

*A Farmân of Emperor Jehangir in favour
of two Parsees of the Dordî family of
Naosari, with other cognate Docu-
ments of the Mogul times.*

Read 22nd March 1920.

I.

I had the pleasure of placing for inspection before this Society two Persian *farmâns* of Emperor Akbar, when I read before it, on 16th December 1901, my paper on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana."¹ I beg to submit to-day for inspection another *farmân*, given by Akbar's son Jehângir in 1618 to two Parsis, Mullâ Jâmâsp and Mullâ Hoshang of Naosâri. One of these two, Mullâ Jâmâsp was an ancestor—ninth in ascent—of the late Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji. Like the two *farmâns* of Akbar, this *farmân* also illustrates some of the *Âyins* or institutes of the Mogul times on the subject of *jâgirs*, land revenue, &c., described by Abul Fazl, the Sir William Hunter of Akbar's Court, in his *Âyin-i-Akbarî*, the Imperial Gazetteer of the times. My first paper seems to have drawn the attention of some scholars in Europe, among whom I was glad to find persons like the late Mr. Vincent Smith,² Mr. Beveridge,³ Mr. Irvine, all of the distinguished Civil Service of India, and M. Bonet Maury of France.⁴ It were the seals of Akbar given in the photo-litho fac-simile in the appendix of the paper, that drew the special attention of the late Mr. Irvine in 1909. He wrote to me, asking for good photographs of such

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXI, 69-245.

² In his "Akbar, the Great Mogul," Mr. V. Smith speaks of my paper, as "the excellent and convincing treatise" and of the *farmâns* and other documents published therein, as "previously unpublished documents in both text and translation" (p. 165 n). In his bibliography, he names the paper as one "deserving separate mention as being a fully documented discussion of the relations of Akbar with the Parsees" (p. 478).

³ In his article on Akbar in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. I p. 273), Mr. Beveridge refers his readers to my above article in our Journal for consultation.

⁴ In his paper, entitled "Le Religion d'Akbar dans ses rapports avec l'Islamisme et le Parsisme," read before the International Congress of the History of Religions at Basal in 1904, Mon. Bonet Maury thus refers to this paper: "Mon. Modi a démontré à l'aide de *farmâns* de la chancellerie d'Akbar, de chants populaires et d'une note d'Anquetil du Perron que ce furent des Parsees de Gujarat et non pas ceux restées en Perse, qui furent en rapport avec le grand Mogul (Verhandlungen des II Internationalen Kongresses für Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basal, 30 August bis 2 Sept. 1905. p. 294).

seals on other documents of the Mogul Emperors. I am glad that I attended to Mr. Irvine's request. Not only did I send him large photographs of the seals of Akbar's two *farmâns*, but I also sent him with my letter of 18th February 1910, a photo of the seal of Jehangir's *farmân* which forms the subject of my present paper. At my request, the owner of the *farmân*, the late Mr. Byramji Khurshedji Dordi of Naosari, got the whole *farmân* photographed and then photo-lithoed. I am glad that I got that done, because, had the photo not been taken at the time, much of the help in now deciphering the *farmân* would have been lost. I present for inspection the photo-litho, as taken about 10 years ago for Mr. Irvine, and the photo as taken recently about a year ago, at the instance of Dr. Jehangir Byramji Dordi, F.R.C.S., the youngest son of the late owner of the *farmân*. I am very sorry to find, that a very sad mistake has been committed, in getting the *farmân* patched up and stuck on the two sides of a glass plate as you see it before you. Good many words have been lost in the work of patching which has been done carelessly.

My above paper has been referred to in a judgment in a case of some importance to the Parsee community, wherein I had to give evidence. One of the presiding judges, the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) Justice Beaman, therein animadverted a good deal on the paper. When the appreciation of the above learned scholars, who had read my paper carefully and leisurely, has given me some pleasure, I beg to admit, that the criticism of the Hon'ble Judge, the result of his hasty and careless reading, has given me some pain. A literary man has no right to complain against any fair criticism of his views, but he has every right to complain against the language in which that criticism is couched, and more especially when the position of the critic at the time of his criticism places the victim of his criticism in a position whence he cannot reply. As the paper in question was read from the platform of this learned Society, I humbly beg to take this opportunity, when I read a paper on another *farmân*, similar to that referred to in the previous paper, to protest against the language of that criticism, wherein motives were sought to be attributed when none existed. Had the criticism been made out of the Court, I knew how best to reply to it. But, I had to be silent. Even now, I do not want to enter into any details of the criticism; I think, that if the learned judge would read the whole of my paper carefully without any prejudice, and especially what led me to write it, I think, he would revise his criticism or at least its language.

The point of dispute then was not at all of conversion, but was, as to who influenced Akbar in his new eclectic religion. The point of dispute was not, as the judge erroneously thought,—and this serves as an instance of his very hasty superficial reading—whether the Naosari Parsees influenced Akbar or the Bombay Parsees, but whether the Naosari Parsees influenced him or the Parsees of Persia. Bombay had not then even passed into the hands of the British and its Parsee population then, if any, may not have been even a dozen. Then, the next question of dispute was this :—Among the Christians, who are said to have influenced Akbar in his Ilahi or Divine Faith, there were fathers like Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Heric. Among the Jains who influenced him were *gurus* like Hirvijaya Suri, Vijyasena Suri and Bhamuchandra Upâdhayâ. Among the Hindus, there was a large number who often attended his Court. Now, as to the Parsees, the point of dispute was, whether it was Dastur Meherji Rana of Naosari or Dastur Ardeshir of Persia. I said, it was Meherji Rana, and out of about 177 pages of my paper, about 85, *i.e.*, nearly half, have been devoted to the presentation of two *far-mâns* and other documents. Again, as I have hinted in the paper, I had undertaken the study of the paper at the instance of a friend in France. In spite of all these facts, the judge said : “ Mr. Modi writes an elaborate treatise, or one might say almost a book, to prove that the priests of Naosari are fairly entitled to the credit of having converted the emperor Akbar.” Now, there is not a single sentence in the whole of my paper, wherein I have stated, that I believed that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, what I clearly stated was, that, as he put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus, either out of temporary real affection for those religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity, he may have put on, even for a short time, the visible signs of Parseeism. If any sure and certain proof of what I say is wanted, it is supplied by the report of the experts’ committee referred to in the case and which was framed by me after the paper was read. There, Akbar’s case has not at all been mentioned as a case of conversion. Had I taken it to be a case of conversion, I would have mentioned it in my report. I beg to repeat, that I do not like to protest so much against the criticism as against its—I may be pardoned to say—undignified and improper language, imputing motives to my paper, written long before the case, when I had no idea, that any particular communal question of the kind would crop up.

Now, coming to the subject of the paper, I propose to deal besides the *farmân* itself, which forms the principal part of my subject, with the following documents which relate to the land, whole or in part, given to the two Parsis by Emperor Jehangir.

1. A *chak-nâneh*, referring to the whole of the land. The original of this was sent to me by Mr. Behramji Khurshedji Dordi with his letter, dated 3rd November 1909, when he sent to me the *farmân* itself and a Gujrati translation of the *farmân* by Prof. S. H. Hodiwala of Junaghad. There is also a subsequent copy of the *chak-nâneh* written on two leaves of thin paper.

2. A *chak-nâneh*, in the name of Mehernoush, the third in descent from Mullâ Jamasp, to whose share there came, in subsequent partition, about 18 *bigahs* of land. There are two subsequent copies of this *chak-nâneh*, one with the seal of Jamalud-din Usmâni, and another, a copy of the first copy with the seal of Kazi Fazal-ud-din.

3. A *parwâneh* referring to the above 18 bighâs of land falling to the share of Mehernoush. There is also a certified copy of this parwâneh bearing the seal of the above Fazal-ud-din. There is also another certified copy.

4. An Appeal of Mehernoush to the leading men of Naosari to certify that the above 18 bigahs of land had come to his hands after a proper Deed of Partition among the heirs of Mullâ Jamasp.

5. A Receipt by Mehernoush acknowledging the receipt of a sum of money for a three years' lease of his land.

I will first give the text and translation of the *farmân*.¹

II.

THE TEXT OF THE FARMÂN.

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ

(1) فرمان ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

(2) درین وقت فرمان (3) عالیشان مرحمت عنوان شرف اصدار وعزایراد

یافت کہ

¹ I beg to acknowledge with thanks the help received in the decipherment of several words here and there of the text of the Farman from a copy of the *farmân* by Munshi Nasir Alikhan of Naosari, supplied to me by Dr. Jehangir Byramji Dordi, and in the decipherment of the farman and other documents by the Gujarati translations which accompanied all the documents except the last.

² The numbers on the right give the number of the lines in the original *farmân*.

³ The first two and the last two letters of this word do not appear clearly in the photo-litho copy but can be read in the photo itself. The same is the case with the last letter of the next word.

- 2 (1) موازی یکصد بیستم زمین بگز آلهی موافق ضابطه از قصبه
نوساری سرکار سورت
- 3 من ابتدأ ربیع قوی ایل در وجه مدد معاش مملک جاماسپ و مملک
پوشنگ فارسی با فرزندان حسب الضمن معاف و مسلم باشد که حاصلات
آنها فصل بفصل سال بسال
- 4 در وجه معیشت خود (2) حسن و صرفی نموده به دعاگوئی دوام
دولت ابد قرین اشتغال مینموده باشند می باید که حکام کرام و
عمال کفایت فرجام
- 5 و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و اسبقبال در استممرار و استقوار
این حکم اقدس اعلی کوشیده اراضی مذکور را پیموده و چک بسته
بتصرف آنها باز گذاشته
- 6 اصلاً و مطلقاً تغییر و تبدیل (3) ندیند و بعلت (4) مال و جهات
و اخراجات و عوارضات مثل قتلغمر و پشتش و چرمانه و متصلانہ و
ضابطانہ و مهرانہ و داروفکانہ

1 These first two lines are, as will be seen from the photo-litho and the photo, shore, and are written in the left-hand half of the width of the paper of the *farmān*. That was a characteristic of the Mogul *farmān*, of which the *Ain-i-Akbari* says that the first two lines are shortened (Blochmann's, Text p. 195. (دو سطر نخستین کوتاه بگرد اندد)

2 The reading of this word is doubtful. It may be arabic حسن *hasn* in the sense of pleasingness. In that case, with the next word, it may mean, "he may spend as he pleased"; or it may be arabic حیل *hiyl* "power or sagacity," meaning "he may bring the income under his power and expense." In that case, the nukteh is wrong, or it may have been miswritten for *kharj* خرج. The corresponding sentence in the Akbar-Meherji Rana *farmān* is حاصل آنها صرف اوقات گذر خود نموده

3 Not legible. Dr. Jehangir B. Dordi has given me a copy of the *farmān*, recently made by Munshi Nasir Alikhan of Naosari, wherein the Munshi reads the words as

را بدان راه

4 The names of the various taxes and imports mentioned here are well-nigh the same as those in the two *farmāns* of King Akbar, the difference being only in their consecutive order. So, we are helped a good deal by those *farmāns* in the reading of this *farmān*. Vide my Translation of Akbar's *farmāns* with footnotes (*J. B. B. R.* A. S. XXI pp. 163-200). For an explanation of the names of some of these taxes, mentioned in the *farmāns* of the Mogul Emperors, vide the instructive article, entitled "Taxation and Finance under the Mughul" by Mr. Gulshan Rai, in the *Indian Review* of September 1919.

7 و بیگار و شکار و مرد لشکر (1) و ده نیمه و مقدمی و روبسوی و
صدوی قانون گوی و (2) مستقره و زکوٰۃ الجہتی و ضبط ہرسالہ
از تشخیص چگ و تکرار زراعت

8 وکل تکالیف دیوانی و مطلبات سلطانی مزاحمت نرسانند و مطالبتی
نکنند و از جمیع رسومات و اطلاقات و حوالات معافی و مسلم و مرفوع
القلم شمرند

9 و درین باب ہرسالہ فرمان (3) عالی شان (4) مجدد طلب ندارند
و از فرمودہ در نگذرند و در عہد نیک باشند تہریراً فی تاریخ ۱۱ ماہ
شہریور آہی شذہ ۱۳ فقط

1 In the photo-litho fac-simile, the word looks like لشکوہ but in the original the word is read clearly as لشکر. A part of the letter, ر is seen in the fac-simile. The conjunction و looks faultily joined with the broken ک, but the original makes it clear.

2 I cannot make out clearly the words between the two words kânungûi (قانونگوی) and zakât al jahati (زکوٰۃ الجہتی). In Akbar's two farmans, the words between the two words are تکرار زراعت و ترکاری which, in my translation of the two farmans (J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI p. 169), I have translated as "burdens (i.e., taxes) for cultivation and gardening." I am inclined to take that the word just preceding زکوٰۃ الجہتی in this farmân is مستقرہ muhtarifa, which, according to Steingass, is "A tax on professions." The word occurs in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III, ain 7. Blochmann's Text Vol. I. p. 294, l. 15), as the name of a tax; J. reet has in his translation (Vol. II p. 58) taken it as an impost on manufactures. Gladwin (Ayeen Akbery (1800) Vol. I p. 251) also takes it as a tax upon manufactures.

As to the two words which name a tax or taxes, preceding the word which I read as muhtarifa, though the letters are clear, I do not understand the words clearly. They seem to be ملہبہ درحورہ. If the reading may be so accepted, the first word may be milhab ملہب i.e., "extremely fair," and the word after dar may be hurra "a free woman." Perhaps, one may say, that it may be a tax upon loose women, but it does not seem to be so.

3 and 4. The last letters شان can be seen, but the previous part عالی is gone. But this word and the next word مجدد (renewed) can safely be replaced and read with the help of Akbar's two farmans.

(The text of the Writing on the back of the farmân.)

امداد معاش باسم ملا جاماسب وغيره مع فرزندان موافق یادداشت
واقع بتاريخ روز تیر ۱۳ ماه آذر سنه ۱۳ موافق کم شنبه مطابق
تاریخ ۱۶ ذی القعدة سنه²

¹ The cursive word in the form of a long line above the word, extending over nearly three-fourths of the line gives the word madad.

² Some words here, at the end of the line, are not clearly legible. All the figures of the year written next to, or to speak more properly, a little above the word *sana* سنه, are not clear, but the last figure is clear as 7 (seven). The figure next to it on the left seems to be 2 (two). Thus, if we take these last two to be 27, we may unhesitatingly take the next two on the left i.e. the first two to be 10. Then the number of the year should be 1027 (1027) because we know it for certain, that we are dealing with a *farmân* of King Jehangir, who came to throne on "Thursday, Jumâdâ-s-Sani 20th A. H. 1014 (October 24th 1605)" (*Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, translated and edited by Rogers-Beveridge p. 1). Now, in this very line, the year of the King's reign is given as 13 13 the thirteenth. So, this tallies with the year 1027 (H. 1014+13=1027). The week day and the Christian date corresponding to this day are Tuesday 24th November 1618 old style.

The next word seems to be *dar* در i.e. in. The next word must be a word signifying some office. As the next line speaks of an officer holding the *resalah* رساله this word very probably is *chowki* چوکی. This writing on the back of the *farmân* is, what is called, *sharh-i-ta'liqah* شرح تعلیقه i.e. an abridgement of the *yâd-dâshi* (a memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the farmâns etc., or *sharh b'il hâshiya* شرح بالکاشیه i.e. post-script explanation. I have explained this in details, on the authority of the 10th and 11th ains of the 2nd book of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's Translation I pp. 258-59), in my paper on Akbar's Farmans given to Dastur Meherji Rana (J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI pp. 170-71). Now, in these *sharhs* of Akbar's two farmans, we find, in the beginning, the notes or the memoranda of the officers holding at the time the *rasalah* and the *chowki*. So, as in the present farmân we find the word *rasalah* (رساله) in the second line with the name of its holder, here the word must be *chowki* with the name of its holder which occurs in the beginning of the second line.

As to the third or the last illegible word in the first line, it seems, that it may be a word having some signification like that of the second word in the second line viz. نقابت *niqâbat*, signifying some dignity. We are led to think so, because the second line begins with the conjunction *vav*, i.e., 'and.' In the second line, in connection with the *resalah* holder, we have the words سیادت و نقابت پناه. So, we have the words نقابت پناه with the holder of, what I think to be, the *chowki*. I think also that the last illegible word of the first line may perhaps be سیادت. Thus, the indistinct or illegible words would be سیادت در چوکی ۱۰۲۷. There seem to be one or two more words, but they do not seem to be very important.

(2) و نقابت پناه 1 اقبال آثاری مصطفیٰ خان بوسالہ سیادت و نقابت پناه صدوروت و نقابت دستگاہ سید احمد قادری بمعرفت لایق العنایت والاخان نورالدین قلی و نوبت واقع .

(3) نویش بندہ درگاہ مستعد باقر آنگہ ملا جا ماسپ و ملا ہوشنگ فارسی 2 بقاریخ ۲ ماہ شہریور سنہ ۱۳ بنظر اشرف اقدس اعلیٰ گذشتند و چہار بانو

(4) روغن فیلد پشکش کردند مبلغ یکصد روپیہ بحضور مرحمت فرمودہ و حکم جہان مطاع آفتاب شعاع صادر شدہ کہ موازی یکصد بیگہ زمین بگز آہی موافق

1 Iqbal asari i.e., one having the impressions or signs of good fortune.

2 There seem to be three words between the words فارسی and بقاریخ which seem to be illegible. I venture to suggest, that they may be Shehr-i-Shah Mandal شہر شاہ مندل and they refer to the town of Naosari. They were meant to signify, that the two Parsees were from Naosari. Naosari had several names of old (Vide Mr. Sorabji Mancherji Desai's Tavārikh-i-Navsari तवारीखे नवसारी i.e., the History of Navsari pp. 4-8). Two of these were Nāgshāhi and Nāg-Mandal (नागशाही, नागमंडल). Perhaps, it may be said, that more than once, the town is mentioned in the *farman* as Naosari. So, where was there the necessity of giving here another name? But, it is possible, that the Court officers, when taking down the notes of the King's gift in their records, asked the donees, the name of their town or place of residence. They possibly gave the name or names which they familiarly used among themselves. Many an old document speaks of the town as Nāg-Mandal. If I do not mistake, in some old papers the word Nāg-Mandal is used in addition to the name Naosari, in order to mention a particular locality of Naosari. There is a particular place at Naosari, on the Railway Station side, which is still spoken of as Shāhān Kuvo, शाहान कुवे i.e., the "Shāhān well or the royal or great well". So, it is possible, that the officer, entering the gift entered the name of the town as given to him by the donee. One may try to read the last two words as Shāh Mogul, but the last word does not clearly admit of that reading. The word Mandal (مندل) is occasionally used in Persian books for a limited circle or space of ground.

There is another conjecture which I venture to make, and that is to say, that perhaps the words may be "az Shah Mandal" (از شاہ مندل) or padshāh mandal (پادشاہ مندل) Both the sets of words come to or mean the same thing.

Firstly, as to the word *shāh*, we know, that among the Mahomedans, many of the priestly classes, especially of the fakir type, assume the title of *shāh*. In Kashmir, I have heard many a *pīr* (saint) spoken of as *shāh*, e.g., Shāh Hamdan, Shāh Makdum, etc. In this connection, one must remember, that, up to very late, Parsee priests were, at times, addressed by their laymen as padshāh. The several Fire-temples are even now spoken of as *pādshāh* (پادشاہ). The word seems to have been transferred also to the priests who served in the temples. It seems, that perhaps from very ancient times some Zoroastrian high priests came to be spoken of as *pādshāhs* from the fact of their being petty rulers as well as priests.

Coming to the word Mandal مندل, it seems to be used in Persian as a circle or group. So "Shah Mandal" or "Padshah Mandal" may mean a circle or group of priests. Thus, the *farman*, by adding these words after the word Parsi (Farsi) next to the proper names, seems to have meant that they belonged to "the group of Parsee priests" residing at Naosari. We know that the word "mandli" which comes from "mandal," has been used in one of the Silhāra grants in connection with the Parsees. Their colony at Sanjan as been spoken of as "Khorasan Mandli."

- (5) ضابطه از قضیه نوساری سرکار سورت در وجه مده معاش مشار
الیهما مع فرزندان برقرار شده¹.
- (6) برسالمه کمترین بنده از درگاه سید احمد قادری بمعرفت نورالدین
قلی داخل واقع سازند شرح دیگر بخط جملت الملکی مدارال مهاسی آنکه
داخل واقع سازند شرح حاشیه بخط واقع نویسنده.
- (7) موافق واقع است شرح بخط جملت ال ملکی مدارال مهاسی عوض
گذرانید شرح دیگر بخط لطیف سید میرصمد روز رشن² ۱۸ ماه
سفند ارشد الهی ۱۳ مطابق³ ۱۰۲۸
۴ مکرر⁵.

¹ All the words after *bar qarār shudah* up to the end of the line are illegible. The last word seems to be *آنکه* *an geh* i.e., 'at that time.' The following facts lead us to think what these other illegible words may be. In the beginning of this writing, on the back of the *farmān*, we find the names of officers in whose records the fact of the gift of the land is noted. They are 1 Mustafā Khān (the holder of the *chowki*), 2 Sayid Ahmad Kādari, the holder of the *resaleh*, 3 Nuruddin Quli, through whose *ma'rāfat*, the document passed and 4 Mahmud Bāqr, the *waqāh-navīsh*. Now, in the succeeding line we find, in a consecutive order, the names of the above-named second and third officers. So, it seems probable, that here in the indistinct and illegible portion is the reference to the first person and his record or *yaddāsh*. If we follow somewhat the phraseology of the two *farmāns* of King Akbar, in this part of Jehangir's *farmān*, the indistinct words may be something like *موافق یادداشت شرح حاشیه* i.e., according to the *yād dāsh* of the marginal explanation. Then, there may be the name of the particular officer of the time.

² The figure is 18. The second figure for 8 may, to some, look like v (7), but it is 8. *Rashn* (۲۲۱) is the 18th day and not the 17th of the Parsee month.

³ Here the illegible words are the day of the week and the date. The figure of the Mahomedan date is not clear. But we can determine it by means of the *Ilāhi* date. I am thankful to Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Kharegat, I.C.S. (Retd.) for helping me in determining this date. He writes to me: "There are two methods of calculating *Ilāhi* dates (a) the first, which I will call Dr. Taylor's, in which the months are reckoned exactly as in the Parsee calendar, of 30 days each, with 5 intercalary days (*Gathas*) at the end; (b) the second in which the months accord exactly with the times which the sun takes in passing through each sign of the Zodiac, and in which, therefore, the months vary in length from 29 to 32 days and there are no intercalary days at the end, and which I call the true solar method."

