inscription was composed to suggest the idea that he may possibly be the very king here spoken of' (p. 313). 'Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was the founder of an era which undoubtedly, dates from the beginning of his reign, and which as I have tried to show elsewhere commenced in A. D. 1119' (pages 306-7).¹

After giving this resumé of the opinions of all the writers on the subject, I now proceed to show on what grounds I have been obliged to differ from them on many important points.

I. In a manuscript copy of the Dāna-sāgara obtained by me from Assam, I find Ballāla-sēna thus speaking of himself:—

हेमन्तः परिपञ्चिपञ्चसरः सर्गस्य नैसर्गिकै-
 बद्धीतः स्वगणैश्चदात्तमहिमा हेमन्तसेनोऽजनि ।
 तदनु विजयसेनः प्रादुरासीद् वरेन्द्रे
 दिशि विदिशि मजन्ते यस्य वीरध्वजत्वम् ॥
 दैन्योत्तापभ्रतामकालजलदः सर्वोत्तरः क्षाम्भृतां
 श्रीबल्लालन्दपक्षतो ऽजनि गुणाविर्भावगर्भेश्वरः ।

Like Hēmanta (the cold season) which is fatal to the growth of lotuses, Hēmanta-sēna the destroyer of his enemies, who was celebrated for his natural qualities and whose greatness was highly spoken of by his kinsmen, was born.

After him Vijaya-sēna flourished in Varēndra, whose eminence amongst the heroes was praised far in all directions

After him the king Ballāla-sēna, the head of the kings, a king from his birth, and clad in all good qualities, was born, like an untimely cloud towards those who were suffering from the keen heat (distress) of penury.

II. The old kārikā by Hari-miçra-ghaṭaka obtained by me from the Ghaṭakas of Édilpur, states as follows:—

पद्मगौडाधिपस्यास्य स्यर्द्धा काशीश्वरेण च ।
 सम्मानेन च दानेन काशीश्वरमधःकृतः ॥
 किन्तु साभिर्महायापि विप्राद्यैर्विकला समा ।
 मनसो तेन भूपोऽयं भूदेवैर्निन्द्यराज्यकः ।
 मतिश्चक्रे तदानेतुं गौडराज्ये द्विजोत्तमान् ॥

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX.

कोलासुदेशतः पञ्च विप्रा ज्ञानतपोयुताः ।
 महाराजादिश्रुतेषु समानीताः सपत्नीकाः ॥
 क्षितौश्च मेधातिथि च वीतरागः सुधानिधिः ।
 सौमरिः स च धर्मात्मा आगता गौडमण्डले ॥
 इति पञ्च समाख्याताः राज्ञा तेन परीक्षिताः ।
 कामठी ब्रह्मपुरी च हरिकोटस्तथैव च ॥
 कङ्क्यामो वट्याम एषां स्थानानि पञ्च च ।
 एषाञ्च बहवः पुत्रास्तपोनिर्धूतकल्मषाः ॥
 भूपालैः पूजिता ये च धनैर्यामैस्तथोत्तमैः ।
 महावंशप्रसूतास्ते ब्राह्मणापूजिता ऋषैः ॥

x x x x x x

व्यापालप्रतिभूर्भुवः पतिरभूद् गौडे च राष्ट्रे ततः
 राजाऽभूत् प्रबलः सदैव शरत्तः श्रीदेवपालस्ततः ।
 प्रज्ञा-वाक्य-विवेक-शील-विनयैः शुद्धाश्रयः श्रीयुतो
 धर्मं चास्य मतिः सदैव रमते स खीयवंशोद्भवे ॥'

x x x x x x x

'विप्रपालो हि बल्लालो राजा विजयनन्दनः ।
 ब्राह्मणाय कुलस्थानं दत्तवान् भुवि दुर्लभम् ॥
 ताम्बपात्रे कुलं लेख्य शासनानि बह्वनि च ।
 एतेभ्यो दत्तवान् पूर्वं कलौ बल्लालसेनकः ॥
 बल्लालतनयो राजा लक्ष्मणोऽभून्महाशयः ।
 जन्मग्रहमयाद्दोषात् कलङ्कोऽभूदगन्तरम् ॥
 प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिग्रहान् ।
 तत्पुत्रः केशवो राजा गौडराज्यं विहाय च ॥
 मतिश्चाप्यकरोद्दन्दे यवनस्य मयात्ततः ।
 न शक्नुवन्ति ते विप्रास्तत्र स्थातुं यदा पुनः ॥

Mahārāja Ādi-çūra was ruler of the five Gauḍas. The king of Kāçī (Benares) was his rival. The great veneration in which Ādi-çūra was held and his various acts of charity made even the king of Kāçī to blush. Ādi-çūra, however, was anxious on one account. He had not

got a Sāgnika¹ Brāhmaṇa in his court, and he made up his mind to bring some from elsewhere. Accordingly, he brought from Kōlāñca five Brāhmaṇas full of wisdom and devotion to God, *viz.*, Kṣitiṇa, Mādhatīthi, Vita-rāga, Sudhā-nidhi, and Saubhari. They came to Gauḍa with their families. The king, after testing their merits, gave them each one of five villages, *viz.*, Kāmaṭhi, Brahma-purī, Harikōṭa, Kaṅkagrāma, and Baṭagrāma to live in. The Brāhmaṇas, whom Ādi-ṣūra and his descendants thus honoured by grants of villages and presents of money, were descended from respectable families, and the kings who succeeded them accorded similar honour to their progeny.

After Ādi-ṣūra, his descendants occupied the throne, of Gauḍa for some time. By Divine favour Dēva-pāla became a powerful ruler. He was wise, conscientious, meek, humble and pure. He always paid a special regard to the religious observances ordained in his Dynasty.

* * * * * Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya-sēna, always endeavoured to support the Brāhmaṇas. He honoured the Brāhmaṇas with the superior rank of Kaulinya—a rank, the equal of which is rarely to be met with in this world. Formerly in the Kali-yuga, Ballāla-sēna had made several copper-plate grants to Brāhmaṇas.

* * * * * Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna reaped disrepute consequent on the fear entertained by him, because of his having been born at an inauspicious moment. His son Kōṣava left the kingdom of Gauḍa; the fear of the Yavanas having compelled him to fight with them. At this time the Brāhmaṇas were not able to reside there any longer.

III. In the Kārikā (account of kulina families) by Ēḍū-miṣra, it is stated:—

आस्ते पश्चिमदिग्विशेषविषयः श्रीकान्यकुब्जाक्षयः ।
 तन्मध्येऽस्ति विशिष्टविप्रनिलयः कोलाक्षदेशः शुभः ।
 तस्मादानयादादिशूरनृपतिः पूर्वस्तु पञ्चद्विजान्
 तानागौय विशिष्ट पञ्च नगरं तेषु ददौ गौडतः ॥
 काले भूरि तिथौ गते समभवद्ब्रह्माणसेनो नृपः ।
 संप्रत्यर्पयदित्सया द्विजगणान् स्तानानयत्त्वान्तिकं ॥

There is a province in the west named Kānya-kubja (kanauj). In it is a blessed place named Kōlāñca, the residence of pious Brāhmaṇas. Mahārāja Ādi-ṣūra brought from that place five Brāhmaṇas and gave them five villages for their residence.

¹ Sāgnika, *lit.* possessing or maintaining fire. Sāgnika Brāhmaṇa means a priest who maintains a sacred fire, one who sacrifices according to Vedic rules.

After a long time Ballāla-sēna became the ruler of Gauḍa. He brought Brāhmaṇas to his court in order to honour them with presents.

IV. On page 220 of the said Dāna-sāgara it is written :—

अत्र संवत्सरादिसमयविशेषप्रतिपादनेन दागसागरस्य निर्मातृकाणस्यैव
संवत्सरत्वप्रतिपादनाय लिख्यते —

निखिल-चक्रातिलक-श्रीमद्ब्रह्माणसेनेन पूर्णे
शशिनवदशमिते शकवर्षे दागसागरो रचितः ।
रविभगवाः शरश्लिष्टा ये भूता दागसागरस्यास्य ।
अमशोऽत्र संपरिदानुदाया वत्सरा पञ्च ॥
तदेवमेकवत्स्रधिकवर्षसहस्रारे ऽग्निते शाके
संवत्सराः पतन्ति विन्धपदारभ्य च ।

For the purpose of fixing the year of the composition of the Dāna-sāgara, it is necessary to describe the Samvatsara and other periods of times.

The Dāna-sāgara has been composed by the blessed Ballāla-sēna, the crown of all emperors.

When 1091 years expired from the Çaka-rāja the Ravi-yuga-bhagaṇa was thus :—

Years of the Satya-yuga	1,728,000
„ „ Trētā-yuga	1,296,000
„ „ Dvāpara-yuga	864,000

At the above Çaka-year the Ravi-bhagaṇa year of the Kali-yuga was 4270. Adding these four numbers we get 38,92,270. Dividing this Ravi-yuga-bhagaṇa by 5, there is no remainder or it is zero. This must be regarded as the commencement of the period of the composition of the work. At this time Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idvatsara, Anuvatsara and Udāvatsara—these five sorts of years had all equally expired.

V. Besides the above, the copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Viçvarūpa-sēna-dēva, lately discovered, sets forth the following facts :—

अवातरदधान्वये महति तत्र देवः स्वर्गं
सुधाकिरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया ।
खेकत्खड्गलतापमार्ज्जकृत-प्रत्यर्थिदर्पञ्जर-
कस्मादप्रतिमहत्कीर्तिरभवद्ब्रह्माणसेनो नृपः ॥
+ + + + + + + +

तस्मान्नक्षत्रसेनभूपतिरभृङ्गलोककल्पद्रुमः ।
 पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्यज्य सुक्तिग्रहं
 नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना सुरधुनीतीरे हरः प्रीणितः ॥
 एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुबधूवैधव्यवद्भवतो
 विख्यात-द्विपिपास-मौलिरभवत् श्रीविन्धरूपो ऋषः ॥

In that pure and extensive Lunar Dynasty, the Lord Çaçi-çekhara (Moon-crested Çiva) himself was born under the name of Vijaya-sēna. * * * * The son of the said Vijaya-sēna was Ballāla-sēna, the sight of whose weapons in the battlefield drove away from his enemies the pride of their valour. From him sprang Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, a Kalpa-druma in the world. The renowned Viçva-rūpa who occupied the foremost place among the kings of his time sprang from Lakṣmaṇa-sēna. The principal aim of his life was to subject the wives of his enemies to widowhood.

VI. In another place of the same kārīkā of Ēḍū-miçra, it is related:—

ऋषं तं केशवो भूपतिः

सैन्यैर्विप्रगणैः पितामहकृतैरन्यैश्च युक्तो गतः ॥
 तां चक्रे ऋपतिर्महादरतया सम्मानयन् जीविकां
 तद्दुर्गस्य च तस्य च प्रथमतश्चक्रे प्रतिष्ठान्वितः ।
 व्यापासः स च केशवं नरपतिं किञ्चित् प्रसङ्गान्तरे
 वाक्यं प्राह तदा पितामहः कृतौ बह्मालसेनो ऋषः ॥
 कौटुम्ब विप्रकुलाकुलादिनियमः कस्मात् कथं वा कुतः
 केनोद्योगमरेण विप्रनिकरं चक्रे तदास्थाहि मे ।
 तं श्रुत्वा कुलपण्डितं कथयितुं तत्तज्जगादादरत्
 ऋङ्गमिन्ध्रमशेषशास्त्रमखिलां विप्रं प्रथापारगम् ॥

Kēçava accompanied by all the soldiers, the Brāhmaṇas established by his grandfather, and others went to him (the king). The famous king received them with great honour, and provided him (Kēçava) and his followers with means for their maintenance. Once in the way of conversation, he asked Kēçava what was the Kulīna-system of Brāhmaṇas established by the grandfather, the pious Ballāla-sēna, and why, whence, where, and by what enterprise, he created the Brāhmaṇas (new). Hearing this Kēçava ordered his family-bard Ēḍū-miçra, who

was a brāhmaṇa by caste and conversant with all the Ṣāstras and the religious rites for Brāhmaṇas, to answer the questions of the king.

From the authorities quoted above we cull the following :—

1. That Vijaya-sēna, the son of Hēmanta-sēna, dwelt, after his father, in Varēndra-bhūmi as its king.

2-3. That Ādi-çūra brought from Kolāñca five Brāhmaṇas; that he lived long before Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya, flourished; that after the reign of the Dynasty of Ādi-çūra, Dēva-pāla of the Pāla Dynasty reigned in Gauḍa; the Sēna kings flourished long after him; that Ballāla-sēna made several copper-plate grants; that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna fell into disrepute owing to the time of his birth having been inauspicious; that Kēçava-sēna was the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna and that the fear of the Yavanas compelled him to run away, relinquishing his father's kingdom.

4. That Ballāla-sēna lived in Çaka 1091, i. e., A. D. 1169.

5. That a powerful king, named Viçva-rūpa-sēna, was the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna and that the copper-plate grant was made in the 14th year of his reign.

6. That Kēçava-sēna (after the capture of Gauḍa) lived under the protection of a king.

Taking into consideration the facts now brought to light, I do not see how we can accept the statement made by Sir Alexander Cunningham, as to the Sēna kings of Bengal having descended from Āditya-sēna of the Gupta Dynasty of the Magadha kings; or that made by Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra and others as to Vira-sēna or Vijaya-sēna being identical with Ādi-çūra.

The date of Ballāla's coronation 1066 A. D., as given by Prinsep and Dr. Mitra is not borne out by the Āin-i-Akbarī, which they quote as their authority, while the Akbar-nāma, as first pointed out by Mr. Beveridge, gives the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa era as 1119. Dr. Kielhorn has supported this statement. But they believe that the Lakṣmaṇa era commenced from the year of his coronation. The statement is not borne out by the facts now brought to light. Although the Lakṣmaṇa era commenced from the year 1119 A. D., it was not the year in which he was installed. I have already shown that in Çaka 1091, i. e. 1169 A. D. Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna-dēva composed his work Dāna-sāgara, and even in that year he gave himself out as king of Gauḍa. Ballāla, having been on the throne at that time, it follows that Lakṣmaṇa could not have been the ruler of Gauḍa at the same time. Between the years 1119 and 1169 there elapsed a period of 50 years, and it is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī that Ballāla-sēna ruled Bengal for that period. If any reliance can be placed on this statement it must be admitted that 1119 A.D. was the

year of Ballāla-sēna's coronation. Now it may be contended that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was installed as Prince-elect and for that reason the era commenced from that time. But even this cannot be taken as correct. Hindu kings, generally speaking, nominate their sons as Prince elect at the close of their career, and numerous instances in support of this statement can be cited from works of antiquity.

Keeping this in view, it must be accepted that Ballāla-sēna was 50 or 60 years old when he began to reign in the year 1119 A.D., and in that case, at the time he wrote his *Dāna-sāgara*, he was 100 or 110 years old. But we have not heard of any king of Bengal having lived to such an old age. It is therefore evident that at the time of Ballāla-sēna's coronation, Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was not nominated as Prince Elect.

There is a tradition extant that at the time when Ballāla-sēna set out on his expedition to conquer Mithilā, news of his death spread abroad; and that at that time Lakṣmaṇa-sēna was born, and was immediately installed on the throne. It is probable that the Muḥammadan historian Minhāj's wonderful story was based on this tradition. Be that as it may, the tradition leads us to the inference that, soon after ascending the throne, Ballāla-sēna left his kingdom to conquer Mithilā, and that after achieving success he received news of the birth of a son.¹ This news pleased him so much that in his newly conquered kingdom he inaugurated a new era, which he named the Lakṣmaṇa Era. This era is still extant among the paṇḍits of Mithila; but there is nothing to show that it was introduced into Bengal.

Ballāla-sēna ascended the throne in the year 1119 A.D., so that there can be no doubt that he reigned to a very old age. Moreover, the social reforms effected by him, and the order of kulinism, which he instituted, must have taken a considerable portion of his life; and this also is a proof of his long reign.

Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, the son of Ballāla-sēna, was very popular with his subjects. He was a learned man and took great delight in honouring the Paṇḍits of his time. Poems composed by him are found in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, *Çārygadharma-paddhati*, *Padyāvali* and other anthologies. Even Maulānā Minhājū-d-dīn has thus written of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna—'Little or much, never did any tyranny proceed from his hand.'²

1 प्रवादः दूयते चात्र पारम्पर्यरीषवार्त्तया ।
निधिले युवयाचार्यां ब्रह्मज्ञो ध्रुवतल्लभिः ॥
नदानीं विष्णुपुरे लक्ष्मणो जातवानसौ ।

लघुभारते १ य अष्टके १४० व० ।

2 Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 555.

According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*¹ Lakṣmaṇa reigned only seven years; but this cannot be accepted as correct. Again, according to Minhāj, 'He reigned for a period of eighty years.' On this Mr. Beveridge writes:—

'If then Lakṣmaṇa began to reign in 1119 A.D., and reigned eighty years, this would bring the termination of his Government to 1199 A.D., which is a tolerably close approximation to the dates of the capture of Nadiyā, given by Major Raverty and Sir Alexander Cunningham. If we take Mr. Blochmann's date for that event, viz., 1198 or 1199, there is an almost coincidence between Abū-l-faḍl's date of 1119, for the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's reign, and the statement in the *Tabaqāt* of Minhājju-d-din that Lakṣmaṇa reigned eighty years.'²

I have shown above that Mithilā was conquered by Ballāla-sēna, and that in order to signalise the birth of Lakṣmaṇa a new era was inaugurated in that kingdom. I have also stated that Ballāla-sēna was living in the year 1169. Taking these facts into consideration, neither a reign of 7 years mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* nor one of 80 years, put forward by Minhāj can be attributed to Lakṣmaṇa-sēna. After Ballāla-sēna Lakṣmaṇa-sēna reigned from 1170 to 1198, i.e., 27 or 28 years in all. It is very likely that Abū-l-faḍl by mistake put down 7 in place of 27. It is probable that Minhāj while travelling from Delhi on his way to Lakhnautī, through Mithilā, heard that Bengal was conquered in the 80th L.S. and jumped to the conclusion that Lakṣmaṇa must have reigned for 80 years.

Minhāj relates:—

'When he (Maḥammad-i-Bakhtīār) subdued Bihār, his fame had reached the hearing of Rāi-Lakṣmaṇiah, and the different parts of his dominion likewise. A number of astrologers, wise men and counsellors of his kingdom presented themselves before the Rāi and represented, saying: 'In our books of the ancient Brāhmaṇs, they have foretold that this country will fall into the hands of the Turks and the time of its fulfilment has drawn near. The Turks have subjugated Bihār, and next year they will surely come into this country. It is expedient for us that the Rāi should consent so that he, along with the whole people should be removed from the country in order that we may be saved from the molestation of the Turks'³ 'When they became assured of these peculiarities, most of the Brāhmaṇs and inhabitants of that place left, and retired into the province of Sankanāt, the cities and towns of Baṅg, and towards Kāmruḍ; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Rāi Lakṣmaṇiah.'⁴

It appears from a statement made by Minhāj that before Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār attacked Nadiyā, several Paṇḍits and other residents

¹ Jarrett, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. p. 146. ² Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 556.

³ J. A. S. B. 1888, Pt. I. p. 3.

⁴ Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 557.

relying on the prophecy, left the capital and went to Jagannātha (Puri), East Bengal, and Kāmarūpa (Assam).

Abū-l-faḡl has made mention of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's son Mādhava-sēna having reigned after him for a period of 10 years. Mādhava-sēna does not appear to have ruled Bengal after Lakṣmaṇa. It is likely that during the reign of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, he was either nominated as Prince Elect or that he ruled the kingdom as regent. In the Sūktikarṇāmrita by Śrīdhara-dāsa, son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's favourite Mahāsāmanta Baṭu-dāsa, some of Mādhava-sēna's poetical writings have been inserted. I am inclined to believe that, following the example of the Paṇḍitas and others, Mādhava-sēna also left Bengal and went on a pilgrimage to Kēdāra-nātha. This is borne out by the facts given below.

At a place near the city of Almora in Kumāun, within the Himālaya regions, there is a temple dedicated to Yōgēçvara. This temple contains a copper-plate grant of Mādhava-sēna. Moreover, inside the Balēçvara temple, in the Kēdāra tracts, there is a copper-plate grant dated 1145 Çaka (A. D. 1223), in which the words 'Vaṅgaja-Brāhmaṇa' appear. The name of Rudra-çarmā, Bhaṭṭa-nārayaṇa's descendant, is also inscribed in it.¹

It can be inferred from the above that Paṇḍits belonging to Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa's family accompanied Mādhava-sēna when he left Bengal on pilgrimage.

A careful perusal of Miñḥāj's account of the invasion of Bengal by the Turks, quoted above, would lead to show that prior to the event, the officers of the kingdom had made a conspiracy, and that the Musalmāns bribed the Paṇḍits of the Court to help them in forwarding their cause. Had this not been the case, the Paṇḍits of the Court would not have mentioned to the king a prophecy, which did not exist in the çāstras, and advised him to leave the kingdom. But the king showed his manliness by not following the advice of the Paṇḍits. He was nevertheless forced to relinquish it under the following circumstances:—

When taking his dinner, he suddenly heard of his palace having been attacked. He came to know also that, prior to this, his principal Counsellors had left the Court. It might have occurred to him also that the attack by the Turks was the result of a plot made by those officers. Driven to desperation, he knew not what to do at such a juncture. Left by the Counsellors and without any means of defence, what could an old monarch like him do? He could think of no other alternative than to quit the palace by a back-door. It has been stated by some that he went either to Orissa or to East Bengal, and established a kingdom

¹ E. Atkinson, *Kumaun*, p. 516.

there. But the old broken-hearted and depressed king appears to have gone to Jagannātha on pilgrimage. During my travels in Orissa in the year 1893, I was informed by the inhabitants of Kuṣ-pāla in the District of Kaṭak, that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna had resided at that place and that he had built a temple there.

In the extract given above from the Ghaṭaka-kārikā by Hari-miçra it is plainly stated that the fear of a Musalmān attack forced Kēçava-sēna, the son of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna to leave Gauḍa, and in Ēḍū-miçra's account, it is mentioned that Kēçava-sēna lived under the protection of a Rājā. It may be inferred from this, that Kēçava-sēna ruled Gauḍa as regent or governor, when Lakṣmaṇa was too old to rule, and that on hearing of an attack by the Musalmāns he fled towards Vikramapura. Sixty years after the invasion of Nadiyā, Minḥāj wrote thus :—'His (Lakṣmaṇa's) descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Baṅga.'¹ From this we can draw the inference, that even at that time Baṅga (East Bengal of the present times) was not conquered by the Muḥammadans. It is therefore probable that after leaving Gauḍa, Kēçava-sēna took the protection of some other Sēna king.

The accounts of the Ghaṭaka-kārikā do not however state plainly who this king was. I am of opinion that he was no other than Viçva-rūpa-dēva, who is mentioned in the newly-discovered copper-plate grant. The historical portion of the facsimile of the copper-plate published by Mr. Prinsep in the name of Kēçava-sēna agrees exactly with the newly-discovered plate. The Paṇḍit who deciphered it made a mistake in taking Kēçava-sēna for Viçva-rūpa. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Rajēndralāla, Sir Alex. Cunningham, and other antiquarians endorsed Mr. Prinsep's statement, so that the mistake made by him remains uncorrected. From what has been stated above, it is evident that the copper-plate discovered by Mr. Prinsep, bearing the year 3 Saṁvat, and, that lately discovered by me, bearing the year 14 Saṁvat, were granted by Viçva-rūpa.²

The copper-plate grant of Viçva-rūpa referred to above gives the name of Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vijaya-sēna, that of his son Lakṣmaṇa-sēna, and that of his son Viçva-rūpa; but the name of Mādhava-sēna or Kēçava-sēna does not appear in it. It follows from this that Kēçava-sēna, after Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's departure to Orissa, did not rule. And who can say that the Musalmāns did not pursue Kēçava-sēna up to Vikramapura? It is likely that, at that time, Viçva-rūpa protected East Bengal from the attack of the Musalmāns.

¹ Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 558.

² *Vide* the facsimile of Viçva-rūpa's copper-plate grant of 14 Saṁvat, and the article on that subject. *Ante* pp. 6 and ff.

Minhāj writes :—

‘The parts around about the State of Lakhanāwatī, such as Jāj-nagar, the countries of Baṅg, Kāmṛūd, and Tirhut.....the whole of that territory named Gauḍa.’ In another place he says, ‘The territory of Lakhanāwatī has two wings on either side of the river Gaṅg. The western side they call Rāl (Rāḍha), and the city of Lakhanōr lies on that side, and the eastern side they call Barind (Varēndra)’¹

From the account given by Minhāj, it appears that at the period under notice, Mithilā, Utkala, Rāḍha, Varēndra, Baṅga, and Kāma-rūpa were included in the kingdom of Gauḍa. The Sēna kings of Bengal ruled over these territories, and for this reason the rulers were called Lords of Gauḍa (गौड़वर). Even after the conquest of Bihār and of Lakṣmaṇāvati (Varēndra) by Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār, the other territories comprised in Gauḍa were ruled by the Sēna kings.

Minhāj writes :—

‘When the latter (i.e., Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār) led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmṛūd and Tirhut, he had despatched Muḥammad-i-shēran and his brother with a portion of his forces towards Lakhanōr and Jāj-nagar’. He states in another place—‘Ali-i-Mardan proceeded to Diw-koṭ and assumed the Government, and brought the whole of the country of Lakṣmaṇāvati under his sway.’²

And prior to writing this, he had stated that it was this ‘Ali-i-Mardan who in the year 602 Hijra, (1205 A. D.,) killed Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār. Some time after this he went to Ghaznī accompanied by Sultān Kuṭbu-d-dīn Aibak. After remaining there as prisoner for some time he came back to Sultān Kuṭbu-d-dīn Aibak in Hindūstān, and the latter made over to him the territory of Lakhanāwatī. It is evident from the above that the whole of Lakhanāwatī, comprising Rāḍha and Varēndra came into the possession of ‘Ali-i-Mardan at least 4 or 5 years after the murder of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtīār, i. e., A. D. 1209—1210.

Minhāj states that Muḥammad Shēran had gone to conquer Lakhanōr, i. e., Rāḍha and Jāj-nagar, the northern portion of Utkala; but up to 1209-1210 the Mussalmāns did not succeed in conquering the whole of Lakhanāwatī. It appears from this that Muḥammad-i-Shēran was defeated by Viṣva-rūpa. After defeating the Musalmāns Viṣva-rūpa assumed the name of ‘Garga-yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra’ (The terrible destroyer of the Yavana Dynasties, who sprang from Garga), and as at that time a portion of Utkala was under the sway of the kings of Bengal, they held the titles of Aṣva-pati, Gaja-pati, Nara-pati Rāja-trayādhipati, &c.

¹ Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 585 and 588.

² Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 578.

From what has been stated above it may be inferred that in his old age Lakṣmaṇa-sēna made Mādhava-sēna the Governor of Rāḍha or Nava-dvīpa, and Kēçava-sēna that of Gauḍa (probably Varēndra). And in this manner Viçva-rūpa obtained the sovereignty of East Bengal. If the statement made by Eḍū-miçra is to be taken as correct, we can infer from it that Kēçava-sēna, after repairing to East Bengal took shelter under Viçva-rūpa, who I believe, formally ascended the throne in A. D. 1200-1201.

In Çaka 1019, i. e., A. D., 1097, Nānya-dēva of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty ruled in Nēpal. Dr. Kielhorn has shown that Vijaya-sēna defeated this king, and I accept the Doctor's statement as most probable. I have already shown that his (Vijaya-sēna's) son Ballāla-sēna was installed in the year A. D. 1119. Such being the case, Vijaya-sēna must have ruled Bengal for (at least) 24 or 25 years. After him Ballāla-sēna ruled 50 years, and his son Lakṣmaṇa-sēna 27 or 28 years.

Abū-l-faẓl has made mention of one Sadā-sēna¹ who ruled after Kēçava-sēna for a period of 18 years. I think that this Sadā-sēna probably ruled after Viçva-rūpa. It is not improbable that like the other rulers of Bengal, Viçva-rūpa also lived to an old age and reigned for many years. Abū-l-faẓl further says that after Sadā-sēna Naujā² ruled Bengal. Harimiçra has also made mention of a powerful king named Danaujā-mādhava. There is not the least shadow of doubt that Abū-l-faẓl read Naujā in place of Danaujā. In the work named *Tārikh-i-Firūz-shāhi*, this Danaujā-mādhava, is described as Danuja Rāya. Dr. Wise has thus written of Danuja Rāya:—'This is probably the same person as Danujā-mādhava, who is believed to have been a grandson of Ballāla-sēna.'³ This Danaujā-mādhava was not the grand-son, but the great-grandson of Ballāla-sēna. In speaking of Kēçava, Hari-miçra thus writes:—

प्रादुरभवत् धर्मात्मा सेनवंशादनन्तरम् ।
 दनौजामाधवः सर्वभूपै सेव्यपदाम्बुजः ॥
 एतत् सभायां बहव आगता ब्राह्मणा नराः ।
 नागागुणसमायुक्ता द्वाविंशतिकुलोद्भवाः ॥
 धनैश्च राजसम्मानैः पितामहजिगीषया ।
 सम्बन्धं कृतवन्तश्च सर्वे भूधरपुङ्गवाः ॥ ***
 एते सर्वे महात्मानः सभायां लक्ष्यस्य च ।
 राष्ट्रः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे प्रतियहपराम्बुजाः ॥

¹ Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 146.

² Do. Do. " "

³ J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I. p. 88. "

After this sprang Danaujā-mādhava from the Sēna dynasty. All kings of his time made obeisance to him. Several Brāhmaṇas, sprung from 22 families, and adorned with many good qualities, came to his court, and with the view of out-stripping his grand-father, Danaujā-mādhava established them in his kingdom, giving them wealth and the title of *Kaulīnya*..... They were all established already at the Court of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna.

I have not been able to ascertain from the genealogies of ancient families whose son Danaujā-mādhava was. The Kārikā of Hari-miçra plainly shows that Kēçava-sēna was not his father. I am inclined to conjecture that Danaujā-mādhava of the Sēna family was the son of Sadā-sēna.

According to Eḍū-miçra, Hari-miçra, Dhruvānanda, Mahēçvara and other genealogists, as also the old account of Kulācāryas of Eḍilpur, it was Danaujā-mādhava who reorganised Kulīnism among the Brāhmaṇas and Vaṅgaja Kāyasthas. Some of these Kārikās give the name of Danaujā-mādhava-dēva slightly altered, such as Danuja-mādhava-dēva, Danuja-mardana-dēva. But whether he was called Nauja, Danuja Rāya, Danaujā-mādhava, Danuja-mardana or Danuja-mādhava, there is no doubt that they all refer to the same individual.¹

According to some of the Kārikās of Eḍilpur, this Danaujā-mādhava or Danuja-mardana issued orders about Kulīnism from Candra-dvīpa, and again the Ghaṭakas of Vikrama-pura say that the proclamation was made from Vikrama-pura. Moreover there is a tradition extant that a person named Danuja-mardana, after leaving Vikrama-pura went to Candra-dvīpa and there established a kingdom with the help of his spiritual guide. Dr. Wise has thus written of this dynasty:—

‘It is not improbable that the founder of this family is the same person as the Rāi of Sunārgāḥ, by name Danuj Rāi,² who met the Emperor Balban on his march against Sultan Muḡhīṣu-d-dīn in the year 1280. It is not likely that the Muḡammadan usurper would have allowed a Hindu to remain in independence at his capital Sunārgāḥ. If the principality of Candra-dvīpa extended to the River Mēghnā, the agreement made with the Emperor that he would guard against the escape of Tughrl to the west becomes intelligible.’

‘The chief event, however, of his reign was the organisation of the Vaṅgaja Kāyasthas. He appointed certain Brāhmaṇs, whose descendants still reside at Eḍilpur (‘Adilpur), to be Ghaṭakas or Kulācāryas of the Kāyasthas, and he directed that all marriages should be arranged by them, and that they should be responsible that the Kulīna Kāyasthas only intermarried with families of equal rank. He also appointed a Svarṇā-

¹ See *Vijva-kōṣa*, article ‘*Kulīna*.’

² Elliot's *Muḡammadan Historians of India*, Vol. III. p. 116.

mātya, or master of the ceremonies, who fixed the precedence of each member of the Sabhā or assembly, and who pointed out the proper seat each individual was to occupy at the feast given by the Rājā. These officers still exist and the holders of them are much respected by all Kāyasthas.¹

It seems evident from the above that Lakṣmaṇa-sēna's grand-son, Danaujā Rāi or Danaujā-mādhava of Vikrama-pura, having been greatly annoyed by the Musalmāns, went to Candra-dvīpa and established a kingdom there. From the Kārikās of the Ghaṭakas of Candra-dvīpa, it would appear that after Danaujā-mādhava, his descendants Ramā-vallabha-dēva-rāya, Kṛṣṇa-vallabha-dēva-rāya, Hari-vallabha-dēva-rāya and Jaya-dēva-rāya ruled Candra-dvīpa one after another.² The last of the Sēna kings of Candra-dvīpa (Jaya-dēva) had no male issue. The oldest of the kārikās of the Ghaṭakas of Candra-dvīpa thus says:—

वज्रभद्रात्मजो धीमान् परमाणन्दसंज्ञकः ।
 तस्य मातामहः कृतो जयदेवो महावली ॥
 चन्द्रद्वीपस्य भूपालो देववंशसमुद्भवः ।
 मृत्युकालं प्राप्य स हि ततः पञ्चत्वमागतः ।
 परमाणन्दकस्तस्मात् चन्द्रद्वीपेश्वरोऽभवत् ॥

Paramānanda the wise was Bala-bhadra's son, and the valiant Jaya-dēva was the grand-father of Paramānanda on the mother's side. Jaya-dēva belonged to the Dēva-family and was the king of Candra-dvīpa. On his demise, Paramānanda, as heir to the throne, ruled the kingdom.

A question may here arise that if Jaya-dēva and his predecessors belonged to the Sēna family, how is it that in the books of the Ghaṭakas of Candra-dvīpa they are spoken of as having sprung from the Dēva-family?³ But the question is easy to answer. In all the inscriptions discovered from the time of Vijaya-sēna to that of Viçva-rūpa, the title 'dēva' is attached to the names of all the Sēna kings, and this accounts for the statement made by the Ghaṭakas.

In all the kārikās of the Ghaṭakas of Ēdilpur, it is mentioned, that Paramānanda-rāya, the first king of the Vasu family of Candra-dvīpa, son of Bala-bhadra-vasu, a first-class Kulīna of Dehurghāṭi, was Rājā Jaya-dēva's daughter's son. All these show conclusively that the

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 206-7.

² Dr. Wise gives a similar Table, except that he omits the name of Hari-vallabha-dēva. *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

³ Dēva means here divine or illustrious.

kingdom of Candra-dvīpa came to be ruled by the descendants of the daughter of Jaya-dēva.¹

Abū-l-faḡl thus writes of Candra-dvīpa, i. e., Sarkār of Bāklā :—‘ In the 29th year of the Divine era, a terrible inundation occurred at 3 o’clock in the afternoon, which swept over the whole Sarkār. The Rājā held an entertainment at the time. He at once embarked on board a boat, while his son, Paramānanda-rāya with some others climbed to the top of a temple and a merchant took refuge on a high loft. For four hours and a half the sea raged amid thunder and a hurricane of wind. Houses and boats were engulfed, but no damage occurred to the temple or loft.’²

It would appear from Abū-l-faḡl’s statement that Paramānanda’s father also was a king of Candra-dvīpa, and that Paramānanda escaped from the flood that took place in the 29th year of Akbar’s reign, i. e. 1585 A. D. There is no doubt as to the deluge having occurred in the year quoted above ; but according to the account of the Kulācārya-kārikās of Candra-dvīpa, Jagadānanda-rāya was the ruler at that time and the life of his son Kandarpa-nārāyaṇa was saved on the occasion.³

Especially, in the year after the occurrence of the deluge referred to, i. e., 1586 A. D., Ralph Fitch, who came to this country, saw Kandarpa-nārāyaṇa, the grandson of Paramānanda on the throne.⁴ Under such circumstances, more reliance should be placed on the genealogy of the royal dynasty of Candra-dvīpa than on what has been mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbari*. According to the rules of inheritance, Paramānanda was heir to Jaya-dēva and not his father Bala-bhadra. It is probable that at the time of Jaya-dēva’s death, Paramānanda was too young to take up the reins of government, and that in consequence his father directed the affairs of the state on his behalf.

According to the Tibetan author, Tārānātha, the close of the Sēna dynasty must have taken place in A. D. 1300. In my opinion, in that year the Sēna kings were only driven from Sunār-gāḥ by the Muḥammadans. We see Danujā-rāya of Sunārgāḥ helping Balban even in A. D. 1280. Under such circumstances it is more probable that 20 years from

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

² Jarrett’s *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 123.

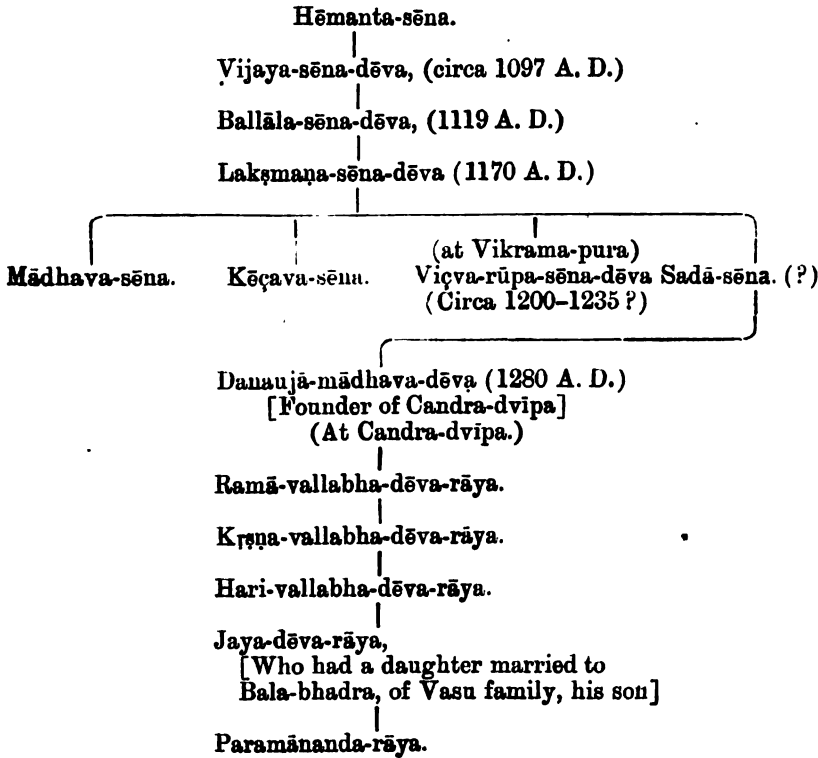
³ In the kārikā written by Dhruvānanda-miṣra, Court-Poet of Rājā Prēmanārāyaṇa of Candra-dvīpa, it is stated :—

तस्मात्तस्यः सदाकृतिः अनदानन्दसंज्ञकः ।
 ननुधातुं सत्युक्ताद्यै चकरोत् स सपीतमः ॥
 अनेनच सुरधुनी जलरूपा ततो ऽभवत् ।
 सहीना तं सपत्नं तथैवान्तरपीयत ॥
 सन्दपीपमकन्दपी अनदानन्दकात्तस्यः ।

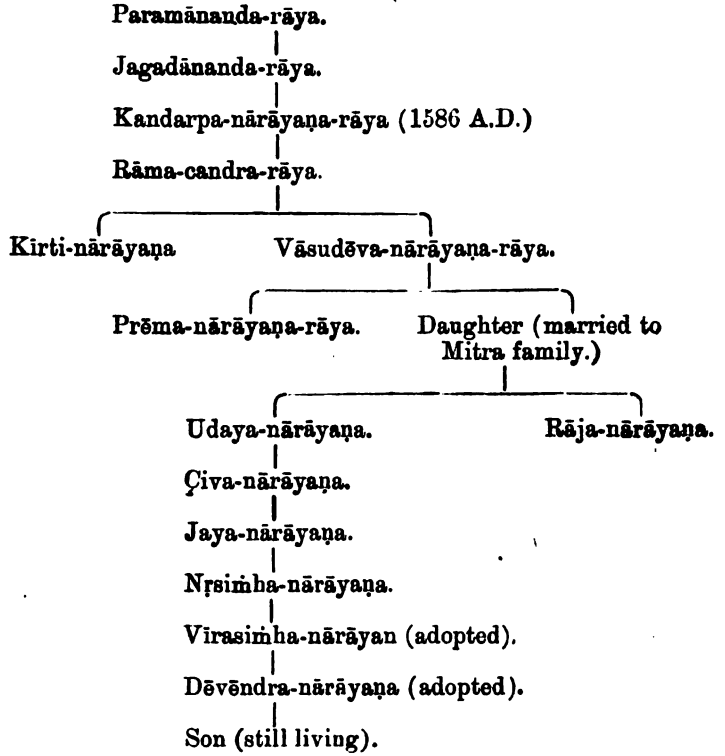
⁴ Hackluyt’s *Voyages*, Vol. II, p. 257 ; and *J. A. S. B.*, 1874, Pt. I, p. 207.

that occurrence, Danuja-rāya, being driven from Vikrama-pura or Suvarṇa-grāma, founded the kingdom of Candra-dvīpa.

In page 473 of his account of Bengal, Tieffenthaler adds that after Rājā Nodjā (Danaujā) there reigned seven Hindu princes whose names are not known and who ruled for 106 years. But I have already pointed out from the genealogy of the kings of Candra-dvīpa that after Nodjā or Danaujā four of his descendants ruled one after another, and the son of the last king's daughter inherited the kingdom. In all likelihood this change took place between the years 1440 and 1460 A. D. After seven members of the Vasu family had ruled Candra-dvīpa, the kingdom passed into the hands of the Mitra family, the sister's son of the last king having ascended the throne. At present the descendants of that dynasty are living at Mādhava-pācā.¹ A genealogical table of the kings of the Sēna dynasty and of those of the Vasu and Mitra families that sprung from it, is given below :—



¹ For a full account of the Candra-dvīpa-rāja-vaṃça, see Viçva-koça, Vol. V article 'Candra-dvīpa,' and Babu Braja-sundara Mitra's History of the Candra-dvīpa-Rāja-family.



Before we conclude this subject, we must clear up one point with regard to the Sēna kings having belonged to the Vaidya caste. There is a tradition extant that Ballāla-sēna of Vikrama-pura was a Vaidya. This tradition has sprung from the fact of there having been a Vaidya king of the same name. Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa in his work, 'Ballāla-carita' thus speaks of him :—

वैद्यवंशावतंसोऽयं बल्लाहचरितः ।
 तदाश्रया कृतमिदं बल्लाहचरितं शुभम् ॥
 गोपालभट्टनाम्ना च तत्राज्ञश्चिकित्सेन च ।
 अन्याराज्यमाने वसुभिर्वाचैरधिकशक्तियु ।
 ब्रह्मैव दर्शिते मासे राष्ट्रिमिर्माससम्भिते ॥

This shows that in 1300 Çaka, *i.e.*, 1378 A.D., Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa, teacher of king Ballāla-sēna of the Vaidya family, wrote by order of the king a book called Ballāla-carita. It is well known that Ballāla-sēna, son of Vijaya-sēna, lived about 250 years previous to this, and that in the year

1378 almost the whole of Bengal came under the Musalmān rule. It is also stated in the 'Ballāla-carita,' that Ballāla of the Vaidya family, fought against a Musalmān Faqīr named Bābā Ādam.¹

This shows conclusively that Ballāla of the Sēna family of Gauḍa was a Kāyastha or a Kṣatriya of the Lunar Dynasty, and that Ballāla of Vikrama-pura, who lived long after him, was a Vaidya. The latter, probably, was a Zamīndār of note, who at the time of dismemberment of the Kingdom of Bengal rose to some eminence.

POSTSCRIPT.

After I had finished the above article, I obtained from an old Ghāṭaka of Farīdpur, a Vaṃçāvali of the kings of Candra-dvīpa. This Vaṃçāvali in a verse clearly describes Jaya-dēva the 5th king of Candra-dvīpa, as descended from the Sēna dynasty. The Çlōka runs thus:—

तस्य मातामहः क्षत्री जयदेवो महावली ।

चन्द्रदीपस्य भूपालो सेनवंशस्यद्वयः ॥

From the above, there can be no doubt of Danaujā and his descendants being descended from the Sēna dynasty. Moreover I have heard from the old Ghāṭaka, that Danaujā and his successors styled themselves Rāyas of Candra-dvīpa.

¹ Cunningham, Rep. Arch. Sur., Vol. XV, p. 135; J. A. S. B., Vol. LVIII, Pt. I, pp. 18-19.

The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar.—By E. D. Maclagan, C. S.,
from notes recorded by the late GENERAL R. MACLAGAN, R.E.

[Read April 1896.]

Almost all the historians of the reign of Akbar have discussed in some form or other his religious views, and in histories written by Europeans attention has naturally been paid to the attitude which he assumed towards Christianity, as put before him by the Jesuit Missionaries at his Court. The records of these Jesuit Missions are not, however, very easy of access, and few of the published histories do more than refer in the briefest terms to the remarkable incidents which these records set forth and the interesting picture of the times which they present to us. In order to supply this defect it was the intention of the late General Maclagan R.E., to prepare a sketch of the religious views of the Emperor Akbar, which should have special reference to the history of his attitude towards Christianity, and the present writer has come into possession of the notes and references which General Maclagan from time to time recorded with this object in view. It is unfortunately impossible to prepare from these notes any complete sketch of the nature originally contemplated, but it may be of some interest to reproduce in one place the substance of the chief original authorities on the subject of the Jesuit Missions at Akbar's Court, and the scope of the present paper is limited to this.

What the general histories tell us is shortly as follows. That from about A.D. 1580, till his death, or at any rate till the year 1596, the Emperor Akbar held the most unorthodox opinions, culminating for a time in the promulgation of a form of natural religion entitled the *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* or Divine Monotheism, in which the worship of the Sun and of the Emperor himself formed a prominent part. That during this period he assumed a tolerant attitude towards all religions and made constant enquiries into the tenets and customs of the Hindūs, Pārsis and Christians; and that at his invitation three separate special missions were equipped and despatched to his Court by the Jesuit authorities at Goa. The first of these missions was sent in 1580, under

the guidance of Father Rodolfi Aquaviva who remained at the Court of the Mogul for three years. The second, under Father Edward Leoton, arrived in 1591 and after a short stay was somewhat hastily withdrawn. The third, under Father Jerome Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis, persevered in its labours from the date of its commencement in the year 1595 to a time considerably later than the death of the Emperor.

It is of these three missions that the present paper treats. A narrative of all the three missions is to be found in Hugh Murray's 'Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia,' Edinburgh, 1820, vol. II., 82-96, but the narrative is brief and is disfigured by some unfortunate misprints of dates. So again in the Rev. James Hough's 'History of Christianity in India,' London, 1839, vol. II., 260-287, there is a history of the missions to Akbar, which is taken almost entirely (mistakes and all) from the History of the Mughal Empire issued in 1708 by the Jesuit Catrou: Catrou's work was compiled from the Portuguese manuscript of Signor Manuchi, a Venetian who was physician to the Mughal Court in Aurangzeb's time, and Manuchi professed to base his history on Persian records in the Mughal capital, but his translator, Catrou, confesses to having added to the original history, and the account of the Jesuit missions in Catrou's work is obviously taken from European sources.¹ Even in the 'Kaiser Akbar' (1880) of Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), where an admirable account, based on Du Jarric's history of these missions will be found, there is a certain want of completeness owing to the fact that the writer had not apparently seen the last volume of Du Jarric's work which treats of the missions after the year 1600.² It is advisable, therefore, to leave our modern authorities and to go back as far as we can to the original records of these missions.

Notices by native historians.—Before, however, examining the Jesuit records attention may be paid to the passing allusions made by native historians to the Christian proclivities of Akbar and the doings of the priests at his Court.³ We are fortunate in finding among

¹ See also 'The Portuguese in Northern India,' *Calc. Rev.* v. 279-284, (1848).

² See *Kaiser Akbar*, I., 440. A short notice of Akbar's connection with Christianity will be found in Bohlen's 'Alte Indien,' 1830, vol. I., 104-105. Attention may also be directed to Dr. Ireland's romance called 'Golden Bullets,' Edinb., 1890, in which the Jesuits at Akbar's Court play a large role: and to the sketch of the missions in Max Müllbauer's *Geschichte per katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, 1852, pp. 133-149.

³ The quotations made below are all collected from translations and English works and cannot claim to be exhaustive. Reference may be also made to Asad Beg's amusing account of the introduction of tobacco in Akbar's Court, and the Jesuit Father's support of the tobacco smokers (Elliot, VI., 167).

contemporary writers two historians who had exceptional opportunities for knowing the facts of which they wrote and who treated those facts from two entirely different points of view. On the one hand, we have 'Abdu-l-qādir Badāuni, the trenchant champion of orthodoxy at Akbar's Court, whose *Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh* carries the history of Akbar down to the year 1595. On the other hand there is Akbar's abettor and favourite minister, Abū-l-faḡl, the author of the *Akbar-nāma* which contains a history of the same period down to the year 1601.

Badāuni's work first notices the introduction of Christian influence in treating of the year 1575, and according to that author the rationalizing tendencies of Akbar's Counsellors Abū-l-faḡl, Abū-l-faḡh, etc., were due partly to the fact that 'there came' (presumably about that time) 'a great number of Portuguese from whom they picked up doctrines justifiable by reasoning.'¹

The practise of Christian ritual followed soon after, for Badāuni tells us² that 'the ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and the *cunabula* [kanābalān] which is their time of mirth, and other childish playthings of theirs were daily in practice.' The words *Kufr shāi'* *shud*, or 'Heresy became common,' express the *Tārikh*' (A. H. 985. A. D. 1577-8).

The first Missionary at Akbar's Court arrived in March, 1576, but the first organized mission was in 1580, and it is to this that Badāuni refers in the following passage. In the course of his explanation of the reasons which led the Emperor to renounce Islām, he writes³:—

'Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of Pādre. They have an infallible head, called Pāpā. He may change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the Gospel and mentioned to the Emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of

¹ Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 211 (not 281, as printed in Blochmann) quoted in Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbari* I. 163. The fact is noted in treating of the year 1575, and if the Portuguese mentioned in the text came that year, they were probably private individuals (artizans, &c), for there seems to be no record of a regular embassy between that of 1572-3 (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI, 42) and that of 1578 noticed below. From Lowe's translation, however, there seems no need to fix the arrival of the Portuguese in any particular year.

² Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 301 (304) quoted in Blochm. *Āin* I. 493. See also Blochm. *Āin* I. 618 and *Progs. Beng. As. Soc.*, May 1870, p. 146.

³ Bad (Bib. Ind) II. from Blochm. *Āin* I. 182.

auspiciousness, and charged Abū-l-faḡl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm*¹ the following lines were used.

Ai nām-i-tu Jesus ō Kiristō,

[O Thou, whose names are Jesus and Christ],

which means: 'O Thou, whose name is gracious and blessed!' and Shaikh Faiḡī added another half, in order to complete the verse

Subḥānaka lā siwāka Yā hū.

[We praise Thee; there is no one besides Thee, O God.]

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house!—a thing which even devils would not do.'

In a different place² Badāuni describes the introduction of an organ, but not apparently in connection with Christian worship. In another passage,³ however, there is a somewhat obscure allusion to the Emperor's Christian proclivities. At a discussion carried on in Akbar's presence Hāji İbrāhīm asked Mirzā Mufliḡ 'How is *Mūsā* declined? and what is the root of the word?' to which no satisfactory answer was given: whereupon the Emperor asked the Qāzi's son Shukr, 'Why do you not join in the discussion?' to which Shukr replied: 'If Hāji İbrāhīm were to ask how to decline '*İsā* (Jesus), what answer should I give?' And His Majesty, we are told, very much applauded this speech.

In describing the events of the end of the year A.H. 989 (17th Feb. 1580—5th Feb. 1581) the same historian says⁴:—

'At this time his Majesty sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār to bring Shaikh Qutbu-d-dīn⁵ of Jalāsar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Qutbu-d-dīn came the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed: 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion.' The fire was made, the Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him: 'Come on, in the name of God.' But none of the priests had the courage to go.

¹ The formula used by school children before beginning to read from their books. The words *Ai nām*, etc., are given above in the form adopted by Professor Blochmann from the version of the story given in the *Dabistān*: the edition of Badāuni used by Blochmann has *ai nāmī wai shahō Kiristō*. Cf p. 51 below.

² Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 269.

³ ditto II. 187.

⁴ Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II, 299. Quoted by Blochm *Āin* I. 191.

⁵ In recounting his version of the story Fr. de Sousa (*Oriente Conquistada* 1710 II. 170) gives the name as Mola Xequeria (Mulla Zakariā).

'Soon after this the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqīrs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.'

We shall note later on the Jesuit version of this episode. Mean-time let us see how Abū-l-faẓl describes it¹:—

'One night the Ibādat-khāna was brightened by the presence of Pādre Radalf² who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him and thus afforded an opportunity for the display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly. These men brought forward the old received assertions and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces and they were nearly put to shame: and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Pādre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say: 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Qurān to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the 'alamā with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The black-hearted and mean-spirited disputants shrank from the proposal, and answered only with angry words.'

In narrating the events of the 35th year of the reign (A. D. 1590-1) Abū-l-faẓl says³:—

'At this time Pādre Farmaliūn⁴ arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translation of Greek books and for extending knowledge. With him came a number of Europeans and Armenians who brought silks of China and goods of other countries, which were deemed worthy of His Majesty's inspection.'

The same historian informs us of the arrival of a large caravan from Goa, containing several learned men known as Pādras, on the 19th Ardebilhisht 1003 [28th April, 1595].⁵ In another passage he states⁶ that

¹ *Akbarnāma* (Bib. Ind.) III. 254. Elliot *Hist. Ind.* VI. 60, cf. p. 51 below.

² This is Prof. Blochmann's reading (*Āin* I. 168): the MSS. have Radif, Rawiq and Raunaq. Although the passage occurs in the description of the events of the 23rd year of the reign (1578-9), the reference is almost certainly, to Padre Rodolf Aquaviva who arrived at Fathpur Sikri in Feb. 1580.

³ *Akbarnāma* (Bib. Ind.) III. 577. Elliot *Hist. Ind.* VI. 85.

⁴ Or Farabatūn. Perhaps some corruption of 'Duarte Leoton' or possibly 'Grimaldeou' sc. Leo Grimon (see p. 60 below). Beveridge in an interesting article on Jerome Xavier in this *Journal* suggests 'Fra Emmanuele' sc. Pinheiro, but Pinheiro was not a 'Fra' nor did he go till 1595. *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 34.

⁵ *Akb.* (Bib. Ind.) III. 669. Beveridge in *J. A. S. B.* 1888 p. 34. Xavier arrived at Lahore on 5th May, 1595.

⁶ See Rehatek in *Calc. Rev.* Jan 1886, p. 3.

malevolent persons had spread the rumour of the Emperor's hatred to Islām and of his having become a Brahman, but they were refuted and put to shame by certain Christian philosophers in a public disputation held for that purpose. But he ascribes no permanent influence to these Christian philosophers, for in a further passage¹ he writes :—

‘The Emperor conversed for some time on the religious information he had obtained from Christian priests, but it appeared after a short while that their arguments had made no great impression on his mind so that he troubled himself no more with contemplations about asceticism, the allurements of poverty and the despicableness of a worldly life.’

So far Badāunī and Abū-l-faẓl. In the *Dabistān* which was written about sixty years after Akbar's death, we find a curious account² (how far exact we cannot tell) of a discussion which took place before Akbar between a ‘Nazarene’ and a Muḥammadan, and of another between a ‘Nazarene’ and a Jew. These appear³ to be based on Xavier's dialogues in the *Āina-i-Haqq-numā*, which will be noticed farther on, and are not worth reproducing here.

Jesuit authorities.—Turning now to the Jesuit accounts of the missions, it will be convenient to note shortly the chief published *origines* available :—

1. The *Annus Literæ* or Annual Reports of the doings of the Society throughout the world, which were circulated to the various Jesuit centres, pay little or no attention to Upper India. Out of the reports available in the British Museum, *viz.*, those for 1582-3, 1586-7, 1592—5, 1597-8 and 1600—5, those for 1582 and 1597 alone contain information regarding the *Mughal Missions*.

2. Practically our only authority for the second mission consists of two letters with enclosures from the Provincial at Goa, which were published in Italian by the Jesuit father *Spitilli* at Rome, in 1592. A Latin translation of his work was published at Antwerp in 1593 and called : ‘Brevis et compendiosa narratio missionum quarundam orientis et occidentis excerpta ex quibusdam litteris a P. P. datis anno 1590 et 1591.’ A French translation followed at Lyons in 1594.

3. A valuable authority is John Baptist *Peruschi*, a Jesuit who in 1597 published at Brescia, a little book called ‘*Informazione del Regno e stato del gran Rè di Mogor.*’ French translations appeared at Besançon and Paris in 1597 and 1598 respectively : and the book was also translated in 1598 into German and Latin at Mainz. •The Latin

¹ *Akb.* (Luckn. litho. ed.) III. 206, taken from Rehatsek, *Calc. Rev.* Jan. 1886, p. 3.

² Shea and Troyer's Translation, III. 65-9.

³ See Dr. Lee's preface to *Martyrus*, ‘*Controversial Tracts,*’ p. 37.

translation which is the version most easily available is entitled 'Historica Relatio de potentissimi Regis Mogor, a magno Tamerlane oriundi vita moribus et summa in Christianam Religionem propensione.... excerpta ex variis epistolis inde acceptis anno 1582, 91 et 95.' The letters of 1595 are quoted in full and an extract is given from another which may bear the date of 1582 though the date is more probably 1580: but there is no trace of the letter of 1591 unless it is in the account of the Mughal Empire which professes to be based on letters of 1582 and 1592 (? 1591). Peruschi devotes only two lines to the second Mission of 1590-1, but his history of the first Mission of 1580-83 remains the basis of all subsequent accounts of that Mission.

4. In 1601 two letters written by the mission at Lâhor in 1598-9 were published by a Jesuit called John *Oranus* at Liège, in a collection of papers entitled: 'Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana, hoc est, de rebus apud eas gentes a Patribus Societatis Jesu anno 1598 et 99 gestis. A P. Ioanne Orano in Latinam linguam versa.'

5. Another version of the same two letters was published in 1601 at Maintz in a book called: 'Recentissima de amplissimo Regno Chinae, item de statu rei Christianae apud magnum Regem Magor.'

6. A letter of 1599 from the Provincial Father Pimenta at Goa, was published at Maintz in 1601, under the title: 'Nova Relatio Historica de Rebus in India Orientali a patribus Societatis Jesu anno 1598 et 99 gestis.' In the same year another Latin copy was issued at Milan, and an Italian version was published by Zannetti in Rome. French versions appeared at Antwerp and Lyons in 1601 and 1602 respectively.

7. The report submitted by the Provincial from Goa in 1600 was published by Zannetti at Rome in 1602, another version in Italian appearing at Venice in the same year. A Latin version was published at Maintz in 1602 under the heading 'Exemplum epistolae P. Nicholai Pimentae provinciae orientalis Indiae visitatoris.....de statu rei Christianae in India Orientali,' and another Latin version issued at Constance in 1603 under the title 'De felici statu et progressu rei Christianae in India Orientali epistola R. P. Nicolai Pimentae.' A German translation had appeared at Constance in 1602 and a Portuguese copy at Lisbon in the same year. A French translation was published at Paris in 1603 by 'L. S. D. C.' under the heading 'Les miracles merveilleux advenus aux Indes Orientales.'

8. A reprint of a number of Jesuit reports was published in 1605 at Antwerp by the Scotch Jesuit controversialist, John *Hay* of Dalgetty, under the title 'De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis epistolae recentiores...in unum librum coacervatae'. This book includes the whole of Peruschi's work (No. 3 above), Pimenta's letters of 1599 and 1600,

(Nos. 6 and 7 above) and Oranus' version of the Lāhor letters of 1598-9 (see No. 4 above). There is no original matter in this book but it contains a number of first hand authorities in a convenient form.

9. A German work published at Augsburg in 1611 under the title 'Drei Neue Relationes, etc.' contains an account, compiled from Hay's book, of the general condition of the Mughal Kingdom, &c., and a translation of a letter of 1607 giving particulars of Akbar's death.

10. In 1601 Father Luis de *Guzman*, S. J., Rector of the College of Toledo, wrote in Spanish, a 'Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus para predicar el sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon.' The authorities for the history are not given, and the story stops at the year 1599: this is our first general history of the Missions.

11. Father Fernan *Guerreiro*, S. J., of Almodonar, published at Lisbon a 'Relaçam annal das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus' for each of the three periods 1600-1, 1602-3 and 1604-7. Of the first there is a Spanish translation in the British Museum published at Valladolid in 1604 by Father Antonio Colaço, S. J. Of the second, issued at Lisbon in 1605, there is a copy in All Souls College Library at Oxford. Of the third I have seen no copy. These Relations are 'tirada dos cartas dos mesmos padres' and they are first rate authorities.¹

12. A most useful work is the History published at Bordeaux in 1608 by Father Pierre *du Jarric* of Toulouse under the title 'Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales que autres pays de la descouverte des Portugais, en l' establissement et progres de la foy Chrestienne et Catholique, et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Jésus y ont fait et enduré pour la mesme fin, Depuis qu' ils sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600. Le tout recueilly des lettres et autres Histoires qui en ont esté escrits cy devant, et mis en ordre par le P. Pierre du Jarric Tolosain de la mesme compagnie?'² This work, a copy of which was published in 1611 at Arras, has two parts, and a third part including the period 1600-1610 was published in 1614. A 'Nouvelle Histoire' by 'R. P. D. I.' was also published at Arras in 1628, but appears to contain nothing new:

¹ See De Backer 'Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la compagnie de Jesus' série 1^e, p. 366. In von Noer's 'Kaiser Akbar,' II. 309, reference is made to a Portuguese work by *Guerreiro*, published in 1611, and to an account there given of an argument between the Emperor and a padre. In von Noer's book, published after the author's death, this padre is represented as *Guerreiro* himself, but this is no doubt an oversight.

² This is the work quoted in this paper. The Mughal Missions are described in vol. II. 429-498 and vol III 27-97.

and a Latin Translation under the title 'Rerum Indicarum Thesaurus' was published at Cologne in 1615. In his 'Preface au lecteur Chrestien' Du Jarric gives his authorities: he tells us that he began by translating Guzman (No. 10, above) and finding omissions and difficulties wrote to him, but got no answer; Guzman having died about this time: he also wrote to Guerreiro (No. 11, above) at Lisbon, who had written some books in Portuguese on things which had happened since 1599, and received from him an obliging reply and some books, among which were notes on Guzman's history, by P. Albert Laertius, an Italian, who was Provincial in India at the time of Du Jarric's writing; as well as the letters which were arriving from India, up to the year 1606.

13. The Abbate Clemente *Tosi* published at Rome in 1669 a 'Dell' Indie Orientale Descrizione Geografica et Historica,' on pp. 94-6 of vol. I, of which the history of Christianity under Akbar is given. This history is based on Du Jarric, and is too short to be of value.

14. In 1667 had been published at Rome a book by Father Daniel *Bartoli*, S. J., called 'Dell' Istoria della compagnia di Giesu d'Asia... Parte Prima—Editione Terza, accresciuta della Missione al Mogor e della Vita e morte del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva.' The 'accretion,' which is at pp. 605-663, is practically a life of Aquaviva. A reprint of this part of the book was published in 1714 by Salvioni at Rome, under the heading, 'Missione al gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva;' a work which has the merit of being well-printed and of having at the beginning a long list of authorities on the life of Aquaviva.

15. In 1739, the Protestant professor Louis *de Dieu* published at Leyden a translation of, and notes on, Jerome Xavier's Persian history of Christ,¹ under the title 'Historia Christi persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata;' also the same author's history of S. Peter, under the title 'Historia S. Petri sed contaminata.' In his preface to the former history De Dieu refers to Hay's version of the Provincial's letter of 1595, and in an Appendix quotes in full Oranus' version of the two letters from Lāhor of 1598-99. It is on De Dieu's reprint of these that Mr. Beveridge's article in *J. A. S. B.* 1888, I. 33, is based.

16. In 1710, a Jesuit father, Francisco *De Sousa* published in Portuguese, at Lisbon an account of the Missions which were carried on in the Province of Goa between 1564 and 1585. His book is called 'Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa,' and pages 146-172 of the second volume deal with the first Mission to Akbar. In the preface to his second volume he gives as his authorities (a) a MS. history by Father Sebastiano Gonçalves, Professor at Goa in 1593; (b) Bartoli's work, No. 14 above;

¹ A further notice of this work will be found at the end of the present paper.

(c) the 'History of the Company,' and (d) other documents 'da nossa Secretaria de Goa.'

17. In the general Jesuit histories the fullest account of these Missions appears to be that given by Jouvençy, on pp. 449-460 of Part V of Orlandini's "Historia Societatis Jesu," published at Rome in 1710, but there is nothing in this account which is not derived from the authorities quoted above.

In addition to the above printed authorities there are several MS. letters in the British Museum Marsden Collection, No. 9854.¹ There is also a Portuguese or Spanish manuscript (dated Goa, 26 Nov., 1582) by an anonymous missionary, which was seen by Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein (Count von Noer), and was said by him to contain an admirable account of the condition of things at Akbar's Court, and to have been evidently used by Du Jarric: it is not clear where this manuscript now is.²

THE FIRST MISSION, 1580-83.

Of the first Mission, the best and shortest account is Peruschi's, but further details are supplied by Guzman, who is mainly copied by Du Jarric: Bartoli who writes later and more diffusely can only be accepted with caution as a supplement to the above.

From these authorities it would appear that Akbar's attention was first attracted towards Christianity by his hearing of the arrival of two Jesuits in Bengal in 1576: but he also received information regarding the Christian faith from an influential Portuguese subordinate of his own, called Peter Tavares, who is described as being in military charge of a port in Bengal.³ These circumstances induced him to summon from Bengal a priest called Julian Perreira,⁴ who arrived at Fatḥpur Sikri in

¹ The British Museum MSS. quoted in this paper have mainly been deciphered and translated for me by other hands, and I believe the translations to be substantially correct. There must be a certain number of other MS. letters of the period extant, which were written from Agra or Lahore or Goa: these are probably in Continental libraries.

² See Markham's Introduction to Limburg Brouwer's 'Akbar' 1879. p. xxvi, and Noer *Kaiser Akbar* I. 489. Quotations are made from this MS. in Noer II. 11-12, 77-8, 81-2, and 97-8 regarding the Gujarāt and Kābul campaigns. The document which is possibly by Monserrat would perhaps throw light on the chronological difficulty referred to on p. 53 below.

³ Beveridge (*J. A. S. B.*, 1888, p. 34) suggests that Tavares may be the same as the Partāb Bār of the *Akbarnāma* (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 59). Manrique (*Itinerario*, p. 13-14) gives an account of Tavares. See also Murray's *Hist. Acc.* II. 99.

⁴ So called by Peruschi and by De Sousa (*Or. Conq.* II. 148); Bartoli gives the name as Egidio Anes Perreira. Du Jarric (II. 438) says he was unable to discover the name of the priest. He was apparently not a Jesuit.

March, 1578. This priest occupied himself largely in exposing the errors of Muhammadanism (which Akbar had not as yet publicly renounced) and the Emperor was greatly interested and satisfied with what he taught him. We are told, that when the chief Mulla, 'the Sulṭān of Mecca'¹ defended his faith, the Emperor rose up and said 'May God help me! May God help me!' as though he were not content with the Mulla's defence: and it is recorded that many fruitless discussions between the priest and the Mullas were held in his presence. He went so far, however, as to ask the priest to teach him Portuguese, so that he might the better understand the doctrines of Christianity. The first thing he was taught was to pronounce the name of Jesus, and he took great pleasure in repeating the word many times.

About this period, during the year 1578, a Portuguese Embassy under Antony Cabral² arrived at the Court, and Akbar made enquiries from the members of the embassy regarding the Christian faith. Father Perreira, moreover, informed him of the Jesuit missionaries in the College of St. Paul at Goa and said that His Majesty would gain much by hearing what they could tell him of the Christian religion, for they were men of more learning than himself. On this Akbar despatched an ambassador to the Fathers³ at Goa and accredited him with the following firmān:—

(*Forman de Zeladin Mahamet Equebar.*)

Venerable Fathers of the order of St. Paul. Know this that in good friendship to you I have sent to you Abdulla my ambassador and Dominic Peres⁴ his interpreter to ask you to send me two Fathers well versed in letters who shall bring with them the principal books of your faith and the Gospels: as I have a great desire to know your faith and its perfection and pray you exceedingly that you fail not to send them with these same ambassadors. For I would have you know that the Fathers who shall come here shall be received of me with all honour and I shall take singular pleasure in seeing them. After I have been well informed of your faith and its perfection, as I wish, they may if they desire return when it seems good to them: and I shall send them back with much honour and courtesy. Let them not be afraid to come for I shall take them under my own protection.⁵

¹ No doubt this was Sulṭān *Khwāja* 'Abdul 'Aḡim, who had been Mir Hajj, and returned from Makka in 1578. See Blochmann, *Āin* I. 423.

² Antony Cabral had negotiated a treaty at Damān in 1572. (Danvers' *Port. in India*, II. 4). Danvers' book does not however mention any Embassy in 1578.

³ Du Jarric II 440. Similar letters appear to have been sent to the Viceroy and Archbishop also (*Annuaire Lit.* 1582).

⁴ Or Pires. Said by Bartoli (p. 9, *Missioni*) to have been an Armenian Christian. He married a native wife in 1582 (see p. 57 below) and accompanied the third mission (p. 64 below).

⁵ Fr. DeSousa adds the date 'Decembre 1578.'

The embassy arrived at Goa in Sept. 1579 and an account of its honourable reception will be found in Bartoli's 'Missione al Gran Mogor.' The Viceroy we are told was averse to sending a mission, but he handed the matter over for decision to a committee of Bishops, and this committee decided on 10th November, 1579, in favour of the despatch of a mission.¹ The fathers selected for service on the mission were Rodolfi Aquaviva,² Antonio Monserrat, and Francis Henriquez.

[Of these, Henriquez was a Persian convert from Muñammadanism and the other two were both remarkable men. Monserrat had been in the monastery of S. Martha in Lisbon in 1569 when the great plague devastated that city and had displayed great zeal and courage in collecting and housing the waifs and orphans left destitute in the streets. After his return from Akbar's Court he was ordered to Abyssinia and while coasting round Arabia was seized by Arabs and imprisoned by them for six years, till ransomed in 1596. On his return to Goa he was posted to Salsette to recover his health 'tanquam in asylum quietis causa,' but was overtaken by death in that station in 1600. His comrade Rodolfi Aquaviva was an even more ardent missionary. Born in 1550, the son of the Duke of Atri and nephew of Claude, subsequently General of the Society, he had entered the Society against the wishes of his parents: and in spite of his delicate health entreated to be sent to bear testimony to his Saviour in the East. He arrived at Goa in the same month as Akbar's embassy and at once applied to be sent to the Mughal Court. Though only 30 years of age he was given charge of the mission and we shall see below with what zeal he conducted it and how by his pure and austere life he endeared himself to the Emperor. He had scarcely returned to Goa in 1583, when he was sent to Salsette and there on the 15th July of the same year was killed by a native mob.]

The Mission started on December 13th 1579, accompanied by Akbar's ambassador and his interpreter. A detailed account of the journey is given (from what source is not stated) on pp. 150-166 of De Sousa's 'Oriente Conquistado' vol. II. (cf Murray's 'Discoveries in Asia' II. 83), from which the route appears to have been by Surat, Uzen (Ujain), Serampur (Sárangpur), Surange (Sironj) and Narwar.³

¹ DeSousa, *Or. Cong.* II 150.

² Both his names are so spelt by himself in his MSS. letter of 27 September, 1582.

³ Wilford, in *Asiatick Researches* IX. 212, quotes information recorded by 'Monserrat when he was at Dilli at the Court of Acbar' and adds: 'In speaking of the tombs and other monuments or events in India, Father Monserrat says with much candour "I was told so in the country" or "I was advised of it by respectable persons but whether it be so or not I cannot further say."' He explains himself

On the 18th February 1580, Aquaviva¹ reached Fathpur Sikrī where he was most hospitably received. As the members of the mission limited themselves to the barest necessities of life they refused to accept a sum of money which was sent to them, and their life of self-denial greatly impressed the Emperor. Three or four days later they presented him with a copy of the Bible in four languages, bound handsomely in seven volumes.² These the Emperor received with great reverence, kissing each volume and lifting it to his head. He asked which volume contained the Gospel and on being told took it up once more and kissed it. He was then presented with a picture of Christ and another of the Virgin—the latter being a copy of the S. Maria Maggiore at Rome,³—which he also kissed reverently and gave to his sons to kiss. He subsequently commanded his painters to copy the pictures of Christ and of the Virgin which the Fathers had with them, and ordered the construction of a reliquary of gold with the figures of Christ and of the Virgin graven on either side. He also removed the Fathers from their noisy house in the city and gave them accomodation in the palace, where they built a small chapel. This chapel the Emperor visited with his sons—known to the Jesuits as Shaikhjī, Pahārī and Dan⁴—and paid every sort of respect to the place, even taking off his turban in deference to European custom. He also gave orders that his second son Sulṭān Murād (Pahārī) should be instructed in the Portuguese language and good morals, an ungrateful task which fell to the lot of Father Monserr-

in these terms with reference to thirteen figures in *basso relievo* upon the rocks at Gwāliar, which he visited on his way from Surāt to Delhi and which were supposed by Christians in India to represent our Saviour and his twelve disciples; one figure in the middle being a little higher than the rest: Monserrat says they were so much defaced that no inference could be drawn from them except there being thirteen in number (p. 164). The MS. of Monserrat here quoted (which Wilford says was in his own possession see p. 230 *ib.*) has it seems disappeared; if indeed it ever existed, for Wilford was an imaginative writer. *cf.* Notes and Queries, Feb. 1870 p. 161.

¹ Monserrat being ill, remained for a time at Narwar. There was a native Christian community at Narwar in the time of Father Tieffenthaler S. J. circa 1750 A. D. See *Proc. A. S. B.* 1872, p. 59.

² This may have been the Complutensian Polyglott published at Alcalá in 1514-7 in six volumes, or Montanus' Polyglott published at Antwerp in 1569-73 in eight volumes. Both these were in four languages: Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin and Greek. See also p. 69 below.

³ The black Byzantine Virgin in the Borghese Chapel of the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, said to have been painted by S. Luke.

⁴ Shaikhjī or Shaikhū was Prince Salīm, the future Emperor Jahāngir, then aged 11. Pahārī was prince Murād, aged 10, so called from his being born among the low hills of Fathpur. Dun was Dānyāl, then aged 9.

rat;¹ and it was during one of these lessons that the incident related by Badāuni (page 41 above) is said by the Fathers to have taken place. The Jesuit version is that the Prince in writing Portuguese was taught to begin with the words 'In the name of God' and that when the Emperor heard this he at once ordered him to add the words 'and of Jesus Christ, the true Prophet and Son of God.'

The Emperor allowed the Fathers full liberty to preach and to make conversions. When a Portuguese died at Court the Emperor allowed him to be buried with all publicity, a large procession marching through the town with crucifixes and lighted tapers. He also allowed the Fathers to build a hospital out of the subscriptions collected from Portuguese residents, and to conduct what would now be called a 'medical mission'. In matters of difficulty he bade them consult Abū-l-faḡl and confide their troubles to him as they would to himself. Abū-l-faḡl, we are told, sought instruction from them regarding the faith, but the Fathers doubted 'whether he did so in order to embrace Christianity or in order to please the Emperor and be able to give him information on the subject as occasion offered.' In any case the fathers received many favours from him, as also from the Emperor's physician.²

Meantime there were constant disputes with the Muhammadans. We have but to read the letter³ sent by Aquaviva to the Rector at Goa in September 1580 to see how unswerving, and even rancorous, was the abhorrence felt towards Islām by that enthusiastic priest. 'They call Jesus a prophet,' he writes, 'they deny him the title of Son of God. I know not such a Jesus. I cannot speak of Jesus save as God's Son. But when to soothe my spirit I say 'Jesus Christ the Son of God,' then is my affliction multiplied, for one cries out 'Stafarla' [Istaghfaru-llāh] an exclamation of disgust: another closes his eyes: one laughs, another blasphemes.' And so on. We can imagine Badāuni's attitude!—The details of these public disputes have been in some measure preserved, and we learn how Father Rodolfi attacked the morals of Muḡammad, the material pleasures of his paradise, the want of continuity between the Hebrew scriptures and Muḡammad's revelation, and so forth. All this was put forward with so much zeal that the Emperor had privately to warn the Father to be more temperate, and there seems to have been little enough of the calmness so praised by Abu-l-faḡl in the passage quoted at p. 42 above. As regards the ordeal by fire, however, (p. 41 above) the Jesuit version of the story is that the idea originated with the Emperor himself and that the Christian Fathers had the good

¹ 'Ventura' in Noer II. 331 seems to be a mistake for 'Monserrat.'

² We have no means apparently of identifying this physician.

³ Bartoli, *Missione* p. 197.

sense to refuse to submit to this form of test.¹ They had indeed enough to suffer, though not enough for their leader. In his letters to Rome Rodolfi writes that in spite of all their trials they had, remained firm, '*Confessi sumus at non negavimus*' and that although abused, called Kāfirs, pelted with filth and hated by all, they counted it as nought, remembering '*Nondum usque ad sanguem restitimus*.'²

Regarding the Emperor's attitude towards the contending faiths we are given some interesting accounts. That he had no respect for Islām was clear enough, but the question was how far he was prepared to conform to Christianity. He himself stated perfectly candidly that he found the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation to be stumbling blocks, and that, if he could accept these, he was ready to give up his kingdom, if need be, to embrace Christianity. The Jesuit writings however maintain that there were three other obstacles in the way. In the first place, Akbar was a bad listener and never heard an explanation to the end, before starting a new subject. Secondly, he was quite unable to give up the plurality of wives. And thirdly, he was seeking a sign, like that of the fire ordeal, and no sign was given him. The Fathers writing from Fathpur are said to have described Akbar's religious position as follows (*hunc in modum*)³ :—

'The Emperor is not a Muhammadan, but is doubtful as to all forms of faith and holds firmly that there is no divinely accredited form of faith, because he finds in all something to offend his reason and intelligence. Nevertheless he at times admits that no faith commends itself so much to him as that of the Gospel, and that when a man goes so far as to believe this to be the true faith and better than others, he is near to adopting it. At the court some say he is a heathen and adores the sun. Others that he is a Christian. Others that he intends to found a new sect. Among the people also there are various opinions regarding the Emperor: some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Muhammadan. The more intelligent however consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Muhammadan, and hold this to be truest. Or they think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity.'

Whatever the precise phase of Akbar's belief may have been at this time, it is certain that these first signs of free-thinking on his part

¹ Peruschi, p. 14: Bartoli, p. 65. A similar story is told of the reign of Jahāngīr—see Bernier, II. 83 (Amst. Ed. 1723).

² See the extracts from his letters from Fathpur to Everard Mercurianus (then General of the Society) and to his uncle Claude; Bartoli, *Missioni* pp. 87-88. These extracts contain nothing of historical interest.

³ Peruschi, p. 12. (It is uncertain how far the quotation goes). The Jesuit Catrou, writing a century later, gives further details, including imaginary conversations between Akbar and the Fathers: these it seems unnecessary to quote here.

were most distasteful to the Muhammadans, and a powerful court party, including his mother and aunt (recently returned from pilgrimage to Makka) and the whole influence of the zanāna did its best to thwart his supposed leanings towards Christianity.¹ It is to the odium occasioned by these proclivities that the Jesuit authorities ascribe the rebellion of the Paṭhāns in Bengal and the revolt of the Emperor's brother Mirzā Hakīm at Kābul, which took place about this time:² and they state that in consequence of these disturbances and in order to allay the suspicions of the Muhammadans, the Emperor ceased to see the Pādres and refused them admittance to his presence. When the Emperor after defeating his brother on the North-Western Frontier returned to his capital, they asked Abū-l-faẓl to ascertain whether he would see them, as otherwise there was no use in their staying on: and it was only when thus pointedly addressed, that Akbar renewed his intercourse with them.³

But the Emperor's attitude was no longer what it had been toward the Fathers, and Monserrat found that the Princes also listened less readily to Christian teaching than they did before the revolts. The Fathers despaired of any result from the mission and Aquaviva repre-

¹ This is what the Jesuit records say and they make no mention, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any Christian wife of Akbar's. Mr. Fanthome in his *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly the existence of a Christian wife called Mary (apart from Mariamu-z-zamāni); he says that the mission of 1580 erected their chapel in Mary's Kōṭhī at Faṭhpur (pp. 13 and 24) and that the captives taken away by Aquaviva in 1583 were Mary's slaves (p. 26), but does not give his authorities. He says also that he has seen a document of Shāh Ālam's declaring that the priests were granted a pension by the influence of the said Mary (p. 6). There is indeed a tradition that the Fathers were assisted by a Christian lady-doctor in Akbar's zanāna called Juliana, who married the exile John Philip Bourbon (and who must not be confused with another Juliana who lived in Shah Ālam's time). Fanthome (p. 16) mentions this tradition, and the Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Agra writing in 1832 to the traveller Dr. Wolff (see Wolff's *Researches and Travels*, 1835) also alluded to it, saying that the Jesuits first gained Akbar's favour 'per impegno di una certa Signora, Giuliana di Goa che come Dottoressa si trovava nel seraglio del sudditto Imperatore.' Colonel Kincaid in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1887, adds that Juliana was sister to Akbar's Christian wife: but she is not noticed by the Jesuit letters of Akbar's reign though her husband was, like Xavier, a Navarrais.

² Cf. Noer II. 18.

³ This is Du Jarric's account. Other authors make it appear that Monserrat at least, if not Aquaviva also, accompanied the Emperor on his Kābul expedition (Bartoli, *Missione* p. 54. DeSousa, *Or. Conq.* II 171. Wilford in *As. Res.* IX, 280; see also p. 68 below), but the various stories are not very clear or consistent on this point. Akbar was away on the Kābul expedition for nearly the whole of 1581—not apparently, 1582, as stated in Professor Dowson's *Notes* on p. 421, vol. V, Elliot's *Hist. Ind.*, and in Noer. II. 74. But the chronology is a little confused.

sent to the Emperor that, inasmuch as for reasons of state he was unable to profess his acceptance of Christianity the mission would be more profitably employed in some other sphere. The Emperor however refused to let the Fathers go. They thereupon made further efforts to influence him towards Christianity, but it was felt that they were being retained merely to gratify his pride and to satisfy his intermittent thirst for information. It is possible also that the open adoption of the 'Divine Monotheism' which took place about this time brought more clearly before the Fathers the hopelessness of their task.¹

From this point the mission began to break up. The native Henriquez had already withdrawn to Goa, either secretly as one authority states, or with permission as stated by another. Then Monserrat had left Fathpur for Agra so as to be rather with Prince Murād than with the Emperor. Subsequently in April 1582, the Emperor sent an embassy to Goa and permitted Monserrat to accompany it. The embassy was to arrange among other things for a fresh mission of Christian priests to Akbar's court, and the letter which accompanied the embassy is to be found in the first daftar of the *Inshā-i-Abū-l-faḡl*. In the Calcutta edition of 1810 and in the Cawnpore lithographed edition of 1849-50, the letter is addressed to 'European scholars' (*Dānāyān-i-Farang*), but there are other versions which read 'Ruler of the Europeans' (*Firmān-riwā-i-Farang*)² and the later European authorities³ represent the embassy as an embassy of congratulation to Philip II, who had in 1581 become King of Portugal as well as of Spain. In the course of the letter Akbar describes his desire to learn the truth in religious matters⁴:—

'Therefore,' he says, 'we associate at convenient seasons with learned men of all religions and thus derive profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspirations. Our language, however, being different from yours, we hope that you will rejoice us by sending to these parts a man able to represent to us those sublime objects of research in an intelligible manner. It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Psalms have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books which are profitable to all, whether translated or not, be procurable in your country, send them. Dated in the month *Rabī-ul-awwal* in the year 990' (March-April 1582).

¹ See Catrou, English Edition, 1826, p. 121, and Badānī quoted on p. 201 vol. I. Blochm. *Āin*.

² Fraser, *Nādir Shāh* (1742) 12. and appx. 40. Hough, *Christianity in India*, II. 262.

³ Catrou, English Edition, 1826, p. 124. Bartoli, *Missioni*, p. 72: Hanway's *Travels* II. 405. Bartoli mentions also the Pope and the General of the Society as the intended recipients of the embassy.

⁴ The translation is that given by Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary*, April 1887, p. 137.

The ambassador, we are told,¹ reached Goa too late in the season to be embarked for Lisbon, and while waiting at Goa he contrived excuses for postponing his departure to Europe, until ultimately he found it necessary to return from Goa to Akbar's Court without achieving the object of his embassy.

Meanwhile, even in the hour of failure Aquaviva did not himself abandon hope. Here for instance, is an extract from a letter which he wrote to his uncle, then General of the Order, at the very time that the Embassy was leaving Fatḥpur.²

'First,' he writes, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore: he desires to know our faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto though impediments also are not lacking. And the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. 2. We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahārī, a boy of 13 years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language, and therewith the things relating to our faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto, and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrat was his teacher, and now I am. 3. We have discovered a new nation of heathen, called Bottan [Paṭhān] which is beyond Lāhōr toward the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works.³ They are white men and Muhammadans (Mori) do not live among them, wherefore we hope that, if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathen may be reaped. 4. There is here an old man,⁴ the father of the Emperor's Secretary, in whom he confides in matters of faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given to much contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our faith and we have already visited him several times at his house, with much consolation. 5. Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia; and now that the Society has obtained a footing, and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the Continent of India: seeing that all that has so far been done has been merely on the sea coast.'

¹ Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 72.

² Letter, dated April 1552. Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 70.

³ De Sousa *Or. Conq.* II. 171, quotes another description of the Paṭhāns which he ascribes to Monserrat. It seems more faithful than that given above, for it states among other things that the Paṭhāns have such a fear of polluting the pure element of water that they never apply it to their bodies. There seems in the books of the period to be some confusion between Paṭhāns and Bhūṭānis, see e.g., Wheeler's *Purchas*, p. 14.

⁴ This is apparently none other than *Shaiḫh* Mubārak father of Abū-l-faṣl. He was then 79 years old and did not die till eleven years later in 1593 (Blochm. *Ain*, p. 18).

It appears that the Provincial at Goa obtained verbally from Monserrat a less hopeful report, and again recalled Aquaviva, but again without success. From March 1582, onwards therefore, Aquaviva was alone at the Court. His zeal was thereby only increased. Attempts were made on his life but he refused to have a guard. He set himself to study Persian so as to be able to converse freely with the Emperor. He prayed long and earnestly for the success of his mission. He fasted rigorously and shut himself up in his house, practising the most severe austerities. The conduct of the Emperor meantime caused him much disappointment, and there seem also to have been other special troubles, which led the Father to wish more and more for his recall. The following letter,¹ written on the 27th September 1582, affords the only original account of this stage of the mission which we possess. It is addressed to Father Ruy Vincente, the Provincial at Goa, and runs as follows:—

‘You are already informed by other letters of mine that a learned man called Mx² (whom Father Monserrat calls by another name), a self-sufficient doctor, told me that he wished to become a Christian, and things went so far that the Emperor hearing of it gave his permission. But from what I understand of him, it was not his intention to embrace Christianity here, but if he did so it would be in a Christian country. He said that the Emperor in these embroilments with Domingo Pires³ very imprudently betrays all those who wish to be Christians, being by nature unable to keep anything to himself, but that it might give edification if a man of such consideration and follower of Muḥammad should desire to embrace Christianity. It seems to me much to be regretted that it was ever made public, as he dissimulates and does not converse with me as formerly. I write nothing further to Your Reverence concerning this man, for I doubt if he has any vocation, and there are many things about him that do not please me. Time will show what is to be expected of him.

‘A few days after the trouble with the Emperor because of Domingo Pires, one of the principal chiefs came from Bengal, a very learned man, a follower of the Şūfis, and knowing something of philosophy. The Emperor sent for me and told me in secret to converse with him, as perhaps he might become a Christian. The Emperor said I was the Father of whom he had spoken, and bade us converse together, which we did. He showed himself very conformable to our doctrine, as do all the Şūfis, but the most of them do not believe in Christianity and are hypocrites, who only feign conversion.

‘The Emperor brings confusion into the Court by the many novelties daily introduced: among other things, the giving praise to creatures as the

¹ Marsd. MSS. Brit. Mus. 9854.

² Sic in MS.

³ The interpreter to the mission, see p. 43 above. We do not know what embroilments are referred to, possibly they were connected with the marriage described later on in this letter.

Sun and Moon, and abstaining from meat from Saturday night and all Sunday. I have certain information that many of the heathen out of superstition, because it is the day of the Sun and Moon, eat absolutely nothing. In general it is forbidden to kill any meat in the market, and we are generally unable to get any to eat on Sundays.

'Two or three days after their Lent has commenced, a new Easter has been introduced called 'Merjan,'¹ on which it is commanded that all the chiefs be dressed out in State, and listen to music and dances. I enquired of the Emperor's astrologers, and they told me that it was a feast observed by the ancient fire-worshipping kings of Persia. The Muhammadans were very scandalized and would not imitate the observers of the feast, they cannot understand whether they do these things because they like them or whether they do them by way of experiment. In truth, I also cannot understand the matter, for the Emperor converses with me familiarly, as he has done this rainy season, always enquiring into the faith, and yet he seems confused with other things, and confessed to me one day that he would be much surprised if one could really discern the truth.².....

'On Tuesday, the 24th of September, the Emperor came in the afternoon to see the marriage of Domingo Pires in our chapel. We decorated the chapel very well and painted two trophies in his honour, and Domingo Pires ordered a Portuguese banquet to be prepared for him at our house. The Emperor was delighted with everything and showed me much affection for entertaining him to the best of my power. At the marriage I preached a sermon to the couple; the woman did not understand me, and the Emperor interpreted to her in her own language what I was saying in Persian. The Emperor remained in our house till nearly eight o'clock at night. With great pleasure he brought to the house all the principal chiefs of the Muhammadans and the heathen. One of the heathen, a ruler in these lands, was much amazed and made a jest of the chapel. Others, children of the Emperor, were present and dined at the house, as well as two of the principal Muhammadan chiefs whom the Emperor sent for.

'I have nothing further to write to Your Reverence, excepting the following things: 1st. If it seems to you that I am absolutely nothing here, let Your Reverence seek a remedy, for the Emperor takes no notice of my asking his leave, and for me to press the point only exasperates him. Your Reverence knows I am indifferent, and my indifference is increased by my being in doubt and not knowing the wish of God with regard to this mission. The second matter is to ask Your Reverence to inform me what you think about the church which the Emperor desires to have built. Up to the present nothing has been signified in your letters concerning it. The third is that Your Reverence will have the charity to let me know how to proceed, for I fear that the Emperor and some of his wish to make use of me to explain the law of

¹ *Mihrijān*, the Persian feast of the autumnal equinox: the Muhammadan Lent, the month of *Ramzān*, began in 1582 on the 19th September.

² I omit a marginal addition which is too defaced in the original to admit of the sense being ascertained.

Muhammad and to take what pleases them in Sacred Scripture to pervert to other ends than the favour of our Faith, and I must take care that the Emperor does not come out some day with a novelty. The fourth is to ask a general permission of Your Reverence for every time that I can conveniently, with the Emperor's permission, come and see you : and to know by whom I should or should not send to you : for I have many things to communicate regarding this mission, which I have discovered since I learnt the language and continue to discover daily : in which it is necessary to show great prudence, discretion and consideration in managing the affairs of this mission : and these perhaps will not be wanting if, when all things are explained, Your Reverence will send your advice and orders ; that with new strength and spirit we may carry out the mission and not abandon this depraved sect in spite of the many difficulties which we always meet with.

'And now I shall propose a means which has occurred to me. It is to open a school at Goa, of Persian for the Muhammadans, and of Hindūstānī¹ for the heathen, for all my children, heathen and Muhammadan, as this seems to be the only available means, if it could be managed ; especially as the Emperor says publicly that he wishes all in his dominions to follow what faith they please. And with this I shall conclude, begging Your Reverence's blessing, ministrations and prayers, and those of all. This day the 27th September, 1582.

'As the Emperor writes² that Your Reverence will know from me why he has not dismissed the neighbouring chiefs and enemies³ from their offices, I write to you what the Emperor tells me, *viz.*, that he did not dismiss them then because of the Faith, but he will find some other fault with them as an excuse for their dismissal, and he is already preparing the way to dismiss Calich [Qulij-khān]⁴ as I myself have seen, but as yet I do not know what he will do.

'The day before yesterday news came of the capture of the ships of the.....[a few words are here torn]. The Emperor has not yet spoken to me of this, but as I am writing, the Emperor's mother⁵ has sent for me. Your Reverence's Christian servant, Rodolfi.'

¹ *I. e.*, the native language : not Urdū, cf. p. 72 below.

² Referring apparently to a separate letter from the Emperor to the Provincial or Viceroy.

³ *s.c.* those in the Deccan.

⁴ Qulij-khān had been Governor of Surat. So far from being dismissed, he continued to receive promotion ; Blochm. *Āin* i. 34, see also p. 86 below. 'Calich' may however mean 'Calichan,' regarding whom see Danver's *Port. in Ind* II. 42-3.

⁵ The lady known as Mariam-makānī (dwelling with the Virgin Mary). In describing Akbar's well known devotion to his mother, Coryate (*Observations*, p. 600, vol. i of Purchas) writes : 'He never denied her anything but this, that she demanded of him, that our Bible should be hanged about an Assess necke and breten about the Town of Agra, for that the Portugals having taken a ship of theirs at sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores tyed it about the necke of a dogge

The Provincial seems to have authorized Aquaviva to obtain from the Emperor a temporary leave of absence, if he could not obtain permission to depart altogether. The Emperor, who appears to have entertained a real respect for him, was still loth to let him go, but at last, in February 1583, he allowed him to proceed to Goa on the understanding that he should if possible return. The following is a translation of a Portuguese version of the firmā addressed by Akbar to the Father Provincial on this occasion¹:—

‘God is great.

Firmān of Jalālu-d-dīn also called Akbar, Pādshāh Ghāzī. By the books of the faith and their interpretation I know that there is nothing pertaining to the Christian faith which remains obscure, but that it is a manifestation of divine secrets. The Father Provincial, whom I greatly love, must know that I have received the petition sent to me and look well upon it, and by it our friendship is increased. And concerning the leave which you ask for Father Rodolfi, I am delighted with the book of the faith of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to possess the truth, and as the said Father is very learned and versed in the wisdom of the ancients, and as I love him much and see that he is wise and learned in the faith, I wish to devote every hour to conversation with him. For these reasons I have sometimes refused the leave which he asked for and which your Reverence also in your letter desired. But now I give him leave to go: and as my intention is that our friendship should increase from day to day it is meet that your Reverence should do your part towards preserving it by sending Father Rodolfi back to me, with several other Fathers, as soon as possible, for I wish the Fathers of your Society to be with me, and I take great delight in them. I have told the Father many things by word of mouth that he might repeat them to Your Reverence, the which you will consider well.

Done in the moon of the month of February 1583.’

Aquaviva, we are told, was pressed to receive a parting present, but the only gift he would accept was the permission to take with him to Goa, a family of Russian slaves who had been for a long time in the Emperor’s household, with this parting gift from the great Mogul he started for Goa, and arrived there in May 1583 looking, it was said, not like a man from a court but like one who had come straight from the penances of a novitiate. In September of the same year, as has already been noticed, he was murdered at Salsette.

and beat the same dogge about the Town of Ormuz: but he denyed her request, saying that if it were ill in the Portugals to do so to the Alcoran, it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent Booke.’

¹ See Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS. 9854, fol. 5.

THE SECOND MISSION, 1590-91.¹

We hear nothing further of Akbar's relations towards the Christians till 1590, in which year, we are told, he began to show unmistakable signs of a distinct leaning towards Christianity. There being then at his court a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon,² returning from, we know not where, to his native country, the Emperor took the opportunity of sending him to Goa with letters for the Viceroy and for the Father of the Society, asking for a further mission to his court. Translations of the warrant of safe conduct given to Grimon and of the letter which he took to the Fathers have been preserved and run as follows³ :—

Parwāna of Akbar granted to Leo Grimon.

Order of His Highness Muḥammad, great King and Lord of the Fostiera,⁴ to all the Captains, Viceroys, Governours, rulers and other officers of my realm.

'I would have you know that I have shown much honour and favour to Dom Leo Grimon, willing thereby that you should do likewise, inasmuch as I hope to obtain by his means certain other learned Fathers from Goa, by whom I trust to be restored from death unto life through their holy doctrine even as their Master Jesus Christ, coming from Heaven to Earth, raised many from the dead and gave them life. On this occasion I am summoning the most learned and virtuous of the Fathers, by whom I would be taught many things concerning the faith of the Christians and of the royal highway whereon they travel to God's presence. Wherefore I order my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending, in all the towns of my realm through which they shall pass, granting them an escort to conduct them safely from town to town, providing them with all that is necessary for themselves and their beasts, and all else they need, at my charges: and you shall be responsible for their safe arrival and shall take heed that they lose nothing which they have with them. I order also my captain *Khānkhānār* (mon Capitaine Canchena)⁵ to forward them safely to my Captain Raizza (?)⁶, who

¹ Our chief authorities for the mission are the Provincial's letters of November 1590 and November 1591, published by Spitilli, with their enclosures. The accounts by Guzman and Du Jarric are little more than copies of these.

² We hear of Grimon again in 1602 when he accompanied Benedict de Goes as far as Kābul, turning back there because 'unable to stand the fatigues of the journey' (Trigautius, in Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, II 553-7.)

³ Translated from Du Jarric's French version.

⁴ So Du Jarric. The Latin has Fostiera. Perhaps 'Faṣlī era' is meant.

⁵ Mirza 'Abdu-r-raḥīm *Khān*, son of Bairām *Khān*, and commander in Gujrāt.

⁶ Perhaps Rai Singh of Bilkānir. Blochm. *Āin* I. 357. I am unable to identify Giabiblica unless he be Rājā 'Alī *Khān* of Khāndesh. (Blochm. *Āin* I. 327.)

with the other Captains shall do likewise until they reach my court. I enjoin also Giabblica (?) the Captain of Cambay, to furnish whatsoever they need in going or coming. I also forbid my customs officers to take anything from the said Fathers, whose baggages they shall let pass without toll: and the aforesaid shall pay heed to my commandment, troubling the said Fathers neither in their persons nor in their property. If they make any complaint you shall be severely punished, even to the danger of your heads. Moreover I desire that this my order be carried out in respect both of their persons and of their goods, that they pass freely through my towns without paying tax or toll and be well guarded on their road. They shall be conducted from Cambay to Aḥmadābād, and thence to Paian [Pattan] and thence to Gelu [P Jalor] from Gelu to Guipar [P] and from Guipar to Bīkānīr whence they shall go to Bitasser [P Jalasīr] from Bitasser to Multān, and from Multān to Lahore where we reside. For this is the route by which I would have the Fathers come. Whom I hope by God's aid to see shortly at this Court when they shall be received by me and mine as their worth deserveth.'

Letter from Akbar to the Fathers of the Society at Goa.

'In the name of God.

The exalted and invincible Akbar to those that are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit, and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and conduct men to God. I say to you, learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honour of earth: Fathers who walk by the true way: I would have Your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammadans, save only that of Jesus Christ which is the faith of God and as such recognized and followed by many. Now in that I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers I desire that by them I may be taught this faith. There has recently come to our Court and royal Palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so your Reverences will be able immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors, whom we call Qāzīs, and whom by this means they can teach the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live as nobly as any Father now in this country, and when they wish to leave, I shall let them depart with all honour. You should therefore do as I ask, and the more willingly because I beg of you the same, in this letter written at the commencement of the moon of June.'

The following is the account of the receipt of this invitation, written by the Provincial in his report of November 1590¹ :—

‘It is now nearly nine years since the Great Mogul Akbar summoned to his Court some Fathers of the Society of Jesus, including Father Rodolfi Aquaviva. The same Prince has now in this year, under God’s guiding, again written to the Viceroy at Goa, asking for Fathers for his Court and using the same arguments as before. The letter was brought by a Greek sub-deacon of the name of Leo Grimon, who while returning to his country happened to go aside to the Court of the Mughal and the Emperor hoping thereby to attain his end added presents for the Viceroy and the College, and some even for the Father Provincial. He desired besides to load the sub-deacon with 5000 gold pieces for the poor of Goa, and when the latter suggested that the Emperor had poor in his own kingdom on whom the money could be spent, he answered that he would never waste money on slaves of the devil. But when the sub-deacon drew attention to the risk he would run in carrying this amount of money over so great a distance of road, the Mogul ordered him to be given precious stones and other articles of the value of 2000 gold pieces and the amount was distributed to the poor at Goa, who were then much in want. He also sent to the Viceroy at Cambay an order (of which a copy is enclosed)² to the effect that the Fathers when passing through Cambay to his Court, should be treated courteously and furnished with a guard and rations. And from what the sub-deacon tells us at Goa, it appears that this excellent Emperor is most anxious to establish the fundamental truths of Christianity, and has induced the Prince his son, and his chief general to hold the same views. On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin he held a festival, setting forth in an elevated situation the picture of the Virgin which Father Rodolfi and his companions had given him, and called on his relations and courtiers to kiss the picture with due reverence. They had asked that the Prince his son should do so and he consented with the greatest alacrity. The Emperor turned all the mosques of the city where he lived into stables for elephants or horses, on the pretence of preparation for war. Soon however, he destroyed the Alcorans³ (which are the turrets from which the priests call with loud voices on Muhammad), saying that if the mosques could no longer be used for prayer there was no need for the turrets: and this he did in his hatred for the Muhammadan sect and in his affection for the Gospel. The sub-deacon also said that the name of Muhammad was as hated at the Mughal’s Court as in Christendom, and that the Emperor had restricted himself to one wife, turning out the rest and distributing them among his courtiers. Moreover that he had passed a law that no Muhammadan was to circumcise his son before the fifteenth year of his age, and that the sons should be at liberty on attaining years of discretion to embrace what religion they chose.

¹ Spitilli, *Brevis et compendiosa narratio.*

² See above.

³ An error for Manārs. Other writers of the period make the same mistake.

The magnificence and power of this Emperor are almost incredible. He is the greatest and most powerful of the Kings of the East and the lord of nine hundred miles of land whose dominion is bounded by the Indus and Ganges and extends to Tartary, including many noble realms and rich cities. Father Antony Monserrat states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition which he at one time made¹ he had with him five thousand fighting elephants exclusive of those used for baggage and that in the whole Empire there are fifty thousand Elephants stationed for warlike proposes at various centres.

Next year in November 1591 the Provincial reported as follows² :—

‘This embassy induced many not only of the Fathers, but also of the students to apply to be sent on the mission and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a Companion who reached the Emperor’s Court in 1591³ and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them, a house was given to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor’s own son and grandson were taught to read and write Portuguese. But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, to embrace the Christian faith, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so. Father Edward Leiton⁴ (who is one of the Fathers that remained there) being expressly ordered not to return, but to remain where he was. Father Christopher di Vega who returned with Father Leiton’s consent was sent back by me as he was a great favorite with the Emperor, and was told not to come away except it were under an oath that he would return. And since the hearts of Kings are in God’s hand we have decided with much inward waiting and firm hope of God’s goodness to continue this mission. And now our priests are occupied, as above noticed, in teaching the youths to read and write Portuguese and in other such duties, awaiting a convenient opportunity for speaking more freely with the Emperor on religious subjects; a matter hitherto rendered difficult by the opposition of the generals who are with him and in whose absence no audience is usually granted. And as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment it is necessary to proceed skilfully and gently in the matter.’

To this letter is appended an ‘*Annotatio Romae facta*’ :—

Nota bene. When Christopher Vega had returned to Goa a Portuguese brought a letter to Milan which implied that the Fathers had left the Mughal’s Court, but the above narration plainly shows that the writer of the letter was in error.

¹ Apparently when Monserrat accompanied Akbar to Lahore. See p. 54 above.

² The two letters in Spittilli’s book are not divided. The point of division selected above seems the most natural one.

³ Akbar returned from Kashmir to Lāhor in October 1590 and remained there till he started for Kashmir again in the spring of 1592.

⁴ Hough calls him Leighton and he may have been an Englishman but we seem to have no further particulars about him. In Latin he is called *Leitanus*.

It was not long however before the Fathers actually did come back. The mission came somehow to an abrupt conclusion, but we have no further details regarding the time of, or the reason for, its sudden termination.¹

THE THIRD MISSION 1595-1605.

There was obviously some disappointment at Goa, if not in Rome itself, at the break up of the Second Mission. It was still thought that Akbar was on the point of embracing Christianity. 'Venerunt filii usque ad partum,' says the chronicler, 'sed virtus non est parieudi.' There was considerable joy therefore when a third embassy from Akbar arrived in 1594,² bearing letters to the Viceroy which requested the despatch of a further mission. The Provincial was urged to comply and at once did so. The selection of a priest to conduct the mission was determined by lot and the lot fell on Jerome Xavier, a nephew of the great St. Francis, and at that time head of the Professorial House at Goa. With him were appointed Father Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes; and the party, taking with them the ornaments and vessels necessary for church worship and accompanied by the Armenian interpreter who had been with Aquaviva, embarked on their journey on the 3rd December, 1594.

[There can be little doubt that the members of the party were picked men. Jerome Xavier had entered the Society at Alcalá twenty six years previously and had spent most of his service in India, firstly as Rector at Bassein, then at Cochin and finally at Goa. Without possessing the enthusiastic asceticism of Aquaviva, he was an earnest man of mature age who had spent most of his life in teaching and who had enjoyed positions of trust. For twenty three years he was to remain at the Mogul Court; sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison; working sometimes for the spiritual conversion of Emperors, at other times for the material advancement of his compatriots: maintaining on the whole a prominent and honoured position, but like most of those who have striven with native courts, finding himself little more advanced at the end than at the beginning. At last in 1617, he returned to Goa, and died there on the 17th June of that year, being at the time Archbishop elect of Cranganore.³

¹ Possibly there was some difficulty about the mission accompanying Akbar to Kashmir whither he went in the spring of 1592.

