FOR THE PEOPLE
FOR EDUCATION
FOR SCIENCE

LIBRARY
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM
OF
NATURAL HISTORY
JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXV.

PART I. (History, Antiquities, &c.)

Nos. I to IV.—1896: (with 18 Plates).

EDITED BY THE
Honorary Philological Secretary.

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

SIR WM. JONES.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
AND PUBLISHED BY THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.
1896.
LIST OF PLATES

IN


FOR 1896.

Plates I-II (p. 6 ff.) Copper-plate grant of Viçvarūpa.
Plates III-IV (p. 213 ff.) Coins supplementary to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli. No. VI.
Plate V (p. 220 ff.) Rare Mogul Coins.
Plate VI (p. 223 ff.) Rare Kashmir Coins.
Plate VII (p. 226 ff.) Nimroz Coins.
Plates VIII-XVIII (p. 229 ff.) Grant of Nṛsimha Dēva II of Orissa, 1217 Çaka.
# CONTENTS

OF THE

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1, (issued May 14th, 1896).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.</strong>—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On a Copper-plate grant of Viṣvarūpa, one of the Śeṇa Kings of Bengal. (With Plates I and II).—By Nāgendranātha Vasu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chronology of the Śeṇa Kings of Bengal.—By Nāgendranātha Vasu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar.—By E. D. Maclagan, C.S., from notes recorded by The late General R. Maclagan, R.E.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 2, (issued September 3rd, 1896.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgari-alphabet.</strong>—By Nāgendranātha Vasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—By William Irvine, Bengal Civil Service (Retired)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Supplement to Thomas’s Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, No. VI.—By Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, etc., (With Plates III and IV.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rare Mughul Coins.—By Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate V.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rare Kashmir Coins.—By Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate VI.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coins of Nimrōz.—By Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist etc. (With Plate VII.)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

No. 3, (issued February 17th, 1897).

Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsimha-dēva II, of Orissa, dated 1217 Čaka.—By Nāgendranātha Vasu. (With Plates VIII—XVIII.) ........................................... 229

On two Unrecorded Sculptures in the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.—
By Alexander E. Caddy ..................................................... 272

A Tibetan Guide-book to the lost Sites of Buddha’s Birth and Death.
—By L. A. Waddell, M.B., LL.D. ........................................ 275

On the Kāśmirī Vowel System.—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., I.C.S. 280

No. 4, (issued April 13th, 1897).

A list of Kāśmirī Verbs.—By G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., I.C.S. ........ 306

Index ................................................................. 391
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 d, 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 ī, and certain others, e.g., 
√ sikh 'to learn,' r is inserted after the causal ā. E.g., √ dādi, 'give,' causal, √ dādā-r; √ sikh, 'learn,' causal √ sikhā-r. If a root ends in ā, r is inserted before the causal ā.

Kāśmīrī. Many verbs insert an before the causal āv; e.g. √ pak-ān-āv from √ pak, 'go.' Monosyllabic roots in k, m, l and ē, insert r before the causal āv, thus √ bal-r-āv, 'heal,' from √ bal, 'be convalescent.'

Western Pañjābī. Several verbs insert an l before the causal āv e.g., √ sikh-l-āv, 'teach,' √ pi-l-āv, 'cause to drink,' from √ pi, 'drink.' Sometimes the l is inserted in the middle of the root as an infix, e.g., from √ samh 'sleep,' caus. √ samlāh, from √ bal, 'sit,' caus. √ balhāv.

J. I. 1
CENTRAL FAMILY.

WEST CENTRAL GROUP.

Eastern Pañjābi. Here in many verbs the causual suffix āu is changed to lāu or āl. E.g., √ sikhā, causal, √ sikkhā-l or √ sikkh-l-āu (also spelt sikh-h-āl sikkh-l-āu).

Gujarāti. When the root contains any vowel except a or ā, the causual suffix becomes ā-d; e.g., √ ḍes, ‘set,’ causal, ḍes-ā-d. If such a root ends with a vowel or h, the causual suffix is vā-d, e.g., √ḷe, ‘take,’ causal, le-vā-d.

Rājpūtāni. Certain monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel take r-āv as the causual suffix; e.g., √ ḍe, ‘give,’ causal √ di-r-āv.

Hindi. Monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel change the causual suffix to lā; e.g., √ ḍe, causal √ di-l-ā. So also √ sikh, causal √ sikh-l-ā or √ sikh-l-ā (dialect) (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 d.

Before proceeding to suggest an explanation, I must add another parallel form which has not been noticed by writers in this connexion. In the Mārwāri dialect of Rājpūtānī, certain verbs insert an r before ī, the suffix which forms the passive. Thus the passive of lēpō ‘to take’ is lī-r-īṇō, and of dēnō ‘to give,’ di-r-īṇō.

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-nā-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. 1), ‘he is anxious,’ pa-na-tē
(Cl. I), 'he bargains,' mr-ṇa-ti (Cl. VI), 'he kills.' Frequently this nasal suffix gives a causal meaning; e.g., from \( \sqrt{mr} \) '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-āṇa-ṭe, 'he is a suppliant.' Again \( \sqrt{iś} \), iś-a-ṭe, 'he escapes,' iś-ya-ti or iś-ṇā-ti, 'he impels,' iś-āṇa-ya-ṭe, 'he excites.' So also, we have another group of verbs which take anya. E.g., kṛp-anya-ti, 'he is a suppliant;' iś-anya-ti, 'he excites;' tūr-a-ti or tūr-anya-ti, 'he hastens;' bhūr-a-ti or bhūr-anya-ti, 'he is active;' dī dheṣ-ti, 'he sounds,' dīṣ-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;' huv-ya-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 (I. c.) says, all these nasalised verbs are denominatives; kṛṇ-ā-ti, sū-tr-ā-ti and yu-na-k-ti, are as much denominatives as vē-na-ti (from vē-na, 'anxious') or kṛp-āṇa-ṭe (from kṛp-āṇa, 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 \( \sqrt{pā} \) 'protect,' has two forms of conjugation, viz., pā-ti and pā-laya-ti, 'he protects.' The latter form is said, by European writers, to be a denotative derived from pāla, 'a protector;' but that, if the truth, is only half the truth. It is just as much a denotative as vē-na-ti, and no more. So also the \( \sqrt{li} \) or lā,\(^2\) 'to adhere,' has for its causal \( \sqrt{lā-pāya-ti} \), li-n-aya-ti or lā-l-aya-ti. Here there is no question of the verb being denotative. It is a pure causal formation.

Other pleonastic suffixes added in Prakrit to nouns are da (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.

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

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:

Kačmiri, dori, ‘he will run.’
Western Pañjābī, druke, ‘he runs.’
Sindhi, dōre or dōkē.
Pañjābī, daurē.
Gujarāṭī, dōdē.
Rājputānī, dōdē.
Hindi, daure, dhaure.
Central Pahāṛī, not noted.
Naipāḷi, dugure.
Baiswārī, dore.
Bihāṛī, daug̣, dhaug̣, dhaure.
Marāṭhī, daufē.
Bengali, daure.
Assamese, not noted.
Oriya, daure.

Here we have the following groups:

1) druk, dōk, daug, dhaug,
2) dōr, dōr, daur, dōd, dhaur,
3) dufur.

The first, or k, group shows that the root has taken the suffix ka, and druke, &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 fl.) shows, there are many parallel instances. E. g., √ bhās (bhā-sa-ti) ‘shine’ is really a denominative, based on the √ 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 ska (prakritized to cch) added. Thus gacchati is for ga-ska-ti. Again many roots in t are denominatives formed from nouns in ta. Thus from √ 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 (ci-ta-ti, ‘he understands’); so also from √ yam, we have the present ya-ccha-ti (i. e., ya-ska-ti), or (Vedic) yam-a-ti, ‘he supports,’ the past participle ya-ta, and the denominative verb ya-t (ya-ta-tē, ‘he connects’).

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

5

H.-c, iv, 398, especially authorises the retention of the \( r \) in \( \text{druk} \) in the Western Prăjăb, where Apabhṛmaṇḍa was spoken; and in iv, 396 allows the \( k \) to be retained, or changed to \( g \), instead of the elision which we should expect in Prakrit.

The second or \( q \) group, shows that the root took the suffix \( qā, \) so that \( dawrē, \) &c., must be referred to a low Sanskrit *dr-ava-\( qā-ti. \) 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-\( qā-ti. \)

Other instances of these pleonastic suffixes occur in Prakrit, in forming causals. Thus we have \(^2\) \( \text{bhama\(dēi \)} \) (beside the regular \( \text{bhamā-vē} \)) causal of \( \sqrt{bhram} \) 'roam' (H.-c, iii, 151; iv, 30, 161), \( \text{thamādāi}, \) 'he causes to roam' (H.-c, iv, 30), \( \text{dhamādāi}, \) 'he looses' (H.-c, iv, 91).

We also find them in the case of other modern vernacular verbs, as well as \( \sqrt{dawr}, \) though the lessons obtained from them are not so complete. Thus modern \( \sqrt{tha\text{h}a\text{lar} \text{or} \text{thahār}, ' \text{wait}' (Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{sīhā}}, \sqrt{l\text{a}g\text{gar, ' \text{springupon}' (Skr. \( \sqrt{\text{jamp}), \) and many others in which a pleonastic \( l, r, q, \) or even \( t \) has been added (Cf. Hoernle, G\( d, Gr., 178)).

The above remarks make the origin of these irregular causal suffixes, and also of the irregular Rājputāni (Mārwāri) Passive in \( r-\text{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 \( \sqrt{\text{sikh-ā} \) as well as \( \sqrt{\text{sikh-ла}}, \sqrt{dīkh-ā}, ' \text{cause to see}' as well as \( \sqrt{dīkh-ла}, \) 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. \( \text{lla. \) The Kāṃnirī \text{ana, may be the Skr. \text{aniya} (used for forming denominatives), or it may be derived from the Pr. \( \text{lla. \) The \( q \) and \( r \) forms, are naturally to be referred to the Pr. \( \text{qa, from which, moreover, it is possible that the \( l \) forms are also derived.}

1 Cf. Skr. \( \text{ṣa} (\text{ṣa-qa-ti}), \text{gamanā.}
2 Also quoted by Hoernle, G\( d, Gr., 321.\)
On a Copperplate-grant of Viṣva-rūpa, one of the Sēna Kings of Bengal.—By Nagendranātha Vasu.

(With Plates I and II.)

[Read December, 1895.]

In the village Madanapāḍa, Post Office Pinjārī, Parganāh Kōṭālipāḍa 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 Laksāmicandra-sāmkhya-tīrtha, in 1892, and I noticed the contents of this inscription and published a facsimile of the whole plate in the Viṣvakōṣa. But this is the first time that I publish the whole text.

The plate measures 12⅔ inches in length, and 10 inches in breadth, with a thickness of ⅛ of an inch. It has a curvature at the top, bearing a ten-handed image of Sadāciva, 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). The size of the letters is about ⅛. The characters may be described as Bengali of the 12th or 13th century A.D., and they resemble closely the characters of the Deopāḍā Inscription of Vijaya-sēna. The only letters deserving of notice are e, k, t, dh, n, bh, r, s, and h which have a much more modern look than those of the Deopāḍā inscription.

It contains 60 lines on both sides. The language of the grant is Sanskrit. Except the opening words Om namō narayana, 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

2 See also Prinsep's Useful Tables, Ed. Thomas, p. 272, note 1.
superscript sign, is written on the line in the conjuncts rog, rnya, run, rpp, rvv, rmm, etc., in durgama line 23, varsha, line 27, nirniki, line 8, rntiyamita, line 9; and that the sign of the avagraha is employed thrice, to indicate the elision of the vowel a, e.g., vande ravin, line 1.

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

From this famous lineage (of the Moon) sprung Sudhā-kirana-Çekhara (the moon-crested Çiva), in the shape of Vijaya-sena, the touch of the nails of whose feet made kings cheerful (L. 8). From him was born a very powerful king named Ballala-sena. In battlefields, torrents of blood used to flow from the bodies of his enemies (L. 11). From him sprang a son named Laksmana-sena, 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 Musaladhara (Balarama) and Gadāpāñi (Jagannātha), also in Viçvévara-ksētra (Benares), at the confluence of the Āsi, the Varanā, and the Gagā, and also at the Trivenī (near Allahābad), where the lotus-born (Brahmā) performed the sacrificial ceremony (L. 19). His wife Çitala-dēvi (?) earned the tri-varga, i.e., virtue, wealth, and all objects of desire (L. 21). As Çakti-dhara (Kartikēya) was born from Çaci-çekhara (Çiva) and Girijā (Durgā), so was born from the king, and his queen, the crest-jewel of the rival kings, Viçvarūpa-sena-dēva (L. 22).

The inscription then records:—

In the victorious camp pitched at the village of Phalgu (L. 31), Gaudēvara Viçvarūpa-sena-dēva, the most devout worshipper of Mahēvara, the Lord of the Açva-pati, Gaja-pati and Nara-pati, meditated on the feet of the illustrious Laksmana-sena-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 Vanga, included in the kingdom of Paunḍra-vardhana, within the limits of Vikrama-pura (L. 42), bounded on the east by the village-boundary of Athapāga, on the south by the village of Varayipaḍā (L. 43), on the west by the village of Uñcakāṭhī, (L. 44), and on the north by the village-boundary of Virakāṭhī, and situated in the village of Piñjakāṭhī (L. 43), certain lands are presented by this copper-plate grant, with the hope of the future reward known as Bhumi-dāna mentioned in the Çiva-purāṇa, to the Cruti-pāṭhaka (reader of the Vedas), the illustrious Viçvarūpa-dēva-carman1 of the Vatsa-gotra, of the Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnuvata, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya pravara,

1 He was a brother of Īcvara-dēva-carman the donee of the other grant by same king, dated 3rd year.
a great-grandson of Parācara-dēva-carman, grandson of Garbhēcvara-dēva-carman and son of Vanamālī-dēva-carman, in a proper manner and in accordance with the rules in force, stamped with the mark of Sadāciva in the month of Bhādra of the 14th year (L. 38-51), effected by the illustrious Kopivīṣṭu, the chief officer for peace and war in Gaṇḍa. (Engraved) on the 1st Āvina of the year 14 (L. 60).

Of the places mentioned in this inscription Pinjakāśṭhi, the village granted by it, is evidently identical with Pinjārī, 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 Vṛshabhā-çaṅkara-gauḍēcvara, his son Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna-dēva as Niṅcanka-çaṅkara-gauḍēcvara, his son Mahārāja Laksmaṇa-sēna-dēva as Madana-Çaṅkara-gauḍēcvara (L. 35), and his son Mahārāja Viṣva-rūpa-sēna-dēva as Vṛshabhānka-çaṅkara-gauḍēcvara.

The contents of the grant published by Prinsep as that of Kēcava-sēna, agree closely with those of the grant under review, with a slight exception. The place where the name of the pseudo Kēcava-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 Kēcava-sēna had been put in. This circumstance led Prinsep to believe that at the time of the copper-plate being engraved, Kēcava-sēna’s elder brother Mādhava-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 रिपुवृङ्ख्यवैध्यवत्वतः।
विख्यतश्चित्तिपालमैौलिरस्वव् श्रीरिख्यवधृष्टो चयः॥


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 रिपुवृङ्ख्यवैध्यवत्वतः।
विख्यतश्चित्तिपालमैौलिरस्वव् श्रीरिख्यवधृष्टो चयः॥

It is evident from the above Čloka that both the plates have the name Viṣva-rūpa. In the 10th verse of Prinsep’s facsimile and in the
9th of the copper-plate grant under review the name Vičvarūpa 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.  
चेननमो नारायणाय

L. 2.  
वन्दे प्रविण्यवधवन्यायमण्डकार-
कारानिद्रामुखनन्यमुक्तिप्रितम्।
पर्यायविक्षति-

L. 3.  
बर्मेदी वन्यायन्त्र नमः।
उद्विक्षमितौ विरिता विद्यामिनी: कल्यलसु
प्रह्योगमलितु पुव्यवायन्यायो जन्मान्तरः।

L. 4.  
चन्द्राः।
रविततात् विद्विभागीनिविधो द्वीपक्ष्यायामवी-
विष्णुमोकालखण्डदीचितमुखासे भुजुजो जज्जिरे।
चालमप्र-

L. 5.  
तिमन्द्रविक्रमक्यार्य्युङ्गवाक्षुङ्गूः-
वायोविनिविन्त्यान्तुकैयासा सदैवैद्येः।
वातरद्यान्यथे सदृश तत्त्व देवः।

L. 6.  
खरम्
सुधायितपश्चिमो विनायकं इवायाखावम।
यद्वितीयाधौरस्वित्तिमौलि: व्यासां
द्वास्यनितिविभमं विदः-

J. 1. 2
न. न. वसु—कॉपरप्लेट-ग्रांट विप्व्र-रुपा।

नीलामोहसेदसोदरोपि दलयनमानिशि कार्त्तिकी-कान्तोपि ज्यासम्भवानि साहुपलिकानि तत्वात् भ-

निष्रितानुसारसिद्धोपि जनयनेवत्रमं वैलेख्यं वश्याश्रेयमनाचुदाय समरे कौदयकः खेलिति |

द्वारिष्टविबासितवैचारिकृपावनंस्या-

वुच्छिस्यहृद्य मृणालिधि सुव्रमेखिणा शासनो यथा राजः।

व्यासीतिर्जनो जिगीया संह दिव-

सकरघेरे दौष्ट्रयाणान्तः

हृण्वशीयविपावागामिनि विशिष्टवारे सीमाविबादः।

खेलवृढ़क्राञ्चायांगतप्रद्यानिर्दिष्टिः-

द्वारिष्टव-क्षमाप्रतिमझलोरितववद्धालसेनो चापः।

श्यायोधस्यन्वितश्रियुज्ञहुस्वप्रयायम् छुटः

संसाक्षाहितिः-

द्वारिष्टविविकामार्गो वैरिणियः।

श्रीकान्तोपि न मायया वलिष्यी वागीशरोपयरचरं

वस्तु नेवपुष्पः कलातिरिधिः-

प्रोक्षतेऽकरावहः।

भोगीन्त्रोपि न जिज्ञागः परिहतलौकिकरेखाहुति

लक्ष्मालेपसेनभुपुतिरभस्तोलोककल्यनः।

प्रयुक्ते निगडववैरित्यमितरिः भूमिसुमाण्डलायः।

स्थायी जनमानसुकारितिसूक्तिवर्तायान्तः।

सायं वेश्वरिवासिनीजः-

नरशान्तेऽश्रीमुखाः

वेस्त्राकारी विजित्रसन्ध्यः वस्मि बिसार्वम् नमः।

पवनं जन्मश्रृङ्गेऽभुसिम्पलिना सन्ध्येऽस्मिन्नायु्-
L. 16. चूँकि नृगं तेन सुतार्यिंना सुर्धुनीतिरे चूँकि प्रीक्षितः। यत्रसंतु काथमनया हिंदुवधुवैधव्यवविद्वातो विश्वाल्चित्रातिपातामेँ।

L. 17. विवरणवत् औरिव्रुप्यं। [10] न गमनतल्ल एव प्रीतप्रियं न कानक्षुभुयर्य एव कल्याणकी। न विवुध्यार एव देवराजो।

L. 18. विलक्षित यथा धरावतारामजिः। [11] वेलायां दत्तियांत्येकोमिस्लिधर्गदायाणिस्वास्वमेयाः। चेने विम्रेश्वस्य कुरुस्वर—

L. 19. शाश्वेताप्रभृत्तिनिः।

L. 20. भ्रमणाय त्राधिविः। [12] वां निम्नाय पवित्रपवित्रस्थिताः। सतीनां शिखायामन्त्रां या निम्नाय सप्तप्रज्ञानित्वेवंस्य यथाशृङ्गान्त।

L. 21. लक्ष्मीरूपिनि वाक्नितानि विदये यस्या। सप्तिष्ठो महाराजी श्रीलतन्त्राः। श्रीलतन्त्राः। तदस्त्। [13] महिष्यां श्रीपिनिः।

L. 22. रुग्रिजामयामिव वसुव प्रक्षिधधाम। औरिव्रुप्सेवानिविन्ध्यमयस्मायुक्तमाणि। [14] चाकौमारसंपरकजनामरथाः।

L. 23. रुद्यावशेषाः।

स्मानस्माय निम्नाय वेणप्रतिरहस्यं दोबिकाम्। नेतनेतदिदुद्धै नेति चकिते दुःख प्रति हुन्त्।

निमानक्त्—

1. I am very doubtful about this word: metre requires शीतल or शोतम।
2. Read शेन।
3. Read शपथ।
N. N. Vasu—Copperplate-grant of Viṣṇu-rūpa.

L. 24. द्विप्राकिलिखितपुरुषवैवैद्विन्द्रेर्वास्ते ||
कलस्राष्ट्रदकाननानि कनकलिंकिन्द्राद्भक्षाकिन्यः
रज्जनां पुरुषान्तराशि ते परि-

L. 25. भक्ष्य प्रयासालसा ||
रत्तादपयोधग्रामाभिनि चायनिकानाध्ये
विज्ञायनं सतामविन्दवादेशाश्रायांतामोहं ||

L. 26. किनेतविदिति विभ्राग्रुक्तितलोकवापावसी-विनिविनिविण्डकुः प्रभगजेदयातामाः
प्रश्रासं प्रयिवोमिसं प्रथितवीरव-

L. 27. गार्गरेशः
विगणवमानवप्रलम्बकालसदृष्यः
वेशस्तवः स्वतः चेप्पस्तः चेभन्द्रः गणएवतः
सरस्वायमसू क्लेशे यदानन-

L. 28. छतालया ||
वाण्वभांतिकरकघण्यामस्य सौन्दर्यकोराः
प्रशान्तोऽपि पुरि विहकं मौर्तस्तिन्तीमि:।
वार्ताकुलेभन-

L. 29. नवल्ले (विभाग दशथ्यो
ढयाः स्वः चायातिघिर्ततमन्त्राः: कटाचः
प्रेतेन्ध्रवप्यशष्टसः चोतहिली-।

L. 30. सैकत-राजानामारछाकौमकवालाश्रिते:।
विगणिती दिदरी मचासाधना श्वाप्रवत्तमत:।
प्राक्तः।

Reverse,

L. 31. कम्पश्राविस्तिन्याशवछोठायाः: कल्लटाः ||
इस्त खलु फण्ग्रामधिरसस्मावतितश्रीमम्भस्तक्षात्तात्तु सम-।

L. 32. ससुपश्रुपेष्टाचरिराजग्रंथश्रुग्रौडेश्वरश्रीमद्विन्दविनेत्रस्वेत-प्रादानुधातसमसससुपश्रुपेष्टाचरिराज
N. N. Vasu—Copperplate-grant of Vigra-rūpa.

33. निग्रःश्रृंगःगौड़ियश्रीमःवज्राकसनेरवदानयालसमता-सुरर्स्वप्रेमचन्द्रितिनायापतिनिरपतिराजचित्ति-

34. पतिसेनकुलकलमलिविशालसारसीमामरवर्षाजीप्रतापकारणीयाय-अतमालीप्रशारागतवचप्पढ़परसेष्ठ-

35. रघुरमबघ्नराजकपरसीरमहाराजाधिराजचित्तिराजसमद्विश्रृंगः-गौड़ियश्रीमःलक्षणबानेरवदानयाल-

36. तद्विनिरपतिनिरपतिराजचित्तिसेनकुलकलमलिविशालसारसीमामरवर्षाजीप्रतापकारणीयाय-अतमालीप्रशारागतवचप्पढ़परसेष्ठ-

37. तमालीप्रशारागतवचप्पढ़परसेष्ठरघुरमबघ्नराजकपरसीरमहाराजाधिराजचित्तिराजसमद्विश्रृंगः-गौड़ियश्रीमःलक्षणबानेरवदानयाल-

38. तद्विनिरपतिनिरपतिराजचित्तिसेनकुलकलमलिविशालसारसीमामरवर्षाजीप्रतापकारणीयाय-अतमालीप्रशारागतवचप्पढ़परसेष्ठ-

39. चौपुरोहितमहाधमिकरापरमहासागिरियाटिकमहासनाति-दूरान्तिचौरैदरमित्रकावलस्यश्रृंगः-

40. चिकानाविकादिकथापुर्वश्रीमिकुवंदकघायाकिकदहलायकविवध-पवादीनिःसंह शंकरान्तापोपोपीविनाध्याजनढ़-

41. प्रवर्तनःचट्टमुद्रानातीयानु ब्राह्मणानु ब्राह्मणोतरार्क यथादि-मानवनि वोह्यनि सरासरि संदिर्धनि विदितमस्तु भवतां याः-

42. यथा पौशवंशसुखनल्पाति विदु प्रभृतिभरायो एवं चट्टम्व-ग्यामजालमाः सीमा दिवशी वायुपवायामभुः सी-

43. मा पवित्रेऽवाहकाल्यामभुः सीमा उन्न वैवाहाल्यालामिया-इत्यं चतुर्विद्विद्विधानिष्ठिनि गित्यजालयामद्वृत्त नक्ष्त्यजालश्चृंगः-

44. 3भीपदिदिप्राथायामास्यां 4हृणिनिरुरायातीरचलक्ष्णिति१२२ विहः सी भृषदिष्ट ५०० तथा कन्दर्मार्गश्रुः सी गानीन्त्यामये। 6।-

45. दार्भां समाचिन्द्रशुरायातिसंचित्तित्स्तुरसचितितितिस्मोक्षीयात्र-णास वनावपाणि सशारंविषुः सीतासुरसुगुणार्धिन्तितनिलगुप्त-सी-

46. तिमालीप्रशारागतवचप्पढ़परसेष्ठरघुरमबघ्नराजकपरसीरमहाराजाधिराजचित्तिराजसमद्विश्रृंगः-गौड़ियश्रीमः-लक्षणबानेरवदानयाल-

L. 47. च्यांगार्णीलमणया वसासंगोचय भांगंतंवचनवथापंबलय: यौयं
जामदसमग्रवर्त वरावसरदेवश्रमणः प्रथुराव व-
L. 48. लससंगोचय भांगंतंवचनवथापंबलय: यौयंजामदसमग्रवर्त
कंसवरदेवश्रमणः प्रथुराव वसासंगोचय भांगंत:
L. 49. च्यांगार्णीलमणया यौयंजामदसमग्रवर्त वनमालिदेवश्रमणः
पुलाय वसासंगोचय भांगंतंवचनवथापंबलय:
L. 50. यौयंजामदसमग्रवर्त यथा विपाणाय भौविपिपिदेवश्रमणः
व्राजश्रमाय विधिवदसुद्दुस्य श्रीसदादिवसुद्दुस्या मु
L. 51. ब्रविलाभूष्कंदसावधन चुतुश्रीवायवशारिदिना तामशासनी-
क्रय प्रतिनिधिः || प्रतितपत्सुमकमक्षे
L. 52. भांगार्णीलमणया दूरभाभेधि १२७ तद्दावस्था भौविपिदेवश्रमणः
भौविपिदेवश्रमणयं भौविपिदेवश्रमणयं भौविपिदेवश्रमणयं
नरकपालम||
L. 53. बातु पालने शम्मोगरशातु पालियमः भविनि चाच बमवारु-
प्रसिनः श्रोकः || वास्तूसरित्तिन्त पिवरो वशवण्ड-
L. 54. निन्द पितामहः ||
भूमिकोससतकुले जाते स नक्साता मभविजितः
भूमि यः प्रतिमाहाति यथा भूमि प्रथमधितः
उभै
L. 55. तौ प्राणकमसीय नियतं शर्मागसिनि ||
बजानितसमुखः दत्ता राजमः सावधिमः ||
यथा यथा यथा भूमिईकः
L. 56. तथा तथा पञ्चं ||
वधिवधनसल्लाशि सर्वेन तिष्ठति भूमिईकः
वाच्चेतसा चावमन्त्याच तात्विन नरसे वसेतु ||
खर
L. 57. स निर्माणं कम्भुप्रविधिः पिहतभी ||
स प्रचती ||
दृषिर कामदलजम्बविद्धोऽ
1. Read श्लतः।
L. 58. Copperplate-grant of Viśva-rūpa.


L. 60. Copperplate-grant of Viśva-rūpa.
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 Madanapāda in Farīdpur, 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. Kōcava-sēna.
1151. Sada-sēna or Sura-sēna.
1154. Naujēb or Nārāyaṇa.
1200. Lakṣmanya (the last.) ¹

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

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

In Eastern and littoral Bengal:—

A.D.  
986. I. Vira-sêna.  
1006. II. Sâmanta-sêna.  
1026. III. Hêmanta-sêna.  
In the whole of Bengal:—
1046. IV. Vijaya alias Sukha-sêna.  
1056. V. Ballâla-sêna.  
1106. VI. Lakshmana-sêna.  
1136. VII. Mâdhava-sêna.  
1138. VIII. Keçava-sêna.  
1142. IX. Açôka-sêna.

In Vikramapur.
Ballâla-sêna.
Su-sêna.
Sura-sêna, &c.

C. Sir Alexander Cunningham on the authority of the inscriptions of Deopâda, Tarpanadighi, Bâkargaûj and of the Āin-i-Akbari gives a fresh list.  

A.D.  
650. Vira-sêna, from whom descended  
975. Sâmanta-sêna.  
1000. Hêmanta-sêna.  
1025. Vijaya-sêna or Sukha-sêna.  
1050. Ballâla-sêna.  
1076. Lakshmana-sêna.  
1106. Mâdhava-sêna.  
1108. Keçava-sêna.  
1118. Lâkshmanâya (reigned 80 years.—Tabaqât-i-Nūširi).  
1198. Conquest of Bengal by Bakhtîâr Khilji.  

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 Gû-pâla, the progenitor of the Pâla Râjâs, who is also called by the synonymous names of Bhû-pâla


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 Lakshmana'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 Aṅgu-varmā Rājā of Nēpāla, who was the contemporary of Huien Tsang, and of whom Pandit Bhagawān-lal 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 Ādiyā-sēna, the illustrious Lord of Magadha. Hence it seems probable that the later Sēna Rājās of Bengal were the direct descendants of Ādiyā-sēna-dēva, the great king of Magadha.'

Dr. Rājendralāla 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 Ādiyāra, who brought five Brāhmaṇas and five Kāyaṇīshs from Kānauj.'

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 Pauṇḍra-vardhana, 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 Ādiyāra' 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.'

E. In a Bengali work, the author Babu Mahimā-candra Mazūmdār 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. Rājendralāla Mitra) of an article in the Rahasya Sandarbha, believing the year of this event to be Čaka 1019, supports his statement by a citation from the Samaya-prakāṣa, which, however, as a matter of fact indicates the year as Čaka 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—

1 See Mitra's Indo-Āryans, Vol. II. p. 241.
3 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV. p. 165.
4 बौद्ध ग्रामध्य (Brahmaṇs 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 Ĉaka 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 J203 A.D. This according to Minḥāju-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 Lākṣmaṇa-sēna—one to Īcvara-candra-dēva-carmā and the other to Kṛṣṇa-dhara-dēva-carmmā—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 Gaṇḍa.'

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

'The last Hindu king of Bengal mentioned in the Abū-1-fażl'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 Rājah Bhōja of Lassen. Abū-1-fażl says that when Rājā Nōjah 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 Deō-pāra Inscription of Vijaya-sēna in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. (1892), thus writes on the subject:—

'According to Dr. Rājendrālāla 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 Vira (page 506). Nānya we find again (as was first pointed out to me by Dr. Burgess) in Nānya-

1 गोडें श्रावण pp. 90-96.
deva, the founder of the Karṇaṭaka Dynasty of Nēpāl, who is placed in 9aka 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). ‘Lakṣṇaṇa-sēṇa 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 résumé 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-sēṇa thus speaking of himself:

Like Hēmanta (the cold season) which is fatal to the growth of lotuses, Hēmanta-sēṇa 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-sēṇa flourished in Varēndra, whose eminence amongst the heroes was praised far in all directions ......

After him the king Ballāla-sēṇa, 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-mićra-ghaṭaka obtained by me from the Ghaṭakas of Edilpur, states as follows:—

Like Hēmanta (the cold season) which is fatal to the growth of lotuses, Hēmanta-sēṇa 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-sēṇa flourished in Varēndra, whose eminence amongst the heroes was praised far in all directions ......

After him the king Ballāla-sēṇa, 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.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX.

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX.
Mahārāja Ādi-çūra was ruler of the five Gaudas. The king of Kāci (Benares) was his rival. The great veneration in which Ādi-çūra was held and his various acts of charity made even the king of Kāci to blush. Ādi-çūra, however, was anxious on one account. He had not
got a Sägnika Brähmana in his court, and he made up his mind to bring some from elsewhere. Accordingly, he brought from Kölānca five Brähmanaśas full of wisdom and devotion to God, viz., Kṣitiça, Médhā-tithi, Vita-rāga, Sudhā-nidhi, and Sanbhāri. They came to Gauḍa with their families. The king, after testing their merits, gave them each one of five villages, viz., Kāmāṭhi, Brahmapuri, Harikōṭa, Kaṅkagraṁa, and Baṭagrama to live in. The Brähmanaśas, whom Ādi-çūra 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-çūra, 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-sēṇa, the son of Vijaya-sēṇa, always endeavoured to support the Brähmanaśas. He honoured the Brähmanaśas 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-sēṇa had made several copper-plate grants to Brähmanaśas. * * * * * * Laksmana-sēṇa, the son of Ballāla-sēṇa reaped disrepute consequent on the fear entertained by him, because of his having been born at an inauspicious moment. His son Kēçava left the kingdom of Gauḍa; the fear of the Yavanas having compelled him to fight with them. At this time the Brähmanaśas were not able to reside there any longer.

III. In the Kārikā (account of kulīna families) by Ėḍu-mīcra, it is stated:—

वासे परिमरिविशिष्यविषय: श्रीकान्युक्तानायः
तममयःसिला विशिष्टविप्रविषय: कोलास्वरेश: शुभः |
तस्मातायानयारिविशिष्यति: पवेक्षु पृष्टदिखान्
तानान्य विशिष्य पद्ध नगरं तेंथो ददै गौडः |
काजः भूरी तिथिः गते समभवद्राजसेनो चयः |
संभ्रयपरिविशिष्य: दिग्नमद्वान् स्तानान्यक्षास्तिकः |

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

1 Sāgnika, lit. possessing or maintaining fire. Sāgnika Brähmana 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 Gauda. 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:

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 Čaka-rāja the Ravi-yuga-bhagāṇa was thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satya-yuga</td>
<td>1,728,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trētā-yuga</td>
<td>1,296,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvāpara-yuga</td>
<td>864,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the above Čaka-year the Ravi-bhagāṇa year of the Kali-yuga was 4270. Adding these four numbers we get 38,92,270. Dividing this Ravi-yuga-bhagāṇa 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 Viṣva-rūpa-sēna-dēva, lately discovered, sets forth the following facts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśākha-sāvanna</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgirathiyāhi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādityapāramitā</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śuddhabhūta-sīha</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidārdhachakrī</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avatārakṛitya-śīh</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śanacintāmānapāt</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śambhūtabhūta-sīha</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṣitabhūtakrītī</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairavabhaṅga-sīha</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In that pure and extensive Lunar Dynasty, the Lord Çaçi-çekekhara (Moon-crested Civa) himself was born under the name of Vijaya-sena. The son of the said Vijaya-sena was Ballala-sena, the sight of whose weapons in the battlefield drove away from his enemies the pride of their valour. From him sprang Laksmana-sena, a Kalpa-druma in the world. The renowned Viçā-rupa who occupied the foremost place among the kings of his time sprang from Laksmana-sena. The principal aim of his life was to subject the wives of his enemies to widowhood.

VI. In another place of the same kārikā of Ėdu-mićra, it is related:—

Kēcava 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 (Kēcava) and his followers with means for their maintenance. Once in the way of conversation, he asked Kēcava what was the Kulina-system of Brāhmaṇas established by the grandfather, the pious Ballāla-sena, and why, whence, where, and by what enterprise, he created the Brāhmaṇas (new). Hearing this Kēcava ordered his family-bard Ėdu-mićra, who
was a brāhmaṇa by caste and conversant with all the Častras and the religious rites for Brāhmaṇas, to answer the questions of the king.

From the authorities quoted above we call the following:—

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

2-3. That Ādi-cūra brought from Kolāṇca five Brāhmaṇas; that he lived long before Mahārāja Ballāla-sēna, the son of Vījaya, flourished; that after the reign of the Dynasty of Ādi-cūra, 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 Laksmana-sēna fell into disrepute owing to the time of his birth having been inauspicious; that Kēçava-sēna was the son of Laksmana-sēna and that the fear of the Yavanas compelled him to run away, relinquishing his father's kingdom.

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

5. That a powerful king, named Viçva-rūpa-sēna, was the son of Laksmana-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. Rājendralāla Mitra and others as to Vīra-sēna or Vījaya-sēna being identical with Ādi-cūra.

The date of Ballāla's coronation 1066 A. D., as given by Prinsep and Dr. Mitra is not borne out by the Āin-i-Akbari, which they quote as their authority, while the Akbar-nāma, as first pointed out by Mr. Beveridge, gives the initial date of the Laksmana era as 1119. Dr. Kielhorn has supported this statement. But they believe that the Laksmana era commenced from the year of his coronation. The statement is not borne out by the facts now brought to light. Although the Laksmana era commenced from the year 1119 A. D., it was not the year in which he was installed. I have already shown that in Caka 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 Laksmana 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-Akbari 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 J. i. 4
year of Ballāla-sēna’s coronation. Now it may be contended that Laksmaṇa-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, Laksmaṇa-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 Laksmaṇa-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 Laksmaṇa Era. This era is still extant among the pandits of Mithilā; 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 kulinnism, which he instituted, must have taken a considerable portion of his life; and this also is a proof of his long reign.

Laksmaṇa-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 Saddukti-karnāṁṛta, Čāryagadha-paddhāti, Padyāvalī and other anthologies. Even Maulānā Minhājū-d-din has thus written of Laksmaṇa-sēna—‘Little or much, never did any tyranny proceed from his hand.’ 2

---

1 Poems composed by Laksmaṇa-sēna are found in the Saddukti-karnāṁṛta, Čāryagadha-paddhāti, Padyāvalī and other anthologies.

2 Raverty, Tabagāt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 555.
According to the Āin-i-Akbarī¹ 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 Minhājū-d-dīn that Lakṣmaṇa reigned eighty years.’

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 Lakhnaūtī, 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-Lakṣmaṇā, 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 Sankanat, the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrud; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Rāi Lakṣmaṇā.⁴

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

---

N. N. Vasu—*Chronology of the Sêna Kings of Bengal.* [No. I, relying on the prophecy, left the capital and went to Jagannâtha (Puri), East Bengal, and Kâmarûpa (Assam).

Abû-l-faţl has made mention of Lâkṣmaṇa-sêna’s son Mâdhava-sêna having reigned after him for a period of 10 years. Mâdhava-sêna does not appear to have ruled Bengal after Lâkṣmaṇa. It is likely that during the reign of Lâkṣmaṇa-sêna, he was either nominated as Prince Elect or that he ruled the kingdom as regent. In the Sûktika-râmârita by Črîdhara-dâsa, son of Lâkṣmaṇa-sêna’s favourite Mahâsâmanta Baṭu-dâsa, some of Mâdhava-sêna’s poetical writings have been inserted. I am inclined to believe that, following the example of the Paṇḍitas and others, Mâdhava-sêna also left Bengal and went on a pilgrimage to Kêdâra-nâtha. This is borne out by the facts given below.

At a place near the city of Almora in Kumâun, within the Himalaya regions, there is a temple dedicated to Yôgâcvara. This temple contains a copper-plate grant of Mâdhava-sêna. Moreover, inside the Balôcvara temple, in the Kêdâra tracts, there is a copper-plate grant dated 1145 Çaka (A.D. 1223), in which the words ‘Vaṅgâja-Brâhmaṇa’ appear. The name of Rudra-çarma, Bhaṭṭa-nârayâna’s descendant, is also inscribed in it. ¹

It can be inferred from the above that Paṇḍits belonging to Bhaṭṭa-nârayâna’s family accompanied Mâdhava-sêna when he left Bengal on pilgrimage.

A careful perusal of Minhâj’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 Musalmâns 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 çâstras, 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.

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 Kāś-pāla in the District of Kaṭāk, that Laksmana-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-miśra it is plainly stated that the fear of a Musalmān attack forced Kēcava-sēna, the son of Laksmana-sēna to leave Gaṇḍa, and in Ėḍū-miśra’s account, it is mentioned that Kēcava-sēna lived under the protection of a Rājā. It may be inferred from this, that Kēcava-sēna ruled Gaṇḍa as regent or governor, when Laksmana 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 Nādiyā, Minhāj wrote thus:—‘His (Laksmana’s) descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Banga.’ From this we can draw the inference, that even at that time Banga (East Bengal of the present times) was not conquered by the Muḥammadans. It is therefore probable that after leaving Gaṇḍa, Kēcava-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 Viśva-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 Kēcava-sēna agrees exactly with the newly-discovered plate. The Paṇḍit who deciphered it made a mistake in taking Kēcava-sēna for Viśva-rūpa. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Rajendra Lal, 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 Viśva-rūpa.3

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

1 Raverty, Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 558.
2 Vide the facsimile of Viśva-rūpa’s copper-plate grant of 14 Saṁvat, and the article on that subject. Ante pp. 6 and ff.
Minhâj writes:

'The parts around about the State of Lakhanâwatî, such as Jâj-nagar, the countries of Bang, Kâmrudd, and Tirhut.....the whole of that territory named Gauḍa.' In another place he says, 'The territory of Lakhanâwatî has two wings on either side of the river Gaṅ. The western side they call Râl (Râḍha), and the city of Lakhanor lies on that side, and the eastern side they call Barind (Varândra)'

From the account given by Minhâj, it appears that at the period under notice, Mithilâ, Utkala, Râḍha, Varândra, Banga, and Kâma-rûpa were included in the kingdom of Gauḍa. The Sêna kings of Bengal ruled over these territories, and for this reason the rulers were called Lords of Gauḍa (मोड़खेल). Even after the conquest of Bihâr and of Lakshmânavatî (Varândra) by Muḥammad-i-Bakhtiar, the other territories comprised in Gauḍa were ruled by the Sêna kings.

Minhâj writes:

'When the latter (i.e., Muḥammad-i-Bakhtïâr) led his troops towards the mountains of Kâmrudd and Tirhut, he had despatched Muḥammad-i-shârâj and his brother with a portion of his forces towards Lakhanor and Jâj-nagar. He states in another place—'Ali-i-Mardan proceeded to Dîw-kot and assumed the Government, and brought the whole of the country of Lakshmânavatî under his sway.'

And prior to writing this, he had stated that it was this 'Ali-i-Mardan who in the year 602 Hîjra, (1205 A. D.) killed Muḥammad-i-Bakhtïâr. Some time after this he went to Ghâznî accompanied by Sultân Kuṭbû-d-dîn Aibak. After remaining there as prisoner for some time he came back to Sultân Kuṭbû-d-dîn Aibak in Hindûstân, and the latter made over to him the territory of Lakhanâvati. It is evident from the above that the whole of Lakhanâvati, comprising Râḍha and Varândra came into the possession of 'Ali-i-Mardan at least 4 or 5 years after the murder of Muḥammad-i-Bakhtïâr, i.e., A.D. 1209—1210.

Minhâj states that Muḥammad Shârâj had gone to conquer Lakhanor, i.e., Râḍha and Jâj-nagar, the northern portion of Utkala; but up to 1209-1210 the Mussalmâns did not succeed in conquering the whole of Lakhanâvati. It appears from this that Muḥammad-i-Shârâj was defeated by Viṣva-rûpa. After defeating the Mussalmâns Viṣva-rûpa assumed the name of 'Garga-yavanâvaya-pralaya-kâla-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 Aṇva-pati, Gaja-pati, Nara-pati Râja-trayâdhîpati, &c.

1 Raverty's Tabaqât-i-Nâṣîrî, p. 585 and 588.
2 Raverty, Tabaqât-i-Nâṣîrî, p. 578.
From what has been stated above it may be inferred that in his old age Laksmana-sêna made Mâdhava-sêna the Governor of Râdha or Nava-dvîpa, and Kâçava-sêna that of Gauḍa (probably Varêndra). And in this manner Vicva-rûpa obtained the sovereignty of East Bengal. If the statement made by Edû-mîçra is to be taken as correct, we can infer from it that Kâçava-sêna, after repairing to East Bengal took shelter under Vicva-rûpa, who I believe, formally ascended the throne in A. D. 1200-1201.

In Çaka 1019, i.e., A. D., 1097, Nânya-deva of the Karnâtaka dynasty ruled in Nepal. Dr. Kielhorn has shown that Vijaya-sêna defeated this king, and I accept the Doctor’s statement as most probable. I have already shown that his (Vijaya-sêna’s) son Ballâla-sêna was installed in the year A. D. 1119. Such being the case, Vijaya-sêna must have ruled Bengal for (at least) 24 or 25 years. After him Ballâla-sêna ruled 50 years, and his son Laksmana-sêna 27 or 28 years.

Abû-l-fažl has made mention of one Sadâ-sêna who ruled after Kâçava-sêna for a period of 18 years. I think that this Sadâ-sêna probably ruled after Vicva-rûpa. It is not improbable that like the other rulers of Bengal, Vicva-rûpa also lived to an old age and reigned for many years. Abû-l-fažl further says that after Sadâ-sêna Nauja ruled Bengal. Harîmîçra has also made mention of a powerful king named Dananja-mâdhava. There is not the least shadow of doubt that Abû-l-fažl read Naujâ in place of Dananja. In the work named Târikh-i-Firuz-shahi, this Dananja-mâdhava, is described as Danuja Râya. Dr. Wise has thus written of Danuja Râya:—‘This is probably the same person as Danijâ-mâdhava, who is believed to have been a grandson of Ballâla-sêna.’ 3 This Dananja-mâdhava was not the grand-son, but the great-grandson of Ballâla-sêna. In speaking of Kâçava, Hari-mîçra thus writes:—

1 Jarrett, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II. p. 146.
2 Do. Do.
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 Kaulinya......They were all established already at the Court of Laksmaṇa-sēna.

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

According to Edū-miśra, Hari-miśra, Dhruvaṇanda, Mahāyāra and other genealogists, as also the old account of Kulācāryas of Edilpur, it was Danaujā-mādhava who reorganised Kulinism among the Brāhmaṇas and Vangaja Kāyasthas. Some of these Kārikās give the name of Danaujā-mādhava-dīva slightly altered, such as Danuja-mādhava-dīva, Danuja-mardana-dīva. But whether he was called Nauja, Danaujā Rāya, Danaujā-mādhava, Danaujā-mardana or Danaujā-mādhava, there is no doubt that they all refer to the same individual.¹

According to some of the Kārikās of Edilpur, this Danaujā-mādhava or Danaujā-mardana issued orders about Kulinism from Candra-dvipa, 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 Danaujā-mardana, after leaving Vikrama-pura went to Candra-dvipa 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 Sūmārgād, by name Danauj Rāi,² who met the Emperor Balban on his march against Sultan Mughīṣu-dīn in the year 1280. It is not likely that the Muḥammadan usurper would have allowed a Hindu to remain in independence at his capital Sūmārgād. If the principality of Candra-dvipa extended to the River Mēghnā, the agreement made with the Emperor that he would guard against the escape of Tughrīl to the west becomes intelligible.'

The chief event, however, of his reign was the organisation of the Vangaja Kāyasthas. He appointed certain Brāhmaṇas, whose descendants still reside at Edilpur (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 Kulina Kāyasthas only intermarried with families of equal rank. He also appointed a Svarṇā-
mātya, or master of the ceremonies, who fixed the precedence of each member of the Sabha 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 Kayasthas.¹

It seems evident from the above that Laksmana-sena's grand-son, Danauja Rāi or Danauja-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 Danauja-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:

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 Viṣva-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 Edilpur, it is mentioned, that Paramānanda-rāya, the first king of the Vasu family of Candra-dvīpa, son of Bala-bhadra-vasu, a first-class Kulina of Dehurghāti, was Rājā Jaya-dēva's daughter's son. All these show conclusively that the

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-dvipa came to be ruled by the descendants of the daughter of Jaya-dēva.1

Abū-1-fażl thus writes of Candra-dvipa, i. e., Sarkār of Bākla:—'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-1-fażl's statement that Paramānanda's father also was a king of Candra-dvipa, 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-dvipa, 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-dvipa than on what has been mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbarī. 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-gāō by the Muḥam-madans. We see Danujā-rāya of Sunārgāō helping Balban even in A.D. 1280. Under such circumstances it is more probable that 20 years from

3 In the kārikā written by Dhruvānanda-miçra, Court-Poet of Rājā Prēmanarāyaṇa of Candra-dvipa, it is stated:—

\[\text{नक्षत्रावज: मधुचलिः जगदानन्दकाय:} \]
\[\text{ग्रामावनं ततुकाभ्यं चक्रोत्त श वर्षसं:} \]
\[\text{वेनिचः चुरुच्यो जलकापं सतो भवन्:} \]
\[\text{सत्रीवा नं च चपवरं सत्राशनाधीनं} \]
\[\text{कल्पेश्वपनकन्दं जगदानन्दकायः} \]

that occurrence, Danuja-raya, 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-pātā. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hemanta-sēna.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya-sēna-dēva, (circa 1097 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballāla-sēna-dēva, (1119 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laksmana-sēna-dēva (1170 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Madhava-sēna.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kēcava-sēna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicva-rūpa-sēna-dēva Sadā-sēna. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Circa 1200-1235 ?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Danaujā-mādhava-dēva (1280 A.D.) |
| [Founder of Candra-dvīpa] |
| (At Candra-dvīpa.) |
| Ramā-vallabha-dēva-rāya. |
| Kṛṣṇa-vallabha-dēva-rāya. |
| Hari-vallabha-dēva-rāya. |
| Jaya-dēva-rāya. |
| [Who had a daughter married to Bala-bhadra, of Vasu family, his son] |

| Paramānanda-rāya. |

Before we conclude this subject, we must clear up one point with regard to the Sêna kings having belonged to the Vaidya caste. There is a tradition extant that Ballâla-sêna of Vikrama-pûra was a Vaidya. This tradition has sprung from the fact of there having been a Vaidya king of the same name. Gôpâla-bhaṭṭa in his work, ‘Ballâla-carita’ thus speaks of him:

This shows that in 1300 Çaka, i.e., 1378 A.D., Gôpâla-bhaṭṭa, teacher of king Ballâla-sêna of the Vaidya family, wrote by order of the king a book called Ballâla-carita. It is well known that Ballâla-sêna, son of Vijaya-sêna, lived about 250 years previous to this, and that in the year
1878 almost the whole of Bengal came under the Musalman rule. It is also stated in the 'Ballāla-carīta,' that Ballāla of the Vaidya family, fought against a Musalman Faqīr named Bābā Ādam.¹

This shows conclusively that Ballāla of the Sēna family of Gaūda was a Kāyastha or a Kṣatriya of the Lunar Dynasty, and that Ballāla of Vikrama-pūra, 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 Ghaṭaka of Faridpur, a Vamśavali of the kings of Candra-dvīpa. This Vamśavali in a verse clearly describes Jaya-deva the 5th king of Candra-dvīpa, as descended from the Sēna dynasty. The Čloka runs thus:—

तस्मातामहः छत्री जयदेवो महावरः।
चन्द्रीपायं भूपालो सेनवर्यसमुद्रः॥

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 Ghaṭaka, that Danaujā and his successors styled themselves Rāyas of Candra-dvīpa.

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 Hindús, Parsis 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 Rodolfo Aquaviva who remained at the Court of the Mogul for three years. The second, under Father Edward Leeton, 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. Even in the 'Kaiser Akbar' (1880) of Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein (Count von Noer), where an admirable account, based on Du Jarriç'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 Jarriç's work which treats of the missions after the year 1600. 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. We are fortunate in finding among

1 See also 'The Portugusee 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).
E. D. Maclagan—Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar. [No. 1,
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-qâdir Bad'âni, the trenchant champion of orthodoxy at Akbar's Court, whose Muntakhabu-t-tawârikh carries the history of Akbar down to the year 1595. On the other hand there is Akbar's abettor and favourite minister, Abû-l-fazl, the author of the Akbar-nâma which contains a history of the same period down to the year 1601.

Bad'âni'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 Abû-l-fazl, Abû-l-fath, 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 Bad'âni tells us ² that 'the ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the cross, and the cunabula [kanâbalân] which is their time of mirth, and other childish playthings of theirs were daily in practice.' The words Kâfr šâ'î' šud, or 'Heresy became common,' express the Târikh' (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 Bad'âni refers in the following passage. In the course of his explanation of the reasons which led the Emperor to renounce Islâm, he writes³:

'Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of Padre. They have an infallible head, called Pâpâ. 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 Murâd 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 1. 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.


³ Bad (Bib. Ind) II. from Blochm. Āin I. 182.
auspiciousness, and charged Abū-l-faţīl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual Bismillāh-ir-rahmān-ir-rahīm the following lines were used.

Ai nām-i-tu Jesus  kal Kirdū,

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

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

Subkānaka lā sīvāka 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 place Badāunī describes the introduction of an organ, but not apparently in connection with Christian worship. In another passage, however, there is a somewhat obscure allusion to the Emperor’s Christian proclivities. At a discussion carried on in Akbar’s presence Hājī Ibrāhīm asked Mīrzā Muftīs ‘How is Mūsá declined? and what is the root of the word?’ to which no satisfactory answer was given: whereupon the Emperor asked the Qāżī’s son Shukr, ‘Why do you not join in the discussion?’ to which Shukr replied: ‘If Hājī Ibrāhīm were to ask how to decline ʿĪsā (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 says:—

‘At this time his Majesty sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtiyār to bring Shaikh Qutbu-d-dīn of Jālesar 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 Dabīstān: the edition of Badāunī used by Blochmann has ai nāmī wai shāshkō Kirdū. Cf p. 51 below.

2 Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 269.

3 ditto  II. 187.

4 Bad. (Bib. Ind.) II. 299. Quoted by Blochm Ai 1. 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).

J. 1 6
Soon after this the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other faqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph.

We shall note later on the Jesuit version of this episode. Meantime let us see how Abû-l-faţl describes it:

One night the Ibâdat-khana was brightened by the presence of Pâdre Radolfî 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 Pâdre 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 Qurân to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the 'ulamâ 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) Abû-l-faţl says:

At this time Pâdre Farmâlîn 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 Pâdres, on the 19th of April, 1595.

In another passage he states that

1 Abkarnâma (Bib. Ind.) III. 254. Elliot Hist. Ind. VI. 60, cf. p. 51 below.
2 This is Prof. Blochmann's reading (Aín I. 168): the MSS. have Radif, Rawiq and Ranaq. 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 Pâdre Rodolfî Aqnavîva who arrived at Fathpour Sikri in Feb. 1580.
3 Abkarnâma (Bib. Ind.) III. 577. Elliot Hist. Ind. VI. 85.
4 Or Farabaţân. Perhaps some corruption of 'Duarte Lecon' or possibly 'Grimalcon' 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 ABB. (Bib. Ind.) III. 669. Beveridge in J. A. S. B. 1888 p. 34. Xavier arrived at Lahore on 5th May, 1595.
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 disputa-
tion held for that purpose. But he ascribes no permanent influence to these Christian philosophers, for in a further passage\(^1\) 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.'