Now, in the first part of the *shārh*, as given above, we see that both the *Ilāhi* date and the corresponding Mahomedan date are given. There we read:

تاریخ روز تیر ۱۳ ماه آذر سنه ۱۳ موافق کم شنبه مطابق تاریخ ۱۶
ذی الحجه ۱۰۲۸.

i.e., "the date of day Tir 13, month āzar (Adar), year 13 (*Ilāhi*), corresponding to Wednesday corresponding to date 16 of Zi'ul Hajja 1028." According to the *Tuzuk i Jahangiri*, Jehangir named Wednesday, *kam Shamb*, i.e., the inauspicious day. Vide below. These *Ilāhi* and *Hijri* dates correspond according to the second of the above two methods, viz: the true Solar method. So, it is certain, that the corresponding dates for other *Ilāhi* dates in this *farmān* must be reckoned according to the second method. Thus, the *Ilāhi* date "roz Rāshna 18, māh Asfāndarmāz (Asfandarmad), *Ilāhi* year 13," corresponds to Friday 21 Rabi-ul-awgal 1028. Therefore, the illegible words seem to be *جمعه ۲۱*.

⁴ The last but one word of the line is not legible.

⁵ The last word of the line is *mukarrar*, i.e., repeated, again, a second time.

- (8) 1 نصی حجاب 2 بارگاہ فلک 3 اشتباه رسید و به واجب حکم
 قضا 4 جریان صادر شد شرح دیگر بخط جهات المملکی مدارالمهامی
 از ربیع قوی ایل فرمان قلمی بهمانه فقط .
 (9) ما بیگم زمین گز آلهی .

III.

(TRANSLATION OF THE FARMÂN.)

GOD IS GREAT.

The *farmân*⁵ of victorious Nûr-ud-din⁶ Muhammad Jehangir Badshâh Gazi.⁷ At this time, a Royal Order marked with the favour⁸ (of His Majesty), has acquired the honour of publication and the glory of being issued, that land, about one hundred *bigahs*⁹ (as measured) by the royal *gaz*,¹⁰ according to the general practice, in the *qasaba*¹¹ of Naosari in the *sarkâr*¹² of Surat, may, from the commencement of the spring¹³ *ku el*¹⁴,

1 *Nass*, elevating, raising.

2 *Hijab*, a veil, a curtain.

3 *Falak-ishtibah* resembling Heaven.

4 جویان *Jirayan* "What issues forth (as an order)" (Steingass).

5 Order, Imperial mandate. The word is originally Pahlavi *farmân* فرمان. It comes from Avesta *fra-mâ* (فرمان) Sans ५-५१ to arrange, to place in order) to order, from *fra* (فر) Lat. pro. Germ. vor. English forth) and *ma* (ما) Lat. *me-tiri*, Germ. *messen*. Fr. *me-surer*) to measure.

6 Lit. Light of Religion.

7 Brave, Gallant.

8 Lit. *Murhumat* عنوان Distinguished with or honoured by favour.

9 Modern *Vinghâ* ۱/۳ "A measure of a third of an acre" (Steingass). According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in the Mogul times, it was more than half an acre (Vide my Paper in J. B. B. R. A. XXI. p. 164 n 2).

10 Of the three kinds of *gaz* known in the Mogul times, that known as the long *gaz* (گوز بزرگ) was used for the measurement of cultivated lands (Ibid. p. 164 n. 3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bk. III *âin* 8. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I, p. 294, 1.25. Jarrett's Translation Vol. II. p. 59).

11 Town.

12 "A district comprising several *pergunnahs*."

13 The two words *Rabi'* and *Kharif* (spring and autumn) of the Mogul times have come down to our times and are still used by the British Revenue department.

14 These are Turkish words. As to *ku* کو, the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III *âin* 1), speaking of the Turkish era, says, that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle which Abu Fazl gives, we find *kâ* کو the sheep (گوسفند) as the 8th year (Blochmann's Text, p. 273, l. 13. Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 21). As to the word *el*, Abul Fazl says that "they add the word *el* to each of these words which signifies year." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 21). درانجام هر یک لفظ ایل که بمعنی سال است برافزایند. (Blochmann's Text, p. 273, ll. 16-17)

According to Albiruni, *ku* or *kât* seems to be also the name of the 8th month of a Turkish year (Albiruni's Chronology of Ancient times, by Dr. C. Edward Sachau (1879), p. 83, last column.)

be (set apart) free and exempted from taxes, according to the contents¹ (of this farmân), for the purpose of the aid of the livelihood (madad-i-ma'âsh)² of Mullâ Jâmâsp and Mullâ Hoshang, Parsees, and (their) children, so that, by spending and using the income of that (land) from season to season and year to year for the expenses of their livelihood, they may for all time, be engaged in saying prayers for the continuous³ good fortune (of His Majesty).

It is incumbent on all the present and future noble governors⁴ and happy⁵ agents⁶ and jagirdârs and Karoriâns,⁷ that trying to observe the continuance⁸ and confirmation⁹ of this most holy and exalted Order (of His Majesty), (and) measuring the said lands, and settling¹⁰ the *chak*,¹¹ and transferring¹² it

¹ Hasb ul Zimm, according to the contents of. Cf. *موجب تفصيل ضمن* in Meherji Rana's first *farmân*. Vide my paper on that subject, p. 93, l. 3.

² According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II, *âin* 19 on sayûrghâl (سيورغال) "subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called Wazifah (وظیفه); lands conferred are called Milk (ملک) or madad-i-ma'âsh (مدد معاش) Blochmann's Text, p. 198, l. 7, Translation, Vol. I, p. 268). Blochmann, under the head of "Note by the Translator on the Cadr of Akbar's reign," thus speaks on the subject of the Madad-i-ma'âsh: "In this *Ain*—one of the most interesting in the whole work—the Chagatâi Sayûrghâl is translated by the Arabic *madad-ul-ma'âsh*. The latter term signifies 'assistance of livelihood, and, like its equivalent *milk*, or property, it denotes *lands given for benevolent purposes*, as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary and differ for this reason from *Jâgir* or *tâyûl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time, on *Mâncabdârs* in lieu of salaries." (Blochmann's Translation, p. 270).

³ Lit. joined (quarin) to eternity (abad).

⁴ *Hâkâm*, pl. of *Hâkim*. According to Blochmann, "the higher Mansabdârs were mostly governors of *Cûbahs* (provinces). The governors were at first called *Sipahsâdârs*; towards the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hâkims*, and afterwards, *Châhib Cûbah* or *Cûbahdârs* and still later merely *Cûbahs*. The other Mançabdârs held jagirs." (Blochmann's Translation of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 241-42).

⁵ *Kifâyat-farjâm*. Lit. with sufficient happiness.

⁶ *Amâl*, agents, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

⁷ *Karori* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *kror* (10 millions) of *dâms*. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says: *ويک یک کرور بدیانت پیشگاہ جد گزین سپردند* (Bk. I, *âin*, 2, Blochmann's Text I, p. 10, ll. 4-5) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *krôr* of *dams*" (Blochmann's Translation I, p. 13). "The *dâm* was a copper coin, weighing 5 *tanks*, i.e., 1 *tolah*, 8 *mâshans*, and 7 *surks*, it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called *Pâisah*, and also *Bâhtoti*; now it is known under this name (*dâm*). On one side the place is given where it was struck, and on the other, the date, (Bk. I, *Ain* 9, Blochmann's Trans. p. 31).

⁸ *Istemrâr* "continuance, perpetuity, fixed rent not liable to alteration."

⁹ *Istiqrâr* "requiring a settlement; confirmation; ratification."

¹⁰ Lit. Binding.

¹¹ *Chak* ordinarily means a bond, deed or note. According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* B. III, *Ain* 6), it was the duty of the above said *amals* or *amal-guzârs* (چکنامہ مستحق عمل گذار) the revenue collectors) to ascertain the correctness of *chak nâmah* (چکنامہ مستحق)

¹² *Gordân* (گوردان) (Blochmann's Text I, p. 287, l. 16. Trans. II, Jarrett p. 47). According to Jarrett the *chaknâmah* "is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof, *Chak*, according to Elliot, is a patch of rent-free land detached from a village" (Jarrett II, p. 47, n. 1.)

¹² *Guzâshân* "to make a present on the renewal of a lease, to transmit (used with a negative)" Steingass.

anew in their possession, (they should), by no means¹ at all,² make any change or alteration³; and on account of land-tax,⁴ and duties on manufacture,⁵ capitation taxes⁶ and extraordi-

¹ Aslan, "by no means, not at all, never, in no shape."

² Mutlaq-an "absolutely entirely."

³ There are two or three small words after *laghir* and *tab'il*, which are not legible but Munshi Nasir Alikhan's reading given above, seems probable. The insertion of that reading "râ badân râh" make the sentence more elegant, and do not change the meaning. The rendering of the sentence with the addition of these words would be: "They, shall not give way to any change or alteration in any way whatever."

⁴ We read in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III, *Âin* 7):

(Blochmann's Text I, p. 294, ll. 12-13.)

در توران و ایران برخی را بعنوان مال برگیرند و طائفه را با این
جهات برستانند و لغتی را بطرز سائر جهات ... آنچه بر اراضی مزروعی
ز راه ربیع قرار یابد انرا مال گویند و از انواع مستقره گزیده جهات
خوانند و باقی را سایر جهات

"In Iran and Turan, they collect the land-tax (*mâl*) from some; from others the *Jihât* and from others again the *Sâir Jihât*. What is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mâl*. Imports (? imposts) on manufacturers of respectable kinds are called *jihât*, and the remainder *Sâir Jihât*" (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, pp: 57-58):

In a very interesting article of Mr. Gulshan Rai, in the September 1919 issue of the *Indian Review*, entitled "Taxation and Financial administration under the Mughals" we get a good summary of the Mogal system of public revenues, including the land revenue. The land revenue system is said to have been "first defined and brought into shape" by Raja Todar Mall. The culturable land was divided into four classes and the share of the State in the produce of the crop varied according to the class. Under Todar Mall's Decennial settlement, "an aggregate of the actual collection for the past ten years was formed, and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual settlement. After the expiry of five years this assessment was made permanent" As to the other sources of public revenue, "they were known by the name of *kar* in Hindu period, and *Jihât*, *Sâir Jihât*, and *abwâbs* in the Mahomedan period. These imposts were either custom duties, or transit duties on merchandise, or taxes on sales of houses, market places, persons, cattle, trees, professions and manufactures, fees and royalties charged on marriages, discount on the exchange of coins, fees on fishery rights, and manufacture of salt, lime and spirituous liquor. In modern phraseology some of these imposts were Imperial taxes, some provincial rates and other local cesses."

⁵ Vide the above note for *Jihât*.

⁶ *Ikhrajât* pl. of *ikhraj* from *khiraj*, i.e., capitation tax.

We read in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III, *Ain* VII): در باستان از سر آدم چیزی

و خراج بر خواندی *i.e.* "In ancient times, a capitation tax (a tax per head) was imposed called *Khiraj*" (Blochmann's Text I, p. 292, ll. 24-25. Jarrett's Trans. II, p. 55). King Kobad first thought of abolishing the tax taking it to be unfair but it was Noshirwan who finally did away with it (Ibid). It appears, that in India, in the Mogul times, *khiraj* was the tribute paid by the *Khiraj* lands, i.e., lands "which those outside the (Mahomedan) faith retain on convention" (Ibid II, p. 57). In fact, this tax was the same as *Jaziyah* (capitation tax in Persia in the time of the Khalifs

nary contributions,¹ such as *qanlaghè*² and presents³ and fines and tax-gatherers' fees⁴ and village assessments⁵ and marriage-

¹ Awârizât from awâriz, i.e., extraordinary contributions.

² قنلغم *qanlaghè*. We must settle what this word is. It occurs in both the farmâns of King Akbar (Vide the photo-litho facsimiles, given by me in my paper on the two farmâns referred to above. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXI). The first of this two farmâns gives the word as قنلغم. Persian Dictionaries do not give us that word. The second farmân gives the word with no points (nukteh) over any of the letters. In my above paper, I was doubtful about the reading of this word. I then said: "This word is not clear and legible. One may read it قلعغم qu 'la. It would mean 'anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money.' (Steingass). I think, it is the same as قعلغم, spoken of as one of the imposts of King Akbar's time in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III, Ain XI, Blochmann's Text I, p. 301, 1.8). Another manuscript (of the Ain-i-Akbari) gives the words as قنلغم. In Blochmann's Text the word is marked as doubtful (?). Jarrett has not translated it, saying he, "cannot trace it" (Translation Vol. II, p. 67 note I)." Vide my paper in J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXI, p. 167, n. 4). The above mentioned other reading of the word is not explained by Persian dictionaries. Now, our present farmân seems to solve all the previous doubts and difficulties. Here the word is clearly given as قنلغم, and I now feel sure, that it is one of the imposts (vajûhât) of King Akbar's time referred to by Abu-l Fazl, in the 11th âin of the Ain-i-Akbari headed "Land and its classification and the proportionate dues of sovereignty." I think that this farmân settles Blochmann's doubts about the reading of the word.

As to what particular kind of impost it was, we are not in a position to say with certainty. Col. Jarrett says, he "cannot trace" it. I beg to submit the following explanation with some diffidence. The first part of the word قن (quin) means "a slave, especially one born in the family, whose father and mother are slaves." The second part of the word لغم *laghè* may be the Indian word, known in Gujarati as લગમ meaning tax.

It comes, I think, from لگم. So, the impost, meant by the word, may be a tax for each slave possessed by a man of means. One must not understand by the word 'slave' a slave in the most ordinary sense of the word e.g., when we speak of 'slave-trade,' but in the sense of a life-long family servant, in which sense, it is used in my paper, entitled "A Parsee Deed of Partition more than 150 years old; a form of slavery referred to therein" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. VI, pp. 12-16. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 167-172). I am supported in this surmise by the fact, that in the Ain-i-Akbari's list of the various taxes and imposts which includes this impost, we find, among other taxes of the kind, "a tax on each head of oxen, a tax on each tree." So, it is possible that this impost of *qanlaghè*, may be a tax on each head of slaves.

³ Pishkash or royal fee was one of the imposts (vajûhat) of the Mogul times. It is referred to as such in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III, Ain XI, Text p. 301, Jarrett II, p. 66). Akbar remitted it with several other taxes. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." Steingass.

⁴ Perhaps, it is the same impost as تحصیل داری *tahsil dâri*, in Bk. III, Âin XI (Ibid).

⁵ Zâbtâneh, from *zabh*, which word, according to Jarrett, was applied by Abu Fazl loosely for "the revenue collection or assessment of a village (Vol. II, p. 153, n. 1). The word occurs in the 15th âin (Bk. III) where Jarrett translates it as "revenues in cash from crops charged at special rates" (Vol. II, p. 153, Text, p. 417, 1. 16.)

fees¹ and the fees of the Daroghā² and forced labour³ and forced attendance at hunting (*shikār*)⁴ and supplying of soldiers⁵ and

1 Mahrānah was "a tax exacted by the Qāzi from the Mahomedans at weddings." (Steingass). Perhaps, it is the same as the marriage-tax referred to as being on *کدخدائی* (marriage) in the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Text p. 201. Blochmann's Transl. I, pp. 277-78). Abu-Fazl thus speaks of marriage and refers to the marriage tax in Bk. II, *Āin* 24, under the head of "Regulations regarding marriages": "Every care bestowed upon this wonderful tie between men is a means of preserving the stability of the human race, and ensuring the progress of the world; it is a preventive against the outbreak of evil passions, and leads to the establishment of homes. Hence His Majesty, inasmuch as he is benign watches over great and small and induces men with his notions of the spiritual union and the equality of essence which he sees in marriage. He abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruit, and His Majesty thinks them even hurtful; for afterwards, when such a couple ripens into manhood, they, dislike having connexion, and their home is desolate. Here in India, where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but His Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and bride groom, and the permission of the parents are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts..... His Majesty disapproves of high dowries; for as they are rarely even paid they are mere sham; but he admits that the fixing of high is a preventive against rash divorces. Nor does His Majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man's health, and disturbs the peace of the home..... He has also appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom inquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of Tuibegi, or masters of marriages..... His Majesty also takes a tax from both parties, to enable them to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious. Mançabdārs commanding from five to one thousand pay 10 Muhurs..... The middle classes pay one Rupee, and common people one dam. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (Blochmann's Trans. pp. 277-78 Text Bk. I, *Āin* 24, p. 201).

Akbar's *tūibegs* or marriage censors remind us of such marriage censors of the ancient Romans whose principal business was to see that people did not spend much after marriage-festivities. They had the right of attending marriage gatherings and of driving away marriage guests over and above a fixed number permitted by the State.

2 Darōghānē, was one of the imposts of Akbar's time (*Āin-i-Akbari*, Bk. III, *Āin* XI, Text p. 301, l. 6, Jarrett II, p. 66). Dārōgha was "the headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department" (Steingass). "The inspection of village records and the preparation of circle accounts was the work of a Darogha or Inspector" (Gulshan Rai).

3 Begār "Employing any one without a remuneration" (Steingass). Forced labour was prevalent in Mogul times. From a farmān of Shah-Jahān, inscribed on the Jami Masjid at Srinagar in Kashmir, on 7th of Isfandarmaz (February. Perhaps Hijri 1061 A.D. 1650-51), we learn, that Shah-Jehan did away with this custom of Begār from Kashmir in the matter of the collection of saffron from Government fields.

Our Bombay word begārī (*بغاړی*) i.e., a labourer, seems to come from this word begār. It seems that originally a begārī was a forced labourer. The word originally may be bē or bī kār, i.e., work exacted without (payment).

4 Neither the *Āin-i-Akbari*, nor the *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri* throws any light on this word, as to what this impost was. It seems to be something like begār. Just as the villagers had to submit to forced labour for Royal or Government services, so, perhaps they had to submit to go as beaters when the Mogul Kings and their officers went a-hunting. Perhaps, it was incumbent on the holders of land to supply a certain number of *begāris* and *shikaris*, to serve as labourers and beaters to high Government officials.

5 *Mard-lashkar*. Lit. Men for the Army. It seems that this impost was one like the two preceding ones. It was incumbent upon large holders of royal lands, that they must, when necessary, procure recruits for the Army.

five per cent tax¹ and allowances paid to *muqaddams*² and *rûbsûi*³ and two per cent tax⁴ and *kânungûi*⁵.....⁶ and imposts on manufactures,⁷ and dues⁸ of duties on manu-

¹ Deh-nimi, Lit. half of ten i.e., five per cent. It was one of the imposts referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari (Bk. III, ain XI Text I, p. 300, l. 21. Jarrett II, p. 66) We read there :

شهریار آگاه دل در مال بدانسان که گذارش یافت نوازش

فرمود در جهات ده یک بخشوده ده نیم قرارداد و صد دوی پتواری
نصفی بدو و نیمی بقانونگو باز گردد نخستین نویسنده است از طرف
بوزگران خرج و دخل نویسد و هیچ دیم بی او نباشد و پسین ملاذ
کشاورزان و در هر پروگنه یکی بود و امروز حصه قانونگو برانداختند
بشروط خدمت گزینی سه گو نه از درگاه یابند
(Text p. 300, ll. 21-24).

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufacture from ten to five per-cent. (*deh-nim*), and two per-cent (*sad-dûi*) was divided between the *patwars* and the *kânungo*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kânungo* (one per-cent) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to rank (Jarrett II, p. 67).

² *Muqaddami*. This word is familiar to us in our Indian form मुकदमी. This seems to be a new kind of impost. It is not mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. A *muqaddam* is "a superior officer of the revenue in a village; a title of respect among villagers. A leader, a chief, commander" (Steingass).

³ I cannot make out what this impost was.

⁴ Vide the above note for this tax. Lit. Two in the hundred, i.e., two per-cent.

⁵ Vide the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kânungo*: "An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives reports from the *patwâris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land etc., which entail a charge in the register of notations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildâr* (Jarrett Vol. II, p. 47, n. 3). He was a Registrar of land records. This officer was appointed directly by the Crown, one for each *pargana*..... He was in charge of all land records of the *pargana*. He was to keep a record of all land assessments and the statements in his charge showed what was due from each land-holder. All sales and transfers of property were also to be carefully verified by him."

⁶ For the two words here, see the foot-note at this portion of the text. Vide above.

⁷ *Muhtarifa*. Muhtarifa. Vide the footnote of this portion of the text.

⁸ *Zakât*. The word is also written زكاة and it means "alms given according to Mahomedan law, by way of purifying or securing a blessing to the rest of one's possessions" (Steingass). Jarrett thus speaks of it: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby, the root of the word, زكا denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ per cent, provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (Jarrett's Translation of the Ain II, p. 57, n. 4). Abu-l-Fazl, while speaking of "land, which those outside the faith retain in convention" and which they call *khiraji*, says that the "tribute paid by *khiraji* land is of two kinds, 1. *Mukasamah* (divided), is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. 2. *Wazfiyah*, what is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khiraj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *zakât* is taken from the amount under certain stipulations and this they call a tithe, but on each of these points there is much difference of opinion. The Caliph Omar, during his time, taxed those who were not of his faith at the rate of 45 dirhams for persons of condition, 24 for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class. This was called the *Jaziyat* (capitation tax). (Jarrett II, p. 57).

facture¹ and annual revenue collections², no molestation may be given (to them), and no exactions³ made for the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and the burden⁴ of the cultivation-taxes and of all civil dues⁵ and royal taxes,⁶ and they may count them as pardoned and free and absolved⁷ from all taxes,⁸ references⁹ and transfers.¹⁰ And, in this matter, they shall not ask every year for a renewed royal *farman* and they shall not turn back from what is (hereby) ordered and shall be true to (this) contract.

Written on the 11th of the month Shahrivar Ilâhi year 13 only.¹¹

(Translation of the Writing on the back of the Farman.¹²)

(This farmân is in the matter of) The aid of livelihood in the name of Mullâ Jâmâsp and another¹³ with (their) children, according to the Yâd-dâst of the Wâqi'ah dated, roz (i.e. day) Tir 13, mah (i.e. month) Âzar (Âdar) year thirteen, corresponding with Wednesday,¹⁴ corresponding to the 16th of Zû'l-hijja year 1027, during the (time of the) *choki* of fortunate Mustafa Khan, the protector of chiefs¹⁵ and leaders,¹⁶ (and) during the *rasâlah* of Sayid Ahmad Kâdari, the protector of chiefs and leaders, the giver of power¹⁷ to chieftainship¹⁸ and to magisterial dignity, (and) during the Mâ' *rafat*¹⁹ of Nûrud-din Quli who was worthy of favours²⁰ (and) lord of exalted dignity,²¹ and during the period²² of the *waqvi'ah navish*, Mahmud Bâqr, who is an humble member of the Court. During that time²³ there waited upon²⁴ His most

1 "Imports (? Imposts) on manufactures of respectable kind are called *jihât* and the remainder *Sâ'ir Jihât*" (Ain-i-Akbari Bk. III, *ân* VII, Jarrett II, p. 58).