² Early in 1594 Akbar had issued a decree that if any of the infidels wished to build a church or synagogue or idol temple or fire temple, none were to prevent them. *Bad.* (Bib. Ind.), II, 392.

³ See *Biographie Universelle* sv. and De Backer's *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Liège 1861) serie 7, sv.

Of one of his companions, Pinheiro, we know little beyond what is shown in the letters quoted below. He seems to have been the first of the Jesuits on these missions to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than to the Court, and he was for many years pastor of a considerable congregation in Lāhor: but he also exercised a certain amount of influence with the Emperor.

The remaining member of the party, Benedict of Goes, was perhaps the most remarkable as he is certainly the best known of the three. Born at the Azores in 1562, he had served as a soldier in Portuguese India and had while in that position abandoned himself to a life of dissipation. When not yet twenty six years of age he had suddenly repented of his sins and had turned Jesuit. The mission to Lāhor was his first piece of notable service, but after eight years had passed the accounts received of the country of Thibet induced his superiors to send him on the adventurous journey with which his name is now chiefly associated. On January 6th, 1603, he started from Agra disguised as an Armenian and travelled by way of Kābul and Yārkand through the heart of Thibet to Sao-chen on the confines of China, arriving there in 1607 only to die.^{1]}

The Father Provincial's report of November 1595 with its enclosures.

Our first information regarding this mission is contained in a report² of November, 1595, from the Provincial at Goa to the General of the Society at Rome, which encloses three letters of great interest.

The Mission had gone by sea to Damān and thence to Cambay, and the first of the Provincial's enclosures is a letter despatched by Father Pinheiro from Cambay. He tells of the eagerness of the people to attend the services held by the Fathers, and describes among other curiosities the hospitals for animals and the customs of the Jain sectaries whom he calls 'Verteas.'³ At Cambay the Mission met the Emperor's second son, Sulṭān Murād, formerly Monserrat's pupil, who accorded to the Fathers a brief but favourable audience in the citadel on the evening before the Nativity, and shortly afterwards left the city for Surāt. But on New Year's day when he was only a league from Cambay, he sent a summons to the Fathers, which reached them at 3 A.M., while they were celebrating the feast of the Circumcision. Completing the service they hastened to the camp, where they found the Prince in full darbār and were interrogated by him regarding the climate and customs of Portugal,

¹ Yule's *Cathay and the way Thither* II 549-596.

² See Peruschi's *Historica Relatio*, (p 43 above).

³ sc. ? Birtia. Their religion he says is contained in Gujarātī books (libris, litteris et notis Guzzarati) cf. p. 70 below.

the occupations of royalty in Europe, hunting, falconry, &c. Religion did not interest the Prince, and the Father writes of him 'Moscheis parum addictus est, sed nec nunquam vidit. Totus est in venando et spatiando.'

So far Pinheiro from Cambay. On November 6th 1595 the Provincial at Goa received two further letters reporting the arrival of the Mission at Lāhor, and these letters constitute the remaining enclosures of his communication to the General at Rome.

The former of the two letters is from Jerome Xavier and is dated from Lāhor the 20th August 1595. It is addressed to the General of the Society, and giving as it does a most interesting account of the reception of the Mission by Akbar it may be quoted in full:—

'I wrote to Your Reverence,' he says, 'from Goa, describing how I was despatched under the holy discipline of our Society to the Court of the Great Mogul, and with what heartfelt zeal we started on our journey. Although this place is only three month's distance from Goa we took five months to reach it. Our route by land took us for nearly 230 leagues through the Mógul's territory. He received us publicly with great honour and kindness, and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of his Court. Hitherto he has spoken a little with us regarding the sum of the whole matter, but nothing regarding the Faith. He often times admonishes us with great kindness to learn the language so that he may speak to us without an interpreter on matters that touch his salvation. He has at the same time had us informed through one of his near friends whom he employs on matters of religion that if we knew Persian we should loose a great knot that now holds him bound. The king declares himself to be well affected toward matters touching the Christian faith. He has images of Our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin, which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe, and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in his arms for a long time in spite of the fatigue which their size entails. One day he came to our service and while we recited the Litanies he remained like a Christian prince with his knees bent and hands clasped. He spent no little time in observing carefully our pictures and enquired regarding the mysteries which they portray, In the month of August on the occasion of the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin he sent us his own pictures, although we had only hinted in the most distant way that we should like to have them: moreover he sent us very costly gold and silk cloths wherewith his own servants handsomely adorned our chapel, and he showed the greatest love and affection for the Blessed Virgin, which in very truth he feels. I say the same with respect to the Prince,¹ for he was seriously angry with our Muhammadan guide for bringing with him no image of the Mother of God, and when bidding another to make extensive purchases, he particularly ordered him

¹ Salīm, the future Emperor Jahāngīr.

not to fail to bring with him a fine picture of Our Lord, and as a Portuguese painter had come with us, he at once desired a copy to be painted of a picture of the Blessed Virgin which we had with us. So also when he came with his Royal Father to our Chapel, and saw there the child Jesus and a Crucifix, he immediately wished to have similar images made of ivory by his own workmen. This prince is about 30 years old¹ and shows great affection for us and easily obtains for us whatever we ask for from the Emperor. On the first day on which we addressed him, he promised us all that was necessary for the erection of a church and arranged with the Emperor to mark out a site for its construction. When the rainy season commenced, we ventured to remind him on the subject, and he reiterated his promise, adding that he would arrange with his father to appoint men at once to see to the business. The Emperor gave us leave to bring together as many as might so wish to the Church of Christ. He has utterly cast out Muḥammad (Mahumetam prorsus exterminavit) and leans toward the superstition of the Heathen, worshipping God and the Sun. He proclaims himself to be a prophet and declares that he does miracles, curing the sick by the water in which he washes his feet. Many women pay vows to him for the recovery of sons that are sick or for the power to produce children: and if successful they offer to him their votive gifts which, however small, are accepted by him with the greatest pleasure. The heathen are in great favour with him: so much so that it is wonderful that the Muhammadans endure it so long. The Prince too scoffs at Muḥammad. We are entirely occupied now in learning the Persian language, and our progress leads us to believe that by God's grace we shall have mastered it within a year, and then we shall be able to say that we are at Lāhor, for hitherto we have been, as it were, dumb statues, (et tunc dicere poterimus nos esse in Lahor: hactenus enim sumus velut statuæ mutæ). May God in his mercy look not on our sins but on the price with which He has redeemed the souls around us, and may he give to our tongues such strength and eloquence as may enable us to touch their hearts and reap for our labours the fruits which your Reverence and our whole Society expects. Wherefore we desire exceedingly to commend ourselves to the holy blessing and ministration and prayers of your Reverence. From the Court of Lāhor, the 20th August 1595.

If your Reverence would send to the Emperor and the Prince a beautiful and large picture of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity, they would receive the same with much affection and kindness. We would also that some little pictures were sent to us for certain Christians who ask eagerly for them.'

The second of the letters received at Goa from Lāhor in November 1595 is from Father Pinheiro. It is dated 'The Court of the Great Mogul, 3rd. Sept. 1595,' and is addressed 'ad P. Ioannem Alnaretz Assistentem'. The Father begins by describing the journey to Lāhor. On

¹ Jahāngir was born in August 1569. and was therefore in his 26th year.

3rd. December 1594 the party had left Goa proceeding to Damān, and thence to Cambay and Aḥmadābād, and the Father repeats some of the information given in his letter from Cambay above quoted. He adds however a short sketch of the Jogis of Gujarāt who he says, 'are like our monks', and refers to the veneration in which the cow is held. He also gives an interesting and enthusiastic description of the tomb of a certain 'Cazis, magister cujusdam regis Guzzarati', situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Aḥmadābād, 'opus inter Barbaros minime barbarum.'¹ On Mar. 19th. 1595 the party left Aḥmadābād, reaching Pattan on the 24th which was Easter Eve according to the Gregorian calendar. The Fathers had great difficulty in persuading the Armenians in the caravan to celebrate Easter on the following day, but ultimately they all agreed, 'ex mero timore quia redeundum illis erat per terram nostram vel quia cesserant veritati,' except one old man (excepto uno doctore vetulo pertinace) who celebrated his own Easter by himself later on. The cities they passed through were utterly ruined, and the people were heathen though the chief buildings were mosques; food ran short, the heat was intense, the mirages were very irritating, and they were all glad when on May 5th 1595 they entered Lāhor.²

There the Fathers were honourably received by the Emperor:—

'He ordered,' writes Pinheiro, 'that we should lodge in a part of the spacious palace which he himself inhabits, near to the river which passes at a distance of fifteen spans. In size the river equals a lake. No one may enter to us except Christians coming to Mass and such heathen and Muhammadans as we may permit, for the guards bar the way to all others. On the evening following our arrival the Emperor called us and showed us pictures of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, and held them in his arms with as much reverence as though he were one of our priests. When we saw the holy pictures we knelt down, and seeing this the Emperor's ten-year-old grandson,³ the Prince's son, also clasped his hands and bent his knees: whereon the Emperor was delighted and said to the prince 'Look at your son.' These same pictures the Emperor delivered to us at the Festival of the Blessed Virgin to be deposited in our chapel. Then he showed us his books which were many and good. Such as the Royal Bible, then other Bibles, Concordances, four parts of the Summa of S. Thomas, one work against the heathen and another against the Jews and Saracens &c., Soto, S. Antoninus, the Histo-

¹ Apparently the tomb of Ganj Bakhsh, though the description does not quite tally.

² The route followed from Pattan is not stated. The party had intended to go by Sindh (that is apparently viā Tatta and Multān), but the Governor was too engaged in keeping the Ramzān to attend to them.

³ Khusrū was born in 1587-9: the exact date is not known (Bl. *As.* I, 310): he would therefore not be more than 8 years old.

ria Pontificum, the Chronica of S. Francis, Sylvester, Navarrus, and Caietanus—these two in duplicate. Also the Laws of Portugal, the Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, the Constitutions of the Society, and the Exercitia, and the 'Ars' of Father Alvarez and several other books.¹ He gave us as many as we asked for, to wit all the above mentioned. Both Emperor and Prince favoured us and treated us with much kindness: and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desires us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit. It is his custom to go out to a certain dāis which projects into the Courtyard of the Palace, whither all the Governors and a large number of others collect to meet him: and thither we also went sometimes to see him. When he observed us he greeted us with great kindness, bowing his head, and bade us come near and take a convenient seat: an honour which he does not show even to the kings and princes that stand at his side.'

Pinheiro goes on to describe the great gifts brought to Akbar, and more particularly the manner in which he received, on the 28th August 1595, the penitent Viceroy of Qaudahār,² and the gifts he received from him and from the Prince Sultān Murād, the Viceroy of Bengal and others. He then continues:

'The Emperor and the Prince have often times given us leave to build our Church: but when we for certain reasons pretended we had forgotten about it, lo! at the Festival of St. Mary at Nives,³ the Emperor again said 'Fathers, build a Church and make all Christians as many as of their own free will desire to be Christians.' But when we asked him for a written expression of his will under his own hand, he replied that he himself as a living document would meet the case. The Prince also often promised that he would supply all that was necessary for the building: a site has been fixed which is extremely convenient and near the palace: and we trust in God that the harvest will be plentiful. The Emperor has entirely overturned (*omnino evertit*) the Muhammandan heresy and does not recognize

¹ The Biblia Regia is perhaps the same as that presented by Aquaviva (p. 50 above.) S. Thomas is Aquinas. Soto is probably Domingo de Soto a scholastic writer of the middle of the sixteenth century. S. Antoninus of Forciglione lived 1389—1459. Sylvester may be the second Pope of that name, a considerable writer on theology (d. 1008.) Navarrus is perhaps Father Juan Aspigueta, surnamed Navarro, Jesuit Missionary in Brazil and a connection of the Xaviers (d 1555.) Cardinal Cajetan (1470—1534) who cited Luther at Augsburg was a writer on Aquinas and other subjects. The Commentaries are those of the great Albuquerque published by his son in 1557. The Exercitia Spiritualia are the Devotions issued by Ignatius Loyola and the 'Ars' appears from Du Jarric's translation to have been a Latin Grammar.

² Vicerex Canaha frater consobrinnus Satamas. Probably Muzaffar Husain, Cousin of Shāh 'Abbās. (Blochm. *Āin*: I. 313). Satamas, sc. Shāh 'Abbās not Shāh Tahmāsp. cf. Arber, English Garner III, 316.

³ August 5th.

it as a true faith. In the city there is no mosque (*moschea nulla est*) and no copy of the Qurān, which is the Scripture of their own faith. The mosques previously erected have been turned into stables and public granaries,¹ and to shame the Muhammadans forty or fifty swine are brought every Friday into the Emperor's presence to fight with each other, and he has their tusks bound with gold. The Emperor is the founder of a new sect and wishes to obtain the name of a prophet. He has already some followers, but only by bribing (*sed auro corruptos*). He worships God and the Sun. He is a Heathen. He follows, however, the sect of the Verteas² who live together like monks in one body and undergo many penitential observances. They eat nothing that has had life. Before they sit down they clean the spot with cotton brushes, in case they should sit on and kill some insect. These Verteas hold that the world has existed from all eternity: though some of them deny this and hold that many worlds have existed in the past. They have also other foolish and ridiculous tenets, with which I need not trouble Your Reverence. We are working hard to learn the Persian language: for the Emperor has desired us to become acquainted with it so that he may treat with us alone concerning our Faith. We have opened a school of letters which is attended by some sons of hereditary princes and by three sons of a certain king who serves Akbar himself.³ Two of these pupils wish to embrace Christianity and have recently asked to be allowed to do so. Another is so affected that he seems to be one of our most pious pupils, and asks to be admitted into orders. This latter on entering our chapel knelt down before Our Lord Christ and casting his turban on the ground said: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, remember me.' May God preserve him and fulfil his holy desire. There are some catechumens and some already become Christians, who though not in the first rank are yet souls redeemed by the blood of Christ. A Muhammadan asked one of our pupils one day, why he drank in spite of the day being an ordained fast day. He answered: 'Who ordained this fast?' 'Muhammad' replied the other. 'But who is Muhammad,' said the young man, 'save a false prophet and an impostor?' This he repeated in public at the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin before a number of men who were seeking after Christianity, and added that this was his glory. The Muhammadans were astonished, and presently one said: 'If you are a Christian, join yourself to the Christians.' But he returned to the chapel, and after receiving the holy water betook himself to prayer. I could recount much of this nature, but I make an end for fear of wearying Your Reverence, whom I earnestly beg to remember us and to send us some sacred relics for ourselves and for these our little seedlings, and to obtain for us the blessing of Our Father the General of the Society. For the rest, I commend myself again and again to your holy ministrations'

¹ This statement is supported by Bādaunī. See Noor. 1, 479.

² See p. 65 above, and cf. Thevenot III., ch. 36.

³ From a subsequent letter of Xavier's these would seem to have been the sons of the ruler of Badakhshān. See pp. 78 and 80 of this paper.

From the Annual Report of the Jesuit Missions for 1597,¹ we learn that the new Church at Lāhor was opened on the 7th September of that year with great ceremony,² and that the Governor of the City attended in person. The Governor stayed for two hours conversing with Pinheiro in the house, and to show his favour to the new religion released a 'Chaldaean Christian' who had been condemned to death for killing a cow. About this time there was a great pestilence in the City and many children abandoned by their parents were baptized. Among those seized by the plague was a Milanese gunner (*uber aenorum tormentorum*) who had travelled almost all over Europe and had contracted many vices; before he died, however, he repented of his sins, leaving his books³ and his money to the Church.

Letters from Lāhor, 1598-9.

Meanwhile, the chroniclers tell us, Akbar had gradually hardened his heart, setting up for himself a religion of his own and declining to accept that put before him by the Padres. To punish him God brought upon him two great misfortunes. For firstly, his son Murād received a severe check in his operations against the Deccan;⁴ and secondly, on Easter day 1597, as he sat on the terrace of his palace at Lāhor celebrating a feast of the sun, a fire came from heaven which burnt up a large part of the palace, consuming a vast mass of valuable carpets, jewellery, thrones and the like, and causing the molten gold and silver to run down through the streets of the city! That a fire did occur in the palace about this time is a historical fact,⁵ and in order to allow of the rebuilding necessitated by it, Akbar determined to proceed for the summer to Kashmir. With him went Xavier and Goes, leaving Pinheiro to see to the building of the new house and church at Lāhor. Our next letter is one addressed to the General of the Society, which was despatched from Lāhor by Jerome Xavier in 1598, after his return from Kashmir. The contents of this letter have been abstracted and published by Mr. H. Beveridge in an article on 'Father Jerome Xavier,' which appeared in the Society's *Journal*, as recently as

¹ *Annus Litterarum Soc. Jesu anni 1597.* (Neapoli 1607) p. 570

² The site of this Church is, I believe, unknown. According to Bernier (Amst. Ed. 1728 II. 80) it was destroyed by Shāh Jahān. When Desideri passed through on his way to Thibet in 1714, he found no clergy in the place at all (*Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* XV. 184)

³ These were apparently written by himself. They included some, '*artis fusoriae precepta artemque distensorum operum ad bellicosus usus continentes: in quibus erat et illud quibus artibus Mogori Diensem Armuzinamque arcem tenderet.*'

⁴ Defence of Ahmadnagar by Chānd Bibi, 1595-6.

⁵ Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 132.

1888, but it may be convenient to give here a somewhat fuller description of the purport of the letter.¹

It begins with an account of the valley of Kashmir which Xavier and Benedict de Goes had visited with the Emperor in the previous summer. It mentions the temperate climate, the wild ducks, the fertility of the land, the number of streams and the vines growing on the mulberry trees. One of the antiquities, which it is rather difficult to identify, is thus described: 'Not far from the city is seen an old Palace of exquisite workmanship, built in black stone, the columns and porticos of which are composed of blocks exceeding the ordinary measurement. It is commonly said that when the city followed heathen rites (for the inhabitants embraced Muhammadanism three hundred years ago) it used to reach to this place.'

Then follows an account of a great famine in the valley.² The mothers would put out their children on the streets to die and the priests would then collect and baptize them. Sometimes the mothers would themselves call in the priests to baptize their children at the point of death, and when the priests were about to leave the valley, a woman besought them to take charge of her child. The journey back across the mountains was slow and full of difficulty, but at last on November 13th [1597] they reached Lāhor, exactly six months after they had left it. The Governor and people who had previously threatened to stone them now received them with a certain amount of cheerfulness. The Emperor and the Prince reached Lāhor a few days later: the latter having been mercifully preserved from the attack of a lioness whom, during the journey, he had wounded in the chase.

The Father then returns to a more particular account of the progress of his mission:—

'At Christmas [1597] our brother Bendict de Goes prepared a manger and cradle as exquisite as those of Goa itself, which heathens and Muhammadans, as well as Christians, thronged to see. In the evening masses were said with great ceremony, and a pastoral dialogue on the subject of the Nativity was enacted by some youths in the Persian tongue, with some Hindūstānī proverbs interspersed (*adjunctis aliquot Indūstani sententiis*).³ This gave such satisfaction that one Muhammadan in the

¹ See Oranus '*Japonica, Sinensia, Mogorana*' and the Maintz work referred to on p. 44 above. Copies of the letter are also to be found in Hay and De Dieu.

² The Empire generally had suffered from the failure of the rains of 1596 (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 94). Xavier is said to have had fever for two months during his stay in the valley, but his own letter does not mention this.

³ An earlier use of the word 'Hindūstānī' than those given in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. The word is probably used, as it still is in native parlance, to describe the native as opposed to the Persian language: and does not connote the same tongue as Urdū Cf. p. 58 above, and p. 96 below.

audience said to another: 'We call the Christians Kāfirs—that is, a people who know not God or His Prophet: but verily we are Kāfirs ourselves, when, though students of the seers and prophets, we lack, as you hear, the knowledge of God and of things divine which the Christians possess.' Wherefore they were much refreshed and pleased at these pious exercises and gladly described to their own people the things which they had seen. So also did some of the Heathen. At the conclusion of the sacred office the gates were opened to all: and such was the piety of the throng of Heathen and Muhammadans that on seeing the child Jesus lying in the cradle they bowed themselves to the ground in worship. The exhibition of some mysteries of the sacred scripture gave us an opportunity of preaching on matters concerning our faith. Such was the crowd of spectators in those days that the cradle was kept open till the 8th day after Epiphany—the fame of the spectacle spread through the town and brought even outsiders to see the sight. And to crown all it pleased certain captains and military leaders to inform the Emperor, thinking that the sight should be seen even by the Emperor himself. Nevertheless the Heathen showed us some greater signs of approbation than the Muhammadans, for they offered vows to the Mother of God and presented such gifts as lay within the power of each. One woman when asked why she had brought a gift replied that she had asked 'Bībī Mariam,'—that is, the Lady Mary, for so they call the Blessed Virgin—to grant her a son, and as she had obtained her prayer she had brought this gift in memory thereof as a token of thankfulness.

Nor is it the common people and lower classes alone, but also the Princes themselves, that have recourse to Mary the Mother of Pity to obtain some boon. One of the Princes having with a view to some supplication brought two candles, four palms in length and so thick as to be scarcely grasped with two hands, closed his eyes like a man in prayer and meditation, while he handed one of them to the Priest to be burnt and consumed—as they themselves express it—to the honour of the Lord Jesus. With the same ceremony he presented the other to be burnt to the worship and glory of the Lady Mary. Then he gave 30 gold pieces in alms and we distributed these to the poorer Christians.

The love and affection felt by the Prince towards the Christian faith leads him as occasion offers, to defend and protect it. So it happened that when a Muhammadan said in his presence that the Fathers of the Society ate swine's flesh and he understood not what manner of life the Christians followed, the Prince replied that that was no reason why he should think or speak ill of them, in that they had the law of the Gospel, the prophets and the sacred scripture, to which they conformed all their actions.

He professes publicly his devotion and reverence to the Lord Christ and to the Lady Mary (I use the words which they employ) and for that reason has in his bed-chamber painted likenesses of them both, which he one day exhibited at his window to prove that this was so.

A Christian had presented him with a carved image of our Saviour on the cross with the two thieves hanging on either side, and when in the

presence of a number of persons he asked the full significance of the image he gave me an opportunity of spending some good time in explaining the sufferings and passion of Christ. I did the same on another occasion in the midst of a crowd of men, taking as my text a Japanese dagger on the head of which were a cross and some studs: the Prince meantime listening attentively to me from a window.

One day as I visited him I found him with two painters who were tracing out by the application of colour some small pictures, one of which represented the Angels appearing to the shepherds, and the other the Descent from the Cross:¹ and when he asked what these meant and of whom they were likenesses, I renewed the discourses I had previously entered on before him regarding the sacred passion of Our Lord Christ. I also disputed with his teacher (magistro) regarding the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation of the Son of God for man's salvation, and the Prince showed himself satisfied with my replies. When he desired to know of me the way in which Christians conduct their prayers, I spoke of the difficulty experienced by those who pray to God with the arms outstretched and with the body held in the form of a cross. When a companion of the Prince heard this he asked where the difficulty lay, and said he was able and willing to stand for an hour with his arms outstretched in the required position. The Prince then told him to try. He laughed and took up the position of the cross, but when after a little time he was asked how he felt he acknowledged he was a little weary, and again after a moderate interval he said he felt bodily pain and could not hold up his tired arms any longer, and he manifested such signs of distress as to move the Prince and the bystanders to laughter. The Prince then made two others try it, but they soon became weary and their calls for pity excited the derision of the onlookers. Thereafter the Prince having retired to a secret place attempted the experiment himself and when little over quarter of an hour had elapsed he brought himself to such a state of pain that he could scarcely

¹ There are many other evidences of the interest felt by the Mughal sovereigns in Christian Art besides the incidents recorded by the Jesuits: and it would be interesting to put together the information available on the subject. Reference may be made to the supposed 'Annunciation' and 'Fall' at Fatehpur Sikri: (see Smith's *Mogul Archt. of Fatehpur Sikri*): the Virgin and St. Ignatius at Sikandra (Manrique, *Itin* 1653, p. 350. Catroux, p. 135. cf. Finch in Kerr VIII. 305): and the pictures at Lāhor of Christ and the Virgin, the Flood and the Baptism in Jordan (Purchas, *Pilg.* I. IV. 432. De Laet, *India Vera* 1681, 59. Thevenot, III. ch. 36. Finch in Kerr VIII. 296. della Valle, III. 12-94. Tosi, I. 97. Harris, I. 815. Thornton's *Lahore*, 53 and 122. M. Latif's *Lahore*, 120. Herbert, 68, etc.). Those who saw Col. H. B. Hanna's exhibition of native pictures in London in May 1890, will also recollect the 'Temptation,' the 'Adoration of the Magi,' the 'Madonna descending near a Hindu temple,' and 'the Emperor Jahāngīr sitting in a palace on the walls of which are a Madonna and an Ecce Homo.' It is possible that the winged figures of the period (e.g., on the walls of the Lāhor fort, on the gate of the Gola Sarāi at Lāhor, etc.) owe something to the influence of Christian art: though such figures are not unknown in Persian and other Oriental paintings.

move his cramped and half-dead limbs, and acknowledging the severity of the pain said he had endured it for as long a time as that for which Christ our Lord is recorded to have hung upon the cross. Then he began to talk at great length regarding the pains and bodily afflictions which Christians of their own accord undergo and his words caused much sensation among those that stood by. In confirmation of his account he spoke of Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, whose intimate friend he had been, saying how one night when sleeping near him he heard a sound as though he were moving in the far end of his room. When the sound ceased he entered the Father's room and found there a whip so covered with blood that drops were falling on the floor. He asked him what the sound meant. The holy Father however, tried to cover with a laugh what the flush on his face and the modesty of his eyes plainly betrayed. The hearers were much moved by this account and they put credence in the Prince's words.

Another day we had a dispute regarding continence and chastity and those who preserve themselves pure and chaste according to the prescribed law of Christ, which same is the very point of the whole difficulty and of the cause why the Muhammadans, sunk as they are in lust and incontinence are not initiated in the mysteries of Christianity. The Prince affirmed that if the Gospel permitted polygamy, many would accept it, in that its other teachings are conformable to reason. Nor is it hard to understand he should find such difficulty in preserving temperance, when it is remembered that although not yet 36 years old he has twenty women as his lawful wives.

He was so anxious for things imported hither from Portugal and India¹ and especially for the pictures of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, the Queen of the Angels (to whose care he says he commends himself), that he excites our wonder. Hence it happened that once when some baggage arrived at this Court from Cambay he had it taken over to his palace and opening it took out whatsoever he pleased, paying however a just price to the owners. For the same reason on account of the great friendship he has for us, and mindful of the old saying, 'Friends have all things in common' he takes whatsoever he chooses from the things which are sent to us from Goa. He once² retained some pictures, one of which the Provincial Father had intended for him, and when he pointed to one which was represented as smiling, it struck me that that was the picture which the Father wished to give him and I said that the Great Father³ (for so they call the Provincial) had sent it to His Highness. On hearing this he was much delighted that his name was honoured even in Goa, and to show his gratitude for the gift he presented us with two pieces of tapestry as ornaments for the altar of the Lord Jesus, and added afterwards a third and yet more beautiful one.

Enough as regards the Prince. Now let us say something concerning

¹ That is the peninsula of India: the north of India was known as 'Mogor.'

² This incident is omitted in the Mainz version of the letter. The present translation is taken from Ormus' version.

³ No doubt 'Barã Padre.'

the Emperor. It is not customary in the East to appear before royalty empty-handed: accordingly when I had to lay before the Emperor the letter delivered to me by the Father Provincial, I presented him on the Father's behalf with two exquisite pictures made in Japan: one of Christ Our Lord and the other of the blessed Father Ignatius.¹ These were much admired: but the picture of the blessed Father Ignatius was especially pleasing to the Emperor as it was new and he had never seen it before. He enquired whom it represented and when I had explained this at some length he asked me to write his life in Persian for the good of the whole kingdom. Meantime the Prince came up and, seeing the picture, begged that it might be given to him until he could get it copied by a painter. On another day, when I went to pay my respects to the Emperor, he handed to me the letter I had brought from the Father Provincial and bade me read it aloud; which I also did, first in Portuguese, then in Persian. When I had read the letter, the Emperor showed himself much pleased at the Father having written that he was deeply obliged for the benefits and favours conferred upon us, and at his having at Goa commended him to the care of the Lord Jesus. I with great reverence raised my hat at the most holy Name of Jesus, and before I could explain the honour I rendered to the sacred name, he seized my hand and declared to his captains of thousands and of hundreds that the Christians held in the highest regard and reverence the holy Name of Jesus, and that this was the reason why I had uncovered. Then turning to me he said: 'Is it not so?' and I answered that he had spoken truly. When I had finished the letter of the Father Provincial, I read that of Father Monserrat, and the Emperor asked me why this Father had, as he had heard from others, been captured and detained by the Turks.² I said that the Muhammadans (Mauros) and Turks, were most hostile to Christians and treated them as ill as possible, for opposing the law and sect of Muhammad, although they should love and cherish them, being indeed loved greatly by them as brothers and men eager for salvation who had pointed out the way of truth and were ready to lay down their lives for the same: and that not many days had passed since the blessed Father Abraham de Georgiis, the Maronite, had been killed on his way to Prester John on account of his profession of the Christian faith and had won the palm of martyrdom.³ This speech of mine was audible in open court and there was no lack of hearers: but the Muhammadans showed by their perturbed faces and angry eyes that they ill brooked to hear the exaltation of the true God and the utter degradation of the crime-stained Muhammad. Nór were they a little shocked to hear their cursed Prophet so fearlessly accused and detested by us. One of them out of close friendship for us warned me to treat of Christianity with caution and prudence, as no Muhammadan there present 'did not thirst for our blood,' and

¹ *I.e.*, Loyola. This picture or a copy seems to have been preserved for some time in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. See Manuchi-Catrou, p. 135.

² See p. 49 above.

³ See Guzman, I. 236.

I myself' said he, 'though a true and no false friend of yours, yet whenever I hear you speak against Muhammad, I so burn with wrath and indignation that I frequently desire to stab you as you stand.'

'The Emperor¹ is gifted with a wonderful memory, so that although he can neither read nor write, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him. He sleeps little and lightly, and spends a good part of the night in hearing history read to him. If any stranger comes to Court, he at once sends for him and minutely interrogates him as to what he has seen and by what road he has travelled. At about midnight he retires for half an hour for his devotions and then his learned men assemble and dispute with one another. One night I chanced upon them and found them discussing the point so new and incredible to Muhammadans 'Can God have a Son?' The Emperor set his Chronologist² to dispute with me and when I soon vanquished him, he ordered a more learned man to help the non-plussed one. On the fourth day of the moon³ musical instruments, in which he much delights, were brought in and also some images and among them the likeness of the sun, which he worships every day at dawn. But thinking that I might object that the sun was not God, but only a created thing and the work of God, he ordered it to be removed and straightway the idol vanished. There was then brought in the likeness of our Saviour bound to a pillar, and this he placed on his head as a sign of reverence and worship (a thing which he did not do to the image of the sun.) He took a pleasure in hearing the narration of the conversion of St. Paul and of Constantine the Great.

He told me that nearly twenty years ago he had thirty children shut up before they could speak, and put guards over them so that the nurses might not teach them their language. His object was to see what language they would talk when they grew older, and he was resolved to follow the laws and customs of the country whose language was that spoken by the children. But his endeavours were a failure, for none of the children came to speak distinctly, wherefore at this time he allowed no law but his own.⁴

After much vacillation and much obstruction from our opponents, he gave us leave to build a Church at Cambay; the same favour could not be obtained in the case of Sindh,⁵ on account of the vehement opposition encountered.'

¹ The translation of this and the next para. is taken from that given by Mr. Beveridge, *J. A. S. B.* 1888, p. 37.

² Perhaps, Mr. Beveridge suggests, Mīr Faṭḥu-llāh of Shirāz: but Faṭḥu-llāh had apparently died before this. Blochm., *Āin* I. 33n; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* V. 469.

³ *Ad quartum Lunæ.* Mr. Beveridge thinks there is some mistake but the Mainz version also uses the same expression.

⁴ Cf. Badāunī, II. 288. (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* V. 533) and *Dabistān* (Shea's transl.) II. 90.

⁵ Mr. Beveridge thinks this probably means India proper. The original in Oranus is '*idem pro Sindo tentatum*,' and in the Mainz version '*idem tentatum reat per Sindum*.' A Church was established some years later at Tatta.

Father Jerome goes on to mention the case of an Armenian Christian who wished to marry his deceased wife's sister.¹ The Father had refused to sanction the marriage, and the Armenian, having embraced the Emperor's new religion, enlisted the Emperor's sympathy so far as to induce him to call for the Fathers and expostulate with them. They held stoutly to their refusal and ultimately the case was referred to Prince Salim, who expressed his indignation at the Armenian's desertion of his original faith. The incident was looked on by the Fathers as one of great importance, bringing them as it did into opposition to the '*secta pestilens et perniciosa nove a Rege instituta.*'

The letter proceeds to record an occasion on which the Prince asked if he could 'see St. James,' and the Father went so far as to say: 'Yes; if Your Highness will become a Christian and be baptized.' On another occasion the Father was asked why more persons were possessed by devils in Christendom than among Muhammadans, he did not deny the fact, but explained it—to the amusement of his hearers—by replying that the devil having the Muhammadans already in his power could afford to neglect them! The Father adds in his letter that a 'young son'² of the King of Badakhshān, who was eighteen years of age and was to marry the Prince's daughter, had informed him that if the Prince embraced Christianity he would do the same.

Xavier then goes on to describe the usages of the heathen. He first describes the idol at Kāngra (Nazar Coto)³ and gives the story that men who cut off their tongues and present them to the idol receive them back whole. He then mentions certain metaphysical and cosmographical theories of the Hindūs and details at some length the avatārs of Vishnu. As regards the tenth avatār, he writes, some said it was Akbar himself.

Then follow some narrations of persons baptized at the point of death, and of others cured by receiving baptism or by having the Gospel read to them, and the letter concludes with the account of the opening for mission work in Cathay, which has already been published in Sir Henry Yule's 'Cathay and the way Thither,' Vol II. p. 532.

So far Jerome Xavier. When Akbar left Lahore for Agra, which he appears to have done towards the end of 1598,⁴ he was accompanied by Xavier and by Benedict de Goes, Pinheiro being left again in charge

¹ So the Maintz version, which the context shows to be correct. Oranus has '*neptem.*'

² Mirzā Sultān. See Blochm., *Ain* I. 313. of pp. 70 and 80 of this paper.

³ cf Jarrett, *Ain* II. 312. Purchas II. 1480.

⁴ Elphinst., *Hist. Ind.* (ed. 1857) p. 457.

of the church at Lāhor. Our next letter¹ is one written by the last named from Lāhor, some time after Whitsuntide 1599,² and it is a letter of which the counterpart might be found in almost any issue of a modern Missionary Journal. It begins by stating that since Xavier left for Agra, there had been 38 persons baptised by the mission in Lāhor: and it proceeds to describe two recent cases. One is of three Hindus converted against the will of their relations, who were conducted on Whitsunday in a procession through the city with palms in their hands, and then having passed through a large and somewhat noisy multitude to the Church, were therein baptised. The other case relates to a Muhammadan girl of sixteen years of age, who on seeing the others baptised insisted on being baptised herself and convinced the priest that she was well instructed in the faith. She was accordingly baptised under the name of 'Grace,' but her parents at once turned her out of their house. She was then addressed by a Muhammadan who wished to marry her, but from him she fled and was put by Pinheiro in charge of a married Christian. The Muhammadan complained loudly to the Governor of the city, who summoned Pinheiro and then called for the girl; at this the Muhammadan rejoiced as he would now be able to kidnap her, but Pinheiro circumvented him and brought the girl safely before the Governor, who finding her most zealous in her profession of Christianity declined to interfere. Pinheiro was greatly pleased at this triumph and the girl was shortly afterwards married to a Christian.

The Father Provincial's Report of December 1599.

The next account we have is the report sent to the General from Goa by the Provincial, Father Pimenta, in December 1599.³ Only a part of the report deals with the North of India and a good deal of this is taken up with accounts thence received regarding Thibet. In describing that country the Provincial quotes from a letter which he says was written by Xavier on the 26th July 1598. The account which he quotes is somewhat fuller than that given in the letter which Xavier addressed to the General in 1598 (see preceding page), but differs so little from it that it was presumably written about the same time.

¹ See Oranus '*Japonia, Sinensia, Mogorana*' and the Maintz version referred to on p. 44 above. Copies of the letter are also to be found in Hage and De Dieu.

² The letter is published as having been written in 1598, but the Whitsuntide feast of 1599 is mentioned in it.

³ The Latin date is 'Oct. Kal Jan. 1599' and the real date seems from the letter to be either St. Thomas' Day (December 21st), or December 25th 1599. See '*Nova Relatio*' [p. 44 above.] The Portuguese version of 1602 gives 26th November as the date.

After quoting Xavier's letter on the subject of Cathay, Father Pimenta goes on to state that when Akbar left Lāhor for Agra, Xavier and Goes had accompanied him, leaving Pinheiro at Lāhor. Akbar had while at Agra, sent his son¹ with 50,000 men against the Deccan and the country of Meliquius [Malik Ambar] in which lay Chaul, not more than 210 miles from Goa. That son having died another² had been substituted for him. Meantime Xavier had again written from Agra on 1st August 1599, regarding the country of Cathay, confirming his previous account.

Xavier's letter, which Pimenta then quotes, narrates also an interview which he had with the Emperor. Xavier asked the Emperor if three or four priests might be sent to Cathay and the Emperor replied 'Rahat met Xoda,'³ 'id est benedictio Domini super vos,' adding that he was going to send an ambassador thither and that they had better go with him. Xavier notices also the circumstance that three sons of the king of Badakhshān, who was living in India, had been pupils of the mission and that their brother was now ruling in that country.⁴

Pimenta also reports that Xavier had asked the Emperor's leave for the admission of further priests to minister to the congregations in Lāhor and Agra: that Akbar had granted a 'Diploma' or sanad accordingly, and that this sanad also gave privileges to the church at Cambay. The sanad had not been signed when Xavier wrote, but a copy was to be sent to Goa as soon as it had been signed.

The following account of a conversation held with the Emperor on the 16th July 1599, is then quoted from Xavier's letter:—

Father Xavier said to the Emperor that with his permission he wished to speak to him on a matter privately. The Emperor, having moved apart and dismissed the bystanders, remained standing and asked him what he wanted. Xavier, who for two years previously had received instructions to this effect, began as follows: 'Sire, we have received the following orders from our Superior. 'As it is now more than four years since you began studying the language, the Emperor can now doubtless understand you thoroughly, wherefore now beseech you His Majesty that, having called us to him to acquaint him with the Gospel, he should now see how he stands, so that I too may

¹ Sultān Murād died near Daulatābād, 22nd Urdūbihight 1599. (Elliot VI. 97.)

² Sultān Dāniyāl. In 1609 his three sons were baptized by the Jesuits under the names of Philippo, Carlo and Henrico, and in the same year another grandson of Akbar's was christened 'Don Edoard.' Herbert's *Travels* (1638) p. 75. According to Roe they reverted to Islām on finding they could not get Portuguese women as wives (M. Thevenot, *Relations* p. 78.)

³ Rāhat az khudā or Raḥmat-i-khudā?

⁴ See also Pinheiro's letter of 3rd September 1595 (p. 70 above) and Xavier's of 1598 (p. 78.)

know what order to give concerning you.' 'In truth,' said Xavier, 'it is very irksome to us to stand idle. Wherefore, Sire, do you not listen to us as you said you would listen: you that profess yourself a wise man and a searcher after truth?' 'I admit,' said the Emperor, 'that I called you in order to hear the truth, so that I might adopt whatever course appeared most consistent with truth and reason, but now I go toward the Deccan and shall halt near Goa, where I shall go to hear you at leisure.' He continued the conversation for some time, repeating the same language. 'I called you,' he said, 'to speak to you and listen to you in private. What? When the Muhammadans were rulers would any one have dared to say that Christ was God? He would at once have been put to death. Now he is safe.' I agreed that this was so, and thanked the Emperor, saying that if he would listen to us some time it would be a great benefit to him as well as a consolation to us. He promised to do so and closed the interview.¹

The Provincial then goes on to say that he proposed sending companions to help and solace the Fathers. And he concludes this part of his report with an account of some incidents which had taken place in connection with the mission at Lāhor:—

'This year at Christmas the Fathers at Lāhor prepared a magnificent representation of the manger in memory and honour of Our Saviour: to which thronged so great a crowd of all ages and classes that for twenty days continuously some three or four thousand persons might worship the image of the Child Jesus. One of these, a nobleman, whose wife had borne him a son at the same day and hour as that on which Christ was born, brought him to the Fathers, and allowed him to be baptized, himself and his wife becoming catechumens. Not so blessed was the fate of another Muhammadan mother, though that of her new born child was still more blessed. Her child had been baptized with her consent and at her request, but she was unable to bear the taunts of her relations and on the day before Ascension Day she placed poison in its milk. The poor child after seventeen hours of terrible torture bore testimony to Christ not in words but by death (*Christum non loquendo sed moriendo confessus*), and expired before the altar, on the feast of the Ascension, forty days after its birth and eighteen days after its baptism. Father Manoel Pinheiro writes that after the child had surrendered its soul to Christ, its face still shone with so unwonted a grace that the glory of its blessed soul which it had attained on rising to Christ appeared to be reflected on its features below.'

The Father Provincial's Report of 1st December 1600.

Our next original authority is the annual report² written by Father Pimenta, as Visitor, to the General of the Society on 1st

¹ It has been suggested by Bohlen (*Alte Indien*, I. 105) that in his refusal to adopt Christian views Akbar was influenced by the report of the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa, and Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein (Noer. *Kaiser Akbar*, I. 486) has repeated the suggestion, but I do not find anything in any of the records to show that he had heard of the Inquisition.

² '*Æsumptum Epistolae*' (Maintz.) see p. 44 above.

December, 1600. The report begins with an account of a journey made by Pimenta northwards from Goa. In January 1600 he put into Chaul and there met nine young men who had been sent by Pinheiro from Lāhor by the Sindh route. Some of these were left at Bandora 'to learn from the best masters to play on all kinds of instruments for the new church at Lāhor.' A fifth became a Jesuit and what happened to the rest is not stated. From these youths the Visitor learnt some details not stated in Pinheiro's letters. For instance how a young Catechumen was defending the faith against certain adversaries and how in the middle of the debate the leader of the adversaries was by an unseen hand felled to the ground!

At Damān, whither he afterwards proceeded, Pimenta received from Xavier a letter and a copy of a book which he had written 'against certain sects of the unbelievers, more especially that of the Muhammadans,' and had dedicated to the Emperor. It was called '*Lignum Vitæ*'¹ and was in Pimenta's opinion a work of great erudition and detail (*pereruditum et prolixum*). Father Xavier, who had learnt to speak Persian with fluency and idiom, was at the time preparing in conjunction with native scholars, a Persian translation of his work. Goes had also written to the Provincial describing among other things the fortifications of Burhānpur which Akbar was then besieging.²

The Emperor, it must be observed, had by this time reached the seat of war in the Deccan and had brought Goes and Xavier south with him. In order, therefore, to help poor Pinheiro at Lāhor, who was now 'six hundred miles distant from Father Xavier at Burhānpur,' the Visitor sent one Father Corsi,³ with instructions to see Father Xavier on the way and to obtain from him the necessary information and guidance. Father Corsi reached Cambay at the beginning of March (1600); there he was shown the order⁴ issued by Akbar for the protection of the Fathers journeying to Agra, Lāhor and Cathay, and was treated by the Governor with great courtesy. After some delay he left this city, but on the 12th May he wrote to say that he had with

¹ Du Jarric, III. 27, gives it the name of *Fons Vitæ*, and says that Akbar was introduced in it in the character of a philosopher seeking for truth. The book in question was doubtless that which was ultimately called '*Speculum Veritatis*' or '*Āina-i-Haqq-numā*.' See p. 111 below.

² See Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI. 99. Akbar arrived at Burhānpur on 30th April 1599. Noer, II. 480.

³ When Terry was in India sixteen years later, Corsi was about 50 years old. He is described as a Florentine and '(if he were indeed what he seemed to be) a man of a severe life and yet of a fair and affable disposition.' Terry's *Voyage* (Ed. 1717) p. 422.

⁴ See p. 80 above.

great difficulty passed through the bands of brigands that infested the roads, by way of Sambusar (Jambüsir) and Broach. On the 4th June 1600 he reached the Mughal camp and on the 4th August he reported to the Visitor that he hoped shortly to start for Lāhor and meantime was diligently studying the Persian language.

Events of 1600-1603.

We have no original letters available between the 1st December, 1600 and the 6th September, 1604, and our main authorities for this period are Du Jarric's History and the Relations of Guérreiro on which that history is almost exclusively based. It will suffice here to give a short resumé of the information supplied by Du Jarric.¹

The personnel of the mission altered somewhat during these years. Corsi whom we left at Burhānpur proceeded to Lāhor probably before the end of 1600. In the spring of 1602, Xavier returned with Akbar to Agra, while Goes proceeded on a mission to Goa. Pinheiro joined Xavier either at Agra or before his arrival there, and was at Agra in the spring or in the hot weather of 1602, when Goes returned to that city bringing with him a new missionary, Father Antony Machado.² Not long after this, Pinheiro departed for Lāhor and Goes seems to have followed in October 1602. Early in 1603 Goes left Lāhor for his adventurous journey through Thibet,³ and for the rest of that year, the mission was carried on in Agra by Xavier and Machado, and in Lāhor by Pinheiro and Corsi.

We are told that when the Emperor moved from Burhānpur and laid siege to Asirgarh, His Majesty ordered Xavier to write to the Portuguese for guns and ammunition, and that the Father refused on the plea that such action would be contrary to the Christian faith. 'In my opinion,' says the chronicler, 'the real reason was that the Emperor's enemies were in alliance with the Portuguese.' Be that as it may, the Emperor became extremely angry and bade the missionaries depart to Goa at once: but his anger soon blew over and they remained on as before. When the fort was taken, Xavier was instrumental in saving the lives of some half-casté renegades among the prisoners and re-converting them to Christianity. It is said, moreover, that during this Deccan campaign some seventy persons were baptized, including some who 'departed incontinently to enjoy the glory of

¹ Vol III, 30-35.

² Of Machado nothing further seems to be known. He is buried in the old cemetery at Agra, where he died in April 1635, and his name can still be deciphered on the tombstone. Fanthome, *Reminiscences of Agra*, 1895, p. 65.

³ See Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II. 537.

heaven.' Among the latter was a little female infant picked up from a dung-heap and the incident at once suggested the quotation: '*De stercore erigens pauperem ut collocet eum cum principibus.*' In the spring of 1601,¹ the Emperor returned to Agra and with him went Xavier.

While in the Deccan the Emperor despatched an embassy to Goa on some purely political object, and allowed Goes to accompany this embassy. They arrived at Goa in May 1601, bringing many costly presents, but the most precious of the presents, says Du Jarric, was a band of half-caste children who had been taken prisoners at Burhānpur and who now, after some instruction, were baptized at Goa into the faith of their fathers. While at Goa, Benedict de Goes received the orders to start upon his Thibetan journey. At the same time a Jesuit Father, Antony Machado, was appointed to take his place with Xavier, and the two set forth, arriving at Agra (if we may judge from the description of the heat) in the spring or early summer of 1602.

Meantime the Lāhor Mission had, since Pinheiro's letter of 1598, experienced some vicissitudes of fortune.

At the first, things went on well. The Viceroy was in every way favourable to the mission. Pinheiro succeeded in obtaining from him the pardon of prisoners condemned to death. Fugitives from justice took refuge in the church. The Father's intervention was constantly sought. Even great feuds such as one that broke out between the Juge-mage and the Emperor's treasurer (? the Qāzī and the Dīwān) were composed by his arbitration. When this Viceroy died and was succeeded by his brother,² efforts were made to discredit the mission, but the only result was that the maligners of the mission were imprisoned. About this time, however, a determined effort was made by some bad characters to rob the Fathers, and the detailed account of the attempted robbery, as set forth in the pages of Du Jarric, gives us a curious insight into the manners and habits of the mission. It will suffice here to note that an outsider, having brought himself into the house as a possible convert, put *datura* into the food, and when all the household was stupified called in his accomplices and broke open the Father's store room, taking away such money as there was and some relics which the Father prized more than money. The thieves apparently were not discovered, but the Viceroy and the Kotwāl came in person to the Father to offer their sympathy.

At Christmas in the year 1600, Pinheiro again appealed to the

¹ Elphinstone, *Hist. Ind.*, Ed. 1857, p. 458.

² The two friendly Viceroys appear from Pinheiro's letter of 1605 to have been Xumaradin (Qamru-d-din) and Xencão (Zain Khān.) Zain Khān Koka was Viceroy at Lāhor just before Akbar's return to Agra in 1602. (Blochm. *Ann* I. 345.)

eyes of the unbelievers by preparing a representation of the manger and the Magi, with pictures of the Prophets and Persian copies of the chief Old Testament prophecies of the birth of Christ. A passion play was also enacted in two scenes. In one appeared Adam crushed by sin, whom Simeon consoles with hopes of a Messiah: to them enters a Philosopher with whom Adam discusses the doctrine of the Incarnation. In the other Mercy and Justice dispute regarding Adam's sin: an Angel then appears announcing Christ's birth, and a Shepherd follows with the same news. Similar scenes were prepared at Easter, and on both occasions the Viceroy attended. Conversions were not as frequent as had been hoped, but we are told that Pinheiro baptised on one occasion 39 persons, on another 20, and on another 47. Details are given as of several individual cases, including one of a young man of the holy race of Xaques [Shaikhs] and one of a Chacata [Chughatai] lady who was of the blood royal. We learn incidentally moreover that the chapel services were conducted in Persian: and that the Fathers occasionally extended their ministrations to the villages in the neighbourhood. They also converted several Armenians, and Pinheiro got hold of the books and property of the Armenian 'archbishop,' who had died in trying to reach India through Persia. We learn too that the Fathers were accused of eating human flesh, of kidnapping children and of killing young men to make drugs from: and when these accusations brought them into trouble, they received the protection of the Nawāb or 'Jugemage.'¹

After Corsi's arrival, sometime in 1601, Pinheiro took the opportunity of travelling to the Emperor's head-quarters to confer with Xavier. The two Fathers went immediately to pay their respects to the Emperor taking with them a pen and ink sketch, on paper, of the Virgin Mary. The Emperor received them well, but had the sketch taken away to his private rooms at once. Thinking that he was displeased with the nature of the offering, the Fathers went again next day, and presented a picture of our Lady of Loretto on gilt metal (*calaim doré*)² which the Emperor treated most reverently '*joignant les mains fort bellement.*' He explained at the same time that he had sent the sketch away because it was unseemly that he should be sitting above on a high throne while the Virgin was below: and when Pinheiro stooped to

¹ In the course of a case described at some length by Du Jarric, the Nawāb says, '*Thama Theogoda c'est à dire La Benediction de Dieu soit sur cette femme.*' How should the original words be restored? [[?] Ghanimat-i-Khudā] In the same case mention is made of certain Hindū judges called Cateris (Khatris) and of the Coxi (?) '*qui est comme le Vicaire General du Prelat souverain des Gentils.*'

² '*Le calaim est une espèce de metal, qui vient de la Chine, semblable à l'estain, combien qu'il ne le soit pas, ayant beaucoup de melange de cuivre: mais il est blanc et on en fait de la monnaye en l'Inde: on le dore aussi come l'argent.*' Du Jarric, III. 26.

kiss his feet, he laid his hand on his shoulder 'which he does not do save to the great captains, and his special favourites.' He enquired about the manner in which the Emperor in Europe saluted the Pope, and it was explained to him, that the Pope had a cross marked on his foot, which showed that it was only in his character as Christ's representative that he had his feet kissed by the Emperor. The conversation turned then on the sign of the cross and a pupil of Pinheiro's was made to show how it was done. The Emperor asked Pinheiro if he had done it properly, and was told that he had. He also enquired why the sign of the cross was made on the forehead, mouth and chest, and a fitting explanation was given him.

During the earlier part of 1602, Goes and Machado arrived at Agra from Goa and Pinheiro went out several miles to greet them. Meantime news came from Corsi at Lāhor that the previous Viceroy having died, his successor, a bigotted Muhammadan, who had as governor of Gujrāt, imbibed a hatred of the Portuguese,¹ had commenced ill-using the Christians and endeavouring to make them renounce their faith. The Fathers at Agra, therefore, presented themselves to the Emperor (bringing with them this time pictures of the great Albuquerque and of the Viceroy of Goa, Ayres de Saldagna) and made two requests. First that Pinheiro might have leave to go back to Lāhor, a request which the Emperor granted much to their surprise, as Pinheiro was a favourite with him. And secondly, that a written order might be given to them under the Emperor's seal, expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. This also the Emperor agreed to, but then further difficulties began. The eunuch who had charge of the drawing up of the *firmān* hesitated to include so sweeping an order and consulted the 'Maitre d' hotel,' but this latter was a nephew of the Viceroy of Lāhor and interposed every possible delay: so that the Fathers in despair made use of a young courtier, a favourite of the Emperor and a former pupil of Pinheiro's, who drew the Emperor's attention to the matter and pushed it through in spite of the further objections of Agiscoa² ['Aziz Koka,] the Grand Chamberlain, whose duty it was to seal the *firmāns* and bring them to the Emperor to sign. The Fathers were delighted at their success, and

¹ *Qulij Khān* who had served in Gujrāt in 1578 and 1583 (of p. 58 above) was made Governour of the Panjāb in (circa) 1009 AH = AD 1600-1; and is probably the Viceroy here alluded to: see Blochm. *Ain* I. 34.

² He is elsewhere described by the Jesuits as the Emperor's foster brother, and they say that his son and daughter had married the Emperor's daughter and son *Mirzā 'Asiz Koka, Khān-i-A'zam*, was Akbar's foster brother: one of his daughters married Prince Murād and another Prince *Khurrau* (Blochm. *Ain* I. 325): and he is undoubtedly the person meant in the text.

when Pinheiro ultimately went to take his leave of the Emperor, he was treated with great kindness and presented with a horse for the journey.

Before Pinheiro left Agra, Xavier had laid before the Emperor a book describing in Persian, the life, miracles and doctrine of Christ.¹ With this the Emperor was so pleased that he frequently had it read to him by 'Aziz Koka, and 'Aziz Koka himself asked the Fathers for a second copy. The Emperor also asked that a similar work might be prepared to describe the lives of the apostles.²

Considerable excitement was caused about this time by a copy of the picture of the Madonna del Popolo at Rome,³ which the Fathers had with them. Although the picture had been in their possession for two years they had not dared to show it in public for fear of the Emperor taking a fancy to it. At Christmas time A. D. 1601, however, they let it be seen in the Church and immediately great crowds pressed to see it, including many Muhammadans. Among those who came were the brother and nephew of the king of Xhandar (Khandesh),⁴ a son of the king of Qandahar⁵ and other courtiers. The Emperor heard of the picture and expressed a wish to come, but, as the Fathers' house (though in the city) was a good half league from the palace, he bade the Fathers bring it to him. While Pinheiro was fetching the picture, the Emperor presented Xavier with a rich kind of waterproof and descended five steps from his throne to put it on his shoulders. When the picture came, the Emperor treated it with all possible respect, and kept it for a day to show it to his zanāna. After it had been returned, the Emperor sent for it again as his mother who had not seen it before had expressed a wish to see it. It was brought back, therefore, and the Emperor lifted it up himself and took it into the zanāna and stood by it, allowing none to come near. After it had been duly seen

¹ The *Dāstān-i-Masīḥ*: completed in 1602 (see p. 110 below). In describing Akbar's character the Provincial at Goa in 1607 wrote as follows (see *Drei Neue Relationes*): 'When once he had listened to the Life of Christ written by Jerome Xavier in Persian, he began to reverence highly the pictures of Christ and to speak more respectfully of Christ himself, though several of the Muhammadans tried to persuade him that Christ's miracles were not due to any supernatural power, but to Christ's exceeding skill as a physician, dealing with natural methods.'

² Which was apparently done. See p. 113 below.

³ The painting of the Virgin on the high altar of the Church of S. Maria del Popolo is one of those attributed to S. Luke. Forbes' *Rambles in Rome*, p. 4.

⁴ Bahādur Khān who had been besieged at Asir and who was now a prisoner at Gwāliar. *Elliot*, VI. 146.

⁵ Musaffar Khān had died in 1599-1600 and this probably refers to his eldest son Bahrām Khān (Bloohm. *Asin* I. 314). Guerreiro (p. 52) adds that the king had been driven out by 'Abduxam [Abdulla Khān] Rey de Husbec,' apparently confusing him with the king of Badakhshān.

inside, it was sent out by a eunuch to the Fathers, who then showed it publicly to a large crowd of courtiers amid 'marvellous silence.' After it had been taken home, it was once more sent for by the Emperor to allow of his having it copied by his own native painters and this time it remained several days in the palace. After this, the Fathers would not let it out of their possession, except on two occasions. On one of these it was sent to the house of 'Aziz Koka with the result that this powerful officer was thereby won over to the Jesuits' side. On another occasion it was sent to the King of Qandahār and returned with much politeness and with offers of *bakhshish* which the Fathers refused.

The Fathers meantime busied themselves in various good works. They were able to rescue from slavery, a number of half-castes who had been made prisoners in the war in the Deccan, and to baptize them after instructing them in the faith. Some other cases of baptisms are also narrated. In Lāhor, Pinheiro baptized two sons of the king of Persia's ambassador, Manuchiher, a Georgian who had been in the country six years, and was then returning to Persia. He also found means to get possession of a young Hungarian slave from Buda Pesth, who was accompanying a Turkish embassy, and to send him to Goa.¹ Moreover when a Native Christian woman who had been kidnapped in her youth and sold to a Greek who had afterwards married her, was claimed by her parents, Pinheiro was able by showing the Emperor's *firmān* to obtain for her the right to remain with her husband.

Some time during the year 1602, Xavier was able to obtain the release from durance of some 50 shipwrecked Portuguese who had been seized by the Governor of Cambay and sent to the Court.² During this same year the relations between the Emperor and his son, Salim, became very strained: and it is interesting to notice the care which the Fathers took to stand well with both parties. Salim, we are told, wrote to Xavier with his own hand, superscribing his letter with a cross. Xavier took care to have the letter read in the Emperor's presence and to reply in Portuguese. He had an agent with the Prince in the person of Giovanne Filippo³ through whom correspondence could pass. The substance of this correspondence, as described by Du Jarric is of some interest and the position adopted by the Prince towards Christianity about this time is

¹ Cf. p. 98 below.

² Cf. p. 90 below. Du Jarric, III. 79, implies that they arrived at Lāhor and that Xavier interceded for them there. It does not appear, however, that either Akbar or Xavier had gone to Lāhor this year.

³ If this be not the Italian mentioned on p. 91 below, it may possibly be John Philip de Bourbon, the husband of Juliana mentioned in the note on p. 53 above: but I have no information regarding de Bourbon beyond what is given in Col. Kincaid's article there referred to.

somewhat striking, if the Jesuit authorities are to be believed. We are assured that he wore a gold cross round his neck: that he said to his captains that in time of danger he should call on none but Christ: that he wrote to Goa asking for a separate mission of priests to be sent to his Court: that he had a golden crucifix made for himself: that he had a figure of Christ on the cross carved on a large emerald: and wore it on a chain: and so forth. He also read from end to end the book written by Xavier to which the Emperor had given the title 'Mirror of Purity':² and had given a large sum for the building in Agra of a church, which should equal in size that which his father had allowed to be built at Lāhor.

Father Jerome Xavier's letter from Agra, dated September 6, 1604.

Our next authority is a very long letter written by Xavier from Agra on September 6, 1604. The original manuscript is preserved in the British Museum (Marsd. MSS. 9854, foll. 7-19) and as the letter has never before been published and has not apparently been utilized in Du Jarric's history, some fairly full quotations from it will perhaps be pardoned.

The letter begins with a description of the religious life of the Fathers and their congregation:—

'Fathers Pinheiro and Fr. Corsi are in Lāhor; and Father Ant. Machado and myself are here in Agra. We are all in good health by the goodness of God. We occupy ourselves as well as we can in the exercises of the Society, keeping up the custom of daily meditation and examination and that of the renewal of vows, &c. We endeavour to confirm our converts in the faith they have adopted, and in a fitting way of life. To this end, on Sundays and on ordinary feasts, there is always a sermon, and when the Portuguese prisoners were here, there were two sermons, one for them in Portuguese at the second mass, and one for the natives in their own language. At the principal feasts, numbers of both men and women come to confession and receive communion, which you will learn to your consolation and to ours. At Christmas there was a fine procession as is customary every year, which moves the Christians to great devotion. Many Muhammadans and heathens who came hither, seeing it, returned praising the customs of the Christians. This is a good opportunity to explain our religion to them, and as their own has such a slight foundation it is easier to convince their understanding than their will, their lives being so far from the strictness and perfection of the Evangelical law and the happiness it brings to its followers.

Our Christians keep Lent very well, with the full rigour of fasting and abstinence from all milk food. We gave them leave to eat butter, but many did not avail themselves of it. All through Lent nothing is conceded: even

¹ See p. 91 below.

² See p. 111 below. The work was not completed till 1609.

to those under age. We do not extend to them the usual dispensations because it is well that being new Christians they should, from devotion, imitate in something the austerity of the early Christians. There will be no lack of opportunity hereafter for their availing themselves of the concessions which will be made to them in the course of time. Also we have regard to the Muhammadans, who hold our fasting in great contempt seeing that we eat twice a day; and to those Christians who were formerly Muhammadans it would seem as if they did not fast at all, so that '*sicut exhibuerunt in membra sua servire in iniquitate ad iniquitatem,*' having observed the Muhammadan fast with such rigour '*ita exhibuerant illa servire justitiæ in sanctificationem.*' Every Friday evening in Lent, we have a sermon to the Christians: at the end we show them the crucifix which is placed, covered, on the altar, after which the Litany is recited, and then as many men as the Church can hold (for here in Agra it is very small) take the discipline, while the Father recites the '*Miserere.*' When these have finished others take their place, and so on till all have taken their turn. They take the discipline across the back, according to our custom: so do nearly all the Christians, old and new. When we have a larger Church there will be room to conduct these exercises with greater solemnity. The offices for Holy Week are simply recited, but the other ceremonies are carried out with all solemnity. The washing of the feet is performed fully with great devotion and consolation. All go to confession during Lent; and on Maunday Thursday and Easterday more than forty persons of both sexes who a few years ago were followers of Muhammad, received Holy Communion. The mystery of the Supreme Sacrament is preached to them individually and in general, and the privilege of approaching it is highly prized whenever we give them leave. May God keep them and advance them in perfection every day. Amen.'

Many of the congregation were however sadly in want of temporal aid. Some of the Portuguese captured at Asirgarh had indeed been enlisted by Akbar as *ahdis*, 'i.e., soldiers with two horses apiece,' but there were many others who were entirely dependant on the alms of the Fathers. The case of the fifty shipwrecked Portuguese captives¹ gave the Fathers much trouble. They besought the intercession of the Prince Salim, and even of 'Aziz Koka ('whose son had sent them here'), for the purpose of obtaining the Emperor's permission for the return of these captives to Goa; but Akbar insisted on the payment of a large ransom. This the Fathers said was impossible, and at last the Emperor suddenly gave in. The Portuguese were greatly delighted and came to make their *salâm*, while Xavier thanked the Emperor saying: 'My Lord, you have liberated fifty captives and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.' Shortly afterwards Akbar made them shoot at a mark before him and 'those who did so, hit the white at almost every shot.' 'That same afternoon

¹ See p. 88 above.

he caused many guns to be brought before them and bade them pick out the best for his chiefs. He received all of them that night, showing them great familiarity and presented four of them with a gun apiece.' At the beginning of December [1603] they started southwards and a certain Armenian called Iskandar through whose villages they passed supplied them with a few rupees each, which enabled them ultimately to reach Goa, travelling by way of Ahmadābād and Cambay. Two of them returned in the hope that Akbar would show them favour, but he ignored them, recognizing 'how worthless they must be to leave the service of their king so lightly.'

Father Jerome, then, having tried unsuccessfully to get leave to go to Lāhor, turned his attention to some Armenians and others in his neighbourhood. Ten leagues from Agra, an Armenian landholder returning one night to his home 'was beginning to drink when he was surprized by death and rendered his soul to his Creator without so much as time to cry "Jesus":' and the Father forthwith set out to comfort his relations and to help in settling his affairs. On his way he passed Fathpur Sikrī where Prince Salim was then residing:—

'On the way,' he writes 'there is a city which used to be the court of the Emperor Akbar when Father Rodolfi was here, which is called Fatehpur: we might say of it "here stood Troy," for it is totally demolished; but a few edifices made by the Emperor still stand firm. The Prince was there at the time and I went to see him. He was much pleased at my visit and entertained me very well, and when his second son,¹ who was with him, took no notice of my salutation, he said to him. "Ho there! the Father is saluting you," and the young man then obeyed him.'

While with the Prince, Xavier was able to do a good turn for an Italian servant² of his whose pay was in arrears, and also for the widow of an Armenian goldsmith whose property had been seized. This Armenian, like his compatriot above mentioned, had died from drink: he had offered before the Prince to drink 5 or 6 goblets of spirits; and instead of drinking, like the Prince, from small cups he insisted on draining a large china bowl, with the result that he died next day without recovering consciousness. On his return Xavier again visited the Prince and found him having copper made from peacocks' tails in his presence, such copper being an excellent antidote against poison! The Father continues his account as follows:—

'That same day the Prince showed me a crucifix carved on an emerald,³ very well wrought. He told me he had had it made to take with him. The

¹ *Sulṭān Parwiz* then sixteen years old.

² Perhaps the *Filippo* mentioned on p. 88 above. Xavier in the same letter says that this Italian and his wife entertained him at Fathpur.

³ cf. p. 89 above.

emerald is about the size of one's thumb and the crucifix is very well carved upon it. (I had seen it in Agra, when it was made, a little while before he left). It is a fine piece of work, encircled with gold, pierced with a hole by which it can be hung on a gold chain. I remained two days longer, and when I took my leave, the Prince gave me five hundred rupees for the church. His seat was slightly raised and when I would have bent down to touch his feet, he raised me in his arms as he might a beloved brother and begged me to recommend him much to the Lord Jesus. He then, pursued his journey to Elahabac (Allāhābād) from whence he came, refusing to return by Agra where his father was, so as not to fall into the snare again.¹

After he had been two or three months in Allāhābād, he said to his Italian servant abovementioned: "Write to the Father that you see how I carry about with me this image of the Lord Jesus" (which I take to be the aforesaid crucifix). He also sent me another five hundred rupees for the church,² and said that he would order everything necessary to be given to me.

The son of an Armenian Christian was in the Prince's service and I asked the favour here in Agra that he would make him his soldier with three horses, and show him favour in future. The young man remained in Agra some time on necessary business and then went to the Prince in Allāhābād, who asked him what faith he followed: he replied that he was a Muhammadan and the Prince indignantly cast him off, refused to admit him to his service and said he had a mind to cut out his tongue. The wretched young man has been in disgrace for eight or ten months.

To show favour to some Portuguese who had arrived, the Prince asked them if they would like some pork to eat, and they said they would. The Prince ordered a pig to be fetched and when it was brought, he gave it to a young Christian and bade him take it to his master, but the young man was ashamed and let the pig escape. At supper, the prince remembering the pig, asked the young man's master if he had received it, to which he answered: "No, my Lord, and I have neither seen nor heard anything of it." The Prince thereupon sent for the young man and rated him soundly as a disgrace to his religion, dismissed him from his service, took away what he gave him for his daily maintenance, and ordered that two or three months' arrear of pay owing to him should be forfeited.³

These things show at least that he is not averse to our Holy Faith,'

When Father Jerome returned to Agra, he shortly found himself in unwonted favour with the Emperor and was able to commence building his new Church. The following is his account of the matter:—

'The Emperor has sent for me since, very often, once a week at least when we have finished our prayers, to come and spend the night with him,

¹ Salim's previous visit to Agra is described in Noer, *Kaiser Akbar II.* 548.

² Fanthome on p. 29 of his *Reminiscences of Agra 1895*, quotes a short *firmān* of Akbar's prohibiting interference with the building of this Church: but he does not say where the *firmān* comes from.

³ A similar story is told by Coryate. *Kerr's Voyages and Travels*, IX. 431.

as he wishes to hear us speak and praises us highly for it. This is a favour only granted to certain chiefs and others whom he wishes to honour. We remain nearly all night in conversation with him, relating many things of Christ Our Lord, and His Saints. On one of these occasions I gave him a book in Persian, containing sayings of some of our philosophers and many curious things, which he had asked me for. He and his chiefs enjoy it very much and it is in great request.¹

When I returned from my visit to the Prince we commenced the building of our church,² and the first stone was laid with great solemnity. Many Muhammadans were present, and were greatly edified by the ceremonies which Christians use on these occasions. These works are not so expensive here as in other places, being made of bricks, lead, and a great part of clay, which is made of a certain kind of earth. The chapel will be well finished, though perfect workmanship may be wanting. It will soon be finished, please God. It is badly needed as the Christians are very crowded in our present small Chapel.

There were, however, troubles in store and the Father now launches out into a long account of a malicious slander circulated by a discontented Portuguese to the effect that 'we had killed so and so, and so and so, that we were spies and traitors to the Emperor whose salt we ate, that we stole whatever we could lay hands on, and other things much worse: *non erat malum in civitate* which was not our doing, especially mine.' The little congregation and more particularly the Armenian part of it began to look with suspicion on the Fathers: but the most interesting phase of the business to us is the fact that 'an English heretic, here, also took part in the affair, stirring up the Portuguese to say many things and then repeating them to us and inciting us to complain to the Emperor.'³ The Fathers were in great doubt as

¹ Possibly the incomplete '*Aina-i-Haqq-numa*. See p. 111 below.

² The new Church was apparently completed in Jahāngir's reign and a College was added which was built '*in litterae Z specimen*' (Botelho in Marsd. MSS. 9853, Brit. Mus). The Church according to one story was pulled down to appease a Muhammadan tumult and the Jesuits then built a less sumptuous one inside their College (*ib.*) According to Tavernier, an Armenian friend of Shāh Jahān's who lived near the Church objected to the bell ringing when he was ill, so Shāh Jahān had the bell removed and hung round the neck of his elephant: but as it was somewhat heavy it was ultimately taken off and deposited with the Kotwāl (Tav. ed. 1676, II. 70). Bernier says the tower as well as the greater part of the Church was pulled down by Shāh Jahān (Amst. ed. 1728, II. 80). According to Fanthome (*Rem. of Agra*, 1895, p. 30) the Church was added to in the Eighteenth century by Sumrū and Filose and is substantially the same as the present Chapel. Col. Kincaid in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for Jan. 1887 says, 'the building now occupied by the Catholic Mission Press is said to have been the first Christian Church [at Agra] and according to family tradition was founded by the Lady Juliana.' (*cf.* p. 53 above).

³ The English heretic was John Mildenall of whom Orme in his '*History of the Establishment of the English Trade at Surat*,' p. 341, gives the following account:

to the action which they should take. At first they were for laying the matter before Akbar, but they failed to obtain access to him, having to wait for hours while he disported himself in his Mahal. Then on reconsidering the matter they decided to do nothing: 'but the aforesaid Englishman seeing that he was losing this great opportunity of making mischief, went about aggravating matters and insinuating that we dared not appear before the Emperor, but the truth should be brought to light.' It seems however that the discontented Portuguese, having on the eve of the feast of St. John¹ sent a most intemperate letter to the Fathers, suddenly repented and next morning came and threw himself at their feet beseeching them by the wounds of Jesus to pardon his false calumnies. Whereupon the Fathers were again of half a mind to tell the Emperor the whole story and—

'Many incited us to do so especially the Englishman and his partners who pretended great zeal for our honour, but God made it clear that '*Latebat anquis in herba,*' for if we had taken the matter before the Emperor it would have bred some coldness and disaffection towards us among the Portuguese even if they did not believe the slanders, or would at least have thrown discredit on those who whether truly or falsely had said such things of their priests. The Englishman and others had determined to take this occasion of presenting a petition to the Emperor that he would allow their people to come into his ports and give them what they asked for, without having anything to do with the Portuguese, so that the whole thing was a diabolical plot, and when we refused to appeal to the Emperor, the Englishman was very disappointed at losing the opportunity, for he and his partners, who were most forward in persuading and assisting us to appeal to the Emperor, were now obliged to seek other means of furthering their ends. Did not the mercy of the Lord appear in this? *Fecit hac tentatione tantum proventum,* discovering a thousand things against us and

'He was bred a merchant and was employed whilst the establishment of the Company was under adjustment, to bear a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Mogul, Acbar, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a residence of three years obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire, with which he returned as he came through Persia, and was at Casbin in October 1606 The rest of his story is very obscure. He returned to Persia, if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman Catholic, and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry.' Mildrenall's own account of the business (which is too long to quote) will be found in his letter of 1606 at pp. 114—116 of Vol. I. of Purchas' Pilgrimes.

¹ Jerome says: 'It was the eve of St. John and our children and the Christians were jumping the fires.' Beltam Fires—on June 23rd—at Agra!

the Christians, which they had tried to obtain in favour of the English. One who was on their side now made known that he had been heavily bribed to prepare matters with the Emperor,¹ but after all this he turned against them, broke the agreement he had made, and in our presence tore up the paper each had secretly prepared. All this came of the previous persecution which the Lord Jesus brought to such a happy issue.....The Englishman tried by means of heavy bribes to obtain a *firmān* from the Emperor allowing his people to come into the ports, promising much profit, and many tried to procure it for him, but '*dominus dissipat concilia principum,*' and, as '*cor regis in manu Domini,*' the Emperor would never grant the request, though the Englishman persevered in asking it for two years, and we trust in our Lord God that many more may elapse before he obtains it. It is no small favour which our Lord does us in preventing a thing so prejudicial to the State and our Faith.'

At the beginning of March [1604] there had arrived in Agra from Lāhor a 'distinguished and learned Florentine João Battista Vechiete'² who had travelled 'in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia,' and who was much favoured by the Emperor. An interesting account of his books is then given:—

'He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly. He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew characters. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian character the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character,³ and gave them to us freshly copied into the Persian tongue and character, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old: he obtained them from some Jews in Persia at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant

¹ According to Mildenall the Jesuits had not been behind hand for they 'had given to the two chiefest counsellors that the king had, at least five hundred pounds sterling a piece that they should in no wise consent unto these demands of mine,' i.e. his demands for trading privileges for the English.

² He is probably one of the merchants referred to by Mildenall in his letter of 1606 from Qazwin in which he says: 'I would have come myself when I wrote this letter save that there were two Italian merchants in Agra that knew of all my proceedings whom I doubted, as I had good cause lest they would do me some harme.'

³ The regular custom among Persian Jews. See *Ind. Antiq.* XVII. 115.

that it arrived safely. We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe.'

Meantime Father Corsi came from Lāhor to Agra for a two months' stay. 'He has learnt Persian,' says Xavier, 'and commenced Hindūstāni, the language of this country: and by his capacity and desire to learn I think he will soon master Arabic as well.'

On one and the same day the whole party left Agra; Corsi and João Battista to go to Lāhor, Xavier and Machado to accompany the Emperor towards Bengal. The Emperor was in reality advancing against his son Salīm who lay at Allāhābād and only turned back on hearing of the mortal illness of his mother: but when Xavier wrote, the object of the journey was kept in secrecy and Akbar had not as yet left Agra more than a march or two behind him.

The Father concludes this part of his letter by reporting the conversions of the past year. 'They had been few indeed,' he says, for 'the Muhammadans are truly unfit to receive the Holy Gospel, and we are certainly unfit instruments for the conversion of such hard hearts!' Including Portuguese and others, there had been during the year eight marriages and 25 baptisms. Then follow details regarding the baptism of two native infants and the conversion of a woman who was employed about the church.

Xavier then turns to describe the progress made at Lāhor. The Governor in those parts was 'a great enemy of our faith,' but though he was ready to persecute the Christians he was favourably inclined towards Pinheiro personally. The poorer Armenians in Lāhor made their livelihood by selling wine, 'for which they often get into trouble as the Viceroy holds their trade in detestation (though he drinks well himself),' and it was only when Pinheiro had persuaded these Armenians to desist from this calling that they were safe from the persecution of the Viceroy. Owing to Akbar's Firmān the Christians might practice their religion quite openly:—

'The feasts of Christmas and Easter are kept at Lāhor with great solemnity, and the church being so large and beautiful, everything can be well carried out. João Battista, the abovementioned Italian, was present at one of these feasts and wept with joy to see these things done openly in a land of Muhammadans. When he was with us in Agra he was overcome with surprise at the sight of the funeral of an honourable Armenian, when the Christians accompanied the funeral carrying lighted candles, the cross uncovered borne before them, the children singing the Creed, and the Fathers reciting prayers bringing up the rear.'

All the chiefs and principal persons of Lāhor, we are told, were on very good terms with the Fathers: 'So are the Viceroy and the principal

magistrates who set many free at their request even though they be Muhammadans or heathens, and often send them the Christians who are brought before them to be dealt with as the Fathers think fit.'

Troubles however were not wanting. A nephew of Abdulla Khān (who died lately), the king of those parts of Maronhar [Māwaran-nahr] and Samarcand, which used to be the realm of the great Tamerlane, was listening to a sermon in the Church, when one of his followers 'rose up and brandished his scimitar above the head of the Father who being deep in the sermon did not perceive it, but he was prevented by his fellows from cutting the Father's head off.' The Fathers also found themselves in a difficult position before the Viceroy, who 'is very zealous for his faith, and thinks himself learned beyond all past and present, looking down even on Aristotle.'¹ Accordingly when the Fathers supported their creed and 'contradicted the doctrine of Muḥammad,' the Viceroy would burst into a frenzy calling them vagabonds, &c. But he knew at the same time that they had Akbar's license to preach, and when Father Corsi went to Agra he began to fear that an ill report would be made of him and, having called for Pinheiro, said to him: 'Father, I am a friend to you and to the Lord Jesus: no one knows Him better than I do. He had the spirit of God and neither prophet nor angel could speak as he spoke.' He failed however to gain the confidence of the Fathers, as the following incident shows clearly enough:—

'One day when the Father visited him he was preparing a drink composed of sugarcandy and rosewater, as a refreshment in the great heat. He drank of it himself and so did some of the chiefs, and he went on preparing it and handing it round. He offered some to the Father among the first, asking if he would drink some of it. The Father could not excuse himself seeing the honour done to him by giving him the preference before the "Cazi" who is like the Bishop among us, and all the priests and learned men. But remembering that a few days ago the Viceroy had threatened to cut off his head, if he persisted in declaring the Divinity of Christ, and the hatred which the Viceroy has for all Christians, he was almost afraid to taste it, but in order to show no want of confidence and to meet his advances frankly he said: "Why should I not drink, when it is specially prepared by your hands?" He made the sign of the cross over it openly and drank. But the Father will not often trust himself to these honours, except where it is necessary to accept them in testimony of our Faith.'

Some days after the Viceroy's wife came to the Church, bringing an offering to Our Lady, and making a vow for the amendment of her son. This son we are told was 'given to evil courses and abandoned in

¹ 'Qulij Khān' was a pious man and a staunch Sunni: he was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of Ulfatī: some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the *Mirāt-ul'alām*. Blochm. *Ain* I. 34 n.

moribus. His mother's advice has no effect on him, nor his father's punishments even when heavy and publicly administered.¹

Several gifts were made to the Church; among others 'several pieces of silver plate, *i.e.*, a beautiful thurible, a silver holy-water basin, and a stick for the holy-water sprinkler, and silver cruets and plate beautifully chased.'

An Armenian merchant being nigh to death called in the Fathers and confessed to them and 'begged with much feeling that the passion of Jesus Christ should be read to him.' 'He was buried very differently from other Armenians, to show how the Roman Church honours, even after death, those who have been obedient to her in life.'

We also hear again of the Hungarian :—

'A young man from the realm of the Emperor [in Europe] captive to a Turk who made him prisoner in the late wars, came hither with his master, who set him free, but even when at liberty his fear of being re-taken was so great that he trembled at every step. The Fathers sent him to us at Agra and we received him and placed him with Joāo Battista Vechiete who will take him back to his own land. This Hungarian knows the Christian doctrine and prayers in Latin and is going on well.'

Then follow some accounts of baptisms: and the letter concludes :—

'Few new Christians have been made this year at Lāhor, because of the fear they have of those who govern there. Some are being catechised. God give them strength to accept the way of Salvation. We all pray your Reverence and our beloved Fathers to assist us with your prayers and holy ministrations, to which we greatly recommend ourselves. From Agra the 6th Sept. 1604. Jerome Xavier.'

Father Pinheiro's letter from Lāhor, dated 12th August 1605.

Two months before Akbar's death Pinheiro addressed a letter to the Provincial, Manoel da Veiga, which continues the history of the mission at Lāhor. The original of the letter is among the Marsden MSS. No. 9854, in the British Museum, and though evidently utilized by Du Jarric in his history, has not previously been published.

The letter is occupied almost entirely with an account of the tyrannies exercised by the Viceroy Qulij Khān, and his supporters and of the retribution which ultimately overtook them. Qulij Khān, we are told, besides being a persecutor of the Christians, whose name was 'as much feared in Hindūstān, as were formerly those of Nero and Diocletian,' was a tyrant even to his own people and thought no more of putting a man to death than of drinking a cup of water.

¹ Regarding the evil deeds of Mirzā Lāhauri, son of Qulij Khān, see Blochm. *Asi.* I. 500.

'Once when I was with him', says Pinheiro, 'some men were brought in, a person of some importance among them, and thinking they were sent by the Prince [Salim], whose enemy he openly shows himself, in less than an hour, without further enquiry or confession from them he had them hung,—and they were afterwards found to be quite innocent.

His sons¹ were doing their best to imitate him: 'one of them ordered a man who was going through the bāzār occupied in his own business to be hung, simply because he wished to see how it was done.' At the same time Qulij's enmity to the Prince Salim rendered him indispensable to Akbar in those disturbed times:—

'The Emperor does nothing in the whole kingdom but what is pleasing to the Governor, having need of him to govern in these parts in case of a war with his son, for he is the Prince's open enemy and publicly declares to the Emperor that he is his only faithful subject.....They looked on Calichão as a second Emperor and feared him as a magician, and through his arts the Emperor had been induced to put many chiefs to death, some of whom I knew, among others our friend Xencão (Zain Khān Koka)² the prince's father-in-law and the defender of our religion.'

We have already seen from Xavier's letter how concerned the Governor was at Corsi's departure for Agra, which took place in June 1604: and Pinheiro's account shows with what difficulty Corsi was able to get away.

'The Nawāb [Qulij Khān] was displeased when he heard of his departure because, after he had given him leave, he told me not to let him go and sent me word to the same effect by his son. But in obedience to the order of Father Jerome Xavier and not to disappoint Father Corsi, I managed to arrange matters and let him go, although the time seemed ill-chosen, for many reasons, such as the dispute we had with the Nawāb about the Divinity of Christ which he denies.'

The Governor's opposition was however mainly instigated by the Hindūs, and their enmity is ascribed by Pinheiro to the pertinacity with which he, Pinheiro, attacked their notorious immorality and to the anxiety with which he attempted to dissuade them from the com-

¹ This tallies with what Blochmann says of Mirzā Lāhaurī (*Āin* I. 500): Chīn Qulij (of whom more below) seems to have been better. Pinheiro says that a married daughter of Qulij Khān used to come to the Church, as well as a young daughter of hers, and show great devotion. 'I was surprised,' he says, 'that such a noble lady should send her young daughter to the Church, for they are kept so retired by the custom of the country, that it is not possible to see them even in case of illness. But by the goodness of the Lord Jesus, they all hold such a high opinion of the Fathers, that they send their wives and daughters to the Church, assured that they are quite safe.'

² Zain Khān's daughter was married to Salim. 'His death in 1602-3 was due,' says Blochmann, 'partly to excessive drinking.' *Āin* I. 345.

mon crime of infanticide. The heathen accordingly took counsel together against him as follows:—

‘As concerns the Nawāb, it will be sufficient to accuse the Father every day of grievous things which even if they are not believed will be enough to throw discredit upon him. We can do this the more easily that his friends the Nawābs Xamaradin [? Qamru-d-dīn] and Xencão [Zain Khān] are dead,¹ and the present Nawāb Calichicão is hostile to him, as he has shown on many occasions because of the religion he preaches. So we shall get the Father driven from Lāhor and the church, which we hate, destroyed.’

For the time being Pinheiro was able to re-assure the Governor, but shortly afterwards the Hindūs, obtaining the aid of a young man who was a favourite of the Governor’s,—

‘Gave him a rich present from the heathen who were the Father’s enemies, together with a defamatory libel: the best things contained in it were that the Father ate human flesh, fattened up young men and sent them away to be sold in Portuguese lands, murdered people and had killed a tailor’s wife not four days ago: that he was a great wizard and by his spells made men renounce their religion and adopt an unknown one, and so he had done to the son of a pandit,’ &c.

The Governor was still afraid to seize any Christians in the city in case the matter should come to Akbar’s ears, but he determined to seize any whom he could find in the Fort. A Portuguese was thereupon arrested inside the Fort and after much beating was induced to say the Kalma, ‘their cursed Muhammadan creed,’ after which he was kept under guard but well treated. Pinheiro at once went to confront the Governor, but could not see him ‘as he was occupied with a visitor of whom a great deal is made by some because he is learned and a son of a great master among the former Kings of Camarcão [Samarqand], by others because he is the son-in-law of the King of Maivenar (Māwārān-nahr) and Camarcão.’ When Pinheiro gained admittance, he protested against the Governor’s conduct, but Qulij Khān swore by Mārtēs Alli (Murtizā ‘Alī), by the Prophet’s head and his own, that no compulsion had been used to make the Portuguese turn Muhammadan. Pinheiro had to go away in sorrow, but on his way through the city saw the man being negligently guarded, whereupon, he says, he ‘drew near with unutterable joy and taking the lost sheep upon his shoulders bore him out of the city’ The Portuguese having been sent off to Agra and his wife and children having been put in safety, Pinheiro was able once more to confront the Governor and submit to examination. ‘When asked,’ he says, ‘what had become of the man, I answered that he had not been to my house nor to his

¹ See p. 84 above.

own, since he was taken prisoner.' Whereupon 'a dark cloud fell upon the Nawāb and his followers and no more was heard of the Portuguese who had turned Musalmān.'

A greater trouble took place in connection with certain houses which Akbar had granted to the mission. These houses had belonged to a Hindū called Pan [? Pannū Rām] who defaulted to the Emperor to the extent of 3 lakhs and was dispossessed of his property: and the Fathers used them as a shelter for married Christians. The Hindūs offered the Governor '2000 rupees beside other things of price' for these houses, and Pinheiro was forthwith ordered to vacate them within five days, which he did, saying that 'the law of Jesus Christ forbid him to enter into strife for houses or lands.' The Governor at first ordered the Kotwāl to give Pinheiro other houses in exchange for them, but he subsequently revoked the order and the Hindūs were triumphant, thinking that the church also would now soon come into their hands. Pinheiro meanwhile had written to Xavier about all the troubles at Lāhor and action was taken at Agra:—

'I informed Father Jerome Xavier more than once of what had happened, but he did not think it proper to speak to the Emperor at that time, because he was very sad, firstly because his mother who is over 90 is at the point of death, secondly and chiefly because he is at variance with his son who is making head against him. But although the Father did not wish to add to his sorrow by these tidings, he spoke to him about the houses, which had been taken from us, because our credit greatly depended on it, and if they were returned to us it would be clear that the Emperor favoured us and considered us above the Governor. As soon as Father Francis Xavier informed the Emperor of the matter, he ordered a letter to be written to Calichcāo to return the houses to the Fathers. The letter was written by the Emperor's Wazir, and the following is a translation of it! :—

"Beloved and fortunate chief, live and prosper under the protection of God. After compliments. I would have your Excellency know that by order of him whom all the world obeys, the houses of Pan were converted into a Church and dwelling houses for the Fathers and their people. A petition reaches us showing that the Nawāb has expelled the Fathers from the houses where their servants were lodged. He whom all the world obeys commands that as these houses were his property and given by him to the Fathers, they and their people be forthwith reinstated in them, and Your Excellency shall prevent any one from molesting or hindering them herein. These words are written by order of the Emperor."

The letter was not as authoritative as a *firmān* but came to much the same thing, and Pinheiro was enabled by its help to regain the

¹ A full translation with all the compliments will also be found in a separate MS. in the Brit. Mus. Marsden MSS. 9854, in Pinheiro's handwriting.

houses. But scarcely had he done so when the Governor issued orders, depriving him again of their possession and Father Xavier had to be applied to once more. This time a regular *firmān* was obtained and what was more the Prince himself was the 'porvanazi' of it¹: the Governor had now no excuse for evasion and ordered the houses to be given up 'within an hour,' thus bringing to an end an episode which had been a cause of great vexation to the Fathers.

Meantime in other respects, things had been going ill enough. At one time the Governor had threatened to exterminate the Christians in Lāhor and the community was in such fear that 'some twenty three Armenian merchants fled with haste escaping through different gates.' Pinheiro adds: 'as it seems they have no mind to be martyrs, may God make them good confessors. I met three or four of them but they would not be seen speaking to me as they did not wish to be known as Christians—God help them.' As regards himself he writes:—

'I confess to Your Reverence that death was always before my eyes and I prepared myself for it as well as I could: but the happy hour so desired by me never arrived. The Lord did not deem me worthy of such high bliss: may his infinite mercy put me in the power of some one who does not fear the Emperor, for it was this that made the tyrant desist from the attempt which he had such good wish to accomplish. Your Reverence should have seen the surprise of the people as I came and went through the streets, one saying to the other: "Does not the Governor intend to kill the Father? how comes it that he goes backwards and forwards with the same security as before?"'

When one of the Governor's sons protested with him for not killing the Father, Qulij Khān drew him a little aside and said: 'Leave the forsaken wretch alone; no one who is a Musalmān at heart will ever embrace his religion,' 'continuing,' says Pinheiro, 'in a lower voice. "He has the Emperor's permission who is an unbelieving Cafar [Kāfir] like himself."'

The Hindūs, however, still agitated for repressive measures. In order to secure their claims on the Church (which had not then been yet safeguarded by the *firmān*) they invited the Governour to a banquet in an adjoining house and gave him a present of 9,000 rupees 'i.e., 9 horses,² several other things and 2,000 rupees in money.' Pinheiro felt safe enough about the church buildings, but he received warnings from the friendly Kotwāl that there were designs on foot for seizing the women and children of the Christian community and he took

¹ So. parwānchī. The porvanazi according to Pinheiro is 'he who gives the order for a *firmān*.'

² Qulij Khān was famous for his love of horses. Blochm., *Ain* I. 345.

prompt steps for placing all these in a place of safety. He wished also to conceal the Catechumens, but they indignantly refused, and conspicuously among them a certain Xequé [? *Shaiḵh*]¹ who had before conversion practised as a sorcerer. At last the Governour actually fixed a day for the arrest and forcible conversion of all the Christians in Lāhor. The day fixed was Thursday the 15th September [1604], but (says Pinheiro)—

‘On the eve of the appointed day, the Governour’s son returned a fugitive from the seat of war,² having left his army defeated with the loss of 400 cavalry and a large number of infantry. On his arrival, his father set out to his assistance and the Christian army which was scattered and hidden again gathered together, the sheep and lambs no longer fearing the wolf.’

This was the end of the troubles caused by Qulij *Khān* at Lāhor. ‘On his return from Bāna [? Bannū], the place where he had gone to make war, news came that the Prince [Salim] was marching on Lāhor:’ the news apparently proved untrue, but the Governour was in great perturbation and began to prepare for a siege: he was summoned several times to Agra, but gave excuses: he even made as though he would fly to Kābul, but shortly returned; and at last went to the Emperor at Agra, where ‘he suffered many mortifications in spite of a rich present which he gave.’

While Qulij *Khān* was away, the government was carried on by his son Chin Qulij, who although he had formerly incited his father to oppress the Christians now showed himself in a very friendly light.³ He went so far as to visit the Church and the Father gives the following account of his visit:—

‘When he had entered the Church and seen the statue of the Blessed Virgin, he was quite changed and no longer seemed like a man full of worldly pride, but like a humble Christian and treated us with great respect and marks of affection. He was an hour and a half or two hours in the Church

¹ It is not quite clear what Pinheiro means by a Xequé. He himself says: ‘a Xequé must be one of three things: i.e., a man mortified in all his passions, a teacher such as the founder of a religion, or he must have written five books bearing on history.’ The definition seems to have a Hindu air about it and he moreover implies in his letter that the Xequé above mentioned was brother to the paḍit convert who had fled to Agra: if so, Xequé can scarcely be *Shaiḵh*.

² It is not clear what war this was: perhaps *Ghāzī* Beg’s rebellion in Sindh (Blochm., *Ain* I. 363), or more probably some frontier trouble with Raushānis or others. If Bāna mentioned just below be Bannu, this must have been a frontier war.

³ Chin Qulij is described in the *Maāsiru-l-’Umrā* as an educated and liberal man, well versed in Government matters: Blochm., *Ain* I. 500.

and at our house, where he saw our books and listened to some of the Gospel Stories and things concerning our religion with patience and attention. He ate some dried fruit with great familiarity, as if he were our dear friend and not the son of Calichcão, the greatest enemy of the Faith of Christ. Your Reverence will understand that it was a great thing for him to eat and drink in our house, because they think it a great sin to eat with Christians, and consider him a Christian who eats the bread of Christians from Christian hands.....He begged us so earnestly for a picture of Christ that I was obliged to give it to him. He asked for another which is in the Church, and I asked a noble who is a great friend of his to dissuade him from pressing the point, and after he had done so he excused himself to me with many compliments and friendly offers. He offered me a hundred rupees and when I explained that the Fathers could not take money from any one, he was overcome with surprise and related the fact to many.' [Then follows a relation of other cases in which Christians had caused surprise by refusing to receive presents].

Then follows a quaint episode:—

'I went to see him afterwards, and he received me with smiles and affection. A rich present had been brought to him, amongst other things two flasks of precious liquor which he held in either hand. I said: 'Sir, here is our basket, in which we receive the Emperor's alms. May we not have your coin also?' He put down what he held and took the basket. The person who held his money said, 'I will toss up, for the Father:' but he replied: 'No. I will do it myself.' The first throw was not favourable, and he tossed again and then returned the basket to me with pleasure to the surprise of the by-standers. These little things are very important here, though they may be laughed at elsewhere.'

Even the old Qulij Khān proved more tractable after this and when a firmān came from the Emperor ordering that 1,000 rupees should be given to the Fathers, he went so far as to write on the firman 'Belal carcar' [? bilāe kāt̄kūt̄]: if this had not been done, says Pinheiro, the Fathers would according to the usual custom have received only 333 rupees out of the 1,000.

Before Qulij Khān returned, however, the Government was for a time in the hands of Caidcão [Said Khān] and Mirzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, as Subadār and Diwān respectively, two offices that had been combined under Qulij Khān. 'Both,' says Pinheiro, 'received us with many promises especially the Divão whom we know best.' Of Mirzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm all that we know is apparently that he was nephew of Mirzā Haidar the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*.¹ The histories tell us more of Said Khān, a Chaghatai noble who had just repressed the rebellion of Ghāzi Khān in Sindh.² It appears that Ghāzi Khān who had made submission was then on his way to Akbar's court, for Pinheiro gives the follow-

¹ Blochm., *Ain* I. 464.

² Blochm., *Ain* I. 331.

ing account of a distinguished visit with which his chapel was then favoured:—

‘The son of the Nawāb Caidēko, Mirza Cedula [Saidulla¹] son in law of Canazão [Khān ‘Azam Mirzā ‘Aziz Koka], came and brought with him Mirza Gaziz [Ghāzi] son of Mirza Jānī who was king of Sind. They stayed a long while examining the Church and in our house enquired much concerning Jesus Christ and our religion with great modesty and submission so that they seemed more like disciples of the Fathers than the great princes that they are. They came with a regal retinue, and the people knowing that they were coming to our house thronged the streets, doors, roofs and windows. The great crowd was a magnificent sight.’

To add to the Father’s satisfaction, a just retribution overtook the chief of his Hindū opponents and he does not narrate their misfortunes without a certain gleam of malicious pleasure. One of these was arrested by Said Khān for some act of violence and was dragged to prison through the city by the hair of his head: his houses were destroyed and he with difficulty made his escape from the town. Another lost his son who being but a small child ‘was buried near the river according to their custom, but the dogs dug him up and devoured him leaving only his head.’ A third, the most violent persecutor of all, who held a pargana worth over two lakhs of rupees, fled from the new Diwān, but his son and brother were arrested and thrown into a narrow prison where ‘they were obliged to pay the guards 20 or 30 rupees each a day for food, and a rupee apiece for the slightest necessity of nature: and moreover were beaten and ill-treated and called to account for three lakhs of rupees.’ ‘Truly’ says Pinheiro, ‘the vengeance of God is hidden...May God repay them for the trouble they have given us by converting them to our Holy Faith. Amen.’

As regards the results of the year Pinheiro has to confess that ‘the events above related closed the door to conversions during the year, so that we have not any to relate.’ But at the close of his letter he adds: ‘Two persons of importance, at least, have asked for baptism: they are Persians, and beside being rich are of very good parts,’ and he proceeds to describe the somewhat strange arguments which induced one of them to reject Muhammadanism for Christianity.

In conclusion the Father says: ‘I should be glad if your Reverence could communicate this letter to Father Francisco Cabral,² who by

¹ Blochm., *Ain* I. 363.

² Francisco Cabral was for many years a Professor at Goa and went to Japan in 1570, returning apparently soon after 1584. We do not know exactly what connection he had with the Mughal Mission. He died in 1609 at Goa. See *Nouvelle Biographie Generale* sv. Backer *Hist. des Ecrivains Jesuites*, serie ii. p. 92, and De Sousa *Or. Cong.* II. 434.

his labour here may be called the founder of this mission. Your Reverence's unworthy son Manoel Pinheiro.'

* * * * *

On the 15th of October 1605, scarcely two months after the above letter was written, Akbar died at Agra.

The Results of the Missions.

These missions are perhaps unique as an attempt on the part of a large Society in Christendom to convert a single individual, and in so far as they represented an attempt of this nature they were undoubtedly failures. Whether Akbar died a Muhammadan or not is, perhaps, a moot point,¹ but it is certain that he did not die a Christian. Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain Terry who were in India eleven years later, are clear on this point. Sir Thomas writing from Ajmir on 30th October 1616,² says :—

'In this confusion they (the Muhammadans) continued until the time of Akbar *Shāh*, father of this king, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions and that excelled in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa whose chief was Jerome Xavier, a Navarrais. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their, part, and caused Xavier to write a book in defence of his own profession against both Moors and Gentiles, which finished he read over nightly, causing some parts to be discussed, and finally granted them his letters patent to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely and amply as in Rome; bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. So that in some few cities they have gotten rather *Templum* than *Ecclesiam*. In this grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christian that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him.

'Here was a fair beginning to a forward spring of a lean and barren harvest. Akbar *Shāh* himself continued a Muhammedan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, considering that as Muhammad was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward reverence detained him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect.'

So too Terry in his *Voyage to East India* (ed. 1777, p. 419) describes at some length the sort of arguments used by Xavier in the disputations held before Akbar, 'which' says he, 'that king heard

¹ Price, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 77. Blochm. *Ain I.* 212.

² Purchas i. 586.

patiently several times during the space of one year and a half, but at last he sent him away back again¹ to Goa honourably, with some good gifts bestowed on him, telling him as Felix did Paul, after he had so reasoned before him, 'that he would call for him again when he had a convenient time' Acts xxiv. 25. Which time or season neither of them ever found afterward.'²

The Jesuits themselves admit that they were unable to administer the consolations of their religion to Akbar in his last moments. The following is the narrative given by the Provincial in his report of 20th December, 1607³ :—

'The Emperor having lived so that none could say to what religion he belonged, God in his righteous judgment deprived him in his last hour of the Christian faith, the which, however, he had formerly much praised and favoured. As soon as our missionaries heard of his illness they went to visit him, but finding him in apparent good health they did not find it advisable then to speak to him of the life to come. When next day it was rumoured in the city that the Emperor had been poisoned, they went again, but were not admitted by the chamberlains although they announced themselves the bearers of healing medicines... When the Emperor was in his last agonies, the Muhammadans bade him think on Muhammad, whereon he gave no sign save that he repeated often the name of God.'

And still more clearly is the nature of Akbar's end shown in a manuscript report⁴ written by Father Antony Botelho, who was Provincial some years after Akbar's death. In this report the Father narrates a conversation which he held with the Idal Shāhī Prince of Bijapur and in which the prince had said to him: 'Sachehe qui barā Batxa Hacabar Christāu muhā qui nau?' [Sac hai ki barā bādshāh Akbar Kristān muā ki nahī? Is it true or not that the great Emperor Akbar died a Christian?] To which the Father replied: 'Sire, I would it were so: but the Emperor while living failed to be converted, and at the last died as he was born, a Muhammedan.'

Compared with the conversion of the Emperor the evangelization

¹ This, as well as the term of a year and a half, is an error.

² In the *Introd. to Gentil's Memoires*, p. 22, n. we are told that Akbar promised to embrace the religion selected for him by an intelligent monkey: three cards were put in a bag: the monkey taking out that of Muhammadanism tore it up in a rage: that of Hinduism it used in a still more ignoble way: while that of Christianity it lifted reverently to its head. Akbar, however, demanded leave to have several wives: 'on le lui refuse, et, it n'y pensa plus.' The story of the monkey is ascribed to Jahāngīr's reign in Bry's *India Orientalis*, which contains an amusing picture of the episode. So also by Roe (*M. Thevenot Relations*, p. 79).

³ *Drei Neue Relationen* (Augsburg, 1611).

⁴ Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS. 9853.

of the common people¹ appears to have been held throughout as a matter of somewhat secondary importance, and the extent of success attending the Jesuit efforts in this direction can be pretty fairly judged from the extracts given from their letters in this paper. The acme of success was reached in the succeeding reign, when the churches of Agra and Lāhor increased in popularity and two new churches were started at Delhi. With Shāhjahān, however, a new era arose, the imperial support was entirely withdrawn, the Lāhor and Agra churches were either destroyed or greatly impaired,² and by the time of Aurangzeb there was but little left of the Christianity introduced by the Jesuits in Northern India. In 1739 the Churches at Delhi were destroyed by the soldiery of Nādir Shāh in the great massacre of that year.³

In estimating, however, the success or otherwise of these Jesuit Missions, it must not be forgotten that they had to some extent a political as well as a religious object in view. It will have been already observed that even the saintly Rodolfi Aquaviva supplied the authorities at Goa with political information and pushed the interests of the Portuguese at the Mughal Court.⁴ It is clear too, from the various extracts quoted in this paper, that the Fathers were at all times supporters of Portuguese claims, and it is even possible (see *Noer*, I. 489) that the third mission was undertaken mainly on political grounds and that the Jesuit superiors had from the beginning little belief in the conversion of the Emperor.

At any rate the fact that the Portuguese authorities looked on the Jesuits at the Mughal Court in the light of useful political informants is abundantly evident from the following passages which occur in letters addressed by the King of Portugal to the Viceroy at Goa⁵ :—

In a letter dated Lisbon the 28th January 1596, the king referring to a letter from from the late Viceroy Martin d' Albuquerque, writes: 'He also tells me [in his letter] that Akbar had written him some letters, and

¹ The most useful work done by the Jesuits was probably their spiritual attendance on Europeans and Eurasians in the Mughal Empire: but this was, of course, apart from their purely missionary duties.

² See notes on pp. 71 and 93, above.

³ *Letters Edifiantes et Curieuses* IV. 260. The history of Christianity in Northern India during the two centuries following Akbar's death has yet to be written; it is full of curious vicissitudes and there are many episodes such as that of Dārā Shikoh and that of Juliana, which would give interest to such a history.

⁴ See p. 58, above.

⁵ See Mr. Rehatsek in *Calc. Rev.* January 1886. The letters are given in Sēnor da Cunha Ravara's '*Archivo Portuguez Oriental*,' Fasc. 3: but as the third fasciculus of this book is not in the British Museum the above quotations are made from Mr. Rehatsek's article.

among these one which he had sent by an Armenian Christian, who had given him suitable information about our power and prosperity: furthermore that the said Akbar wanted some men of letters to be sent to him and complained of the quick departure of the Jesuits despatched to him by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho when he was Governor, and that he [Albuquerque] had considered the matter with some prelates and monks, who were of opinion that two learned monks should be sent, and that the Provincial of the Society of Jesus forthwith offered his own ecclesiastics with the same zeal for the service of God and for mine with which he had given the two others, as well as a very learned layman, and I recommend you to thank the said Provincial on my part, as well as for those of his order which he has given to go to Ethiopia, and that you should favour these things and keep me always informed about them.'

Similarly on 5th February, 1597 the king again writes: 'He [Albuquerque] also tells me that he had a letter from Jeronimo Xavier, a friar of the Society, written at the court of Akbar, in which he informs him that, after enduring many hardships in a land-journey of five months, he had, with two friars in his company, arrived at the court of the Mogol, who received them with much pomp, and that he himself, as well as the prince with his captains, expressed great admiration at the taking of the Morro [a fort opposite Chaul which the Portuguese had conquered from the Deccan Moslems]¹ and that he asked them to make haste to learn the Persian language because he desired to speak to them without interpreters on the reasons which had induced him to invite them to his Court. I recommend you to encourage and to aid the friars of the Society to make progress in the mission for which they have been sent, and to attain the good result expected therefrom.'