Sō far Bādāūni and Aḥū-l-fażl. In the Dabistān which was written about sixty years after Akbar's death, we find a curious account\(^2\) (how far exact we cannot tell) of a discussion which took place before Akbar between a 'Nazarene' and a Muḥammadān, and of another between a 'Nazarene' and a Jew. These appear\(^3\) to be based on Xavier's dialogues in the Āina-i-Haqq-nunmā, which will be noticed further 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:\(^4\)

1. The Annuæ 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 compendiæs narratio missionum quaranund 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 Maintz. The Latin


\(^3\) See Dr. Lee's preface to Martyns, "Controversial Tracts," p. 37.
translation which is the version most easily available is entitled
‘Historica Relatio de potentissimi Regis Mogor, a magno Tamerlane ori-
undi 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 Lahor 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 versâ.’

5. Another version of the same two letters was published in 1601
at Mainz in a book called: ‘Recentissima de amplissimo Regno Chinæ,
item de statu rei Christianæ apud magnum Regem Mogor.’

6. A letter of 1599 from the Provincial Father Pimenta at Goa,
was published at Mainz 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 appear-
ing at Venice in the same year. A Latin version was published at
Mainz in 1602 under the heading ‘Exemplum epistolæ P. Nicholæ
Pimentæ provinciæ orientalæ Indiae visitatoris . . . de statu rei Chris-
tianæ in India Orientali,’ and another Latin version issued at Constance
in 1603 under the title ‘De felici statu et progressu rei Christianæ in
India Orientali epistolæ R. P. Nicolai Pimentæ.’ 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 epistolæ
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 Orkus' version of the Lähor 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 Missiones 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 Chiny lapon.' 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 Fernam Guerreiro, S. J., of Almodonar, published at Lisbon a 'Relacam 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 Colago, 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 endure pour la mesma 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 mesma 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 1e, 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. 429-493 and vol III 27-97.
and a Latin Translation under the title 'Rerum Indicarum Thesaurus' was published at Cologne in 1615. In his 'Preface an lecteur Christien' Du Jarriç 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 Jarriç'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 Descrittione Geografica et Historica,' on pp. 91-6 of vol. I, of which the history of Christianity under Akbar is given. This history is based on Du Jarriç, 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—Editio 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, under the title 'Historia Christi perscripta 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.
1896.] E. D. Maclagan—Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar. 47

(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 Jouvency, on pp. 449-460 of Part V of Orlandini's "Historia Societatatis 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 Fathpur 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 Gujarat and Kabul 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 Partab Bār of the Akbarānāma (Elliot, Hist. Ind., VI. 59). Manrique (Ininerario, p. 13-14) gives an account of Tavares. See also Murray's Hist. Acct. II. 99.

4 So called by Peruschi and by De Sousa (Or. Conq. II. 148); Bartoli gives the name as Egidio Anes Perreim. Du Jarric (II. 458) 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 Sultan of Mecca’11 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 Mullahs 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 Sultan Khowaja ‘Abdul ‘Azīm, who had been Mir Hajji, and returned from Makka in 1578. See Blochmann, Ibn I. 423.
2 Antony Cabral had negotiated a treaty at Damān in 1572. (Danvers’ Port. in India, 11. 4). Danvers’ book does not however mention any Embassy in 1578.
3 Du Jarrie II 440. Similar letters appear to have been sent to the Viceroy and Archbishop also (Annuae Lit. 1582).
4 Or Pires. Said by Bartoli (p. 9, Missione) 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 Henriques.

[Of these, Henriques was a Persian convert from Muhammadanism 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 ‘tandquam 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 (Sârangpur), Surange (Sironj) and Narwar.³

¹ DeSousa, Or. Conq. 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 Abar’ 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

J. 1. 7
On the 18th February 1580, Aquaviva\(^1\) reached Fathpûr Sikrî where he was most hospitably received. As the members of the mission limited themselves to the barest necessaries 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 accommodation in the palace, where they built a small chapel. This chapel the Emperor visited with his sons—known to the Jesuits as Shaikhji, Pahârî and Dan\(^4\)—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 Sultân Murâd (Pahârî) should be instructed in the Portuguese language and good morals, an ungrateful task which fell to the lot of Father Monserrat.

in these terms with reference to thirteen figures in basso relievo upon the rocks at Gwâliar, which he visited on his way from Surât 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 \(\text{i}b.\)) 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 Alcala 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.

\(^4\) Shaikhji or Shaikhâ was Prince Salim, the future Emperor Jahângîr, then aged 11. Pahârî was prince Murâd, aged 10, so called from his being born among the low hills of Fathpur. Dan was Danyâl, then aged 9.
and it was during one of these lessons that the incident related by Badānī (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-1-fazl and confide their troubles to him as they would to himself. Abū-1-fazl, 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.

Meantime there were constant disputes with the Muhammadans. We have but to read the letter 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 Badānī's attitude!—The details of these public disputes have been in some measure preserved, and we learn how Father Rodolfi attacked the morals of Muḥammad, the material pleasures of his paradise, the want of continuity between the Hebrew scriptures and Muḥammad'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-1-fazl 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.
sense to refuse to submit to this form of test. 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 usqué ad sanguem restitimus.’

Regarding the Emperor’s attitude towards the contending faiths we are given some interesting accounts. That he had no respect for Islam 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 (hinc in modum):

‘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 Jahāngir—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, Missione 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 Makkah) and the whole influence of the zanāna did its best to thwart his supposed leanings towards Christianity. 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 Hakim at Kābul, which took place about this time: 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 Padrès 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.

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. Fonthome in his Reminiscences of Agra, 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly the existence of a Christian wife called Mary (apart from Mariamu-z-zamānī); he says that the mission of 1580 erected their chapel in Mary’s Kōthī at Fatīpur (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 Shah ʿAlam’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 Phillip Bourbon (and who must not be confused with another Juliana who lived in Shah ʿAlam’s time). Fonthome (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 saraglio del suddito 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 Navarroi.

2 Of 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. Cong. II 171. Wilford in As. Res. IX. 230; see also p. 63 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 Note on p. 421, vol. V, Elliot’s Hist. Ind., and in Noer. II. 74. But the chronology is a little confused.
sented 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 Henri-quez had already withdrawn to Goa, either secretly as one authority states, or with permission as stated by another. Then Monserrat had left Fatḥpur 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-1-fazl. 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-rivā-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 Rabi-ul-awwal in the year 990' (March-April 1582).

² Fraser, Nādir Shāh (1742) 12. and appx. 40. Hough, Christianity in India, II. 262.
⁴ The translation is that given by Mr. Rehatsek in the Indian Antiquary, April 1887, p. 137.
The ambassador, we are told, 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 Fathpur.

'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 Lāhkūr toward the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. 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, 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 1582. 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 Bhūṭāns, see e.g., Wheeler's Purchas, p. 14.
4 This is apparently none other than Shaikh Mubārak father of Ābū-l-faṭīl. He was then 79 years old and did not die till eleven years later in 1593 (Blochm. Āin, 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, 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 Muhammad 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 Şafis, 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 Şafis, 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. 48 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,' 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.

'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 Mihrjan, the Persian feast of the autumnal equinox: the Muhammadan Lent, the month of Ramzan, 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.

J. l. 8
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 deprived 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 Hindüstâni\(^1\) 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 writes\(^2\) that Your Reverence will know from me why he has not dismissed the neighbouring chiefs and enemies\(^3\) 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-khân]\(^4\) 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 mother\(^5\) has sent for me. Your Reverence's Christian servant, Rodolfi.'

---

1 I. e., the native language: not Urdu, 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-khân had been Governor of Surat. So far from being dismissed, he continued to receive promotion; Blochm. *Aīn* 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-makâni (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 Asses 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 firman addressed by Akbar to the Father Provincial on this occasion:

'God is great.

Firman of Jalālu-d-dīn also called Akbar, Pādshāh Ghūzī. 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 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 denied 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. Marad. MSS. 9854, fol. 5.
We hear nothing further of Akbar’s relations towards the Christians till 1590, in which year, we are told, he began to show unmistakeable 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 follows:\(^3\):

---

Parwānā of Akbar granted to Leo Grimon.

Order of His Highness Muhammad, great King and Lord of the Foslīera,\(^4\) 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 Khānkhanār (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 Yulo’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 ‘Faslī era’ is meant.

5 Mirza ‘Abdu-r-rahim Khān, son of Bairām Khān, and commander in Gujrat.

6 Perhaps Rai Singh of Bīkānīr. Blochm. ʻĀin I. 357. I am unable to identify Giabiblica unless he be Rājā ‘Ali Khan of Khūndesh. (Blochm. ʻĀin I. 327.)
with the other Captains shall do likewise until they reach my court. I enjoin also Giabiblica (?) 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 [? Jalor] from Gelu to Guipar [?] and from Guipar to Bīkānīr whence they shall go to Bitasser [? Jalasīr] from Bitasser to Mūltān, and from Mūltān 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 pomp 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 1590:

'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 Mogul 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) 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 Alcorans (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 Mogul'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 Manârs. 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 made 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 follows:—

‘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 1591 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 Leioton (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 Leioton’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 Spitilli’s book are not divided. The point of division selected above seems the most natural one.
3 Akbar returned from Kashmir to Lahir 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.  

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, 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 Alcala 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.]

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) série 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 Peraschi’s Historica Relatio, (p 43 above).
3 sc.? Birtia. Their religion he says is contained in Gujarāṭī books (libris, litteris et notis Guzzarati) cf. p. 70 below.

J. r. 9
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 unquam 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 Lahor, 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 Lahor 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 Mogul'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 Salim, the future Emperor Jahângîr.
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 old 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 Lāhor: hactenus enim sumus velut statua muta). 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. 1895,' and is addressed 'ad P. Ioannem Aluaretz Assistentem'. The Father begins by describing the journey to Lāhor. On

---

1) Jahāngīr 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 Ahmādābād, 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 1/2 leagues from Ahmādābād, 'opus inter Barbaros minime barbarum.' 1 On Mar. 19th. 1595 the party left Ahmādābād, 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 grand-son, 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 Hist-

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 Ramān to attend to them.

3 Khusru was born in 1587-9: the exact date is not known (Bl. Aīn. 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 Exercitium, and the ‘Ars’ of Father Alvarez and several other books. 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 dais 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 Qandahâr, and the gifts he received from him and from the Prince Sulṭân 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, 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 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 overtit) the Muhammandan heresy and does not recognize.

1 The Biblior 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 1380—1459. Sylvester may be the second Pope of that name, a considerable writer on theology (d. 1003.) Navarrus is perhaps Father Juan Aspidneta, 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 Exercitium Spiritualia are the Devotions issued by Ignatius Loyola and the ‘Ars’ appears from Du Jarric’s translation to have been a Latin Grammar.


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 tushes 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 Verteas 2 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 Bādanni. See Noer. I, 479.
2 See p. 65 above, and cf. Thevenot III., ch. 38.
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 (fuber 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 Annuae Litteræ 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 Edifiabtes et Curious es XV. 184)
³ These were apparently written by himself. They included some, ‘artis fusoriae precepta aternumque diversorum operum ad bellicos usus continentæ: in quibus erat et illud quibus artibus Mogeri Diensem Armuzinamque artem tenderet.’
⁴ Defence of Aḥmadnagar 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.  

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. 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 Lahor, 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 Lahor 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 Benedict 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 Hindustani proverbs interspersed (adjunctis aliquot Industani sententiis). This gave such satisfaction that one Muhammadan in the

1 See Oranus 'Japonica, Sinensis, 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 'Hindustani' 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 Urdu. Cf. p. 58 above, and p. 96 below.
audience said to another: 'We call the Christians Kafirs—that is, a people who know not God or His Prophet: but verily we are Kafirs 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 'Bibi 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 Moghul 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 Arch. of Fatehpur Sikri: the Virgin and St. Ignatius at Sikandra (Manrique, Itin 1653. p 350. Catrou, p. 135. cf Finch in Kerr VIII. 305); and the pictures at Lâbor of Christ and the Virgin, the Flood and the Baptism in Jordan (Purchas, Pilg. I. IV. 432. De. Laet, India Vera 1631, 59. Thenenot, 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 Jahângîr 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 Lâbor fort, on the gate of the Gola Sarai at Lâhor, 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 teach-
ings 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 Provin-
cial 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 Maintz version of the letter. The present
translation is taken from Oranus' version.
3 No doubt 'Bara 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. 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. 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. 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. Nor 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. 133.
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 Muḥammad, I so burn with wrath and indignation that I frequently desire to stab you as you stand.'

'The Emperor 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 Chronologist 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 moon, 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, whereas at this time he allowed no law but his own.

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, 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, Mir Faṭḥu-llāh of Shīrāz: but Faṭḥu-llāh had apparently died before this. Blochm., Ḥiṣn I. 33n; Elliot, Hist Ind. V. 469.
3 Ad quartum Lunae. Mr. Beveridge thinks there is some mistake but the Maintz 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 Sindō tentatum,' and in the Maintz version 'idem tentatum reat per Sindūm.' 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. 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 *sesta pestilens et perniciosa nocc 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' of the King of Badakhshan, 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 Kangra (Nazar Coto) 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 Vishṇu. 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, 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. Orannus has *neptem.*
2 Mirzā Sultan. See Blochm., *Ain* I. 313. cf pp. 70 and 80 of this paper.
of the church at Lahor. Our next letter is one written by the last named from Lahor, some time after Whitsuntide 1599, 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 Lahor; 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 baptized insisted on being baptized herself and convinced the priest that she was well instructed in the faith. She was accordingly baptized 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. 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 Oranns '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 Lâhor for Agra, Xavier and Goes had accompanied him, leaving Pinheiro at Lâhor. Akbar had while at Agra, sent his son 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 another 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,’ & ‘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 Badakhshân, who was living in India, had been pupils of the mission and that their brother was now ruling in that country.

Pimenta also reports that Xavier had asked the Emperor’s leave for the admission of further priests to minister to the congregations in Lâhor 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 Sulṭān Murād died near Daulatābād, 22nd Urdibihisht 1599. (Elliot VI. 97.)
2 Sulṭān Dāniyāl. In 1600 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 Islam on finding they could not get Portuguese women as wives (M. Thevenot, Relations p. 78.)
3 Rābat az khudā or Rabmat-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 'Exemplum Epistolae' (Maintz.) see p. 44 above.

J. i. 11
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 Lahor 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 Lahor.’ 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 Daman, 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 Vite’ 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 Burhanpur which Akbar was then besieging.

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 Lahor, who was now ‘six hundred miles distant from Father Xavier at Burhanpur,’ the Visitor sent one Father Corsi, 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 order issued by Akbar for the protection of the Fathers journeying to Agra, Lahor 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 Jarrié, III. 27, gives it the name of Fons Vite, 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 ‘Aina-i-Haq-numá.’ See p. 111 below.


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 (Jambūsir) 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 Guerreiro on which that history is almost exclusively based. It will suffice here to give a short résumé 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 Asirghar, 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-caste 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, 30–85.
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*, 11. 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 panperem ut collocet cum 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 Burhānpūr,
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 (² the Qāzi and the Diwān) were com-
posed 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 malingers 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 stupefied 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 Vicerœys appear from Pinheiro's letter of 1605 to have been
Xumaradin (Qamru-'d-dīn) and Xencön (Zain Khān.) Zain Khān Koka was Viceroy
at Lāhor just before Akbar's return to Agra in 1602. (Blochm. Âin 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 Nawâb or ‘Jugemage.’

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 Loreto on gilt metal (calain dore) which the Emperor treated most reverently ‘joignant les mains fort belle-ment.’ 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 Nawâb says, ‘Thama Theogoda c'est à dire La Benediction de Dieu soit sur cette femme.’ How should the original words be restored? [Shanimat-i-Khûdâ] In the same case mention is made of certain Hindû judges called Cateris (Khâris) and of the Coxi (? ‘qui est comme le Vicaire General du Prelat souverain des Gentils.’

2 ‘Le calain est une espèce de métal, qui vient de la Chine, semblable à l’estain, combien qu'il ne le soit pas, ayant beaucoup de mélange de cuivre : mais il est blanc et on en fait de la monnaye en l’Inde: on le dore aussi comme l’argent.’ Du Jarric, III. 36.
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. Mean- time news came from Corsi at Lāhor that the previous Viceroy having died, his successor, a bigotted Muhammadan, who had as governor of Gujrat, imbibed a hatred of the Portugese,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 firman 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 Qultu Khān who had served in Gujrat in 1578 and 1583 (cf. p. 58 above) was made Governor of the Punjab 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 Ḍīrū Ḍīz Koka, Khān-i-ʿAẓam, was Akbar's foster brother: one of his daughters married Prince Murād and another Prince Khusran (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. With this the Emperor was so pleased that he frequently had it read to him by ʿAziz Koka, and ʿAziz 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.

Considerable excitement was caused about this time by a copy of the picture of the Madonna del Popolo at Rome, 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), a son of the king of Qandahar 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-Masīh: 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 Muzaffar Khān had died in 1599-1600 and this probably refers to his eldest son Bahram Khān (Blochm. Aśī I. 314). Guerreiro (p. 52) adds that the king had been driven out by ‘Abdulām [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 Lāhōr, Pinheiro baptized two sons of the king of Persia's ambassador, Mannuchiher, 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. 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 firman 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. During this same year the relations between the Emperor and his son, Salīm, became very strained: and it is interesting to notice the care which the Fathers took to stand well with both parties. Salīm, 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 Giovanna Filippo 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 Lāhōr and that Xavier interceded for them there. It does not appear, however, that either Akbar or Xavier had gone to Lāhōr 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' 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 (Mard. MSS. 9854, fol. 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.

J. r. 12
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 justitiae 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 Maundy 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 *ajdis,* *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 captives 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 *salām,* 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 Aḥmadābād 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 surprised 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 Sultan Parwīz 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 (Allahabad) from whence he came, refusing to return by Agra where his father was, so as not to fall into the snare again.

After he had been two or three months in Allahabad, 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, 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 Allahabad, 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.

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 Noor, Kaiser Akbar II. 548.
2 Fanthome on p. 29 of his Reminiscences of Agra 1895, quotes a short firman of Akbar's prohibiting interference with the building of this Church: but he does not say where the firman 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.

When I returned from my visit to the Prince we commenced the building of our church, 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.'

1 Possibly the incomplete Aina-i-Hagg-numa. See p. 111 below.

2 The new Church was apparently completed in Jahāṅgīr'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 anguis 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 hoc tentatione tantum proventum,* discovering a thousand things against us and

¹ 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.' Mildenall'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.
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 firman 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 Lahor a ‘distinguished and learned Florentine Joao 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 Hindūstānī, 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 Khan 'who died lately), the king of those parts of Marouhar [Māwarān-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.' Accordingly when the Fathers supported their creed and 'contradicted the doctrine of Muhammad,' 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 Khan 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 Ulfati: some of his verses may be found in the concluding chapter of the Mirāt-ul'ālam.' Blochm. Aịn I, 34 n. J. t. 13
moribus. His mother’s advice has no effect on him, nor his father’s punishments even when heavy and publicly administered.'

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 João 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 Lāhaurī, son of Qulij Khān, see Blochm. _Ain 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 sons were doing their best to imitate him: 'one of them ordered a man who was going through the bazar 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 Khan Koka) 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 Nawab [Qulij Khan] 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 Nawab about the Divinity of Christ which he denies.'

The Governor's opposition was however mainly instigated by the Hindús, 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 Mirzâ Lâhaurî (Aín I. 500): Chín Qulij (of whom more below) seems to have been better. Pinheiro says that a married daughter of Qulij Khan 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 Khan's daughter was married to Salim. 'His death in 1602-3 was due,' says Blochmann, 'partly to excessive drinking.' Aín I. 345.
mon crime of infanticide. The heathen accordingly took counsel together against him as follows:—

'As concerns the Nawâb, 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 Nawâb's Xamaradin [Qamru-d-dîn] and Xencão [Zain Khân] are dead,¹ and the present Nawâb 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 Lâhor and the church, which we hate, destroyed.'

For the time being Pinheiro was able to re-assure the Governor, but shortly afterwards the Hindûs, 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 ene-
mies, 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 paûdit,' &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 (Mâwarân-nahr) and Camarcão.' When Pinheiro gained admittance, he protested against the Governor's conduct, but Qulîj Khân swore by Martes Allî (Murtîzâ 'Ali), 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, where-upon, 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 Portugese 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 forbade 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 Lābor 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 authoritive as a firman 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 firman was obtained and what was more the Prince himself was the ‘porvanazi’ of it: 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 [Kāfīr] 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 firman) they invited the Governor to a banquet in an adjoining house and gave him a present of 9,000 rupees ‘i.e., 9 horses,’ 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 Sc. parwāndi. The porvanazi according to Pinheiro is ‘he who gives the order for a firman.’
2 Qulij Khān was famous for his love of horses. Blochm., Aśa 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 con-
spicuously among them a certain Xeque [? Shaikh]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 Lâhor. 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 Khan at Lâhor.
'On his return from Bâna [? Bannû], the place where he had gone to
make war, news came that the Prince [Salîm] was marching on Lâhor:'
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 Kâbul, 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 Khan 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 Xeque. He himself says: 'a
Xeque 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 Xeque above mentioned was brother to the
pandit convert who had fled to Agra: if so, Xeque can scarcely be Shaikh.

2 It is not clear what war this was: perhaps Ghâzi Beg's rebellion in Sindh
(Blochm., Ain I. 363), or more probably some frontier trouble with Rausânîs or
others. If Bâna mentioned just below be Bannû, this must have been a frontier
war.

3 Chin Qulij is described in the Mādsiru-l-'Umrā as an educated and liberal
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 Calicheño, 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 firman 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' [כ bilû kektû]: 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 Caideño [Said Khān] and Mirzá 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, as Subadār and Divān respectively, two offices that had been combined under Qulij Khān. 'Both,' says Pinheiro, 'received us with many promises especially the Divān whom we know best.' Of Mirzá 'Abdur-raḥīm all that we know is apparently that he was nephew of Mirzá Haidar the author of the Ṭāriḳh-i-Rashīdī.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-

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

'The son of the Nawâb Caidcâo, Mirza Cedula [Saidulla] son in law of
Canazâo [Khân 'Azam Mirzâ 'Azîz Koka], came and brought with him
Mirza Gazîs [Ghâzi] son of Mirza Jânî who was king of Sind. They stayed
a long while examining the Church and in our house enquired much con-
cerning 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 Hindû opponents and he does not narrate their misfortunes
without a certain gleam of malicious pleasure. One of these was
arrested by Said Khân for some act of violence and was dragged to
prison through the city by the hair of his head: his houses were de-
stroyed 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
Diwân, 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 in-
duced 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, 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 con-
nection he had with the Mughal Mission. He died in 1600 at Goa. See Nouvelle
Biographie Generale sv. Bucker Hist. des Ecrivains Jesuites, serie ii. p. 92, and De
Sousa Or. Conq. II. 434.
J. I. 14
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 Muhammadians) continued until the time of Akbar Shâh, 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 Navarrois. 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 Shâh himself continued a Muhammadan, 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 reverenced, 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

² Purchas i. 586.
patiently several times during the space of one year and a half, but at last he sent him away back again 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.'

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, 1607:

'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 report 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 Shahi Prince of Bijapur and in which the prince had said to him: 'Sachehe qui bara Batxa Haecabar Christan muhâ qui nau?' ['Sac hai ki bara badshâh Akbar Kristân muâ ki nahâ? 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 Muhammadan.'

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 Introdt. 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 il n'y pensa plus.' The story of the monkey is ascribed to Jahangir'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. Relationes (Augsburg, 1611).
of the common people 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 Shābjahān, however, a new era arose, the imperial support was entirely withdrawn, the Lāhor and Agra churches were either destroyed or greatly impaired, 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.

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. 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 Goa:

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 Edifi antes 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 Cal. Rev. January 1886. The letters are given in Sēnor da Cunha Ravara’s Archivo Portugues 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 Continho 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 Mogul, 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] 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

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, although most of these were written after Akbar’s death.

(i) Mirāṭw-崂-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 Bāḏshāh Idīgha’, 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 Urdibihisht 1602.

Then follows the book itself divided into four parts, viz. (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.

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

1 See Mr. Rehateek on p. 18 Calcutta Review, Jan. 1886: Dr. C. Rieu’s Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum: and Mr. Beveridge in J. A. S. B. 1888.

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’
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 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) 'Dastān-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 Āina-i-Haqq Namā or Truth-reflective Mirror: completed in 1609. Dr. Rieu thus describes the British Museum MS. (Harl. 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 Jahāngir = 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 Jahāngir 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 (Hākim) 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 (Fāsīl), a full table of which is given at the end of the preface, foll. 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

² Really 1596.
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 writes 1 '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-Haqq-numā and a copy of this abridgment 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-Haqq-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 (Faṣl): 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-Sofā dar taḥḥiyah-i-Āina-i-Haqq-numā or 'The Clean Polisher for the brightening of the Truth-Reflecting Mirror:' the author of which Sayyid Āḥmad 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-Haqq-numā 2 written by the great Christian divine known as Padre Mimilād (†). 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, Persse Aspahalensis, contentas in libro incripto Politor speculī,' and it is reported (see de Backer, Bibli. des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus, VII. 415) to have had the effect of converting the said Sayyid Āḥmad.

A very full account of the Āina-i-Haqq-numā will be found in Dr. Lee's preface to Henry Martyn's 'Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mahommedanism. 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.
account of Gadagnoli's book and of a book by Sayyid Ahmad called

καθάλη τῶν ῥωμαίων ρώματος οἰκίας ἡ γίγνεται έν Σύροις.

A book of divine rays in refutation of Christian error,' published 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 Āīna-i-Haqq-numā: "Pardon, O Lord, should I do what is unpleasing 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 unbidden 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-discriminating 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.:


1 Lee refers to a copy in Queen's College Library at Cambridge.
The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgarī-alphabet.—By Nagendranātha Vasu.

[Read April, 1896.]

A vehement discussion is going on amongst antiquarians and Sanskrit scholars concerning the origin of the Nāgarī-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 Nāgarī-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 Nāgarī-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 nāgara (a city). The letters received by Paṇḍit Čambhucandra Vidyāratna from Paṇḍit Vāmanācārya 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 devalōka 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 नागरी भवं, (born in a city) and hence the name Nagara falls to the ground.

In the well-known encyclopaedic lexicon the ‘Çabda-kalpa-druma’ edited by the late Sir Râjâ Râdhâkânta Dêva, and in the Vâcaspatya, we find the significion of the word Nagara to be ‘aksara of the Nagara-déça.’ 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 Nagari 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 Nagalipi 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 Nagara Brâhmaṇs of Gujrât, and a fourth as that of the Shâh kings, who were called the nâgas or snakes.’

He also adds—‘The term Dëva-nâgarî, which would mean the divine or sacred nâgarî 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 Nagari character employed in printed books for the sacred Sanskrit literature, while the generic term Nagari may serve as the designation of the whole class of Vernacular alphabets of which the Dëva-nâgarî 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 Nagara, and in a certain place also called Nagara: and this is why the characters go under the name of Nagaráksara or Nagari-lipi.
About 750 years ago Pandita Čeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus gives an account of different languages in his Prākṛta-candrika:

Mahārāṣṭri, Avanti, Čaurasēni, Ardha-māgadhi, Vāhlikī, Māgadhi; these six are original (Prākṛt) languages and they originated from Southern India. Brācanda, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Āvantya, Pāñcāla, Tākka, Mālava, Kaikāya, Gaṅḍa, Udra, Daiva, Paṣcātya, Pāndya, Kaunatala, Sairālula, Kālinga, Prācyā, Kārnāṭa, Kānēya, Drāviḍa, Gauṛjara, Ābhira, Madhya-deśīya, Vaiḍālā: these 27 are corrupt dialects and differ more or less from one another.

It is clear from the above clōkas that like the Mahārāṣṭri, Čaurasēni, Māgadhi, &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 Birbhum. The famous port Nagara is in Tāunjore. In Mysore an extensive division goes by that name; in this division there are a certain village and a taluq of the name of Nagara. A remarkable town named Nagara, and an ancient town called Nagarakota 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-simha, sprung in the Čeṣa-vāṃśa. According to Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar the probable date of Rāmacandra nephew of Čeṣa-Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A.D. (R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar’s Report of the Sanskrit MSS. 1883-84, p. 59).

2 Another reading ‘चष्टना दाचिबाष्य: |’
khās (a city) in the district of Bastī. 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 Puruniya 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 Mārwār, and the remaining one 10 miles south-west of Ranthambhōr. In the Sautal 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 Tāmbravati

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 Nāgara, 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 Hāṭakēvvara on the Sarasvatī. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the Nagara division assert that the Hāṭakēvvara of the Nāgara-khaṇḍa is no other than the ancient

N. N. Vasu — Nāgaras and the Nāgari-alphabet. [No. 2,  

Hātakāṃvara temple in Ėrigundū on the river Sarasvatī in that division.¹ Nagara or Ahmadnagar was within the boundary of the Hātakāṃvara-kṣetra. Most of the sacred places of pilgrimage (लोण्य) mentioned in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, were in this Nagara division. Of these nearly all have been ravaged by the Muhammadan invaders. Siddhēḍvara, Nāganātha, Hātakāṃvara 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 Pāṇḍas of the Hātakāṃvara of Ėrigundū may endeavour to give fame to the spot by identifying it with that of Nāgara-khaṇḍa, it is certainly not the ancient Hātakāṃvara mentioned in that work. The shrine of this Hātakāṃvara was erected long after the establishment of the ancient Hātakāṃvara.

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 Puspa. 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 Vāhyā-nāgara. These Vāhyā-nāgaras in imitation of the ancient Hātakāṃvara as described in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, planted the present Hātakāṃvara on the right bank of the river Sarasvatī at Ėrigundū. According to the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Nagara is on the north side of the Sarasvatī and is within the boundaries of Hātakāṃvara which extend 5 krocas or 10 miles. But our present Ahmadnagar is more than 10 miles from Ėrigundū: moreover, the river Sarasvatī does not flow close to it. These facts prevent me from taking Ahmadnagar 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 Pāṇḍit 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 Hindu

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

चेत्यं माव: यहाँ च यथा पञ्चमसुद्वषः
बिन्सिस्मिष्ठ स्तवं नथा चेत्यं विन नागाः

( नागसर्वभ १५ | १४.)
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 Viśvāmitra 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 Čaṇḍaka-tīrtha. Bathing there he recovered from leprosy. Then he built close to that Čaṇḍaka-tīrtha a city named Camatkāra-pura, which extended for two miles. Picturesque structures were there raised by his orders; and Kulina 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-çarman. Practising penance he was able to propitiate Mahādeva, who to accomplish his desire appeared in the form of Hāṭakāṭvāra. People from different parts took to frequenting the place to have a sight of the Hāṭakāṭvāra-linga. The Brāhmaṇas of Camatkāra-pura began to consider that, intrinsically Citra-çarman 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. Mahādeva became propitiated and appeared before the Camatkāra-pura Brāhmaṇas, who were then divided into 68 gōtras. Mahādeva said, 'There are in all 68 Čaiva-kṣetras (places of Čiva). 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 Čiva. (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 Anartta, 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-kūnda). 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. Over-whelmed 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 Vedas; 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 Anartta. 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-paṇcami day, Kratha, son of Dēva-rāja of the Maudgalya gōtra, went together with some other Brāhmaṇas to bathe in the Nāgatirtha 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 Camat-
kāra-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:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{गर्गं विषमिति प्रोक्तं न तत्तालि च साम्प्रतम्} & | \\
\text{मत्रसाराइत्या छीतुदायं ब्राह्मयोत्तम्} & | \\
\text{नगरं नगरं चैतन्या ये यज्ञाय्यमात्} & | \\
\text{तन खासयति ते वथा सविष्यति तथा सुखम्} & | \\
\text{अवा प्रभुति तत्स्यान नगराखं धरात्वे} & | \\
\text{सविष्यति सुविष्याठं तत् कृतिविवधिनम्} & | \\
\text{तथान्योऽथि च वो विषो नागः सुइकर्षणः} & | \\
\text{नगराखे सण्ते समुभिमन्त्र चिदा जलम्} & | \\
\text{प्रारियति बाणससंदमसं महवशार्गतम्} & | \\
\text{प्रारियति जीवनं प्रतिचय वदने खयम्} & | \\
\end{align*}
\]

(O my good Brāhmaṇa, you are to proclaim in the city that the word garā 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)

J. 1. 16
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 Nagar. So also any other Nagar Brahmana, 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 Nagar.

Saying this the god disappeared. Trijata accompanied by those Brahmanas came to Camatkara-pura. They all conjointly began to cry aloud nagaram, nagaram. By the effect of this Siddha-mantra, the snakes of Camatkara-pura were rendered poisonless, and struggled to make their escape, while thousands perished. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune! That very Trijata, 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 Camatkara-pura was changed to Nagar, and its Brahmanas came to be known as Nagar. (Nagara-khanda obs. 106-108).

Thus, on the authority of the Nagar-khanda the former name of Nagar was Camatkara-pura after the name of its founder Camatkara king of Anartta. Hatakēvara is another name of this place. According to the Nagar-khanda, Hatakēvara-ksetra is situated at the south-west of Anartta-dēca, 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-cīra, on the west by Viṣṇu-pada, and on the north and south by Gōkarnaḍevara. 2 Within the boundaries of this Hāta-

---

1 श्रीस्वरेश्वरनिमाणे द्वे चान्तसंज्ञे ||
त्रायु खापिनं विद्र चारकेन सुरीरमे ||
एतत्सत्ताधिकीते खोके पाताले चारकेभरम ||

(नागरखण्ड १६। १३ -- १५)

नागरे कल्याणाध खामे तव सच्चसम प्राकारण सुधुःण परिशाधेन खावेन: ||
खाशाम-प्रायाषेव स्वेशमाच सनीचरम ||

(नागरखण्ड १२। ६२ -- ६४)

2 पच्छरीश्रीप्रयाणे चें वाध्यायाप्रमाणम: ||
खाशाम-प्रायाषेव पस्तवापुरानपवम: ||
प्रायान सखं गामयां येष्वमेत् पदवम: ||
दल्पियोतरो स्ये गोकुंयमर्गशिकाम: ||
चारकेन्त्रस्यह नागेयमाप्रवद्धोम: ||

(नागरखण्ड १६। २ -- ४)
kāyābha-trrthas are the shrines of Acalāvartā, Gökūnāvartā, Gaya-chīra, Mārkandēśavartā, Citrāvartā, Dhundhumāvartā, Yāyātivartā, Ānandeśvartā, Kapilēvartā, Kalanēvartā, Ānartīvartā, Čudrākēvartā, Ajapalēvartā, Bānēvartā, Lakṣmanēvartā, Trijatēvartā, Ambārēvati, Kēdārēvartā, Vṛṣabhanāthā, Satyasandhēvartā, Ṭēvartā, Dharmarājēvartā, Mistānnadēvartā, Citrāgodēvartā, Amarakēvartā, Vatēvartā, Makarēvartā, Kālēvartā, Puṣpādītyā, &c., as well as hundreds of sacred places (tīrthas), named Pātāla-Gaṅgā, Gaṅgā-Yamunā, Prāci (i.e., eastern) Sarasvatī, Nāga-tīrtha, Čaṇḍha-tīrtha, Mṛga-tīrtha, Liṅga-bhēdodbhava-tīrtha, Rudrā-vartta, Rāma-hrada, Cakra-tīrtha, Mātrītīrtha, Mudhāra-tīrtha, &c.

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

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

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt maintain that Ānanda-pura (the present Bādanagara) was their original dwelling-place. This place is in the district of Kadi 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. It seems to me that perhaps the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānanda-pura used the name of Bādanagara.

1 Wilson, Indian Castes, Vol. II., p. 96.
2 It is stated in the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, that Hātakēvartā was, previous to the arrival of Trijatā, depopulated by the horrible destruction spread over the land by the poisonous snakes. Trijatā again populated it by Brāhmaṇas of 84 gōtras brought from several other places. (Nāgara-khaṇḍa, ch. 108.)
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.  

The famous shrine of Hāṭakēvāra is still existing in Bāḍa-nagara; and the Brāhmaṇas of this locality still recite holy-texts (Cānti-pāṭha) for the welfare of their king the Gāikwār. Even now, thousands of pilgrims resort to Hāṭakēvāra 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-khāṇḍa can even now be identified in Bāḍa-nagara and its environments of 10 miles. The local river Sarasvati 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 Hāṭakēvāra-kṣētra 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 Kārnāṭa, 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 Anagudi, Mr. Huddleston Stokes states:—*They appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nāgara, and to have settled here under the Anagudi and Vijayanagar kings. They speak Kānarese only, but their books are in the Nāgarī and Bālabōḍha character.*

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

\[1\] We see in the Nāgara-khāṇḍa that the excommunicated Campa-çarman and his companion set up the images of Nagarākṣara and Nagarāditya on the right-bank of the river Sarasvati (Nāgara-khāṇḍa, ch. 155). So it is not improbable that the Vāhya-nāgaras established here a town named Nāgara.

\[2\] Bālabōḍha is a modern form of the Nāgari. (See Burnell, *S. I. Palæography*, p. 44.)

\[3\] *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 230.
exemplified by the alphabet, made use of by other Nagara Brähmanas long inhabiting different countries.

**Origin of the Nagari-alphabet.**

Most of our Indian Pandits hold that the origin of the Nagari-alphabet dates from the invention of the system of writing. Pandita Gauri-čaṇkara Hiracand of Udayapura, author of the Pracina-lipi-malā, 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 Nagari. In support of this, I quote here some proofs.

In the early Buddhist work named the Lalita-vistara, it is stated that when Viśvamitra Dārakācārya came to teach Siddhārtha the art of writing, the prince previous to his inculcation, spoke of the following 64 kinds of lipis:

We learn from the 4th a-yga called the Samavāya, one of the earliest Jaina works, that the character which originated from Brāhami, daughter of Adijina Rśabhadēva, is called Brāhami. The following are the names of 18 sorts of writing headed by Brāhami:—1 Bambhī, 2 Javanāliyi, 3 Dēṣa-ūriyi, 4 Kharōṭṭhiyi, 5 Kharasāriyi, 6 Pahārāi, 7 Ucctattāriyi, 8 Akkharauputthi, 9 Bhōgabayattā, 10 Beṣapatiyi, 11 Nirā- 

haiyā, 12 Āyka, 13 Ganiya, 14 Gandhava, 15 Ādassa, 16 Māhēsara, 17 Dāmī and 18 Bōlidi-livi.¹

The fourth Upāga, the Prajñāpanā Sūtra of the Jainas gives the following list of 18 sorts of characters:—1 Bambhī, 2 Jabanāliyi, 3 Dōsparagus, 4 Kharōṭṭhi, 5 Pukkharasāriyi, 6 Bhōgava, 7 Pahārāi, 8 Antarakariyi, 9 Akkharauputta, 10 Vēpañi, 11 Nīpahāi, 12 Āyka, 13 Ganīta, 14 Gandhava, 15 Āyasa, 16 Māhēsara, 17 Dāmī and 18 Pēlinā.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-
nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara or Nagara. 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.

¹ 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-
nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara 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.

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-
nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara 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.

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

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-
nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara 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.

³ 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-
nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara 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.

The commentator Malayagiri writes—\(\text{Some may advance the argument that amongst the lipis (characters) mentioned above, there is the mention of Dēvalipi, Bhauma-dēvalipi and Antarikṣadēvalipi; and one of these might be our Dēva-nagara, and most probably Dēva-lipi or Bhauma-dēva-lipi has changed its name for our present Dēva-nagara or Nāgara. But I think that it is wide of the mark to infer that the Nāgari-lipi is derived from Dēva-lipi, in so much as there is no clear mention of Nāgara or Nāgari.}\)
It has been stated about the commencement of this paper that Čeṣa-krṣṇa, the writer of the Prākṛta-candrika, 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 Dēvanāgārākṣara, but Dēva-kṣara 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 Nāgari character.

It is now admitted that the Lalita-vistara was composed in the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. The fourth Upānga Prajñapānāsūtra was written by Čyāmārya, the first Kalakācarya. On referring to the Kharataragaccha Patāvali, we find that Čyāmārya lived 376 years after Mahāvīra’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 Nāgari.

Then when did the name of Nāgara first make its appearance? We find the first mention of Nāgari-lipi in a Jaina religious book, the Nandl-sūtra.² Jainācarya Lakṣmī-vallabha-gani thus speaks in his Kalpasūtra-kalpadruma-kalikā:

चय श्री बद्रभद्रे स्वाभिमाणिकाहस्य यायादशलिपियो दर्शिता।
नामदीवने उत्तर यथा — १ हस्तलिपि २ मुक्तलिपि ३ सच्चलिपि ४ राच्छसीलिपि ५ उद्वीलिपि ६ यावनोलिपि ७ नागरलिपि ८ नागडिबोलिपि ९ स्नायुलिपि १० मालबोलिपि ११ नागलिपि १३ नागरलिपि १४ पारसीलिपि १५ बाटीलिपि १६ बानिसत-लिपि १७ चावकोलिपि १८ मौलदेवी।

The author then relates:—देशविख्यात्वयो च विषय लिपिविवरणः —
१ बाटी २ बडी ३ डाढी ४ काःडी ५ गजरी ६ सीरोटी ७ वौद्दी ८ खुरालो ९ मारसी १० सिंधौ ११ छाडी १२ कोवी १३ चामी १४ चाबी १५ परतीर १६ मसी १७ मासी १८ महायोधी।

¹ Even the names of these three corrupt forms of languages have not been found in works earlier than Čeṣa Krṣṇa’s.
² The South-Indian form of the Nāgari character usually goes by the name of Nandi-nāgari.
The lipis mentioned in the Nandi-sūtra are the following:—
1 Haṇssa-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 Mālavī-lipi, 12 Naḍī-lipi, 13 Nāgarī-lipi, 14 Pārāśi-lipi, 15 Lāti-lipi, 16 Animīṭṭa-lipi, 17 Cāṇakki-lipi and 18 Maulādēvī.'

(Lipis vary in different countries; the names of them are these) —
1 Lāti, 2 Cauḍi, 3 Dāhalī, 4 Kaṇḍi, 5 Gūja, 6 Soraṭhī, 7 Marahāṭhī, 8 Kaṇḍkāṇ, 9 Khurāsānī, 10 Māgadhi, 11 Siṃhali, 12 Hāḍi, 13 Kiri, 14 Ḥammīrī, 15 Paratīrī, 16 Māsi, 17 Mālavī and 18 Mahāyādhi.'

Jainācārya says that the Nandi-sūtra was issued a few years before the Kalpa-sūtra. The Kalpa-sūtra was published in Ānandapura (Baḍanagara) 980 years after the death (nirvāṇa) of Mahāvīra (453 A.D.) under the orders of the Valabhi king Dhruva-sena. 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-praçaṇtara-gāṇa, which has been found in Bagumra and which bears the date of 415 Çaka is the most ancient.1 The whole of the copper-plate is inscribed in the then-used Gujarāṭi (cave-character) except towards the close where there is the king's sign manual in Nāgarī:—

क्षेत्रसौध्य सम श्रीक्षेत्रादगमस्यो श्रीश्रिवान्तरागाम

From the fact that only the royal signature is inscribed in the Nāgarākṣara, it is obvious that although other characters were current in Gujarāṭa 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 Jaiṅka-dēva, dated 794 Samvat (737 A.D.), which was discovered in the village of Dhiniti on the sea-coast at the south-east of Dvārakāpuri. This copper-plate was granted to one Içvara of the Mudgala gōtra by Jaiṅka-dēva, at the request of Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the prime-minister. After this the Sāmanā-

1 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII., p. 155 pl.
2 I have something to say about this Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Mr. Umēṣa Candra Batabyāla published in the Society's Journal a copper-plate of Dharmapāla, together with a facsimile. That plate too was granted to Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭāraka, agreeably to the request of Maha-samantadhipati Nārāyaṇa Varman. Mr. Batabyāla conjectures that Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭāraka is no other than the Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanaunj, and from whom have descended all the Çāndilya-gōtra-Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. He writes:—‘Having come into Paunḍravardhana, Bhāṭṭa 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 Mahāsamantadhipati of Dharmapāla.’ But my surmise is that Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭṭāraka had no connection with that Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came from Kanaunj. The original copper-plate says:—

मतस्मृभवन्समानांनाधिपतिः दीनाराजायथमेव ज्यूतकुसुवराजं जीविषुवन- पालसुखेन वर्तमेव विजयिता यथा। अधिमान्तितिविवाहमेव रुपारुपमेव प्रायवकस्य देवकुर्वैः
कारिन्त तत्र अन्तिष्ठितमवाकृङ्कराजस्य नरायणमहाराजाय तनुमिन्तिकलखन्तिजवाकृतिकारिन्त-पालसुकुलस्मेत्या प्रायवकस्यानादिकर्मेश्च चतुरो यामानयं विप्रकाष्ठवाकृतिकर्मेमेत्यानु-
ददातु कुर्वे देव हृदि।

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

Mr. Batabyāla supposes that Lāṭa was probably the name of Kānya-kubja. But from the proofs collected by me I am confirmed that Lāṭa was never the name of Kānya-kubja. The middle, western, and southern parts of Gujarāta were for a long time called Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, and Ānarta respectively. It seems that Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who was the prime-minister of Jaiṅka-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 Paunḍra-vardhana. That he who was once, as it were, the right hand of the Saurāṣṭra king secured high respect from the royal officers of Paunḍra-vardhana, is not impossible. Mr. Batabyāla writes that Bhāṭṭa 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 Bhāṭṭāraka. It is obvious from the antiquities of India that the title of Bhāṭṭāraka 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 Gurjara became famous in Gauḍa under the style of Bhāṭṭāraka. According to the
The arrangement of letters in this plate is very interesting. The letters i, e, gh, c, n, dh, n, v and jn of this plate have the appearance of the ancient Gujarati (cave) character, but all the other letters exhibit a development of the Nagaraksara. Indeed the circulation of Nagaraksara came to be wider owing to the efforts and exertions of the subsequent Rāstrakūta kings of Gujarāt. The gradual development of the Nagaraksara is regularly observed in the following copper-plates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names of the donor</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Indra Nitya-varṣa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 280.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Krišna Akāla-varṣa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Amōgha-varṣa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 266.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The likeness of t, dh, n, e and some other letters of the copper-plate of Dhruva II, although inscribed in the most ancient Nagarākṣara, can be traced to the Guptākṣara; but clear manifestations of modern Nagarā 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 Gujarāṭa in the year 784 Samvat. Rāja-çēkharā’s ‘Prabandha-cintāmaṇi’ says that the Gaṇḍa-king Dharma was continually an implacable enemy of Āmarāja, disciple of Jainācārya Bappa Bhaṭṭa. Bappa Bhaṭṭa’s ḍikṣā (initiation) took place in 807 Samvat. About that time or a little after, the Gaṇḍa-king Dharma (pāla) came on the scene. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka in his old age came to Paṃḍravardhana. Consequently it is proved from the facts of that period, that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa who came over from Lāṭadēca and Dharmapāla were contemporaries. We shall see afterwards that from a very early time Gujarāṭa had a connection with Gaṇḍa-dēca.


2 Descrepancy arises only in the case of the copper-plate of Rāstrakūta king Karka-suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 734 Çaka, which is inscribed in the cave-alphabet of the Deccan. (Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 153.)
above-mentioned Dadda, Jáïyka, Dantidurga and Dhruba seem to be
derived from the ancient Gupta-lipi and clearly look like the Nāgarāk-
sara of the earliest stage: but dissimilarity has entered into the plates of Gōvinda Suvarṇa-varṣa and others. The vowel-signs (e.g., ऐ, ॠ, ॡ) as adopted in the plate of Suvarṇa-varṣa and others are similar to those of the Vāngiya and the Maithila-lipi. From this it appears that the vowel-signs which are used in the Vāngiya and Maithila-lipi are not of recent date, though they have no accordance with those in the Gupta and Nāgarī-lipi, and that they must have existed at least in the 6th or 7th century A.D. Nāgarī-lipi having such vowel-signs is called Jaina-nāgarī in Gujarāt.

The full currency of the Nāgarī-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 Nāgarī-lipi was current during the 5th century A.D. I have said that the Nāgarī-lipi originated from the Nāgarā Brahmaṇas of Nagara-ānanda-pura. These Nāgarā Brahmaṇas are inhabitants of Gujarāt. The most ancient Nāgarī-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 Nāgarā Brahmaṇas 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 Nāgarī-alphabet: on the contrary, the Nāgarī-alphabet must be rather said to descend from the ancient form of Gupta-characters. It seems therefore that the most ancient Nāgarī-lipi used in Gujarāt, was brought over by the Nāgarā Brahmaṇas, either from Gauda, or Magadha or from some other country in Northern India to Gujarāt. The following is related in the Skanda-puraṇa, Nāgarā-khaṇḍa ch. 103: the eminent Trijāta who had delivered Camatkāra-pura from the snakes, gave presents of wealth and jewels and established here in Nāgarā those Brahmaṇas who had come with their wives and children to Ḥāta-kēṇvara from the furthest and the most remote countries.¹ From this it

¹ विजाता च वाक्चिन वेन दूरादिप हुमस्।
समाजाचार्य विनिमेन्द्र गुरुद्विर्म प्रज्ञार्थे॥

1896.] N. N. Vasu—Nāgaras and the Nāgarī-alphabet. 131
is manifest that some Brāhmaṇas came from very distant parts to inhabit Nagara.

I have said already that Ānanda-pura is the ancient name of Nagara or Bājanagara. 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-sūna, the Kalpa-sūtra was read out before the public in the city of Ānanda-pura. The Chinese pilgrim Huen 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 Hāṭakēvāra 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 Nagara 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 Nagara during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Caulukya 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 or drove them away, and thus delivered Hāṭakevāra-kṣetra. 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 Čaiva conquered Ānartta after defeating these Nāgas, and founded the Hāṭakevāra-kṣetra in order to establish the supremacy of the Čaiva faith. This happened towards the end of the 4th century A.D. Afterwards many Čaiva-Brāhmaṇas gathered there from different countries and assumed the common name of Nagara. It is probable that some of these immigrants who came from Magadha, Kānyakubja and Gaṇḍa, 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 Nagara, is manifest from a work entitled the Sura-

1 In the Nāgara-khaṇḍa there is description of Ānandēvāra Mahādeva: most probably this title of Mahādeva refers to the city of Ānanda-pura.
thōtsava by the famous poet Sōmeśvara the family-priest of the king of Gurjara. It relates:—'There is a place called Nagara where Brāhma-
ṇas 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 Čiva live there, as it were, assuming the forms of Brāhmaṇas. At that place dwelt a family of the name of Gulēca of the Vaṭaśṭha gotra. In that holy family was born Sūla, who was created by Mūlarāja (the founder of the Cañkulya Dynasty of Pāṭana) his family-priest.'1 Sōme-
śvara writes afterwards that his ancestors were hereditary priests of the Cañkulyas of Gurjara; and that some also became priests of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings.2

Mūlarāja reigned in the 10th century A.D. The description of Sōmeśvara 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 shrines of Nagara or Camatkarapura.

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-praṇānta-
rāga 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[...]

2[...]
Nāgari and found in Gujarāt, were granted to those Brāhmaṇas who came over to Gujarāt from Kāanyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Paunḍravardhana, &c. The aforesaid Dadda-praçānta-rāga's copper-plate of 415 Čaka was given to Bhaṭṭa Govinda, son of Bhaṭṭa Mahidhara, an inhabitant of Kāanyakubja. Likewise the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nityavarṣa's plate of 836 Čaka, mentions Tenna, a village of Lāṭa-deça, being granted to Siddhapa Bhaṭṭa, son of Vellapa Bhaṭṭa of the Lakṣmaṇa gotra, who came from Pāṭaliputra. Similarly the copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, dated 854 Čaka, speaks of the gift of the village of Lōha to Kēçava Dīksīta of the Kauḍika gotra, an immigrant from Paunḍravardhana. It is quite clear from the proofs given above, that numbers of Brāhmaṇas were from very ancient times immigrating into Gujarāt from Kāanyakubja, Pāṭaliputra, Paunḍravardhana, &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 Cauḻukya 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 Čaka, clearly states:—

\[\text{सत्तुकेर्सर-दिगर्जिष्ठतां च यस्य।} \]
\[\text{दीला सुजं विद्विंषमात्ववर्तमायां} \]
\[\text{खामी तथायामस्य राज्यक्षणानि सुमस्य।} \]

Again the following is related in the copper-plate of Akālavarsa, dated 862 Čaka, about Gurjarēgvara Krisnārāja, son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nīpatunga, the founder of Mānyakhēta:—

\[\text{सत्यांत्यं शुरूः रोज्जु-चट्टाटीत्-श्रीमद्} \]
\[\text{गोदानां विनवत्तभिष्यमायुः सामुद-निवान्त्।} \]
\[\text{दारस्यान्त्र-कविष्ठ-गाजः-भाग्यभरंविनितां चि चिणः} \]
\[\text{शुद्धः सृष्टवान्त्यवरः परिवर्ष: श्रीहुसाराजोज्बन्त।} \]

1 Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 160.
We come to know from the above extracts that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Gurjara conquered Gauḍa, Vāṇga, Kaliṅga, 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-šri. 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 Rāṭhōr 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 Sháh ‘Álam, Bahádúr Sháh, which took place in his standing camp a few miles north-east of Láhór.

Table of Contents.

Chapter II.—The Interregnum.

Section 1. Introductory.

2. ‘Ázímu-sh-sháh stands on the defensive.
4. The Division of the spoil.
5. Death of prince Jahán Sháh.

Chapter III.—Jahándár Sháh.

Section 1. New appointments.

Note A, List of Nobles from Valentyn.

2. Executions and imprisonments.

Note B, List of Prisoners from Valentyn.

3. ‘Abdu-s-samad Kháñ, sketch of his career.

4. Death of prince Muhammad Karím.

5. The Court moves to Dihlí—A’zzu-d-dín despatched to Ágra.


8. Account of the Bárhah Sayyads.

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 Gobind 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.

10. ‘Abdullah Khān gives in his adhesion to Farrukhsiyar.
11. Farrukhsiyar leaves Patnah and reaches Allahabād.
12. Prince Aʿzzu-d-dīn’s advance to Kajwah, his defeat and flight to Agra.
14. Farrukhsiyar arrives at the Jamnah.
15. Sayyad ‘Abdullah Khān finds a ford and crosses the Jamnah.
16. Jahāndār Shāh moves from Sāmūgārsh.
18. Flight of Jahāndār Shāh to Dihlī.

List of Authorities.