2 Zabt. Vide above, the note on the word *Zâbtanah*.

3 *Mutâlabat* from *talab*.

4 *Takrâr* question dispute, burden.

5 *Takâlîf* pl. of *taklif*, trouble.

6 *Matâlât* pl. of *Matlab*, demand from *talab*.

7 *Marfâ u'l qalam*, absolved, remitted.

8 *Rasûmat*, *rasum* (pl. of *rasm*) customs, common, dues, taxes, fees.

9 *Ilâqât* from *ilâq* reference, application.

10 *Hawâlât* pl. of *hawâla*, transfer, charge, care.

11 The word *فقط*, meaning only, is peculiar to this *farmân*. We do not find it in Akbar's above two *farmâns*. It seems to have been written here in the same sense, as we, now a days, write the word 'only' in cheques of money which we pass. This is intended to show that the writing is finished and it was 'only' up to the last preceding word, so that nobody could add to it.

12 The writing on the back of the *Farman* is, what is called, *Sharh-i-ta'liqah* (شرح تعلیقه) i.e., Explanation of the *ta'liqah*. It is so named in the first of the two *farmans* given to Dastur Meherji Rana. In the second, it is spoken of as *Sharh ba'l hâshiyeh* (شرح بالهاشیه) i.e. marginal explanation. The word *Sharh* is used even by the

Parsees as *Shareh* (شریح) in the sense of the commentaries or explanations of their sacred writings. The following passage from the *Ain-i-Akbari* will explain some of the technical words as *choki*, *waq'iah*, *yâd-dâst*, *rislah*, &c., used in this writing.

Sharh-i-ta'liqah. Ta'liqah is a technical term used in the Ain-i-Akbari or an abridgment of the yaddāsh't (i.e. memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the farmans, etc. Its explanation in detail is said to be its *sharh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th Ains will explain, who made this yaddāsh't, or memorandum and ta'liqah or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th Ain on the waqi'ahnawis (i.e., the writer of events.) "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government.....His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (naḡat) of each comes after a fortnight.....Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report, the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation, appointments to manḡabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the Parwānchi, by the Mir'Arz, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this case is called yād-dāsh't or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the yaddāsh't when completed, keep it with themselves and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the yaddāsh't, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the Waqi'ahnawis, and the Risālah'ār, the Mir'Arz and the Darogah. The abridgment, thus completed, is called Ta'liqah and the writer is called Taliqahnawis. The Ta'liqah is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I pp. 258-259, Text I, pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th Ain then explains the terms ta'liqah (abridgment of memorandum), and waqi'ah, (writing or record) which occur in these Farmāns.

The following passage of the 11th Ain explains why this Taliqah or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the Farmān.

"The Čāhib-i-Tanjīh (the master of military account) keeps the former Taliqah with himself, writes its details on the Farmān and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the *mustanji* and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nāzir and the Bakhshis do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwān, his accountant, and the Vaki' of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I, pp. 261-62, Text I, pp. 194, II. 13-14).

¹² Wa-ghairah i.e., Et cetera or another. This word also, like the word *faqt* (only) referred to above, reminds us of some similarity to our present writings in money matters. When there are accounts in more than one name in Banks, etc., in writing cheques over these accounts, we only write the first name and add after it 'another' or 'others.' The same is the case in legal documents.

¹⁴ کم شنبه Kam Shambah. I will speak below at some length why, contrary to the usual practice of calling Wednesday, Čahār Shambah, Jehangir calls it Kam Shambah.

¹⁵ Siyādat, "dominion, rule, chieftainship."

¹⁶ Naqābat, leader of the people; magisterial dignity.

¹⁷ Dastgāh, power, strength, learning.

¹⁸ Sadūrat from Sudūr chiefs, ministers, from Sadr, a chief, government, a high official.

¹⁹ Ma'rafat, knowledge, account, means. Ba-ma'rafat through, by means of.

²⁰ Anāyat, favour, solicitude, assistance.

²¹ Wālā Khan. Lord (Khan) of exalted dignity (wālā).

²² Naobat. lit. period. In the Court military language, it also means a "guard which is relieved."

²³ i.e. During the time when the above named officers held their respective posts.

²⁴ Ba nazr guzāsh'tand. Lit. They passed in waiting.

noble and most holy Majesty, Mullâ Jâmâsp and Mullâ Hoshang Parsi of (or from).....¹ on the 2nd day of month Shehriyar year 13, and presented four globlets² of the oil of *fulel*.³ His Majesty presented⁴ in Court⁵ a sum⁶ of one hundred Rupees, and a world-obeyed order, having the lustre⁷ of the sun, was issued, that about one-hundred *bigâhs* of land (measured) in Ilâhi *gaz* according to the general practice⁸ from the *qasba* of Naosari in the *Sarkâr* of Surat be settled upon the above-named⁹ persons with their children for the purpose of aid of (their) livelihood.¹⁰

In the *rasâlah* of the humble servant of the Court, Sayid Ahmad Qadari, in the *Ma'rafat* of Nûrrud-din Quli; this (gift) may be entered in the *wâquah*. Another *Sharh* is (or may be) entered at that time in the *Waqi'ah* in the handwriting of Jumlat-ul-Mulki¹¹ Madâru-l-mahâmmi.¹² The marginal *sharh* in the hand writing of the *Waqi'ah*-navish is according to the *waqi'ah*. The *Sharh* in the hand-writing of the Jumlat-ul-Mulki Madâr-ul-Mahâmmi has entered the request (in its record). Another *Sharh* in the elegant hand-writing of Saiyid Mir Muhammad on day Rashn 18 (of) month Asfandârmaz ilâhi 13, corresponding to [Saturday the 16th¹³] Rabi'u-l-awwal 1028. . . .reached again (or was repeated in) the dignified curtain of the Heaven-resembling Court (of the King) and like the order of fate, was issued as an order. Another *sharh* in the hand-writing of Jumlat-ul-Mulki Madâr-ul-Muhammi. The *farman* may be written from Rabi *kuel*. Only.¹⁴

One hundred *bighas* of land (measured) by Ilahi *gaz*.

¹ Vide the Text above for the conjectural readings of three illegible words.

² *Bânu*, a globlet of rose water.

³ *Fulel* is "a fragrant oil prepared in India from Jassamine." *Ful* **فل** is "a species of water lily."

⁴ *Marhamat farmudeh*. Lit. having ordered a present. Perhaps, from the want of a clear distinct style, one may say that the presentation of Rs. 100 was from the Mullas to His Majesty in the form of *nazar*. But, on carefully examining the style (e.g. **سرحمت فرمود**), it seems that the gift was from the King to the Mullas.

⁵ Ba Hazur.

⁶ *Mablagh*, a sum, ready money.

⁷ *Shu'a'* Light, lustre.

⁸ *Zâbita*, universal rule, general practice, judicial usage.

⁹ *Mushâr ilâhi*, abovementioned, aforesaid.

¹⁰ Vide the Note in the Text for this portion which is illegible. It seems to refer to the *yâd-dâsht* or *chowki* of some officer.

¹¹ It was a title. Here, the officer is named not by his personal name, but by his title. The Chief (lit. the sum total) of the kingdom.

¹² This also was a title. Lit. Centre of important affairs i.e., a minister.

¹³ Vide above, the foot-note of the text for the reading.

¹⁴ Vide the foot-note above for this word.

IV.

DECIPHERMENT OF THE SEALS AND SOME OTHER SHORT WRITINGS ON THE FARMÂN.

We will now proceed to the decipherment of the seals on the farmân, of the writings accompanying the seals, and of some other notes on the *farmân*.

The very first thing that draws our attention on holding the Farman in our hands is the top-line in the centre, giving the words, Alla'u Akbar. We learn from Badaoni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawârikh*,¹ that it was in 983 Hijri (A.D. 1575-76) that Akbar introduced this form of salutation. While discussing its question at Court, one courtier objected to its use, as it had an ambiguous meaning, because it would mean either "God is Great" or "Akbar is God," but Akbar overruled the objection, saying, that "no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity." He added, that "he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme."

After the above formula of invocation, we come to the seal, In the case of Akbar's two Farmâns, the seal was round. King Akbar's and his ancestors' names upto that of Taimûr were given in eight small circles within a large circle. The circle of Akbar's name was in the centre of the circular seal. Then, we found the circles of the names of his ancestors. Timur's name was in the top circle. Then, Miran Shah's in the circle next to that of Taimur coming down from the left. Then, the names of Sultan Mahammad Mirza, and Sultan Abdul Sayid. Then, going up on the right from down below, the circles bore the names of Mirza Omer Shekh, Bâdshâh Bâbar and Bâdshâh Humâyûn. All these names except that of Taimur began with *ibn* بن! i.e., 'the son of.'

Now the seal on Jehangir's Farmân under our examination is a square one, instead of a circular or round one. The photo of the farmân, has not come off well, as one would wish. That was so also in Akbar's farmân. Even, looking to the original farmân, which is placed here on the table for inspection, it is with great difficulty that you can, with the help of a powerful magnifying glass, read some names. Now, the King's seal in the present farmân, though a square, has, if you will carefully see it with

¹ Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II, p. 210. Lowe's Translation II, p. 213.

a magnifying glass, a large circle within it and the other small circles are, as in the Akbar's farmân, within the circle. Akbar had to make room for the names of his seven ancestors, upto Taimûr. Jehangir, being the son of Akbar, had to make room for names of eight ancestors upto Taimûr.

(a) As in the case of Akbar's farmân, we find Jehangir's own name in the central smaller circle in the middle of the larger circle within the square. We read there his name arranged as follow :—

غازي
جهانگیر بادشاہ
محمد
نور الدین

This arrangement gives the whole name as

محمد نور الدین جهانگیر بادشاہ غازي

I am sure of the reading of the upper lines but not so of the last line containing the word نور الدین

The names of Jehangir's eight ancestors are contained in the eight small circles round his name.

(b) The circle just over the above central one bearing his own name contains the name of his furthest eighth ancestor. The name is not legible, a portion of the paper having been destroyed, but there can be no doubt, that it contains Taimûr's name, because, (c) the next lower one on the left contains, as in Akbar's farmâns, the name of Taimûr's son Mirân Shâh. We read the name in the following order :—

شاہ
میر
ابن ان

Which gives the whole reading as ابن میران شاہ

The word ابن (the son of) occurs as the first word of the lowest line in every inner circle.

(d) Coming down further on the left, we read the name as follows :—

میرزا
محمد سلطا
ابن ن

This gives us ابن سلطان محمد میرزا

(e) Then, in the lowest middle circle, we read :—

سید

سلطان ابو

ابن

This gives us the name ابن سلطان ابو سید

(f) Then, in the circle on the right of the above, we read :—

میرزا

عمر

ابن شیخ

This gives us the name ابن عمر شیخ میرزا

(g) Then, in the circle going up on the right, we read :—

شاه

بابر باد

ابن

This gives us the name of Babar as ابن بابر باد شاه

(h) Then, going further upward, we read :—

باد شاه

هما

ابن یون

This gives us Humayun's name as ابن هما یون باد شاه

(i) Lastly, we come to the circle containing Akbar's name.

A portion of it is destroyed, wherein the missing word seems to be باد شاه. The other words which can be read with some difficulty make up the reading as :

باد شاه

اکبر

محمد

ابن

This gives us the name as ابن محمد اکبر باد شاه

Thus, the whole of the King's seal will read as :—

محمد نور الدین جهانگیر باد شاه غازی ابن محمد اکبر باد شاه ابن
 هما یون باد شاه ابن بابر باد شاه ابن عمر شیخ میرزا ابن سلطان ابو سید
 ابن سلطان محمد میرزا ابن میوان شاه ابن¹ (امیر تیمور صاحب قران)

¹ The name is not legible. So, the gap is filled from Akbar's *farmāns* referred to above.

i.e. Mahmmad Nurud-din Jehangir Bâdshah Gâzi, son of Mahmmad Akbar Badshah, son of Humayûn Bâdshâh, son of Bâbar Bâdshâh, son of Omar Sheikh Mirza, son of Sultan Abu Sayid, son of Sultan Mahammad Mirza, son of Miran Shah, son of Amir Taimûr Sâheb-i-Qirân.

As to the position of the King's seal, Abu Fazl says:—"The seal of His Majesty is put above the Tughra lines on the top of the Farmân." ² قدسی مہر فرزاز طغراوی فرمان آراید ¹)

We find this rule carried out in our Farmân. We see that the seal is on the top and above the Tughrâ lines.

In King Akbar's farmâns, a horizontal line under his seal

3. The Square said, what the document was. It said, containing Jehan-gir's Name.

That it was a farmân of Akbar. In Jehan-gir's farmân under examination, we find the statement, not in a horizontal line under the seal, but in a square on the left of the seal. The square has three somewhat incomplete horizontal lines at well nigh equal distances and eleven somewhat incomplete vertical lines, two of which form the right hand and the left hand side limits of the square and the remaining lines occur in three equi-distant groups, each of three equi-distant lines. The whole writing reads as "Farmân-i-Abu-l-Muzaffar Nûru-d-dîn Jehângir Badshâh Gâzi

(فرمان ابوالمظفر محمد نورالدين جهانگیر بادشاه غازی)

I will explain here, how we arrive at this reading: Under the lowest horizontal line, we read, at first, the word فرمان (the 2nd vertical line from the right giving us the *alif* of the word *farmân*). Then the first vertical line of the square and first two letters بو above the lowest horizontal line make up the word ابو. Then, the third, fourth and fifth vertical lines together with the letters on the left of the word فرمان give us the word المظفر. Then, the two letters صم in the small right hand top corner square, formed by the first (from the right hand side) two vertical lines and the middle or the second horizontal line, together with the two letters مد at the end of this second horizontal line, give us the word, محمد. Then the letters نور in the small square formed above ط and the letter ر in the small square above it and the letter د next to مظفر under the lower horizontal line, together with the letters بن in the small square above the د give us the word نورالدين. Then the last letters in the lowest line with the 9th and 10th

¹ Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann I. p. 264.

² Text, p. 195, ll. 25-26.

vertical lines give us the word جهانگیر. Then, the letters با in the square containing the above letters ين with the letter د in the small square above it and the letters شا formed by the uppermost horizontal line ending shortwise with an ' alif with the necessary three nuktas. ' above and with the ة in the north-west corner give us the word بادشاه. Lastly the letters غا formed by the letter غ above the last letter of جهانگیر and the last left hand vertical line and the letters زي formed by the letter ز above غ and ي formed by the lowest horizontal line, commencing from the left, give us the word غازي. All the diacritical points for the letters are mostly given at the top, and some, in the body of the square, above some of the letters themselves.

As to the name itself, the original name of King Jehangir was Salim; and it was latterly, that he took the name of Nûru-d-din Jehangir. We read as follows about the origin of all these names in his Tûzuk-i-Jehângîrî: "Till he (Akbar) was 28 years old, no child of my father had lived, and he was continually praying for the survival of a son to dervishes and recluses, by whom spiritual approach to the throne of Allah is obtained. As the great master, Khwâja Mu'înu-d-dîn Chishtî was the fountain head of most of the saints of India, he considered that in order to obtain this object he should have recourse to his blessed threshold, and resolved within himself that if Almighty God should bestow a son on him he would, by way of complete humility, go on foot from Agra, to his blessed mausoleum, a distance of 140 kos. At the time when my venerated father was on the outlook for a son, a dervish of the name of Shaikh Salim, a man of ecstatic condition who had traversed many of the stages of life, had his abode on a hill near Sikrî, one of the villages of Agra, and the people of that neighbourhood had complete trust in him. As my father was very submissive to dervishes, he also visited him. One day, when waiting on him and in a state of distraction, he asked him how many sons he should have. The Shaikh replied, 'The Giver who gives without being asked will bestow three sons on you.' My father said, 'I have made a vow that, casting my first son on the skirt of your favour, I will make your friendship and kindness his protector and preserver.' The Shaikh accepted this idea, and said, 'I congratulate you, and I will give him my own name.' When my mother came near the time of her delivery, he (Akbar) sent her to the Shaikh's house that I might be born there. After my birth they gave me the name of Sultan Salim, but I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in

his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim but always *Shaikhû Bâbâ*.....When I became king it occurred to me to change my name because this resembled that of the Emperor of Rûm. An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that, in as much as the business of kings is the controlling of the world, I should give myself the name of Jahangir (World-seizer) and make my title of honour (laqab) *Nûru-d-dîn*, inasmuch as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising and shining on the earth of the great light (the Sun). I had also heard, in the days when I was a prince, from Indian sages, that after the expiration of the reign and life of King Jalâlu-d-dîn Akbar one named *Nûru-d-dîn* would be administrator of the affairs of the State. Therefore I gave myself the name and appellation of *Nûru-d-dîn Jahangir Pâdshâh*.”¹

On looking to the original farmân, which I produce here

4. Peculiarities of the Farman.

(a) The golden colour of the square on the seal

(b) and the red colour of some of its letters.

for inspection, we find (a) firstly, that the space of the above square on the left of the above seal differs a little from the rest of the paper. It is a little yellowish or gold-coloured; (b) secondly, that some of the vowel marks of the letters of the writing

are in red ink. Both these peculiarities are explained by what Jehangir himself says in his *Tuzuk*. He says:² “Our ancestors and forefathers were in the habit of granting jagirs to every one under proprietary title, and adorned the farmâns for these with the *al tamghâ* seal, which is an impressed seal made in vermilion (i.e., red ink). I ordered that they should cover the place for the seal with gold leaf (*tîlâ posh*) and impress the seal thereon and I called this the *altûn tamghâ*.”³ We find here a kind of adaptation of the above order of Jehangir. The place for the seal is not covered with gold leaf nor is the seal itself impressed in red ink. But, there is an adaptation. The seal is there, and some space just on the left of it has golden or yellow colour applied to it, and it is then written over with the name of Jehangir in a peculiar flourish of style. Again, instead of the whole being written in red ink, it is the vowel marks that are put in red ink.

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated and edited by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 1-3.

² Rogers-Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 23.

³ “*Al* is vermilion in Turki, and *altûn* gold. Jehangir means that he changed the name from *al tamghâ* to *altûn tamghâ*.”

On looking to the body of the farmân, we find, that the first two lines are short. This again is explained by what we read in the 11th Âin of the Âin-i-Akbari. It says, that in what are called *parwânc̄has*, the lines are not short; otherwise, *i.e.*, in farmâns proper, they are short. It says: "Farmâns are sometimes written in Tughrâ characters; but the first two lines are not made short. Such a farmân is called *parwânc̄hah*." This being a *farmân* and not a *parwânc̄hah*, the first two lines are short.

As to the Tughra characters, Dr. Steingass says in his Persian Dictionary: "The Royal titles, prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds are generally written in a fine ornamental hand." We find that our *farmân* is written in such a fine ornamental hand, but the two first lines are made short. So, this farmân is not of the *parwânc̄hah* type, but of a proper *farmân-i-sabti*.

Now, we come to the decipherment of the different seals and writings below the writing of the Sharh-i-ta'liqah on the back side of the farmân. We find, that the seals, the writings within and below them, and the other three lines of writing at the bottom of the other side of the farmân, are all written in an inverted position. I have explained this question of inversion in my paper on Akbar's farmân, but I may briefly say here, that the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II, Âin 12) gives the reason. It says, that the seals were put in the order of their folds (شکستگی). So, holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the Âin-i-Akbari on this subject says: "Farmâns, Parwânc̄has, and Barâtas, are made into several folds beginning from the bottom." (Blochmann's Text Vol. I, p. 195, l. 19. Translation Vol. I, p. 263). After this explanation, I will come to the seals and the writings, given in an inverted order on the lower half of the back side of the *farmân*.

1. We will first determine the Text and the meaning of the three lines on the first fold of the farmân after turning it over. Holding the farmân in the usual way, in order to read it from the words *مدد معاش باصم*, these lines occur at the foot of the page in an inverted position. These lines take a note of the document having been passed in the time (نوبت), when Mahmud Baqr was the Waqî'ah-navish. As the writing of these

three lines is much damaged, we cannot read well all the lines, but I give below the words that can be deciphered :

- 1 برسالم دست رسید
 2 سیادت پناه و نقابت پناه
 3 و نویت واقعه نویس مستخدم باقر

Portions of these three lines are destroyed. The words of the first line are much destroyed. The first word is indistinct. The second seems to be *rasalah*. The next word is not legible. Then the next word seems to be 'dast' (hand). Then the last word is *rasid* (reached) or may be *rasah*. The word *siyâ dat panâh va niqâbat panâh*, which are legible in the second line, are applied in the text of the Sharh given above, as words of honour to officers holding the *chowki* and the *rasah*. So, the other missing and illegible words of these two lines seem to contain the names of the officers named in the Sharh. The first line may contain the name of the officer in charge of the *rasah* and the second that of the officer in charge of the *chowki*. The last line gives the words "naubat waq'ah-nawis Mahamad Baqr, i.e., "in the time of the writer of the *waqiah* Mahammad Baqr." This name occurs in the text of the *sharh taliq'ah*. So, the missing portions may be containing the names, with some qualifying adjectives of one or more of the other officers named in the body of the *Sharh*, viz. Mustafa Khan, Sayid Ahmad Qâdri and Nuruddin Quli. So, as far as they can be deciphered, the translation of the three lines is something like this :

(The document) came to the hands of.....(to be recorded) in the *rasah* of and (the *choki*?) of . . . who is the protector of chiefs and leaders; and in the *naubat* (time) of the *waqiah*-navis Mahammad Baqr....

(2) The writing on the first seal on the left of the above three lines is not legible, though a few letters here and there can be read. In the illegible writing under it, the figure twenty nine can be read. The next word may be *شہزاد*

(3) The next two seals on the left of the above also are illegible. The date under the third on the extreme left seems to be *فروردین ۱۲ ۱۲* Farwardin.

(4) The wording of the fourth seal below the above three seals is in the following order

بادشاہ
 نگیر
 سرید جہاغا
 لی
 ۱۰۲۵ صادر

This wording when properly arranged can be read as

جهانگیر بادشاہ مرید عالی صادر ۱۰۲۵

It means: "Jehangir King, the royal deciple. Issued in 1025." It appears from the date, that the royal seal which was affixed to the farmân was prepared in 1025 *i.e.* two years before the date of the farmân. As to the word, "murîd-'âli," Jehangir thereby calls himself a disciple or follower of Akbar. In one of Akbar's farmâns, the first farmân, Khan Khanân calls himself "Murid-i-Akbar Shah." Jehangir, instead of naming his father, simply refers to him as 'âli.'