And again on 15th January 1598:—'You are also to give me an account how the two friars of the Society are at the court of the Moghul, and although they have hitherto not produced any fruit, their aid is necessary in continuing to give us every information about the king as they now do. This I approve of, for the reasons you adduce, and I have also other information in conformity with them. It is chiefly to be taken into consideration that the fruit, which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest. Accordingly you are to make arrangements with the Provincial of the Society, in case these friars should die or be necessarily recalled, for sending others so that some may always be there as now.'

Writing in 1616, Sir Thomas Roe talks of Corsi as having been the 'Resident' of the king of Spain. (Melch. Thevenot, *Relations* p. 78) and Terry describes him as 'Agent for the Portugals' (Purchas, II. 1482).

How far the Jesuits proved politically useful to the Goa authorities during Akbar's reign we have no adequate means of judging. Their

¹ Cf. Fariay Sousa, 'The Portuguese in Asia', translated by John Stevens, 1695, III, 69.

energy in the promotion of Portuguese interests during the reign of Jahāngīr is sufficiently manifested by the very free comments made on their tactics by the English travellers of the period (See e.g., Terry's *Voyage* Ed. 1777 p. 422, and Hawkins, on p. 34 Wheeler's *Early Travellers in India*).

Ultimately the Jesuits failed in this as in their other objects. They failed to convert the Emperor. They failed to propagate Christianity in Northern India. They failed to circumvent the English. And yet the episode, so full of failure, is not, I venture to think, without its lessons and an interest of its own.

APPENDIX.

Note on the Persian works of Father Jerome Xavier.

The opportunity may be taken here to describe shortly the Persian works written by Jerome Xavier,¹ although most of these were written after Akbar's death.

(i) *Mirātu-l-Quds* (the Mirror of Holiness) or *Dāstān-i-Masīh*. (Life of Christ). The preface of this work commences with a curious conceit regarding the example of 'Akbar Bādshāh Idfgha', i.e., Abgarus King of Edessa, who sent to make enquiries regarding Jesus and received a picture of Christ's likeness. So, too, under the orders of His Majesty, this work had been written by Jerome Xavier, who having known the subject for 40 years and having studied Persian for 7 or 8 years had ventured to undertake the duty. The preface is dated Agra the 15th Urdibihight 1602.

Then follows the book itself divided into four parts, *vis.* (I) the Nativity and Infancy of Christ, (II) His Miracles and Teaching, (III) His Death and Suffering and (IV) His Resurrection and Ascension. In Xavier's account, the Bible narratives are freely supplemented from the apocryphal gospels and elsewhere: and the writer acknowledges in his preface and conclusion that this is the case.²

The book seems to have been first written out in Portuguese.³ According to the concluding note, the translation into Persian was made by 'Abdu-s-sattār ibn Qāsim⁴ of Lāhor conjointly with Xavier himself

¹ See Mr. Behatsek on p. 18 *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1886: Dr. C. Rien's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum: and Mr. Beveridge in *J. A. S. B.* 1838.

² See the translation of the preface and the abstract of Part I given by Prof. Blochmann in *Proc. A. S. B.*, May 1870, p. 140. Also the full, though very unsympathetic, account of the work given by Mr. A. Rogers in his article on 'The Holy Mirror or the gospel according to Father Jerome Xavier,' in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July 1890. Also the same writer's paper on 'A Persian History of Christ and St. Peter by Jerome Xavier, S. J.' read before the Royal Asiatic Society on March 10th 1896.

³ Du Croze, *Hist. Chr.* 521.

⁴ De Dieu has 'Abdu-s-sanarim Qāsim'

(ba'ittifāq-i-īn banda) and the book was completed in A.D. 1602, the 47th year of the holy Reign. Of the *Dāstān* Professor Blochmann (*Proc.*, A. S. B., May 1870 p. 146) says: 'The Persian of J. Xavier's work is easy and flowing. There are very few passages, if any, that sound outlandish.' The British Museum possesses two MSS. of this work. One of these (Add. 16878 fol. 74 of the Yule Collection) is an imperfect Nasta'liq, copy written apparently in India in the 18th century: the other (Harl. 5455 fol. 215) is a complete copy in plain Nasta'liq, written apparently in India and dated Ramzān A. H. 1027 (A.D. 1618).

The work was edited with a translation and Latin notes at Leyden in 1739 by the Professor Louis de Dieu, a Protestant, under the title *تاریخ مسیح* *Historia Christi Persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata a P. Hieronymo Xavier Soc. Jesu, Latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu.*" Mr. Beveridge remarks: De Dieu was a man of worth and learning, and the Jesuit Alegambe admits that his translation of Xavier's Persian is a good one, though he says he has added heretical notes which ought to be burnt. There is a notice of De Dieu in Bayle's Dictionary. He is very bitter in his remarks on Xavier and his object in making the translation and publishing the work appears to have been to show how the Jesuits adulterated the pure milk of the Word. But still all must feel grateful to him for having been the means of preserving a knowledge of Xavier's curious work.'

(ii) '*Dāstān-i-San Pedro*' or Life of St. Peter. This work was also edited by De Dieu in 1739 with a Latin Translation and notes: the running title being '*Historia S. Petri sed contaminata.*' The work itself does not mention its author, but there seems no doubt that it is Xavier's.¹

(iii) The *Āīna-i-Haqq Numā* or Truth-reflective Mirror: completed in 1609. Dr. Rieu thus describes the British Museum MS. (Hrll. 5478) which is written partly in Nasta'liq, and partly in *Shikasta-āmez*, and dated Jumāda I, the sixth year of the reign (probably that of Jahāngīr = A.H. 1019. A. D. 1620):—"It is stated in the heading that the author Padre Geronimo Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus came from Goa to Lahore where he was presented at Court, A. D. 1596.² In the preface which follows, the author states that he had enjoyed, twelve years previously, the privilege of kissing the Imperial threshold, and that he now dedicated this work to Jahāngīr as a slight return for past favours, and a humble offering on the occasion of his accession. The work is written in the form of a dialogue³ between the Padre and a philosopher or free thinker (*Ḥakīm*) whom he purports to have met at Court, while in some parts, a Mulla intervenes as a third interlocutor. It is divided into 5 books (*Bāb*) sub-divided into Chapters (*Faṣl*), a full table of which is given at the end of the preface, fol. 14b-18a. The five books are as follows: 1. Necessity of a divine law. fol. 18a. 2. What Christianity teaches regarding God, and proofs of its

¹ See Prof. Blochm., *Proc.* A. S. B., May 1870, p. 145.

² Really 1595.

³ See above p. 82.

being conformable to reason, fol. 73b. 3. Divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord; fol. 208a (the end of this book and the beginning of the next are missing). 4. Commandments of the Gospel and their contrast with those of Muḥammad; fol. 322a. The strength imparted by the Christian faith and its superiority to other religions; fol. 437b.' Of the style of this book Dr. Lee writes¹ 'It is very evident that the writer was a man of considerable ability and energy, and that he has spared no pains to recommend his religion to the Mahomedan or heathen reader: but that he has trusted much more to his own ingenuity, than to the plain and unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures. His style is, upon the whole correct, though occasionally interspersed with Europeanisms, but it never makes the most distant approach to what may be termed elegance.'

An abridgement of the above was subsequently brought out by Xavier under the title '*Muntakhab-i-Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*' and a copy of this abridgement is among the British Museum Manuscripts (Add. 23584). 'In a long preface addressed to Jahāngīr,' says Dr. Rieu, 'the author... mentions his previous work entitled *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* to which he had devoted so many years, and says that finding the Emperor's time taken up by the cases of Government, he extracted its substance for his use, and condensed it in the present "selection." This work, which is not, like the former, written in the form of a dialogue, contains the following four Chapters (Fas̄l): 1. Knowledge of the nature of God; fol. 7b. 2. On Jesus our Lord; fol. 19a. 3. Commandments of the Gospel; fol. 32b. 4. Divine Assistance; fol. 43a.'

This work found its way to Persia and there called forth the reply *Misqal-i-Safā dar taḥliyah-i-Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* or 'The Clean Polisher for the brightening of the Truth-Reflecting Mirror:' the author of which Sayyid Aḥmad B. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, says that in A. H. 1032 (A. D. 1622-3) he had been shown by two Christian priests, Padre Juan and Padre Brio, a copy of the *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā*² written by the great Christian divine known as Padre Mīmīlād (?). This again called forth two rejoinders: one by Father Bonav. Malvalia in 1628,³ and the other by a Franciscan, Philip Guadagnoli.⁴ This latter was published at Rome in 1631 under the title: '*Apologia pro Christiana religione que a R. P. Philippo Gadagnolo respondetur ad objectiones Ahmad filii Zin Alabadin, Persæ Aspahahensis, contentas in libro incripto Politor speculi.*' and it is reported (see de Backer. *Bibl. des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus*, VII. 415) to have had the effect of converting the said Sayyid Aḥmad.!

A very full account of the *Āina-i-Ḥaqq-numā* will be found in Dr. Lee's preface to Henry Martyn's 'Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mahomedanism. Cambridge 1824'. In the same preface will be found an

¹ Preface to H. Martyn's *Controversial Tracts* p. XL.

² The quotations show that the book seen was the *Mantakhab*. Rieu, *Persian MSS.* I. 28.

³ Not in the Brit. Mus.

⁴ See M. Thevenot *Relation de divers Voyages. Discours sur les Mémoires de Thos. Rhoë*, p. 12.

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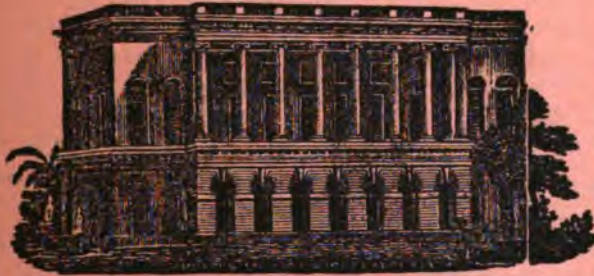
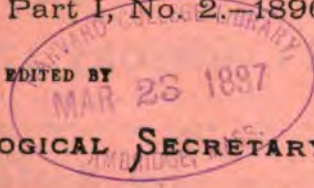
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account of Gadagnoli's book and of a book by Sayyid Ahmad called *كذّاب الواعى الربانىة في ردّ شبهة النصرانية*, A book of divine rays in refutation of Christian error; published¹ in A. D. 1631 in reply to a work written by a European priest: this book may be the same as the '*Politor Speculi*,' but Rieu (Cat. I. 29) refers to it as an earlier work of the same author.

It will suffice to quote here the remarkable prayer contained in the preface to the *Āina-i-Haqq-numā*: * 'Pardon, O Lord, should I do what is displeasing in Thy sight by intruding myself into the things and properties that belong to Thee. Men plunge into the deep ocean, there to fetch pearls and other precious things. Therefore, O Sea of Perfections, suffer me to sink deep into Thee and thence to enrich myself and my brethren, who are Thy servants; and by describing Thy greatness and mercies, to help them. For, although I am unworthy to speak to Thee, Thou art worthy that all should endeavour to praise Thee; since Thou art possessed of infinite goodness and beauty O Lord my God, this will be fruitless, unless Thou assist both me and them with Thy infinite mercy. Give unto us, O Lord, the key of the knowledge of Thee. Grant to our understandings the power of understanding Thy greatness, that Thy majesty and grace may not be to us an occasion of stumbling, and hence remain unblessed by Thy many favours. Let not that come upon us what happens to the bat, which is blinded by the light of the sun; and which in the midst of light remains in darkness. Give us enlightened and far-discerning eyes, that we may believe in that greatness of which Thou art, and which for our sakes Thou hast revealed. And that by these words and actions we may so follow Thee, that in paradise we may see Thy Godhead in the mirror of light, which in this world, we can only contemplate by faith as in a glass [darkly]. Amen.'

The above are the best known of [Xavier's works, but the following also are noticed in catalogues, &c. —

iv. '*Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ*, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. at Agrah, at the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609, 8vo.' (*Bibl. Marsdeniana*, p. 305 cf. *Uri. Bib. Bodl. Cod. Cat.*, p. 270).

v. '*Psalterio de David conforme a ediçao vulgata traducido polo P. Jeronimo Xavier da C. de J. na cidade de Agra, corte do gran Mogol Jahanguir* (Persian Translation of the Psalms of David.) 8vo.' (*Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305).

vi. '*The Guide of Kings* composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. and addressed to the Mogol Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609. Sin fol.' (*Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305).

vii. *A History of the Martyrs.* (De Backer *Bibl. des E'crivains de la comp. de Jésus*, vii. 415).

¹ Lee refers to a copy in Queen's College Library at Cambridge.

² *Cal. Rev.* 1886, p. 9. Lee's *Preface to Martyn's Controversial Tracts*, p. vii.

The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgari-alphabet.—By
NAGĒNDRANĀTHA VASU.

[Read April, 1896.]

A vehement discussion is going on amongst antiquarians and Sanskrit scholars concerning the origin of the Nāgari-alphabet. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, the late Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, was the first to raise the question. With the view of ascertaining the date of the Nāgari-alphabet and the origin of its name, he has sent letters to the best Indian Paṇḍits and oriental scholars requesting them to acquaint him with their individual views upon the points in question.

Having had the honour of being consulted by two of the gentlemen addressed by him, I now venture to lay the following suggestions before the Society, in the hope that they may give rise to further inquiries.

I surmise that the following are the main points to be noticed in order to gain an idea of the origin of the Nāgari-alphabet :—

1. What is the cause of the name Nāgara ?
2. Where did the name arise from ?
3. Who gave the name, and have they any connection with the alphabet ?
4. Date of its origin.
5. Development and progress of the Nāgarākṣara.

Some Indian Paṇḍits derive the name from *nagara* (a city). The letters received by Paṇḍit Ćambhucandra Vidyāratna from Paṇḍit Vāmaṇācārya and others of Benares are to the same effect. The other Paṇḍits of Benares explain the word *dēva-nāgara* as 'born in a divine city.' Others say that this alphabet was originally used in the *dēvalōka* and hence its name *dēva-nāgara*. In my humble opinion, the above conjectures cannot be taken as accurate. For if the explanation of the expression be such as "नगरे भवं (born in a city)" the word नगर may mean any city,—and there can be no certainty as to what city is meant. According to the rules of rhetoric, we are, when pointing to a particular alphabetic designation required to mention the exact place or person it

owes its origin to. But the upholders of the first theory like the advocates of the second, have not done so. Consequently the conclusion नगरे अक्षरं, (born in a city) and hence the name *Nāgara* falls to the ground.

In the well-known encyclopædic lexicon the 'Çabda-kalpa-druma' edited by the late Sir Rājā Rādhākānta Dēva, and in the *Vācaspatya*, we find the signification of the word *Nāgara* to be 'akṣara of the *Nāgara-dēça*.' But as no authority is adduced in support of it, the later dictionaries have not followed this explanation.

Dr. Isaac Taylor states in his 'Alphabet,' Vol. II, p. 349.

'The meaning of the term *Nāgarī* has been much disputed. It has been conjectured that it was originally the local alphabet of Benares and has been explained as the city-alphabet from *nagara*, a city. Dr. Burnell is inclined to believe that it was *Naga-lipi* or serpent-writing. (Burnell, *S. Indian Pal.*, p. 52). It was thus understood and translated at the time when the ancient Tibetan version of the *Lalita Vistara* was made. A third hypothesis explains it as the writing of the *Nāgara Brāhman*s of Gujrāt, and a fourth as that of the *Shāh* kings, who were called the *nāgas* or snakes.'

He also adds—'The term *Dēva-nāgarī*, which would mean the divine or sacred *nāgarī* is not used by the natives of India, and seems to have been invented by some ingenious Anglo-Indian about the end of the last century. It has, however, established itself in works on Indian Palæography, and may be conveniently retained to denote that particular type of the *Nāgarī* character employed in printed books for the sacred Sanskrit literature, while the generic term *Nāgarī* may serve as the designation of the whole class of Vernacular alphabets of which the *Dēva-nāgarī* is the literary type'. (p. 349).

From the facts and materials, I have been able to collect, I arrive at the conclusion, that this alphabet was first devised by a class of men, designated *Nāgara*, and in a certain place also called *Nagara*: and this is why the characters go under the name of *Nāgarākṣara* or *Nāgarī-lipi*.

About 750 years ago Paṇḍita Ṣṣa Kṛṣṇa¹ thus gives an account of different languages in his Prākṛta-candrikā : —

महाराष्ट्री तथावन्ती शौरसेन्यर्धमागधी ।
 वाङ्मौकी मागधी चैव बहेता दाक्षिणात्यजाः ।^२
 ब्राह्मणो जाटवैदर्भापुपनागरनागरौ ।
 वार्वरावक्य-पाञ्चाल-टाङ्ग-माजव-कैकयाः ॥
 गौडोद्ग-दैव-पाञ्चाल-पाञ्च-कौन्तक-सैहजाः ।
 काशिङ्ग-प्राच-काशीट-काश्म-द्राविड-गौर्भराः ॥
 क्षामौरो मध्यदेशीयः सृष्ट्यभेदव्यवस्थिताः ॥
 सप्तविंशत्यपभ्रंशा वैडाकादिप्रभेदतः ॥

‘Mahārāṣṭrī, Avāntī, Ḣaurasēnī, Ardha-māgadhī, Vāhliki, Māgadhī ; these six are original (Prākṛt) languages and they originated from Southern India. Brācaṇḍa, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Avāntya, Pāñcāla, Ṭākka, Mālava, Kaikaya, Gauḍa, Udra, Daiva, Pāṇcātya, Pāñḍya, Kauntala, Saimhala, Kālinga, Prācyā, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñcyā, Drāviḍa, Gaurjara, Ābhira, Madhya-dēṣya, Vaiḍāla : these 27 are corrupt dialects and differ more or less from one another.’

It is clear from the above ṣlōkas that like the Mahārāṣṭrī, Ḣaurasēnī, Māgadhī, &c., which derived their names from the provinces or their people, the corrupt forms of languages, viz., Nāgara, Upanāgara and Daiva, were current in some part of the country whose name they bear.

The next point to consider is, from what place did the name become current ?

In India we find more than one tract of land having the name Nagara. In Bengal we find Nagara which was formerly the capital of Bīrbhūm. The famous port Nagara is in Tanjore. In Mysore an extensive division goes by that name ; in this division there are a certain village and a *taluk* of the name of Nagara. A remarkable town named Nagara, and an ancient town called Nagarakōṭa are situated on the Biās in the district of Kangra, Panjāb. Over and above, we find Nagaravasti in Darbhanga, Nagaraparkar (town) in Sindh, and Nagara-

¹ Also known under the name of Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, son of Nara-siṃha, sprung in the Ḣṣa-vañca. According to Dr. Bhāṇḍarkar the probable date of Rāmacandra nephew of Ḣṣa-Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A.D. (R. G. Bhāṇḍarkar's Report of the Sanskrit MSS. 1883-84, p. 69).

² Another reading ‘बहेता दाक्षिणात्यजाः ।’

khās (a city) in the district of Basti. Moreover there is a number of ancient villages called Nagaram found in the Deccan.

We are also in similar difficulty with regard to the name Nāgara. In North-Bengal, there are two rivers of that name:—one running from Purniyā to Dinājpur; another from Bagurā to Rājshāhi. In the district of Dacca there is a village of that name. In Rājputānā proper there are some 9 or 10 places, all bearing the name Nāgara, of which three may be called towns. One of these three is in the state of Jai-pur, another in Mārwar, and the remaining one 10 miles south-west of Ranthambhōr. In the Santal Parganahs, there is a fortified village called Nāgara. Close to Chitor in Rājputānā there is a very ancient town called Nāgari. By the punch-marked coin, discovered here and its concomitants, Sir Alex. Cunningham has proved conclusively that this town was established many centuries before the birth of Christ. But he says that the ancient name of this locality was Tāmbravatī-nāgari.

None of the above-mentioned places affords us any hint by which we may ascertain the mother-country of the Nāgari-alphabet.

There lives a powerful tribe named Nāgara, in the mountainous tract of Kabul in Afghanistan. Many days have not elapsed since these Nāgaras declared war against the British Government. A friend of mine has jumped to the conclusion, that the Nāgara-alphabet has been named after this tribe. He is of opinion that as the Aryans have gradually entered into India from Central Asia; so the alphabet of this tribe somehow or other found its way into India. I cannot support the theory of my friend. These Nāgara-men, although they belong at present to the religion of Islām, are all descended from the Rajputs; and they point to Rājputānā, as their former residence. Under such circumstances how can it be imagined that the Nāgarākṣara was imported into India from the North of Kabul?

Besides the above, there is another Nagara, an extensive division in the district of Aḥmadnagar in the Bombay Presidency. The area of the tract is 619 sq. miles.¹ Here there is a class of Brāhmaṇas styled Nāgara. Aḥmadnagar is also called Nagara, but only by the natives of that place. They say that the tract was well-known as Nagar long before the establishment of the present town in 1411 A.D. by Sulṭān Aḥmad. These Nāgara Brāhmaṇas generally look upon the Nāgara-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa as the authority regarding their origin. It is stated in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that Nagara is another name for Hāṭakṣvara on the Sarasvatī. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the Nagara division assert that the Hāṭakṣvara of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa is no other than the ancient

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VII p. 608.

Hātakēçvara temple in Çri-guṇḍi on the river Sarasvatī in that division.¹ Nagara or Aḥmadnagar was within the boundary of the Hātakēçvara-kṣētra. Most of the sacred places of pilgrimage (तौषे) mentioned in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, were in this Nagara division. Of these nearly all have been ravaged by the Muḥammadan invaders. Siddhēçvara, Nāganātha, Hātakēçvara and a few others are the only surviving shrines.

If we rely upon the veracity of these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, we must conclude that this spot is the ancient Nagara, as related in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa. But though the Pāṇḍās of the Hātakēçvara of Çri-guṇḍi may endeavour to give fame to the spot by identifying it with that of Nāgara-khaṇḍa, it is certainly not the ancient Hātakēçvara mentioned in that work. The shrine of this Hātakēçvara was erected long after the establishment of the ancient Hātakēçvara.

It is related in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa by name Campa-çarman, was excommunicated for accepting the gift of an individual named Puṣpa. He, being renounced by his kith and kin, quitted the city and began to dwell in a certain place on the right bank of the Sarasvatī. His descendants became known under the title of *Vāhya-nāgara*. These *Vāhya-nāgaras* in imitation of the ancient Hātakēçvara as described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, planted the present Hātakēçvara on the right bank of the river Sarasvatī at Çri-guṇḍi. According to the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Nagara is on the north side of the Sarasvatī and is within the boundaries of Hātakēçvara which extend 5 krōças or 10 miles. But our present Aḥmadnagar is more than 10 miles from Çri-guṇḍi: moreover, the river Sarasvatī does not flow close to it. These facts prevent me from taking Aḥmadnagar as the early dwelling-place of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. Nor do we find any tradition to the effect that Nāgari-alphabet sprang from that place.

Origin of the Nāgaras.

I learn from a note received from a friend that the Nāgara Paṇḍits of Gujarāt maintain that the Nāgari-alphabet was originally invented by their ancestors. Many Nāgara Brāhmaṇas still live in Gujarāt. They consider themselves superior to all other Brāhmaṇas.² The Hindū

¹ List of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, by J. Burgess, p. 107.

² The Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas still recite the following Çlōka to ascertain their superiority over all other Brāhmaṇas :—

जेडा नावः पयूनां च यथा पयूवसुक्लव ।

विप्राबामिह सर्वेषां तथा जेडा हि मामराः ॥

(नागरचण्ड १९८ । १५)

kings of Gujarāt have shown their reverence towards these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas from very ancient times. One cannot fail to notice the hereditary employments of these Brāhmaṇas as ministers, counsellors, &c., at the highest and most important functionaries of the state. These Brāhmaṇas also allude to the authority of the Skanda-purāṇa for their origin. The Nāgara-khaṇḍa thus speaks of the origin of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas :—

Camatkāra, the king of Ānartta, was once afflicted with leprosy. Being unable to get rid of the malady, he despaired of his life. One day he came to the hermitage of Viṣvāmitra and stated his misfortune. The ascetics of the hermitage were moved to pity by the lamentations of the king and advised him to bathe in the Ṣaṅkha-tīrtha. Bathing there he recovered from leprosy. Then he built close to that Ṣaṅkha-tīrtha a city named Camatkāra-pura, which extended for two miles. Picturesque structures were there raised by his orders; and Kulīna Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vēdas, and other religious Brāhmaṇas were invited from distant quarters to inhabit the town. A few years after, there was born amongst them the learned Citra-ṣarman. Practising penance he was able to propitiate Mahādēva, who to accomplish his desire appeared in the form of Hāṭakēṣvara. People from different parts took to frequenting the place to have a sight of the Hāṭakēṣvara-linga. The Brāhmaṇas of Camatkāra-pura began to consider that, intrinsically Citra-ṣarman was in no way superior to them; but as he had earned honour and respect of the public by instituting a permanent object of glory, why should not they? Reflecting thus, they all fell to practising austere penance. Mahādēva became propitiated and appeared before the Camatkāra-pura Brāhmaṇas, who were then divided into 68 *gōtras*. Mahādēva said, 'There are in all 68 Ṣaiva-kṣētras (places of Ṣiva). Dividing myself into 68 parts I always reside in these places. Now to satisfy your object I will appear here in 68 forms.' Accordingly there were erected 68 shrines, and each *gōtra* devoted itself to the worship of a separate form of Ṣiva. (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, chs. 106 and 107.)

Once upon a time the king of Ānartta became aware that a heavy calamity was brooding over his peaceful dominions owing to the wrath of the presiding planet of his son then about to be born. He called for all the great astrologers of the age, who all concurrently advised him to observe expiatory rites through the medium of competent Brāhmaṇas. The king of Ānartta had already established the Brāhmaṇas of the 68 *gōtras* in Camatkāra-pura, where he also had beautiful edifices built for them. Now, instructed by the astrologers, he came in person to Camatkāra-pura, and solicited the Brāhmaṇas to perform the

necessary religious rites for the welfare of his future son. Sixteen Brāhmaṇas were then employed to perform propitiatory and sacrificial observances.

While these religious rites were being performed there went on, in the capital of Ānartta, great and solemn festivities in order to celebrate the birth of the prince. But in the midst of these entertainments dark calamities began to make their appearance. Consequent upon the evil influence of the star presiding over the prince's fortune, the king's horses, elephants, chariots and even his dominions began to grow thinner and thinner. At this the Brāhmaṇas of Camatkāra-pura became highly exasperated. They observed, 'We sixteen Brāhmaṇas are without the slightest departure from rules, performing the due sacrifices; and yet no good comes of it: let us therefore imprecate curses upon the god of fire.' At this juncture, Agni-dēva (the Fire-god) appeared before them and exclaimed: 'Oh Brāhmaṇas, do not imprecate curses upon me under the influence of unjust wrath. Each of your offerings is going to ruin through the misdemeanour of Trijāta, one among you who are performing the sacrifices and other religious rites. For him, the sun and the other heavenly bodies do not accept your offerings: and this is why pestilence and mortality are day by day increasing in the kingdom. Renew your sacrifice, banishing this vile Brāhmaṇa from your company: then fortune and health shall smile upon the king, and perdition shall await his enemies.' Hearing the words of Agni, the Brāhmaṇas were very much ashamed, and said that it was impossible for them to believe that Trijāta was polluting their *Hōma* preparations. Agni replied, 'Purify yourselves by bathing in the water of my perspiration in the sacrificial-pit (*Hōma-kuṇḍa*). Rest assured, that your preparations have been corrupted by that man, on whose body appear pustules when he emerges out of the water.' In obedience to the dictates of Agni, they, one after another, bathed in the sacrificial-pit: but pustules were seen on the person of Trijāta only. Overwhelmed with shame, Trijāta was then unable to uplift his down-cast head; agony and repentance overcame him and he determined to retire to the jungle. Now in fact this Trijāta was a great scholar, well versed in the Vēdas; and for the disgrace incurred upon him, his mother was to be blamed. Becoming alive to his own wretched condition he applied himself to practise austere penance in a secluded forest.

Highly delighted with the rigour and austerity of Trijāta's penance, Mahādēva appeared before him. Trijāta fell prostrate at his feet and thus outpoured his heart:—'Oh God of the gods, I have been, by my mother's fault, very much disgraced before the people of Camatkāra-pura and the king of Ānartta. Be thou so gracious to contrive

some means, by which I may rise pre-eminent amongst all the Brāhmaṇas.' Māhadēva answered, 'Wait for some time. Days are not distant, when your desire will be fulfilled.' Saying this the god vanished.

Meanwhile a great disaster occurred in Camatkāra-pura. On one *Nāga-pañcamī* day, Kratha, son of Dēva-rāja of the Mandgalya gōtra, went together with some other Brāhmaṇas to bathe in the Nāgatīrtha and there taking Rudra-māla the son of the serpent-king, for a common water-serpent, killed him with the stroke of a rod. At this many venomous snakes, responding to their king's order, crept into Camatkāra-pura in overwhelming numbers. Owing to the terrible destruction caused by these poisonous snakes, all the men of Camatkāra-pura young and old, began to flee away, leaving their houses and articles behind them. Brāhmaṇas in hundreds breathed their last, being bitten by snakes. Some Brāhmaṇas becoming exceedingly appalled sought refuge in that forest where Trijāta was engaged in penance. Hearing of the story of their misfortune, Trijāta encouraged them, saying, 'you have no occasion to fear.' Ere long he again became absorbed in meditation of Mahādēva. The god appeared and said, 'I am giving you an incantation (a mantra) the mere utterance of which shall render even the most ferocious of the venomous snakes void of poison.' The *mantra* runs thus:—

गरं विषमिति प्रोक्तं न तत्रास्ति च साम्यतम् ।

मत्प्रसादात्त्वया ह्येतदुच्चार्यं ब्राह्मणोत्तमम् ॥

नगरं नगरं चैतच्छ्रुत्वा ये पन्नगाघमाः ।

तत्र स्थास्यन्ति ते वध्या भविष्यन्ति यथा सुखम् ॥

अद्य प्रभृति तत्स्थानं नगराख्यं घरातले ।

भविष्यति सुविख्यातं तव कीर्तिविवर्धनम् ॥

तथान्योऽपि च यो विप्रो नागरः मुद्गवंशजः ।

नगराख्येन मन्त्रेण अभिमन्त्र्य त्रिधा जलम् ॥

प्राणिनं कालसंदष्टमपि मृत्युवशंगतम् ।

प्रकरिष्यति जीवन्तं प्रक्षिप्य वदने स्वयम् ॥

(नागरखण्ड १०७।७८-८२)

'O my good Brāhmaṇa, you are to proclaim in the city that the word *gara* signifies poison, but by my favour there is no poison at present. Any vile snakes that may dare to remain there after hearing you utter '*na garam na garam*' (i.e., there is no poison, no poison), may

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be killed at your pleasure. This famous place, which contributes to your glory, will from this day be known to the world by the name of *Nagara*. So also any other *Nāgara Brāhmaṇa*, born of a pure family, will be able to restore to life any snake-bitten animal fallen into the clutches of death by besprinkling its face with water, enchanted thrice with the *mantra* called *Nagara*.'

Saying this the god disappeared. *Trijāta* accompanied by those *Brāhmaṇas* came to *Camatkāra-pura*. They all conjointly began to cry aloud *nagaram, nagaram*. By the effect of this *Siddha-mantra*, the snakes of *Camatkāra-pura* were rendered poisonless, and struggled to make their escape, while thousands perished. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune! That very *Trijāta*, who was once overwhelmed by acute mortification of mind, and shame and disgrace, now overflowed with joy to find himself the object of public praise and honour. By his influence the name of *Camatkāra-pura* was changed to *Nagara*, and its *Brāhmaṇas* came to be known as *Nāgara*. (*Nāgara-khaṇḍa* chs. 106-108).

Thus, on the authority of the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa* the former name of *Nagara* was *Camatkāra-pura* after the name of its founder *Camatkāra* king of *Ānartta*. *Hātakṣvara* is another name of this place. According to the *Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, *Hātakṣvara-kṣētra* is situated at the south-west of *Ānartta-dēṣa*, and its boundary stretches 10 miles in circumference, while the town itself extended for 2 miles.¹ It is bounded on the east by *Gayā-ṣiṅga*, on the west by *Viṣṇu-pada*, and on the north and south by *Gokarṇṣvara*.² Within the boundaries of this *Hāta-*

1 अस्मिन्नेतदियामि देशे चामतसंज्ञके ॥
तथास्य स्थापितं लिङ्गं चाडकेन सुरीतमैः ।
रतसंबीक्ष्यते लोके पाताले चाडकेचरम् ॥
(नागरखण्ड ४। ५१ -- ५२)

नगरं कल्पयामास स्थाने तत्र महत्तमम् ।
प्राकारेण सुतुङ्गेन परिवार्षेण सर्वतः ।
आयाम-आसतस्यैव क्रोशमात्रं मनोचरम् ॥

(नागरखण्ड ११। १२ -- १४)

2 पञ्चक्रोशप्रभावेन क्षेत्रं प्राज्ञावसतमाः ।
आयाम-आसतस्यैव समन्तारपुरोद्भवम् ॥
प्राच्यां तस्य मयाशीर्षं पश्चिमेन हरिः पदम् ।
दक्षिणोत्तरयोस्यैव मोक्षार्थं चरसंज्ञितौ ॥
चाडकेचरसंज्ञस्तु पूर्वमासौ द्विज्योत्तमः ।
तन्क्षेत्रं प्रथितं लोके सर्वपातकनाशनम् ॥
यतः प्रवृत्ति विप्रैश्चो दत्तं तेन महात्मना ।
समन्तारेण तन्स्थानं नाम्ना स्थापितं ततोऽनन्तम् ॥

(नागरखण्ड ११। २ -- ९)

kēçvara-kṣētra are the shrines of Acalēçvara, Gōkarṇēçvara, Gayā-çirṣa, Mārkaṇḍēyēçvara, Citrēçvara, Dhundhumārēçvara, Yayātiçvara, Ānandēçvara, Kapilēçvara, Kalauēçvara, Ānarttēçvara, Çūdrakēçvara, Ajapāliçvara, Bānēçvara, Lakṣmaṇēçvara, Trijātēçvara, Ambārēvati, Kēdārēçvara, Viṣabhanātha, Satyasandhēçvara, Aṭēçvara, Dharmarājēçvara, Miṣṭānnadēçvara, Citrāṅgadēçvara, Amarakēçvara, Vaṭēçvara, Makarēçvara, Kālēçvara, Puṣpāditya, &c., as well as hundreds of sacred places (tirthas), named Pātāla-Gaṅgā, Gaṅgā-Yamunā, Prāci (i.e., eastern) Sarasvati, Nāga-tirtha, Çaṅkha-tirtha, Mrga-tirtha, Liṅgabhedōdbhava-tirtha, Rudrā-vartta, Rāma-hrada, Cakra-tirtha, Mātṛ-tirtha, Mudhāra-tirtha, &c.

Elsewhere in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa Mahādēva says:—‘Naimiṣāraṇya, Kēdāra-nātha, Puṣkara, Bhūmi-jāṅgala, Vārāṇasi, Kurukṣētra, Prabhāsa, and Hāṭakēçvara are the principal of the sacred-places. He who in proper veneration bathes in these eight *Tirthas*, reaps the fruit of bathing in all the *Tirthas*. Even these eight sacred places have their best, and Hāṭakēçvara is that one. All the *tirthas* in the world are, by my order, present in Hāṭakēçvara. Therefore in the Kali-yuga persons eager of salvation should betake themselves to the Hāṭakēçvara-kṣētra, which is attended by all the *Tirthas*.’ (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, ch. 103.)

Mr. Wilson in his *Indian castes* says:—‘The word Nāgara is the adjective form of Nagara, a city. It is applied to several (six) principal castes of Brāhmaṇas in Gujarāt getting their designations respectively from certain towns in the north-eastern portions of that province.’¹

It has been already remarked in harmony with the statement of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, that Hāṭakēçvara was named Nagara, subsequent to Trijāta’s making the land snakeless. The Brāhmaṇas who were brought by him became known under the name of Nāgara from their inhabiting that city.²

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt maintain that Ānandapura (the present Baḍanagara) was their original dwelling-place. This place is in the district of Kaḍi in Gujarāt, and forms a part of the state of the Gāikwār of Baroda. Some antiquarians have alluded to Nagara-Ānanda-pura as the name of this place.³ It seems to me that perhaps the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānanda-pura used the name of Baḍa-nagara

¹ Wilson, *Indian Castes*, Vol. II., p. 96.

² It is stated in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, that Hāṭakēçvara was, previous to the arrival of Trijāta, depopulated by the horrible destruction spread over the land by the poisonous snakes. Trijāta again populated it by Brāhmaṇas of 84 *gōtras* brought from several other places. (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, ch. 108.)

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. 295.

for their native town, in order to distinguish it from the comparatively new city, Nagara, which the excommunicated Vāhya-nāgaras founded and named in imitation of their mother-land.¹

The famous shrine of Hāṭakēṣvara is still existing in Baḍa-nagara; and the Brāhmaṇas of this locality still recite holy-texts (Ḍānti-pāṭha) for the welfare of their king the Gāikwār. Even now, thousands of pilgrims resort to Hāṭakēṣvara from all parts of Western India. But strangely enough, most of the inhabitants of Bengal have not even heard its name.

The above-mentioned temples and *tīrthas* as described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa can even now be identified in Baḍa-nagara and its environments of 10 miles. The local river Sarasvatī is held, by the natives, in the same veneration as the Ganges.

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas maintain that there was a time, when millions of pilgrims annually came to Hāṭakēṣvara-keṣṭra from different parts of India. The attendants of its Pāṇḍās travelled all over India inducing people to visit this sacred place. Indeed many Nāgara Brāhmaṇas are, even now, met with in various parts of the Deccan. These Brāhmaṇas still write all their sacred books in the Nāgarī characters. Even far away in Drāviḍa and Karṇāṭa, where all the other natives use their provincial alphabets in writing, these Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, though they have, in the course of centuries, lost their mother-tongue and adopted that of the surrounding people amongst whom they live, still adhere to their own tribal Nāgarī character.

With respect to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas at the outskirts of Vijayanagara and Ānaguṇḍi, Mr. Huddleston Stokes states:—‘They appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nāgara, and to have settled here under the Ānaguṇḍi and Vijayanagar kings. They speak Kānarese only, but their books are in the Nāgarī and Bālabōdha² character.’³

A careful perusal of what has been recorded above, leads one to decide that the Brāhmaṇas brought by Trijāta came to be known by the name of Nāgara, their language and their alphabet by the name of Nāgara or Nāgarī from their residing in the city of Nagara. That they have a peculiar connection with the Nāgarākṣara is well

¹ We see in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa that the excommunicated Campa-ṣarman and his companion set up the images of Nagarēṣvara and Nagarāditya on the right-bank of the river Sarasvatī (*Nāgara-khaṇḍa*, ch. 155). So it is not improbable that the Vāhya-nāgaras established here a town named Nagara.

² Bālabōdha is a modern form of the Nāgarī. (See Burnell, *S. I. Palaeography*, p. 44.)

³ *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 230.

exemplified by the alphabet, made use of by other Nāgara Brāhmaṇas long inhabiting different countries.

Origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet.

Most of our Indian Paṇḍits hold that the origin of the Nāgarī-alphabet dates from the invention of the system of writing. Paṇḍita Gauri-çaṅkara Hirācānd of Udayapura, author of the Prācīna-lipi-mālā, also asserts the same theory. But in my humble opinion, this theory is quite without any foundation.

The books which describe all the earliest *lipis* of India do not speak anything at all of Nāgarī. In support of this, I quote here some proofs.

In the early Buddhist work named the *Lalita-vistara*, it is stated that when Viçvāmitra Dārakācārya came to teach Siddhārtha the art of writing, the prince previous to his inculcation, spoke of the following 64 kinds of *lipis*¹:—1 *Brāhmī*, 2 *Kharōṣṭī*, 3 *Puṣkarasāri*, 4 *Anga*, 5 *Vaṅga*, 6 *Magadha*, 7 *Māṅgalya*, 8 *Manusya*, 9 *Anguliya*, 10 *Çakāri*, 11 *Brahma-vallī*, 12 *Drāviḍa*, 13 *Kīndri*, 14 *Dakṣiṇa*, 15 *Ugra*, 16 *Saṅkhyā*, 17 *Anulōma*, 18 *Darāda*, 19 *Khāsyā*, 20 *Oīna*, 21 *Hūna*, 22 *Madhyākṣara-vistara*, 23 *Puṣpa*, 24 *Dēva*, 25 *Nāga*, 26 *Yakṣa*, 27 *Gandharva*, 28 *Kinnara*, 29 *Mahōraga*, 30 *Asura*, 31 *Garuḍa*, 32 *Mrga-cakra*, 33 *Cakra*, 34 *Vāyumarut*, 35 *Bhauma-dēva*, 36 *Antarikṣa-dēva*, 37 *Uttarakuru-dvīpa*, 38 *Apara-gauḍa*, 39 *Pūrva-vidēha*, 40 *Utkṣēpa*, 41 *Nikṣēpa*, 42 *Vikṣēpa*, 43 *Prakṣēpa*, 44 *Sāgara*, 45 *Vajra*, 46 *Lēkha-pratīlēkha*, 47 *Anudruta*, 48 *Çastrāvarta*, 49 *Gaṇanā-vartta*, 50 *Utkṣēpā-vartta*, 51 *Nikṣēpāvartta*, 52 *Padalikkhita*, 53 *Dviruttarapadasandhi*, 54 *Daçōttarapadasandhi*, 55 *Adhyāhārīṇī*, 56 *Sarvaruta-saṁgrahaṇī*, 57 *Vidyānulōmā*, 58 *Vimiçrīta*, 59 *Rṣitapastapīḍā*, 60 *Rōcamānā*, 61 *Dharaṇī-prēkṣaṇa*, 62 *Sarvasāra-saṁgrahaṇī*, 63 *Sarvasāra-saṁgrahaṇī*, and 64 *Sarvabhūta-ruta-grahaṇī*.¹

1 अथ बोधिसत्त्व उग्रसारचन्दनमयं लिपिफलकमादाय दिशवर्षकं सुवर्षेतिष्ठकं समन्ताच्चिरमप्रत्युन्नं विश्वामिषमाचार्यमेवाह । कृतमां भो उपाध्याय लिपिं मे शिष्ययिष्यसि ।
 शार्ङ्गी शरोद्धीं पुष्करसारीं अङ्गलिपिं वङ्गलिपिं मगधलिपिं माङ्गल्यलिपिं मनुष्यलिपिं
 अङ्गुलीयलिपिं अकारिलिपिं अक्षयलीलिपिं त्राविकलिपिं किमारिलिपिं दक्षिणलिपिं
 उपलिपिं संख्यालिपिं अनुलोमलिपिं अर्धधनुर्लिपिं दरदलिपिं चास्यलिपिं चीनलिपिं
 ऋषलिपिं मध्याचर-विसारलिपिं पुष्यलिपिं देवलिपिं नामलिपिं यच्चलिपिं मन्वर्षलिपिं
 विग्ररलिपिं मद्योरजलिपिं अद्युरलिपिं मयवलिपिं अमचक्रलिपिं अक्रलिपिं वायु-
 मवलिपिं भौमदेवलिपिं अनातौचदेवलिपिसुमारङ्गुवहोपलिपिं अपरमौद्गादिलिपिं पूर्व-
 पिदेशलिपिसुवृषेपलिपिं निषेपलिपिं विषेपलिपिं प्रषेपलिपिं समरलिपिं वङ्गलिपिं

We learn from the 4th *anga* called the *Samavāya*, one of the earliest Jaina works that the character which originated from Brāhmī, daughter of Ādijina Ṛṣabhadēva, is called Brāhmī. The following are the names of 18 sorts of writing headed by Brāhmī:—1 *Bambhī*, 2 *Javanāliya*, 3 *Dōṣa-ūriya*, 4 *Kharoṣṭhiya*, 5 *Kharasāriya*, 6 *Pahārāiya*, 7 *Uccatāriya*, 8 *Akharaputthiya*, 9 *Bhōgabayattā*, 10 *Beyanatiya*, 11 *Nirāhaiya*, 12 *Aṅka*, 13 *Gaṇiya*, 14 *Gandhavva*, 15 *Ādassa*, 16 *Māhēsara*, 17 *Dāmi* and 18 *Bōlidi-livi*.¹

The fourth *Upānga*, the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* of the Jainas gives the following list of 18 sorts of characters:—1 *Bambhī*, 2 *Jabaṇāliya*, 3 *Dāsapūriya*, 4 *Kharoṣṭhī*, 5 *Pukkarasāriya*, 6 *Bhōgavaiya*, 7 *Pahārāiya*, 8 *Antarakariya*, 9 *Akharaputthiya*, 10 *Vēṇaniya*, 11 *Niṇahaiya*, 12 *Aṅka*, 13 *Gaṇita*, 14 *Gandhavva*, 15 *Āyassa*, 16 *Māhēsari*, 17 *Dāmili* and 18 *Pōlinda*.²

Some may advance the argument that amongst the *lipis* (characters) mentioned above, there is the mention of *Dēvalipi*, *Bhauma-dēvalipi* and *Antarikṣadēvalipi*; and one of these might be our *Dēva-nāgara*, and most probably *Dēva-lipi* or *Bhauma-dēva-lipi* has changed its name for our present *Dēva-nāgara* or *Nāgara*. But I think that it is wide of the mark to infer that the *Nāgari-lipi* is derived from *Dēva-lipi*, in so much as there is no clear mention of *Nāgara* or *Nāgari*.

लक्षप्रतिशेष-लिपिमद्रुत-लिपिं ग्राह्यावर्त-लिपिं गजनावर्त-लिपिसुतृषेपावर्त-लिपिं निचे-
पावर्त-लिपिं पादलिखित-लिपिं द्विचत्तरपदसन्धि-लिपिं यावद्भोत्तरपदसन्धि-लिपिमध्या-
हारि-लिपिं सर्ववर्तसंप्रहरी-लिपिं विद्यानुलोमा-लिपिं विमिश्रित-लिपिस्तपितपक्ष्णां
रोचमानम्बरहरी-प्रेक्ष्य-लिपिं सर्वैषधिनिष्कर्षां सर्वसारसंप्रहरीं सर्वभूतवत् प्रहरीमासाधो
उपाध्याय चतुःषष्टिलिपीनां कतमां-लिपिं मां त्वं शिष्ययिष्यसि । (संज्ञित. विश्वरे १० अ.)

¹ वक्षो रथं लिबौर अठारस-विह लोखकविहाने । वक्षी जववालिथा दीसकरिया
अरोडिया अरसारिया पहाराहया उचत्तरिया अक्षरपुत्थिया भोमवयथा वेचवतिया निरा-
हया अंकलिपि गभिललिपि गन्धलिपि आदस्तलिपि माहेसरलिपि दामिलिपि पोळिदि-
लिपि । (समवाय १८ अ ज्ञान)

The Jainas say that all their *Angas* were written in the time of Mahavira, and after 164 years from his death (i.e., in 363 B.C.), were collected in the *Ḍṛisaṅgha* of Pāṭaliputra.

² वक्षो रथम् लिबौर अठारसविह-लिक्ख-विहासे पत्थने नास् वक्षी जववालिथा
दासपरिया अरोड्डी पुक्खरसारिया भोमवहया पहाराहया उपचत्तरकरिया अक्षर-
पुत्थिया वेचविया निवहहया अङ्कलिपि गभिललिपि गन्धलिपि आसससलिपि माहेसरौ
दामिलौ पोळिन्दा से.त्ता भापरिहा । (पञ्चवथा) ।

The commentator *Malayagiri* writes — ब्राह्मीयवर्णानौत्पादयोऽलिपिभेदास्तु सम्प्रदा-
यादवशेषः ।

It has been stated about the commencement of this paper that Ṣṣa-kṛṣṇa, the writer of the Prākṛta-candrikā, has mentioned Nāgara, Upanāgara, and Daiva among the 27 forms of corrupt languages.¹ Most probably like these three languages three different forms of writing were also current. The Daiva or Bhauma-dēva-lipi mentioned in the *Lalita-vistara* had probably some points of resemblance to the Daiva-lipi or writing of the Dēva-bhāṣā.

But I have not come across any proof to lead me to surmise that Dēva-lipi signifies Nāgarākṣara. Now in some countries Nāgara may mean Dēvanāgarākṣara, but Dēvākṣara has nowhere any such import. In Bengal it is humorously used to denote very bad and illegible writing. Under such circumstances I cannot take Dēvalipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi as representing our present Nāgarī character.

It is now admitted that the *Lalita-vistara* was composed in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. The fourth Upāṅga Prajñāpanāsūtra was written by Ṣyāmārya, the first Kālakācārya. On referring to the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali*, we find that Ṣyāmārya lived 376 years after Mahāvira's *nirvāṇa* (B.C. 151). Consequently it must be admitted that nearly 2000 years ago there was no *lipi* extant under the name of Nāgara or Nāgarī.

Then when did the name of Nāgara first make its appearance ?

We find the first mention of Nāgarī-lipi in a Jaina religious book, the Nandi-sūtra.² Jainācārya Lakṣmi-vallabha-gaṇi thus speaks in his Kalpasūtra-kalpadruma-kalikā :—

अथ श्री ऋषभदेवेन ब्राह्मीदक्षिणहस्तेन अष्टादशल्लिपयो दर्शिताः ।
 गन्दीसूत्रे उक्त्वा यथा - १ हंसलिपि २ भूतलिपि ३ यक्षलिपि ४ रा-
 क्षसीलिपि ५ उडुलिपि ६ यावनोलिपि ७ तुरकूलिपि ८ कौरीलिपि
 ९ ब्राविडीलिपि १० सैन्धवीलिपि ११ मासवीलिपि १२ गडौलिपि
 १३ नागरीलिपि १४ पारसीलिपि १५ साटौलिपि १६ अनिमित्त-
 लिपि १७ चाणक्यलिपि १८ मौलदेवी ।

The author then relates :— देशविशेषादन्या अपि लिपयस्तद्यथा—

१ साटौ २ चौडी ३ डाहली ४ कखाडौ ५ गूजरौ ६ सोरठौ ७ मरहठौ
 ८ कौड्यौ ९ खुरासायौ १० मागधी ११ सिंहली १२ हाडौ १३
 कौरी १४ हम्मिरी १५ परतीरी १६ मसौ १७ मासवी १८ महायोधी

¹ Even the names of these three corrupt forms of languages have not been found in works earlier than Ṣṣa Kṛṣṇa's.

² The South-Indian form of the Nāgarī character usually goes by the name of Nandi-nāgarī.

इत्यादयो लिपयः पुनरङ्गानां गणितकला दर्शिता वामहस्तेन सुन्दरी
प्रतिलिपि दर्शिता ।

The *lipis* mentioned in the Nandī-sūtra are the following :—
1 *Haṃsa-lipi*, 2 *Bhūta-lipi*, 3 *Yakṣa-lipi*, 4 *Rākṣasi-lipi*, 5 *Uḍḍi-lipi*, 6
Yāvani-lipi, 7 *Turakki-lipi*, 8 *Kiri-lipi*, 9 *Drāviḍi-lipi*, 10 *Saindhavi-lipi*,
11 *Mālavi-lipi*, 12 *Naḍi-lipi*, 13 *Nāgarī-lipi*, 14 *Pārasī-lipi*, 15 *Lāṭi-lipi*, 16
Animitta-lipi, 17 *Cāṇakki-lipi* and 18 *Mauladēvi*.’

‘(Lipis vary in different countries; the names of them are these) :—
1 *Lāṭi*, 2 *Cauḍi*, 3 *Ḍāhali*, 4 *Kaṇāḍi*, 5 *Gūjari*, 6 *Soraṭhi*, 7 *Marahaṭhi*, 8
Kauṅkaṇi, 9 *Khurāsāni*, 10 *Māgadhi*, 11 *Simhali*, 12 *Hāḍi*, 13 *Kiri*, 14
Hammiri, 15 *Paratiri*, 16 *Masi*, 17 *Mālavi* and 18 *Mahāyōdhi*.’

Jainācārya says that the Nandī-sūtra was issued a few years before the Kalpa-sūtra. The Kalpa-sūtra was published in Ānanda-pura (Baḍanagara) 980 years after the death (nirvāṇa) of Mahāvīra (453 A.D.) under the orders of the Valabhi king Dhruva-sēna. So we find that the first mention of Nāgarī-lipi is in the 4th or 5th century A.D. As there is no mention of Nāgarī-lipi in any book of a date earlier than the 4th century, and as there is no certainty of the time when this *lipi* first came into use, it is necessary to look into all the ancient inscriptions, copper-plates, and manuscripts, engraved or written in the Nāgarī, that have been discovered in different parts of India. It therefore requires much, investigation and time to ascertain the gradual development of the Nāgarākṣara. I regret that I have not had enough leisure to devote to this research, but I may mention that I have recently learned that Dr. Bühler is going to publish an elaborate work on the Development of the Nāgarī-alphabet; and hence for detailed information, I can commend my readers to his learned article on that subject.

Of all the Nāgarī copper-plates, inscriptions, and manuscripts that have been discovered up to date, the copper-plate of the Gurjara king Dadda-praḥānta-rāga, which has been found in Bagumra and which bears the date of 415 Ṣaka is the most ancient.¹ The whole of the copper-plate is inscribed in the then-used Gujārātī (cave-character) except towards the close where there is the king’s sign manual in Nāgarī :—

खहस्तेऽयं मम श्रीवितरागसुनो श्रीप्रधानरागस्य ।

From the fact that only the royal signature is inscribed in the Nāgarākṣara, it is obvious that although other characters were current in Gujārāta about and before that time, the royal personages were then

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII.

accustomed to write in the *Nāgarākṣara*. Subsequent to the copper-plate of the above-mentioned Dadda, the *Nāgarākṣara* is again observed in the copper-plate of the Saurāṣṭra king Jāiṅka-dēva, dated 794 Samvat (737 A.D.), which was discovered in the village of Dhiniki on the sea-coast at the south-east of Dvārakāpuri.¹ This copper-plate was granted to one Içvara of the Mudgala *gōtra* by Jāiṅka-dēva, at the request of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa,² the prime-minister. After this the *Sāmana-*

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII., p. 155 pl.

² I have something to say about this Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Mr. Umōca Candra Baṭabyāla published in the *Society's Journal* a copper-plate of Dharmapāla, together with a facsimile. That plate too was granted to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, agreeably to the request of *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇa Varman. Mr. Baṭabyāl conjectures that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka is no other than the Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanauj, and from whom have descended all the Çāṇḍilya-gōtra-Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. He writes :—'Having come into Pauṇḍravardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa found a patron, not in Ādiçūra, as has been hitherto believed, but in one Nārāyaṇa Varman, who in the copper-plate grant is described as the *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* of Dharmapāla.' But my surmise is that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka had no connection with that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanauj. The original copper-plate says :—

ममस्य भवता महासान्नाधिपति-बीनारायणवर्मेणा दूतकयुवराज-बीविभुवन-
वासुदेव वरमेवं विज्ञापिता यथास्माभिर्मातापितृराज्यमस्य पुष्कभिद्वये शुभस्थलां देवकुलं
कारितं तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितमत्रवद्द्वन्द्वनारायणमहारकाय तत्प्रतिपालकसाठद्विजदेवार्चकादि-
वारसुसमेताय पूजोपस्थानादिकर्मणे चतुरो ग्रामानवत्य षड्विंशतसुवाडकसमेतान्
ररागु देव इति ।

'It is manifest from the above text that there was a temple in Çubhaṣṭhali, and that Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas were employed to worship the idol. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka came to this country, and subsequently settled there, at the request of the *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* Nārāyaṇa who granted him four large villages.'

Mr. Baṭabyāla supposes that Lāṭa was probably the name of Kānyakubja. But from the proofs collected by me I am confirmed that Lāṭa was never the name of Kānyakubja. The middle, western, and southern parts of Gujarāta were for a long time called Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, and Ānartta respectively. It seems that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who was the prime-minister of Jāiṅka-dēva king of Saurāṣṭra, was an inhabitant of Lāṭa-dēça. It is probable that when a political revolution broke out in his country, he then an old man, travelled over different parts, and then at last came to those Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas in Pauṇḍra-varadhana. That he who was once, as it were, the right hand of the Saurāṣṭra king secured high respect from the royal officers of Pauṇḍravardhana, is not impossible. Mr. Baṭabyāla writes that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa received a gift worth more than a lac of rupees. (*Journal of A. S. B.*, 1894, Pt. I., p. 44). This great gift proves unquestionably a high respect for Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. It is obvious from the antiquities of India that the title of Bhaṭṭāraka could only be secured by a king or a prince or by a person having similar honour and position. There is no impossibility here that he who once practically ruled Gujara became famous in Gauḍa under the style of Bhaṭṭāraka. According to the

gaḍa copper-plate grant of Danti-durga Khadgāvalōka dated 675 Ḷaka comes to our notice.¹ The arrangement of letters in this plate is very interesting. The letters *i, ē, gh, c, ṅ, dh, n, v* and *jñ* of this plate have the appearance of the ancient Gujarāti (cave) character, but all the other letters exhibit a development of the Nāgarākṣara. Indeed the circulation of Nāgarākṣara came to be wider owing to the efforts and exertions of the subsequent Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gujarāt.² The gradual development of the Nāgarākṣara is regularly observed in the following copper-plates :—

Plate.	Names of the donor.	Dates.	Ref.
1	Rāṣṭrakūṭa-king Dhruva II	757 Ḷaka.	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 200.
2	Indra Nitya-varṣa ...	836 „	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.
3	Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa...	855 „	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 280.
4	Kriṣṇa Akāla-varṣa ...	862 „	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.
5	Amōgha-varṣa... ..	894 „	Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 266.

The likeness of *ṭ, dh, ṅ, ē* and some other letters of the copper-plate of Dhruva II, although inscribed in the most ancient Nāgarākṣara, can be traced to the Guptākṣara; but clear manifestations of modern Nāgari are met with in the plates of Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, Indra Nitya-varṣa and Amōgha-varṣa. The vowel-signs of the copper-plate of the

Dhiniki grant, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa was in Gujarāta in the year 794 Samvat. Rāja-ṣekhara's 'Prabandha-cintāmaṇi' says that the Gauḍa-king Dharma was continually an implacable enemy of Amarāja, disciple of Jainācārya Bappa Bhaṭṭa. Bappa Bhaṭṭa's *dikṣā* (initiation) took place in 807 Samvat. About that time or a little after, the Gauḍa-king Dharma (pāla) came on the scene. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka in his old age came to Paupḍravardhana. Consequently it is proved from the facts of that period, that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came over from Lāṭa-dēṣa and Dharmapāla were contemporaries. We shall see afterwards that from a very early time Gujarāta had a connection with Gauḍa-dēṣa.

¹ *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 371; and Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 110.*

² Discrepancy arises only in the case of the copper-plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka-suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 734 Ḷaka, which is inscribed in the cave-alphabet of the Deccan. (*Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 153.*)

above-mentioned Dadda, Jāijka, Dantidurga and Dhruva seem to be derived from the ancient Gupta-lipi and clearly look like the Nāgarākṣara of the earliest stage : but dissimilarity has entered into the plates of Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa and others. The vowel-signs (e.g., τ , $\tau\ddot{\tau}$, $\tau\dot{\tau}$) as adopted in the plate of Suvarṇa-varṣa and others are similar to those of the Vaṅgiya and the Maithila-lipi. From this it appears that the vowel-signs which are used in the Vaṅgiya and Maithila-lipi are not of recent date, though they have no accordance with those in the Gupta and Nāgari-lipi, and that they must have existed at least in the 6th or 7th century A.D. Nāgari-lipi having such vowel-signs is called Jaina-nāgari in Gujarāt.

The full currency of the Nāgari-lipi is seen to date from the 9th or 10th century A.D. The forms which this lipi came to bear between the 9th or 10th century A.D. are still the same. A very slight difference which may here and there be seen is due to the characteristics of the writer or of the engraver in the different localities.

It is clear from the Jaina-books as well as from the ancient inscriptions stated above, that the Nāgari-lipi was current during the 5th century A.D. I have said that the Nāgari-lipi originated from the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Nagara-ānanda-pura. These Nāgara Brāhmaṇas are inhabitants of Gujarāt. The most ancient *Nāgari-lipi*, discovered up to date, is from Gujarāt ; and this fact strongly upholds my theory.

But a question may arise here. Antiquarians have described the innumerable inscriptions between the 3rd and 7th centuries A.D. discovered in Gujarāt, to be written in the cave-characters. Most of the ancient inscriptions and copper-plates, found in various parts of the Deccan, are inscribed in such *cave* characters. Given these facts, what led the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas to adopt a character different from that which was current in their own country ? A thorough scrutiny of the cave-characters does not allow us to recognise them to be the origin of Nāgari-alphabet : on the contrary, the Nāgari-alphabet must be rather said to descend from the ancient form of Gupta-characters. It seems therefore that the most ancient Nāgari-lipi used in Gujarāt, was brought over by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, either from Gauḍa, or Magadha or from some other country in Northern India to Gujarāt. The following is related in the Skanda-purāṇa, Nāgara-khaṇḍa ch. 108 : the eminent Trijāta who had delivered Camatkāra-pura from the snakes, gave presents of wealth and jewels and established here in Nagara those Brāhmaṇas who had come with their wives and children to Hāṭa-kēṣvara from the furthest and the most remote countries.¹ From this it

¹ विजानस्य च वाक्येन येन दुरादपि दुःसम् ।
समानशक्ति विप्रेन्द्राः पुरदृशिः प्रजायते ॥

is manifest that some Brāhmaṇas came from very distant parts to inhabit Nāgara.

I have said already that Ānanda-pura is the ancient name of Nāgara or Bādanāgara. The name 'Ānanda-pura' is only seen in the copper-plates of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The Jaina-Kalpa-sūtra states that in response to the orders of the Valabhi king Dhruva-sēna, the Kalpa-sūtra was read out before the public in the city of Ānanda-pura. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang saw here many Buddhist Saṅghārāmas as well as a good many Hindu temples. The Hindu temples described by the Chinese pilgrim might have been the temples of Hāṭakēçvara and others which are described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa. Now the question is, although about the 4th or 5th century we find the mention of the Nāgari-lipi in the Nandi-sūtra, what is the cause of the name Nāgara not being mentioned in inscriptions or copper-plates of that time, except in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa? It seems probable that during the rule of the Valabhi kings, none of the royal officers who belonged to different religions or orders, recognised this new name given by the Brāhmaṇas. They all called it Ānanda-pura.¹ Probably the locality came to be denominated Nāgara during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Çaulukya kings who showed great respect and reverence towards the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.

I have already given the description in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa which says that the Brāhmaṇa Trijāta and his comrades destroyed the race of snakes and drove them away, and thus delivered Hāṭakēçvara-kṣētra. This I interpret as an allegory. Long before the Valabhi kings, the snake-worshipper Nāga or the Shāh kings had been reigning in Gujarāt. Probably the Çaivas conquered Ānartta after defeating these Nāgas, and founded the Hāṭakēçvara-kṣētra in order to establish the supremacy of the Çaiva faith. This happened towards the end of the 4th century A.D. Afterwards many Çaiva-Brāhmaṇas gathered there from different countries and assumed the common name of Nāgara. It is probable that some of these immigrants who came from Magadha, Kānyakubja and Gauḍa, brought to their new colony their old alphabet, which in a later period became known as the Nāgari-lipi. The long residence of these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas in Nāgara, is manifest from a work entitled the Sura-

न कश्चिदाति संतप्ता दीक्षादन्वय च दिजाः ।

ततस्तेषां सुतैः पौत्रैर्नैतुभिश्च सरवमः ॥

तस्युत्तं दृढिमापन्नैर्दूर्वाङ्गुरैरिव दिजाः ।

(भास्करवचन १०८ अः)

¹ In the Nāgara-khaṇḍa there is description of Ānandēçvara Mahādēva : most probably this title of Mahādēva refers to the city of Ānanda-pura.

thōtsava by the famous poet Sōmśvara the family-priest of the king of Gurjara. It relates :—‘There is a place called Nagara where Brāhmaṇas reside and which is rendered holy by the sacred fires kept by them and the sacrificial rites they perform. The gods themselves seeing the holiness of the place and the prosperity conferred upon it by Īva live there, as it were, assuming the forms of Brāhmaṇas. At that place dwelt a family of the name of Gulēca of the Vaṇiṣṭha gōtra. In that holy family was born Sōla, who was created by Mūlarāja (the founder of the Caulukya Dynasty of Pāṭana) his family-priest.’¹ Sōmśvara writes afterwards that his ancestors were hereditary priests of the Caulukyās of Gurjara, and that some also became priests of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings.²

Mūlarāja reigned in the 10th century A.D. The description of Sōmśvara proves that the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas were inhabiting the land long before the time of Mūlarāja, although the name Nagara came into use in his time.

Many Hindu temples stood here in the time of the Chinese pilgrim, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. According to the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas founded all the temples and abstrines of Nagara or Camatkārapura.

I have already alluded to the clear mention of Nāgari-lipi in the Nandisūtra, which was composed in the 4th or 5th century A.D., and have referred to the sign-manual of the Gurjara king Dadda-praṇāntarāga of that time for the first introduction of the Nāgari-lipi. It is singular indeed that most of the ancient copper-plates, inscribed in

- 1 चक्षि प्रसङ्गाचरत्प्रथमं ज्ञानं द्विजानां नगराभिधानम् ।
 कर्तुं न शक्नोति कदापि यस्य चेतापविषस्य कक्षिः कस्यचिद् ॥
 चक्षत्यक्षमचाग्नि-भद्रतमसि ज्ञानेच नैवानक्ष-
 णासाप्रणक्षित-प्रक्षन-धनुषा देवेन इतोदये ।
 चाविभूतमभूतपूर्वैश्चरितवेष्टाहमिष्टानतः ।
 सत्कर्मोदर-सम्भर-स्त्रितिविदां ज्ञानेच मोषं मन्दत् ॥
 नैवानक्षेचाधिपतिः प्रवन्नः संनक्षपाधिः पथिककक्षेच ॥
 न एव संभूमिमिहाप्रुषन्नि कुक्षे मुक्षेचाभिधया प्रसिद्धे ॥
 नौ सोक्षमर्मा विमक्षेकुक्षेऽथ ज्ञान द्विजान्प्रवरः प्रसिद्धे ।
 यः क्षान्तिः सोमरक्षेच यान्ने पितृंश्च पिष्टैरष्टवस्ययान्ने ।
 नौ मूर्खरक्षितभुजाकिस्रक्षुक्षराजदेवेन दूरमुपवथ्य पुरोदधे यः ॥
 (सुरथोत्सव १५४ सर्ग)

- 2 दुष्टारि-कोटि-कदमोक्त-राष्ट्रकूट-कक्षेन शिषितरवाङ्गनकोक्षेच ॥
 सर्वप्रधानपुत्राधिपतिः प्रतापमक्षेच भूपतिमनक्षिकया कृतो यः ॥

Nāgari and found in Gujarāt, were granted to those Brāhmaṇas who came over to Gujarāt from Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Pauṇḍravardhana, &c. The aforesaid Dadḍa-praçaṅta-rāga's copper-plate of 415 Çaka was given to Bhaṭṭa Gōvinda, son of Bhaṭṭa Mahidhara, an inhabitant of Kānyakubja. Likewise the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nityavarṣa's plate of 836 Çaka, mentions Tēna, a village of Lāṭa-dēça, being granted to Siddhapa Bhaṭṭa, son of Vēllapa Bhaṭṭa of the Lakṣmaṇa gōtra, who came from Pāṭaliputra. Similarly the copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 854 Çaka, speaks of the gift of the village of Lōha to Kōçava Dikṣita of the Kauçika gōtra, an immigrant from Pauṇḍravardhana. It is quite clear from the proofs given above, that numbers of Brāhmaṇas were from very ancient times immigrating into Gujarāt from Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Pauṇḍravardhana, &c. In this way the ancient form of the Nāgari-lipi was brought over and circulated in Gujarāt.

Hundreds of panegyrics inscribed in stone in Baḍanagara, the original dwelling-place of the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, declare the extraordinary respect and reverence which the Gurjara kings paid towards them. It is owing to the effort of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Caulukya kings of Gurjara, that the Nāgari-lipi became current in many parts of India. The copper-plate of Karka Suvarṇa-varṣa king of Lāṭa, dated 734 Çaka, clearly states:—

गौडेन्द्र-वक्त्रपति-निर्जयदुविंदग्ध-
सद्गुर्जरेन्द्र-दिगर्गजतां च यस्य ।
गोत्वा मुजं विहृतमानवरक्षुत्वार्यं
खामो तथान्यामपि राग्यच्छलानि मुड्ङ्गे ॥¹

Again the following is related in the copper-plate of Akālavarṣa, dated 862 Çaka, about Gurjarēçvara Kriṣṇarāja, son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatunga, the founder of Mānyakhēṭa:—

तस्यार्जित गुर्जरोद्धत-दृटस्नाटोद्भूट-ओमदो
गौडानां विनयप्रतार्पणगुहः सामुद्र-निद्राहरः ।
दारस्याम्भ-कलिङ्ग-गोङ्ग-मगधैरभ्यर्षिताश्चिह्नं
सुनुः सुन्दतवाग्मुवः परिदृढः ओड्यारओऽभवत् ॥²

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 160.

² *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

We come to know from the above extracts that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gurjara conquered Gauḍa, Vāṅga, Kalinga, Gāṅga, Magadha, Mālava, &c., in the 9th and 10th centuries¹ A.D.

So it is beyond doubt, that between the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gujarāt, the characters of their family-priests the Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas, spread over the whole Āryāvartta under the name of Nāgari-lipi. Now, the same characters which were once, by the efforts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, circulated all over the Āryāvartta, have now, by the influence of printing and the deep interest taken by western scholars, spread all over the world.

¹ The famous Rāṣṭhōr kings of Kanauj were of Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin.



The Later Mughals (1707-1803).—By WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service (Retired)*.

[Read May, 1896.]

The narrative in the following extract,¹ referring to the year 1712, commences on the morning after the death of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāh, which took place in his standing camp a few miles north-east of Lāhōr.

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¹ This is a continuation of Mr. Irvine's valuable papers on the history of the later Mughal Empire. The last paper was on Guru Gōbind Singh and Bandah, published in Vol LXIII of the *Journal* Part I, for 1894, pp. 112 and ff. The present paper will be issued in instalments. Ed.

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CHAPTER II.

The Interregnum.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

By Bahādur Shāh's death on the 20th Muḥarram 1124 H. (27th February, 1712) the whole camp was thrown into confusion. The Emperor had barely breathed his last, before his sons were ranged against each other in a contest for empire, an event which was far from unexpected. In order to make the narrative of events quite clear, it is necessary to go back a little and explain the position in which the four brothers stood to each other. 'Aẓimu-sh-shān, the second son, had been far away from his father for the last ten years of his grandfather, 'Ālamgir's, reign. In 1109 H. (1697-8) he was appointed governor of Bengal, to which was added Bahār in the year 1114 H. (1702-3). He did not see his father again until they met at Agrah in 1119 H. (1707) just before the battle at Jājau and the defeat of A'zam Shāh. During these ten or twelve years, Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son, from his inattention to public affairs, lost favour with his father and spent most of his time in his separate government of Multān. In the earlier years of Shāh 'Ālam (Bahādur Shāh's) stay in the Kābul province, his third son, Rafi'u-sh-shān, was his principal adviser and favourite son. In time he was supplanted in this position by the fourth son, Jahān Shāh, who retained his influence at his father's accession and for some time afterwards. The credit of Mun'im Khān's appointment as chief minis-

ter is given to Jahān Shāh. But about the time (December 1709) when the emperor recrossed the Narbādā on his return to Hindūstān, all influence seems to have been absorbed by the second son, 'Azīmu-sh-shān. Jahān Shāh had several long illnesses (4th-28th December, 1709, 30th July-5th October 1711), and ill-health may have contributed to his gradual exclusion from public affairs. At any rate, 'Azīmu-sh-shān continued in favour to the end of the reign. The great wealth that he had accumulated, both during his stay in Bengal and after he had obtained the chief direction of affairs, and the preponderating influence that he had exercised for a considerable period, while they raised his brothers envy, pointed him out to all men as the destined victor in the coming struggle.¹

The conduct of the four brothers betokened that they were at enmity; that there could be little hope of a peaceful solution. Their dread of each other was shown in many ways, among others by an incident related by Irādat Khān.² During the emperor's last illness, Jahāndār Shāh and 'Azīmu-sh-shān were seated near his bed. 'Azīmu-sh-shān took up a jewelled dagger lying near the pillow and began to toy with it, admiring the exquisite workmanship and the beauty of the blade. As he drew it from the sheath, Jahāndār Shāh, overcome with sudden terror, started up, and in his hurried retreat knocked off his turban at the tent-door, forgot to put on his shoes (a sign of great perturbation),³ and, when he got outside, fell over the tent-ropes. As soon as his servants had picked him up, he mounted and rode off in all haste to his own tents. On a previous occasion a violent outbreak had been expected. On the 24th Rabi' I, 1123 H. (11th May 1711), the day on which the Satlaj was crossed, Jahāndār Shāh and Jahān Shāh went over the bridge of boats first and took up a threatening position upon the further bank. Messengers brought word that those two princes and Rafi'u-sh-shān had made a plot together to attack the treasure carts of 'Azīmu-sh-shān as they were coming off the bridge. It was only by the exercise of the strongest pressure that the emperor, who was extremely angry, was able to avert an outbreak. Another

¹ Ijād, fol. 32 b; Jonathan Scott, II, part IV, 46.

² J. Scott, 64. It is also in Ijād, fols. 120 b, 121 a, who says it occurred on the day but one before Bahādur Shāh's death.

³ For instance on an occasion of great emergency, one of 'Alī Wirdī Khān's slippers could not be found and he refused to move till it was brought. A bystander said, 'Is this a time to look for slippers?' 'No,' replied the nawab, 'but were I to go without them it would be said, 'Alī Wirdī Khān was in such a hurry to get away that he left his slippers behind him' (Stewart, *Bengal*, 462, note). I heard once a sharp Benares mukhtār apply this taunt most effectively to a bare footed litigant at a local enquiry, to the huge delight of the bystanders.

indication of the same strained relations between the four brothers may, I think, be detected in a sudden attack made upon Jahān Shāh on the 15th Zū-l-hijjah 1123 H. (23rd January 1712) near the kettledrum stand, as he was leaving the camp after an audience. A man with a drawn sword rushed at his retinue, wounded a stick-bearer, and was himself cut to pieces.¹

Jahāndār Shāh had no money and therefore no troops: his whole force consisted of seven hundred horsemen. Against 'Azīmu-sh-shāh he felt that, under such conditions, it was hopeless to attempt hostilities; and he would have been content with, nay would have thought himself lucky in getting, one city only. He had made up his mind that on his father's death he would make his escape to Multān, where he was well known, and there make ready for an attempt to retrieve his fortunes. All the leading men paid assiduous court to Azīmu-sh-shāh. Among the rest Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Amīru-l-umarā, the first *bakshi*, made an offer of his services through the means of Irādat Khān. One Shekh Qudrat-ullah² wrote a note in reply, of a very curt and unceremonious kind, such as a person of his rank should not have written to a *mansabdār* of 7,000, saying that all the officers of the State were in attendance at the prince's court, there could be no question of any other place, and the Amīru-l-umarā ought to present himself there, when he would be fittingly received. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, with tears in his eyes, lamented over such mannerless conduct, and quoted the saying 'when Fortune turns against any one, everything conspires against his success.'³ He left the imperial guard-room at once, collected his troops, and moved with all his tents and effects to the camp of prince Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son.⁴

But Zū-l-fiqār Khān had not been so imprudent as to leave his own fate completely in the hands of 'Azīmu-sh-shāh. For a long time he had been negotiating with the three princes opposed to 'Azīmu-sh-shāh, and had succeeded in bringing them to an agreement. The court chroniclers noticed, as the outward sign of these intrigues, that on the 22th Zū-l-hijjah 1123 H. (2nd February, 1712) Rafī'u-sh-shāh and on the 1st Muḥarram 1124 H. (8th February, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh visited the quarters of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. As 'Azīmu-sh-shāh's power was held to be overwhelming, it was considered wise by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, acting for Jahāndār Shāh, to make overtures for joint action to the two younger

¹ Kāmwar Khan, 70, 100.

² A native of Allahābād. He was hung by Mir Jumlah early in Farrukhsiyar's reign.

³ *Cā tirah shavvad mard rā rōzgār, Hamah ān kunad kash nayāyad ba kār.*

⁴ Wārid, 60, 61; Yahyā Khān, 117 b; J. Scott, 65; or text (my copy) 68.

brothers. Accordingly an agreement sworn on the Qur'ān was entered into for the division of the empire into three parts. Jahāndār Shāh, as the eldest son, would be proclaimed Emperor of Hindūstān, the Friday prayer being recited everywhere in his name, and the coinage throughout the country bearing his superscription. Rafi'u-sh-shān was to take Kābul, Kashmīr, Multān, Taṭṭhah and Bhakkar, and Jahān Shāh, the Dakhin from the Narbadā to the island of Ceylon. Any cash or plunder obtained by a victory over 'Azīmu-sh-shān was to be divided among the three princes equally. The preposterous condition was also included in the agreement that Zū-l-fiqār Khān should be the only *raṣīd*, remaining in person with Jahāndār Shāh at Dihli and exercising his functions through deputies at the courts of the other two princes. A more impracticable plan can hardly be conceived, and possibly it was never seriously intended by Zū-l-fiqār Khān that it should be carried out. Up to this time, owing to the notorious poverty of Jahāndār Shāh, adventurers and soldiers had kept aloof from him, but when his cause was espoused by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, they began to flock to his standard.¹

We have already recounted² how prince Rafi'u-sh-shān passed under arms the greater part of the night of the 18th Muḥarram 1124 H. (25th February 1712). In the morning the prince slept late, and was not yet awake when Kāmwar Khān arrived at his house. Assembled there were the prince's chief men, Afzal Khān, Faṭḥ-ullah Khān, 'Aṭa-ullah Khān, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān and others, with their friends and relations. Camel-riders, one after another, came in with reports of the increasing severity of Bahādur Shāh's illness. About noon Rafi'u-sh-shān left the mansion of 'Alī Mardān Khān, with his three sons and his family, and took shelter in a small tent put up for the occasion on the river sands. Kāmwar Khān was posted, with all the prince's men, at Katrah Shāh Balāwal³ to keep watch during the night. Mūmin

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 101, 102; Wārid, 59, 60; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 45. Valentyn, IV, 294, estimates the numbers of the contending forces as follows:—

			Horse	Foot
Jahāndār Shāh	...	...	20,000	30,000
Rafi'u-sh-shān	...	...	8,000	8,000
Jahān Shāh	...	...	25,000	30,000
			53,000	68,000
'Azīmu-sh-shān	...	...	30,000	30,000

He can give no record of the numbers slain in the subsequent fighting.

² i.e. in the chapter on Bahādur Shāh's reign, which has not been yet published.

³ Shāh Balāwal, Qādiri, Lāhōri, died 28th Sha'bān 1046 H. (4th Feb: 1837), aged 70 years. His tomb outside the Dilhī gate of Lāhōr was threatened by the Rāvi in 1252 H. (1836-7), when the body was exhumed and re-buried at a little distance, *Khazinatu-l-ʿaṭiyah*, I, 161.

Khān was despatched to the left, to the river bank, at the head of prince Ibrāhīm's troops, while Faṭḥ-ullah **Khān**, Mughal, went out to the distance of a quarter of a *kōs* as an advanced guard. The rest of the troops were drawn up to form a centre and two wings, and thus the night was spent in anxious expectation of the next news.¹

In the morning Rafi'ū-**sh-shān** learnt that his father had passed away at the first watch of the night, and that the imperial camp had fallen into the possession of 'Azīmu-**sh-shān**. A tumult had at once arisen, and without delay, dark though it was, the chief nobles had deserted their posts round the emperor's quarters, and had hastened to join one or other of the princes. A few men only, such as Islām **Khān**, the *mir-ādash*, Ḥamīdu-d-din **Khān**, Darbār **Khān** and **Khawās Khān**, remained at their posts and prevented the plunder of the women's apartments. Many men of lower station and all the traders, who had their families in camp, started for the city, leading their women and children by the hand. Most of their property was at once plundered by the loose characters hanging about the army, who collected at the **Shālihmar** garden, between the camp and the city, while the streets and lanes of Lāhōr were crowded with people who could find no house in which to obtain shelter. The camps of the four princes were in an uproar. The great nobles looked forward to inevitable death before the sun had set, while the soldiers clamoured for their arrears. Every sort of oppression was inflicted upon the paymasters; and whatever could be laid hands upon was carried off. Son could not help father, nor father, son; every one was wrapped up in thoughts for his own safety. Among others 'Ināyat-ullah **Khān**, *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward, fled to Lāhōr, and as soon as he had reached the city, made a pretext of being ill of a cold and thus avoided presenting himself at any of the four *darbārs*.²

At early dawn spies brought in word that prince Muḥammad Karīm, son of 'Azīmu-**sh-shān**, had started for the encampment of Mahābat **Khān** and **Khān Zamān**, sons of the late Mun'im **Khān**, Bahādur **Shāh's** *wazir*. The real objects of this movement had not been discovered by the other side. Naturally, it was supposed that 'Azīmu-**sh-shān**, having more treasure, men, elephants and cannon than the other three princes put together, and all the great nobles, with the exception of Zū-l-fiqār **Khān**, having joined him, had taken the field at once, without allowing his opponents time to collect more troops. Zū-l-fiqār **Khān**, as soon as he heard of this movement on 'Azīmu-**sh-shān's** part, revived the courage of his troops, who wished to retreat, by quoting the proverb, 'Never take off

¹ *Kāmwar Khān*, 104, 106.

² *Kāmwar Khān*, 105; *Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori*, 43; *Yahyā Khān*, fol. 117 a.

your stockings, till you see the ford.'¹ Then he rode off with a small escort to Jahān Shāh, who was near the tomb of Shāh Mir,² and thence to the position of prince Rafi'ū-sh-shān near the Rāvi. 'Azīmu-sh-shān had made overtures to Rafi'ū-sh-shān, who had at first held back from taking one side or the other, then by the persuasion of Zū-l-fiqār Khān had joined Jahāndār Shāh. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān was still a little suspicious of him and therefore proposed that, as his force was small, he should take up his position as the rearguard. To this Rafi'ū-sh-shān consented, and as soon as he knew that Muḥammad Karīm had marched, he drew up on the bank of the Rāvi, at the head of 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen, about a bow-shot from his camp, and awaited the other side's approach. In like manner, Jahāndār Shāh, accompanied by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, left his camp between the city and the Shālihmar gardens, where he had been ever since arriving at Lāhōr; and Jahān Shāh, mounting a swift gray horse, issued from his quarters near the tomb of Miyān Mir in readiness to give battle.³

One watch of the day had hardly passed when 'Azīmu-sh-shān's troops, after showing on a rising ground, disappeared from view. By the reports of the spies it became clear that Muḥammad Karīm had come out, not to give battle, but to rescue the sons of Mun'im Khān and some other nobles, who were escorted to 'Azīmu-sh-shān's camp. This movement was due to the fact that Rājah Gūjar Mal and Jāni Khān had been sent by Zū-l-fiqār Khān to the tents of Mahābat Khān with the hope of persuading him to act as mediator between 'Azīmu-sh-shān and his three brothers, the object being to gain time. When 'Azīmu-sh-shān heard of this visit, he, suspecting that the sons of Mun'im Khān meant to desert him, sent his son to re-assure them, at the same time using the occasion to make a display of his own strength. The spies had also ascertained that 'Azīmu-sh-shān intended to shun a battle in the open, preferring to entrench himself. The preparation of earthen defences had been ordered and his purpose was to rely upon his artillery and musket fire. This news was most re-assuring to the three princes, they returned joyfully to their camps, and ordered the enlistment of fresh troops.⁴

¹ 'Ab na didah, mōsah az pā kashidan ci ma'ni-dārad.'

² Shēkh Muḥammad Mir called Shāh Mir' or Miyān Mir, died at Lāhōr, 7th Rabi' I, 1045 H. (21th Aug. 1635), and was buried in Hāshimpur near that city, Beale, 2nd ed., 304, and *Khazīnatu-l-aṣṣiyah*, I, 154.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūru-d-din, Multāni, 23.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūru-d-din, 20, 24. Khāfi Khān, II, 686, says that 'Azīmu-sh-shān moved his position and transferred his camp to the vicinity of Budānah village, three or four *kōs* from the city, where, having the Rāvi in his rear, he dug

2. 'AZĪMU-SH-SHĀN STANDS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

We will now return to 'Azīmu-sh-shān's camp. On the preceding night, when Aminu-d-dīn, Sambhalī, brought word that the emperor had passed away, 'Azīmu-sh-shān first shed a few tears of sorrow at his father's death, then the drums were beaten in honour of a new sovereign's accession, and all the persons in attendance presented their congratulations and offerings. The prince's advisers at once said to him that as Zū-l-fiqār Khān was an open enemy, not a moment should be lost in making him a prisoner. Since he was at that time alone between the imperial audience tent and the outer enclosure, they could easily capture him. Ni'mat-ullah Khān and 'Aqīdat Khān, in particular, insisted upon this order being given. From the first the prince made objections, for he feared that the imperial family would at once be plundered. After all, what could Zū-l-fiqār Khān do? Reliance must be placed on God's help alone. The leading men then ceased to urge the matter further, but said to each other, 'The Lord help and preserve us! the first words of invocation have been said wrong.'¹ On leaving the private audience-hall, Ni'mat-ullah Khān, disregarding the prince's order, rushed off with a strong force, but before he could reach the spot, Zū-l-fiqār Khān had left and gone to his own quarters, where he renewed his oaths to Jahāndār Shāh and by misleading promises persuaded the two younger princes to make common cause with their eldest brother.²

The next three days were passed by Zū-l-fiqār Khān in negotiating with the princes, rallying troops to their standard, and bringing artillery from the fort at Lāhōr. The former agreement between the princes was renewed. Zū-l-fiqār Khān visited Rafī'u-sh-shān and Jahān Shāh, and urged them both to carry out their enthronement and assume regal honours and titles. When Zū-l-fiqār Khān paid his visit to prince Rafī'u-sh-shān, he used the most flattering words and placed his head on the prince's feet. The prince said to him, 'You place your head on my feet, lay rather your hand on my head, for have I not become an orphan?' and taking the hand of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, pressed it. Zū-l-fiqār Khān made some appropriate reply and then left for his own camp.³

a ditch round the other three sides. Faqīr Sayyad Jamālu-d-dīn, in a letter of the 12th January 1893 (with which I was favoured by my old friend, Mr. A. H. Benton of the Civil Service) says that there is now no Budānah village there, and suggests instead Ūwān, some miles N. E. of the Shālihmar garden.

¹ *Bism-illah-i-avval ghalat shud*. [That is to say, the very first step taken is a wrong one. Ed.]

² *Dastūru-l-inghā*, 16.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 107; Nūru-d-dīn, 26. There is a long letter, which I reject as apocryphal, in a work professing to be the *Inghā* of Har Karan, son of MathurāDās,

In two or three days' time a large force of soldiers, some of long service but most of them greedy mercenaries, had been collected, and the artillery had been strengthened by the guns removed from the city walls. Three of the very largest guns were removed from the fort, each being dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants, and it was ten days before the distance to camp was covered. One of these was sent to Rafi'ū-sh-shān and one to Jahān Shāh. When everything was ready, the three princes left their old positions and encamped close to each other in a wide and open plain. 'Azīmu-sh-shān all this time never left the shelter of his earthen entrenchments, but contented himself with the daily discharge of a gun or two. On their side, the three princes advanced daily at the rate of about one-eighth of a *kōs*, or one-third of a mile, encamping each evening on the ground where they stood, and keeping an active look-out for fear of a night attack. In these nightly halts many of the new troops left the army, and it almost looked as if Jahāndār Shāh would be forced to retreat without fighting. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān exerted themselves to keep the men together. At length, early in the month of Ṣafar (1st Ṣafar 1125 H. = 9th March 1712), they pitched their camp not far from the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. For another two or three days, an artillery duel was maintained, and from time to time 'Azīmu-sh-shān's men made sallies and engaged the outposts of the attacking army.¹

On the other side, Mirzā Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ṣafawī, urged prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān to take the field and give battle in the open. Dayā Bahādūr and others joined with him in his entreaties.² They believed that by one sudden onset they could drive the whole of the enemy's force away. The only answer they could obtain was 'wait a little longer.'³ After that they could say no more. 'Azīmu-sh-shān relied on the extent of his treasure; he had also received pledges from Curāman, Jāt, and the Banjārah grain-carriers that his camp should not suffer from scarcity of grain. In his opponents' camp there was, as he thought, nothing

Multānī, and said to have been compiled in Mhd. Shāh's reign (1131-1161 H.). In it Jahāndār Shāh expostulates with 'Azīmu-sh-shān, and ends with the defiance, *Dam az mīhr dah, yā ba kin san payām, Kalām-am bar in khatam shud ō us-salām*. 'Breathe words of love, or send your challenge, My speech closes with this and so farewell.' According to the true *Inshāe Har Karan* the letter, of which the above is an imitation, was addressed in 1068 H. by Aurangzeb to Dārā Shikōh.

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 107; Nūru-d-dīn, 28.

² The *Dastūru-l-inghā*, 17, also names Aminu-d-dīn, Ni'mat-ullah Khān, Nawāb 'Azīz Khān, Rājah Muḥkam Singh Khatrī, Rājah Rāj Singh Bahādūr, Bāz Khān and 'Umr Khān.

³ *Andak bāshid*.

but poverty, and their men must disperse or die from hunger. Moreover, he had an exalted opinion of his own abilities and an equally low one of his brothers' capacities. Mu'izzu-d-din had doubtless, shown himself a good soldier in his grandfather's and father's time, but now want of means rendered him quite helpless. As for Rafi'u-sh-shān, he had the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high-priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied :

Holding mirror and comb in hand,
Like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.¹

Then as for Jahān Shāh, his conceit was such that he thought his very name enough to put an enemy to flight. For all these reasons he thought that the longer he delayed, the greater would be his advantage. Nor was he at all liberal in the distribution of money to his soldiers, his miserliness being proverbial. It was a saying that the coldest place to be found was 'Azīmu-sh-shān's kitchen. To every report that was made his only reply was the unchanging *andak bāshid*, 'Wait a little longer.' When they saw this state of things, his followers were much dejected and made sure that Heaven did not favour their cause.²

On the 6th Šafar (14th March 1712) the three princes were close to the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. On both sides, small groups of men came out and fought. In the course of two days, batteries for the guns were made ready through the exertions of 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān, and by these batteries three sides of 'Azīmu-sh-shān's position were commanded. 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān wished, if he could, to blow up 'Azīmu-sh-shān's powder magazine. But Sulaimān Khān, Pannī,³ was too much on the alert. One night, however, the besiegers found the sentinels asleep and entered the camp by climbing over one corner of the earthen wall. In the darkness they encountered the outposts of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Šafawī, and were forced to return with their purpose unexecuted.⁴

The next day (7th Šafar 1124 H. = 15th March, 1712), the besieged began a cannon fire, which they kept up continuously for some time. Repeatedly Kōkaltāsh Khān and Jānī Khān, commanding on the side of the investors, were forced to abandon their batteries and seek shelter behind walls. But, from a battery on the north, 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān

¹ *Ā'inah ō shānah giriftah ba dast, Cūn zan-i-ra'nā, shudah gēū-parast.*

² Nuru-d-din, 27; *Dastūru-l-inshā*, 17; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 47; Yahyā Khān, 117 b.

³ Brother of Dā'ūd Khān, Pannī, nāib-sūbahdār of the Dakhin.

⁴ Nuru-d-din, 28.

returned shot for shot. However, when the attack on two sides of the entrenchment had been withdrawn, as above stated, Shāh Nawāz Khān, without asking the prince's leave, came out at the head of 2,000 cavalry. 'Abdu-ḡ-ṣamad Khān and Jānī Khān opposed him. Just as those on Jahāndār Shāh's side were about to be defeated, Prince Jahān Shāh arrived with reinforcements, and forced the other side to take to flight. The prince himself received a slight wound on the arm, but Shāh Nawāz Khān, while retreating, received two sword cuts in the back from Jānī Khān and his horse's tail was cut off. Pursuing the fugitives, Jahān Shāh arrived at the walls of the earth-work. Thereupon Sulaimān Khān, Panuī, and his tribesmen, from their position on the walls, shot arrows and fired off rockets. In another direction, Dayā Bahādur offered a stout resistance and put many of Jahān Shāh's men to flight. But Jahān Shāh himself held his ground, nay continued to advance, shouting to the fugitives 'Are you men, if not, go home and put on women's apparel.' At this juncture, Mukhtār Khān threw himself bravely into the *mêlée* at the head of his most trusted followers. When he had fought his way close to Jahān Shāh, he flung himself from his horse, and according to the ancient practice of Hiudūstān, continued the contest on foot, shooting his arrows and dealing blows about him with his sword. It was near to sunset when he forced his opponents to beat a retreat. Several men of note on 'Azimu-ḡ-shān's side, such as Raḡā Khān and Karīm Khān, were slain.¹

When after night-fall Jahān Shāh reached his quarters, Zū-l-fiqār Khān came in person on the part of Jahāndār Shāh to congratulate him on the victory, and by his flattering speeches kept the prince in good humour. He added that on the morrow it was his turn to take up the fighting and display his zeal for the cause. Next he visited Rafī'u-ḡ-shān, and talked to him in the same strain and impressed him so favourably, that he proposed to head the attack in person on the following day. Thence Zū-l-fiqār Khān went to the camp of Jahāndār Shāh and laid before him other plans. At his suggestion, Jahāndār Shāh sent a message in very friendly terms to prince Rafī'u-ḡ-shān asking him to give up his idea of heading an attack. Rafī'u-ḡ-shān returned his thanks but renewed his request, and very early in the morning (8th Ṣafar) moved out at the head of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry, and boldly delivering his attack, forced a way to the foot of the entrenchment. The besieged replied with artillery fire and rockets, but repeated charges of Rafī'u-ḡ-shān's troops so demoralized many of them that they flung musket and rocket down and fled for shelter behind the wall. Then the men on Jahāndār Shāh's side mounted the wall and shot down their

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 29, 30, 31.

arrows on their foe within. They had almost succeeded in making their way into the entrenchment, when Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, followed by five hundred Afghāns and two hundred of Shāh Nawāz Khān's men, with Gul Khān at their head, arrived to reinforce the half-defeated defenders. Their arrows flew so thick and straight that the attacking party could not stand up against them but withdrew again from the top of the wall. Thereupon Sulaimān Khān followed in pursuit.¹

On issuing from the entrenchment, Sulaimān Khān advanced against the centre of Rafī'u-sh-shān's division. The fighting became general and both sides struggled bravely for victory. Zū-l-fiqār Khān, at the head of 2,000 men belonging to Kōkaltāsh Khān and Jānī Khān, speeded to reinforce his own side, and without distinguishing friend from foe, ordered his bowmen to shoot off their arrows. If this help had not arrived, a disaster would have occurred to Rafī'u-sh-shān. The men who had dispersed re-assembled and resumed the offensive. Seven to eight thousand men, horse and foot, bore down on Sulaimān Khān and encircled him. Sulaimān Khān withstood the flood undismayed, and the fight waxed hot. In the thickest of the fray, an arrow hit Gul Khān in the throat and killed him, after which his men fell into disorder. Pressed back by repeated charges of Jahāndār Shāh's troops, Sulaimān Khān felt the day was lost, and turning his horse's head, he retreated into the entrenchment, where he resumed his fire from the shelter of the wall. The sky grew black with smoke. Many on both sides were killed or wounded. However, on Jahāndār Shāh's side no one of any note was injured, and when the sun had set, Rafī'u-sh-shān and Zū-l-fiqār Khān returned in safety to their quarters.²

After the first day's fighting, in which 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān had penetrated into the entrenchment, but retreated without effecting his purpose, Shāh Nawāz Khān hired several deft-handed Qalmāq slaves and sent them to assassinate Jahāndār Shāh. Evading the out-posts, these men succeeded in penetrating at night as far as the tent occupied by the prince. The eunuch on watch called out, 'Who is there, what do you want?' Their only reply was to cut him down and attempt to enter the tent. But a groan came from the dying eunuch and his falling body shook the ropes and sides of the tent. This untimely noise roused a Qalmāq woman servant of the harem, called Rāemān, who was possessed of considerable strength. She ran out to see what was the matter. Observing the strangers she gave the alarm. The men retreated, pursued by Rāemān, and one of them caught his foot in a tent-rope and fell. Rāemān slew him with a dagger and was herself wounded slightly on the arm. Hearing the noise, sentinels ran from all

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 33.

² Nūru-d-dīn, 33, 35.

directions but the Qalmāqs mixed in the crowd and thus succeeded in escaping. After Jahāndār Shāh had obtained quiet possession of the throne, he conferred on Rāemān the title of Rustam-i-Hind, a curious choice, giving as it did an opening for the scoffer to say that in India their only Rustam was a woman!¹

On the third day of the fighting (8th Şafar), the three princes advanced together to the attack, beginning it with an artillery fire. Zū-l-fiqār Khān took the direction of these operations. The cannon were posted on the mounds² formed of the débris left from brick-burning. The besieged were much harassed by the fire and many leaders quitted their posts and tried to escape. Finding the way closed by the besiegers they could only return within the entrenchment. Rājah Pirthī Rāj, Bundślah,³ by repeated attacks reduced the besieged to despair. Then Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, and Shāh Nawāz Khān, with nearly 2,000 men of their own race, appeared on the northern wall, but there 'Abdu-şamad Khān barred their exit. In another direction, where Pirthī Rāj was closely threatening the entrenchment, Kēsri Singh, brother of Muḥkam Singh, Khatri, made a sally and engaged his opponent hand to hand. Pirthī Rāj was nearly overwhelmed, when Rafi'u-şh-şhān detached to his aid Fath-ullah Khān and his Mughal horse. These men charged with drawn swords. 'Azīmu-şh-şhān then sent out Dayā Rām, Nāgar,⁴ to reinforce Kēsri Singh. While the contest was still undecided, Jahāndār Shāh arrived in person, and a rumour spreading that 'Azīmu-şh-şhān intended to flee, his commanders, Sulaimān Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Kēsri Singh and Dayā Rām, withdrew their men and returned to seek their master. Jahāndār Shāh and his two brothers proceeded in triumph to their previous encampment.⁵

3. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF 'AZĪMU-SH-SHĀN.

After three days of indecisive fighting Zū-l-fiqār Khān bethought himself of another device for weakening the enemy. On the night of

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 35, 36; Kāmwar Khān, 108.

² For those not familiar with the north of India it may be necessary to explain that these mounds, thirty or forty feet high, are to be found outside every brick-built town.

³ A son of R. Cattarsāl, Bundślah.

⁴ Called generally Dayā Bahādur, a title given him in Bahādur Shāh's 4th year (1710-11), when he returned to Court from the charge of Kōrah (Şubah Allahābād), where he was succeeded by his brother, Chabślah Rām (B. M. No 1690 fol. 166 a). These men were styled *Mahtah*, a word which means 'head' or 'chief,' and is ordinarily applied now to the richest or most important tenant in a village. The *Nāgars* are a sub-division of the Brahmin caste, and are chiefly found in Gujarāt.

⁵ Nūru-d-dīn, 37, 38.

Bahādur Shāh's death he had sent out troops in three directions in order to prevent all escape by the ferries on the Rāvi river, and had sent flattering promises and a note in Jahāndār Shāh's hand-writing to Maḥābat Khān and the other sons of Mun'im Khān, the deceased vaizir. Many imperial commanders and soldiers were encamped in great discomfort on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river, where they also suffered occasionally from cannon shot which fell in that direction. It occurred to Zū-l-fiqār Khān that if his guards at the ferries were withdrawn, all these men would be only too glad to make their escape with their families. Accordingly this order was carried out during the night between the 8th and the 9th Šafar. Many marched away to a place of safety, and many joined the standard of Jahāndār Shāh. The movement also extended itself to 'Azīmu-sh-shān's own adherents. Crowds of men during this night, on pretence of placing their families out of danger, made their escape from the earth-work. None of them were touched or hindered by the other side; all were allowed to pursue their own way. Among the first who fled were Maḥābat Khān and Khān Zamān Khān, sons of Mun'im Khān and Hamidu-d-din Khān, Qūl, 'Ālamgīrī, all of whom crossed the Rāvi during the hottest of the fighting. Sulaimān Khān, Pannī, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Šafawī, Dayā Rām, Nāgar, and Kēsri Singh remained faithful and passed the night on the alert.¹

When morning broke on the 9th Šafar (17th March, 1712), the three princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. Zū-l-fiqār Khān took command of the centre by the side of Jahāndār Shāh; 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān was put at the head of the vanguard; Kōkaltāsh Khān was on the right and Jāni Khān on the left wing. Jahān Shāh supported the vanguard and Rafi'u-sh-shān commanded the rear. In this order they advanced towards the entrenchment of 'Azīmu-sh-shān. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery-fire, and Jahāndār Shāh's guns after each volley were advanced slowly until they were close to the earthen wall. Suddenly Kēsri Singh and his men charged the guns but were repulsed by 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān. In the hand to hand encounter, Kēsri Singh was shot and fell from his horse. His men were thrown into confusion. 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān, seeing his chance, encouraged his men with a loud voice, and in a short space their opponents were all put to the edge of the sword, not one escaping alive. Following up their advantage, 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān and his men rushed on towards the entrenchment. Pirthī Rāj, leader of Jahān Shāh's vanguard, and 'Abdu-š-šamad Khān entered the position together. Sulaimān Khān and his

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 108; Wārid, 62; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 49. B.M., 1690, fol. 158 b, adds Sarfarāz Khān to the fugitives. They took refuge in the Lāhōr Masjid.

fellow-Afghāns met and opposed their onset. Once he succeeded in forcing back the assailants. But 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān supported Pirthī Rāj vigorously. Shāh Nawāz Khān, by 'Azimu-gh-shān's order, now arrived with reinforcements commanded by some Afghān leaders, such as Ma'li Khān and his son, 'Alwi Khān. Most of Sulaimān Khān's Afghāns were killed. Shāh Nawāz Khān was severely wounded and withdrew, having seventeen arrows sticking in him,¹ while Sulaimān Khān still stood firm, with a hundred of his own most trusty followers, and fronted 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Pirthī Rāj. The Turāni bowmen, noted for their skill, shot their arrows at Sulaimān Khān and his men, and every arrow emptied a saddle. The Afghāns treated it as if they were being pelted with flowers, and still barred the way. When only some thirty or forty horsemen were left, and all hope of reinforcements had vanished, Sulaimān Khān, seeing that further effort was fruitless, collected his men and retreated. As soon as the way was thus opened, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān accompanied by Pirthī Rāj pressed onwards.²

In another part of the field Dayā Rām, Nāgar, attacked Jahān Shāh's guns, hoping to pass through them and reach the centre of that prince's division. But Afzal Khān's courageous resistance defeating this manœuvre, Dayā Rām drew rein and turned off towards Jahāndār Shāh's batteries. Here Dayā Bahādur was shot down. His men then dispersed in every direction and sought safety in flight. Those who made off towards the Rāvi were met and killed by Rafī'u-gh-shān's troops, who protected the rear of Jahāndār Shāh's division.³

At length, Jahāndār Shāh obtained an entrance to the entrenched position of 'Azimu-gh-shān. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's and Jahān Shāh's troops took possession of the walls, while Kōkaltāsh Khān, at the head of 4,000 horsemen, was sent to the assistance of 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān inside the entrenchment. As Jahāndār Shāh's men began to gain the upper hand, Muḥammad Karim, eldest son of 'Azimu-gh-shān, quitted his father and crossing the river hid in the house of a poor cotton-carder or weaver, where he was seized a few days afterwards, as will be related hereafter.⁴ Jahāndār Shāh's army now advanced in a body against

¹ Shāh Nawāz Khān died of his wounds (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, 1124). See his biography in *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, III, 692. He was the last of the Ṣafawī race who distinguished himself in India; he was in the sixth generation from Shāh Ism'ail, Ṣafawī, (1500-24). Seven women of the family had been married to princes of the Mughal imperial house. For lives of Ṣafawīs in India, see *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, II, 670; III, 296, 434, 477, 555, 556, 581, 583, 677, 692.

² Kāmwar Khān, 108; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 50; Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 117 b.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, 43.

⁴ One account (Mhd. Qāsim, 52) says that he had lost his way at the end of the

Azimu-sh-shān. Sulaimān Khān tried all in vain to re-inspire his troops, with confidence. Resolving to sell his own life dearly, he met Jahāndār Shāh's men with repeated discharges of arrows, until in a short time final disaster fell on 'Azimu-sh-shān's partisans through the loss of the prince, their leader.¹

During this day 'Azimu-sh-shān had preserved the same attitude as hitherto of a helpless waiter on events. When Dayā Bahādūr and Muḥkam Singh entreated him to give orders to assume the offensive, no other answer could they force from him except his eternal *andak bāshīd*, 'Wait a little longer.' They spoke their minds freely to him and went against the enemy without waiting for his orders. We have seen above how little advantage they reaped, in spite of all their exertions. Sufficient reinforcements were not sent, and by the end of the day most of the troops had vanished, having sought a refuge in Lāhōr city. At last out of the 60,000 to 70,000 men that he had at first under his command, 'Azimu-sh-shān was left with 10,000 to 12,000 men only. During the night which preceded the last day's fighting, the rest of the men deserted. The artillery fire continuing all night long, every man thought of his own safety. Only a few determined to remain steadfast so long as 'Azimu-sh-shān was still alive, and these passed the night in watching and prayer. At early dawn the drum beat for them to take horse. But, when the prince's war elephant was brought up, it refused to allow him to mount, and his attendants were forced to send for another. Round him were grouped Ni'mat-ullah Khān and 'Aqīdat Khān in palkis, for they said they were wounded, Rājāh Rāj Singh of Kishnagarh with about 1,000 men, and Aminu-d-din, Sambhalī, with twelve relations or dependents and ten new men. Shortly afterwards Khawājah Muḥammad A'ṣim,² pay-master of the Aḥadīs, with Ghulām Ḥusain, an Afghān of Kasūr near Lāhōr, joined the party. In all there may have been two thousand men round the prince.³

It so happened that a high wind sprang up and the sand from the Rāvi banks rose in clouds. Everything was blotted from view; all

first day's fighting and wandered all night round his own camp without being able to find it. At dawn one of his servants found him, changed his clothes, put him on a horse and took him to a weaver's house in the quarter of Talbaghā, near the shrine of Fir 'Alī, Ḥajwiri. This saint died in 456 H. (1063-4) and was buried at Lāhōr—(Beale 246). The mausoleum is now known as Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh (S. Mhd. Latīf, *History of the Panjab*, 84).