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, ‘Ālamgīr’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 Agra in 1119 H. (1707) just before the battle at Jājau and the defeat of Aʿzam 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 ʿAlam (Bahādur Shāh’s) stay in the Kabul province, his third son, Rafiʿu-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 Munʿīm Khān’s appointment as chief minis-
ter is given to Jahān Shāh. But about the time (December 1709) when
the emperor recrossed the Narbadā on his return to Hindūstān, all
influence seems to have been absorbed by the second son, 'Aẓīm-u-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, 'Aẓīm-u-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 in-
cident related by Irādat Khān.² During the emperor's last illness,
Jahāndār Shāh and 'Aẓīm-u-sh-shān were seated near his bed. 'Aẓīm-
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 'Aẓīm-u-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, 45.
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 by-
stander 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 mukhtar 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 Zu-l-ḥijjah 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 ʿAzīmu-sh-shān 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 ʿAzīmu-sh-shān. Among the rest Zu-l-fiqār Khān, Amīru-l-umārā, the first bakhtshī, made an offer of his services through the means of Irādat Khān. One Shekḥ Qudrat-ullāh2 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-umārā ought to present himself there, when he would be fittingly received. Zu-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 Zu-l-fiqār Khān had not been so imprudent as to leave his own fate completely in the hands of ʿAzīmu-sh-shān. For a long time he had been negotiating with the three princes opposed to ʿAzīmu-sh-shān, and had succeeded in bringing them to an agreement. The court chroniclers noticed, as the outward sign of these intrigues, that on the 22nd Zu-l-ḥijjah 1123 H. (2nd February, 1712) Rafiʿu-sh-shān and on the 1st Muḥarram 1124 H. (8th February, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh visited the quarters of Zu-l-fiqār Khān. As ʿAzīmu-sh-shān’s power was held to be overwhelming, it was considered wise by Zu-l-fiqār Khān, acting for Jahāndār Shāh, to make overtures for joint action to the two younger

1 Kamwar Khān, 70, 100.
2 A native of Allahābād. He was hung by Mīr Jumlah early in Farrukhśiyār’s reign.
3 Cū ʿīrah sharvad maʿṣū ṭā ṭoṣqār, Hamah ʿān kunad kash naqyad 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. Rafī‘u-sh-shāhān was to take Kābul, Kashmir, Multān, Taṭḥah and Bhakkar, and Jahān Shāh, the Dakhīn from the Narbādā to the island of Ceylon. Any cash or plunder obtained by a victory over ‘Aẓīmu-sh-shāhān was to be divided among the three princes equally. The preposterous condition was also included in the agreement that Zūl-?fīqār Khān should be the only vazīr, remaining in person with Jahāndār Shāh at Dīhlī 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 Zūl-?fīqār 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 Zūl-?fīqār Khān, they began to flock to his standard.¹

We have already recounted² how prince Rafī‘u-sh-shāhān passed under arms the greater part of the night of the 18th Muharram 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, Fath-ullah Khān, ‘Aṭā-ullah Khān, Jahāngīr Quli 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 Rafī‘u-sh-shāhān left the mansion of ‘Aḥī 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, 53, 60; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhūrī, 45. Valentyn, IV, 294, estimates the numbers of the contending forces as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Foot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jahāndār Shāh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafī‘u-sh-shāhān</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahān Shāh</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Aẓīmu-sh-shāhān</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, Qādirī, Lāhūrī, died 28th Shāb‘ān 1046 H. (4th Feb. 1637), aged 70 years. His tomb outside the Dīhlī gate of Lāhūr was threatened by the Rāvī in 1252 H. (1836-7), when the body was exhumed and re-buried at a little distance, Khāsinatu-l-ṣafiyyah, I, 161.
Khān was despatched to the left, to the river bank, at the head of prince Ibrāhīm's troops, while Fath-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'u-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 ʿAzīmu-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 mīr-ātash, Ḥamīda-d-dīn Khān, Darbār Khān and Khāwās 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 Shāhīmār garden, between the camp and the city, while the streets and lanes of Lāhūr 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 Lāhūr, 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, Bahlādur Shāh's wazīr. The real objects of this movement had not been discovered by the otherside. Naturally, it was supposed that 'Azīmu-sh-shān, having more treasure, men, elephants and cannon then the other three princes put together, and all the great nobles, with the exception of Zū-l-fiqr Khān, having joined him, had taken the field at once, without allowing his opponents time to collect more troops. Zū-l-fiqr 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, 105.
2 Kāmwar Khān, 105; Muḍ. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 43; Yahyā Khān, fol. 117 a.
your stockings, till you see the ford. Then he rode off with a small escort to Jahān Shāh, who was near the tomb of Shāh Mir, and thence to the position of prince Rafi‘u-sh-shān near the Rāvi. ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān had made overtures to Rafi‘u-sh-shān, who had at first held back from taking one side or the other, then by the persuasion of Zu-l-ṣiqār Khān had joined Jahāndār Shāh. But Zu-l-ṣiqār 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‘u-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 Zu-l-ṣiqār Khān, left his camp between the city and the Shāhīlmār 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.

One watch of the day had hardly passed when ‘Aẓimu-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‘īm Khān and some other nobles, who were escorted to ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān’s camp. This movement was due to the fact that Rājah Gūjār Mal and Jānī Khān had been sent by Zu-l-ṣiqār Khān to the tents of Mahābat Khān with the hope of persuading him to act as mediator between ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān and his three brothers, the object being to gain time. When ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān heard of this visit, he, suspecting that the sons of Mun‘īm 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 ‘Aẓimu-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.

1 ‘Ab na didāh, mōzah az pā kashīān cī ma‘nī-dārad.’
2 Shākh Muḥammad Mir called Shāh Mir’ or Miyān Mir, died at Lāhōr, 7th Rabī‘ I, 1045 H. (21st Aug. 1635), and was buried in Hāshimpur near that city, Beale, 2nd ed., 304, and Khazīmatu-l-ṣa‘fıyāh, 1, 154.
3 Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūr-d-dīn, Multānī, 23.
4 Kāmwar Khān, 106; Nūr-d-dīn, 20, 24. Khāfi Khān, II, 686, says that ‘Aẓimu-sh-shān moved his position and transferred his camp to the vicinity of Budānah village, three or four kās from the city, where, having the Rāvi in his rear, he dug
2. 'Azimu-sh-shan stands on the defensive.

We will now return to 'Azimu-sh-shan's camp. On the preceding night, when Amīnu-d-dīn, Sambhalī, brought word that the emperor had passed away, 'Azimu-sh-shan 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-ī-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-ulla Khān and 'Aqidat 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-ī-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.' On leaving the private audience-hall, Ni'mat-ulla Khān, disregarding the prince's order, rushed off with a strong force, but before he could reach the spot, Zū-ī-fiqār Khān had left and gone to his own quarters, where he renewed his oaths to Jahānādār Shāh and by misleading promises persuaded the two younger princes to make common cause with their eldest brother.

The next three days were passed by Zū-ī-fiqār Khān in negotiating with the princes, rallying troops to their standard, and bringing artillery from the fort at Lahūr. The former agreement between the princes was renewed. Zū-ī-fiqār Khān visited Rafī'u-sh-shan and Jahān Shāh, and urged them both to carry out their enthronement and assume regal honours and titles. When Zū-ī-fiqār Khān paid his visit to prince Rafī'u-sh-shan, 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-ī-fiqār Khān, pressed it. Zū-ī-fiqār Khān made some appropriate reply and then left for his own camp.

a ditch round the other three sides. Faqir 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 Uwān, some miles N. E. of the Shālihmār garden.

1 Bism-illaah-i-atwal ghalaat shud. [That is to say, the very first step taken is a wrong one. Ed.]
2 Dastūru-l-inghū, 16.
3 Kamāvar Khān, 107; Nūru-d-dīn, 26. There is a long letter, which I reject as apocryphal, in a work professing to be the Inshāhe 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 Ra'if'u-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. 'Azimu-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 Zu-l-fiqār Khān and 'Abdu-s-samād Khān exerted themselves to keep the men together. At length, early in the month of Safar (1st Safar 1125 H. = 9th March 1712), they pitched their camp not far from the entrenchment of 'Azimu-sh-shān. For another two or three days, an artillery duel was maintained, and from time to time 'Azimu-sh-shān's men made sallies and engaged the outposts of the attacking army.\(^1\)

On the other side, Mirzā Shāh Nawāz Khān, Safawi, urged prince 'Azimu-sh-shān to take the field and give battle in the open. Dayā Bahādur 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. 'Azimu-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 Mīṣd. Shāh's reign (1131-1161 H.). In it Jahāndār Shāh expostulates with 'Azimu-sh-shān, and ends with the defiance, Dan az mīhr dāh, yā ba kīn zan poyām, Kalām-am bār in khatām shud ǒ 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.

\(^1\) Kānwār Khān, 107; Nūr-u-d-dīn, 28.
\(^2\) The Dastār-u-inshā, 17, also names Amīn-u-d-dīn, Nī'amat-ullah Khān, Nawāb 'Azīz Khān, Rājah Muḥkam Singh Khatri, Rājah Rāj Singh Bahādur, Bāz Khān and 'Umār Khān.
\(^3\) Andūk bōshīd.
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 Rafiu-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 andah bāshīd, '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 Safar (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-s-sāmād Khān, and by these batteries three sides of 'Azīmu-sh-shān's position were commanded. 'Abdu-s-samād Khān wished, if he could, to blow up 'Azīmu-sh-shān's powder magazine. But Sulaimān Khān, Panni,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, Šafawi, and were forced to return with their purpose unexecuted.⁴

The next day (7th Safar 1124 H. = 15th March, 1712), the besieged began a cannon fire, which they kept up continuously for some time. Repeatedly Kōkālāsh Khān and Janī 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-s-sāmād Khān

---

¹ A'īnah ã shāhānah gīriftah ba dast, Cēn zan-i-ra'wā, shudah gēśā-parast.
² Nūru-d-dīn, 27; Dastūr-i-inskā, 17; Mād. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 47; Yahyā Khān, 117 b.
³ Brother of Dā'īd Khān, Panni, naib-sūbahdār of the Dakhin.
⁴ Nūru-d-dīn, 28.

J. r. 19
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-s-sāmād 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, Panni, 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, Mukhtar 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 Hindūstān, 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 ‘Aẓīmu-sh-shāh’s side, such as Razā Khān and Karīm Khān, were slain.¹

When after night-fall Jahān Shāh reached his quarters, Zu-l-ṣiqār 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-sh-shāh, 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 Zu-l-ṣiqār 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-sh-shāh asking him to give up his idea of heading an attack. Rafī‘u-sh-shāh returned his thanks but renewed his request, and very early in the morning (8th Sa‘īf) 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-sh-shāh’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 Nūr-ud-dīn, 29, 30, 31.
arrows on their foe within. They had almost succeeded in making their way into the entrenchment, when Sulaimān Khān, Panni, 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'ū-sh-shān's division. The fighting became general and both sides struggled bravely for victory. Zūl-fiār 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'ū-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'ū-sh-shān and Zūl-fiār Khān returned in safety to their quarters.²

After the first day's fighting, in which 'Abdu-s-samad Khān had penetrated into the entrenchment, but retreated without effecting his purpose, Shāh Nawāz Khān hired several deft-handed Qalmaq 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 Qalmaq 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-robe and fell. Rāemān slew him with a dagger and was herself wounded slightly on the arm. Hearing the noise, sentinels ran from all

¹ Nūrū-d-dīn, 33. ² Nūrū-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 Rāmān 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 Safar), the three princes advanced together to the attack, beginning it with an artillery fire. Zūl-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, Bundelāh,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-ṣ-samad Khān barred their exit. In another direction, where Pirthī Rāj was closely threatening the entrenchment, Kēsri Singh, brother of Mukkam Singh, Khatrī, made a sally and engaged his opponent hand to hand. Pirthī Rāj was nearly overwhelmed, when Raṭīu-ṣ-shāh4 detached to his aid Fath-ullah Khān and his Mughal horse. These men charged with drawn swords. 'Azīmu-ṣ-shān 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-ṣ-shān 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-Ṣ-SHĀN.

After three days of indecisive fighting Zūl-fiqār Khān bethought himself of another device for weakening the enemy. On the night of

1 Nūr-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, Bundelāh.
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 (Sūbah Allahābād), where he was succeeded by his brother, Chabīlāh Rām (B. M. No 1690 fol. 156 a). These men were styled Maḥtal, 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 Nūr-d-dīn, 37, 38.
Bahadur Shahr’s death he had sent out troops in three directions in order to prevent all escape by the ferries on the Ravi river, and had sent flattering promises and a note in Jahandar Shahr’s hand-writing to Mahabat Khan and the other sons of Munim Khan, the deceased vazir. 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 Zulfiqar Khan 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 Safar. Many marched away to a place of safety, and many joined the standard of Jahandar Shah. The movement also extended itself to ‘Azimu-sh-shan’s own adherents. Crowds of men during this night, on pretence of placing their families out of danger, made their escape from the earthwork. 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 Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman Khan, sons of Munim Khan and Hamidu-d-din Khan, Quli, ‘Alamgiri, all of whom crossed the Ravi during the hottest of the fighting. Sulaiman Khan, Panni, Shahr Nawaz Khan, Safawi, Daya Ram, Nagar, and Kesor Singh remained faithful and passed the night on the alert.¹

When morning broke on the 9th Safar (17th March, 1712), the three princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. Zulfiqar Khan took command of the centre by the side of Jahandar Shahr; ‘Abdu-s-samad Khan was put at the head of the vanguard; Kokaltash Khan was on the right and Jani Khan on the left wing. Jahangir Shah supported the vanguard and Rafiu-sh-shan commanded the rear. In this order they advanced towards the entrenchment of ‘Azimu-sh-shan. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery-fire, and Jahandar Shahr’s guns after each volley were advanced slowly until they were close to the earthen wall. Suddenly Kesor Singh and his men charged the guns but were repulsed by ‘Abdu-s-samad Khan. In the hand to hand encounter, Kesor Singh was shot and fell from his horse. His men were thrown into confusion. ‘Abdu-s-samad Khan, 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-s-samad Khan and his men rushed on towards the entrenchment. Pirthi Raj, leader of Jahangir Shah’s vanguard, and ‘Abdu-s-samad Khan entered the position together. Sulaiman Khan and his

¹ Kamewar Khan, 108; Wairid, 62; Mhd. Qasim, Lahori, 49. B.M., 1690, ol. 158 b, adds Sarfaraz Khan to the fugitives. They took refuge in the Lahir Masjid.
fellow-Afghāns met and opposed their onset. Once he succeeded in forcing back the assailants. But 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān supported Pirthi Rāj vigorously. Shāh Nawāz Khān, by 'Azimu-sh-shāhān's order, now arrived with reinforcements commanded by some Afghān leaders, such as Maʿlī 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, while Sulaimān Khān still stood firm, with a hundred of his own most trusty followers, and fronted 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān and Pirthi Rāj. The Turānī 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 Pirthi 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 Afzāl 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 Rafi'u-sh-shāhān'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-sh-shāhān. Zūl-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 Karīm, eldest son of 'Azimu-sh-shāhān, 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-Muḥammadī, 1124). See his biography in Maʿṣūr-i-umārā, III, 692. He was the last of the Šafawī race who distinguished himself in Indiā; he was in the sixth generation from Shāh Ismā'īl, Šafawī, (1500-24). Seven women of the family had been married to princes of the Mughal imperial house. For lives of Šafawīs in India, see Maʿṣūr-i-umārā, II, 670; III, 296, 434, 477, 555, 556, 581, 583, 677, 692.
² Kāmwar Khān, 108; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 50; Yāḥyā Khān, fol. 117 b.
³ Nūrū-d-dīn, 43.
⁴ One account (Mḥd. Qāsim, 52) says that he had lost his way at the end of the
Azīmu-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 ‘Azīmu-sh-shān’s partisans through the loss of the prince, their leader.¹

During this day ‘Azīmu-sh-shān had preserved the same attitude as hitherto of a helpless waiter on events. When Dayā Bahādur and Muḥkam Singh entreated him to give orders to assume the offensive, no other answer could they force from him except his eternal andāk bōshād, ‘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 Lāhūr city. At last out of the 60,000 to 70,000 men that he had at first under his command, ‘Azīmu-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 ‘Azīmu-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 ‘Aqidat Khān in palkis, for they said they were wounded, Rājah Rāj Singh of Kīslingarh with about 1,000 men, and Amin-ud-dīn, Sambhali, with twelve relations or dependents and ten new men. Shortly afterwards Khwājah Muḥammad A‘ṣīm,² pay-master of the Ḥāḍid, with Ghulām Ḥusain, an Afghān of Kasūr near Lāhūr, 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 Rāvī 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 Talbāghā, near the shrine of Pir ‘Alī, Hājirī. This saint died in 456 H. (1063-4) and was buried at Lāhūr—(Beale 246). The mausoleum is now known as Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh (S. Mḥd. Latīf, History of the Panjab, 84).

¹ Nārū-d-dīn, 44.
² Afterwards Ashraf Khān, and subsequently Şamsūm-d-da’ūlah, Khān Daurān Bahādur (d. 1151 H., February, 1739).
³ Dastārū-le-ḥāshā, 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 (raḥkalah)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, Panni, was favourable to him. In either
place, he could recruit his forces and renew the struggle. The prince
replied that Dārū Shīkōh and Muḥammad Shujā2 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 Mḥd. Ḵeṣim, the paymaster
of the Ahādi 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 ᴷeṣim
then went off towards Sulṭānpur, in the Jālandhar duāb, and finally
made his way to prince Farrukh-siyar at Paṇṭah. Rājah Ṛaj Bahādūr
escaped to his home country of Kishnagār.3

In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the
trunk of the elephant on which prince ‘Aẓimu-sh-shāh was riding.
The elephant turned and fled towards the Rāvī, 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 Raḥkalah, J. Shakespeare Dict., 1203, a small cannon, a swivel, a field-piece; also a cart.
2 Sons of the emperor Shāhjahlān, who contended for the succession with their
brother, Aurangzhīb ʿĀlāngīr.
3 Duṭṭāru-l-maḥūz, 18; and B. M. 1690, fol. 158 b; Kishnagār is in Rājputānah, north-east of Ajmer.
4 He was a qarāwul (huntsman) and qāsh-bēgī (chief falconer), Wārid, 62. He
died at the end of Ṣafar 1136 H. at Dihlī, Tārīkh-i-Māhī.
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 Lāhūr.

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 Jahānār Shah’s artillery, whose camp was at the Shālihmār garden. Horses and camels without number and much property fell into these men’s hands. Jahānār Shāh’s troops speedily surrounded and took possession of the carts laden with treasure, of the cannon, and of the household of ‘Āzīmu-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.

The claims of ‘Āzīmu-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-īqār 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-īqār 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-insāh*, 20,—Kāmwar Khān, 109, says that ‘Āzīmu-sh-shān’s corpse was brought in, and speaks (138) of its being sent by Farrukhsiyar to Aurangābād for burial; Yahyā 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-insāh*. 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-mutākhbarin*, see Briggs, 29. Wārid, 63, states that the elephant was brought in, but many believed that ‘Āzīmu-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 Bahādūr, had carried off the corpse to his own country, i.e., Kishangarh (Mḥd. Qāsim, 51).

2 Kāmwar Khān, 109, 110.

J. 1. 20
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 Rafī'ū-sh-shān and made to him the usual evasive promises. Another day he visited Jahnān Shāh. Rustam Dil Khān, who had been released from prison shortly before Bahādur Shāh’s death, had from the first taken the side of Jahnān Shāh. He and Mukhlīs Khān, Ḥārisī, 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. Jahnān 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 Jahnān 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 Rafī’u-sh-shān, through his conduct to Ḥakimulu-l-Mulk, had cooled the zeal of any nobles who might have assisted him. Ḥakimulu-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. Ḥakimulu-l-Mulk was sent for and so severely treated that he was carried away to his quarters half dead. 5

5. Death of Jahnān 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 šamsshēr dar yak gūlāf 5 dō Pādshāh dar yak mulk būdan muḥāl ast, Yabyā Khān, 117 b.
2 The Dutchmen, who take Jahāndār Shāh’s side throughout, put the blame on prince Jahnān Shāh’s greediness, in claiming one-half instead of one-third of the confiscated property — Valenty, IV, 293.
3 Duḥman cah kund, cī Mīhrbān būshād ḏost.
4 Kānwvar Khān, 110; Khāshbāl Cand, 385 a–386 a; Yabyā Khān, 117 b.
5 Yabyā Khān, fol. 118 a.
ment of fresh troops, and a number of 'Azimu-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. Rafi’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 ‘Azimu-sh-shān all preparations had been completed.1

On the 18th Safar 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 Kāhān and ‘Abdu-s-ṣamad Khan, now his Mir-ātāsh or general of artillery. The fighting was confined to the artillery. Rustam Dil Kāhān, 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. Rāji Muḥammad Kāhān, afterwards Jahāndār Shāh’s Mir-ātāsh, obtained the credit of this exploit.3

The next day (19th Safar 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 Kāhān, Jānī Kāhān and Mukhlīs Kāhān. They rushed forward ‘as a hungry tiger out of ambush flings itself on a buffalo’s head.’ Rustam Dil Kāhān reached without hindrance Jahāndār Shāh’s vanguard

1 Kāmwar Kāhān, 110; Nūru-d-dīn, 50.
2 Query Māndū Gūjān on Indian Atlas, sheet No. 30, just north of Mīn Mir and the Railway line?
3 Kāmwar Kāhān, 110; Nūru-d-dīn, 51; Mḥd. Qāsim, 54; Valentyn, IV, 293.
4 This is Kāmwar Kāhān’s date, but the Dutch Envoy, then in Lāhor, (Valentyn, IV, 294) says the 27th March was spent by Jahān Shāh in a heavy cannonade and the attack was delivered on the 28th. Mīrā Muḥammad, p. 131, who was also there, gives the 20th Safar (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 Jānī Khān and Mīr Bāqī, 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 (Khwājah ‘Abdullah), his brother, Luṭfu-l-lah Khān, Ṣādiq, and Rāi Sūrat Singh, Murtānī, 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 (‘imārī) 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 Jānī 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 Jānī 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 Zā-l-qiṣār 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 Mḥd Ḷāsim, 55, calls her Lād Kunwar. She was a singing girl, who had become Jahāndār Shāh's favourite concubine. The Ḥadīqatu-l-Aqālim, 131, says she was the daughter of Khūṣuṣiyat Khān, a descendant of Miyān Tān Sēn, the celebrated musician of Akbar's time. (Blochmann, Alm. I, 612). There is the same statement in Dastūru-l-imkhā, 133, from which Shekḥ Allahyār 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 ḵābi La'ī Kunwar nām-i-ī bād,
Shakkar-gustār, sim-āndām-i-ī bād.

2 Wārid, 65.

3 Wārid, 65; Kāmwar Khān, 112; Mḥd Ḷāsim, 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 Khan's charge had been so far successful that Jahandar Shab'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 Jahân Shâh'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 Jahân Shâh's men came into sight, the fugitives supposed that their retreat had been discovered, and resolved on selling their lives dearly. Jahân Shâh 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 Jahândar Shâh, Zûl-fiqâr Khan left his tents in great perturbation to search for his master. On his way spies brought him word that a few matchlockmen had engaged Jahân Shâh, when separated from the main body of his army and followed by no more than one thousand horsemen. Zûl-fiqâr Khan hastened to the spot thus indicated. His arrival encouraged the matchlockmen to redouble their exertions. Jahân Shâh, noticing the slackness of his men, drove his elephant to the front. The musket-fire now began to tell so severely that Jahân Shâh'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 Jahân Shâh followed his son into the realms of Death. By one of those sudden reversals of fortune, so frequent in Eastern story, just as Jahandar Shâh was about to flee in despair from the battle field, Zûl-fiqâr Khan appeared with his rival's head and laid it before him with his congratulations. As Shâh Shâh's, Shirâzi, 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 Wârid, 67.
² Shâhâshé hamah shab bar sar-i-bimâr garist : Cên râz shud, û ba-mûrât, bimâr ba-zist.
It is even said that so complete was the belief in Jahān Ṣāḥ’s victory that the news of his accession was spread far and wide by the messengers of the Rājputāna money-lenders, and in many places the Khutbāh was read in his name.  

6. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF RAFI’U-SH-SHĀN.

Until two hours after sunset on this day, Rafi’u-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 Ṣāḥ’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.  

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 Ṣāḥ with its nurse. Rafi’u-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 Ṣāḥ with a message to the effect that he (Rafi’u-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 Ṣāḥ, 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 Zu-l-fāqār 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 Ṣāḥ; 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.

At midnight Rafi’u-sh-shān dismounted from his elephant and called his chief men around him for a council of war. One officer argued that as Jahāndār Ṣāḥ and his men were worn out, they ought to attack

1 Wārid, 70; Ma‘āṣiru-l-umara, II, 93; Khāfi Khān, II, 687; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 57.

2 Valentyn, IV, 293, says that, although Rafi’u-sh-shān had received twenty-five lakhs of rupees to remain neutral, he attacked Jahāndār Ṣāḥ’s rear, while Jahān Ṣāḥ went against his flank. Rafi’u-sh-shān then kept up a cannonade all through the night.

3 Kāmwar Khān, 112, 113; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 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 Safar (28th March, 1712), orders were given to Jahāngir Qalī Khān and Mu‘īn Khān to advance with the artillery and begin the action. As the sun appeared above the horizon, Fath-ullah Khān, Mughal, who had received large sums from the prince, deserted his post in the right wing and rode off to Jahāndār Shāh. Shamsah Khān, Qureshi, of Hansī Hisār, 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. Shamsah Khān and some of his relations were killed, Afzal Khān received two arrow wounds, and his son Mirzā Nakki, two sword cuts.  

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 ‘Ali Mardān Khān), Shākir Khān, and Ḥafiz ‘Ali Khān, advanced against the centre division under Rafi‘-u-sh-shān’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 Šānī, received severe wounds, of which they finally died. ‘Abdu-r-rahim Khān was wounded, and Nur Khān, Afghan, 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 Rafi‘-u-sh-shān, followed by ‘Abdu-l-qa‘īf, 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 Safar in Mirzā Muḥammad, p. 135; Valentyn, 294, gives the 29th March (= 21st Safar); Yahyā Khān, 118 a, has the 20th but gives the year 1123 H. which should be 1124 H.

2 Kāmwar Khān, 113; Mhd. Qāsim, Lāhori, 60; Yahyā Khān, 118 a.

3 i.e., a descendant of Mirzā Yār Ahmad, surnamed Najm Šānī, vazir of Iṣmā‘īl I, Şafawi, King of Persia. He died in Ramažān 918 H. (November 1612), 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‘u-š-šāh, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahāndār Shāh was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abu-l-fath, Mu‘āmmad Mu‘izzu-d-dīn, 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, vakīl-i-mutlaq or Vice-gerent. His son, Zūl-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 ‘Aqī Makarrar; while Sābā Cand, secretary to Zūl-fiqār Khān was made a Rajah and entrusted with the post of Diwān of the public revenues or Khālishā-i-Shārisah. 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 Gardēzī of Mānikpur, sūbah Allahābād, who had acquired great credit by blowing up Jahān Shāh’s powder magazines, became Mir-āṭaš, or commander of artillery. Khwājah Husain, 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 Agra. Luṭf-ullah Khān, Sādiq, Pānīpātī, 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-dīn. ‘Ināyat-ullah Khān, Kāshmirī, was sent off to the sūbah of Kashmir, which he already held, and Zabardast Khān (with the new title of ‘Alī Mardān Khān) was appointed to Lābghor.³

Note A.

I give here the new appointments as they appear in the Dutch diary (Valentyn, IV, 295), after amending and modernizing the spelling

¹ Nūrū-d-dīn, 66.
² See also Note A, at the end of this section.
³ Wārid, 78; Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī, 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 Khan, Wakil (B. M. 1690, rank 15,000, Yahya Khan, 118 a, 12,000, no higher than 7,000 having been given before to any noble.)

* 2. Zul-fiqar Khan, Wazir (B. M. 1690, rank, 12,000, Yahya Kh., 8,000).

* 3. Khan Jahah, 1st Bakhshi, 8,000, 8,000 horse (B. M. 1690, 9,000, Yahya K., 7,000).

* 4. Khan Dauran, Bahadur, 2nd Bakhshi, 6,000, 5,000 horse (Yahya Khan, 118 b, 5,000).

* 5. Murtaza Khan, Bahadur, 3rd Bakhshi, 5,000, 5,000 horse.

* 6. Khwaja Husain Khan, 4th Bakhshi, 4,000, 4,000 horse.

* 7. Sourrat Khan, Daroghah of [the Topkhanah, 4,000, 3,000 horse. (This is Raja Razi, Shuja'at Khan, according to whom, 119 a, 'Raja 'Ali Khan, Purbiyah, was made 7,000 and Daroghah of the Ahsham (heavy or garrison?) artillery, for which he had no qualifications."

* 8. Bahramand Khan, Master of the Horse, 1st Master of Ceremonies (Mir Tozak?), 4,000, 3,000 horse.

* 9. Sa'dullah Khan 'Ma'teked,' Comptroller of Household (i.e. Khansamun), 5,000, 4,000 horse. (This is Hidayat-ullah Khan, afterwards Wazir Khan, acting Wazir in the last year of Bahadur Shah. He was the son of 'Inayat-ullah Khan, Kashmiri. Mirza Muhammad, 170, also applies to him this epithet Mu'taqad, given him by the Dutch).

* 10. Safar Khan, Darogah-i-Fil-khanah, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

* 11. Hazrat Quli Khan, Darogah-i-istabal, 4,000, 3,000 horse.

* 12. Ikhyas Khan, Public Petitioner or Intercessor (i.e., 'Arz-i-Makarrar), to whom all requests are addressed, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

* 13. Rajah Sabha Cand, Dinban, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

* 14. Jahandar Quli Khan, Darogah-i-Khila't-khanah, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

15. Sarbarah Khan, Sheriff-General (Kotwal) 3,000, 2,000 horse (plus Darogah-i-Kacahri, vice Ihtimam Khan, B. M. 1690).

16. Naubat Khan, Darogah-i-Naqir-khanah, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

17. 'Abdu-ş-samad Khan, Sadr, 3,000, 2,000 horse.

18. Shari'yt Khan, Qaizul-guzat, 3,000, 2,000 horse.


20. Jahah Whelo, Captain of the Europeans, 2,500, 500 horse.


J i 21
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 Ḫaṭīq,1 (son of Amir Khān deceased), Khwājah Muṣaffār, Khwājah Fakhrū-d-dīn, Khwājah Luṭfūllah and others. But all of the defeated party were not so lucky as to be thought beneath notice. Ḫabābat Khān, son of Munʿīm Khān, the late Wazir, Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān, ʿĀlamgīr, Sarafrāz Khān, Bahādūr Shāhī, Rahman Yār Khān, Iḥtīmām Khān, Aμīnū-d-dīn Khān, Sambhali, 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, Mukhlīs 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 Aẓzū-d-dīn. 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 Aẓzū-d-dīn 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 Zu-l-īqār 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 Khūwar, 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 Khūwar might not have been exposed, for Rustam Dil Khān was about to undo the tassel of pearls hanging from the sash (īzār-band) of her trousers, when she was rescued from his hands.

What crime Mukhlīs Khān had committed is not so clear. Some say that he was an object of dislike to Kākaltāsh Khān, and it is possible that Zu-l-īqār Khān may have borne him a grudge for the advice given to Jahān Khān to seize that noble. The traitor Luṭfūllah Khān Mughal, who deserted Rafīʿū-sh-shāh in the battle field, is also supposed to have persuaded Jahāndār Shāh that his brothers

1 Mir Ḫaṭīq is the man afterwards famous as Amir Khān, 'Umdatu-l-mulk, assassinated the 23rd Zu-l-bājī 1159 H. (5th January, 1747), Maʿāṣiru-l-umara, 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 Khan and Mukhīṣ Khan. 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 Khan bore out to the last his character for reckless bravery. When he was brought before Zūl-fiqār Khan, the Wazir smiled and said to him; 'In spite of all your cleverness, what dirt have you not ended in eating!' Rustam Dil Khan laughed and retorted: 'You and I ate the same dirt out of the same tray, it agreed with you and not with me.' Zūl-fiqār Khan had no answer to give, but hung down his head. As the executioner cut off one limb after another, Rustam Dil Khan continued to comment freely on Jahāndār Shāh, Zūl-fiqār Khan and Kōkaltāsh Khan, and even to the end he never flinched. As soon as breath had left the body, his mangled limbs and the headless trunk of Mukhīṣ Khan were hung to the wayside trees. The confiscated property of Rustam Dil Khan, said to have amounted in value to twelve lakhs of Rupees, was granted to 'Abdu-ṣ-sāmad Khan.²

Note B.


¹ Warid, 83; Mbd. Qāsim, Lāhōri, 62; Yahyā Kān, 118 b (as to Jānī Kān); Seir Mutaqherin, I, 33; Briggs, 42; Valencyn, IV, 294. Anon. Fragment B. M. Or. 3613, fol. 16a. To those executed Khūshbāl Cand, 388 a, adds the name of Sazāwār Kān, dārūghah of the Dāgī and Taḥshīhah. Rustam Dil Khan's previous career has been referred to in the chapter on Bahādur Shāh. Jānī Kān was Khwājah Gūr Kītarī, son of Jānī Kān, rank 5000; he was killed in the battle of Agrah, along with 'Alī Mūrūd, Kōkaltāsh Kān, on the 15th Zu-l-hajj 1124 (10th January, 1713). Mukhīṣ Kān is described by Yahyā Kān, 114 a, as Mut'āmād Kān, son of Qubād Kān, Khvāl-makānī, i.e., of 'Alamgar's reign, and he says he received the title of Mukhīṣ Kān after Jājū (1119 H. 1707). This seems a mistake, as the said Mut'āmād Kān, (Rustam Bāg) died in 1117 H., 1705. Mukhīṣ Kān (consin of Mūzā Muḥam-mad, the historian) was really Mbd. Bāg, son of Aḥmad Bāg, and nephew of Qābādah Bāg, Dīyāsun Kān (d. Ramāzān 1083 H., Dec. 1672,) see Tāriḵ-i-mūhāmmandā, year 1124 H.

² Warid, 85, 86; Nuru-d-dīn, 71, 72.
Mumin Khan, (24) 'Achsem' (A'zam?) Khan, perhaps this is Irâdat Khan, Wâzih, to whom 'Azimu-sh-shân had given this title, (25) Saif Khan. The following men were dismissed from office and their goods confiscated: Jânu Khan, 'Astni' (?) Khan, Ræ Bhêla Mall, Hakimu-l-Mulk, Ræ Rayân, Yasîn Khan, 'Mobesser' Khan, 'Abdu-r-rahman Khan, Shêr Afgan Khan.

3. 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan, Sketch of His Career.

The history of 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan, 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 Naqshbandî saint 'Abdullah Ahrâr, ¹ and had served long in the Dakhin during 'Alamgîr's reign without attracting any great notice. In Bahadur Shah's reign he came more to the front and strengthened his position by forming a marriage connection with the powerful Mughal family represented by Muhammad Amin Khan, Cin. One day, towards the end of Bahadur Shah's reign, 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan pressed his claims on prince 'Azimu-sh-shân, who was then all-powerful. The prince disliked the man and gave an evasive answer. 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan lost his temper and used disrespectful language. On a complaint to Bahadur Shah, 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan 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 Bahadur Shah passed away and the contest for the throne began. Zu-l-fiqar Khan knew that 'Abdu-s-shamad Khan was a brave soldier, and his recent quarrel with 'Azimu-sh-shân 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 Jahândar Shah's vanguard. From this time his fortunes were made. ²

¹ Khwâjah Nâshiru-d-dîn 'Abdullah, son of Ma'hmûd, son of Shahâbu-d-dîn, Ahrâr, a descendent of Khwâjah Muhammad Bâqi of Baghâd. At first he lived in Shâh (now Tâshkand). His mother was a descendent of Shekh 'Umr of Bâghistân, which is a village belonging to Tâshkand. Shekh 'Umr is descended in the 16th generation from 'Abdullah, son of 'Umr, son of Alkhitâb Khalifah 'Sâni. Ahrâr left Tâshkand for Samarqand and Bukhârâ, and dying on the 29th Rabi' I, 895 H. (20th Feb. 1490), aged 89, was buried at Samarqand. Khâzinatu-l-asfiyah, I, 582-585, Beale, 5 ('Abdullah) and 275, where he spells 'Ubidullah, and gives the date as Rabi' II, 896 H. (Feb. 1491).

² Wârid, 124 a.
4. **DEATH OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD KARIM.**

The hiding place of Muhammadd Karim, eldest son of 'Azimu-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 Hidayat Kāsh, a converted Hindu who was wāqi‘ah-nigar-i-kull, or head of the central news-office. This man made Muhammadd Karim a prisoner and produced him before Jahāndār Shāh, by whom he was transferred to Zūl-ṣiqār Kān. 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 Jahāngir, which is on the further or right bank of the Rāvī. 1

5. **THE COURT MOVES TO DIHLI—DESPATCH OF AZZU-D-DĪN TO ĀGRAH.**

The court now started from Lāhōr on its return to Dīhlī. Jahāndār Shāh left the banks of the Rāvī on the 25th Rabī‘ I, 1124 H. (May 1st, 1712); he entered Dīhlī on the 18th Jamādī I, (June 22nd, 1712). 2 During the march a rumour was heard that Farrukhsāiyar, the second son of the late ‘Azimu-sh-shān, had left Bengal and arrived at Pāṭnāh 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 faujdārs would be sufficient to defeat such a feeble foe. Still, as a precaution, the eldest prince, Azzu-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 krors of rupees, was disbursed to him on the 15th Jamādī II (19th July 1712), for this purpose. His force is estimated by Khāfī Kān 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 Kūnwar,

---

1 Mḥd. Qāsīm, Lāhōrī, 52, 62; Wārid, 63, 64; Kāmwar Kān, 114; Khāfī Kān, 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 Kān 'to whom he had addressed foul language, and on account of his other debaucherries.' Valentyn gives a portrait of him.

2 Valentyn, 297, says the march began on the 10th May, which corresponds with the 4th Rabī‘ II. B. M. No. 1690 fol. 160 a, states that they left Lāhōr city on the 26th Rabī‘ I. Khāfī Kān, II, 718, and B. M. 1690, fol. 160 a, say the entry into Dīhlī 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) Khwājāh Ḥusain, Khān Darān, brother-in-
law of Kōkaltāsh Khān, and (2) Ṭutfullah Khān, Ṣādiq, the prince's
own diwān. These appointments were made in opposition to the advice
of Zū-1-fiqār Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān taking the whole responsibility.
Neither of the men had any experience of war, Khān Darān 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.'

It was while the court was at Sarāe Darānahah, between Labōr and
Sihrind, on its progress towards Dihlī, that Mirzā Rāfī', Sarbuland
Khān, brother-in-law of the late 'Ażimu-sh-shān, presented himself with
five or six thousand men. 'Ażimu-sh-shān had procured for him the
appointment of faujdār at Karrah Mānīkpur 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, Farrukhs-
īyar, 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 Nīmat Khān, a brother of Lāl Kūnwar,
and that of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, he received the governorship
of Aḥmadābād Gujarāt, without the wāzir, Zū-1-fiqār Khān, having been
consulted.


The next five months from July to December, until the emperor
marched from Dihlī towards Agra, were given up to dissipation. As
the proverb says 'Mad already, he has now taken to eating hemp.' 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 Khāfī Khān, II, 697, calls him the نبیر فیض, nabirah (grand-
son), of Kōkaltāsh Khān, probably a misprint for فیض, yasnah, (brother-in-law.)
2 Sipāh rā ma-kun pesh-rā jūs kāsē, Kūh dar jōngā hādāh bāshād kāsē. Ma'āsīr-
ū-umārā, II, 93; Ijād, 15; Mirzā Mhd. 141; Khāfī Khān, II, 697, 700, 712, 715; Valentyn,
IV, 299.
3 Khāfī Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 49 a.
4 Divānāh būd; bangē khūrad, Ma'āsīrū-umārā, II, 93.
Kunwar, who was looking out of the latticed window in the Šaman 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 sīrs for that amount of money.’ From this may be judged what ideas prevailed in other State affairs. Another day Jahāndār Shāh and Lāl Kunwar 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.  

During these months the fiddlers and drummers, who were Lāl Kunwar’s brothers and relations, swaggered through the streets, committing every sort of outrage. Lāl Kunwar was dignified with the title of Imtiyāz Maḥal, Chosen of the Palace, and immense treasures, the spoils from ‘Aẓīmu-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, Namdar Khān, and Khānahzidd 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.’

To this period belongs the story of Ni’mat Khān Kalūwant’s appointment to the šūbah of Multān. The emperor signified his pleasure to the wazir, but there was an unaccountable delay in the issue of the usual patent. The nominee at length presented himself to Zūl-fiqār Khān and made enquiry. The wazir 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. The stupid fellow, not seeing the ironical nature of this reply,

---

1 Khūshbūl Cand, 390 b. As to the drowning, Kām Rāj, Ibratnāmah, 46 b, says that Zūl-fiqār Khan forbade it. The same story is told of Fāzīl ‘Alī Khān, ‘āmil of Ghāsīpur, Oldham, I, 93.
2 Kāmwar Khān, 119; Yahlī Khān, 119 a.
3 Kalūwant—These are the male members of the professional singer class; the women sing and dance, the men play the accompaniments.
4 Ṭambūr, a long-necked guitar, see figure on plate opposite p. 114 of Ghuncah-i-Rāg, (Naval Kishor Press, Lakhnau, 1863).
worked his hardest and in a week sent as many as two hundred guitars to Zu-l-fiqâr Khân. The wazir insisted upon delivery of the full number. Ni'mat Khân complained to his Majesty of the excessive bribe demanded from him. Jahândâr Shâh, 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 Jahândâr Shâh 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 Jahân-numâ. Khushâl Cand, a rare instance of an Indian taking notice of the beauty of natural objects, lamented 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 Lâl Ku'nwar and her friends. It is said that an annual allowance of two kors 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 Nur Jahân Begam were revived for her; that coins were issued in her name as they had been in that of Jahângîr's favourite wife. Such coins of Lâl Ku'nwar, 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 jagirs. There are many stories of the insolent conduct of these low-born favourites. One day Cin Qilic Khân (afterwards Nizâmû-l-Mulk), then living at Dihli without employment, was passing in his pâlki through a narrow street, when he was met by Zuharah on an elephant, followed by a long train of servants. The Khân'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 Khân's orders his men pulled her rudely from her elephant. Complaint was made to the emperor through Lâl Ku'nwar, and Zu-l-fiqâr Khân received orders to punish the Nawâb.

¹ Warid, 80; Khushâl Cand, 389 b. Valentyn, 299, places the event on the 25th July (= 19th Jamâdi II) and his details differ slightly.
² Khushâl Cand, 389 b.
³ His father, Ghâziu-d-din Khân, Firuz Jang, although in active military employ was blind during the last twenty-three years of his life (Ma'dîn-l-umârâ II, 875).
Zūr-ī-fiqār Khān, who had been previously spoken to by Īn Qīlī Khān, objected to the order as likely to cause wide-spread disaffection among the nobles. The matter then dropped. 1

Lāl Kunwār herself was the cause of an estrangement between the emperor and his aunt, Zinatu-n-nissa 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 Kunwār had not been asked to it. Again, as she did not like the Emperor’s two younger sons, Ā’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 Kunwār. 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 Kunwār 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 Kunwār’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 Kunwār, both naked as they were born, in the tank at the shrine of Shēkh Nasiru-d-dīn, Audhī, commonly called the Cirəgh-i-Dihlī (or Lamp of Dihlī), 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 Șairu-l-mutākhārin (Briggs, 48).
2 J. Scott II., part IV, 83; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.
3 Rāth, a four-wheeled carriage, with canopy, drawn by two oxen, and much used in Upper India.
4 Mast ān cūnūn khūsh ast kih gōyad bar dar-i-hashar, ‘Man kistam, shumā cah kasūn-čī ő in cah jā-st?’

J. I. 22
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 Qutbuddin. 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, Jahandar Shah 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 Jahandar Shah and shout in a drunken way. Jahandar Shah, 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 Lal Kunwar.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

Zulfiqar Khan, the vazir, imitated his master’s example and devolved his duties on a favourite Hindú subordinate, Sabha Cand, a Khatri, lately made a Rajah, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious. Zulfiqar Khan’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 vazir,’ or as we English say, ‘Like master, like man.’5

To add to the other sources of weakness and disorder, a feud arose

1 Shekh Naasiruddin Mahomud, Andhi, Ciragh-i-Dihli, (a Cishji), grandson of ‘Abdu-l-Latif, Yazdi. His father Yahya, a Husaini Sayyd, was born at Lahor. The Shekh was born in Andi, and died 18th Ramaqan 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 (Shahjahannabad), Khazinatu-l-Asfyaqah, 1, 353.

2 Khushbhal Cand, 390 a; Iradat Khan in J. Scott, II, part IV, 82, 83. Also as to the bathing see Kamwar Khan, 120, and Kam Raj IBratuhamah, 46 b. Mahamad Qasim, Anrangabadi, in Aheval-ul-khawaqim, fol. 46 b, has another version of the Qub 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 Kamwar Khan, 120.

5 Wazir cunin, Shalryar cunun, Ma’siru-1-Umar, II, 83; Iradat Khan (J. Scott, II, part IV, 83).
between Zul-fiqar Khan, the chief minister, and 'Ali Murad, Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh Khān, foster-brother of the emperor and now Amīrul-Umarā, or second minister. For forty years, ever since they were children together, Jahāndār Shāh had been promising 'Ali Murād that when he succeeded to the throne he, his foster-brother, should be his vazir. Khān Jahān, and more especially his female relations, resented his supersession by Zul-fiqar Khan, 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 vazir's advice, Khān Daurān, Khān Jahān's brother-in-law, was sent in command of the troops against Farrukhshīyar. 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 Dīhilī was in this disorganized condition that a claimant to the throne appeared in the person of Muhammad Farrukhshīyar, 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 FARRUKHSHĪYAR, HIS EARLY HISTORY, AND ARRIVAL AT PAṬNAH 'AZĪMĀBĀD.

Muḥammad Farrukhshīyar, the second son of 'Azīmu-sh-shān, was born at Aurangābād in the Dakhin, on the 19th Ramaḍān 1094 H.2 (11th Sept. 1683); and was now in his thirty-first (lunar) year. In his infancy he was sent to Dīhilī, but brought back to the Dakhin in 1105 H. (Sept. 1693—Augst. 1694), in his tenth year; and after three years spent with his great-grandfather, 'Alamgir, he accompanied his father, 'Azīmu-sh-shān first to Ágra and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, 'Alamgir 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, Farrukhshīyar, in Bengal. The young prince passed some years at Dākkah (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 Mahāl, 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 Farrukhshīyar to return to court.

1 Yahyā Khān, 119 a, says the news of Farrukhshīyar's advance was received in Shawwāl (31st Octr.—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 Farrukhshīyar's reign.
Bengal had been made over to 'Izzu-d-daulah, Khân 'Alam (son of Khân Jahân, Kôkaltâsh, 'Alamgîrî). Farrukhîsîyâr was on the march and not far from 'Azîmâbâd Pâtnah, when on the 7th Šafar 1124 H. (15th March 1712) he heard of Bahâdur Shâh'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 Khûtbah 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 Pâtnah and advised him not to leave it until that happy event had occurred. On the 29th Šafar (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 Dîhlî was that Farrukhîsîyâr 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 bâgh or garden known as Afzal Khân's, and proclaimed his succession to the empire, issuing coin and causing the Khûtbah to be read in his own name. ²

No rashier enterprize was ever entered upon. Farrukhîsîyâr 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 Pâtnah 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 Ijâd, 14 a; 39 b, 40 a, Stewart, History of Bengal, 382; Gladwin, Transactions, 94; Khâfî Khân, II, 707, 768; Kâmwar Khân, entry of 27th Rabi‘ I, 1123 H.; Ward, 136 b; Yahûdî Khân, 119 a. I have heard of a curious Hindi poem on Farrukhîsîyâr's advance from Pâtnah and victory over Jahândâr Shâh. It is by one Sri Dhar (alias Murli Dhar), kabi, of Allahâbâd, and I hope hereafter to obtain a full copy.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth couplets are:—

4. Cîtî câtî mahûjâni, bhai ēkâcē cûtî,
Chânîtî dehev swar-lôk kô gae Bahâdur Shâh;
5. Sunî khâbar ēkbârgî Farrukhîsîyâr udâr,
Râkhî phaujî, ēkâgûrûnî, calîyê yahai bûtâr
6. Bakâî Ajâm Khân kô khîho ûkum bûlâî,
Phaujî vûkhîyê jae ab, jètî vûkhî jàî.

A Persian chronogram for Farrukhîsîyâr's accession is Shâh Farrukhîsîyâr, kih afsar-i-ā Aftâb-i-sipîhr-i-mamâlakat ast, Guft Hâtîf kih sâl-i-sallânat-âsh 'Aftâb-i-
 kamâl-i-sallânat ast (1124 H).
and there pitched his camp near the garden of Ja'far Khān at the eastern extremity of the city. At first, when he came forward to claim the throne, none of the many nobles on whom 'Āzimu-sh-shān had heaped so many favours would espouse his cause. Most of them declared themselves on the side of Jahāndar 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 'Āzimu-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 Pañnah of a new sbahdār, Rashid Khān, whose fate will be recounted when we come to the history of the provinces in Farrukhsiyar's reign.

We have already mentioned the defection of Sarbuland Khān. He had risen to position through his connection by marriage with 'Āzimu-sh-shān. On his falling under Bahādur Shāh's displeasure, 'Āzimu-sh-shān gave him refuge and made over to him Sahandah (in Bundelkhand) and other parganas 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. Another noble who was under equal obligations to the late 'Āzimu-sh-shān was Khān Jahān, Bahādur, (otherwise 'Izzu-d-Daulah, Khān 'Ālam), son of Khān Jahān, Kōkaltāsh, 'Ālamgīri. 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 Seiv Mutagharih, I, 43. But in the text of that work, Calcutta edition, 12, line 11, the words are dar sarā-pardah-hā mansūl gasīd, where sarā-pardah means camp, or a canvas enclosure round tents, and not a sarā, or inn.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 707, 708; Ījad, 47 b, 51 a; Stewart, 384; Gladwin, Transactions, 33, 97, 98.

3 His biography is in M-ul-ū, III, 801. He was born c. 1085 H. (1674), and died 1154 H. (19th Jan., 1742), T-i-Muḥ. In the Ḫadīqat-i-aqālim, 131, we are told that Shēh Allahyār, the author's father, tried to persuade Sarbuland Khān that gratitudine required him to join Farrukhsiyar. The author mentions a village, Bānā or Tapā, in Kōrāh, as the jāgīr of 'Āzimu-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 Zīā-ullah Khān (son of 'Īnayat-ullah Khān, Kāshmirī), the dīvān, and was recalled. Then in the 3rd year B. S. he was sent to the charge of Kōrāh, where 'Āzimu-sh-shān had his jāgīr (B. M. Or. No. 1600).

4 His biography is in M-ul-ū, III, 949, under his former title of Sibahdār Khān. His name was Mḥd. Mulṣim. B. c. 1064 H. (1653-4) d. 1130 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, 'Āzīmu-sh-shāhān had pity on him, and after some exertion, the śūbah of Orissa was granted to him, with the office of deputy under the prince in Bengal. This man was received in audience by Farrukhisiyar at the town of Sūrajgarh, in sarkār Farrukhābād (or Munger) of śūbah Bahār. 1 All honour was done to him. The prince’s chief man, Aḥmad Bāg (afterwards Ghāziu-d-dīn Khān Ghālib Jang), was sent to escort him, a rich ḥilāt 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 Muhammad Raẓā, 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 presence of further negociation. In the end, on one pretext or another, neither one nor the other appeared again. 2 'Alī Aṣghar Khān, 3 son of Kār Ṭalab Khān, Anšārī, who had been made faujdār of Itawah (śūbah Āgraḥ), and Chabēlah Rām, Nāgar, then faujdār of Karraḥ Mānikpur, śūbah Allahābād, 4 showed no eagerness to take up the prince’s cause. There remained only the two brothers, Ḥasan ʿAlī Khān (ʿAbdullah Khān) and Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān, Sayyads of Bārharah, who owed to ʿĀzīmu-sh-shāhān the governments of Allahābād and Bahār, which they then held. 5


The Sayyads of Bārharah claim to be descended from Abū-l-farāh, of Wāsiṭ in Mesopotamia. Several hundred years ago, at a date which cannot be fixed exactly, Abū-l-farāh and his twelve sons came from Wāsiṭ to India, settling at first in four villages near Paṭiālah, in the sarkār of Sahrind and śūbah of Dihlī. From these villages the four

---

1 Sūrajgarh, a mahāl in sarkār Munger (Āin, II, 155), on the right bank of the Ganges 20 m. W. of Munger (Thornton, 929).
2 At Dihlī on the 27th September 1712 (26th Sha’bān 1124 H.), it was reported that Khān Jahān, Bahādur, and Mursād Quli Khān were marching to Paṭnāh to reinforce A’zzu-d-dīn against Farrukhisiyar, (Valentyn, IV, 301). This report was quite unfounded.
4 For C. R. see M-ul-u, II, 328. Dyā Bahādur was killed on ‘Āzīmu-sh-shāhān’s side at Lāhūr in Safar 1124 H. (March 1712), see ante p. 150.
5 Ijad, 59 b, 60 a; Khāfī Khān, II, 715.
branches, into which they are divided, derive their names. 1 Then crossing the Jamnarah, they formed a settlement on the eastern side of the upper Dūb, 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 Bārhalh 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, lavishly, 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 Muzaffarnagar many is the story current of the ‘Sayyad Sahib’s’ reckless improvidence and ignorance of the commonest rule of business. In the 18th century a Bārhalh hā aqmaq, or Bārhalh 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. Kundlā has a few huts, Tihanpur is a petty hamlet, Jagārū uninhabited, (Alan Cadell, Proc. As., Soc. Bengal, 1871, p. 261). I find Chat and Banūr, two separate places in the N. E. of the Patīnālah territory, on sheet No. 47 of the Indian Atlas, the former about 16 m. N. and the latter 12 m. N.W. of Ambālāh city.

2 There seems to be no town or village in the Sayyads’ country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Bārhalh. Sir H. M. Elliot (Supp. Glossary, 110) speaks of the town of Bārhalh as one plundered by Šafdar 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 Māhrāhār (now in the Etah district), which lay in the course of Šafdar Jang’s march from Dihlī to Farrukhsābād, and also contains a well-known colony of Sayyads. Elphinstone (4th ed. p. 650) makes the same mistake. The Seiru-l-muṭāḥārin, Calcutta printed text, II, 32; has, however, Māhrāhār plainly enough. The error, no doubt, began with Mustapha, Seir, III, 83, who reads “Barr.”

3 Seir Mutaqhaṭārin, III, 441, note 261; 
Bārhal, nahīn to, Barhā : 
Gadāh bahādūr, Bahādūr gadāh.

Blochmann, Äin, I, 390, 391, Robert J. Leeds, in N. W. Provinces Census Report for 1865 (District Muzaffarnagar), Elliot, Supp. Gloss., 50. Blochmann’s hope (Äin, I, 395, note,) of an exhaustive history of the Bārhalh 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 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-l-tawārīkh, prepared in 1864 by Sayyad Rōshan ‘Alī Khān, Mirānpuri.
W. Irvine—Later Mughals (1707-1803).

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. Besides the prestige of Sayyad lineage, of descent from the famous Bârhah branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man who had held in 'Âlamgîr's reign first the sùbahdâri of Bijâpur in the Dakhin and then that of Ajmîr, 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 Khân, known as Sayyad Miyan, had risen in the service of Rûhu-llah Khân, 'Âlamgîr's Mîr Bakhshi, and finally, on receiving an imperial manşab, attached himself to the eldest prince Mu'azzam, Shâh 'Âlam, (afterwards the emperor Bahâdur Shâh).

Hûsain 'Ali Khân (afterwards 'Abdullah Khân, Qâţbu-l-mulk) and Hûsain 'Ali Khân, two of the numerous sons of 'Abdullah Khân, Sayyad Miyan, were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively. About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was fâujdâr of Sultanpur Nazarbâr in Baglânah, sùbah Khândesh, after that, of Siûmî Hûshangâbâd also in Khândesh, then again of Nazarbâr coupled with Thalez in sîrkâr Asîr of the same sùbah. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangâbâd. The younger brother Hûsain 'Ali Khân, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in 'Âlamgîr's reign held charge first of Rantambhôr, in sùbah Ajmîr, and then of Hindaun Biânah, in sùbah Ágra.