There is some further writing under the seal which is not quite clear. It seems to bear the name of some officers who put the seal. It also bears a date. We read words like ^{مهہر} Meher and the figure ۲۵ *i.e.* 25. We read also a word like ^{سید} Sayid. It may be the name of the officer, Sayid Ahmed Qâdri, referred to in the body of the Sharh.

5. Below these, there are two other seals. They are mixed up. We decipher under one of them the words ^{صا} صا:

V.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN THE FARMAN.

We will now proceed to identify the various personages named in the Farmân and give some particulars about them. I give below the names in the order in which we find them in the Farmân.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Mullâ Jâmâsp. | 5. Nûru-d-din Quli. |
| 2. Mullâ Hoshang. | 6. Mahmmad Bâqr. |
| 3. Mustafâ Khân. | 7. Saiyid Mir Muhammad. |
| 4. Saiyid Ahmad Kâdari. | |

As we have to speak at some length for the first two personages, the heroes of the farmân, I will first identify the rest.

We learn from Jehangir's Memoirs that Mustafâ Khân was a great Officer of his Court. In the 10th year of his reign, his *mansab* was "increased by 500 personal and 200 horse to 2,000 personal and 250 horse."¹ In the 14th year of his reign, he is represented as submitting offerings to the King². His name is mentioned with that of Nûru-d-din Quli, who also is mentioned in our farmân. During the 17th year of his reign, he was the Governor of Thatta, and "had sent, as an offering, a Shâhnâma

¹ Memoirs. Rogers-Beveridge I, pp. 280-81. ² Ibid II, p. 80.

and a Khamsa (quintet) of Shaikh Nizâmi illustrated by masters (of painting) along with other presents."¹

Jehangir speaks of the "Sayyids of Barha" as "the brave ones of the age" and as those "who have held this place (*i.e.*, command) in every fight in which they have been."² They were in the van in his fight against his son Khusrau. Sayyid Ahmad Kadri seems to be one of the members of this known family. His name is mentioned in the Tuzuk with that of Nûr-u-d-din Quli, whose name occurs in our farman next to Saiyid Ahmad's. He seems to have made his name even in Akbar's time. When Akbar was engaged in beseiging Surat, Saiyid Ahmad, who is spoken of there as Saiyad Ahmad Khan Bârha, defended Pattan against Ibrâhim Husain Mirzâ's two colleagues in revolt, *viz.* Muhummad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza.³

According to the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, Nûru-d-dîn was one of the great officers of the Court. In the twelfth year of the reign, he "was honoured with the mansab, original and increase, of 3,000 personal and 600 horse."⁴ In the 14th year of the reign, he was the *kotiwâl*, and he is spoken of as submitting his offering before the King.⁵ His name is mentioned with that of Mustafâ Khân, who also is mentioned in our farmân.

Muhamad Baqr seems to be the Baqr Khan, who, according to the Tuzuk, was, in the 13th year of the reign, Fozdar of Multan⁶ and in the 14th was raised to the mansab of 1,000 personal and 400 horse.⁷ In the same year (the 14th), he was given an elephant⁸ and was honoured with a standard.⁹ He had some influence with the King, and so, had secured pardon for one Allâh-dâd, who was in the ill will of the King.¹⁰ In the 16th year, he was in charge of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse, which were reviewed by the King who then made him the Fozdar of Agra.¹¹ In the 16th year, he was raised to the mansab of 2,000 personal and 1,200 horse.¹² In the same year, he was made the Subah of Oudh.¹³ In the 17th year, we find him as the Fozdar of Oudh.¹⁴ In the 18th year, he took an active part in Jehangir's war with his son Khusrau.¹⁵

¹ Ibid p. 232.

² Tuzuk, Ibid I, p. 64.

³ Elliot I, pp. 251-52.

⁴ The Memoirs of Jehangir by Rogers and Beveridge I, p. 418.

⁵ Ibid II, p. 80.

⁶ Memoir's Rogers-Beveridge II, p. 4.

⁷ Ibid. p. 82.

⁸ Ibid p. 86.

⁹ Ibid p. 100.

¹⁰ Ibid p. 120.

¹¹ Ibid p. 199.

¹² Ibid p. 210.

¹³ Ibid p. 217.

¹⁴ Ibid p. 252.

¹⁵ Ibid p. 254.

We learn from the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, that he was a favourite of Jehangir. He was with the King in his tour of Gujarat. Once, the King asked Saiyid Mir Muhammad, him to demand from him whatever he liked, and swore on Korân, that he would give it. But the Saiyid asked only for a Korân. The King presented to him a very elegant copy of it, writing on it with his own hand, that the gift was made "on a certain day and in a certain place." In the account of this affair, the King thus speaks of this person: "The Mir is of an exceedingly good disposition, endowed with personal nobility and acquired excellencies, of good manner and approved ways, with a very pleasing face and open forehead. I have never seen a man of this country of such a pleasing disposition as the Mir."¹

Now, we come to the most important personages of the Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang. *Farmân*, the donees of the Farman, Mulla Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang. They were two of the several Parsees who visited the court of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi on different occasions.²

According to the tradition recorded by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel (Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, p. 856, n. 3), on the authority of a note on the back of a document written by Dastur Framji Sorabjee Meherji Rana of Naosari (1758-1806), who was one of the, if not the, most learned Dasturs of the

¹ Ibid II, p. 34.

² The Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. IX Part II Gujarat Population pp. 183-254) thus speaks of these different visitors of the Mogul Court of Delhi. "Of the Parsis who visited the Moghal Court the names of eight remain. The first was Meherji Rana (1580.)The second was Meherji's son Kekobad who about A. D. 1594-95 went to DelhiThe third was Mulla Jâmâsp a priest of Navsâri who about A. D. 1619 in return for a present of jasimin oil was given a piece of land named Ratnâgiri near Navsâri by the emperor Jahangir. The fourth was Rustam Mânék who went with the head of the Surat factory to Delhi in 1660. The fifth was Sorâbji Kâvasji who was of great service to the English in 1760 when they obtained command of the Surat castle and the post of Moghal Admiral. He returned to Surat bringing dresses of honour and a horse to the heads of the English Company at Surat (Despatch from the Surat Chief in Council to the Bombay President and Council 3rd May 1760 in Briggs' Cities of Gujarâstra). It is said that Sorabji Kâvasji, who had been taught watch-making by a European, first went to Delhi in 1744 to mend a favourite clock of the emperor. The emperor, probably Muhammad Shah (A. D. 1719-1748), was so pleased with Sorabji's skill that he honoured him with the title of Nek Sâtkhân that is Lord of the Lucky Hour, gave him a lien on the customs revenue in Surat and the rank of a chief of 500 horse and 300 foot. Nek Sâtkhan was an ancestor of the well known Ardeshir Bahadur Kotwal of Surat. The sixth was Kavasji Rustamji, third son of the high priest of Udâda, who is said to have gone to Delhi as Nek Sâtkhân's assistant. He was given the title of Mirzân Khosru Beg and land near Surat which his family, now known as the Mirzân family, enjoyed for several years. Mirzân Khosru Beg's skill as a watchmaker descended to his son Kaloji who was watch-repairer to Bâjirâv Peshwa. After Bâjirâv's fall (A.D. 1818) Kaloji went to Bhavnagar with a clock of Bâjirâv's which the Bhavnagar chief had brought. In Bhavnagar he made entirely from local materials a large clock for which a tower was built and which is still (A.D. 1898) in order. Kaloji's descendants have a high name in Bhavnagar and in Kâthiâwâr generally for their skill as watch-makers and mechanics. The seventh was Kalabhai Sorabji the son-in-law of Nek Sâtkhân. He is said to have gone to Delhi to meet his father-in-law and received an estate in Rânder in Surat. The eighth was Mancherji Kharshedji Seth, a wealthy merchant and well known Dutch broker who some time before A. D. 1784 visited Delhi, it was said at the emperor's request, who had heard of the liberality for which he was famous. (This article is printed in a separate book form by K. N. Survai and B. B. Patel, Vide p. 15, n. 2.)

Meherji Rana family of Naosari, ¹ the original names of these two persons were Chândji Kâmdin and Hoshang Rânji. Hoshang was the nephew (brother's son) of Chândji.

There is one statement in the Parsee Prakash, that draws our special attention. The author, Mr. Bomanji Patel quotes from the manuscript of the above Dastur,—a statement, which says that the principal person of the Farmân, Mulla Jamasp (whose original name was Chandji Kamdin) had received the title of Mulla from king Akbar (ચાંદજી કામદીનને અકબર પાદશાહે મુદલાં જમાસ્પને ખેતાબ આપેલો હતો). I have found no other writing to confirm this statement of Dastur Framji about Mulla Jamasp. But, at the same time, there seems to be no reason to doubt that statement. The two Parsees were the contemporaries of the great Dastur, Dastur Meherji Rana, who had gone to the Court of Akbar. We learn from Mahomedan histories like the Muntakhab-ut-Tavârikh of Badaoni, Tabakât-i-Akbari and from the Dabistân, that some other Parsees also had gone to the court of Akbar in the company of Dastur Meherji Rana on the occasion of the religious discussions. Upto now, we know of the name of only one Parsee, and that Dastur Meherji Rana. I think, that these two Parsees, the beneficiaries of our farmân, Jâmâsp and Hoshang, may possibly be two others of the party, and that when Dastur Framji refers in the above quotation, to Jamasp (Chandji Kamdin) having been given the title of Mulla Jamasp, his reference may be to the time when some Parsees headed by Dastur Meherji Rana had visited the court of Akbar. It is not said in the above quotation, why Chandji Kamdin (Jamasp) was given the title of Mulla Jamasp, but I think, it may be for his presence and some services in the religious discussions of his Court. The same must have been the case with Hoshang. Perhaps, one may ask then, why was not Meherji Rana given the title of Mulla. The answer is easy. He was already more than a Mulla. Being the son of a learned father and being a member of a learned family, he already held a high position in his town. So, he required no titular special recognition but was given land at Naosari.

If that is so, we can understand the fact, that the two Parsees, who had been at Akbar's Court and who were honoured by the king, having heard of the arrival of Akbar's son Jehangir at Ahmedabad, a few days' journey from Naosari, went there to pay their homage to the sovereign, whose father had given them material and literary hospitality at his court and had honoured them. While paying their homage, they carried as *nazar* or present some *attar* (perfume) which was well known then as one

¹ P. Prakash I, pp. 106-7.

of the best products of their land. Their presence may have drawn the attention of Jehangir to the fact of their presence at the court of his father. This fact and the additional fact of their having taken the trouble all the way from Naosari to Ahmedabad, to pay their homage to him and that with the *nazar* of an article like *altar* which was always very acceptable to him, may have induced Jehangir to present them with land near their own town. I am not in a position to speak with any confidence on the subject of their visit to the Court of Akbar, but since a learned Dastur of a later time is said to have mentioned the fact, I beg to submit the above view of their possibly being members of Dastur Meherji Rana's party, for further consideration and inquiry.

I give below the ascending and descending lines of ancestors and heirs of Mulla Jamasp (Chandji) and Moola Hoshang. They are prepared from "The Geneology of the Parsi Priests."¹ Out of these two lines, there may arise some doubts about the authenticity of the topmost names in the geneology in the ascending line, but none in the case of the descending line (the *farzandân* of the Farmân) as it is based on recent more authentic *firhasts* or records of descent kept at Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsi priesthood and on the *nâmgrahan* of the Dordi family which comes down from one of Mulla Jamasp's heirs.

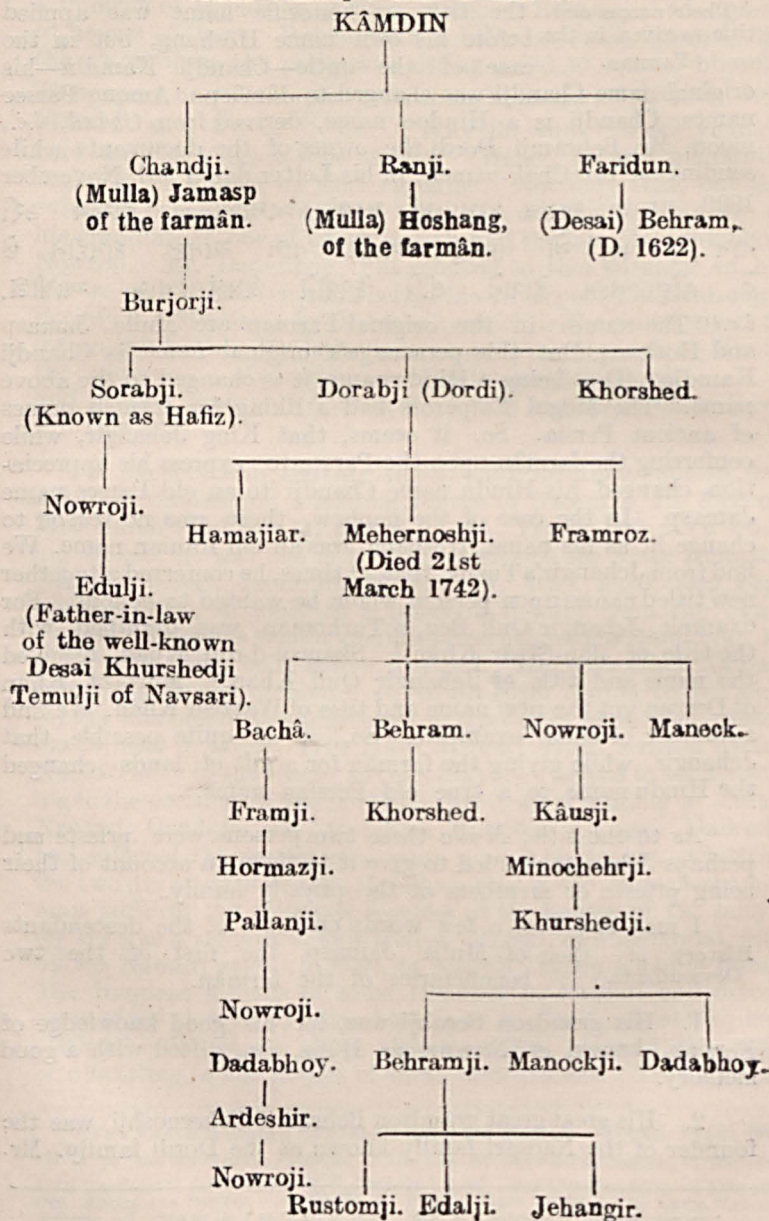
Mulla Jamasp's Line of Ascent up to Jarthost Mobad.

JARTHOST—MOBAD.

|
Kâmdin.
|
Mobad.
|
Kamdin.
|
Rana.
|
Chandna.
|
Anna.
|
Pahlun.
|
Wachâ.
|
Kâmdjn.

¹ "The Geneology of the Parsi Priests" by Ervad Rustomji Jamaspji Dastoor Meherjirana, issued for private circulation only by the liberality of Austa Naoroz Ervad M. Parveez, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, pp. 15 et seq.

Mulla Jamasp's Line of descent.



We see that in the case of the nephew—Hoshang Ranji—Their names and the title or honorific name was applied title as given in the before his own name Hoshang, but in the Farman. case of the uncle—Chandji Kamdin—his original name Chandji was changed to Jâmâsp. Among Parsee names, Chandji is a Hindoo name, derived from *Chând*, i.e., moon. Mr. Behramji Dordi the owner of the documents while sending me this Chak-nâmeh, in his Letter dated 3rd November 1909, wrote असल इरमानभां मुह्लां जामास्प व होसंग करी नाम छे पलु ओ धरुलुं असल नाम यानल कामदीन छे ते हींदु नाम होवाने दीधे इरसीने जपलु नाम आपीजि. i.e. "The names in the original Farman are Mulla Jamasp and Hoshang. But this personage's original name is Chandji Kamdin. That being a Hindu name, it is changed to the above name." The Mogul Emperors had a liking for Iranian names of ancient Persia. So, it seems, that King Jehangir, while conferring the farmân upon the Parsee to express his appreciation, changed his Hindu name Chandji to an old Parsee name Jamasp. In the case of the nephew, there was no reason to change it, as his name, Hoshang, was an old Iranian name. We find from Jehangir's Tuzuk, that, at times, he conferred altogether new titled names upon persons whom he wanted to honour. For example, Jehangir Quli Beg, a Turkoman, was dignified with the title of Jân-Sipâr Khân.¹ Shamsu-d-din Khan received the name and title of Jehangir Quli Khan.² Murtazâ Khan of Deccan got the new name and title of Warzish Khan. We find a number of such examples. So, it is quite possible, that Jehangir, while giving the farmân for a gift of lands changed the Hindu name to a true old Persian name.

As to the title, *Mulla* these two persons were priests and perhaps Jehangir was led to give it to them on account of their being priests or members of the priestly family.

I may say here a few words on some of the descendants History of their of Mulla Jamasp, the first of the two Descendants. beneficiaries of the farmân.

1. His grandson Sorabji was, for his good knowledge of Persian, known at Naosari as Hâfiz, i.e., gifted with a good memory.

2. His great great grandson Behramji Mehernoshji was the founder of the Naosari family known as the Dordi family. Mr.

¹ Tuzuk, Rogers-B. Veridgè I, p. 398.

² Ibid I, p. 144.

Sorabji Muncherji Desai, thus explains the surname:¹ "Once a number of friends went on a picnic. Behramji had agreed to be one of them. But he went a little late, and, approaching the place where the party was sitting, tried to conceal himself. Thereupon, one of the party, noticing him said : " *દોરડીની ડાની અમલાયા શાના કોરોય ?* " i.e. "Why do you twist yourself here and there like a rope (*dordi*). " Hence, he and his family began to be known by that surname. Not only that, but the surname began to be applied to all the descending branches of his grandfather, one of which was that of the late Mr. Dadabhoj Nowroji. Mr. Dadabhoj thus referred to this surname in his lecture on 13th March 1861 before the Liverpool Phil-Harmonic Society. "My name is Dadabhai, which is the name given to me on my birth. My father's name is Nowroji given to him in the same way. My surname or family name is Dordi..... and in any important documents I may sign Dadabhoj Nowroji Dordi."

3. Mehernoshji, the third in descent from Mulla Jamasp, was a known Mobed and a leading Parsee of Naosari. He died on 21st March 1742 (*roz 11, mah 6, 1111 Yazd.*) (a) As a leading Mobed, he was one of the signatories to the letter from the Naosari priests, dated *roz 22, mah 11, 1090 Yazd.* (3rd September 1721), in reply to a letter of inquiry from the Surat Parsees, whether a *padân* (mouth-cover) should or should not be put over a dead body before disposal. He, with other Naosari priests, gave the opinion that mouth-cover should be put on.² (b) He was one of the addressees in a letter of agreement, dated *roz 26, mah 3, savant 1791* (18th January 1735), written by the Naosari laity to the clergy, saying, that they agreed to act according to the decision of the ten Hindu arbitrators residing at Surat, Naosari, Gandevi, etc., to whom Rao Shri Gangaji Gaikwâd had referred the matter of dispute among them, viz., which of the two divisions of priests, the Bhagarias or the Minocherhomjis may perform the religious services at the houses of the laity.³ (c) He was a signatory, as a leading Mobed, of a memorial, sent by the Naosari priests in 1736, to Nawab Tegbeg Khan of Surat. The frequent inroads of some *Pindaris* in Naosari had driven some of the clergy and laity of the town to Surat, where they had settled.⁴ The Surat clergy thereupon had claimed the right of officiating in the houses of these new-comers. The Naosari

¹ Vide his article entitled "Parsee Surnames and Names" પારસી અટકો અને નામો in the Zoroastrian Calendar of the late Mr. Muncherji Jagosh, of the year 1260 Yazdazardi (1890 A.D.). ² P. Prakâhs I p. 23. For the discussion of this question among the Parsees, vide Mr. B. B. Patel's Paper in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 31. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 853.

priests opposed this claim. The claim was examined by Mahomedan Judges in consultation with some leading Hindus and Parsees of Surat and decided in favour of the Naosari priests. The Surat priests occasionally disregarded this decision. So, in the above memorial, the Naosari priests prayed, that a proper writing or *parvanah* may be sent to them, embodying the above decision properly attested. Such a proper writing was sent to the Naosari priests. It had as witnesses or confirmatories, the signatures of about 41 Hindus in addition to those of about 22 Parsees.

4. Coming to the last but one generation of this line of descent, we find, that the brothers Behramji, Maneckji, and Dadabhoy Cursetji Dordi had a helping hand in the founding of the Meherjirana Library at Naosari. They presented a number of books to form a nucleus of the library and one of them Behramji was one of the members of the first managing committee and its local Honorary Secretary from 1874 to 1878.

5. The late Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji, the Grand Old Man of India, was the sixth in descent from this Mehernoshji. Our genealogical tree shows him as coming down from Bachâ, the eldest son of Mehernoshji. The late Mr. Behramji Cursetji Dordi, referred to above, who had kindly placed at my disposal the original farman for a photo for Mr. Irvine, came down from Nowroji, the third son of this Mehernoshji. I am thankful to the three sons of this Mr. Byramji, and especially to Dr. Jehangir B. Dordi, F.R.C.S., for kindly placing again at my disposal for my present study, the original *farmân*, and for giving me some particulars about the family.

VI.

EXPLANATION ABOUT A FEW PARTICULARS OF THE FARMÂN.

Having spoken at some length on several points relating to the order observed in the Farman itself, I will now speak of several facts referred to in the body of the *farmân*.

In one place, in the *Farmân*, there is the mention of a week day, Wednesday. The usual Persian name for Wednesday is Chahâr Shamba, *i.e.*, the fourth Shamba. Shamba ^{شنبه} means a day. Saturday, which is the day after Juma (Friday), the sacred day of the week, is simply called Shamba, *i.e.*, the day. Sunday, the next day, is called Yak-shamba, *i.e.*, the first day after the Shamba. Monday is called *Do-shamba*

and so on. Similarly, Wednesday is the Chahâr (fourth) Shamba. Now, our Farmân speaks of a week day as Kam-shamba کم شنبہ. Were it not for the Tuzuk (Memoirs) of Jehangir, one would be at a loss to say, what that day is.¹ کم شنبہ Kam-shamba was the name given by Jehangir to Wednesday. The reason as given in the Tuzuk is this: on the 11th day of Khurdad month, of the 11th year of his reign, when Jehangir was at Ajmere, there died his grand-daughter,² daughter of Shah Khurram (afterwards Shah Jehan) of small-pox. The day was Wednesday, the 29th of Jumâdi-l-awval 1025 Hijri (15th June 1616). Jehangir was much grieved at her death, because she was the first child of the prince. Hence, he directed, that Wednesday, the day of the week on which the death took place, may be called Kam-shamba. The translator of the Tuzuk, Mr. Rogers, seems to think that the word may be Gum-shamba, *i.e.*, the day on which the grand-daughter was lost (gum).³ In our Farmân, the word is کم and not گم. So the word is Kam-Shamba *i.e.*, the less (fortunate) or unfortunate day.