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 44.

² Afterwards Ashraf Khān, and subsequently Ṣamsāmu-d-daulah, Khān Daurān Bahādūr (d. 1151 H., February, 1739).

³ *Dastūru-l-inṣhā*, 18.

that they could hear was the report of the cannon, all that they could do was to shut their eyes to keep out the dust. Jahāndār Shāh's army could not see them, nor could they see any trace of him. Suddenly some Mughals bore down on them and let fly their arrows, by which some flesh wounds were caused. The Mughals did not recognize the prince, and rode on to plunder the treasure and horses. Then a ball from a small gun (*rahkalah*)¹ passed close over the prince's elephant and set fire to the cushions, so that the smoke hindered the view. The prince threw the cushion down, and when asked, said that no harm had been done. Aminu-d-din recommended him to mount his horse and take flight either to Bengal, where he was well known, or to the Dakhin, where Dāūd Khān, Pannī, was favourable to him. In either place he could recruit his forces and renew the struggle. The prince replied that Dārā Shikōh and Muḥammad Shujā'² had gained nothing by flight, ending by quoting in Arabic the words 'With God's help the few shall overcome the many.' Thus they might still win the day. Aminu-d-din said he had only twenty-two followers left. The prince asked for ten of them with which to make a charge on Mu'izzu-d-din, the other twelve could be led by Aminu-d-din against Jahān Shāh. This talk was just ended when Khwājah Mhd. A'ṣim, the paymaster of the Aḥādī troops, came from his station, and out of friendship to Aminu-d-din, called out, 'I am off to Bengal, come with me.' Aminu-d-din refused to leave while the prince was still alive. Muḥammad A'ṣim then went off towards Sultānpur, in the Jālandhar *duābah*, and finally made his way to prince Farrukhsiyar at Patnah. Rājah Rāj Bahādūr escaped to his home country of Kishnagarh.³

In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which prince 'Azimu-sh-shān was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Rāvi, the driver fell off, and Jalāl Khān, Lōdī,⁴ the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Aminu-d-din and others galloped in pursuit at the top of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind

¹ *Rahkalah*, J. Shakespeare *Dict.*, 1203, a small cannon, a swivel, a field-piece; also a cart.

² Sons of the emperor Shāhjahān, who contended for the succession with their brother, Aurangzob 'Ālamgīr.

³ *Dastūru-l-īnshāhī*, 18; and B. M. 1690, fol. 158 b; Kishnagarh is in Rājputānah, north-east of Ājmer.

⁴ He was a *qarāwul* (hunter) and *qūsh-bēgi* (chief falconer), *Wārid*, 62. He died at the end of Ṣafar 1136 H. at Dihlī, *Tārīkh-i-Mādi*.

in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand. Aminu-d-din passed the night alone under the shade of a tree, and in the morning sought refuge in the city of Lāhōr.¹

4. THE DIVISION OF THE SPOIL.

The three princes ordered the drums to beat for a victory, they sent congratulations to each other, and returned to their quarters with loud rejoicings. The plunderers were meanwhile busy and, with the exception of the treasure and the women's tents, which were protected by a girdle of cannon, the whole contents of that great camp were carried off and hardly a trace of it was left. Such persons as escaped from it were stopped and relieved of their belongings by the men attached to Jahāndār Shāh's artillery, whose camp was at the Shālihmar garden. Horses and camels without number and much property fell into these men's hands. Jahāndār Shāh's troops speedily surrounded and took possession of the carts laden with treasure, of the cannon, and of the household of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān. Thus the painfully collected wealth of that prince, the fruit of years of meanness, became in a moment the prey of his adversary.²

The claims of 'Aẓimu-sh-shān, whom judicious observers had considered the destined successor to the throne, being thus finally disposed of, the agents of the two younger princes attended Zū-l-fiqār Khān for several days in succession with a request for a division of the booty and the realm, according to the compact that had been entered into. But Zū-l-fiqār Khān, his pride raised above all bounds by such a victory over his most powerful opponent, had forgotten all his oaths and promises. Furthermore, it was clear to everybody that just as

¹ *Dastūru-l-īnshā*, 20.—Kāmwar Khān, 109, says that 'Aẓimu-sh-shān's corpse was brought in, and speaks (138) of its being sent by Farrukhsiyar to Aurangābād for burial; Yaḥyā Khān, 117, b also says it was found in the river and brought in; but I prefer the account in Aminu-d-din's letters, as given in the *Dastūru-l-īnshā*. I believe these letters to be genuine, and they were evidently so considered by Ghulām Husain Khān, who used them in writing his *Sairu-l-mutāḥharin*, see Briggs, 29. Wārid, 63, states that the elephant was brought in, but many believed that 'Aẓimu-sh-shān escaped alive, since his body had not been found. When Wārid wrote, nineteen years afterwards, the prince had never been heard of. Others asserted that Rājah Rāj Singh, styled Rāj Bahādur, had carried off the corpse to his own country, i.e., Kishnagar (Mhd. Qāsim, 51).

² Kāmwar Khān, 109, 110.

two swords cannot be got into one scabbard, there cannot be two kings in one kingdom.¹ Each day witnessed the invention of new excuses.² His hope was that the two princes having no money, their armies, largely composed of mere mercenaries, would during this prolonged delay disperse of themselves. One day he paid a visit to prince Rafi'ū-sh ghhān and made to him the usual evasive promises. Another day he visited Jahān Shāh. Rustam Dil Khān, who had been released from prison shortly before Bahādur Shāh's death, had from the first taken the side of Jahān Shāh. He and Mukhlis Khān, Hārīgī, now said to the prince that this man (Zū-l-fiqār Khān) was the root of all the troubles, if he were disposed of, the rest would be easy. Jahān Shāh refused his consent, repeating the line, 'When God the Beneficent is our friend, what can our enemy do?'³ Moreover, Zū-l-fiqār Khān's obsequious manners in his presence led him to believe that the man was at heart his friend. One of Jahān Shāh's chief men gave Zū-l-fiqār Khān a hint and he hastened his departure, asking as a pretext that an officer might be sent with him to take over the prince's share of the treasure and military stores. The prince, only too delighted at the prospect, gave him his dismissal at once. As he left he said to the two nobles above-named, 'You have done your best for your master, but if he does not accept, it is because fate so decrees and not through your fault.' When he reached his quarters, he gave a flat denial to the officer who had accompanied him, and sent off both money and *matériel* to Jahāndār Shāh.⁴

During this interval Rafi'ū-sh ghhān, through his conduct to Ḥakimu-l-Mulk, had cooled the zeal of any nobles who might have assisted him. Ḥakimu-l-Mulk had received from him a promise of being his chief minister, and was deep in his confidence. But by chance there fell into the prince's hands letters from the Ḥakim to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, giving full details of all the prince's intentions and plans. These letters had, it seems, been passing daily. Ḥakimu-l-Mulk was sent for and so severely treated that he was carried away to his quarters half dead.⁵

5. DEATH OF JAHĀN SHĀH.

At last no doubt remained of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's intentions, and further delay was obviously useless. The princes ordered the enlist-

¹ *Dō shamshēr dar yak ghilāf o dō Pādshāh dar yak mulk būdan muhāl ast, Yahyā Khān, 117 b.*

² The Dutchmen, who take Jahāndār Shāh's side throughout, put the blame on prince Jahān Shāh's greediness, in claiming one-half instead of one-third of the confiscated property — Valentyn, IV, 293.

³ *Dushman cah kunad, cā Mihrbān bāshad dōst.*

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Khūshhāl Cand, 385 a–386 a; Yahyā Khān, 117 b.

⁵ Yahyā Khān, fol. 118 a.

ment of fresh troops, and a number of 'Azīmu-sh-shān's fugitive troops returned from Lāhor city and were admitted into Jahān Shāh's service. Some three thousand or four thousand experienced soldiers were thus recruited. Jahāndār Shāh adopted similar measures, taking on many of the fugitives at high rates of pay. Rafī'u-sh-shān did the same. A few days only had passed since these men had been ranged in battle against their new employers; then for a time they had been unable to find bread to eat and were trembling for their very lives. By one of those transformations peculiar to such times, they were now restored to prosperity as suddenly as they had been plunged into poverty. In eight days from the defeat and death of 'Azīmu-sh-shān all preparations had been completed.¹

On the 18th Ṣafar 1124 H. (26th March, 1712) Jahān Shāh made the first movement. He marched from his old position near Shāh Mir's tomb and encamped near the village of Hāndū Gūjar, where there was an imperial hunting preserve.² At once Jahāndār Shāh sent out his advance guard under Kōkaltāsh Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, now his Mir-ātash or general of artillery. The fighting was confined to the artillery. Rustam Dil Khān, who had charge of the artillery for Jahān Shāh, placed two cannon in a commanding position and killed many men, the fight being continued until the setting of the sun. Both armies encamped on the ground they occupied, and under cover of night many of the mercenaries absconded. The numbers on both sides were thereby much diminished. During this night Jahān Shāh's powder magazines were exploded. Rājī Muḥammad Khān, afterwards Jahāndār Shāh's Mir-ātash, obtained the credit of this exploit.³

The next day (19th Ṣafar 1124 H, 27th March, 1712)⁴ the fight was renewed, and it continued till the sun had passed the meridian, when both combatants prepared to rest and refresh themselves where they stood. Owing to the hot wind and exhaustion, the fighting had been up to this time far from vigorous. Jahān Shāh now ordered a charge to be made by Rustam Dil Khān, Jānī Khān and Mukhlis Khān. They rushed forward 'as a hungry tiger out of ambush flings itself on a buffalo's head.' Rustam Dil Khān reached without hindrance Jahāndār Shāh's vanguard

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Nūru-d-din, 50.

² Query *Mandu Gujran* on Indian Atlas, sheet No. 30, just north of Mian Mir and the Railway line?

³ Kāmwar Khān, 110; Nūru-d-din, 51; Mḥd. Qāsim, 54; Valentyu, IV, 293.

⁴ This is Kāmwar Khān's date, but the Dutch Envoy, then in Lāhor, (Valentyu, IV, 294) says the 27th March was spent by Jahān Shāh in a heavy cannonade and the attack was delivered on the 28th. Mirzā Muḥammad, p. 131, who was also there, gives the 20th Ṣafar (28th March) as the date of the prince's defeat.

which with little or no effort he drove before him, and pursuing the fugitives, he soon reached their centre. Here A'zzu-d-din, the eldest son of Jahāndār Shāh, was made a prisoner. Nor far off was a small field-tent, in which Jahāndār Shāh had passed the night with his concubine, Lāl Kunwar.¹ Surprised by this sudden attack, the prince came out and mounted his elephant, while Lāl Kunwar entered a litter and fled for safety to the mansion of Dārā Shikōh in the city of Lāhōr, a house which had been recently assigned to her.²

Rustam Dil Khān, followed by Jāni Khān and Mir Bāqi, forced his way to the elephant bearing Jahāndār Shāh, to whom he made use of the most abusive language. The prince's defenders Dilēr Dil Khān (Khawājah 'Abdullah), his brother, Luṭfu-l-lah Khān, Ṣādiq, and Rāi Sūrat Singh, Multāni, with his relations, did what they could to protect their master, but were driven away. Jahāndār Shāh, before his assailants came too close, crouched down in the high-sided, iron-plated canopy ('imāri) so as to be completely hidden from view. The horsemen, supposing that the prince had quitted his elephant, turned off and attacked his escort. The plausible talk of the prince's elephant-driver meanwhile so deceived Rustam Dil Khān and Jāni Khān that they too desisted, and turned their attention elsewhere. By the time that they had learned the truth and could return, the elephant-driver had driven his elephant away to a place of safety. Then came disturbing reports of the defeat and death of Jahān Shāh. As soon as these were confirmed, Rustam Dil Khān and Jāni Khān felt perplexed, and in the hope of securing for themselves an intercessor, they released their prisoner, prince A'zzu-d-din. All haste was then made to the place where Jahān Shāh had fallen a victim to Zū-l-fiqār Khān's attack. By heroic exertions Rustam Dil Khān and his companions rescued the prince's elephant from the hands of the enemy: but all was in vain, they recovered nothing but a lifeless body. The only course left to them was to seek safety in flight.³

Soon after ordering the charge by Rustam Dil Khān, Jahān Shāh

¹ Mhd Qāsim, 55, calls her *Lād Kunwar*. She was a singing girl, who had become Jahāndār Shāh's favourite concubine. The *Hadiqatu-l-Aqālīm*, 131, says she was the daughter of Khaṣūsiyat Khān, a descendant of Miyān Tān Sēn, the celebrated musician of Akbar's time. (Blochmann, *Am.* I, 612). There is the same statement in *Dastūru-l-īnshā*, 188, from which Shekh Allāhyār probably copied. There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary *History*, Bill, Or. 3610, fol. 18 b, which ends thus:

*Ba Khūbi La'ī Kunwar nām-i-ū bād,
Shakkar-gustār, sim-andām-i-ū bād.*

² Wārid, 65.

³ Wārid, 66; Kāmwar Khān, 112; Mhd Qāsim, Lāhori, 54, 55.

followed him in person at the head of his own troops. The movements of so many men had created so much dust that it was impossible to keep the right direction, nor could the one army know the exact position of the other. The battle resolved itself into a number of separate skirmishes, the men attacking any one that they found in front of them, without regard to their own supports or any attempt at combined effort. Rustam Dil Khān's charge had been so far successful that Jahāndār Shāh's troops were shaken, and most of them took to flight and sought shelter wherever they could find it. One body of matchlockmen succeeded in reaching a deserted village, and there they hid themselves behind the ruined walls of the houses. In the confusion, and blinded by the clouds of dust, the wings and centre of Jahān Shāh's force quitted the direction in which their vanguard had advanced, and losing their way, arrived at the village within which the matchlockmen were hiding. As Jahān Shāh's men came into sight, the fugitives supposed that their retreat had been discovered, and resolved on selling their lives dearly. Jahān Shāh was amazed by the sudden delivery of their fire, and his men hesitated. Emboldened by this first success, the matchlockmen renewed their fire and continued their defence.¹

When informed of the unexpected attack on Jahāndār Shāh, Zū-l-fiqār Khān left his tents in great perturbation to search for his master. On his way spies brought him word that a few matchlockmen had engaged Jahān Shāh, when separated from the main body of his army and followed by no more than one thousand horsemen. Zū-l-fiqār Khān hastened to the spot thus indicated. His arrival encouraged the matchlockmen to redouble their exertions. Jahān Shāh, noticing the slackness of his men, drove his elephant to the front. The musket-fire now began to tell so severely that Jahān Shāh's side relaxed all further effort, and most of them rode off. Excepting the few men round his elephant, the prince was left alone. The other side now assumed the offensive, and the prince's son, Farkhanda Akhtar, who had claimed command of the vanguard, was shot through the head at the first discharge. A moment afterwards Jahān Shāh followed his son into the realms of Death. By one of those sudden reversals of fortune, so frequent in Eastern story, just as Jahāndār Shāh was about to flee in despair from the battle field, Zū-l-fiqār Khān appeared with his rival's head and laid it before him with his congratulations. As Shēkh Sa'di, Shirāzi, says, 'A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend; when morning came, he was dead and the friend was living.'²

¹ Wārid, 87.

² *Shāhshāh* hamah shah bar sar-i-bimar garist: Cān rōz shud, ū ba-murd, bimār ba-gist.

It is even said that so complete was the belief in Jahān Shāh's victory that the news of his accession was spread far and wide by the messengers of the Rājputāna moneylenders, and in many places the *Khubak* was read in his name. ¹

6. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RAFI'U-SH-SHĀN.

Until two hours after sunset on this day, Rafi'ū-sh-shān stood two *kōs* from the field of battle, with his army drawn up in readiness. He had been advised to stand aloof and await the result of Jahān Shāh's efforts. The astrologers had also told him that in the end, the prize would fall to his lot. In this way his inaction is to be accounted for. It was now necessary to find out how the day had gone. ² The patrols and scouts brought in conflicting reports; the only thing certain was that one or other of the two parties had gained the day. At length, when about one-fourth of the night had passed, an elephant without a driver appeared in the distance. When it had been captured, it was found that within the canopy was seated one of the children of Jahān Shāh with its nurse. Rafi'ū-sh-shān re-assured the child by giving him some fruit, and from his lips the fate of the battle was learnt. The prince then sent one of his eunuchs to Jahāndār Shāh with a message to the effect that he (Rafi'ū-sh-shān) not having in any way broken the compact, what were his brother's intentions with respect to him? On reaching the tent of Jahāndār Shāh, the eunuch was told that the emperor, tired out by exertions extending over a whole day and night, had retired to rest and could not be disturbed. The messenger proceeded next to the quarters of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, where he was met with the same excuse. He now took his way to Kōkaltāsh Khān, whom he found still awake, and to him he conveyed his master's message. Kōkaltāsh Khān, styled indignantly by Kāmwar Khān a 'senseless blockhead,' called out 'Perhaps you have come to see Jahān Shāh; there they are, the corpses of father and son; tell Rafi' if he wants to fight, he will meet the same fate.' The eunuch returned and reported to his master what he had heard and seen. ³

At midnight Rafi'ū-sh-shān dismounted from his elephant and called his chief men around him for a council of war. One officer argued that as Jahāndār Shāh and his men were worn out, they ought to attack

¹ Wārid, 70; *Ma'āqiru-l-umarā*, II, 98; Khāfi Khān, II, 687; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 57.

² Valentyn, IV, 298, says that, although Rafi'ū-sh-shān had received twenty-five lakhs of rupees to remain neutral, he attacked Jahāndār Shāh's rear, while Jahān Shāh went against his flank. Rafi'ū-sh-shān then kept up a cannonade all through the night.

³ Kāmwar Khān, 112, 113; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 58.

him at once. Others objected to fighting in the dark. No clear conclusion was arrived at. Anxious and disheartened, the prince again ascended his elephant and waited wearily for the dawn. - When day broke on the 20th *Ṣafar* (28th March, 1712),¹ orders were given to Jahāngir Qulī *Khān* and Mu'īn *Khān* to advance with the artillery and begin the action. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Faṭḥ-ullah *Khān*, Mughal, who had received large sums from the prince, deserted his post in the right wing and rode off to Jahāndār Shāh. *Shamshēr Khān*, Qurshī, of Hānsi *Ḥiṣār*, Afzal *Khān*, and other of his relations and dependents had been ordered out to reinforce him. On reaching the field, they found he had gone over to the other side, and greeted them with a volley from his swivel guns. They pulled up and took to their bows and their matchlocks, with which they replied for about the space of one hour. *Shamshēr Khān* and some of his relations were killed, Afzal *Khān* received two arrow wounds, and his son Mirzā Nakki, two sword cuts.²

The prince's choicest troops, who had been sent to the front first, having deserted, the army of Jahāndār Shāh, under Zabardast *Khān* (grandson of 'Alī Mardān *Khān*), Shākīr *Khān*, and Ḥafīz 'Alī *Khān*, advanced against the centre division under Rafī'u-*sh-ṣhān*'s personal command. His troops, largely composed of new levies, turned and fled. The few that stood fast resisted to the best of their power. Ḥātim *Khān* and Kazim *Khān*, Najm Ṣanī,³ received severe wounds, of which they finally died. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm *Khān* was wounded, and Nūr *Khān*, Afghān, who had been placed in charge of the women, hastened to his master's aid and after a valorous defence was cut down. Anūp Singh, Narōkah, and eleven of his relations were cut to pieces in front of the prince's elephant. Finally Rafī'u-*sh-ṣhān*, followed by 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, his teacher, jumped from his elephant, and rushing sword in hand upon the foe, met his death bravely fighting, being shot through the heart. His army was entirely overthrown; tents, mules, horses, camels, goods of every kind were plundered. The prince's body, accompanied by his three sons and the litters of his wives, was carried off to Jahāndār Shāh. For three days the latter allowed the bodies of his brothers and his nephew to lie exposed on the sands, and on the fourth day only gave orders for their interment. The three biers were despatched with that of Bahādur Shāh to Dihli for interment.

¹ The 21st *Ṣafar* in Mirzā Muḥammad, p. 135; Valentyn, 294, gives the 29th March (= 21st *Ṣafar*); Yahyā *Khān*, 118 a, has the 20th but gives the year 1123 H. which should be 1124 H.

² Kāmwar *Khān*, 113; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 60; Yahyā *Khān*, 118 a.

³ i.e., a descendant of Mirzā Yār Aḥmad, surnamed Najm Ṣanī, wazīr of Ismā'il I, Ṣafawī, King of Persia. He died in Ramaḥān 918 H. (November 1512), Beale, 290.

CHAPTER III.

Jahāndār Shāh.

1. NEW APPOINTMENTS.

All his rivals having been removed, Jahāndār Shāh proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation as sovereign of Hindūstān. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside Lāhor, and on the 21st Šafar 1124 H. (29th March, 1712), the day after the defeat of Rafi'ū-sh-shān, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahāndār Shāh was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abu-l-fath, Muḥammad Mu'izzu-d-din, Jahāndār Shāh.¹

The usual re-distribution of the great offices of the State followed the coronation.² Asad Khān remained, as during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, *wakil-i-mutlaq* or Vice-gerent. His son, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Naṣrat Jang, became chief minister, with the rank of 8,000 *zāt* and a gift of a large sum of money. 'Ali Murād, Kōkaltāsh Khān, who had been long in Jahāndār Shāh's service, was given the title of Khān Jahān, and appointed to be first *Bakhshī*. The office of *Diwān* of the *Tan*, or assigned land revenue, was conferred on Ikhlas Khān in addition to his former office of *Darōghah* of the 'Arz *Mukarrar*; while Sabhā Cand, secretary to Zū-l-fiqār Khān was made a Rajah and entrusted with the post of *Diwān* of the public revenues or *Khālīṣah-i-Šarifah*. Hidāyat-ullah Khān (known as Wazārat Khān in the last year of Bahādur Shāh) was created Sa'd-ullah Khān and made *Khānsāmān* or Lord High Steward. Saiyad Rāji Muḥammad Khān, a Gardēzi of Mānikpur, ṣubah Allahābād, who had acquired great credit by blowing up Jahān Shāh's powder magazines, became *Mir-ātaṣh*, or commander of artillery. Khwājah Ḥusain, who had married the sister of Kōkaltāsh Khān's wife, was made Khān Daurān, and 2nd *Bakhshī*; while Muḥammad Māh, Zafar Khān, brother of the said Kōkaltāsh Khān, became A'zam Khān with the governorship of Agrah. Luṭfullah Khān, Šādiq, Pānipatī, who had been one of Jahān Shāh's chief advisers, but early deserted him and obtained pardon by a large bribe (said to have been thirty lakhs of rupees), was now made *Diwān* to the new Emperor's eldest son, A'zzu-d-din. 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāghmirī, was sent off to the ṣubah of Kashmir, which he already held, and Zabardast Khān (with the new title of 'Ali Mardān Khān) was appointed to Lāhor.³

Note A.

I give here the new appointments as they appear in the Dutch diary (Valenty, IV, 295), after amending and modernizing the spelling

¹ Nūru-d-din, 68.

² See also Note A, at the end of this section.

³ Wārid, 79; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 63; Kāmwar Khān, 117; and B. M., No. 1690.

(a somewhat difficult task). I have added further information from other sources. Of the men marked thus* there are excellent portraits in the Dutch work.

* 1. Asad Khān, *Wakil* (B. M. 1690, rank 15,000, *Yaḥyā Khān*, 118 a, 12,000, no higher than 7,000 having been given before to any noble.)

* 2. Zū-l-*fiqar Khān*, *Wazir* (B. M. 1690, rank, 12,000, *Yaḥyā Kh.*, 8,000).

* 3. Khān Jahān, 1st *Bakhshī*, 8,000, 8,000 horse (B. M. 1690, 9,000, *Yaḥyā K.*, 7,000).

* 4. Khān Daurān, Bahādur, 2nd *Bakhshī*, 6,000, 5,000 horse (*Yaḥyā Khān*, 118 b, 5,000).

* 5. Murtazā Khān, Bahādur, 3rd *Bakhshī*, 5,000, 5,000 horse.

* 6. Khawājah Husain Khān, 4th *Bakhshī*, 4,000, 4,000 horse.

* 7. 'Souraat' Khān, *Daroghah* of [the *Tōpkhānah*, 4,000, 3,000, horse. (This is Raḥā Qulī, *Shujā'at Khān*, see *Yaḥyā Khān*, 118 b, according to whom, 119 a, 'Rāji 'Alī Khān, *Pūrbiyah*, was made 7,000 and *Daroghah* of the *Aḥshām* (heavy or garrison?) artillery, for which he had no qualifications.)

* 8. Bahrahmand Khān, Master of the Horse, 1st Master of Ceremonies (*Mir Tozak?*), 4,000, 3,000 horse.

* 9. Sa'dullah Khān 'Ma'teked,' Comptroller of Household (*i.e. Khānsāmān*), 5,000, 4,000 horse. (This is *Hidāyat-ullah Khān*, afterwards *Wazārat Khān*, acting *Wazir* in the last year of Bahādur Shāh. He was the son of 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, *Kāshmirī*. *Mīrzā Muḥammad*, 170, also applies to him this epithet *Mu'taqad*, given him by the Dutch).

* 10. Safar Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Fil-khānah*, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

11. Ḥaḥrat Qulī Khān, *Dārōghah-i-iṣṭabal*, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

12. *Ikhilās Khān*, Public Petitioner or Intercessor (*i.e., 'Arz-i-Makarrar*), to whom all requests are addressed, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

13. Rājah Sabha Cand, *Diwān*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

14. Jahāndār Qulī Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Khila't-khānah*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

15. Sarbarāh Khān, Sheriff-General (*Kōṭwāl*) 3,000, 2,000 horse (plus *Dārōghah-i-Kacahrī*, vice *Ihtimām Khān*, B. M. 1690).

16. Naubat Khān, *Dārōghah-i-Naqār-khānah*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

17. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, *Sadr*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

18. Shari'yat Khān, *Qāziu-l-quṣṭī*, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

19. Khādim Bēg Khān, *Diwān* to Master of the Horse.

20. Jahān Whēlo, Captain of the Europeans, 2,500, 500 horse.

* 21. Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī, *sarkha'il* (steward?) of the emperor's mother.

2. EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS.

The troops of the deceased princes, on being refused further employment, dispersed in all directions, some thousands of them marching eastwards to Bahār and Bengal under Mir Ishāq,¹ (son of Amir Khān deceased), Khwājah Muzaḥfar, Khwājah Fakhr-u-d-din, Khwājah Luṭ-fullah and others. But all of the defeated party were not so lucky as to be thought beneath notice. Mahābat Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, the late Wazīr, Hamidu-d-din Khān, 'Ālamgīrī, Sarafrāz Khān, Bahādur Shāhī, Raḥman Yār Khān, Ihtimām Khān, Aminu-d-din Khān, Sambhālī, and some others, were sent to Dihlī as prisoners and their property confiscated.²

Some of the prisoners did not even escape with their lives. Rustam Dil Khān, Mukhlīṣ Khān, and Jānī Khān, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahān Shāh, were ordered out for execution. Jānī Khān was spared on the intercession of prince A'zzu-d-din. It seems that when that prince was a prisoner in the hands of the above-named men, as already related, word came to them that Jahān Shāh was dead. Rustam Dil Khān exclaimed 'What was fated to be has happened; and what is to be will without fail come to pass! Let us slay 'Izzu-d-din and avenge the blood of Jahān Shāh.' Jānī Khān objected that such an act would be useless, and it would be better for them to take steps for their own safety. Accordingly the prince was released, and he now repaid the kindness then done to him. On the other hand, Rustam Dil Khān's offences were many. He had urged Jahān Shāh to seize and kill Zū-l-fiqār Khān; he had used abusive language to Jahāndār Shāh in the battle field and made every effort to take his life; worst of all, when retreating from the field, he had overtaken Lāl Kuṇwar, then fleeing for safety to Lāhōr, and had swept her and her retinue roughly out of his path. If Zabardast Khān had not come to her aid, there is no knowing to what indignities Lāl Kuṇwar might not have been exposed, for Rustam Dil Khān was about to undo the tassel of pearls hanging from the sash (*izār-band*) of her trousers, when she was rescued from his hands.

What crime Mukhlīṣ Khān had committed is not so clear. Some say that he was an object of dislike to Kōkaltāsh Khān, and it is possible that Zū-l-fiqār Khān may have borne him a grudge for the advice given to Jahān Khān to seize that noble. The traitor Luṭ-fullah Khān Mughal, who deserted Rafi'u-sh-shāh in the battle field, is also supposed to have persuaded Jahāndār Shāh that his brothers

¹ Mir Ishāq is the man afterwards famous as Amir Khān, 'Umdatul-mulk, assassinated the 23rd Zū-l-hajj 1169 H. (5th January, 1747), *Ma'āqirul-umarā*, II, 839.

² See Note B, at the end of this section.

would never have resisted him, if it had not been for the urgency of Rustam Dil Khān and Mukhlīṣ Khān. The Dutch diary, which is coloured by a desire to favour Jahāndār Shāh, accuses both men of having entered the late emperor's harem, where they plundered and violated some of the women.¹

Rustam Dil Khān bore out to the last his character for reckless bravery. When he was brought before Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the Wazir smiled and said to him; 'In spite of all your cleverness, what dirt have you not ended in eating!' Rustam Dil Khān laughed and retorted: 'You and I ate the same dirt out of the same tray, it agreed with you and not with me.' Zū-l-fiqār Khān had no answer to give, but hung down his head. As the executioner cut off one limb after another, Rustam Dil Khān continued to comment freely on Jahāndār Shāh, Zū-l-fiqār Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān, and even to the end he never flinched. As soon as breath had left the body, his mangled limbs and the headless trunk of Mukhlīṣ Khān were hung to the wayside trees. The confiscated property of Rustam Dil Khān, said to have amounted in value to twelve lakhs of Rupees, was granted to 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān.²

Note B.

The following list of the prisoners sent to Dihli is given in Valentyn, IV, 294. (1) Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, Bahādur, (2) Mahābat Khān, Bahādur, (3) Khān Zamān Khān, Bahādur, (4) Raḥman Yār Khān, (5) Ihtimām (Utman) Khān, (6) Raḥīm-ullah Khān, (7) Jamāl-ullah Khan, (8) Faṭḥ Maqṣūd Khān, (9) Faṭḥ Nuṣrat Khān, (10) Saif-ullah Khān, (11) Sarafrāz (Serafraan) Khān, (12) Bāryāb Khān, (13) Āqā Beg Khān, (14) Rāe Kēsri Singh, (15) Rāe Bhagwati, (16) 'Soer' (?) Khān, (17) 'Aṭā-ullah Khān, (18) Rāe Faṭḥ Cand, (19) Manōhar Khān, (20) Aṣālat Khān, (21) Naṣrat Khān, (22) Faqīr-ullah Khān, (23)

¹ Warid, 83; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 62; Yahyā Khān, 118 b (as to Jāni Khān); *Seir Mutaqherin*, I, 33; Briggs, 42; Valentyn, IV, 294. Anon. Fragment B. M. Or. 3613, fol. 16a. To those executed Khūshhāl Cand, 388 a, adds the name of Sasāwār Khān, *dērōghah* of the *Dōgh* and *Taḥṣīhah*. Rustam Dil Khān's previous career has been referred to in the chapter on Bahādur Shāh. Jāni Khān was Khawjāh Darvēsh, son of Jāni Khān, rank 5000; he was killed in the battle of Agrah, along with 'Alī Murād, Kōkaltāsh Khān, on the 13th Zū-l-ḥajj 1124 (10th January, 1713). Mukhlīṣ Khān is described by Yahyā Khān, 114 a, as Mut'amad Khān, son of Qubād Khān, *Khuld-makāni*. i.e., of 'Ālamgir's reign, and he says he received the title of Mukhlīṣ Khān after Jājan (1119 H. 1707). This seems a mistake, as the said Mut'amad Khān, (Rustam Bēg) died in 1117 H., 1705. Mukhlīṣ Khān (cousin of Mirzā Muḥammad, the historian) was really Mhd. Bēg., son of Aḥmad Bēg, and nephew of Qabādah Bēg, Diyānat Khān (d. Ramaṣān 1083 H., Dec. 1672,) see *Tārīkh-i-muḥammadi*, year 1124 H.

² Warid, 85, 86; Nuru-d-dīn, 71, 72.

Mumin Khān, (24) 'Achsem' (A'zam?) Khān, perhaps this is Irādat Khān, Wazīh, to whom 'Azīmu-sh-shān had given this title, (25) Saif Khān. The following men were dismissed from office and their goods confiscated: Jāni Khān, 'Astni' (?) Khān, Rāe Bhēla Mall, Hākīmu-l-Mulk, Rāe Rāyān, Yasīn Khān, 'Mobesser' Khān, 'Abdu-r-raḥman Khān, Shēr Afgan Khān.

3. 'ABDU-Ṣ-ṢAMAD Khān, SKETCH OF HIS CAREER.

The history of 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, who in the reign of Farrukh-siyar assumed a more leading position, is a striking instance of the vicissitudes to which such soldiers of fortune were subject. He was a native of Samarqand, descended from the Naqshbandī saint 'Abdullah Ahrār,¹ and had served long in the Dakhin during 'Ālamgīr's reign without attracting any great notice. In Bahādur Shāh's reign he came more to the front and strengthened his position by forming a marriage connection with the powerful Mughal family represented by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cin. One day, towards the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān pressed his claims on prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān, who was then all-powerful. The prince disliked the man and gave an evasive answer. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān lost his temper and used disrespectful language. On a complaint to Bahādur Shāh, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was ejected from the imperial camp and ordered to start on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the one horse he himself rode, he left the camp with his wife and family and halted at a little distance, hoping to negotiate a loan to pay his travelling expenses. These efforts had met with little success, when suddenly Bahādur Shāh passed away and the contest for the throne began. Zū-l-fiqār Khān knew that 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān was a brave soldier, and his recent quarrel with 'Azīmu-sh-shān made him a still more fitting instrument for the coming struggle. He was therefore sent for and given the rank of 7000 and placed in command of Jahāndār Shāh's vanguard. From this time his fortunes were made.²

¹ Khwājah Nāsīru-d-dīn 'Abdullah, son of Maḥmūd, son of Shāhābu-d-dīn, Ahrār, a descendent of Khwājah Muḥammad Bāqī of Baghdād. At first he lived in Shāsh (now Tāshkand). His mother was a descendent of Shēkh 'Umr of Bāghistān, which is a village belonging to Tāshkand. Shēkh 'Umr is descended in the 16th generation from 'Abdullah, son of 'Umr, son of Alkhitāb Khalīfah Šānī. Ahrār left Tāshkand for Samarqand and Bukhārā, and dying on the 29th Rabī' I, 895 H. (20th Feb. 1490), aged 89, was buried at Samarqand. *Khazinatu-l-asfiyah*, I, 582-585, Beale, 5 ('Abdullah) and 275, where he spells 'Ubidullah, and gives the date as Rabī' II, 896 H. (Feb. 1491).

² Wārid, 124 a.

4. DEATH OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD KARİM.

The hiding place of Muḥammad Karīm, eldest son of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, was soon discovered. After a short time, his resources being exhausted, he was forced to make over a valuable jewel to the poor weaver in whose house he was hidden, with orders to pawn it and buy food. The value of the jewel led to the man being questioned, and in the end he disclosed the secret. The news reached Hidāyat Kēsh, a converted Hindu who was *wāqī'ah-nigār-i-kull*, or head of the central news-office. This man made Muḥammad Karīm a prisoner and produced him before Jahāndār Shāh, by whom he was transferred to Zū-l-fiqār Khān. He was executed two days afterwards at that noble's quarters. They say that the wretched prince asked with tears for a little bread and water, having been three days without food. No attention was paid to his request. After his head had been severed from his body, the corpse was buried at the mausoleum of the emperor Jahāngīr, which is on the further or right bank of the Rāwī. ¹

5. THE COURT MOVES TO DIHLĪ—DESPATCH OF A'ZU-D-DĪN TO ĀGRAH.

The court now started from Lāhōr on its return to Dihli. Jahāndār Shāh left the banks of the Rāwī on the 25th Rabi' I, 1124 H. (May 1st, 1712); he entered Dihli on the 18th Jamādī I, (June 22nd, 1712). ² During the march a rumour was heard that Farrukhsiyar, the second son of the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān, had left Bengal and arrived at Paṭnah with the intention of contesting the new emperor's right to the throne. Jahāndār Shāh treated the idea as ridiculous, saying that any one of the *fauj-dārs* would be sufficient to defeat such a feeble foe. Still, as a precaution, the eldest prince, A'zū-d-dīn, was placed at the head of some troops and sent to Āgrah, there to watch the course of events. A large sum of money, said to be nine *krōrs* of rupees, was disbursed to him on the 15th Jumādī II (19th July 1712), for this purpose. His force is estimated by Khāfi Khān at 50,000 men. As he was young and inexperienced, and had shown not only signs of discontent at his father's conduct, but also dislike of Lāl Kuṃwar,

¹ Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 52, 62; Wārid, 68, 64; Kāmwar Khān, 114; Khāfi Khān, II, 688. The Dutch account, Valentyn, IV, 294, here as elsewhere favourable to Jahāndār Shāh, asserts that the young prince was at first pardoned, but soon afterwards executed on the complaint of Kōkaltāsh Khān 'to whom he had addressed foul language, and on account of his other debaucheries.' Valentyn gives a portrait of him.

² Valentyn, 297, says the march began on the 10th May, which corresponds with the 4th Rabi', II. B. M. No. 1690 fol. 160 a, states that they left Lāhōr city on the 26th Rabi', I. Khāfi Khān, II, 718, and B. M. 1690, fol. 160 a, say the entry into Dihli took place on the 17th Jamādī I.

he was not trusted with the real command. He was placed under the tutelage of two men (1) Khwājah Ḥusain, Khān Daurān, brother-in-law of Kōkaltāsh Khān,¹ and (2) Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq, the prince's own *diwān*. These appointments were made in opposition to the advice of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān taking the whole responsibility. Neither of the men had any experience of war, Khān Daurān had never been in a battle, and as the event proved, no more incompetent leaders could have been selected. As has been wisely said, Jahāndār Shāh forgot the maxim, 'Place no man at the head of an army, unless he has been in many a battle.'²

It was while the court was at Sarāe Daurāhah, between Lāhōr and Sīhrind, on its progress towards Dihlī, that Mirzā Rafī', Sarbuland Khān, brother-in-law of the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān, presented himself with five or six thousand men. 'Azīmu-sh-shān had procured for him the appointment of *faujdar* at Karrah Mānikpur in the Allahābād province. But forgetting all his obligations, as soon as he heard the result of the late struggle, instead of waiting to assist his patron's son, Farrukh-siyar, he collected all the revenue that he could, some ten to twelve lakhs of rupees, and started for the camp of Jahāndār Shāh. There, through the intervention of Ni'mat Khān, a brother of Lāl Kuṇwar, and that of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, he received the governorship of Aḥmadābād Gujārāt, without the *wāzir*, Zū-l-fiqār Khān, having been consulted.³

6. JAHĀNDAR SHĀH'S LIFE AT DIHLĪ.

The next five months from July to December, until the emperor marched from Dihlī towards Āgrah, were given up to dissipation. As the proverb says 'Mad already, he has now taken to eating hemp.'⁴ Dehli for a time fell under the dominion of the Lord of Misrule. Grand illuminations took place three times in every month. In consequence of the extensive illuminations, so much oil was used that it rose to be half a *sir* weight to the rupee; then, all the oil being expended, they had recourse to clarified butter until it, too, ceased to be procurable. Grain also grew very dear; not more than seven or eight *sirs* weight being procurable for a rupee. One day some porters came from the other side of the Jamnah with head loads of grain. Lāl

¹ The printed text of Khāfi Khān, II, 697, calls him the نابیره *nabirah* (grand-son), of Kōkaltāsh Khān, probably a misprint for Khāfi, *yamah*, (brother-in-law.)

² *Sipāh rā ma-kun pesh-rū jus kasē, Kih dar janghā būdah bāghad basē. Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93; Ijād, 15; Mirsā Mhd. 141; Khāfi Khān, II, 697, 700, 712, 715; Valentyn, IV, 299.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 49 a.

⁴ *Divānah būd; bangē khūrad, Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93.

Kuṇwar, who was looking out of the latticed window in the *Ṣaman Burj* (or bastion) of the palace, sent for one of these men and asked him 'What have you given for this grain?' He replied 'Five or six rupees.' She exclaimed, 'Praise be to God! things are still so cheap! Please the Lord Most High, I will bring the rate to five or six *sirs* for that amount of money.' From this may be judged what ideas prevailed in other State affairs. Another day Jahāndār *Shāh* and Lāl Kuṇwar were on the roof of the palace, watching what was going on upon the river. A boat full of men crossed over. The favourite said 'I have never seen a boat-load of men go down.' A hint was enough. Boatmen were ordered out with a boat-load of passengers, and the favourite's wish to see the wretched drowning people struggling in the water was at once gratified.¹

During these months the fiddlers and drummers, who were Lāl Kuṇwar's brothers and relations, swaggered through the streets, committing every sort of outrage. Lāl Kuṇwar was dignified with the title of *Imtiyāz Maḥal*, Chosen of the Palace, and immense treasures, the spoils from 'Azimu-*sh-shān*'s and Jahān *Shāh*'s camps, were made over to her. Her whole family was ennobled, father, brothers, and brothers-in-law. Her middle brother was the most oppressive of all to the people. All the brothers were granted the *naubat*, or the right to play music at stated intervals, and the use of kettle-drums when on the march. Their titles were Ni'mat *Khān*, Nāmdār *Khān*, and *Khānahzād Khān*. Some of the finest confiscated mansions in the city were given to them, and as Kāmwar *Khān* says, 'the owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.'²

To this period belongs the story of Ni'mat *Khān Kulāwant*'s³ appointment to the *ṣūbah* of Multān. The emperor signified his pleasure to the wazīr, but there was an unaccountable delay in the issue of the usual patent. The nominee at length presented himself to Zū-l-*fiqār Khān* and made enquiry. The wazīr replied, with all gravity, that it was a well-known rule of every public office to issue no patent without a fee in cash. As he wished to be obliging, he would not ask for cash, but since he had need of them, would take instead one thousand guitars.⁴ The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply,

¹ *Khūshḥāl Cand*, 390 b. As to the drowning, Kām Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 46 b, says that Zū-l-*fiqār Khān* forbade it. The same story is told of Faḥl 'Alī *Khān*, 'āmil of Ghāzīpur, Oldham, I, 93.

² Kāmwar *Khān*, 119; Yaḥyā *Khān*, 119 a.

³ *Kulāwant*—These are the male members of the professional singer class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.

⁴ *Tarbūr*, a long-necked guitar, see figure on plate opposite p. 114 of *Ghūncah-i-Rāj*, (Naval Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1863).

worked his hardest and in a week sent as many as two hundred guitars to Zū-l-fiqār Khān. The wazir insisted upon delivery of the full number. Ni'mat Khān complained to his Majesty of the excessive bribe demanded from him. Jahāndār Shāh, when next he saw the wazir, asked him the reason of collecting so many guitars. The answer was that when musicians were sent to govern provinces, nobles must discard their weapons and learn to play on the guitar. This remonstrance induced Jahāndār Shāh to cancel the appointment.¹

Among other wild freaks, an order was given to cut down all the lofty trees from the palace to the hunting preserve called Jahān-numā. Khushhāl Cand, a rare instance of an Indian taking notice of the beauty of natural objects, laments over the wanton destruction of the 'spreading trees, with heads reaching the sky, the refuge and solace of the weary, foot-sore, traveller, the abode of far-flying and sweet-singing birds. Throughout Dihli and its environs it was for the trees like the coming of Judgment Day; and the trees on the two banks of the Faiz canal, planted by Emperors of high emprise, ceasing to raise their heads to Heaven, received wounds in the garment of their existence, and fell into the dust of degradation and disgrace.'²

Gifts were showered upon Lāl Kuṅwar and her friends. It is said that an annual allowance of two *krors* of rupees (about £ 2,000,000 sterling) was made for her household expenses, exclusive of clothes and jewels. She was allowed to display the imperial umbrella and to march, with drums beating, as if she had been the emperor in person. One writer says the days of Nūr Jahān Begam were revived for her; that coins were issued in her name as they had been in that of Jahāngir's favourite wife. Such coins of Lāl Kuṅwar, if ever issued, have not come down to us. Low persons, such as Zuharah, a woman who kept a vegetable stall, were promoted to high rank and received valuable jāgirs. There are many stories of the insolent conduct of these low-born favourites. One day Cin Qilic Khān (afterwards Nizāmu-l-Mulk), then living at Dihli without employment, was passing in his pālki through a narrow street, when he was met by Zuharah on an elephant, followed by a long train of servants. The Khān's small retinue was hustled out of the way by the woman's followers, and as she passed she cried out, 'Is that the blind man's son?'³ By the Khān's orders his men pulled her rudely from her elephant. Complaint was made to the emperor through Lāl Kuṅwar, and Zū-l-fiqār Khān received orders to punish the Nawāb.

¹ Wārid, 80; Khushhāl Cand, 389 b. Valentyn, 299, places the event on the 25th July (= 19th Jamādī II) and his details differ slightly.

² Khushhāl Cand, 389 b.

³ His father, Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān, Firūz Jang, although in active military employ was blind during the last twenty-three years of his life (*Ma'āqiru-l-umarā* II, 875).

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, who had been previously spoken to by Cin Qilic Khān, objected to the order as likely to cause wide-spread disaffection among the nobles. The matter then dropped. ¹

Lāl Kuṇwar herself was the cause of an estrangement between the emperor and his aunt, Zīnatu-n-nissā Bēgam, daughter of 'Ālamgīr. This princess had refused to visit or acknowledge the new favourite, who in her rage loaded the royal lady with the most opprobrious epithets. At his mistress' instigation the Emperor ceased to visit his aunt, and refused her invitation to an entertainment, because Lāl Kuṇwar had not been asked to it. Again, as she did not like the Emperor's two younger sons, A'zzu-d-Daulah and Mu'izzu-d-Daulah, their father refused to see them and sent them to prison. ²

Jahāndār Shāh and his concubine, in defiance of etiquette, often visited the markets together, seated in a bullock carriage, making at the shops such purchases as took their fancy. One night after a day spent in debauchery and in visits to various gardens round the city, they entered the house of a spirit-seller, a friend of Lāl Kuṇwar. There they drank till they were intoxicated. On their leaving, the woman owning the shop was rewarded with a sum of money and a grant of the revenue of a village. During the journey home they both fell asleep, and, on reaching the palace, Lāl Kuṇwar was taken out by her women and carried to her room. The driver of the *rath*,³ who had also shared in the carouse, made no inspection of it and left it at the stable. The emperor's absence began to cause alarm to the officers of the palace. He was not to be found in Lāl Kuṇwar's apartments, and on her direction the *rath* was examined. There the Emperor was found fast asleep, nearly two miles from the palace. Khūshhāl Cand quotes, as applying to Jahāndār Shāh when he woke and knew not where he was, the lines:—A drunk man is so happy that at the Resurrection he asks 'Who am I, who are you, and what place is this?' ⁴

Another instance of utter abandonment of decorum was the fact that acting on the popular belief, Jahāndār Shāh bathed every Sunday in company with Lāl Kuṇwar, both naked as they were born, in the tank at the shrine of Shēkh Nasīru-d-dīn, Audhī, commonly called the Cirāgh-i-Dihli (or Lamp of Dihli), in the hope that his saintly intercession might bless them with offspring. It is necessary for attaining this

¹ *Irādat Khān* in J. Scott, II, part IV, 81, and *Sairu-l-mutākhharīn* (Briggs, 48).

² J. Scott II. part IV, 83; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.

³ *Rath*, a four-wheeled carriage, with canopy, drawn by two oxen, and much used in Upper India.

⁴ *Mast ān cunān khāsh ast kih gōyad bar dar-i-ḥashar*, 'Man kīstam, shumā cah kasān-ēd ō in cah jā-st?'

object to bathe at this place naked every Sunday for forty weeks.¹ We are also told of what he did once on a visit to the shrine of Quṭbu-d-din. Near it is an eminence ending in a rock, with smooth, slippery face, sloping down to the plain; and here the street boys of Dihli amused themselves by climbing the rock and rolling over and over down the polished surface to the ground. Seeing them at this game, Jahāndār Shāh must needs do the same! It should be remembered that he was at this time, not a youth, but a man over fifty years of age.²

Nightly the low musicians gathered at the palace to drink in the emperor's company. When these men became drunk they would kick and cuff Jahāndār Shāh and shout in a drunken way. Jahāndār Shāh, in spite of his long experience of the world, and all the training he had received from his grandfather and father, bore with these insults for fear of offending Lāl Kuṇwar.³ As for things forbidden by the Law, there was no longer any restraint; and the habits of the Court becoming known, all respect for, or fear of, the sovereign ceased. When the emperor went abroad to hunt or for recreation, not a single noble attended, nor was he followed by any armed force.⁴

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the vazīr, imitated his master's example and devolved his duties on a favourite Hindū subordinate, Sabhā Cand, a Khatri, lately made a Rajah, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Zū-l-fiqār Khān's former liberality was changed into niggardliness, he hindered men in their promotion instead of helping them, and the falsity of his promises and assurances became a byword. Partisans as well as opponents were dissatisfied with him. In short, as the Eastern saying runs, 'As the king, so the vazīr,' or as we English say, 'Like master, like man.'⁵

To add to the other sources of weakness and disorder, a feud arose

¹ Shēkh Naṣīru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Audhī, *Cirāgh-i-Dihli*, (a *Cishti*), grandson of 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, Yazdī. His father Yahyā, a Ḥusainī Sayyad, was born at Lāhōr. The Shēkh was born in Audh, and died 18th Ramaṣān 757 H. (14th Sept. 1356). though some say the 13th (9th Sept) is correct. Another authority has 752 H. (1351-2). The shrine lies about 7 miles south of new Dihli (*Shāhjahānābād*), *Khazīnatu-l-aṣṣiyāh*, I, 363.

² Khūshhāl Cand, 390 a; *Irādat Khān* in J. Scott, II, part IV, 82, 83. Also as to the bathing see Kāmwar Khān, 120, and Kām Rāj *'Ibratnāmah*, 46 b. Muḥammad Qāsim, Aurangābādi, in *Aḥwāl-ul-Khawāqin*, fol. 46 b, has another version of the Quṭb story, where a rocking stone near the shrine is rocked.

³ This story is also in the Dutch diary, where it is assigned to the 17th July 1712, Valentyn, IV, 298.

⁴ Kāmwar Khān, 120.

⁵ *Wazīr cunān, Shahrīyār cunān*, Ma'āṣīru-l-Umarā, II, 93; *Irādat Khān* (J. Scott, II, part IV, 83).

between Zū-l-fiqār Khān, the chief minister, and 'Alī Murād, Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, foster-brother of the emperor and now *Amīru-l-Umarā*, or second minister. For forty years, ever since they were children together, Jahāndār Shāh had been promising 'Alī Murād that when he succeeded to the throne he, his foster-brother, should be his vazīr. Khān Jahān, and more especially his female relations, resented his supersession by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, although under the circumstances of the case, such supersession was obviously unavoidable. In their jealousy of each other, whatever was proposed by the one was opposed by the other. Contrary to the vazīr's advice, Khān Daurān, Khān Jahān's brother-in-law, was sent in command of the troops against Farrukhsiyar. In the same way, Sarbuland Khān was presented through Khān Jahān and appointed to a governorship, acts which lay solely within the competence of the chief minister. It was while the central government at Dihli was in this disorganized condition that a claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, the second but eldest surviving son of the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān, and to his story we must now turn our attention.¹

7. MUḤAMMAD FARRUKHSIYAR, HIS EARLY HISTORY, AND ARRIVAL AT PATNAH 'AZĪMĀBĀD.

Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, was born at Aurangābād in the Dakhīn, on the 19th Ramazān 1094 H.² (11th Sept. 1683); and was now in his thirty-first (lunar) year. In his infancy he was sent to Dihli, but brought back to the Dakhīn in 1105 H. (Sept. 1693—Augst. 1694), in his tenth year; and after three years spent with his great-grandfather, 'Ālamgīr, he accompanied his father, 'Azīmu-sh-shān first to Āgrah and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, 'Ālamgīr recalled his grandson, 'Azīmu-sh-shān, from Bengal, giving him orders to leave his eldest son, Muḥammad Karīm, in charge of Bahār and his second son, Farrukhsiyar, in Bengal. The young prince passed some years at Dhākkah (Dacca), then the capital of the Bengal province; but in the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1707–1712), he moved to Murshidābād, where he occupied the palace in Lāl Bāgh. He subsequently moved to Rāj Mahal, higher up and on the other side of the Ganges. 'Azīmu-sh-shān, anticipating a struggle for the throne at an early date, called on Farrukhsiyar to return to court.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 119 a, says the news of Farrukhsiyar's advance was received in Shawwāl (31st Oct.—28th Novr. 1712). Other accounts say 'about the end of the rainy season,' i. e. 1st—15th October.

² For this date see the analysis of the conflicting evidence at the end of Farrukhsiyar's reign.

Bengal had been made over to 'Izzu-d-daulah, Khān 'Ālam (son of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāgh, 'Ālamgiri). Farrukhsiyar was on the march and not far from 'Azimābād Paṭnah, when on the 7th Ṣafar 1124 H. (15th March 1712) he heard of Bahādur Shāh's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession and caused coin to be stamped and the public prayer or Khutbah to be read in his name. He decided to march no further. Some say that astrologers, on whom he placed great reliance, had prophesied his accession to the throne at Paṭnah and advised him not to leave it until that happy event had occurred. On the 29th Ṣafar (6th April 1712) he heard of his father's defeat and death. For a little time the prince contemplated suicide, but his friends dissuaded him, some counselling a retreat upon Bengal, others an advance into the Dakhin. One rumour which reached Dihlī was that Farrukhsiyar intended to leave Bengal and take refuge in flight by way of the sea. In the end his mother intervened and incited him to try the issue of a contest in the field.¹ Thereupon, with such state as he could command, he performed the ceremonies of enthronement in the bāgh or garden known as Afzal Khān's, and proclaimed his succession to the empire, issuing coin and causing the Khutbah to be read in his own name.²

No rasher enterprize was ever entered upon. Farrukhsiyar had been no favourite with his father and grandfather, and had been without authority or wealth during their life-time. It was only with reluctance that he had decided to obey his father's order to come to court. He arrived at Paṭnah with no more than four hundred followers,

¹ If he launched his boat on stormy waters it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days? Why not run the risk?

² *Ijād*, 14 a; 39 b, 40 a, Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 382; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 94; Khāfi Khān, II, 707, 768; Kāmwar Khān, entry of 27th Rabī' I, 1123 H.; Wārid, 136 b; Yahyā Khān, 119 a. I have heard of a curious Hindī poem on Farrukhsiyar's advance from Paṭnah and victory over Jahāndār Shāh. It is by one Sri Dhar (alias Murli Dhar), *kabī*, of Allahābād, and I hope hereafter to obtain a full copy.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth couplets are:—

4. *Cifī calī mahājani, bhāi ekāek cāh,*
Chānḍī deheṅ swar-lōk kō gaē Bahādūr Shāh;
5. *Sunī khabar ekbārgī Farrukhsiyar udār,*
Rākht phauj, ekalgārhiṅ, caliyē yahai bisār
6. *Bakṣī Ā'jam Khān kō kinho ḥukum bolāi,*
Phauj rākhīyē jāe ab, jēti rākhi jā.

A Persian chronogram for Farrukhsiyar's accession is Shāh Farrukhsiyar, kih afsar-i-ī Āstāb-i-sipih-r-i-mamlakat ast, Guft Hātif kih sāl-i-salṭanat-ash 'Āstāb-i-kamāl-i-salṭanat ast (1124 H).

and there pitched his camp near the garden of Ja'far Khān at the eastern extremity of the city.¹ At first, when he came forward to claim the throne, none of the many nobles on whom 'Azīmu-sh-shān had heaped so many favours would espouse his cause. Most of them declared themselves on the side of Jahāndār Shāh. Murshid Quli Khān, diwān of Bengal, refused to move; nor was this so much to be wondered at, for great jealousy had existed between him and 'Azīmu-sh-shān from the first appointment of the latter to Bengal. An attempt was made by Farrukhsiyar to supersede Murshid Quli Khān by the despatch from Paṭnah of a new sūbahdār, Rashid Khān, whose fate will be recounted when we come to the history of the provinces in Farrukhsiyar's reign.²

We have already mentioned the defection of Sarbuland Khān. He had risen to position through his connection by marriage with 'Azīmu-sh-shān. On his falling under Bahādur Shāh's displeasure, 'Azīmu-sh-shān gave him refuge and made over to him Sahēndah (in Bundēl-khaṇḍ) and other parganahs of the prince's jāgīr, as a means of support. The understanding between them was that if any great crisis arose, he should march at the head of three or four thousand men with a large amount of treasure that had been confided to his care. Sarbuland Khān acted in direct opposition to all his promises.³ Another noble who was under equal obligations to the late 'Azīmu-sh-shān was Khān Jahān, Bahādur, (otherwise 'Izzu-d-Daulah, Khān 'Ālam), son of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh, 'Ālamgīrī.⁴ He was a man of the most insufferable pride, who made enemies wherever he went. In the early part of Bahādur Shāh's reign he lived at Dihli without employment. When that emperor was passing near Dihli on his return from the Dakhin,

¹ Stewart's "caravan-serae," *Hist. Bengal*, 384, is derived from the *Seir Mutaqharin*, I, 43. But in the text of that work, Calcutta edition, 12, line 11, the words are *dar sarā-pardah-hā manzil gazid*, where *sarā-pardah* means camp, or a canvas enclosure round tents, and not a *sarāe*, or inn.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 707, 708; *Ijād*, 47 b, 51 a; Stewart, 384; Gladwin, *Transactions*, 33, 97, 98.

³ His biography is in *M-ul-u*, III, 801. He was born c. 1085 H. (1674), and died 1154 H. (19th Jan., 1742), *T-i-Mḥdi*. In the *Ḥadiqatu-l-aqālim*, 131, we are told that Shākh Allahyār, the author's father, tried to persuade Sarbuland Khān that gratitude required him to join Farrukhsiyar. The author mentions a village, *Banī* or *Tapī*, in Kōrah, as the jāgīr of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, which was then in S. B. K's charge. He had been sent as Nāib to Bengal in the 2nd year of B. Shāh. There he quarrelled with Zīa-ullah Khān (son of 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāshmirī), the diwān, and was recalled. Then in the 3rd year B. S. he was sent to the charge of Kōrah, where 'Azīmu-sh-shān had his jāgīr (B. M. Or. No. 1690).

⁴ His biography is in *M-ul-u*, III, 949, under his former title of Sipahdār Khān. His name was Mḥd. Muhsin. B. c. 1064 H. (1653-4) d. 1180 H. (Oct. Nov. 1718).

Khān Jahān was sent for to Court. Neither the emperor nor the princes were well disposed towards him. Wherever he turned, no smile greeted him, no brow smoothed its wrinkles. The emperor refused even to read his petitions, owing to the disrespectful language in which they were couched. At length, 'Azīmu-*sh-shān* had pity on him, and after some exertion, the *shūbah* of Orissa was granted to him, with the office of deputy under the prince in Bengal. This man was received in audience by Farrukhsiyar at the town of Sūrājgarh, in *sarkār* Farrukh-ābād (or Munger) of *shūbah* Bahār.¹ All honour was done to him. The prince's chief man, Aḥmad Bēg (afterwards Ghāzīu-d-din **Khān Ghālib** Jang), was sent to escort him, a rich *khilā't* was conferred on him, his sons, and his chief companions. At the time of his leaving, **Khān Jahān** made loud promises that he would help. But he took no steps in that direction. Then one Muḥammad Razā, who had been Deputy-Governor in Orissa, before the appointment of **Khān Jahān**, went off to Akbarnagar (Rāj Maḥal) to visit that noble on the pretence of further negotiation. In the end, on one pretext or another, neither one nor the other appeared again.² 'Ali Aḡḡar **Khān**,³ son of Kār Ṭalab **Khān**, Anṣārī, who had been made *faujdar* of Itāwah (*shūbah* Āgrah), and Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, then *faujdar* of Karrah Mānikpur, *shūbah* Allahābād,⁴ showed no eagerness to take up the prince's cause. There remained only the two brothers, Ḥasan 'Ali **Khān** ('Abdullah **Khān**) and Ḥusain 'Ali **Khān**, Sayyads of Bārḡah, who owed to 'Azīmu-*sh-shān* the governments of Allahābād and Bahār, which they then held.⁵

8. ACCOUNT OF THE BĀRĠAH SAYYADS.

The Sayyads of Bārḡah claim to be descended from Abū-l-farāḡ, of Wāsiṭ in Mesopotamia. Several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly, Abū-l-farāḡ and his twelve sons came from Wāsiṭ to India, settling at first in four villages near Paṭīālāh, in the *sarkār* of Sahrind and *shūbah* of Dihlī. From these villages the four

¹ Sūrājgarh, a *maḥal* in *sarkār* Mungēr (*Āin*, II, 155), on the right bank of the Ganges 20 m. W. of Mungēr (Thornton, 929).

² At Dihlī on the 27th September 1712 (26th Sha'bān 1124 H.), it was reported that **Khān Jahān**, Bahādūr, and Murshīd Qulī **Khān** were marching to Paṭnah to reinforce A'zzu-d-din against Farrukhsiyar, (Valentyn, IV, 301). This report was quite unfounded.

³ See *M-ul-u*, I, 829-832, under his subsequent title of **Khān Zamān B.**, born c. 1085 H. (1674-5), d. 4th Zū'l-ḡajj, 1155 H. (29th Jan., 1743), *T-i-Mādi*.

⁴ For C. B. see *M-ul-u*, II, 328. Dyā Bahādūr was killed on 'Azīmu-*sh-shān*'s side at Lāhōr in Ṣafar 1124 H. (March 1712), see *ante* p. 150.

⁵ *Ijad*, 59 b, 60 a; **Khāfi Khān**, II, 715.

branches, into which they are divided, derive their names.¹ Then crossing the Jamnah, they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Duāb, half way between Mirath and Sahāranpur, in a sandy, unproductive piece of country, possibly at that time very sparsely inhabited. The etymology of the name *Bārḥah* is disputed; perhaps it is from the word *bārah* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages.² From the time of Akbar, the men of this clan of Sayyads were famous as military leaders, and by their bravery had acquired a traditional right to lead the vanguard of the Imperial troops. Until the reign of Farrukhsiyar they seem to have been little distinguished outside the profession of arms, and judging from what we know of their descendants in the present age, they probably had little love of learning. Brave, proud, lavish, they always were; and in our day, when their swords have been perforce beaten into pruning hooks, they have succumbed only too completely before the wily money-lender. In Muzaḥarnagar many is the story current of the 'Sayyad Ṣāhib's' reckless improvidence and ignorance of the commonest rule of business. In the 18th century a *Bārḥah kā aḥmaq*, or Bārḥah blockhead, was a common saying, and there was a rhyme to the effect that all the asses there were Bahādurs, and all the Bahādurs, asses.³

¹ Chat-Banūr is still a large town. Kundlē has a few huts, Tihanpur is a petty hamlet, Jagnēr uninhabited, (Alan Cadell, *Proc. As., Soc. Bengal*, 1871, p. 261). I find Chat and Banūr, two separate places in the N. E. of the Paṭialāh territory, on sheet No. 47 of the Indian Atlas, the former about 16 m. N. and the latter 12 m. N.N.W. of Ambālah city.

² There seems to be no town or village in the Sayyads' country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Bārḥah. Sir H. M. Elliot (*Supp. Glossary*, 110) speaks of the town of Bārḥah as one plundered by Ṣafdar Jang in 1748. On a subject so peculiarly his own, it is dangerous to contest any of that writer's statements, but unless I am much mistaken, the place so plundered was really Mārāhrah (now in the Etah district), which lay in the course of Ṣafdar Jang's march from Dihlī to Farrukhābād, and also contains a well-known colony of Sayyads. Elphinstone (4th ed. p. 650) makes the same mistake. The *Sairu-l-mutāḥharin*, Calcutta printed text, II, 32; has, however, *Mārāhrah* plainly enough. The error, no doubt, began with Mustapha, *Seir*, III, 83, who reads "Barr."

³ *Seir Mutāgharin*, III, 441, note 261;

Bārḥa, nahin to, Barhā :

Gadhā bahādur, Bahādur gadhā.

Blochmann, *Āin*, I, 390, 391, Robert J. Leeds, in N. W. Provinces Census Report for 1865 (District Muzaḥarnagar), Elliot, *Supp. Gloss.*, 50. Blochmann's hope (*Āin*, I, 395, note,) of an exhaustive history of the Bārḥah Sayyads from the pen of one of the clan is never likely to be gratified. Seven or eight years ago I suggested to one of the Jānsath family, a retired official of some rank, the need for such a work. Of course, he said it should be begun at once, but to this day the only account they can produce of their race is the feeble, incomplete, and inaccurate statement, the *Sayyadu-t-tawārīkh*, prepared in 1864 by Sayyad Rōshan 'Alī Khān, Mirāppurī.

The two Sayyad brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts, men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be.¹ Besides the prestige of Sayyad lineage, of descent from the famous Bārhaḥ branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man who had held in 'Ālamgīr's reign first the *ṣūbahdāri* of Bijāpūr in the Dakhin and then that of Ajmīr, appointments given in that reign either to princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the State. Their father, Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān, known as Sayyad Miyān, had risen in the service of Rūḥu-llah Khān, 'Ālamgīr's *Mīr Bakḥshī*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *manṣab*, attached himself to the eldest prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, (afterwards the emperor Bahādūr Shāh).

Ḥasan 'Alī Khān (afterwards 'Abdullah Khān, Quṭbu-l-mulk) and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, two of the numerous sons of 'Abdullah Khān, Sayyad Miyān, were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively.² About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was *faujdar* of Sulṭānpur Nazarbār in Baglānah, *ṣūbah Khāndesh*, after that, of Siūni Hōshangābād also in Khāndesh, then again of Nazarbār coupled with Thalez in *sirkār* Asir of the same *ṣūbah*. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangābād. The younger brother Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in 'Ālamgīr's reign held charge first of Rantambhōr, in *ṣūbah* Ajmīr, and then of Hindaun Biānah, in *ṣūbah* Agrah.

After prince Mu'izzu-d-dīn, the eldest of Shāh 'Ālam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of of the Multān province, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Bilūc zamindār, the Sayyads were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Mu'izzu-d-dīn thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite 'Isā Khān, Mā'in. The Sayyads quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lāhōr, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Mun'im Khān, the *Nāzim* of that place.³

¹ For instance, see Khāfī Khān's remarks, II, 730.

² If, as Rieu, 783, suggests, two of the portraits in B. M. Add. 18,800 are those of the Sayyad brothers, they were rather short men of a burly build, both with rather large heads and prominent noses, that of H. A. K. being especially beak-like. They have close-cropped beards, that of the elder brother quite white, the other's still a little black at the corners of the mouth.

³ *Ma'āzīru-l-umrā*, III, 130; Khāfī Khān, II, 456; Wārid, 90, 91. For Baglānāth see *Āin*, II, 208 and *M-ul-u*, I, 414. Akbar (*Āin* l. c.) placed Nazarbār in *Ṣūbah* Mālwa. It was transferred again to the Khāndesh *ṣūbah* about 1609, Bom-

When 'Alamgir died and Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādūr Shāh, reached Lāhōr on his march to Āgrah to contest the throne, the Sayyads presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Ṣafar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively, with a gift of kettledrums. In the battle of Jājau on the 18th Rabi' I. 1119 H. (18th June 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyad habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nūru-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, was left dead on the field, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zū-l-qa'dah 1119 H. (Feb. 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of 'Abdu-llah Khān, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new emperor or his vazir.¹

The two Sayyads managed to quarrel with Khānazād Khān, the vazir's second son, and though the breach was healed by a visit to them from the vazir in person, there is little doubt that this difference helped to keep them out of employment. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān is also said to have offended Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh. The morning after the battle of Jājau, the prince visited their quarters to condole with them on the death of their brother, Nūru-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, and in so doing launched out into praises of their valour. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān met these overtures in an aggressive manner, saying that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne. Mu'izzu-d-dīn was vexed by this speech, and refrained from making any recommendation to his father in their favour. Nay, he did his best to prevent their obtaining lucrative employment, and we read of their being obliged to rely upon the emperor's bounty for their travelling expenses, which were necessarily great, as they were kept in attendance on the court while it was constantly on the march.²

Gaz. xii, 458, where the name is given Nandurbar. Sultanpur is a town to the N. E. of Nandurbar town, id 471. Thalez might stand for Thälner, an ancient town in Khāndēsh, situated on the Taptī, 28 m. N. E. of Dhūlia, id, 473. It is perhaps a little too far west of Asir to be a quite satisfactory identification. Siūni and Hōshangābād are two well-known districts in the Central Provinces, C. P. Gaz. 206 and 468. As to Mu'izzu-d-dīn's dealings with the Bilōc tribes, see *Ma'āṣir-i-'ālam-gīrī*, 432 (Year 1112 H.), id, 470, (Year 1114 H.), Khāfi Khān, II, 462, 463, Khūshbāl Cand, 392 a, Wārid, pp. 86-88 (my copy, episodic account introduced in reign of Mpd. Shāh). Also *Mu-l-u*, I, 825, 826, under Khudā Yār Khān, Leṭhī.

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 575, Kāmwar Khān, 20; *M-ul-U*, I 321, III, 130.

² *Akhbārāt* or news-letters, dated 24th Zū-l-ḥajj 1119 H. (16th March 1708); Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Morley, cxxxiii; Wārid, 91.

In *Shā'ban* 1120 H. (Oct. 1708) 'Abdu-llah *Khān* had been named to the *ṣūbah* of *Ajmēr*, then in a disturbed state owing to the *Rājput* rising, a condition of things with which *Sayyad Shujā'at Khān* seemed hardly capable of dealing. *Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān* had barely more than reached *Dihli*, in order to raise new troops and make other preparations, when the emperor, *Bahādur Shāh*, changed his mind and *Shujā'at Khān* was received again into favour and maintained in his Government. At length, by the favour of prince 'Azimu-*sh-shāh*, *Abdu-llah Khān* on the 21st *Zū-l-qa'dah* 1122 H. (10th Jan. 1711) became that prince's deputy in the province of *Allahābād*. About two years earlier (11th *Muḥarram* 1120 H., 1st April 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother *Ḥusain 'Ali Khān*, to represent him in another of his governments, that of *Bahār*, of which the capital was at 'Azimābād *Paṭnah*.

9. ḤUSAIN 'ALI KHĀN ESPOUSES FARRUKHSIYAR'S CAUSE.

When *Farrukhsiyar* first arrived at 'Azimābād, *Ḥusain 'Ali Khān* was away on an expedition, apparently the recapture of *Ruhtās* fort, which about this time had been seized by one *Muḥammad Razā, Ra'āyat Khān*. The *Sayyad* had felt annoyed on hearing that *Farrukhsiyar* had issued coin and caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his father, 'Azimu-*sh-shāh's*, name, without waiting to learn the result of the impending struggle at *Lāhōr*. Thus on his return to his head-quarters his first impulse was to decline altogether that prince's overtures. In truth, no attempt could well look more hopeless than that upon which *Farrukhsiyar* wished to enter. The prince's mother now hazarded a private visit to the *Sayyad's* mother, taking with her her little granddaughter.¹ Her arguments rested on the fact that the *Sayyad's* position was due to the kindness of the prince's father. That father, two brothers, and two uncles had been killed, and the prince's own means were insufficient for any enterprize. Let *Ḥusain 'Ali Khān* then choose his own course, either let him aid *Farrukhsiyar* to recover his rights and revenge his father's death, or else let him place the prince in chains and send him a prisoner to *Jahāndār Shāh*. Here the prince's mother and daughter bared their heads and wept aloud. Overcome by their tears, the *Sayyadah* called her son within the harem. The little girl fell bareheaded at his feet and implored his aid. His mother told him that whatever was the result he would be a gainer: if defeated, his name would stand recorded as a hero till Judgment Day; if succes-

¹ Probably this is the girl who, when she grew up, became *Mūd. Shāh's* consort and at his death in 1161 H. (1748) showed considerable judgment and resolution in securing the throne for her husband's son, *Aḥmad Shāh*.

ful, the whole of Hindūstān would be at their feet, and above them none but the emperor. Finally she exclaimed, 'If you adhere to Jahāndār Shāh, you will have to answer before the Great Judge for disavowing your mother's claim upon you.' At these words Husain 'Ali Khān took up the women's veils and replaced them on their heads swearing a binding oath that he would espouse the prince's cause. The next night Farrukhsiyar presented himself at the Khān's house, saying that he had come either to be seized and sent to Jahāndār Shāh, or to enter into an agreement for the recovery of the throne. The Sayyad bound himself finally to fight on Farrukhsiyar's behalf. He wrote at once to his elder brother, 'Abdu-llah Khān, at Allahābād, inviting him to join the same side, and Farrukhsiyar addressed a *farmān* to him making many promises, and authorising him to expend the Bengal treasure, then at Allahābād, on the enlistment of troops. It is quite clear that at this time, or soon afterwards, the two chief places in the empire, those of chief minister and of first noble (*Amīru-l-umarā*) were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.¹

10. 'ABDULLAH KHĀN, ON BEING SUPERSEDED AT ALLAHĀBĀD, GIVES
IN HIS ADHESION TO FARRUKHSIYAR.

At first 'Abdu-llah Khān's intention was to submit to Jahāndār Shāh, the *de facto* emperor, to whom he sent letters professing his loyalty and offering his services. Three months before the death of Bahādur Shāh, he had gone out towards Jaunpur to restore order. In this he was not successful and the pay of his soldiers fell into arrears. The men raised a disturbance, and 'Abdu-llah Khān's only anxiety was to escape from them and take shelter within the fort of Allahābād. He promised publicly that as soon as he reached the city, all the collections then in the hands of his agents should be made over to the troops. On the return march, word came of Bahādur Shāh's death.²

A few days before his arrival at Allahābād, Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khān, *diwān* of Bengal, had reached that place with one *kror* of rupees (about £ 1,000,000),³ the annual remittance from that province to the imperial treasury. Hearing of the late emperor's death, the envoy halted at Allahābād in some perplexity. 'Abdu-llah Khān, at his second interview with Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān,

¹ Wārid, 186 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 708, 710, 711. As to Rahtās, see Kāmwar Khān, entry of 22nd Zū-l-hajj 1123 H. (30th Jan. 1712.)

² Wārid, 188 b., 189 a.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, 716, puts the sum at 28 lakhs of rupees (£ 280,000). Shujā'u-d-daulah, Shujā'u-d-dīn Mhd. Khān, died as Subahdār of Bengal or the 17th Mubarram 1152 H. (25th April, 1739), aged nearly 80 years (*T-i-Mādī*).

impressed on him the danger of keeping such a large amount of treasure in camp outside a turbulent city; it ought to be removed to a place of safety within the fort, and when the succession was settled, it could be made over to the prince who gained the day. *Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān* yielded to this specious advice, and 'Abdu-llah *Khān*, as soon as he was master of the coin, used it to pay the arrears of his soldiers.¹

While 'Abdu-llah *Khān* was still in expectation of a favourable reply to his letter to *Jahāndār Shāh*, he was surprized to learn that his government had been taken from him, and that the deputy of the new governor was on his way to take possession. The province had been granted to a *Gardēzī* Sayyad of *Mānikpur*, *ṣūbah* *Allahābād*, one *Rāji Muḥammad Khān*,² who had risen to notice in the recent fighting at *Lāhōr*, and through the reputation thereby acquired had been appointed *Mir Ātash*, or general of artillery. The new governor nominated as his deputy his relation, one Sayyad 'Abdu-l-ghaffār (a descendant of Sayyad *Ṣadr Jahān*, *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣadūr*, *Pihānwi*).³

'Abdu-l-ghaffār obtained contingents from one or two zamindārs and collected altogether 6,000 to 7,000 men. When he drew near to *Karrāh Mānikpur*, *Abu-l-ḥasan Khān*, a Sayyad of *Bijāpur*, who was 'Abdu-llah *Khān*'s *bakhshi*, advanced at the head of 3,000 men to bar his progress. In the end of *Jamādi II* 1124 H, (29th = 2nd August, 1712) they met at a little distance from *Sarāe Alam Cand*,⁴ and encamping four or five miles from each other, they passed some days in fruitless negotiations. Then 'Abdu-l-ghaffār prepared his men and sent forward his artillery. It so happened that the very same day *Saifu-d-dīn 'Ali Khān*, *Sirāju-d-dīn 'Ali Khān*, and *Najmu-d-dīn 'Ali Khān*, younger brothers of 'Abdu-llah *Khān*, and *Ratn Cand*, his *diwān* or chief financial agent, arrived with a reinforcement of four hundred horsemen. Although some of the Sayyads rode out to the front, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār

¹ *Wārid*, 138 b, *Khāfi Khān*, II, 711.

² *Gardēzī*, see *Elliot, Supp. Gloss.*, 447; *Gardēz* is situated in the *Bangshāt*, not far from *Kohāt*, *Ā'in*, II, 407 note 2. *Rāji Mhd. Khān* first entered the service through *Mun'im Khān*, *Khān Khānān*. *Kām Rāj*, *Ibratnamah*, calls him *Ḥusāmu-d-dīn*, who had been made Sayyad *Rāji Khān*, *Bahādur*, *Dilāwar Jang*. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār is there called his brother.

³ *Blochmann, Āin I*, 208, 468. *Pihānī*, a village near *Qannauj* or *Lakhnau*; *Ṣadr Jahān* was *Akbar's ṣadr* in the 34th year (about 1589). He died in 1020 H. (1611-12) in *Jahāngīr's* reign; he was said to be 120 years of age, *Beale*, 229. *M-ul-U*, III, 348. *Pihānī* is now in the *Hardoi* district, *Oudh Gaz*, III, 160.

⁴ *Khāfi Khān*, II, 712, spells the name *Abū-l-muḥsin Khān*, and says he was originally from *Najaf*, the Holy. On the same page the month is *Jamādi I* instead of *II*. *Mānikpur* and *Karrāh* are both on the *Ganges*, the former about 45 and the latter about 39 m. N.-W. of *Allahābād*. *Sarāe Alam Cand* is 20 m. N.-W. of the same place.

could not be tempted into attacking them. At length, when the opposing forces were at the distance of a musket shot from each other, 'Abdu-l-ghaffār discharged a volley from all his cannon and without an instant's delay ordered his horsemen to charge. Despite their well-known bravery, the Bārhaḥ Sayyads gave way, many were killed and wounded, the rest fled. Only the three Bārhaḥ brothers with Abu-l-ḥasau Khān and Ratn Cand stood fast at the head of four hundred men. In a short time many of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār's soldiers dispersed in search of plunder, but he kept together enough of them to surround the Sayyads. They now came to close quarters: when Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān with many others was cut down and killed. A high wind blew up the dust and it soon became impossible to distinguish officer from soldier, white from black, friend from foe. Suddenly there arose cries that Sayyad 'Abdu-l-ghaffār was slain.¹ The Bārhaḥ Sayyad's drums and trumpets striking up a joyful march, the other side lost heart and turned for flight. In vain 'Abdu-l-ghaffār shouted, 'I am here! I am alive!' No one listened, and the day so nearly won was irremediably lost. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār withdrew his shattered force to Shahzādpur, one march to the rear.²

When it was too late, Jahāndār Shāh saw his error and endeavoured to propitiate 'Abdu-llāh Khān. Promotion from 4,000 *zāt* to 6,000 *zāt* was offered, with confirmation in the government of Allahābād in his own name. The fulsome heaping-up of titles in the letter addressed to 'Abdu-llāh Khān is some indication of Jahāndār Shāh's consternation at the turn affairs had taken. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār was thrown overboard, and the letter to him is couched in terms which might have been addressed to a rebel, instead of to a man who had been trying to carry out faithfully the orders that he had received. It was too late, however, and in vain was this humiliating attitude assumed. 'Abdu-llāh Khān, disgusted at the treatment he had received, had already thrown in his lot with Farrukhsiyar.³

11. FARRUKHSIYAR LEAVES PATNAH AND REACHES ALLAHĀBĀD.

After Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had declared himself, there were other important adhesions to Farrukhsiyar's cause. From the first Ahmad Bēg, a man long attached to the family, had been particularly active and useful in obtaining adherents; he was now made Ghāziu-d-dīn

¹ It was really his brother who was killed (*Siwānīh-i-Khizri*, 24). Khizr Khān was present.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 692, and 712, Khizr Khān, 24, *Ma'āqiru-l-umarā*, III, 132. Shahzādpur is on the Ganges about 35 miles N.-W. of Allahābād.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, 714. For the letters of Jahāndār Shāh see *Inshāe Mādhu Rām* (lithographed) pp. 85, 86. This compilation was put together in 1136 H. (1723-4).

Khān, Ghālib Jang, and as some say received a promise of the wazirship.¹ One of the most notable of these accessions was that of **Sidiht Nārāyan**, son of **Dhir**, a powerful zamīndār of the **Bhōjpur** country in **Shāhābād**.² The **Ujainiyah** clan to which he belonged had long claimed practical independence and had never paid its revenue unless upon compulsion. In the reign of 'Ālamgir, **Rājah Rūdar**, descended in the fifth generation from the first **Ujainiyah rājah** of **Bhōjpur**, had risen to notoriety and was joined by most of the neighbouring zamīndārs. In consequence of his rebellion against constituted authority he was deposed, and the chiefship given to his brother, ancestor of the present **Jagdispur** and **Dumrāon** houses in that parganah. During 'Ālamgir's long absence in the **Dakhin**, the governors and **faujdārs** left the zamīndārs alone. **Dhir**, a distant cousin of the **Rajah**, descended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, used this opportunity, seized many zamīndaris, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 30,000 foot. When prince 'Aẓmu-sh-shān was governor at **Paṭnah**, this zamīndar attended his court. A settlement had nearly been effected when **Dhir** became alarmed and escaped. **Rajah Dhir** died of fever in the year 1712. **Sidiht Nārāyan**, his second but eldest surviving son, who had only recently succeeded, had already begun a dispute with **Husain 'Ali Khān's** subordinates. To enforce his claims he had come with a large armed force and was encamped at **Hājipur**, on the further side of the **Ganges** from **Paṭnah** city. He talked of plundering the country. **Aḥmad Bēg** was sent to him to induce him either to offer his services or retire from the position he had taken up. **Aḥmad Bēg's** eloquence persuaded him to accept service, bringing with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen.³

¹ **Yahyā Khān**, 119 b, and see biography in *Mu-l-u.* II, 869. A man was introduced by him, whose name I read as **Maṣl** (or perhaps **Faṣl**) **Khān** (*Ijād*, 41 b), who was made **A'zam Khān** and first **Bakhshi**. But he was superseded by the **Sayyads** and **Khawājah A'sim** (**Khān Daurān**) almost as soon as appointed; his appointment as **Bakhshi** was taken away on the 15th **Zū-l-qa'dh** (13th Dec., 1712) and I know not what became of him.

² I am able to identify this man and his family through a paper, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of **Rāi Bahādur Jai Pargāsh Lal**, C. I. E., *divān* to the **Maharājah of Dumrāon**, K. C. I. E.: it was procured for me by the kind offices of **G. A. Grierson**, Esq., C. I. E. **Dhir** (b. 1655, d. 1712) held as his ancestral fief **Barānwa** in parganah **Pirū**, **sirkār Shāhābād** (**Pirū town** is about 32 m. S. E. of **Arrah**). On the 11th April 1715 O. S. the English envoys on passing through **Arwal** (a town about 40 m. S.-W. of **Paṭnah**, in **Thānah Jahānābād** of the **Gayā** district, and close to the bank of the **Sōn**) remark 'this is the place where **Sedisti naran** has a strong fort and good guard.' **Pirū** is about 20 m. W. of **Arwal** and on the other side of the **Sōn**.

³ *Ijād*, 61 a., 63 b.; **Khāfi Khān**, II, 712.

Khawājah A'ṣim, who had escaped in safety from the battle field at Lāhōr on the day when prince 'Azimu-sh-shān lost his life, now joined Farrukhsiyar at Paṭnah after a short time spent at his home in Āgrah. He was at once received into the old position of favour which he had held before he had been recalled from Bengal by 'Azimu-sh-shān. He received the title of Ashraf Khān, was made superintendent of the privy Audience Chamber, and for a time held in addition the command of the artillery. Ṣaf Shikan Khān (Hasan Bēg), Deputy Governor of Orissa, also threw in his lot with Farrukhsiyar, and Mir Mushrif, a Lakhnau Ṣayyad, joined with some four thousand horsemen belonging to his own tribe. Another new adherent was Zainu-d-dīn Khān, son of Ghairat Khān and grandson of Bahādur Khān, Dāūdzaī, of Shāhjahānpur in Rōhilkhand, followed by four thousand brother Paṭhāns.² Money was the great want. Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of rupees, which had reached Paṭnah on its way from Bengal to Dehli.³ Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of rupees. Some money, estimated at from half a *lakh* to five *lakhs* of rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch company's goods, their factor at Paṭnah, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Sūrat Singh, Khatrī, the chief official of Nāṣir Khān, Deputy Governor of Kābul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures to Dihli, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlockmen, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion.

¹ For Bahādur Khān, Dāūdzaī, the founder of Shāhjahānpur, see *Mu-lu*, I, 415. He left seven sons, of whom only two, Dilāwar Khān and 'Aziz Khān, Chaghatāi, are there named. In *T-i-Mādī*, year 1138 H., we have the genealogy stated thus :—

Daryā Khān, d. 1040 H. (1630-1).

Bahādur Khān, d. 1059 H. (1649-50).

Ghairat Khān.

Zainu-d-dīn Khān, killed 1124 H. (1713).

Bahādur Khān, killed 1138 H. (1725-6).

As to Zainu-d-dīn Khān, his mad doings and rough mode of forcing money out of Faṭḥ Ma'mūr Khān's widow at Shāhābād (Oudh), see *Akhbār-i-Muṣabbat*, my copy, 274. That work says he joined Farrukhsiyar west of Allahābād.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 715, states the sum that thus fell into Farrukhsiyar's hands as 75 *lakhs*.

During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukhsiyar's soldiers.¹

At length on the 17th *Sha'bān* 1124 H. (18th September 1712), Farrukhsiyar's advance tents were sent off from Paṭnah. Four days later he started himself at the head of 25,000 men. After a halt of six days he reached Dānāpur on the 28th (29th September). On the 4th Ramaẓān (4th October) he moved to Shērpur, thence to Matolī; on the 12th (12th October) Ḥusain 'Ali Khān arrived from Paṭnah. Next day they reached the banks of the Sōn, which was still much swollen by rain. With the help of Sidiqht Nārāyan and by the special exertions of Aḥmad Bēg, Kōkah, a boat bridge was thrown across, and on the 17th Ramaẓān (17th October) they crossed to Sitārā. Further stages were Khatōlī (20th), Sūri (21st), Mahādeo (22nd), Jaipur (23rd), the last two being places in parganah Sahasrām, then on the 24th Sahasrām itself was reached. Khurramābād was arrived at on the 25th, Mohāni (26th), Sālōt (27th), Sarāe Said Rājā (28th), Sarāe Mughūl (29th), and the Ganges bank at Chōtah Mirzāpur, opposite Banāras, on the 30th Ramaẓān (30th October). There was some talk of levying a contribution on the rich men of that city, but through one Rāe Kirpā Nāth they were excused, on condition of sending money after a few days. This forced loan, amounting to one *lakh* of rupees, was received by the prince when he arrived at Allahābād.

After one day's rest the march was continued through Sarāe Mōhan, Sarāe Bābu, Sarāe Jagdis to Jhūsi. Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān had pitched a camp at Jhūsi a week before, and had been there in person for two or three days. On the 6th Shawwāl (5th Nov. 1712) he arrived in the imperial camp and was received in audience. Formal engagements were entered into through Khwājah A'ṣim, Ashraf Khān, by which the post of *wazir* was accorded to 'Abdu-llah Khān and that of *Amīru-l-umard* to Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. Before leaving Jhūsi a blessing on their arms was besought at the shrine of the holy man, Shēkh Taqī.² On the 13th Shawwāl (12th Nov. 1712) the whole army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats and encamped between the old and the new city of Allahābād, and next day moved a little farther on to Sipahdārganj. Here we will leave Farrukhsiyar and turn to the movements of prince A'zzu-d-din.³

¹ *Ijād*, a, 66 b; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 715; Valentyn, IV, 299.

² Sayyad Ṣadru-l-haqq, surnamed Taqī-d-dīn Muḥammad, Abū-l-Akbar, son of *Sha'bānu-l-millat*, was born at Jhūsi in 720 H. (1320-1) and died there on the 7th Zū-l-ḥajj 785 H. (31st January 1384).—*Mamba'u-l-ansāb*, B. M. Or. 2014, fols. 70-72.

³ *Ijād*, 66 a, 72, 73, 74, 75; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 711, 715. B. M. 1690, fol. 100 b, says they reached Allahābād on the 10th Shawwāl (9th Nov.). The distances as measured on the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88, are Sarāe Mōhan, 8½ m., Sarāe Bābā,

12. PRINCE A'ZU-D-DĪN'S ADVANCE TO KAJWAH, HIS DEFEAT AND
FLIGHT TO ĀGRAH.

When Jahāndār Shāh heard of the defeat of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār, the defection of Abdu-llah Khān, and the march westwards of Farrukhsiyar, he sent urgent orders to his son A'zzu-d-din to move onwards from Āgrah, in the neighbourhood of which he had lingered. The prince was not well pleased at his supercession in the supreme command, and furthermore was far from friendly to his father's favourite, Lāl Kunwar. These causes may have led him to conduct the enterprize in the half-hearted way which was so soon to result in disaster. Nor could much reliance be placed on the leaders of his troops, some of whom were found, so early as the 1st Rajab (3rd August 1712) to be in traitrous communication with the enemy. From intercepted letters it was found that seven artillery officers had offered to go over to Farrukhsiyar followed by many other officers and twenty thousand men. The ring-leaders were seized and thrown into prison; but disaffection pervaded the entire army, their pay being much in arrear. This force, numbering some 50,000 horsemen,¹ accompanied by powerful artillery, now set out on the march towards Allahābād. On the day that they reached the Itāwah boundary, the faujdār of that place, the 'Alī Aṣghar Khān already referred to, appeared, and to gain time entered into negotiations. The imperial leaders demanded from him the revenue of the current year, which owing to the contested succession, had not been collected. They also called for the accounts of previous years. These demands, which in A'zzu-d-din's own interests were very inopportune, were evaded by the faujdār with excuses founded on the revenue rules and by pleas about his accounts. This dispute continued from stage to stage until on the 2nd Shawwāl 1124 H. (1st November 1712) they arrived near Kōrah.²

At Kōrah they were met by Mahtā Chabelah Rām, faujdār of *Oaklah* Karrah Mānikpur,³ and as already noted, a protégé of Farrukhsiyar's

18 m., Sarāe Jagdīs, 18½ m., Jhūsī, 38 m., total 83 miles. Sipahdārganj was probably so named after Sipahdār Khān (see *ante* p. 173, n. 4), who was governor of Allahābād from the 37th to the 41st of 'Ālamgīr, 1104 H.–1108 H., 1692–1696, *M-ūl-U.*, III. 591. Possibly the Subahdārganj on plate 44 of Constable's Hand Atlas is a corruption of this name. It lies one mile west of the Khusrū Bāgh and just south of the E. I. Railway.

¹ Yahyā Khān, 120 a, asserts that A'zzu-d-din's force was really no larger than one sent as an escort (*badraqah*).

² Khāfī Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 70 b; Valentyn, IV, 299.

³ Or, as Ijād says, of Kōrah.

house. Pressure was put upon Chabēlah Rām, but he refused A'zzu-d-din's overtures. He was tempted with an offer of a *manṣab* of 3,000 *Zāt*, 2,000 horse, the title of Rajah, robes of honour, a standard and kettle-drums (the last three having been brought with the prince from Dihli). After this offer was refused, they demanded all the treasure which had come from Bengal and all the money in the Imperial chest. Chabēlah Rām prevaricated and ceased his visits. Much disconcerted at this failure, A'zzu-d-din continued his route. The faujdārs followed with their own troops, march by march, but pitched their camps two miles or more from the main army. It was now quite obvious to the Prince's advisers that Chabēlah Rām would seize the earliest opportunity to make his escape. Accordingly, when they were at Kajwah, Luṭṭu-llah Khān (then known as Sarfarāz Khān) was sent at the head of their best troops with a request that Chabēlah Rām would move his camp close to theirs, or that, in compliance with a written order from Jahāndār Shāh, then first produced, he should march into Audh, to which government he was thereby appointed. Chabēlah Rām accepted the second alternative. Next day, giving out that he wished to bathe in the Ganges, and would thence continue his road to Audh, he moved to the river bank at the Khamsarah ferry, some five miles from Kajwah. He was still trying to find out the easiest road to Allahābād, when spies brought word that Farrukhsiyar's camp was not further off than two or three marches, and the news was to him "as a rain cloud to a thirsty man in a desert." At early dawn he made a forced march and soon joined Farrukhsiyar.¹ Chabēlah Rām and his nephew, Mahtā Girdhar Lāl, were received with honour, their offerings accepted, and gifts conferred on them. 'Ali Aṣghar Khān, too, who had been watching for a chance of escaping, joined Farrukhsiyar at Kuṇwarpur a few days after Chabēlah Rām, and shortly afterwards, on payment of five lakhs of rupees, was made Khān Zamān.

Chabēlah Rām's arrival was most opportune, and from the money in his possession, he now began to advance fifteen thousand rupees a day. Farrukhsiyar also borrowed from some merchants of Bengal and Paṭnah, who joined the camp and travelled with it, the terms being *sawābe*, or a return of the principal and 25 per cent, plus promises of titles and rank. The Prince's troops had been in great distress on the march. His leaders, nay he himself, only received every now and then a little *khicrī* (a poor man's dish, made of pulse and spices), and the day that they got this food was counted as a festival ('*Id*). The common soldiers lived on what they could pick up in the fields, such as green

¹ B. M. 1690, fol. 160 b, says he joined at Bindkah. According to Ijād, 80 a, the camp was there on the 24th Shāwāl (23rd Nov. 1712).

leaves (*sāg*), pumpkins (*kaddū*) and the like. The horses got little or no grass or grain. ¹

Towards the end of *Shawwāl* (29th-28th November 1712), while *Farrukhsiyar* was still at a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos*, A'zzu-d-dīn proceeded to throw up entrenchments at *Kajwah*. Being the site of 'Ālamgīr's victory over *Shujā'* in January 1659, this place was looked on as one of good omen. The ditch that they dug round their position was some fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep, but without water. The earth dug out was thrown up in the inner side, forming a protection of about the height of a man. On this earthwork guns were placed and one large mortar. The approaches were so defended, that they believed it quite impossible for any enemy to reach those inside. Their intention was to keep within cover, and if an attack were made, to reply by artillery fire alone. ²

During this time *Farrukhsiyar* continued his advance from *Allahābād*. His force is variously estimated : some putting it at 25,000 horse, some at 50,000 horse and 70,000 foot. He reached *Sarāe Chōli* on the 19th *Shawwāl* (18th November 1712), was at *Hathganw* on the 20th, *Amrātū* on the 21st, *Sarāe Manda* on the 22nd, *Chēdā Abūnagar* on the 23rd, *Kuṇwarpur* on the 24th, and *Rōshanābād* on the 25th. Here he learnt that the enemy were entrenched at *Kajwah*, at a distance of about five miles. Next day they advanced to 'Āqilābād. Here a new adherent appeared in the person of *Muḥammad Khān*, *Bangash*, at the head of 4,000 or 5,000 horsemen, chiefly *Afghāns*. For some years this man, a native of *Mau* on the *Ganges*, in *Parganah Shamsābād* of the *Āgrah śūbah*, had lived as a soldier of fortune in *Bundēlkhand*, hiring out himself and his men, first to one and then to another of the large *zamindārs*, between whom there raged interminable quarrels about their lands and their boundaries. *Muḥammad Khān* changed sides as often as he thought it of advantage to himself. Lately he had presented himself in prince A'zzu-d-din's camp, in the hope of employment and reward. Disgusted with what he saw there, he felt it more prudent to transfer his services, and now joined *Farrukhsiyar*. He was presented through *Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān* and taken into the prince's service. ³

¹ *Ijād*, 71 a; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 716; *Khūshpāl Cand*, 391 b; *Yahyā Khān* 120 a. The straits for money in which *Farrukhsiyar* was can be seen from his short private notes to *Chabēlah Rām* in *Aj'āib-u-l-āfāk* (B. M., Or. 1776) fol. 19 b, 29 b, etc.

² *Ijād*, 77 a; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 698, 716; *Elphinstone*, 530.

³ *Khāfi Khān*, II, 715; *Ijād*, 776; *Khūshpāl Cand*, 392 a. *Hathganw* is about 19 m., *Sarāe Manda* about 11½ m. east of *Fathpur*; *Chēdā Abūnagar* I identify (thanks to my friend Mr. C. Rustomjee, c. s.) as a suburb of *Fathpur* itself. The other places are not traced.

From Rōḡhanābād, on the 25th Shawwāl 1124 H. (24th November 1712), 'Abdu-llah Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān were sent on in advance to reconnoitre. If they found a convenient point they were to deliver an assault. The entrenchment was to be surrounded on all sides and a heavy fire of artillery directed on it. Farrukhsiyar was in favour of an immediate attack, 'Abdu-llah Khān counselled prudence while, as yet, the respective strength of the two sides had not been tested. The two Sayyads rode on, intending to take note of the position, until they were close to the ditch. No sally was made; they were not even fired upon; and they examined the position at leisure. During the night a disposition of the attacking force was made under the orders of Sayyad 'Abdu-llah Khān, Sayyad Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Amīr Khān, Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān and Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-din). Their cannon were placed in readiness behind the shelter of the mud walls in the neighbouring villages. On the left of Farrukhsiyar's army, positions were allotted to Ashraf Khān (Khawājah A'ṣim), Mahtā Chabslah Rām, Afrasyāb Khān, and other leaders of the Wālā Shāhī (or household) troops. Four hundred camels belonging to the other side were captured at the outposts and brought in.¹

On the 26th Shāwwāl (25th November 1712), Farrukhsiyar's main camp moved on half a mile to 'Aqilābād. During the day the position of A'zzu-d-din was assailed by matchlock and rocket-fire, to which his cannon replied. On the 27th another short move was made and the same distant fight was maintained. Again on the 28th (27th Nov.) there was a march to Bindki, and on this date one Haiyā Khān, grandson of Ḥamid Khān, Qurēshī, deserted from the other side, and was rewarded with his great-grandfather's title of Dāūd Khān.²

During the 28th Shāwwāl the distant attack was kept up and even rendered more severe. Early the next morning, the 29th, was fixed for the final assault. But during the night between the 28th and the 29th Shāwwāl (28th Nov. 1712), Khawājah Ḥusain, Khān Daurān, and Luṭfullah Khān took counsel together, and to their timid minds no other idea presented itself except flight. That seemed to them the only way out of the difficulty. The prince refused to move, and remonstrated in these terms: 'O Nawāb! thou art like an uncle to me, and yet givest me advice to flee! How strange this is; for I have never heard until now that any one of Taimūr's House has fled without a battle. We are in sight of the enemy: we ought not to retreat without a fight.' Khān Daurān, finding that his proposal was rejected, prepared forged letters, bearing the seals of Imtiyāz Maḥal (*i.e.*, Lāl Kuṇwar) and Kōkaltāsh

¹ Ijād, 78 b, 79 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 716.

² Ijād, 80 a. For Dāūd Khān Qurēshī, see *M.-ul-u.* II, 32, and for Ḥamid Khān, his son, *id* II, 37.

Khān, to the effect that the Emperor was dead, that they had kept the body and allowed no one to know the truth; thus, if the prince came quickly, he would secure the throne. This device had the desired effect.

A little after midnight, one or two caskets having been filled with the most valuable jewels and some gold coins collected, A'zzu-d-din, his wife Sayyad Bēgam, daughter of Bēdār Bakht, and her women, were brought out and placed on elephants in covered canopies. A few special adherents joined them. No baggage was taken with them; even the treasure chests were left behind.¹ With all the signs of intense fright, they took their way back to Āgrah, which they reached in about a week. All their camp equipage and other wealth was left behind to be plundered. When morning dawned, consternation fell upon the abandoned soldiers, flight was their only thought, and many did not even take time to saddle their horses or gather up the most necessary articles.²

When word was brought to Farrukhsiyar's camp, his men streamed out like so many hungry hawks, to plunder and take possession. Men who had not known how to provide for one day's food, became suddenly masters of great wealth.³ The women's clothes left behind were so many, it is said, as to weary out those who were sent to count them. Farrukhsiyar's camp was now moved close to Kajwah. A pursuit was proposed, but countermanded by Farrukhsiyar. Of the property of the fugitives each man was told to keep what he had been able to seize. Eleven elephants were set aside to be afterwards given as presents. During a two days' halt at Kajwah some more men of note from the opposite side arrived to tender their submission, among them Sayyad Muḥaffar Khān, maternal uncle of 'Abdu-llah Khān, Sayyad Ḥasan Khān (son of Sayyad Ḥusain Khān) and Sayyad Muṣṭafā Ḥusain (grandson of Sayyad Quṭb, Nāgōri). Luṭfu-llah Khān also seems to have taken advantage of the first opportunity to abandon A'zzu-d-din and make his peace with Farrukhsiyar.⁴

13. JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH LEAVES DIHLĪ FOR ĀGRAH.

On the night of the 4th Zū-l-qa'dh (2nd December 1712) messengers brought to Jahāndār Shāh at Dihli unwelcome news of A'zzu-d-din's

¹ Kāmwar Khān, 122, asserts that even the women were left behind.

² Ijād, 80 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 717; Yaḥyā Khān, 120, a, b.

³ This leads Kāmwar Khān, 122, to burst forth into verse:—

T'aliu-llah, zahī, qyūm o dānā!

Tawanā-dih-i-har nā-tawānā!

'Behold of the omnipotent the wisdom and strength!

'Giver of power to all those who are powerless!'

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, 699, 717; Kāmwar Khān, 122; Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a. Muḥaffar Khān afterwards Sayyad Khān Jahān, Bārhab, d. 1131 H. (1719).

flight from Kajwah. It was at once decided to march from the capital to meet the danger. Many thought it would be wiser to await the enemy at Tughlaqābād, eight miles south of Shahjahānābad, or New Dihli. These views did not, however, prevail and a march to Āgrah was resolved upon. Strenuous efforts were made to put matters into order and to collect an army. But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *matériel* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns and stored within the fort at Dihli, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the zamindārs, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials, uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses.

Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Wārid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms, which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.¹ A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment store-houses, full of goods which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Bābar, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Āgrah was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.²

¹ Khūshḥāl Cand, 392 a, says that his father, Jiwan Rām, was then a clerk in the *Khānsāmān's* (Lord Steward's) office. In one week jewels, worth three *krors* and fifty *lakhs* of rupees, were distributed, among them a pot (*matkah*) of jasper studded with jewels, said to have belonged to Bhīm, brother of Rajah Judishtar (Yudhiṣṭhira) and Arjun! It was 11 *Shāhjahānī dīra'a* (yards?) long and 7 *dīra'a* wide! Although the dimensions are so precisely stated, I need hardly say that they should be taken *cum grano*.

² Ijād, 82 b, 83 a; Wārid, 140 a; Khūshḥāl Cand, 392 a.

One of the first measures necessary was to provide for the immediate safety of Āgrah. This was undertaken by Cin Qilic Khān, son of Ghāziu-d-din Khān, and his Mughal troops. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh this noble had shown dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded him, and finally had retired into private life at Dihli. In the struggle for the succession he had intended to take 'Azīmu-sh-shān's part, but withdrew in time and was saved through Asad Khān's and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān's intercession. When danger from Farrukhsiyar threatened, he was too important a man to be neglected, and Zū-l-fiqar Khān, in spite of their old rivalry, found it expedient to make him an offer of employment. He was sent to Āgrah to join prince A'zzu-d-din, who had then advanced across the Jamnah beyond that place, but being a very cautious man, he thought it wiser to delay any open declaration until affairs had further developed. He therefore found excuses to linger at Āgrah. The Mughal leader next in importance to Cin Qilic Khān was his cousin, Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, who was now recalled from active service, in which he had been engaged in *sirkār* Sahrind against Bandah, the leader of the Sikhs.¹

At the end of a week arrangements had been completed. Asad Khān, the *wakil-i-mullaq*, was put in supreme charge of the city, Muḥammad Yār Khān being made governor of the province and Ahlu-llah Khān left in charge of the fortress containing the imprisoned members of the royal house. The captivity of Ḥamīdu-d-din Khān, 'Ālamgīr-shāhī, and of Maḥābat Khān, son of the late *wazir*, was made more strict; they were now locked up in the cells at the Tripōliyah (or triple gate) of the fortress. Other retainers of the emperor's deceased brothers were sent to prison. The commands in the army were thus distributed. To the vanguard were posted Zū-l-fiqar Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and Jāni Khān, Jahān Shāhī, with strong artillery and 40,000 horsemen. Rājī Muḥammad Khān, general of artillery, had under his orders one hundred cannon, large and small, besides swivel-guns (*zambūrak*) and camel-guns (*shutarnāl*). His orders were to accompany the advanced tents. Islām Khān, Murtaẓā Khān, and A'zam Khān guarded the special artillery, detached to protect the centre, under command of Raẓā Qulī Khān.² Muḥammad Amin Khān and 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān were on the right wing; Jan Niḡār Khān and Mukhtār Khān on the left wing. Round the emperor in the centre were posted Sa'du-llah Khān, Ḥafīzu-llah Khān and Bahrahmand Khān. Faiẓu-llah Khān, Mughal, was told off to guard the retinue of Lāl Kuṇwar.³

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 698, 716.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 718, adds the name of Sipahdār Khān.