After prince Mu'izzu-d-dîn, the eldest of Shâh 'Âlam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of of the Multân province, Hûsain 'Ali Khân and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Bilûc zamîndâr, the Sayyads were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Mu'izzu-d-dîn thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite 'Isâ Khân, Mâ'in. The Sayyads quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lahûr, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Mu'îm Khân, the Nâzîm of that place.

1 For instance, see Khâfi Khân's remarks, II, 730.
2 If, as Rieu, 788, 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.

5 Mu'âsiru-l-wunûb, III, 130; Khâfi Khân, II, 456; Wârid, 90, 91. For Baglânâth see Aûn, II, 208 and M-ul-n, i, 414. Akbar (Aûn i. c.) placed Nazarbâr in Sùbah Mûlva. It was transferred again to the Khândesh sùbah about 1600, Bom-
When 'Alamgîr died and Shâh 'Alam, Bahâdur Shâh, reached Lâhâr on his march to Agrah to contest the throne, the Sayyads presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Sa'far 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 Jâjau on the 18th Rabî' 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, Nûru-d-din 'Ali Khân, was left dead on the field, and Husain 'Ali Khân was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zu-l-qâ'dah 1119 H. (Feb. 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of 'Abdu-l-lah Khân, 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 Khânasâd Khân, 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. Husain 'Ali Khân is also said to have offended Mu'izzu-d-din, Jahândâr Shâh. The morning after the battle of Jâjau, the prince visited their quarters to condole with them on the death of their brother, Nûru-d-din 'Ali Khân, and in so doing launched out into praises of their valour. Husain 'Ali Khân 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-din 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 Nandubar. Sultanpur is a town to the N. E. of Nandurbar town, id 471. Thalez might stand for Thâlner, an ancient town in Khândesh, situated on the Tapti, 28 m. N. E. of Dhûlia, id, 473. It is perhaps a little too far west of Asir to be a quite satisfactory identification. Siûnî and Hooghâbâd are two well-known districts in the Central Provinces, C. P. Gaz. 206 and 468. As to Mu'izzu-d-din's dealings with the Bîlôc tribes, see Mu'âṣir-i-alam-gîrî, 432 (Year 1112 H.), id, 470, (Year 1114 H.), Khâfi Khân, II, 462, 463, Khûshhâl Cnd, 392 a, Wârid, pp. 86-88 (my copy, episodical account introduced in reign of Mbd. Shâh). Also Mu-l-u, I, 825, 826, under Khûdâ Yâr Khân, Lêtî.

1 Khâfi Khân, II, 575, Kamwar Khân, 20; M-ül-U, I, 321, III, 130.
2 Akâbârât or news-letters, dated 24th Zu-l-ḥajj 1119 H. (16th March 1708); Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society's Library, Morley, cxxii; Wârid, 91.

J. I. 23
In Sha'bān 1120 H. (Oct. 1708) 'Abdu-llah Khān had been named to the šubah of Ajmēr, then in a disturbed state owing to the Rajput 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 Dihlī, 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 'Azīmu-sh-shāh, Abdu-llah Khān on the 21st Žu-l-qā'ādah 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 'Azīmābād Paṭnāh.


When Farrukhsīyar first arrived at 'Azīmābād, Ḥusain 'Ali Khān was away on an expedition, apparently the recapture of Ruḥtās fort, which about this time had been seized by one Muḥammad Raẓā, Ra'āyaṭ Khān. The Sayyad had felt annoyed on hearing that Farrukhsīyar had issued coin and caused the Khutbah to be read in his father, 'Azīmu-sh-shāh's, name, without waiting to learn the result of the impending struggle at Lāhēr. 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 Farrukhsīyar 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 enterprise. Let Husain 'Ali Khān then choose his own course, either let him aid Farrukhsīyar 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 Jabāndār 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 Mḥd. 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, Ḍāmād Shāh.
ful, the whole of Hindustan 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 Ḥusain ‘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 Farrukhīsiyar 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 Farrukhīsiyar’s behalf. He wrote at once to his elder brother, ‘Abdu-llāh Khān, at Allahābād, inviting him to join the same side, and Farrukhīsiyar addressed a sarāmn 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-amara) were formally promised to the two brothers as their reward in case of success.

10. ‘Abdul-lāh Khān, on being superseded at Allahābād, gives in his adhesion to Farrukhīsiyar.

At first ‘Abdu-l-lāh 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-l-lāh 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.

A few days before his arrival at Allahābād, Shujā’-ud-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), 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-l-lāh Khān, at his second interview with Shujā’-ud-dīn Khān,

1 Wārid, 136 b; Khāfi Khān, II, 708, 710, 711. As to Ruhtās, see Kāmwar Khān, entry of 22nd Zu-l-hajj 1123 H. (30th Jan. 1712.)
2 Wārid, 138 b., 139 a.
3 Khāfi Khān, II, 715, puts the sum at 28 lakhs of rupees (£280,000). Shujā’-ud-dīn Khān, Mbd. Khān, died as Šubahdār of Bengal on the 17th Muḥarram 1152 H. (28th April, 1739), aged nearly 80 years (T-i-Mhdī).
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-din Khān yielded to this specious advice, and 'Abdu-Ilāh Khān, as soon as he was master of the coin, used it to pay the arrears of his soldiers.¹

While 'Abdu-Ilāh Khān was still in expectation of a favourable reply to his letter to Jahāndār Shāh, he was surprised 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, sūbah Allahābād, one Rājī Mūjammād Khān,² who had risen to notice in the recent fighting at Lāhōr, and through the reputation thereby acquired had been appointed Mīr Ātashk, or general of artillery. The new governor nominated as his deputy his relation, one Sayyad 'Abdu-l-ghaffār (a descendant of Sayyad Ṣadr Jahan, Ṣadr-ṣ-sādūr, Pīhānvi).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 Karrah Mānikpur, Abu-l-ḥasan Khān, a Sayyad of Bijāpur, who was 'Abdu-Ilāh Khān's bakhšī, advanced at the head of 3,000 men to bar his progress. In the end of Jamādī II 1124 H, (29th = 2nd August, 1712) they met at a little distance from Sarāe Alam Caud,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 Saifū-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, Sīrāj-ū-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, and Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, younger brothers of 'Abdu-Ilāh Khān, and Ratn Caud, 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, Khāfī Khān, II, 711.
² Gardēzī, see Elliot, Supp. Gloss., 447; Gardēz is situated in the Bangashāt, not far from Kohāt, Āín, II, 407 note 2. Rājī Mūḥ. Khān first entered the service through Mūrūn Khān, Khān Khānān. Kam Rāj, Ibratnamah, calls him Ḥusām-ū-d-dīn, who had been made Sayyad Rājī Khān, Bahādur, Dilāwar Jang. 'Abdu-l-ghaffār is there called his brother.
³ Blochmann, Āín I, 208, 468. Pīhānī, a village near Qamnaj or Lakhman; Ṣadr Jahan was Akbar's ṣadr in the 34th year (about 1589). He died in 1020 H. (1011-12) in Jahāngīr's reign; he was said to be 120 years of age, Beale, 229. M-ul-U., III, 348. Pīhānī is now in the Hardoi district, Oudh Gaz, II, 160.
⁴ Khāfī 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 Jamādī I instead of II. Mānikpur and Karrah are both on the Ganges, the former about 45 and the latter about 30 m. N.-W. of Allahābād. Sarāe Alam Caud 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 Bārhah Sayyads gave way, many were killed and wounded, the rest fled. Only the three Bārhah brothers with Abū-l-ḥasan 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 Siraju-d-dīn 'Ali 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. The Bārhah 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-l-lāh 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-l-lāh 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-l-lāh Khān, disgusted at the treatment he had received, had already thrown in his lot with Farrukhsiyyar.³

11. Farrukhsiyyar leaves Patnah and reaches Allahābād.

After Ḥusain 'Ali Khān had declared himself, there were other important adhesions to Farrukhsiyyar's cause. From the first Aḥmad Bēg, a man long attached to the family, had been particularly active and useful in obtaining adherents; he was now made Ghūzin-d-dīn

---

¹ It was really his brother who was killed (Ṣiwāni-i-Khizr, 24). Khizr Khān was present.


³ Khāfī Khān, II, 714. For the letters of Jahāndār Shāh see Inshā-ʾī Mādhū Ram (lithographed) pp. 85, 86. This compilation was put together in 1136 H. (1723-4).
Khan, Ghulam Jang, and as some say received a promise of the wazirship. One of the most notable of these accessions was that of Sidiq Naraian, son of Dhir, a powerful zamindar of the Bohipur country in Shahabad. 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 Alamgir, Rajah Rudar, descended in the fifth generation from the first Ujainiyah rajah of Bohipur, had risen to notoriety and was joined by most of the neighbouring zamindars. In consequence of his rebellion against constituted authority he was deposed, and the chiefship given to his brother, ancestor of the present Jagdispur and Dumraon houses in that pargana. During Alamgir's long absence in the Dakhin, the governors and faujdars left the zamindars alone. Dhir, a distant cousin of the Rajah, descended in the sixth generation from the same ancestor, used this opportunity, seized many zamindaris, and maintained a force of about 14,000 horse and 30,000 foot. When prince Azimu-sh-shah was governor at Patna, this zamindar attended his court. A settlement had nearly been effected when Dhir became alarmed and escaped. Rajah Dhir died of fever in the year 1712. Sidiq Naraian, his second but eldest surviving son, who had only recently succeeded, had already begun a dispute with Husain Ali Khan's subordinates. To enforce his claims he had come with a large armed force and was encamped at Hajipur, on the further side of the Ganges from Patna city. He talked of plundering the country. Ahmad Beg was sent to him to induce him either to offer his services or retire from the position he had taken up. Ahmad Beg's eloquence persuaded him to accept service, bringing with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen.

1 Yahya Khan, 119 b, and see biography in Mu-l-u. II, 869. A man was introduced by him, whose name I read as Mael (or perhaps Faqil) Khan (Ijad, 41 b), who was made Azam Khan and first Bakshis. But he was superseded by the Sayyads and Khwaja Asim (Khan Dauran) almost as soon as appointed; his appointment as Bakshis was taken away on the 15th Zu-l-pa'd (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 Bai Bahadur Jai Pargash Lal, C. I. E., dewan to the Maharajah of Dumroon, 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 Baranwa in pargana Piru, sirkar Shabab (Piru 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 Patna, in Thana Jahanabad of the Gaya district, and close to the bank of the Son) remark: 'this is the place where Sedisti naran has a strong fort and good guard.' Piru is about 20 m. W. of Arwal and on the other side of the Son.

3 Ijad, 61 a., 63 b.; Khafi Khan, II, 712.
Khwajah A'sim, who had escaped in safety from the battle field at Lāhōr on the day when prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān lost his life, now joined Farrukhšīyar at Patnāh 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 'Azīmu-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. Ŝaf Shikān Khān (Hasan Bāg), Deputy Governor of Orissa, also threw in his lot with Farrukhšīyar, and Mir Mušrif, a Lakhnaū Sayyad, joined with some four thousand horsemen belonging to his own tribe. Another new adherent was Zainu-d-dīn Khān, son of Ġhairat Khān and grandson of Bahādur Khān, Dāūdzaī, of Shāhjahānpur in Rūhilkhānd, followed by four thousand brother Patḥāns.¹ 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 Patnāh on its way from Bengal to Dīhlī.² 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 Patnāh, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Ŝurat Singh, Khattrī, 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 Dīhlī, 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-l-.w., I, 415. He left seven sons, of whom only two, Dīlawar Khān and 'Azīz Khān, Chaghstāī, are there named. In T-i-Mḥdi, year 1138 H., we have the genealogy stated thus:

Dāryā Khān, d. 1040 H. (1630-1).
Bahādur Khān, d. 1059 H. (1649-50).
Ḡhairat Khān.
Zainu-d-dīn Khān, killed 1124 H. (1713).
Bahādur Khān, killed 1138 H. (1725-6).

² As to Zainu-d-dīn Khān, his mad doings and rough mode of forcing money out of Fath Ma'mār Khān's widow at Shāhābād (Oudh), see Aḥhār-i-Ḏīhhab, my copy, 274. That work says he joined Farrukhšīyar west of Allahābād.
² Khāfī Khān, II, 715, states the sum that thus fell into Farrukhšīyar'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 Shābān 1124 H. (18th September 1712), Farrukhsiyar's advance tents were sent off from Patnām. 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 Ramāzān (4th October) he moved to Sīrāpur, thence to Matoli; on the 12th (12th October) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān arrived from Patnām. Next day they reached the banks of the Sōn, which was still much swollen by rain. With the help of Sīdī Shāh Jāhrū and by the special exertions of Aḥmad Bāg, Kōkah, a boat bridge was thrown across, and on the 17th Ramāzān (17th October) they crossed to Sītārā. Further stages were Khatōli (20th), Sūrī (21st), Mahādeo (22nd), Jaipur (23rd), the last two being places in parganah Sahāsrām, then on the 24th Sahāsrām itself was reached. Khurramābād was arrived at on the 25th, Mohānī (26th), Sālōt (27th), Saraē Said Rājā (28th), Saraē Mughūl (29th), and the Ganges bank at Chōtah Mīrzāpur, opposite Bānāras, on the 30th Ramāzān (30th October). There was some talk of levying a contribution on the rich men of that city, but through one Rāc 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 Saraē Mōhan, Sarāē Bābu, Saraē Jagādis to Jhūsī. Sayyad 'Abdu’-llah Khān had pitched a camp at Jhūsī 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’sīm, Aḥṣāf Khān, by which the post of wazīr was accorded to ‘Abdu’-llah Khān and that of Amīru’-l-umārā to Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān. Before leaving Jhūsī 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 Sīpahdārganj. Here we will leave Farrukhsiyar and turn to the movements of prince A’zzu-d-dīn.³

¹ Ijād, a, 66 b; Khāfī Khān, II, 715; Valentyn, IV, 290.
² Sayyad Ṣadrū-l-Ḥaqq, surnamed Taqī-d-dīn Mūhammad, Abū-l-Ākbar, son of Shābān-2-millāt, was born at Jhūsī in 720 H. (1320-1) and died there on the 7th Zū-’l-hajj 785 H. (31st January 1384).—Mambū’-l-ansūb, B. M. Or. 2014, fols. 70–72.
³ Ijād, 66 a, 72, 73, 74, 75; Khāfī 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 Saraē Mōhan, 8½ m., Saraē Bābu,
185

12. Prince A'zzu-d-din's Advance to Kajwah, his Defeat and Flight to Agra.

When Jahāndār Shāh heard of the defeat of 'Abdu-l-ghaffār, the defection of Abdu-l-lah Khān, and the march westwards of Farrukhsiyar, he sent urgent orders to his son A'zzu-d-din to move onwards from Agra, 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 enterprise 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, 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 Chabēlah Rām, faujdār of Cak-lah Karrah Mānikpur, and as already noted, a protégé of Farrukhsiyar's

---

1 Yahyā Khān, 120 a, asserts that A'zzu-d-din's force was really no larger than one sent as an escort (badrājah).
2 Khāfī Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 70 b; Valentyn, IV, 299.
3 Or, as Ijād says, of Kōrah. J. 1. 24
house. Pressure was put upon Chabelah Rām, but he refused A'zzu-d-din's overtures. He was tempted with an offer of a mansab 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 Dīhlī). After this offer was refused, they demanded all the treasure which had come from Bengal and all the money in the Imperial chest. Chabelah 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 Chabelah Rām would seize the earliest opportunity to make his escape. Accordingly, when they were at Kajwah, Lutfu-llah Khān (then known as Sarfarāz Khān) was sent at the head of their best troops with a request that Chabelah 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. Chabelah 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 Farrukhshiyar'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 Farrukhshiyar. 1 Chabelah 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 Farrukhshiyar at Kunwarpur a few days after Chabelah Rām, and shortly afterwards, on payment of five lakhs of rupees, was made Khān Zamān.

Chabelah Rām's arrival was most opportune, and from the money in his possession, he now began to advance fifteen thousand rupees a day. Farrukhshiyar also borrowed from some merchants of Bengal and Paṭnāh, who joined the camp and travelled with it, the terms being sawāē, 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 khicri (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 Shawwāl (23rd Nov. 1712).
leaves (sāg), pumpkins (kaddū) and the like. The horses got little or no grass or grain.¹

Towards the end of Shawwl (29th-28th November 1712), while Farrukhsiyar was still at a distance of thirteen or fourteen kos, A'zzu-d-din proceeded to throw up entrenchments at Kajwah. Being the site of 'Alamgir's victory over Shuja' 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 Sarā Chālī on the 19th Shawwl (18th November 1712), was at Hathganw on the 20th, Amrātū on the 21st, Sarā Manda on the 22nd, Chēdā Abūnagar on the 23rd, Kunwarpur 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, Bangāsh, 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 Āgraḥ sūbah, had lived as a soldier of fortune in Bundelkhand, 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; Khāfī Khān, II, 716; Khūshbād 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 Ajāību-l-ʿajāk (B. M., Or. 1776) fol. 19 b, 29 b, etc.
² Ijād, 77 a; Khāfī Khān, II, 698, 716; Elphinstone, 530.
³ Khāfī Khān, II, 715; Ijād, 776; Khūshhāl Cand, 392 a. Hathganw is about 19 m., Sarā Manda about 11½ m. east of Fathpur; Chēdā Abūnagar I identify (thanks to my friend Mr. C. Rustonjee, c. s.) as a suburb of Fathpur itself. The other places are not traced.
From Roshanabad, on the 25th Shawwal 1124 H. (24th November 1712), 'Abdu-llah Khan and Husain 'Ali Khan 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. Farrukhsiyyar was in favour of an immediate attack, 'Abdu-llah Khan 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 Khan, Sayyad Husain 'Ali Khan, Amir Khan, Fathi 'Ali Khan and Bahadar Khan (Zainu-d-din). Their cannon were placed in readiness behind the shelter of the mud walls in the neighbouring villages. On the left of Farrukhsiyyar's army, positions were allotted to A'shraf Khan (Khwajah A'sim), Mahtab Chabehlah Ramm, Afrasyab Khan, and other leaders of the Wala Shahi (or household) troops. Four hundred camels belonging to the other side were captured at the outposts and brought in.¹

On the 26th Shawwal (25th November 1712), Farrukhsiyyar's main camp moved on half a mile to 'Aqilabad. 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 Haiya Khan, grandson of Hamid Khan, Qureshi, deserted from the other side, and was rewarded with his great-grandfather's title of Daud Khan.²

During the 28th Shawwal 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 Shawwal (28th Nov. 1712), Khwajah Husain, Khan Dauran, and Lutfullah Khan 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 Nawab! 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 Taimur's House has fled without a battle. We are in sight of the enemy: we ought not to retreat without a fight.' Khun Dauran, finding that his proposal was rejected, prepared forged letters, bearing the seals of Intiyaz Mahal (i.e., Lal Kuwar) and Kokaltash

¹ Ijad, 78 b, 79 a; Khafi Khan, II, 699, 716.
² Ijad, 80 a. For Daud Khan Qureshi, see M.-ul-u. II, 32, and for Hamid Khan, his son, id II, 37.
Behold The Khushhal

A little after midnight, one or two caskets having been filled with the most valuable jewels and some gold coins collected, A’zuzu-d-din, his wife Sayyad Begam, daughter of Bêdêr 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. With all the signs of intense fright, they took their way back to Agrah, 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.

When word was brought to Farrukhshyar’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. The women’s clothes left behind were so many, it is said, as to weary out those who were sent to count them. Farrukhshyar’s camp was now moved close to Kajwah. A pursuit was proposed, but countermanded by Farrukhshyar. 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 Mużaffar Khan, maternal uncle of ‘Abdu-llah Khan, Sayyad Hasan Khan (son of Sayyad Hussain Khan) and Sayyad Mustafa Husain (grandson of Sayyad Qutb, Nâgôri). Lutfu-llah Khan also seems to have taken advantage of the first opportunity to abandon A’zuzu-d-din and make his peace with Farrukhshyar.


On the night of the 4th Zü-l-qâ’dh (2nd December 1712) messengers brought to Jahândár Shâh at Dihi unwelcome news of A’zuzu-d-din’s

1 Kâmwar Khan, 122, asserts that even the women were left behind.
2 Ijâd, 80 b; Khâfî Khan, II, 699, 717; Yahyâ Khan, 120, a, b.
3 This leads Kâmwar Khan, 122, to burst forth into verse:—
   {Talû-llah, zahi, qyüm o dânâ !
   Tawânâ-h-dh-i-har nà-tawânâ !
   ‘Behold of the omnipotent the wisdom and strength!`
   ‘Giver of power to all those who are powerless!’
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 Tughlaqabad, eight miles south of Shahjahansabad, or New Dihli. These views did not, however, prevail and a march to Agra 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 zamindârs, 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. Warid, 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 Babar, 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 Agra was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.²

¹ Khushhal Cand, 392 a, says that his father, Jiwan Râm, was then a clerk in the Khânsâman's (Lord Steward's) office. In one week jewels, worth three kros and fifty lakhs of rupees, were distributed, among them a pot (matkah) of jasper studded with jewels, said to have belonged to Bhim, brother of Rajah Judishtar (Yudhisthira) and Arjun! It was 11 Shahjahâni dîrâ'a (yards?) long and 7 dîrâ'a wide! Although the dimensions are so precisely stated, I need hardly say that they should be taken cum grano.

² Ijad, 82 b, 83 a; Warid, 140 a; Khushhal Cand, 392 a.
One of the first measures necessary was to provide for the immediate safety of Agra. 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 'Azimu-sh-shāh's part, but withdrew in time and was saved through Asad Khān's and 'Abdu-s-ṣamad Khān's intercession. When danger from Farrukhisiyar threatened, he was too important a man to be neglected, and Žu-l-fiqar Khān, in spite of their old rivalry, found it expedient to make him an offer of employment. He was sent to Agra to join prince A'ızu-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 Agra. The Mughal leader next in importance to Cin Qilic Khān was his cousin, Muhammad 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 vakil-i-mutlaq, was put in supreme charge of the city, Muhammad 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 Hamidu-d-din Khān, 'Ālamgīr-shāhī, and of Mahābat Khān, son of the late ważir, 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 Žu-l-fiqār Khān, Kōkaltāsh Khān (Khān Jahān) and Jānī Khān, Jahān Shāhī, with strong artillery and 40,000 horsemen. Rāji Muḥammad Khān, general of artillery, had under his orders one hundred cannon, large and small, besides swivel-guns (zambūrak) and camel-guns (shākurānāl). His orders were to accompany the advanced tents. Islām Khān, Murtaẓā Khān, and A'ızam Khān guarded the special artillery, detached to protect the centre, under command of Raẓā Quli Khān.2 Muḥammad Amīn Khān and 'Abdu-s-ṣamad Khān were on the right wing; Jan Nişār Khān and Mukhtār Khān on the left wing. Round the emperor in the centre were posted Sa'du-llah Khān, Ḥafīz-u-llah Khān and Bahrahmand Khān. Faizū-llah Khān, Mughal, was told off to guard the retinue of Lāl Kuνwar. 3

1 Khāfī Khān, II, 698, 716.
2 Khāfī Khān, II, 718, adds the name of Sipahdār Khān.
3 Nuru-d-din, 97; Kāmwar Khān, 123; Khāfī Khān, II, 718. For Žu-l-fiqar Khān
At the time appointed by the astrologers, near midnight of the 11th Zu-l-qa’dh 1124 H. (9th December, 1712), Jahândâr Shâh mounted his elephant and rode to his camp at Talâb Kishn Dâs near Khîrzâbâd, 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 Dihli 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 Jahândâr Shâh set out for Âgrah, 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 Khîrzâbâd they learnt that prince A’zzu-d-dîn had reached Âgrah on the 6th of the month (4th December, 1712). Farrukhsîyâr was at the same time reported to be at Itâwah, though he was then really at Makhanpur. 1

On the 15th Zu-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, Râhtör, of Jôdhpur, and the other Râjputs 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 Râjputs could arrive upon the scene. On the 16th the camp was pitched at Farîdâbâd, about sixteen miles south of the and Kôkâltâsh Khân, see ante p. 160, Jâni Khân, p. 163 note 1, Râji Mîd. Khân, p. 180 note 2, Murtâzâ Khân p. 161, No 5, A’zam Khân (Mîd. Mâh), p. 160, Raqâ Qulî Khân, p. 161, No. 7. Islân Khân was Mîr A’hmad, grandson of Islân Khân, No. 1; he died in 1144 H., 1731-2, aged 77, Mu-l-u, II, 741, T-i-Mîdî, year 1144 H. Jân Nişâr Khân, (Khwâjah ‘Abdu-l-mukâram), d. Rabî’ II 1131 H. (Febr. March 1719), aged about eighty, T-i-Mîdî, and Mu-l-u, I. 537. Muhtâr Khân (S. Mîd. formerly Iftikhâr Khân) received this, his father’s title, in 1119 H. (1708) when the latter was made Khân ‘Alâm (d. 1121 H.); his sister married Bêdâr Bâgh, son of A’zam Shâh, (see Mu-l-u, III, 655, for the father). M. K. died early in 1153 H. (1740), T-i-Mîdî.

1 Nûr-d-dîn, 98, 99; Khâfî Khân, II, 700, 718. K. K. gives the date of starting as the middle of Zu-l-qa’dh, 25th Âgar of the Ilahi era. Itâwah is 73 m. south-east of Âgrah, 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. By daily marches Agrah was reached on the 1st Zū-1-ḥajj (29th December, 1712), and their first encampment was at Bāgh Dahrah, three miles south of the city. Prince A'zzu-d-din 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 Agrah. 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.

On the 2nd Zū-1-ḥajj (30th December, 1712) Jahāndār Shāh moved to Samūgarh, a place close to the Jamnāh, to the east of and about eight miles from Agrah city. Probably it was chosen as having been the site of 'Ālamgīr's victory of the 6th Ramaẓān 1068 H. (June, 1658), won by him over his brother Dārā Shākoh. 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-1-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. Farrukhshiyar'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-1-fiqār Khān was

1 Khāfi Khān, II, 700, says Zū-1-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. Farrukhshiyar 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 Agrah in 1763, 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 habitants 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 Kôtaktash Khan (Khân Jahân) and his brother, Muḥammad Mâh (Aʿzam Khân). 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 Zû-l-fiqâr Khân, 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. Kôtaktash Khan 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 Bahâdur Khân (Zainu-d-dîn) Râjêlah, and Muḥammad Khân, Bangash, with seven or eight thousand horsemen and some light artillery, had reached the further bank of the Jamnah, intending to effect a crossing. Râjî Muḥammad Khân was ordered out with his guns to the other side of the river, to prevent them crossing. As soon as Râjî Muhammad Khân, accompanied by Islam Khân, 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 Jahândâr 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 Zû-l-ḥajj = 7th December, 1712) was celebrated at Samûgârâh. One writer, Yahyâ Khan, 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 Zû-l-qâ’dh (1st December, 1712) to Qâşbah Kôrah. Here he halted

---

\(^1\) Khân Khân, II, 701, 718, 713; Elphinstone, 522.

\(^2\) Nûrû-d-dîn, Multânî 100; Yahyâ Khân, 120 b. Samûgârâh 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 Bādi'u-d-din. The next marches were 'Ālamnagar (5th), Dōhar (7th), Jōphra, (8th), Sapōli (10th), Nadhaya (11th), and the town of Makhanpur on the 12th. On the next day visits were paid to the shrine of Shāh Madār, 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 Aṣghar 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), Amīpur (22nd), Basantpur (23rd), Kalyānpur (24th), Itāwah - (25th), Fāzilābād (27th), Kharsanah (28th), Sarāe Murlidhar (29th), Shukshābād (1st Zu-l-ḥajj), Fīrūzabd (2nd), 'Alīnagar (4th), and I'timādpur (5th). This last named place is three miles from the left bank of the Jamnāh, and lies five miles north-east of Samūgār. 2

Here they learnt that Jahāndār Shāh had reached Samūgār 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 Zu-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) Farrukhsīyar moved his camp some

---

1 Makhanpur is 34 m. North-West of Cawnpore, Thornton, 342. Shēkh Bādi'u-d-din, known as Shāh Madār, died 18th Jamādā I, 840 H. (29th November 1436) :

Dar Makānpūr hast marqād- i-ū,  
Hind vā shud hazār fakhr az ū.  
Khāsinatu- l- asfiyah, II, 310; Beale, 364, has 838 H. (28th December, 1434).

2 Ijad, 82 b.
3 Khūb ast, khūb ast.
4 Ijad, 88 b.
six miles to Saræ Bégam. 1 Here welcome news was received of treachery at work in Jahándár Sháh’s army. ‘Ubaíd-ullah, Shari’yat-ullah Khán (afterwards Mir Jumlah), who had been with ‘Azim-sh-sháh at Lábôr, 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 Ágrah by the officials on the river bank and had not been allowed to continue his journey. At this time, when Jahándár Sháh arrived at Ágrah, Shari’yat-ullah Khán, at the peril of his life, opened secret negotiations with the Mughal leaders, Cin Qilic Khán and Muhammed Amin Khán, 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 Khán finds a ford and crosses the Jamnah.

At this point things seemed to have come to a deadlock; Jahándár Sháh 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 Khán was exhausted. Making over charge of the main body to Ḥusain ‘Ali Khán, 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 Zu-l-hajj 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 Khán’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 Mowâtpur, where he sacrificed for the ‘iíd. 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 Saræ Hazam of the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50, nine miles west of I’timadpur.

2 Ijâd, 88b, 89a; Mhd. Qásim, Lâhôrî, 157, 158; Khâfí Khán, II, 700. 719. Lutf-ullah Khán, Ṣâdiq, is said to have aided in seducing Jahándár Sháh’s officers from their allegiance, Khushhál Cand 392 b.

3 Iridât Khán (J Scott, II, pt. IV, 91) says the counter march was one of twenty miles, and the place of crossing the ford of Gâo Ghât, some miles above Ágrah, Khâfí Khán 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 Saræ Rûz Bahânî, four kos from Ágrah on the road to Dîlû. The Ahrâr-l-khawâqin 56a, also calls it the ford of Rûz Bahân.

4 Khâfí Khán II, 720, says this crossing was 3 or 4 pâs i.e., 9 to 12 hours after that of ‘Abdullah Khán.
him; and although the night was dark, no lives were lost. Camp was pitched at Saræ Röz Bahâni 1 near Akbar’s tomb at Bihishtâbâd Sikandrah, five miles west of Agrah fort, with the front facing Agrah and the rear towards Dihlî. For a time Ḥusain ‘Alî Khân and Chabelah Râm, Nâgar, 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 Jahândâr Shâh. They, too, crossed the river twenty-four hours after the rest of Farrukhsiyar’s army. The next day, the 12th Zu-l-hâjj (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


No one in Jahândâr Shâh’s army had dreamt that Farrukhsiyar would be able to cross the Jamuah 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, Jahândâr Shâh failed to take the initiative. Zu-l-fiqâr Khân 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 Agrah (13th Zu-l-hâjj 1124 H. 10th January, 1713).

Zu-l-fiqâr Khân chose a position resting, to the right or east, upon the gardens and houses of Agrah, 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 Yâlyâ Khân, 1206, places the camp near Sikandrah. Saræ Röz Bahâni (Kh. Kh. II, 720) was 4 kos or about 9 miles west of Agrah. There is a tomb of a saint of some repute, Shâkh Röz Bihân, a little to the east of Shîrûz town, E. G. Browne, ‘A year amongst the Persians,’ London, 1893, p. 274. Röz Bahân was the son of Abî Nasar, lived to be 84 years of age, and died 636 H., Shîrûz-nâmah, B.M. Addl. 18,185 fol. 136 a. The Röz Bahâní who built this Saræ may have been a descendant or disciple of this saint. Röz Bahâní is not in Beale, although that author lived at Agrah. A Yusuf Khân, Röz-Bihâní, was Sâbahdâr of Hâdarâbâd in Bahâdur Shâh’s reign—Ma’âşiru-l-umarakâ, I, 256. Again, id. III, 771, a corps of Röz Bahânís was present in the battle against Prince Shuja’ at Dâlgâthâ near Akbarâgâr (Mungâr)?

2 Ijad, 90; Wârid, 141 a; Khâﬁ Khân II, 720; Yâlyâ Khân, 1206.

3 Ijad, 91; Wârid, 141 b; Khâﬁ Khân II, 719, 720; Nûru-d-dîn, 101.
His troops were disposed in the following order. As the heavy artillery had been abandoned in the Jamnah sauds, 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 Jahan) and the other under Jānī Khān. In support, there were ten thousand men under Sabhā Cand, ‘Abdu-s-samad Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān. The first body was opposed to ‘Abdu-l-lah Khān, and the second to Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān, who was on the right of Farrukhsiyār. Rājī Muḥammad Khān, the mīr-āṭāsh, 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-hājī 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-l-lah Khān mounted his elephant and displayed his war standard. Then he sent Chabēlah Rām, Nāgār, 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 Jahanān) who was on Jahandār 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 Farrukhsiyār’s centre. Meanwhile, in the expectation that the guns would soon arrive, there was some hesitation on Jahandār 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 Shīkan


² Khāṣ Khān, 721, says this force was sent against Kōkaltāsh Khān. Irādat 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 Rajah Chabēlah Rām, and the latter, that of Sāyyad Ḥusain ‘Ali Khān.’
Khān (Hasan Beg) Mir Ashraf (of Lakhnau), Saifullāh Khān, Fath ‘Ali Khān, commanding Farrukhsiyar’s artillery, Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhelāh, and others, delivered an attack on Kōkaltāsh Khān. They soon came to close quarters, Jahāndār Shāh’s side having the advantage. Seeing this result, ‘Abdu-l-lāh Khān sent forward reinforcements under Afrasīyāb Khān and Intiyyāz Khān. Raẓā Qulī Khān, commanding Jahāndār Shāh’s light artillery, poured a fire on them which did much damage. Husain ‘Ali 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-samad Khān appeared in the Sayyad’s rear and his Tūrānī bowmen wounded Husain ‘Ali Khān so severely that he fell to the ground and fainted. The Bārhā Shāyads closed round him and defended his body till they were cut down themselves. Bahādur Khān (Zainu-d-dīn), Rōhelāh, was felled by a sword cut delivered by Muḥammad Māh (A’zam Khān), brother of Kōkaltāsh Khān. Mir Ashraf (brother of Mir Mushirīf) and Sayyad Fath ‘Ali Khān flung themselves on the Tūrānīs 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.

While the contest between Husain ‘Ali Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān was proceeding, Chābēlah Rām made a fierce charge on Jānī Khān. He was backed up by Khān Zamān (‘Ali Asghar) and Muḥammad Khān, Bangāsh, and both sides made play with their swords. Many a head was severed, many a saddle emptied. It was late in the afternoon.

1 Khāfī Khān, 721, says this attack was against Zā-ī-fiqār Khān.
2 Subrāb, known as Mirzā Ajmērī, entitled A. Kh, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, son of Girshāsp, died at Dīhlī on the night of the 25th Ramāzān 1130 (21st August 1718), rank 5,000 (T-i-Mhāī). He had been Farrukhsiyar’s instructor in wrestling and archery. An anecdote of his strength is given in Akhbar-i-Muḥabbat, 277. His elder brother was the Raṣḥīd Khān (ante, p. 173) who had been sent in 1124 H. to eject Jafar Khān (Mursiḥ Qulī Kh) from Bengal, vide Gladwin, Transactions, 96, et seq.
3 Sister’s son of S. ‘Abdu-l-lāh Khān, Khūshhāl Cand, 392b. On fol. 396b there is an incredible story that ‘Abdu-l-lāh Khān, jealous of his nephew’s reputation, sent a European doctor to him at Āgra, where he was left behind wounded, with instructions to kill him by poisoned ointments, and it was done accordingly.
4 Khāfī Khān, II, 721; 722, Khūshhāl Cand, 393a. Shridhar Murlidhar also gives us the date in the following lines:—

Sambat su saṭrah sai onhattari, Pāṣ punyō Budh tahi,
Sam sō agyūrah tētis-ā, māhū Moharram chandahi,
Aru pāṭsāhī māh Ajur bāēsī, Shridhar kahi
Saph jaṅg kī sāēt sadhi, Sāheb Jahān kīnī sahi.
and the booming of Jahändár Shãh’s big guns could now be heard. Farrukhsíyár’s men seemed to lose heart; many left the field and took shelter in neighbouring villages.¹

When Zú-l-fíqár Khán noticed that Kõkáltásh Khán had begun to gain the upper hand, he directed Mukhtár Khán to lead a strong reinforcement to their right, to the aid of Jání Khán, and gave orders in person to the artillery to direct their fire against ‘Abdu-llah Khán. 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 Khán, surrounded by his Bârhah 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, Curâman, Jât, a practised plunderer, fell on the rear of Jahändár Shãh 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 Rãjí Muḥammad Khán in the attempt.²

Mukhtár Khán reached Jání Khán’s side at a critical moment. By his aid, the ranks of Chabélah Rám were thrown into confusion and his men were almost on the point of flight. Then Chabélah Rám and Muḥammad Khán, taking their lives in their hands, drove their elephants alongside that ridden by Jání Khán, and succeeded in killing him. On the death of their leader Jání Khán’s men fled, but Mukhtár Khán with 4000 men continued the fight until he was severely wounded and forced to withdraw.³

At this stage of the battle Farrukhsíyár’s defeat seemed assured. Reports had spread that Ḥusain ‘Alí Khán was dead; while separated from his standard elephant and from most of his captains, ‘Abdu-llah Khán had only a few men left around him; and in the centre, with Farrukhsíyár 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 Zú-l-fíqár Khán 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 Kõkáltásh Khán to be thoroughly defeated, he refrained from intervening in the

¹ Nûrû-d-dín, 106.
² Nûrû-d-dín, 108. Khâfí Khán, II, 702, says Mukhtár Khán was killed on the spot, Kamwar Khán, 126, however, explains that he was killed by plunderers during the retreat on Dihlí. He was the son of Mukhtár Khán, Khán ‘Alam, Bahâdur Shâhí, (d. Safar 1121 H. April 1709), Mu-l-u, III, 655, Kamwar Khán spells it Mukhtyâr Khán.
fight. Although repeatedly asked for permission, he declined to give the order to attack. At length, learning that Jānī Khān was dead, Zu-l-fiqār Khān despatched Čin Qilic Khān to support Kōkaltāsh Khān, with instructions, when free of that duty, to turn his attack against Farrukhsiyar's centre. Zu-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 Zu-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. Raẓā 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, Raẓā 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 Turānīs under Čin Qilic Khān and Muḥammad Aмир 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 Murtaza Khān came out and did their best to stem the torrent. But they were soon killed.³

Zu-l-fiqar 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 Nūrū-d-dīn, 109, Khāfī Khān, II, 702, 722, 723, Khūshbāl Cand, 393 a.
² Nūrū-d-dīn, 110 Khāfī Khān, II, 703, 724. K. K. says, 724, that Raẓā Quli Khān, after being wounded, escaped to Agrah and was there poisoned.
³ Nūrū-d-dīn, Multānī, 110, 111.
attack. Many urged that as Husain 'Ali Khan was dead (as was then thought) and 'Abdu-llah Khan 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. Zāl-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.'

'Abdu-llah Khān heard Zāl-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 Zāl-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.

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 (Āgra). Night was now rapidly approaching and his troops in despair abandoned the field. Zāl-fiqār Khān sent men to repel the enemy but the movement was ineffectual; in the darkness many were slain by the Bārhah Sayyads, and some, among them Mukhtār Khān (son of Khān 'Alam, Bahādur Shāhī) and Wazārat Khān (son of Mir Khān, the elder), were

1 Šāh-i kāh guft, Zāl bā Rustam-i-gurd, 'Dushman rā na-taawān hāq īr o becārah shumud.'
2 Nūru-d-dīn, 112, 113; Wārid, 142 a.
killed by plunderers. The camp followers of Jahândâr Shâh’s army, who had taken to flight, were trodden under foot by the retreating elephants, of which there were over two hundred present. When this rout was reported to Zu-l-fiqâr Khân, 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-llâh Khân, ventured to move against Zu-l-fiqâr Khân. Meanwhile the latter had sent messengers, to whom he had promised large rewards, to search for Jahändâr Shâh and A’zzu-d-dîn, 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 Zu-l-fiqâr Khân 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 Taimûr was as much entitled to his allegiance as another. When A’zam Shâh was defeated, he had submitted himself to Bahûdur Shâh; he was bound to adopt the same course now. On this appeal, Zu-l-fiqâr Khân withdrew slowly and in good order towards Ægrah. To all his enquiries for Jahândâr Shâh the answer was that he must have gone to the city of Ægrah. Zu-l-fiqâr Khân 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 Shâhganj near the city, where he remained until midnight, then finding no trace of Jahändâr Shâh or his son, he marched off accompanied by ‘Abdu-s-ṣamad Khân, Râjî Muḥammad Khân, Shâkir Khân and other leaders with their troops. His first march made at night carried him to near Kâkrôl, he then changed his direction and made for Dihli. Some of Zu-l-fiqâr Khân’s officers, notably ‘Abdu-s-ṣamad Khân, Ahrârî, had advised him to attempt the seizure of Farrukhsiyar’s person, an easy enterprise, and if in the morning it were found that Jahándâr Shâh and his son were slain, Farrukhsiyar’s gratitude could be assured by placing him on the throne. Zu-l-fiqâr Khân declined to entertain this project. Others advised an immediate retreat on the Dakhin, where the Nawâb’s deputy, Dâûd Khân, possessed sufficient troops and treasure to renew the struggle. This proposal seemed likely to be accepted. But Sabhâ Cand interposed with the remark, ‘Think of

1 Nûru-d-dîn, 113; Khâfî Khân, II, 703, 724; Kâmwar Khân, 128.
2 Khâfî Khân, II, 724; Yahyâ Khân, 121 a; Irâdat Khân in J. Scoti, II, pt. IV 94; B. M. No 1690, fol. 161 b. and Aḥwâlu-l-khâwâqîn, 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 ʻAbdu-llah Khān stopped the pursuit of Jahāndār Shāh and returned to the position occupied by Farrukhshīyar, bringing with him the imperial umbrella and the golden throne called kancun samīr, 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 (Aʿzam 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, lay 3 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 Hōdal, 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-1-haḍj H. (13th Jan. 1713), after dark, they entered Talpat, a village thirteen miles from Dihlī, 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 comparatively safety. As they did not wish to enter Dihlī 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 Dihlī and continue his flight to Mūltān, where he had friends. Jahāndār Shāh answered with idle talk. He still relied on Zū-1-fiqār Khān’s oaths and insisted that he must once more see and speak to that nobleman. They reached Dihlī in the night of the 18th Zū-1-haḍj (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, Āṣafu-d-daulah. 4

1 Wārid, 143 b, 144 a ; Maʿāṣiru-l-umarā, II, 93.
2 Wārid, 148 a,b.
3 Cezhā gorm hordan, to take a nap, lit. ‘to warm the eyes.’
4 Mirzā Muḥammad, 153, 154; Ijād, 108 b to 111 a; Khāfī Khān, II, 725. Mathurā is 35 m. from Āgra, Thornton, 656 ; Sarāe Hōdal, Indian Atlas, Sheet No.
Zūl-fiqār Khān with 'Abdu-s-samad Khān had arrived at Dīhli 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. Zūl-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 Dīhli went, as we have said, straight to the house of Asad Khān, in the hope of securing the renewed co-operation of Zūl-fiqār Khān. When his arrival, alone, without a single attendant, was announced, Zūl-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, Zūl-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

Zūl-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

---

¹ M. Mḥd., 153; Wārid, 145 a, b,
² M. Mḥd, 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 'Ažimu-sh-shān? 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-1-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-llaḥ) from the fort, to the charge of which he had been appointed when Jahāndār Shāh started for Āgra. He was replaced by Muḥammad Yār Khān, who had been Šūbahdār of Dihli and commandant of the fort from the time of Ālamgīr. 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 Kunwar 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-ḥajj, 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-ḥajj (19th January, 1713), before any of the victorious prince’s officers had appeared in

1 M. Ṣabd, 155. Yahyā Khān, 121 a, who had a personal grudge against the Sayyad brothers, puts Zū-1-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 Khutbah was read at the Jama' 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 Safar 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 sahib-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-fatḥ-i-ghāzī, Jahāndār Shāh.

‘In the horizons struck money like sun and moon, Abū-l-fatḥ, 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. Mbd, 156; Wārid, 143 b.; Kāmwar Khan, 128; Ijād, 110 a. Mbd Qāsim, Aurangābādī, Aḥwālu-l-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 Āṣafu-d-daulah’s hands, and if Fate were propitious he would reward him with a mansab and money. One Muḥsin, a servant of Āṣafu-d-daulah’s, was a customer of the cook-shopman. This servant took the note and gave it to his superior, the Nawāb’s nāzīr, and from him it passed to the Nawāb. On getting the note, Āṣafu-d-daulah sent men to seize Jahāndār Shāh.

2 Mā'qīr-i-'Alamgīrī, 35; Kāmwar Khan, entry of the 10th Ramazān 1121 H.—Khūshbāl 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-dīn 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 zd sikkah-i-nwgrah căn mihar o māh, ‘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, Lāhūr, 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; Lāhūr (1), Shāhjahānābād (5), Akbarābād (5), Lakhnau (2), Patnāh (2), Cambay (1), Şūrat (3), Bhūānpur (2), Aurangābād (4). I am very much surprised at finding Patnāh 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 _Khulād ārāmgāh, ‘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 Dakhīn 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’zm Shāh feared was Mu‘izzu-d-din’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 Taimīr 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 Kunwar, 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 Lānkā, 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.


2 Blochmann, _Āin, I_, Genealogical Table at end, _Mīfṣāhāt-tawārīkh, 300.

3 Hān! cah ḫūd, ba-yā, sawāl-i-mulk o þāh-at-vā sabāb?

_Goṣt ‘Az ḫwād-ṣifāmmsubb o ghirāb-i-nim-þab._

Wārid, 140 b.; Yahyā Khān, 119 a.
(14th October, 1676) to the daughter of Mirzâ Murâd Kam, Mukarram Khan, Safawi, and then, on the 18th Ramazân 1095 H. (30th August, 1684) to that lady's niece, Sayyadu-n-nissa Begam, daughter of Mirzâ Rustam, son of Mukarram Khan. Another wife was Anûp Bâe, who died at Dihli on the 25th Zu-l-qa’dâ 1147 H. (17th April 1735). She was the mother of 'Azizu-d-dîn ('Alamgir II). One wife, or rather concubine, was the woman we have so often mentioned, Lâl Kunwar, a dancing girl, created Imtiyâz Mahal after Jahândâr Shâh's accession. ¹

Children. The children of Jahândâr Shâh are shown in the following table:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mu'izzu-d-dîn, Jahândâr Shâh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A'zzu-d-dîn (1) 'Izzu-d-dîn (2) 'Azîzu-d-dîn (3) Râbi’îh Begam (4) Daughter (5).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yâhîyâ Khân, 119a, calls the younger sons 'Izzu-d-daûlah and Mu'înu-d-daûlah.

(1) A'zzu-d-dîn. 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 Amir Khân deceased, and again on the 24th Ramazân 1121 H. (23rd November, 1709) to a Sayyad Begam, daughter of Bâdâr Bâkht, son of A'zâm Shân. A'zzu-d-dîn was blinded on the 6th Muharrâm 126 H. (21st January 1714), and died at Dihli on the 8th Zu-l-ḥajj 1157 H. (12th December, 1744). ²

(2) 'Izzu-d-dîn. 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 Rabi‘î I, 1151 H. (25th July, 1738). ³

(3) 'Azîzu-d-dîn. He was born at Multân in 1099 H. (1687-8), his mother being Anûp Bâe. He succeeded to the throne in 1167 H. (1754) under the title of 'Alamgir the second, and he will be dealt with when we reach the end of his reign. ⁴

(4) Râbi’îh Bégam. She was betrothed to Bâdâr Dîl, son of Bâdâr Bâkht, on the 22nd Rabi‘î 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 Jahândâr

¹ Ma’dîsar-i-’Alamgirî, 152, 447; 343, Ma’dîsar-i-Umâra, III, 583, Tarîkh-i-Mûlli, year 1147 H.
² Ma’dîsar-i-’Alamgirî, 345; Kamwâr Khân, 59; Yahîyâ Khân, 120 b; Tarîkh-i-Mûlli, year 1157; Ghlâm ‘Ali Khân, Mughâlánâmah, 65 a.
³ Ma’dîsar-i-’Alamgirî 345; Tarîkh-i-Mûlli, year 1151.
⁴ Mirât-i-‘Aftâbunnâmâ.
⁵ Kamwâr Khân, 73.

J. i. 27
Shāh had another son-in-law, Khwājah Mūsā, Sarbuland Khān, son of Khwājah Ya‘qūb, Surbuland Khān, Naqshbandi, Bukhāri, who died on the 4th Jamādī I, 1152 H. (8th July 1739) at Shāhjahānābād, aged nearly seventy. This man’s father died in 1096 H. (1684-5), T-i-Mādī.

List of Authorities quoted or referred to.

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.

Printed Books (European Languages).

1. Valentyn.—Oud en Nieuw Ost Indien. 5 vols. folio, Amsterdam and Dordrecht, 1724.
2. Gladwin.—A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal,—by Francis Gladwin, 8°, Calcutta, 1788.
3. Sīr Mutaqharin.—A Translation of the Sīr Mutaqharin, or View of Modern Times,—by Notamanus (i.e., Haji Mustapha), 3 vols., 4°, Calcutta, 1789.
5. Stewart.—The History of Bengal,—by Major C. Stewart, 4°, London 1813.
14. **Rieu.**—Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the B. Museum,—by Dr. Charles Rieu, 3 vols, 4°., London, 1879, etc.


18. **Constable's Hand Atlas of India,** under the direction of J. G. Bartholomew, 8°., Westminster 1893.

**Printed and Lithographed Books (Persian and Urdu).**


20. **Siyyaru-l-mutâkharîn.**—by Ghulâm Husain Khân (finished Ramâzan 1195 H.), Printed, 4°., Calcutta, 1245 H. (1832-3).


23. **Hadîqatu-l-aqâlim.**—by Shâh Mu'tazâ Husain, Allahyâr Şâîî, Usmânî, Bilgrâmi (composed about 1190 H.) see Elliot, VIII, 80. Litho, 4°, Lakhna 1879 ['I also possess a manuscript copy].


**Manuscripts (Persian and Urdu).**


27. **Akhbârî.**—Of the second year of Bahâdur Shâh, 1119 H., Tod MSS. in Royal Asiatic Society, Morley, p. 127, No. CXXXIII [I found these news-reports of B. Sh. in the collection, though not catalogued].


29. **Nîru-d-dîn.**—Jâhûndâr-nâmah by Nîru-d-dîn, son of Burhânûd-dîn Fârûqi, Balkhi, Multâni, Dihlawi, composed between
1127 and 1132 H. My copy is from an original belonging to the Qāzī family of Jaunpur, N. W. P.

30. Ījād.—Farrukhsīyār-nāmah by Mḥd Aḥṣan, Ījād, Samānawī, B. M. Or. No. 25, circa 1131 H.

31. Kām Rāj.—Ībrāt-nāmah by Kām Rāj, son of Nain Sukh, Saksēnā Kāyath of Phūpōnd (Iṭāwah district), Vol. I, India Office Library No. 1534 circa 1131 H. [This first volume ends with the reign of Farrukhsīyār. The second, which was to contain that of Mḥd Shāh, is not in the India Office Library. The first volume practically incorporates his A'zamu-l-harb (B. M. Or. 1899, Elliot MSS.) Neither of these works is named in Elliot and Dowson].

32. Inshde Har Karaii,—by H. K., son of Mathūrā Das, Multānī, c. 1131 H. My copy is of a few leaves from the first one of seven bāb, or chapters [The man professes to have been Bakhshī to Iṭiqād Khān, Farrukhsīāhī. I look on it as spurious].

33. Ajaibu-l-afaq,—A collection of letters from and to Chabelah Rām, Nāgar, and his nephew Girdhar Bahādur, c. 1143 H. B. M. Or. No. 1776 (Elliot MSS).

34. Ahvalū-l-khawaqīn—by Mḥd. Qāsim Aurangābādī, 1151 H., B. M. Addl., 26, 244, Rieu, 276. [Not in Elliot].

35. Khūshāl Cand.—Nādiru-z-zamānī—By K. C., c. 1160 H., Elliot, VIII, 70, Rieu, 128, 894. B. M. Addl. 24,027, Or. 1654, Or. 1844, Or. 3288 [Or. 1844 is the only MS. containing Mḥd. Shāh's reign (the most valuable part) and even it only gives fragments. The one I quote here, No. 3288 (Oriental) once owned by H. H. Wilson, is a very good complete MS. until the reign of Mḥd Shāh, thirty years of which are compressed into three or four leaves, and what there is of this seems a fabrication.]


Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli, No. VI.

By CHAS. J. RODGERS, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society of London, &c.

(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 Malerkotla; 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 Archaeological 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) Shēr Shāh Sūri

| شیر شاه سری | خلیفة | Sultan | 945 H. |

(2) do. do. do. do. 94-Ḥ. |

(3) do. ابراهیم | شیر شاه | Sultan | امیر | شیرگارہ (Shērgarh) | In margin سنة 950 | 950 H. |

(4) do. Sultan | امیر | Shāh | Shāh | ضرب شیرگارہ | In margin سنة 950 | 950 H. |

(5) do. شیر شاه | Sultan | 943 H. |

Nos. 1 and 3 seem the only quarters of ḍāms 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 Sūri

| ابراهیم | سلطان | (شیرگارہ) | 962 Ḥ. |

This is the only half ḍām known, up to the present, of Ibrāhīm Sūri. Only a few whole ḍāms are known.
(7) Abū Bakr Shāh. In quatrefoil, 

Margin 

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 Mālwā

This is quite a new type of Maḥmūd Shāh. Duplicate in my own cabinet, obtained in Māndū.

(9) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwā.

This is also a new type of the same king.

(10) ʿAlāʾ-ud-dīn Maṣʿūd Shāh. Rude horseman.

A new type of Maṣʿūd Shāh's, not in any Museum.

(11) Fīroz Shāh, son of Abū Bakr Shāh 

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 Fīroz Shāh must not be confounded with Fīroz 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 Mālwā.

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.
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:—

The Kalimah and

Margins: apparent-

Upper margin: Mabār az al-dīnīa
Left „ و االدين ‡ rest illegible.

This is a new type of the rupees of the third Sūrī emperor.

(15) Abū Bakr Shāh and Fīrōz Shāh Zafar

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) Ṭālāū-d-dīn of Khwārizm.

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.
This is a coin that has been long wanted to complete the types of this king, Nasıru-d-din Khusrau Şah 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) Naşrat Şah. نصرت شاه دارالملک دهلي السلطان

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) Naşiru-d-din Qarlugh. السلطان الإعظم ناصر مُحمَد حسن الديني و الدين to r. خُلُف

This is a curious coin and a new type. We know several types of the coins of Naşiru-d-din Qarlugh. This one is very much like a type of the coins of Naşiru-d-din Maḥmūd of Dehli. It varies, however, in the way in which the obverse legend is written on the coins. And it has مُحمَد حسن instead of مُحمَد حسن over the horseman. I have this coin, and I have seen two others. The B. M. has one given under the coins of Naşiru-d-din Maḥmūd.

(20) Ghiyasu-d-din Balban. عدل ملک عدل فیاضی دهلي

This is the smallest copper coin of Balban known. Coins with this inscription generally weigh about 26 grs. This is 10-3.