We have another instance of how Jehangir, according to his fancy, changed the proper name of a week day. During the 12th year of his reign, Jehangir named Thursday, which is the fifth *shamba*, Mubârak (*i.e.*, auspicious) *shamba*. Thursday the 26th corresponding with the 14th of Shabân, which is the Shab-i-barât was first named Mubârak *shamba*. Jehangir thus gives the reasons: "On this day of Thursday, several special things had happened. One was that it was the day of my accession to the throne; secondly, it was the Shab-i-barât; thirdly, it was the day of the *râkhî*, which has already been described, and with the Hindus is a special day. On account of these three peices of good fortune I called the day the Mubârak-*shamba* Wednesday, in the same way that Mubârak-*shamba* had been a fortunate one for me, had fallen out exactly the opposite. On this account I gave this evil day the name of Kam-*shamba*, in order that this day might always fail from the world (lessen)."⁴ In his Tuzuk, Jehangir continues to name Wednesdays and Thursdays as Kam-*shamba* and Mubârak-*shamba*, *e.g.*, he uses this name in his account of his hunting expedition in Gujarat in

1 Munshi Nasir Alikhan's copy of the farmân and a Gujarati translation of the farmân given to me by the family have misread the word and taken it to be Yak-shamba *i.e.*, Sunday.

2 According to Beveridge, her name was Chimni Begum, which name may be Charmani Begum, *i.e.*, verdant or garden-like Begum (Memoirs I, p. 326, n. 6).

3 Memoirs I, p. 327.

4 The Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri by Rogers and Beveridge I p. 386.

the 12th year of his reign.¹ Further on, we find that he ceases using these auspicious and inauspicious names.²

We have an instance of Jehangir never naming even his son whom he disliked. He says about his son Khurram, (afterwards Shah Jehan) who had turned disloyal to him: "I proceeded to punish that one of dark fortune, and gave an order that henceforth they should call him Bi-daulat (wretch). Wherever in this record of fortune, 'Bi-daulat' is mentioned it will refer to him."³ We find that thereafter he always speaks of Khurram as Bi-daulat.

The family tradition, current among the descendants of the Mullas, says that they went to Delhi and presented the *atar* there. The late Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel thus recorded the tradition in his *Parsi Prakâsh*,⁴ while speaking of the death of Mehernosh Dârâb, the fourth in descent from Mullâ Jâmâsp:—

“ એવણુના આપનો અપાવો આ. ચાંદજી કામદીન તથા તેનો એક ભત્રીજો આ. હોશંગ રાનજી કરી દીક્ષી ખાતે શાહ જંગીરની દરબારમાં ઇ. સ. ૧૬૧૯ માં ગયા હતા. અને એક દસ્તાવેજ ઉપરથી માલમ પડે છે કે એએએ શાહને મોગરાંનાં અત્તરની એક બરની નગર કીધી, જેથી તે નામદારે ખુશી થઈ એએને નવસારી કર્યામાં ૧૦૦ વીંધા જમીન વંશ પરંપરા ભેટ આપી, તથા કેહ છે કે દીદલીની દરબાર ખાતેથી આયા પછી એએ “ મુહલાં જામાસ્પને ” નામે નવસારીમાં એલખાતા હતા, કે જે વિષે નવસારીવાલા મરહુમ દસ્તુર ફરાંમજી સોહરાબજી મેહેરજી રાણાએ એક દસ્તાવેજની પુઠે લખ્યું છે કે “ ચાંદજી કામદીનને અકબર પાદશાહે મુહલાં જામાસ્પને, ખેતાબ આપેલો હતો. ”

i.e., “ His great grandfather, A. (*i.e.*, Andhiaru or priest) Chandji Kamdin and one of his nephews, Andhiaru Hoshang Ranji, had gone in 1619 to Delhi in the court of Shâh Jehangir; and it appears from a document that they submitted to the king as an offering (*nazar*) a jar of the *atar* of daisies. His Majesty thereupon being pleased gave them a hereditary grant of 100 bigahs of land in the *qasbâ* (town) of Naosari. And it is (further) said that after returning from the Court of Delhi, he was known by the name of Mulla Jamasp at Naosari. The late Dastur Framji Sohrabji Meherjirana of Naosari has thus written about this (matter) on the back of a document. ‘Chandji Kamdin was given the title of Mulla Jamasp by King Akbar.’”

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 404, 406, 413. ² *Ibid* II, pp. 153, 163, 167. ³ *Tuzuk* II, p. 248.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 356, n. 3.

The *dastâvej* (*i.e.*, the document), referred to by Mr. Patel, seems to be our farman under examination, and it corrects Mr. Patel in the following matters which he heard as mentioned in the family tradition.

1. Firstly, Mullâ Jâmâsp had not gone to Delhi. The presentation was not at Delhi.
2. The proper date of the event is 1618 and not 1619, though the latter is the year in which a note of the farmân was taken in one of the court records.
3. The presentation from the Mulla was that of 4 goblets of the *atar* of Jessamine and not of one jar of the *atar* of daisy.

The most important correction is that in the matter of the place of presentation. It was not Delhi but was Ahmedâbâd. What we learn from the different dates mentioned in the body of the Farman and in its postscript, etc., is this :

(1) The two Parsees saw King Jehangir with some bottles of *atar* on the 2nd *roz* Bahman of Shehrivar (the 6th Parsee Month) in the 13th year of his reign. The 13th year of Jehangir's reign (which also was the new year's day, *Roz 1 Farwardin*) began on "Wednesday, the 23rd *Rabî 'u-l-awwal*, 1027 (March 10, 1618)."¹ So, the event of the interview happened on 15th August 1618 (New style).

(2) In appreciation of the present, acceptable to His Majesty, the Mullas were presented with a sum of Rs. 100 and land about 100 bigahs in area. The farmân of this gift was issued on the 11th (*i.e.*, *roz Khorshed*) of the same month Shehrivar, *i.e.*, 9 days after the presentation of the *itar* (*atar*). This corresponds with the 12th of Ramzan,² 24th of August 1618.

(3) A note of the Emperor's gift was taken in the *Yâddâsh* and a written farmân was issued on the 13th day *roz Tir* of the month *Âdar*, the 9th month of the Parsee Calendar, *i.e.*, 3 months and 2 days after the issue of the Royal Farman orally. This date then comes to the 24th of November 1618.

(4) Then a note of the issue of the Royal Farman was made in the records of Sayid Mir Mahmad on *roz Rashne* (18th day) of month *Aspandârmaz*, the 12th month of the Parsee year. This then was the 27th of February 1619.

From these dates we see, that the presentation of the *atar* and the issue of the *farmân* took place in the month of Shehrivar of the 13th year of Jehangir's reign, *i.e.*, in August 1618. Now

¹ Date calculated from the Memoirs of Jehangir by Rogers-Beveridge, II, p. 1.

² From *Ibid*, p. 31.

we learn from the Tuzuk of Jehangir, that on the 21st of Farwardin, the first month, Jehangir turned with his army towards Ahmedabad.¹ On 23rd Farwardin, he was at Jalod and on the 29th on the bank of the Mahi. He left Mahi on the 1st of Ardibehesht and on the 7th of the same month entered Ahmedabad. In his account of the events of the month of Khurdad, he condemns Ahmedabad as "a spot devoid of the favour of God."² He condemns its air, soil and water. He gives bad names to Ahmedabad, such as Samûmistân, *i.e.*, the place of the simoom, Bimâristân, *i.e.*, the place of sickness, and Jahânnamâbâd, *i.e.*, the seat of hell. He continued to remain at Ahmedabad in the months of Tir and Amardad. He had grand illuminations, at the Kankaria tank there, on the occasion of the holiday of the Shab-i-Barât. We further read, that on the 1st of Shehrivar, he was still at Ahmedabad. His advance camp left Ahmedabad for Agra on the 7th of Shehrivar,³ corresponding to 19th August 1618.⁴ An auspicious hour was named by astrologers and astronomers for the march of the King's and his men's camp. He was to start on the 21st of Shehrivar (22 Ramzan 1027=2nd September 1618).⁵ Thus, on the 2nd day of Shehrivar (the 14th of August 1618), when the Mullas presented themselves before the Emperor with their *nazar* of the four goblets of the *atar* of jessamine, the emperor was at Ahmedabad.

We find from the itinerary as given in the Tuzuk that the royal march was very slow. As Jehangir himself says:—"From Ahmedabad to Ujain is a distance of 98 kos (196 miles). It was traversed in 28 marches and forty-one halts—that is in two months and nine days." This comes to less than 3 miles per day. After he arrived at Ujain on 1st of Âdar he stopped there long. On the 2nd of the next month Deh he arrived at the fort of Ranthambur. He then says:—

"The astrologers and astronomers chose the day of Mu-bârak shamba (Thursday), the 28th of the Divine month of Dai, in my thirteenth year, corresponding with the last day of the Muharram in the Hijri year 1028 (January 7, 1619), as the proper time at which to enter the capital of Agra. At this time, again, it appeared from the reports of the loyal, that the disease of the plague was prevalent in Agra, so that daily about 100 people, more or less, were dying of it. Under the armpits, or in the groin, or below the throat, buboes formed, and they died. This is the third year that it has raged in the cold weather, and disappeared in the commencement of the hot season. It is a strange thing that in these three years the infection has spread

¹ Tuzuk II, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ Calculated from *Ibid.*, p. 27 note.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25 note.

to all the towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Agra, while there has been no trace of it in Fathpûr. It has come as far as Amânâbâd, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos from Fathpûr, and the people of that place (Amânâbâd) have forsaken their homes and gone to other villages. There being no choice, and considering the observance of caution necessary, it was decided that at this propitious hour, the victorious army should enter the inhabited part of Fathpûr in all joy and auspiciousness, and after the sickness and scarcity had subsided and another auspicious hour had been chosen, I should enter the capital, please the Almighty and most holy Allah."¹

He stayed at Fathpûr for more than three months. Then further on we read: "On Sunday the 1st Urdibihisht, at the auspicious hour chosen by astrologers and astronomers, I mounted a special elephant of the name of Dilir, and in all prosperity and happiness entered the City."² Then, from Agra he went to Kashmir. From all the above, we find that for all the dates found in the Farmân, the last of which was in Asfandarmaz, the king was not at all at Delhi. On the date of the issue of the Farmân, the 11th of Sherivar (23rd of August 1618) he was at Ahmedabad.

Thus, we see that the family tradition, that the Mullahs went to Delhi to see the Emperor is not correct, though it is correct to say that they went to the Delhi Darbar or the King's Darbar. The Emperor's Darbar is said to be at the place wherever he be for the time being, just as we now speak of the Bombay Government to be at Bombay, Poona or Mahableshtar, wherever the Governor in Council may be for the time being.

The following table gives the dates of the different events referred to in the Farmân.

Events.	Ilâhi date of the 13th year of Jehangir's reign, i. e., 1027 Hijri 1618 A. D.	Hijri date.	Christian date.
1. Jehangir's arrival at Ahmedabad.	Roz 7th Amerdad, mah 2nd, Ardibehesht.
2. The Mullah's interview with Jehangir.	Roz 2 Bahman, mah 6 Shehrivar.	..	15th Aug. 1618.
3. The date on which the Farmân for the grant of 100 bigahs was given by Jehangir.	Roz 11 Khorshed mah 6 Shehrivar.	..	24th Aug. 1618.

¹ Tuzuk, Vol. II, pp. 65-66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

4. The date, on which the farmân was noted in the Records of the Chowki, the Resâlêh, Waqiah, etc.	Roz 13 Tir, mah 9 Adar.	Wednes- day, the 16th Zi I Hajja 1027.	24th Nov. 1618.
5. The date of noting the farmân in the records of Saiyid Mir Mahomed.	Roz 18 Rashna, mah 12 Asfandarmad.	21 Rabi-ul Auwal 1028.	Friday, 27th Feb. 1619.

Now, a question may arise, why Jehangir should have presented to the two Parsees Rs. 100 and 100 bigahs of land for four goblets (fûlil) of the *atar* (*itar*). Of course, we know, that often much depends, upon the whims or fancies of kings. They may pay fancy prices for insignificant things or niggardly miserable prices for rare costly things. But, in this case, I think, there were special reasons, why the King should be very favourable towards the Parsees. The reasons seem to be the following:—

- (a) The fact of Jehangir's personal appreciation for perfumes.
- (b) The fact of the perfume coming from the hands of persons at Naosari, which was much famed for its perfumes.
- (c) The fact that the two Parsees belonged to the priestly class, and were men of some position.

I will speak of these three points in order.

Firstly, we learn from Jehangir's Tuzuk, that he greatly appreciated fragrant oils, and, at one time, he rewarded his own mother-in-law for discovering fragrant otto of roses. He describes that event in the account of the 9th year of his reign. Once he had very large pomegranates brought by merchants from Yezd, and melons brought from Kâriz. They were so extraordinarily good in comparison with those he usually had—pomegranates from Kabul and melons from Badakhshân—that he thought as if he "had never had a pomegranate or a melon before." He then regretted that his revered father Akbar, who was fond of fruits, had not the opportunity of enjoying such good fruits in his time. The fruits reminded him of the *atar* of roses, and he similarly regretted that his father

(a) Jehangir's appreciation of *atar*. Another example of a present in appreciation.

had not also the advantage of enjoying the most fragrant oil discovered in his time. He then thus describes the discovery and the reward that he gave for it: "I have the same regret for the Jahângîrî *'itr* (so called otto of roses), that his nostrils were not gratified with such essences. This *itr* is a discovery which was made during my reign through the efforts of the mother of Nûr-Jehân Begam. When she was making rose-water, a scum formed on the surface of the dishes into which the hot rose-water was poured from the jugs. She collected the scum little by little; when much rose-water was obtained a sensible portion of the scum was collected. It is of such strength in perfume that if one drop be rubbed on the palm of the hand, it scents a whole assembly, and it appears as if many red rose buds had bloomed at once. There is no other scent of equal excellence to it. It restores hearts that have gone and brings back withered souls. In reward for that invention, I presented a string of pearls to the inventress. Salîma Sultân Begam (may the lights of God be on her tomb) was present, and she gave this oil the name of '*itr-i-Jehangiri*.'"¹

Another reason, why Jehangir should have so generously rewarded the two Parsees for presenting
(b) Naosari famous for its perfumes. the perfume, seems to be, that they were from Naosari; and so, the perfume must have been the product of that town which was well-known for its excellent perfumery. In a reference to Naosari, in the Âin-i-Akbari, we read Abul Fazl saying that "they manufacture fragrant perfumes there, the like of which is produced nowhere else."²

روغن خوشبو آنجا سازند که در هیچ جا نشود

Jehangir may have perhaps presented Mulla Jamâsp and
(c) Regard for the priestly class. Mulla Hoshang with cash in addition to land because they belonged to the priestly class of a community for whose ancient ancestry and religion his father had a great regard. We find some cases of such double presentation in Jehangir's Tuzuk. For example, he presented Maulânâ Muhammad Amin, a faqir with 1,000 bighas of land and 1,000 rupees in cash.³

¹ The Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri by Rogers Beveridge I, pp. 270-271.

² Blochmann's Text, Vol. I, p. 498, column 1, l. 13. Col. Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 257. From my casual visits of Naosari, I think that the people of Naosari, even now, are very fond of flowers and that the soil of the town produces fragrant flowers. While passing through its Bazar (chowta) one sees, that compared to the population of the town there is a very large number of flower-shops, which reveal their presence to the passers-by by the fragrance of the flowers. Mr. Bânâ of Naosari has won many prizes for perfumery in several Indian Exhibitions.

³ Tuzuk-Rogers-Beveridge I, p. 135.

VII.

THE PLACE AND SITUATION OF THE LAND GIVEN TO THE MULLAS.

Now, let us examine, in what part of the Naosari district was the land, granted to the two Parsis, situated. We saw, that the *farmân* speaks of *chak bastan*,¹ i.e., of settling the boundaries of the land given by the Emperor. It seems, that the rule of the Mogul Emperors was, that the donee went with the *farmân* given by the Emperor to the particular district named in the *farmân* and presented it to the governor or other officers of the district. They, then gave the proposed area of available land in their district. The officers, selecting the land, described it in, what is called a *chak-nâmeh*. All the land granted by the Emperor cannot always be available in one place. So, they described in the *chak-nâmeh* where the different pieces of land which made up the area granted were situated, and what the boundaries of the pieces were. In the case of the *farmân* in favour of the two Parsees, we have a *chaknâmeh* of this kind in the hands of the Dordi family, a branch of one of the original donees. It is dated 1031 Hijri. So, it took about four years after the date of the *farmân* for the authorities of the Surat Sarkar to find out the land for the Parsis and settle its details.

I beg to give the text and translation of the *chak-nâmeh*, which I think will be found very interesting, as it gives one an idea of the old way of describing the boundaries which was not much different from our present method. It is also interesting from another point of view, viz., that the Revenue Officers of the Moguls had, in spite of the comparative richness of the Persian language, to use many Gujarati words in describing the boundaries. I am supplied with the original *chak-nâmeh*, a subsequent copy, and an old Gujarati translation of it. I am surprised to find that the copy differs from the original in an important part of it, viz., the details of the boundaries. The text of the preliminary portion, which relates what the document is, is well nigh the same with the difference of a word here and there. I think, the copyist had before him also the original *farmân*. So, when copying the *chak-nâmeh*, he put in some additional words, which he found in the *farmân* itself, but which were not put in the *chak-nâmeh*, perhaps because they were thought not very

¹ I have explained the word *chak* above. The word has several cognate meanings. One of its meanings is "the written and signed sentence of a judge or magistrate." The Indian words *chakâdo* (चक्रदो) for "decision" and *châkavvu* (चक्रवु) for "to settle, to pay off" are connected with this word. It also means "title-deeds, bonds, notes, etc." In the matter of land, the technical word which goes with it as a verb is "*bastan*, i.e., "to bind." So, *chak bastan* means 'to draw out the boundaries of the land and give its description in detail.' The document that does this, is spoken of as *chak-nâmeh*.

important. As to the difference in the description of the details, they are not very important, but the copyist perhaps was asked to give what was subsequently thought to be a more exact description of the boundaries of the different pieces.

The copy bears a name, perhaps of its owner, in Gujarati as બી. પી. ડોર્ડી *i.e.*, B. P. Dordi. It bears on the left hand corner of the top some words which look like قرآن شریف Qurân Sharif, *i.e.*, the holy Qurân. It omits the word الهی given at the top of the original chak-nâmeh. The Gujarati translation has followed not the original *chak-nameh*, but the copy.

Before giving the text and the translation, I will describe the process of the description of the boundaries, so that the reader may easily follow the contents of the chak-nâmeh.

It was generally the practice of the Mogul times that when land was granted as a favour, one-fourth of it formed good ground which was already cultivated, and three-fourths uncultivated land, which is technically spoken of in the document as *ustadeh* اُستاده *i.e.*, "fallen," the corresponding Gujarati word for which, as used even now, is *padat* (પડત), *i.e.*, land that had fallen or remained uncultivated. According to the above division, the details of the land as given in the chak-nâmeh, are divided into two parts. Firstly, the details of the one-fourth cultivated land (*zamin-mazrua*) are given and then those of the uncultivated or fallen land. The cultivated land was not in one contiguous plot. Some of it was in a place known as the garden (*bâgh*) of Bâuji, which, as the chak-nâmeh is not written all along with proper dots (*nukteh*) on the letters, may be read variously. The name may be read as Makuji or Naluji or in several other ways. But I read it as Bâuji, because in the old Gujarati translation, it is so read. So, it is possible, that the old translation perhaps gave the name as it had come down to the times of the translator from one lip to another. Again the name Bâwâji is even now heard at Naosari as the name of some persons. For example, there was upto a few years ago, a known learned Parsee Desai, known as Bâwâbhâi Desai. The rest of the cultivated land, was in the garden of Ratnâgar. This word also can be read variously. But there is no doubt about its reading, because the name still continues as Ratan wâdi or Ratnâgar wâdi. It is situated on our way to Kâchiâwady on the bank of the Purnâ river at Naosari. I had the pleasure of going to this part of Naosari several times in some of my morning walks during my occasional visits to Naosari.

The boundaries of these two pieces in the above two *bâghs* or gardens are described in two rows in the document, the Bâwji's garden land on the right hand and the Ratnagar land on the left. The order followed in the description of the boundaries is East, West, South and North.

The uncultivated (*uftâdeh*) land consisted of seven different pieces as follows:—

1. In the land known as that of the garden of Ratnâgar.
2. In *Pâdar* i reh *i.e.*, the *pâdar* of the road.¹
3. The piece of land in Tigreh² on the bank of the river (*nadi*).
4. Another piece of land at Tigreh.
5. A piece of land named as Goleh گوله

From the details of the boundary of this piece, it seems that it was near Tigreh.

6. A piece of land known as Loki. It was near Tigreh.
7. A piece of land at Italweh.³

The above nine pieces—two of good cultivated land and seven of uncultivated (*uftâdeh* ۷۵۴) land—made up the 100 bigahs as follows:—

The garden of Bawji had 22½ bigahs.

The Ratnâgar garden had 2½ bigahs.

These two made up the one-fourth good cultivated land measuring 25 *bigâhs*.

¹ The word is used even now at Naosari and in other villages of Gujarat as ગામની પાદરે *gâm ni padarê' i.e.*, on the outskirts of the village or town. We do not find this word in Persian dictionaries, but it may be *pâ dar* پا در *i.e.*, "the foot in." We have the phrase پا در رکاب (lit. foot in the stirrup), used when one is just about to side. So, in connection with towns or villages, the words 'pâ dar' may mean, ground just on the border of the town, whence you step into the town. Here, by 'pâ dar i reh,' is meant, perhaps the land just on the road.

² There is even now a village of the name of Tigrâh about two miles from Naosari and about a mile on the south-east of the Mehta Parsee Lying-in Hospital. A road from the south of the jail, leads to it (*vide* my paper on the poet Bhajo Bhagat in my *Dnyân Prasarak Essays Part IV*). A large tract of land over and above the present village then bore the name of Tigreh.