Nūru-d-din, 97; Kāmwar Khān, 123; Khāfi Khān, II, 718. For Zū-l-fiqar Khān

At the time appointed by the astrologers, near midnight of the 11th Zū-l-qa'dh 1124 H. (9th December, 1712), Jahāndār Shāh mounted his elephant and rode to his camp at Talāb Kishn Dās near Khizrābād, seven miles south of the city. The superstitious were cast down from the first by several accidents, which they treated as omens of coming evil. As the elephant bearing the imperial kettle-drums passed through the Dibli gate the ropes broke, the drums fell, and were dashed to pieces; and a few days before this sinister event, the imperial umbrella, having caught on the branch of a tree, lost its fringe of pearls. In addition, from the time that Jahāndār Shāh set out for Āgrah, there were continuous clouds and rain with cold wind night and day. The cold was so intense that to the native of India to put his head outside his tent was a hardship, his blood felt frozen in his veins, and his feet were hard as if made of stone. The mist was so thick that the country round could not be seen. It need hardly be added, at any rate those acquainted with the country will know well, that these outward circumstances produced the most depressing effect upon the troops. To add to the other bad omens, came the accidental destruction by fire, in spite of the rain and cloud, of some of the imperial tents. At Khizrābād they learnt that prince A'zzu-d-din had reached Āgrah on the 6th of the month (4th December, 1712). Farrukhsiyar was at the same time reported to be at Itāwah, though he was then really at Makhanpur.¹

On the 15th Zū-l-qa'dh (13th December, 1712) a move of six or seven miles was made to Talpat. Here the puerile expedient was hit upon of writing long appeals for aid to Rajah Ajit Singh, Bāhtōr, of Jōdhpur, and the other Rājput chieftains. There was no time left for any such help; the issue must be decided, one way or the other, long before any of the Rājputs could arrive upon the scene. On the 16th the camp was pitched at Faridābād, about sixteen miles south of the

and Kōkaltāsh Khān, see *ante* p. 160, Jāni Khān, p. 163 note 1, Rājī Mhd. Khān, p. 180 note 2, Murtaẓā Khān p. 161, No 5, A'zam Khān (Mhd. Māh), p. 160, Raẓā Qulī Khān, p. 161, No. 7. Islām Khān was Mir Aḥmad, grandson of Islām Khān, No. 1; he died in 1144 H., 1731-2, aged 77, *Mā-l-u*, II, 741, *T-i-Mhādi*. year 1144 H. Jān Niḡār Khān, (*Khawājah* 'Abdu-l-mukāram), d. Rabi' II 1131 H. (Feb. March 1719), aged about eighty, *T-i-Mhādi*, and *Mu-l-u*, I. 537. Mukhtār Khān (S. Mhd. formerly *Iftikhār Khān*) received this, his father's title, in 1119 H. (1708) when the latter was made Khān 'Ālam (d. 1121 H.); his sister married Bēdār Bakht, son of A'zam Shāh, (see *Mu-l-u*, III, 655, for the father). M. K. died early in 1153 H. (1740), *T-i-Mhādi*.

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 98, 99; *Khāfi Khān*, II, 700, 718. K. K. gives the date of starting as the middle of Zū-l-Qa'dh, 25th Āzar of the Ilāhī era. Itāwah is 73 m. south-east of Āgrah, Thornton, 305; Makhanpur, 34 m. north-west of Cawnpore, *id.* 642.

city, and two days were allowed for the arrival of stragglers. Two days were passed at Sikri. On the 21st (19th December, 1712) the army was at Palwal, and there the final muster was made. The force reported was 100,000 men, horsemen, matchlockmen, and bowmen. Their tents covered a circle of about eight miles in circumference.¹ By daily marches Agra was reached on the 1st Zū-l-ḥajj (29th December, 1712), and their first encampment was at Bāgh Dahrah, three miles south of the city. Prince A'zzu-d-dīn came out of the city and joined his father. Curāman, the Jāt, to whom many flattering promises had been made, joined with a large number of men from his own tribe. Efforts were now made to unearth the buried treasure in the fort of Agra. Many doorways were opened but nothing was found, and there was no time to conduct an effective search. Some ingots of copper were discovered, which had been lying there since Akbar began to build the fort and had prepared these copper bricks for use in the walls. These were now sold off in order to pay some of Jahāndār Shāh's men.²

On the 2nd Zū-l-ḥajj (30th December, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh moved to Samūgarh, a place close to the Jamnah, to the east of and about eight miles from Agra city. Probably it was chosen as having been the site of 'Ālamgir's victory of the 6th Ramazān 1068 H. (June, 1658), won by him over his brother Dārā Shukōh. At first sight, looking to his superiority in numbers and in artillery, no one could have doubted of Jahāndār's being victorious. But he was in the power of a mere bazar woman, surrounded by men of low antecedents, and his army under the command of officers, who with the exception of Zū-l-fiqār Khān, were men of no experience or position. The fighting men from beyond the Indus were disgusted with Jahāndār Shāh's habits and many spoke despairingly of his chance of winning the day. Farrukhsiyar's success was desired even in Jahāndār Shāh's own ranks. The want of unity among the leaders now began to produce its effects. Zū-l-fiqār Khān was

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 700, says Zū-l-fiqār Khān had more than 20,000; the total was 80,000 horse, 100,000 foot. In another place, II, 718, he gives 70,000 to 80,000 horse and innumerable foot. Farrukhsiyar had not one-third of these numbers. Faridābad to Sikri about 10 miles, Sikri to Palwal, 9 miles, Indian Atlas, sheet 49 South-East.

² This tradition of copper bricks still survived in Agra in 1768, see 'Orme Collections,' Vol. 15, p. 4304, *Mémoire des Jats*, an anonymous essay in French, written in that year. 'Comme en effet il y'a encore une tradition assez bien établie parmi les habitans d'Agra, qu'Akbar l'a voulu faire de cuivre rouge, et qu'il avait déjà fait faire une quantité de briques de ce métal.' But this author believes the idea is founded on a mistake, and that the copper ingots were made for transmutation into gold by a fakir, in whose powers as alchemist Akbar believed.

at daggers drawn with Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and his brother, Muḥammad Māh (A'zam Khān). Again both of these rival parties were jealous of the Mughal leaders, and fully resolved that they should have as little chance as possible of distinguishing themselves. Indeed, the Mughals were hardly believed in or trusted at all. They were suspected, and as it turned out truly suspected, of intending some treachery. Out of these jarring elements little agreement could be looked for. The first plan, supported by Zū-l-fiqār Khān, was to cross the river at once and occupy the other bank. This idea was given up, from want of concord among the leaders, in spite of their having thrown across a bridge of boats just opposite to their camp. Kōkaltāsh Khān objected to their crossing on the ground that if they fought on the further side, the enemy when defeated would be able to get clear away and renew the struggle. All boats for a distance of eighty or ninety miles were called in, and when Farrukhsiyar arrived, not a boat or a boatman could be found on his side of the river.¹

The only attempt at a forward movement was one undertaken to drive away the advanced guard of Farrukhsiyar's army. Reports were brought in that Bahādūr Khān (Zainu-d-dīn) Rōhēlah, and Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, with seven or eight thousand horsemen and some light artillery, had reached the further bank of the Jamnah, intending to effect a crossing. Rāji Muḥammad Khān was ordered out with his guns to the other side of the river, to prevent them crossing. As soon as Rāji Muḥammad Khān, accompanied by Islām Khān, reached the river bank, Farrukhsiyar's troops decamped. The guns were taken across the water without difficulty. But on the further side the heavy rain had turned the sandy bed into a quagmire, into which the feet of men and animals sank up to the knee. The guns could not be placed in position, the generals therefore left them and returned. Two days had been wasted in this operation. The rain continued, the river began to rise, and thus on Jahāndār Shah's side all fear of the enemy effecting a crossing was dissipated. In this state of false security they continued, and the festival of the sacrifice (10th Zū-l-ḥajj = 7th December, 1712) was celebrated at Samūgarh. One writer, Yahyā Khān, says that all action was intentionally postponed until after the festival.²

14. FARRUKHSIYAR ARRIVES AT THE JAMNAH.

From Kajwah, where we left him, Farrukhsiyar marched on the 3rd Zū-l-qa'dh (1st December, 1712) to Qaşbah Kōrah. Here he halted

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, 701, 718, 713; Elphinstone, 522.

² Nūru-d-dīn, Multāni 100; Yahyā Khān, 120 b. Samūgarh is spelt Sumogay on Indian Atlas, sheet 50.

for a day, forty horses from A'zzu-d-din's fugitive army were brought in, and a visit was paid to the shrine of Shēkh Badi'u-d-din. The next marches were 'Ālamnagar (5th), Dōhar (7th), Jōphrah, (8th), Sapāli (10th), Nadhaya (11th), and the town of Makhanpur on the 12th. On the next day visits were paid to the shrine of Shāh Madār,¹ and gifts were distributed there and at the tombs of other holy men. On the 15th (13th December, 1712) they moved to Makrandnagar, where 'Alī Aghar Khān was created Khān Zamān and made a *Bakhshī* in place of A'zam Khān. The next three days were spent in reciting prayers at the tombs of holy men at Rājgir and other places round Qannauj. On the 19th they moved to Jalālābād thence to Sikandrah (20th), Rangpur (21st), Amipur (22nd), Basantpur (23rd), Kalyānpur (24th), Itāwah (25th), Fāzilābād (27th), Kharsanah (28th), Sarāe Murlidhar (29th), Shukhābād (1st Zū-l-ḥajj), Fīrūzābād (2nd), 'Alinagar (4th), and I'timādpur (5th). This last named place is three miles from the left bank of the Jamnah, and lies five miles north-east of Samūgarh.²

Here they learnt that Jahāndār Shāh had reached Samūgarh and had seized all boats up and down the river for a distance of eighty or ninety miles. But not a sign of his further advance could be detected, nor did there seem any chance of their being able to cross the river themselves in order to force on a decisive battle. Therefore, on the night of the 5th Zū-l-ḥajj (2nd January 1713), it was resolved to send a capable messenger to Jahāndār Shāh. This man was to point out to him that they had come a journey of three months' duration, he, one of seven days only. Why then should he hold back and delay the final battle? Let him cross at once and meet them in the field. An answer was awaited until the following day. The envoy then returned and reported that he had been taken before Jahāndār Shāh and had repeated his message. The only answer received was 'It is well! it is well!'³ When he passed the river they cried to him 'You see the bridge, you see the bridge,' but so far as he could find out, they neither meant to cross over themselves nor allow their opponents to cross.⁴

On the 7th (4th January 1713) Farrukhsiyar moved his camp some

¹ Makhanpur is 34 m. North-West of Cawnpore, Thornton, 342. Shēkh Badi'u-d-din, known as Shāh Madār, died 18th Jamādī I, 840 H. (29th November 1436):—

Dar Makanpur hast marqad-i-š,

Hind rā shud hasār fakhr az ū.

Khāsinatu-l-aṣfiyah, II, 310; Beale, 364, has 838 H. (26th December, 1434).

² Ijād, 82 b.

³ *Khūb ast, khūb ast.*

⁴ Ijād, 88 b.

six miles to Sarāe Bāgam.¹ Here welcome news was received of treachery at work in Jahāndār Shāh's army. 'Ubaidu-llah, Shari'yatu-llah Khān (afterwards Mir Jumlah), who had been with 'Azimu-sh-shān at Lāhōr, had intended to return to Bengal and rejoin his patron's son as soon as possible. On his way down country he had been detained at Āgrah by the officials on the river bank and had not been allowed to continue his journey. At this time, when Jahāndār Shāh arrived at Āgrah, Shari'yatu-llah Khān, at the peril of his life, opened secret negotiations with the Mughal leaders, Cin Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, Cin, and by his persuasion these men agreed not to fight when the day of battle between the two claimants to the throne should arrive.²

15. SAYYAD 'ABDU-LLAH KHĀN FINDS A FORD AND CROSSES THE
JAMNAH.

At this point things seemed to have come to a deadlock; Jahāndār Shāh would not and Farrukhsiyar could not cross the Jamnah. Not a boat could be found anywhere. After three days' delay, the patience of 'Abdu-llah Khān was exhausted. Making over charge of the main body to Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, he marched up the left bank in the hope of finding a ford. When he had gone four or five miles, he came to a place where he saw some villagers wading through very shallow water. Forthwith (9th Zū-l-ḥajj 1124 H., 6th Jan. 1713) he crossed with the five hundred horsemen then in his retinue.³ Messengers were sent to Farrukhsiyar, and 'Abdu-llah Khān's men passed the long winter night shivering from the cold, while they held their bridle reins in their hand and watched for the daylight to appear. The 10th (7th January, 1713) was passed by Farrukhsiyar at Mēwātpur, where he sacrificed for the 'id. During the night of the 11th, the prince crossed the river on his elephant.⁴ The rest of the army preceded or followed

¹ Query, the Sarāe Hazam of the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50, nine miles west of I'timadpur.

² Ijād, 88b, 89a; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 157, 158; Khāfi Khān, II, 700, 719. Luṭfu-llah Khān, Ṣādiq, is said to have aided in seducing Jahāndār Shāh's officers from their allegiance, Khūshḥāl Cand 392 b.

³ Irādāt Khān (J Scott, II, pt. IV, 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of Gāo Ghāt, some miles above Āgrah, Khāfi Khān II, 720, fixes it on the night of the 11th (i.e., the night between the 10th and 11th); the water, he says, was up to a man's chest, and the place, near Sarāe Rōz Bahāni, four kos from Āgrah on the road to Dihli. The *Aḥwāl-u-l-khawāqin* 56a, also calls it the ford of Rōz Bahān.

⁴ Khāfi Khān II, 720, says this crossing was 3 or 4 *pās* i.e., 9 to 12 hours after that of 'Abdullah Khān.

him; and although the night was dark, no lives were lost. Camp was pitched at Sarāe Rōz Bahānī¹ near Akbar's tomb at Bihishtābād Sikandrah, five miles west of Agra fort, with the front facing Agra and the rear towards Delhi. For a time Husain 'Alī Khān and Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, were left behind on the left bank of the river as a rearguard, with the view of protecting the army from any sudden pursuit on the part of Jahāndār Shāh. They, too, crossed the river twenty-four hours after the rest of Farrukhsiyar's army. The next day, the 12th Zū-l-ḥajj (9th January 1713), the rain being less heavy and the mist less thick, was spent in rest and in drying such articles, cannon, muskets, and rockets, as had been wetted in fording the river.²

16. JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH MOVES FROM SAMŪGARH.

No one in Jahāndār Shāh's army had dreamt that Farrukhsiyar would be able to cross the Jamnah so easily and expeditiously. The news spread consternation through his camp and threw all his plans into confusion. A retrograde movement was commenced, and although the distance was not great, the whole day was spent on the march and the emperor did not reach his tents until nightfall. During the next two days, the 12th and 13th, Jahāndār Shāh failed to take the initiative. Zū-l-fiqār Khān thought that delay would induce many of Farrukhsiyar's soldiers to desert, for they were supposed to be enduring great hardships in various ways.

17. THE BATTLE OF ĀGRAH (13TH ZŪ-L-ḤAJJ 1124 H. 10TH JANUARY, 1713).

Zū-l-fiqār Khān chose a position resting, to the right or east, upon the gardens and houses of Agra, having to the left and the front, that is, the west and north, cultivated fields, thorny scrub, and many broad, deep ravines. To the south and rear the emperor's camp was pitched.

¹ Yahya Khān, 120b, places the camp near Sikandrah. Sarāe Rōz Bahānī (Kh. Kh. II, 720) was 4 kos or about 9 miles west of Agra. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shēkh Rōz Bihān, a little to the east of Shirāz town, E. G. Browne, 'A year amongst the Persians,' London, 1893, p. 274. Rōz Bahān was the son of Abī Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 606 H., *Shirāz-nāmah*, B. M. Addl. 18,185 fol. 136 a. The Rōz Bahānī who built this Sarāe may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Rōz Bahānī is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agra. A Yusuf Khān, *Rōz-Bihānī*, was Sūbahdār of Ḥaidarābād in Bahādūr Shāh's reign—*Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā*, I, 256. Again, *id.* III, 771, a corps of Rōz Bahānis was present in the battle against Prince Shujā' at Bēlghaṭha near Akbarnagar (Mungēr?).

² Ijad, 90; Wārid, 141 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 720; Yahyā Khān, 120b.

³ Ijad, 91; Wārid, 141 b; Khāfi Khān II, 719, 720; Nuru-d-dīn, 101.

His troops were disposed in the following order. As the heavy artillery had been abandoned in the Jamnah sands, the light artillery under Razā Qulī Khān was removed from the centre and sent to the front, where the guns were drawn up in line and chained together. The vanguard was divided by Zū-l-fiqār Khān into two parts of fifteen thousand men each, one half under Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and the other under Jānī Khān. In support, there were ten thousand men under Sabhā Cand, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān. The first body was opposed to 'Abdu-llah Khān, and the second to Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, who was on the right of Farrukhsiyar. Rāji Muḥammad Khān, the *mīr-ātash*, was sent off with seven elephants to recover the heavy guns from the sand, and by great exertions he was able to bring forty of them into action.¹

By three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th Zū-l-ḥajj or 19th Dī (10th January 1713) the rain stopped and the mist lifted; the contending armies as the sun broke out were able to perceive each other's movements. 'Abdu-llah Khān mounted his elephant and displayed his war standard. Then he sent Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, Khān Zamān ('Ali Aṣghar) and Muḥammad Khān, at the head of 8,000 horse, to meet Jānī Khān, who was advancing in his direction.² Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) who was on Jahāndār Shāh's left, had been told to attack Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, who was immediately in front of him. But disobeying Zū-l-fiqār Khān's orders, he turned his attack against Farrukhsiyar's centre. Meanwhile, in the expectation that the guns would soon arrive, there was some hesitation on Jahāndār Shāh's side in charging home. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, provoked that the enemy had assumed the initiative, lost patience and advancing into the field with Ṣaf Shikan

¹ Nūru-d-din, 102; Ijād, 91 a. Jahāndār Shāh's disposition is thus given by Khāfi Khān, II, 720, 721; *Right*—Kōkaltāsh Khān, A'zam Khān (M. Māh) Jānī Khān; *Left*—Zū-l-fiqār Khān, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān; *Yaman* (right) of Kōkaltāsh Khān.—Mḥd Amin Khān, Cīn Qilīc Khān, Jān Niṣār Khān; *Yaman* (right) and *Yasār* (left) of the Yaltamash—Rāji Mḥd Khān, Islām Khān, Murtaẓā Khān, Ḥaḍīẓa-llah Khān and Razā Qulī Khān. Farrukhsiyar's order of battle is given thus by Kām Bāj *Ibratnamah*, 50 a; *Vanguard* (*harāwal*) S. Faṭḥ 'Ali Khān, Mīr-ātash, S. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, Ṣaf Shikan Khān, Ghulām 'Ali Khān; *Ultamsh* and left (*jaranghār*) S. Ḥasan 'Ali Khān (i.e., 'Abdu-llah Kh.), S. Najmu-d-dīn 'Ali Khān, S. Saifu-d-dīn 'Ali Khān, Muḥammad Khān Bangash; (*baranghār*) Bājāh Chabēlah Rām, Girdhar Bāhadur, 'Ali Aṣghar Khān; centre (*qūl*), Farrukhsiyar, Aḥmad Bēg, Khawājah A'ṣim, Mḥd. Muẓaffar, Mīr Ghyāṣu-d-dīn.

² Khāfi Khān, 721, says this force was sent against Kōkaltāsh Khān. Irādāt Khān (J. Scott, II, pt. IV, p. 93) appears to be referring to this movement when he says 'After a cannonade, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rejāh Chabēlah Rām, and the latter, that of Sayyad Ḥusain 'Ali Khān.'

Khān (Ḥasan Bēg) Mir Aṣḥraf (of Lakhnau), Saifu-llah Khān, Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān, commanding Farrukhsiyar's artillery, Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhēlah, and others, delivered an attack on Kōkaltāsh Khān.¹ They soon came to close quarters, Jahāndār Shāh's side having the advantage. Seeing this result, 'Abdu-llah Khān sent forward reinforcements under Afrasyāb Khān² and Intiyāz Khān. Razā Qulī Khān, commanding Jahāndār Shāh's light artillery, poured a fire on them which did much damage. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, feeling that the crisis of the battle had come, dismounted from his elephant, as was the custom on an emergency, and continued the fight on foot, sword in hand, surrounded by his relations and tribesmen. At this juncture, 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān appeared in the Sayyad's rear and his Turānī bowmen wounded Ḥusain 'Alī Khān so severely that he fell to the ground and fainted. The Bārḥah Sayyads closed round him and defended his body till they were cut down themselves. Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhēlah, was felled by a sword cut delivered by Muḥammad Māh (A'zam Khān), brother of Kōkaltāsh Khān. Mir Aṣḥraf (brother of Mir Muṣḥrif) and Sayyad Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān³ flung themselves on the Turānīs and slew many before they were themselves slain. No one on Jahāndār Shāh's side had anticipated that Kōkaltāsh Khān would fight so bravely, and as it turned out, he was the only one of the chief generals who really exerted himself in his master's cause.⁴

While the contest between Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān was proceeding, Chabēlah Rām made a fierce charge on Jānī Khān. He was backed up by Khān Zamān ('Alī Aṣḥar) and Muḥammad Khān, Bangash, and both sides made play with their swords. Many a head was severed, many a saddle emptied. It was late in the afternoon

¹ Khāfi Khān, 721, says this attack was against Zū-l-fiqār Khān.

² Subrāb, known as Mirzā Ajmēri, entitled A. Kh, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, son of Girshāsp, died at Dihlī on the night of the 25th Ramaṣān 1130 (21st August 1718), rank 5,000 (*T-i-Mādī*). He had been Farrukhsiyar's instructor in wrestling and archery. An anecdote of his strength is given in *Akhbār-i-Muḥabbat*, 277. His elder brother was the Rashīd Khān (*ante*, p. 173) who had been sent in 1124 H. to eject Ja'far Khān (Murshīd Qulī Kh) from Bengal, *vide* Gladwin, *Transactions*, 96, *et seq.*

³ Sister's son of S. 'Abdu-llah Khān, Khūshḥāl Cand, 392b. On fol. 396b there is an incredible story that 'Abdu-llah Khān, jealous of his nephew's reputation, sent a European doctor to him at Āgrah, where he was left behind wounded, with instructions to kill him by poisoned ointments, and it was done accordingly.

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, 721; 722, Khūshḥāl Cand, 393a. Shridhar Murlidhar also gives us the date in the following lines:—

Sambat su satrah sai onhattari, Pūs punyō Budh tahī,
Sam sō agyārah tētis-ā, mūhē Moharram chaudahī,
Aru pātsāhī māh Ājur bāēsī, Shridhar kahī
Saph jang ki sāt sadhī, Sāheb Jahān kini sahi.

and the booming of Jahāndār Shāh's big guns could now be heard. Farrukhsiyar's men seemed to lose heart; many left the field and took shelter in neighbouring villages.¹

When Zū-l-ḥijr Khān noticed that Kōkaltāsh Khān had begun to gain the upper hand, he directed Mukhtār Khān to lead a strong reinforcement to their right, to the aid of Jāni Khān, and gave orders in person to the artillery to direct their fire against 'Abdu-llah Khān. The latter held his ground boldly against this artillery fire, his position being on a mound slightly raised above the plain. But some of his supporters, particularly the new levies, showed signs of giving way. In spite of this 'Abdu-llah Khān, surrounded by his Bārhaḥ Sayyads, then not numbering more than two or three hundred, remained on the mound where he had taken up his place. Availing himself of his opportunity, Curāman, Jāt, a practised plunderer, fell on the rear of Jahāndār Shāh and captured many elephants and camels together with the baggage loaded upon them; and one of his officers, Girdhar Singh, tried to drive off the oxen, which were used to drag the heavy guns, but was slain by Rāji Muḥammad Khān in the attempt.²

Mukhtār Khān reached Jāni Khān's side at a critical moment. By his aid, the ranks of Chabēlah Rām were thrown into confusion and his men were almost on the point of flight. Then Chabēlah Rām and Muḥammad Khān, taking their lives in their hands, drove their elephants alongside that ridden by Jāni Khān, and succeeded in killing him. On the death of their leader Jāni Khān's men fled, but Mukhtār Khān with 4000 men continued the fight until he was severely wounded and forced to withdraw.³

At this stage of the battle Farrukhsiyar's defeat seemed assured. Reports had spread that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was dead; while separated from his standard elephant and from most of his captains, 'Abdu-llah Khān had only a few men left around him; and in the centre, with Farrukhsiyar himself, there were no more than six thousand men. Even these men had no heart left in them and were only waiting for a way of escape. On the other side was Zū-l-ḥijr Khān with 25,000 fresh troops, many noted leaders, and powerful artillery. But for some reason, either that he despised the enemy or that he wished Kōkaltāsh Khān to be thoroughly defeated, he refrained from intervening in the

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 106.

² Nūru-d-dīn, 106.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, 108. Khāfi Khān, II, 702, says Mukhtār Khān was killed on the spot, Kāmwar Khān, 126, however, explains that he was killed by plunderers during the retreat on Dihli. He was the son of Mukhtār Khān, Khān 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāhī, (d. Ṣafar 1121 H. April 1709), *Mu-l-u*, III, 655, Kāmwar Khān spells it Mukhtār Khān.

fight. Although repeatedly asked for permission, he declined to give the order to attack. At length, learning that Jānī Khān was dead, Zū-l-fiqār Khān despatched Cin Qilic Khān to support Kōkaltāsh Khān, with instructions, when free of that duty, to turn his attack against Farrukhsiyar's centre. Zū-l-fiqār Khān then made ready to deal himself with 'Abdu-llah Khān, who was still in his former position. Chabēlah Rām withdrew his men into ambush, while Muḥammad Khān succeeded in joining 'Abdu-llah Khān. The scattered troops of Ḥusain 'Ali Khān re-assembled round the elder Sayyad brother. Farrukhsiyar sent two thousand men from the centre, which he commanded in person. In all 'Abdu-llah Khān had now some four thousand men at his disposal.¹

Leaving Zū-l-fiqār Khān's division on his right, 'Abdu-llah Khān began to work round to the rear-guard of Jahāndār Shāh, at the moment when Kōkaltāsh Khān on his way to Farrukhsiyar's centre, had been met and stopped by Chabēlah Rām. 'Abdu-llah Khān, as soon as he saw the prince's danger, had detached Muḥammad Khān, to protect their centre. Razā Quli Khān, general of Jahāndār Shāh's light artillery, had just turned his guns on Farrukhsiyar, when Muḥammad Khān came up and by a hand to hand encounter silenced his fire, Razā Quli Khān himself losing his life. Chabēlah Rām, meanwhile, had defeated and killed Kōkaltāsh Khān, whereupon that noble's men fell back upon the main body of Jahāndār Shāh's army, and threw his centre into confusion. A'zam Khān, (Mḥd Māh), brother of Kōkaltāsh Khān, who had been severely wounded, succeeded in rejoining Jahāndār Shāh.²

These events assisted 'Abdu-llah Khān in making good his advance. Accompanied now by Chabēlah Rām, Muḥammad Khān, and 'Ali Aṣ-ghar Khān, he came out behind the rear of Jahāndār Shāh. The movement was facilitated, or rather made possible, by the defection of the Turānis under Cin Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, who according to the previous agreement, stood aloof and made no effort to interfere. At the rear there was no preparation for defence. 'Abdu-llah Khān, without a moment's hesitation, marched straight upon the elephants bearing Jahāndār Shāh's women. Islām Khān and Murtazā Khān came out and did their best to stem the torrent. But they were soon killed.³

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, on seeing the enemy opposed to him move away to one side, adopted the erroneous idea that they had abandoned the field and were in full flight. He drew rein and countermanded his

¹ Nūru-d-dīn, 109, Khāfi Khān, II, 702, 722, 723, Khūshhāl Cand, 393 a.

² Nūru-d-dīn, 110 Khāfi Khān, II, 703, 724. K. K. says, 724, that Razā Quli Khān, after being wounded, escaped to Āgrah and was there poisoned.

³ Nūru-d-dīn, Multāni, 110, 111.

attack. Many urged that as Husain 'Ali Khān was dead (as was then thought) and 'Abdu-llah Khān had left the field, it would be easy to decide the day by attacking Farrukhsiyar, who could have with him no more than 3,000 or 4000 disheartened men, already more than half-inclined to take to flight. Zū-l-fiqār Khān objected that the field of battle had been already vacated by the enemy, and that night was coming on. He would cause the drums to beat for the victory and encamp where they stood. The few of the enemy left were unable to cross the river at night, flight was barred to them in every direction. Why then trouble any further? In the morning they could take them alive at their leisure. The drums were beaten, in forgetfulness of Zāl's advice to Rustam, 'No enemy can be counted despicable or powerless.'¹

'Abdu-llah Khān heard Zū-l-fiqār Khān's drums beating. He was perplexed by the sound and feared that some calamity had overtaken Farrukhsiyar. Resolving to sell his life as dearly as possible, he charged the enemy's centre from its rear. Jahāndār Shāh was still engaged in repelling this onset when his attention was diverted by new assailants. Clouds of arrows had struck the elephants bearing his women and the women singers; the uproar and confusion were increased by the Jāt plunderers, who fell at once on the baggage placed in charge of the rear-guard. The men defending it were scattered and fled to the centre division. This point became in its turn the object of 'Abdu-llah Khān's attack, his force having swollen on the way to some 12,000 men. Jahāndār Shāh's elephant, on receiving several arrow wounds on its face, got out of its driver's control. The Emperor made an effort to reach Zū-l-fiqār Khān, so that their united forces might turn and face the foe. But the elephant was quite uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another; any horseman or foot soldier that it saw it rushed at and killed. The Emperor's body-guard fled in all directions to save their lives. Jahāndār Shāh was thus forced to descend from his elephant and mount a horse.²

Hardly had the Emperor settled himself in the saddle, when Lāl Kunwar arrived in search of him. She forced him to come into her *haudah*, and together they took the road to Akbarābād (Āgrah). Night was now rapidly approaching and his troops in despair abandoned the field. Zū-l-fiqār Khān sent men to repel the enemy but the movement was ineffectual; in the darkness many were slain by the Bārhaḥ Sayyads, and some, among them Mukhtār Khān (son of Khān 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāhi) and Wazārat Khān (son of Mir Khān, the elder), were

¹ *Dānī kih cah guft Zāl bā Rustam-i-gurd, 'Dushmān rā na-tawān ḥaqir o becārah shumurd.'*

² *Nūru-d-āin*, 112, 113; *Wārid*, 142 a.

killed by plunderers. The camp followers of Jahāndār Shāh's army, who had taken to flight, were trodden under foot by the retreating elephants, of which there were over two hundred present.¹ When this rout was reported to Zū-l-fiqār Khān, he made no attempt to retreat, but stood where he was for at least three hours after night had fallen. Although on Farrukhsiyar's side they were beating their drums in token of victory, no one, not even 'Abdu-llah Khān, ventured to move against Zū-l-fiqār Khān. Meanwhile the latter had sent messengers, to whom he had promised large rewards, to search for Jahāndār Shāh and A'zzu-d-dīn, and bring one or the other back to the battle-field. If one of them could be found, he intended to make one final charge in the hope of retrieving the day. In spite of all efforts, no trace of either father or son could be found. Uneasy at seeing Zū-l-fiqār Khān still holding the field at the head of his troops, Farrukhsiyar sent him a message asking the reason. If he claimed the crown for himself, his persistence was understood. If on the other hand, he were only a subject, then one heir of the house of Taimūr was as much entitled to his allegiance as another. When A'zam Shāh was defeated, he had submitted himself to Bahādūr Shāh; he was bound to adopt the same course now. On this appeal, Zū-l-fiqār Khān withdrew slowly and in good order towards Āgrah. To all his enquiries for Jahāndār Shāh the answer was that he must have gone to the city of Āgrah. Zū-l-fiqār Khān pushed on as fast as possible towards the city, in the hope of finding the Emperor and returning with him to renew the contest. He drew up at Shāhganj near the city, where he remained until midnight, then finding no trace of Jahāndār Shāh or his son, he marched off accompanied by 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Rājī Muḥammad Khān, Shākir Khān and other leaders with their troops. His first march made at night carried him to near Kākrol, he then changed his direction and made for Dihli.²

Some of Zū-l-fiqār Khān's officers, notably 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān, Ahrārī, had advised him to attempt the seizure of Farrukhsiyar's person, an easy enterprize, and if in the morning it were found that Jahāndār Shāh and his son were slain, Farrukhsiyar's gratitude could be assured by placing him on the throne. Zū-l-fiqār Khān declined to entertain this project. Others advised an immediate retreat on the Dakhin, where the Nawāb's deputy, Dāūd Khān, possessed sufficient troops and treasure to renew the struggle. This proposal seemed likely to be accepted. But Sabbā Cand interposed with the remark, 'Think of

¹ Nūrn-d-dīn, 113; Khāfi Khān, II, 703, 724; Kāmwar Khān, 126.

² Khāfi Khān, II, 724; Yahyā Khān, 121 a; Irādat Khān in J. Scott, II, pt. IV 94; B.M. No 1690, fol. 161 b. and Ahwālu-l-khawāqin, 57 b.

your weak old father! Will you by your own act give him over to be killed?' The by-standers remarked to each other that it was an omen of ill-fortune when, at such a moment, a scribe's opinion was taken and that of soldiers neglected. ¹

As the light of morning began to break 'Abdu-llah Khān stopped the pursuit of Jahāndār Shāh and returned to the position occupied by Farrukhsiyar, bringing with him the imperial umbrella and the golden throne called *kancan samir*, which had been abandoned in the flight. ²

FLIGHT OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH TO DIHLĪ.

At the place where he had taken shelter, Jahāndār Shāh caused his beard and moustache to be shaved off, and changed his clothes. When the night was nearly spent he, Lāl Kuṇwar, and Mḥd. Māh (A'zam Khān) mounted a small, two-wheeled bullock-carriage (*bahal*), covered by a canopy, such as women ride in, and started for Dihlī. In the morning, about nine o'clock, they reached a village five miles or so west of Mathurā. There they sent for food, and until it was found, lay³ down on the bare earth for a short sleep. They were soon again on their way, and munched as they went the dry bread for which they had begged. Three hours after nightfall on the second night, they reached a village near Sarāe Hōḍal, and here they obtained a little grass for their cattle. Day had hardly risen ere they were again on the road. On the 16th Zū-l-ḥajj H. (13th Jan. 1713), after dark, they entered Talpat, a village thirteen miles from Dihli, which had been granted in perpetuity (*āl taghmah*) by Jahāndār Shāh to Muḥammad Māh, who had built there a house and mosque and planted a garden. His servants were still in possession, and thus they were in comparative safety. As they did not wish to enter Dihli in day-light, and they were worn out by continuous travelling, they went to sleep. At dusk they resumed their journey. Muḥammad Māh advised his master to avoid Dihli and continue his flight to Multān, where he had friends. Jahāndār Shāh answered with idle talk. He still relied on Zū-l-ḥajj Khān's oaths and insisted that he must once more see and speak to that nobleman. They reached Dihli in the night of the 18th Zū-l-ḥajj (15th Jan, 1713). Lāl Kuṇwar went to her own house in charge of Muḥammad Māh, while Jahāndār Shāh, still covered with the dust from his journey, repaired alone to the house of Asad Khān, Aṣafu-d-daulah. ⁴

¹ Wārid, 143 b, 144 a; *Ma'āsiru-l-umarā*, II, 93.

² Wārid, 148 a, b.

³ *Caḡm garm kardān*, to take a nap, *lit.* 'to warm the eyes.'

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad, 153, 154; *Ijād*, 108 b to 111 a; Khāfi Khān, II, 725. Mathurā is 35 m. from Aḡrah, Thornton, 656; Sarāe Hodal, Indian Atlas, Sheet No.

Zū-l-fiqār Khān with 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān had arrived at Dihli on the preceding day, the 17th (14th Jan. 1713), still at the head of a large and well-equipped force. The people of the city made certain that after an interview with his father, he would renew the struggle, erecting batteries outside the city. Zū-l-fiqār Khān proceeded to his father's house, but found him strongly opposed to further hostilities. He argued that if with 100,000 men, and all the great nobles, they had failed, they were not likely to succeed with disheartened troops. Nor was there any money left with which to pay anyone. By collecting all the rascals and low fellows from the bazars, they might prolong the struggle for two or three days. But their efforts would be only like the final splutter of an expiring candle.¹

Jahāndār Shāh, immediately on reaching Dihli went, as we have said, straight to the house of Asad Khān, in the hope of securing the renewed co-operation of Zū-l-fiqār Khān. When his arrival, alone, without a single attendant, was announced, Zū-l-fiqār Khān directed that he should not be admitted beyond the gate. The short delay was devoted to consultation with his father. The wily old man, regardless of the infamy of the act, saw that Jahāndār Shāh could be converted into a ransom for themselves. Fortune had turned its face away from the man, he had made himself odious by his acts and words. It were best to make him a prisoner. They could then use this act as a means for reconciliation with Farrukhsiyar. Asad Khān had long held the highest office in the State, and five years before had been very gently treated by Bahādur Shāh. As is not altogether unusual with the old, he had come to believe that he was indispensable, that no government could be carried on without him. He imagined that Farrukhsiyar, surrounded as he was by new and comparatively untried advisers, would only be too glad to secure the services of two such experienced persons as himself and his son. If not employed at Court, Zū-l-fiqār Khān was still sure to obtain the government of a province, or at any rate, would be allowed to retain his rank and titles.²

Zū-l-fiqār Khān, whose judgment rarely erred, did not share his father's opinion. He wished to carry off Jahāndār Shāh to Multān, or even to Kābul, and there collect an army; or he could take him to the Dakhin, where Dāūd Khān with all his troops was at their sole disposal. Nay, even if Jahāndār Shāh were abandoned to his fate, why should he not hasten to the Dakhin himself, where without much

50, 32 m. N.W. of Mathurā; Talpat, Elliot, *Supp. Glossary*, 340, 13 m. south of Dihli, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S. E.

¹ M. Mhd., 153; Wārid, 145 a, b,

² M. Mhd., 154; Ijād, 110 a.

exertion he could found an independent principality. Anything was better than submission to Farrukhsiyar—who was there who knew not of his enmity with the late 'Azīmu-sh-ghān? Was not the alliance of the three princes his work? Furthermore, was it right for them to deliver to an enemy a man who had taken refuge at their house? His father replied that, when Bahādur Shāh died, every noble took one side or another, and they happened to join that of Jahāndār Shāh. What crime had they thereby committed? Besides, if such a captive were made over by them to Farrukhsiyar, what could he do but receive them into favour. Doubtless it was opposed to the rules of friendship to deliver up Jahāndār Shāh. But everybody detested him; if they espoused his cause, not a soul would join them; and they would only risk their own heads along with his. Let them rather seek in him an instrument for saving their own lives and property. Zū-l-fiqār Khān after some time yielded a reluctant consent. They sent out to Jahāndār Shāh misleading messages of friendship, and on the pretence of his taking repose, inveigled him into a small detached building, round which they drew some tent-screens, and thus made him a prisoner. A joint letter was then despatched by father and son to Farrukhsiyar, claiming recognition for the signal service that they had just performed.¹

Having thus decided on their course of action, Asad Khān thought it advisable to eject Ahlu-llah Khān (Saifu-llah) from the fort, to the charge of which he had been appointed when Jahāndār Shāh started for Āgrah. He was replaced by Muḥammad Yār Khān, who had been Šubahdār of Dihlī and commandant of the fort from the time of 'Ālamgir. Information had reached the partisans of Farrukhsiyar that Jahāndār Shāh was hiding in Asad Khān's house. These men assembled and demanded with threats that the fugitive should be delivered up. By daybreak there was a large crowd, and it looked as if an insurrection would break out. Then to appease the rioters, Jahāndār Shāh was sent a prisoner to the fort, and at his earnest entreaty, Lāl Kuṇwar was allowed to join him. On seeing her, he is said to have exclaimed joyfully, 'Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord!' A few days afterwards, on the 23rd Zū'l-hajj, by 'Abdu-llah Khān's orders, harshness was carried to the point of placing the fallen Emperor's feet in fetters. Already, on the 22nd Zū'l-hajj (19th January, 1713), before any of the victorious prince's officers had appeared in

¹ M. Mhd, 155. Yaḥyā Khān, 121 a, who had a personal grudge against the Sayyad brothers, puts Zū-l-fiqār Khān's objection on the ground that the *Sayyads* were in power, and that they had no tenderness or good feeling for them (Asad Khān and his son). He could not tell how *they* would act towards him and his father.

Dihli, the *Khuṣbah* was read at the Jāma' Masjid, or great mosque, in the name of the new Emperor, Farrukhsiyar.¹

19. END OF JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH'S REIGN.

Although Jahāndār Shāh lived a few days longer, and we shall recount his actual death in the next chapter, still his reign being ended, it will be convenient to interpose in this place the few details about him which remain to be noted.

Dates of Birth and Death. His life was taken on the 16th Muḥarram 1125 H. (11th February, 1713). As he was born on the 10th Ramazān 1071 H. (10th May, 1661), his age at death was 53 (lunar) years, four months, and six days.²

Length of Reign. His reign, counting from the 21st Šafar 1124 H., the day on which he was crowned, to the 16th Muḥarram 1125 H., the day on which he died, lasted ten months and twenty-five days. (1125 y, 0 m. 16 d. — 1124 y. 1 m. 21 d.)

Coins. The verses on his coins were—

(1) *Zad sikkah bar jar cūn mihr šāhib-i-qirān.*

Jahāndār Shāh, pādshāh-i-jahān.

• 'Jahāndār Shāh, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions, struck sun-like money of gold.'

2. *Dar āfāq zad sikkah cūn mihr o māh.*

Abū-l-faṭḥ-i-ghāzī, Jahāndār Shāh.

'In the horizons struck money like sun and moon, Abū-l-faṭḥ, the champion, Jahāndār Shāh.' In the first line there is a variant, *bar* (upon) appearing instead of *cūn* (like).

3. *Zad sikkah dar mulk cūn mihr o māh.*

Shāhān Shāh i ghāzī, Jahāndār Shāh.

¹ M. Mhd, 156; Wārid, 143 b; Kāmwar Khan, 128; Ijād, 110 a. Mhd Qāsim, Aurangābādī, *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqin*, 58, has different details. According to him Jahāndār Shāh put up at a way-side cook-shop, where he wrote a note, and by urgent entreaty prevailed on the man to get it into Aṣafu-d-daulah's hands, and if Fate were propitious he would reward him with a *manṣab* and money. One Muḥsin, a servant of Aṣafu-d-daulah's, was a customer of the cook-shopman. This servant took the note and gave it to his superior, the Nawāb's *nāẓir*, and from him it passed to the Nawāb. On getting the note, Aṣafu-d-daulah sent men to seize Jahāndār Shāh.

² *Ma'āqir-i-Ālamgiri*, 35; Kāmwar Khan, entry of the 10th Ramazān 1121 H.,—*Khūshāl Cand*, 387 b, has by error 1072 H., instead of 1071 H. In Valentyn, IV, opposite p. 304, is a portrait of 'Mosoddien' which I take to mean Mu'izzu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh, as the same spelling is used for him in the letter-press, see page 304. It shows a man seated on a stool or *takht*, two attendants behind, a noble in front, and a suppliant. The face is of the Central Asian type, usually given to Bābar; narrow and with thin beard.

‘Jahāndār Shāh, king of kings, the champion, struck money in the realm like sun and moon.’ There is also the following variant of the first line. *Ba zad sikkah-i-nuqrah cūn mihr o māk*, ‘Struck silver money, like sun and moon.’¹

Mint Towns. In the three collections at the British Museum, the India Museum, Calcutta, and the Panjāb Museum, Lāhōr, I count up twenty-eight coins of this sovereign. On three the place of coining is absent or illegible. The rest belong to the following mints; Lāhōr (1), Shāhjahānābād (5), Akbarābād (5), Lakhnau (2), Paṭnah (2), Cambay (1), Śūrat (3), Burhānpur (2), Aurangābād (4). I am very much surprized at finding Paṭnah in the list, a place where he never had any authority. The other names represent fairly enough the local limits of his brief authority.

Title after Death. His special title after his death was *Khuld āramgāh*, ‘Peaceful in Paradise.’²

Character. His character has been perhaps sufficiently disclosed in the course of our story, and it hardly needs further elucidation. In his earlier years, in the Dakhin and during his government of Multān, he seems to have been a fairly active soldier. It is said that, during the struggle for the throne after ‘Alamgīr’s death, the only thing that A‘zam Shāh feared was Mu‘izzu-d-dīn’s soldierly qualities. But Jahāndār Shāh’s acquisition of the crown was more due to happy accidents than to his own exertions; and his conduct during his few months of power showed him to be quite unfitted to hold rule over others, being unable, even according to the somewhat lax Eastern standard, to govern himself. He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimūr who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule. The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. In company with Lāl Kuṇwar, he visited them and ‘kissed their feet.’ He was also fond of watching the fighting of elephants. He delighted in illuminations and fire-works, himself setting fire to the *Lankā*, the mimic fortress of Rāvan, the ravisher of Sitā. The cause of his fall is likened by Wārid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing.³

Wives.—Jahāndār Shāh was married on the 5th Shabān 1087 H.

¹ B. M. “The Coins of the Mogul Emperors,” 175 and 571, C. J. Rodgers, *J. A. S. Bengal* (1888), vol. LVII, 29, *id.* “Coins of the Mogul Emperors of India” (Lāhōr Museum), 200; *id.* “Coins of the Indian Museum” (Calcutta), Pt. II, 52, 53; *Hādī qatu-l-aqālīm*, 131; *Miftāhū-t-tawārikh*, 299.

² Blochmann, *Ain*, I, Genealogical Table at end, *Miftāhū-t-tawārikh*, 300.

³ *Hān! cāh shud, ba-gō, zawāl-i-mulk o jāh-at-rā sabāb?*

Guft ‘As khwāb-īfdamsubh o shirāb-i-nīm-shab.’

Wārid, 140 b; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.

(14th October, 1676) to the daughter of Mirzā Murād Kām, Mukarram Khān, Šafawī, and then, on the 18th Ramaẓān 1095 H. (30th August, 1684) to that lady's niece, Sayyadu-n-nissā Bēgam, daughter of Mirzā Rustam, son of Mukarram Khān. Another wife was Anūp Bās, who died at Dihli on the 25th Zu-l-qa'dh 1147 H. (17th April 1735). She was the mother of 'Azīzu-d-dīn ('Ālamgīr II). One wife, or rather concubine, was the woman we have so often mentioned, Lāl Kuṇwar, a dancing girl, created Imtiyāz Maḥal after Jahāndār Shāh's accession. ¹

Children. The children of Jahāndār Shāh are shown in the following table:—

Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh.

A'zzu-d-dīn (1)	'Izzu-d-dīn (2)	'Azīzu-d-dīn (3)	Rābī'h Bēgam (4)
			Daughter (5).

Yaḥyā Khān, 119a, calls the younger sons 'Izzu-d-daulah and Mu'īnu-d-daulah.

(1) *A'zzu-d-dīn.* The date of his birth is not recorded, but it must have been before 1103 H. (1691–2), in which year he is mentioned. He was married in 1118 H. (1706–7) to the daughter of Amīr Khān deceased, and again on the 24th Ramaẓān 1121 H. (23rd November, 1709) to a Sayyad Bēgam, daughter of Bēdār Bakht, son of A'zam Shāh. A'zzu-d-dīn was blinded on the 6th Muḥarram 1126 H. (21st January 1714), and died at Dihli on the 8th Zū-l-ḥajj 1157 H. (12th December, 1744). ²

(2) *'Izzu-d-dīn.* This prince's year of birth has not been traced, but he, too, is mentioned in 1103 H. (1691–2). He died in confinement at Dihli on the 8th Rabī' II, 1151 H. (25th July, 1738). ³

(3) *'Azīzu-d-dīn.* He was born at Multān in 1099 H. (1687–8), his mother being Anūp Bās. He succeeded to the throne in 1167 H. (1754) under the title of 'Ālamgīr the second, and he will be dealt with when we reach the end of his reign. ⁴

(4) *Rābī'h Bēgam.* She was betrothed to Bēdār Dil, son of Bēdār Bakht, on the 22nd Rabī' I, 1122 H. (20th May 1710), and died on the 14th Rajab of the same year, (7th September, 1710). ⁵

(5) There must have been another daughter, since Jahāndār

¹ *Ma'āqir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 152, 447; 343, *Ma, āqīru-l-Umarā*, III, 583, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdi*, year 1147 H.

² *Ma'āqir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 245; Kāmwar Khān, 59; Yaḥyā Khān, 120 b; *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdi*, year 1157; Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muqaddamah*, 65 a.

³ *Ma'āqir-i-Ālamgīrī* 345; *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdi*, year 1151.

⁴ *Mīrāt-i-Āstānnumā*.

⁵ Kāmwar Khān, 73.

Shāh had another son-in-law, Khwājah Mūsā, Sarbuland Khān, son of Khwājah Ya'qūb, Sarbuland Khān, Naqshbandi, Bukhārī, who died on the 4th Jamādi I, 1152 H. (8th July 1739) at Shāhjahanābād, aged nearly seventy. This man's father died in 1096 H. (1684-5), *T-i-Mhdi*.

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In addition to the works noted below, I have also quoted from those entered against the following numbers in the list at p. 112 of the *Journal*, Part 1, for 1894, Vol. LXIII, viz. Nos. 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31. The Orme collections, which I quote once, consist of some 20 folio volumes of extracts made by Mr. Orme; they are now in the Record Department at the India Office.

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Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, No. VI.
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(With Plates III & IV).

[Read May 1896.]

I thought when I wrote the Fifth Supplement to Mr. Thomas's most excellent work, that I should not be able to add anything more to it; but constant search and further acquaintance with coins—some of which were gathered in bazaars, some sent me by friends to be read, and some belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal—have shown me that the subject is by no means exhausted. Adhering to my custom, I drew everything new that presented itself to my notice. The result has been the accompanying two plates. I have given the weight and metal of each coin as usual. The capital letters appended to each coin show who the owners were when I drew them. L. M. = Lahore Museum; C. J. R. myself; A. S. B. = The Asiatic Society of Bengal; K. = L. White King, Esq., F. S. A., late Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur; A. = Miss Allsop, of Malerkotlah; B. = Geo. B. Bleazby, Esq., "The Prairie," Lahore; E. = R. Ellis, Esq., Oil Mills, N.-W. Railway, Lahore; B. M. = British Museum, from me. I cannot help regretting that all the coins are not in some Indian Museum, seeing that every coin is new to Numismatics, so far as I am aware. I see no help, however, for coins being obtained by Indian Museums, since I am informed officially that in the new arrangements for the revival of the Archæological Survey of India no provision will be made for numismatics. This is a decision I deeply regret. I cannot thank the Asiatic Society of Bengal too much for the kind manner in which my small attempts to elucidate the numismatics of India have been received. It remains for those who know what coins can do towards throwing light on the history of India, to go on with their studies and to publish results. I am sorry my health compels me to go home for a season. I send my sixth Supplement to Thomas, to the Society, just as I am making preparations to go home.

I make no apologies for lack of arrangement or for brevity. Some time or other I hope to be able to arrange the coins I have described in the six supplements. They should be arranged chronologically, and also with respect to the numbers of the coins given in Thomas.

The coins drawn in the plates are as follows:—

(1)	<u>Shēr Shāh Sūrī</u>	شیر شاه سلطان	خليفة الزمان ٩١٥	945 H.
(2)	do.	do.	do. ٩١٤ =	94-H.
(3)	do.	ابراہیم ظفر شیر شاه سلطان خلد	في عهد الأمير	
(4)	do.	سلطان شیر شاه ضرب شیر گڈہ (Shērgarh)	في عهد الأمير الحامي In margin سنه ٩٥٠	950 H.
(5)	do.	شیر شاه سلطان	..... ٩٤٣ سنه	943 H.

Nos. 1 and 3 seem the only quarters of dāms of Shēr Shāh known. Nos. 2 and 5 are the smallest copper coins of his I have seen, weighing, as they do, but 18 and 22 grains respectively. No. 4 is quite a new coin of Shēr Shāh, struck at Shērgarh in 950 H. It weighs only 33 grains, but each side is in a circle, and the obverse had a circle of dots outside. No. 5 was struck in 943, and No. 1 in 945, which shows that Shēr Shāh had assumed royalty long before he defeated Humāyūn.

(6)	Ibrāhīm Sūrī	.....	(في عهد)	
		ابراهيم السلطان	(الامير)	
			
			٩٦٢	962 H.

This is the only half dām known, up to the present, of Ibrāhīm Sūrī. Only a few whole dāms are known.

- (7) Abū Bakr Shāh. In quatrefoil, المومنين
 ابو بكر شاه نائيب امير

Margin

(بن) ظفر بن فيروز شاه سلطان ٧٩١ 791 H.

This beautiful coin seems to be the only one known with the king's name in a quatrefoil. It is generally in a square or a circle, or without any area at all.

- (8) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa السلطان ابو المظفر
 السلطين خليج
 علا الدنيا و الدين محمود شاه

This is quite a new type of Maḥmūd Shāh. Duplicate in my own cabinet, obtained in Māndū.

- (9) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa. السلطان ابو المظفر
 البازل علي خليج
 الدنيا و الدين محمود شاه

Margin illegible.

This is also a new type of the same king.

- (10) 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'aūd Shāh. سلطان Rude horseman.
 مسعود
 شاه

A new type of Mas'aūd Shāh's, not in any Museum.

- (11) Firōz Shāh, son of Abū Bakr Shāh امير المومنين فيروز شاه
 بن ابو بكر شاه نائيب
 سلطان ٧٩٢ 792, H.

This king is not mentioned in history. His name comes along with his father's, just as his grandfather's, Zafar, comes along with his father's. This Firōz Shāh must not be confounded with Firōz Shāh Zafar, the father of Abū Bakr Shāh. I formerly edited one of this king's coins. But I mis-read it. It reads exactly as this one does, and has the same date, but the obverse is in a six-foil area. See No. 24, pl. IX, Vol. LV, Pt. I, for 1886 of *J. A. S. B.*

- (12) Muḥammad Shāh of Mālwa. محمد شاه دارالملك
 السلطان شاديا باد Shādiābād.

Very few coins of this king are known. This seems the only one known in copper. It resembles the coins of Hōshang Shāh.

- (13) Ibrāhīm Sūrī. In square area :— In square area :—
 ابراهيم - - خلد الله ملكه
 سلطان و سلطانه
 ابوالمظفر سيد و اعلى شانه

Margins: names of the	وامرة	
four companions of	۹۶۲	962 H.
Muḥammad.	سنة	

Margins:—

دارالضرب || --- || --- || بنارس (Banāras)

This is the only Rupee of Ibrāhīm Sūrī known. I regret that I am not at all satisfied with my imperfect readings of the legends. The Hon'ble J. Gibbs edited a half-rupee which belonged to Sir Alex. Cunningham, and was more imperfect than this one. It is pretty certain that the mint on the coin is Banāras. It is curious that the names of the four companions should come in the margins of the obverse. They are generally in the margins of the reverse.

(14) Muḥammad Sūrī	In square area:—	In square area:—
	سلطان محمد عادل	The Kalimah and
	خدا الله ملكه	۹۶۳
	وسلطانه على امرة	963 H.

Margins: apparent-

Upper margin: مبارز الدنيا	ly the names of
Left ,, و الدين	the four companions,
rest illegible.	and their attributes.

This is a new type of the rupees of the third Sūrī emperor.

(15) Abū Bakr Shāh and	ابوبكر شاه	فیروز شاه
Firōz Shāh Zafar	بن فیروز شاه	ظفر سلطان
	ظ-فر	
	السلطان	۷۹۱
		791 H.

This coin seems to have been struck curiously. What I have given as the reverse comes on the obverse of No. 23. The curious thing about this is that the date comes along with a king's name. It generally comes on the reverse. It may be a coin struck by mistake. It may have been coined purposely. It is at present unique.

(16) 'Alāu-d-din of	In scalloped square:—	In scalloped square:—
Khwarizm.		

علا الدنيا	و لدين
above, and below, an	above, and below, an
ornament.	ornament.

A new type of this ruler's coins. I think it belongs to Colonel Sturt of the 2nd P. I., commanding at Kohāt.

(17) Khusrau Shāh.	عدل	بحضرت
	خسرو شاه	دهلي

This is a coin that has been long wanted to complete the types of this king, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau Shāh who reigned in 720 H. Dehli. We know of several of his mohurs, one rupee, in the cabinets of the Society, and several billon types, in the Lahore Museum. This is one of the small types issued by most kings about that time. It was obtained by me in Dehli and is now in the British Museum.

(18) Nāṣrat Shāh. نصرت شاه دارالملک
السلطان دہلی

A heavy copper coin of this king. Coins with this inscription are generally half this weight. I have seen only one duplicate. I forget where it is, and I likewise forget where mine has gone. I see I do not possess it now. This is gross carelessness on my part.

(19) Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh. السلطان Horseman to r.
الاعظم ناصر above him
محمد حسن الدنيا والدين
to r. श्री हनोर

This is a curious coin and a new type. We know several types of the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qarlugh. This one is very much like a type of the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Dehli. It varies, however, in the way in which the obverse legend is written on the coins. And it has محمد حسن instead of محمد over the horseman. I have this coin, and I have seen two others. The B. M. has one given under the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd.

(20) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban. عدل بحضرت
فیثی دہلی

This is the smallest copper coin of Balban known. Coins with this inscription generally weigh about 26 grs. This is 10·3.

(21) Altamsh (?) عدل ملک

I think it is a coin of Altamsh. Mr. King obtained it from me.

(22) Firōz Shāh Zafar. فیروز شاه المومنین
ظفر ابن نائیب امیر
فیروز شاه ۷۹۱ 791 H.

This is a new type of the coins of this prince. We wanted this to complete his set.

(23) do. فیروز شاه الخلیفہ
سلطان المومنین
ظفر امیر
۷۹۱ --- خلافتہ 791 H.


I have remarked on this coin before. It is curious the year coming on the obverse, contrary to the custom of the Tughlaq coins.

(24) and (25) Altamsh. Bull seated to left. Reverse of both,

Above him :—  horseman, very rude.

These two coins I regard as having the Hindī legend of the reverse of Thomas' No. 44 over the bull :—Sri Sultān Lititimisi. Undoubtedly " *lititim* " is on the coin, and I cannot see anything else that it resembles.

(26) and (27) No king. These two coins have  over the bull.

This legend comes over the horseman of some coins of 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'aūd Shāh, see Thomas' No. 100, p. 122. Over the horseman on these two coins is  The deciphering of these coins took me a long time and caused me much trouble.

(28) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwa. السلطان الا و الدين
عظم ابوالمظفر محمود شاه
علا الدنيا 869 هـ الخليفة ٨٦٩

This is the third new type of this king given in this paper. I obtained it in Dehli. The Mālwa coins have not yet been collected carefully, although several extensive collections are known. From what I have seen of them, they would pay for being collected and edited.

(29) Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. السلطان ناصر الدنيا
الاعظم والدين

This is a new type of the coins of this king. It shows that he introduced this type which was used by Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban, Jalālu-d-dīn Fīrōz Shāh, 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh and Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh and then fell into disuse in Northern India, but was used by some of the Muhammadan kings of M'abar. I have never seen a second coin of Nāṣiru-d-dīn like this. It belongs to my friend L. White King, Esq.

(30) Shamsu-d-din Altamsh, في عهد الامام
and Raziah شمس الدنيا والدين المستنصر امير
السلطان المعظم المومنين
رضيه الدنيا و

.....

This is the only rupee I know of, bearing the joint names of Altamsh and his daughter Raziah. It is a coin perfectly unique. It shows us that we need never be surprised at the results of continued research. Things will turn up that nobody ever expected. It belongs to L. White King, Esq.

(31) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq I. السلطان ابوالمظفر
(Posthumous.) السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه السلطان
الغازي فيث الدنيا انار الله برهانه
..... ٧٣ - 73- هـ.

I have drawn one specimen of this coin before. This coin is apparently of good silver and is nicely shaped. It is described by Thomas in his footnote to pages 212 and 213 of his work. This specimen belongs to Mr. Ellis of the N. W. Railway, Lahore.

I find I have finished describing the coins in the two plates. On looking over my notebook I see I have a lot of coins I might have given in a third plate. Had I secured all the coins of 'Alāu-d-dīn of Khwārizm that I have seen of late, I could have given two plates of his coins alone. I let them go, contrary to my usual custom. They will, I hope, be secured by some one else and in course of time edited. Just now should be a good time for collectors in India. The British Museum is no longer purchasing oriental coins. The Indian Government declines to assist Numismatics, and this means that funds will not be allotted to Indian Museums, which are Government institutions, for the purchase of coins. Consequently collectors have the market all to themselves. Unfortunately caravans from Kābul are few and far between. Amritsar merchants inform me that it pays them better to deal with Bukhāra *via* Batoum, rather than by Kābul. Hence the Kābuli traders who used to bring old coins with them to sell in Indian bazars are now seldom seen. But in India itself, new coins are always turning up, so that there is no fear that novelties will cease just yet. Of course that portion of the history of India covered by Mr. Thomas's book is only a small one, not four hundred years, but it was a period that produced innumerable coins, and hence to the numismatist it will always be a time of great interest. It is a subject that has occupied my leisure hours for many years. My first supplement was published in 1880, and of course for several years before that, I was engaged in the study of 'The Chronicles.'

I cannot part with this branch of Numismatics without noticing one point. It seems to have been imagined that I was antagonistic to Mr. Thomas in publishing these supplements. Never was an idea so groundless. Mr. Thomas honoured me with his friendship; and when I was at home, I had the pleasure of an interview with him in which he spoke very kindly of my work on the supplements, and especially praised the drawings of the coins. In my remarks on his book, I have always given to it its due praise. It is a book of which any one might be proud. There is not a coin wrongly assigned, and I know of only one mistake in the reading of a coin. It was the first book on the subject and was not exhaustive. I have written six supplements to it, and they are by no means exhaustive. This does not, however, in any way lessen my esteem for the book or for its learned and most amiable author.

Rare Mughul Coins.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate V).

[Read May 1896.]

I thought, when I finished my "Copper Mogul Coins" a short time ago, that I had pretty well exhausted the subject; but I find it is not so. The following coins have come under my notice, since I finished that paper.

- | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| (1) | ن اباد -
دار السلطنة
ضرب | والف
احدى
سنه | (1001 H.) |
| (2) | د - رها اباد
دار السلطنة
ضرب | والف
احدى
سنه
شهر | (1001 H.) |
| (3) Silver | ۱۰۱۴ رواج سكه كابل بنام شاه
سلیم | همیشه باد زدار العباد هي
قديم (Kābul, 1014 H.) | |
| (4) | كابل
فلوسى | الهي
۳۱ | (41 Ilahi.) |
| (5) | دار الضرب كالپي
فلوسى | وبك
هفتاد
نهمصد و
سنه ف | |
| (6) | گواليار
قلعه
(ضرب) | (Gwāliār) (هشت)
شصت
نهمصد
۹۹۸
سنه | (968 H.) |

(7)	دہلی حضرت فلوس ضرب	(Delhi)	في تاريخ ۹۷۲ سنہ	(972 H.)
(8)	شاہ جہانے فلوس	اگر آباد	(Akbarābād.) ضرب	
(9)	دارالخلافتہ فلوس ضرب لکھنؤ	(Lucknow)	اللہ (اکبر) یکھزار سنہ ۱۰۰۰	(1000 H.)
(10)	فلوس دار البر --- دوگام ضرب فلوس	(Dāgām)	اللہ اکبر یکھزار و یک سنہ	(1001 H.)
(11)	سکہ چیتور ضرب	(Chitōr)	ھزار ۱۰۰۵ سنہ	(1005 H.)
(12)	فلوس ضرب		یک ہزار ۱۰۰۶ سنہ	(1006 H.)

These coins call for a few remarks. The year on Nos. 1 and 2 is plainly one thousand and one. Some time ago I came across, in one day, in the Amritsar bazar, two square rupees, both dated **الف** One of these is now in the British Museum, and one with my friend L. White King. What the mint may be I cannot conceive. Is it a capital **اباد** ? Coin (1) is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(2) belongs to Mr. Malabarwalla of Bombay.

(3) is a half rupee of Jahāngīr's, struck at Kābul. It has on it a new Persian couplet. It is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(4) A new half dām of Akbar's, Kābul mint; it belongs to Mr. Ellis of Lahore.

(5) A new dām from the Kālpī mint, and is the property of the same untiring collector. We have some earlier mintages from this mint. We still want some of the Ilahī years of Akbar from this mint, which was so active in his early years.

(6) A new dām from the Gwālīār mint dated 968 H., and is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(7) A half dām of the Dehli mint, also belonging to the same Society. It is the only half dām from the Dehli mint that I have yet seen.

(8) is a coin belonging to Mr. Ellis, and probably struck by Shāhjahān at Agra or Akbarābād. Its style agrees with some of the issues of Shāhjahān I. I do not think it can be one of Shāhjahān II or Shāhjahān III. It is at any rate unique.

(9) This dām and the three following were found by me at Ludīāna. It is from the Lucknow mint. On its reverse it has 1000 in Persian words یکهزار, and in figures ۱۰۰۰. I have never seen a dām similar to this. Over the date is الله اکبر. The الله اکبر is not on this coin, but it comes on the following coin.

(10) is a Dōgām dām of 1001 H. I have now another Dōgām dām of 999 with الله اکبر on it in full. We may regard this as an ascription of praise or an exclamation of joy on Islām reaching its thousandth year. It is a novelty on Akbar's coins.

(11) a dām of Chitōr, dated 1005 H.

(12) I think is a dām of Nārñōl. Its date is undoubtedly 1006 H.

Besides these I have by me six other dāms whose mints I have not yet had time to decipher. And besides this I obtained a few weeks ago a fulūs of Farrukhsiyar struck at Kābul; and a few days ago a nim tan̄kah of Akbar's from the same mint: also a درهم شرعی of Aurangzib's from the Multān mint. And I have by me a small coin of Akbar's from the Dehli mint, in which the Ilahi year is سی و پنج 35 in Persian words. Truly the coinage of the Mughuls seems exhaustless. I remember about a year ago a gentleman sending me some coins to read, and some were from the mint دارالفلوس محمدآباد. These were coins of Shāh 'Ālam II. and the mint is Banāras-Muḥammadābād. Were all these novelties in one Museum, what a show they would make? It is most annoying that they should be scattered all over the country in private collections. If all we now know about the coinage of the Mughuls were collected in one book, it would make a large and sumptuous volume.

Just as I had finished this, Mr. Ellis sent me No. 13, a gold coin weighing 5·5 grains. It has 'Fatḥpūr' on obverse, and name of coin not legible on reverse, perhaps 'Shāhī.'

Rare Kashmīr Coins.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate VI.)

[Read May, 1896.]

It is now several years, since I published my "Copper Coins of the Mahārājas and Sultāns of Kashmīr." Since then I have seen many thousands more of their coins. Further acquaintance with them has not given me more exalted ideas of the art of the Kāshmiris. They certainly were the worst die-sinkers in the world. But die-sinkers are only mechanics, and from mechanics oppressed as were those whose homes were in Kashmīr, much could not be expected. I have not troubled myself much about getting Kashmīr novelties. Those drawn in the accompanying plate are almost the only new things I have seen in seventeen years. They are as follows:—

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (1) | حسن شاه
۸۷۶ | (876 H.) | السلطان | |
| (2) | سري نگر | (Sirinagar) | ۴۰ الہ
اذر | (4-Ilahi) |
| (3) | السلطان الاعظم
اسلام شاه | | سبع
ضرب کشمیر | (95) 7 H.
(Kashmir) |
| (4) | बघ | | देव | |
| (5) | ब (कन) | | — | |
| (6) | ۴۰ الہ
اصردار | (40th Ilahi.) | سري نگر
ضرب | (Sirinagar) |
| (7) | حیدر شاه
السلطان | | نائب خلیفہ الرحمن | not full |

(8) حیدر شاہ السلطان		نائب خلیفہ اگر حمن full.	
(9) السلطان ۸۷۴	(874 H.)	do. ۸۷۴	(874 H.)
(10) حسن شاہ		ضرب السلطان	
(11) نصیر الدین حسین باد شاہ		یک مفتاد و ۹۷۱ نہصد سنہ	(971 H., in words and figures.)
(12) فتح شاہ		شہور	
(13) محمد السلطان		السلطان ضرب	
(14) اعظم محمد جلال الدین اکبر		ضرب کشمیر ۹۹۴	(Kashmir 994 H.)

These coins call for but few remarks. The letters under some show their ownership when they were drawn. S.=Mrs. Stoker, G.=General Gosset, c.B., K.=L. White King, Esq., F.S.A.; R.=Rodgers. It will be seen that Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13 are halves of such coins as Nos. 3 and 11. Each king seems to have had a style of his own on these halves. These halves are seldom met with. There are none of them in the British Museum Catalogue, but in the Lahore Catalogue of my collection are several.

No. 3 is a copper coin of Islām Shāh Sūrī. This is the second one I have seen. He was never king in Kashmir, as I have shown in my paper on the square silver coins of the Sultāns of Kashmir. His coins are evidence of the conspiracy against the then ruler of Kashmir, Mirzā Haidar Doghlat, the author of the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī.

No. 4, is a coin of Yasaskara. In my paper on the "Copper Coins of the Mahārājas of Kashmir" I gave a coin on which the name is spelt Yaskara यस्क़र. Both coins are exceedingly rare.

No. 5 is, I am inclined to think, a coin of Gulhana. I obtained

the coin of this man, given in General Sir A. Cunningham's *Mediæval Coins of India*, and this also along with No. 4, for Mr. King.

The dates 874 and 876 indicate the dates of Haidar Shāh and his son Hasan Shāh respectively. I have seen these dates so often on the coins of these kings, that we must accept them as correct. I had a lovely gold mohur of Hasan Shāh son of Haidar Shāh struck in Kashmir in 876 H. The silver coins, too, given in my paper, bear these two dates. I do not think that they would, unless these were the actual dates when they were reigning.

No. 14 is a coin of Akbar's dated 994 H., which must be about the date of the final conquest of Kashmir by Akbar's troops. I have seen Akbar's Kashmir coins struck as early as 965, and one dated 987 H. These must be either complimentary coins, or else coins struck by factions who were plotting against their rulers and desirous of obtaining Akbar for their king.

I should like to see a complete collection of Kashmir coins in some Indian Museum. They are not of much value, as I have shown elsewhere, for the assistance they render in fixing the chronology, but they are at any rate evidence of what was going on in Kashmir, and of its condition and of the state of art. Of course visitors to Kashmir purchase coins amongst other curiosities in the valley. Just lately I have received from one of these purchasers a list of the names of the kings of Kashmir whose coins he had obtained. There were twenty of them, and not one was the name of a Kashmir Rājā or Sultān. This shows how visitors are cheated. Lately, however, I had sent to me from the mint at Jammū over 6,000 coins to classify and value. They were real things, and if I have time before I leave India, I may send the Society an abstract of what I had then before me. It was a thorough numismatic feast, and I have not yet quite recovered from it.

Coins of Nīmrōz.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.*

(With Plate VII.)

[Read May 1896].

Nīmrōz is a country we most of us read of first, when we waded through the pages of that book so well known to us all when we first came to India, the باغ و بهار. I do not think Mir Aman knew much of Geography or History, though he may have written good Urdū. We learn little from him about Nīmrōz. The origin of the name is said to be this, that when Solomon visited this part (and of course he did; for the Takht-i-Sulaimān is named after him), he saw the whole country west of Qandahār full of water. He ordered jinns and fairies to fill it up, and they did so in half a day, *i.e.*, Nīmrōz. Hence the country is called Nīmrōz. But perhaps it is so called from its being half way between Shām (Syria, and evening, *i.e.*, sunset) and India, *i.e.*, the mid-day country. Its capital was *Zaranj*, and we have early Khalifa coins struck in that place. But the country was also called Sijistān, and this name is found also on coins; for Naṣr, the brother of Maḥmūd of Ghaznih, ruled and coined there. *Zaranj* and Sijistān disappear from later coins, and in their stead appears the name Nīmrōz. This country, travellers tell us, was formerly densely inhabited, as is shown by the ruins of numerous cities still visible. There is no doubt about coins having been struck there. Three are figured on Pl. XXXII, of the second Appendix to the Catalogue of Oriental Coins, published by the British Museum, *viz.*, 248e, 248g and 248m. Two of these are gold. In the text they are called coins of the Shīrwān Shāhs. Dr. Codrington in his description of a hoard of coins found at Broach, in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society gives two gold coins, Nos. 28 and 29, Pl. III, but he frankly says, "I do not know to whom to attribute them." The mint is legible on them نيمروز. He makes some small mistakes in reading the legends on them. He reads

the date correctly, and makes both the coins of the 8th century of the Hijrah. Some years ago I came across some Nimrōz coins of the Şafavis of Persia; after that some coins of Naşr, brother of Maḥmūd, came into my hands. These were all in silver. Shortly afterwards I came across some copper Nimrōz coins, and I purchased them from their owner who hailed from Qandahār. Then some plated coins came from the same city along with a gold coin, and I bought the lot. Some of these are described in my Lahore Museum Catalogue. I sold the gold coin to, I think, Mr. L. White King, along with some of the plated coins. The Şafavī coins are now dispersed, some being in the Lahore Museum and some in the British Museum. Coins 12* and 15a in the Supplement to the B. M. Catalogue of Persian coins, p. 265 and 256, were from me. It will thus be seen that I have been interested in coins from the Nimrōz mint for some time. It will be remembered that in my paper on "Some coins from Qandahār" I gave some from this mint. Hence when the coins of the Society were sent up to me to be catalogued, I at once saw there were no less than 29 coins in silver and nine in copper from this mint.

The coins in the accompanying plate are all from the Nimrōz mint.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | عز
ببحق و
الدين | ضرب
نيمروز |
| (2) | عدل | ضرب
نيمروز |
| (3) In scalloped circular area :— | ضرب
نيمروز
٨٠٨ | In square area :—
the Kalimah. |
| In margin :—
السلطان العادل شاه... الله ملكه | | |
| (4) In double circle :— | الملك
الا عظم عز الدنيا
والدين سلطان
نيمروز خداد ملكه | In square area :—
the Kalimah.
In segments, the names of the
four companions.
In margin :—
..... ضرب نيمروز |

(5) In circular area :—

الملك
 الا عظم عز
 الحق و الدين
 كرمان محمود

Not given.

(6) Not given.

In square area :—
 the Kalimah.

In margin :—

ضرب نيمروز في شهر سنة.....

(7) Not given.

In square area :—
 the Kalimah.

In margin :—

ضرب نيمروز... لهور سنة احدى ستين سبعماية (761 H.)

(8)

الملك
 الا عظم عز الحق
 والدين كرمان
 بن محمود

Not given.

(9) Not given, but
as on (8)

In square, the Kalimah.

... نيمروز في ... سنة ثلاث (- - 3 H.)

(10) do.

As on (9), but margin :—

ضرب نيمروز و ستين و سبعماية (76-H.)

There can be no doubt about the coins Nos. 1 and 4 to 10 being coins of the same man. But I cannot find out who he is. He would be reigning just before the time of Taimūr; but in the histories of Taimūr I see no mention of him. The name of the king on coin No. 3 is unfortunately deleted. Coin No. 4 never had a king's name on it. One of the gold coins in the B. M. Catalogue Additions, Vol ii., is called قطب بحق والدين عز الحق و الدين كرمان بن محمود. This must be the son of محمود بن كرمان. So we have here three kings' names and their country given. I cannot find in my limited library any mention of any one of them. I have given the coins. I leave the solution of the question as to who the men were who struck them to some one who is fortunate enough to possess a history, dealing with this part of the world at the time when the coins were struck. The coins at any rate show us how useful they can be in directing attention to kings and countries whose history is but little known.

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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 3.—1896.

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Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṃha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Śaka.—
By NAGĒNDRA-NĀTHA VASU.

(With Plates VIII—XVIII).

[Read May, 1896.]

With the view of exploring the antiquities of Orissa, I went there in the winters of 1892, 1893 and 1894, and I succeeded in collecting a number of copper-plates and facsimiles of several historical inscriptions from places where very few scholars had turned their footsteps hitherto. The facts elicited from these documents will go far to prove that the history of Orissa as at present known must be reconstructed. I intended to publish these ancient records systematically and in their chronological order. But lately the owners of the copper-plates repeatedly asked me to return them and consequently I am compelled to publish the present plate first of all.

The owner of the copper-plate now exhibited vainly sought the aid of many Paṇḍitas of Utkala to decipher it:—My friend, Bābū Ārta-trāṇa Miṭra, an inhabitant of Mandā, informed me of it, and I was enabled by his help to obtain possession of the plate. It is still in my charge.

The history of the discovery of the plate is as follows:—When the Kēndrapāḍā Canal of the Cuttack District was being dug, a box made of a peculiar stone locally called Vaula-mālā, was found in the village of Kēndrapāṭnā situated in the Kēndrapāḍā sub-division, 19 or 20 feet under ground, and buried in a heap of broken stones. It measured about 3 feet square, with a height of about 2 feet. It contained three sets of copper-plates, of seven each, so that in all there were 21 plates. The initial plate of every set is blank on the outer side and the inscription begins on the inner side, every other plate-leaf, except the seventh which is blank on both sides, is inscribed on both sides. The plates of each set are strung together by a copper-ring. At the joint of this ring is a circular copper-piece representing the *padmāsana*, or lotus-seat, surmounted by the figure of an ox in an inclined posture, the circum-

ference exhibiting a Tri-ṣūla,¹ an Aṅkuṣa,² a Damaru,³ a crescent and the solar orb.

The plates are each $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The circumference of the ring is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its thickness $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The circumference of the lotus-seat is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The ox is 4 inches long and its height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The letters are $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length each. On the 11 sides of these plates there are 209 lines, and each line is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The holes made in these plates for stringing them together are an inch in diameter. The four lines engraved on the sides of these holes, are 10 inches long.

Not far from the spot where the box mentioned above was found there is a large tank: and close to this tank is a newly built temple dedicated to Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa. The box was placed in this temple. Close to the heap of stones under which it was obtained, there were three more heaps in a loose condition. From each of these was obtained a copper vessel. On the discovery of these copper vessels, the older inhabitants of the locality surmised that the three stone-heaps were the ruins of three stone-built temples, and that one of these temples contained the image of Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa. After the demolition of that temple, it is said that the image was kept underneath a tree. After some time, a rich man of the place, built the present temple out of the ruins of the old ones, and placed the image of Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa in it. On the lotus-seat of the image are inscribed two lines. The shape of the characters engraved on the copper-plates being exactly similar to that of the lines under reference; it has been conjectured by some that, the image of Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇa and the three old temples now in ruins have some connexion with the copper-plates. But so far as I have seen, there is nothing in these plates to support the conjecture.

The present copper-plate is a grant of Narasiṃha-dēva II, king of Utkala, dated Monday, 6th tithi of the bright half of the Śimha (i. e., Bhādra) month, in the Çaka year 1217 = 19th September, 1295 A.D., in the 21st year of his reign.

There is, however, a complete agreement between the verses of the two copper-plates of Nṛsiṃha-dēva IV, (from Plate I—IV)⁴ up to *ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय* with the first 94 verses of the present grant, except line 23rd of Plate IV of the second grant by the above king marked B. Of course, there are *variae lectiones* owing either to the carelessness of the engraver or to wrong decipherment.

¹ Trident of Maha-dēva.

² An elephant goad.

³ A musical instrument used by Maha-dēva.

⁴ See J. A. S. B. for 1895, Pt. I., p. 133-144.

The character of this grant may be described as Bengali of the Kuṭiḷa type, of the 12th and 13th century A.D. The letters *k*, *kḥ*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *ṣ*, *r*, *l*, and *v*, in many respects, resemble the corresponding letters in Viṣṇu-rūpa-sēna's copper-plate, and the letters *a*, *ā*, *e*, *g*, *j*, *d*, *t*, *th* and *m* are very similar to those of the modern Bengali character. The system of writing medial vowel-forms (†, †, †, †, †, †, †, †, †) and compound words, resembles the method adopted in the inscriptions of the Sēna kings and that now followed in writing Bengali.

As regards orthography, the only points calling for remark are, that the (nasal) *ṅ* and (dental) *n* are sometimes employed instead of ānsvāra, as in *vayya*, (Pt. I, line 10), and in *saṅsarpad* (Pt. V. ob. line 4); and *ḡ* for *s* in the latter portion of the grant.

Of all the plates the reverse of the second is most particularly deserving of notice. The arrangement of certain letters from the 1st to the 18th line in this leaf is not similar to that in any other plate. Every letter of this leaf forms a curve with its mātrā; whereas an acute angle is formed by the contact of the mātrā with each letter in the other plates. More especially the four letters *th*, *n*, *p*, *m* and *ḥ* of this portion perfectly agree with the Utkala characters of the 14th or 15th century. The letters of this portion, which bear no likeness to the Bengali, Nāgari or Maithili characters of that time, can be taken as an early form of the Utkalākṣara.

Here I quote the remarks of Mr. Beames on the origin of the Oriyā characters :—

'Whether the Oriyās received the art of writing from Bengal or from Central India is a question still under dispute.... Assuming that they got their alphabet from Central, rather than from Northern India, the reason of its being so round and curling has now to be explained.... The Oriyās and all the populations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tālapatra, or leaf of the fan-palm, or a palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*).... On these leaves, when dried and cut into proper lengths, they write with an iron style, or Lākḥani, having a very fine sharp point. Now, it is evident that if the long, straight, horizontal mātrā, or top line of the Dēva-nāgari alphabet, were used, the style in forming it would split the leaf, because, being a palm, it has a longitudinal fibre, going from the stalk to the point.... it may suffice to say in general terms, that the Oriyā characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kuṭiḷa character prevalent in Central India, and that its love of circular forms, common to it and the neighbouring nations, is due to the habit of writing on the Tālapatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style.'¹

¹ Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Intro. p. 63 ff.

But inasmuch as a striking resemblance is found to exist in every respect except the mātrā, between the Bengali and Maithili characters of that period and most of the letters in the greater portion of this plate, it may be conjectured that the early Utkala-lipi took its rise from the ancient Bengali and Maithili character when the curve or circular mātrā was added to it. As in the course of time, the Bengali characters of the Sēna kings assumed their modern aspect, so the ancient letters of this plate have gradually developed into the present Oṛiyā characters.

The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse mixed. Like the other grant of this king dated 1218 Çaka, published by me in 1893¹ and like the plate of Nṛsimha-dēva IV, published in the Society's *Journal* in 1895, the present inscription can be divided into 5 parts. Bābū Manōmōhan Chakrabarti has discussed several points at length in his article on the inscription of Nṛsimha-dēva IV: I shall not repeat what he says. But the following points deserve some notice.

According to the grant of Nṛsimha-dēva IV, Mahārājas Anangabhīma-dēva II and Bhānu-dēva I held the reins of government for 33 and 17 years respectively. But both the grants of Nṛsimha-dēva II fix the respective periods of their reign at 34 and 18 years. The grant of Nṛsimha IV states that the name of Rāja-rāja's wife was Guṇa or Sadguṇa; but according to the plate under consideration, the name is Maṅkupa.

In addition to the above, the verses No. 84 and 86 should be especially mentioned; although they have escaped the notice of Manōmōhan Bābū.

रादा-वरेन्द्र-यवनी-नयनाङ्गनाम्नूपुरेण दूरविनिवेशित-कालिमन्त्रीः ।

तद्विप्रकम्भकरबाहुतनिक्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि व्रतममुना यमुनाङ्गनाभृत् । [V. 84.]

कुर्वन् प्रकाशमनिशं दिवसाच्च कृत्वा मेघं तुजापुत्रकमसुख्यमहार्यदानैः ।

स्यात् सुदैः सह महत् कलयन्तिः कोयाकोये कुटीरकमचौकरदुष्कारम् ।

[V. 86.]

'The (white) river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rāḍhā and Varēndra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch into the (black-watered) Yamunā.

¹ See Viçvakōṣa, Vol. V. (supplement to the word 'वाञ्छेय'). For convenience' sake this grant will be marked A.

² Manōmōhan Bābū reads रादावरेन्द्रयवनी.

Shining day and night, making Meru over to the Brāhmaṇas in pious gifts, namely, the *tulāpuruṣa*, (and consequently the gods being deprived of their home), (King Nara-simha) built at Kōṇākōṇa (a place of great renown) a temple for the Sun to live in with the other gods.'

From the above it is plain that king Nṛsimha I conquered the Muḥammadan dominions of Rāḍha and Varēndra. The contemporaneous historian Minhāj i-Saraj thus writes :—

'In this same year likewise (642 Hijra), the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Katāsin, which had taken place the preceding year, as has been already recorded, having turned his face towards the Lakhaṇawati territory on Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwāl 642 H. (i.e. 1244 A. D.), the army of infidels of Jāj-nagar, consisting of elephants, and pāyiks (foot-men) in great numbers, arrived opposite Lakhaṇawati. Malik Ṭuḡhril-i-Ṭuḡhān Khān came out of the city to confront them. The infidel host, on coming beyond the frontier of Jāj-nagar territory, first took Lakhaṇ-ōr; and Fakhr-i-mulk, Karimu-d-din, Lāghri, who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-or, with a body of Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhaṇawati. The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh &c.] and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels and they decamped.'

He again relates :—

'After he (Yūz-bak-i-Ṭuḡhril Khān) went to that part, and brought that country under his jurisdiction, hostility arose between him and the Rāe of Jāj-nagar. The leader of the forces of Jāj-nagar was a person, by name Sāban-tar, the son-in-law of the Rāe, who, during the time of Malik 'Izzu-d-din, Ṭuḡhril-i-Ṭuḡhān-Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇawati. In Malik Ṭuḡhril Khān-i-Yūz-Bak's time, judging from the past, he [the Jāj-nagar leader] manifested great boldness, and fought, and was defeated. Again, another time, Mālik Ṭuḡhril Khān-i-Yuz-Bak fought an engagement with the Rāe of Jāj-nagar, and again came out victorious.

'On a third occasion, Malik Yūz-Bak sustained a slight reverse, and a white elephant, than which there was no other more valuable in that part, and which was ruttish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar.'

The battles which according to Minhāj's statement appear to have been fought under two Muḥammadan rulers, in reality took place successively in the time of the Utkala kings Ananḡa-bhīma and his son Narasiṃha I.

¹ Col. Raverty's *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 740.

² *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 762-3.

The following is seen in the Cātēṣvara-inscription of Ananga-bhīma II :¹—

विन्धात्रेरधिस्त्रीमभीमतटिनोकुञ्जे तटेऽम्भोनिधे-
 र्विष्णुर्विष्णुस्वावसाविति भयाचैतद्दिशः पश्यतः ।
 साम्नाभ्यं स परिश्रमेण न तथा वैखानसानामिदं
 किञ्च विष्णुमयं यथा परिकृतं तुम्घान-पृथ्वीपतेः ॥
 कण्ठोत्सित-सायकस्य सुमटा नेकाकिनो निव्रतः
 किं ब्रूमो यवनावगौक्षुसमरे तप्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।

'The Vaikhānasas could not even by their most austere penance comprehend the omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Viṣṇu to the extent to which the idea was realised by the Tumghāna king, (*i.e.* Tughril-i-Tughān Khān), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhīmā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores. He alone fought against the Muḥammadan king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skilful warriors. His heroism transcends description.'

According to the above inscription, it was Viṣṇu, the minister of Ananga-bhīma II, who fought a furious battle against the Muḥammadan king, Tumghāna by name. The ministers of the Hindū kings of Utkala used to get the title of Sāntrā; even now in some places in Orissa, the eldest sons of the minister-families are enjoying that title. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that it is Viṣṇu-sāntrā who has been described by the Muḥammadan historian by the name of Sābantar only. Minhāj says that this Sāntrā was a son-in-law of the Jāj-nagar or Utkala king; but the Cātēṣvara Inscription² makes it clear that he was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. It was not then customary for a Brāhmaṇa to take a Kṣatriya girl for his wife. Very likely Narasiṃha-dēva I, son of Ananga-bhīma II, in company with Viṣṇu, attacked Rāḍha and Varēndra, (*i.e.*, the territory of Lakṣmaṇāvatī) at that time. It seems that Minhāj, by mistake, has described the son to be the son-in-law. Nṛsiṃha-dēva I, in his father's life-time, fought many battles with the Yavanas; and after he ascended the throne, attacked the Muḥammadans several times. The glory of his heroism has been narrated in the 84th verse of the present plate. It was this Nṛsiṃha-dēva who erected the Black Pagoda of Kōṣāraka, famed far and wide as one of the wonders of the Hindū world. The 86th verse of the present plate proves that

¹ See *Viṣṇu-kṣēpa*, Vol. VI, Art. "Cātēṣvara."

² I hope to be able to publish this important inscription in our Society's *Journal*.

prior to the time of Nṛsiṃha I, Kōṣākōṣa was the name of Kōnarak. The place subsequently became famous under the name of Kōṣārka or Kanārak after the sun-temple had been built there.

The places mentioned in the Copper-plate, exist up to this day, under the same names with very slight variations. For instances—Ḍārā-ṽiṣaya is now known as Ḍērā-ṽiṣi (on sheet 115 of the *Indian Atlas* it is mentioned as Darabee, Lat. 20°30'—20°35'N. and Long. 86°18'45"—86°30'E.) and Svāṅga-ṽiṣaya as Socang Lat. 20°16' 21"N. and Long. 86°11'45"—86°13' 50"E. (on sheet 116 of the *I. A.*). The granted village Eḍara is now known as Eṅḍara (Aindare of the *Indian Atlas*), situated on the north of Talanga (Teelung of the *I. A.*) Lat. 20°33'30" and Long. 86°20'N. Khaṅḍa-sāhi and Sunāilo are situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Eṅḍara and one mile from the Kendupaṭṅā lock. But they are now included in different pargannahs. It may be worth mentioning that the village of Sunāilo is very near to the place where the Copper-plate was found.

The reading of the original and its translation are given below.

Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṃha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Ḍaka.

Plate-leaf No. 1, reverse.

L. 1. । शौं नमो नारायणाय ॥

कण्ठीपादसरोवह [द्वय]¹ मदः श्रेयांसि दासोऽह वः
प्रसृक्कर्मखरभ्रिकेसरप्रते भस्त्र-

L. 2. खानोदलं ।

विस्वर्णं प्रतिविम्बितः प्रकमयैः क्रोडापराधोद्भवैः
कृष्णो यन्नखदीप्तिषु भ्रमरतां घत्ते स कण्ठीप्रियः ॥ [1]

L. 3. क्षीरास्त्रभैषितात् सुरासुरगणैः प्रादुर्भवन्ती रमा-
शम्भुसुन्दरप्रभृतीषु प्रख्यातकीर्तिष्वपि ।
पश्यत्सम्भुजग-

L. 4. भमोश्मदखोलोकात्रयाहादिनं ।

मृद्गाको सहकारमेति हि वने पुष्पेन्यशाखिन्यपि । [2]
तन्नाभोसरसोवहोद्भवनि-

L. 5. धेरत्रिर्वभूशामुत-

सम्भुसुन्दरप्रभृतीषु प्रकाशितगत् सम्भूतवाग्नेययोः ।
त्रैलोक्यसगैकदक्षतिमिरयासित्वसा-

¹ The bracketed portions are taken from A. ² Read •ति ।

L. 6. ष्वेऽपि गो
 कस्य ध्याञि दधत्तमप्रतिवपुः सूर्याधिको निम्नैः । [3]
 श्रीदेवोसोदरत्वादभृतसखतया कस्यट्ट्यागुज-

L. 7. ता-
 स्तोक्रानन्दमिधाता तिमिरविषहरः सख्यैवोपभोग्यः ।
 तत्तत्संसर्गजाभात्तदधिगतगुणं स्नाद्गुणितं दधानः
 ख-

L. 8. खैतन्निम्नैकत्वं जगति विनयते दर्शयन्ननमिन्दुः । [4]
 वंशे तस्य ब्रह्मेश्वराः समभवन्तेषां गुणान्कन्दशः
 प्रोत्पुञ्जा इ-

L. 9. व यत् पुराणपथगास्तत्रापि गो सम्मिताः ।
 तत्तत् क्वाथपथं श्रितास्त्रिभुवने मूर्त्तिन्दधाना इव
 आ-

L. 10. ग्यन्तीव सचेतनाः श्रुतिगृहे विश्रम्य विश्रम्य च । [5]
 प्रत्येकं शशिवङ्गभूपतिभुजव्यापारसंकी-

L. 11. त्तमं
 कर्तुं शक्यते चित्तौ बहुमुखो यच्चारुणस्यैव हि ।
 दोहं च्छार्जितकोर्त्तिसर्वानपरं तद्गु-

L. 12. रतं ग्रामव-
 त्तस्मादाज्ञयमात्रमादिष्टपतिश्रेणीक्रमाक्षिष्यते । [6]
 तथाहि चन्द्रादुघः । बुधा-

L. 13. दमकः अजज्ञात् पुंरूः
 पुंरूः श्वायुः । १ वायोर्नृणु २ वः । नृणु ३ वायुवातिः ।
 ततस्तुर्व्वंसुः । ततोगाङ्गे-

L. 14. वः । ततोविरोचनः । ततः
 साम्नेयः । ततो भाखान् । ततो दत्तसेनः । ततः सौष्यः ।
 ततोऽदत्तः ततः सौ-

1 Read न० ।

४ Read वायोः ।

२ Read वायुः ।

४, ५ Read •ङ् ।

- L. 15. राक्षः । तस्मात्त्रिचाक्षुः । ततः
 श्रीरञ्जकः । ततो धर्मैवो । ततः परीक्षित् । ततो जयसेनः ।
 ततो विजयसेनः ।
- L. 16. ततो त्रिभञ्जकः । ततः प्रमत्तमः ।
 ततः शक्तिः । ततः कोलाहकः । सद्यवानन्तवर्माभवत् ।
 धनकनकसम्पन्नो गङ्ग-
- L. 17. वाहिः प्रसिद्धः
 सक्कविजयभूतः क्षत्रिवर्गोपभोग्यः ।
 तदधिपतिरथाद्योन्तवर्मा ऋषेन्द्रः
 समभवदिति
- L. 18. रूपगङ्गाज्ञा तदाद्याः ॥ [7]
 कोलाहकः समरमूर्द्धि ततो ऋषाणां
 भूतो यतः सरपुत्रश्च तदीयमथ ।
 कोलाहकाज्ञय-
- L. 19. मभूत् सुरसप्ततुल्यं
 तस्मिन् क्रमे ऋषतिभिर्व्यङ्गुभिर्व्यङ्गुभूते ॥ [8]
 राज्यश्रीभृति गारसिंहऋषतौ श्रेष्ठे किमथास्महे
 दो-
- L. 20. हंस्त्राणितभूतकोत्थितरमाकण्डयहानन्दिनः ।
 किष्वास्माकमियं सुभासिजतिका सचेच्छ्रुता वैरिणां
 कण्डारस्य-
- Plate-leaf II, obverse.
- L. 1. मियं च कौत्सिजतिका [द्याज्ञः समारोहत् ॥ [9]
 बान्धुर्विजिगौषया क्षितितले ज्ञापि द्विषदन्दिनैः
 ज्ञापि द्वेषि]
- L. 2. कुलप्रमाथिभिरपि प्राप्ताः कलिङ्गाः किञ्च ।
 तैः कामार्थवपश्चमै ऋषवरेषूप्रहृष्टिभिः समं
 प्राप्तान्प्रहृष्टिभिर्वाचैवा-

¹ Read ह० ।

- L. 8. दुदगमत् कूर्मावतारो हरिः ॥ [10]
 कूर्मैस्त्रामिनि साक्षिषि त्रिनयने तस्मिन् महेन्द्रं मते
 गोकर्षेऽपि महोदधौ वि-
- L. 4. यति वा सूर्य्यं तथेन्द्रावपि ।
 काञ्चिद्भ्राम्भुवमाहरद्भ्रुवत्पादग्योपसुक्तां चिरं
 जक्षीम्येद्यथ कास्तुतिर्वन्द ततो मङ्गा-
- L. 5. न्वयस्याहवे ॥ [11]
 तत्रासौहृदशक्तार्त्तासौ कामार्थवमहोपतिः ।
 यस्येति पुत्रपौत्राद्या राजानः स्थातविक्रमाः ॥ [12]
 शास्त्रा-
- L. 6. र्थनिष्ठितमतिर्बिषदन्तकारी
 सर्वार्थिवर्गपरितोषणहेतुवर्गः ।
 आचारतोऽपि मुनिपुङ्गवमा[र्गकारी
 त]-
- L. 7. स्मादभ्रुवपवरो भुवि वप्सहस्तः ॥ [13]
 न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि
 स वप्सहस्तस्त्रिकलिङ्गनाथः ।
 को वप्स[हस्ता]-
- L. 8. दपरः पृथिव्या-
 म्बन्धम्यतद्धारयितुं समर्थः ॥ [14]
 व्याप्तिर्गङ्गुलोत्तमस्य यशसा दिक्चक्रवाले शशि-
 [प्रायेणा]
- L. 9. मलिनेन यस्य भुवनप्रज्ञादसम्पादिना ।
 सिन्दूरैरतिसाम्प्रपङ्कपटलैः कुम्भस्थलोप[ट्ट]-
- L. 10. के-
 ध्वालम्यन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान् ॥ [15]
 महिषो गङ्गमा तस्य पार्व-
- L. 11. तीव पिनाकिनः ।
 तस्मात्तस्यामभृद्धीरो राजराजो महोपतिः ॥ [16]
 स राजराजो द्विज-

- L. 12. राजकान्ति
सुजङ्गराजागवत् प्रकीर्तिः ।
श्रीमत्तयाधः क्षतराजराजः
सुविक्रमन्यकृ-
- L. 13. तदेव[राजः] ॥ [17]
तस्याग्रमहिषीराज्ञो नास्त्राभूद्वाजसुन्दरी ।
कक्षीर्नारायणस्येव चन्द्रस्येव तु रोहिणी ॥ [18]
ततस्तस्या-
- L. 14. मभूद्देवचोडगङ्गो नरेन्द्ररः ।
क्षौचीभृत् पद्मविच्छिन्नै दिवीन्नात् कुलिशं यथा ॥ [19]
घात्रो तस्य सरस्वती समभवद्गुणं
- L. 15. नचेत् पीतवान्
तत्सारस्वतमार्थवाककतमः श्रीचोडगङ्गः पयः ।
तादृग्वेदमतिः कथं निपुणतां शास्त्रेषु तादृक्
- L. 16. कथं
तादृक्काथ्यकृतिः कथं परिणतिः शिल्पेषु तादृक् कथं ॥ [20]
क्षौचीं दिक्पाल[१]श्रीवामयमकृतपदद्वन्द्वमेत-
- L. 17. स्य वैरि-
द्याभूच्छुद्धाश्रियाप्तं स्तुतिरिति कियती चोडगङ्गेन्द्ररस्य ।
नूनं पूस्यः सुधांस्यः परन्दपधवकच्छत्रवु-
- L. 18. ज्ञापहर्ता
मामित्यङ्गस्य दृष्टिं त्यजति यत इव चस्तस्मिन्ः प्रवीरात् ॥ [21]
मृज्जाति'स्त्र करं भूमेर्गङ्गागोतमग-
- L. 19. ङ्गयोः ।
मध्ये पश्यत्सु वीरेषु प्रौढः प्रौढस्त्रिया इव ॥ [22]
प्रतिभटकरशस्त्रथाहतिस्त्राङ्गनिर्य-
ङ्गधिरमवनि-
- L. 20. निष्ठं नो भवेद्यत्तदैव ।
निजकर[धृत]शस्त्रच्छिन्नभिन्नाङ्गमेता-
नकृतधरणिशय्यान् दन्दयुद्धेषु गङ्गः ॥ [23]
ध-

1 Read मृज्जाति ।

Plate-leaf II, reverse.

- L. 1. तेजः परिभूतशत्रुनगरप्रोद्भूतधूमोद्भूतै-
भूयः खाद्यवदाहशक्तिमनसो देवाः क्षयं भौरवः ।
क्षणीतादसिधा-
- L. 2. रया रिपुगणादाकाण्ड्य वार्षामिव
प्रौढिन्तस्य युवन्नि मङ्गल्यपतेभीतिं विहाय भ्रुवं ॥ [24]
क्रोधोद्यद्दिपसेषभाणिनि म-
- L. 3. दस्योतस्यतीदुर्मासे^१
चक्षुत्प्रतडित्प्रभावनिमदन्नाशायक्योदये ।
यत् सेन्ने जलदागमप्रतिविधौ जेतुं प्रध-
- L. 4. सेत कः
शूरो पाति वदंस्त्रिजोषनविसुर्वज्जोमुना संगरे ॥ [25]
निर्विन्द्योत्तराजसिन्धुमपरं गङ्गेवरः प्रातवा
ने-
- L. 5. कः कीर्त्तिसुधाकरं पृथुतमं जष्यौधरख्यासमां
माद्यदन्तिसहस्रमन्वियुतं रत्नान्यसंख्यानि वा
तसिन्धोः क्षिभिर्ष प्रक-
- L. 6. र्भमथवा नुमस्तदुन्माधिभः ॥ [26]
पादौ धस्य धराभरोक्षमखिलमाभिच सव्वादिशः
ओत्रे नेजयुगं रवोसुधुगर्ल मूर्धा-
- L. 7. पि च क्षौरसौ ।
धासारं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शपतिः को गाम कर्तुं क्षम-
स्तस्येत्वाद्यन्पैबपेक्षितमर्षं चक्रोध गङ्गेवरः ॥ [27]
- L. 8. जक्षीजन्मग्रहं पथोनिधिरसौ सम्भावितस्य स्थिति-
र्नाधाञ्जि ससुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षौराव्धिवासाद्भ्रुवं ।
निर्विन्धुः पुरषो-
- L. 9. तमः प्रसुदितस्तद्भामजाभाप्रमा-
प्येतद्भृत्पृष्ठहन्तरं पिष्टग्रहात् प्राप्य प्रमोदाश्विता ॥ [28]
[त्वं] क्रुम्माधि-

¹ Read नैष ।

^२ Read दुर्भने ।

^३ Read तत् ।

^४ Read क्षयः ।

- L. 10. प मा च्च त्वमपि मो ब्वालेन्द्र धौर्यन्वह
त्वम्युञ्जि स्थिरताम्बज त्वमञ्जुना प्रज्ञाञ्च गाढं भव ।
की-
- L. 11. गङ्गाधिपसिंहविसरद्भोवाञ्जमद्यापिनो
दिङ्नागेषु भवाच्चलत्सु जगती कन्धेत
- L. 12. वा यत्कमात् ॥ [29]
आरन्या नगरात् कलिङ्गजवलप्रत्ययमप्रावृति
प्राकारायततोरखप्र-
- L. 13. ष्टितो गङ्गातटस्थात्ततः
पार्थास्त्रैर्युधि अर्ज्जरीकृतमम्राधेयगात्राकृति-
स्मिन्दाराधिपतिर्नातो रक्षसु-
- L. 14. वो गङ्गेचरासुभृतः ॥ [30]
ब्रह्माङ्गादहिरस्य कीर्त्तिपयसा जितं न वा भाविने
दत्तचार्यिजनान्च हेमनिचयः सङ्ग-
- L. 15. ल्यने वा वसु ।
निर्द्ग्वारिपरञ्च¹³ भावितनवस्तस्य प्रतापैर्न वा
किन्वा नो ज्ञतवानयं सुतिपदं चक्रेथ गङ्गे-
- L. 16. शरा ॥ [31]
वर्षाद्यां सप्ततिन्वीरः क्षोकीसम्भोजमाचरत् ।
दिङ्नायकान् प्रतोहारान् विधायाशासु सर्वतः ॥ [32]
कि-
- L. 17. आम्ना महिषी तपोनिरतुक्षेत्रीषोडशगङ्गेन सा
देवैस्तुत्तगुणैर्विभूषिततनुः कसूरिकामोदिनी ।
- L. 18. नाविष्टः पृथिवीपतिः प्रभवतीत्यस्मिन् हरौ वासुवो
रक्षार्थंभृतजन्मनि स्वयमसौ कस्योपसृतायवा ॥ [33]
त-
- L. 19. स्थान्ततोजनि जगत्प्रितवैकवीरः
कामार्त्तवस्त्रिजगदेकवदान्य एषः ।
सूर्यप्रतापविभवेन जगत्प्रति-

¹³ Read सुरच ।

L. 20.

इ-

कीर्तिः शशाङ्कमघरीक्षतवाङ्मिशुद्धा ॥

[34]

गङ्गेशस्त्रगोर्विबुधाश्रमस्य

वृष्यद्विषदंशविनेदिशक्तिः ।

Plate-leaf III, obverse.

L.

1. [कामार्थवस्यास्य कुमारकत्व]

न नामतः केव[लमर्थतोऽपि] ॥

[35]

प्राप्योदयं शशाङ्कस्य वर्द्धतां नामवारिधिः ।

वर्द्धते कीर्ति-

L.

2. चन्द्रोयं चिञ्चं कामार्थवोदये ॥

[36]

वेदस्योमचन्द्रप्रमितश्रकसमा प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे

चापस्येन्य[ग्रहौघे वलव]-

L.

3. ति रिपुषु [प्रक्षयं प्राप्तवत्सु] ।

तस्मिन्भूर्जाभिषिक्ते ऋषवरतनये सर्वलोकैकनाथे

श्रीमत् कामा[र्द्धवेषे जग]-

L.

4. इवदि[दं तप्तदानन्द]पूर्ये ॥

[37]

श्रीरार्थवादनि चन्द्रकलेति वार्त्ता

कामार्थवात्तु सकलेन्दुदिवाकरामं ।

की[र्त्तिप्र]-

L.

5. तापमिथुनं सहकारिणोके

स्त्रिष्यत्पद्मो परन्टपागनुरागशून्यान् ॥

[38]

यस्यासिनिर्दलितवैरिकरौन्ध्र[कुम्भ-

नि]-

L.