(21) Altamsh (?) ملک عدل. I think it is a coin of Altamsh. Mr. King obtained it from me.

(22) Firöz Şah Zafar. فيروز شاه المونئین نائب إمبر حکم 791 H.

This is a new type of the coins of this prince. We wanted this to complete his set.

(23) do. فيروز شاه المونئین إمبر حکم 791 H. خالقن

I have remarked on this coin before. It is curious the year coming on the obverse, contrary to the custom of the Tughlaq coins.

J. r. 28
(24) and (25) Altamsh. Bull seated to left. Reverse of both, Above him: — निर्मितिम horseman, very rude.

These two coins I regard as having the Hindi legend of the reverse of Thomas’ No. 44 over the bull: — Sār 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 की चमोल over the bull. This legend comes over the horseman of some coins of ‘Alau-d-din Mas‘ād Shāh, see Thomas’ No. 100, p. 122. Over the horseman on these two coins is की चमोल: The deciphering of these coins took me a long time and caused me much trouble.

(28) Maḥmūd Shāh of Mālwā. 

This is the third new type of this king given in this paper. I obtained it in Dehli. The Mālwā 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-din Maḥmūd Shāh. 

This is a new type of the coins of this king. It shows that he introduced this type which was used by Ghiyāṣu-d-din Balbān, Jalālu-d-din Firdaws Shāh, ‘Alau-d-din Muḥammad Shāh and Quṭbu-d-din Mubārak Shāh and then fell into disuse in Northern India, but was used by some of the Muhammadan kings of Mābar. I have never seen a second coin of Nāṣiru-d-din like this. It belongs to my friend L. White King, Esq.

(30) Shamsu-d-din Altamsh and Raziah 

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-din Tughlaq I. (Posthumous.)
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 ʻAlāʻ-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 Bukhārā 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, etc.

(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) Nandakishore Prasad Varma
   - Rana
   Dar al-Sultaneh
   1001 H.

(2) Pratap Singh
   - Rana
   Dar al-Sultaneh
   1001 H.

(3) Silver
   Sir Ali (Kalpi mint)
   Kabul, 1014 H.
   41 Ilahi.

(4) Silver
   Kabal
   Kabul
   1014 H.

(5) Silver
   Dar al-Prab Kala-Libi
   Kabul
   968 H.

(6) Silver
   Gwalior
   968 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 ١٠٠٠ هـ. 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 city? Coin (1) is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(2) belongs to Mr. Malabarwalla of Bombay.

(3) is a half rupee of Jahângîr's, struck at Kabul. It has on it a new Persian couplet. It is the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(4) A new half dâm of Akbar's, Kâbul mint; it belongs to Mr. Ellis of Lahore.

(5) A new dâm from the Kâlpî mint, and is the property of the same untiring collector. We have some earlier mintage from this mint. We still want some of the Ilahi years of Akbar from this mint, which was so active in his early years.
(6) A new dām from the Gwāliār 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 Shāhjāhān at Agra or Akbarābād. Its style agrees with some of the issues of Shāhjāhān I. I do not think it can be one of Shāhjāhān II or Shāhjāhān III. It is at any rate unique.

(9) This dām and the three following were found by me at Ludiāna. It is from the Lucknow mint. On its reverse it has 1000 in Persian words يکمجر و in figures ・・・. I have never seen a dām similar to this. Over the date is الله أكبر. The word 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 أكبر on it in full. We may regard this as an ascription of praise or an exclamation of joy on Islam reaching its thousandth year. It is a novelty on Akbar's coins.

(11) a dām of Chītōr, dated 1005 H.

(12) I think is a dām of Nārnāl. 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 Farrukhsiyyar struck at Kābul; and a few days ago a nūm tānkāh of Akbar's from the same mint: also a درهم شرعي of Aurangzib's from the Mūlān mint. And I have by me a small coin of Akbar's from the Dehli mint, in which the Ilahi year is سی و ربع 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 دادرالغوس محمداباد. 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 Kashmir 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 Kashmir." 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 Kāshmirīs. 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 Kashmir, much could not be expected. I have not troubled myself much about getting Kashmir novelties. Those drawn in the accompanying plate are almost the only new things I have seen in seventeen years. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(876 H.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Sirinagar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(40th Ilahi.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Some images are not full.
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.s., 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-Rashidi.

No. 4, is a coin of Yasaskara. In my paper on the “Copper Coins of the Mahārājās of Kashmir” I gave a coin on which the name is spelt Yaskara यस्कर. 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 Mediaeval Coins of India, and this also along with No. 4, for Mr. King.

The dates 874 and 876 indicate the dates of Ḥaidar Shāh and his son Ḥasan 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 Ḥasan Shāh son of Ḥaidar 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 Sulṭān. This shows how visitors are cheated. Lately, however, I had sent to me from the mint at Jammu 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.
Nimroz 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 *Bagh-i-Perwari*. I do not think Mir Aman knew much of Geography or History, though he may have written good Urdu. We learn little from him about Nimroz. 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., Nimroz. Hence the country is called Nimroz. 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 Khalīfa 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 Ghaznī, ruled and coined there. Zaranj and Sijistān disappear from later coins, and in their stead appears the name Nimroz. 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 Shirwān 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 نیومرز. 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 Nimroz coins of the Šafavis of Persia; after that some coins of Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd, came into my hands. These were all in silver. Shortly afterwards I came across some copper Nimroz 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 Šafavi 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 Nimroz 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 Nimroz mint.

(1) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{عز} & \quad \text{صر} \\
\text{پیچ و} & \quad \text{نیمرز} \\
\text{الدین} & 
\end{align*}
\]

(2) 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{عدل} & \quad \text{صر} \\
& \quad \text{نیمرز}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) In scolloped circular area:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{صر} & \\
\text{نیمرز} \\
808
\end{align*}
\]

In margin:—

السلطان العادل شاه...الله ملكه

(4) In double circle:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{الملك} & \\
\text{العظم عز الذینا} & \\
\text{و الدائین سلطان} & \\
\text{نیمرز خاد ملكه}
\end{align*}
\]

In square are a:—

the Kalimah.

In segments, the names of the four companions.

In margin:—

ضرب نیمرز
In circular area:

Not given.

In square area:

the Kalimah.

In margin:

............ Nimroz in Nimroz (761 H.)

In square area:

the Kalimah.

In margin:

............ Nimroz in Nimroz (761 H.)

In square, the Kalimah.

as on (8)

In square, the Kalimah.

As on (9), but margin:

............ Nimroz in Nimroz (761 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 Taimur; but in the histories of Taimur 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 Qutb A’l-‘Amir Karaman. This must be the son of Karaman. 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.
Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṁha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Āṣāka.—
By Nāgendrā-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 Panḍitas of Utkala to decipher it:—My friend, Babu Arta-trāṇa Miśra, an inhabitant of Maudā, 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 Kēndupāṭnā 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-çula,¹ an Aŋkuça,² a Đamaru,³ a crescent and the solar orb.

The plates are each 13 1/2 inches long, 8 1/4 inches broad and 1 1/2 inch thick. The circumference of the ring is 5 3/4 inches and its thickness 3/4 inch. The circumference of the lotus-seat is 4 1/4 inches. The ox is 4 inches long and its height is 3 1/2 inches. The letters are 1/2 inch in length each. On the 11 sides of these plates there are 209 lines, and each line is about 12 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 Nārasimha-dēva II, king of Utkala, dated Monday, 6th tithi of the bright half of the Simha (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 Nāsimha-dēva IV, (from Plate I—IV)⁴ up to सच्चोदिसेमो देसी 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 varia 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.
The character of this grant may be described as Bengali of the Kutila type, of the 12th and 13th century A.D. The letters k, kh, c, t, p, y, r, l, and v, in many respects, resemble the corresponding letters in Viçya-rûpa-sêna's copper-plate, and the letters a, ã, â, g, j, d, t, th and m are very similar to those of the modern Bengali character. The system of writing medial vowel-forms (i, ñ, ñ, j, k, l, t, r, t) and compound words, resembles the method adopted in the inscriptions of the Sêna kings and that now followed in writing Bengali.

As regards orthography, the only points calling for remark are, that the (nasal) ŋ and (dental) ñ are sometimes employed instead of ânusvâra, as in vâya, (Pt. I, line 10), and in sansarpad (Pt. V. ob. line 4); and ç 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 h 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, Nagari or Maithili characters of that time, can be taken as an early form of the Utkalâksara.

Here I quote the remarks of Mr. Beames on the origin of the Oriya characters:

'Whether the Oriyâs 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 Oriyâs and all the populations living on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal write on the Tâlapatra, 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 Lékhanî, having a very fine sharp point. Now, it is evident that if the long, straight, horizontal mātrā, or top line of the Dèva-nâgâri 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 Oriyâ characters show signs of having arisen from a form of the Kutila 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 Tâlapatra, Talipot, or palm-leaf, with an iron style.'

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 matrā, 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 matrā 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 Oriyā characters.

The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse mixed. Like the other grant of this king dated 1218 Caka, published by me in 1893 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. Babu Manomohan 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 Anangabhima-dēva II and Bhamu-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 Guna or Sadgūna; but according to the plate under consideration, the name is Maṅkaṇa.

In addition to the above, the verses No. 84 and 86 should be especially mentioned; although they have escaped the notice of Manomohan Babu.

The (white) river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rādhā and Varēndra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch into the (black-watered) Yāmūnā.

1 See Viṣyakōṣa, Vol. V. (supplement to the word 'गाढ्रेघ'). For convenience sake this grant will be marked Λ.

2 Manomohan Babu reads राज्ञिनिद्यमन्नादि.
Shining day and night, making Meru over to the Brähmanas in pious gifts, namely, the tulāpuruṣa, (and consequently the gods being deprived of their home), (King Ṇari-simha) built at Kōṇākoṇa (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 Ṇari-simha I conquered the Muhammadan dominions of Rādhia and Varendra. The contemporaneous historian Minhāj-i-Saraj thus writes:

'In this same year likewise (642 Hijra), the Rāe of Jājnagar, in order to avenge the plundering of Kāsin, 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 Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān 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 Fakhru-l-mulk, Karimu-d-din, Lāghri, who was the feudatory of Lakhaṇ-ōr, 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 Islam that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels and they decamped.' 1

He again relates:

'After he (Yūz-bak-i-Ṭughrīl 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 'Īzzu-d-dīn, Ṭughrīl-i-Ṭughān-Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇawati. In Malik Ṭughrīl 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 Ṭughrīl Khān-i-Yūz-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 rutlish, got out of his hands in the field of battle, and fell into the hands of the infidels of Jāj-nagar.' 2

The battles which according to Minhāj's statement appear to have been fought undertwo Muhammadan rulers, in reality took place successively in the time of the Utkala kings Ananga-bhima and his son Narasimha I.

1 Col. Raverty's Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 740.
2 Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 762-3.
The following is seen in the Cāteṣvara-inscription of Ananga-bhima II:

विन्यासान्तरसंस्थार्थसंवादिति
प्राप्तः ।
साक्षात् स परिप्रेयमेण न तथा वैक्षण्डानामिति
विन्यासान्तर सांवधमय यथा परिष्कर्त तुम्भान-एवं यथापनि:।
कष्टोसंवेदित-साधकाय सूक्तम नेक्ताकिनो निश्चलः
किं ब्रम्हाय यवनावनोहसमरे तत्त्व सौरतमाः।

The Vaikhanasas 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 Khan), when he began, apprehending Viṣṇu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhimā, 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-bhima 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 Cāteṣvara Inscription 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 Narasimha-deva I, son of Ananga-bhima II, in company with Viṣṇu, attacked Rāḍha and Varṇendra, (i.e., the territory of Laksmaṇāvatī) at that time. It seems that Minhāj, by mistake, has described the son to be the son-in-law. Nṛsiṁha-deva 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 Nṛsiṁha-deva who erected the Black Pagoda of Kōṇāraka, famed far and wide as one of the wonders of the Hindū world. The 86th verse of the present plate proves that:

2 I hope to be able to publish this important inscription in our Society's Journal.
prior to the time of Nṛṣimha I, Kōṇāraka was the name of Kōṇārak. The place subsequently became famous under the name of Kōṇārka 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—Dērā-viṣaya is now known as Dērā-viṣi (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 Śrānga-viṣaya as Sooang Lat. 20°16’ 21”N. and Long. 86°11’45”—86°13’50”E. (on sheet 116 of the I. A.). The granted village Edara is now known as Enāra (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. Khaṇḍa-sāhī and Sunāilo are situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Enāra and one mile from the Kendupatna 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 Nṛṣimha-dēva II of Orissa, dated 1217 Čaka.**

Plate-leaf No. 1, reverse.

L. 1. ॥ चाँ नमो नारायणाय ॥

L. 2. ॥ खालीप्तः ।

L. 3. ॥ द्विरात्राधीतिधात्सुरासुरगौः प्रातुर्मवनो र्मसा-

L. 4. ॥ ममीश्माम्रवद्दोलोकरजाजांकिनः ।

L. 5. ॥ धर्त्रिविभूतामुव-

The bracketed portions are taken from A. 2 Read ॥नि।
6. शेषापि यो
लक्ष्या याज्ञि रक्तकातिस्वरुपः सुष्याधिको निर्मितः ॥ [3]
श्रीदेवीसौद्दोरादस्मितसखवया कल्यन्तचारुन्-

7. ला-
हूकानन्दविदाता तिमिरविषयः कविदेवोपमोऽयः ।
तत्रतुसमः लाभातिदिगागुणां स्नातकिः द्यानः
खः-

8. शेषानन्दविदाता तिमिरविषयः कविदेवोपमोऽयः ।
सावधारसेवाया शास्तिनिः विविधे तत्तः
खः-

9. व यत् पुराणपरार्कधारीः गौ समिताः ।
तत्तत् कायपथं निवासिः गुणाशेर्यः क्रत्वः
खः-

10. स्नायुः सचेतना: श्रुतिगुणं विश्वः विश्वः च ॥
प्रवेकः श्रीप्रस्वंभरपतिः जापापरस्मकीः

11. चैं
कदृशः चतमस्त दिवारः कदृशारः चात्रात्श्रेी रहि ।
दोर्देशार्णितकितवारीणिः परा

12. सत्य प्रामणः
चातुर्दश्यमात्रमार्दविषयाधिकारीग्रीष्मिकाः ॥
तयारिः चतुर्दशः । बुधः

13. दनः अन्नलालः पुष्यः
पृथकद्वैकः ॥ वायुः ॥ न्यायमिरः । नागविवाहिः
तत्ताववस्तुः । तत्त्वाग्रे

14. यः । ततीविश्वाचः । ततः
साम्यः । ततो भास्त्रः । ततो दच्छिनः । ततः सौम्यः
ततोऽश्रुतः ततः सौम्यः

1 Read न ।
2 Read शायः ।
3 Read शायः ।
4, 5 Read सौम्यः ।
L. 15. राजः। तस्माचित्राणं। ततः
श्रीरघञ। ततो ध्वमौनः। ततः परिनिवित्त। ततो जयसेनः।
ततो विजयसेनः।

L. 16. ततो व्रिष्ठञ। ततः प्रजांभः।
ततः प्रक्षः। ततः कोषालः। सम्प्रजान्तवम्यभवत्।
धनकन्तकसम्भौ गडः।

L. 17. वार्डः प्रसिद्धः
सकलविषयभूतः खरितवर्गीयभोगः।
वद्धितिपतियाद्याहिन्तवस्मी टयेंदः
समसत्वदिति

L. 18. युपगड़ंकान्ता वदायः।
कोषालः समसन्नं ततो वपायां
भूतो यतः सर्परस्त वदीयमत्तः।
कोषाल्कालयः।

L. 19. मद्यू सरससमूक्तः
तक्षिनू क्रमे सम्पतिसिद्धचुंभुजः।
राज्यश्रीमति नारायणाध्यापो व्यस्ये किमचास्फळे
ढोः।

L. 20. देस्मान्तविभूषणोत्यावरमात्रेण्यद्वानिनः।
किद्रास्मात्सम्युन्तान्तिविजितेऽवैधिः बैरिकं
कामारङ्गः।

Plate-leaf II, obverse.

L. 1. मिस्थः कौलितातिका [यावः समापोदः।]
भामान्तिविभीयवा चित्तिः ब्यापि विषदन्त्वः।
ब्यापि देविः।

L. 2. कुलद्रामान्तिभिर्याय प्राप्ता। कालितः विश।
वै। कामायन्त्वकमी नयवरेगुणिस्चितः समं
प्रासन्नंविज्ञापायथः।

1 Read गः।
238 N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nṛṣimha-dēva II. [No. 3,

L. 3. दुधगमतः कुमारवतारो छरिः ∥

L. 4. यथि वा सूर्यं तयेन्द्रावपि ।

L. 5. न्ययस्यादि हे ॥

L. 6. धनितमन्तितिद्वियदन्तकारी

L. 7. क्षत्रकृष्णवरो भवि वच्च्यस्य ॥

L. 8. द्योः प्रधिव्या-

L. 9. मल्लिनेन यथा भवनप्रक्ष्यदसम्बादिना ।

L. 10. के-व्यासिष्यस्यि पुनः युनां छत्रितामाधोरया वार्षयानु ॥

L. 11. तेव प्रिहासिनः ।

[10] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16]
1896. ] N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nrsimha-deva II. 239

L. 12. राजकायिनि
सुग्रज्ञराजानन्दव्रत प्रकीर्णि: ।
श्रीमचन्द्राय: छतरानाराय:
सुविकायका- ।

L. 13. तदेव[राजः] ॥
तस्यायामचन्द्रीराजो गाजाभुजासुन्दरी ।
लक्ष्मीरायामेव चन्द्रसेव तु रोहिणी ॥
तत्स्वयः- ।

L. 14. ममहेक्षोडङ्गत्रो नरेश्वरः ।
चौकीम्बट पदाविचित्रो दिविन्द्रात् कुलम् यथा ॥
धारी तस्य सरस्वती समभवनून ।

L. 15. बचेवै पीलवानुः
तत्स्वस्ततमार्त्यवाचकतमं श्रीचोडङ्गः पथः ।
तादूर्विदार्तिः कर्षं निपुशातं प्रशंसिषु तादृक् ।

L. 16. कर्षं
तादृक्कायिनि: कर्षं परियक्तिः श्रीनेपुषु तादृक् कर्षं ॥
चौमत्रिकीदिव्याः[1]श्रीबाण्डमात्यवर्धामेते- ।

L. 17. क्ष वैरिः-
च्वापचरामिया तत्तिरितित कियती चोडङ्गविन्द्रक्रस ।
नृण पृष्टः सुहांसः परजयवल्चक्वलः- ।

L. 18. ब्रह्मण्डा
मात्स्यबिक्रम वर्णित तत्र इव चत्तसिनि: प्रवीरात् ॥
च्योत्स्वस्क करं शृङ्खलायागोतमः- ।

L. 19. क्षयोः ।
मध्ये पश्चातः वैरेशय प्रौढः प्रौढक्षिया इव ॥
प्रतिभा मश्चर्कर्षपत्याय: तिक्षातर्गिरिः-
तुधिरमवसे- ।

L. 20. निर्गु नो मध्यसर्व ।
नितज़काः[पुव]शक्क्षिप्रभुश्रवामिते-
विजयविन्ध्यायाः चन्द्रयेशु गमः ॥
कर्षः- ।

1 Read भालति ।
Plate-leaf II, reverse.

1. त्रीयः परिस्थतयुगमर्गस्मृतिवधारनात्मकोऽद्रैमे-

2. सँवृः खायवद्यादिके त्रिकमः सळ्यः चायः भीतः।

3. खच्चीतासिधः

4. रथः रिदुगगादाक्ष्य वाचुसमि

5. प्राचिनस्य नृत्यः गड़ीस्यमेषीति विद्याय क्वं

6. कोघोद्रदिकस्य शालिनि मः

7. दक्षोक्तवासुरसि

8. चर्चतुखुङ्गविद्याविनिददशार्चवाहिणे।

9. यदृः सैन्ये जसदासप्रतितिनः नेतृः प्रवः

10. चेतः कः

11. फूः पाति वर्धिन्योचनविश्वर्वः दोषुः संगरे।

12. निम्नत्रामलागारसिद्धिनमः मेघाः प्रासवः नेः।

13. कः कौटिसवाचकः प्रयूः लज्ज्रिधोकः समां

14. मायन्तिस्वस्वस्वस्विन्युः प्रज्ञाय संहितः वा

15. तेजः सैन्योः निकार्यं कः

16. द्रमद्वा गृहस्तुरभाइनः।

17. पादृः यशः धरान्तरीयात्मकविभागशस्य संवर्तितः।

18. अष्टोः नेत्रुः रवित्युः मुखः।

19. प्रासिस एवोत्स्वस्य चपति: को नाम कहः चम-

20. स्वरायार्यह्यस्यप्रतितियं चयः मोहः।

21. लज्ज्रिधोकः प्रयृतिधिष्ठी सम्माहितस्य स्थितः

22. जोधात्त्व यथृः प्रज्ञाय द्रमएव धीरासिद्धिसाधनेऽव

23. निर्विशेषः पृष्टोऽपि

24. लगः कृताम्बः

1 Read नेच। 2 Read हुमेब। 3 Read तन्तृ। 4 Read श्रृः
1896.] N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsimha-dēva II. 241

L. 10. य सा चल लमधि भो यालिन्द्र धीर्यमण्ड 

L. 11. गड़जाधिपिपिंद्रिविशारद्याणाद्वारिणो 

L. 12. वा चतुर्मात्र || [29]

L. 13. भूतित्वं गड़कालस्याचं 

L. 14. वो गड़कालस्याचं || [30]

L. 15. चायने वा वहुँ। 

L. 16. शरः || [31]

L. 17. भासा महियो तपोमिरविज्ञानीन्द्रोवङ्गो या 

L. 18. गाविष्ठः एष्टविपति: प्रमवविवसिन्नु चं जो वास्यो 

L. 19. स्वान्ततौजः जग्यदेव्यितेकवर्कवर्जन् रथः। 

13 Read पुरष।
L. 1. [कामायवक्ष्याया कुमाराकाल]

L. 2. चन्द्रोऽस चिंतं कामायवोदये ||

L. 3. ति प्रायोऽय प्रायमवस्य]

L. 4. द्विधिर्कetre तत्तदानवन ||

L. 5. तापमियुनां वहमारियों

L. 6. स्न्हायमौलिकमालायस्यमगन्धावलि

L. 7. गृहे चम्हू मुख्यः कालिता नैवं समवाहिते-
1896.] N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nrisinha-deva II. 243

L. 8. [Mā]यथाशयं गमितेव निष्ठेश्वरग कीर्तिकािदायावरी—

न्यायावलीसहस्राधि रित्युपगता धातः स्वरीकृतरात्।

पद्म—

L. 9. च्वीत् स हिर्णागम्यमयं जोक मन्द्रायं पुरे—

लुमाय प्रवर्तित ये च वदनकालोनि—

L. 10. गुढोधुमा।

तेयाः यतं हिर्णागम्यकरोत्तु कामार्ये निश्चितः

सयं जगितं जः[ग]—

L. 11. दत्र इत्य प्रवर्तितः प्राशिनः।

समाभोधीन्या न्याति निष्ठित्वितर्जया नाम[न्यायस्य]—

L. 12. नां

सागामु वासुदेवं तद्धित् पुनर्यं काव्यत्स्यं भारः।

धारा कामा[कत्वायं सर]—

L. 13. निः[जन्य] निष्ठेऽयं सख्याभैर—

भृगोभृत्यालालास्यत् इति [दर्शय] मृग्यास्स्यमास्माः।

[स्थलदृष्ट पदार्थ काली]—

L. 14. शी विद्वन्मण्मयंहं।

द्वारानादानोऽध्ययं कामाक्ष्यस्यपितः।

श्रीचोडङ्गीद्रये[स्मृत्ति ततो]—

L. 15. नां

चसौज्ञ्या नवविक्रमोऽवराणुपयो

यथायि धातुभस्माणि सुनद्रीयाः

संयं सुधामयु वर्मा च[स्मृत जाता]—

L. 16. यथूपशोऽस्मरादिवर्यय वास्त्विक

डूःकारभुमिर्गिरिस्तिथित्वमिनध्वंसः।

नाशेव चास्त्विकव[स्मृत यद्दच

नामम्भ]—

L. 17. न्यायुवां द्वाराध्वर्यादिगत्वः।

तस्यान्ति समाभधितित्वनायः

श्रीरामव [परमेश्वररूपं दिः।

यत्तटवन्य]—
L. 18. नवद्विग्नवात्सातिनिति:
सतेन नगर: स्वहृदिकम्यमवाचनम्: ||
श्रीराधे [राजनि चिन्हेत-
लेखनिधिः खित]-

L. 19. तिपालवर्मः:
तत्तदेसावऽवाजे दृश्यिते-
भित्रीविवेक सम्भव: ||
पौछारे-[प्रहलि]-पाराजनिधितप्राच्यङ्गङ्गलोकम्-

L. 20. व-
दौर्ष्यांह्यसिद्धित्रिप्रक्रियाभिषेकः
संप्रायाहुवःसीतिसिद्धिश्रीशः-

Plate-leaf III, reverse.

L. 1. तुक-कौऽतास्कुः: पुरानावभताि चिन्होपमा राघव: ||
अस्ति परशुरामः प्रातुरासिहित्ववः
किरिबिष-

L. 2. कुञ्जना खाद्याष्ट्रविवोकः
विच[र] तत्तिवर्यास्तास्ताशः प्रतापा-
विद्य द्राग्नातृसङ्कर्षं प्राचुर्विव-

L. 3. नागीः ||
मेदं मेदसातिकुजाः घटाभोह्यिन्यापिदः
राम पायमंद्रक प्रायांसि वज्जिधा श्रीराधवा-

L. 4. सि: चागात्.
श्रृष्टिस्मिनोपाह्यनविजयिः
कोनिधितांपरसं
चन्हः चन्हः चन्हः चन्हः प्राप्तितरसा संसेयमानाखान-?

L. 5. तित: ||
कुण्यु दावर्गनम चित्तिन्तुसु वचन
माधवः करोय्याधसी विधिसिंह एव: 
विद्याविभूमिपतये शिः

1 Read पञ्जी। 2 Read विजयवे।
1896.] N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsiṁha-deva II. 245

L. 6. कसलि यथा
श्रीराधवधारितमपन्नंतपन्नवः ||
श्रीराधवेत्रधारिते-चौरीसात्यरोमां ||

L. 7. करोचाच्चायंमन्दानामुदामोदपंच च ||
तस्य श्रीचोडङ्गुविजितविवचयपतेन्द्रस्नानवक्ष्मी-कर्मरीपमः

L. 8. लेखा खुटमदितिथिव श्रेष्ठी कायप्रस्य
तस्यामुदामधामचतुर्विद्विद्रिजवामाजरा

L. 9. जो राज्याच्छीद्वीता तियतित्रितविभाजणदिक्षकवः ||
तस्मिन्दितिजवाज्यप्राचः

L. 10. गर्भिने २ संरथम सुभच्चमू
संचुसूचितिः चक्रांकुस्युपतःप्रामाण्यवतः ||
भूसं

L. 11. स्थरंध्रावर्णविधिनमवेशचे महते सतिमिः
खमलसं सुरसिन्धुरे धर्मीपेते

L. 12. दोहनः ||
चोडङ्गुरनेन्द्रस्य खुटरुदामविकमः
राजराज इति ख्यातोरा

L. 13. जराजो महीपति ||
विचं कोडङ्गिनि प्रमुखऽवकरि प्राणेश्वरिमूलो
वधवदामभृदभुस्तसदृष्ट्य सन्त

L. 14. भानकाम्यूर्वं
धारी पीठित विन्ध्यव सुरचलः प्रासारित वचारो-
दिन्ताभः प्रतिमान्ति वष्क परितः अदवतः

L. 15. परं महक्षति ||
व्यान्तरि विद्वान्ति चेताय महर्रे कौरणिलिंगादिविः
हुले दोहेदम्यिमः सुमनवि श्रीराजराज धु

1 Read चक्रोद्राच्य। 2 Read रचिके। 3 Omit नि।
J. I. 32
Copper-plate inscription of Nrsimha-deva II. [No. 3, L. 16.

सौंभवं समेवध्रुवे प्राप्यायुः वैरिष्णोऽणेष्वार्
क्षमेच्छाधिविधायनां न ध्व अभावः क्वविद्रयेत्।

[57]

L. 17.

तस्यं [तथ] सुविपंचविद्‌वितसमायापालनप्रकृतिः
काव्या निबाचायचं गच्छसुजादयाविलोक्यायति।

राज्यं प्राप्य-

L. 18.

वश्वस्त्र्यारिंगकरत्वेर्श्रादासनक-
दुर्दश्तू पुष्करतमौत्रतत्रित्रीराजाराजोपः।

[58]

L. 19.

राजपदेभिभिषकं
सुक्लिषिजः परिसंगतिनित्यप्रस्तिः।
प्रत्येकः कल्याविभिन्नत्वं मैयैः
का

L. 20.

यं जनम: पशुराजस्वित्वयुधीम:।
वैमाधिठितं समार्द्धिनित्रिकुरे श्राँक्षमाय[?]म[?]ते
कुलोद्भिषः।

Plate-leaf IV, obverse.

L. 1.

महेभकरभविनगरमुखालीवीरुऽरिः
दष्ट्युग्रनिष्प[तापद्रशं खड़ुच्या विद्या]
राजाराजः

L. 2.

न पक्षावि चलारितमाणवः रस्यं।
चौराङ्कारास्तः सुरासुः[सुभाराविविचित्रिताः
च]

L. 3.

द्वारकारङ्कभवत्वभयधिप्राशीनमेकं जिल।
बजहारकालेन संगर्मकरि लतवखङ्ख[राज्या]

L. 4.

ज्ञातवस्तुविषीरेखानव द्वयश्वच्छसमाविलङ्काः
यथ्विभावसुद्दुर्ज्ञांस्बर्हं[नित्येवः]

L. 5.

व्युहद्विरराजस्य ध्वनिमलमति ततः।
भाषाविश्वाय वैरीवात्तिनिर्जितारतिमहः।

[यम्बक्षणीम]
1896.]
N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nṛśimha-dēva II. 247

L. 6. भ्रुपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत् ||
प्रौढान्मूलिनिचाम: कुष्टधं ये दशनीतिघि:
सकाचारविचारचान्तिचार:—

L. 7. तपुष्के पारादण्यः।
तस्मासोदिष्टिगद्धभिमन्तपते रजीशवल्ली सवर्ण
केदक्षात्रियायेण पुष्टमित्रियो वाघवाले।

L. 8. सुतिव || [63]
तुलितिपियुगोद्ध: सुनुरासीदसुध्या
निष[']तपशितेजा चौवनावासराजः।
पशतन्तयतिचुड़ारल।—

L. 9. रोचि: पिशाकी—
खतचरखसरोजो रजिरतीलपालः।
चक्षयोधारिषिन्द्रप्रकर[खुर]—

L. 10. पुष्टाकालिनिरीतीयार्यी
संभूतं भूरिभाषृत्त्वानिकरसमाभास्ताल्पायाम्।
विकी।—

L. 11. ग्रेश्वशतालाहिर्मितिवितवोच्चतसेनागानागानां
मय्यानां दिग्नानां सुखपततु—

L. 12. जगानाध्ये धरिजालः।
वक्ष्मसु प्रासिति प्रासितारिनिकरे सम्बस्मुखामरां
प्रजाम—

L. 13. दिवस्युङ्कः नयादृशः: श्रीराजार्जि न्याये।
चक्षु माधव एव तैल्प्रधिविकां कौलित्यां हितनं
प्राष्ठामासिविधी हि—

L. 14. देषेजज्ञत: कल्य कल्य: खूटी। [67]
यत् कीर्तिवृज्जग्न[मि]धिरस्वाभान्तरालं
संज्ञायदुर्सरसुक्षिलः स भावति।

L. 15. तारागाया: स्वालक्षो गगने समन्तात्
प्रायमातिःसुः तर्काद्विविश्कृतिः।
त्यागे श्रोतयेच सये च काव्यः

1 Read चक्षु 2 Read खुदालिनिर्ढशः
L. 16. विजयदिशिवि:
यम्बोिदेशों महावीरेऽर राजराजेश्वरिण्यः ॥
राजराजेश्वरिण्यनिष्ठुप्रकटस्य च वस्तुः ॥

L. 17. राजा
भवि राज्यविषय सुभाष स्तराध्यवाच प्रतिष्ठायम् ॥
चालनुकुलसंभूर्तः वेला शौन्दिः वार्षिकः ॥

L. 18. महुः शैवित्त महिष्यी तस्म भवेत् ॥
तस्यामभुदुतवाजीमयः
श्रीमानः समस्वदानकोऽभीमः ॥

L. 19. जने कौर्तिंशुदाररङ्ग
दैत्त सुखिनिषु प्रतिष्ठातिः ॥
पश्चात् विश्वासवाचवरीवरीवाचविरः

L. 20. ब्रज
ऋण्टू पौरत्वा काव्यपत्रः खोऽनः दनुरा ॥
कृत्वाविश्वालकोऽभीकोऽनः पाठोऽनः

Plate-leaf IV, reverse.

L. 1. धिष्मोक्तवा
ढीराविष्ठकर्तनखः स संगवान्नयं पूर्वाचियुः ॥
कस्याभिः कल्पितस्मिन तिथिः वि-

L. 2. मना: कस्य नविवित्तमयः
शौकाभिमित्तहिमात्राभिः कलया किंचित्तिमो वां चूरीः ॥
वचवी कलः

L. 3. ब्राह्मविष्यमयोत्तळाय पश्चात्
जात: शौकोगमुखमयतः सोऽन(ठी)भूतसमम ॥
धायाना

L. 4. नृग्रन्थिनिविल्डपश्चात्मयोऽन
माणोक्षुभवमध्यः हूड्याः विनः
देव: पूर्वाचियुः प्ररस्त्र
5. यस्य
रोजमंदरस्त्रकाणं कषायाकृतिः

6. धारानाराजाविभागमलसुदामसमान्दयन्
संग्रामशयकिठिणिकादकलापारिख्यमामश्यन्

7. यज्ञगद्दुदेत्वविलसत् कृष्णानंत् सायकः
यस्यानराजविलयकमािन्तयः चौरेदानोर्मिः

8. स्मिर्दितारः किलकारामोऽपदसयः प्रोक्षिपितावृहतः
किंचापरिश्रमोकलना वैदम्भः

9. माकेश्वरः
ज्ञानोलचतुमुखार्चिद्वर्यो मनि महान् पदाम्
चेनाभिः

10. स्वरसमवः कलितचेदेश
सावसुलायुसङ्गदानलाकारविलमिः

11. न चित्रलिफः सुदक्षमुदि तथाभूतः
बालिकालाविष्णुविश्वदेशानकेरिः

12. धर्मार्ध्यमेवशविष्णोचनावा
साधनवता च परितः परिपार्थिवानां

13. अर्धानवप्रकाशिन विनिकामनकः
भूमिप्रसिद्धिरसुरा विदवेच वरेषः

14. भेदः सेवकप्रियः
सुखा सुभ्रिप्रतिपन चदुचिंके भभसः
श्रीकृष्णप्ररदेशायमिः

1 Read देवः
N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nrsimha-dēva II. [No. 3,]

L. 15. तै तस्माद कर्मसाध्याय िः  
नगदुर्भुझातः पातकचन्ता वीरजरिखििः 1 ||  
स्मुर्नेत्रशोषितः  

L. 16. निवेषविषयीत-  
पनिनीयायीष बहुदानवारिः  
कर्मामसातसभुशा विश्वोधय-  
शरिम्ह 8 रष ज-  

L. 17. गतिस्थोभवत्  ||  
खेतात्पत्रतिभक्षावाचासुरिः  
दिग्नितिविदविःमहासममस्थः  
व्य-  

L. 18. हे कारस्य सुत्तभावना भवान्या  
सिंधासने जगाति यस्य पद्मस्तैव  ||  
राष्ट्रेन्द्रवनयीं 8 नयना-  

L. 19. जनाशु-  
प्ररेषा दूर्विविषयितकारिभिः  ||  
तद्विज्ञमकर्माणातुतिभक्षस्मात्रशः  
स्मापिष्ठूममुष्या  

L. 20. यसुनाधुपायु  ||  
सुजयेव गिरयोर्है यस्य भुसमवज्ञावः  
विश्वासामपत्ता िः किंवदकुस्तरेक-  

Plate-leaf V, obverse.

L. 1. िः  
व्युत्तविश्वस्थायित नुलायक्षिण  
स भवतु कानकादिरवताना मुहाभुषु  ||  
कुर्वो ग्रज्जक-  

1 Read विच।  2 Read विच।  3 Correct reading is खवणी according to A.
L. 2. श्रमदिश्र दिनसाच चला
मेणि तुलापुष्पसुखमवधार्याणि:।
खालु सुरैः सह महलसायनि को-

L. 3. गा:
कोणे कुटोत्कासवत्तिकरुपार्यम्।
चतुर्वत्ति: चक्ष्रावलम्बमयायमहायासमभावितचुत्-चाः।

L. 4. रेण्युज्ञद्वस्तोपगमितसपि बंधितला सुरानि।
सर्दि: सन्दर्पदायुक्तिधुरमधासावः(दु)चै-

L. 5. न हसा
बलीषि: कान्तसुषि: श्रमिषि निधिमया कामसारासवीः।
[86]
छाला निम्भचायितविद्युः।

L. 6. समीमद्यस्यविलम्बं
सुखा भोगमुनस्मं नरपतिर्मर्गचारसन्मुखः।
केशायनविना छा-।

L. 7. तोनिमद्यामासावदीपोपमः
प्रामः काणपत्रस्यकववण यातस्सनिधियावाता।
[88]
वस्य।

L. 8. श्रीमान् सुदिनविधे मालाचलास्मायां
सोतादियामजनि ततुनी: माहुब्रजार्देिः।

L. 9. पुष्पस्तानसिद्धदुिण कैरक्तामिस्मुचे-
तत्त्वांस्य परधारामभ्यूः।

L. 10. न्यूपाद:
प्रयुज्ञीवनकारोण्यमपद्याभ्यस्तनोत्या:भागामि-
देश्रात्रुः।

L. 11. पल्प्रदेश विद्यना नियं निर्स्यारिभः।
पादः घोडःश्राविन्युसूंचरि-।

1 Read श्रमिषि।
2 Read कामसारासवी।
L. 12. तामोग्रामरीयं नामान्यो मण्डलविश्वासहस्रोपेयाः।

L. 13. देशसिद्धिपि निश्चलदाता-बयप्पोपि समरेकधरीम।
उद्यमूतितिय वक्ष्याश्रीरो।
यत्तुरेण क।

L. 14. रितः करवः।
पार्व पार्वेद दिव्यावर्तं प्रकटे यस्य यथे।
जाते जीवं दशिरतिरं यथा।

L. 15. तिन्ति विन्दुमुद्रे।
ध्योधारीविश्वासः।
प्राप्ते बार्योऽन्तः।
प्रीतमकलः समजः।

L. 16. ग्रीवः काणक्रुदाष्टान्तोऽपि।
ब्रमः किमस्य तुलनां वधुतोपरीते-नात्त्वरितिन्भत: कितल राण्यः।

L. 17. सभ्यापदेशकंशकंचवकामङ्गोऽसु-कल्युनमाघिनितमिज्ञतमयंस्तुसन्।
स्वच्छहाकाँशोपमोग्यु।

L. 18. भान्याभुवसोपाध्योऽल।
शोभाविश्वुरिततम।
[शच्चायाणि र]साल।

L. 19. पाकदलेष्टस्वाध्यायो:।
छषा तामविविलेखतानि विधिविलुस्च्छ्रन्तियेयो ददे।
चिन्तामणि।

L. 20. सुर्महीस्वकामोऽयः।
वक्ष्यामहीस्वधितिहितायाः।
न्यायान्योऽभवता कलमो समेति।
धारु।

1 Read छिकाः।
L. 1. विचार्यश्वगोन्यपतियविषयम् ||
चालुक्यकुलमन्त्रता श्रीमल्लाक्षदेविका ।
तवोदानाय शुभम भार- [95]
L. 2. दैवस्य नावौषी ||
वस्त्रां जूनसूरभुदीर्याः श्रीचिंद्रमदहीपति ।
गंगावंशमुखान्तर दुःखा वैरिम- [96]
L. 3. छीतवं ||
वाल्लुन्तलघाङ्गे श्राण्याणि वाचस्यानिविर्यया ।
द्राने कारों के भीमः सौन्दर्ये वुसुमायु- [97]
L. 4. धिः ||
तेन दाते दिनारिभः श्राण्याणि वाल्लुन्तस्यायः ।
सहादनानि दानापि श्रीमल्लाक्षादेशः || [98]
L. 5. वैचिन्द्रीसिंहदैवस्यपति सिंधाश्वाधिधिति
सुमधिरकिरितकोटकिरितक्रियाधीतिविभ्रिये । [99]
L. 6. प्रवधिरितिविचित्र[विन]पारिवर्ष्णहृदया श्रीवाण्डीयाश्विषयः
प्राणायामपराभाया । समस्मनु प्रवशीराथा- [100]
L. 7. सिनः ||
यस्मिन् प्रशासित सुवः कुलभुधरेण्या
कूर्ममासुञ्ज्ञापतिर्निर्मित्वोक्तिप्रायः ।
भूमायोगरय- [101]
L. 8. खलात्विधिःरोविकारा
विश्वानितवाभमस्त्वनत्त्व खलात्विधिः ||
वैरास्तन समाधिरिष्टित कुजःराया- [102]
L. 9. वैरासान समाधिरिष्टित कुजःराया
इन्द्रायुधभुधजयसरदिविये
कामतातिप्रोकणात् [103]
L. 10. कित तर्कवाजल्लतापि यत् ॥
वः खुशाल्वक्षलिरम्सा रिपुराजकाणाम
माहात्मापवदम्म- [104]
J. 1. 33
N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nṛsimha-dēva II. [No. 3,
L. 11. चेंटरोऽः समाना।
भूदेवसादकलभूतवामुख्योऽन
dागामसाकितवान्तकर।
L. 12. पद्मवें॥
तस्याथ विलेखाणिमालिवंदभोविन्यसपादायांशुजः
स्थािो चन्ता विषुष्य।
L. 13. तेजस्मिनिमास कौटियियप्रेमस्म।।
यद्योऽम दिलामिहरमसुभाषायिन्द्रनिियां प्रस्तुवां
रोमाण।
L. 14. सद्मापितनिन्तिमविभिन्धििवाः मुख्॥
वासिष्ठाद्वृक्षतस्य विनयी बन्धः प्रतापः परेः
सच्चाऐ।
L. 15. क्रियसामात्वसतस्यां शुभाभिः।।
स्त्राणििकसुभाषायिन्ति च वत्सलायार एवाययो
दि।
L. 16. ग्नातित्वभजते यथो वर्मणाव्रोः सञ्चरः ििधां॥
कालिम सबद्धोमावदशांहिन्वशकवसरेः
L. 17. चतुःशशुसस्वाधिपियादिविविहुदावली विराजमान।।
अवोवमर-सिंहदेवमहीपितः सश्राय्यकेक
L. 18. विषुम्भिमिकायामाणे सिंहश्वाष्ट्रां सोमवारे रेवुशा कठे
नवरामणवारं विनयसये हजी। प्रजान।
L. 19. सुदलेन गद्यालीयाणििथितत्त्वातु सोमययः
समयसमुत्स्यायनेकसमधातू काष्य पधोन्ताय

Plate-leaf VI, obverse.

L. 1. काष्यपाध्ययरः निम्नश्रवः यजुर्वेददान्तः
काष्यपाध्यायायने कुमारसहायाय भूमिर्भूमि
शृः

1 Read सच्चर। 2 नवरामणवार। 3 काष्यपाध्ययर।
2. Pachchādātākatāpadanāy heerāvīshyamadāsīn
   adhyāyaṃ purāṇōkiṣkara-piśadātanaṃ nara-
   prameyena uttsat:

3. Maṇiśrīyamāṇḍāṅgōṃ śravīgadhyōṣhiṣṭōh lañc-
   gāmīva pāṇīyamaṅkāya śrāvān śrībhāvāt[ę]
   pākṣaṃtaḥ sahaṃs-

4. Malāyī yamāśīrṇī paśīmāvaśīva-śārīvabhya vimsūtipadā-
   gāmāṅgōṃ śrībīkṣaṇa pūrvāṅgōṃśāgāmaṃ chutūṇīṃśa-
   vaśīvaṃ-

5. Bādgaṇugthaṇoṇeṇ ṣrībīkṣaṇanāthaḥ dhaṅkitapadmāt-
   ātāmātmyeṇa dēvānāmāmāhogyo goteśeṇ- 
   gopapādāyaṃ-

6. Rishīsahotesnāmānāthīkoye vamaṃkālaḥ niṣrayākaṃ bādgaṇ-
   ugraṇoṇeṇ samānāthākā cahaṅkāraṃ pārśeṣeṃ ॥ 
   tadā sa-

7. Jñāvīṣhāyamadāsīn śravāṅgōṃ tadāgāva nāma-
   śeṇaḥ pākṣaṃtaḥ śāmārāṣṭraṇaṃ yavapādāṅgōṃ 

8. Kṛṣṇaṇiṣhāgāmāṅgōṃś Śravīkṣaṇaṃ parśmayaṃda । 
   dhūṣṣāt: vēdāyāgāmāṅgōṃ śadgāmāmārōṃ 
   gōmānaṃ pāmaṅgōṃś-

9. Śravīkṣaṇaṃ gōmānavtēm chutūṇīṃśvadhānākā 
   vachśīkāhātātīkā mahātmyu pūtāt 
   dhēvān-

10. Gōmānyo goteśeṇ gopapādāyaṃ kāyaṃ dhēvānākā 
   vamaṃkālaḥ gōmānavtēm ma-

11. Nekāyavādātīkā caheṃvadhātātī kāya śeṇ śāmānāyeyāpāsahāt-
   ātīkālātītātī mahātītī-

1 Read ॐ
d 2 Read ॐ
N. N. Vasu—Copper-plate inscription of Nrisimha-dēva II. [No. 3,

Plate-leaf VI, reverse.

1 Read ॐ श्री । । ॥
2 খ্যা ॥
3 Read ॐ শ্রী ।
Translation.

Om! Adoration to Nārāyana!

Verse 1. May the lotus-like feet of Lākṣmī 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 (Krṣṇa), 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 Īśvara, 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 illuminated 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 Lākṣmī 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 Devas. 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 kāvyas; 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 Aqva-datta Saurāṅga, from Saurāṅga Citrāṅgada, from Citrāṅgada Čiradhvaja, from Čiradhvaja Dharmaisi, from Dharmaisī Parīkṣit, from Parīkṣit Jaya-sēna, from Jaya-sēna Vijaya-sēna, from Vijaya-sēna Vṛṣa-dhvaja, from Vṛṣa-dhvaja Pragalbha, from Pragalbha Čakti, and from Ċakti sprang Kōlāhala known as Ananta-varman.

7. There was a famous city named Gaṅga-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 Rūpā-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 Kaliṅga but along with it Udra 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 Gaṅga Dynasty than that, at the time when, in battle, they snatched away by force all the lands belonging to the Kaliṅgas, and the fortune long enjoyed by others; the divine tortoise, the three-eyed ṇiva at Gōkarnā 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 Čāstras. 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-Kaliṅga 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 Pīnāki (Mahā-dēva), so Naṅgamā 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 Kupera by his wealth and Indra by his prowess.

18. Like Lakṣmi of Nārāyaṇa, and Rōhiṇi of Candra (the moon) Rāja-sundari was his first queen.

19. From Rāja-rāja and Rāja-sundari sprang Cūḍa-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 Veda, such well versed knowledge in the Čāstras, 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 Cūḍa-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 Cūḍa-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 (Godāvari) 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 nārdaca arm roaring like thunder, his army was very similar to the appearance of the rainy season. Trilōcana-vibhun 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, Gaṅgēqvara obtained the moon of expanded fame, Lakṣmi-like kingdom (dharaṇī), 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-gāṅga did not take in hand the erection of a temple to Puruṣottama: but Gaṅgēqvara 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 immovable; for the lions brought enchained by Gaṅgēqvara in his several hunting excursions by their furious roar filling the whole universe with the echo may terrify the Diṣṇūgas to flight, which will make the world tremble, which may also happen sometimes under the weight of his feet.

30. Hotly pursued by Gaṅgēqvara the king of the Mandāra first fled from his capital whose ramparts, walls, and wide gates had been already destroyed by the forces of Kalिणga 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 Rādhāya (Karna) 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 Kāstūrikā-moddini 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-gāṅga was blessed with

J. l. 34
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 Lakṣmī herself seeing Viṣṇu born in the shape of Cōḍa- ganga took birth in the form of Kastūrika-mōdini.

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- kēya), for both of them were the sons of Gaṅgēqa (Cīva and Cōḍa- ganga), both protected the Vibudhas (Dēvas and Paṇḍitas), and both were wielders of Čaktī (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 Kūrti-candra (moon of fame) began to increase.

37. In the Čaka 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 (Dhanu), 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 Mahēqa along with the Hiranāyagarbha (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, (Hiranya-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 Nāgēcvara (king of the snakes) and Kūrmēcvara (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. Maharāja Cōda-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 Maharāja Cōda-gaṅga was not different from Hara (Civa); he married Indirā proud of her supernatural beauty.

46. By her Cōda-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 shampoing his feet. But it is strange that though rendered destitute of their ्tējah (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 (Daça-çatabāhu).
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-dahanā (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-lekhā was the favourite wife of the illustrious Cōḍa-gāṇga, 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-gāṇga 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 Himalaya (O Ye honest hear!). The earth acted as his seat, the heaven as his ensign, the mountain as his palace, the Dik-pālaks 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 Aniyaṇka-bhima 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 com-
 bined 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-(dharā-jala)-
like sharpness (dharā) 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 expeditions 
filled the sky, and so soiled the body of the kings of elephants (Airā-
vata).

63. This heroic prince Anānga-bhima subjugating all his enemies 
ruled the earth for ten years.

64. The valiant king Anānga-bhima was of unrestrained power, 
and as the family abode of the goddess of Danda-niti (Administration 
of Justice). His conduct was most elegant, being purified by truth-
fulness, right observances, and correct judgment, and the sole object of 
his life was virtue. His other half was the paṭṭa-mahiṣī Bāghalla-
dēvi; in love, that knew no bounds, she was like the goddess Lakṣmi 
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 Čāstras, 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 Maṇḍuka-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 Anānga-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 Anānga-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 Hiranyagarbha: and on hearing this, the great Padma-yōṇi (Brahman) felt
ashamed, and as a result of this, the eyes in his four heads began to move in vacany.

78. He was endowed with the three-fold regal powers and observed the *tulā-puruṣa-dāna.* 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 *Anāṅga-bhima.*

80. The king *Anāṅga-bhima* 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-dēvi* and the Kaśyapa-like king *Anāṅga-bhima,* was born on the earth the warrior *Nara-simha,* (Viṣṇu)-like Narasimha, the saviour of the world and the destroyer of the sinners.

82. The king *Nara-simha* was always engaged in benevolent deeds. Seeing his boundless charity, it was thought, as if Nara-simha (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 (Hīranya-kaśipu).

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 Bhavāni 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, Gangā 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 *Tulā-puruṣa* ceremony, where shall the single golden mountain, Sumāru, the abode of gods be?

86. Shining day and night, and making Meru over to the Brāhmaṇas in pious gifts, namely, *tulā-puruṣa,* king Nara-simha built at *Kōṇa-kōṇa* (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 Sūrā (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 Māla-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 Padma (lotuses), brings languor to (i.e., shunts) the Kaiρava (water-lilies), destroys the intense Vṛtra (i.e., darkness), and places his feet upon the summits of the para-dharaṇī-bhṛt, (i.e., principal mountains namely : Udaya-giri and Asta-giri), so king Bhānu-dēva diffused Padma (wealth and prosperity), brought languor to the Kaiρava (enemies) destroyed the hostile Vṛtras (enemies), and placed his feet upon the heads of the para-dharaṇī-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-carira (i.e., of attractive appearance like Kṛṣṇa.)

92. Continually partaking of havīs (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 Čiva though he safely drank the Kāla-kūṭa (fatal poison) was attacked with Čula (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 Kalpadrūma to them.
94. The unrivalled king granted, with proper ceremonies, to good Črōtiya Bhrāmaṇas, 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 (Kalpā-druma), the Kāma-dhēnu and the king Bhānu-dēva was the best, and summoned the king to appear before him for judgment.

96. As Lākṣmi is of Nārāyaṇa, Jākalla-dēvī of the Cālukya dynasty was the beloved wife of Bhānu-dēva.

97. By her was borne the valorous and illustrious king Nṛsiṁha, destroyer of all his enemies and the saviour of the Ganga dynasty.

98. (He acquired fame) like Arjuna in handling weapons of war, Vṛhaspati in Čāstrik knowledge, Karṇa in making presents, Bhima in valour, and Kāma-dēva in beauty.

99. In obedience to his mother, he issued one hundred Čāsanas to Bhrāmaṇas, and also other presents of great value.

100. When the most valiant and illustrious Nṛsiṁha-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 Kula‐cala, the Kūra‐rāja, the Nagarāja 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 Bhrāmaṇas, 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-ĝajas, on hearing, from the lips of Kinnaras, songs of his fame, used to cease undulating their ears, the large black-

J. r. 35
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-Simha-deva, in the twenty-first year of his reign, on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Simha (Leo), Monday, in the city of Rēmunā, at the merry time of a new conquest, in order to grant 50 vatikas 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 Bhima-dēva Ĉarman of the Kaṇḍā gōtra, Kaṇḍā, Apāṣāra, and Naidhruva Pravara, and a reader of the Kāṅva-sākhā of the Yajurvēda, gave the two villages; namely: Ėdāragrama within the boundaries of the Dērā-Viṣaya, and according to the Nala-measurement of Ĉri Karanā Ĉiva-dāsa lying from the (half daṇḍa ?) boundary line of the village Mālo-pura on the north to the drinking-water-supplying reservoir of Talanga-grāma, and from the western bank of the pond of the village Sāhasapura on the west to the embankment (Hiḍā ?) on the boundary line of the village of Vibhūti- paḍā on the west. Out of the 42 vatikas, 16 mānas and 12 guṇthas of land contained within these boundaries deducting 8 vatikas and 9 mānas as already granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas or comprising cow-grazing fields, ponds, &c., the remainder 34 vatikas, 7 mānas and 12 guṇthas. Secondly:—The village of Sunāila within the boundaries of Śvāṅga-Viṣaya according to the Nala-measurement of the above-mentioned Ĉiva-dāsa and lying from the boundary line of Bhima-nārāyaṇa-pura on the west, to the boundary of Khana-sāhi village on the east, and from the half-boundary line (?) of the village Veḍa-paḍā on the south, to the boundary line of Ghōḍā-pāla village on the north; out of the 33 vatikas, 13 mānas, and 6 guṇthas, deducting 10 vatikas and 12 mānas as already granted to gods, and Brāhmaṇas or comprising grazing fields, drinking ponds, &c., again from the remainder 23 vatikas, 11 mānas (?), and 6 guṇthas, deducting 7 vatikas, 8 mānas and 18 mānas (guṇthas ?) according to the measurement of Candā-dāsa Karanā, and lying from the Vata tree on the boundary of the village Ka-ilia on the west, to the Vata tree at the middle of the field of village Sunailo on the north, to the Vata (Ficus Indica) tree on the boundary line of the village of Veḍa-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-Narasiṁha-pura one vāṭikā is granted to the Sēvāita Allāla-nātha Čarman of the Putimāsa gōtra, reader of the Čākala-Čākhā of the Rgvēda; half a vāṭikā to the copper-maker (Tamra-kāra) named Naḍī. As a part of this grant,—Nōri Čreṣṭhi son of Purāi Čreṣṭhi, son of Kōmaṭi Maṇku Čreṣṭhika of Ucaḍā village in the middle of the South Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa; Dhittu Vēlāli, grandson of Mahā-dēva Vēlāli a Tāmbuli of the village of Kaṇṭha-pādi-haṭṭa; the Tamra-kāra named Amnāi of Purusōttama-pura Usthall; and the Kamsa-kāra named Madāi of Vēda-pura Usthall.