³ Italwun is a village about 3 to 4 miles from Naosari. At present, the main road to Gandevi from Naosari passes through this village. It is larger than Tigreh.

Then the above seven pieces contained 75 *bigâhs* follows:—

1. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$. A plot of ground in the land known as Ratnâgar bâg.
2. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. A plot on the *pâdar* of the road.
3. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. A plot at Tigreh on the bank of the *nadi* (river).
4. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Another plot of Tigreh.
5. 7. Plot known as Goleh.
6. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$. Plot known as Loki.
7. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$. Plot at Itâlweh.

Total 75.

Now, I give the text of the *chak-nâme*. It is difficult to decipher correctly all the words, especially the proper names of the places, as the usual dots or *nukteh*s are not generally given. So, in reading these and the figures about the bigahs, I am helped by the Gujarati translation. There is also a copy of this *chak-nâmeh* on very thin paper in two leaves. In rare cases, this copy helps us to determine a word here and there. The second leaf of this copy contains the boundaries of the last few pieces.

(The Text of the *Châk-nâmeh*)

اللَّهُ اَكْبَرُ

زمین مدد معاش² مولا جاماسب و مولا حوشنگ فارسی بافرزندان
³ بموجب فرمان عالیشان واجب الاذعان جهانگیری و پووانچه نواب
⁴ مستطاب جملة الملكى⁵ اعتماد الدوله⁶ و نواب⁷ و وزارت پناه
 سیدخان

¹ This form of invocation to God, introduced by Akbar, over which there was a good deal of discussion among his courtiers (*vide* above) is written in different styles or shapes. In this *chak-nâmeh*, it is written as above. In the *farmân* itself it is written in another shape.

² The word *Mulla*, as written here, varies from what is written in the *farmân* itself where it is written *ملا* *mullâ*, which means "a schoolmaster, a doctor, a learned man, a judge, a priest" (Steingass). When written *مولا* *Mâula*, as written in this *chak-nâmeh*, it means, a lord, master; a judge, magistrate of a city; the supreme Lord, God; a slave, servant, a freedman (*Ibid*). In the copy of this *chak-nâmeh*, it is written *Mulla*, as in the *farmân* itself. I think that the form as given in the original *farmân* and correctly written in the copy of the *chak-nâmeh* is the proper form. So, I have followed it in my translation. The copy omits this word before the name of Hoshang.

³ In the copy, of the *chak-nâmeh*, the word is موافق

⁴ *Mustatâb*, gracious.

⁵ In the copy, we have an additional word before this, *viz.*, مدار لهامى, *i.e.*, the centre of affairs.

⁶ In the copy, we find these additional words after this word:

و صدارت پناه سیادت مایه میرسید احمد قادری

i.e., the protector of the ministry, the wealth of dominion, Mir Saiyid Ahmad Qadâri.

⁷ *Wazârat*, the dignity of the Minister.

و تعلیقہ بہر مرزا محمد قاسم موازی یکصد بیگہ زمین بگز آہی
 موافق ضابطہ کہ یک حصہ مزروع رعیت و سہ حصہ افتادہ لایق زراعت
 از سواد قصبہ نومساری سرکار سورت کہ در فصل خریف^۱ تنگوزیل سنہ ۱۰۳۱
 خدام حکومت^۲ شعاری مرزا مظفر حسین و^۳ خواجہ لعلچند دیوان و
 دیسایان و مقدمان و رعایا و مزارعان تفصیل ذیل بقاریخ ۸ شہر
 جہادی الثانی ۱۵۳۳ پیمودہ و چک بستہ چہار حد جدا کردہ و معین
 مساختہ حوالہ مشار^۴ الہما نمودہ شد کہ کسی دیگر بزمین مذکور مدخل
 و مزاحم نشود کہ موومی الیہ در قبض و تصرف خود آوردہ بغراغ خاطر
 مستحصل زمین مذکور صرف نمودہ در دعا گوی دوام دولت حضرت
 اعلیٰ خلد^۵ رہبر ملکہ مشغول باشند^۶ ما بیگہ بگز آہی

زمین مزروع رعیت کاشتہ

دو قطعہ

(۱) قطعہ ۷ با اوجی

شرقی — متصل^۸ و زراعت کامدین.....

غربی — متصل کیاری بہرام جی

جنوبی — متصل^{۱۰} کھانجن و کھاری

شمالی —^{۱۱} سرعام و کھاریہ

¹ The word as given in the chak-nāmah, is سکور wherein all the letters are not given their proper *nuktahs*. But the word seems to be Tanguz, the 12th or the last month of the Turks (*vide* the Chronology of Alb runi by Dr. Sachan, p. 83).

² Shi'ari, customary, habitual.

³ The copy of this document omits this word.

⁴ The copy has the word as مشار الہم

⁵ rjha a king, prince, emperor. I am doubtful about the reading of this word.

⁶ The copy has after the word *bāshand* مہر صدر *i.e.*, "with the seal of the *sadr*. As it is a copy, it means to say, that the original has the seals of the proper authorities.

⁷ The copy of the chak-nāmah gives between the two words, two additional words *viz.*, اندر باغ, *i.e.*, (The piece is) "in the garden" of Bauji. We find the word *bāgh* in the case of the other piece in the garden Ratnāgir.

⁸ I do not understand the word which is written without the *nuktahs*. It seems to be the proper name of a neighbour's land.

⁹ The copy gives, instead of the word *muttasil* (contiguous, adjacent). باغ ہاتھ. The whole will then read باغ ہاتھ کیاری بہرام جی *i.e.*, (in the garden of the *hāth-kiāri* of Behramji. *Hāth-kiāri* is Gujarati, meaning, the rice-field (હાથકિયારી), which can be only ploughed by hand (હાથ) where bullocks cannot work.

¹⁰ This and the following word are local Gujarati words, now spoken as *ખાજાન* *ખાજી* *khajan khari*, *i.e.*, excavated land and salt water bed. When one exaggerates a matter, a Gujarati proverb says: *ખાજાન ખાજી કાઠ નડતી નથી* *i.e.*, he is not restricted by any excavated ground or outlet of water. The copy gives for the whole line only the words *کھاریہ باغ* *bāg kharieh* (*ખાજી* *ખાજી* *ખાજી*)

¹¹ *Sar a'am*, *i.e.*, public side. These words, used in the case of another boundary, are شارع عام which seem to be more appropriate. شارع *Shār'aa* is high road. The words mean 'public road.' We use in colloquial Gujarati *શાર* *શાર* *શાર* *i.e.*, public road. The copy gives for this line *کھاریہ* (*ખાજાન* *ખાજી*) which are explained above.

(2) قطع باغ رتناگر
 شرقی - متصل کیاری چاند جیو 1 پتیل
 غربی - متصل زراعت بہمن 2 جیو ولد بہرام
 جنوبی - دابہریر ملک 3 یوسف
 شمالی - چاہ چاند جیو پتیل 4

(Now follow the description of the seven pieces (*qataa's*) of the uncultivated ground. It runs as follows:—)

(1) زمین افتادہ لایق زراعت
 قطع رتناگر 5
 شرقی متصل کیاری چاند جیو پتیل
 غربی متصل زراعت بہمن جیو ولد بہرام 6
 جنوبی - متصل دابہریر
 شمالی - متصل چاہ چاند جیو پتیل
 (2) قطع پادریہ
 شرقی - متصل سر 8 عام
 غربی - متصل تلابدی 9 کرمدا 10

1 The name, as ordinarily spoken, is چاند جی Chandji and not Chandjiv. The copy gives it as such.

2 Bahmanji, son of Behram. The copy gives the name as: بہرام اندہارو (بہرام اندہارو) i.e., Behram, the priest.

3 The copy gives this boundary as شارع عام i.e. public road. The Malik Yusuf named here, is one of the signatories of the document as will be seen below:

4 The copy gives this boundary as منوچہر ... باغ کلان i.e., the large garden of ... Minochehar. The illegible word before Minochehar may be Desai or Adharā.

5 The copy gives قطع در باغ رتناگر

6 The copy gives as boundary simply the word نالم i.e., a steam. The copy all along omits the first word *muttasil*, i.e., adjoining.

7 The copy adds the name of the person to whom the *dābaharieh* belonged, and says دابہریر باغ ملک یوسف i.e., the *dābaharieh* of the garden of Malik Yusuf. *Dābaharieh* is the local Gujarati word for the ground where nothing useful grows, but only rank grass of the lowest kind.

8 The copy has راہ عرابہ و بہلاد i.e., the road of carriage and ox. The word *bahlad* for ox is Gujarati (بہلاد).

9 A Gujaraticised form (تلاب) from Pers. تلاب tilāb, pond.

10 This seems to be the name of the pond. Or, perhaps, it may be a word for the Kara madā (کرمدا) berries. The copy has, instead of this line, دین تلابوری i.e., the mouth of the small pond (تلابوری).

- جنوبی۔ متصل درختها کہ پوری سوخی مانکا¹
 شمالی۔ متصل چاہ و² چہپر بہمن جیو
 (3) قطع تیگرہ³ کہ لب آب ندی
 شرقی۔ متصل زراعت بہمن جیو⁴
 غربی۔ متصل چاہ و باغ لہمو بہمن جیو⁵
 جنوبی۔ متصل کہاری تیگرہ⁶
 شمالی۔ متصل زراعت نورسنگ مہرجیو⁷
 4. قطع تیگرہ بموجب شرح
 شرقی۔ متصل زراعت نورسنگ مہرجی⁸
 غربی۔ متصل درخت آسہ بہمن جیو⁹
 جنوبی۔ متصل باغ لہمو بہمن جیو¹⁰
 شمالی۔ متصل کہاری تیگرہ
 5. قطع گولہ
 شرقی۔ متصل زمین ایقالوہ کہ بتحد سہ درخت خرما ہندی است
 غربی۔ متصل زمین کولی و چاہ کولیم
 جنوبی۔ متصل کہاری تیگرہ
 شمالی۔ متصل کہاری موضع¹¹ بسولی من عمال پرگنہ تیلاری

1 The copy gives the boundary of the south as بہرام ادہارو *i.e.*, the hut (Gujarati ۱۶۴) of Behrām, the priest, and that of the north, as استجار کہ پوری *i.e.*, the tree of the date palm (મજી) of Somji Mānkeh. The Gujarati rendering gives the name as શીમજી માનકા. The boundaries differ, but the text of the copy and the Gujarati rendering help us to read the proper name as Somji Mankā.

2 Gujarati ۱۶۲ or ۱۶۴.

3 The copy has, instead of کہ the word پار par, *i.e.*, the edge.

4 The copy has this boundary as زراعت بہرام ادہارو نزدیک آب ندی *i.e.*, the field of Behrām Adhāru, near the water of the river. The original gives the name of the owner, as Bahmanjiv (Bahmanji), who, as seen above, was the son of Behramjee.

5 The copy has باغ لہمون بہرامجی *i.e.*, the garden of lemon (lahamun ۱۶۱) of Behramjee.

6 The copy gives this boundary و زراعت کشت درخت تیگرہ *i.e.*, the trees, field and cultivation.

7 The copy is torn off at this portion.

8 It may be read simply as ہرجی Hirji.

9 The name Bamanji (v) is quite clear in the original, but the copy, in its bad *shikasta* style, gives a form, which can be read both as Bahmanji or کہوچی Kahmūhi. So, the Gujarati rendering has given the boundary as ۱۶۱ ۱۶۱ ۱۶۱. This is evidently a mistake.

10 The copy gives the name as بہرام ادہارو and the boundaries are interchanged, *i.e.*, what is the southern in the one is the northern in the other and *vice versa*.

11 I am guided in reading this name by the Gujarati version, which gives the name as ۱۶۱.

6. قطع لوکی

شرقی—متصل جاہ کولیم

غربی—متصل زمین کامدین طبیب

جنوبی—متصل تیگرہ

شمالی—کہاری موضع بسولی

7 قطع ایقالوہ

شرقی—متصل زمین کہاریہ

غربی—متصل حد کولیم

جنوبی—متصل کہاری تیگرہ و کہرنالہ

شمالی—متصل زمین کہاسہ

قطعات محدودہ موصوفہ مذکورہ را با جملگی حدود چک بندی

کردہ دادہ شد این چند کلمہ چکنامہ بر سبیل حجت نوشتہ داد کہ عدالت

حاجت حجت باشد تکریر ... ۹ شہر جماد الثانی سنہ ۳۳

شاہد ۱ ہمایہ شیخ جیدو ولد شیخ احمد

گواہ شد ملک یوسف ولد ملک حبیب

۱ ہریسا پچم پدروا^۲

۱ بوبھر شون^۳ کلاوہ راسک لاسا پراسا

۱ پبھن پپھیرام راسک کراسی نک پراسا

۱ ماڈل شہری راسک

۱ ماڈل آراہین راسک

۱ ماسک ناگوہ راسک لاسک پراسا

۱ مسڈراہ پپھیرام پچ

۱ گویال سوام داس ساڈ لاسا پراسا.

۱ لاس شوراشہ راسک ۱۰۳۱ ۲۲

۱ مہرنوہا کرسٹون ساک

۱ س. مسڈراہ کاکا راسک

۱ دل ماسک راسک

۱ نارایاں کرایڈالسا ساک

۱ گا. ۴ رستم مہرنوہا راسک

۱ مہرنوہا ککڑا دھیرا پچ پچ نامہ لاسا پراسا راحی

شاہد ہمایہ شیخ منصور ابن شیخ منصور

شہد ہمایہ خان محمد ولد عبد الکریم انصاری

^۱ مافی lit. that which (mā) is in (fi). With the preceding word, this means "witness to the contents (of this document)." ^۲ Doubtful: this signature is not clear.

^۳ The copy gives this name as بوبھر شون.

^۴ The copy gives only seven names of the witnesses. One of these is راسک رستم مہرنوہا راسک. This shows that the گا in the original is an abbreviated form of گارد (Gārdā). We know that there is a well-known family at Noasari known as the Gārdā family: so, possibly this signatory was an ancestor of this family. The copy gives among the seven, one name as پشیتن راسک, i.e., Peshitan Rana, but this name is not in the original. There is a letter before the word پشیتن in the copy, which is not legible. It may be پچ for Ervad.

(TRANSLATION OF THE CHAK-NÂMEH.)

GOD IS GREAT.

CHAK-NÂMEH.

'The Chak-nâmeh for the land (given) for the help of the livelihood of Mullâ Jamasp and Mulla Hoshang, Parsee, with their children. Whereas, according to the respected and worthy to be obeyed Jehangiri Farmân, and (according to) the Parwancheh of the gracious Nawab, the leader of the country,¹ the supporter of the state,² and of the Nawâb, the protector of the Wazârat, Sifkhân, and (according to) the³ register with the seal of Mirzâ Mahmâd Qasim, about 100 bigahs of land have been measured with the *ilâhi gaz*, according to the usual practice, *viz.*, one part of the cultivated land of ryots⁴ and three parts of the⁵ uncultivated (land) fit for cultivation, from the rural district of the town of Naosari, in the Sarkâr of Surat, in the *fasal* of Kharif Tunguz El⁶ (month) year 1031, (and Whereas) the customary servants of the rule of Mirzâ Muzaffar Hasin and Khwâja⁷ Lâlchand Diwân and the Desâhis and the revenue-officers⁸ and the ryots and the cultivators have, on date 8th Jamâdu-l-sâni 1033, measured in details as given below and settled the limits (chak), separated the four boundaries and prepared assignments, (the land) has been entrusted to the above said persons; so that no body else may enter into the land and be troublesome; so that the above said persons having the land in their own charge and possession, may, with peace of mind, spending the income of the said land, remain engaged in saying prayers for the perpetual good fortune of His Majesty for the perpetuity of his long rule.

100 bigahs of land (measured) by Ilâhi gaz.

I Cultivated land tilled by ryots. Bigah 25.

Two pieces.

1 The piece (in the garden of) Bâuji. 23 $\frac{3}{4}$

EAST.—Adjoining and the field of Kâmdin . . .

WEST.—Adjoining the *kiâri*⁹ of Behramji.

SOUTH.—Adjoining the *khâjan*¹⁰ and *khâri*.¹¹

1 This and the next words are titles. Lit. the sum total of the country.

2 Lit. Support of State.

3 Ta'liqa a schedule, a register.

4 Raiyat, ryot, tenant of the soil.

5 Lit. fallen ૫૩૧૧ or ૫૩૧.

6 Vide above, the footnote in the Text.

7 It is an honorific title.

8 Muqaddam a superior officer of the revenue in a village (cf. Gujarati મુકાદમ).

9 કેવ્વારી "A rice field surrounded with and confined by ridges or embankments; bed of garden watered and planted with flowers."

10 Khanjar a small ditch. (ખારી ખાજર).

11 Perhaps from Gujarati *khâdi*.

NORTH—Adjoining public road and a salt ditch (*Khâri*-*ખારીઓ*).

The piece of the Ratnâgar Garden. Bigahs 2½.

EAST—Adjoining the *kiâri* of Chândji Patel.

WEST—Adjoining the field of Bahmanji, son of Behram.

SOUTH—Adjoining the Dâbhriyeh of Malik Yusuf.

NORTH—The well of Chandji(v) Patel.

II The uncultivated land fit for cultivation. 75

1. The piece of the Ratnâgar (Garden). 16½

EAST—Adjoining the *Kiari* of Chândji Patel.

WEST—Adjoining the field of Bahmanji the son of Behrâm.

SOUTH—Adjoining the Dabhariyeh.¹

NORTH—Adjoining the well of Chandji Patel.

2. The piece on the outskirt² of the road. Bigahs 2½.

EAST—Adjoining the public road.

WEST—Adjoining the small³ pond of *karamdâ*.

SOUTH—Adjoining the date⁴ trees of Somji Mânkâ.

NORTH—Adjoining the well and the hut⁵ of Bahmanji.

3. The piece of land at Tigrâh on the edge of the water of the river.⁶ 2½.

EAST—Adjoining the cultivation of Bahmanji.

WEST—Adjoining the well and the lemon-garden⁷ of Bahmanji.

SOUTH—Adjoining the *Khâri* of Tigrâh.⁸

NORTH—Adjoining the field of Narsang Meherji.

4. (Another) piece at Tigrâh according to the sharh 7½.

EAST—Adjoining the field of Narsang Meherji.

WEST—Adjoining the mangoe-trees of Bahmanji.

1 A place, wherein, grows *dâbhdo* દાભડો a kind of rough grass. It is spoken of as “*dâbhadyân*” દાભડીયન, just as a place where grass (*ghasyân*) grows is called *ghasyân* (*ghasyân*). Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai of Naosari informs me, in reply to my inquiry, that there still exists a *vazifah* at *Kâchiawadi* (કાચીઆવાડી) which is known as *dâbhariyûn*. (દાભરીયું). It is about 23 bigahs in area and is the property of Mr. Fardunji Desai. It is the *dâbhâriyeh*, referred to in this document.

² *Pâdar*. The word seems to mean Lit. “the foot in;” i.e., the place, whence the next step leads you to a place. For example, we speak of the *pâdar* of a village (*ગામનું પાદર*), i.e., the place whence the next step takes you to the village itself.

³ *Talâvri*, a Gujarati word for a small pond.

⁴ *khajuri*, a Gujarati word for date-tree.

⁵ *Châpreh*, a Gujarati word for a hut.

⁶ *Nadi*, Gujarati word for a river.

⁷ *Lehmun*, Lemon, લામું.

⁸ For the village of Tigrâh, vide an account of my visit of it in my paper on “કાઠીઆવાડના કવી ભોળે ભગત. નૌસારીની પડોશનાં તાંદ્રા ગામનાં સાંભળેલી તેની દંત કથા.” જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો ભાગ ૪. (Dnyân Prasarak Essays, Part IV, p. 142).

SOUTH.—Adjoining the lemon-garden of Bahmanji.

NORTH.—Adjoining the Khâri of Tigrâh.

5. The piece of Guleh. 7

EAST.—Adjoining the land of Itâlweh which is within the limit of the three trees of Indian dates.

WEST.—Adjoining the land of the Koli¹ and the well of the Guleh.

SOUTH.—Adjoining the *khâri* of Tigrâh.

NORTH.—Adjoining the *khâri* of the village of Basoli from the rule (amâl pl. of 'amal,' tracts, rule, country) of the parganah of Tilâri.

6. The piece Lôki. 27½

EAST.—Adjoining the well of the Kolis.

WEST.—Adjoining the land of Kâmdin, the physician.²

SOUTH.—Adjoining Tigrâh.

NORTH.—Adjoining the *khâri* of the village of Basoli.

7. The piece at Itâlweh.

EAST.—Adjoining the land of the *khâriyeh*.

WEST.—Adjoining the limit of the Kulieh.

SOUTH.—Adjoining the *khâri* of Tigrâh and Kahr . . . leh³

NORTH.—Adjoining the land⁴

(Then follow as mentioned below the signatures of some well-known men of the town, certifying, that, as said above, the boundaries have been settled. The first two signatures are in Persian characters and the rest in Gujarati. They put down their signatures under the following statement):

The above mentioned described pieces according to their boundaries, are given after being all entered into *chak-bandi*. These few words of the Chaknameh are written and given by way of proof so that in case of necessity in court, they may serve as a proof. Written on 9th of the month Jumâdu'l sâni year 1033.⁵

¹ The Kolis form a caste in Gujarat.

² After this paper was read and by the time it passes through the Press, Prof. S. H. Hodivâla, Principal and Professor of History at Behaaddin College, has published an excellent book, entitled "Studies in Parsi History," wherein (pp. 1491-88) he speaks of a Parsi physician Meher Vaid (born about 1520 A. C.), whose ancestors and descendants practised medicine at Naosart. One of the descendants was Qiâm Tabib. A document belonging to his property has a date of about 1035 A. H. (1626 A. C.) I think that the Kamdin Tabib of our document of about 1623-24 A. C., is the Qiâm Tabib of the above document. We know that the name Kamdin is a form of Qiâmud-din.

³ The letters of the word have no nukteh. So, it is difficult to read them. They seem to form the name of a place. The word may be gadhêr-ba-nâleh, i.e., the cart road in the water-course (ગાદ્દેરના ગાંધેર), or it may be gahr-naleh, i.e., a covered outlet for water (ગરનાલું).

⁴ I do not understand the word. If we take it, that a stroke over the first letter has been omitted by mistake by the writer, it may be gâhsiyeh (ગાંધીયું), i.e., a place where only grass grows.

⁵ i. e., A. D. 1623-24.

Witness to the contents. Shaikhji son of Shaikh Ahmad,
Witness Malik Yusuf, son of Malik Habib.