6. स्मृक्तमौक्तिकप्रधान्यदृष्टितानि ।

कामार्थवस्य रिपुसङ्गतिहेत्वकाले

सन्धाप्रभातभगवा[इव भान्ति]-

L.

7. यु[द्धे] ॥

[39]

वृष्यद्वैरिचमूर्त्तया कवलिता नैवं मयास्त्रादिते-

त्वन्योन्यङ्गसहे तु निर्णयविधौ खङ्गप्रता[पेक्षया]

- L. 8. [मा]ध्यख्यं गमितेव निम्नैकतरा कौर्तिर्वंदीयात्रवी-
न्यालोचेहमहद्विरित्युपमता घातुः सुतीरोहरात् ॥ [40]
बन्धा-
- L. 9. क्षीत् स हिरण्यगर्भमपरं लोकं महेशः पुरे-
त्युत्पन्नं प्रवदन्ति ये च वदनत्रातोनि-
- L. 10. बद्धोद्युगा ।
तेषां यत्र हिरण्यगर्भमकरोत् कामार्थंवेष्टतः
संपन्नं जनितं ज[ग]-
- L. 11. द्यत इह प्रत्यक्षतः प्राणिनां ॥ [41]
सप्ताम्भोधीन्वहन्ती क्षितिरतितरणा नाम[कुर्भेश्वरा]-
- L. 12. बां
साहाय्यं वाञ्छतीयं तदपि पुनरयं कल्पितस्तत्र भारः ।
घात्रा कामा[र्थावाख्यः सर]
- L. 13. नि[जतुलनां निर्द]यः स्वर्णभारै-
र्भूयोभूयस्तुलायास्थित [इति] [धरणे]भारबाहुल्यमाप्तुं ॥ [42]
[ध्वस्तदुष्टं जनाकौ]-
- L. 14. र्णं विद्वज्जनमगोहरं ।
दशाब्दानकरोद्राज्यं कामार्थंवमहौपतिः ॥ [43]
श्रीचोडगङ्गपते[र्भैहिषी ततो]
- L. 15. न्या-
त्तस्येन्द्रा रविकुलोद्भवराजपुत्री
याद्यापि घातुष्यपमाजनि सुन्दरीणां
सेयं सुधांशुवदना स्वय[मेव जाता] ॥ [44]
- L. 16. यद्रूपश्रीलगतिवर्णयथा प्रसिद्धा
वृष्टान्तभूर्गिरिसुतेत्यभिधावदोषः ।
नास्थेव चखरवचिका[महरो यदत्र
तामि]-
- L. 17. न्दिरामुदवहद्भुवि चोडगङ्गः ॥ [45]
तस्यान्ततः समजनि क्षितिगाधनाथः
श्रीराघवः [परनरेश्वरदर्पमही ।
यत्पट्टवन्ध]-

- L. 18. नविधिअवशातिभोलाः
 सर्वे ष्टयाः सप्तदिकम्पमवाप्तवन्तः । [46]
 श्रीराघवे [राजनि चित्रमेत-
 सेभोविहोयाः छि]-
- L. 19. तिपाकवर्णः ।
 तत्यादसेवाकृतदेहसिद्धि-
 भिभौभवत्वेव समस्त एषः । [47]
 प्रौढारि-[प्रहति]-प्राकारविहितप्राचक्ष्ममन्त्रीभ-
- L. 20. व-
 होईच्छोपमितिप्रमच्छविषयः प्राम्भूतवानर्जुनः ।
 संप्रत्याहवरङ्गसङ्गतारिपुश्रेणीशिरःक-
- Plate-leaf III, reverse.
- L. 1. न्दुक-
 श्रीडासस्तभुजः शरासगभृतां चित्रोपमा राघवः । [48]
 जगति परशुरामः प्रादुरासीद्धितीयः
 किमुरिपु-
- L. 2. कुलहन्ता स्वाश्रयाच्छम्लोकः ।
 छि[र]तवितरखादीक्षासक्तहस्तः प्रतापा-
 दपि दद्यात्तवाह्वयस्य शत्रुर्वि-
- L. 3. नाश्री । [49]
 भेदं भेदमरातिकुञ्जरघटाक्षोभौन्नपङ्क्तिरखे
 पायं पायमहक् पयांसि बज्जघा श्रीराघवा-
- L. 4. सिः क्षयात् ।
 शुभं शुभमिवोदहन्विजयतिः^१ कीर्त्तिप्रदानं परं
 चन्द्रं चन्द्रिकया प्रपूष्यतरया संसेथ्यमानाक-
- L. 5. तिः । [50]
 दुर्गेषु दावदहनं क्षितिभृत्वसु वषं
 माद्यत् करोन्मघटना विधिसिंह एषः ।
 विहेभिभूमिपतयो नि-

^१ Read पङ्क्ति ।

^२ Read विजयवे ।

- L. 6. वसन्ति यत्र
 श्रीराघवद्विपतिपतिर्विततप्रभावः ॥ [51]
 श्रीराघवो धराधीशः क्षीणीपाकशिरोमणिः ।
 ष-
- L. 7. करोष्याम्य¹मध्यानामुद्दामोदशपंच च ॥ [52]
 तस्य श्रीचोडगङ्गद्विपतिवक्ष्यपतेर्व्यंशसन्तागवक्षी-
 कन्दश्रीपञ्ज-
- L. 8. लेखा स्फुटमदितिरेव श्रेयसी काश्यपस्य ।
 तस्यामुद्दामधामक्षयितदिनमश्विर्ष्विवाप्राजरा-
- L. 9. जो
 राजन्यक्षोदकीना तिलकितमहिमथ्याप्तदिक्चक्रावाणः ॥ [53]
 तस्मिन्दिग्विजयप्रया-
- L. 10. शरशिके² संरम्भ शुम्भसम्भू
 संक्षुक्षद्वितिति³ चक्रपाङ्कशुपटलप्राग्भारवत्सम्भरे ।
 भूसं-
- L. 11. स्वर्शष्टकावशाद्दिनमशेषैः सृतं सप्तिभिः ।
 सभ्यसं सुरसिन्दुरेष धरणीपट्टेर-
- L. 12. दोहट्टर्ण ॥ [54]
 चोडगङ्गनरेन्द्रस्य सुसुबहामविक्रमः ।
 राजराज इति ख्यातोरा-
- L. 13. जराजो महीपतिः ॥ [55]
 विषं क्रोडयति प्रगल्भवयसि प्रासेयशैलद्युतौ
 बद्यद्यावृगभूद्भूतसदृशं सन्त-
- L. 14. क्षदाकर्ष्यतां
 धान्नो पीठति लिङ्गति सुरचलः प्रासादति त्वद्यशो-
 दिङ्नाथाः प्रतिमन्ति यस्य परितः अद्भुत-
- L. 15. पदं भृङ्गति ॥ [56]
 आनन्दं विदधाति चेतसि भवत् कीर्तिर्गुणयाहिः
 सूते दोहदमर्थिनः सुमनसि श्रीराजराज भु-

¹ Read चकरोष्याम्य । ² Read रशिके । ³ Omit ति ।

- L. 16. वं ।
 सेयङ्गर्षपथं समेत्यहृदये शल्यायते वैरिणां
 स्वात्मेश्वरुविधायिनां न हि [f]नत्रो भावः क्वचिद्दृश्यते ॥ [57]
- L. 17. तस्यां [यो] सुवि पंचविड्शतिसमाःश्यापालजप्तीधवः
 क्त्वा जित्तरचापचंचलमुजादम्भोखिबर्चीपतिः ।
 राव्यं प्राव्य-
- L. 18. यशस्तुवारकिरयश्रेयीरसादासना-
 दुद्रुष्वत् पुवङ्गतगीतचरितञ्जीराजराजोऽपः ॥ [58]
 तस्यानुजोऽपति-
- L. 19. राजपदेभिषिक्तः
 कृत्तिप्रियः परिमितादिष्टपप्रशस्तिः ।
 पृथ्वीपतिः कलिमलोञ्जितधर्ममुद्गः
 का-
- L. 20. र्यंक्षमः प्रसुरसावनियङ्गभीमः ॥ [59]
 वीराधिष्ठितसंगराद्रिशिखरे श्रंखस्वनाश्र[।]f[म]ते
 कुंतोद्भिन्न-

Plate-leaf IV, obverse.

- L. 1. महेशकुम्भविगलम्भुक्तावलीपुञ्जिते ।
 हर्षादुग्रनिजप्र[तापदहने खड्गश्रुवा विदिषां
 राज्ञामान]-
- L. 2. न पङ्गजानि ष्टपतिर्गत्वानयद्यः श्रियं ॥ [60]
 क्षीराब्धेरम्भतात् सुरासुर[सुजथापारविच्छोभितात्
 च]-
- L. 3. अस्यार्द्धमभूत्तदप्यधिपपावीश्राननेकं क्लिज ।
 चक्षदाहुवलेन संगरसुवि त्वत्खड्गधा[राजजा]-
- L. 4. प्जातस्त्वष्टदिगीश्वरान् पृथुयश्रचन्द्रससमाक्षिपति ॥ [61]
 यत्प्रयागसमुद्रूतरजःसंपू[रितेस्वरे] ।
- L. 5. अमूर्द्धिरदराजस्य ध्वनीमदरिता तनुः ॥ [62]
 दशवर्षाणि वीरोसौ निर्जितारातिमखड्गः ।
 [अनङ्गभीम]-

- L. 6. भूपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत् ॥ [63]
 प्रौढानर्गलविक्रमः कुलशृङ्गं यो ददृशीतिश्रियः
 स्वत्याचारविचारघातचरि-
- L. 7. तपुस्थैकपारायणः ।
 तस्यासौदनियङ्गभौमन्तपते रङ्गांशुलक्ष्मी स्वयं
 खेहस्यातिशयेन पट्टमहिषी वाघल्लदेवी
- L. 8. सुवि ॥ [64]
 तुलितपिष्टगुणौघः सूनुरासौदमुष्ट्या
 निर[र]तश्रयिततेजा यौवनावाप्तराज्यः ।
 प्रयतन्तपतिचूडारत्न-
- L. 9. रोचिः पिशङ्गी- [65]
 ह्यतचरखसरोजो राजराजोन्मपासः ॥
 यस्योद्यद्वाजिहन्दप्रखर[खुर]-
- L. 10. पुटाघातनिर्दारितोर्वीं
 संभृतं भूरिभासत्करनिकरसमासूतसान्द्रप्रयाणं ।
 विस्ती-
- L. 11. र्यङ्खतालाहविभिरवितवोन्मत्तसेनामजाना-
 मष्टानां दिग्गजानां मुखपटु-
- L. 12. जनामादधे धूलिजालं ॥ [66]
 यस्मिन् प्रासति प्रासितारिनिकरे सम्यक्समुद्राम्बरां
 पृथ्वीम्या-
- L. 13. धिर्वपुङ्गवे नयगुणैः श्रीराजराजे नृपे ।
 चक्र¹ माधव एव तैक्ष्णमधिकं कौक्षेयके चिन्तनं
 प्रास्त्राभ्यासविधौ वि-
- L. 14. धेयजडतः काले कलिः श्रूयते ॥ [67]
 यत् कीर्त्तिदृग्जल[नि]धिर्भुवनान्तराणं
 संज्ञाव्यपूरतरमुच्छ्रितः स भाति ।
- L. 15. तारागणाः स्फुटश्चो गगने समन्तात्
 श्रूयन्तिश्रूयन्² तरलाहव विस्फुरन्ति ॥ [68]
 त्यागे प्रीत्यै च सत्ये च कर्षा

¹ Read चक्रं

² Read श्रूयन्तिश्रूयन् ॥

- L. 16. जुनयुधिष्ठिरैः
 सदृशोयं महावीरो राजराजोनराधिपः ॥ [69]
 राजराजोनरपतिर्दृशसप्त च वत्स-
- L. 17. रान्
 सुवि राज्यत्रियं सुक्ला स्माराव्याय प्रतस्त्रिवान् ॥ [70]
 चासुक्कजुलसंभृता वेषा सौन्दर्यवारिष्ठेः
 नाम्ना
- L. 18. मङ्गुयदेवोति महिषो तस्य भूपतेः ॥ [71]
 तस्यामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः
 श्रीमानयं भूष्टदनङ्गभीमः ।
 विरा-
- L. 19. जते कौर्त्तिसुधातरङ्गे
 ज्ज्ञेतासु दिम्भित्तियु यत्प्रशस्तिः ॥ [72]
 यस्यानर्गसदोर्ब्जिजासकहरीलावख्यवैरि-
- L. 20. त्रज
 क्रान्दत् पौरवधुविलोचनपथः पूरेर्ज्ञरा दन्तुरा ।
 किञ्चित्त्यागतरङ्गमङ्गिकजनैः पाथो-

Plate-leaf IV, reverse.

- L. 1. धियानोत्सवा-
 द्वीडावक्रितकन्धरः स भगवान्मन्ये पुराणोमुनिः ॥ [73]
 कस्तम्भोः कस्त्रिस्त्रि किन्नु वि-
- L. 2. मनाः कस्त्रे निवेद्यात्मनः
 श्लोकाम्भोधिमपाहरामि कलया किन्वेत्सिनो मां हरिं ।
 यद्येवं कल-
- L. 3. यास्यदीयसमयोत्क्षेपाय गङ्गाम्वये
 जातः श्रीमदनङ्गभीममृपतिः खोन(थी)भूतोमम ॥ [74]
 ध्याना-
- L. 4. नुबन्धनिविहप्रसरप्रमोदं
 माध्वीकमुग्धमष्टयं हृदयारविन्दं ।
 देवः पुराणपुरुषः परिरभ्य

- L. 5. यस्या
 रोजम्बडम्बरकणां कलयाक्षकार । [75]
 लक्ष्मीरक्षयसौविदल्लपदवीं प्रत्यर्धिपृथ्वीसुजां
 प्राञ्चाक-
- L. 6. ब्रह्मरक्षुविभ्रमतुलामुद्दाममानन्दयन् ।
 संग्रामस्थलकेलिताखवक्त्रापाखित्यमामख्ययन्
 यस्या-
- L. 7. यज्ञगदहृतैकविलसत् क्रौडागटः सायकः । [76]
 यस्यानर्गलविक्रमार्चिंतयशः क्षीरोददानोर्भि-
- L. 8. मि-
 दातारः किलकामगोप्रभृतयः प्रोत्सारितादूरतः ।
 किंचापरहिरक्ष्यगर्भकलना वैदग्ध्य-
- L. 9. माकार्ययन्
 लज्जालोकचतुर्भुखाक्षियुगलो मन्ये महान् पद्मभूः । [77]
 येनाभि-
- L. 10. शेषसमयः कलितत्रयेण
 नीतस्तुलापुत्रवदानककालुबन्धिः ।
 कन्वापि
- L. 11. न क्षि[ति]रमुष्यमुदे तथाभूत्
 यावृषिद्वजातिजनशासनदानकेलिः । [78]
 आक-
- L. 12. ब्रताहृदयमेखविलोचनाना-
 माधुम्वता च परितः परिपार्थिवानां ।
- L. 13. अर्थान्वयप्रबन्धिना ह्यतिनामनङ्ग-
 भौमप्रसिद्धिरमुष्म विदधे नृपेण । [79]
 जगाम धाम देवार्नां तं
- L. 14. जेवः¹ सेवकप्रियः
 मुक्ता मुजप्रतापेन चतुस्त्रिंशत्समाः क्षमां । [80]
 श्रीकस्तुरादेव्यामदि-

¹ Read देवा ।

- L. 2. श्रमदिशं द्विजसाधु कृत्वा
नेरं तुलापुत्रसमुत्थमहार्थदानैः ।
ख्यातुं सुरैः सह महत्कलयन्ति को-
- L. 3. या-
कोणे कुटीरकमचीकरदुष्यरश्मोः । [86]
खद्यशां चक्रवालभ्रमणरथमहायाससम्भावितक्षु-
त्वा-
- L. 4. रेक्षुदम्बदस्योपगमितमपि लंघयित्वा सुराब्धिं ।
सर्पिः सन्सर्प्यादायुर्दधिमधुरमथास्वाद(दु)धे-
- L. 5. न दत्ता
यत्कीर्तिः कान्तमूर्तिः श्रजिणः निधिमथा कामसारासतीव^१ । [87]
कृत्वा निर्मथितद्विषदसु-
- L. 6. मतीमब्धास्त्रयस्त्रिंशतं
भुक्त्वा भोगमनुत्तमं नरपतिर्दौर्गन्धर्वसर्वभूषः ।
खेहात्यन्तविना कृ-
- L. 7. तोन्निमदश्रामासाद्यदीपोपमः
प्राप्तः कालपतङ्गपुङ्गववशं यातसस्निर्वाणतां । [88]
तस्य
- L. 8. श्रीमान् सुदिनविधये माणाचन्द्रात्मजायां
सीतादेव्यामजनि तनुजो भागुवद्भानुदेवः ।
- L. 9. पद्मोक्तासन्विदधदतुलं कैरवग्लानिसुचै-
र्दृत्रध्वंसो परधरशिभृन्मौजिवि-
- L. 10. न्यस्तपादः [89]
प्रत्युष्जीवनकारखैर्जगपदस्याभ्यस्तनीत्यागमै-
र्दृष्टादृष्ट-
- L. 11. पञ्चप्रदेन विधिना नित्यं निरस्तारिभिः ।
पात्रैः षोडशभिर्विशुद्धचरि-

¹ Read शल्लिष ।

² Read कामसाधामतीव ।

- L. 12. तामोघप्रतिघ्नैरयं
साम्नाज्ये महितो महामहिमभृह्मक्षीपतेराज्ञया । [90]
व-
- L. 13. उमुष्टिरपि निर्घ्नरदाता-
वेपनोपि समरैकधुरीणः ।
उयमूर्तिरपि ज्ञव्यशरीरो
यत्करेण क-
- L. 14. रितः करवाणः । [91]
पायं पायं हविरविरतं प्रक्षुते यस्य यज्ञे
जाते जीर्णं हरिरतितरां या-
- L. 15. ति निद्रान्समुद्रे ।
धूमोद्गारो जवणश्लिखं¹ प्राप्नुते वाढवोभिः
प्रौद्यच्छूलः समजनि
- L. 16. शिवः कालकूटाश्रमोपि । [92]
ब्रूमः किमस्य तुलनां लघुतोपनीत-
न्तत्तत्परक्षितिभृतः किल दानश्रीर्थं ।
- L. 17. सभ्योपदेशकनकाचलकामधेनु-
कल्पद्रुमानदितनिर्जितसम्पदस्तान् । [93]
आचन्द्रार्काफलोपभोगसु-
- L. 18. जमान्यथ्यसौधावली
शोभाविष्कुरितानि शासनशतान्येकः क्षमाधोन्वरः ।
[स्वच्छायानि र]साण-
- L. 19. पूगकदलप्रायैस्तदयाङ्गुलिः
हृत्वा ताम्बविलेखितानि विधिवत्सञ्ज्ञेऽत्रियेभ्यो ददौ । [94]
चिन्तामणौ
- L. 20. सुरमहोत्सवकामधेना-
वष्टादग्राङ्गमधितिसृति भानुदेवे ।
व्यायागमोषु भविता कतमो ममेति
धातु-

¹ Read चक्षिणं ।

Plate-leaf V, reverse.

- L. 1. विंशारवश्रगोन्दपतिर्वभूव ॥ [95]
 चालुक्यकुलसंभूता श्रीमञ्जाकल्लदेविका ।
 लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव मातु-
- L. 2. देवस्य तादृशी ॥ [96]
 तस्यां सुतुरभूद्वीरः श्रीन्दसिंहमहोपतिः ।
 गंगवंशसमुद्भर्ता हर्ता वैरिम-
- L. 3. ह्रीतलं ॥ [97]
 यद्यार्जुनस्तथाशस्त्रे शास्त्रे वाघस्यतिर्यथा ।
 दाने कर्षो वले भौमः सौन्दर्ये कुसुमायु-
- L. 4. घः ॥ [98]
 तेन दत्तं द्विजातिभ्यः शासनं श्रुतसंख्यकं ।
 महादानानि दानानि श्रीमन्मातुरशुभ्रया ॥
- L. 5. वीरश्रीन्दसिंहदेवन्दपतौ सिंहासनाधिष्ठिते
 भूमिपालकिरोटकोटिकिरणप्रद्योतितान्त्रिदये ।
- L. 6. प्रत्यर्थिन्क्षितिपाविदीर्खहृदया भौत्याप्रहौणश्रियः
 प्राणत्राणपरायणाः समभवन् पृथ्वीधरावा-
- L. 7. सिनः ॥ [100]
 यस्मिन् प्रशासति सुवः कुलभूधरेन्द्राः
 कूर्मोभुजङ्गमपतिर्द्विगबोक्कपाश्च ।
 भुमारगौरव-
- L. 8. कृताविशिरोविकारा
 विश्रान्तिलामममजन्त कृताश्रिमश्च ॥ [101]
 वीरासनं समधितिकृति कुङ्गराणा-
- L. 9. श्रीरोवहेन्द्राधुरां सुवि कोत्र गाम ।
 इन्द्रायुधप्रमसुजहयसद्धितौये
 कम्पन्तगो-
- L. 10. ति करवाणलतापि यत्र ॥ [102]
 यः खड्गचण्डचण्डमहसा रिपुराजकाना-
 माहृत्यसम्पदमम-

- L. 11. त्वत्तरोः समाणां ।
भूदेवसादकृतभूतलभूषणेन
दागाम्भसाप्रितलसत्कर-
- L. 12. पद्मवेन । [103]
तस्याथ क्षितिपाकमौजिवहभौविन्धक्तपादात्मुज-
स्याहो हन्त किमुच्य-
- L. 13. तेद्यमहिमा कीर्तिर्दृश्यन्तीभूतः ।
यद्भौतिं किञ्च किन्नरौगळमुखाद्दिग्दन्तिनां प्रत्यवतां
रोलन्ना-
- L. 14. मदमापिवन्ति निभृतत्रिःकर्यांभाले मुखे । [104]
यस्येष्टासदृष्टप्रतस्य विजयी वन्द्यः प्रतापः परं
सच्छूणा-
- L. 15. क्रियमाद्यतप्रतरसप्रस्थाः कुलप्याभृतः ।
स्याकीपाकमुपाभ्रयन्ति च यतश्चत्वार एवाव्ययो
दि-
- L. 16. ग्भान्निभ्रजते यतो खरमधिर्नाथः सहस्र¹ त्विवां । [105]
खस्ति सप्तदशोत्तरद्वादशप्रतशकवत्सरे
- L. 17. चतुर्दशभुवनाधिपत्यादिविखदावजौ विराजमानः । श्रीवीरनर-
सिंहदेवमहीपतिः खराज्यस्यैक
- L. 18. विंशत्यङ्गेभिलिख्यमाने सिंहशुक्लाधयां सोमवारे देमुणा कटके
नवराभ्यन्तर² विजयसमये हजौ-
प्रज्ञाद-
- L. 19. मुदलेन गङ्गातीरानवधारितन्यायात् सोमग्रहण-
समयसमुत्सृष्टानेकभूमध्यात् काश्यप सगोत्राय

Plate-leaf VI, obverse.

- L. 1. काश्यपावत्सार³ नैभ्रवप्रवराय यजुर्वेदान्तर्गत
काश्यपशाखाध्यायिने कुमारमहापात्र भीमदेवशर्मणे
भूमि

¹ Read सहस्र ।

² नवराज्यान्तर ।

³ काश्यपावत्सार ।

- L. 2. पञ्चाशद्वाटिकाप्रदानाय ढेराविषयमध्यासीनं
एडरयामं पुरोञ्चीकरखशिवदासनामक नल-
प्रमाणेन उत्तरतः
- L. 8. माणोपुरयामार्द्धश्री'म दखार्द्धअधमीकृत्य तलङ्ग-
ग्रामीय पाञ्चीयमुखाय दखार्द्ध दक्षिणावच्छेद ।
पश्चिमतः साहस-
- L. 4. मञ्जीय पुष्करिणी पश्चिमहीडमादीकृत्य विमूतिपडा-
ग्रामार्द्धश्री'म हीडावच्छिन्न पूर्वश्री'मानमेव चतुःश्री'मा-
वच्छिन्न
- L. 5. द्वादशगुण्डोपेत षोडशमानाधिक द्वाषत्वारिण्ड-
द्वाटिकामध्यात् पुरातन देवप्राङ्गणभोग्य गोहृदि-
गोपथदख्खापुष्क-
- L. 6. रिञ्जीसमेतनवमानाधिकामु' वहिष्कृत्य गिर्यंकर द्वादश
गुण्डोपेत सप्तमानाधिक चतुस्त्रिण्डद्वाटिका परिमितं ।
तथा स्ना-
- L. 7. ऋविषयमध्यासीनं सुगाइणोराम तस्यापि नलप्रमा
णेन । पश्चिमतः । भौमनारायणपुरदिश्री'म दखार्द्ध
मादीकृत्य
- L. 8. खड्गवाहियामार्द्धश्री'म दखार्द्धावच्छिन्न पूर्वमर्थ्याद ।
दक्षिणतः वेडपढायामार्द्धश्री'मदखार्द्धमारभ्य
घोडापाल ग्रामार्द्धश्री'म-
- L. 9. दखार्द्धोत्तरावच्छेदमेवं चतुःश्री'मावच्छिन्नं षड्गुण्डोपेत
त्रयोदशमानाधिक त्रयस्त्रिण्डद्वाटिका मध्यात् पुरातन
देवप्राङ्ग-
- L. 10. णभोग्य गोहृदि गोपथ पुष्करिञ्जीसमेत द्वादशाधिक दश वाटिका
वह्निष्कृत्य षड्गुण्डोपेत मा-
- L. 11. नेकादशाधिक त्रयोविण्डति वाटिका मध्ये निम्नवीकृत्य-
ष्टादशमानोपेताष्टमाधिक सप्तवाटि-

1 Read •श्री ।

2 Read •सु ।

- L. 12. कायाचक्रादासकरकस्य नक्षत्रमाज्ञेन एतदौघश्री'भाया
पश्चिमतः ॥ कइकोयामार्जशी'म दखास्य
- L. 13. वटहृक्षमारभ्य नाइकोयामध्य क्षेत्रे वटहृक्षावधि-
पूर्वश्रीमानं ॥ उत्तरतः सुनाइकोयामम-
- L. 14. ध्यक्षेत्रेवटहृक्षमादीकृत्य । वेडपडा यामार्जशीम
दखास्य वटहृक्षावच्छिन्नदक्षिणमर्थार्दं ॥ एवं च-
- L. 15. तुः श्रीमावच्छिन्न भूखस्य अष्टादशमानोपेताह-मानो-
धिक सप्तवाटिकामितं वहिद्व्युक्त निरवकर त्रयोदश
गुण्यधिक द्वादश मा-
- L. 16. नोपेत पंचदश वाटिका परिमितं ॥ एवं यामद्वयेन
मिगित्वा निरवकर पञ्चाशद्वाटिका परिमितं ॥ सजल-
स्यन मच्छ कच्छप
- L. 17. सहित माचन्द्रार्कमकरीकृत्य प्रादात् ॥ * ॥ अस्मिन् गङ्गा-
नरसिंहपुरशासने पूतिमाय गोत्राय ऋग्वेदान्तर्गत
शा-
- L. 18. कलशाखाध्याधिर्नशेवायत्थल्लालनाथश्रीमे
शासनधिकारव्यवस्थिता वाटिका ॥ ० ॥ ताम्बुकारां
यन्नाडिनाम्ने
- L. 19. वाटिकार्जस्य ॥ ० ॥ अस्य शासनश्रां'कृत या । दक्षिण
भाहृखस्यमध्य तु(?)चढायामीय कोमटि माडु खेष्टीकपुत्र
- L. 20. पुराह खे'ष्ठिसुते नोरी खे'ष्ठिनामा ॥ ० ॥ कण्टपडिहट्टीय
ताम्बुजिक महादेव वेलाजिकस्य गप्ता धिसुवेला
- L. 21. जिनामा ॥ ० ॥ प्रसोत्तपुरहट्टीयउख्यजीताम्बुकार
अन्नाह ॥ ० ॥ वेदपुरउख्यजीकन्सकार मदाहनामा ॥ ० ॥

Plate-leaf VI, reverse.

- L. 1. महानमसिद्वयं तद्रक्षाफलसिद्वये ।
मङ्गलैः परिपाल्योयं भूपैराचन्द्रतारकं ॥
माभूदफलशंकाते परदत्तेति मा-

1 Read •ची ।

2 छा

3 Read •भे ।

- L. 2. र्थिव ।
 खदत्तादधिकं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपासनं ॥
 खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्ना यत्नादक्ष बुधिष्ठिर ।
 महीष्मतिमतां श्लेष्ठः दागात् श्रेयोतु-
- L. 8. पासनं ॥
 खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्ना यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।
 सविष्ठायां ह्यभिभूत्वा पिष्टमिः सह पच्यते ॥
 विषले प्रान्तरे देशे शुष्क-
- L. 4. कोटरवासिनः ।
 कृष्यसर्पां हि जायन्ते ये हरन्ति वसुन्धरां ॥
 तामेकं सर्बमेकं वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमकुलं ।
 हरन्नरकमाप्तो-
- L. 5. ति यावदाभूतसंज्ञवं ।
 शत्रुनापि ह्यतोधर्मैः पाषाणीयो मनीषिभिः ।
 शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः स्यात् धर्मैः शत्रुर्न कस्य चित् ॥
 म-
- L. 6. दृष्टशृङ्गाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा
 पायादपेतमवसो भूवि भाविभूपाः ॥
 ये पाषाण्यन्ति मम धर्ममिदं समस्त-
 न्तेषाम्म-
 या विरचितोद्गणारेष मूर्द्धि । * ।
 श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री । ० ।

TRANSLATION.

Om! Adoration to Nārāyaṇa!

Verse 1. May the lotus-like feet of Lakṣmī grant you prosperity: her feet, whose nails emitting hundreds of brilliant rays, shine like the petals with filaments, and distinctly reflected on the nails of which her lover (Kṛṣṇa), bowing down to her for offence committed to her playfully, looks like a black-bee sitting upon a lotus.

2. When the ocean of milk was churned by the Dēvas and Daityas, the beautiful Ramā sprang out of it, and although Īiva, Brahmā, Indra and other gods of renown, present on that occa-

sion, looked longingly after her, she recognised the lotus-navelled Viṣṇu, the delighter of the three worlds, as her husband : just as in a garden of various blooming trees, the *bhramara* (black-bee) has recourse to the mango-tree only.

3. From the lotus-like navel of Viṣṇu sprang Brahmā; from Brahmā, Atri; and from the eyes of Atri sprang the moon whose rays illumined the universe. He, although equal to the sun, in his power to devour the darkness potent enough to eat up the three worlds, surpassed him in transparency, because darkness is seen through his person in the shape of the black spot apparent on his surface.

4. He being a brother of Lakṣmī gives delight to the universe; being a friend of nectar destroys the poison-like darkness; and as a younger brother of the celestial tree Kalpa is enjoyed by all the Dēvas. But having all these blessed qualities combined in him, he defeats each of them by unfolding his purity before the universe. He reigns supreme.

5. Several kings were born in his dynasty. Their glories, partially delineated in the purāṇas, did not stop there. Then they became themes for several *kāvya*s; and now, as if assuming living forms, they are, travelling throughout the world, halting in the ears of the hearers.

6. Where on the face of the earth is so many-tongued a person, who can proclaim the great military exploits of every king of the Lunar Dynasty? The description of the glories acquired by the prowess of one of the members of the family (Arjuna) has taken up a Mahābhārata. Therefore only the names of the kings of this dynasty are here given in the order of precedence.

From Candra sprang Budha, from Budha Anala, from Anala Purū-ravas, from Pururavas Vāyu (Āyus), from Vāyu Nahuṣa, from Nahuṣa Yayāti, from Yayāti Turvasu, from Turvasu Gāṅgēya, from Gāṅgēya Virōcana, from Virōcana Sāmbedya, from Sāmbedya Bhāsvān, from Bhāsvān Datta-sēna, from Datta-sēna Saumya, from Saumya Aqva-datta, from Aqvadatta Saurāṅga, from Saurāṅga Citrāṅgada, from Citrāṅgada Īradhvaja, from Īradhvaja Dharmaiṣi, from Dharmaiṣi Parikṣit, from Parikṣit Jaya-sēna, from Jaya-sēna Vijaya-sēna, from Vijaya-sēna Vṛṣa-dhvaja, from Vṛṣa-dhvaja Pragalbha, from Pragalbha Ḍakti, and from Ḍakti sprang Kōlāhala known as Ananta-varman.

7. There was a famous city named Ganga-vāḍi. It was wealthy, prosperous and fit to be the abode of gods. Ananta-varman became its first king. He and his successors were known by the title of Rūpa-gaṅga.

8. Because the adversary kings, (while he was fighting) at the head of the battle, raised a tumult (Kōlāhala) and (went to) the abodes of the gods, his (capital) became equal to the abode of gods and was named Kōlāhala. In that city several kings reigned in succession.

9. When the eldest Narasimha is reigning what shall we do here—we who delight in forcibly carrying away the goddess of prosperity by conquering the world with our prowess. Let the creeper-like sword in our hands exercise in the forest of the necks of our enemies. Let the creeper of our glory ascend to heaven.

10. Of the Lords of men, they with Kāmārṇava as their fifth, while roaming over the world with the object of conquest were in some places honoured by their enemies, in others, they had to destroy the families hostile to them. In this they reached not only Kalinga but along with it Uḍra also. (When they reached there) the Tortoise Incarnation of Hari rose, as it were, from the sea to see them.

11. What more can be said in praise of these kings belonging to the Ganga Dynasty than that, at the time when, in battle, they snatched away by force all the lands belonging to the Kalingas, and the fortune long enjoyed by others; the divine tortoise, the three-eyed Īiva at Gōkarṇa as well as on the Mahēndra, the sea, and the sun and the moon in the sky, all bore witness to the occasion.

12. Among them, Kāmārṇava the ruler of the world was the progenitor of a line of kings. His sons and grandsons were kings of renowned arms.

13. From Kāmārṇava sprang Vajra-hasta as the thunder-holder on earth, a renowned king throughout the world and devoted to the teachings of the Īāstras. He was a destroyer of his enemies and provided all the means for supplying the wants of the needy; and by his pure way of living, he was like an ascetic of the first order.

14. The king of Tri-Kalinga was not only Vajra-hasta in name, but in his deeds too he was like the Holder of the thunder-bolt. Except Indra the Thunder-bolt-holder himself, who is there upon earth, who can resist the falling thunderbolt, *i. e.*, the attack of Vajra-hasta?

15. His fame, pure as the moon, spread through all the directions of the horizon, and gladdened the whole world. The riders of the elephants supporting the eight quarters of the world perceiving this, painted the frontal globes of their elephants again and again with thick pigment of vermilion.

16. As Pārvati was of Pinākin (Mahā-dēva), so Nāṅgamā was his beloved wife: By her, Vajra-hasta had a son named Rāja-rāja the valorous king.

17. King Rāja-rāja was handsome like the moon. His glories

were as innumerable as the heads of Ananta. He lowered Kuvēra by his wealth and Indra by his prowess.

18. Like Lakṣmī of Nārāyaṇa, and Rōhiṇī of Candra (the moon) Rājā-sundarī was his first queen.

19. From Rājā-rāja and Rājā-sundarī sprang Cōḍa-gaṅga to deprive the rulers of the earth of their means of strength; as formerly the 'thunder-bolt' issued from Indra to lop off the wings of the supporters of the earth (i.e. of mountains).

20. Surely Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was his nurse, as that Ārya-boy sucked up from her all the milk-like learning even when very young. Otherwise how was it possible that he should acquire such keen insight into the Vēdas, such well versed knowledge in the Ṣāstras, such wonderful poetical genius, and such superior ingenuity in the fine arts, and what not?

21. Excepting the Dik-pālas, he brought under his control, all the kings of the earth; and the gems that adorned the heads of the kings unfriendly to him shed radiance on his feet. This is not speaking too much in praise of king Cōḍa-gaṅga. For the full moon, thinking that (the disc) his whole body, owing to its similarity with the white umbrella of kings, would be carried away by king Cōḍa-gaṅga, has, through fear, ceased to expand his body.

22. As an aged person takes the *kara* (hand) of a woman duly married to him, he (the king) exacted *kara* (tribute) from all the land between the Gaṅgā (the Ganges) and the Gōtama-gaṅgā (Gōdāvari) disregarding the powerful warriors who looked on in amazement.

23. In duels, before the blood, flowing from the wounds inflicted upon his body with the weapon in the antagonist's hand reached the ground, king Gaṅga with the sword held in his hand cut them to pieces and made them lie prostrate upon the ground.

24. When the terrible flame of Gaṅga's prowess burned the capitals of the unfriendly monarchs, the smoke rising in clouds from these cities ascended the heavens; and the dēvas thinking that the Khāṇḍava forest was again on fire got frightened for a moment. But soon their fear was assuaged, when they came to know the real fact from the enemies of Gaṅga, sent to heaven by the sharp edge of his sword; and surely the dēvas then began to praise his valour.

25. With elephants in fury appearing like masses of clouds, their temporal juice flowing in torrents and rendering the battle-field inaccessible, the effulgence of the waving swords appearing like flashes of lightning, and the clash of the *nārāca* arm roaring like thunder, his army was very similar to the appearance of the rainy season. Trilōcana-vibhu saying that no hero could venture to conquer Gaṅga, was bound in agreements with him.

26. Defeating the king of **Utkala** as if churning another sea, **Gaṅgēṣvara** obtained the moon of expanded fame, **Lakṣmi**-like kingdom (*dharaṣi*), thousands of maddened elephants, tens of thousands of horses and gems innumerable. What shall we say? Is this the excellence of the ocean or the person who churns it?

27. What person is there who is capable of erecting a temple fit for the dwelling of that great Being pervading the whole universe, whose feet are this world, whose navel is the firmament, whose ears are the ten directions, whose eyes are the sun and the moon, and whose head is the yonder heaven? In consideration of this it seems that the kings who preceded **Cōḍa-gaṅga** did not take in hand the erection of a temple to **Puruṣōttama**: but **Gaṅgēṣvara** built it.

28. The sea of milk is the birth-place of **Lakṣmi**. Persons who know the value of self-respect consider it derogatory to their honor to live in the house of their father-in-law. It seems that taking this into consideration, **Lakṣmi-pati** (**Jagannātha**) surely felt greatly mortified, whilst dwelling there: but as soon as the temple was erected he left his former abode and has been residing in it (the temple) with great pleasure. **Lakṣmi** too, leaving her father's house, is living in that of her husband with great delight.

29. Now, thou, O **Kūrmādhipa** (king of the tortoises), run not thou away; thou, O **Vyālendra** (king of the serpents), have patience; thou, O Earth, be still; and, thou too, O Universe, be immoveable; for the lions brought enchained by **Gaṅgēṣvara** in his several hunting excursions by their furious roar filling the whole universe with the echo may terrify the **Diṅ-nāgas** to flight, which will make the world tremble, which may also happen sometimes under the weight of his feet.

30. Hotly pursued by **Gaṅgēṣvara** the king of the **Mandāra** first fled from his capital whose ramparts, walls, and wide gates had been already destroyed by the forces of **Kaliṅga** and then again from the battle-field on the banks of the Ganges, his body all the while receiving wounds, and appearing like the body of **Rādhēya** (**Karṇa**) thickly pierced by the arrows of **Pārtha** (**Arjuna**) in battle.

31. Places even beyond the concave of the world were plastered over with the nectar of his fame. People who in their first distress came to him for relief got heaps of gold from him equal to their expectation. The capitals of his enemies were burnt by his prowess.

32. The valorous king, after making the **Dik-pālas** on all sides as his gate-keepers, enjoyed (ruled) the world for seventy years.

33. All the qualities of the queen **Kastūrikā-mōdinī** were of such a nature as to elicit the praise of the gods. It was owing to his unparalleled devotion to the gods that **Cōḍa-gaṅga** was blessed with

such a wife. A king, unless he is inspired by Viṣṇu cannot prevail; and so the ruler of the earth was not different from Viṣṇu born to save the world, and Lakṣmi herself seeing Viṣṇu born in the shape of Cōḍa-gaṅga took birth in the form of Kāstūrikā-mōḍinī.

34. By her Cōḍa-gaṅga had a son, named Kāmārṇava. He was the only valorous king in the whole world and there was none charitable like him, and his fame for glorious deeds done was spread throughout the world. He with his fiery strength defeated the sun and with spotless purity surpassed the moon.

35. Justly the prince Kāmārṇava was called Kumāra (Kārti-kāya), for both of them were the sons of Gaṅgēṣa (Çiva and Cōḍa-gaṅga), both protected the Vibudhas (Dēvas and Paṇḍitas), and both were wielders of Çakti (spear and the regal power) capable of destroying arrogant enemies.

36. It is well-known that the sea swells at the sight of the moon: but never the reverse. But it is strange that at the appearance of Kāmārṇava (the sea of desire) the Kīrti-candra (moon of fame) began to increase.

37. In the Çaka year measured by the Vēdas (4), the seasons (6), the sky (0) and the moon (1), (i.e., 1064) when the sun was in the sign of Sagittarius (Dhann), when all the planets were exercising auspicious influence, and the enemies had all been destroyed, the prince the illustrious Kāmārṇava, son to the great king Gaṅga, and the only lord of the worlds was anointed king, at which all the universe rejoiced.

38. The story runs that the crescent-moon was born out of the sea of milk. But from Kāmārṇava sprang both full-moon-like fame and sun-like prowess. They too, like a couple, shone over the world, and embraced the adverse kings though they had no liking for them.

39. In the battle-field, the pearls issuing from the temples of the enemies' elephants broken by Kāmārṇava's sword, and moistened with blood gushing forth from the wounds, sparkled like stars in the morning and evening sky.

40. In a quarrel between the sword and the prowess of Kāmārṇava, one saying 'I have devoured the puissant armies of the enemies,' the other contradicting, 'No not so, I have eaten them;' the king's pure fame would come as a mediator to settle their dispute and say 'I shall tell you after consulting with the great,' and would thus respectfully reach the ears of Brahmā.

41. People speak excellently of another world having been created, in former times, by Mahēça along with the Hiranya-garbhā (golden egg-born Brahmā). But now their speech is stopped, because king Kāmārṇava before the eyes of all the living beings made the world

come into self-existence long before, (*Hiraṇya-garbha*) full of gold (riches).

42. The earth is already burdened with the weight of the seven seas, and trembling often calls for the help of *Nāgdevāra* (king of the snakes) and *Kūrmēdevāra* (king of the tortoises). But the Creator (*Dhātā*) again burdened her with another Sea of Desire (*Kāmārṇava*). He too on his part, being unequalled in kindness, takes upon himself the excess of the earth's burden by often ascending the balance and weighing himself with gold.

43. King *Kāmārṇava* ruled his kingdom for ten years. During his reign his kingdom was full of happy and well nourished people, and was very attractive on account of several learned *Paṇḍitas* dwelling there.

44. *Mahārāja Cōḍa-gaṅga* had another queen named *Indirā*, daughter of a king of the solar-dynasty. In beauty she was like the moon-faced *Indirā* (*Lakṣmī*) born herself, who is still regarded by *Brahmā* as the model of beauty.

45. Her beauty, character and deportment being delineated in most laudable terms have set forth the daughter of the mountain (*Durgā*) as a simile. This was not blamable; and as in this world *Mahārāja Cōḍa-gaṅga* was not different from *Hara* (*Ṣiva*); he married *Indirā* proud of her supernatural beauty.

46. By her *Cōḍa-gaṅga* had a son the illustrious *Rāghava*. He was king of kings and crushed the pride of the adverse rulers. All the kings frightened at the news of his coronation trembled in their hearts.

47. When the illustrious *Rāghava* became king, all the other rulers of the earth attained the ultimate object of their body by shampooing his feet. But it is strange that though rendered destitute of their *iśjaḥ* (power and heat) they became *mitras* (i.e., feudatory kings and the sun).

48. In ancient times *Arjuna* was held the typical example of one who possessed hands strong and capable of striking down formidable enemies in several ways; but now *Rāghava* possessing hands playing with the heads of the enemies like balls in the arena of the battle-field, is looked upon by all the wielders of the bow as their only model.

49. Was he a second *Paraṇu-rāma* born in the world! Because like *Paraṇu-rāma* he too uprooted the lines of enemies, made all the world obey his commands, devoted his hands to the donation of the *Kṣiti* (earth or landed properties), and, like *Paraṇu-rāma*, he killed impetuously his formidable thousand-handed enemy (*Daṣa-ṣatabāhu*).

50. Cutting asunder troops of mountain-like elephants in battle, king Rāghava's sword drank in a moment the water-like blood, and then having become loaded with white fame, like the moon adorned with pleasing lustre, gloried victorious.

51. Wherever kings were unfriendly to him king Rāghava with his overwhelming power was like the *dava-dahanu* (conflagration) to their forts, like thunderbolts to the mountain-like kings, and like the lion to the troops of maddened elephants of the enemies.

52. The king of the world the illustrious Rāghava, who was the crest-jewel of the sovereigns of the earth, ruled his kingdom unrestrained for ten and five years.

53. As Aditi was of Kaçyapa, the illustrious Candra-lōkhā was the favourite wife of the illustrious Cōḍa-gaṅga, the king of the globe. She was as a bulbous root to the creeper-like extension of the king's dynasty. Of her was born Rāja-rāja who defeated the sun by the force of his splendour, and filled all the sides of the horizon with the fame of greatness derived from crushing kings.

54. When Rāja-rāja set out on his expedition to subjugate the world, the force with which his troops struck the earth raised a large quantity of dust which covered the firmament. The horses of the sun thinking it reproachful to touch the earth used to uplift themselves towards heaven and the celestial elephant began to strike the earth with his tusks.

55. The son of Cōḍa-gaṅga was of unrestrained valour. He was famous under the name of king Rāja-rāja as he was the king of the kings.

56. Having in his early youth taken upon himself the protection of the world, what extraordinary things happened to him whose body was like the Himālaya (O Ye honest hear!). The earth acted as his seat, the heaven as his ensign, the mountain as his palace, the Dik-pālas as the representatives of his fame, and the verses in his praise as his bards.

57. O illustrious Rāja-rāja, surely your fame gave pleasure to the minds of those who could appreciate higher excellencies, and created desires in the innocent minds of the needy. On the other hand, the same fame on reaching the ears of the enemies mortified them like a dart in their hearts. Nowhere are the followers of their free-will seen to act uniformly.

58. The illustrious Rāja-rāja the king of the world was the possessor of the Royal fortunes of the rulers of the earth, and his thunderbolt-like hands were always busy in wielding his victorious bow. He, after a reign of twenty-five years in this world, rose up from

his throne, shining like pure snow, his fame extending far and wide, and Indra singing his glorious deeds.

59. After him his younger brother **Aniyaṅka-bhīma** was installed on the throne. This king was competent in work and a lover of good poetry. He was pure in religion, free from any impurity of the Kali age, and his eulogy surpassed those of his ancestors.

60. On the summit of the mountain of battle, crowded with warriors, echoing with the sound of conch-shells, filled with heaps of pearls issuing from the gigantic elephants' temples pierced with spears, and burning with his excited fiery prowess, king **Rāja-rāja** reaching the heads of his adverse kings robbed them of their royal fortune.

61. When churned, the sea of milk highly agitated by the combined hands of the *Dēvas* and *Asuras* produced only a half-moon which adorned (the forehead of) *Mahādēva* alone; but in the battle-field the single strength of thy arm produced from the rain-water-(*dhārā-jala*)-like sharpness (*dhārā*) of thy sword such a mighty moon-like fame that it embraced all the eight *Dik-pālas* (protectors of the eight directions of the earth.)

62. The dust rising at the time of his setting out on expeditious filled the sky, and so soiled the body of the kings of elephants (*Airāvata*).

63. This heroic prince **Anaṅga-bhīma** subjugating all his enemies ruled the earth for ten years.

64. The valiant king **Anaṅga-bhīma** was of unrestrained power, and as the family abode of the goddess of *Danḍa-nīti* (Administration of Justice). His conduct was most elegant, being purified by truthfulness, right observances, and correct judgment, and the sole object of his life was virtue. His other half was the *paṭṭu-mahiṣi* **Bāghalla-dēvi**; in love, that knew no bounds, she was like the goddess *Lakṣmī* herself.

65. Her son was the king **Rāja-rāja**, who equalled his father in all his excellent good qualities, possessed superior valour, and assumed the reins of government in his youth. His lotus-like feet were coloured reddish by the effulgence radiating from the jewels on the crests of the kings bowing down to him.

66. His marching war-horses impetuously striking the earth raised such a cloud of dust that it completely obscured the bright rays of the sun, and being spread far and wide by the incessant flappings of the ears of the raging war-elephants, resembled the veils on the faces of the eight *Dik-gajas*.

67. When, after subjugating all his enemies, the chief of the princes, namely the illustrious king **Rāja-rāja**, ruled the whole earth

girt by the seven seas, with superior political abilities, even Mādhava began to consider the king's sword sharper than his own discus, Vidhi acknowledged his cleverness in the matter of studying the *Çāstras*, and nowhere was the word Kali (quarrel) heard except to denote the *yuga*.

68. His sea-like fame, having swollen greatly, inundated the world. When small and twinkling stars appeared in the firmament, it seemed that the foam springing up from the sea had spread over it.

69. This valorous king *Rāja-rāja* was like *Karṇa* in benevolence, like *Arjuna* in power, and like *Yudhiṣṭhira* in truthfulness.

70. King *Rāja-rāja* after enjoying his royal prosperity in this world for ten and seven years went to heaven.

71. This king had a queen named *Maṅkupa-dēvi*. She was descended from the *Cālukya* Dynasty, and in beauty was like the coast of the sea of beauty.

72. Of her was born king *Anaṅga-bhīma* of extraordinary valour and great personal beauty. His eulogy shone forth on the walls of the horizon washed with the waves of nectar-like fame.

73. The prowess of his arms having rooted out his enemies, the tears from the eyes of their wives used to inundate the earth. It seems that *Viṣṇu*, who is always anxious to go into the sea of milk, seeing the tremendous waves, has twisted his neck in shame.

74. Who art thou? I am Kali. Why dost thou look sorrowful? Who is there by narrating to whom my condition, I can cross this ocean of sorrow? Tell me, I am myself Hari. Dost thou not know me? On hearing his reply, Kali used to say, that if thou art thyself *Nārāyaṇa*, then hear what I say. In the *Gaṅga* dynasty, a king named *Anaṅga-bhīma* has taken his birth. He has almost dispossessed me of my rights. That king is the sole cause of my anguish.

75. The Original Being embracing his lotus-like tender heart fragrant with perfume of great delight arising from deep meditation, and sweetened by the honey of love to God, played the part of a black bee.

76. His splendid sword serving as a harem-keeper for the protection of the goddess of Royal Fortune, likewise assuming the appearance of a rope for strangling adverse kings, and displaying many feats of dancing in the arena of the battle-field was regarded as an unparalleled beautiful dancer.

77. He by his great prowess earned a mighty fame. His liberality was so great that even the liberal *Kāma-dhēnu* and others were surpassed by him. In fine, he was regarded as another *Hiraṇyagarbha*: and on hearing this, the great *Padma-yōni* (*Brahman*) felt

ashamed, and as a result of this, the eyes in his four heads began to move in vacancy.

78. He was endowed with the three-fold regal powers and observed the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna*.¹ The possession of the whole world did not give him so much pleasure as he derived from granting several pieces of land to pious Brāhmaṇas.

79. Attracting the hearts of deer-eyed girls, and crushing those of the enemies, the king, who was anxious that learned men should know the meaning and construction of his name most appropriately assumed the title of *Anaṅga-bhīma*.

80. The king *Anaṅga-bhīma* the beloved of his servants, after ruling the earth by force of his mighty arm, for thirty-four years, went to the abode of the gods.

81. From Aditi-like illustrious *Kastūrā-dēvī* and the Kaçyapa-like king *Anaṅga-bhīma*, was born on the earth the warrior *Nara-siṃha*, (*Viṣṇu*)-like *Narasimha*, the saviour of the world and the destroyer of the sinners.

82. The king *Nara-siṃha* was always engaged in benevolent deeds. Seeing his boundless charity, it was thought, as if *Nara-siṃha* (*Viṣṇu*) himself had been born in this world in order to wash with the water of profuse charity, his hands formerly polluted by the blood of the king of the Asuras (*Hiranya-kaçipu*).

83. He was fanned from both sides with two white *camaras*, and a white umbrella was spread above his head. The room in which he sat was built of white elephants' tusks. The sight of it led a visitor to believe that the Goddess *Bhavānī* thinking him to be his own son had taken him on her lap, and for this reason his feet are always rested on the victorious lion-seat.

84. *Nay*, *Gaṅgā* herself blackened for a great extent by the flood of tears which washed away the collyrium from the eyes of the *Yavanis* of *Rādhā* and *Varēndra*, and rendered waveless at his extraordinary deeds, was (I think), for that time transformed by this prince into the *Yamunā*.

85. The eight mountains and the eight elephants of the quarters which bear the burden of the earth all lie upon his hand. So when he weighs himself against gold in the *Tulāpuruṣa* ceremony, where shall the single golden mountain, *Sumēru*, the abode of gods be ?

86. Shining day and night, and making *Mēru* over to the Brāhmaṇas in pious gifts, namely, *tulāpuruṣa*, king *Nara-siṃha* built at *Kōṅā-kōṅa* (a place of great renown) a temple for the sun to live in with the other gods.

87. Whose fame pleasing to the sight after traversing the eight

¹ Presents of gold, jewels, and other ornaments equal to a man's weight.

sides of the earth and feeling hungry, consequent on the fatigue sustained in the struggle, used to drink water from the *Lavana* (salt) and *Ikṣu* (sugar-cane) seas. But this proving insufficient, she used to cross over the *Surā* (wine) sea. Then partaking of the health-giving *Sarpi* (clarified butter), tasting *Dadhi* (curd) and satisfied with *Dugdha* (milk) (from the seas bearing these names), she appears washing her hands and mouth in the various seas.

88. The king surpassed all in his strength of arms, and crushing his enemies all over the earth, enjoyed the unsurpassed pleasure of his kingdom for thirty-three years. He relinquished all attachment towards earthly affairs (*snēha*), and just as a lamp when its oil (*snēha*) is exhausted, is extinguished by the fall of a great fly, so death extinguished his flame of life.

89. By *Sitā-dēvi* the daughter of *Mālā-candra*, the king had a son the illustrious *Bhānu-dēva*, like the *Bhānu* (the sun) himself, who brought good days to the world. As the *Bhānu* (the sun) opens the *Padmas* (lotuses), brings languor to (*i.e.*, shuts) the *Kairavas* (water-lilies), destroys the intense *Vṛtra* (*i.e.*, darkness), and places his feet upon the summits of the *para-dharaṇi-bhṛt*, (*i.e.*, principal mountains namely: *Udaya-giri* and *Asta-giri*), so king *Bhānu-dēva* diffused *Padmā* (wealth and prosperity), brought languor to the *Kairavas* (enemies) destroyed the hostile *Vṛtras* (enemies), and placed his feet upon the heads of the *para-dharaṇi-bhṛt* (other kings).

90. For the welfare of his kingdom, he kept sixteen ministers well versed in politics, capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy, of virtuous character, and of unfailing resolution. That illustrious and fortunate king used to govern the empire with their advice.

91. He whose weapons although kept closed in his hands is *Nirbhara-dātā* (*i.e.*, capable of killing all the enemies or very much bountiful), although trembling, is good in fighting capacity, and although of fierce attitude, is *Kṛṣṇa-çarira* (*i.e.*, of attractive appearance like *Kṛṣṇa*.)

92. Continually partaking of *havis* (clarified butter) in his incessant sacrificial ceremonies, *Hari*, suffering from indigestion, sleeps a long and profound sleep in the sea. *Agni* (the fire-god) vomiting smoke had recourse to the salt-water (as a remedy for indigestion) in the form of *Vāḍava* (sea-fire); and *Çiva* though he safely drank the *Kāla-kūṭa* (fatal poison) was attacked with *Çūla* (*i.e.*, acute internal spasm.)

93. What shall we say of him? he crippled very much the fame of other kings for liberality. Having conquered their wealth, at the advice of his ministers he gave away *Kanakācala* (the golden mountain), *Kāmadhenu*, and *Kalpadruma* to them.

94. The unrivalled king granted, with proper ceremonies, to good Ṣṛtriya Brāhmaṇas, one hundred pieces of land highly decorated with large and beautiful edifices, shaded by numerous gardens of mango, cocoa-nut, plantain and several other trees, after having the gifts inscribed on copper-plates.

95. When King Bhānu-dēva had reigned for eighteen years, Dhātā was perplexed with the question as to which of the four donors, namely, the Cintā-maṇi, the celestial tree (Kalpa-druma), the Kāma-dhēnu and the king Bhānu-dēva was the best, and summoned the king to appear before him for judgment.

96. As Laṅgmi is of Nārāyaṇa, Jākala-dēvi of the Cālukya dynasty was the beloved wife of Bhānu-dēva.

97. By her was borne the valorous and illustrious king Nṛsiṃha, destroyer of all his enemies and the saviour of the Gaṅga dynasty.

98. (He acquired fame) like Arjuna in handling weapons of war, Vṛhaspati in Ṣāstrik knowledge, Kaṛṇa in making presents, Bhīma in valour, and Kāma-dēva in beauty.

99. In obedience to his mother, he issued one hundred Ṣāsanas to Brāhmaṇas, and also other presents of great value.

100. When the most valiant and illustrious Nṛsiṃha-dēva ascended the throne, his feet dazzled (the beholder) with the light emitted from the gems that adorned the crowns of other kings. All the adverse kings, frightened, broken-hearted, and intent only on saving their lives, betook themselves to mountains.

101. When he began to rule the world, the Kulācala, the Kūrma-rāja, the Nāga-rāja and the elephants of the quarters unburdened themselves of the load of the world and took rest; and the disorder of their heads having disappeared, they reposed happily and blessed the king.

102. When the king sets out on elephants to battle, what hero is there on earth who would bear the weight of fighting, when we see that a single creeper-like sword held in his rain-bow-like hand spreads terror on all sides?

103. He was fierce by reason of his sword, and, violently robbing the hostile kings of their immense wealth equal to that of the Kalpataru, presented them to Brāhmaṇas, with his sprout-like hands which were as ornaments of the earth, and shone beautifully wetted by the water of charity.

104. He placed his lotus feet upon the heads of all the kings of his time. What description can we give of the glory and prowess of the king? When the Dig-gajas, on hearing, from the lips of Kinnaras, songs of his fame, used to cease undulating their ears, the large black-

bees sitting comfortably, drank the ichor issuing from the heads of the elephants.

105. Being resolute, his prowess never received any check. The *kula-parvatas*, at the time of his sacrificial ceremony seemed like cooked flesh placed on bars, and the four seas looked like caldrons. Even the sun, the giver of a thousand rays, becoming bewildered, was seen wandering about in every direction.

(Pt. v. Rev. L. 16-19) Hail Fortune! In the Çaka year 1217, decorated with all the epithets such as the Lord of the fourteen worlds, &c., the illustrious king Vira Nara-Siṃha-dēva, in the twenty-first year of his reign, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Siṃha (Leo), Monday, in the city of Rēmuṇā, at the merry time of a new conquest, in order to grant 50 *vāṭikas* of land, out of the several pieces of land set apart by Hali Prahlāda Mudala for granting to pious Brāhmaṇas, (Pt. vi. Ob. L. 1-21) while on the banks of the Ganges at the time of a lunar eclipse, to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhīma-dēva Çarman of the Kāçyapa gōtra, Kāçyapa, Apasāra, and Naidhruva Pravaras, and a reader of the Kāṇva-pākhā of the Yajurvēda, gave the two villages; namely: Ēḍaragrāma within the boundaries of the Dōrā-Viçaya, and according to the *Nala*-measurement of Çri Karaṇa Çiva-dāsa lying from the (half *daṇḍa* ?) boundary line of the village Mālō-pura on the north to the drinking-water-supplying reservoir of Talanḡa-grāma, and from the western bank of the pond of the village Sāhasapura on the west to the embankment (*Hiḍa* ?) on the boundary line of the village of Vibhūti-paḍā on the west. Out of the 42 *vāṭikas*, 16 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas* of land contained within these boundaries deducting 8 *vāṭikās* and 9 *mānas* as already granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas or comprising cow-grazing fields, ponds, &c., the remainder 34 *vāṭikās*, 7 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*. Secondly :—The village of Sunāilla within the boundaries of Svāṅga-Viçaya according to the *Nala*-measurement of the above-mentioned Çiva-dāsa and lying from the boundary line of Bhīma-nārāyaṇa-pura on the west, to the boundary of Khaṇḍa-sāhi village on the east, and from the half-boundary line (?) of the village Vēḍa-paḍā on the south, to the boundary line of Ghōḍā-pāla village on the north; out of the 33 *vāṭikas*, 13 *mānas*, and 6 *guṇṭhas*, deducting 10 *vāṭikas* and 12 *mānas* as already granted to gods, and Brāhmaṇas or comprizing grazing fields, drinking ponds, &c., again from the remainder 23 *vāṭikas*, 11 *mānas* (?), and 6 *guṇṭhas*, deducting 7 *vāṭikas*, 8 *mānas* and 18 *mānas* (*guṇṭhas* ?) according to the measurement of Candrā-dāsa Karaṇa, and lying from the *Vaṭa* tree on the boundary of the village Ka-llō on the west, to the *Vaṭa* tree at the middle of the field of village Sunaillo on the north, to the *Vaṭa* (Ficus Indica) tree on the boundary line of the village of Vēḍa-paḍā

on the south; the remainder 15 *vāṭikas*, 12 *mānas*, and 13 *guṇṭhas*. These two villages together making up 50 *vāṭikas* of land free of any obligation, are granted by regular deed of conveyance including every thing, land and water, with shades and marshes, &c., for as long as the sun and the moon endure: In this granted portion of land named Gaṅgā-Narasimha-pura one *vāṭikā* is granted to the Sēvāita Allāla-nātha Ḡarman of the Putimāṣa gōtra, reader of the Ḡākala-Ḡākhā of the Ṛgvēda; half a *vāṭikā* to the copper-maker (Tāmra-kāra) named Nāḍi. As a part of this grant,—Nōri Ḡrēṣṭhi son of Purāi Ḡrēṣṭhi, son of Kōmaṭi Maṅku Ḡrēṣṭhika of Ucaḍā village in the middle of the South Jhāḍa-khaḍa; Dhittu Vēlāli, grandson of Mahā-dēva Vēlāli a Tāmbūli of the village of Kaṅṭa-pāḍi-haṭṭa; the Tāmra-kāra named Amnāi of Purusōttama-pura Usthali; and the Kāmsa-kāra named Madāi of Vēda-pura Usthali.

(Plate vi. reverse, L. 1-6). In order to reap the harvest (gain the fruit) of my gift and of preserving it, O you future kings! obey this my religion, as long as the moon and the stars endure. O Ye Kings, suspect not it to be fruitless because granted by another; there is greater virtue in preserving the grants of others than in making grants oneself. O Yudhi-ṣṭhira! the principal of the intelligent, keep carefully the grants either by yourself or by others; for preserving gifts is far superior to granting them. Whoever forfeits lands granted either by himself or by others becomes a worm in excrement, and there rots with his ancestors. Those who take away the land become black serpents in the hollows of dried up trees in a forlorn and waterless wilderness. He who robs a single cow, a single gold coin, or even half a nail of land, remains in hell until the final deluge. The religious acts performed even by an enemy are respected by the high-minded; because the enemy only is their enemy, religion is enemy to none. Of the future kings of this world whether born in the dynasty of my own or in the dynasty of any other king, whoever with mind unstained by vice, maintains this my religious act, I bow before them with my palms held side by side and raised to the forehead.

On two Unrecorded Sculptures in the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.—By
ALEXANDER E. CADDY.

[Read, February, 1896.]

During my visit to the cave-holding hills of Orissa, the sandstone outcrop of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, some twenty miles south of Cuttack, I had an opportunity of making a careful search through the various caves for objects of interest which might have escaped the scrutiny of previous visitors, and I was surprised to find there were still Art and Archæological treasures which had been unrevealed to Fergusson and his emissaries, to Mr. Locke and his troop of students, to Dr. Rājendralāla Mitra and his men, and all the later visitors, official and otherwise, who had been to these hills.

My own mission was to bring away casts of Aṣṭka inscriptions found among the caves, the Aira Rājā's inscription in the Hāthi Guphā, and such dedicatory tablets in Aṣṭka character as were to be found in several of these caves, and which were mostly figured in Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. I was also commissioned to photograph whatever of allied interest came in my way.

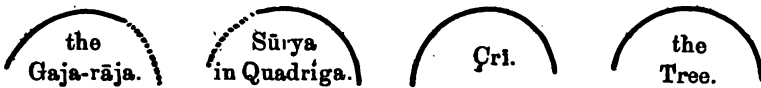
It occurred to me as very curious that no success had attended repeated visits to this cave in discovering the subjects represented on two of the four tympana between the arches over the lintels of the three doors and one window that opened into the inner sanctuary, seeing that more than half of each tympanum was there. They were sculptured but unintelligible. The grime of centuries and successive incrustations from the cells of the steel-blue hornet had sufficiently obscured them to make it hopeless for the casual observer to make anything of them.

It was now an easy matter to set workmen on the tympana to clear out the resinised wax with bamboo scoops and presently the sculptured surfaces were exposed. In the meantime I had devised a preparation which would facilitate the photographing of this intensely blackened stone. A ley of clay and soap, passed through a muslin and applied with a flat brush, much as a painter applies the 'drag,' shows up a low relief with great effect. I photographed the newly exposed sculpture after using the preparation.

The Ananta Cave temple had been explored with great care. Every inch of it had been measured and recorded by men who looked upon it as one of the most important caves in Orissa. Some effort, too, had been more recently made by Fergusson, who had visited Orissa nearly half a century ago, to discover the subject these tympana bore. At his request the then Commissioner of Orissa sent Mr. Phillips specially to examine this cave and report on these tympana—unsuccessfully evidently, for we find Fergusson at last driven to surmise, writing thus in his and Dr. Burgess' book on the caves of India.

"From our knowledge of the sculpture of the Bharat tope we may safely predicate that in addition to the TREE and the image of SRI the remaining Tympana were filled, one with the representation of a WHEEL, and the other of a DAGOBA. The last three being practically the three great objects of worship both here and at Sanchi."

I am sorry my facts do not substantiate this surmise. The series of sculptures on the semicircular tympana begins at the left with the apotheosis of the four-tusked elephant, or Gaja-rāja, followed by Sūrya in a quadriga, the worship of Īri, and the tree, thus:—



We have here then for the first time the unique lotus-worship offered to the lordliest of elephants. The four-tusked one occupies the centre, huge but ungainly. The sculptor has set himself the task of representing in low relief every limb and feature of his great bulk *en face*. The left-hand corner of the tympanum bears a sun image and a well drawn female elephant, in profile, trailing a long lotus stalk, whose flower she is holding up to the Gāja-rāja. A lotus on the right of the elephant is held up similarly, but the female elephant is wanting.

In the Museum on a medallion, now on the centre table in the long southern gallery, there is a representation of a many-tusked elephant *Bōdhisattva*. Here a hunter sent by queen Culla Subhadrā (one of the two queens of the Chadanta elephant in her former life) treacherously wounds the elephant king from a pit. Being discovered by the six-tusked elephant, the hunter throws a yellow garment over himself, but to no purpose. The magnanimous one spares him and learns his mission,—to saw off his tusks and carry them to Culla Subhadrā. Being desired to proceed with his task, he does so with difficulty, whereon the king of elephants takes the saw in his trunk, completes the severance, and then dies.

The Bharat medallion represents the six-tusked elephant near the centre to the right of a banyan tree, whence he has advanced to the right margin. In this second figure is seen the arrow which has wounded him in the navel, also the hunter plying his saw, but the portion of stone which should have borne the tusk is chipped off. A female elephant his queen Mahā Subhadrā, stands by him during the great crisis.

The birth story, which is admirably told in Dr. Anderson's catalogue, concludes with the narration of how queen Culla Subhadrā died of grief and misery for the cruel destruction of her former lord.

In the Orissan sculpture of the apotheosis of the elephant king he is represented with four tusks only and both his wives are in attendance.

The second tympanum figures Sūrya in his quadriga. The "seven bay steeds" or "seven lucid mares" give place to the Western idea of four horses drawing the Sun-chariot, whose front suggests the shield so frequently used as a Buddhist symbol in these caves.

He stands in the centre of his chariot attended by his two wives, Samjñā and Chāyā. An umbrella covers him. To his right is figured the Sun, and on his left we see the Moon in her first quarter. In the corner is Rāhu with his Thyrsus and Amṛta Vase. The supporting figure on the opposite side and the better portion of two horses are missing.

This subject occurs among the Bōdh Gayā sculptures. It is figured on one of the rail pillars now in the Mahant's house; and this gentleman kindly let me make a mould from it last January. I did not then know there was a cast in the Museum already, the gift of Dr. Mitra, from the same source.

Sūrya here stands in a large chariot, the front of which resembles the carapace of a tortoise. His attendant wives shoot ray-arrows from the chariot. An umbrella covers him, while halo-like rays emanate from his person. The quadriga here more closely resembles the Western model. The composition does not admit of accessories as the semicircular tympanum does.

Note.—This representation of Sūrya in a quadriga was also in vogue in Gandhāra and Udiana. A small group in the museum represents him thus; while two large capitals of Indo-Corinthian Columns found by me in the Swat valley show the remains of a very fine sculpture of Sūrya in his quadriga.

A. E. C.



A Tibetan Guide-book to the lost Sites of the Buddha's Birth and Death.—
By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., LL.D.

[Read, August, 1896].

I am surprised that no one seems to have noticed that the Aṣṅka-edict-pillar, which was found three years ago in the Nepalese *taraī* by a Nepalese officer on a shooting excursion, has an importance far beyond that of its own mere inscription, interesting as that is, for it supplies a clue to the hitherto undiscovered birth-place of Çākya Muni, which after Bōdh-Gayā was perhaps the most celebrated Buddhist shrine, and which at Hiuen Tsiang's visit in the 7th century A.D., contained magnificent structural remains including several inscribed Aṣṅka-pillars and a monastery with 3,000 monks; and its exploration must throw a flood of light on the origin of the Çākya race and other problems of those almost prehistoric times in which Buddhism had its first beginnings.

This pillar of Kōpākamana in the Nepalese *taraī*, appears still to be fixed in its original position; and that most trustworthy topographer, Hiuen Tsiang, records that the 'city' of Kapilavastu lay within seven miles or so to the north-west of this very identical pillar.¹ Fa Hian also states that that town lay one *yōjana* (about 7 miles) to the west of the *stupa* of this pillar.²

This important indication which this new Aṣṅka-pillar affords, struck me at once on reading Professor Bühler's translation of its inscription in the *Academy* of April 27th of 1895; but I find that the full official report on the pillar contains no reference to the indications which this pillar supplies us with in regard to the site of Kapilavastu and its suburbs.

It is true that General Cunningham and one of his most incompetent assistants, some years ago claimed to have discovered this long lost city in the village of Bhuila in the Basti district of the N.-W. Provinces; but that this identification was altogether false, like the General's identification of the not far distant Kasiā as the site of the Buddha's death, must

¹ Beal's *Sī-yu-ki*, II. 19.

² *id.*, I, xlix.

immediately be evident to anyone who takes the trouble to look into his reports on the subject and to compare these with the accounts of Hiuen Tsiang and Fa Hian, which are our chief guides on this question. Not only are its position, topography, and surroundings quite out of keeping with the recorded description, but no characteristic structural remains were obtained on digging.

Now, however, we seem to have in this Nepalese pillar a guide to carry us to the very spot.

This pillar of the shrine of the Buddha Kōṣākamana lies in the Nepalese *tarai* near the village of Niglivā, thirty-eight miles north-west of Uska on the Bengal and North-Western railway, in the north of the Gōrākhpur district of the N.-W. Provinces. The ruins of the town of Kapilavastu ought therefore to be found within about 6 or 8 miles to the north-west of this pillar, (30 *li* to the S.-W. and thence 50 *li* to the N.) The Lumbinī garden should lie a little to the north; and about 5 miles (30 *li*) to the south-west should be found the old town of 'Napiki' with the relic-stupa of the Buddha Krakucchanda, which also has its inscribed Aṣṭka-pillar.¹

In this connection, I have found in the possession of a Tibetan Lāma, a guide-book to the Buddhist shrines of India which also places Kapilavastu near the hills on the frontier of Nepal. This guide-book is in MS., Tibetan, and its author has apparently not visited India himself. It is compiled, he says, partly from the records of Hiuen Tsiang and the Indian 'Gau-pan,' and partly from hearsay narratives of pilgrim monks. But its chief value lies in the fact that it gives the relatively modern names of towns and rivers *en route*. It has no date, probably it is not more than a few centuries old. I here extract the paragraphs bearing upon the sites in question:—

"Going from that place (Banaras) not far to the north-west is the country of Kōsala, now called 'Tikṣa' or 'Ayōdhya,' situated on the bank of the river named 'Dhou-ha' (? Dewa) or 'Sarjapu.' Here in this country was the great city of Cṛāvasti,² containing the palace of King Prasānajat, but now traces only remain of the fort, which is called Kōsala-purī. Inside the fort are traces of the stupa built over the seat of the Guide (the Buddha) when he preached here, and also several other stupas founded by the faithful ones. On either side of the eastern gate of the city, is a long stoupe about fifteen fathoms.³ A little further off is a gilded brass⁴ image of the Guide in a great brick building, but I have not heard clearly whether it still exists. To the south of the city about four or five hour's walk there is the

¹ Beal *id.*, II., 18.

² འདུམ་ 'Dom.

³ མཉུན་པོའི་ m.Nān-yod.

⁴ བཤེན་པོའི་ m.Rar-bsay.

Vihāra of Jstavana where the past Buddhas preached. Near that place is a well where the Buddha washed his hands and there is also a dwelling where the revered Āriputra humbled the pride of the miracle-worker Māṅgalyāputra.

"Three or four hours journey to the north-west of Jstavana, is a dwelling called 'the eye-seeing shrine'¹ where traces of the Guide and of the revered disciples are said to remain up till now. To the north-west of that place and north of Ayōdhya is a great fort called 'Kha-nou.' In the eastern portion of the Jēta forest is a shrine where the Buddha preached to the infidels, and several other shrines at each of which king Aṣōka is said to have built a stupa.

"From here, eight or nine days journey to the east, stands the city of Kapila, the birth-place of our Guide. It was called 'Kapila' or 'the tawny colored town';² at present it is called 'Jaya-sipata' or 'the dwelling of victory.'³ One (to reach it) goes through a country where there is a new city called 'Shi-kanta-pura' on the bank of the river Rōhita which flows from the north-east to the south-west. On the northern (or to the north of the) bank of the river Rōhita are the towns called 'Kachi-li-bin,' and 'Bal-po-garh' (which literally means the Nepalese fort, but it may be intended for 'Balaul-garhi' or 'Pāl-pa' of the Nepal sub-Himalayas due north of Gōrakhpur), and the hill of the 'Thag-po' country.⁴ Not far from that hill is a small city called '(r)Do-na-ko-ta' (or ? Āilanakōṭa),⁵ from which after two or three hours walk to the west, are the traces of Kapila city (? now) called Kapila-dī (? dīh), which is described by Gau-pan and in the travel-records of Thaṅ-ziṅ (Hinen Tsiang) and in several *sūtras*.

"In the middle of the city are traces of the palace of Āuddhōdana, with an image of the king. Near the palace is also an image of the queen Mahāmāyā (? now) called Mahā-yōgini. Near that place is the dwelling where the Guide was born, with his image. North-east of that place is a stupa erected by Aṣōka where the king was given a name by the Rṣis. In each of the four gates of the city is an image of the 'Youth Siddhārtha,'⁶ with a picture of the miseries of birth, old age and sickness, and of death, and of the (happiness of the) ascetic. In the north-west of the city is a shrine where the Ākyā (youths) were drowned⁷ by 'Virūdhaka.' The many hundred and thousands of the stupas of their bones as described by Thaṅ-ziṅ were seen by some Ācāryas. Outside the southern gate of the city is a stupa erected at the spot where the Buddha

1 མེག་མཐོན་པོ་གྲོ་མཚན་ Mig-mthoñ-bahi-gnas.

2 Ser-skya-i-gron.

4 Thag-po-yul.

6 Don-grub.

3 rGyal-bahi-gnas.

5 rDo-na-ko-ta.

7 sNub.

when young disputed with the Çākya tribe. Near that stupa is the 'Elephant-pit,' beside which are images of king Siddhārtha, Yaçōdhara, and prince Rahula, as described in the register. And lately the traveller Lālagi has visited them, and seen feasts held there by the people every eight days.

"Not far from the city, towards the south is a great temple with a stone image of the Yakṣa, 'Increase'¹, in a standing posture, this was visited by some Ācāryas.

"One morning's walk to the south of that place is a well which is now called 'Bhagavan-suvadi,' in which it is said whoever bathes is freed from disease.

"Half a day's journey to the south of that place are the shrines of the previous Buddhas Kōṣākamana and Krakucchanda where they were born, as described by Thaṅ-ziṅ (Hiuen Tsiang).

"Again' from the above-mentioned Bhagavan-suvadi, half a day's journey to the north-east is the 'Lambuna' forest, not far from which is the 'Açvō-tha' tree which was held by the right hand of the Guide's mother when he was born.

"North-east of that place is a farm called 'Sahāpara' by the Nepalese, beyond which a little further is a small country, thought to be 'Kaputa.'"

"From that place, north-east is a thick-forest called 'Jahri-ban,' beyond which after a little more than one day's march is Camaladesh' or 'Bāliya-dāç' or 'the powerful country.' In the north-west of this country is the river 'Jahrena' on the bank of which is the Sāl forest under the shade of one of the trees of which the Guide died, in a lying posture with his head directed towards the north, as described by Thaṅ-ziṅ (Hiuen Tsiang).

"Not far east of this is the relic of the Guide which the Indians call 'Krayāta.' Here is an extensive tract of ground of a yellowish-earth where the faithful ones sometimes find pieces of relics about the size of a small grain as described by the Indians.

"To the north of Kapila and 'The Intestine'² country and near Nēpāl is the city of 'Mu-kham-bu-ra' where there is a fortress called 'Mukhyi-drava,' from which, I am told by Lakshināra Singh, (the countries of) Kapila and Magadha may be seen.

"Further east is the country of 'Bhidhiya' (= Bettiah), where in the city of 'Janakapuri' is a bow and arrow of king Rāma. To the east of the palace of the king of this country, after about three days' journey, we came to a road which leads to Nēpāl or 'Nam-khu.'

¹ Tibetan 'P'el.Skt. *Vardhamāna*.

² T. *g*Yod-yul.

“Not far east from the country of Vaiçāli, is the country called Tirhut which is the permanent residence of the King of Vaiçāli. To the north of that country, but slightly south of Nēpāl is the city of ‘Mulkara,’ to the south-east of which is the ‘Mourang’ (=Morang the Nepalese *tarāi* to the North of Purneah) where abound elephants, peacocks and the *rudrākṣa*¹ trees. East of this is a great city called ‘Sahesa-ganj’ (Saifganj formerly a large town in Purneah District founded by a Muhammadan governor named Saif) which is near to the country of Sikhim.² East of that place (Saifganj) is the river Kauçikā (the Kūsi), beyond which is Koch Behara (‘Kuch Bihār’).”

I believe that Kusinagara, where the Buddha died may be ultimately found to the North of Bettiah, and in the line of the Aṣṭka-pillars which lead hither from Patna (Pāṭaliputra).

¹ *Elaeocarpus janitrus*, the warty seeds of which are used for Sivaist and Lamaist rosaries.

² ‘Ras-mo-ljoṅg, or ‘the country of rice.’



On the Kāçmīrī Vowel-System.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S.

[Read November, 1896.]

The only serious attempt to grapple with the intricacies of Kāçmīrī pronunciation is that contained in Major Leech's grammar of the language contained in pp. 397 and ff. of the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIII, for 1844.

For its time Leech's grammar was a wonderful production, but it has the disadvantage of being entirely written in the Roman character, without any definite system of transcription. He gives lists of words classified according to their vowel sounds, and extending over eight pages. These lists (and I have tested every word in them, in the mouth of a Kāçmīrī Paçḍit) are in the main accurate, but it is generally difficult and sometimes impossible to identify the words he writes, or to reproduce them in either the Persian or the Nāçari character.

Kāçmīrī is written both in the Persian and in the Çāradā alphabets. The latter belongs to the family of which Dēvanāçari is the best known member, and will be represented (for convenience sake) by Dēvanāçari in this paper. The Persian character is used by the Muçammadans (who form about 93 per cent.), and the Çāradā (Dēvanāçari) by the Hindūs (who form, say, 6 per cent.) of the population. Carey in his Serampur translation of the New Testament (1821) used the Çāradā character, but since then Missionaries have used either the Persian or the Roman character. The Persian character, with its facile omission of vowel-marks is not suited for representing the intricate vowel-system of Kāçmīrī. And, indeed, to one who is not familiar with the pronunciation of the language from practical experience, it would be impossible to gain merely a faint idea of the correct pronunciation of most Kāçmīrī words, even from a fully vocalized Persian transcription. This is forcibly illustrated by the late Dr. Burkhard's *Essays on Kāçmīrī*. He transliterated rigidly from the Persian character, and hence, as a means for giving a practical colloquial acquaintance with the language, his papers are of little value, though of great value in other respects.

The various systems of transliteration into the Roman character with the help of diacritical marks added to the vowels, are based on the Persian method of transcription, and have most of its faults. For instance Wade in his grammar represents three distinct *a* sounds viz., *ū*, *a'* and *a* by one sign *a*. Another *a* sound, viz., *a''*, he represents by *o*: and at the same time uses the same sign to represent the *ō* in *cob*, an altogether different sound.

The Çaradā (Dōvanāgarī) system of writing Kāçmīrī has the advantage of using fixed definite signs for fixed definite sounds. To those accustomed to the simpler, if less perfect systems hitherto in vogue, it, no doubt, looks clumsy, but, after considerable hesitation, I have come to the conclusion that, whether for the purposes of science or for the benefit of learners, the only satisfactory way of transcribing Kāçmīrī in the Roman character is to follow the Çaradā system with a few minor modifications.

The Çaradā system is based upon actual facts of the language. Kāçmīrī differs from other Indian languages in using vowels at the end of a word which are either silent or nearly so, but which modify the pronunciation of the vowel of the preceding syllable. To an Englishman or Russian this is a commonplace of spelling. An Englishman pronounces the *a* in the word *mar*, in a certain way. By adding an *e*, he gets the word *mare*, in which the final *e* is silent, but modifies the pronunciation of the preceding *a*. In Kāçmīrī these silent (or nearly silent) vowels are called by Hindū Grammarians, *mātrās*, and there are three of them, viz., *i-mātrā*, *u-mātrā*, and *ū-mātrā* which are represented in the Çaradā character by the ordinary signs for *i*, *u*, and *ū* respectively with the sign for *virāma* appended. The mark ¹ is also placed over the preceding vowel to show that it is modified. In the Roman character they are conveniently represented by a small *i*, *u* or *ū*, above the line, a dot being placed under the preceding vowel to indicate modification. Examples are क॑रि *karⁱ*, they (masc.) were made; क॑र *kar^u*, he was made; and क॑र *kar^ū*, she was made. Speaking very roughly, the first may be said to be pronounced something like the English pronunciation of *Kyrie* (in *Kyrie eleison*), the second something like *core* (English mute *e*), and the third something like *kür* (German *ü*). In the Persian character, the first is written کَرِ *karⁱ*, the second کُر *kur^u*, and the third indifferently کَر or کِر *kar* or *kir*. Mr. Wade transcribes the first *karⁱ*, the second *kar*, and the third *kar*.

Of these *mātrās* it may be said that *u* and *ū* are as a rule absolutely silent, while *i* is just heard.

The history of these modified sounds is evident enough. It will suffice to take *u-mātrā* as an example. The Skr. कृतः *kṛtaḥ*, done, became in Apabhraṃça Prākṛit करिउ *kariu*, from which was derived the old Kāçmiri करु *karu*. By epenthesis, of which the Kāçmiri is extremely fond, this became pronounced कउर *kaur* whence we get the modern pronunciation 'core.' The old spelling was, however, retained, but the mark of *virāma* was added to show that the final *u* was silent. So also करि *karī*, represents an Apabhraṃça *करिर *karī* and करु *karu* represents an Apabhraṃça, *करिया *karīa* or करी *karī*. It can easily be shown that *ū-mātrā* represents an older *ī*, not an older *ū*. Words in *ū-mātrā* are nearly all feminine forms of masculines in *u-mātrā*, a fact which explains the adoption of the long *ū* sign as a substitute for the long *ī*.

Sometimes by the addition of suffixes these *mātrā*-vowels cease to be at the end of a word. If the suffix consists of a single consonant, they are then fully pronounced (still, however, modifying the preceding vowel) and the sign of *virāma* is omitted. In this case, *ū-mātrā* takes the sound of a short German *ü*. Thus, if we add the suffix *n*, meaning 'by him,' to the above words, we get from करि *karī*, करिन् *karin* (pronounced something like *kyrin*); from करु *karu*, करुन् *karun* (pronounced something like *korun*); and from करु *karu*, करुन् *karun*, (pronounced something like *kürün*).¹ If, however, the suffix consists of a consonant and a vowel, or more, the *mātrā* vowels remain unpronounced. Thus, take the suffix *wa*, by you. Adding this to करि *karī* we get करिवा *karīwa*, (pr. *kyrwa*); to करु *karu*, we get करुवा *karuwa* (*korwa*); and to करु *karu*, we get करुवा *karuwa* (*kürwa*). Again, adding the suffix *tha-s*, by thee I (was made), we get करुथस *karūthas* (*korthas*), masc. and करुथस *kūrthas*, fem.

The effect of these mute or *mātrā* vowels upon pronunciation of preceding vowels, forms the main subject of this paper.

Before dealing with them, it will be convenient to glance at the Kāçmiri consonantal system. This is, in the main, the same as that which we meet in the Dēvanāgarī Alphabets. It must be observed, however, that Kāçmiri, has no soft aspirates (*gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, and *bh*). The letter *jh* becomes *z*. Thus from Apabhraṃça बुज्जहा, *bujjhai*, we have the Kāçmiri बोजि *bōzi*, he will hear. The other letters simply lose their aspiration, e.g., Hindi √ *ghēr*, surround, but Kāçmiri *gēr*, and so on.

Kāçmiri has developed a new set of palatals, viz., च् च् and च्,

¹ It must be clearly understood that these spellings do not do more than approximately indicate the pronunciation of these words. The exact pronunciation will be dealt with later on.

pronounced (and transliterated) *ts*, *tsʰ*, and *z* respectively. The nasal ञ *ña* is pronounced *ñyḥ*, and is treated as if it was spelled ञ्. With Virāma (ञ्) it is pronounced *ñy*, and is treated as if it was ञ् *ny*².

As regards transliteration; it seems to me that the only satisfactory way, so far as this article is concerned, is to follow the Āradā spelling throughout. The mātrā-vowels should be represented by a small letter above the line, and modified vowels should have a dot under them to warn the reader that they are modified. How they are modified is to be gathered from the particular mātrā which follows, and from the following rules. The only exception I make to this system of transcription is the representative of the *ḍ*-sound in *cob*, and the *ḍ*-sound in *ebb*. These, in Āradā are represented by *wa* (or *ʷ*) and *ya* respectively, following a consonant. Thus वाञ् (or वुञ्) *twahya* (or *tṛhya*) (pr. *tḍhḥ*). As this *wa* and *ya* do not convey to the reader the sounds they represent, I transliterate them (when they represent these sounds) by *ḍ* and *ḍ* respectively.

I now proceed to deal with the vowels in due order. The lists of words given by Leech, in his paper above referred to, have been carefully read over with me by Paṇḍit Mukund Rām of Sirīnagar,¹ and every word which we have been able to identify has been written down in the Dēvanāgarī character, and its pronunciation discussed. Many new words, illustrating new rules, have also been added.

ञ *a* is usually pronounced as the short *a* in America.

The following are examples.

चलञ् <i>ṣalakh</i> , a beating.	वडञ् <i>vaṭakh</i> , thou wilt roll up.
वनञ् <i>wanakh</i> , thou wilt say.	पकञ् <i>pakakh</i> , thou wilt go.
खडञ् <i>khaṭakh</i> , thou wilt conceal.	रक्षञ् <i>rakhakh</i> , thou wilt protect.
पडञ् <i>phaṭakh</i> , thou wilt be drowned.	रनञ् <i>ranakh</i> , thou wilt cook.
ननञ् <i>ganakh</i> , thou wilt congeal.	खनञ् <i>khanakh</i> , thou wilt dig.
मानञ् <i>mānakh</i> , thou wilt obey.	मेनञ् <i>mēnakh</i> , thou wilt measure.
रडञ् <i>raṭakh</i> , thou wilt take.	असञ् <i>asakh</i> , thou wilt laugh.
बरञ् <i>barakh</i> , thou wilt regret.	दजञ् <i>dazakh</i> , thou wilt be burnt.
ज़रञ् <i>zarakh</i> , thou wilt endure.	सरञ् <i>sarakh</i> , thou wilt experience.
बलञ् <i>alakh</i> , thou wilt be shaken.	मलञ् <i>malakh</i> , thou wilt rub.
वलञ् <i>valakh</i> , thou wilt throw over.	खलञ् <i>khalakh</i> , thou wilt be opened.
a person.	बलञ् <i>balakh</i> , thou wilt recover.
गलञ् <i>galakh</i> , thou wilt melt.	डलञ् <i>ḍalakh</i> , thou wilt slip.
मरञ् <i>marakh</i> , thou wilt die.	गर <i>gar</i> ^a , a house.
डडञ् <i>ṭṭakh</i> , thou wilt tear.	अचुञ् <i>aṣun</i> , to enter.
डलञ् <i>ṭalakh</i> , thou wilt flee.	अलौञ् <i>alyauw</i> , he shook.

¹ I must express my obligations to Dr. Stein for obtaining for me so excellent an assistant and teacher.

In monosyllabic words ending in an aspirated consonant, *a* takes nearly the sound of the *ä* in *hat*, thus कृक् *krākḥ*, a noise, but कृक् *krakḥ*, noises. कृत् *kūṭh*, a ram, gen. sg. कृत् संदं *kaṭḥ sandḥ*. This difference is not marked in writing. I shall represent it by *ä*.

A final *a* is very lightly pronounced, and is therefore written above the line, as in *krak^a*, above. With regard to final *ya*, vide post (page 304).

This lightly pronounced ^a also occurs between consonants. In such cases, in the Çāradā character, the two consonants are compounded, and the vowel neglected. We thus get seemingly impossible combinations, such as the word कृत् or literatim *ṭṣh*, which cannot be possibly pronounced as written. The word is really pronounced *ṭṣ^ah*, and means 'thou.' So also in many other words, e.g., कृत् (which I prefer to write कृत्) pronounced *h^an^a*, he has swollen; कृत् (कृत्) *d^an^a*, he shook out; कृत् (कृत्) *k^at^a*, he was wet; कृत् (कृत्) *r^aç*, spite; कृत् (कृत्) *g^ah^a*, he ground: कृत् *dad^ar^a*, the edible part of a cucumber; कृत् *bab^ar^a*, a flower; कृत् *gāṭ^ay*, clever (fem.); कृत् *phōṭ^ar*,¹ a basket. The sound of this letter is very obscure and closely resembles that of the obscure vowel in the English termination *ble*, usually called the neutral vowel. It is liable to modification by a following *i*-, *u*-, or *ū-mātrā*, but its sound is so short, that only an acute ear can distinguish its various shades. Wade illustrates this ^a as well as the *a* modified by *ū-mātrā*, by *ā*, a system which leads to endless confusion, unless some clue is given to the modifying vowel.

Içwara-kaula in his Kāçmiri *Dhātu-pāṭha*, also notes a modified *ā*, which is not followed by a *mātrā*-vowel. It is pronounced slightly more labially than an ordinary *a*: i.e., a tinge of *o* is given to it; and it is, apparently, the short form of *ā* (*ö*). It closely resembles the ordinary sound of *a* in Eastern Bihāri, which is not nearly so broad as the corresponding sound in Bengali, but is still somewhat broader than the usual *a* of Benares-Hindī. The difference between *ā* is however, so very slight that it would pass unheeded by an ordinary ear. The sound occurs in the following verbal roots (including their causals, which I omit). It will be seen that with the exception of the root कृत् *prākḥ^at*, which is hardly an exception, in every single instance the *ā* is followed by a compound consonant the last member of which is *r*.

¹ Içwara-kaula spells all these with compound consonants. I prefer, deliberately, to write them with *virāma*, and shall do so in future. Mr. Hinton Knowles, whose authority is undoubted, would transcribe these words *hun^a*, *dun^a*, *kun^a* (there is a difference of opinion as to the correct form of the part of the root *kṣ*. I. K. makes it *ki^a*), *riç* and *guh^a*. This well illustrates the indefinite nature of the sound which, in the Çāradā character, is represented by *virāma*, or absence of any vowel whatever.

The examples moreover include every case of an *a* followed by such a conjunct given in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and we are entitled to lay down the rule, that when *a* is followed by a compound consonant, the last member of which is *r* (or *ṣ*), it is modified to *ə*.

बद्ध्वाद् <i>ad^{ar}</i> , be moist.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>nuv^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>nuv^{ar}</i>), make excessive.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>an^{ar}</i> , finish.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>pa^{ar}</i> , fell a hem (in sewing).
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ab^{ar}</i> , cloud up.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>pa^{ar}</i> , decide the truth.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>kan^{ar}</i> , be impoverished.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>pa^{ih^{ar}}</i> (Mr. Knowles would write <i>pa^{ih^{ar}}</i>), clean (fish).
बद्ध्वाद् <i>gan^{ar}</i> , count.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>prak^{at}</i> , be manifest.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>chak^{ar}</i> , scatter.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>pha^{ar}</i> , entangle.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>chats^{arāv}</i> , make white.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ba^{arāv}</i> , protect.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>chwap^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>chup^{ar}</i>), spend.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ba^{ar}</i> , cause to be great.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>tswak^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>tsuk^{ar}</i>), make angry. [defile.]	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ba^{arāv}</i> , bake bread.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ts^hya^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>ts^hit^{ar}</i>),	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ban^{ar}</i> , divide.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ts^hya^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>ts^hiv^{ar}</i>), put out (fire).	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ba^{ar}</i> , cure.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ts^hwa^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>ts^hut^{ar}</i>), make short.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>bya^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>bi^{ar}</i>), make separate.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ḍakh^{ar}</i> , depend upon.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>bram^{ar}</i> , mislead.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ta^{ar}</i> , make hot.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ma^{arāv}</i> , madden.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>ta^{ar}</i> , make thin.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>man^{ar}</i> , make imperfect.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>tra^{arāv}</i> , cause to fear.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ma^{ar}</i> , cause to forget.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>tra^{arāv}</i> , cause to fear.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>mu^{ar}</i> , (pr. almost <i>mu^{ar}</i>), make fat.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>tru^{arāv}</i> , (pr. almost <i>tru^{arāv}</i>), make hard.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>mu^{arṇ^{ar}}</i> (pr. almost <i>mu^{arṇ^{ar}}</i>), make blunt.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>thaz^{ar}</i> , make high.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>mu^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>mu^{ar}</i>), be sweet.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>da^{arāv}</i> , make wasted.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ra^{ar}</i> , put in order.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>drwa^{arāv}</i> (pr. almost <i>drug^{arāv}</i>), price highly.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>ly^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>li^{ar}</i>), be yellow.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>du^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>du^{ar}</i>), bury.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>wa^{ar}</i> , bury.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>na^{arāv}</i> , make naked.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>vy^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>vi^{ar}</i>), decide.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>na^{arāv}</i> , cause to shake.	बद्ध्वाद् <i>vy^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>vi^{ar}</i>), separate.
बद्ध्वाद् <i>nu^{ar}</i> (pr. almost <i>nu^{ar}</i>), cause to bow.	

वडर <i>vyath^r</i> (pr. almost <i>vith^r</i>), make fat.	वडराव <i>svat^rāv</i> (pr. almost <i>svit^rāv</i>) appease.
वडुर <i>vyad^r</i> (pr. almost <i>vid^r</i>), be slack.	वडुर <i>swamb^r</i> (pr. almost <i>sumb^r</i>) make level.
वडुर <i>vyap^r</i> (pr. almost <i>vip^r</i>), cause to pervade.	वडुर <i>hap^r</i> , make thin.
वडुर <i>vyav^r</i> (pr. almost <i>viv^r</i>), scatter.	वडुर <i>hand^r</i> , be cold.
वडुर <i>san^r</i> , make deep.	वडुर <i>hwakh^r</i> (pr. almost <i>hukh^r</i>), make dry.
वडुर <i>sans^r</i> , be ready.	वडुराव <i>hwat^rāv</i> (pr. almost <i>hut^rāv</i>), cause to become de- cayed.
वडुर <i>syas^r</i> (pr. almost <i>siss^r</i>), make straight.	वडुर <i>hwab^r</i> (pr. almost <i>hub^r</i>), conquer.
वडुराव <i>syān^rāv</i> (pr. almost <i>siñ^rāv</i>), make soft.	वडुर <i>hwam^r</i> (pr. almost <i>hum^r</i>), appease.
वडुर <i>syand^r</i> (pr. almost <i>sind^r</i>) become red.	

When the vowel *a* is modified by *i-mātrā*, it is pronounced nearly as the *ä* in *hat*. The *i-matra* is also very lightly pronounced, both in the same syllable as the *ä*, with the *ä*, as well as in its own syllable. This has led to various methods of transcription. For instance, some transcribe वडि by *ais*, and others by *asⁱ*. The true pronunciation is something like *asⁱ*. I prefer to transcribe it by *asⁱ*, which follows the native system. The *i-mātrā* is shown in its proper place, and a dot (corresponding to the Çaradā¹) is placed under the *a* to show that it is modified. The following are examples of *a* modified by *i-mātrā*.

वडि <i>asⁱ</i> , pronounced <i>asⁱ</i> , we.	वडि <i>zariⁱ</i> (<i>zariⁱ</i>), deaf (masc. pl.)
वडि <i>karⁱ</i> , pr. <i>karⁱ</i> , bracelets.	वडि <i>khakhⁱ</i> (<i>khakhⁱ</i>), name of caste (masc. pl.)
वडि <i>papⁱ</i> , pr. <i>papⁱ</i> , ripe (masc. pl.)	वडि <i>baḡⁱ</i> (<i>baḡⁱ</i>), great (masc. pl.)
वडि <i>darⁱ</i> (<i>darⁱ</i>), strong (masc. pl.)	वडि <i>gatⁱ</i> (<i>gatⁱ</i>), thin, weak (masc. pl.)
वडि <i>khariⁱ</i> (<i>khariⁱ</i>), having a scald- head (m. pl.)	वडि <i>khatiⁱ</i> (<i>khatiⁱ</i>), cupboards (masc. pl.)
वडि <i>tarⁱ</i> (<i>tarⁱ</i>), many (masc. pl.)	

When *a* is followed by *u-mātrā* it takes a sound which it is easy to describe, but which it is difficult to express in writing. It is the short sound corresponding to the long *ō* in the English word *home*. It may be represented by *o*, i.e., the short sound of *ō*. It has nothing to do with the short *ö* in the English word *cöb*, which also occurs in Kāṣmīrī but is represented differently (see pages 294 and 304). The *u-mātrā* itself is

hardly pronounced at all. Paṇḍits say it can be heard, but when they say they pronounce it, its sound altogether fails to reach my ear. That is probably the fault of my ear, but it is not an exceptionally dull one. All that I hear is the final consonant immediately preceding the *u-mātrā*, pronounced with exceptional clearness. In English, we have a habit of clipping our final consonants. Thus, in the English word *bad*, the *d* is only half pronounced. If we added an *u-mātrā* in Kāçmiri we should to an English ear, only fully complete the pronunciation of the final *d*, or in other words double it. I would therefore, represent the pronunciation of such a Kāçmiri word as *baḍ^u*, great, by *bodḍ*, in which the doubled *d* means that the tongue must not only touch the palate to get the sound of *ḍ*, but must also be mostly drawn back, after a perceptible interval, so as to complete the explosion.

The dot under the *a* corresponds to the ¹ of the Çāradā character, and warns the reader that the *a* is modified by the following *u-mātrā*.

Wade transcribes this *a* modified by *u-mātrā*, by *o*. As he also transcribes the *ḍ* sound of *coḍ*, by the same sign, great confusion is caused to the learner.

The following are examples of *a* modified by *u-mātrā*.

[Note that every word ending in *u-mātrā* is masculine, and that all nouns ending in *u-mātrā* belong to Wade's 2nd declension].

ब॒ड् <i>baḍ^u</i> , pronounced <i>bodḍ</i> ; great (m. sg.)	न॒ळ् <i>naḷ^u</i> (<i>noll</i>), an entire cowrie.
ख॒ण् <i>khāḷ^u</i> (<i>kholl</i>), open, loose.	ब॒ळ् <i>baḷ^u</i> (<i>boll</i>), recovered in health.
म॒ण् <i>maṇ^u</i> (<i>morr</i>), a hut, a fowl-house.	ब॒ण् <i>baṇ^u</i> (<i>borr</i>), a hole in a wall, for entrance.
द॒ण् <i>daḍ^u</i> (<i>dodḍ</i>), burnt.	ग॒ण् <i>gaṇ^u</i> (<i>gorr</i>), made.
ख॒ण् <i>khāṭ^u</i> , (<i>khott</i>), a place of concealment, a wall-cupboard.	थ॒ण् <i>thāḍ^u</i> (<i>thodḍ</i>), tall.
ल॒ण् <i>laḍ^u</i> (<i>lodḍ</i>), made.	त॒ण् <i>taḍ^u</i> (<i>ṭodḍ</i>), a round basin for milk.
ख॒ण् <i>khāḍ^u</i> (<i>khodḍ</i>), pudendum muliebre.	ग॒ण् <i>gaḍ^u</i> (<i>godḍ</i>), a hole.
क॒ण् <i>kaḷ^u</i> (<i>koll</i>), dumb.	त॒ण् <i>taḷ^u</i> (<i>ṭott</i>), cut. [ment.]
प॒ण् <i>phaṭ^u</i> (<i>phott</i>), drowned.	द॒ण् <i>daḷ^u</i> (<i>doll</i>), the skirt of a garment.
र॒ण् <i>raṭ^u</i> (<i>rott</i>), taken.	न॒ण् <i>naṇ^u</i> (<i>norr</i>), sleeve.
म॒ण् <i>maṭ^u</i> (<i>mott</i>), mad.	त॒ण् <i>taṇ^u</i> (<i>ṭorr</i>), more.
ल॒ण् <i>laṭ^u</i> (<i>lott</i>), light, gentle (of speaking.)	ग॒ण् <i>gaṭ^u</i> (<i>gott</i>), thin, weak.
	च॒ण् <i>chaṭ^u</i> (<i>chott</i>), white.

When *a* is followed by *u-mātrā* it takes a sound closely corresponding to that of the German *u*. As in the case of *u-mātrā*, paṇḍits say

that the *ū-mātrā* is pronounced (be it ever so lightly), but to me, all that I can hear is the full pronunciation of the final consonant, which, under the head of *u-mātrā*, I attempted to illustrate by doubling it. The pronunciation of the word कूर *kar^u*, would therefore be illustrated by *kürr*. Wade represents the *ü* sound by *g*, which as before explained, gives rise to confusion. As explained before, I transliterate the Çaradā characters as they stand, the dot under the *g*, showing that it is modified by the following *ū-mātrā*, and corresponding to the Çaradā ¹.

The following are examples of *a* modified by a following *ū-mātrā*.

[Most words ending in *ū-mātrā* are feminine, and belong to the third declension. There are, however, some masculines, e.g., दान *dān^u*, a pomegranate, which belong to the first declension.]

कूर <i>kar^u</i> (pronounced <i>kürr</i>) a beam, she was made by us.	वूर <i>wat^u</i> (<i>wüff</i>), rolled up.
जूर <i>zar^u</i> (<i>zürr</i>), a deaf woman.	बूर <i>baḍ^u</i> (<i>büḍḍ</i>), a great woman.
बूर <i>bar^u</i> (<i>bürr</i>), a crack in wood.	गूर <i>gar^u</i> (<i>gürr</i>), a pitcher.
नूर <i>nar^u</i> (<i>nürr</i>), the lower part of the arm.	तूर <i>tṣhar^u</i> (<i>tṣhürr</i>), empty, a basket.
अूर <i>ar^u</i> (<i>ürr</i>) well, strong.	खूर <i>khar^u</i> (<i>khürr</i>), a she ass.
बूर <i>bath^u</i> (<i>büthh</i>), a hob.	वूर <i>war^u</i> (<i>würr</i>), dried pease pudding.
दूर <i>dar^u</i> (<i>dürr</i>), a strong woman.	पूर <i>pat^u</i> (<i>püff</i>), a small plank.
तूर <i>taṣṭ^u</i> (<i>tṣüff</i>), she was cut.	खूर <i>khṭ^u</i> (<i>khüff</i>), concealed (fem.)
जूर <i>zat^u</i> (<i>züff</i>) torn, tattered (fem.)	पूर <i>phṭ^u</i> (<i>phüff</i>), drowned.
रूर <i>rat^u</i> (<i>rüff</i>), she was taken.	यूर <i>yaḍ^u</i> (<i>yüḍḍ</i>), bellies.

The following are examples of *ā*, which is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindī.