(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 Archaeological treasures which had been unrevealed to Fergusson and his emissaries, to Mr. Locke and his troop of students, to Dr. Râjêndralâla 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 Açôka inscriptions found among the caves, the Aira Râja’s inscription in the Hâthî Guphâ, and such dedicatory tablets in Açôka 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 prac-"tically 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 Črī, and the tree, thus:

![Diagram](image)

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 Rādhisāttva. 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 banian 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 Chāya. 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 Gaya 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 Gándhāra 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 Açōka-edict-pillar, which was found three years ago in the Nepalese tarai 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 Çâkya Muni, which after Bâdh-Gayâ was perhaps the most celebrated Buddhist shrine, and which at Hiuen Tsiaang’s visit in the 7th century A.D., contained magnificent structural remains including several inscribed Açōka-pillars and a monastery with 3,000 monks; and its exploration must throw a flood of light on the origin of the Çâkya race and other problems of those almost prehistoric times in which Buddhism had its first beginnings.

This pillar of Kônâkamana in the Nepalese tarai, appears still to be fixed in its original position; and that most trustworthy topographer, Hiuen Tsiaang, 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 Açōka-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 Si-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 Kāśikamana lies in the
Nepalese iara near the village of Nigli, thirty-eight miles north-west of
Uska on the Bengal and North-Western railway, in the north of the
Gorakhpur 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
Açōka-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 ‘Gan-pan,’ and partly from hearsay narratives of
pilgrim monks. But its chief value lies in the fact that it gives the re-
latively 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 Kosala, now called ‘Tikṣa’ or ‘Ayōdhya,’ situated on
the bank of the river named ‘Dhūn-ha’ (? Dewa) or ‘Sarjapu.’
Here in this country was the great city of Çrāvasti,² containing the
palace of King Prasenajit, but now traces only remain of the fort,
which is called Kāśala-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 stone about fifteen fathoms.³
A little further off is a gilted 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 पञ्जिका mNan-yod.
³ चन्द्र "Dom.
⁴ gSer-bran.
Vāhāra of Jētavāna 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 Āriṣiputra humbled the pride of the miracle-worker Māṇḍgaliyāputra.

"Three or four hours journey to the north-west of Jētavāna, is a dwelling called 'the eye-seeing shrine' 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 Ayōdhyā 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 Açoka 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;' at present it is called 'Jayā-sipata' or 'the dwelling of victory.' 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 Gōra-khpur), and the hill of the 'Thag-po' country. Not far from that hill is a small city called '(r) Do-na-ko-ta' (or ? Čilanakōta), from which after two or three hours walk to the west, are the traces of Kapila city (now) called Kapila-di (? dīh), which is described by Gau-pan and in the travel-records of Thañ-zīq (Hiuen Tsiang) and in several sūtras.

"In the middle of the city are traces of the palace of Čuddhōdana, 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 Açoka 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,' 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 Cākya (youths) were drowned by 'Virūḍhaka.' The many hundred and thousands of the stupas of their bones as described by Thañ-zīq were seen by some Ācāryas. Outside the southern gate of the city is a stupa erected at the spot where the Buddha

1 दो-नाको-ता मिग-मथोन-बाही-ग्नास।
2 सर-स्क्या-ि-ग्रो।
3 र्ग्याल-बाही-ग्नास।
4 थाग-पो-ग्नास।
5 र्दो-नाको-ता।
6 दोन-ग्रुब।
7 सन्ब।
J. 1. 36
when young disputed with the Čākya tribe. Near that stupa is the 'Elephant-pit,' beside which are images of king Siddhārtha, Yaśođhara, 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 Kōnākamana and Krakucchanda where they were born, as described by Thaŋ-zin (Hiuen Tsang).

"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 'Agyō-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 Camalladesh' or 'Bāliya-dec' 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 Thaŋ-zin (Hiuen Tsang).

"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' 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 Magadhā 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 'Pel.Skt. Vardhamāna.

\(^2\) T. qYod-yul.
"Not far east from the country of Vaïcalli, is the country called Tirhut which is the permanent residence of the King of Vaïcalli. To the north of that country, but slightly south of Népal is the city of 'Mulaka,' to the south-east of which is the 'Mourang' (= Morang the Nepalese tará to the North of Purneah) where abound elephants, peacocks and the rudrākṣa₁ 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 Kaucika (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 Aç̄̄kapillars which lead hither from Patna (Pātaliputra).

₁ Eltocarpus janitrus, the warty seeds of which are used for Sivaist and Lamaist rosaries.
² 'Ras-mo-lijęs, or 'the country of rice.'
On the Kāčmīri 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 Kāčmīri 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 Kāčmīri Paḍīḍ) 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 Nāgārī character.

Kāčmīri is written both in the Persian and in the Čarāḍā alphabets. The latter belongs to the family of which Dēvanāgārī is the best known member, and will be represented (for convenience sake) by Dēvanāgārī in this paper. The Persian character is used by the Muhāmmadans (who form about 93 per cent.), and the Čarāḍā (Dēvanāgārī) by the Hindūs (who form, say, 6 per cent.) of the population. Carey in his Serampur translation of the New Testament (1821) used the Čarāḍā 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 Kāčmīri. 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 Kāčmīri words, even from a fully vocalized Persian transcription. This is forcibly illustrated by the late Dr. Burkhard’s Essays on Kāčmīri. 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., ā, a and ə by one sign ə. Another a sound, viə, a°, he represents by o; and at the same time uses the same sign to represent the ə in cob, an altogether different sound.

The Čāradā (Dēvanāgāri) system of writing Kācmirī 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 Kācmirī in the Roman character is to follow the Čāradā system with a few minor modifications.

The Čāradā system is based upon actual facts of the language. Kācmirī 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 war, in a certain way. By adding an e, he gets the word ware, in which the final e is silent, but modifies the pronunciation of the preceding a. In Kācmirī these silent (or nearly silent) vowels are called by Hindū Grammarians, mātrās, and there are three of them, viz., i-mātrā, u-mātrā, and ā-mātrā which are represented in the Čāradā character by the ordinary signs for i, u, and ā respectively with the sign for virāma appended. The mark¹ 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 ā, above the line, a dot being placed under the preceding vowel to indicate modification. Examples are किर kari, they (masc.) were made; कर kara, he was made; and करा kara, 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 کار kari, the second کار kara, and the third indifferently کار or کیر kir. Mr. Wade transcribes the first kar, the second kar, and the third kar.

Of these mātrās it may be said that u and ā 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 \textit{u-mātrā} as an example. The Skr. कृङ्खः: \textit{kṛtah}, done, became in Apabhraṃça Prākritis \textit{kāri}, from which was derived the old Kācmirī करु. By opephensis, of which the Kācmirī is extremely fond, this became pronounced कृरु \textit{kaur} whence we get the modern pronunciation \textit{core}. The old spelling was, however, retained, but the mark of \textit{virāma} was added to show that the final \textit{u} was silent. So also करि \textit{kari}, represents an Apabhraṃça *करित \textit{karii} and करा\textit{ä} \textit{kara} represents an Apabhraṃça, *करिता \textit{kariī} or \textit{karī} \textit{kari}. It can easily be shown that \textit{u-mātrā} represents an older \textit{i}, not an older \textit{u}. Words in \textit{u-mātrā} are nearly all feminine forms of masculines in \textit{u-mātrā}, a fact which explains the adoption of the long \textit{u} sign as a substitute for the long \textit{i}.

Sometimes by the addition of suffixes these \textit{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 \textit{virāma} is omitted. In this case, \textit{u-mātrā} takes the sound of a short German \textit{u}. Thus, if we add the suffix \textit{n}, meaning \textit{by him}, to the above words, we get from करि \textit{kari}, करित \textit{karin} (pronounced something like \textit{kryn}); from करा\textit{ā} \textit{kara}, करा\textit{n} \textit{karan} (pronounced something like \textit{kron}); and from करा\textit{ā} \textit{kara}, करा\textit{n} \textit{karan}, (pronounced something like \textit{kūrin}).\footnote{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.} If, however, the suffix consists of a consonant and a vowel, or more, the \textit{mātrā} vowels remain unpronounced. Thus, take the suffix \textit{wā}, by you. Adding this to करि \textit{kari} we get करिव \textit{kariwā}, (pr. \textit{krywa}); to करा\textit{n} \textit{kara}, we get करा\textit{wan} \textit{karanwā} (\textit{koro}wā); and to करा\textit{ā} \textit{kara}, we get करा\textit{ā} \textit{kara} (\textit{kūrwa}). Again, adding the suffix \textit{tha-s}, by thee I (was made), we get करा\textit{̄thas} \textit{kara}thas (korthas), masc. and करा\textit{̄thas} \textit{kūrthas}, fem.

The effect of these mute or \textit{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 Kācmirī consonantal system. This is, in the main, the same as that which we meet in the Dēvanāgari Alphabets. It must be observed, however, that Kācmirī, has no soft aspirates (gh, jh, dh, dh, and bh). The letter \textit{jh} becomes \textit{z}. Thus from Apabhraṃça ब्यस्, \textit{bujjhai}, we have the Kācmirī बोज़\textit{ī}, he will hear. The other letters simply lose their aspiration, \textit{e.g.}, Hindi ॐ ग्जेर, surround, but Kācmirī गर, and so on.

Kācmirī has developed a new set of palatals, \textit{vīz.}, च छ and ण.
pronounced (and transliterated) \( \textit{t} \), \( \textit{t}h \), and \( z \) respectively. The nasal \( \textit{A} \) \( \textit{na} \) is pronounced \( \textit{n}y\), and is treated as if it was spelled \( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \). With Virāma (\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \)) it is pronounced \( \textit{ny} \), and is treated as if it was \( \textit{\textbf{a}} \) \( ny\).

As regards transliteration; it seems to me that the only satisfactory way, so far as this article is concerned, is to follow the Čāradā 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 \( \delta \)-sound in \( \textit{cob} \), and the \( \delta \)-sound in \( \textit{obb} \). These, in Čāradā are represented by \( \textit{wa} \) (or \( \varphi \)) and \( \textit{ya} \) respectively, following a consonant. Thus \( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) (or \( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \)) \( \textit{tvahya} \) (or \( \textit{ivhya} \)) (pr. \( \textit{tōhē} \)). As this \( \textit{wa} \) and \( \textit{ya} \) do not convey to the reader the sounds they represent, I transliterate them (when they represent these sounds) by \( \delta \) and \( \varepsilon \) 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 Makund Rām of Sīrīnagar,¹ and every word which we have been able to identify has been written down in the Dīvanāgārī character, and its pronunciation discussed. Many new words, illustrating new rules, have also been added.

\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( a \) is usually pronounced as the short \( a \) in America.

The following are examples.

\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{calakh} \), a beating.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{wanakh} \), thou wilt say.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{khāfakh} \), thou wilt conceal.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{phaṭakh} \), thou wilt be drowned.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{ganakh} \), thou wilt conceal.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{mānak} \), thou wilt obey.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{raṭakh} \), thou wilt take.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{barakh} \), thou wilt regret.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{sarakh} \), thou wilt endure.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{alakh} \), thou wilt be shaken.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{valakh} \), thou wilt throw over. a person.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{galakh} \), thou wilt melt.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{marakh} \), thou wilt die.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{kaṭakh} \), thou wilt tear.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{tgalakh} \), thou wilt flee.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{vaṭakh} \), thou wilt roll up.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{pakakh} \), thou wilt go.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{rachakh} \), thou wilt protect.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{vanakh} \), thou wilt cook.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{khanakh} \), thou wilt dig.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{mēnak} \), thou wilt measure.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{asakh} \), thou wilt laugh.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{dazakh} \), thou wilt be burnt.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{sarakh} \), thou wilt experience.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{malakh} \), thou wilt rub.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{khalakh} \), thou wilt be opened.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{balakh} \), thou wilt recover.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{galakh} \), thou wilt slip.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{gar}^2 \), a house.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{aļgan} \), to enter.
\( \textit{\textcircled{\textbf{a}}} \) \( \textit{alayau} \), 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 ā in hat, thus ङख krākh, a noise, but ञख krāk, noises. कठ kāth, a ram, gen. sg. कठ संत kāṭa ṣaun. This difference is not marked in writing. I shall represent it by ā.

A final a is very lightly pronounced, and is therefore written above the line, as in krāk, above. With regard to final ya, vide post (page 304).

This lightly pronounced ā also occurs between consonants: In such cases, in the Čārāda character, the two consonants are compounded, and the vowel neglected. We thus get seemingly impossible combinations, such as the word पुच or literatim āsh, which cannot be possibly pronounced as written. The word is really pronounced āsah, and means 'thon.' So also in many other words, e.g., ढू (which I prefer to write ढू) pronounced ṣhun, he has swollen; ढू (ढू) दशुन, he shook out; ढू (ढू) कठ, he was wet; मु (मु) मू, spite; ढू (ढू) गठह, he ground: ढूढ़ दशर, the edible part of a cucumber; बखर b哈尔, a flower; गत्य gतः, clever (fem.); ज्ञर पठर, 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 ā-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 ā-mātrā, by a, a system which tends to endless confusion, unless some clue is given to the modifying vowel.

Icwrara-kaula in his Kāśmīrī Dhātu-पाठha, also notes a modified a, 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 (ā). 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-Hindi. The difference between a 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 प्रक्र प्रक्र, which is hardly an exception, in every single instance the a is followed by a compound consonant the last member of which is r.

1 Icwrara-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 ṣunw, ṣunw, kuṅw (there is a difference of opinion as to the correct form of the part of the root kī). I. K. makes it kīś), rīc and gulg. This well illustrates the indefinite nature of the sound which, in the Čārāda 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 Dhātupātha, 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 t), it is modified to ø.

\[ aðær, be moist. \]
\[ anær, finish. \]
\[ aðær, cloud up. \]
\[ känær, be impoverished. \]
\[ genær, count. \]
\[ chakær, scatter. \]
\[ chātsrāv, make white. \]
\[ chuṣpr (pr. almost chuṣr), spend. \]
\[ tsuṅkar (pr. almost tsuṅkar), make angry. \]
\[ tshyāgør (pr. almost tshītør), (defile. \]
\[ tshyāgor (pr. almost tshīvør), put out (fire). \]
\[ tshāgor (pr. almost tshuṅør), make short. \]
\[ gukha, depend upon. \]
\[ tatær, make hot. \]
\[ tāñr, make thin. \]
\[ trasrāv, cause to fear. \]
\[ trasrāv, cause to fear. \]
\[ truṅgrāv, (pr. almost truṅrāv), make hard. \]
\[ thāzer, make high. \]
\[ dāqarāv, make wasted. \]
\[ druṅgar (pr. almost druṅrāv), price highly. \]
\[ dubah (pr. almost dubar), bury. \]
\[ mūṅrāv, make naked. \]
\[ māṅrāv, cause to shake. \]
\[ muṃmar (pr. almost numør), cause to bow. \]
\[ muṇgor (pr. almost numor), make excessive. \]
\[ pamær, fell a. hem (in sewing). \]
\[ paṣør, decide the truth. \]
\[ paṭhasr (Mr. Knowles would write paṭhasr), clean (fish). \]
\[ prakor, be manifest. \]
\[ phasr, entangle. \]
\[ bocrāv, protect. \]
\[ bādor, cause to be great. \]
\[ bādorāv, bake bread. \]
\[ bānor, divide. \]
\[ balr, cure. \]
\[ byāor (pr. almost biṅor), make separate. \]
\[ bramør, mislead. \]
\[ maṅgarāv, madden. \]
\[ maṅr, make imperfect. \]
\[ maṣr, cause to forget. \]
\[ muṅgor, (pr. almost muṭor), make fat. \]
\[ muṇgor (pr. almost muṇgor), make blunt. \]
\[ muḍor (pr. almost muḍor), be sweet. \]
\[ raṅshar, put in order. \]
\[ lyḍmor (pr. almost lidmor), be yellow. \]
\[ waḍor, bury. \]
\[ vyasor (pr. almost viṣor), decide. \]
\[ vyāor (pr. almost viṇor), separate. \]
Vyəhər (pr. almost viθər), make fat.
Vyədər (pr. almost vidər), be slack.
Vyəpər (pr. almost vıpər), cause to pervade.
Vyəvər (pr. almost vivər), scatter.
Sañər, make deep.
Sanzər, be ready.
Syazər (pr. almost sizər), make straight.
Syandər (pr. almost sindər), become red.

When the vowel a is modified by i-maṭrā, it is pronounced nearly as the ā in hat. The i-maṭra is also very lightly pronounced, both in the same syllable as the ā, with the ā, as well as in its own syllable. This has led to various methods of transcription. For instance, some transcribe अिस by ais, and others by as. The true pronunciation is something like aisi. I prefer to transcribe it by as, which follows the native system. The i-maṭrā is shown in its proper place, and a dot (corresponding to the Čarada') is placed under the a to show that it is modified. The following are examples of a modified by i-maṭrā.

Aisi, pronounced aisi, we.
Karī, pr. karīt, bracelets.
Papī, pr. pāpī, ripe (masc. pl.)
Darī (dərī), strong (masc. pl.)
Khari (khaṛi), having a scald-head (m. pl.)
Lərī (lərī), many (masc. pl.)
Barī (baṛī), deaf (masc. pl.)
Khakhi (kha'khi), name of caste (masc. pl.)
Bāḍi (bāḍi), great (masc. pl.)
Gati (gaṭi), thin, weak (masc. pl.)
Khāti (khaṭi), cupboards (masc. pl.)

When a is followed by u-maṭrā 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 ə, i.e., the short sound of ō. It has nothing to do with the short ō in the English word cold, which also occurs in Kāmıri but is represented differently (see pages 294 and 304). The u-maṭrā itself is
hardly pronounced at all. Pandits 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-mātra, 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-mātra in Kāśmiri 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 Kāśmiri word as baḍ', great, by boḍḍ, in which the doubled d means that the tongue must not only touch the palate to get the sound of d, 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 of the Ćūrādā character, and warns the reader that the a is modified by the following u-mātra.

Wade transcribes this a modified by u-mātra, by o. As he also transcribes the ə sound of cob, by the same sign, great confusion is caused to the learner.

The following are examples of a modified by u-mātra.

[Note that every word ending in u-mātra is masculine, and that all nouns ending in u-mātra belong to Wade's 2nd declension].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kāśmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baḍ'</td>
<td>bodd</td>
<td>great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāl'</td>
<td>kholl</td>
<td>open, loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar'</td>
<td>morr</td>
<td>a hut, a fowl-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad'</td>
<td>Dodd</td>
<td>burnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khār'</td>
<td>Khott</td>
<td>a place of concealment, a wall-cupboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lad'</td>
<td>Lodd</td>
<td>made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khād'</td>
<td>Khodd</td>
<td>pudendum mu- liebre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal'</td>
<td>Koll</td>
<td>dumb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phat'</td>
<td>Phott</td>
<td>drowned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat'</td>
<td>Rotr</td>
<td>taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat'</td>
<td>Mott</td>
<td>mad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lat'</td>
<td>Lott</td>
<td>light, gentle (of speaking.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a is followed by u-mātra it takes a sound closely corresponding to that of the German û. As in the case of u-mātra, pandits say
that the ā-mātṛā 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-mātṛā, I attempted to illustrate by doubling it. The pronunciation of the word कृष्ण kṛṣṇa, would therefore be illustrated by kūrr. Wade represents the ū sound by ə, which as before explained, gives rise to confusion. As explained before, I transliterate the Čāradā characters as they stand, the dot under the ə, showing that it is modified by the following ā-mātṛā, and corresponding to the Čāradā.

The following are examples of a modified by a following ā-mātṛā. [Most words ending in ā-mātṛā are feminine, and belong to the third declension. There are, however, some masculines, e.g., दान dāna, a pomegranate, which belong to the first declension.]

कृष्ण kṛṣṇa (pronounced kūrr) a beam, she was made by us.
जूर zūr (zūrr), a deaf woman.
बूर būr (bürr), a crack in wood.
नूर nūr (nūrr), the lower part of the arm.
गूर gūr (ūrr) well, strong.
बृह bṛh (bütt), a hob.
दूर dūr (dür), a strong woman.
तस्वत tsvat (tsutt), she was cut.
जत jat (zutt) torn, tattered (fem.)
रत rat (ruutt), she was taken.

The following are examples of ā, which is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi.
काठ kāth, wood (masc.)
काब kāb, glass, pottery (masc.)
कान kān, width (especially of a river) (masc.)
कांद kānd, a representative (masc.)
गल gāl, shame (fem.)
ताक tāk, name of a caste (masc.)
चाक dākh, ashes (masc.)
पाख pākh, a sin (masc.)
नाख tākh, opening in a wall (masc.)
नाद nād, a sound (masc.)
लाख lākh, a stake (masc.)
दाग dāg, a club (masc.)
बाघ bāgh, a dancing boy (masc.)
बाद bād, a pillow (masc.)
बांध bānd, centre of a shawl or handkerchief (fem.)
माध mādh, working of dough (fem.)
बाग bāg, a call to prayers (fem.)
बाळ bāl, a bullock (masc.)
ब्राह्मण brahmāṇ, a verandah (masc.)
मध mādh, honey (masc.)
दान dān, a cooking place (masc.)
ःप्रान prān, an onion (masc.)
वान vān, a shop (masc.)
रान rān, a thigh (fem.)
The letter ā is often modified to ā, the sound of which may be represented by the German ö. It is, however, a prolonged sound, draweled out, so to speak, and there is a touch of the sound of å 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. त्रांस ाs is derived from the स्क्र. āyaṁ, through *āis.

पीं खं, five. बङ्खं वङ्खं, (वङ्खं) a ringlet (fem.)
लोंखं, (pr. लोंखं) a stride (fem.) बङ्खं ाs, (ोंs) a mouth (masc.)
वोंखं, वृंखं, (pr. वृंखं) deceiving (fem.) वोंखं गर, (गर) a kind of fruit (masc.)
मोंखं, लोंखं, (pr. लोंखं) a eunuch अशं क्राजं, (क्राजं) a potter's wife,
(masc.) अशं क्राजं, (fem. of अशं क्राजं).

When ā is followed by i-mātra or by ā-mātra it always becomes modified to ā. As usual the i-mātra is very slightly heard both before and after the succeeding consonant. The ā-mātra 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-mātra it is pronounced ā, and is so written. Thus take the verb चारण त्सार, to sort, arrange. The root is चार त्सार. The past tense masculine singular is formed by adding u-mātra to the root, and is therefore चार u-त्सार. The feminine singular past is however, formed by adding आ-मात्रा, and the original ā is therefore not changed to ो, but is modified to ā, thus चार u-त्सार. So the masculine plural is चार u-त्सार. The feminine plural, however, is formed by adding ya which does not modify the preceding ā, and we have चार u-त्सार (i.e., त्सारे, see page 304). So also the base अन krāṇ-, a relation, has its nom. sg. अन krōṇu, and its nom. pl. अन्न krōṇu. Its dative plural is however, अन्न krāṇyan in which the original base अन krāṇ- is retained, without modifying the ā to ā or changing it to ā, because it is followed by ya, and not by i-mātra, u-mātra, or ā-mātra. This point is important. It explains many difficulties in Kāmīrī declension and conjugation, and, so far as I know, attention has not previously been drawn to it. In dictionaries, the nom. form अन krōṇu is given, but it would be better to give the declensional base अन krāṇ-, which is the original word. Note, however, that ā is the only vowel which is modified not only by i-mātra, but even by a fully pronounced i when following it. Thus the dat.
G. A. Grierson—On the Kāśmīri Vowel-System.

No. 3,

sg. of krān- is कृण्‍न ख्रान, not कृण ख्रान. This is not the case with other vowels: e.g., the dat. sg. of दीप पोथ- (feminine) is दीप पौथि (fully pronounced दीप पौथि), not पौथि पौथि, while the nom. sg. (with i-mātra) is पौथि पौथि, with the o changed to u (see page 302).

The following are examples of a followed by i-mātra.

क्रोनि kroṇi, pr. krōni, relations, ब्याल ब्याल (byāl), seeds (pl. of क्रोनु kroṇu).

दा० dān, churn-sticks, (pl. of dōn).

The following are examples of o followed by u-mātra. As just explained, they are really instances of a being followed by u-mātra, and therefore changed to o. They are all masculine nouns in u-mātra. The nom. masc. plurals all end in i-mātra preceded by a. Thus cyōnu, nom. plur. cyāni. The pronunciation of the o 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.

म्योण myōnum (for myān-) pronounced myōnn, my (masc.)

च्योण cyōnum (cyān-)

प्रोण prōnum (prān-)

देन dēn (dān-)

क्रोण kroṇu (krān-)

ब्रोण brōnum (brān-)

चोण cōnum (cān-)

क्रोण kroṇu (krān-)

गोल gōl (gāl-)

रोण tsōnum (tsān-)

द्योर dōrum (dūr-)

प्योर pyōrum (pyār-)

ब्योल byōlum (byāl-)

द्योल dōllum (dūl-)

The following are examples of a followed by u-mātra, (including the letter छ. n, which is treated as if it was अः nyā).

चोर cōr (pr. corr), an idiot (fem. चोर cōr, an idiot (fem. of चोर cōr).

ब्रोर brōr (brorr), a cat (fem. of ब्रोर brorr, a cat (fem. of ब्रोर brorr).

द्योर dōr (dūr), a rich woman (fem. of dōr) (rare).

प्योर pyōr (pyār), a shoe-maker’s awl (pl. प्यार, i.e., ārē).
G. A. Grierson—On the Kagmiri Vowel-System.

Grierson—

On the Kagmiri Vowel-System.

1896.

The vowel i is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples:

- निश्चि nisch, near.
- सिल sīl, the disease of consumption (masc.).
- फिस phis, a child's penis (fem.).
- तिस tīs, noise of a crack (masc.).
- निस nis, take away from him.
- निन nin, they will take away.
- यिस yis, come to him.
- यिन yin, they will come.
- यिक yikh, thou wilt come.
- दिस dis, give to him.
- दिन din, they will give.
- विस vil, a short space of time (fem.).
- गिस gis, a kind of bird (fem.).
- तिस thīs, loss of use of limbs (fem.).
- बिस bīs, an assembly (fem.).
- बिस sith, a whisper (masc.).
- चिर chīr, the stream of milk that comes out at one pull of the udder (fem.).
- जिन jin, a demon (masc.).
- हिप hīp, the driving away of fowls, &c. (masc.).
- मिस mis, a splinter (fem.).
- फिस phis phis, whispering (masc.).
- किस kis, little finger (fem.).
- पिलुन pilun, to reach.
- किल kil, a thrust (fem.).
- सिल cil, a stake (masc.).
- सिर sir, a secret.
- झिल zih, revenge, spite (masc.).

When the vowel i commences a word, it is pronounced yi: thus—

- बिल bīl, pronounced yih, this (nom.).
- इमिस imis, yimis, this (acc.).
- ईतhai ithai, gratis.
- इमांम imām, yimām, a Musalmān priest.
- इंदा indār, yindār, a spinning-wheel.
- इमिकान imikani, yimikani, thus.
When \( i \) is followed by \( i-m\)atr\( \) its pronunciation is not affected. The \( i-m\)atr\( \) is pronounced only after the preceding consonant.

When \( i \) is followed by \( u-m\)atr\( \), it is pronounced \( yu \), and the final consonant is fully pronounced, as usual. In such cases the \( i \) is often written \( yu \), and the \( u-m\)atr\( \) omitted: thus:

- \( mil,v \) or \( my\), \( myul \), both pronounced \( myunn \), reconciliation.
- \( kyl,v \) or \( ky\), \( kyul \), \( kyull \), a peg.
- \( liv,v \) or \( ly\), \( lyuv \), \( lyuuv \), he was plastered by us.
- \( ncyuv,v \) or \( ncyuv \), a son.

In the case of three verbs, the different spellings, mean different things; thus:

- \( nin,v \), to take, \( yun \) \( nyun \), the act of taking, both pronounced \( nyunn \).
- \( din,v \), to give, \( yun \) \( dyun \), the act of giving, \( dyunn \).
- \( yin,v \), to come, \( yu \) \( yyun \), the act of coming, \( yyunn \).

When \( i \) is followed by \( u-m\)atr\( \), it is pronounced something like \( yu \), in which \( u \) represents a short German \( u \). Thus

- \( liv,v \), pronounced \( lyuvv \), she was plastered by us.
- \( phir,v \) \( phy\), \( phyurr \), she was turned over by us.

Instances of this are rare.

The vowel \( i \) is pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi, thus,—

- \( cin \), snow (masc.)

When the vowel commences a word, it is pronounced \( yi \); thus,

- \( iran \), pronounced \( yiran \), an anvil (fem.).
- \( irun \), \( yirun \), to float.
- \( id \), \( y\), the Musulman festival.
- \( ist,v \), \( yit,v \), so much (fem.).

When \( i \) is followed by \( u-m\)atr\( \) it becomes \( yu \), and is so written. Thus the word \( n\), \( nyu,v \), blue, becomes, and is written, \( nyul,v \) \( nyul \) would be better). This accounts for numerous verbal forms of the Past Participle Masculine.
When \( \ddot{i} \) is followed by \( \ddot{u}-mārā \), its pronunciation is not affected.
The final consonant is merely strengthened slightly by the \( \ddot{u}-mārā \).
The following are examples:

- \( \dddot{pir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{phirr} \)), she rambled.
- \( \dddot{cir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{crr} \)), we squeezed her.
- \( \dddot{cir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{crr} \)) we arranged her.
- \( \dddot{gir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{girr} \)), we arranged her (fem.), used of the warp, in weaving: the object must be fem.
- \( \dddot{nir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{nirr} \)), she came out.
- \( \dddot{gir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{girr} \)), we surrounded her.
- \( \dddot{vir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{vrr} \)), a willow.
- \( \dddot{zir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{zirr} \)), a poke in the ribs.
- \( \dddot{hir} \) (pr. \( \dddot{hrr} \)), a head.
- \( \dddot{swr} \) (pr. \( \dddot{swrr} \)), a brick.

The Vowel \( u \) is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindi. Thus

- \( \text{yun} \), to come.
- \( \text{num} \), saltish.
- \( \text{kus} \), who?
- \( \text{yns} \), who.
- \( \text{hum} \), they.
- \( \text{kuz} \), a kind of sweet-meat (masc.)
- \( \text{wuth} \), drizzling (masc.)
- \( \text{sruth} \), a sip (masc.)

When the vowel \( u \) commences a word it is pronounced \( wu \), and is often written \( \ddot{w} \). Thus

- \( \ddot{udar} \) or \( \ddot{wudar} \), both pronounced \( wudar \), a plateau (fem.)
- \( \ddot{uh} \) or \( \ddot{wuh} \) wuh, twenty.
- \( \ddot{ular} \) or \( \ddot{wular} \) wular, name of a pargana.
- \( \ddot{unar} \) or \( \ddot{wunar} \) wunar, mist (fem.)
- \( \ddot{uphun} \) or \( \ddot{wuphun} \) wuphun, to fly.
- \( \ddot{u} \) or \( \ddot{wuck} \) wuck, oats, barley. (fem.)
- \( \ddot{uth} \) or \( \ddot{wuth} \) wuth, a lip (m.)
- \( \ddot{uthun} \) or \( \ddot{wuthun} \) wuthun, to twist.
- \( \ddot{uszamal} \) or \( \ddot{wuzamal} \) wuzamal, lightning.

There is also a modified \( u \) which is sounded like the \( \acute{o} \) in cob, or nearly so. This I represent by \( \ddot{a} \). It is very commonly written \( wa \). In both cases there is a slight \( w \) sound preceding the \( \acute{o} \), and, moreover when the vowel is initial the \( w \) is fully pronounced.

J. i. 38.
294 G. A. Grierson—On the Kāčmiri Vowel-System.

When the sound is medial, only wa is written not u: Thus,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हृ</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>milk (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>खड़</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a pit (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तस्म</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a fireplace (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मौल</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>price (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पृत्थ</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>piles (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धृ</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>pain (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चोक्ख</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a wound (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नौग</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a daughter-in-law (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्रोक्ख</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a snore (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सौन</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>gold (masc.), a co-wife (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बौन</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वॠल</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>dregs of ghī (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वॠद</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>scalp (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>झुल</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>drowsiness (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठोठ</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>breaking wind (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मॊक्ख</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>a cut branch (masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दोस</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>wall (fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कौठ</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>false, (used as a nominal verb.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तौन</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>to the four.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कौन</td>
<td>ṭृ</td>
<td>elbow (fem.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ṭृ d, ṭृ kh, &c. In some words, such as ṭृ d 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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>गूरी</td>
<td>गूरी</td>
<td>pronounced gu'rī, horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गूरी</td>
<td>गूरी</td>
<td>(gu'rī), children (of either sex).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुज</td>
<td>मुज</td>
<td>(mu'j), a radish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुज</td>
<td>मुज</td>
<td>(tu'j), a little piece of reed or thin wood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुथ</td>
<td>बुथ</td>
<td>(buthi) faces (nom. pl.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kāčmiri 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
Kācmiri this word would be written गुर, with उ-मात्रा. This उ we may call उ². If, however, after pouting out the lips, we allow them quickly to resume their original position before commencing to sound the ओ of good, it will be noticed that a slightly different tone-colour is given to the ओ. This sound we may call उ. In Kācmiri, an ordinary उ is pronounced as उ¹, but when followed by उ-मात्रा it is pronounced as उ², the final consonant, as usual being also pronounced more fully than in English. We thus get the following examples

| सुख | सुर, pronounced सुर, a horse (masc.) |
| सुख | सुर, pronounced सुर, a daughter's son (masc.) |
| सुख | सुर, a child (of either sex) (masc.) |
| सुख | सुर, surplus (masc.) |
| सुख | तुल, तुल, we have lifted him. |
| सुख | कुल, कुल, a tree (masc.) |
| सुख | कुप, कुप a sieve (masc.) |
| सुख | तुक, तुक, we have torn him with the teeth. |
| सुख | रु, रु, right (not wrong). |
| सुख | बुज, बुज, we have parched him. |
| सुख | वुज, वुज, he bubbled up. |
| सुख | कुन, कुन, sold. |
| सुख | तस्न, तस्न, he put in. |
| सुख | तसुक, तसुक, sour. |
| सुख | वुर, वुर, rice boiled dry (masc.) |
| सुख | वुल, वुल, a small hole in a wall for ventilation or light (masc.) |
| सुख | डुब, डुब, a sound (masc.) |
| सुख | थ्युप, थ्युप, a basket for fruit or animals (masc.) |
| सुख | म्स, म्स, fatigue, a small turnip (masc.) |
| सुख | फ्हुहर, प्हुहर, burnt rice at the bottom of a pot. |

When the vowel उ is followed by उ-मात्रा the pronunciation is hardly affected at all. Merely the final consonant is strengthened.

Thus,

| सुख | सुर, pronounced सुर, a mare. |
| सुख | सुर, a daughter's daughter. |
| सुख | बुज, बुज, we have parched her. |
| सुख | मुर, मुर, the width of sleeve or trousers at wrist or ankle (fem.) |
The vowel ṛ is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi, but in some people's mouths it almost becomes ṝ. Examples are

- लूथ lūṭh, plunder (masc.)
- बूथ būṭh, a demon (masc.)
- नून kūn, a corner (masc.)
- रूग, or रोग rōg, a disease (pronunciation fluctuating) (masc.)
- रूड rūd, rain (masc.)
- नूं nūn, salt (masc.)
- सूथ sūṭh, the puff of smoke from a pipe (masc.)
- त्सूर tśūr, a thief (masc.)
- पूं pūṇ, onomatopoeic sound of derision (masc.)
- नूख nyūkh, he was carried away by them.

When ṛ commences a word it is pronounced, and usually written wū: thus

- अू कउलल lūṭh, or जू कउलल wūṭh, both pronounced wūṭh, a camel (masc.)

These words are rare, and the above is the only example I know commencing with an original ṛ.

When ṛ is followed by i-mātra, its pronunciation is not affected, but, the i-mātra is as usual pronounced both before and after the consonant which precedes it. The following are examples.

- पूर pūṛ, pronounced pūṛi, filled (masc. pl.)
- तूर tūṛi, tūṛi, small metal saucers (masc. pl.)
- गूर gūṛi, gūṛi, cowherds (masc. pl.)
- कूर krūṛi, krūṛi, wells (masc. pl.)
- डूर drūṛi, drūṛi, skins (masc. pl.)
- बूल būli, būli, language (fem. sg.)
- लूल lūli, lūli, affectionately.
- गूल gūli, gūli, kernels (masc. pl.)
- जूब jūb, jūb, deserted, as an orphan (masc. pl.)
- जूल jūl, jūl, collected, as alms, in a cloth (fem. sg.)
- तूल tūl, tūli, I have weighed them.
- डूल dūl, dūli, walnuts (masc. pl.)
- तूल tūl, tūli, navels (masc. pl.)

When ṛ is followed by u-mātra its pronunciation is practically unchanged. Really the lips are moved as described under the head of u with u-mātra. This shade of sound I may distinguish by calling it ṛū.
Thus घूँ mūr is pronounced mū-ignore, and घूँ mū-ignore is pronounced as mū-ignore.

The following are examples.

घूँ mū-ignore, pronounced mū-ignore, we rubbed grain between the hands to remove the husk (masc.)

घूँ cū-ignore, cū-ignore, we have rinsed out, or squeezed out (masc.)

घूँ khū-ignore, khū-ignore, a razor (masc.)

घूँ sū-ignore, sū-ignore, finished (masc.)

घूँ hū-ignore, hū-ignore, we have discharged a debt (masc.)

घूँ pū-ignore, pū-ignore, filled (masc.)

घूँ cū-ignore, cū-ignore, we have arranged him (masc.)

घूँ tū-ignore, tū-ignore, a small metal saucer (masc.)

घूँ grū-ignore, grū-ignore, a cultivator (masc.)

घूँ gū-ignore, gū-ignore, a cowherd (masc.)

घूँ myū-ignore, myū-ignore, sweet (masc.)

घूँ tsyū-ignore, tsyū-ignore, a relish with food (masc.)

घूँ nyū-ignore, nyū-ignore, green, not ripe (masc.)

घूँ gyū-ignore, gyū-ignore, we ridiculed him (masc.)

घूँ nyū-ignore, nyū-ignore, pasturage (masc.), near.

घूँ pyū-ignore, pyū-ignore, greasy (masc.)

घूँ lyū-ignore, lyū-ignore, we wrote him (masc.)

घूँ phrū-ignore, phrū-ignore, excellent (masc.)

घूँ zyū-ignore, zyū-ignore, long, tall (masc.)

घूँ byū-ignore, byū-ignore, he sat (masc.)

घूँ myū-ignore, myū-ignore, we met him (masc.)

घूँ tsyūn-ignore, tsyūn-ignore, we have guessed at (masc.)

घूँ tyū-ignore, tyū-ignore, sheep (masc.)

घूँ krū-ignore, krū-ignore, a well (masc.)

घूँ drū-ignore, drū-ignore, skin (masc.)

घूँ gyū-ignore, gyū-ignore, we have encompassed him (masc.)

घूँ vyū-ignore, vyū-ignore, a trap door (masc.)

घूँ dyū-ignore, dyū-ignore, we have seen him (masc.)

घूँ hū-ignore, hū-ignore, a dog (masc.)

घूँ mū-ignore, mū-ignore, dead (masc.)

घूँ gū-ignore, gū-ignore, pudendum (masc.)

घूँ bū-ignore, bū-ignore, we have heard (masc.)
tūn, tūn, navel (masc.)
mūn, mūn, wall of a house (masc.)
pūrr, pūrr, a step (masc.)
dūn, dūn, a cotton cleaner (masc.)
rūn, rūn, a husband (masc.)
rūdd, rūdd, remained (masc.)
lūs, pronounced lūss, tired.
wūn, wūn, we have woven.
lūn, lūn, we have reaped him.

When ā is followed by ā-mātrā, its pronunciation is hardly affected:

lūr, pronounced lurr, a stick (fem.)
khūr, khūr, a heel (fem.)
gūr, gūr, a milk-maid (fem.)
dūr, dūr, a breeches’ string (fem.)
zūr, zūr, a wooden candlestick (fem.)
kūr, kūr, a girl (fem.)
dūr, dūr, an alley (fem.)
mūr, mūr, a withe (fem.)
mūn, mūn, wool of sheep (fem.)
zūn, zūn, moon light (fem.)

There is also a very peculiar ā, something like a long German ū, pronounced through the teeth. It is represented in transliteration by a. The following are examples of its use.

tq̌r, pronounced tq̌r, cold.

kq̌r, pronounced kq̌r, cruel (fem.) (masc. कुर kūr.)
gūd, gūd, foolish (fem.) (masc. गुड gūḍ.)
kūts, kūts, how much? (fem. sg., fem. pl. गुत्ता kūttā.)

thūk, thūk, attacked by the horns of any animal (fem.) (masc. थुक thūk.)

When the vowel r commences a word, it is pronounced ryā, and the mark ̊ is placed over it to show modification. Thus रघु, a season
pronounced ryāṭh. Similarly a medial r is modified and is pronounced rā, e.g., क्रमंक्र, क्रमंक्र, he became black, pronounced krāmān, With a-mātra following, it is pronounced rū, as in सम्म kṛmā, pr. krum, a tortoise (कुर्मच). The usual pronunciation of r is ru, as in धयोन kṛpyau, he cut (with scissors), pr. kṛpyau.

The vowel ē, is pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi: thus श्रेदर् pēr, to arrange. श्रेन् gerun, to laugh at (also गेलुन gēlun).

श्रे tēr, delay, a yellow apricot (fem.) श्रे bēr, a low wall or border (fem.) श्रें phēl, a crime, a trick (masc.) श्रे hēr, a ladder (fem.) श्रेन mēn, measure thou. श्रेष zēn, earn thou. श्रेम tēm, pound thou. श्रेष sēth, a fit, epilepsy (fem.)

When the vowel ē commences a word it is pronounced, and may be written, yē: thus यल el or यल yel, pronounced यल, subjection (masc.) यर yr or यर yēr, यर येर, yēr, wool (masc.) यरन यरन or यरन यरन, yērun, to sort (the warp.)

When ē is followed by i-, u-, or a-mātra, 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 फेर phēr, ‘turn,’ we get the masc. sg. past by adding a-mātra. This gives us प्रय फेर प्रय (for * प्रय phēr-). The fem. sg. is formed by adding a-mātra. Thus फेर phēr (for phēr-). The masc. pl. is formed by adding i-mātra; and we get प्रय phēr (for प्रय phēr-). Finally the fem. pl. is formed by adding yā, which does not affect the ē, and we get प्रय phēryā (phērā, see page 304). Again take feminine bases. The base फेर sēr-, a brick; its nom. sg. is सीर sēr (for sēr-), but its nom. pl. गेर sērya (sēra). So खेत khēt-, a field, nom. sg. खेत khēt (for khēt-), but nom. pl. खेत khētya (khētya). Again take the masculine base चू त्सेन चू त्सेन- a wall, before a-mātra we have the nom. sg. प्रय चू त्सेन प्रय. Before i-mātra we have the nom. pl. चू त्सेन, but the acc. sg. is चू त्सेन, because the ē is not followed by any mātra-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 वि or व्य.
The following are examples.

 RVAI, a rupee (fem.)

 suvai, a goglet (fem.)

 kōlai, a wife (fem.)

 mūlai, absolutely, root and branch.

 khōnai, elbows even (niyay-ārthē) (fem.)

 subhāi, very early in the morning.

 tshōpai, even silent (H. cup-hī.)

 When ai is at the commencement or in the middle of a word it may optionally be pronounced as if it were the modified ā (=ō). This is easily explained when it is remembered that ā is derived from ā+i.

 The following are examples.

 aith, eight, also जोध अथ (ōth)

 wēs, age, also अंग वैस (ῶς) (fem.)

 mail, desire, also अंद मैल (मैर) (masc.)

 gail, name of place, also गोल गैल (ગोल) (masc.)

 said, a saiya'd, also अंस सैद (सैद) (masc.)

 main, a frog (word seldom used) (masc.)

 zain, a wooden bucket, also जान जान (जान) (fem.)

 aib, a defect, also अंब एब (एब) (masc.)

 waid, name of caste, also वोड वैद (वैद), masc.

 paith, a road, also अंध पाथ (पाथ) or पाय पान्थ (masc.)

 aip, enjoyment, also अंप एप (एप) (masc.)

 wair, enmity, also अंर वैर (वैर) (masc.)

 sail, a stroll, also अंख सैल (सैल) (masc.)

 rain, name of caste, also राण राण (राण) (masc.)

 maith, a corpse, also माथ माथ (माथ) (masc.)

 The vowel ō is usually pronounced as in Sanskrit or Hindi. The following are examples.

 khōr, a foot (masc.)

 zōr, force (masc.)

 mōr, a peacock (masc.)

 pōn, a frost-crack in hand or foot, the anus (masc.)

 Pōg, a flower (masc.)

 bōp, dearness (in price.) (masc.)

 rōfī, a kind of bread (masc.)

 bōr, burden (masc.)

 sōr, a hog (masc.)
In the following trisyllabic words the sound of o is broadened or drawled till it is nearly equivalent to the au in cause, owing to the u in the next syllable.

- The are all instances of an original a, changed to o by a following u, and the pronunciation is hence the same as that described on page 290.

When non-original o is followed by i-mātra it is pronounced like a (o). It is also so written. The real fact is, however, that this i-mātra only occurs in masc. plurals, in the singular of which the o was followed by u-mātra. Thus kro, a relation, nom. pl. krān. But this o in krō itself is not original. The base is krān-, and owing to the following u-mātra, the a in the nominative becomes, and is written o. See under a, page 289. To say that o followed by i-mātra becomes a, is merely to repeat, less accurately, the statement that a followed by i-mātra becomes a. Further examples are therefore unnecessary. A number can be made from the list given on page 290. For the same reason, every o followed by u-mātra represents an original a, for examples of which see page 290.

As regards o followed by u-mātra, exactly the same remarks apply. Every instance is really one of a, not o, followed by u-mātra.
Thus take the base बृङ ब्रोरप, cat. Its masc. nom. is formed by adding u-मात्रा, and is therefore बृङ bror. Its masc. pl. is formed by adding i-मात्रा and is therefore बृङ brori. So also by adding उ-मात्रा, to form the feminine, we have बृङ bror, pronounced brorr, 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 ए followed by any मात्रा-vowel becomes उ. Thus—

Followed by i-मात्रा.

The base पौय- पोथ- (fem.), makes its Nom. Sg. पौलिपुथि (for putha) (pr. puthi), a book. But the Nom. Pl. is पौब्य पोथि (putha). So also Dat. Sg. पौयिपुथि (pr. puthi), in which the final i is fully-pronounced.

Base बोल- मात्रा, speech; nom. sg. बृलिपुलि (for bol-1) (pr. buli)

The ए बोज बोज, hear, makes the Pl. Masc. of its Past tense बृलिपुजि (for bōz-i) (pr. buzi), but Pl. Fem. बोज बोज. The vowel ए is not a मात्रा-vowel.

ए रोज रोज, remain, Past tense, Pl. Masc. उद रुदि (for rōz-i) (pr. rudi).

Followed by u-मात्रा

This only occurs in the case of verbs, e.g.

ए बोज बोज, hear, Past tense, Sg. Masc. बृलिपुजि (for bōz-u) (pr. buzi)

ए रोज रोज, remain " " उद रुदि (for rōz-u)(pl. rudd)

ए दोन, card wool, " " उद दृंदि (for don-u)(pr. dunn)

Followed by उ-मात्रा.

Base बहर- kēr, a girl. Nom. sg. (formed by adding उ-मात्रा) बृलिकुर (for kēr-उ); but nom. pl. बहर korya (kēra).

Base बोज पोज- बोज, a stick. Nom. sg. बृलिपुज (for lōr-उ)

ए बोज बोज, hear, Past tense, Fem. sg. (formed by adding उ-मात्रा) बृलिपुज (for bōz-उ) (pr. buzi).

ए रोज रोज रोज, remain, Past tense, Fem. sg., रुज़ रुज़ (for rōz-u), (pr. ruzz).

ए दोन, card, Past tense, fem. sg. दृंदि (for don-u), (pr. dunn).

It will thus be seen, that ए never appears followed by i-मात्रा, or by उ-मात्रा; and that when it appears followed by u-मात्रा it is not original, but represents an original उ.
The pronunciation of *au* is the same as in Skr. and Hindi.

---

The pronunciation of *au* is the same as in Skr. and Hindi.

The pronunciation of *au* is the same as in Skr. and Hindi.

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 "é" (short), but my pandit assures me that the *y* in the following words is quite fully pronounced. Mr. Hinton Knowles' Musalmán Munshi pronounces all these words with "é." The difference is probably one of religion: and, as 90 per cent. of Kácms irs are Musalmáns, it would be more generally correct to spell all these words with "é." As, however, this article is written with more special reference to the Hindú grammar of Tcwara Kaula, and the words are written in the Nágari character. I write them as follows:

---

In the following, the *ya* is pronounced *yu*, owing to the influence of the following *u-màtrí*.

---

In the following, the *ya* is pronounced *yu*, owing to the influence of the following *u-màtrí*.
zyan", pronounced zyunn, to be born, the act of being born.

zyan", cyunn, to drink, the act of drinking.

So, —

tsyūn", tseyūn, a pillar.

myūn", myūnn, measured.

When, however, ya is followed by i or y in the next syllable, it is pronounced as a short ē, (as in ebb), and as such I write it in transliteration. So also a final ya (yā) is pronounced e. In each case a very faint y sound is audible before the e when the speaker speaks slowly. Thus, it would be more absolutely accurate to represent ीलिस by lelis, than by lēlis, but the y may be omitted for practical purposes. A final या is treated as if it was nyā, and is pronounced ने or nyē. The following are examples:—

लेलिस lelis, a vessel for cooking rice (acc. sg.) (masc.)

लेलिलू lēlī, do. nom. pl. Cf. lyālu in the preceding list.

लेलिनी bēnnī, separate (masc. pl.)

पेलिस pēlis, a testicle (acc. sg.) (masc.)

पेलिन pēlī, do. nom. pl.

देल vēl, pl. of dyālu (dyoll) in the last list.

When the ya in this case commences a word, it is pronounced ेर. Thus येमिस येमिस, whom.

As regards wa. I have already pointed out, under the head of v page 294, that it is often pronounced as ो (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 ो as usual.

गोन gōnu, pronounced gonn, a stack (masc.)

गोन vēn, gōni, stacks.

डोब dob, dobb, a washerman (masc.)

डोब dobī, washermen.

वोथ vōthu, wōth, arisen (masc. sg.)

वोथि vōthi, arisen (masc. pl.)
On the Kāśmirī Vowel-System.

The fem. of \( \text{tsʰōp} \) is \( \text{tʃʰōp} \), and is pronounced \( \text{tʃʰōp} \), and so for the others.
A List of Kāṃsīrī Verbs.—By George A. Grierson, C. I. E., I. C. S.

[Read December, 1896.]

The following list of Kāṃsīrī Verbs, is founded on the dhātu-pāṭha of Īcvara-kuṭa’s Kāṃsīrī Grammar, entitled the Kāṃsīrī-ṣabdāmṛta. The verbs are quoted under their root forms. In the dhātu-pāṭha they are all given as ending in a or rather in a, 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 Kāṃsīrī 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) karu-n he made (him), literally, he was-made-by-him; (Impersonal Verb) asu-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 karṣu-n, he made (her) (lit. she was-made-by-him); kru-n, he made (them) (lit. they [masc.] were-made-by-him); karē-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 paku-s, I went, lit. gone-I. The verb agrees with the subject in gender and number. Thus pacṣu-s, I (fem.) went. In the accompanying list, Active Verbs are marked (in the first column) with the letter 里程碑, i.e., karnaṣṭi prayoga, or passive construction. Impersonal Verbs are marked 里程碑, i.e., bhāve prayoga, or impersonal construction. Neuter Verbs are left unmarked. This information is taken from the Kāṃsīrī-ṣabdāmṛta.

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 yô, and of the Pluperfect yô.

The Past tense describes something which has happened lately, e.g., karu-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 Kaşmîra-pabdâmpta) are the only ones of the second conjugation which have the Past proper.

Thak, pak, surnakh, hökh, tag, lag, qöng, kâ ls, khôls, pats, rôts, vyats, höls, qatsh (be proper), wôpaz, daz, rôz, phut, phut, rêt, bôd, wât, wôth, tshyann, sapan, wup, qrap, pray, lay, way, khar, tar, phar, pher, mar, sôr, gal, tswal, dal, dôl, phal, phôll, mêl, bôv, râv, dôs, pôs, mas, rôs, âs, khas, phas, bas, las, lès, was, byah.

These verbs, which I shall in future "Listed Verbs" form a class by themselves, and, in the example of the final consonant follow the example of verbs of the first conjugation.

Before â-mâtrî (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—


thakw, he was weary thaq unw thacvô
lyûkhun (✓ lêkh), he wrote lichw n lêçwyô

dagun, he pounded dajw n dajyô

Thus—

phâtw, he was split phaqw phacvô
mâthw [✓ mas] he was forgotten mâthw macyôv
gandun, he bound gandwn gâñyôn
t, th, d and n become ts, tsh, z, and n respectively, but not before â-mâtrî, only before y.

Thus—

\[\text{phatw, he was split} \]
\[\text{mâthw [✓ mas] he was forgotten} \]
\[\text{gandun, he bound} \]

Thus—

katun, he spun katswn katwô
wôthw, he arose wôtsw wotswô
ladun, he built lazw n lazôn
raun, he cooked rænw n ræûn
Verbs in l change it to j.

Thus—

\[\text{pōlun} (\sqrt{pāl}), \text{he protected} \quad \text{pājān} \quad \text{pājāyōn}\]

\[\text{tsal}^a, \text{he fled} \quad \text{tsaj}^a \quad \text{tsajāyōv}\]

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 \(\sqrt{zēth}, \text{be long}, \) we have the Aorist \(zēthyauv, \) not \(zēchyaun.\)

Note that \(y\) is elided after \(ts, tsh, z\) and \(n,\) and \(s.\) It is also elided in the case of the verbs \(pi, ' \text{fall}' \) (\(piyauv\) not \(pi-y-awuv\)), and \(gaish, ' \text{go}' \) (\(gauv\) not \(gyauv\)).

It is, however, retained in the case of the following Neuter Verbs.

\(\text{Ka}^a ts, \text{be wet}, \text{grōts, be splashed out}, \text{tšōts, be without employment}, \)
\(\text{tshōts, be empty, tēz, be sharp, pax, be fit, rōts, be pleasant, ryats, be contained, braz, shine, bāwaz, be pleasant, lyats, be weak, crōts, be pure.}\)

Thus, \(grōtsyōv, \) not \(grotsov, \) he was splashed out.