1. Hari. Witness according to the schedule.¹

1. Bhoodhar Suj Kal(y)ân. Witness according to what is written (above).

1. Bahman Behrâm. Witness according to the *chak* in Persian.

1. Chândji Sheheryâr. Witness.

1. Chândji Âshdin. Witness.

1. Manock Nagoj. Witness according to what is written.

1. Sohrab Behram. Witness.

1. Gopal Syâmdas. Witness according to what is written.

1. Writer, Mathuran Rai. Witness 1031 ?

1. Mehernosh Ferdunji. Witness.

1. Sohrâb Kâkâ. Witness.

1. Dâji Mankâ. Witness.

1. Nârâyan Kinda Lâ. Witness.

1. Ga. Rustom Mehirji. Witness.

(the signatories on the right hand margin are)

1. Mehernosh Kekbâd Deshâi. This chaknameh is correct according to the writing. Witness to the contents Shaik Mahamud son of Shaik Mansur. Witness to the contents Khân Mahamud son of Abd-ul-Karim Ansayari."

In all, there are 19 signatures of which four are in Persian characters and 15 in Gujarati. Of the 19 signatories, four are Mahomedans, 6 are Hindus and 9 Parsees. The Hindu and Parsee signatures are all preceded by the Gujarati numeral figure for one. This seems to be the general custom in Gujarati, to affirm perhaps, that what they state is truth and truth alone, as enjoined by God who is one.

Some of the signatories seem to be respectable known citizens of Naosari at that time. We have authority to say so, at least for the Parsees. The first Parsee signatory Bahman Behrâm was Bahmanji Behramji Desai who died in 1655 A.D.² He had acquired great influence at the Mogul Court and held large jagirs. He was the son of a well known Desai, Desai Behram Faredun.³

Sohrab Kaka was one of the signatories of a document dated roz 5, mah 1, year 1053 Yazdazardi (1683 A.D.) wherein the laymen of Naosari agree among themselves, that they may engage any priests they like for the religious services in their families, and not necessarily those who come to office in turn according to their sacerdotal arrangement.⁴

¹ Doubtful. The last part may be read ૫૨૧૧. Here the word *pat* may be Gujarati ૫૨ meaning a schedule, list.

² Parsee Prakash I, p. 14.

³ Ibid p. 111.

⁴ Ibid p. 844.

As to the last signatory, who signs as Ga.Rustam Mehri, we saw above, that the word Ga (گا) seems to be an abbreviation for Gârdâ. The Gardâ family is a well-known family of Naosari at present. Now there remain, the seals on the Chak-nâmeh to be deciphered.

The first topmost seal reads¹ خادم شرح رسول الله عبد الحسن *i. e.*, Abdulhusan Fazulalla, the servant of the orders of the Prophet.

On the next seal the first topmost word is not clear. The next word gives the name سيد حسين مظفر ۱۰۳۱ *i. e.*, Sayid Husin Muzaffar 1031. This and the next seals above them bear the words نقل گرفتہ شد *i. e.*, the copy is taken. So these are the seals of Government officers.

The third seal reads : ال عبد لعل چند ابن اور چند *i. e.*, servant Lâlchand, the son of² Aurchand.

The fourth seal is not clear. Some words seem to read الله نصير Alla Nasir. We read the The name Nasir in the writing on its left. It is الوائق بهضمون ما سطر اقل العباد نصر مسمود *i. e.*, informed according to the purport of these lines. The humblest of servants,³ Nasir Mahmad.

VIII.

APPENDIX.

As an appendix to the paper, I give the text and translation of some old documents, referring, not to the whole land, but to 18 bighâs, which, latterly, came to the share of Mehernosh, the third in descent from Mulla Jamasp. The documents are of some antiquarian interest, as they show some old methods of describing boundaries, proving one's rights over any land, passing receipts, &c., and as giving some idea of other cognate matters.

We learnt from the Farmân, that 100 Bighas of land were presented jointly to Mulla Jamasp and his nephew Mulla Hoshang. So, possibly they themselves, latterly in their lifetime, or their heirs after their death, divided the land, and each, or the descendants of each, got 50 Bighâs. It appears from a Chak-nâmeh in the name of Mehernosh, the third in descent from Mulla Jamasp, that, after some divisions, there came to his share about 18 Bighâs of land. I give below the chak nâmeh of this share of the land.

¹ The reading of the last part of the name is doubtful. The last word of the seal also is not legible.

² The first part of the name is not clear.

³ 'Aqall' (*i. e.*, the least of) 'ilâd (a servant).

First Document. Chak-nameh of 18 Bighas of land that came to the share of Mehernoush.

آلهي
(1) له

چکنا 3 مدد معاش مهرنوش از فوزندان 4 ملا 5 جاماس
فارسي با فوزندان بموجب فرمان عاليشان واجب الاذعان 6 و
پروانه 7 غفران پناه نواب مستطاب 9 جملت الملکي 10 اعتماد
الدولت و نواب وزارت پناه سيفستان 11 مرحوم موازي بزده بيکنه.
زمين بگز 12... از جمله 13 ايمنه ملا جاماس مذکور بر طبق قسمت
باص مهرنوش مسطور موافق ضابطه يکتصه مزروع رعيتي و سه حصه
افقاده خارج 14 جمع لايق زراعت مع 15 اشجار از سواد قصبه نوساري
سراکار سورت 16 مصاف بصوبه احمدآباد در فصل خريف تنها قوي يل.

1 This word stands for *آله*. I am told, that even now, Mahomedans write this form on the top of their letter.

2 In the original, the first four letters چکنا of the word form the first line running over well-nigh the whole breadth of the paper and the last two letters مه appear as if they were joined with the letters جب of the word واجب in the next line.

3 The word زمين which occurs in the first chak-nāmeḥ, given above, of Mulla Jamasp, is here omitted and taken as understood.

4 This word is written here as in the original farmān and the copy of the first chak-nameḥ, and not as صولا as in the original of the first chak-nameḥ. Vide above p. 143.

5 The last letter پ p is omitted. We find such eliminations in some ancient Parsi names. For example, the name Tehmurasp (Avesta Takhma urupa) has become Tehmuras, which, in its turn, latterly became Tehmur (Temur, Taimur), which again has been changed into Tehmul, in which form we see it in the modern Parsi name Temulji.

In this chak-nameḥ, we find only the name of Mulla Jamasp and not of Mulla Hoshang because it refers only to 18 bigahs of land which came in division and sub-divisions to one of the descendants of the third generation of Mulla Jamasp.

6 Here, after this word, the name Emperor Jehangir, which is mentioned in the first Chak-nameḥ is omitted and taken as understood and a little space is kept blank.

7 In the first chak-nameḥ, the word is پروانچم

8 غفره ghafr; pardoning.

9 A title. Here the personage is spoken of by his title and not by his name, just as we say "the Prime Minister, the Chancellor," etc.

10 Lit. The prop or support (i'tamād) of the State.

11 Marhūm, the late. As Sifkhan was dead by the time of this second chak-nameḥ he is spoken of as "the late."

12 The word آلهي which generally follows in such documents of the Mogul times is not found here. Instead of that, a small space as could contain the word is kept vacant. Perhaps this is meant to signify, that the word is too reverd to be often repeated.

13 Aima, ayimma "Land given as a reward or favour by the king at a very low rent, A fief (when no rent is paid the land is called لا خراج *lā kharāj*, Allodial); Charity lands." (Steingass). or it may be for *عمر ما* one hundred.

14 "The words "Kā'rej jama" outside (i.e., free of) the assessment (jam') are not found in the first chak-nameḥ.

15 Ashjūr trees.

16 Ma:Aff (from صف rank, order)ranked in. The words 'ranked in the Suba (province) of Ahmedabad' are not found in the first chak-nameḥ and the original farmān. So, it seems, that it was latterly, after the 17th year of Jehangir's reign, when the first chak-nameḥ was made, that Surat was properly placed in the Suba-ship of Ahmedabad.

سنه ۱۱۲۵ فصلی حاجی بشیر ۱ منصوب ۲ رفعت و ۳ معالی پناه سرزا مستمد زمان و دیسایان و ۴ مجموعه دار و مقدمان و رعایا و مزارعان بموجب تفصیل ذیل پدموده و چک بستن حواله مشارالیه نموده که احدی بزمین مذکور مدخل و مزاحم نشود و موصلی الیه در قبض و تصرف خود آورده بفراغ خاطر مستحصل زمین مذکور صرف نموده در دعاگوی دوام دولت ابد مدت مشغول باشد

هشت ده بیگمہ قطعین.

قطع اول — نم بیگمہ ۱۲ ۵ بسوہ.

طولی من الشرق ۶ الی الغرب — یکشست چوب.

عرضی من الجنوب الی الشمال — دوشست چوب.

شرقی — متصل شارع عام و کھیت گوکل بیوہ.

غربی — متصل قطع دوم وظیفہ مہر نوش مذکور.

جنوبی — متصل گوکل بیوہ و دا بہرہ ملک شریف.

شمالی — بیست و دو چوب از چاہ قدیم چاند جی پتیل گذاشتم

بطرف جنوب حداین قطع

قطع دویم — ہشت بیگمہ ۸ بسوہ.

طولی من الشرق الی الغرب ۵۶ چوب.

عرضی من الجنوب الی الشمال شست چوب.

شرقی — متصل قطع اول مہر نوش ایہ دار مسطور.

غربی — متصل شارع عام.

جنوبی — دا بہرہ ملک شریف.

شمالی — شارع عام.

تصریر فی التاريخ چہار دہم ۱۴ شہر شعبان المعظم سنہ ۷ از

جلوس والا.

TRANSLATION.

GOD (ALLAH).

Chak-nâmeh for the assistance of the livelihood of Mehernoush (one) of the children of Mulla Jamas Parsi and his (Mehernoush's) children. According to the *farmân*,

1 *mansûb*, constituted, appointed, substituted.

2 *rif'at*, exalted, noble.

3 *ma'ale*, eminences, high places, sublime matters.

4 *majmu'adâr* "a record-keeper; one who checks or audits the account of revenue collectors in each district."

5 *biswa*, the twentieth part of an acre of land वसो. In reading the figures, I am helped by a Gujarati translation of the *chak-nâmeh*.

6 *idâ*, upto, towards.

of His Majesty, worthy to be obeyed,¹ and according to the *parwāneh* of the protector (or giver) of pardons, the gracious² Nawāb Jumlatu-l-Mūlki³ I'atimādu-l-Daulat and Nawāb Wazārāt-panāh the late Sifkhān,⁴ 18 *bigāhs* of land (measured) by *gaz* (-i ilahi), from the total free land of the said Mulla Jamas, according⁵ to the Deed of Partition of the said Mehernoush, (and) according to the usual practice,—(viz) one share, (*i.e.*, one-fourth) in the cultivated land of the ryots and three shares in the uncultivated land—free of assessment and fit for cultivation, together with all trees, from the suburbs of the district of Naosari in the *sarkār* of Surat (which is) ranked in the *subah* of Ahmedabad, in the season of *kharif tahā* ⁶ *koel* in the year 1125 *fasali*. have been entrusted by Haji Bashir, the Mansub, (*i.e.* the appointed officer) of the exalted and the most eminent⁷ Mirzā Mahmād Zamān and by the Desāis⁸ and Majmudārs⁹ and Revenue-officers and ryots and cultivators, after measuring (the land) according to the details in the postscript, (*i.e.*, the following details) and settling the Chak, to the above-named (Mehernoush), so that, no one may be an intruder and be troublesome in the said land, and the above-said¹⁰ person may, bringing the land under his hold and possession (and) spending the produce of the said land with peace of mind, for perpetuity be engaged in praying for the constant good fortune (of the King).

The pieces of 18 *bigāhs*.

The First piece, *bigāhs* 9, *biswā*¹¹ 12.

Length¹² from the East to the West, 61 sticks.

Breadth¹³ from the South to the North 62 sticks.

(Boundaries.)

The East adjoining a public thoroughfare and the field¹⁴ of Gokal Birāh.¹⁵

1 Wājibu-l-*Iz'ān*.

2 Mustatāb.

3 This and the next three words form titles.

4 We find the name of this officer in the first Chak-nāmeḥ of Mulla Jāmāsp and Mulla Hoshang.

5 *طبق*, cleaving to, joined to.

6 Albruni's list of Turkish months, does not give this name. He gave Kuy as the name of the 8th month and Taghuk as that of the 10th month. Perhaps the name Tahā Koel of our Chak-nāmeḥ is the Taghuk of Albruni (Chronology p. 83).

7 Lit. protector of eminent persons. If we read the first word as *معانی* *m'a'ān* (Gujrati *મહાન*), it may mean protector of spiritual matters, *i.e.*, learned theologian.

8 Desāyān.

9 Majmu'adār.

10 *Mumi*, above-mentioned and *ilai*, above-named. *Mumi ilai*, above said.

11 *بسوة* The 20th part of an acre.

12 *طولى* Length.

13 *عرضى* Breadth.

14 *کھیت* An Indian word for field *भेत*. 15 *गोकलवीरा*.

The West adjoining the second piece, the property of the said Mehernoush.

The South, adjoining (the property of) Gokal Birâh and the dâbharyeh¹ of Malek Sharif.

The North. The boundary of this piece is towards the South, leaving 22 sticks from the old well of Chândji Patel.

The Second piece, bigâhs 8, biswâ 8.

Length from the East to the West 56 sticks.²

Breadth from the South to the North 60 sticks.

(Boundaries.)

East. Adjoining the first piece of Mehernoush, the said landholder.

West. (It is) Adjoining the public thoroughfare.

South. The Dâbhariyeh of Malik Sharif.

North. Public thoroughfare.³

Written on date 14th of the great month Sha'aban of the year 7 of the exalted Accession.

(Here follow four signatures, three of Parsees and one of a Hindu who calls himself Majmudâr.)

Desâi Manock Homjee. Signed.

Desâi Dârâb Rustamji. Signed.

Tehmul Rustam Witness.

Mehta Ragnathdâss Vandâvandâss Majmudâr. What is written here is correct."

The Parsee signatories of the document were known persons of the time.

Desâi Manock Homji. He came to his Desâi-ship in 1701 on the death of his father Homejibhai Temulji. He died in 1730. His son Jivanji⁴ Manockji also had become famous at Naosari.

Desâi Dârâb Rustamji also was a known personage of his times.⁵

Desai Tehmulji Rustamji (died 1728). He held from the Delhi Emperor the *chodhrai*⁶ of Naosari and Pârchol. In 1714, he had purchased from the above Desâi Darab Rustamji his share of Desâi-ship. It is said, that, as the people of Naosari were tired of the misrule of the officers of the Mogul Emperor, he tried to bring Subedâr Pilâji Gaikwâd, who ruled at Songad,

¹ A Gujarati word. Field of course grass. *Vide* above.

² Modern Gujarati ઝાંડી.

³ The modern Gujarati શરીઆત (રસ્તો) is શારએ આમ. The Gujarati phrase શરીઆત ખોજુ છે comes from these Persian words, meaning 'It is very false, the intensity of the falsehood being as great as the width of a public thoroughfare.

⁴ Parsee Prakash I, pp. 28-50.

⁵ *Ibid* pp. 23 and 28.

⁶ *Chodhri* was a kind of high police officer.

to power at Naosari in 1720. The Nawâb of Surat, thereupon took him and his family prisoners. Pilâji Rao Gàikwâd released them from their prison and gave them high powers under him.¹

The Chak nameh bears four seals at the top. The inscription on the first big seal on the left runs as follows :

خادم شرع محمد شد رفيع الدين عثمانى ۱۱۲۷

i.e., Rafiu-d-din Usmâni, the servant of the religion of Mahomad confirms.² 1127? From a copy of this chak-nameh referred to below, it appears that this personage was the Qazi of Naosari at that time.

The second small square seal, a little above, and on the right of the first, bears the name محمد زمان Mahmad Zamân. He is the officer named above in the chak-nâmeh.

The third small round seal, below the second and on the right of it, reads البندة بشير *i.e.* servant Bashir. He also is mentioned above in the chak-nâmeh. He was a subordinate of Mahamad Zamân. It bears a date which seems to be 1123.

The fourth seal on the extreme right seems to give the reading as "Miân Miran."³

This chak-nâmeh of 18 bigahs is spoken of on the last fold from below in the first original as چکنا سر بابت زمين موضع چو ويسي در بابت رتفاگر باسم مهر نوش

i.e. The Chak-nâmeh in the matter of the land in the district of Chovisi in the matter of the land of Ratnagar in the name of Mehernosh.

(a) I produce another Persian document for inspection. It is

Two copies of the Chak-nameh of Mehernoush. It is an authenticated, or, what we may now call, a certified copy. It bears the seal of the person who gave the

copy. The seal reads خادم شرع جمال الدين عثمانى *i.e.*, the servant of Religion⁴ Jamâlu-d-din Usmani. Under the seal of this person, we read the words

نقل مطابق اصل

i.e., copy according to the original.

As it is a copy, we find the following writing, somewhat similar to that of the original, added at the commencement to show, that it is a copy of the original Chak-nâmeh.

¹ Parsee Prakash I, p. 27.

² شاد Shad, confirming.

³ The word is not quite legible.

⁴ The word is not legible. It may be عاليشان

نقل چک نامہ بہر قاضی رفیع الدین و رفعت و معالی پناہ
مرزا مستمد زمان و حاجی بشیر و بنام دساہی از قرار چہار دہم ۱۴
شہر شعبان المعظم سنہ ۷ از جلوس والا آنکہ

i.e., copy of the Chak-nâmeh with the seal of Kazi Rafiu-d-din and of exalted and most eminent¹ Mirza Mahmad Zamân and Haji Bashir and with the name of Desâi from the Agreement of the 14th of the great month Sh'abân, year 7 of the exalted accession of the King; *viz.*,

We read on the back of the last fold from the bottom the following title : ચકનામું, નકલ છે, અરજીરત્ન મા દોરડી.

(b) I produce for inspection another copy of the same Chak-nâmeh, which is a copy taken from the second copy. It is a certified copy of the preceding copy of the Chak-nâmeh. It gives the wording of the seal of the above copy with additional words, written in a vertical line on the left, as نقل مطابق نقل *i.e.*, a copy according to a copy. Then, there is the seal of the certifying officer on the top, on the left of the above writing.² Its lines run as follows :—

شريف
شروع
خادم قاضي
فضل الدين عثمانى
بن ني.

These words, when properly arranged, read

خادم شروع شريف قاضي فضل الدين عثمانى ۱۲۷۶

i.e., The servant of the noble religion, Kâzi Fazlu-d-din Oosmâni 1286.

In the very beginning of the text of this copy of the chak-nâmeh, we have the following writing, showing, that it is a copy from a copy.

نقل چک نامہ بہر قاضی رفیع الدین و رفعت و معالی پناہ
مرزا مستمد زمان و حاجی بشیر و بنام دساہی از قرار چہار دہم ۱۴
شہر شعبان المعظم سنہ ۷ از جلوس والا آنکہ

i.e., copy of the Chak-nâmeh with the seal of Kâzi Rafiu-d-din and of exalted and most eminent Mirza Mahmad Zamân and Haji Bashir and with the name of Desai from the agreement of the 14th of the great month Sha'aban, year 7, of the exalted accession of the King, *viz.*

¹ If read Ma'ani-panâh, it would mean Protector of spiritual matters, *i.e.*, Theologian.

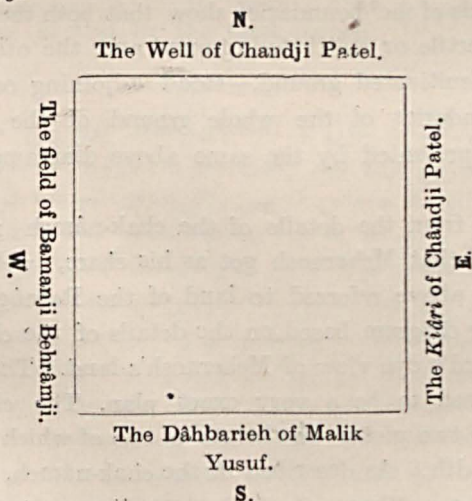
² It bears the following title on its last fold from the bottom.

ચકનામું, રતનાગર વજીકા વી. ૧૮ નુ છે તેની નકલ કાજી જમાનોદીન
ઝમારમાનીની મોરની છે તે ઉપરથી આમ્ને નકલ કરી છે.

We find, from this Chak-nameh, that all the 18 bigâhs of this chak-nâmech were in the land known as Ratnâgar Bâg or Ratnâgar *vazifeh* (now known as Ratnâgar *wâdi*). It is near the land now known as Kâchiâ-wâdi (كچيآوادي), which is considered to be one of the fertile parts of the district of Naosari. As it is situated near the Purnâ river on which Naosari stands, the land is occasionally renewed and fertilized by the new soil brought by the inundations of the river. The Chovisi village which gives its name to the whole district is about 2 miles from this place. The land of Tigreh, referred to in the first Chak-nâmech of Mulla Jamasp, adjoins Chovisi district.

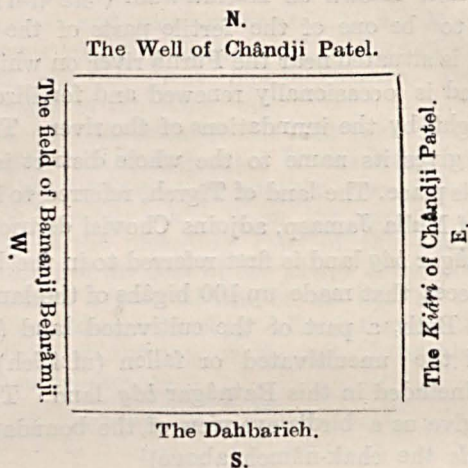
The Ratnâgar *bâg* land is first referred to in the boundaries of the nine pieces that made up 100 bigâhs of the land granted by Jehangir. Both, a part of the cultivated land (25 bigâhs) and a part of the uncultivated or fallen (*uftâdeh*) land (75 bigâhs), were included in this Ratnâgar *bâg* land. The following diagrams give us a bird's eye-view of the boundaries of the two pieces (*vide* the chak-nâmech above)¹

The piece of $2\frac{1}{4}$ bigahs in the cultivated good ground of Ratnagar *Bâg*.



¹ Chovisi is the name of a district still known by that name. A village of that name now is about two miles from the land in question, which is still in the possession of the members of the Dordi family who have descended from Mehernosh.