काड <i>kāṭh</i> , wood (masc.)	बाड <i>bāḍ</i> , a dancing boy (masc.)
काड <i>kāṭh</i> , glass, pottery (masc.)	पाड <i>pāḍ</i> , a pillow (masc.)
काड <i>kāḍ</i> , width (especially of a river) (masc.)	बाड <i>bāḍ</i> , centre of a shawl or handkerchief (fem.)
काड <i>kāḍ</i> , a representative (masc.)	माड <i>māḍ</i> , working of dough (fem.)
गाड <i>gāl</i> , shame (fem.)	बाड <i>bāḍ</i> , a call to prayers (fem.)
ताड <i>tākḥ</i> , name of a caste (masc.)	दाड <i>dāḍ</i> , a bullock (masc.)
दाड <i>dākḥ</i> , ashes (masc.)	बाड <i>brāḍ</i> , a verandah (masc.)
पाड <i>pāph</i> , a sin (masc.)	माड <i>māch</i> , honey (masc.)
ताड <i>tākḥ</i> , opening in a wall (masc.)	दान <i>dān</i> , a cooking place (masc.)
नाड <i>nād</i> , a sound (masc.)	प्राण <i>prān</i> , an onion (masc.)
लाड <i>lāz</i> , a stake (masc.)	वान <i>wān</i> , a shop (masc.)
दाड <i>dāḍ</i> , a club (masc.)	रान <i>rān</i> , a thigh (fem.)

The letter *ā* is often modified to *ā̄*, the sound of which may be represented by the German *ö*. It is, however, a prolonged sound, drawled out, so to speak, and there is a touch of the sound of *d* in the English word *hall* in it, so that *ö* is not a perfectly correct representation, though the nearest available. Another way of considering the sound is to say that it is something between that of the *ea* of *earl*, and the *aw* of *awl*. The sound is a very peculiar one, and can really only be learned by the ear.

The following are examples of this letter, which is evidently derived from a long *ā* followed by an original *i* or *y*. E. g. **आस्** *ās* is derived from the Skr. *āśyam*, through **āis*.

पाँच् *pā̄ñc*, five.

वाँक्क *wā̄kkh*, (*wōkkh*) a ringlet (fem.)

लाँक्क *lā̄kkh*, (pr. *lōkkh*) a stride (fem.)

आस् *ās*, (*ōs*) a mouth (masc.)

वाँच् *wā̄ñc*, (pr. *wōñc*) deceiving (fem.)

आस् *ār*, (*ōr*) a kind of fruit (masc.) pl. **आस्** *ār*.

लाँच् *lā̄ñc*, (pr. *lōñc*) a eunuch (masc.)

क्राँच् *krā̄ñc*, (*krōñc*) a potter's wife, (fem. of **क्राँच्** *krāl*).

When *ā* is followed by *i-mātrā* or by *ū-mātrā* it always becomes modified to *ā̄*. As usual the *i-mātrā* is very slightly heard both before and after the succeeding consonant. The *ū-mātrā* is, to my ears, not audible, though the preceding consonant is somewhat more strongly pronounced, which I represent by doubling it.

When *ā* is followed by *u-mātrā* it is pronounced *ō*, and is so written. Thus take the verb **आस्** *āsr̄un*, to sort, arrange. The root is **आस्** *āsr̄*. The past tense masculine singular is formed by adding *u-mātrā* to the root, and is therefore **आस्** *āsr̄u*. The feminine singular past is however, formed by adding *ū-mātrā*, and the original *ā* is therefore not changed to *ō*, but is modified to *ā̄*, thus **आस्** *āsr̄ā̄*. So the masculine plural is **आस्** *āsr̄ā̄*. The feminine plural, however, is formed by adding *y* which does not modify the preceding *ā*, and we have **आस्** *āsr̄ā̄y* (i.e., *āsr̄ā̄y*, see page 304). So also the base **क्राँच्** *krā̄n-*, a relation, has its nom. sg. **क्राँच्** *krā̄n*, and its nom. pl. **क्राँच्** *krā̄n*. Its dative plural is however, **क्राँच्** *krā̄nyan* in which the original base **क्राँच्** *krā̄n-* is retained, without modifying the *ā* to *ā̄* or changing it to *ō*, because it is followed by *ya*, and not by *i-mātrā*, *u-mātrā*, or *ū-mātrā*. This point is important. It explains many difficulties in Kāçmiri declension and conjugation, and, so far as I know, attention has not previously been drawn to it. In dictionaries, the nom. form **क्राँच्** *krā̄n* is given, but it would be better to give the declensional base **क्राँच्** *krā̄n-*, which is the original word. Note, however, that *ā* is the only vowel which is modified not only by *i-mātrā*, but even by a fully pronounced *i* when following it. Thus the dat.

sg. of *krān-* is क्राविच् *krānis*, not क्राविच *krānis*. This is not the case with other vowels: e.g., the dat. sg. of पोच् *pōth-* (feminine) is पोवि *pōthi* (fully pronounced *i*), not पुवि *pūthi*, while the nom. sg. (with *i-mātrā*) is पुवि *pūthi*, with the *ō* changed to *ū* (see page 302).

The following are examples of *ā* followed by *i-mātrā*.

क्रानि *krāni*, pr. *krōni*, relations, ब्याविच् *byāvi* (*byōvi*), seeds (pl. of *byōl**).

दानि *dāni* (*dōni*), churn-sticks, (pl. of *dōn**).

The following are examples of *ō* followed by *u-mātrā*. As just explained, they are really instances of *ā* being followed by *u-mātrā*, and therefore changed to *ō*. They are all masculine nouns in *u-mātrā*. The nom. masc. plurals all end in *i-mātrā* preceded by *ā*. Thus *cyōn*, nom. plur. *cyāni*. The pronunciation of the *ō* is nearly like that of Sanskrit and Hindi, but is slightly drawled till it approaches that of *au* in *cause*, as befits its derivation from *ā* and *u*.

म्योन्	<i>myōn*</i> (for <i>myān*</i>) pronounced <i>myōnn</i> , my (masc.)	
च्योन्	<i>cyōn*</i> (<i>cyān*</i>)	<i>cyōnn</i> , thine (masc.)
प्र्योन्	<i>prōn*</i> (<i>prān*</i>)	<i>prōnn</i> , ancient (masc.)
दोन्	<i>dōn*</i> (<i>dān*</i>)	<i>dōnn</i> , a churn-stick (masc.)
क्रोन्	<i>krōn*</i> (<i>krār*</i>)	<i>krōrr</i> , a scab
ब्रोन्	<i>brōn*</i> (<i>brār*</i>)	<i>brōrr</i> , a cat (masc.)
चोन्	<i>cōn*</i> (<i>cār*</i>)	<i>cōrr</i> , an idiot (masc.)
क्रोन्	<i>krōn*</i> (<i>krān*</i>)	<i>krōnn</i> , a relation.
पोल्	<i>pōl*</i> (<i>pāl*</i>)	<i>pōll</i> , a kind of grain.
त्योन्	<i>tōn*</i> (<i>tān*</i>)	<i>tōnn</i> , he entered.
द्योन्	<i>dyōn*</i> (<i>dyār*</i>)	<i>dyōrr</i> , rich (masc.)
त्योन्	<i>tōn*</i> (<i>tār*</i>)	<i>tōrr</i> , he was collected, four.
प्योन्	<i>pyōn*</i> (<i>pyār*</i>)	<i>pyōrr</i> , dear (masc.)
ब्योल्	<i>byōl*</i> (<i>byāl*</i>)	<i>byōll</i> , a seed.
द्योन्	<i>dyōn*</i> (<i>dyān*</i>)	<i>dyōnn</i> , a foundation.

The following are examples *ā* followed by *ū-mātrā*, (including the letter ञ् *ñ*, which is treated as if it was ञ् *ny**).

चाच्	<i>cān*</i> (pr. <i>cōrr</i>), an idiot (fem. of <i>cōr*</i>).	द्याच्	<i>dyār*</i> (<i>dyōrr</i>), a rich woman (fem. of <i>dyōr*</i>) (rare).
ब्राच्	<i>brār*</i> (<i>brōrr</i>), a cat (fem. of <i>brōr*</i>).	आच्	<i>ār*</i> (<i>ōrr</i>), a shoe-maker's awl (pl. <i>आये arya</i> , i.e., <i>ārō</i>).

काक् <i>kār*</i> (<i>kōrr</i>), a neck.	चाक् <i>tsār*</i> (<i>tsōrr</i>), she was collected (masc. चाक् <i>tsār*</i>).
प्याक् <i>pyār*</i> (<i>pyōrr</i>), dear, beloved (fem. of प्याक् <i>pyār*</i>). (fem.)	राक् <i>rāt*</i> (<i>rōtst*</i>), nights (fem.)
वाक् <i>wār*</i> (<i>wōrr</i>), a small garden	दान् <i>dān*</i> (<i>dōnn</i>), a pomegranate (masc.)
पाक् <i>pār*</i> (<i>pōrr</i>), (fem.)	चाक् <i>tsān*</i> (<i>tsōny</i>), she entered (masc. चाक् <i>tsān*</i>).
माक् <i>māj*</i> (<i>mōjj</i>), a mother.	म्याक् <i>myān*</i> (<i>myōny</i>), mine (fem. of म्याक् <i>myōn*</i>).
गाक् <i>gār*</i> (<i>gōrr</i>), kernel of Singārā (fem.)	चाक् <i>cyān*</i> (<i>cyōny</i>), thine (fem. of चाक् <i>cyān*</i>).
लाक् <i>lār*</i> (<i>lōrr</i>), a cucumber, also she followed, (masc. लाक् <i>lār*</i> he followed).	प्राक् <i>prān*</i> (<i>prōny</i>), ancient (fem. of प्राक् <i>prān*</i>).
प्राक् <i>prār*</i> (<i>prōrr</i>), she was waited for (fem. of प्राक् <i>prār*</i> , he was waited for).	

The vowel *i* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples:—

निक् <i>nish*</i> , near.	बिक् <i>bīh*</i> , an assembly (fem.)
सिक् <i>sīl*</i> , the disease of consumption (masc.)	सिक् <i>sīh*</i> , a whisper (masc.)
फिक् <i>phis*</i> , a child's penis (fem.)	चिक् <i>chir*</i> , the stream of milk that comes out at one pull of the udder (fem.)
थिक् <i>thīh*</i> , noise of a crack (masc.)	जिक् <i>jin*</i> , a demon (masc.)
निक् <i>nis*</i> , take away from him.	हिक् <i>hip*</i> , the driving away of fowls, &c. (masc.)
निक् <i>nin*</i> , they will take away.	मिक् <i>miṣ*</i> , a splinter (fem.)
यिक् <i>yiṣ*</i> , come to him.	फिक् फिक् <i>phis phis*</i> , whispering (masc.)
यिक् <i>yin*</i> , they will come.	किक् <i>kiṣ*</i> , little finger (fem.)
यिक् <i>yīh*</i> , thou wilt come.	पिक् <i>pilun*</i> , to reach.
दिक् <i>dis*</i> , give to him.	किक् <i>kiṣ*</i> , a thrust (fem.)
दिक् <i>din*</i> , they will give.	चिक् <i>chil*</i> , a stake (masc.)
विक् <i>vil*</i> , a short space of time (fem.)	चिक् <i>chir*</i> , a secret.
गिक् <i>gil*</i> , a kind of bird (fem.)	जिक् <i>jid*</i> , revenge, spite (masc.)
चिक् <i>tsīh*</i> , loss of use of limbs (fem.)	

When the vowel *i* commences a word, it is pronounced *yi*: thus—

इक् <i>ih*</i> , pronounced <i>yih*</i> , this (nom.)	
इमिक् <i>imis*</i> , <i>yimis*</i> , this (acc.)	
इथै <i>ithai*</i> , <i>yithai*</i> , gratis.	
इमाक् <i>imām*</i> , <i>yimām*</i> , a Musalmān priest.	
इन्दक् <i>indar*</i> , <i>yindar*</i> , a spinning-wheel.	
इमिक्कि <i>imikani*</i> , <i>yimikani*</i> , thus.	

इत्तुन् <i>itṭhun</i> ,	<i>yitṭhun</i> , to wish.
इपुत् <i>iputṭ</i> ,	<i>yipüft</i> , the yoke of a plough.

When *i* is followed by *i-mātrā* its pronunciation is not affected. The *i-mātrā* is pronounced only *after* the preceding consonant.

इति *itṭi* (*yitṭi*), here.

इतिव *litṭi*, they were plastered by us.

मिळि *mitṭi*, reconciliations.

किळि *kitṭi*, pegs.

निनि *ninṭi*, about to be taken (masc. plur.)

हिनि *hinṭi*, the neighing of a horse (fem.)

When *i* is followed by *u-mātrā*, it is pronounced *yu*, and the final consonant is fully pronounced, as usual. In such cases the *i* is often written *yu*, and the *u*-matra omitted: thus;

मिळ् *mitṭ* or म्युळ् *myul*, both pronounced *myull*, reconciliation.

कित् *kitṭ* or क्युत् *kyut*, *kyutt*, on account of.

किळ् *kitṭ* or क्युळ् *kyul*, *kyull*, a peg.

इत्तुन् *litṭ* or इत्तुव् *lyuv*, *lyuvv*, he was plastered by us.

म्यचित्तुन् *nēcivṭ* or म्यच्युव् *nēcyyuv* *nēcyyuvv*, a son.

In the case of three verbs, the different spellings, mean different things; thus

निन् *ninṭ*, to take, न्युन् *nyun*, the act of taking, both pronounced *nyunn*.

दिन् *dinṭ*, to give, द्युन् *dyun*, the act of giving, *dyunn*.

यिन् *yinṭ*, to come, य्युन् *yyun*, the act of coming, *yyunn*.

When *i* is followed by *ū-mātrā*, it is pronounced something like *yü*, in which *ü* represents a short German *ü*. Thus

इतिव *litṭ*, pronounced *lyüvv*, she was plastered by us.

इतिर *phirṭ* *phyürr*, she was turned over by us.

Instances of this are rare.

The vowel *i* is pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi, thus,—

शीन् *šin*, snow (masc.)

When the vowel commences a word, it is pronounced *yī*; thus,

ईरन् *iran*, pronounced *yiran*, an anvil (fem.)

ईरन् *irun*, *yirun*, to float.

ईद् *id*, *yid*, the Musalman festival.

ईत् *itṭ*, *yitṭ*, so much (fem.)

When *i* is followed by *u-mātrā* it becomes *yü*, and is so written. Thus the word नील् *nilṭ*, blue, becomes, and is written, न्युल् *nyülṭ* (न्युल् *nyül* would be better). This accounts for numerous verbal forms of the Past Participle Masculine.

When *i* is followed by *ū-mātrā* its pronunciation is not affected. The final consonant is merely strengthened slightly by the *ū-mātrā*. The following are examples :

- पीर् *phir^u* (pr. *phirr*), she rambled.
 चीर् *cir^u* (pr. *cirr*), we squeezed her.
 गीर् *gir^u* (pr. *girr*) we arranged her.
 यीर् *yir^u*, (pr. *yirr*), we arranged her (fem.), used of the warp, in weaving: the object must be fem.
 नीर् *nir^u* (pr. *nirr*), she came out.
 गीर् *gir^u* (pr. *girr*), we surrounded her.
 वीर् *vir^u* (pr. *virr*), a willow.
 तीर् *tir^u* (pr. *tirr*), a poke in the ribs.
 हीर् *hir^u* (pr. *hirr*), a head.
 पीर् *pir^u* (pr. *pirr*), a brick.

The Vowel *u* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi. Thus

- युन् *yun*, to come.
 नुन् *nun*, saltish.
 कुन् *kus*, who?
 युन् *yus*, who.
 हन् *hem*, they.
 कुन् *kuz*, a kind of sweet-meat (masc.)
 रुन् *ru^h*, drizzling (masc.)
 सुन् *su^h*, a sip (masc.)

When the vowel *u* commences a word it is pronounced *wu*, and is often written वु. Thus

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| उदूर् <i>uḍar</i> or वुदूर् <i>wuḍar</i> , | both pronounced <i>wuḍar</i> , a plateau (fem.) |
| उव् <i>uh</i> or वुव् <i>wuh</i> | <i>wuh</i> , twenty. |
| उलूर् <i>ular</i> or वुलूर् <i>wular</i> | <i>wular</i> , name of a pargana. |
| उनूर् <i>unar</i> or वुनूर् <i>wunar</i> | <i>wunar</i> , mist (fem.) |
| उपुन् <i>uphun</i> or वुपुन् <i>wuphun</i> | <i>wuphun</i> , to fly. |
| उचक् <i>uḥk^a</i> or वुचक् <i>wuḥk^a</i> | <i>wuḥk^a</i> , oats, barley. (fem.) |
| उव् <i>u^h</i> or वुव् <i>wu^h</i> | <i>wu^h</i> , a lip (m.) |
| उवुन् <i>u^hun</i> or वुवुन् <i>wu^hun</i> | <i>wu^hun</i> , to twist. |
| उजमल् <i>uzamal</i> or वुजमल् <i>wuzamal</i> | <i>wuzamal</i> , lightning. |

There is also a modified *u* which is sounded like the *ö* in *cob*, or nearly so. This I represent by *ö*. It is very commonly written *wa*. In both cases there is a slight *w* sound preceding the *ö*, and, moreover when the vowel is initial the *w* is fully pronounced.

ॐडुलु <i>ōsul</i> or ॐडुलु <i>wōsul</i> , both pronounced <i>wōsull</i> , red.	
ॐडु <i>ōḍ</i> or ॐडु <i>wōḍ</i>	<i>wōḍ</i> , the crown of the head (fem.)
ॐडु <i>ōdur</i> or ॐडु <i>wōdur</i>	<i>wōdur</i> , the belly.
ॐडु <i>ōkhul</i> or ॐडु <i>wōkhul</i>	<i>wōkhul</i> , a mortar.
ॐडु <i>ōthun</i> or ॐडु <i>wōthun</i>	<i>wōthun</i> , to rise.

When the sound is medial, only *wa* is written not *u*: Thus,—

दडु <i>dōd</i> , milk (masc.)	बडु <i>bōn</i> , below.
कडु <i>khōḍ</i> , a pit (masc.)	गडु <i>gōl</i> , dregs of <i>gāi</i> (fem.)
पडु <i>ṭōl</i> , a fireplace (fem.)	जडु <i>wōḍ</i> , scalp (fem.)
मडु <i>mōl</i> , price (masc.)	खडु <i>sōl</i> , drowsiness (fem.)
पडु <i>pōth</i> , piles (fem.)	चडु <i>ṭōth</i> , breaking wind (fem.)
दडु <i>dōkh</i> , pain (masc.)	जडु <i>mōkh</i> , a cut branch (masc.)
कडु <i>chōkh</i> , a wound (masc.)	दडु <i>dōs</i> , wall (fem.)
नडु <i>nōḍ</i> , a daughter-in-law (fem.)	डडु <i>khōth</i> , false, (used as a nominal verb.)
खडु <i>khōḍkh</i> , a snore (masc.)	
सडु <i>sōn</i> , gold (masc.), a co-wife (fem.)	चडु <i>ṭōn</i> , to the four.
	जडु <i>khōn</i> , elbow (fem.)

In most of these, a faint *w*-sound is heard before the *o*, but it is hardly necessary to represent it, and it need not be considered for practical purposes. If strict rigour of transliteration is required, then we should write *d^wōd*, *kh^wōḍ*, &c. In some words, such as *d^wōd* it is more distinct than others, but it depends partly on individual speakers, and partly on whether the speaker is speaking carefully or not.

When *u* is followed by *i-mātrā* its sound is not changed. As usual the *i* is pronounced both before and after the consonant which precedes it; thus,

गुरि <i>guri</i> , pronounced <i>guri</i> , horses.	
गुरि <i>guri</i> ,	(<i>guri</i>), children (of either sex).
मुजि <i>mujī</i> ,	(<i>muji</i>), a radish.
तुजि <i>tuji</i> ,	(<i>tuji</i>), a little piece of reed or thin wood.
बुधि <i>buthi</i> ,	(<i>buthi</i>) faces (nom. pl.)

When the vowel *u* is followed by *u-mātrā* its pronunciation is very slightly altered. The change is so slight that it is unnecessary, to reproduce it in transliteration, but, in order to show the extreme niceness of Kāçmiri pronunciation I make the following attempt to teach the reader how to pronounce these two sounds.

When in English we pronounce the *oo* in the word *good*, we pout out the lips, and *keep them pouted* till we have pronounced the *d*. In

Kāçmiri this word would be written गुदु *guḍ^u*, with *u-mātrā*. This *u* we may call *u²*. If, however, after pouting out the lips, we allow them quickly to resume their original position before commencing to sound the *d* of *good*, it will be noticed that a slightly different tone-colour is given to the *oo*. This sound we may call *u¹*. In Kāçmiri, an ordinary *u* is pronounced as *u¹*, but when followed by *u-mātrā* it is pronounced as *u²*, the final consonant, as usual being also pronounced more fully than in English. We thus get the following examples

गुदु <i>gur^u</i> ,	pronounced <i>gu²rr</i> , a horse (masc.)
सुरु <i>sur^u</i> ,	<i>su²rr</i> , a daughter's son (masc.)
सुरु <i>çur^u</i> ,	<i>çu²rr</i> , a child (of either sex) (masc.)
हुरु <i>hur^u</i> ,	<i>hu²rr</i> , surplus (masc.)
तुल <i>tul^u</i> ,	<i>tu²ll</i> , we have lifted him.
कुल <i>kul^u</i> ,	<i>ku²ll</i> , a tree (masc.)
सुप <i>çup^u</i> ,	<i>çu²pp</i> a sieve (masc.)
तुक <i>tu²k^u</i> ,	<i>tu²kk</i> , we have torn him with the teeth.
रुत <i>ru²t^u</i> ,	<i>ru²tt</i> , right (not wrong).
बुस <i>bu²s^u</i> ,	<i>bu²ss</i> , we have parched him.
वुस <i>wu²s^u</i> ,	<i>wu²zz</i> , he bubbled up.
कुन <i>ku²n^u</i> ,	<i>ku²nn</i> , sold.
तुहनु <i>tu²hu²n^u</i> ,	<i>tu²hu²nn</i> , he put in.
तुक <i>tu²uk^u</i> ,	<i>tu²uk²kk</i> , sour.
वुरु <i>wu²r^u</i> ,	<i>wu²rr</i> , rice boiled dry (masc.)
वुल <i>wu²l^u</i> ,	<i>wu²ll</i> , a small hole in a wall for ventilation or light (masc.)
दुब <i>du²b^u</i> ,	<i>du²bb</i> , a sound (masc.)
थुप <i>thy²u²p^u</i> ,	<i>thy²u²pp</i> , a basket for fruit or animals (masc.)
मुस <i>mu²s^u</i> ,	<i>mu²ss</i> , fatigue, a small turnip (masc.)
फुहु <i>phu²hu²</i> ,	<i>phu²hu²rr</i> , burnt rice at the bottom of a pot.

When the vowel *u* is followed by *u-mātrā* the pronunciation is hardly affected at all. Merely the final consonant is strengthened : Thus,

गुरु <i>gur^u</i> ,	pronounced <i>gurr</i> , a mare.
सुरु <i>zur^u</i> ,	<i>zurrr</i> , a daughter's daughter.
बुरु <i>buz^u</i> ,	<i>buzrr</i> , we have parched her.
मुरु <i>mur^u</i> ,	<i>murrr</i> , the width of sleeve or trousers at wrist or ankle (fem.)

The vowel *ū* is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi, but in some people's mouths it almost becomes *ō*. Examples are

लूठ् *lūṭh*, plunder (masc.)

बूँट् *būṭh*, a demon (masc.)

कून् *kūn*, a corner (masc.)

रूग् *rūg*, or रोग् *rōg*, a disease (pronunciation fluctuating) (masc.)

रूद् *rūd*, rain (masc.)

नून् *nūn*, salt (masc.)

सूँट् *sūṭh*, the puff of smoke from a pipe (masc.)

चूँर *chūr*, a thief (masc.)

पूँ *pū*, onomatopœic sound of derision (masc.)

न्यूँक *nyūkh*, he was carried away by them.

When *ū* commences a word it is pronounced, and usually written *wū*: thus

ऊँट् *ūṭh*, or वूँट् *wūṭh*, both pronounced *wūṭh*, a camel (masc.)

These words are rare, and the above is the only example I know commencing with an original *ū*.

When *ū* is followed by *i-mātrā*, its pronunciation is not affected, but, the *i-mātrā* is as usual pronounced both before and after the consonant which precedes it. The following are examples.

पूरि *pūr*, pronounced *pūr*, filled (masc. pl.)

तूरि *tūr*, *tūr*, small metal saucers (masc. pl.)

गूरि *gūr*, *gūr*, cowherds (masc. pl.)

कूरि *krūr*, *krūr*, wells (masc. pl.)

दूरि *drūr*, *drūr*, skins (masc. pl.)

बूँलि *būli*, *būli*, language (fem. sg.)

लूँलि *lūli*, *lūli*, affectionately.

गूँलि *gūli*, *gūli*, kernels (masc. pl.)

दूँलि *dūli*, *dūli*, deserted, as an orphan (masc. pl.)

जूँलि *jūli*, *jūli*, collected, as alms, in a cloth (fem. sg.)

तूँलि *tūli*, *tūli*, I have weighed them.

दूँनि *dūni*, *dūni*, walnuts (masc. pl.)

तूँनि *tūni*, *tūni*, navels (masc. pl.)

When *ū* is followed by *u-mātrā* its pronunciation is practically unchanged. Really the lips are moved as described under the head of *u* with *u-mātrā*. This shade of sound I may distinguish by calling it *ū^u*.

Thus **मूर** *mūr* is pronounced *mū^hr*, and **मूर्र** *mūr^h* is pronounced as *mū^hrr*.

The following are examples.

मूर <i>mūr^h</i> ,	pronounced <i>mū^hrr</i> , we rubbed grain between the hands to remove the husk (masc.)
चूर <i>cūr^h</i> ,	<i>cū^hrr</i> , we have rinsed out, or squeezed out (masc.)
खूर <i>khūr^h</i> ,	<i>khū^hrr</i> , a razor (masc.)
सूर <i>sūr^h</i> ,	<i>sū^hrr</i> , finished (masc.)
हूर <i>hūr^h</i> ,	<i>hū^hrr</i> , we have discharged a debt (masc.)
पूर <i>pūr^h</i> ,	<i>pū^hrr</i> , filled (masc.)
गूर <i>gūr^h</i> ,	<i>gū^hrr</i> , we have arranged him (masc.)
तूर <i>tūr^h</i> ,	<i>tū^hrr</i> , a small metal saucer (masc.)
ग्रुत <i>grū^ht^h</i> ,	<i>grū^ht^h</i> , a cultivator (masc.)
गूर <i>gūr^h</i> ,	<i>gū^hrr</i> , a cowherd (masc.)
मयूथ <i>myū^hth^h</i> ,	<i>myū^hth^h</i> , sweet (masc.)
तयूथ <i>tayū^hth^h</i> ,	<i>tayū^hth^h</i> , a relish with food (masc.)
नयूल <i>nyū^hl^h</i> ,	<i>nyū^hll</i> green, not ripe (masc.)
गयूल <i>gyū^hl^h</i> ,	<i>gyū^hll</i> , we ridiculed him (masc.)
नयूर <i>nyūr^h</i> ,	<i>nyū^hrr</i> , pasturage (masc.), near.
पयूर <i>pyūr^h</i> ,	<i>pyū^hrr</i> , greasy (masc.)
लयूक <i>lyū^hkk^h</i> ,	<i>lyū^hkk^h</i> , we wrote him (masc.)
पुरुत <i>phrū^ht^h</i> ,	<i>phrū^ht^h</i> , excellent (masc.)
सयूथ <i>syū^hth^h</i> ,	<i>syū^hth^h</i> , long, tall (masc.)
बयूथ <i>byū^hth^h</i> ,	<i>byū^hth^h</i> , he sat (masc.)
मयूल <i>myū^hl^h</i> ,	<i>myū^hll</i> , we met him (masc.)
तयून <i>tayū^hn^h</i> ,	<i>tayū^hnn</i> , we have guessed at (masc.)
तयूर <i>tyūr^h</i> ,	<i>tyū^hrr</i> , sheep (masc.)
करूर <i>krūr^h</i> ,	<i>krū^hrr</i> , a well (masc.)
दरूर <i>drūr^h</i> ,	<i>drū^hrr</i> , skin (masc.)
गयूर <i>gyūr^h</i> ,	<i>gyū^hrr</i> , we have encompassed him (masc.)
वयूग <i>vyū^hg^h</i> ,	<i>vyū^hgg</i> , a trap door (masc.)
दयूथ <i>ḍyū^hth^h</i> ,	<i>ḍyū^hth^h</i> , we have seen him (masc.)
हून <i>hū^hn^h</i> ,	<i>hū^hnn</i> , a dog (masc.)
मूद <i>mū^hd^h</i> ,	<i>mū^hdd</i> , dead (masc.)
गूद <i>gū^hd^h</i> ,	<i>gū^hdd</i> , pudendum (masc.)
बू <i>bū^h</i> ,	<i>bū^hns</i> , we have heard (masc.)

तून	tūn ^u ,	tū ⁿⁿ , navel (masc.)
मून	mūn ^u ,	mū ⁿⁿ , wall of a house (masc.)
पूर	pūr ^u ,	pū ^{rr} , a step (masc.)
दून	dūn ^u ,	dū ⁿⁿ , a cotton cleaner (masc.)
रून	rūn ^u ,	rū ⁿⁿ , a husband (masc.)
रूद	rūd ^u ,	rū ^{dd} , remained (masc.)
लूस	lūs ^u ,	pronounced lū ^{ss} , tired.
वून	wūn ^u ,	wū ⁿⁿ , we have woven.
लून	lūn ^u ,	lū ⁿⁿ , we have reaped him.

When *ū* is followed by *ū-mātrā*, its pronunciation is hardly affected: thus

लूर	lūr ^u ,	pronounced lūr ^r , a stick (fem.)
खूर	khūr ^u ,	khūr ^r , a beel (fem.)
गूर	gūr ^u ,	gūr ^r , a milk-maid (fem.)
दूर	dūr ^u ,	dūr ^r , a breeches' string (fem.)
खूर	zūr ^u ,	zūr ^{rr} , a wooden candlestick (fem.)
कूर	kūr ^u ,	kūr ^r , a girl (fem.)
दूर	dūr ^u ,	dūr ^r , an alley (fem.)
मूर	mūr ^u ,	mūr ^r , a withe (fem.)
मून	mūn ^u ,	mūnn, wool of sheep (fem.)
सून	sūn ^u ,	sūnn, moon light (fem.)

There is also a very peculiar *ū*, something like a *long German ü*, pronounced through the teeth. It is represented in transliteration by *y*. The following are examples of its use.

तूर	tūr ^u ,	pronounced tūr, cold.
पूँतेह	pū ^{te} h,	twenty-five.
कूर	kūr ^u ,	pronounced kūr, cruel (fem.) (masc. कूर kūr ^u .)
गूद	gūd ^u ,	gūd ^d , foolish (fem.) (masc. गूद gūd ^u .)
कूँते	kū ^{te} ,	kū ^{te} , how much? (fem. sg., fem. pl. कूँते kū ^{te} .)
तूँ	tū ⁿ ,	powdered.
थूक	thūk ^u ,	thūk, attacked by the horns of any animal (fem.) (masc. थूक thūk ^u .)

इति सति, by means of.

When the vowel *r* commences a word, it is pronounced *ryā*, and the mark *±* is placed over it to show modification. Thus रय, a season

pronounced *ryāth*. Similarly a medial *r* is modified and is pronounced *rā*, e.g., कृष्यौव् *kṛhanyauv*, he became black, pronounced *krāhanyauv*. With *ū-mātrā* following, it is pronounced *rū*, as in कृम कृम^२, pr. *krūm*, a tortoise (*kūrmaḥ*). The usual pronunciation of *r* is *ru*, as in कृप्यौव् *kṛpyaun*, he out (with scissors), pr. *krupyauun*.

The vowel *ṣ*, is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi: thus

वेरु <i>ṣerun</i> , to arrange.	वेर <i>ṣēr</i> , a seer (masc.)
वेरु <i>gērun</i> , to laugh at (also वेरुनु <i>gēlun</i>).	वेर <i>nēr</i> , go thou out, come thou out.
वेर <i>ṭēr</i> , delay, a yellow apricot (fem.)	वेर <i>phēr</i> , turn thou.
वेर <i>bēr</i> , a low wall or border (fem.)	मेरु <i>māl</i> , unite thou.
वेरु <i>phāl</i> , a crime, a trick (masc.)	वेर <i>dēr</i> , a heap.
वेर <i>hēr</i> , a ladder (fem.)	वेरु <i>gān</i> , verses (obsolete).
मेरु <i>mēn</i> , measure thou.	वेरु <i>ṭēn</i> , take thou care.
वेरु <i>zēn</i> , earn thou.	वेरु <i>sēth</i> , be thou long.
वेरु <i>ṭēth</i> , pound thou.	मेरु <i>mēth</i> , be thou sweet.
वेरु <i>sēth</i> , a fit, epilepsy (fem.)	वेरु <i>ṣēkh</i> , suspicion (masc.)

When the vowel *ṣ* commences a word it is pronounced, and may be written, *yṣ*: thus

यरु <i>ṣl</i> or वेरु <i>yṣl</i> ,	pronounced	<i>yṣl</i> , subjection (masc.)
यरु <i>ṣr</i> or वेरु <i>yṣr</i> ,		<i>yṣr</i> , wool (masc.)
यरुनु <i>ṣrun</i> or वेरुनु <i>yṣrun</i> ,		<i>yṣrun</i> , to sort (the warp.)

When *ṣ* is followed by *i*-, *u*-, or *ū-mātrā*, it becomes *ī*, *yū*, or *ī* respectively, and is so written. This occurs principally in the formation of the past tense of verbs. Thus, from the root वेरु *phēr*, 'turn,' we get the masc. sg. past by adding *u-mātrā*. This gives us वेरुनु *phyūr* (for * वेरु *phēr-^u*). The fem. sg. is formed by adding *ū-mātrā*. Thus वेरु *phīr* (for *phēr-^ū*). The masc. pl. is formed by adding *i-mātrā*; and we get वेरु *phīr* (for वेरु *phēr-ⁱ*). Finally the fem. pl. is formed by adding *y^a*, which does not affect the *ṣ*, and we get वेरु *phēry^a* (*phērē*, see page 304). Again take feminine bases. The base वेरु *sēr*-, a brick; its nom. sg. is वेरु *sīr* (for *sēr-^ṣ*), but its nom. pl. वेरु *sēry^a* (*sērē*). So वेरु *khēt*-, a field, nom. sg. वेरु *khīr* (for *khēt-ⁱ*), but nom. pl. वेरु *khēty^a* (*khētē*). Again take the masculine base वेरु *ṭēn*-, a wall, before *u-mātrā* we have the nom. sg. वेरुनु *ṭayūn*-. Before *i-mātrā* we have the nom. pl. वेरु *ṭān*-, but the acc. sg. is वेरुनु *ṭēnis*, because the *ṣ* is not followed by any *mātrā*-vowel.

The vowel *ai* is pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi. When at the

end of a word, it is indifferently written *ai* or *ay*. Thus *रुपै* or *रुपय्*. The following are examples.

रुपै <i>rupai</i> , a rupee (fem.)	फुलै <i>phulai</i> , a blossom (fem.)
सुरै <i>surai</i> , a goggles (fem.)	बनै <i>bñnai</i> , from below, not I.
कलै <i>kñlai</i> , a wife (fem.)	बुनै <i>bumai</i> , even eyebrows (fem.)
मूलै <i>mūlai</i> , absolutely, root and branch.	रुपै <i>rupai</i> , I shall plant for thee.
खनै <i>khñnai</i> , elbows even (<i>niṣṣṣay-ārthā</i>) (fem.)	बनै <i>bñnai</i> , I shall weave for thee.
सुबहै <i>subhai</i> , very early in the morning.	जुवै <i>zuwai</i> , I shall live for thee.
हहै <i>hñhai</i> , even silent (H. <i>cup-hi</i> .)	बवै <i>bñvai</i> , I shall be for thee.
	बलै <i>walai</i> , I shall fold for thee.
	सुवै <i>suwai</i> , I shall sew for thee.
	कै <i>kai</i> , vomiting.

When *ai* is at the commencement or in the middle of a word it may optionally be pronounced as if it were the modified \bar{a} (= \bar{o}). This is easily explained when it is remembered that \bar{a} is derived from $\bar{a}+i$.

The following are examples.

ऐठ् <i>aiṭh</i> , eight, also <i>आठ् ṣṭh</i> (<i>ōṭh</i>)
वैच् <i>waiṣ</i> , age, also <i>वाँच् wāṣ</i> (<i>wōṣ</i>) (fem.)
मैच् <i>maiṣ</i> , desire, also <i>माँच् māṣ</i> (<i>mōṣ</i>) (masc.)
गैच् <i>gaiṣ</i> , name of place, also <i>गाँच् gāṣ</i> (<i>gōṣ</i>) (masc.)
सैच् <i>saiṣ</i> , a <i>saiyad</i> , also <i>साँच् sāṣ</i> (<i>sōṣ</i>) (masc.)
मैन् <i>maiṅ</i> , a frog (word seldom used) (masc.)
खैन् <i>khaiṅ</i> , a wooden bucket, also <i>खाँच् khāṅ</i> (<i>xōṅ</i>) (fem.)
ऐब् <i>aiḅ</i> , a defect, also <i>आँब् āḅ</i> (<i>ōḅ</i>) (masc.)
वैद् <i>waiḍ</i> , name of caste, also <i>वाँद् wāḍ</i> (<i>wōḍ</i>), masc.
पैत्थ् <i>paiṭṭh</i> , a road, also <i>पाँत्थ् pāṭṭh</i> (<i>pōṭṭh</i>) or <i>पाँत्थ् pāṭṭh</i> (masc.)
ऐच् <i>aiṣ</i> , enjoyment, also <i>आँच् āṣ</i> (<i>ōṣ</i>) (masc.)
वैर् <i>waiṛ</i> , enmity, also <i>वाँर् wāṛ</i> (<i>wōṛ</i>) (masc.)
सैल् <i>saiḷ</i> , a stroll, also <i>साँल् sāḷ</i> (<i>sōḷ</i>) (masc.)
रैन् <i>raiṅ</i> , name of caste, also <i>राँन् rāṅ</i> (<i>rōṅ</i>) (masc.)
मैच् <i>maiṣ</i> , a corpse, also <i>माँच् māṣ</i> (<i>mōṣ</i>) (masc.)

The vowel \bar{o} is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples.

खोर <i>khōr</i> , a foot (masc.)	पीच् <i>pōṣ</i> , a flower (masc.)
खोर <i>xōr</i> , force (masc.)	बोच् <i>bōṣ</i> , dearness (in price.) (masc.)
मोर <i>mōr</i> , a peacock (masc.)	रोठ् <i>rōṭh</i> , a kind of bread (masc.)
पोन् <i>pōn</i> , a frost-crack in hand or foot, the <i>śrus</i> (masc.)	बोर <i>bōr</i> , burden (masc.)
	खोर <i>xōr</i> , a hog (masc.)

चोर *ṭṣōr*, four.
 चील् *tōl*, weight (masc.)
 चील् *lōl*, desire (masc.)
 चील् *bōl*, fickleness (masc.)
 चील् *mōṣh*, a kind of grain (masc.)
 चील् *cōṣh*, a bruise (fem.) (rare).
 गोल् *gōs*, I went.
 घोल् *pyōs*, I fell.
 निचोल् *niyōv*, it was taken by us.
 प्रोल् *prōv*, it was obtained by us.

लेश्योल् *lēchyōv*, it was written by us.
 ख्योल् *khyōs*, it was eaten of him
 by us.
 च्योल् *cyōs*, it was drunk of him
 by us.
 लिव्योल् *livyōv*, it was plastered by
 us.
 मिच्योल् *miṣyōv*, it has been recon-
 ciled by us.

In the following trisyllabic words the sound of *ō* is broadened or drawled till it is nearly equivalent to the *au* in *cause*, owing to the *u* in the next syllable.

मोञ्जुल् *mōzūr**, (*mōzūrr*) a cripple.
 चोञ्जुल् *ṭṣōṣṭur**, (*ṭṣōṣṭurr*) name of a
 village.
 खोञ्जुल् *khōwurr**, (*khōwurr*) left, not
 right.
 वोञ्जुल् *wōwurr**, (*wōwurr*) a weaver.
 मोरुल् *mōrukḥ*, they have killed
 him.
 चोरुल् *cōrukḥ*, they have tightened
 him.
 चोञ्जुल् *wōlukḥ*, they have brought
 down him.

पोरुल् *pōwukḥ*, they have thrown
 down him.
 बोञ्जुल् *bōwukḥ*, they have disclosed
 their wishes.
 रोञ्जुल् *rōwukḥ*, they have lost.
 सोञ्जुल् *sōwukḥ*, they have put to
 sleep.
 चोञ्जुल् *cōwukḥ*, they have given to
 drink.
 चोरुल् *cōrukḥ*, they have collected.

These are all instances of an original *ā*, changed to *ō* by a following *u*, and the pronunciation is hence the same as that described on page 290.

When non-original *ō* is followed by *i-mātrā* it is pronounced like *ā* (*ō*). It is also so written. The real fact is, however, that this *i-mātrā* only occurs in masc. plurals, in the singular of which the *ō* was followed by *u-mātrā*. Thus मोञ्जुल् *krōn**, a relation, nom. pl. मोञ्जुल् *krān**. But this *ā* in *krōn**, itself is not original. The base is मोञ्जुल् *krān-*, and owing to the following *u-mātrā*, the *ā* in the nominative becomes, and is written *ō*. See under *ā*, page 289. To say that *ō* followed by *i-mātrā* becomes *ā*, is merely to repeat, less accurately, the statement that *ā* followed by *i-mātrā* becomes *ā*. Further examples are therefore unnecessary. A number can be made from the list given on page 290. For the same reason, every *ō* followed by *u-mātrā* represents an original *ā*, for examples of which see page 290.

As regards *ō* followed by *ū-mātrā*, exactly the same remarks apply. Every instance is really one of *ā*, not *ō*, followed by *ū-mātrā*.

Thus take the base ब्रा *brā*, cat. Its masc. nom. is formed by adding *u-mātrā*, and is therefore ब्रा *brā*^u. Its masc. pl. is formed by adding *i-mātrā* and is therefore ब्रा *brā*ⁱ. So also by adding *ū-mātrā*, to form the feminine, we have ब्रा *brā*^ū, pronounced *brōrr*, and so many others. It is unnecessary to give further examples, as sufficient will be found on page 290.

On the other hand, an original *ō* followed by any *mātrā*-vowel becomes *ū*. Thus—

Followed by *i-mātrā*.

The base पोथ *pōth* (fem.), makes its Nom. Sg. पथि *pūth*ⁱ (for *pōth*^u) (pr. *pu'thi*), a book. But the Nom. Pl. is पोथ *pōthy*^a (*pōthō*). So also Dat. Sg. पोथि *pōthi* (pr. *pō'thi*), in which the final *i* is fully pronounced.

Base बोळ *bōl*, speech; nom. sg. बुळि *būl*ⁱ (for *bōl*ⁱ) (pr. *būl*ⁱ)

The √ बोळ *bōz*, hear, makes the Pl. Masc. of its Past tense बुळि *būz*ⁱ (for *bōz*ⁱ) (pr. *būz*ⁱ), but Pl. Fem. बोळ *bōz*^a. The vowel ^a is not a *mātrā*-vowel.

√ रोळ *rōz*, remain, Past tense, Pl. Masc. रुळि *rūd*ⁱ (for *rōz*ⁱ) (pr. *rū'd*ⁱ).

Followed by *u-mātrā*

This only occurs in the case of verbs, e.g.

√ बोळ *bōz*, hear, Past tense, Sg. Masc. बुळ *būz*^u (for *bōz*^u) (pr. *būz*)

√ रोळ *rōz*, remain „ „ रुळ *rūd*^u (for *rōz*^u) (pl. *rūd*)

√ दोळ *dōn*, card wool, „ „ दुळ *dūn*^u (for *dōn*^u) (pr. *dūnn*)

Followed by *ū-mātrā*.

Base कोर *kōr*—, a girl. Nom. sg. (formed by adding *ū-mātrā*) कूर *kūr*^ū (for *kōr*^ū); but nom. pl. कोये *kōry*^a (*kōrō*).

Base लोर *lōr*—, a stick. Nom. sg. लूर *lūr*^ū (for *lōr*^ū)

√ बोळ *bōz*, hear, Past tense, Fem. sg. (formed by adding *ū-mātrā*) बुळ *būz*^ū (for *bōz*^ū) (pr. *būz*).

√ रोळ *rōz* remain, Past tense, Fem. sg., रुळ *rūz*^ū (for *rōz*^ū), (pr. *rūz*).

√ दोळ *dōn*, card, Past tense, fem. sg. दुळ *dūn*^ū (for *dōn*^ū), (pr. *dūnn*).

It will thus be seen, that *ō* never appears followed by *i-mātrā*, or by *ū-mātrā*, and that when it appears followed by *u-mātrā* it is not original, but represents an original *ū*.

The pronunciation of *au* is the same as in Skr. and Hindi.

गौव् *gauv*, he went.

खौव् *khyauv*, we ate.

प्यौव् *pyauv*, he fell.

म्यौव् *myauv*, mew of a cat.

चौव् *cyauv*, we drank.

And many other past tenses.

When the syllable *ya* follows a consonant, the *y* is as a rule fully pronounced, as in the following examples. Elmslie, in his dictionary, and Wade represent *ya* by *ɛ* (short), but my paṇḍit assures me that the *y* in the following words is quite fully pronounced. Mr. Hinton Knowles' Munsalmān Munshī pronounces all these words with *ɛ*. The difference is probably one of religion: and, as 90 per cent. of Kāçmīris are Musalmāns, it would be more generally correct to spell *all* these words with *ɛ*. As, however, this article is written with more special reference to the Hindū grammar of Içwara Kaula, and the words are written in the Nāgarī character. I write them as follows:—

प्यक् *pyākh*, thou wilt fall.

ख्यक् *khyas*, eat for him.

दयक् *dyad*, mother.

व्यक् *vyāth*, name of the river
Jhelum.

म्यक् *myas*, a water-root.

क्यक् *khyāth*, having eaten.

च्यक् *cyas*, drink for him.

र्यक् *ryākh*, a fowl's dung.

व्यक् *cyāth*, thought.

च्यक् *chyākh*, thou art (fem.)

दयक् *dyākh*, angry.

ख्यक् *khyākh*, thou wilt eat.

तयक् *ṭyad*, patience.

दयक् *dyal*, skin, peel.

तयक् *ṭyal*, squeezing, shampooing.

व्यक् *zyal*, cream of tyre.

ह्यक् *hyal*, dirt used as manure.

व्यक् *dyak*, forehead.

ल्यक् *lyad*, horse-dung.

व्यक् *vyas*, a woman's confidante.

In the following, the *ya* is pronounced *yu*, owing to the influence of the following *u-mātrā*.

ल्यक् *lyal*, pronounced *lyull*, a vessel for cooking rice.

ब्यक् *byann*, *byunn*, separate.

प्यक् *pyal*, *pyull*, a testicle.

दयक् *dyal*, *dyull*, a soft grass used for packing and matting

तयक् *ṭyal*, *ṭyull*, squeezed.

व्यक् *tyaṭh*, *tyuṭh*, bitter.

ह्यक् *hyal*, *hyull*, a lake weed.

व्यक् *ṭhyaṭ*, *ṭhyuṭ*, leavings.

प्यक् *pyan*, *pyunn*, to fall, or the act of falling.

ख्यक् *khyan*, *khyunn*, to eat, or the act of eating.

जन्नु *zyan**, pronounced *zyunn*, to be born, the act of being born.

चन्नु *cyan**, *cyunn*, to drink, the act of drinking.

So,—

ज्युनु *ṣyūn**, *ṣyūnn*, a pillar.

म्युनु *myūn**, *myūnn*, measured.

When, however, *ya* is followed by *i* or *y* in the next syllable, it is pronounced as a short *ɛ*, (as in *ebb*), and as such I write it in transliteration. So also a final *ya* (*y^a*) is pronounced *ɛ*. In each case a very faint *y* sound is audible before the *ɛ* when the speaker speaks slowly. Thus, it would be more absolutely accurate to represent जलिस by *lɛlis*, than by *ləlis*, but the *y* may be omitted for practical purposes. A final ज *ña* is treated as if it was *ny^a*, and is pronounced *ñɛ* or *nyɛ*. The following are examples :—

जलिस *ləlis*, a vessel for cooking rice
(acc. sg.) (masc.)

जलिस *ləli*, do. nom. pl. Cf. *lyal** in
the preceding list.

बेन्नि *bənni*, separate (masc. pl.)

जलिस *pəlis*, a testicle (acc. sg.)
(masc.)

जलिस *pəli*, do. nom. pl.

जलिस *dəli*, pl. of *dyal** (*dyoll*) in the
last list.

जलिस *ṣṣəli*, squeezed (masc. pl.)

जलिस *iṣṣi*, bitter (masc. pl.)

जलिस *həli*, lake-weeds (masc. pl.)

जलिस *ṣṣəṣi*, leavings.

पच *pacɛ*, tablets (fem. pl.)

पौच *pəiɛ*, books (fem. pl.)

करे *karɛ*, they (fem.) were made
by us.

बन *təhɛ*, you (obl. pl.)

So also बच *byan**, pr. *bənyɛ*, a sister.

When the *ya* in this case commences a word, it is pronounced *yɛ*. Thus बमिस *yəmis*, whom.

As regards *wa*. I have already pointed out, under the head of *a* page 294, that it is often pronounced as *ɔ* (short). This is however, complicated when *u-mātrā* follows, in which case *wa* is pronounced like *a* before *u-mātrā*, the sound of which I transliterate by *o*. It is almost identical with the vowel in the Irish pronunciation of "gun." If, however, the *wa* is followed by *i-mātrā*, the *wa* is pronounced *ɔ* as usual.

गन्नु *gōn**, pronounced *gonn*, a stack (masc.)

गन्नि *gōni*, *gōni*, stacks.

दुनु *dōb**, *dobb*, a washerman (masc.)

दुनि *dōbi*, *dōbi*, washermen.

वोथ *wōth**, *wotth*, arisen (masc. sg.)

वोथि *wōthi*, *wōthi*, arisen (masc. pl.)

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क- क	kōb ^u ,	kobb, a hunchback (masc.)
क- क	tshōp ^u ,	tshopp, silent.
क- क	hōt ^u ,	hott, spoiled (masc.)
क- क	lōt ^u ,	lott, light, not heavy (masc.)
क- क	hōd ^u ,	hodd, plain boiled rice (masc.)
क- क	tōh ⁱ ,	tōh ⁱ , ye. (nom. pl.)
क- क	phōt ^u ,	phott, a basket (masc.)

The fem. of क-
क tshōp^u is क-
क tshōp^u, and is pronounced tshüpp,
and so for the others.



A List of Kāçmīri Verbs.—By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C. I. E., I. C. S.

[Read December, 1896.]

The following list of Kāçmīri Verbs, is founded on the *dhātu-pāṣha* of *Īçvara-kaula's* Kāçmīri Grammar, entitled the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. The verbs are quoted under their root forms. In the *dhātu-pāṣha* they are all given as ending in *a* or rather in *ā*, and I have followed this in the *Dēva-nāgari* list. In the transcription in the Roman character, I have followed the usual custom of European scholars in dealing with modern Indo-Aryan roots, and have omitted the final vowel.

There are two conjugations of Kāçmīri verbs, which differ only in the tenses formed from the Past Participle. The First Conjugation consists of Active and Impersonal Verbs, and its terminations (in these tenses) are formed by the addition of pronominal suffixes of the Instrumental Case. Examples are; (Transitive Verb); *kṛu-n* he made (him), literally, he was-made-by-him; (Impersonal Verb); *ṣu-n*, he laughed, lit. it-was-laughed-by-him. Impersonal Verbs only appear in the third person masc. singular.

Active Verbs occur in all genders, numbers and persons. Thus *kṛā-n*, he made (her) (lit. she was-made-by-him); *kṛi-n*, he made (them) (lit. they [masc.] were-made-by-him); *kṛā-n* he made them (fem.), (lit. they [fem.] were-made-by-him).

The Second Conjugation consists of Neuter Verbs, and its terminations (in these tenses) are formed by the addition of pronominal suffixes of the Nominative Case (which, however, are omitted in the third person singular and plural, and in the first person plural). Thus *gāku-s*, I went, lit. gone-I. The verb agrees with the subject in gender and number. Thus *gāc-s*, I (fem.) went. In the accompanying list, Active Verbs are marked (in the first column) with the letter \mathfrak{A} , i.e., *karmāṇi prayōga*, or passive construction. Impersonal Verbs are marked \mathfrak{B} , i.e., *bhāvāṇi prayōga*, or impersonal construction. Neuter Verbs are left unmarked. This information is taken from the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*.

Three simple tenses are derived from the Past Participle; the Past, the Aorist, and the Pluperfect. In the masculine, the characteristic

letter of the Past is *u*, of the Aorist is *yau* or *yō*, and of the Pluperfect *yā*.

The Past tense describes something which has happened lately, e.g., *kəru-n*, he has (just) made. It is formed directly from the Past Participle.

Only a small number of verbs of the second conjugation possess this tense. As a rule, Neuter Verbs employ the Aorist to express the idea conveyed, in the case of verbs of the first conjugation, by the Past Tense.

The following verbs (according to the *Kāçmīra-çabdāmṛta*) are the only ones of the second conjugation which have the Past proper.

Thak, pak, samakh, hōkh, tag, lag, çōgg, k^a ts, khōts, patz, rōts, vyats, hōts, gatsh (be proper), *wōpaz, daz, rōz, phat, phut, rōt, bōd, wāt, wōth, tslyann, sapan, wup, çrap, pray, lay, way, khar, tar, phar, phēr, mar, sōr, gal, tsal, çal, çōl, phal, phōll, mēl, bōv, rāv, dōç, pōç, maç, rōç, ās, khas, phas, bas, las, lōs, was, byah.*

These verbs, which I shall in future "Listed Verbs" form a class by themselves, and, in the treatment of the final consonant follow the example of verbs of the first conjugation.

Before *ū-mātrā* (i.e., in the fem. sg., Past), and before *y* (i.e., in the fem. plur., Past, and in the Aorist and Pluperfect), in the case of verbs of the first conjugation, and of the abovementioned listed Neuter Verbs, certain final consonants of the past participle become palatalized: as follows:—

k, kh and *g*, become *c, ch* and *j*, respectively.

Thus—

3 Masc. sg. Past.

3 Fem. sg. Past.

3 Masc. Aorist.

thak^a, he was weary

thac^a

thacyōv

lyūkhun (✓ *lēkh*), he wrote

lich^an

lēchyōn

dəgun, he pounded

dəj^an

dajyōn

t, th, d and *ç*, become *c, ch*, and *j* respectively, but not before *ū-mātrā*, only before *y*.

Thus—

phat^a, he was split

phat^a

phacyōv

math^a [✓ *maç*] he was forgotten

math^a

machyōv

gəndun, he bound

gənd^an

gəñjyōn

t, th, d and *ç* become *ts, tsh, z*, and *ñ* respectively, in both cases,

Thus—

kətun, he spun

kət^an

katōn

wōth^a, he arose

wōtsh^a

wōtshōv

lədun, he built

ləz^an

lazōn

vənun, he cooked

vəñ^an

vañōn

Verbs in *l* change it to *j*.

Thus—

pōlun (✓ *pāl*), he protected
tsalⁿ, he fled

pājⁿ
tsajⁿ

pājyōn
tsajyōv

These changes do *not* occur in the case of verbs of the second conjugation which are not mentioned in the above list. Thus, from the ✓ *zēth*, be long, we have the Aorist *zēthyauv*, not *zēchyauv*.

Note that *y* is elided after *ts*, *ts^h*, *z* and *ñ*, and *s*. It is also elided in the case of the verbs *pi*, 'fall' (*pyauv* not *pi-y-auv*), and *gat^h*, 'go' (*gauv* not *gyauv*).

It is, however, retained in the case of the following Neuter Verbs.

K^ats, be wet, *grōts*, be splashed out, *tsōts*, be without employment, *ts^hōts*, be empty, *tēz*, be sharp, *paz*, be fit, *rōts*, be pleasant, *vyats*, be contained, *braz*, shine, *bāwaz*, be pleasant, *lyats*, be weak, *grōts*, be pure.

Thus, *grōtsyōv*, not *grōtsōv*, he was splashed out.

[It is also retained in the following verbs ending in *s*, *āvas*, *ḍōs*, *tsas*, *tras*, *ras*, *r^as*, *lis*, *vis*, *wōlas*, *wōs* and optionally in *ḥās*, *das*, *bās*, *mus*, and *s^as*].

The vowel changes in these verbs are caused by the presence of *mātrā* vowels in the final syllable of the masc. and fem. sg. and masc. plural of the past. There are no vowel changes in the fem. plural, as it never ends in a *mātrā*-vowel, or in the Aorist or Pluperfect. These changes have been explained in my previous paper on Kāçmiri pronunciation.¹ They are given briefly in the following table, which applies to all verbs of both conjugations.

¹ Vide supra, pp. 280 and ff.

Radical.	BECOMES							As in
	As in u-matrā (masc. sg. past.)	As in kərun, (pr kə r u n) he made him,	before ū-matrā (fem. sg. past.)	As in kəp ⁿ , (pr. kə r p ⁿ) he made her,	before i-matrā, (masc. pl. past.)	As in kərin, (pr. kə r i n) he made them,	before ya (ē), (fem. pl. past, & throughout aorist.)	
a°	...	kərun, to do,	φ	kəp ⁿ , (pr. kə r p ⁿ) he made her,	φ	kərin, (pr. kə r i n) he made them,		kəṛṇ, kəryōṇ.
ā	...	mārun, to kill,	ō	mār ⁿ , (pr. mā r ā n) he made her,	ā	mārin, (pr. mā r i n) he made them,		mārṇ, māryōṇ.
i	...	livun, to plaster,	yu	liv ⁿ , (pr. li v ū n) he made him,	i	livin, (pr. li v i n) he made them,		livyēṇ, livyōṇ.
i	...	cirun, to squeeze out,	yū	cir ⁿ , (pr. ci r ū n) he made him,	i	cirin, (pr. ci r i n) he made them,		cirēṇ, ciryōṇ.
u	...	buzun, to parch,	un- changed	buz ⁿ , (pr. bu z ū n) he made him,	un- changed	buzin, (pr. bu z i n) he made them,		buzan, buzōṇ.
ū	...	lūfun, to rob,	un- changed	lūf ⁿ , (pr. lū f ū n) he made him,	un- changed	lūfin, (pr. lū f i n) he made them,		lūcēṇ, lūcyōṇ.
ē	...	phērun, to be turned,	yū	phēr ⁿ , (pr. phē r ū n) he made him,	i	phēri, (pr. phē r i) he made them,		phērē, phēryōṇ.
ō	...	bōzun, to hear,	ū	bōz ⁿ , (pr. bō z ū n) he made him,	ū	bōzin, (pr. bō z i n) he made them,		bōzēṇ, bōzyōṇ.

Remains unchanged.

The **Aorist**, expresses past time indefinitely, with no reference to proximity or distance, e.g., *karyō-n*, he made. In the second conjugation in most cases it is, however, used instead of the Past Tense, and then the Pluperfect is used for the Aorist. It is formed in the masculine singular by adding *yau* or *yō* to the root of the verb, and then affixing the pronominal suffixes. The termination is generally written *चौ yau*, but is always pronounced *चौ yō*. A Kāçmiri Paṇḍit makes no distinction in pronunciation between *au* and *ō*.

In those verbs which have a Past Tense, the base of the Fem. Plur. Past, is the same as that of the Aorist. Thus *pak**, he went, Fem. pl. *pacya* or *pacē*, Aorist *pacyōv*.

The Pluperfect expresses remote time, and is formed in the masculine by changing the *yō* of the Aorist to *yā*. Thus, *karyān*, he did (a long time ago), he had done. It is the tense of narrative. Thus *sakhariyāv*, (in telling a story), he went. Those Neuter Verbs of the second conjugation, which use the Aorist for the Past Tense, also use the Pluperfect in the Indefinite sense of the Aorist. If they end in a consonant, they form a new Pluperfect by inserting *i* before the *yā*. Thus *zēhiyāv*, he had been long, but *zēhiyāv*, he was long (not *zēchyāv*, as the $\sqrt{zēh}$ is not one of the listed verbs).

The above rules are those given in the *Kaçmīra-çabdāmṛta*. As the Past Tenses form one of the chief difficulties of the Kāçmiri Verb, and, moreover, present irregularities which are not referred to in the above abstract (especially those which occur in the formation of the Past Participle), I have given in the fourth column of the accompanying list, the third person singular masculine, of the Past and of the Aorist of every verb mentioned. These have been carefully tested in each instance by my Paṇḍit, and by myself, independently, with the *Çabdāmṛta*, and may be, I believe, taken as correct according to the teaching of ~~its~~ author. Here and there my Paṇḍit has given me a form not sanctioned by the *Çabdāmṛta*. In any such case I have inserted it in square brackets:

Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary contains about four-hundred verbs, while this list contains about double that number. It may, therefore, be considered a somewhat important contribution to Kāçmiri lexicography.

I have compared Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary with this throughout. I have found in it (after excluding a number of perfectly regular causals) about a dozen verbs which were not in the *Dhātu-pāṭha*. Most of these my Paṇḍit condemns as Panjābi and as not Kāçmiri, but two or three have passed his test, and have been inserted between square brackets. An asterisk is inserted in the fifth column in the case of each verb occurring in the *Vocabulary*.

The fifth column in the list contains the meaning of the roots in English. These meanings are not translations of the Sanskrit meanings given in the third column, but are based upon them. Each meaning inserted has the express sanction of my Paṇḍit who is a Kāçmīri born and bred.

To conclude, the following are the full conjugational forms of the three Past Tenses of the Kāçmīri Verb, according to the *Kaçmiri-çabdāmṛta*.

First Conjugation. Transitive and Impersonal Verbs.

(**भूतकाल**) Past Tense, I made.

	He was made	She was made	They (masc.) were made	They (fem.) were made
by me	करम् <i>kṛum</i>	करम् <i>kṛ^mm</i>	करिम् <i>kṛim</i>	करेम् <i>kṛēm¹</i>
by thee	करुत् <i>kṛuth</i>	करुत् <i>kṛthth</i>	करिथ् <i>kṛith</i>	करेथ् <i>kṛēth</i>
by him	करन् <i>kṛun</i>	करन् <i>kṛⁿn</i>	करिन् <i>kṛin</i>	करेन् <i>kṛēn</i>
by us	करु <i>kṛ^a</i>	करु <i>kṛ^a</i>	करि <i>kṛⁱ</i>	करे <i>kṛē</i>
by you	करुव <i>kṛ^wv</i>	करुव <i>kṛ^wv</i>	करिव <i>kṛ^wv</i>	करेव <i>kṛēv^a</i>
by them	करुक् <i>kṛukh</i>	करुक् <i>kṛ^{kh}kh</i>	करिक् <i>kṛikh</i>	करेक् <i>kṛēkh</i>

(**सामान्यभूतकाल**) Aorist, I made.

	He was made	She was made	They (masc.) were made	They (fem.) were made
by me	{ कर्योम् <i>karyōm²</i> कर्यौम् <i>karyāum</i>	कर्येवम् <i>karyēyam</i>	कर्येम् <i>karyēm</i>	कर्येवम् <i>karyēyam</i>
by thee	{ कर्योत् <i>karyōth</i> कर्यौत् <i>karyāuth</i>	कर्येवथ् <i>karyēyath</i>	कर्येथ् <i>karyēth</i>	and so on, same as sin- gular.
by him	{ कर्योन् <i>karyōn</i> कर्यौन् <i>karyāun</i>	कर्येवन् <i>karyēyan</i>	कर्येन् <i>karyēn</i>	
by us	{ कर्योव <i>karyōv</i> कर्यौव <i>karyāuv</i>	कर्येव <i>karyēya</i>	कर्येव् <i>karyēy</i>	
by you	{ कर्योव <i>karyōv^a</i> कर्यौव <i>karyāuv^a</i>	कर्येवव <i>karyēyav^a</i>	कर्येव <i>karyēv^a</i>	
by them	{ कर्योक् <i>karyōkh</i> कर्यौक् <i>karyāukh</i>	कर्येवक् <i>karyēyakh</i>	कर्येक् <i>karyēkh</i>	

¹ Pronounced *karyem*.

² Pronounced कर्योम् and so throughout.

(पूरुवतकाळ) *Pluperfect, I had made.*

	He had been made	She had been made	They (masc.) had been made	They (fem.) had been made
by me	कर्याम् <i>kuryām</i>	same as in Aorist	करेवेष् <i>karēyēṣ</i>	same as in Aorist
by thee	कर्याथ् <i>karyāth</i>		करेवेष् <i>karēyēṣ</i>	
by him	कर्यान् <i>karyān</i>		करेवेन् <i>karēyēn</i>	
by us	कर्याव् <i>karyāv</i>		करेवेष् <i>karēyēṣ</i>	
by you	कर्याव् <i>karyāv</i> ^a		करेवेव <i>karēyēv</i> ^a	
by them	कर्याक् <i>karyāk</i>		करेवेष् <i>karēyēṣ</i>	

Second Conjugation. Neuter Verbs.

Neuter Verbs. Except in verbs specially listed above, the Past does not occur. One of these listed verbs is पक्, *pak*, 'go.'

(धृतकाळ) *Past, I went.*

	Masculine.	Feminine.
I went	पकुष् <i>pakus</i>	पकुष् <i>pac^s</i>
They wentest	पकुष् <i>pakukh</i>	पकुष् <i>pac^skh</i>
He went	पक् <i>pak^s</i>	पक् <i>pac^s</i>
We went	पकि <i>pakⁱ</i>	पक् <i>pacⁱ</i> ¹
You went	पकिव <i>pakⁱv</i> ^a	पक्व <i>pacⁱv</i> ^a
They went	पकि <i>pakⁱ</i>	पक् <i>pacⁱ</i>

¹ Pronounced *pacyē*.

Aorist (घामान्यभूतकाळ) in the case of listed verbs. *Past* (भूतकाळ) in the case of non-listed verbs.

उप *wuph*, fly, is a non-listed verb.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
I flew	उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōs</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēyas</i>
Thou flewest	उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōkh</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēyakh</i>
He flew	उप्लीव् or उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōv</i> or <i>wuphyāv</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēy^o</i>
We flew	उप्लीव् <i>wuphyēy</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēy^o</i>
You flew	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēw^o</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēw^o</i>
They flew	उप्लीव् <i>wuphyēy</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēy^o</i>

Pluperfect (पूर्वभूतकाळ) in the case of listed verbs, and in the case of non-listed verbs ending in vowels. *Aorist* (घामान्यभूतकाळ) in the case of non-listed verbs ending in consonants.

I flew.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
Singular ...	1 उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōs</i>	उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyēyas</i> , &c., as in the Past.
	2 उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōkh</i>	
	3 उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōv</i>	
Plural ...	1 उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōy</i>	
	2 उप्लीवस् <i>wuphyōw^o</i>	
	3 उप्लीव् <i>wuphyōy</i>	

Pluperfect (पूर्वभूतकाळ) in the case of non-listed verbs only, which end in consonants.

I had flown.

	Masculine.	Feminine.
Singular ...	1 उफिवाव् <i>wuphiyās</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēyas</i>
	2 उफिवाव् <i>wuphiyākh</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēyakh</i>
	3 उफिवाव् <i>wuphiyāv</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēy^o</i>
Plural ...	1 उफिवाव् <i>wuphiyāy</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēy^o</i>
	2 उफिवावस् <i>wuphiyāw^o</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēw^o</i>
	3 उफिवाव् <i>wuphiyāy</i>	उफिवेवस् <i>wuphiyēy^o</i>

LIST OF VERBS.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	अङ् अङ्	प्रवेष्टे	अङ् अङ्	*enter.
	अङ् अङ्	दोषणे	अङ् अङ्	be weak.
	अङ् अङ्	निर्वेद्ये ऽभिचोने च	अङ् अङ्	be powerless, per- severe.
	अङ् अङ्	आशीभवने	अङ् अङ्	be moist.
क	अङ् अङ्	आशीकरणे	अङ् अङ्	*make moist.
क	अङ् अङ्, आङ् अङ् इति केषिच्	आनयने	अङ् अङ्	*bring.
क	अङ् अङ्	समापने	अङ् अङ्	finish.
क	अङ् अङ्	च	अङ् अङ्	ditto.
	अङ् अङ्	अवसाने	अङ् अङ्	be finished.
क	अङ् अङ्, अवसाने च, अवसाने अवसाने	वेष्टने	अङ् अङ्	wrap up, enfold.
क	अङ् अङ्	अवधिभङ्गे	अङ् अङ्	cloud up.
क	अङ् अङ्	च	अङ् अङ्	ditto.

क	बळ् अस्	बळ्ने	बळ्नु अस्नु, बळ्नीन् अस्नु	earn.
क	बर्षिन् अर्षु	पातने	बर्षितुन् अर्षुवुन्, बर्षीबोन् अर्षुव्यासु	fell.
क	बस अल	बभुवोभावे	बसोन् अल्यसु	be insecure, shake.
क	बस्र अलर	वेहादाने कल्पने च	बस्रवन् अलगुन्, बस्रवोन् अलग्यासु	move, tremble.
क	बस्रव अलरु	च	बस्ररोतुन् अलरुन्, बस्रराबोन् अलरुव्यासु	ditto.
क	बस अस्	बसने	बसुन् असुन्, बसोन् असासु	*laugh.
क	बस्र अहल	मावने	बस्रतुन् अहलुन्, बस्रबोन् अहलासु	honour.
क	बाहुन् अक्षहान	परिचरने	बाहुन् अक्षहानुन्, बाहुबोन् अक्षहानासु	practice.
क	बाहुर् अक्षर	तत्परतावाद्	बाहुवन् अक्षरुन्, बाहुवोन् अक्षर्यासु	be devoted to.
क	बाहुर् अक्षर	लियवे पिळोकारवे च	बाहुवन् अक्षरुन्, बाहुवोन् अक्षर्यासु	*mix, heap up.
क	बाहुर्वाव अक्षरु	च	बाहुरोतुन् अक्षरुवुन्, बाहुराबोन् अक्षरुव्यासु	*ditto.
क	बाहुर् अक्षर	बोपादिचारवे	बाहुवन् अक्षरुन्, बाहुवोन् अक्षर्यासु	meditate in wrath against a person.
क	बापर अपर	बलेन परतुबारवे	बापरवन् अपरुन्, बापरवोन् अपर्यासु	feed another with one's own hand.
क	बापरव अपरु	च	बापरितुन् अपरुवुन्, बापरराबोन् अपरुव्यासु	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
आमन <i>aman</i>	द्वेषणे	आमन्वीन् <i>amanyauv</i>	change for the bad.
आरद <i>arad</i>	आराधने	आरदुन् <i>arādun</i> , आरद्वीन् <i>arāsvan</i>	conciate.
आरव <i>arav</i>	परपीडरणे	आरवुन् <i>aravun</i> , आरवीन् <i>aravyan</i>	make rough.
आसव <i>asyav</i>	सस्यष्टजुद्धरणे	आसवुन् <i>asyavun</i> , आसवीन् <i>asyavyan</i>	aim straight at.
आलव <i>alav</i>	अधेधामने नौपरिवर्तने च	आलवुन् <i>alavun</i> , आलवीन् <i>alavyan</i>	* whirl aloft, bring a boat near the shore.
आवर <i>avar</i>	आवने आवरणे च	आवरन् <i>avarun</i> , आवरीन् <i>avaryan</i>	cover.
आवराव <i>avarāv</i>	च	आवरीनुन् <i>avarārun</i> , आवरावीन् <i>avarāvryan</i>	ditto
आव <i>av</i>	स्मावात्	वोस् <i>av</i> [आखीन् <i>asyavo</i> not used]	* be.
आवव <i>avav</i>	विभरणे	आववोन् <i>avavyauv</i>	crumble to pieces.
इद् <i>yidh</i>	इच्छामने	इदुन् <i>yidhūn</i> , इद्वीन् <i>yidhvan</i>	* wish.
इर <i>yir</i>	चिच्छामने	इरीन् <i>yiryauv</i>	be whirled aloft.
कद <i>kad</i>	निष्काशने	कदुन् <i>kādun</i> , कद्वीन् <i>kadyan</i>	* bring out, drag out.
कत <i>kat</i>	चक्करीकने	कदुन् <i>kātun</i> , कद्वीन् <i>katsan</i>	* spin.

क	कतर <i>katar</i>	कतने	कतवन् <i>katarun</i> , कतवीन् <i>kataryaun</i>	cut in slices.
क	कङ्क <i>kans</i>	पविमलने	कङ्कुन् <i>kansun</i> , कङ्कौन् <i>kansoun</i>	singe (as a plucked fowl).
भा	कङ्कर <i>kansar</i>	निम्बेयोभवने	कङ्करन् <i>kansrun</i> , कङ्कौन् <i>kansaryaun</i>	be impoverished.
भा	कङ्कराव <i>kansarāv</i>	च	कङ्करोतुन् <i>kansarōtun</i> , कङ्करावौन् <i>kansarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	कपट <i>kapat</i>	कपटने	कपटुन् <i>kapatun</i>	cut (clothes, etc.).
क	कपटाव <i>kapatāv</i>	च	कपटोतुन् <i>kapatōtun</i>	ditto.
क	कमव <i>kamav</i>	कमने	कमवन् <i>kamavun</i> , कमवौन् <i>kamavyaun</i>	earn.
क	कमनाव <i>kamanāv</i>	च	कमनोतुन् <i>kamanōtun</i> , कमनावौन् <i>kamanāvyaun</i>	*ditto.
क	कर <i>kar</i>	करने	करवन् <i>karun</i> , करौन् <i>karyaun</i>	*do, make.
	कक <i>kal</i>	ककौभावे	ककौन् <i>kalyaun</i>	be dumb.
भा	कक <i>kap</i>	कक्यने	कक्यन् <i>kapun</i> , कक्यौन् <i>kapyauun</i>	*itch.
क	कस <i>kas</i>	तेजोरिषने	कसन् <i>kasun</i> , कसौन् <i>kasoun</i>	fry.
	ककर <i>kakar</i>	पाचने	ककरौन् <i>kaharyauun</i>	be rough.

* Found in Dr. Elmalie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	काचर <i>kācar</i>	पिच्छीभवने	काचरीन् <i>kācaryau</i>	be tawny.
क	काँच <i>kāch</i>	कात्पायाच्	कीचुन् <i>kāchun</i> काँचीन् <i>kāchyaun</i>	wish.
क	काँठ <i>kāṭh</i>	बप्रत्यक्षरत्वे	काँठुन् <i>kāṭhun</i> , काँचीन् <i>kāṭhyaun</i>	to pilfer secretly.
	काठ <i>kāṭh</i>	कर्मशीभावे	काचीन् <i>kāṭhyaun</i>	be hard.
	काथ <i>kāṭh</i>	काचीभवने पराभवे च	कान्चीन् <i>kāṭhyaun</i>	be one-eyed, be conquered.
	कात्प <i>kāmp</i>	कम्पने	कात्पीन् <i>kāmpyaun</i>	tremble.
क	काय <i>kāy</i>	बाह्यत्वे	कायुन् <i>kāyun</i> , कात्पीन् <i>kāyaun</i>	be lazy <i>lit.</i> make (oneself) lazy.
	काचर <i>kācar</i>	विःशारीभावे	काचरीन् <i>kācaryau</i>	be powerless.
क	कार <i>kār</i>	कचने	कीचुन् <i>kārun</i> , काँचीन् <i>kāryaun</i>	boil.
	काचर <i>kācar</i>	आनीभवने	काचरीन् <i>kācaryau</i>	be black.
क	काच <i>kāc</i>	सुखनापनसमयोः	काँचुन् <i>kācun</i> , काँचीन् <i>kāyaun</i>	* shave, put a stop to (e.g., & quarrel).
	कचन <i>kyann</i>	केचने	कचनीन् <i>kānyau</i>	be moist.

कुट <i>kufh</i>	हसिचंकीचे	कुचोच् <i>kushyauw</i>	* be in distress.
कुप <i>kup</i>	कोरे	कुचोच् <i>kupyaaw</i>	be angry.
[कव <i>kōb</i>	कुलोभवने	कवोच् <i>kōbbyaw</i>	be hunch backed.]
कुमल <i>kumal</i>	कोलकोभवने	कुमलोच् <i>kumalyaw</i>	* be tender.
कुव <i>kuh</i>	निलकवे	कुउन् <i>kuhun</i> , कुचोच् <i>kuhyauw</i>	pull out.
कूर <i>kūr</i>	निलकवेरुडमिचिची- कररचोः	कूरन् <i>kūrun</i> , कुचोच् <i>kūryauw</i>	pull out, loosen from the foundation.
कूर <i>kūr</i>	मूरने	कचोच् <i>kūryaw</i>	be fierce.
कूट <i>kūt</i> , कूट <i>krat</i>	काको	कचोच् <i>krtyaw</i> , कचोच् <i>kratyaw</i>	be thin.
कप <i>kyp</i>	कतने	कंपुन् <i>kypun</i> , कचोच् <i>kryyaun</i>	* cut (with scissors).
कचन <i>kchan</i>	कचोभवने	कचवोच् <i>krhanyaw</i>	become black.
कोकव <i>kōkav</i>	मुबप्रसंवावाच्	कोकवुच् <i>kōkavun</i> , कोकवोच् <i>kōkavyaw</i>	recommend (a person).
कोक <i>kōl</i>	कोरित्ते	कोओच् <i>kōlyaw</i>	be red.
कप <i>kōt</i>	वाहीभवने	कपु <i>kōt</i> , कचोच् <i>kōtavyaw</i>	be wet.
कपुव <i>kōtaw</i>	वाहीकरते	कपुउन् <i>kōtawun</i> , कचवोच् <i>kōtavyaw</i>	make wet.

* Found in Dr. Elmstie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	कृन् कृन्	विज्ञोचने	कृन् कृन्, कृन् कृन्	* sell.
क	क्राच क्राच	करणे	क्राच क्राच, क्राचोन् क्राच्यौ	do, make.
:	क्रोच क्रोच	कारणे	क्रोचोन् क्राच्यौ	be hard.
क	क्रोच क्रोच	सञ्जुतायाच्	क्रोचोन् क्राच्यौ	long for.
क	कृत् कृत्	नीपने	कृत् कृत्, कृत् कृत्	* conceal.
क	कृत् कृत्	विभाजने	कृत् कृत्, कृत् कृत्	divide into shares.
क	कृत् कृत्	च	कृत् कृत्, कृत् कृत्	ditto.
क	कृन् कृन्	उपहारणे	कृन् कृन्, कृन् कृन्	* dig.
भा	भाष भाष	भाषिचारि	भाष भाष, भाषोन् भाष्यौ	act badly.
:	भाष भाष	उच्छ्वासिःश्वरे	भाष भाष, भाषोन् भाष्यौ	* breathe hard.
भा	भाष भाष	वशीतो	भाष भाष, भाषोन् भाष्यौ	dislike.
	भाष भाष	विचारि	भाष भाष, भाषोन् भाष्यौ	be loose.
	[भाष भाष]	वशीकरणे	भाष भाष, भाषोन् भाष्यौ	spend, only used in past tenses].

वृष <i>khas</i>	वारोषे	वृषु <i>khaph</i> , [वृषु <i>khaf</i>], वृषोष् <i>khafshaw</i> [वृषोष् <i>khafshaw</i>]	* mount, ascend.
वृष <i>khah</i>	विषोषते	वृषुष् <i>khaphun</i> , वृषोष् <i>khahyaun</i>	ornament (with a pattern).
वार <i>khār</i>	वारोषते	वोषुष् <i>khōrun</i> , वृषोष् <i>khāryaun</i>	* cause to mount, raise.
चि <i>khā</i>	चाने	चोष् <i>khayōn</i> चिषोष् <i>khīyaun</i>	* eat.
चिष् <i>khāik</i>	रसततो	चुषुष् <i>khayuskun</i> , चिषोष् <i>khīcyau</i>	walk arrogantly.
वृषर <i>khōkhar</i>	विषारतायाच्	वृषोष् <i>khōkharayau</i>	be hollow (of a tree).
वृषराज <i>khōkhalāo</i>	वृषतो जलारवाचने	वृषराजुष् <i>khōkhalōrun</i> , वृषराजोष् <i>khōkhalōryaun</i>	wash anything in water.
वृषु <i>khut</i>	वृषः वनने	वृषुष् <i>khutun</i> , वृषोष् <i>khutsaun</i>	dig from below.
वृषु <i>khāl</i>	वृषाटने	वृषुष् <i>khūlan</i> , वृषोष् <i>khūlyau</i>	open (act.).
वृषु <i>khāms</i>	तनूरुकरवे	वृषुष् <i>khāmsun</i> , वृषोष् <i>khāmsun</i>	pluck (hair, feathers).
वोष् <i>khōis</i>	भवे	वृषुष् <i>khāis</i> , वृषोष् <i>khōisaw</i>	* fear.
वोष् <i>khōr</i>	भवे	वृषोष् <i>khōryaw</i>	fear.
वृष <i>khos</i>	तनूरुकरवे	वृषुष् <i>khosaun</i> , वृषोष् <i>khōsaun</i>	pluck (more specially hair).

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSEKIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
अङ् <i>gañh</i>	अतो युतीभवने च	अतो <i>gañv</i> ; (युतीभवने) अङ् <i>gañh*</i> ; अतोच् <i>gayauv</i>	* go, be proper.
अङ् <i>gañḍ</i> [अङ् <i>gan</i>]	अन्वे अतोभवने	अङ्कुच् <i>gañḍun</i> अङ्कोच् <i>gañḍyauv</i> अतोच् <i>ganyauv</i>	* tie, bind. * become thick (of liquids), be strong].
अङ् <i>gans*</i>	अंजाने	अङ्कुरच् <i>gans*</i> run, अङ्कुरोच् <i>gans*</i> ryaun	* count.
अङ् <i>gans*</i> rāḍ	अ	अङ्कुरीत् <i>gans*</i> rāḍun अङ्कुरातोच् <i>gans*</i> rā- <i>tyauv</i>	* ditto.
अङ् <i>gar</i>	अहने	अङ् अङ् <i>garun</i> अतोच् <i>garyauv</i>	* work metal.
अतो <i>garm</i>	अतोभवने	अतोच् <i>garmyauv</i>	be hot.
अङ् <i>gal</i>	आगे	अङ् <i>gal*</i> अङ्कोच् <i>galjyauv</i>	* melt (neut.)
अतोच् <i>gāḡal</i>	परिवाचणे	अतोच् <i>gāḡalyauv</i>	be disturbed in one's work by others.
अतोच् <i>gāḡal</i>	अ	अतोच् <i>gāḡalyauv</i>	ditto.
अङ् <i>gār</i>	अङ्कारे [अन्वेने च]	अङ् <i>gārūn</i> , अतोच् <i>gāryauv</i>	* remember affectionately, search eagerly for.

क	नाक <i>gāi</i>	नाकने	नीकुन् <i>gāiun</i> , नाकीन् <i>gāiyāun</i>	* melt (active).
क	निक् <i>gini</i>	नीचापां	नुनुन् <i>gīundāun</i> , निङ्गीन् <i>gīnāun</i>	* play.
क	खनट <i>gyamaṭ</i>	छतीखने	खनटोन् <i>gyamaṭyāun</i>	be thin.
क	निख <i>gīlav</i>	खपररचे खासरे व	निखडुन् <i>gīlavun</i> , निखडोन् <i>gīlavāun</i>	steal, whirl about.
क	खव <i>gyav</i>	नीतो	खडुन् <i>gyāvun</i> , खडोन् <i>gēvyāun</i>	* sing.
भा	नीर <i>gir</i>	खनचे	नीथीन् <i>giryāun</i>	totter, reel.
भा	नुखराव <i>guzarāv</i>	खपेचाबाव	नुखरीडुन् <i>guzarāḍun</i> , नुखराडोन् <i>guzarāḍyāun</i>	pass time.
भा	नुक् <i>gund</i>	खपाखणे	नुकुन् <i>gundāun</i> , नुङ्गीन् <i>gumzāun</i>	censure.
क	नुप <i>gyp</i>	नीपने	नुपुन् <i>gypun</i> , नुषोन् <i>gypyāun</i>	hide.
क	खव <i>gōb</i>	नीरवे	खडोन् <i>gōbyāun</i>	* be too heavy.
क	नुसव <i>guman</i>	पूर [खसरताबाव]	नुसवोन् <i>gumanyāun</i>	be grey.
क	नुरट <i>guraṭ</i>	नीरे [नीरताबाव]	नुरडोन् <i>gurāṭyāun</i>	be fair coloured.
क	नुख <i>gulav</i>	खखडाकने	नुखडुन् <i>gulāvun</i> , नुखडोन् <i>gulāvāun</i>	roll in the mouth.
क	खव <i>gōh</i>	दीतो	खडोन् <i>gōhyāun</i>	shine.
क	नेर <i>gēr</i>	खनरचे	खूरन् <i>gyērūn</i> , खैथीन् <i>gēryāun</i>	surround.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
नेक <i>gēl</i>	विद्योते [उपहासे च]	नेकीच् <i>gēlyau</i> , [उपहासे म्युक्त्तुन् <i>gyūlyam</i>]	be far away, [joke].
नीर <i>gōr</i>	विहारी	नूच् <i>gōrum</i> , नीचीच् <i>gōryaam</i>	lament.
नीर <i>gōvar</i>	विहारात्मने	नीपचीच् <i>gōvaryaau</i>	be suddenly wakened (before one is thoroughly awake).
घक <i>grak</i>	वाक्यवाकान्तिमत्त्वयोः	घक्योच् <i>grakyauo</i>	* splash about (of liquids), boil over.
घञ् <i>gras</i>	रजते	घञ्जुन् <i>grasun</i> , घञ्जीच् <i>grazaun</i>	* roar.
घाञ् <i>grāṣṣar</i>	घसते दृष्टिवन्ते च	घाञ्च् <i>grāṣṣarun</i> , घाञ्चीच् <i>grāṣṣaryaun</i>	take, stop raining.
घाञ् <i>grāṣṣarāv</i>	च	घाञ्चोत्तुन् <i>grāṣṣarōvun</i> , घाञ्चोत्तुन् <i>grāṣṣarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
घृच् <i>grōḥ</i>	वाक्कामकारिषेहावाच्	घृचीच् <i>grōḥyaau</i>	* shake liquid in a vessel.
ञ्च् <i>goh</i>	घर्षते	ञ्च्जुन् <i>gohun</i> , ञ्च्चीच् <i>gohaan</i>	* grind.
चताच् <i>catāv</i>	चतो	चतोत्तुन् <i>catōrum</i> , चतोत्तुन् <i>catōryaun</i>	praise.
चमक <i>camak</i>	दीप्तो	चमक्योच् <i>camakyaau</i>	shine.

क	चार cār	बडाइअने	चोइअ cōrun, चाओइअ cōryaun.	tie tightly.
क	चाव cāv	पाअने	चोइअ cōrun, चाओइअ cōryaun	* give to drink.
क	चि ci	प्रावे	चोइअ cōrun	* drink.
क	चौर cir	निओइअने	चुरअ cyūrun, चोओइअ cōryaun	* squeeze or wring (cloth).
क	चुवाव cūvāv	इअनिओइअने	चुओइअ cūōrun, चुओओइअ cūōryaun	fix a price.
क	चुम cūm	दोअतावाअ	चुओइअ cūōrun, चुओओइअ cūōryaun	be humble before, show humility to.
क	चोइअ cōihhar	संओअने	चोओइअ cōōryaun	contract.
क	चक chak	ओइअने	चकुअ cākun, चाओइअ chāryaun	scatter.
क	चकर chakar	अअओइअने	चकरअ cākrun, चओओइअ cōōryaun	* scatter.
क	चकराव chakarāv	अ	चओओइअ cōōryaun, चओओओइअ cōōōryaun	ditto
क	चकराव chakarāv	ओओअने	चओओओइअ cōōōryaun, चओओओओइअ cōōōōryaun	make white.
	चत chat	चेअने	चओओओइअ cōōōryaun	be white.
	चन chan	प्रावे	चओओओओइअ cōōōōryaun	fall from a mass (e.g., grain falling from a basket.)

* Found in Dr. Emslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	चप <i>chap</i>	इतिहासको: चेरे	चपुन् <i>chapun</i> , चपौन् <i>chapyauṅ</i>	* wait for rain to pass over, pass time.
भा	चर <i>char</i>	पुरीकोसने	चरण् <i>charun</i> , चरौन् <i>charyauṅ</i>	* evacuate, go to stool.
क	चल <i>chal</i>	चाकने	चलुन् <i>chalun</i> , चलोन् <i>chalyauṅ</i>	* wash, clean.
क	चान <i>chān</i>	उत्तरने सातने च	चौनुन् <i>chānun</i> , चाचौन् <i>chāṅauṅ</i>	* strain, sift, trim.
क	चाँड <i>chāṅ</i>	श्रीभाद्रुआतिकारे	चौँडुन् <i>chāṅun</i> , चाँचौन् <i>chāṅyauṅ</i>	disclose a secret in anger.
क	चाव <i>chāv</i>	उपभोगे सेपने च	चावुन् <i>chāvun</i> , चावौन् <i>chāvyaun</i>	use, throw at.
भा	चिक <i>chik</i>	सेचने प्रवेचने च	चुकुन् <i>chykun</i> , चिचौन् <i>chicyauṅ</i>	* sprinkle, urinate.
क	चिच्र <i>chindar</i>	सोचने	चुचुरन् <i>chundurun</i> , चिचुरौन् <i>chindaryauṅ</i>	be stupified.
	चिव <i>chiv</i>	मदै	चिचौन् <i>chivyaun</i>	be proud.
क	चिच्राव <i>chiv-rāv</i>	मादने	चिचुरोनुन् <i>chiv-rōnun</i> , चिचुराचौन् <i>chiv-rāvyaun</i>	make proud.
	चुकल <i>chōkal</i>	संभ्रामादे	चुकलौन् <i>chōkalyauṅ</i>	be scattered.
क	चुकव <i>chōkav</i>	जलवापवाचने	चुकवुन् <i>chōkavun</i> , चुकवौन् <i>chōkavyauṅ</i>	wash (active).

क	ह्रस्व चोहोर	कनीकरवे	ह्रस्व चोहोरुन, ह्रस्वीन् चोहोर्यासु	reduce (active).
क	ह्रस्वराव चोहोररठु	च	ह्रस्वरावु चोहोररठुन, ह्रस्वरावौ चोहोररठुव्यासु	ditto
क	ह्रस्व चोहोम	वपचरे	ह्रस्वीन् चोहोम्यासु	be reduced.
क	ह्रस्व चोहोप	कवीकरवे	ह्रस्व चोहोपुन, ह्रस्वीन् चोहोप्यासु	spend.
क	ह्रस्वराव चोहोपठु	च	ह्रस्वरावु चोहोपठुन, ह्रस्वरावौ चोहोपठुव्यासु	ditto
क	ह्रस्व चोहोम्ब	कससहेने	ह्रस्वु चोहोम्बुन, ह्रस्वीन् चोहोम्ब्यासु	thresh grain (by beating the stalks).
क	चेर चोहोर	वपिचरे	ह्रस्वु चोहोरुन, ह्रस्वीन् चोहोर्यासु	irritate.
क	चोर चोहोर	खाने	ह्रस्वु चोहोरुन, ह्रस्वीन् चोहोर्यासु	* give up, dismiss.
आ	जख जोहो	वेवावाव	जखु जखुन, जखौ जख्यासु	serve or work (in one's own house).
क	जर जर	उहकरी	जखु जरुन, जखौ जर्यासु	inlay, set with jewels.
आ	जूर जर	उपवेवावाव	जूरु जरुन, जूरौ जर्यासु	serve or work (in one's own house).
क	जुट जस	वेरने	जुटु जसुन, जुटौ जस्यासु	* out.

* Found in Dr. Elmalie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
पुन <i>ṭam</i>	पुनोभवने संतरे च	पुनोत् <i>ṭamyauo</i>	(1) decrease in size (2) attend to, pay heed to (active).
पुन <i>ṭamath</i>	पुनोत्ते	पुनोत् <i>ṭamathyaou</i>	* be stale.
पुन <i>ṭar</i>	उपचये	पुनोत् <i>ṭaryaou</i>	increase.
पुन <i>ṭar</i>	उपचये [ली भा]	पुन <i>ṭar*</i> (fem.)	be inwardly wrathful (of a woman). Only used in Past Part. fem.
पुन <i>ṭarṭe</i>	वारक्रियावाच	पुनोत् <i>ṭarṭsun</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭarṭsun</i>	spy.
पुन <i>ṭal</i>	उरुने	पुन <i>ṭal*</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭalyauo</i>	* go away, escape.
पुन <i>ṭas</i>	उरिवाचि	पुनोत् <i>ṭasun</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭasyaun</i>	laugh loudly.
पुन <i>ṭadn</i>	उरिचये	पुनोत् <i>ṭadnun</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭadṅhun</i>	* bring in.
पुन <i>ṭadp</i>	उरने	पुनोत् <i>ṭadpnan</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭadpyaun</i>	* eat, gnaw.
पुन <i>ṭadṛ</i>	उरने	पुनोत् <i>ṭadṛun</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭadṛyaun</i>	* collect.
पुन <i>ṭadl</i>	उरने	पुनोत् <i>ṭadlan</i> , पुनोत् <i>ṭadlyaun</i>	bear, endure.

भा	वृषत् <i>ṣyakhəl</i>	वीक्षते	वृषत् <i>ṣyakhəpən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣyakhəjyan</i>	laugh loudly.
भा	वृष <i>ṣyaxg</i>	वरे	वृषत् <i>ṣyaxgən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	*rejoice.
भा	वृषत् <i>ṣyaxət</i>	उपविषते प्रेषते	वृषत् <i>ṣyaxətən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	look at with some scorn.
क	वृष <i>ṣyaxəl</i>	वृषत्प्रवेशने [वृषत्प्रवेशने- मान्यस्य वीक्षते]	वृषत् <i>ṣyaxələn</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	enter violently, hurt by entering violently.
क	वीक्षत् <i>ṣəḥṣ</i>	संज्ञापने	वृषत् <i>ṣyaxələn</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	make a sign.
क	वीक्षत्प्रवेशने <i>ṣəḥṣət</i>	च	वीक्षत् <i>ṣəḥṣətən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	ditto.
क	वृष <i>ṣəḥṣ</i>	स्त्रीषेऽवीक्षते च	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	*be angry, be sour.
क	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣət</i>	वीक्षने	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣətən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	make angry.
क	वृषत्प्रवेशने <i>ṣəḥṣət</i>	च	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣətən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	ditto.
क	वृषत्प्रवेशने <i>ṣəḥṣət</i>	वृषत्प्रवेशने	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣətən</i> , वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	make fourfold.
क	वृष <i>ṣəḥṣ</i>	दृषिष्यते	वृषत् <i>ṣəḥṣjyan</i>	have insufficient means of livelihood.

* Found in Dr. Elmāie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	कृष् <i>ṣṣomb</i>	वेधने	कृष्ण् <i>ṣṣombun</i> , कृष्णोन् <i>ṣṣombyan</i>	* pierce, bore.
क	कृष्राव <i>ṣṣom-rāv</i>	कृष्णीकरणे संमतीकरणे च	कृष्रावोन् <i>ṣṣom-rōvun</i> , कृष्रावोन् <i>ṣṣom-rā- vyan</i>	make less, cause to decrease, cause to attend to.
क	कृष् <i>ṣṣuv</i>	कलने	कृष्ण् <i>ṣṣuvn</i> , कृष्णोन् <i>ṣṣuvyan</i>	quarrel (only used in fem.).
क	कृष्ट <i>ṣṣhīf</i>	कषःशब्दे [कषानशब्दे]	कृष्टोन् <i>ṣṣhīfun</i> , कृष्टोन् <i>ṣṣhīcyun</i>	break wind with noise.
क	कृर <i>ṣṣūr</i>	धीन्याशक्ति	कृरन् <i>ṣṣūrun</i> , कृरोन् <i>ṣṣūryun</i>	have sexual intercourse with.
क	कृट <i>ṣṣf</i>	कुटने	कृटोन् <i>ṣṣyūhun</i> , कृटोन् <i>ṣṣeṣcyun</i>	* pound to powder.
क	कृन <i>ṣṣēn</i>	चेतने	कृनोन् <i>ṣṣyūnun</i> , कृनोन् <i>ṣṣēnyun</i>	know by a sign.
क	कृह <i>ṣṣh</i>	चूने	कृहण् <i>ṣṣahun</i> , कृहोन् <i>ṣṣayun</i>	* suck.
क	कृट <i>ṣṣhaf</i>	उत्क्षेपणे	कृटोन् <i>ṣṣhafun</i> , कृटोन् <i>ṣṣhacyun</i>	winnow.
	कृर <i>ṣṣhar</i>	रिक्तीभवने	कृरोन् <i>ṣṣharyun</i>	be empty.
[क]	कृह <i>ṣṣhal</i>	कलने	कृहोन् <i>ṣṣhalun</i> , कृहोन् <i>ṣṣhayan</i>	deceive.
क	कृह <i>ṣṣhād</i>	कलने	कृहोन् <i>ṣṣhōdun</i> , कृहोन् <i>ṣṣhadyun</i>	* search.

ब	बोव् <i>te hōd</i>	ब	बोवुन् <i>te hōdun</i> , बोवोन् <i>te hōjyaun</i>	* search.
ब	बव <i>te hanḍ</i>	ब	बवुन् <i>te hanḍun</i> , बवोन् <i>te hanḍyaun</i>	ditto.
ब	बोवन् <i>te hātehan</i>	बोवोभवने	बोवोव् <i>te hātehanvaun</i>	be light.
ब	बव <i>te hyaf</i>	बवोभवने	बवोव् <i>te hēvyauv</i>	be impure.
ब	बव <i>te hyav</i>	बवोकरवे	बववन् <i>te hyaverrun</i> , बवोवोन् <i>te hōvryaun</i>	make impure.
ब	बव <i>te hyaverrāo</i>	ब	बवरोवुन् <i>te hyaverrāo</i> , बवरोवोन् <i>te hyaverrāo- vyaun</i> .	ditto.
ब	बव <i>te hyann</i>	बेरे	बवु <i>te hyann</i> , बवोव् <i>te hōñnāv</i>	* be bored, be torn, be split.
ब	बव <i>te hyav</i>	बले	बवोव् <i>te hēvyauv</i>	be quieted.
ब	बव <i>te hyav</i>	बालने	बववन् <i>te hyaverrun</i> , बवोवोन् <i>te hōvryaun</i>	make quiet.
ब	बव <i>te hyaverrāo</i>	ब	बवरोवुन् <i>te hyaverrāo</i> , बवरोवोन् <i>te hyaverrāo- vyaun</i>	ditto.
ब	बव <i>te hōte</i>	बिचारीभवने	बवुन् <i>te hōkun</i> , बवोव् <i>te hōtegyauv</i>	be empty (though apparently full).
ब	बव <i>te hōt</i>	बलोभवने	बवोव् <i>te hōjyaun</i>	* be short.
ब	बव <i>te hōtor</i>	बलोकरवे	बववन् <i>te hōjerrun</i> , बवोवोन् <i>te hōjryaun</i>	make short.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SAHOKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क कृष्णत् <i>śhōṣṭāv</i>	य	कृष्णत् <i>śhōṣṭāvun</i> , कृष्णावीत् <i>śhōṣṭāv-</i> <i>vyāvun</i>	make short.
क कृत् <i>śhūn</i>	यावने	कृत् <i>śhūnun</i> , कृत्वीत् <i>śhūnāvun</i>	* pour, clothe.
क कृज् <i>śjar</i>	तयचे	कृज् <i>śjarun</i> , कृज्वीत् <i>śjaryāvun</i>	pare.
क कृप <i>śap</i>	जयने	कृपत् <i>śapun</i> , कृप्यीत् <i>śapyāvun</i>	pray.
क कृर <i>śar</i>	रयने	कृरत् <i>śarun</i> , कृरीत् <i>śaryāvun</i>	* bear.
भा कृत् <i>śal</i>	जळवत्सावयतसे	कृत्वीत् <i>śalyāvun</i>	* taste like water.
क कृत् <i>śog</i>	प्रतिजानरे	कृत् <i>śogun</i> , कृत्वीत् <i>śogjyāvun</i>	be watchful.
क कृत् <i>śān</i>	जयवीवने	कृत् <i>śānun</i> , कृत्वीत् <i>śānāvun</i>	* know.
क कृत् <i>śāl</i>	दाचे	कृत् <i>śālun</i> , कृत्वीत् <i>śālyāvun</i>	burn.
जि <i>śi</i>	जयने	जि <i>śāvun</i> , जि <i>śāv</i> , जि <i>śāv</i> <i>śāyāvun</i> .	* be born.
जि <i>śjgar</i>	जि <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i>	जि <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i> <i>śjgar</i>	be thin.
जि <i>śoggar</i>	जि <i>śoggar</i>	जि <i>śoggar</i> <i>śoggar</i> <i>śoggar</i> <i>śoggar</i>	ditto.
जि <i>śōsar</i>	जि <i>śōsar</i>	जि <i>śōsar</i> <i>śōsar</i> <i>śōsar</i> <i>śōsar</i>	be dried up, ready to wither.

क	जुव सुव	जीवने	जुवोच् सुव्यावु	live.
क	जुव सुवोर	सजीवीकरणे	जुवन् सुवोरुन, जुवोच् सुवोर्यावु	cause to live.
भा	जुवराव सुवोरदु	च	जुवरोडुन् सुवोरदुन, जुवरावोच् सुवोरदुव्यावु	ditto.
क	जव रडे	घाटे	जवुन् रडेन, जवोच् रडेन	cough.
क	जीव् रसिहोर	दीवीकरणे	जुवुवन् रसिहोरुन, जीवोच् रसिहोर्यावु	cause to live.
क	जीव् राव सिसोरदु	च	जीवरोडुन् सिसोरदुन, जीवरावोच् सिसोरदुव्यावु	ditto.
क	जेव रसिह	बावलीभक्ते	जेवोच् रसिह्यावु	be long.
क	जेव रडेन	जवे	जुवुन् रसिहोरुन, जेवोच् रडेन	* conquer.
क	जीत रडे	दीप्तो	जीत्वोच् रडेत्यावु	* shine.
क	जीव् रडेवोर	जवावने	जुवन् रडेवोरुन, जीवोच् रडेवोर्यावु	bring forth.
क	जीवराव रडेवोरदु	च	जीवरोडुन् रडेवोरदुन, जीवरावोच् रडेवोरदुव्यावु	ditto.
क	जुव रराव	रवने	जुवुन् ररावुन, जुरवोच् रराव्यावु	bear.
क	जुव रोल	तचणे	जुवुन् रोलुन, जेवोच् रोल्यावु	* pare.
क	रक तक	रक्कवलेव्चरने	रकुन् तकुन, रवोच् तक्यावु	bite in two with a noise.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	टप <i>tap</i>	परोक्षपरिभाषणे	टपुन् <i>tapun</i> , टषीन् <i>tapyaun</i>	blame behind one's back.
	टख <i>tal</i>	परिवर्ते	टखीव् <i>talyaav</i>	be exchanged.
भा	टीग <i>tīg</i>	घोरवाशिते	टोगुन् <i>tīgun</i> , टाँषीन् <i>tījyaun</i>	emit a loud cry or roar.
भा	टाख <i>tāl</i>	उपेचागमने	टाखुन् <i>tālun</i> , टाखीव् <i>tājyaun</i>	go away with indifference.
	वट <i>tyath</i>	निकीभवने	वषीव् <i>tēhjaav</i>	* be bitter.
क	वप <i>tyap</i>	संघटे	वपुन् <i>tyapun</i> , वषीन् <i>tēpyaun</i>	squeeze something in.
	वख <i>tyamb</i>	खोपे	वखीव् <i>tēmbyaav</i>	hammer.
क	डकव <i>tōkav</i>	डूटावाते	डकवुन् <i>tōkavun</i> , डकवीन् <i>tōkavyaun</i>	cease to disappear.
क	टुक <i>tuk</i>	बाखुवख्दने	टुकुन् <i>tukun</i> , टुषीन् <i>tucyaun</i>	bore like a rat.
	डूट <i>tōt</i>	दमितकोचे	डूषीव् <i>tōtvaav</i>	have insufficient means of livelihood.
क	टुव <i>tuv</i>	संकीचने	टुवुन् <i>tuvun</i> , टुषीन् <i>tuvyaun</i>	close (eyes, a flower, &c.)
	डोट <i>tōth</i>	प्रवादे	डोषीव् <i>tōthyaav</i>	be pleased.

क	डक् f ^o lc	धावने	डक्वीक् f ^o kyauv	* run.
क	डक् f ^o g	बनावने	डक्कुक् f ^o sun, डक्वीक् f ^o saun	cause to forcibly enter.
क	डक्कुक् f ^o san	ब	डक्कुक् f ^o sanun, डक्कुवीक् f ^o sañauv	ditto.
क	डक् थग	बडने	डक्वीक् thagyauv	be deceived.
क	डक्वाव थगडो	भावे	डक्वीक् थगडोवुन, डक्वावीक् थगडोव्यावुन	deceive.
क	डक्वर थहार	संझाने	डक्वीक् थहार्यावु	stop.
क	डक् थडक	डक्डवने	डक्कुक् थडोक्नु, डक्वीक् थडोव्यावुन	bury.
क	डक् थडो	ब	डक्कुक् थडोवुन, डक्वीक् थडोव्यावुन or डक्वीक् थडोसावु	ditto.
क	डक् थडि	खिती	डक्वीक् थडिग्यावु	stand firmly.
क	डक् थुक	डक्डवने	डक्कुक् थुकुनु, डक्वीक् थुक्यावुन	bury.
क	डक् डक	शब्दबाने	डक्कुक् डक्कुनु, डक्वीक् डक्क्यावुन	drink with a noise.
क	डक्वर डक्क ^{er}	बाधारीकरने	डक्वरुक् डक्क ^{er} वुन, डक्वीक् डक्क ^{er} व्यावुन	depend upon.
क	डक्वाव डक्क ^{er} डो	ब	डक्वरुक् डक्क ^{er} डोवुन, डक्वावीक् डक्क ^{er} डोव्यावु	ditto.
क	डक्व डक्क ^{av}	डक्ववाधारीकरने	डक्कुक् डक्क ^{av} वुन, डक्वीक् डक्क ^{av} व्यावुन	lean upon a support, such as a stick.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	डर दार	भरी	डरौव् दार्यावु	* fear.
	दल दल	उल्लङ्घनी	दलु दल*, डलौव् दल्य्यावु	* pass over.
ड	दंष्ट्र दंष्ट्र	विद्वेदे	दंष्ट्रुव् दंष्ट्रुन, दंष्ट्रौव् दंष्ट्र्यावुन	hate.
ड	दाल दाल	परिवर्तने	दालुव् दालुन, दालौव् दाल्यावुन	exchange.
	दल द्यल	मोचिषे	दलौव् दल्य्यावु	be slack.
	दुक दळे	देवानाञ्जरे	दुक्कौव् दुक्क्यावु	be bent (of the body).
	दुव दुव	सज्जने	दुवौव् दुव्यावु	dive.
	दुलव दुलव	गोखवङ्गाखरे	दुलवुव् दुलवुन, दुलवौव् दुलव्यावुन	* roll (act).
ड	दुलनाव दुलान्ठव	व	दुलनावुव् दुलान्ठुन, दुलनावौव् दुलान्ठ्यावुन	ditto.
ड	दुव दुव	संजांजने	दुवुव् दुवुन, दुवौव् दुव्यावुन	* sweep.
	दुव दुव	देवानाञ्जरे	दुवौव् दुव्यावु	be bent (of the body).
ड	देव देव	प्रेषवे	दुवुव् दुवुंथुन, देवौव् देव्यावुन	* look, see.
	दोल दोल	अपरिचयने	दुलुव् दुलु*, दालौव् दाल्यावु	be unused.