[It is also retained in the following verbs ending in \(s, āvas, dōs,\)
\(tšas, tras, ras, raś, lis, vis, wōlas, wōs\) and optionally in \(tthās, dās, bās,\)
\(mus, \) and \(sōs.\)]

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 Kāśmirī 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>As in</th>
<th>before u-matrā (masc. sg. past)</th>
<th>As in</th>
<th>before ū-matrā (fem. sg. past)</th>
<th>As in</th>
<th>before i-matrā (masc. pl. past)</th>
<th>As in</th>
<th>before ya (ō), (fem. pl. past, &amp; throughout aorist)</th>
<th>As in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>karun, to do</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>karun, (pr. kūrun)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>karān, (pr. kūrān)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>karīn, (pr. kūrīn)</td>
<td>karēn, karyōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>mārun, to kill</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>mārun,</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>mārān, (pr. mūrān)</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>mārīn, (pr. mūrīn)</td>
<td>mārēn, māryōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>livun, to plaster</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>lyuvun,</td>
<td>i (pr. yū)</td>
<td>livān, (pr. lyāvūn)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>livīn,</td>
<td>livēn, livōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĩ</td>
<td>cirun, to squeeze out</td>
<td>yū</td>
<td>cyūrun,</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>cirān,</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>cirīn,</td>
<td>cirēn, cirōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>buzun, to parch, un-changed</td>
<td>buzun,</td>
<td>buzān,</td>
<td>buzīn, (pr. būzīn)</td>
<td>buzān,</td>
<td>buzīn,</td>
<td>buzēn, buzōn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>lūfūn, to rob, un-changed</td>
<td>lūfūn,</td>
<td>lūfān,</td>
<td>lūfīn,</td>
<td>lūfān,</td>
<td>lūfīn,</td>
<td>lēcēn, lēcōn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>phērun, to be turned,</td>
<td>yū</td>
<td>phūrān,</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>phīrā,</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>phīrī,</td>
<td>phērē, phērōv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō</td>
<td>būzun, to hear</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>būzun,</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>būzān,</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>būzīn, (pr. būzīn)</td>
<td>būzēn, būzōn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 शः yau, but is always pronounced शः yō. A Kāçmīri Paṇḍit makes no distinction in pronunciation between au and ø.

In those verbs which have a Past Tense, the base of the Fem. Plur. Past, is the same as that of the Aorist. Thus pakṣa, he went, Fem. pl. pacya or pacē, Aorist pacyōv.

The Pluperfect expresses remote time, and is formed in the masculine line by changing the यō of the Aorist to यā. Thus, karyān, he did (a long time ago), he had done. It is the tense of narrative. Thus sakharīyāv, (in telling a story), he went. Those Nenter 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 यā. Thus zethiyāv, he had been long, but zethyāv, he was long (not zēchyāv, as the च is not one of the listed verbs).

The above rules are those given in the Kācēra-çabdāmrta. As the Past Tenses form one of the chief difficulties of the Kācēri 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 Çabdāmrta, 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 Çabdāmrta. 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 Kācēri 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 Panjābī and as not Kācēri, 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 Pandit who is a Kāśmiri born and bred.

To conclude, the following are the full conjugational forms of the three Past Tenses of the Kāśmiri Verb, according to the Kaśmiraracādāmaṇṭa.

**First Conjugation. Transitive and Impersonal Verbs.**

(भूतकाल) *Past Tense*, I made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>He was made</th>
<th>She was made</th>
<th>They (masc.) were made</th>
<th>They (fem.) were made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by me</td>
<td>करूं karyum</td>
<td>करूं karyum</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by thee</td>
<td>करौ karyalh</td>
<td>करौ karyalh</td>
<td>करिल karyith</td>
<td>करिल karyith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by him</td>
<td>करू karyun</td>
<td>करू karyun</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by us</td>
<td>करू karyu</td>
<td>करू karyu</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
<td>करिं karyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by you</td>
<td>करौ karylw</td>
<td>करौ karylw</td>
<td>करिं karylw</td>
<td>करिं karylw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by them</td>
<td>करू karykh</td>
<td>करू karykh</td>
<td>करिं karykh</td>
<td>करिं karykh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(शामायनभूतकाल) *Aorist*, I made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>He was-made</th>
<th>She was made</th>
<th>They (masc.) were made</th>
<th>They (fem.) were made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by me</td>
<td>करूं karyom 2</td>
<td>करूं karyom 2</td>
<td>करिं karyom 2</td>
<td>करिं karyom 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by thee</td>
<td>करॉ karymil</td>
<td>करॉ karymil</td>
<td>करिं karymil</td>
<td>करिं karymil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by him</td>
<td>करूं karymon</td>
<td>करूं karymon</td>
<td>करिं karymon</td>
<td>करिं karymon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by us</td>
<td>करॉ karymo</td>
<td>करॉ karymo</td>
<td>करिं karymo</td>
<td>करिं karymo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by you</td>
<td>करॉ karymo</td>
<td>करॉ karymo</td>
<td>करिं karymo</td>
<td>करिं karymo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by them</td>
<td>करूं karyom 2</td>
<td>करूं karyom 2</td>
<td>करिं karyom 2</td>
<td>करिं karyom 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pronounced saryem.  
2 Pronounced करैम and so throughout.
(प्रच्छुदकाल) Pluperfect, I had made.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>He had been made</th>
<th>She had been made</th>
<th>They (masc.) had been made</th>
<th>They (fem.) had been made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by me</td>
<td>कर्याम् karyām</td>
<td>same as in Aorist</td>
<td>करेयेम् kareyēm</td>
<td>same as in Aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by thee</td>
<td>कर्याठ karyāth</td>
<td></td>
<td>करेयथ kareyēth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by him</td>
<td>कर्यान् karyān</td>
<td></td>
<td>करेयन् kareyēn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by us</td>
<td>कर्याव karyāv</td>
<td></td>
<td>करेयेव kareyēv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by you</td>
<td>कर्याव karyāv</td>
<td></td>
<td>करेयेव kareyēv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by them</td>
<td>कर्याख karyākh</td>
<td></td>
<td>करेयेख kareyēkh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second Conjugation. Neuter Verbs.

Neuter Verbs. Except in verbs specially listed above, the Past does not occur. One of these listed verbs is पक, pak, 'go.'

(धूतकाल) Past, I went.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine.</th>
<th>Feminine.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I went</td>
<td>पकस pakus</td>
<td>पकस paksw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They wentest</td>
<td>पकख pakukh</td>
<td>पकख pakxkh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went</td>
<td>पक pak</td>
<td>पक pak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We went</td>
<td>पकिक pakí</td>
<td>पकिक pakí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You went</td>
<td>पकिव pakív</td>
<td>पकिव pakív</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They went</td>
<td>पकिक pakí</td>
<td>पकिक pakí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Pronounced паки."
Aorist (शामान्यबृत्तकाल) in the case of listed verbs. Past (भूतकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs.

बुफ wurph, fly, is a non-listed verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I flew</th>
<th>बुफोष wurphōs</th>
<th>बुफोष wurphōyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou fliwest</td>
<td>बुफोष wurphōkh</td>
<td>बुफोष wurphōyakh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| He flew | बुफोष wurphōv or बुफोष wurphōv | बुफोष wurphōyə
t or wurphōyaw |
| We flew | बुफोष wurphōyə | बुफोष wurphōyə |
| You flew | बुफोष wurphōyəa | बुफोष wurphōyəa |
| They flew | बुफोष wurphōyə | बुफोष wurphōyə |

Pluperfect (पूर्णत्वकाल) in the case of listed verbs, and in the case of non-listed verbs ending in vowels. Aorist (शामान्यबृत्तकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs ending in consonants.

I flew.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I had flown.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular ... {1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural ... {1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pluperfect (पूर्णभूतकाल) in the case of non-listed verbs only, which end in consonants.

J. i. 41
# List of Kapmini Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अच् ats</td>
<td>प्रेवेशे</td>
<td>प्राव् tsāv</td>
<td>*enter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अच् atsh</td>
<td>दौबेशे</td>
<td>अब्बोव atshāuv</td>
<td>be weak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अध ad</td>
<td>नेवेशे हिनियोऽे च</td>
<td>अधौव adyauv</td>
<td>be powerless, persever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अद्वर ador</td>
<td>अद्वरिष्य</td>
<td>अद्वरिष्य adoryauv</td>
<td>be moist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अद्वराव adorāv</td>
<td>अद्वरिकर्षे</td>
<td>अद्वरिकर्षे adorāvyaun</td>
<td>*make moist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षण an, क्षण an dūnti keśās</td>
<td>क्षणघेने</td>
<td>क्षणान  anun, क्षणो anāun</td>
<td>*bring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षण anor</td>
<td>क्षणापने</td>
<td>क्षणरुण anorun, क्षणरावोऽ anorāvyaun</td>
<td>finish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षणराव anorāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>क्षणरूण anorūṇ, क्षणरावोऽ anorāvyaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अस्त and</td>
<td>अस्ताने</td>
<td>अस्तोऽ anedyauv</td>
<td>be finished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क अन्तस, अन्तसाव च, abas, abasāv</td>
<td>अन्तसेने</td>
<td>अन्तसा anasun, अन्तसोऽ abasyauν</td>
<td>wrap up, unfold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क अबर abor</td>
<td>नेवाधावंबे</td>
<td>अबरुन aborun, अबरयोऽ aboryauν</td>
<td>cloud up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क अबराव aborāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>अबरूण aborūṇ, अबरावोऽ abarāvyaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kha'ar cz</td>
<td>kha'ar cz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>khar alar</td>
<td>khar alar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kharar alarav</td>
<td>kharar alarav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>khar as</td>
<td>khar as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>khar ah al</td>
<td>khar ah al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>khar nav</td>
<td>khar nav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kharar</td>
<td>kharar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kharar darav</td>
<td>kharar darav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kharar dar</td>
<td>kharar dar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kha'par</td>
<td>kha'par</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>kha'parav</td>
<td>kha'parav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kha'ar cz</td>
<td>earn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khar alar</td>
<td>fell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharar alarav</td>
<td>be insecure, shake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khar as</td>
<td>move, tremble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khar ah al</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khar nav</td>
<td>*laugh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharar</td>
<td>honour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharar darav</td>
<td>practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharar dar</td>
<td>be devoted to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha'par</td>
<td>*mix, heap up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha'parav</td>
<td>*ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha'par</td>
<td>meditate in wrath against a person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kha'parav</td>
<td>feed another with one’s own hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kharar alarav</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ामन ामन</td>
<td>वावण्णो मामयावू</td>
<td>ामवण्णो मामयावू</td>
<td>change for the bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ारद ारद</td>
<td>ाराणे मारवू</td>
<td>ाराणे मारवू</td>
<td>conciliate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ारव ारव</td>
<td>ारवणे मारवू</td>
<td>ारवणे मारवू</td>
<td>make rough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ायव ायव</td>
<td>ायवणे मायवू</td>
<td>ायवणे मायवू</td>
<td>aim straight at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ालव ालव</td>
<td>ालवणे मालवू</td>
<td>ालवणे मालवू</td>
<td>*whirl aloft, bring a boat near the shore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ावर ावर</td>
<td>ावरणे मावरू</td>
<td>ावरणे मावरू</td>
<td>cover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ावराव ावराव</td>
<td>ावरावणे मावरावू</td>
<td>ावरावणे मावरावू</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ास ास</td>
<td>ासणे मासू</td>
<td>ासणे मासू</td>
<td>crumble to pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ासव ासव</td>
<td>ासवणे मासवू</td>
<td>ासवणे मासवू</td>
<td>*be.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ितश ितश</td>
<td>ितशणे मितशाू</td>
<td>ितशणे मितशाू</td>
<td>*wish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>िर िर</td>
<td>िरणे मिरू</td>
<td>िरणे मिरू</td>
<td>be whirled aloft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कड़ कड़</td>
<td>कड़णे कूड़ाू</td>
<td>कड़णे कूड़ाू</td>
<td>*bring out, drag out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कत कत</td>
<td>कतणे कूतां</td>
<td>कतणे कूतां</td>
<td>*spin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कटर katar</td>
<td>हनने</td>
<td>कटरन katarun, कटरयौं katarayaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कूज्ज़ kanz</td>
<td>पतिभंजने</td>
<td>कूज्ज़न kanzun, कूज्ज़न kanzaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>कूज्ज़र kanzrā</td>
<td>निद्रियोभने</td>
<td>कूज्ज़रन kanzrārun, कूज्ज़रन kanzrāuyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>कूज्ज़राव kanzrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कूज्ज़रावन kanzrāvon, कूज्ज़रावन kanzrāvyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कपट kapat</td>
<td>हनने</td>
<td>कपटन kapatun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कपटाव kapatāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कपटावन kapatāvon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कमव kamav</td>
<td>चक्षने</td>
<td>कमवन kamavun, कमवयौं kamaavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कमनाव kamanāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कमनावन kamanāvon, कमनावयौं kamanāvyvaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कर kar</td>
<td>करणे</td>
<td>करन karan, करयौं karyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कल kal</td>
<td>नूकीमावे</td>
<td>कलौँ kalyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>कश kaś</td>
<td>कष्ठयने</td>
<td>कशन kashun, कशयौं kashaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कस kas</td>
<td>लैंडाधिपने</td>
<td>कसन kasun, कसयौं kasaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कहर kahar</td>
<td>पारथे</td>
<td>कहरयौं kaharyaun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

- cut in slices.
- singe (as a plucked fowl).
- be impoverished.
- ditto.
- cut (clothes, etc.).
- ditto.
- earn.
- *ditto.
- *do, make.
- be dumb.
- *itch.
- fry.
- be rough.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>काञ्च kāṃg</td>
<td>गिल कथितम स्व</td>
<td>काञ्च kāṃgyaun</td>
<td>be tawny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काच kāc</td>
<td>काञ्च kāc</td>
<td>कान kāc</td>
<td>wish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काः kā</td>
<td>काङ्च kā</td>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>to pilfer secretly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>काथ kāth</td>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काः kā</td>
<td>काथ kā</td>
<td>काः kā</td>
<td>be one-eyed, be conquered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कास kās</td>
<td>कास kās</td>
<td>काः kā</td>
<td>tremble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>काय kāy</td>
<td>काय kāy</td>
<td>काय की kāyaun</td>
<td>be lazy lit. make (one-self) lazy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कायर kāyar</td>
<td>कायर kāyar</td>
<td>कायर kārayaun</td>
<td>be powerless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>boil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>कार kār</td>
<td>be black.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>*shave, put a stop to (e.g., a quarrel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>कां kā</td>
<td>be moist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>English Meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuth</td>
<td>*be in distress.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kup</td>
<td>be angry.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōb</td>
<td>be hunch backed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumal</td>
<td>*be tender.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuh</td>
<td>pull out.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūr</td>
<td>pull out, loosen from the foundation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kārya</td>
<td>be fierce.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṛtya</td>
<td>be thin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krat</td>
<td>*cut (with scissors).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kṛpa</td>
<td>become black.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōka</td>
<td>recommend (a person).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōl</td>
<td>be red.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kats</td>
<td>be wet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātsa</td>
<td>make wet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कन  kən</td>
<td>कनुन् kənun, क्योन् kənaun</td>
<td>*sell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>काव kəv</td>
<td>कावन् क्रवुन्, कावयन् क्रव्यावुन</td>
<td>do, make.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कृद kṛdha</td>
<td>कृद्यावु क्रेत्यावु</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कृष्ट kṛṣṭa</td>
<td>कृष्ट्यावु क्रेत्यावु</td>
<td>long for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खट khaṭ</td>
<td>खट्यावु क्षच्यावु</td>
<td>*conceal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खप्र khaṃda</td>
<td>खप्र्यावु, खप्रयावु khaṃdaryāvaun</td>
<td>divide into shares.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खप्रव khaṃdāra</td>
<td>खप्रर्यावु, खप्रयावु khaṃdāryaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खन khaṇa</td>
<td>खनुन् खच्यावु khaṇaun</td>
<td>*dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खप khaṇa</td>
<td>खपुन् खच्यावु khaṇyaun</td>
<td>act badly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खम khaṃ</td>
<td>खमुन् खम्यावु khaṃyaun</td>
<td>*breathe hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खर khaṛ</td>
<td>खरुं खरयावु khaṛyaun</td>
<td>dislike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खल khal</td>
<td>खल्यावु khaḷyaun</td>
<td>be loose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[खर खर c]</td>
<td><strong>क खर c</strong></td>
<td>खरुं खरयावु khaṛyaun</td>
<td>spend, only used in past tenses].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खस khas</td>
<td>खन khas</td>
<td>*mount, ascend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खाँ khāh</td>
<td>खाँ kha</td>
<td>ornament (with a pattern).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खार khār</td>
<td>खार kha</td>
<td>*cause to mount, raise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खी khi</td>
<td>खी khi</td>
<td>*eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म</td>
<td>खिज khis</td>
<td>खिज khi</td>
<td>walk arrogantly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खोकhar khokhar</td>
<td>खोकhar kha</td>
<td>be hollow (of a tree).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खोखला० khokhalav</td>
<td>खोखला० kha</td>
<td>wash anything in water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खुन khus</td>
<td>खुन khus</td>
<td>dig from below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खुल khul</td>
<td>खुल khul</td>
<td>open (act.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खूँज khünz</td>
<td>खूँज khünz</td>
<td>pluck (hair, feathers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खोंस khōs</td>
<td>खोंस khōs</td>
<td>*fear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खोर khör</td>
<td>खोर kha</td>
<td>fear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खोस khōs</td>
<td>खोस khōs</td>
<td>pluck (more specially hair).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गळ्‍ग gatsh</td>
<td>गत्‍य युक्तिमवने च</td>
<td>गौळ्‍ग gau; (युक्तिमवने) गळ्‍ग gatshu; गयोव्‍ gau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| गळ्‍ग gand | पन्ध ‌‍ | गंढळूळ gandunu गञ्जो‍ गाँड्यानूळ | *go, be proper. *
| गन्त्‍ग gan | चन्द्रमवने | गन्त्‍ग ganyau |
| गङ्रङ्गर gandr | संख्याने | गङ्रङ्गर gandrun, गञ्जो‍ गांड्रा‍ यानः | *tie, bind. *
| गङ्रङ्गरङ्ग gandrāv | च | गङ्रङ्गरङ्ग gandrāvun गञ्जरावाहोऽ्‍ गांड्रा‍ या‍ यानः | *become thick (of li-
| गर्‍ gari | संख्याने | गरिः gari गञ्जरिः garyaun | quids), be strong]. *
| गळ्‍ग galm | नाई | गळ्‍ग galm गञ्जो‍ gajyaun | *count. *
| गळ्‍ग gāgal | परी‍णाकषे | गळ्‍ग gāgalayau | *ditto. *
| गळ्‍ग grāgal | च | गळ्‍ग grāgalayau | *work metal. *
| गाण्‍ gār | प्रशां‍ई [प्रशां‍ पच | गाण्‍ gārun गारीं गायान | be hot. *
| गाण्‍ gārm | प्रशां‍ई | गाम्‍ gārmyau | *melt (neut.) *
| गाण्‍ gāl | पाय‍ | गाण्‍ gālu गारोव्‍ gajyaun | be disturbed in one's work by others. *
| गाण्‍ gōgal | प्रशां‍ई | गाण्‍ gōgalayau | ditto. *
| | | | *remember affection-
| | | | ately, search eager-
<p>| | | | ly for. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>gob</em></td>
<td>melt (active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>gob</em></td>
<td>melt (active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>play</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><em>be thin</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>steal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>whirl</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>toot</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td><em>real</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><em>pass</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>time</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>conserve</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><em>hide</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><em>be too heavy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>be grey</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>be fair coloured</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td><em>roll in the mouth</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td><em>shine</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td><em>surround</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Found in Dr. Elman's Vocabulary.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>गेल gēl</td>
<td>विश्वास [उप्रचार च]</td>
<td>गेलयून gelyaud, [उपरचार मूलन gyūlun]</td>
<td>be far away, [joke].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोर gōr</td>
<td>विज्ञापि</td>
<td>गोरन gūrun, गोरियू gōryaud</td>
<td>lament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गोवर gōvar</td>
<td>निद्रामति</td>
<td>गोवरियू gōvaryaud</td>
<td>be suddenly wakened (before one is thoroughly awake).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रक grak</td>
<td>चांचाणाकानिमानयो</td>
<td>ग्रकयून grakyaud</td>
<td>*splash about (of liqquids), boil over.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्राझ graż</td>
<td>जाण न जाण</td>
<td>ग्राझुन grażun, ग्राझुन grażaun</td>
<td>*roar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्राझर gṛār</td>
<td>परिवे देहिके च</td>
<td>परिवे देहिके च</td>
<td>take, stop raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्राझरव gṛārav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>परिवे देहिके च</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रोक्स grotṣ</td>
<td>पायुममियो दिवेदायाम्</td>
<td>ग्रोक्स ग्रोत्सयून grotṣyaud</td>
<td>*shake liquid in a vessel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गो h</td>
<td>घोष पि</td>
<td>गोह gohun, गोह gōaun</td>
<td>*grind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गति catāv</td>
<td>खलन</td>
<td>गतिवृन catīrun, गतिवृन catīvaun</td>
<td>praise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गमक camak</td>
<td>दीनो</td>
<td>गमकव गमकयून camakyaud</td>
<td>shine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चार cār</td>
<td>बसाइलैऽने</td>
<td>चोहनः cōrun, चायीन् cāryaun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चाव cāv</td>
<td>पायने</td>
<td>चोबुनः cōvun, चायीन् cāvyauun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ची ci</td>
<td>पाने</td>
<td>चोीऽ cyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चौर cīr</td>
<td>नियोड़ने</td>
<td>चूऽनः cyūrun, चीयीऽ cīryauun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ढुकाव cukāv</td>
<td>बुखूऽनिष्ठीकरणे</td>
<td>चुकूऽनः cukōvun, चुूभूऽन cukāvyauun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चुम cum</td>
<td>दीननायाम्</td>
<td>चुमः cumun, चुूभूऽन cumyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चोऽखर caûkhar</td>
<td>संकोऽने</td>
<td>चैऽकहयाऽ cāukharyauu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बक chak</td>
<td>कौणिने</td>
<td>बकऽनः chakun, बचौऽन chacyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बकर chakar</td>
<td>चयकोऽने</td>
<td>बककऽनः chakarun, बककरूऽन chakararyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बक्राव chakrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>बक्रूऽनः chakrōvun, बक्रयूऽन chakrā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ब्रूराव chatsrāv</td>
<td>चक्करकरणे</td>
<td>ब्रूरोऽनः chatsrōvun, ब्रूरयूऽन chatsrā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बन chat</td>
<td>बैऽने</td>
<td>बनऽ चत्तयाऽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बन chan</td>
<td>पाने</td>
<td>बनऽ चान्याऽ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Tie tightly.  
* Give to drink.  
* Drink.  
* Squeeze or wring (cloth).  
* Fix a price.  
* Be humble before, show humility to.  
* Contract.  
* Scatter.  
* Ditto  
* Make white.  
* Be white.  
* Fall from a mass (e.g., grain falling from a basket.)

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क । चाप Chap</td>
<td>वाहिकाराय: चाप</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>*wait for rain to pass over, pass time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा । चार Char</td>
<td>चार्याय: चार</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>*evacuate, go to stool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चाल Chal</td>
<td>चाल चाल</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>*wash, clean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चान Chān</td>
<td>चाने शाने चान</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>*strain, sift, trim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चाँट Chānt</td>
<td>चाँट चांट</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>disclose a secret in anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चाव Chāv</td>
<td>चाव चाव</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>use, throw at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा । चिक Chik</td>
<td>चिक चिक</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>*sprinkle, urinate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चिंद्र Chindra</td>
<td>चिंद्र चिंद्र</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>be stupidified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिवार Chivra</td>
<td>बिवार चिवरा</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>be proud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चोकal Chokal</td>
<td>चोकला चोकल</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>make proud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क । चोकuv Chokuv</td>
<td>चोकुव चोकुव</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>be scattered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>चुम्बनुच, चणियचय</td>
<td>बचमच, चणियचय</td>
<td>wash (active).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>चूनर chōnर</td>
<td>चूनराव chōnराव</td>
<td>चून chōन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जनीकरण</td>
<td>जनीकरण</td>
<td>जनीकरण</td>
<td>जनीकरण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चूनरना chōनरना</td>
<td>चूनर रवन, चूवर्यन chōनर्‍यन</td>
<td>चूपरना chोपरना</td>
<td>चूपर रवन, चूवर्यन chोपर्‍यन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चूट तसतना</td>
<td>चूट तसतना</td>
<td>चूट तसतना</td>
<td>चूट तसतना</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>त्रेय</td>
<td>त्रेयन्यौ (fem.)</td>
<td>increase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रेय</td>
<td>त्रेयन्यौ (fem.)</td>
<td>laugh loudly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रेय</td>
<td>त्रेयन्यौ (fem.)</td>
<td>bring in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रेय</td>
<td>त्रेयन्यौ (fem.)</td>
<td>collect.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past and Aorist:
- त्रेय (fem.)
- त्रेय (fem.)
- त्रेय (fem.)
- त्रेय (fem.)

(1) increase in size
(2) attend to, pay heed to (active)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1896.</th>
<th>G. A. Grierson—A List of Kāññīrī Verbs.</th>
<th>329</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laugh loudly</td>
<td>sorrow</td>
<td>look at with some joy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* rejoice</td>
<td>enter violently, hurt</td>
<td>by entering violently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make a sign</td>
<td>* be angry, be sour.</td>
<td>have insufficient means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make angry, ditto.</td>
<td>make angry, ditto.</td>
<td>of livelihood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* found in Dr. Ellmsie's Vocabulary.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

J. i. 43
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क्षम tsomb</td>
<td>वेधने</td>
<td>चुम्रून tsömbyaun</td>
<td>*pierce, bore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्रक्षम tsomrāv</td>
<td>अन्नीकरणं संभन्तीकरणं</td>
<td>चुम्रून tsömrovyān, चुम्रायिण्य च</td>
<td>make less, cause to decrease, cause to attend to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र tsuv</td>
<td>क्रर्दि</td>
<td>चुवन tsuyān, चुविण्य tsuvyāyan</td>
<td>quarrel (only used in fem.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र teft</td>
<td>अध्यागद्व [अध्यागद्व]</td>
<td>चुरन tsūr, चुरिन्य tsūryaun</td>
<td>break wind with noise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुर tsūr</td>
<td>चीयागाति</td>
<td>चुरन tsūr, चुरिन्य tsūryaun</td>
<td>have sexual intercourse with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र teft</td>
<td>कुतने</td>
<td>चुरन tsuyāun, चुरिन्य tsūryaun</td>
<td>*pound to powder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र teen</td>
<td>अवतने</td>
<td>चुरन tsūn, चुरिन्य tsūraun</td>
<td>know by a sign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र tsah</td>
<td>चुर्ये</td>
<td>चुरन tsūhun, चुरिन्य tsūraun</td>
<td>*suck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र tehat</td>
<td>भूिन्य</td>
<td>चुरन tsūhat, चुरिन्य tsūraun</td>
<td>winnow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्षुद्र tehar</td>
<td>रितिभवने</td>
<td>चुरिन्य tsūrayaun</td>
<td>be empty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[क्ष] क्षल tsal</td>
<td>चर्कने</td>
<td>चुरन tsalun, चरिन्य tsalayaun</td>
<td>deceive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्ष</td>
<td>क्षाद tsād</td>
<td>चरिक्ष्य</td>
<td>चुरन tsāhun, चरिन्य tsāraun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>कोङ्क tsʰáːd</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>च</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ल</td>
<td>लुष्ण tshand</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ड</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːkšam</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>द</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घ</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>च</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>व</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>य</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र</td>
<td>लुङ्क tsháːya</td>
<td>मर्चोमने</td>
<td>क्रमबनने</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कुंदरव tshōtrāv</td>
<td>कुंदरवन tshōtrāvun, कुंदरविन tshōtrāvayun</td>
<td>make short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>कुं tshun</td>
<td>पानने</td>
<td>बुनन tshunun, बुजोन tshuṇaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जुजर जजर</td>
<td>तचपी</td>
<td>जजर्जन् जजरण, जजर्योन् जजर्यान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जप zap</td>
<td>जपने</td>
<td>जपन zapun, जपोन zapyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जर zar</td>
<td>जरने</td>
<td>जरन zarun, जरोन zaryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जल zal</td>
<td>जलन</td>
<td>जलोव zalyaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>जाग zāg</td>
<td>प्रतियाजरे</td>
<td>जागुन zāgun, जागोन zājyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जान zān</td>
<td>जानने</td>
<td>जानुन zānun, जानोन zānaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जल zāl</td>
<td>जलने</td>
<td>जलन zālun, जालोन zājyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जि zī</td>
<td>जनने</td>
<td>जिज zī, जियोन zīyaun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>जिजर ziggar</td>
<td>विकृतिभवने</td>
<td>जिजरविव ziggaryauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ज्ञर zōggar</td>
<td>वैक्षेप</td>
<td>ज्ञरविव zōggyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ज्ञर zōsar</td>
<td>ज्ञरने</td>
<td>ज्ञरविव zōzaryauv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. A. Grierson — A List of Kāśmirī Verbs.
| जुव सुव   | जीवन   | जुवौव सुवयाउव | live.                              |
| जुवर सुवॅर | सजीवकरण   | जुवॅस झुणुन, जुवॅसीन सुवॅरयाउन | cause to live.                      |
| जुवराव सुवॅराव | च    | जुवॅसॅल झुणॅसॅल, जुवॅरायीन सुवॅरावयाउन | ditto.                             |
| बा झूस सूस   | काशी   | जसुन झोन, जसुन सूसॅन | cough.                             |
| जीवर झिझर | दोर्धीकरण | जूडसन झुथॅरॅन, जीवीनन झिझरयाउन | cause to live.                      |
| जीवराव झिझराव   | च    | जूडसॅल झुरॅवॅन, जीवरायीन झिझरावयाउन | ditto.                             |
| जोध झोध   | झापनीभवने | जोधौव झॅथयाउव | be long.                           |
| जों सून   | झये   | फूनॅन झूनॅन, जोनन झेनॅन | *conquer.                           |
| जोत सूत   | झीती   | जोतौव झॅतॅव | *shine.                             |
| जीवर सूर   | झयादने | जूवॅस झुणॅसॅल, जोवॅयीन सूरयाउन | bring forth.                        |
| जीवराव सूराव   | च    | जूवॅसॅल झुणॅसॅल, जोवॅरायीन सूरावयाउन | ditto.                             |
| जुरव सूराव   | सजने | जूरॅवॅन झॅरॅवॅन, जुरबीन सूरावयाउन | bear.                              |
| जुल सूल   | ताचॅन   | जूलॅन झॅलॅन, जुलॅन सूलॅन | *pare.                              |
| टक टाक   | शव्दवॅरॅकॅडने | टॅकॅन झॅकॅन, टॅकॅन टायाउन | bite in two with a noise.           |

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क टप</td>
<td>tap</td>
<td>टप, टप्यान्न</td>
<td>blame behind one's back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठल tal</td>
<td>परिपरीभाषण</td>
<td>टल्यान्न</td>
<td>be exchanged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा ठाँग ताग</td>
<td>धौराशिति</td>
<td>ठांग, ठांग्यान्न</td>
<td>emit a loud cry or roar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा ठाल tal</td>
<td>छघासागरि कनः</td>
<td>ठाल्यान्न</td>
<td>go away with indifference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धत tyath</td>
<td>नितर्निननि</td>
<td>धत्यान्न</td>
<td>*be bitter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क धप tyap</td>
<td>छंज्जे</td>
<td>धप्यान्न</td>
<td>squeeze something in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>धम त्यांब</td>
<td>जोपि</td>
<td>धम्यान्न</td>
<td>hammer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क धकव tōkav</td>
<td>कुटुआँगे</td>
<td>धकव, धकव्यान्न</td>
<td>cause to disappear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क तुक tuk</td>
<td>बाखुस्मदने</td>
<td>तुक्यान्न</td>
<td>bore like a rat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| इत tōt  | छन्निऺोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गोङ्गो�
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kapmiri</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>टक <em>t</em>ok</td>
<td>धावने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>टस <em>t</em>s</td>
<td>खमानेखने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>टसन <em>t</em>asan</td>
<td>च</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>टा ठाग</td>
<td>बलने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठागाव <em>thagāv</em></td>
<td>शाये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठागर <em>thahar</em></td>
<td>संख्यानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठाक <em>thāk</em></td>
<td>जल्खनने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठास <em>thās</em></td>
<td>च</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठीक <em>thik</em></td>
<td>खिमी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठुक <em>thuk</em></td>
<td>जल्खमने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठक <em>dak</em></td>
<td>शन्दव्या:ने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठकहर <em>dakhār</em></td>
<td>खाधारीकरणे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठकहराव <em>dakhārāv</em></td>
<td>च</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ठखव <em>dakhāv</em></td>
<td>द्ष्वदाधारीकरणे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*Grierson</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ट्यौव् <em>tyauw</em></td>
<td>ट्यून <em>tyun</em>, ट्योन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्यून <em>tyun</em>, ट्योन <em>taun</em></td>
<td>ट्यून <em>tyun</em>, ट्योन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्योव् <em>tyauw</em></td>
<td>ट्यौव् <em>tyauw</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्योव् <em>tyauw</em></td>
<td>ट्यौव् <em>tyauw</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्योन <em>taun</em></td>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
<td>ट्यौन <em>taun</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*run.*  
cause to forcibly enter.  
ditto.  
be deceived.  
deeceive.  
stop.  
bury.  
ditto.  
stand firmly.  
bury.  
drink with a noise.  
depend upon.  
ditto.  
lean upon a support, such as a stick.  

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fear.</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>द (da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass over</td>
<td>प्रवर्त (pravartan)</td>
<td>ड (da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hate</td>
<td>विप्रेषण (vipreṣaṇ)</td>
<td>विप्रेषण (vipreṣaṇ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchange</td>
<td>विप्रेषण (vipreṣaṇ)</td>
<td>विप्रेषण (vipreṣaṇ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be slack</td>
<td>लघु (laghu)</td>
<td>लघु (laghu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be bent (of the body)</td>
<td>लघु (laghu)</td>
<td>लघु (laghu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dive</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roll (act)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be bent (of the body)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sware</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be unused</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look, see</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
<td>धर्म (dharman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ताग tag</td>
<td>तागताणाश्</td>
<td>ताग tag*, तापित tajyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंग tanga</td>
<td>संज्ञाचे</td>
<td>तंग tanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंग्राव tangařāv</td>
<td>लापने</td>
<td>तंग्राव tangařāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंक tak</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तंक tak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंक taka</td>
<td>विरालकरे</td>
<td>तंक taka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंक्राव takařāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तंक्राव takařāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंय tany</td>
<td>तावलाचेचे</td>
<td>तंय tany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंय tany</td>
<td>चाल्ये</td>
<td>तंय tany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तंय tany</td>
<td>तांबल tambal</td>
<td>तंय tany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तर tar</td>
<td>तरणे</td>
<td>तर tar*, तारंग taryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तल tal</td>
<td>लेखपाके</td>
<td>तल tala, तालण tajyaun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* be possible, be known how to be done.
be tight.
make hot.
ditto.
pare.
make thin.
ditto.
* be hot.
* be thin.
take for the sake of warmth.
*change one's mind (from sudden grief or joy).
cross.
fry.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तव tav</td>
<td>भजनेन्</td>
<td>तवुन tavun, तबोऽन tavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ताङ tād</td>
<td>कोपाधिचारणे</td>
<td>ताङ्दन tādun, ताअचान tājaun [ ताअचान tājaun]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तार tār</td>
<td>तारणे</td>
<td>तारण torun, तान्या tāryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ताल tāl</td>
<td>खापणे</td>
<td>तालइन tālun, तान्या tajyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>ताय tāv</td>
<td>तापणे</td>
<td>तायवun tāvaun, तान्या tāryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तयम्य tyamb</td>
<td>हक्काप्रक्वणे</td>
<td>तयम्योऽय tāmyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तीज़र lizr</td>
<td>निशाने</td>
<td>तीज़र lizraun, तीज़रोऽन lizraun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तीज़राव lizrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तीज़राव lizrāvaun, तीज़राव lizrāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तिलन tilan</td>
<td>स्वगुप्तनिभाचे</td>
<td>तिलनश्चविविनेन्त तिलंयविविनेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तुन्द tund</td>
<td>तद्याचेने</td>
<td>तुन्दयविविनेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तौंब lōmb</td>
<td>तौंबविद्विनरणे</td>
<td>तौंबयविविनेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>तुल tul</td>
<td>तुलयाचे</td>
<td>तुलयविविनेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दूर tār</td>
<td>दूराचेने</td>
<td>दूरयविविनेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रवन tṛvaṇ</td>
<td>च च</td>
<td>तरवान tṛvanayaṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रर ṭṛ</td>
<td>तौड़णभन्ने</td>
<td>तौड़ण tṛyanayaṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रर tṛ</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तृलय tṛlyayuṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तौवरहিত tṛvarahītaḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>तौवरहित tṛvarahītaḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>कह तौवरहित tṛvarahītaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चक्कर tṛkarakaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चक्कर tṛkarakaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चक्कर tṛkarakaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त्रविन tṛvin</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चक्कर tṛkarakaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चच चच</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चच tṛksaṃrahaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चच चच</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चच tṛksaṃrahaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चच चच</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चच tṛksaṃrahaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चच चच</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>ह्</td>
<td>चच tṛksaṃrahaḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कचप trap</td>
<td>भश्वाद्यनि</td>
<td>च्वुष्टन trapun, च्वोणि trapyaun</td>
<td>cover up, close.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छुर trupur</td>
<td>च्व</td>
<td>च्वुष्टन trupun, च्वोणि trupuryaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छ tras</td>
<td>भथ</td>
<td>च्योष्ट trasyaun</td>
<td>fear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छरात्रa trasrāv</td>
<td>चारने</td>
<td>च्वत्रीवन्त trasrāvun, च्वस्वरा०नि trasrāvaun</td>
<td>cause to fear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छ त्राव trāv</td>
<td>त्साने</td>
<td>च्वो० त्र०व, च्वोि त्रावyaun</td>
<td>*let go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छ truk</td>
<td>च्व.Trimनबने</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०क, च्वोि त्र०कyaun</td>
<td>cut to pieces, eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छ trūmb</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०मबव प्रीति त्र०मबवनि</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०मव, च्वोि त्र०मवyaun</td>
<td>prick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छ trūgp</td>
<td>कटिनभने</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०पyaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छरात्रa trūgpraūv</td>
<td>कटिनीकरणे</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०पra०vuन, च्वस्वरा०नि trūgppra०vaun</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कच्छर trūr</td>
<td>च्वस्वरादिवाकाथे</td>
<td>च्व० त्र०ryaun</td>
<td>make hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कथक thak</td>
<td>च्वसे</td>
<td>च्व० धौिणि thazraun, च्वोि thazryaun</td>
<td>be hardened (of an opened boil, &amp;c.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कथ्र० thazra</td>
<td>च्वीराथि</td>
<td>च्व० धौिणि thazraun, च्वोि thazryaun</td>
<td>*be weary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>च्व० धौिणि thazryaun</td>
<td>make high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>घड़राव  thag̣ṛāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>घड़रियाव  thag̣ṛiyāvun, घड़रायोि thag̣ṛāiyāuyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घड़ thad</td>
<td>घड़ीभने</td>
<td>घड़ीयाव  thaḍiyāuyn</td>
<td>*be high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घम tham</td>
<td>घमयाव  thaṃiyāuyn</td>
<td>be at rest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घर thar</td>
<td>घरयाव  thaṛiyāuyn</td>
<td>tremble.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घत थाल thal</td>
<td>लाखामुि</td>
<td>trim branches.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घव thav</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>set up.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घव thav दृति केवळ</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>*ditto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>be in a hurry.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>*praise oneself falsely, boast.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>घवयाय</td>
<td>beat, slap.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घक thyak</td>
<td>घकयामुि</td>
<td>spit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घक thyp</td>
<td>घकयामुि</td>
<td>*form (a pot, used of potters).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घक thök</td>
<td>घकयामुि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घर thur</td>
<td>घरयाय</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दग dag</td>
<td>घानने</td>
<td>दगन् dagun, दधोन् dajyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दज्ज</td>
<td>दज्ज daz</td>
<td>भड्रभतने</td>
<td>दज्ज dazव, दज्ज dazauव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दद्दूराव ḍदोरः</td>
<td>जीणिकरणे</td>
<td>दद्दूरावः ḍदोरःवुँ, दद्दूरावः ḍदोरःवुँ दद्दूरावः ḍदोरःवुँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दप dap</td>
<td>शास्यायः कथने च</td>
<td>दपः dapun, दधोन् dajyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दशव dabav</td>
<td>धुनिचपे</td>
<td>दशवः dabavः, दधोन् dabavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दम  dam</td>
<td>वानायिधःः</td>
<td>दमः damun, दधोन् damyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दर  dar</td>
<td>खैर्मायिधःः पिरिरियुः</td>
<td>दरः daryauव</td>
<td>be steady, (2) remember, (3) stop raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दरे  darr</td>
<td>श्रियोऽकरणे</td>
<td>दरः darrun, दधोन् darryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दस  dal</td>
<td>बिद्वारणे</td>
<td>दसः dalun, दधोन् dajyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>दव  dav</td>
<td>शीप्रणोः</td>
<td>दवः davun, दधोन् davyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दस  das</td>
<td>घातने</td>
<td>दसः dasun, दधोन् dasyaun or दधोन् dasaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>दानर  दानर</td>
<td>धानेन</td>
<td>दानरः दानरःrun, दधोन् दानरः run</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| क | दार्गाव dāṅṛāव | च | दार्गोळवन् dāṅṛōवन्, दार्गोळविन् dāṅṛōवि- 
|   | दार dār   | धारणोळार्यों: द्रापने   | द्रापन् dōrun, दार्योळ dāryaun.   |
|   | दाव dāv   | वापने   | द्रावन् dōvun, दाघोळ dāgyaun   |
|   | दी di      | दाने   | दुपुन् dyutun, दिलिन dītəun   |
|   | द्रग dōgav  | वाक्षणे   | द्रगवन् dōgavun, द्रगोळविन् dōgavyaun   |
|   | द्रगाव dōgänāv  | विखोकरणे   | द्रगावन् dōgänōvun, द्रगाविन् dōgänvyaun   |
|   | द्रद dōdār   | जीष्ठीक्षणे   | द्रद्धया dōdaryauv   |
|   | द्रदर dōdārōv  | जीष्ठिकरणे   | द्रदरोळवन् dōdārōvun, द्रदरोळविन् dōdārōvyaun   |
| क | द्रब dōbər   | भृतिचरणे   | द्रब्रोळवन् dōbərōvun, द्रब्रोळविन् dōbərōvyaun   |
| क | द्रब्र dōbərōv  | च   | द्रब्रोळवन् dōbərōvun, द्रब्रोळविन् dōbərōvyaun   |
| क | द्रय dōy      | दोळने   | द्रयन् doynun, द्रयोळ dōyyaun   |
| क | द्रश dōṣ      | अच्छने   | हस dōṣ, द्रशव dōṣyaun   |
| क | दुब्र dūntshər  | गगक्ष्यकरणे   | दुब्रोळवन् dūntshərōvun, दुब्रोळविन् dūntshəryaun   |
| क | दुब्राव dūntshərōv  | च   | दुब्रोळवन् dūntshərōvun, दुब्रोळविन् dūntsh- 
|   |   |   | रव्याun   |

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dūr</td>
<td>दूरिभवने</td>
<td>दूरियाव</td>
<td>be distant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>पिन्चविवर्णे</td>
<td>दुनु दून, दोषिन् दोनावन</td>
<td>* card cotton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōr</td>
<td>गतिवाचवषे</td>
<td>दोषिवरो दोयाव</td>
<td>* run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōn</td>
<td>वचादिरोपसहरे</td>
<td>दुनु दन्निन, दोषिन् दोनावन</td>
<td>* shake out dust, disperse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōnav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>दुनु दनावन, दोषिन् दोनर्यावन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōy</td>
<td>वैसनकशे</td>
<td>दुनु द्युन, दोषैन् दोयावन</td>
<td>regret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>druk</td>
<td>शौभायास</td>
<td>दुनु दृकुन, दोषैन् दृक्यावन</td>
<td>play.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug</td>
<td>सूभातिनशे</td>
<td>दुश्याव द्रुग्याव</td>
<td>be dear, expensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōgrāv</td>
<td>दुर्ग्राफरणे</td>
<td>दुस्मरीवुम् dōgrāvun, दूभायोन् dōgrāvyāun</td>
<td>make dear, expensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōsrāv</td>
<td>दोष्टदानी</td>
<td>दुप्रायुन् dōsrāvun, दोषिन् dōsrāvyāun</td>
<td>blame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēth</td>
<td>काकष्ठे</td>
<td>द्रेथीव हद्र्याव</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nats</td>
<td>नताने</td>
<td>नातृन, नाथिन् natsaun</td>
<td>* dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgṛ</td>
<td>नग्रीवरणे</td>
<td>नाग्रीवरो नाग्रुर्यावन</td>
<td>make naked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>नज़वाव  nāṣrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>नज़रवूँ  nāṣrōvun,  नज़राविन्  nāṣrā- vyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>नट  nāṭ</td>
<td>कामे</td>
<td>नटीविन्  nāṭyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घा</td>
<td>नप  nāp</td>
<td>कमयने</td>
<td>नपुन  nāpun,  नपिन्  nāpyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नम  nam</td>
<td>कमरिभवने</td>
<td>नमयिव  nāmyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नव  nav</td>
<td>चतुःशिऴिभवने  नूःताःच</td>
<td>नविव  nāvyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाग  nāg</td>
<td>कसुशेन्</td>
<td>नागिव  nāgyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाध  nādh</td>
<td>प्रयासाते</td>
<td>नाधिव  nāḍhyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाथ  nāṭh</td>
<td>निपफ़तीभवने</td>
<td>नाथियोऽिव  nāṭhiyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाप  nāp</td>
<td>दीनी</td>
<td>नापियोऽिव  nāpiyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाय  nāy</td>
<td>शोधने</td>
<td>नायििव  nāẏyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाघ  nāgar</td>
<td>नाशने</td>
<td>नाघवन्  nāgṝun,  नाघिविन्  nāgṝyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नाग्राव  nāgṝrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>नाग्रवूँ  nāgṝrövun,  नाग्राविन्  nāgṝra- vyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क नि ni</td>
<td>चरणें</td>
<td>नून, niyun, नियो, niaun</td>
<td>*take.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क निक nik</td>
<td>बलिभवने</td>
<td>निकव, nikyaun</td>
<td>*become small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क निक्र niker</td>
<td>खण्डण: करणे</td>
<td>निक्र्रुन, nikerun, निक्रवीण, nikeryaun</td>
<td>break to pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क निक्राव nikerāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>निक्राव, nikerāvun, निक्रावीण, nikerā- vyau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क न्यांम् nyaggal</td>
<td>निगरण</td>
<td>न्यांम् nyaggalun, न्यांवीण, nyaggaiyaun</td>
<td>swallow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क न्याल् nyat</td>
<td>पशुरोभावने</td>
<td>न्यालन् nyatun, न्यालीन, nyatsaun</td>
<td>*shear (animals).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क न्यालि्ं नियाल् nyāla</td>
<td>निवेदने</td>
<td>न्यालिण् nyālaṇun, न्यालिण, nyālaṇyaun</td>
<td>address.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क नील nil</td>
<td>चरितीभवने</td>
<td>नीलव, nilyaun</td>
<td>*cause to bow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क नूमर nōmr</td>
<td>नवेण</td>
<td>नूम्ररुन, nōmrurun, नूम्रवीण, nōmryaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क नूम्राव nōmrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>नूम्राव, nōmrāvun</td>
<td>make excessive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क नूवर nōvr</td>
<td>चरिशिकरणे</td>
<td>नूवरुन, nōvraun, नूव्रवीण, nōvryaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क नूव्राव nōvra</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>नूव्राव, nōvraun, नूव्रवीण, nōvra- vyau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>नेचव nēchav</td>
<td>खा०तीकरणे</td>
<td>प्रवुभुन्न nēchavun, नेचवीन्न nēchavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नेर nēr</td>
<td>निगमने</td>
<td>द्राव drāv, द्रायव drāyau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नोसूर nömər</td>
<td>संचेपीकरणे</td>
<td>नूसूरुन nömərun, नूसूरीन्न nöməryaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नोम्राव nömərāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>नोम्रावुन nömərāvun, नोम्रावीन्न nömərāvyāun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न्याव nyāv</td>
<td>चारणे</td>
<td>न्यावुन nyāvun, न्यावीन्न nyāvyāun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फक pak</td>
<td>गति</td>
<td>पङ्क pak, पङ्की पङ्कयव</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पक्ताव pachatāv</td>
<td>पक्तायणे</td>
<td>पक्तावुन pachatāvun, पक्तावीन्न pachatāvyāun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पक्ताव pachān</td>
<td>उपालणे</td>
<td>पक्तावुन pachānun, पक्तावीन्न pachānaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पच pats</td>
<td>स्तवित्वार्थे</td>
<td>पचसूं pats, पची पمصau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पज्जर pajar</td>
<td>भार्षू चीने</td>
<td>पज्जरवुन pajarvun, पज्जरीन्न pajarvyāun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पज्ज्राव pajarāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>पज्ज्रावुन pajarāvun, पज्ज्रावीन्न pajarāvyāun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पज्ज paz</td>
<td>मुलीभन्न स्यायविबधे च</td>
<td>पज्जव paziav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पज्जू pazar</td>
<td>स्यायविष्करणे</td>
<td>पज्जूव pazar, पज्जीव pazarvaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

proclaim. *
go forth.
abstract, abridge. ditto.
cause to take. *
go.
regret.
recognize.
trust with a loan.
fell a hem (in sewing). ditto.
be fit, turn out to be true.
show to be true.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
<td>पञ्जराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>पञ्जनान्  parzanān</td>
<td>पञ्जनायोन्  parzanāyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन प्रञन</td>
<td>पञ्जन प्रञन</td>
<td>पञ्जन प्रञन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन pal</td>
<td>पञ्जन pal</td>
<td>पञ्जन pal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन palaz</td>
<td>पञ्जन palaz</td>
<td>पञ्जन palaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन palat</td>
<td>पञ्जन palat</td>
<td>पञ्जन palat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
<td>पञ्जन paq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>blame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>lament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>cause to lament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>protect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>be cognisant of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>be possible, arrive at.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>cause to arrive, convey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>light fire for cooking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>be soft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>boil over.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>ग्री</td>
<td>be smooth, slippery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चेष्टा pīt</td>
<td>खेदासमावङ्गे</td>
<td>पीयोच pītyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृद्दर pithör</td>
<td>सम्प्रेम प्रतिवेचणे</td>
<td>पूढ़न pyūthorrun, पीठौण्ड pīthọryauṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृद्दराव pithörāv</td>
<td>्च</td>
<td>पीठौवन pithọrwun, पीठौण्ड pithọrāvyauṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पृष्ठ pinav</td>
<td>प्रसावने</td>
<td>पीनवन pīnavun, पीनवौण्ड pinavvyauṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुजन punson</td>
<td>पुप्पादिखिङ्ग  करये</td>
<td>पुजनन punsonun, पुजौण्ड punsaṇṇaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुज pun</td>
<td>शापसाफ़ख़े</td>
<td>पुज puna, पुजोच punyaauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चन्द pōnd</td>
<td>चुवे</td>
<td>चन्द pōndun, चन्द्रीण pōnīyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चळ pōl</td>
<td>स्नेहेय</td>
<td>चळौँ pōlyaauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुग्र pučr</td>
<td>चर्येण</td>
<td>पुग्र pučrun, पुजौुण pučrayaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुग्राव pučrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>पुग्राव pučrāvun, पुग्रावौण pučrāvyauṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुज puż</td>
<td>पुजायामृ</td>
<td>पुज pużun, पुजौण pużaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुठर pūthar</td>
<td>खोखोकरणे</td>
<td>पुठर puθhorrun, पुठौण pūthọryauṇ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.

wait wearily.
blame and instruct at once.
ditto.

bear (young).
pluck flowers, &c., to pieces.
come true (of a curse).
sneeze.
be weak.

* make over (to any one).