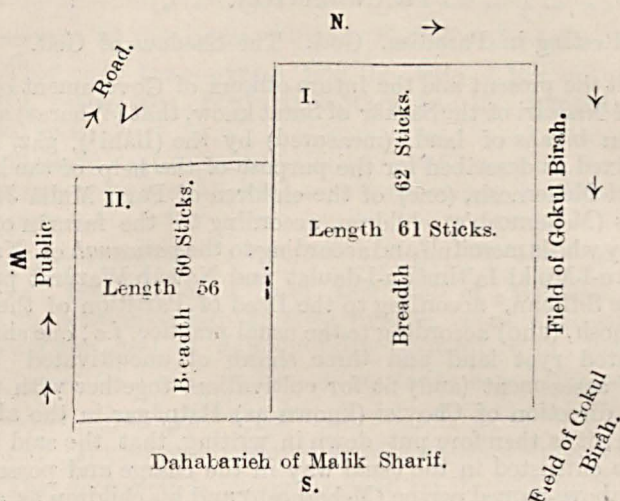
The piece of $16\frac{1}{2}$ bigahs in the fallen or uncultivated (uftâdeh ۴۳۷) ground of the Ratnagar Bâg.



The details of the boundaries show that both the pieces,—one in the fertile or cultivated ground and the other in the fallen or uncultivated ground,—stood adjoining each other. So, the boundaries of the whole ground of the Ratnagar Bâg may be represented by the same above diagrams.

It seems from the details of the chak-nâmeh now under consideration, that Mehernosh got as his share, well nigh the whole of the above referred to land of the Ratnagar garden. The following diagram based on the details of the chak-nâmeh gives us a bird's eye view of Mehernosh's land. This diagram is not supposed to be a very exact plan. The chak-nâmeh describes it in two pieces, the length of one of which is shorter than the breadth. As described in the chak-nâmeh, the length runs from East to West. So, I give the diagram in two parts, marked I and II. The public road is represented by the arrow heads.

Well of Chandji Patel.



Second document. A Parwanah with the seal of Mahomad Zaman.

There is an old document, named on its fold as a parwanah, which refers to the 18 bigâhs of land that came to the share of Mehermash on partition. It seems, that it was made after the land was settled by the Chak-nameh.

جنت مکان

آلی
له ۲

۱ ظل سبختانی

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال قصبه نوساری سرکار سورت میدانند که موازی هزده بیگم زمین بگز.... در وجه و مده معاش مهر نوش از فرزندان ملا جاماس فارسی با فرزندان بهوجب فرمان عالیشان مرحمت عنوان و پروانه نواب جملة الملکی اعتماد الدولت و نواب وزارت پناه سیفخان مرحوم بر طبق قسمت نامه مهر نوش مذکور موافق ضابطه یک حصه مزروع رعیتی و سه حصه افتاده خارج جمع لایق زراعت بمع اشجار طرف چوویسی رتناگر قصبه مسطور مقرر است لهذا قلمی میگرد که اراضی مزبوره را بدستور سابق در قبض و تصرف مشار الیم مع فرزندان بقصد فوق مبارک بندگان حضرت وا گذارند که حاصلات آنرا صرف ما یحتاج خودها نموده بدعای ازدیاد مهر و دولت ابد مدت مواظبت میهنوده باشند درین باب تضلف و انصرافی نورزند تصدیق فی التاريخ ۲۲ ذ القعدة سنه ۷ جلومسی.

1 Zill subhani is a royal title or epithet, meaning the shadow or representative of God.

2 This is the abbreviated sign of Alla referred to above.

TRANSLATION.

“ Resting in Paradise. God. The Shadow of God.

Let the present and the future officers of Government of the town of Naosari of the Sarkâr of Surat know, that (Whereas) about eighteen bigahs of land, (measured) by the (Ilâhi¹), gaz, have been fixed as described for the purpose of the help of the livelihood of Mehernosh, (one) of the children of Parsi Mullâ Jâmâs and his (Mehernosh's) children, according to the farmân of His Majesty who is merciful² and according to the *parwanah* of Nawab Jumlatu-l-Mulki Ia'timâdu-l-daulat and Nawâb Wazârat panâh, the late Sifkhan,³ according to the Deed of Partition of the said Mehernosh, (and) according to the usual practice, *i.e.*, one share of cultivated ryot land and three shares of uncultivated land, free of assessment (and) fit for cultivation, together with trees, in the direction of Chovisi (known as) Ratnâgar in the above⁴ kasbeh, it is therefore put down in writing, that the said lands may be entrusted in the usual way in the charge and possession of the above-named person (Mehernosh) and his children as a sacrifice⁵ over the auspicious heads of the slaves of His Majesty, so that spending the (land's) income upon his wants⁶ he may pray continually⁷ for the increase of the life and good fortune for a continuous period. In this matter they (the Government officers) should exercise no delay or defection. Written on the date 22 of Zi'al qaddeh, year 7 of accession.”

The document bears a square seal on the right, a little above the first line. We read therein the name of the officer as *محمّد زمان* Mahamad Zâman. On its fold, it bears the word *درمان* (farmân) instead of *پروانه* (parwanah).

There is a certified copy of this Parwanah with the seal of Kâzi Fazlud-din Usmâni. The seal bears words below it saying *نقل بمطابق باصلي* *i.e.* a copy according to the original. The seal itself bears the wording :

1 Instead of the usual word *الهي* a space is kept vacant. It seems that to name God and great men was considered irreverent.

2 Lit. of manners or mode ('anvân) of compassion or mercy.

3 The name Sifkhan seems to be a contraction of Asûfkhan.

4 Mastur, described.

5 *سوق* sacrificing, charity. Farq is head, cf. the Gujarati saying *માયા ઉપરથી*

સદ્કે કરવું. The Gujarati *ઓવારવું* gives some similar idea. The signification is, that the land may be given free, so that the donee may remain devoted, and pray for the kingdom and its officers. Perhaps in the Gujarati word *ઓવારવું* we have the word

1 in the phrase *vâ guzâshtan* which we find here.

6 *Mâ-yahtâj* *i.e.*, what is wanted.

7 *Muwâzibat*, being assiduous, constant.

خادم شرع شريف قاضى فضل الدين عثمانى

i.e., servant of the noble religion Kazi Fazalu-d-din Usmâni.

This copy bears over a fold the title of the document as
 परवाना अशाल भमद खमाननी मोहोरना रतनागर वज्रकार्या. १८ना
 छे तेनी नकल.

There is a subsequent certified copy of a copy of the original parwânah with the following additional words to show that it is a copy:—

پروانه بمهر مستمد زمان از قوار بقاریخ ۲۲ ذالقعده سنه ۷ جلوس آنکه

i.e., the Parwânah with the seal of Mahmud Zamân from the writing of date 22 Ziu-l-qu'adeh year 7 of accession, *viz.*, It bears the seal of Jamâlu-d-din Usmâni with the words

نقل مطابق نقل *i.e.*, a copy according to the copy. The seal bears the name thus
 خادم شرع عالیشان قاضی جمال الدین عثمانی

i.e., The servant of the noble religion Jamâl-ud-din Usmani.

The document is wrongly named on its fold by the owner in pencil as नकल यह नामान.

Third document. A Document in the matter of a Dispute about the land of Mehernoush.

It seems that the above Mehernoush had a dispute with his nephew in the matter of the above 18 bigâhs of land. We have a document which refers to this dispute and in which some of the known men of Naosari, both Parsees and non-Parsees, support Mehernoush. It is a kind of our modern affidavit. I give below the text and the translation of the document.

Text of the Document appealing for evidence.

سوال میکند و ۱ استشهاد میخواهد ۲ اضعف ۳ عباد الله

مهرنوش ولد داراب ادبارو قسیم فارسی از ورثه ۴ ملان جاماس
 ادبارو قوم مذکور ساکن قصبه نوساری از سادات کرام و مشایخ
 ذوی الاحترام و ۵ جمهور ۶ سکنت و عموم ۷ متوطنه قصبه
 مذکوره اندر این معنی که یک قطعه زمین موازی بنده بیگم از وظیفه
 ملا جاماس مزبور اندرون قصبه مذکوره طرف چویسی که معروف برتذاگر

1 Istishhâd, taking evidence, summoning witnesses, bringing testimony or proof.

2 Az'af, most weak, helpless.

3 'Ibâd, servant; devotee, ibâdat, service, worship.

4 This is another way in which the word mullâ is written in this document. We saw above two forms ملا and مولا

5 Jumhur, gathering of people; populace; all.

6 Sakanat, pl. of sâken; inhabitants.

7 Mutawattin, inhabitant, resident.

امت و سابق قطعہ مذکورہ با دیگر شرکا ئی این سایل مشقوی وغیر متسوم بود تا فی الحال تمامی شرکا ۲ حصص خود پارا از قطعہ ہژدہ بیگم مزبورہ برضا و رغبت خود با حوالہ این سایل کردہ تمسکات خرید شرعیہ ولا دعوی و چکنامہ و تصدیقہ نامہ بہرہ صدور قطعہ ہژدہ بیگم مذکورہ بنام این سایل کنانیدہ دادہ قابض و متصرف گردانیدند کہ محصول آن قطعہ زمین مزبورہ را متصرف شدہ جواب و سوال اخراجات دیوانی وغیرہ آنچه بر زمین شود نماید چنانچہ تمسکات مزبورہ و چکنامہ و تصدیقہ صدور تمامی قطعہ مذکورہ بنام خود بدست میدارم و ازان مدتی پرداخت زمین بواقعی نمودہ مزروع ساختم اوقات گذران خود میکنم ازان جملہ مانک ولد داراب مسطور برادر حقیقی این سایل نیز تمسک فروخت حصہ خود از قطعہ ہژدہ بیگم مزبورہ بنام این سایل نوشتہ دادہ آن نیز بدست میدارم الحال ورثہ مانک مذکور بخلاف تمسک شرعی پدر خود دعوی نمودہ در پی تصدیع و تکلیف بيموجب این سایل گردیدہ بنا بران ہرکس بہ صدق این معنی اطلاع داشتہ باشد ۳ حسبم اللہ شہادت خود در ذیل این ۴ وثیقتم ثبت نماید کہ عنداللہ ماجور و عندالناس مشکور گردد.

- ۱ دےسارحہ مالوکے لہو مہرنوشنی و تلی مالکے و نون کے سہی.
- ۱ دےسارحہ کھوکے مہرے سہی.
- ۱ دےسارحہ پورے تہمے سہی.
- ۱ دےسارحہ دہراپے رست مے سہی.
- ۱ آا. دہراپے پاڈالین ساپ.
- ۱ آا. نونرے ڈرسا سے ساپ.
- ۱ آا. نونماس آا شالے سہی.
- ۱ آا. رتین مالوکے ساپ.
- ۱ آا. مالوکے نونرے سہی.
- ۱ آا. نونمہرے رست مے ساپ.

TRANSLATION.

Mehernosh, a poor servant of God, a son of Adhârû (i.e., priest) Dârâb, of the Parsee Community (one) of the heirs of Adhârû Mullâ Jâmâs of the said community, an inhabitant of the *qasaba* (town) of Naosari, asks and implores evidence, from generous *Saiyids*⁵ and most honoured⁶ Shaikhs,⁷ and from all the inhabitants and the resident public of the above-said

¹ Shuraka', pl. of sharik, partner.

² hissas, pl. of hissah, share.

³ hasb, in conformity with, according to, agreeably to.

⁴ Wasiqat, writing, bond, agreement.

⁵ Sâdât, pl. of Saiyid.

⁷ Mashâikh, pl. of Shaikh.

⁶ Zawi'l-ihtrâm, master of honour.

town (of Naosari), in this matter, *viz.*, that (there is) a piece of land, about 18 *Bigahs* from the Wazifa (*i.e.*, the land) of the above-named Mullâ Jâmâs in the above-said *qasaba* in the direction of Chovisi, which (piece) is known as Ratnagar, and which above-mentioned piece was formerly shared¹ by this applicant with other partners and was undivided.² Till now, all partners have, of their own free will and pleasure, given possession of their shares in this said piece of 18 *Bigahs* to this applicant (and) having got done and given (*i.e.*, transferred) legal³ bonds⁴ of purchase and release⁵ and Chak-nameh and letter of verification⁶ with the seal of ministers⁷ for the said piece of 18 *Bigahs*, in the name of this applicant, made him possessor and occupant,⁸ so that, he (the applicant) coming into the possession of the produce of the said piece of land, may hold himself responsible⁹ in the matter of all civil revenues, &c., which may be due on the land. Accordingly, I have in my hands in my own name the said bonds and Chak-nameh and verifications of the minister, about the whole of the said piece (of land), and since that long time, properly¹⁰ improving¹¹ the land (and) cultivating it, make it the means of my livelihood. About all this,¹² Manock, the son of the above-mentioned Dârâb, this applicant's (*i.e.*, my) own¹³ brother, also had given in writing the bond¹⁴ of the sale of his own share in the said piece of 18 *Bigahs* in the name of this applicant, which (bond) also I have in my possession.

Now, the heirs of the above-mentioned Manock have, contrary to the legal bond of their own father, setting up a claim, without cause, turned (themselves) towards putting the applicant to trouble and molestation. Therefore any body, who has any information about the truth of this affair,¹⁵ may, agreeably to God, affirm his own testimony under this writing,¹⁶ so that, he may be recompensed by God¹⁷ and he may be thanked by men.¹⁸

1 Mushtarak.

2 Ghair maqsûm.

3 شرعى Sharâ, legal.

4 Tamassukât.

5 لاد عوى lâ dâ wâ, release.

6 Tashiha-nâmeh.

7 Sadur pl. of Sadr. 8 Mustasarraf.

9 Lit. gives questions and answers.

10 Waq'î, completely, properly.

11 Pardâkhtan; to clean, adorn, improve; or it may mean, being wholly engaged in working on the land.

12 or, from all those (partners).

14 Tamassuk.

13 Haqiqî, true, real, own.

15 ma'ni, signification, sense import.

16 Wasiquah, writing, agreement, bond.

17 'inda'l-lah.

18 Over the last word *gardad*, there is a letter which is not clear. It may be a word like 'faqt' to signify that the writing is finished; or with it the last word may be read *gardanad*. In this case then, the translation would be, "he would make me recompensed by God and thankful to men."

There is one thing in this document which puzzles me. Mehernoush complains of the conduct of his brother's children, saying, that though their father Manock (Mehernosh's brother) had settled his share with him, they raised disputes. Now, we do not find in the family genealogy, Manock as a brother of Mehernoush. We find one Manock put down as the son of Mehernoush. This makes us say, that we must be very careful in the matter of these genealogies, based on the family *nám-grahn* and the records of priesthood kept at Naosari. At times, mistakes and misunderstandings may arise from the fact of the custom of adoption. When a person is adopted, his name is recited in the family-recitals of prayers, as that of a son. At times, even a brother is adopted. So, in that case, the brother is shown as a son. It seems, that here, there may be a similar case. Manock, though a real brother of Mehernoush, may have been given to him in adoption. So, his name may appear in the genealogical tree as that of a son.

Ten persons have signed the document in Gujarati, supporting the statement of Mehernoush. I have given above their signatures in Gujarati. All these Parsees formed a galaxy of some of the well known personages of the time at Naosari.

I have pointed out above that the first signatory, Desâi Manockji Homji, who had also signed the Chak-nâmeh, was a leading Parsee of his time. The second Desai Kukâji Meherji (1652-1742) was a great man, who had great influence with both the Mogul and the Gaikwâdi officers. It is said, that the latter often consulted him in Government affairs. Desai Khurshedji Temulji (1688-1779) was a leader of the Naosari Parsees, who had great influence with the rulers of Naosari and who had given a helping hand in some of the old Naosari charities. Desai Darabji Rustomji is also referred to above.

Darab Pahlân was a known Dastur of Naosari, and the author of several Persian writings, and among them, of the well-known Farziât-nameh and Kholâseh-i-Din. Nowroji Kersaspji was a leading priest of Naosari.¹ Jamasp Asaji (1697-1753) was the great Dastur Jamasp Asa, the founder of the Jamasp Asa family. He was a known Persian scholar. Rutton Manockji was a known priest, known as Ruttonji Manockji Antia.² Manock Nowroji also was a known priest of Naosari.³ Jamshed Rustumji (1701-1760) was the Dastur Jamshedji Rustomji Meherji Rana who came to the Dasturship of Naosari in 1722.

Besides the above Parsee signatories, almost all of whom are well-known persons of the time, who have put down

¹ Parsee Prakash I, pp. 25, 28, 29, 31.

² Ibid, pp. 25-28.

³ Ibid. p. 29.

their signatures under the document, there are a number of Mahomedan gentlemen who have signed the document in various positions on the right hand side broad margin of the document. Some of them have put down their seals.

Of the two seals above the first line of the document, the one on the left reads.

خادم شرع رسول الله واقف من امر الهى الله صهر قاضى عقب الله
بنىابت.

i.e., The seal of Qazi Utbaq Allâ, the servant of the religion of the prophet of God, informed of the science of the Divine order of God, in Deputy-ship¹

Under the seal on the left, there is a line written crosswise, which reads :
الا امر² كر بهاسطر في المتن³ حق لاريب⁴ ثبت است⁵

i.e., The fact is, that all the lines in this text are inscribed true and without doubt.

The second larger seal on the right reads :

صهر قاضى احمد نىابت خادم شرع مستهد ۱۱۳۹ سنر ۸

i.e., The seal of Kâzi Ahmad by Deputy-ship or (succession), the servant of the religion of Mohamad 1139, year.

The third seal reads عماد الدين عثمانى ۱۱۳۹

i.e., A'madu-din Usmâni 1139.

The line under this seal, on its left, reads something like:

مضمون المتن بيان الواقع

i.e., The purport of this text is described as what happened.

The fourth seal in the extreme right is not legible. The line under it in the left is شاهد بما فير

i.e., Witness of what (*mâ*) in written within (*fi*).

The fifth seal down below on the right reads سعيد مستهد ۱۱۳۵

i.e., Sayad Mahomad 1135. The line under it on the left is مضمون مسطور بان واقعت
i.e. the purport of these lines is the same as the fact.

The other Mahomedan signatories, beginning from the top on the right hand margin who have put down their signatures everywhere under different statements of confirmation are

Qadavat Allâ.

Shaikh Rasiuddin.

Mursalahuddin.

¹ Nayabat, succession, vice-gerency, Deputy-ship: What is meant by this word seems to be, that he was a Deputy in the Qazi-ship, or perhaps it may mean that the qazi-ship had come to him in succession.

² amr, fact.

⁴ la rib, undoubted.

³ matn, the text of a book.

⁵ Sabt, inscribed.

Abdullah, son of Shaikh Abdul Razâh.
 Malik Mahomad, son of Malik Ashâq.
 Nuruddin, son of Shaikh Abdul Wahed.
 Mahmâd Hanah, son of Saleh Mahmâd.
 Abdulla Salâm, son of Shaikh Abdul Malik.
 Faizalla, son of Shaikh Razvânalla.
 Shaikh Abdulla.
 Mohamad Amin, son of Shaikh Mansen.
 Saiyad Ahmad.
 Sayid Aa'zin, son of Sayid Nurallâ.
 Sayid Surâjuddin, son of Sayid Jaâfar.
 Shaikh Jinatallah (or perhaps Hasoballâ), son of Shaikh
 Abdul-latif.
 Sayad Hamad, son of Sayid Mohamad.
 Shaikh Amuruddin, son of Qazi Refi-u-ddin.
 Shaikh Abdul-latif, son of Shaikh Rasid.
 Mohamad-Zâz, son of Abdul-latif.
 Sayid Arif, son of Sayid Mahomad.
 Khwajeh Ahmad, son of Khwajeh Mahamad.
 Almost all of these 23 signatories have begun with the word
 Shahid, *i.e.*, witness.

The document itself bears no date. Three of the seals of
 the Mahomedan signatories have dates. Two bear the date 1139.
 A third seal, the last of the five, bears the date as 1135. These
 seals bear the dates of the time when they were made.

From the dates of the document, it appears certain that the
 dispute arose after the above Chak-nameh in favour of
 Mehernoush was made and before the Hijri year 1135.

FOURTH DOCUMENT, A RECEIPT REFERRING TO THE LEASE OF THE LAND OF MEHERNOUSH.

The following is the text and translation of a document
 which says that Mehernoush had leased a part of the land of
 Mullâ Jâmasp which fell to his share for cultivation for a period
 of three years. In this document, which is a copy, not the ori-
 ginal, he acknowledges receipt of the money and declares that
 the use of the property has come back to him. The receipt
 bears the seal of a Government officer. The document bears
 on its fold the Gujarati word રસીદ Pers. رسید Rasîd,
 English Receipt. This document, like many of the preceding
 documents, bears, at the top in the centre of the leaf, the word
 لا-هو, *i.e.*, to Him. It seems to be another and that a shorter
 form of لا-هو

نقل

له

غرض از این نوشتن آنکه منکم مهرنوش ولد داراب ادهارو ساکن قصبه نوساری ام اقرار میکنم برینمعنی که مبلغ نوزده روپیر و دو آنر بابت وظیفه شراکت ملا جاماس بمعرفت بهرام اسپوفارسی حساب سه ساله بوصول یافتم و در قبض و تصرف خود آوردم این چند کلمه بطریق سند نوشته شد که اثباتاً حال بکار اید تصدیق فی القاریخ ۱۴ شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۳۸ جلوسی

TRANSLATION.

The object of writing this is this :

I, who am Mehernoush, the son of Dārâb Adhâroo, inhabitant of the town of Naosari, make declaration to this effect, that I have received a sum of Rupees nineteen and annastwo, in the matter of the property of the share from Mullâ Jâmâsp, through Behram Aspu, Parsee, for the account of three years, and I have brought it (*i.e.*, the property) in my charge and possession. These few words are written by way of agreement (*sanad*), so that, it (the property) may come again (*lit.* secondly)¹ in (my) use.

Written on date 14 of the month of Jamadu-l-sâni, year 38 of accession to the throne.

The original of this document had a seal which the present copy gives as ضیاءالدین عثمانی خادم شروع محمد شد *i.e.*, Ziar-u-ddin² Usmâni, the servant of the religion of Mohomed. Confirmed.

Behram Aspur, referred to in the document was Behram Aspu-Peshitan-Chândâ whose family held the Talâti-ship of the Pârchol parganah.³ It was in 1610 A.D. that the Talâti-ship was first given to his grandfather Peshotan Chandâ. The document bears the date 38 Jalusi. The Jalusi year is of the accession of Shâh Alum, who came to throne in 1118 Hijri (1707-8 A.D.). So, the 38th year of his reign is 1156 Hijri corresponding to 1743-44.

(a) The photo-lithos of the *farmân*, (b) Mehernoush's chak-nâmeh and (c) his appeal (*savâl*) to the leading men are appended herewith.

¹ Arab, Sâniyan, secondly, in the second place.

² The name may be Menaru-d-din.

³ Parsee Prakash 1861.