तज <i>tag</i>	तज्जतावाय्	तज् तज्, तञ्चौव् <i>taçyaau</i>	be possible, be known how to be done.
तज्ज <i>tagg</i>	संकीचे	तञ्चौव् <i>taçgyaau</i>	be tight.
तञ्चर <i>taçr</i>	तापने	तञ्चरन् <i>taçr̥an</i> , तञ्चरीव् <i>taçr̥yaun</i>	make hot.
तञ्चराव <i>taçraāv</i>	च	तञ्चरोवुव् <i>taçr̥o-vun</i> , तञ्चरावौव् <i>taçr̥o-vyaun</i>	* ditto.
तञ्च <i>taçh</i>	तञ्चवे	तञ्चुव् <i>taçhun</i> , तञ्चौव् <i>taçhyaun</i>	* pare.
तञ्चर <i>taçr̥</i>	विरलीकरवे	तञ्चरन् <i>taçr̥an</i> , तञ्चरीव् <i>taçr̥yaun</i>	make thin.
तञ्चराव <i>taçraāv</i>	च	तञ्चरोवुव् <i>taçr̥o-vun</i> , तञ्चरावौव् <i>taçr̥o-vyaun</i>	ditto.
तत <i>tat</i>	तन्नीभवने	तत्तौव् <i>tatyaau</i>	* be hot.
तन <i>tan</i>	विरलीभवने	तत्तौव् <i>tanyaau</i>	* be thin.
तप <i>tap</i>	कीष्कोपादाने	तपुन् <i>tapun</i> , तप्यौव् <i>taçyaun</i>	take for the sake of warmth.
तम्बल <i>tambal</i>	चाचखे	तम्बलौव् <i>tambalyaau</i>	* change one's mind (from sudden grief or joy).
तार <i>tar</i>	तरवे	तञ्च <i>tar*</i> , तञ्चौव् <i>taçyaau</i>	* cross.
तल <i>tal</i>	वेचपाके	तलुन् <i>talun</i> , तल्यौव् <i>taçyaun</i>	fry.

* Found in Dr. Eimsalie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	तव <i>tav</i>	भज्जने	तवुन् <i>tavun</i> , तवौन् <i>tavyaun</i>	roast.
क	ताड <i>tād</i>	कोपादिषारणे	तोपुन् <i>tōḍun</i> , ताव्यौन् <i>tāḍyaun</i> [तावौन् <i>tāvyaun</i>]	be angry with, reproach angrily.
क	तार <i>tār</i>	तारणे	तोपुन् <i>torun</i> , तावौन् <i>tāryaun</i>	* pass over (act.)
क	ताड <i>tād</i>	उत्थापने	तोपुन् <i>tolun</i> , ताव्यौन् <i>tāryaun</i>	set up.
क	ताव <i>tāv</i>	तापने	तोपुन् <i>toḅun</i> , तावौन् <i>tāryaun</i>	* heat, make red hot.
क	त्यम्ब <i>tyamb</i>	इच्छासक्ये	तस्य्यौन् <i>tēmbyaun</i>	look eagerly.
क	तीक्ष्ण <i>tiśṇ</i>	विद्यमाने	तूक्ष्णन् <i>tyūśṇan</i> , तीक्ष्णौन् <i>tiśṇyaun</i>	sharpen, whet.
क	तीक्ष्ण <i>tiśṇ</i>	च	तीक्ष्णोत्तुन् <i>tiśṇōḅun</i> , तीक्ष्णौत्तुन् <i>tiśṇōḅyaun</i>	ditto.
क	तीक्ष्ण <i>tiśṇ</i>	विद्यमाने	तीक्ष्णौन् <i>tilanayaun</i>	have a bad taste of oil.
क	तुम्ब <i>tumb</i>	तीक्ष्णोत्तुमाने	तुम्बौन् <i>tumbāyaun</i>	be hot tempered.
क	तम्ब <i>tāmb</i>	तूक्ष्णदिवरणे	तम्बुन् <i>tombun</i> , तस्य्यौन् <i>tēmbyaun</i>	expand a thing (like cotton).
क	तुल <i>tul</i>	उत्थापने	तुपुन् <i>tulun</i> , तुव्यौन् <i>tujyaun</i>	* set up, left.
क	तूर <i>tūr</i>	तीक्ष्णोत्तुमाने	तूरौन् <i>tūryaun</i>	be cold.

दूरच् तारण	च	दूरचोच् तारण्यच्च	be cold.
तेञ्ज तैञ्ज	तेस्पोभवनै	तेञ्चोच् तेज्यच्च	be sharp (of a man, a knife, &c).
तेञ्ज तैल	विस्तीठारिरेचे	तेञ्चोच् तैल्यच्च	to smart, of pimples, &c.
तेञ्ज तैल	मुचने	दुरुच् तालुन्, तेञ्चोच् तैज्यच्च	* weigh.
तेञ्ज तैवार	मूरठ्ठै	तेञ्चोच् तैवारुन्, तेञ्चोच् तैवार्यच्च	* look in a fierce way.
तेञ्ज तैवारच	च	तेञ्चोच् तैवारुन्, तेञ्चोच् तैवार्यच्च	ditto.
तेञ्ज तैय	तेञ्चो	[खुदु तैल्लि*], तेञ्चोच् तैय्यच्च, [तेञ्चोच् तैय्यच्च]	be satisfied.
चकर त्रकर	ककरोभवनै	चकरोच् त्रकर्यच्च	be hard.
चकराच त्रकराठ	ककरोकरचे	चकरोच् त्रकरुन्, चकराचोच् त्रकराठ्यच्च	make hard.
चकराच त्रगनाठ	चिगुचोकरचे	चकरोच् त्रगनुन्, चकरोच् त्रगनाठ्यच्च	make three-fold.
चक् त्रक्	भने	चक् चोच् त्रक्क्यच्च	fear.
चकराच त्रक्कनाठ	वाचने	चकराचोच् त्रक्कनुन्, चकराचोच् त्रक्कनाठ्यच्च	cause to fear.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
त्रप	आच्छादने	त्रपुन् त्रपुन्, त्रप्योन् त्रप्यायुन्	cover up, close.
त्रपुर	त्र	त्रपुरुन् त्रपुरुन्, त्रपुरोन् त्रपुर्यायुन्	ditto.
त्रस	भयै	त्रस्योन् त्रस्यायुन्	fear.
त्रस्राव	त्रासने	त्रस्रावुन् त्रस्रावुन्, त्रस्रावोन् त्रस्राव्यायुन्	cause to fear.
त्राव	त्यागे	त्रावुन् त्रावुन्, त्रावोन् त्राव्यायुन्	* let go.
त्रुक	कटकरन्देदने भक्षणे च	त्रुकुन् त्रुकुन्, त्रुकोन् त्रुक्र्यायुन्	cut to pieces, eat.
त्रुम्ब	कूचीघाते	त्रुम्बुन् त्रुम्बुन्, त्रुम्बोन् त्रुम्ब्यायुन्	prick.
त्रुम्बव	च	त्रुम्बवुन् त्रुम्बवुन्, त्रुम्बवोन् त्रुम्बव्यायुन्	ditto.
त्रुष्ट	कठिनीभवने	त्रुष्टोन् त्रुष्ट्यायुन्	be hard.
त्रुष्ट्राव	कठिनीकरणे	त्रुष्ट्रावुन् त्रुष्ट्रावुन्, त्रुष्ट्रावोन् त्रुष्ट्राव्यायुन्	make hard.
त्रोर	विस्तीवणिकारिकेभ्यो	त्रोरोन् त्रोर्यायुन्	be hardened (of an opened boil, &c.)
त्रक	त्रते	त्रकुन्, त्रकोन्	* be weary.
त्रास	त्रयीकरणे	त्रासुन् त्रासुन्, त्रासोन् त्रास्य्यायुन्	make high.

क	बज्रात् <i>thas-rāw</i>	ब	बज्रात् <i>thas-rōvun, बज्रात् <i>thas-rā- vyau</i></i>	make high.
	बर् <i>thad</i>	उन्नतीभवने	बर्त्तौन् <i>thadyauv</i>	* be high.
	बस <i>tham</i>	बवहको	बस्यौन् <i>thamyauv</i>	be at rest.
	बर् <i>thar</i>	कम्पने	बर्त्तौन् <i>tharyauv</i>	tremble.
क	बख <i>thal</i>	शाखाच्छेदने	बखुन् <i>thāhun, बखौन् <i>thajyaun</i></i>	trim branches.
क	बव <i>thav</i>	स्थापने	बवुन् <i>thavun, बवौन् <i>thavyauv</i></i>	set up.
	बाव <i>thāv</i> इति केचित्	ब	बावुन् <i>thōvun, बावौन् <i>thāvyauv</i></i>	* ditto.
	बौबर <i>thāthar</i>	नरायाम्	बौब्यौन् <i>thātharyauv</i>	be in a hurry.
	बार <i>thār</i>	नरायाम्	बार्यौन् <i>thāryauv</i>	ditto.
क	ब्यक <i>thyak</i>	सावायाम्	ब्यकुन् <i>thyakun, ब्यस्यौन् <i>thōcyauv</i></i>	* praise oneself falsely, boast.
क	बिप <i>thip</i>	ताडने	ब्युपुन् <i>thypun, बिप्यौन् <i>thīpyauv</i></i>	beat, slap.
क	ब्यक <i>thōk</i>	निहीचने	ब्यकुन् <i>thokun, ब्यस्यौन् <i>thōcyauv</i></i>	spit.
क	बुर <i>thur</i>	घटने	बुरन् <i>thurun, बुर्यौन् <i>thuryauv</i></i>	* form (a pot, used of potters).

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	दस <i>dag</i>	घातने	दसुन् <i>dagun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dayyaun</i>	* beat, pound.
	दसु <i>daz</i>	भस्मीभवने	दसु <i>dad̄</i> , दस्योत् <i>dazauv</i>	* be burnt.
क	दसुराव <i>dad̄-rāv</i>	शोषीकारणे	दसुरोत्सुन् <i>dad̄-rōvun</i> , दसुरोत्स्योन् <i>dad̄-rōvyauv</i>	make wasted, make weak.
क	दप <i>dap</i>	प्राज्ञावां कथने च	दसुन् <i>dapun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dapyyaun</i>	* say, order.
क	दपव <i>dabav</i>	भुजिकेने	दसुन् <i>dabavun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dabavyaun</i>	press down to the ground.
भा	दस <i>dam</i>	वाताग्निप्रत्ययोः	दसुन् <i>dāmun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dāmyaun</i>	roar (of wind on fire).
	दर <i>dar</i>	स्यैर्विकृतिवर्धनरोपेषु	दस्योन् <i>daryauv</i>	be steady, (2) remember, (3) stop raining.
क	दरं <i>darr</i>	खितीकारणे	दसंन् <i>darrun</i> , दरस्योन् <i>darryaun</i>	make steady.
क	दख <i>dal</i>	विदारणे	दसुन् <i>dāhun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dajyaun</i>	tear in pieces.
भा	दव <i>dav</i>	शीघ्रगती	दसुन् <i>dāvun</i> , दस्योन् <i>davyaun</i>	* run.
क	दस <i>das</i>	घातने	दसुन् <i>dāsun</i> , दस्योन् <i>dasyaun</i> or दस्योन् <i>dasauv</i>	beat.
क	दाङ्ग <i>dāṅṅ-r</i>	धाने	दाङ्गुन् <i>dāṅṅrun</i> , दाङ्गुत्स्योन् <i>dāṅṅryaun</i>	consider, reflect.

क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dāñ-rōv</i>	व	इच्छ्वात् <i>dāñ-rōvum</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dāñ-rōvyaun</i>	consider, reflect.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dār</i>	भारत्वात् <i>bhāra</i>	इच्छ्वात् <i>dārūn</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dāryaun</i> .	* place, lend money.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dāv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dāvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dāvyaun</i>	cause to give.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dā</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dāyutun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dāyaun</i>	* give.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōgv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōgvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōgvyaun</i>	husk (grain).
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōg-nōv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōg-nōvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōg-nōvyaun</i>	double.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōdar</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōdaryauv</i>	* rot.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōdarāv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōdarōvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōdarōvyaun</i>	cause to rot.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-er</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-erun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-eryaun</i>	* bury, hide in the ground.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-erāv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-erōvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōb-erōvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōy</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōyuaun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōyvaun</i>	* milk.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōs</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dōs*</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dōsyaun</i>	trickle.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-er</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-erun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-eryaun</i>	separate.
क	इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-erāv</i>	इच्छ्वात्	इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-erōvun</i> , इच्छ्वात् <i>dūntsh-erōvyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	दूर दूर	दूरीपवने	दुसौं दूर्याव	be distant.
	दोन दोन	पिचविबारे	दुनु दूनून, दोनौं दौंनौं	* card cotton.
	दोर दोर	गतिचातुर्ये	दोसौं दोर्याव	* run.
	दुव दून	बसादिरजोपारबे	दुनु दूनून, दुसौं दौंनौं	* shake out dust, disperse.
	दुनव दूनव	च	दुनवुं दूनवून, दुनवौं दूनव्याव	ditto.
	दुच दूच	धैमस्ये	दुचुं दूचुं, दुचौं दूच्याव	regret.
	दुक दूक	श्रीहायास्	दुकुं दूकुं, दुसौं दूच्याव	play.
	दुग दूग	दुआतिमले	दुसौं दूग्याव	be dear, expensive.
	दुग्राव दूग्राव	दुईलीकारबे	दुग्रीवुं दूग्रावून, दुग्रावौं दूग्राव्याव	make dear, expensive.
	दुमान दूमान	दोपदाने	दुसौवुं दूस्रावून, दुस्रावौं दूस्राव्याव	blame.
	दुंठ दूंठ	काकस्ये	दूँसौं दूँस्रियाव	be hard.
भा	नच नच	नतने	नचुं नचुं, नचौं नचाव	* dance.
क	नचूर नचूर	नशीकारबे	नचूरुं नचूरून, नचूरौं नचूर्याव	make naked.

क	नक्षत्राच्च नक्षत्राद्वा	च	नक्षत्रोत्तुन् नक्षत्रोत्तुन्, नक्षत्रात्तोन् नक्षत्रोत्तुन्- vyaun	make naked.
क	नट नाट्	कल्पे	नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	* tremble.
क	नट्टराच्च नक्षत्राद्वा	कल्पने	नट्टरोत्तुन् नक्षत्रोत्तुन्, नट्टरात्तोन् नक्षत्रोत्तुन्	cause to shake, wave.
भा	नन नान	नक्षोच्चराने	नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	be naked.
	नप नाप	नक्षोच्चराने	नक्षुन् नक्षुन्, नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	bribe.
	नस नाम	नक्षोच्चराने	नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	* bend, bow.
	नव नाव	नक्षिणीभवने	नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	be excessive, be new.
क	नख नाख	नखराने	[नख नखिन्], नक्षोच् नक्ष्यायु	* disappear.
	नखाच्च नाखाद्वा	नखाचाते	नखात्तुन् नाखात्तुन्, नखात्तोन् नाखात्तुन्	* obliterate (writing) put a stop to.
	नोठ नोठि	निष्कळीभवने	नोषोच् नोष्यायु	be fruitless.
	नोष नोष	दोत्रो	नोषोच् नोष्यायु	shine.
क	नाव नाव	शोधने	नोषुन् नोषुन्, नात्तोन् नोष्यायु	clean, polish.
क	नाम् नोम्	नाम्ने	नाम्बन् नोम्बन्, नाम्बोन् नोम्ब्यायु	destroy.
क	नाम्नाच्च नोम्नाद्वा	च	नाम्नोत्तुन् नोम्नोत्तुन्, नाम्नात्तोन् नोम्नोत्तुन्- vyan	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	नि नि	ररवे	न्युन् <i>nyūn</i> , नियोन् <i>niyaun</i>	* take.
क	निक निक	बलीभवने	निकोच् <i>nikyauc</i>	* become small.
क	निक्र निक्र	बडयः करवे	न्युक्त्वात् <i>nyuktvā</i> , नियोच् <i>niyauc</i>	break to pieces.
क	निक्राव निक्राव	च	निक्रावोत् <i>nikrāvūt</i> , निक्रावोन् <i>nikrāv-</i> <i>yaun</i>	* ditto.
क	न्यङ्क न्यङ्क	निररवे	न्यङ्कुन् <i>nyāṅkulun</i> , न्यङ्कोन् <i>nyāṅgyaun</i>	swallow.
क	न्यत् न्यत्	पशुरीसकनने	न्यत्तुन् <i>nyātun</i> , न्यत्तौन् <i>nyātkāun</i>	* shear (animals).
क	न्यवाज् न्यवाज्	निवेदने	न्यवोज् <i>nyavāj</i> , न्यवोञ् <i>nyavājāun</i>	address.
क	नीञ् नीञ्	हरितीभवने	नीञ्चोच् <i>nīyauc</i>	become blue.
क	न्य्स् न्य्स्	नकीकरवे	न्य्स्त्वात् <i>nyāstvā</i> , न्य्स्त्वाञ् <i>nyāstvāun</i>	* cause to bow.
क	न्य्स्त्वाव न्य्स्त्वाव	च	न्य्स्त्वावोत् <i>nyāstvāvūt</i> , न्य्स्त्वावोन् <i>nyāstvāv-</i> <i>yaun</i>	ditto.
क	न्य्स्त्वाव न्य्स्त्वाव	बतिस्वीकरवे	न्य्स्त्वावोत् <i>nyāstvāvūt</i> , न्य्स्त्वावोन् <i>nyāstvāv-</i> <i>yaun</i>	make excessive.
क	न्य्स्त्वाव न्य्स्त्वाव	च	न्य्स्त्वावोत् <i>nyāstvāvūt</i> , न्य्स्त्वावोन् <i>nyāstvāv-</i> <i>yaun</i>	ditto.

क	नेहवुन् <i>nēchav</i>	खानीकरणे	नेहवुन् <i>nēchavun</i> , नेहबोव् <i>nēchavyaun</i>	proclaim.
क	नेर <i>nēr</i>	निर्गमने	द्राव् <i>drāv</i> , द्रावोव् <i>drāvauv</i>	* go forth.
क	नोस्र <i>nōsṛ</i>	संश्लेषीकरणे	नूस्रव् <i>nūsṛun</i> , नोस्रोव् <i>nōsṛyaun</i>	abstract, abridge.
क	नोस्राव <i>nōsṛāv</i>	च	नोस्रावुन् <i>nōsṛāvun</i> , नोस्रावोव् <i>nōsṛāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	न्याव <i>nyāv</i>	धारणे	न्योवुन् <i>nyōvun</i> , न्यावोव् <i>nyāvyaun</i>	cause to take.
क	पक <i>pak</i>	गतौ	पक्क <i>pakḥ</i> , पक्वोव् <i>pakvauv</i>	* go.
क	पहताव <i>pachatāv</i>	पचातापे	पहतावुन् <i>pachatāvun</i> , पहतावोव् <i>pachatāvyaun</i>	regret.
क	पहान <i>pachān</i>	उपसृष्टणे	पहानुन् <i>pachānun</i> , पहानीव् <i>pachānvaun</i>	recognize.
क	पच <i>pacḥ</i>	कृत्वाविशारे	पचु <i>pacḥ</i> , पचोव् <i>pacḥauv</i>	trust with a loan.
क	पञ्जर <i>paḥṛ</i>	साहेद्व सीवने	पञ्जरुन् <i>paḥṛun</i> , पञ्जरोव् <i>paḥṛyaun</i>	fell a hem (in sewing).
क	पञ्जराव <i>paḥṛāv</i>	च	पञ्जरावुन् <i>paḥṛāvun</i> , पञ्जरावोव् <i>paḥṛāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	पञ्ज <i>paḥ</i>	सुश्लेषवने सत्याविभारे च	पञ्जोव् <i>paḥyaun</i>	be fit, turn out to be true.
क	पञ्जर <i>paḥṛ</i>	सत्याविष्कारणे	पञ्जरुन् <i>paḥṛun</i> , पञ्जरोव् <i>paḥṛyaun</i>	show to be true.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	पञ्जरात् <i>pañjorāo</i>	च	पञ्जरोत् <i>pañjorūtun</i> , पञ्जरात् <i>pañjorāyaun</i>	show to be true.
क	पठ <i>pat</i>	प्राप्नोति	पठोत् <i>paṭyau</i>	obtain.
क	पठाय <i>paṭāv</i>	गच्छति	पठोत् <i>paṭāvun</i> , पठायोत् <i>paṭāvyaun</i>	go.
क	पठ् <i>paṭh</i>	विद्याय	पठोत् <i>paṭhyau</i>	be successfully complete.
क	पठ् <i>paṭh</i>	संस्कारे नीमादिसोपने च	पठ् <i>paṭh</i> , पठ् <i>paṭherun</i> , पठ् <i>paṭhōyaun</i>	clean, gut fishes.
क	पठ् <i>paṭh</i>	संस्कारे वाक्ये च	पठ् <i>paṭh</i> , पठ् <i>paṭhōrūn</i> , पठ् <i>paṭhōrā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	पद् <i>pad</i>	कुल्लिखति इत्ये	पद् <i>padun</i> , पद् <i>paṭhōyaun</i>	break wind.
क	पप <i>pap</i>	परिष्यति	पयोत् <i>paṭhyau</i>	ripen.
क	पय <i>pay</i>	धातुदिसोपने	पयोत् <i>payun</i> , पयोत् <i>payyaun</i>	roast (metals, &c.), burn (bricks).
क	पर <i>par</i>	पठने	परोत् <i>parun</i> , परोत् <i>paryaun</i>	* read.
क	पराय <i>parāy</i>	परीक्षायात्	परोत् <i>parikhāvun</i> , परोत् <i>parikhāvyaun</i>	test.
क	पञ्जरात् <i>pañjan</i>	उपलक्ष्यते	पञ्जरोत् <i>pañjanun</i> , पञ्जरोत् <i>pañjanāun</i>	* recognize.

क	पञ्चनाम् <i>panṣanāṁ</i>	व	पञ्चनेतुम् <i>panṣanēṭum</i> , पञ्चनाचौम् <i>panṣanācūm</i> <i>vyam</i>	* recognize.
क	प्रञ्जम् <i>prañam</i>	च	प्रञ्जन्तुम् <i>prañantun</i> , प्रञ्च्यौम् <i>prañcyāum</i>	ditto.
क	पञ्च <i>pañ</i>	तुञ्जने	पञ्चन्तु <i>pañantun</i> , पञ्च्यौम् <i>pañcyāum</i>	give privately.
क	पञ्चम् <i>pañam</i>	उपविवाशाच्च	[पञ्चन्तु <i>pañantun</i>], पञ्च्यौम् <i>pañcyāum</i>	be useful.
क	पञ्चट <i>pañat</i>	इतीभवे	[पञ्चन्तु <i>pañantun</i>], पञ्च्यौम् <i>pañcyāum</i>	melt, deliquesce.
क	पञ्च <i>pañ</i>	विचारे	पञ्चन्तु <i>pañantun</i> , पञ्च्यौम् <i>pañcyāum</i>	make sorrowful.
क	पञ्च <i>pañ</i>	करणे	पञ्च्यौम् <i>pañcyāum</i>	* drip.
क	पाकम् <i>pākan</i>	विस्कोढादिपाके	पाकन्तुम् <i>pākantun</i>	roast grain (pop-corn.)
क	पाकम् <i>pākan</i>	पचने	पाकन्तुम् <i>pākantun</i> , पाच्यौम् <i>pācyāum</i>	* cook.
क	पाञ् <i>pāñ</i>	निःशारे	पौञ्चन्तुम् <i>pōñantun</i> , पाञ्च्यौम् <i>pōñcyāum</i>	bring out from.
क	पाच <i>pāñ</i>	सङ्कारे	पाच्यौम् <i>pāñcyāum</i>	be, become.
क	पार <i>pār</i>	केसरेषीकरणे	पौचन्तुम् <i>pōchantun</i> , पौच्यौम् <i>pōchcyāum</i>	* tie the hair, toss for an innings, &c.
क	पाञ् <i>pāñ</i>	रचने	पौञ्चन्तुम् <i>pōñantun</i> , पाञ्च्यौम् <i>pāñcyāum</i>	protect.
क	पाच <i>pāñ</i>	पातने	पौचन्तुम् <i>pōchantun</i> , पाच्यौम् <i>pāchcyāum</i>	* cause to fall, fell.

* Found in Dr. Eimelie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
भा	पास् प॑स्	पिक्वरे	पास्वन् प॑स्वन्, पास्वीन् प॑स्व्यान्	blame.
क	पास्त्राव प॑स्त्राव	व	पास्त्रोड् प॑स्त्रोड्, पास्त्रोड् प॑स्त्रोड्, पास्त्रोड् प॑स्त्रोड्	ditto.
भा	पि पि	पतने	पि प॑त्, प॑त्	* fall.
भा	पिट पि	परिदेवने	पुड् प॑त्, प॑त्	lament.
क	पिट्राव पि॑त्राव	दीनीकारे	पिट्रोड् प॑त्, प॑त्	cease to lament.
क	प्यत् प॑त्	पञ्चने	प्यत् प॑त्, प॑त्	protect.
	प्यद् प॑त्	हलङ्गतायाव	प्यत् प॑त्, प॑त्	be cognisant of.
	पिळ पि	प्राप्ते	पिळोव् प॑त्	be possible, arrive at.
क	पिळन् प॑त्	प्रापचे	पिळोव् प॑त्	cause to arrive, convey.
क	प्यव प॑त्	पाकार्थतप्रापके	प्यव प॑त्, प॑त्	light fire for cooking.
	पिळ पि	पेशकीभवने	पिळोव् प॑त्	be soft.
	पिष पि	पाकेन वपिकिंशरे	पिषोव् प॑त्	boil over.
क	पिष पि	संभवेने	पिषोव् प॑त्	* grind.
	पौर पि	नेदुरतायाव	पौरोव् प॑त्	be smooth, slippery.

क	पीठ <i>piṭh</i>	वेदासमीचरे	पीचीव् <i>piçyaav</i>	wait wearily.
क	पीठर पिठर <i>piṭhar</i>	समिचं प्रतिवेपरे	पूठरन् <i>pyūṭharun</i> , पीठचीन् <i>piṭhōçyaun</i>	blame and instruct at once.
क	पीठराव पिठरारौ <i>piṭharāv</i>	च	पीठरोवुन् <i>piṭhōrdūun</i> , पीठरावीन् <i>piṭhōrāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	पीनव <i>pinav</i>	प्रसावने	पीनवुन् <i>pinavun</i> , पीनवीन् <i>pināvyaun</i>	bear (young).
क	पुषुन पुषान <i>puṣun</i>	पुषादिबखसः करे	पुषुन <i>puṣanun</i> , पुषवीन् <i>puṣāvyaun</i>	pluck flowers, &c., to pieces.
क	पुन <i>pun</i>	शापसापसे	[पुन् <i>pun*</i>], पुन्यीव् <i>punyaav</i>	come true (of a curse).
क	पुन्द <i>pōnd</i>	बुते	पुन्दुन् <i>pōndun</i> , पुन्द्वीन् <i>pōndvyaun</i>	sneeze.
क	पुल <i>pōl</i>	नेनेसे	पुलीव् <i>pōlyav</i>	be weak.
क	पुपर <i>puṣar</i>	बपरे	पुपरन् <i>puṣarun</i> , पुपरवीन् <i>puṣarāvyaun</i>	* make over (to any one).
क	पुपरव पुपरारौ <i>puṣarāv</i>	च	पुपरिवुन् <i>puṣarōvun</i> , पुपरवीन् <i>puṣarāvyaun</i>	* ditto.
क	पुज <i>pūz</i>	पजायाव्	पुजन् <i>pūzun</i> , पूजीन् <i>pūçvaun</i>	worship.
क	पुठर <i>pūṭhar</i>	खुलीकरे	पुठरन् <i>pūṭharun</i> , पूठचीन् <i>pūṭhōçyaun</i>	make fat.

* Found in Dr. Elmstie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	पुढ्राव <i>pūḥ^orao</i>	प	पुढ्रीवुव् <i>pūḥ^orāvuvun</i> , पुढ्रावीव् <i>pūḥ^orāv</i>	make fat.
क	पूर <i>pūr</i>	पूरवे	पूरव् <i>pūrun</i> , पूवीव् <i>pūryaun</i>	fill.
क	पेढ <i>pēḥ</i>	नियेवे	पेवीव् <i>pēḥyauv</i>	* exude.
क	पैर <i>pair</i>	पसंकरवे	पैरव् <i>pairun</i> , पैवीव् <i>pairyaun</i>	* adorn.
	पीढ <i>pīḥ</i>	खूलीभवने	पीवीव् <i>pīḥyauv</i>	be fat.
	पीर <i>pīr</i>	पवीप्रानाईतवीः	पीवीव् <i>pīryauv</i>	be competent, be dry.
क	पीरव <i>pīrav</i>	वाधने	पीरवुव् <i>pīravun</i> , पीरवीव् <i>pīravyaun</i>	oppress.
	पीव <i>pīḥ</i>	पवीप्रानावाव्	पुव <i>pūḥ^o</i> , पीवीव् <i>pīvyauv</i>	* be competent, victorious.
क	प्रवढ <i>prakḥ^o</i>	प्रवढने	प्रववीव् <i>prakḥ^otyauv</i>	be manifest.
क	प्रवज <i>prajan</i>	उपवजववे	प्रववीवुव् <i>prajanun</i> , प्रववीव् <i>prajānau</i>	recognize.
क	प्रवजाव <i>prajāno</i>	प	प्रववीवुव् <i>prajāno^oun</i> , प्रवजावीव् <i>prajāno^o</i>	ditto.
	[प्रवज <i>prajal</i>	प्रवजने	प्रववीव् <i>prajālyauv</i>	shine.]

प्रब <i>pran</i>	प्रबोव् <i>pranyauv</i>	* be clean and white.
प्रब <i>pray</i>	प्रबु <i>pray*</i> , प्रबोव् <i>prayyauv</i>	be pleased.
प्रब <i>pras</i>	षाव् <i>pyāo</i>	* be born.
प्राट <i>prāt</i>	प्रोडुव् <i>prōṭun</i> , प्राबोव् <i>prācyauv</i>	dig.
प्राव <i>prāv</i>	प्राबोव् <i>prāyauv</i>	be old.
प्राए <i>prār</i>	[प्राव <i>prō*</i>]. प्राबोव् <i>prāyauv</i>	* wait.
प्राव <i>prāv</i>	प्रोडुव् <i>prōṭun</i> , प्राबोव् <i>prāyauv</i>	* obtain.
प्रिब <i>prin</i>	प्रुडुव् <i>pryusun</i> , प्रिबोव् <i>prīṭauv</i>	reproach.
प्रिबु <i>prigih</i>	प्रुडुव् <i>pryūṣṭhun</i> , प्रिबोव् <i>prīṣṭhun</i>	* ask.
प्रिडु <i>prinz</i>	प्रुडुव् <i>pryuzun</i> , प्रिडोव् <i>prīnzun</i>	send.
षक <i>phak</i>	षकुव् <i>phakun</i>	(?) eat <i>satīṣ</i> ; (usually) spit out after chewing.
षट <i>phat</i>	षट् <i>phat*</i> , षबोव् <i>phacyauv</i>	split (of wood) (neut.) sprout (of a plant), sink into water.
षव <i>phab</i>	षबोव् <i>phabyauv</i>	be excellent.

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* Found in Dr. Eimslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	फर <i>phar</i>	खेये	फर् <i>phar</i> , फर्त्तित् <i>pharyauv</i>	be stolen, be a cause of loss to.
क	फर्त्तित् <i>pharkāu</i>	फर्त्तित्पञ्जने	फर्त्तित्तुन् <i>pharkōrun</i> , फर्त्तित्तुन् <i>pharkāryaun</i>	enquire into the meaning, enquire.
क	फल् <i>phal</i>	फल्कीर्त्तने सापञ्जविभाजने	फल्त्तु <i>phal</i> , फल्त्तुत् <i>phalyauv</i>	* become old (of clothes), bear fruit, be divided.
क	फस <i>phas</i>	फसीभवने	फसु <i>phas</i> , फसुत् <i>phasauv</i>	be entangled, caught.
क	फस्त् <i>phasr</i>	फसीकरणे	फस्त्तुन् <i>phasstrun</i> , फस्त्तुत् <i>phasstryaun</i>	entangle, catch in anything.
क	फास्त् <i>phāsr</i>	च	फास्त्तुन् <i>phāstrun</i> , फास्त्तुत् <i>phāstryaun</i>	ditto.
क	फास्त्तुन् <i>phāsrāu</i>	च	फास्त्तुत् <i>phāsrōrun</i> , फास्त्तुत् <i>phāsrāryaun</i>	ditto.
भा	फह <i>phahar</i>	फाहणे	फहर्त्तित्तुन् <i>phaharyauv</i>	be hard.
क	फत्ति <i>phāg</i>	फिष्त्तुत्साञ्जारीरुत्ने	फत्तित्तुन् <i>phāggun</i> , फत्तित्तुत् <i>phāgyaun</i>	cry (of children), mew.
क	फान् <i>phān</i>	फिष्त्तुत्सीकरणे	फान्तुन् <i>phānun</i> , फान्तुत् <i>phānāun</i>	carry away totally.

क	फाँफख phāphal	फाँफखीसबने	फाँफखीसबने फाँफखीसबने	फाँफखीसबने फाँफखीसबने	be fit for any work.
क	फाख phālav	फाखमेदने	फाखमेदने	फाखमेदने	split (wood) (act.)
क	फिख phits	फिखरे	फिखरे	फिखीसबने [फिखीसबने]	forget.
क	फख phixlav	फखसबने	फखसबने	फखसबने phixlavavun, फखसबने phixlavavun	take secretly.
क	फिर phir	फिरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने	फिरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने	फिरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने phiravun, फिरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने phiravun	*turn over (pages), call to memory, pour from one vessel to another.
क	फिरव phirav	फिरवने	फिरवने	फिरवने phiravun, फिरवने phiravun	cause to go round.
क	फख phiyag	फखदिलेखने	फखदिलेखने	फखदिलेखने phiyagun, फखदिलेखने phiyagun	lick the lips or the like.
क	फेर phirag	फेर	फेर	फेरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने phiragun, फेरकबाभाखाना परि- वर्तने phiragun	lick the lips or the like.
क	फुक phuk	फुकसबने	फुकसबने	फुकसबने phukun, फुकसबने phukun	*blow a fire (with the mouth to make it burn).
क	फुखार phukār	फुखारसबने	फुखारसबने	फुखारसबने phukāravun, फुखारसबने phukāravun	speak in anger.
क	फुट phut	फुटने	फुटने	फुटने phutavun, फुटने phutavun	*be broken.
क	फुटर phuter	फुटरने	फुटरने	फुटरने phuteravun, फुटरने phuteravun	*break.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	फुडराव् <i>phuf-rāv</i>	व	फुडरीव् <i>phuf-rōvun</i> फुडराबीव् <i>phuf-rā- vyau</i>	*break.
	फुह् <i>phöll</i>	विकसने	फुह् <i>pholl-</i> फुह्जीव् <i>phōjīyau</i>	*expand (of a flower).
भा	फुह् <i>phup</i>	आनाःकोषे	फुह्जीव् <i>phucyau</i>	be inwardly angry.
	फुह् <i>phuh</i>	व	फुह्जीव् <i>phuhyau</i>	ditto.
	फुह् <i>phāk</i>	आग्रावे	फुह्कुव् <i>phākun</i> , फुह्जीव् <i>phācīyau</i>	smell.
	फेर <i>phēr</i>	अनन्वविकीर्णवन्वयात्पाप- विकीर्णवद्	फुह् <i>phēr-</i> , फुह्जीव् <i>phēryau</i>	*go round, rot, regret, be inverted.
	फोर <i>phōr</i>	स्फुरचे	[फुह् <i>phūr-</i>], फुह्जीव् <i>phōryau</i>	quiver.
क	फार <i>phār</i>	रथनिष्कासने	फुह्जीव् <i>phārūn</i> , फुह्जीव् <i>phārīyau</i>	strain.
भा	फुह् <i>phōrak</i>	उत्प्रासिकः प्रासयोः	फुह्कुव् <i>phōrakun</i> , फुह्जीव् <i>phōrācīyau</i>	breath violently, be out of breath.
क	बक <i>bāk</i>	भषचे	बकुव् <i>bākun</i> , बकीव् <i>bācīyau</i>	bark, growl, speak angrily.
क	बगार <i>bagār</i>	बकचे	बकीव् <i>bagōrun</i> , बकीव् <i>bagārīyau</i>	fry in oil, &c.

क	बच <i>bac</i>	बनायसतायाच्	बचोच् <i>bacyauv</i>	*escape.
क	बच्चाव <i>baççarāv</i>	भयारिरचवे	बच्चीरोवुन् <i>baççarōvun</i> , बच्चावोन् <i>baççarāvun</i>	protect.
क	बज्ज <i>bas</i>	वेवायां वेचने च	बज्जुन् <i>bazun</i> , बज्जोन् <i>bazauv</i>	*serve, fry in oil, &c.
क	बज्ज <i>baç</i>	नतिहच्छोः	बचोच् <i>baçyauv</i>	*go, be great.
क	बजाव <i>baçāv</i>	नतिहसनयोः	बज्जोवुन् <i>baçāvun</i> , बजावोन् <i>baçāvyaun</i>	*go, (neut.) quell, (act.) extinguish.
क	बच्चा <i>baççar</i>	बर्धने	बच्चन् <i>baççarun</i> , बच्चोन् <i>baççaryaun</i>	cause to be great, increase.
क	बच्चाव <i>baççarāv</i>	च	बच्चीरोवुन् <i>baççarōvun</i> , बच्चावोन् <i>baççarāvyaun</i>	*ditto.
क	बच्चाव <i>baççarāv</i>	पुयाङ्गारपाके	बच्चोरोवुन् <i>baççarōvun</i> , बच्चावोन् <i>baççarāvyaun</i>	bake bread.
क	बन <i>ban</i>	भवने	बचोच् <i>banyauv</i>	*be.
क	बच्चूर <i>baççar</i>	विभाजने	बच्चूरन् <i>baççarun</i> , बच्चूरोन् <i>baççaryaun</i>	*divide, [sell cheaply.]
क	बच्चूरव <i>baççarāv</i>	च	बच्चूरोवुन् <i>baççarōvun</i> , बच्चूरवोन् <i>baççarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	बर <i>bar</i>	पूरवे विचोतयत्ये च	बरन् <i>barun</i> , बरोन् <i>baryaun</i>	*fill, pine in absence.

* Found in Dr. Elnislie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	बर्कव् <i>barhāv</i>	पतने	बर्कितुम् <i>barhāveun</i> , बर्कितौम् <i>barhāveyaun</i>	cause to fall.
क	बल <i>bal</i>	आरोग्ये प्राप्ते च	बलौव् <i>balgaw</i>	* be convalescent, live.
क	बलर <i>balar</i>	आरोग्यीकरणे	बलरन् <i>balarun</i> , बलर्यौम् <i>balaryaun</i>	cure.
	बलराव <i>balarāv</i>	च	बलरितुम् <i>balarēun</i> , बलराबौम् <i>balarēyaun</i>	ditto.
	बस <i>bas</i>	निवासे	बसु <i>bas*</i> , बसौव् <i>basuv</i>	* dwell.
	बसन <i>basan</i>	पौलोषवने	बसन्तौव् <i>basanyauv</i>	be yellow.
	बहर <i>bahar</i>	प्रस्तायात्	बहरीव् <i>baharyauv</i>	be brave.
	बाहन <i>bākhan</i>	पुत्रिभंजे	बाहन्तौव् <i>bākhanyauv</i>	be mistaken.
क	बागर <i>bāgar</i>	विभाजने	बागरन् <i>bāgarun</i> , बाग्यौम् <i>bāgaryaun</i>	* divide.
क	बाजर <i>bājir</i>	च	बाजरन् <i>bājirun</i> , बाज्यौम् <i>bājryaun</i>	ditto.
क	बागराव <i>bāgarāv</i>	च	बाजरितुम् <i>bāgarēun</i> , बागराबौम् <i>bāgarēyaun</i>	ditto.
क	बाजराव <i>bājirāv</i>	च	बाजरितुम् <i>bājirēun</i> , बाजराबौम् <i>bājirēyaun</i>	ditto.

बाद् <i>bād</i> [झाद् <i>brād</i>]	प्रबलीभवने	बासौव् <i>bādyauv</i> , [झासौव् <i>brādyauv</i>]	be powerful.
बाँबर <i>bābar</i>	लरायाव्	बाँबरीव् <i>bābaryauv</i>	be quick.
बाच <i>bāc</i>	बलिप्रवापिष्करले देवापेदे च	बीसुव् <i>bōsun</i> , बासौव् <i>bāsyauv</i>	* shew, declare one's intentions, devote to God.
बाचव् <i>bāvac</i>	रीचने	बाचव्यौव् <i>bāvaczyauv</i>	be preferred (usually food).
बाच <i>bāc</i>	उचारले	बीसुन् <i>bōsun</i> , बासौन् <i>bāsyauv</i>	speak.
बाच <i>bāc</i>	भासने	[बीसु <i>bōs*</i>], बासौव् <i>bāsyauv</i> , बासौव् <i>bāsuuv</i>	become clear, evident.
बिबर <i>bigar</i>	बिबारे	बिनरीव् <i>bigaryauv</i>	be spoiled.
ब्यज़र <i>bēṅer</i>	बिबरले भिन्नीकरले च	ब्यज़रन् <i>bēṅsrun</i> , ब्यज़रीव् <i>bēṅryauv</i>	open, separate (act.)
ब्यज़राव <i>bēṅrāv</i>	च	ब्यज़रीसुन् <i>bēṅsrun</i> , ब्यज़रासौन् <i>bēṅsryauv</i>	ditto.
ब्यन्न <i>byann</i>	भिन्नीभवने.	ब्यस्यौव् <i>bēnyauv</i>	be separate.
बिच <i>biy</i>	पर्युपिते	बियौव् <i>biyyauv</i>	be stale.
ब्याह <i>byah</i>	उपवेशने	ब्युद् <i>byūḍh*</i> , बेसौव् <i>bēchyauv</i> (sic)	* sit.
बुच <i>buoh</i>	इंरुकिवायाव्	बुचन् <i>buchun</i> , बुचौन् <i>buchyauv</i>	* bite.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	बुञ्ज् <i>bus</i>	भक्षणे	बुञ्जन् <i>buzun</i> , बुञ्जीन् <i>buzāun</i>	* parch (grain).
	बुञ्ज् <i>bōḍ</i>	निगच्छने	बुञ्ज् <i>boḍ*</i> , बुञ्जीन् <i>bōḍyauv</i>	* dive, sink.
	बुञ्ज् <i>buḍ</i>	स्त्रिरीक्षणने	बुञ्जीन् <i>buḍyauv</i>	* be old.
	बुञ्ज् <i>bōv</i>	उत्पत्तौ	बुञ्ज् <i>bov*</i> , बुञ्जीन् <i>bōvyauv</i>	* be born, grow.
क	बुञ्ज् <i>būg</i>	भोजे	बुञ्जन् <i>būgun</i> , बुञ्जीन् <i>būgyauv</i>	enjoy.
क	बेच <i>bēch</i>	निष्ठायाश्च	बुञ्जन् <i>byūchun</i> , बेचोन् <i>bēchyaun</i>	beg.
	बोज् <i>bōs</i>	निष्ठायाश्च	बुञ्जन् <i>bōzun</i> , बोञ्जीन् <i>bōzauv</i>	* hear.
क	बोञ्ज् <i>bōl</i>	पक्षिमण्डे	बुञ्जन् <i>bōlun</i> , बोञ्जीन् <i>bōlyauv</i>	sing, speak (of birds).
क	ब्रक् <i>brak</i>	रङ्गावातकोपयोः	ब्रक्त्वा <i>brakun</i> , ब्रक्त्वा <i>bracyauv</i>	clench with the teeth, be angry.
	ब्रञ्ज् <i>braz</i>	दीप्तौ	ब्रञ्जीन् <i>brazyauv</i>	shine.
	ब्रञ्ज् <i>bram</i>	आनौ	ब्रञ्जीन् <i>bramyauv</i>	go round in circles.
क	ब्रञ्ज् <i>bram̄r</i>	बुद्धिररुचे	ब्रञ्जन् <i>bram̄run</i> , ब्रञ्जीन् <i>bram̄ryauv</i>	mislead.
क	ब्रञ्ज् <i>bram̄r̄v</i>	च	ब्रञ्जन् <i>bram̄r̄vun</i> , ब्रञ्जन् <i>bram̄r̄vyaun</i>	* mislead.

क	ब्रह्म ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मन् <i>brāṣun</i> , ब्रह्मीन् <i>brāṣyaun</i>	clench with the teeth, (not to be angry).
क	ब्रिष् ब्रिष्	ब्रुषुन् <i>bryuṣṭhun</i> , ब्रिष्तीन् <i>briṣṭhaun</i>	lament.
क	ब्रैष् ब्रैष्	ब्रैषीच् <i>brāṣhīyauv</i>	be a fool.
क	मग् मग्	मंघुन् <i>maṅgun</i> , मञ्जीच् <i>mañjīyauv</i>	* ask.
क	मंघ्राब मंघ्र	मंघ्रोरुन् <i>māṅṣarūvun</i> , मंघ्राबीन् <i>māṅṣarā- vyaun</i>	* delude.
क	मठार मठार	मठीबन् <i>maṭhōrun</i> , मठाबीन् <i>maṭhādryaun</i>	make level, calm, con- sole.
क	मण्ड मण्ड	मंघुन् <i>māṅḍun</i> , मञ्जीच् <i>mañjīyauv</i>	* knead clothes in water to soften and clean them, adorn.
क	मत मत	मतीच् <i>matyauv</i>	* be mad, foolish.
क	मथ मथ	मथुन् <i>maṭhun</i> , मथीच् <i>maṭhaun</i>	* pound, beat, churn.
क	मनब मनब	मनबुन् <i>manabun</i> , मनबीन् <i>manavyaun</i>	calm an angry person.
क	मंघ्र मंघ्र	मंघ्रबच् <i>māṅṣarun</i> , मंघ्रुबीन् <i>māṅṣarā- vyaun</i>	make imperfect, dim- inish.
क	मंघ्राब मंघ्र	मंघ्रोरुन् <i>māṅṣarūvun</i> , मंघ्राबीन् <i>māṅṣarā- vyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	सञ्च <i>mand</i>	सञ्चने	सञ्चुन् <i>mandun</i> , सञ्चोन् <i>mansaun</i>	churn.
	सञ्चञ्च <i>mandach</i>	सञ्चाचे	सञ्चञ्चोच् <i>mandachyau</i>	* be ashamed.
	सञ्चञ्च <i>mamal</i>	सिञ्चित्तये	सञ्चञ्चोच् <i>mamalyau</i>	* be asleep (of a limb).
क	सञ्च <i>mar</i>	सञ्चसञ्चोपनयोः	सञ्चु (सञ्चापने सञ्चन्) <i>mūd*</i> , die, (<i>mārun</i> , unite), सञ्चोच् <i>mōyau</i>	die, unite, join together.
क	सञ्चो <i>maris</i>	सञ्चाःकोषे	सञ्चोच् <i>marisaur</i>	be inwardly wrathful.
क	सञ्चो <i>marāo</i>	सिञ्चोष्वादिस्त्रेने	सञ्चोत्तुन् <i>marāoṅṅun</i> , <i>marāoṅṅyau</i>	rub a boil or pimple.
क	सञ्च <i>mal</i>	सञ्चने	सञ्चुन् <i>malun</i> , सञ्चोच् <i>malyau</i>	* rub, shampoo.
	सञ्च <i>maç</i>	सिञ्चतो	सञ्चु <i>maç*</i> , सञ्चोच् <i>machyau</i>	* forget.
क	सञ्च <i>maçç*</i>	सिञ्चारणे	सञ्चुन् <i>maççrun</i> , सञ्चोच् <i>maççryau</i>	cause to forget.
क	सञ्चराञ्च <i>maççrāo</i>	ञ	सञ्चरोत्तुन् <i>maççrāoṅṅun</i> , सञ्चराञ्चोच् <i>maççrāvyau</i>	ditto.
क	सञ्चराञ्च <i>mahār</i>	कञ्चः कञ्चे	सञ्चरोत्तुन् <i>mahārūn</i> , सञ्चराञ्चोच् <i>mahārīyau</i>	crumble (act.)
क	साञ्च <i>māo</i>	साञ्चराञ्चाञ्चोपनयोः	साञ्चुन् <i>māoṅṅun</i> , साञ्चोच् <i>māoṅṅyau</i>	be intent upon, make clean.

क	साङ्ग्राव <i>māṅgrāv</i>	हीकारकारे	साङ्ग्रीतुन् <i>māṅgrāvun</i> , साङ्ग्राबीन् <i>māṅgrāv- vyaun</i>	cause to confess.
क	सांज <i>māṅj</i>	भापुनिर्मलीकारे	सांजुन् <i>māṅjun</i> , सांज्बीन् <i>māṅjvyaun</i>	clean metals, &c.
क	सांढ <i>māṅḍ</i>	मिबीकारे	सांढुन् <i>māṅḍun</i> , सांढ्बीन् <i>māṅḍvyaun</i>	*mingle (act.), knead.
क	सान <i>mān</i>	लीकारे	सानुन् <i>mānun</i> , साबीन् <i>māṅvyaun</i>	*admit, confess.
क	सार <i>mār</i>	साररे	साीरन् <i>mārun</i> , साीरीन् <i>māryaun</i>	*kill.
क	सिख <i>mīlav</i>	वंबीकने	सिखतुन् <i>mīlavun</i> , सिखबीन् <i>mīlavvyaun</i>	*mix, unite.
क	सिखनाव <i>mīlanāv</i>	च	सिखबीतुन् <i>mīlanāvun</i> , सिखबीन् <i>mīlanā- vyaun</i>	*ditto.
	अकल <i>mōkal</i>	सुत्ती	अकलीन् <i>mōkalyaun</i>	*be released.
	अणु <i>mōḷ</i>	अणुदेरे	अणु <i>mōḷ</i> , [अणु <i>mōḷ</i>], अणुीच् <i>mōḷvaun</i>	remain over and above.
क	सुषर <i>mūṣar</i>	सुषरत्ते	सुषरच् <i>mūṣarun</i> , सुषरीन् <i>mūṣaryaun</i>	*open (act.), disclose.
क	सुषराव <i>mūṣarāv</i>	च	सुषरीतुन् <i>mūṣarāvun</i> , सुषराबीन् <i>mūṣarā- vyaun</i>	*ditto.
क	सुच <i>mūch</i>	मत्तादित्वात्ते	सुचुन् <i>mūchun</i> , सुचीन् <i>mūchvyaun</i>	complete a vow.
	अट <i>mōṭ</i>	अट्तीगवने	अट्तीच् <i>mōṭvyaun</i>	be fat.

* Found in Dr. Eimsie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क स्वर्	स्वीकारे	स्वर्त्स्वम् <i>mōṣṭarun</i> , स्वर्त्वीन् <i>mōṣṭryaun</i>	make fat, make thick (by boiling).
क स्वर्त्वाव <i>mōṣṭarāv</i>	च	स्वर्त्स्वितुम् <i>mōṣṭarōvun</i> , स्वर्त्वावीन् <i>mōṣṭarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क स्वस्व <i>mōṣṭ</i>	कुचीभवने	स्वस्वीन् <i>mōṣṭryaun</i>	be blunt, dulled, weak.
क स्वस्वर्त् <i>mōṣṭar</i>	कुचीकारे	स्वस्वर्त्स्वम् <i>mōṣṭarun</i> , स्वस्वर्त्वीन् <i>mōṣṭarīyaun</i>	causal of preceding.
क स्वस्वर्त्वाव <i>mōṣṭarāv</i>	च	स्वस्वर्त्स्वितुम् <i>mōṣṭarōvun</i> , स्वस्वर्त्वावीन् <i>mōṣṭarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क स्वर्त् <i>mōṣṭar</i>	सपुत्रीभवने	स्वर्त्स्वीन् <i>mōṣṭryaun</i>	* be sweet.
क स्वर्त्वाव <i>mōṣṭarāv</i>	सपुत्रीकारे	स्वर्त्स्वितुम् <i>mōṣṭarōvun</i> , स्वर्त्वावीन् <i>mōṣṭarāvyaun</i>	* make sweet.
क सुन <i>mus</i>	धान्यकण्ठने	सुनुम् <i>munun</i> , सुवीन् <i>muṣāun</i>	pound (rice).
क स्वस्वव <i>mōṣṭav</i>	वृक्षनिषयीकारे	स्वस्वस्वितुम् <i>mōṣṭavun</i> , स्वस्वस्वीन् <i>mōṣṭavyaun</i>	settle a price of a thing.
क सुव <i>mus</i>	नीचरे	सुवुम् <i>musun</i> , सुवीन् <i>muṣyaun</i>	steal.
क सुव <i>mus</i>	वसव्यथावचे	सुवुम् <i>musun</i> , सुवीन् <i>muṣyaun</i> or सुवीन् <i>muṣāun</i>	eat improperly.

क	सुसर <i>musar</i>	उद्घाटने	सुसरन् <i>musarun</i> , सुसरीन् <i>musaryaun</i>	open.
क	सुसराव <i>musarāv</i>	च	सुसरीतुन् <i>musarāvun</i> , सुसरावोन् <i>musarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	सुस <i>muh</i>	सोचने	सुसन् <i>muhun</i> , सुसोन् <i>muşyaun</i> , [सुसोन् <i>muhyaun</i>]	deceive.
भा	सुस्र <i>mūnīshar</i>	ससोचरे	सुस्रन् <i>mūnīsharun</i> , सुस्रयीन् <i>mūnīsharyaun</i>	wait.
भा	सुस्रराव <i>mūnīsharāv</i>	च	सुस्ररीतुन् <i>mūnīsharāvun</i> , सुस्ररावोन् <i>mūnīsharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	सुँ <i>mītr</i>	सन्भावयती [करणे] भवने	सुँतुन् <i>mītrun</i> , सुँचोन् <i>mītryaun</i>	be subject to a charm.
क	सुँराव <i>mītrāv</i>	सन्भावयतीकरणे	सुँचोतुन् <i>mītrāvun</i> , सुँचावोन् <i>mītrāvyaun</i>	make subject to a charm.
क	सुर <i>mūr</i>	सचो निष्कर्षे भवने च	सुरन् <i>mūrun</i> , सुरीन् <i>mūryaun</i>	shell (peas, &c.), eat.
क	मेठ <i>mēṭh</i>	सपुत्रीभवने	मेचोन् <i>mēṭhyaun</i>	* be sweet.
क	मेव <i>mēn</i>	सापने	मेवुन् <i>myēnun</i> , मेचोन् <i>mēṭhaun</i>	* measure.
क	मेस <i>mēl</i>	संभवे	मेसुन् <i>myēṭh</i> , मेचोन् <i>mējyaun</i>	* meet.
क	मोर <i>mōr</i>	इत्थे	मोचोन् <i>mōryaun</i>	be calmed.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	मीरव <i>mīrav</i>	सोडासने	मीरुडुन् <i>mīravun</i> , मीरवीन् <i>mīravān</i>	bear pain (only used in fem.).
क	यत्त <i>yāt</i>	यत्तो	यत्तुन् <i>yātun</i> , यत्तवीन् <i>yātāvān</i>	be able.
क	यत्तराव <i>yātārāv</i>	य	यत्तरीडुन् <i>yātārōvun</i> , यत्तरीवीन् <i>yātārāvān</i>	ditto.
	याप <i>yāp</i>	याप्तौ	यापीन् <i>yāpyauv</i>	pervade.
क	यार <i>yār</i>	संखाने	यारुन् <i>yārun</i> , यारीन् <i>yārān</i>	calculate.
	यि <i>yi</i>	यातसे	यात् <i>āv</i>	* come.
क	येर <i>yēr</i>	समुसंताने	यूरुन् <i>yūrūn</i> , येवीन् <i>yērvān</i>	* arrange thread for weaving.
क	रग <i>ragg</i>	रखने	रङुन् <i>raggun</i> , रङ्गीन् <i>raṅgān</i>	* colour (act.), dye.
क	रच <i>rach</i>	रचावत्	रचुन् <i>rachun</i> , रचवीन् <i>rachāvān</i>	* protect.
क	रर <i>rār</i>	सम्बन्धकारणे	ररुन् <i>rārūn</i> , ररवीन् <i>rārāvān</i>	put in complete order.
क	रराव <i>rārāv</i>	य	ररुरीडुन् <i>rārārōvun</i> , ररुरावीन् <i>rārārāvān</i> <i>vyān</i>	ditto.
क	रर <i>raf</i>	परणे	ररुन् <i>rārun</i> , ररवीन् <i>rārāvān</i>	* take.

क	रन् <i>ran</i>	पावे	रनुन् <i>ranun</i> , रबीन् <i>rañan</i>	* cook.
	रञ्ज् <i>rans</i>	श्रीती एते च	रञ्जीन् <i>ransyaun</i>	be pleased, show love to.
क	रञ्ज् <i>ransav</i>	श्रीपने	रञ्जुन् <i>ransavun</i> , रञ्जुबीन् <i>ransavyaun</i>	glorify.
क	रञ्ज्वाच <i>ransavāc</i>	च	रञ्जनीतुन् <i>ransandūn</i> , रञ्ज्वाबीन् <i>ransanāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	रन्व <i>ranv</i>	श्रीभाषात्	रन्वीन् <i>ranvyaun</i>	be beautiful.
	रञ् <i>raç</i>	चरबीभवने	रञ्बीन् <i>raçyaun</i>	be full of juice.
	राव <i>rāv</i>	बहीभवने	रौञ् <i>rōv</i> , राबीन् <i>rāvyaun</i>	* be lost.
क	रावर् <i>rāvār</i>	बहीकारणे	रावर्वा <i>rāvārva</i> , रावर्बीन् <i>rāvāryaun</i>	* lose.
क	रावराव <i>rāvārāv</i>	च	रावरोञ्जुन् <i>rāvārōvun</i> , रावरावबीन् <i>rāvārāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	रिञ्ज् <i>riñsav</i>	ब्रह्मजती	रिञ्जुन् <i>riñsavun</i> , रिञ्जुबीन् <i>riñsavyaun</i>	escape secretly.
क	रिच <i>riç</i>	बलंकारवाच्यतायाम्	रिञ्जुन् <i>riçun</i> , रिञ्जुन् <i>riçyaun</i>	be intent on adorning oneself [lament].
क	रुव <i>ruv</i>	रोषटे	रुवन् <i>ruvun</i> , रुवीन् <i>ruvyaun</i>	plant (act.).
	रोप् <i>rōḷḷ</i>	रोषने	रुप् <i>rūḷḷ</i> , रोप्बीन् <i>rōḷḷyaun</i>	be preferred.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
	रोञ् र०ञ्	खितौ	रुञ् रु०ञ्, रोञ्चोत् र०ञ्चोत्	* stop, stand.
	रोट् र०ट्	वचद्वये	रुट् रु०ट्, रोचोत् र०चोत्, [रोचोत् र०चोत्]	be stopped.
	रोच र०च	रहौ	रुच् रु०च, रोचोत् र०चोत्	* be angry.
क	रुक् र०क	भ्रुंभानवने	रुक्नुत् र०कनुत्, रुक्चोत् र०कचोत्	drag along the ground.
	रु र०रु	रुचोभवने	रुचोत् र०रुचोत्	persistently follow.
	रुत् र०त्	वाचोभवने	रुत्तोत् र०रुत्तोत्	be good.
	रु र०रु	जीर्वाभवने	रुचोत् र०रुचोत्	be worn out.
भा	रु र०रु	नमने	रुत्नुत् र०रुत्नुत्, रुचोत् र०रुचोत्	go.
क	रुक् ल०क	वचनं वने	रुक्नुत् ल०कनुत्, रुक्चोत् ल०कचोत्	bring inside.
क	रुत् ल०रु	वने पीठार्यां वाचद्वये च	रुत्नुत् ल०रुत्नुत्, रुक्चोत् ल०रुक्चोत्	* be with, suffer pain, fit.
भा	रुक् ल०रु	पङ्क्तिभवने	रुक्नुत् ल०रुत्नुत्, रुक्चोत् ल०रुक्चोत्	be lame.
	रुक् ल०रु	चोत्कामावाप्य	रुक्चोत् ल०रुक्चोत्	be suitable.
क	रुक् ल०रु	नमने	रुक्नुत् ल०रुत्नुत्, रुक्चोत् ल०रुक्चोत्	go.

क	खट् लड	युवे	खंडुन् लडुन्, खखौन् लज्यान्	fight.
क	खडव लडडु	संप्रसारणे	खडोवुन् लडडुन्, खखौन् लडडुव्यान्	use in fight.
क	खतव लतव	खतावावे	खतवुन् लतवुन्, खतखौन् लतव्यान्	kick.
क	खतार लतर	खधिलेणे	खतारवुन् लतरुन्, खतारौन् लतार्यान्	blame.
क	खट लड	वस्तुप्रवणे ध्यानरीकरवयोः कर्मणि च	खटुन् लडुन्, खखौन् लजान्	* send, build, raise, load, wind up string.
क	खव लव	प्राप्ती	खवुन् लवुन्, खखौन् लव्यान्	* find, get.
क	खत लम	वाक्येणे	खतुन् लमुन्, खखौन् लम्यान्	* drag.
क	खव लय	वर्षेणे	खयु लय, खयौव लय्यान्	be worth.
क	खखव ललव	वस्तुपातने	खखवुन् ललवुन्, खखखौन् ललव्यान्	* take to ones breast, protect.
क	खव लस	सख्यजीवने	खखु लस, खखौव लसहव	* live long.
क	खवन लखन	नाडीशिशिबीभवने	खखनौव लखन्यान्	have a weak pulse.
क	खान लङ	वस्तुकारवधारणवि- संपर्कनेषु	खानुन् लङुन्, खखौन् लङ्यान्	* imitate, place, culti- vate, unite.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
काय लौ	आघाते प्रचेरे च	लौपुन् लौयुन्, लायीन् लौयायुन्	* strike, throw to a distance.
कार लार	अर्शानुमनसिदोषीकारणेन	लौरुन् लौरुन्, लायीन् लौर्यायुन्	* touch, follow, polish.
लिख लिख	लेखने	लुखुन् लुखुन्, लिखीन् लिख्यायुन्	* write.
लाच ल्यात्	निर्वेदीभवने	लसौन् ल्यासौ	be weak.
लिखत् लिखत्	सदने	लिखतुन् लिखतुन्, लिखतीन् लिख्यायुन्	rub or drag about in the dust or in dirt.
लज्ज लज्ज	पराजयीभवने	लसौन् लज्ज्यायु	be conquered.
लज्ज लज्ज	दीप्तीभवने	लज्ज्यौन् लज्ज्यौ	be yellow.
लज्ज लज्ज	दीप्तीकारणे	लज्जतुन् लज्जतुन्, लज्जतीन् लज्जत्यायुन्	make yellow.
लिप लिप	लेपने	लुपुन् लुपुन्, लिपीन् लिप्यायुन्	plaster.
लस लस	लेखने	लसुन् लसुन्, लसौन् लस्यायुन्	* lick.
लिख ली	प्रसन्नतायायु	लिखीन् लियायु	be pleased.
लस लस	लाघवे	लसतौन् लस्यायु	* be light.

क	खल ल०	उपजीवायाम्	खलुन् ल०hun, खलौन् ल०hyaun	play with a customer (i.e., to refuse to sell a thing at first in order to get a better price).
क	खुक्खव ल०k-rāv	खुदीकरले	खुक्खोडुन् ल०k-rōvun, खुक्खोडौन् ल०k-rōvyaun	make small.
क	खुड ल०ḥ	खुखले •	खुडुन् ल०ḥun, खुखौन् ल०ḥyaun	*plunder.
क	खुव ल०ḥ	खोभने	खुवौव् ल०ḥvauv	be desirous.
क	खीव ल०kḥ	खिन्दीकरले विपातने च	खवन् ल०irun, खौवीन् ल०iryaun	destroy, knock down.
क	खीक ल०k	खेखने	खुखुन् ल०yākhun, खेखौन् ल०chyaun	write.
	खीव ल०n	खुदीभवने	खोखौव् ल०kyaav	*be small.
	खन ल०n रति केचिन्	खवने	खनुन् ल०nun, खोवौन् ल०ñaun	*resp.
	खोव ल०s	खवे	खस ल०s, खोवीव् ल०sauv	*be weary.
	खोर ल०r	खेखले	खोवीव् ल०ryauv	become deficient.
	खव ल०y	खवक्खप्याती	ख्यौव् ल०yauv	be sufficient.
	खव ल०h	खवक्खप्याती	खलौव् ल०hauv	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
वृहन् <i>lōhan</i>	पाकविकारः	वृहन् <i>lōhanyauv</i>	delay ripening.
वक्तुन् <i>wakhan</i>	वाक्यानि	वक्तुन् <i>wakhanun</i> , वक्तव्योन् <i>wakhanāun</i>	lecture.
वज्ज् <i>waz</i>	वाजसने	वज्जुन् <i>wazun</i> , वज्जोन् <i>wazun</i>	* sound (of a musical instrument).
वज्जव् <i>wazav</i>	सार्त्रीकारणे	वज्जुतुन् <i>wazavun</i> , वज्जव्योन् <i>wazavyaun</i>	moisten.
वट् <i>wat</i>	वेष्टने	वटुन् <i>watun</i> , वट्योन् <i>wacyaun</i>	* fold up, shut up.
वह् <i>wader</i>	निक्षेपे	वहन् <i>waderun</i> , वह्योन् <i>waderyaun</i>	bury.
वह् <i>waderāw</i>	च	वहरोतुन् <i>waderōtun</i> , वहराव्योन् <i>waderāvyauv</i>	ditto.
वथर् <i>wathar</i>	वाथारणे	वथरन् <i>watharun</i> , वथर्योन् <i>watharyauv</i>	spread out.
वथरव् <i>watharāv</i>	च	वथरोतुन् <i>watharōtun</i> , वथराव्योन् <i>watharāvyaun</i>	* ditto.
वद् <i>wad</i>	रोरने	वदुन् <i>wadun</i> , वदोन् <i>wazun</i>	* weep.
वन् <i>wan</i>	भाषणे	वनुन् <i>wanun</i> , वन्योन् <i>wanyauv</i>	* speak, say.
वन्व <i>wanav</i>	स्त्रीवाग्निकसममाने	वन्वुन् <i>wanavun</i> , वन्व्योन् <i>wanavyaun</i>	sing in chorus (of women).

क	बन्द् <i>wand</i>	उपहारि	बन्द्नु <i>wandun</i> , बन्द्नीन् <i>wandun</i>	devote.
	बच् <i>way</i>	पथीभबने	बच् <i>way</i> " बच्चीन् <i>wayyaun</i>	* be fit to eat, agree with, suit.
क	वर <i>war</i>	वरणे	वरन् <i>warun</i> , वर्यीन् <i>waryaun</i>	choose.
क	बख <i>wal</i>	बाखारने	बखन् <i>walun</i> , बखीन् <i>wajyaun</i>	* cover, dress oneself.
क	बव <i>wav</i>	बापने	बवन् <i>wavun</i> , बव्यीन् <i>wavyaun</i>	* sow.
क	बष <i>was</i>	बषणे	बषुन् <i>waşun</i> , बषीन् <i>wasyaun</i>	rain.
	बस <i>was</i>	बसरोषणे	बस <i>wath</i> , बस्यीन् <i>watshau</i>	* come down, descend.
	बहार <i>wahār</i>	बिहारणे मषिकापवारणे	बहोचन् <i>wahārun</i> , बहोचीन् <i>wahāryaun</i>	spread out, drive away (flies, &c.).
क	बहारान <i>wahārū</i>	ब	बहारोचन् <i>wahārōvun</i> , बहारोचीन् <i>wahārāryaun</i>	ditto.
भा	बीच् <i>wāḥiṣ</i>	बहने	बँबुन् <i>wāḥiṣun</i> , बीचीन् <i>wāḥiṣyaun</i>	cheat.
क	बाड <i>wāḍ</i>	संधापने	बीतुन् <i>wāḍun</i> , बाचीन् <i>wāḍyaun</i>	unite.
	बात <i>wāḍ</i>	प्रापने	बीत <i>wāḍ</i> , बाचीन् <i>wāḍyaun</i>	* arrive.
क	बात <i>wām</i>	मषिकापवारणे	बीसुन् <i>wāmun</i> , बास्यीन् <i>wāmyaun</i>	drive away (flies, &c.)

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	वा॒र <i>vār</i>	व	वा॒रन् <i>vāran</i> , वा॒रीन् <i>vāriyan</i>	driveaway (flies, &c.).
भा	वा॒व <i>vāv</i>	वा॒ने वा॒कावा॒कने च	वा॒वुन् <i>vāvun</i> , वा॒वीन् <i>vāvīyan</i>	* blow (a musical instrument), row a boat.
क	वा॒ळ <i>vāl</i>	वा॒नार॒णे वृ॒ष्टिपा॒ते च	वा॒ळुन् <i>vāḷun</i> , वा॒ळीन् <i>vāḷīyan</i>	cause to descend, fall (of rain).
क	वि॒गल <i>vigal</i>	वि॒गल॒ने	वि॒गली॒न् <i>vigalyau</i>	melt.
क	वि॒चार <i>viçār</i>	वि॒चारे	वि॒चारी॒न् <i>viçāran</i> , वि॒चारी॒न् <i>viçāriyan</i>	consider, decide.
क	वा॒च <i>vyaç</i>	सं॒भवे	वा॒चु॒ <i>vyaç</i> , वा॒चीन् <i>vēçyan</i>	* pervade, fit into.
क	वा॒च <i>vyaç</i>	वि॒चारे	वा॒चु॒न् <i>vyaçhanun</i> , वा॒चीन् <i>vyaçhāñan</i>	separate, tease out (wool, &c.).
क	वा॒ज्ज <i>vyaçar</i>	जा॒तीकर॒णे	वा॒ज्ज॒रन् <i>vyaçarun</i> , वा॒ज्जी॒न् <i>vyaçariyan</i>	prove.
क	वा॒ज्ज॒रा॒व <i>vyaçarāv</i>	च	वा॒ज्ज॒री॒तुन् <i>vyaçarōvun</i> , वा॒ज्ज॒रा॒वी॒न् <i>vyaçarāvyan</i>	ditto.
क	वा॒ज्ज <i>vēñar</i>	इ॒षव॒इ॒षकर॒णे	वा॒ज्ज॒रन् <i>vēñarun</i> , वा॒ज्ज॒री॒न् <i>vēñariyan</i>	separate.
क	वा॒ज्ज॒रा॒व <i>vēñarāv</i>	च	वा॒ज्ज॒री॒तुन् <i>vēñarōvun</i> , वा॒ज्ज॒रा॒वी॒न् <i>vēñarāvyan</i>	ditto.

क	बड व्यथि	बूथीभवने	बधीव् <i>vēḥiyauv</i>	* be fat.
क	बडर व्यथिठ	बूथीभरने	बडरव् <i>vyatharun</i> , बडरीव् <i>vēḥi-ryaun</i>	make fat.
क	बडराव व्यथिठारव	ब	बडरीवुव् <i>vyatharōvun</i> , बडरावीव् <i>vyatharā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	बडर व्यडर	भेविसे	बडरीव् <i>vēḍ-ryaav</i>	be loose, slack.
क	बडराव व्यडारव	भिविडीकारने	बडरीवुव् <i>vyḍarōvun</i> , बडरावीव् <i>vyḍarā- vyaun</i>	make loose.
क	बडर व्यण्ड	बाभरने	बडुव् <i>vyṇḍun</i> , बडुव् <i>vyṇḍaun</i>	* serve, revere.
क	बड व्यण	संभते	बधीव् <i>vēḥyauv</i>	pervade.
क	बडर व्यण्ठ	संभावने	बडरव् <i>vyṇḥarun</i> , बडरीव् <i>vyṇḥ-ryaun</i>	cause to pervade.
क	बडराव व्यण्ठारव	ब	बडरीवुव् <i>vyṇḥarōvun</i> , बडरावीव् <i>vyṇḥarā- vyaun</i>	ditto.
क	बडर व्यलार	बसाद्ये	बडरीव् <i>vyalaryaav</i>	go out of order.
क	बड व्यव	विकीरने	बडुव् <i>vyavaun</i> , बडुव् <i>vēḥvyaun</i>	scatter.
क	बडर व्यवर	विकीरने	बडरव् <i>vyavarun</i> , बडरीव् <i>vēḥ-ryaun</i>	ditto!
क	बडराव व्यवरव	ब	बडरीवुव् <i>vyavarōvun</i> , बडरावीव् <i>vyavarā- vyaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
वसर <i>vyasar</i>	विशोषणे	वसरीन् <i>vyasaryauv</i>	* be ruined, fade (of a flour.)
विष <i>vis</i>	प्रसन्नोपवने	विषीन् <i>visyauv</i>	be pleased.
वक <i>vak</i>	दोषादिषेष्टायाञ्च	वक्कीन् <i>vakkhyauv</i>	suffer pain from dis-ease.
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वक्रोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	be crooked.
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वक्रोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	make crooked.
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वृद्धोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	turn upside down.
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वृद्धोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	ditto.
[वगन <i>wogan</i>	वगनीभवने	वगनीन् <i>vagganyauv</i>	be shallow.]
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वृद्धोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	recover a debt.
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वृद्धोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	bark (of a dog).
वृक् <i>vr̥k</i>	वृद्धोपवने	वृक्कीन् <i>vr̥k-ryauv</i>	be burnt.

क	बुच <i>wuch</i>	प्रेषणे	बुचुन् <i>wuchun</i> , बुचोव् <i>wuchyauv</i>	* see
	बुज् <i>wuz</i>	जातरणे	बुजोव् <i>wuzauv</i>	be wide awake; appear (as water from a spring).
	बज् <i>wōzəl</i>	रक्षोभवने	बज्जोव् <i>wōzalyauv</i>	be red.
	बट <i>wōt</i>	बुवनतो	—	leap [not used as an independent verb].
क	बुठ <i>wuṭh</i>	वेदने	बुठुन् <i>wuṭhun</i> , बुठोव् <i>wuṭhyauv</i>	* twist (a rope, &c.).
	बुद <i>wud</i>	उदुयने	बुदोव् <i>wudyauv</i>	* fly.
क	बुढाव <i>wuḍāv</i>	जायने	बुढावुन् <i>wuḍāvun</i> , बुढावोव् <i>wuḍāvoyauv</i>	destroy, cause to move.
	बतल <i>wōṭal</i>	उभोभवने	बतलोव् <i>wōṭalyauv</i>	rise.
	बव <i>wōṭh</i>	उत्ताने	बव् <i>wōṭh*</i> , बवोव् <i>wōṭhauv</i>	* stand up.
क	बवर <i>wōṭhar</i>	बवमालेने	बववन् <i>wōṭharun</i> , बववोव् <i>wōṭharyauv</i>	wipe clean.
क	बवराव <i>wōṭharāv</i>	च	बवरोवुन् <i>wōṭharāvun</i> , बवरावोव् <i>wōṭharāvyaun</i>	ditto.
	बुद <i>wud</i>	जातरणे	[बुदु <i>wud*</i>], बुदोव् <i>wudyauv</i>	be wide awake.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
तुडर <i>wudar</i>	विद्योतञ्छेदे	तुडयीव् <i>wudaryauv</i>	sorrow in separation.
तुव <i>wun</i>	देवावाञ्छे	तुव्योव् <i>wunyauv</i>	have bad luck.
अन्नत <i>wōnnat</i>	उन्नतीभावे	अन्नत्योव् <i>wōnnatyauv</i>	be high.
तुप <i>wup</i>	अभर्दांचे	तुप <i>wup</i> *, तुप्योव् <i>wuppyauv</i>	burn inside.
अपज <i>wōpas</i>	उत्तलो	अपज् <i>wōpas</i> *, अपज्योव् <i>wōpasjauv</i>	* be born.
तुफ <i>wuph</i>	विश्रायसा यतो	तुफ्योव् <i>wuphyauv</i>	* fly (of birds only).
अपार <i>wōphar</i>	मैयिञ्छे	अपारव् <i>wōpharun</i> , अपार्योव् <i>wōpharyauv</i>	make slack.
अबर <i>wōbar</i>	समाप्तौ	[अबरव् <i>wōbarun</i>], अबर्योव् <i>wōbarjauv</i>	be finished.
अवस <i>wōbas</i>	वञ्छोभयने	[अवसु <i>wōbas</i> *, अवस्योव् <i>wōbasjauv</i>	increase.
अस <i>wōm</i>	वीमानपिबने	असु <i>wōm</i> *, अस्योव् <i>wōmyauv</i>	go on without stopping.
तुय <i>wuy</i>	पर्याप्तौ	तुय्योव् <i>wuyyauv</i>	arrive.
तुवर <i>wur</i>	उष्णतत्र च्छादकनिपातनेषु	तुवर <i>wurun</i> , तुव्योव् <i>wuryauv</i>	string (a garland, &c.); put on (clothes); let fall into.

क	अडल wɔɓlaŋg	उडलने	अडलुन् wɔɓlaŋgun, अडलुणीन् wɔɓlaŋgiyaun	pass over.
क	अडल wɔɓlal	अडलरने	अडलुनु wɔɓlalan, अडलुनीन् wɔɓlalaniyaun	adorn.
क	अडल wɔɓlas	उडलने	अडलुनु wɔɓlasun, अडलुनीन् wɔɓlasaniyaun	rejoice.
	अडल wɔɓpal	डोपलने	अडलुनीन् wɔɓpalayaun	be red (of the complexion, from anger, &c.).
	डुअ wɔɓɣn	उडोअभवने	डुअडोअन् wɔɓɣayaun	*be hot.
	अड wɔɓɛ	आडलने	अडलुनु wɔɓɛyaun	be much.
क	डुसर wɔɓsar	उडुअने	डुसरनु wɔɓsaran, डुसरुनीन् wɔɓsaraniyaun	open.
क	डुसर wɔɓsarɔv	अ	डुसरनु wɔɓsarɔvun, डुसरुनीन् wɔɓsarɔvuniyaun	ditto.
	डुअ wɔɓh	अडलवने	डुअडोअन् wɔɓhayaun	be not extinguished (of fire).
आ	डुअ wɔɓhau	आने	डुअडुनु wɔɓhavan, डुअडोअन् wɔɓhaviyaun	*curse.
क	नीज wɔɓn	तनुवाअकने	डुनुन् wɔɓnun, नीनीन् wɔɓnaniyaun	*weave.
क	नीर wɔɓr	अडने विडुआआने अ	डुअन् wɔɓrun, नीनीन् wɔɓruniyan	*bark, talk in one's sleep.
	नीज wɔɓl	अडलुअभवने	नीजुनीन् wɔɓliyaun	be fickle.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	वीर् wōv ^r	धातुर्ना तच्छे	वुव्वन् wōv ^r un, वीव्वीन् wōv ^r yaun	shave metal.
क	वीव्वाव wōv ^r āv	च	वीव्वीरुन् wōv ^r nōvun, वीव्वीव्वीन् wōv ^r ā- vyaun	ditto.
क	खँक kh̄k	रक्षायाम्	खँकुन् kh̄k ^u n, खँकीन् kh̄kyaun	doubt.
क	सप्तव pṣṣ ^a nāv	सप्तुषीकरणे	सप्तुव्वुन् pṣṣ ^a nōvun, सप्तुव्वीन् pṣṣ ^a nāvyaun	divide into six, mul- tiply by six.
क	सल sam	उपसर्ते	सस्यीव्वं samyaav	be quieted.
क	सव saṣ	सवने	सवुन् saṣun, सस्यीव्वं saṣyaun	bear.
क	सख sahal	शीतीभवने	सखस्यीव्वं sahalyaav	be cold.
क	साव saṣ	उच्छ्वासिःशारे	साव्यान् saṣun, सास्यीव्वं saṣyaun	breathe.
	[सित्नाव pīḡ ^a nāv	परिष्कारने	सित्त्यीव्वं pīḡ ^a nyaav	be jealous of another.]
	सित pīh	शीतीभवने	सित्तुव्वं pīh ^u vaav	be congealed.
	सित pīh	च	सित्तुव्वं pīh ^u yaav	ditto.
	सङ्ग saṅg	सवने	सङ्गुव्वं saṅg ^u , सङ्गीव्वं saṅg ^u yaav	* lie down, go to sleep.
	सव saḍḍh	शीषने	सस्यीव्वं saḍḍhyaav	be pure.

क	प्रब <i>p̄b</i>	प्रभायाच्	प्रबोच् <i>p̄byaau</i>	* be beautiful.
क	प्रब्र <i>p̄b̄r</i>	प्रभाणे	प्रब्रन् <i>p̄b̄run</i> , प्रब्रोच् <i>p̄b̄ryaun</i>	make beautiful.
क	प्रब्राव <i>p̄b̄rāv</i>	ब	प्रब्रोवुच् <i>p̄b̄rāvun</i> , प्रब्राबोच् <i>p̄b̄rāvryaun</i>	* ditto.
क	घेर <i>ṣēr</i>	संस्कारे	सुब्रन् <i>ṣyūrun</i> , सेयोच् <i>ṣryaun</i>	* repair.
क	अप <i>ṣrap</i>	जीर्णने	अपु <i>ṣrap̄</i> , अयोच् <i>ṣrapyaau</i>	* evaporate, be digested, be soaked up.
भा	अक <i>ṣrak</i>	आन्दने	अकुन् <i>ṣrakun</i> , अयोच् <i>ṣracyaun</i>	weep.
क	नुत <i>ṣrut</i>	संस्कारानि	नुतुन् <i>ṣrutun</i> , नुतोच् <i>ṣrutyaun</i>	drink with a noise.
क	ओच् <i>ṣrōṣ</i>	प्रदो	ओयोच् <i>ṣrōṣyaau</i>	be pure.
क	सकर <i>sakhar</i>	प्रधाने	सकरोच् <i>sakharayaau</i>	prepare to set forth.
क	सगव <i>sagav</i>	हृत्वादिचिह्ने	सगवुन् <i>sagavun</i> , सगवोच् <i>sagavyaun</i>	sprinkle, or water (plants, &c.).
क	सगनाव <i>saganāv</i>	ब	सगनोवुन् <i>saganāvun</i> , सगनोबोच् <i>saganāvryaun</i>	ditto.
क	संज्र <i>ṣṅr</i>	समाधीकारे	संज्रन् <i>ṣṅrun</i> , संज्रोच् <i>ṣṅryaun</i>	makedeep (a well, &c.).
क	संज्रान <i>ṣṅrāv</i>	ब	संज्रावुन् <i>ṣṅrāvun</i> , संज्राबोच् <i>ṣṅrāvryaun</i>	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SAṆSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
भा	सताव <i>saiṭav</i>	वाचने	सतौतुन् <i>saiṭovun</i> , सताबौन् <i>saiṭavyaun</i>	* persecute.
क	सज <i>san</i>	सताचीभवने	सस्यौव् <i>sanyauv</i>	be deep.
क	सङ्कर <i>sanzar</i>	सज्जीकरणे	सङ्कुरवन् <i>sanzarun</i> , सङ्कुर्यौव् <i>sanzaryauv</i>	be ready.
क	सन्दर <i>sandar</i>	संपुचणे	सन्दरवन् <i>sandarun</i> , सन्दर्यौव् <i>sandaryauv</i>	kindle.
क	सन्दराव <i>sandarāv</i>	च	सन्दरावितुन् <i>sandarāvun</i> , सन्दरावितौव् <i>sandarāvyaun</i>	ditto.
क	सन्दार <i>sandār</i>	प्रावसाय्ये	सन्दारवन् <i>sandārun</i> , सन्दार्यौव् <i>sandāryauv</i>	come to oneself from faint, &c.)
	सपज <i>sapaz</i>	सिद्धी	सपज्जु <i>sapaz</i> , सपज्जीव् <i>sapazauv</i>	be complete.
	सपद <i>sapad</i>	च	सपदु <i>sapad</i> , सपज्जीव् <i>sapazauv</i>	* ditto.
	सपन <i>sapan</i>	च	सपनु <i>sapan</i> , सपज्जीव् <i>sapazauv</i>	ditto.
	सम <i>sam</i>	साम्ये	सस्यौव् <i>samyauv</i>	* be level, [assemble].
	समज <i>samakāh</i>	सतचीभवने	समज्जु <i>samakāh</i> , समज्जीव् <i>samachyauv</i>	* become visible, be seen, meet a person.
क	संभाज <i>sambal</i>	संस्कारे	संभाज्जु <i>sambalun</i> , संभाज्जीव् <i>sambājyauv</i>	* repair.

क	सर <i>sar</i>	सरले	सरन् <i>sarun</i> , सरीन् <i>saryan</i>	remember.
क	सह <i>sah</i>	सहने	सहन् <i>sahun</i> , सहोन् <i>sahyan</i>	bear, endure.
क	संतर <i>sāgar</i>	विभरले	संतरीन् <i>sāgaryan</i>	be broken.
क	साद <i>sād</i>	संपावो	सोदुन् <i>sodun</i> , साओन् <i>sāyan</i>	accomplish, make perfect.
क	सार <i>sār</i>	सादेकपीभवनप्रसाजानयनेनु	सोरन् <i>sōrun</i> , सोरीन् <i>sōryan</i>	* feel, be collected, be gradually brought.
क	साव <i>sāv</i>	भावने	सोवुन् <i>sōvun</i> , सावोन् <i>sāvyan</i>	* put to sleep.
क	संजूर <i>syazur</i>	सज्जीकरले	संजूरन् <i>syazurun</i> , संजोरीन् <i>sāzōryan</i>	make straight.
क	संजूरुव <i>syazurūv</i>	च	संजूरुवुन् <i>syazurōvun</i> , संजूरुवोन् <i>sāzōrvūn</i> <i>vyan</i>	ditto.
क	संजूरुव <i>sāzōrūv</i>	बाहरीकरले	संजूरुवुन् <i>sāzōrōvun</i> , संजूरुवोन् <i>sāzōrvūn</i> <i>ryan</i>	make soft (as a hard ball of earth with water).
	साद <i>syād</i>	विदुज्जीभववयोः	साओन् <i>sāyan</i>	* be successful, be straight.
	संजूर <i>syandor</i>	बारपीभवने	संजूरुवोन् <i>sāzōrvyan</i>	change to a red colour.
	सज्ज <i>syann</i>	सककपीभवने	सज्जोन् <i>sājyan</i>	become soft.

* Found in Dr. Elmalié's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	सिच <i>siv</i>	सिचने पाकविद्ये च	सुत्तुन् <i>syuvun</i> , सिचोन् <i>sivyaun</i>	* serve, stew.
क	शीर <i>sir</i>	भ्रमरे	शीरोन् <i>siryauv</i>	circulate.
क	सुक <i>suk</i>	बलिचारे [बलापवेरने]	सुकुन् <i>sukun</i> , सुचोन् <i>sucyaun</i>	behave badly [squeeze into].
क	सखव <i>sōkhaav</i>	खरने	सखवुन् <i>sōkhaavun</i> , सखवोन् <i>sōkhaavyaun</i>	make happy.
क	सखनाव <i>sōkhanāv</i>	च	सखनोत्तुन् <i>sōkhanōvun</i> , सखनाओन् <i>sōkhanāv-yaun</i>	ditto.
	सज <i>sōg</i>	सखावतायाच्	सजोन् <i>sōgyaav</i>	be cheap.
	सुज <i>srōg</i>	च	सुजोन् <i>srōgyaav</i>	ditto.
क	सम्राव <i>sōg-rāv</i>	सुखलीकारे	सम्रावुन् <i>sōg-rāvun</i> , सम्रावोन् <i>sōg-rāvyaun</i>	fix a fair price, cheapen.
क	सुम्राव <i>srōg-rāv</i>	च	सुम्रावुन् <i>srōg-rāvun</i> , सुम्रावोन् <i>srōg-rāv-yaun</i>	ditto.
क	सप्राव <i>sōḷ-rāv</i>	शामने	सप्रावुन् <i>sōḷ-rāvun</i> , सप्रावोन् <i>sōḷ-rāv-yaun</i>	appease, extinguish (a fire, &c.).
	सत <i>sōt</i>	शमने	सतोन् <i>sōtyaav</i>	be appeased, (be extinguished).

क	सम्बर <i>sōmbōr</i>	समीकरणिकरीकरणयोः	सम्बरन् <i>sōmberun</i> , सम्बरीन् <i>sōmbōryaun</i>	* make level, collect.
क	सर <i>sōr</i>	सरणे	सरन् <i>sōrun</i> , सर्यीन् <i>sōryaun</i>	remember.
क	सुव <i>suu</i>	सुवीकर्मणि	सुवन् <i>suuvun</i> , सुवीन् <i>suuṽyaun</i>	* sew.
क	सुरव <i>surav</i>	भाजनभक्तप्रदो	सुरवन् <i>surāvun</i> , सुरवीन् <i>surāvyaun</i>	clean a vessel with ashes.
क	सर्ग <i>sōrg</i>	रक्षादिप्रदो	सर्गन् <i>sōrgun</i> , सर्गीन् <i>sōrgyaun</i>	clean the hands, &c.
क	सुखव <i>sulav</i>	सङ्कपाकने	सुखवन् <i>sulāvun</i> , सुखवीन् <i>sulāvyaun</i>	take in ones lap.
क	ससर <i>sōsar</i>	काष्ठादिजीर्णे	ससर्यीन् <i>sōsaryaun</i>	decay (of wood, &c.)
क	सीज <i>sōz</i>	प्राविशेपरे	सीजन् <i>sōzun</i> , सीजीन् <i>sōzaun</i>	* send (a man, &c.)
क	सीर <i>sōr</i>	सवसाने	सीर <i>sōr</i> , सीर्यीन् <i>sōryaun</i>	be spent, exhausted (of things.)
क	सङ् <i>sōḍ</i>	समाधाय्	सङ्गन् <i>sōḍun</i> , सङ्गीन् <i>sōḍyaun</i>	bear, endure.
क	सत् <i>sōt</i>	संसदने	सत्तन् <i>sōtun</i> , सत्तीन् <i>sōtṽyaun</i>	crowd in.
क	सव <i>sav</i>	सरणे	सवीन् <i>savyaun</i>	trickle, drip.
भा	सत् <i>sōs</i>	सपातवायो	सत्तन् <i>sōsun</i> , सत्तीन् <i>sōsyaun</i> or सत्तीन् <i>sōsyaun</i>	break wind (without noise.)

J. I. 50

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
हक	हकार्क	हक्यौव् हक्यायुव	be hard.
हग	पुरीषोष्ठे	हगुन् हगुन्, हग्यौव् हग्यायुव	go to stool.
हह	हीहीभवने	हह्यौव् हह्यायुव	be thin.
हहृ	हीहीकरत्वे	हहृन् हहृन्, हहृयौव् हहृयायुव	make thin.
हह्र	च	हह्रौवुन् हह्रौवुन्, हह्रौवोव् हह्रौव्यायुव	ditto.
हह्र	हीहीभवने	हह्र्यौव् हह्र्यायुव	be cold.
हह्र	हीहीकरत्वे	हह्र्यौवुन् हह्र्यौवुन्, हह्र्यौवोव् हह्र्यौव्यायुव	make cold.
हप	कार्क	हप्यौव् हप्यायुव	be lean.
हम	यत्ने	हम्यौव् हम्यायुव	be appeased.
हर	चरत्पतनयोः	हरोव् हरोवुव	* drip, fall (as of leaves from a tree).
हल	वक्रतायाव्	हलयौव् हल्यायुव	be crooked.
हह	विवाहकर्मणि	हह्यौवुन्, हह्यौवुन् (masc.) हह्यौवुन्, हह्यौवुन् or हह्यौवुन्, हह्यौवुन्	marry off, get a girl married.

हंकिअ हंकिअ	शीतलकीचने	हंकिअोच् हंकिअुच्	shrink on account of cold.
हंकि	किचखे	हंकिोच् हंकिथुच्	be fruitless.
हंकिराव हंकिहोरुव	किचखीकरखे	हंकिरोरुव हंकिहोरुव हंकिहोरुव वुच्	make fruitless.
हान	मेते	हानोच् हानुच्	be cold.
हामन हामन	शीतलापाके [आमीसबने]	हामनोच् हामन्युच्	have small-pox eruption, [be dark colored].
हार हार	परजखनिपातयोः	हारोच् हारुच् हारुच्	* be conquered, throw down.
हाव हव	दर्येने	हावोच् हवुच् हवुच्	* show.
हाक हाक	भक्तो	हाकुच् हाकुच् हाकुच्	be able.
हि हि	प्रववजीववपरखेवु	हाकुच् हाकुच् हाकुच्	* take, buy, place.
हाह हाह	शिक्षायाच्	हाहोच् हाहोच् हाहोच्	* teach.
हाड हाड	परिभाषके	हाडोच् हाडोच् हाडोच्	blame, abuse.
हिल हिल	प्रवकीसवने	हिलोच् हिलुच्	be mighty.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

	ROOT.	SANSKRIT MEANING.	PAST AND AORIST.	ENGLISH MEANING.
क	कृञ् <i>hōkh</i>	शोषे	कृञ् <i>hōkh</i> , कृञोत् <i>hōchyaav</i>	* become dry.
क	कृञ् <i>hōkhor</i>	शोषणे	कृञ् <i>hōkhorun</i> , कृञोत् <i>hōkharyaav</i>	make dry.
क	कृञ् <i>hōkhorāv</i>	च	कृञ् <i>hōkhorāvun</i> , कृञ् <i>hōkhorāvyaav</i>	ditto.
क	कृञ् <i>hōlg</i>	विहीभवने	कृञ् <i>hōlg</i>	* go bad, decay.
क	कृञ् <i>hōlgorāv</i>	विहीकरणे	कृञ् <i>hōlgorāvun</i> , कृञ् <i>hōlgorāvyaav</i>	cause to go bad.
क	कृञ् <i>hōbor</i>	पराजये	कृञ् <i>hōborun</i> , कृञोत् <i>hōboryaav</i>	conquer.
क	कृञ् <i>hōborāv</i>	च	कृञ् <i>hōborāvun</i> , कृञ् <i>hōborāvyaav</i>	ditto.
क	कृञ् <i>hum</i>	होते	कृञ् <i>humun</i> , कृञोत् <i>humyaav</i>	sacrifice.
क	कृञ् <i>hōmōr</i>	भ्रामने	कृञ् <i>hōmōrun</i> , कृञोत् <i>hōmōryaav</i>	appease.
क	कृञ् <i>hōmōrāv</i>	च	कृञ् <i>hōmōrāvun</i> , कृञ् <i>hōmōrāvyaav</i>	ditto.
	शीन् <i>hōn</i>	शक्त्येभवने	शीन् <i>hōnyaaav</i>	be arrogant, intoxicated.

क	होर ह०r	प्रतिदाने	हवन् ह०rुन, होयौन् ह०ryaun	* return, give back, repay.
	ह०n	शोधे	ह०यौन् ह०nyau	* swell, intumescce.
	ह०r	उपचये	ह०यौन् ह०ryau	* increase.
	ह०l	प्रसवार्थे	ह०यौन् ह०jyaun	begin to be in labour (with a child).
क	ह०sav	आदिह०वनावात्	ह०सवन् ह०savun, ह०सवौन् ह०sanyauun	urge on, or excite a dog, &c.
क	ह०sanāu	व	ह०सवोत्तुन् ह०sanāuvun, ह०सवोत्तुन् ह०sanā- vyauun	ditto.

* Found in Dr. Elnelie's Vocabulary.

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 37 विवाह वृषरुणकव
 38 कवाडयुत्रवाज्ञमानम
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 40 हयाघोघहोविनाडवश्र
 41 वत्रविधितमश्चरवराय
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 46 यदुवाणोःकुत्रु (सुघानेय
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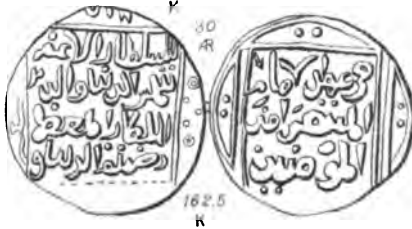
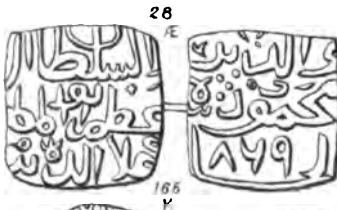
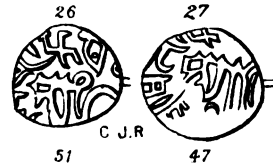
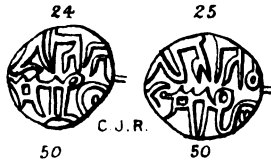
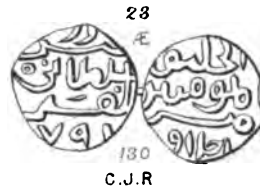
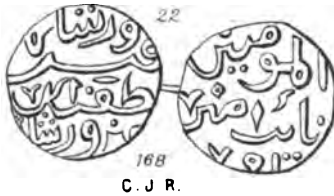
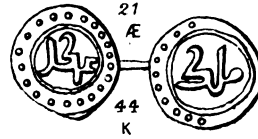
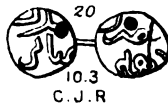
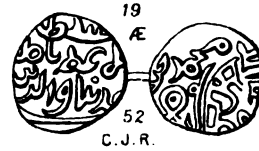
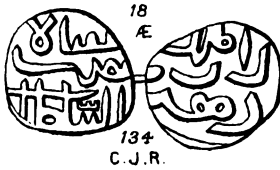
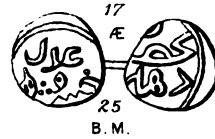
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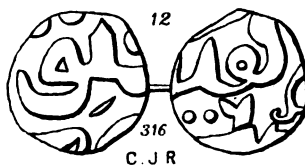
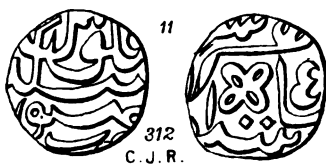
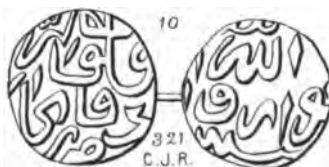
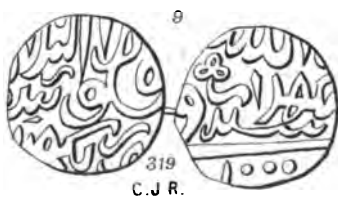
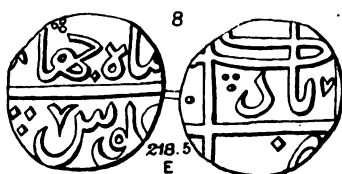
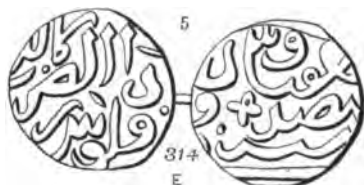
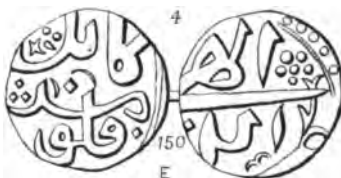
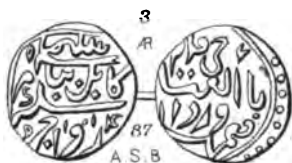
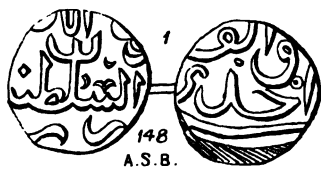
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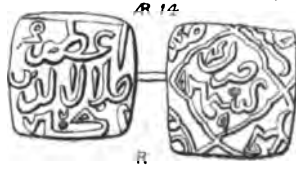
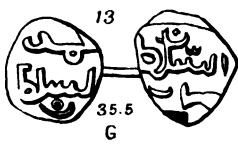
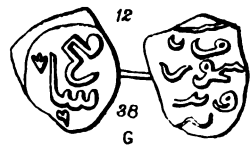
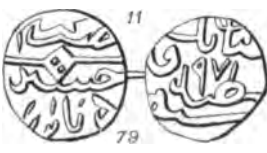
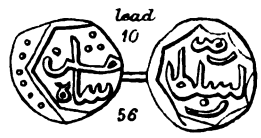
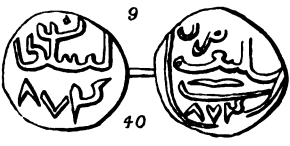
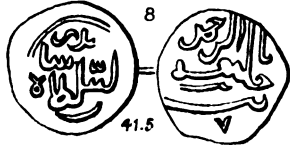
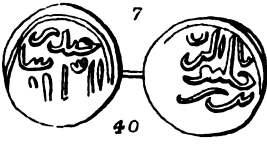
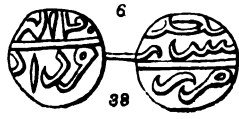
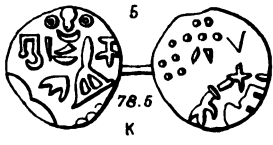
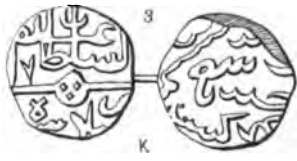
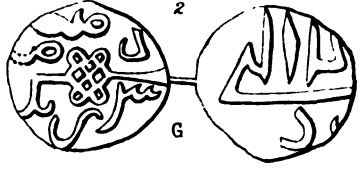
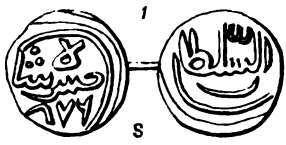
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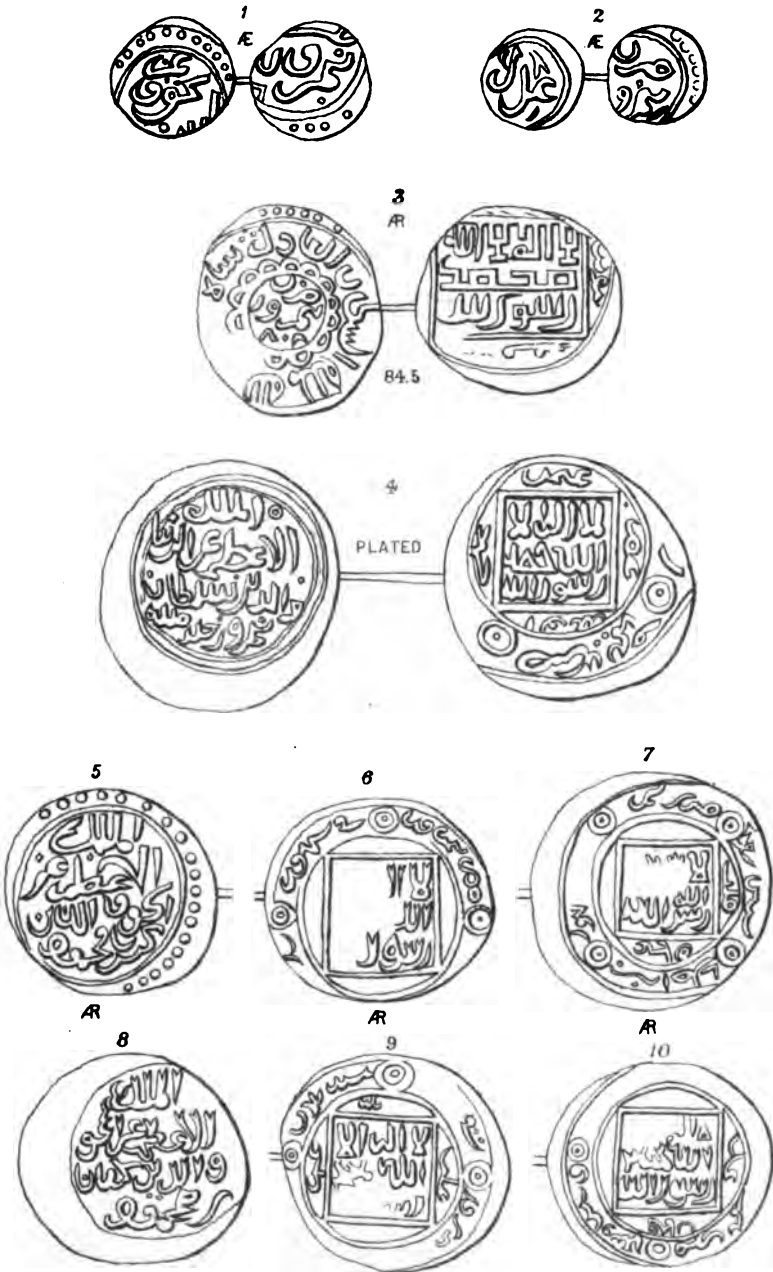
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