*ditto.

worship.
make fat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क पृद्राव pūthraśv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>पूर्रोधः pūthrāṇaḥ, पूर्रायथः pūthrāṇyaḥ</td>
<td>make fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पुर् pūr</td>
<td>पुर्ण</td>
<td>पृष्ण pūrun, पृष्ण pūryaun</td>
<td>fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पैद् pēd</td>
<td>निर्खसी</td>
<td>पैद्वौ pēdyau</td>
<td>* exude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पैर pair</td>
<td>पैर्यथन</td>
<td>पैर्यथ pairun, पैर्यथ pairyau</td>
<td>* adorn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पौठ pōth</td>
<td>पौठम्राण</td>
<td>पौठ्यावृ pōthyau</td>
<td>be fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पौर pōr</td>
<td>पौर्याव</td>
<td>पौर्याव pōryau</td>
<td>be competent, be dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पौरव pōraśv</td>
<td>वाप्पन</td>
<td>पौराव pōraun, पौराव pōrayau</td>
<td>oppress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क पोष pōś</td>
<td>पोष्णात्याः</td>
<td>पूष pūṣa, पूष्योन् pōsyau</td>
<td>* be competent, victorious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क प्रखष prakṣet</td>
<td>प्रकषन</td>
<td>प्रखष्याव prakṣetyau</td>
<td>be manifest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क प्रजन praśan</td>
<td>उपलब्धि</td>
<td>प्रजन्म praśanun, प्रजान्म praśanaun</td>
<td>recognize.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क प्रज्ञाव praṣanāv</td>
<td>ब</td>
<td>प्रज्ञाव praṣanāv, प्रज्ञाव praṣanāvyau</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क प्रज्ञात praṣal</td>
<td>प्रज्ञलन</td>
<td>प्रज्ञाव praṣalyau</td>
<td>shine.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्रिया</td>
<td>शब्द</td>
<td>अर्थ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रय</td>
<td>pray</td>
<td>be clean and white.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रस</td>
<td>pras</td>
<td>be pleased.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रात्</td>
<td>prät</td>
<td>be born.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्राप्</td>
<td>prāp</td>
<td>dig.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रार</td>
<td>prār</td>
<td>be old.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्राव</td>
<td>prāv</td>
<td>* wait.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रिष्ठ</td>
<td>prītsh</td>
<td>* obtain.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>प्रिन्स</td>
<td>prīnṣ</td>
<td>reproach.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फक</td>
<td>phak</td>
<td>* ask.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फन</td>
<td>phat</td>
<td>send.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फब</td>
<td>phab</td>
<td>(?) eat sattā; (usually) spit out after chewing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>फर</td>
<td>फार्म</td>
<td>फार्म, फार्मयाउ</td>
<td>be stolen, be a cause of loss to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फर्काव</td>
<td>फर्कावन, फर्कावयाउन</td>
<td>enquire into the meaning, enquire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फल</td>
<td>फल</td>
<td>फल, फाइयाउ</td>
<td>*become old (of clothes), bear fruit, be divided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फास</td>
<td>फास, फासयाउ</td>
<td>be entangled, caught.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फास्र</td>
<td>फास्रयाउन</td>
<td>entangle, catch in anything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फास्रव</td>
<td>फास्रवयाउन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फाहर</td>
<td>पाहरय</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>फँग</td>
<td>फँग, फँगयाउ</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>फान</td>
<td>फाण, फाणयाउ</td>
<td>cry (of children), mew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>carry away totally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Kagmīri Verb</td>
<td>English Meaning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split (wood) (act.)</td>
<td>ṣliphlānu (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>forget.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take secretly.</td>
<td>ṭliphos (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>burn over (pages), pull from one vessel to another.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spread</td>
<td>ṭliphos (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>call to memory, cause to go round.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lick the lips or the like.</td>
<td>ṭliphos (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>lick the lips or the like.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow a fire (with the mouth to make it)</td>
<td>ṭliphos (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>blow a fire (with the mouth to make it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak in anger.</td>
<td>ṭliphos (&lt;i&gt;n. phalārya&lt;/i&gt;)</td>
<td>speak in anger.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Dinsie's vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root.</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist.</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पुत्राव phuṭrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>पुत्रोत्तु phuṭroṭṭa.मुत्रयुन phuṭrayunaḥ</td>
<td>*break.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुल pholl</td>
<td>विकसने</td>
<td>पुल pholl कवल pholljayaḥ</td>
<td>*expand (of a flower).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुल phuṣ</td>
<td>विनाक्योपे</td>
<td>पुल phuṣyaḥ</td>
<td>be inwardly angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुल phuh</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>पुल phuhyaḥ</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पुक phāk</td>
<td>खापः</td>
<td>पुक phāk कवल phākJayaḥ</td>
<td>smell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेर phēr</td>
<td>बमविविश्वान्यप्यात्म-विलोक्य</td>
<td>पेर phēryaḥ</td>
<td>*go round, rot, regret, be inverted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पेर phōr</td>
<td>खुरणे</td>
<td>[पेर phōr], कौरिव phōryaḥ</td>
<td>quiver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पार phyār</td>
<td>रस्मिष्कासने</td>
<td>पार phyāraḥ</td>
<td>strain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पार pharak</td>
<td>उच्चाविश्वानिणि:शास्त्राय:</td>
<td>पार pharakaḥ</td>
<td>breath violently, be out of breath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बक bak</td>
<td>भयणे</td>
<td>बक bakuḥ, बचोन bacyaḥ</td>
<td>bark, growl, speak angrily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बगर bagār</td>
<td>चचयेये</td>
<td>बगर bagāraḥ, बचोन bagāryaḥ</td>
<td>fry in oil, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बच्चा boc</td>
<td>भनउँचनायाम्</td>
<td>बच्चीव bacyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बच्छराव bacořav</td>
<td>भयादिरचन्</td>
<td>बच्छरोवन bacořōvun, बच्छरायोन बच्छरायवyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बज़ baz</td>
<td>शेवाया ब्रज़ने च</td>
<td>बज़ून bazun, बज़ीन bazaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बड़ bad</td>
<td>गलिकुट्टोऽऽ</td>
<td>बड़ीयुव badīyuṃ, बड़ायोन bādāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बड़वाव badāv</td>
<td>गलिकुसमयोऽ:</td>
<td>बड़वीरुन bādāwun, बड़ायोन bādāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बड़ुर badur</td>
<td>बर्ध़ने</td>
<td>बड़ुरीन bādurun, बड़ायोन bādāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बड़ुराव bādurav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>बड़ुरोवन bādōruṇ, बड़ुरायोन bādōrāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बड़ुराव base</td>
<td>पूर्णाङ्कारपक्रेक</td>
<td>बड़ुरोवन bādōruṇ, बड़ुरायोन bādōrāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बन ban</td>
<td>बटने</td>
<td>बन्यायव banyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बेझुर banzi̇r</td>
<td>विशजने</td>
<td>बेझुरोळ banzi̇rōun, बेझुरायोन banzi̇rāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बेझुराव banzi̇rav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>बेझुरोळ banzi̇rōun, बेझुरायोन banzi̇rāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बर bar</td>
<td>परवर्ण वियोगदैश्य च</td>
<td>बरन bārun, बरीन baryaun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* escape.  protect.
* serve, fry in oil, &c.
* go, be great.
* go, (neut.) quell, (act.) extinguish.
* cause to be great, increase.
* ditto.
* bake bread.
* be.
* divide, [sell cheaply.]
* ditto.
* fill, pine in absence.

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanscrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>cause to fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>cause to fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>cure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूति</td>
<td>कौर्भायान्त्र</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāśmiri Verb</td>
<td>Translation 1</td>
<td>Translation 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाह bāh [brād]</td>
<td>बाहीव bāhyauv, [बाही bāhauv]</td>
<td>be powerful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बाह bāh</td>
<td>बाहीव bāhyauv</td>
<td>be quick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बास bās</td>
<td>बासीव bāsīauv, बाहीत्र बासीauv</td>
<td>* shew, declare one’s intentions, devote to God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिगर bigar</td>
<td>बिगरीव bigaryauv</td>
<td>be preferred (usually food).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बीतृ bē̃r</td>
<td>बीतृ०, बाहीव बासīauv, बाहीव bāsīauv</td>
<td>speak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बीतृव bē̃rāv</td>
<td>बीतृव०, बाहीव बासīauv</td>
<td>become clear, evident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिय बिय byān</td>
<td>बिय bīyaauv</td>
<td>be spoiled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिय biy</td>
<td>बिय bīyaauv</td>
<td>open, separate (act.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिय बिय byah</td>
<td>बिय bīyaauv</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बिय biy</td>
<td>बिय bīyaauv</td>
<td>be separate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध buḥ</td>
<td>बुध būḍhauv</td>
<td>be stale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध buḥ</td>
<td>बुध būḍhauv</td>
<td>* sit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बुध buḥ</td>
<td>बुध būḍhauv</td>
<td>* bite.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कृज़ buz</td>
<td>भर्जनि</td>
<td>बुजन् buzun, बुजौन् buzaun</td>
<td>* parch (grain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चढ़ bōd</td>
<td>निम्झनि</td>
<td>बोड़ bōdū, बोजिक् bōjyaun</td>
<td>* dive, sink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वज़ bud</td>
<td>खविरीबनि</td>
<td>बुद्याव budyaun</td>
<td>* be old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्यव bōv</td>
<td>उपमि</td>
<td>बोवु bōvū, बोजिक् bōjyaun</td>
<td>* be born, grow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बूग būg</td>
<td>भोमि</td>
<td>बूगुन् būgun, बूजिक् būjyaun</td>
<td>enjoy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बेख bēch</td>
<td>भिकायाः</td>
<td>बेखुन् byūchun, बेखिन् bēchyaun</td>
<td>beg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोर्ज bōr</td>
<td>निशामि</td>
<td>बोजुन् buzun, बोजिक् bōzaun</td>
<td>* hear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बोल bōl</td>
<td>पलिस्वते</td>
<td>बोलुन् bōlun, बोजिक् bōjyaun</td>
<td>sing, speak (of birds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रक brak</td>
<td>दंप्तायांकोपयोः</td>
<td>ब्रकुन् brakun, ब्रजिन् bracyaun</td>
<td>clench with the teeth, be angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रज braz</td>
<td>दीपि</td>
<td>ब्रजिक् brazyaun</td>
<td>shine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रम bram</td>
<td>भानि</td>
<td>ब्रमिक् bramyauv</td>
<td>go round in circles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रमर bramōr</td>
<td>वृक्षरणः</td>
<td>ब्रमरुच्छन् bramōruchchun, ब्रमौर्जिन् bramāryaun</td>
<td>mislead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रम्राव bramōrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>ब्रम्रोजन् bramōrōjauṃ, ब्रम्राविन् bramārāvyauṃ</td>
<td>*mislead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रां ब्रांच</td>
<td>clench with the teeth, (not to be angry).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रेख ब्रेथ</td>
<td>lament.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब्रेख ब्रेथ</td>
<td>be a fool.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>*ask.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>*delude.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>make level, calm, console.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>*knead clothes in water to soften and clean them, adorn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>*be mad, foolish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>*pound, beat, churn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>calm an angry person.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>make imperfect, diminish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्त्र मज्ज</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क मृ mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>संधुनं, संधुनं, मान्यान्त</td>
<td>churn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>संधुनं, मान्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>*be ashamed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>*be asleep (of a limb).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मान्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>die, unite, join together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>be inwardly wrathful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>rub a boil or pimple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>*rub, shampoo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>*forget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>cause to forget.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>crumble (act.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क मृं mard</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>मृंदनं, मध्यान्त मान्यान्त</td>
<td>be intent upon, make clean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Kangra</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूच्राव mānārāv</td>
<td>खीरारकारणे</td>
<td>cause to confess.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूजन māj</td>
<td>धातुनिमलीकरणे</td>
<td>clean metals, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>साँड mād</td>
<td>खित्रीकरणे</td>
<td>*mingle (act.), knead.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सान mān</td>
<td>खीरकरणे</td>
<td>*admit, confess.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मार mār</td>
<td>मारणे</td>
<td>*kill.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मिलव milav</td>
<td>संगरजने</td>
<td>*mix, unite.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मिलनाव milanāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>*ditto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म्यकल mōkal</td>
<td>चुट्टी</td>
<td>*be released.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>म्यौं mōts</td>
<td>यवयवे</td>
<td>remain over and above.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुत्स्र mutsar</td>
<td>जत्ताने</td>
<td>*open (act.), disclose.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मुत्स्राव mutsarāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>*ditto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मूख much</td>
<td>ब्रतादियामे</td>
<td>complete a vow.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मौठ mōt</td>
<td>खूंगीवने</td>
<td>be fat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क् मोदर</td>
<td>मूढ़करणे</td>
<td>मोदरने मोदरयून, मोदरयून मोदरयून</td>
<td>make fat, make thick (by boiling).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मोदरव</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>मदरवन मोदरवन, मदरवन मोदरवन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मोद</td>
<td>कुष्ठिभवने</td>
<td>मोदन मोदयून</td>
<td>be blunt, dulled, weak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मोदरव</td>
<td>कुष्ठिकरणे</td>
<td>मदरवन मोदरवन, मदरवन मोदरवन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मोदर</td>
<td>मधुरभवने</td>
<td>मोदरने मोदरयून</td>
<td>causal of preceding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मोदरव</td>
<td>मधुरिकरणे</td>
<td>मदरवन मोदरवन, मदरवन मोदरवन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मून मुन</td>
<td>धान्यकरणे</td>
<td>मून मून, मून मून</td>
<td>* be sweet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मूलव मूलव</td>
<td>मधुनिष्ठायकरणे</td>
<td>मूलवन मूलवन, मूलवन मूलवन</td>
<td>* make sweet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मूस मुस</td>
<td>सोपणे</td>
<td>मूस मूसुन, मूस मूसुन</td>
<td>pound (rice).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क् मूस मूस</td>
<td>असमानभवणे</td>
<td>मूस मूसुन, मूस मूसुन or मूस मूसुन</td>
<td>settle a price of a thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>steal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eat improperly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुर musar</td>
<td>जहाने</td>
<td>सुरधन musarun, सुरधान musary aun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुराम musarav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>सुरामन musaravun, सुरामधन musarav-vaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>सुर fulfil</td>
<td>सोचने</td>
<td>सुरधन mun mun, सुरधान mun masyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा</td>
<td>सुराम munishar</td>
<td>समोचने</td>
<td>सुरधान munisharun, सुरधान munisharaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुर mātr</td>
<td>मन्त्रदानी [करण] मवने</td>
<td>सुरधान mātrun, सुरधान mātryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुरा mātra</td>
<td>मन्त्रादातिकरण</td>
<td>सुरधान mātravun, सुरधान mātrayyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुर mūr</td>
<td>लाची निद्रान्न मचे च</td>
<td>सुरधन mūrun, सुरधान mūryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मेन</td>
<td>मेसh</td>
<td>मधुरिहवने</td>
<td>मेचोब्र mēthyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>मेन mēn</td>
<td>सायने</td>
<td>मेचोब्र mēnaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>मेल mēl</td>
<td>संगमे</td>
<td>मेचोब्र mēlyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मोर</td>
<td>mōr</td>
<td>शमे</td>
<td>मोरधन mōryaun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सोरव mōrav</td>
<td>बोडापिचने</td>
<td>सोरकुन् mōravun, सोरविन् mōravyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>यतर yatr</td>
<td>शोणै</td>
<td>यतृन् yatrun, यतेष्विन् yateryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>यत्राव yatrāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>यत्रविन् yatrāvun, यत्राविन् yatrāvyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>याप yāp</td>
<td>बापै</td>
<td>यापै yāpayauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>यार yār</td>
<td>संख्यानि</td>
<td>याल्यन् yōrun, याल्यौन् yāryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>यत yi</td>
<td>बागै</td>
<td>यावै ὖव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>येर yēr</td>
<td>सन्कुल्लानि</td>
<td>येरून् yērūn, येरौन् yēryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>राय raig</td>
<td>रायनि</td>
<td>रायनन् raigun, रायनन् raigyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>राह raḥ</td>
<td>राहायम्</td>
<td>राहून् raḥun, राहिन् raḥyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>राभ राभर raḫaḥ</td>
<td>समयसंक्षरणं</td>
<td>राभून् raḥharun, राभिन् raḥharyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>राभराव raḥharāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>राभरून् raḥharūn, राभरिन् raḥharāvyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क्रि</td>
<td>क्रि</td>
<td>क्रि</td>
<td>क्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रन</td>
<td>रन</td>
<td>रन</td>
<td>रन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ran</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>ran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र्वुं</td>
<td>र्वुं</td>
<td>र्वुं</td>
<td>र्वुं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranz</td>
<td>ranz</td>
<td>ranz</td>
<td>ranz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र्वाव</td>
<td>र्वाव</td>
<td>र्वाव</td>
<td>र्वाव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranzav</td>
<td>ranzav</td>
<td>ranzav</td>
<td>ranzav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रम</td>
<td>रम</td>
<td>रम</td>
<td>रम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramb</td>
<td>ramb</td>
<td>ramb</td>
<td>ramb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रस</td>
<td>रस</td>
<td>रस</td>
<td>रस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ras</td>
<td>ras</td>
<td>ras</td>
<td>ras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राव</td>
<td>राव</td>
<td>राव</td>
<td>राव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāv</td>
<td>rāv</td>
<td>rāv</td>
<td>rāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रावर</td>
<td>रावर</td>
<td>रावर</td>
<td>रावर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāvar</td>
<td>rāvar</td>
<td>rāvar</td>
<td>rāvar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रावराव</td>
<td>रावराव</td>
<td>रावराव</td>
<td>रावराव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāvarāv</td>
<td>rāvarāv</td>
<td>rāvarāv</td>
<td>rāvarāv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रिन्खु</td>
<td>रिन्खु</td>
<td>रिन्खु</td>
<td>रिन्खु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinzav</td>
<td>rinzav</td>
<td>rinzav</td>
<td>rinzav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रिव</td>
<td>रिव</td>
<td>रिव</td>
<td>रिव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riv</td>
<td>riv</td>
<td>riv</td>
<td>riv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रुव</td>
<td>रुव</td>
<td>रुव</td>
<td>रुव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruv</td>
<td>ruv</td>
<td>ruv</td>
<td>ruv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोक</td>
<td>रोक</td>
<td>रोक</td>
<td>रोक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rōk</td>
<td>rōk</td>
<td>rōk</td>
<td>rōk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*cook.

be pleased, show love to.

gratify.

ditto.

be beautiful.

be full of juice.

* be lost.

* lose.

ditto.

escape secretly.

be intent on adorning oneself [lament].

plant (act.).

be preferred.

---

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>रोज़</td>
<td>रुद्रवि प्रवननन्</td>
<td>नीक्षुन्त</td>
<td>* stop, stand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रौड़</td>
<td>रौड़</td>
<td>रौड़</td>
<td>be stopped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रौप</td>
<td>रौप</td>
<td>रौप</td>
<td>* be angry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रूक़</td>
<td>रूक़</td>
<td>रूक़</td>
<td>drag along the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रूख</td>
<td>रूख</td>
<td>रूख</td>
<td>persistently follow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रूस</td>
<td>रूस</td>
<td>रूस</td>
<td>be good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लाख</td>
<td>लाख</td>
<td>लाख</td>
<td>be worn out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लाग</td>
<td>लाग</td>
<td>लाग</td>
<td>go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लाग्ग</td>
<td>लाग्ग</td>
<td>लाग्ग</td>
<td>bring inside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लज़</td>
<td>लज़</td>
<td>लज़</td>
<td>*be with, suffer pain, fit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>लटाव</td>
<td>लटाव</td>
<td>लटाव</td>
<td>be lame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be suitable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G. A. Grierson—A List of Kāśmirī Verbs. [No. 4]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>क</th>
<th>लड़ लड्ड</th>
<th>टुँड</th>
<th>लड़ौन, लड़ौन् लज्जाौँन</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लड़व लड्डव</td>
<td>संगतयान</td>
<td>लड़ौँव, लड़ौँव लड़ौँवाौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लतव लताव</td>
<td>लतागावे</td>
<td>लतावौँ, लतावौँ लतावाौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लतार लतार</td>
<td>लडाधेौँप</td>
<td>लटारौँ, लटारौँ लटाराौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पालाौँ</td>
<td>पालाौँ</td>
<td>पालाौँ, पालाौँ लालाौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पालव पालव</td>
<td>पालवौँ</td>
<td>पालवौँ, पालवौँ लालवाौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पास पास</td>
<td>पासौँ</td>
<td>पासौँ, पासौँ लासौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पाहन पाहन</td>
<td>पाहनौँ</td>
<td>पाहनौँ, पाहनौँ लाहनौँन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>पाग पाग</td>
<td>पागौँ</td>
<td>पागौँ, पागौँ लागौँन</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लाय lāy</td>
<td>वाधते पचचे च</td>
<td>कोयून lōyun, कोयून lāyyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लार lār</td>
<td>क्षणामगमक्षयकरणयु</td>
<td>कोशन lōrun, कोयून lāryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लिख likh</td>
<td>लेखने</td>
<td>क्षुखन līukhun, लिखीन līchyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लिया lyās</td>
<td>लिखीभवने</td>
<td>क्षोष līatsaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लिहव līhav</td>
<td>मरदने</td>
<td>किष्वि līhavun, किष्वि līhavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लया lyā</td>
<td>पराजयीभवने</td>
<td>किष्वि lēdyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लयाद lyār</td>
<td>पीतीभवने</td>
<td>किष्वि lēdaryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लयार līyārāv</td>
<td>पीतीकरणे</td>
<td>किष्वि līyārūm līyāra līyārāvyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लिव liv</td>
<td>क्शपने</td>
<td>किष्वि lyūvun, किष्वि līvyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लय līy</td>
<td>क्शपने</td>
<td>किष्वि lyūvun, किष्वि lēvyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लिस lis</td>
<td>प्रमन्यायायु</td>
<td>किष्वि līsyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोत lōt</td>
<td>लापवे</td>
<td>किष्वि lōlyauv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>खनं lọl</td>
<td>खनं lọl, खनं lọyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लूक्रवव lükrave</td>
<td>लूक्रवव lükraven, लूक्रवव lükraveyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लूट lüt</td>
<td>लूट lütun, लूटीन lücyauu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लूब lüb</td>
<td>लूब lübavan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लूर lûr</td>
<td>लूर lûrun, लूरीन lûryaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लेख lêkhi</td>
<td>लेखने</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लेख lêk</td>
<td>लेखने</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोक lôk</td>
<td>लोकोव lôkyauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोन lôn</td>
<td>लोन lônun, लोनीन loñaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लुन lûn</td>
<td>लुन lûn, लुनीन lûnyauu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोस lôs</td>
<td>लोस lûs*, लोसीव lôsaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोर lôr</td>
<td>लोरीव lôryauv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लोय lûy</td>
<td>लोयीव lûyaun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>लुष lûh</td>
<td>लुष lû$h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.

- play with a customer (i.e., to refuse to sell a thing at first in order to get a better price).
- make small.
- plunder.
- be desirous.
- destroy, knock down.
- write.
- be small.
- reap.
- be weary.
- become deficient.
- be sufficient.
- ditto.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>लादन  lōhan</td>
<td>पाकविकारे</td>
<td>लादनश्रोध lōhananu</td>
<td>delay ripening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वखन wakhan</td>
<td>व्याख्याने</td>
<td>वखनकुण wakhannun, वखनोष्ण wakhanyun</td>
<td>lecture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वज़ waz</td>
<td>वाद्यन</td>
<td>वज़न wazun, वजोष्ण wazaun</td>
<td>*sound (of a musical instrument).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वज़व wazav</td>
<td>वाद्योष्ण wazavun, वज़वोष्ण wazavyun</td>
<td>moisten.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वट wat</td>
<td>वेदने</td>
<td>वटन watern, वटोष्ण watsaun</td>
<td>*fold up, shut up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वड़र wadro</td>
<td>निज़रे</td>
<td>वड़रन wadroan, वड़रोष्ण wadorayaun</td>
<td>bury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वड़रव wadroś</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>वड़रवन wadrovan, वड़रवोष्ण wadrovayaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वधर wathar</td>
<td>ब्याकरणे</td>
<td>वधरन watharan, वधरोष्ण watharyun</td>
<td>spread out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वधरव watharōv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>वधरवन watharovan, वधरवोष्ण watharavaun</td>
<td>* ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वद wad</td>
<td>रोदने</td>
<td>वदन wadun, वदोष्ण wadaun</td>
<td>*weep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वन wan</td>
<td>भाषणे</td>
<td>वनन wanun, वनोष्ण wanaun</td>
<td>*speak, say.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वनव wanav</td>
<td>शिष्यासेक्षणगाने</td>
<td>वनवन wanavan, वनवोष्ण wanavyun</td>
<td>sing in chorus (of women).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>बन्द wand</td>
<td>उपरारी</td>
<td>बन्दून wandun, बंदूङ् wandaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वय way</td>
<td>पथीभने</td>
<td>वय way ० वयीः wayyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वर war</td>
<td>वरणे</td>
<td>वरन् warun, वर्योः waryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वन wāl</td>
<td>वाचादने</td>
<td>वनन् wālun, वांचोः wājyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वब wāv</td>
<td>वापमे</td>
<td>वबन् wārun, वब्योः wāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वय wāz</td>
<td>वयणे</td>
<td>वयन् wārun, वयोः wāyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वस was</td>
<td>वसरीणे</td>
<td>वश was, वशेऽः watṣaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वचार wahār</td>
<td>विकारणे मविकायपवारणे</td>
<td>वचो मन् wahōrun, वचोः wahāryaun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| क | वचाराच wahārāv | च | वचारावच wahārācun, वचाराचयोः wahāra-
|     |           |        | vyaun              |
| भा | बांत wāts | वबने   | बांत wātsun, बांचोः wātsaun  |
| क | वाद wāt   | संधापने | वाद wōtun, वादेहः wācyauν |
| क | वान wāt   | वापपे   | वान wōt, वाणोः wācyaun   |
| क | वाम wām   | मविकायपवारणे | वामम् wōmun, वामेऽः wāmyaun |

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क वार wār</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>बोलन् wōrun, बायोङ् wōryaun</td>
<td>drive away (flies, &amp;c.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा वाय wāy</td>
<td>ध्नान नींकाचलने च</td>
<td>बोलन् wōyun, बायोङ् wоyyaun</td>
<td>* blow (a musical instrument), row a boat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वाछ wāl</td>
<td>व्रतार्णे दृष्टिपाते च</td>
<td>बोलन् wōlun, बायोङ् wоyyaun</td>
<td>cause to descend, fall (of rain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विगल vigal</td>
<td>विगलने</td>
<td>विगलयत् vigalyaun</td>
<td>melt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क विचार vitsār</td>
<td>विचारिे</td>
<td>विचार्यान् vitsāryaun</td>
<td>consider, decide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क व्रातस vyatś</td>
<td>संभने</td>
<td>बोलन् vyatśaun, बायोङ् vyatśaun</td>
<td>* pervade, fit into, separate, tease out (wool, &amp;c.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क व्रायत्सन vyatśan</td>
<td>विवरणे</td>
<td>बोलन् vyatśhanun, बायोङ् vyatśhaun</td>
<td>prove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षुर vyazr</td>
<td>खाँतिकरणे</td>
<td>बोलन् vyazrun, बायोङ् vyazraun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षुरोव vyazrōv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>बोलन् vyazrōvun, क्षुरोयङ् vyazrō- ryaun</td>
<td>separate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क क्षुर vēnōr</td>
<td>प्रयक्षवरणे</td>
<td>बोलन् vēnōrun, बायोङ् vēnōyaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यात</td>
<td>कृन्तिभवनं</td>
<td>कृत्यादिकरणं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंयुनसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यात्वसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>वद्यातु</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
<td>कृत्यालसंस्पन्न</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>व्यसर  vyasar</td>
<td>विशेषणवनते</td>
<td>विशेषण vyasaryauv</td>
<td>* be ruined, fade (of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विस    vis</td>
<td>विशेषणवन</td>
<td>विशेषण visyauv</td>
<td>a flour.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>व्यक  wōk</td>
<td>दोषानिदिष्टायाम्</td>
<td>व्यक्ति vōkyauv</td>
<td>be pleased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वृक्त  wukar</td>
<td>व्यक्ति</td>
<td>वृक्ति wukaryauv</td>
<td>suffer pain from disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुक्त  wukaraḥ</td>
<td>कुक्ति</td>
<td>कुक्ति wukaraḥauv</td>
<td>be crooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>व्यक्त  wōkhar</td>
<td>व्यक्ति अधिकारिकरणेष</td>
<td>व्यक्ति wōkharaun</td>
<td>make crooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क व्यक्त  wōkharāv</td>
<td>व्यक्ति अधिकारिकरणेष</td>
<td>व्यक्ति wōkharaun</td>
<td>turn upside down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क कुक्त  wukarāv</td>
<td>कुक्ति</td>
<td>कुक्ति wukarāyuvaun</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>व्यक्त  wōkharāv</td>
<td>व्यक्ति अधिकारिकरणेष</td>
<td>व्यक्ति wōkharaun</td>
<td>be shallow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क कुक्त  wukarāv</td>
<td>कुक्ति</td>
<td>कुक्ति wukarāyuvaun</td>
<td>recover a debt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क व्यक्त  wung</td>
<td>व्यक्ति अधिकारिकरणेष</td>
<td>व्यक्ति wungun</td>
<td>bark (of a dog).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क वृक्त  wukāl</td>
<td>वृक्ति</td>
<td>वृक्ति wukāluv, [वृक्ति wukāluv]</td>
<td>be burnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. I. 49</td>
<td>wuch</td>
<td>wuz</td>
<td>wóżal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>wuch</td>
<td>wuz</td>
<td>wóżal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
<td>तब</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- तब wuchun, तब wuchyaun
- तब wuzauv
- तब wóżalyauv
- तब wuzhun, तब wuchyaun
- तब wudyauv
- तब wudövun, तब wudövyaun
- तब wotal
- तब wothum, तब wothyaun
- तब wothyauv
- तब wotharun, तब wotharyaun
- तब wotharövun, तब wotharyaun
- तब wudhauv [Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.]
- तब wudauv

* see

be wide awake; appear (as water from a spring).
be red.
leap [not used as an independent verb].
*twist (a rope, &c.).
*fly.
destroy, cause to move.
rise.
*stand up.
wipe clean.
ditto.
be wide awake.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वृद्ध wudar</td>
<td>विषोम्बरेण</td>
<td>वृद्धामृत्यु</td>
<td>sorrow in separation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>वृत wun</td>
<td>दैवानाबन्धे</td>
<td>वृत्यु वृत्युन</td>
<td>have bad luck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wönpat</td>
<td>दृष्टविद्वेधे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>be high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wup</td>
<td>दृष्टविद्वेधे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>burn inside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wopaz</td>
<td>दृष्टविद्वेधे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>*be born.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wuph</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>*fly (of birds only).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wophar</td>
<td>शरदिक्ष्य</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>make slack.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wobar</td>
<td>समारो</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>be finished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wobas</td>
<td>वज्जविद्वेधे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>increase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wöm</td>
<td>वीमा मम्भेदे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>go on without stopping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wuy</td>
<td>परस्परे</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>arrive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>विद्वेध wur</td>
<td>अभिप्रत्यापि चादनिवातंन पु</td>
<td>विद्वेध-७ विद्वेध-७यु</td>
<td>string (a garland, &amp;c.); put on (clothes); let fall into.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭālāq</td>
<td>ṭālāqy</td>
<td>ṭālāqy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūlal</td>
<td>ṭūlāy</td>
<td>ṭūlāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūlas</td>
<td>ṭūlay</td>
<td>ṭūlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūpal</td>
<td>ṭūpay</td>
<td>ṭūpay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūp</td>
<td>ṭūpy</td>
<td>ṭūpy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūsr</td>
<td>ṭūsry</td>
<td>ṭūsry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭūsrāv</td>
<td>ṭūsrāvy</td>
<td>ṭūsrāvy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭuḥ</td>
<td>ṭuhy</td>
<td>ṭuhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭuḥav</td>
<td>ṭuḥavy</td>
<td>ṭuḥavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭuṅ</td>
<td>ṭuṁa</td>
<td>ṭuṁa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>ṭuṅ</td>
<td>ṭuṁa</td>
<td>ṭuṁa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>विवृत wovṛ</td>
<td>धातृनां तच्छ</td>
<td>विवृत wovṛun, विवृत्यः wovṛyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>विरृत wovṛav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>विरृत wovṛavun, विरृत्योऽ wovṛavyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>शेक ṣek</td>
<td>शेक्याम्</td>
<td>शेक्युनं ṣekun, शेक्योऽ ṣekyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चागगचनाव čagagnāv</td>
<td>चागचनेरणे</td>
<td>चागचनुः čagagnou, चागचासौः čagagnāvyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चम cam</td>
<td>चपमे</td>
<td>चमोः čamyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चाल čal</td>
<td>चचले</td>
<td>चचलोः čalyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चाल cahal</td>
<td>चालिमने</td>
<td>चालिोः cahalyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चास čas</td>
<td>चासने</td>
<td>चासोः časyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चासनीचनाव časagnāv</td>
<td>परेस्यासने</td>
<td>चासनीचोः časagnāvyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चिदिथ</td>
<td>चिदिथने</td>
<td>चिदिथेः chithyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चिथ</td>
<td>चिथने</td>
<td>चिथनोः chithyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चिथ</td>
<td>चिथने</td>
<td>चिथनोः chithyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सोग sōg</td>
<td>सोगने</td>
<td>सोगोः sōgyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सोडह sōdha</td>
<td>सोडहने</td>
<td>सोडहोः sōdhyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कोण ज्ञान</td>
<td>शोभायाम</td>
<td>कोण ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
<td>कृत्रेय ज्ञान</td>
<td>सुभायाम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>persecute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be deep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be ready.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>come to oneself from faint, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be complete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* become visible, be seen, meet a person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Ksr sar</td>
<td>Ksr sah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>झर sar</td>
<td>झच sah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सरनौ</td>
<td>सहनौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सरनौ</td>
<td>सहनौ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सरनौ</td>
<td>सहनौ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie’s Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चिव siv</td>
<td>चेवने पाबकाविष्टे च</td>
<td>सहव suhuv, सिवोह sivau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>चीर sir</td>
<td>सहने</td>
<td>सिर्या siraun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चुक suk</td>
<td>चन्दारेष्ट [चन्दारावेष्टन]</td>
<td>सुकन sukun, सुकिय युं suyaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चख व sōkhav</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>चखव sōkhau, सोखवोह sōkhau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चखनाव sōkhanāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>चखनाव sōkhanāvaun, सोकहाव युं sōkhanav-yau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चग sōg</td>
<td>चउसाफायाम</td>
<td>चगोह sōgau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>स्रोग srōg</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>स्रोग srogaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सग्राम sōgarāv</td>
<td>सुख्यिकरण</td>
<td>सग्राम sōgarau, सग्रामोह sōgarau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>स्रोग्राम srōgarāv</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>स्रोग्राम srogarau, स्रोग्रामोह srōgarau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सुग्राम sōgarāv</td>
<td>मासने</td>
<td>सुग्राम sōgarau, सुग्रामोह sōgarau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>सत sōt</td>
<td>मासने</td>
<td>सतोह sotaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri Verb</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सम्बर (sombre)</td>
<td>सम्बरन् सूरन्, सम्बर्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूर (sour)</td>
<td>सूरन्, सूर्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुव (soo)</td>
<td>सूवन् सुव्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुरव (suv)</td>
<td>सूरवन्, सूर्यान् सूरव्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोङ्र (sorg)</td>
<td>सोङ्रन् सोङ्र्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुलव (sulav)</td>
<td>सुलवन् सुलव्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोसार (sosar)</td>
<td>सोसार्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सूज (soz)</td>
<td>सूजन् सूज्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सोर (sor)</td>
<td>सूरुः सूर्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सड़ (sad)</td>
<td>सद्याम्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सौ (sot)</td>
<td>सौतन् सौत्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>स्रव (srov)</td>
<td>स्रव्यान्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सृ (sop)</td>
<td>सृपान्वायो</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*make level, collect. remember. *sew.
clean a vessel with ashes.
clean the hands, &c.
take in ones lap.
decay (of wood, &c.)
*send (a man, &c.)
be spent, exhausted (of things.)
bear, endure.
crowd in.
trickle, drip.
break wind (without noise.)

*Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>हकर हकर</td>
<td>कार्याच्ये</td>
<td>हकर्याव</td>
<td>be hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हग हग</td>
<td>पुरीलोकेर्गे</td>
<td>हगुन, हाजी हाजानुन</td>
<td>go to stool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हट हट</td>
<td>चोषीम्बने</td>
<td>हटाव</td>
<td>be thin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हटर हटर</td>
<td>चोषीकरणें</td>
<td>हटरून, हटोन हटर्यानुन</td>
<td>make thin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हटरोव हटरोव</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>हटरुन हटरुन, हटरावन हटरावन</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हंदर हंदर</td>
<td>शोषीम्बने</td>
<td>हंदरावन हंदरावन</td>
<td>be cold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हंदरोव हंदरोव</td>
<td>शोषीकरणें</td>
<td>हंदरावन हंदरावन, हंदरावण हंदरावण</td>
<td>make cold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हाप हाप</td>
<td>कार्यी</td>
<td>हापाव</td>
<td>be lean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हम हम</td>
<td>शमने</td>
<td>हामाव</td>
<td>be appeased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हार हार</td>
<td>चरणपतनयें</td>
<td>हाराव</td>
<td>*drip, fall (as of leaves from a tree).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हाल हाल</td>
<td>वक्रतायाम्</td>
<td>हालाव</td>
<td>be crooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हाहर हाहर</td>
<td>विवाहिमालि</td>
<td>हाहरुन (masc.) हाहरन हाहरन</td>
<td>marry off, get a girl married.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>चंकाल hākal</td>
<td>शीतंकायनी</td>
<td>हंकारयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हाठ hāth</td>
<td>नीक्षक्य</td>
<td>हाथ्यायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हाथराव hāthrāv</td>
<td>निश्चकीकरणी</td>
<td>हाथरूण hāthrōun, हाथर्‌योन hāthrā-ryaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हाम hāman</td>
<td>शोभालापाके [भागीभवन]</td>
<td>हामयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हार hār</td>
<td>पराजयनिनायायो</td>
<td>हौरुन, हार्यायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हाव hāv</td>
<td>दरशने</td>
<td>हौवन, हावयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हयक hyak</td>
<td>शक्ति</td>
<td>हयकुन, हयोन हैशयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हि hi</td>
<td>प्रक्‌कौशलनाभरणेशुर</td>
<td>हयतुन, हायायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हयाच hyach</td>
<td>मिचायमु</td>
<td>हयात्सुन, हायोन हैचयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हयाद hyad</td>
<td>परिभाषण</td>
<td>हयादुन, हायोन हैजयायु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हिल hil</td>
<td>प्रवशीभवने</td>
<td>हिलयायु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmslie's Vocabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Sanskrit Meaning</th>
<th>Past and Aorist</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठ होक्ष</td>
<td>शोष्ये</td>
<td>कुष्ठ होक्ष, कुष्ठियो होक्षयावू</td>
<td>*become dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठ होक्षर</td>
<td>शोष्यणे</td>
<td>कुष्ठ होक्षरुन, कुष्ठियोन होक्षरयावू</td>
<td>make dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठराव होक्षराव</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कुष्ठरावुन होक्षरावून, कुष्ठियोन होक्षरावयावू</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठ होते</td>
<td>विशीषणे</td>
<td>कुष्ठ होते, कुष्ठियो होतयावू</td>
<td>*go bad, decay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठराव होतराव</td>
<td>विशीषकरणे</td>
<td>कुष्ठरावुन होतरावून, कुष्ठियोन होतरावयावू</td>
<td>cause to go bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठ होर</td>
<td>परारजये</td>
<td>कुष्ठ होरुन, कुष्ठियो होरयावू</td>
<td>conquer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुष्ठराव होरराव</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कुष्ठरावुन होररावून, कुष्ठियोन होररावयावू</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुम्भ हूम</td>
<td>हूमी</td>
<td>कुम्भ हूमुन, कुम्भियो हूमयावू</td>
<td>sacrifice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुम्भर होमर</td>
<td>शामने</td>
<td>कुम्भर होमरुन, कुम्भियोन होमरयावू</td>
<td>appease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कुम्भराव होमराव</td>
<td>च</td>
<td>कुम्भरावुन होमरावून, कुम्भियोन होमरावयावू</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चोष हौन</td>
<td>जवितेप्रयावू</td>
<td>चोषियो हौयावू</td>
<td>be arrogant, intoxicated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूर</td>
<td>हूरन</td>
<td>हूरmeaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूरन</td>
<td>हूरवखर</td>
<td>हूरवखरहूरवखर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूरवखर</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारण</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणहूरवखरप्रसारण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारण</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>क</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
<td>हूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूपहूरवखरप्रसारणप्रसारणरूप</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Found in Dr. Elmale’s Vocabulary.
INDEX

TO

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXV, PART I, Nos. 1-4; 1896.

A'azzu-d-din, eldest son of Jahândâr Shâh, 165.
'Abdu-l-lâh Khân Sayyid Miyân, a Bârîhâb Sayyîd, 176; 179 ff.
'Abdu-s-samad Khân, sketch of his career, 164.
Abû Bakr Shâh, coins of, 215, 216.
Aîna-i-Haqq-numâ, 111.
Akbar, his attention drawn towards Christianity in 1576, 47.
—, firman of —, sent to the Fathers at Goa, 48.
—, presented by Jesuit Missionaries with a Bible and Catholic pictures, 50.
—, his attitude towards Christianity, 52.
—, sends an embassy to Goa in April 1582, 54.
—, grants firman of leave for Pâdrâ Rodolî, 59. [60.
—, grants parwâna to Leo Grimon, letter of —, to the Fathers at Goa, 61.
—, holds festival of Holy Assumption, 62.
—, keeps Christian images which he lends to the Jesuits at his court, 66, 68.
—, his new religion, 70.
—, expedition to the Deccan, 87 ff.
—, writes to the Portuguese for guns and ammunition, 83.
—, his death on 15th October 1605, 106 ff.
'Alâ'u-d-dîn Khwârizm Shâh, coins of, 216.
'Alâ'u-d-dîn Mas'ûd Shâh, coins of, 215.
Allâlahângârâmân, n. pr. of a Sêvâtî, mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ Plates, 256, 271.
Anuâlî, n. pr. of a tâmârahâra, mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ Plates, 256, 271.
Anandapura, an ancient name of Nagarâ, 132.
Anârâgbhîma I., younger brother of Râjarâjâ II., mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ Plates, 246, 265.
Anârâgbhîma II., son of Râjarâjâ II., mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ Plates, 248, 266.
Anantavarman, mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ Plates. 237, 258.
Aniyaîkâbhîma, see Anârâgbhîma I.
Anquilvâ, Rodolî, Jesuit Missionary, sent to Akbar's court, 39, 49.
—, attitude of —, towards Islam, 51.
—, letter by —, to the Jesuit General, 55.
—, remains alone at Akbar's court, 56.
—, obtains temporary leave from Akbar in 1583, 59.
—, murdered in Salsette, 59.
Athapâga, n. pr. of a village mentioned in Madanâpâdâ Plates, 7, 13.
'Azimu-sh-shân, second son of Bahâdur Shâh, 137 ff.
—, ascends the throne after Bahâdur Shâh's death, 143 ff.
—, his defeat and death, 148 ff.
'Azîz Köka, grand chamberlain at Akbar's court, 86 ff.
Bakhtiyâr Khiljî, conquest of Bengal by, 27 ff.
Ballâlâsêna, mentioned in Madanâpâdâ Plates, 7 ff.
—, became King in 1119 A.D., 25 ff.
Bârîhâb, Sayyîds of, 174 ff.
Bhânmûîa, son of Narasîmha I., mentioned in Kândrâpâdâ plates, 251, 263.
Bhānmadēvalīpi, in Lalitavistara, meaning of the word, 127.

Bhimadēva-carman, n. pr. of a Brahmin in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 254, 270.

Bhimānāraṇa-carman, n. pr. of a place in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 255, 270.

Buddha, place of his birth and death, as recorded in a Tibetan guide-book, 275 ff.

Cabral, Antony, Portuguese embassy under him, arrives at Akbar’s Court, 48.

Cabral, Father Francisco, 105.

Caddy, A. E., article by —, on two unrecorded sculptures in the Anasta Cave, Khandagiri, 272 ff.

Camatkarapura, another name for Nagara, 122.

Christian Art, at Akbar’s Court, 74; see also Akbar.

Čirapuruṣa, quoted in Madanapāḍā plates, 7, 13.

Cūḍāganga, mentioned in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 239, 260.

Coins of Abū Bakr Shāh, 215, 216.

—— ‘Alā’u-d-dīn Khwārizm Shāh, 216.


—— Fīroz Shāh, 215, 216, 217.

—— Ghīyās-u-d-dīn Balban, 217.

—— Ghīyās-u-d-dīn Tughlaq I., 218.

—— Ibrāhīm Sūrī, 214, 215.

—— Jahāndār Shāh, 207 ff.

—— Kashmīr Mahrājās and Sul-tāns, 283 ff.

—— Lāl Kumwar, 168.

—— Māḥmūd Shāh of Mālwā, 215, 218.

—— Mughal Emperors, 230 ff.

—— Mūhammad Shāh of Mālwā, 215.

—— Mūhammad Sūrī, 216.

—— Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Khushru Shāh, 216.

—— Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Māḥmūd Shāh, 218.

—— Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Qarluq, 217.

—— Nāṣrat Shāh (Delhi), 217.

—— Nimūz, 226 ff.

—— Rāzin Bēgāna, 218.

—— Shams-u-d-dīn Altamsh, 217, 218.

—— Shāh Shāh Shāhī, 214.

—— supplementary to Thomas’s Chronicles, 213 ff.

Corsi, Father, a Jesuit Missionary to Akbar’s court, 82, 96.

Dan, name of Prince Dānyāl, 50.

Dānasāgarā, quotation from, referring to history of Sēna Kings of Bengal, 20, 23.

Dāstān-i-Masīh, 87, 110.

Dāstān-i-San Pedro, 111.

Dānyāl, Prince, 50.

Dērā, n. pr. of a viṣaya in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 255, 270.

Dhitu-Vellāli, n. pr. in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 256, 271.

Edaragrama,—name of a place in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 255, 270.

Ēdu-miça, kārikā by, quoted, 22, 24.

Famine in Kashmir, 72.

Farrukh-siyar, Mūhammad, early history of, 171 ff.

——, leaves Patna for Allahabad, 181 ff.

——, arrives at the Jumna, 194 ff.

Fīroz Shāh, coins of, 215, 216, 217.

Garbhēqvārada-deva-carman, n. pr. of a Brahmin in Madanapāḍā Plates, 8, 14.

Ghiyās-u-d-dīn Balban, coins of, 217.

Ghiyās-u-d-dīn Tughlaq I. coins of, 218.

Ghūlpūla, name of a village in Kēndrapāḍā Plates, 255, 270.

Goes, Benedict de, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar’s court, 64.

——, accompanies Akbar to Kashmir, 71.

Grierson, G. A., articles by, on Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, 1 ff.

——, on the Kācmirī Vowel System, 280 ff.


Grimon, Leo, a Greek Sub-deacon, sent by Akbar to Goa with letters for the Viceroy and Fathers, 60 ff.

Guerreiro, Fernand, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar’s court, 45 ff; 83 ff.

Guzman, Louis de, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar’s court, 45 ff.

Harimīqraghataka, kārikā by, quoted 20 ff.

Hāṭakēvāra Temple, in Ğrigūṇḍi, Aḥmadnagar, 117 ff.
Hay, John, a Scotch Jesuit, account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 44.
Henriquez, Francis, a Persian convert, sent to Akbar's court, 49.
Kōmati Maṇḍu, n. pr. of a Gṛēθthin, in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 271.
Kopiviṣṇu, n. pr. of Sāṇḍhvīvrahika of Viyavāpāsena, in Madanapāḍa Plates, 8, 15.

Index.

393

Kāḍmūri, Vowel system of, 280 ff.
Kālō, name of a village in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 270.
Kāmnārāva II., mentioned in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 238, 259.
Kāṇṭapāḍīḥattā, name of a village in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 271.
Kapilavastu, site of, 276 ff.
Kashmirir, Xavier's account of, 72.
Kēçavāsena, ruled over Ganda, 31.
Kēçavāsena, lived under the protection of a King, 25, 31.
Khandaṭirī, Ananta cave, sculptures in, 272 ff.
Khandāṭihi, name of a village, in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 255, 270.
Kūliañi, sons of, in Dā[test removed].

Lakhmaniya, last Hindu king of Bengal according to Muhammedan historians, 19 ff., 27 ff.
Lāksmanaśena, mentioned in Madanapāḍa Plates, 7 ff.
Lalitavistara, passage on different kinds of īpī quoted, 125.
Lāl Kumwar, favourite wife of Jahlândár Shāh, 166 ff.
Leeton, Edward, S. J., Missionary to Akbar's court, 39, 63.

Machado, Antony, S. J., Missionary to Akbar's court, 83.
Macleagan, Gen. R., and E.D., article by, — on the Jesuit Missions to Emperor Akbar, 88 ff.
Mādhavāsena, was Governor of Rāṭha, 31.
Mahādeva Vēḷāli, n. pr. of a tāmbālika, in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 271.
Mahmūd Shāh of Mālvā, coins of, 215 ff.
Mālīpur, name of a place, in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 255, 270.
Mīhrīṣn, Persian feast of the Autumnal equinox, celebrated at Akbar's court, 57.
Mīlēnall, John, English ambassador to Akbar's court, 93 ff.
Mīrūt-l-quds, another name for Dāstan-i-Masih, q. v.
Mirzā 'Abdu-r-rāḥim, 104 ff.
Mirzā Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, origin of his revolt, 53.
Monserrat, Antonio, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 49.
Mūrūd, 50.

---

Ibrahim Sūri, coins of, 214, 215.
Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, formation of Causal Verbs in, 1 ff.
Irvine, W., article by, — on the later Mughals (1707-1803), 136 ff.
Jahāndār Shāh, eldest son of Bahādur Shāh, 137 ff.
Jarrice, Pierre du, S. J., account by, — of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's Court, 45 ff., 83 ff.
Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 38 ff.
first mission, 47 ff.
second mission, 60 ff.
third mission, 64 ff.
their result, 106.
Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, mentioned in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 271.

---

Kālmāra, name of a village in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 270.
Kāmnārāva I., mentioned in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 238, 259.
Kānṭapāḍīḥattā, name of a village in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 256, 271.
Kapilavastu, site of, 276 ff.
Kashmirir, Xavier's account of, 72.
coins from, 223 ff.
Kēçavāsena, ruled over Ganda, 31.
lived under the protection of a King, 25, 31.
Khandaṭirī, Ananta cave, sculptures in, 272 ff.
Khandaṭihi, name of a village, in Kēndrapāḍa Plates, 255, 270.
Muhammad Shih of Malwa, coins of, 215.
Muhammad Suri, coins of, 216.
Mun'im Khan, Bahadur Shahr’s Vazir, 137 ff.
Murad, Prince, later Sultân, Akbar’s son, instructed by Jesuits, 49, 50.
———, meets the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar’s court at Cambay, 65.

Nâđi, n. pr. of a tâmrâkâra in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 265, 271.
Nagara, name of various places or countries in India, 116.
Nâgâra, name of a tribe near Kabul, 117.
———, name of certain Brahmins in Ahmadnagar, Gujarat, 117.
Nâgarakhornâ, of Skandapurâna, quotation from, 119.
Nâgari alphabet, origin of, 114 ff.
Nândîsûtra, quotation from, referring to various kinds of lipi, 127.
Narasinâha I., son of Anâgabhîma II., mentioned in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 250, 267.
Narasinâha II. of Orissa, Kêndrapâḍâ plates of, 229 ff.
Nâsîrû-d-dîn Khusrau Shâh, coins of, 216. [218.
Nâsîrû-d-dîn Mutmâd Shâh, coins of Nâsîrû-d-dîn Qorluh, coins of, 217.
Nâsrât Shâh (Delhi), coins of, 217.
Nâcja or Noja, name of Sôna King of Bengal according to Muhammadadân historians, 31 ff.
Nîglîva Edict of Asoka, its bearing on the identification of lost site of Kapilavástu, 275 ff.
Nîmrûz, coins from, 226 ff.
Nôrî, n. pr. of Nêrîthîn, in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 256, 271.

Pâdrê Farmâlîân, Persian name of Jesuit Missionary to Akbar’s court, 42.
Pâdrê Rodolf, Persian for Rodolfi Aquaviva, 42.
Pahâpî, name of Prince Murâd, 50.
Parâçarâdévâçarman, n. pr. of a Brahman in Madanapâḍâ Plates, 8, 14.
Pamûdrâvârdhâna, name of a bhûkti in Madanapâḍâ Plates, 7, 13.
Perreîra, Julian, a priest, summoned by Akbar to his court, 47 ff.
Peres, Dominic, interpreter to Akbar’s first mission to Goa, 48, 56, 57.

Peruschi, John Baptist, S. J., account by, of Jesuit Mission to Akbar’s court, 43 ff.
Phaigagrama, name of a village in Madanapâḍâ Plates, 7, 12.
Pimenta, Father, Provincial at Goa, his reports, 79, 81.
Pinheiro, Father, Jesuit Missionary to Akbar’s court, 64.
Piîjakâsthi, name of a village in Madanapâḍâ Plates, 7, 8, 13.
Planne, in Agra (1597), 71.
Prâjâpanasûtra (4th Upānga of Jaina), quotation from, on 18 sorts of livî, 126.
Prâkrîtacandrikâ, quotation from, on different Prâkrit languages, 116.
Pûrâ, n. pr. of a Qĕrîthîn, in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 256, 271.
Pûrusottamapura, name of a place, in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 256, 271.

Quîlî Khân, Viceroy of Lahore, his cruelties against Christians, 98 ff.

Rafî’u-sh-shân, third son of Bahâdur Shâh, 137 ff.
———, defeat and death of, 158 ff.
Râghava, son of Côdâgânga by Indirâ, mentioned in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 243, 263.
Râjurâja I., mentioned in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 239, 259.
Râjurâja II., son of Côdâgânga by Candralekha, mentioned in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 243, 264.
Rajrajâ III., son of Anâgabhîma I., mentioned in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 247, 265.
Râjâh Bêgam, coin of, 218.
Rêmnapâ, name of a place, in Kêndrapâḍâ Plates, 254, 278.

Roddgers, Chas. J., articles by, on supplement to Thomas’s Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi, No. VI, 213 ff.
———, on rare Mughal coins, 220 ff.
———, on rare Kashmir coins, 223 ff.
———, on coins from Nîmrûz, 228 ff.
Roe, Sir Thomas, on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, 106 ff.
Sadassena, Bengal king, mentioned by Muhammadan historians, 31.
Sahasapura, name of a place, in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Salim, Prince, 50 ff.
———, his attitude towards Jesuits, 66 ff.
Samavaysutra, (4th Anga of Jainas), quotation from, on 18 kinds of livi, 126.
Sayyids of Bahrab, account of, 174 ff.
Sena kings of Bengal, chronology of, 16 ff.
———, not Vaidyas by caste, but Kayasthas or Ksatryias of the Lunar Race, 36 ff.
Shalikhi, name of Prince Salim, 50.
Shamsud-din Altamsh, coins of, 217, 218.
Shir Sharih Suri, coins of, 214.
Sonsa, Francisco de, account by, of Jesuit Missions to Akbar's court, 46.
Subhila, name of a village in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Surathotsava, quoted, 133.
Surya, represented among the sculptures in the Ananta Cave (Orissa), in Gaya, and in Gandhara, 274.
Sranga, name of a village, in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Talangagrama, name of a village, in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Tavares, Peter, Portuguese subordinate in Akbar's time, 47.
Tughril Khan, his wars with Jajnagar, 239 ff.
Ucada, name of a village, in Kendrapadi Plates, 256, 271.
Uccakathi, name of village, in Madanapadi Plates, 7, 13.
Vajrahasta, mentioned in Kendrapadi Plates, 238, 259.
Vanamalidvacaaram, n. pr. of a Brahmin, in Madanapadi Plates, 8, 14.
Vanga, mentioned in Madanapadi Plates, 7, 13.
Varayipada, name of a village, in Madanapadi Plates, 7, 13.

Vasu, Nagendranatha, articles by, on a Copper-plate grant of Vijayarupasenadova, 6 ff.
———, on the chronology of the Siena Kings of Bengal, 16 ff.
———, on the origin of the Nagaras and the Nagari alphabet, 114 ff.
———, on a Copper-plate Inscription of Narasimhapada II. of Orissa, 229 ff.
Vechiote, Florentino John Battista, 95 ff.
Vedapadi, name of a village, in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Vedapura, name of a place, in Kendrapadi Plates, 256, 271.
Vega, Christopher di Jesuit Missionary to Akbar's court, 63.
Vibhutipada, name of a place, in Kendrapadi Plates, 255, 270.
Vijayarupadavacaaram, n. pr. of a Brahmin, in Madanapadi Plates, 8, 14.
Vijayarupasenadova, king of Bengal, Copper-plate of, from Madanapadi, 6 ff.
———, ruled in Eastern Bengal, 31.
Vijayasena, mentioned in Madanapadi Plates, 7 ff.
Virakatthi, name of a village, in Madanapadi Plates, 7, 13.
Virgin Mary, picture of, presented to Akbar, 50.
Vikramapura, name of a place, in Madanapadi Plates, 7, 13.


Xavier, Jerome, S. J., sent to Akbar's court, 39, 64.
———, accompanies Akbar to Kashmir, in 1597, 71.
———, author of Aina-i-Haqq-numa, and other Christian tracts in Persian, 111 ff.
———, compiles the Dastan-i-Masih, q. v.
Zul-fiqar Khan, 139 ff.
COINS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THOMAS’S CHRONICLES OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI—NO VI.
COINS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THOMAS'S CHRONICLES OF THE PATHAN KINGS OF DELHI-NO VI.
RARE MOGUL COINS.
NIMROZ COINS.

C. J. Rodgers del.
Grant of Nṛsimha Deva II of Orissa, 1217 Caka.
Grant of Nr̥simha Deva II of Orissa, 1217 Ācaka.
Grant of Nṛsimha Deva II of Orissa, 1217 Caka.
Grant of Nṛsimha Deva II of Orissa, 1217 Caka.
Grant of Nṛsimha Deva II, of Orissa, 1217 Čaka.
Grant of Nṛśimha Dēva II of Orissa, 1217 Caka.
Grant of Nrsimha Deva II of Orissa, 1217 Caka,