IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

(CIVILAPPELLATE JURISDICTION)

CIVIL APPEAL NO. 4768-4771 OF 2011

IN THE MATTER OF:

BHAGWAN SRI RAMA VIRAJMAN
AND OTHERS. ...APPELLANTS

VERSUS

SRI RAJENDRA SINGH & ORS. ...RESPONDENTS

02
18/11/2017

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EXHIBITS

VOLUME-VII

(PAGES 1420 TO 1678)

PAPER-BOOK

(For Index Kindly See Inside)

ADVOCATE FOR THE APPELLANT: : MR. P. V. YOGESWARAN

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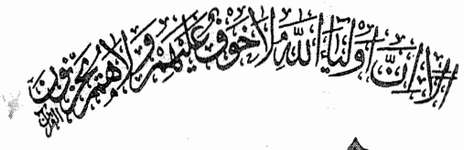
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فوائد الفواد

Ex 109

تالیف

امیر حسن علا سجزی معروف بہ خواجہ حسن دہلوی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ



باتصحیح و مقدمہ و حواشی و فہارس

محمد لطیف ملک ایم اے

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فوائد الفواد

اہلِ خانہ ہمہ خفتہ بودند حیران بماندم کہ این کہ می گوید و نیز کسی در خانہ چنان نبود کہ این معنی از و صادر شود تا بارِ دیگر ہمین شنیدم ؎

داری سرِ ما و گرنہ دُور از برِ ما ما دوست کشیم و تو نداری سرِ ما

خواجہ زکوۃ اللہ الخیر چون بدین حرف رسید گریہ چنان غالب شد کہ تمامی حکایت تقریر نتوانست کرد! می گریست و می گفت این مولانا شہاب الدین[1] از خطابت برفت و بلا ہا رسید و محنت ہا کشید و ہمچنان رفت کہ می خواست!

لختی سخن در سماع و اہلِ سماع اُفتاد۔ بر لفظِ مبارک راند کہ سماع محکی[2] قویست مردان را!

لختی سخن دران افتاد کہ ایمان باس چگونہ باشد؟ فرمود کہ کافران وقتِ مرگ عذاب را معاینہ کنند آن زمان ایمان آرند، آن ایمان محسوب نیست زیرا کہ این[3] ایمان بغیب نیست اما اگر مومنی وقتِ مرگ توبہ کند توبۂ او قبول است، ایمانِ کافران[4] وقتِ مرگ قبول نیست!

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---

[1] ن و ہ: را

[2] ح: محکی است قوی مردمان را، بجای محکی قویست مردان را، دارد

[3] ہ: آن

[4] ن و ح: کافر

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فوائد الفواد

سخن در کتبِ مشایخ افتاد و فوائدی که ایشان نویسند عزیزی حاضر بود عرضداشت کرد که مردی مرا در اُوده کتابی نمود و گفت که این نبشته خدمتِ مخدوم است. خواجه ذکوة الله المنیر فرمود تا[1] تفاوت گفته است من هیچ کتابی نه نبشته ام!

بعد ازان فرمود که شیخ علی هجویری رحمة الله علیه چون کشف المحجوب بنوشت در اوّلِ کتاب نامِ خود یاد کرد بعد ازان دو سه جای دیگر هم آنگاه سبب یاد کردنِ نامِ خود گفت این بود که من پیش ازین اشعارِ عربی گفتمی دران جای نامِ خود نیاوردمی تا جزا نمردی آن اشعار همه بنامِ خود کرد و در وقتِ نقل بی ایمان رفت!

چون این حکایت تمام شد سخن دران افتاد که وقتِ نقل وقتی دشوار است و دانستن آنکه که با ایمان رفت و که بی ایمان، بعد ازان بر لفظِ مبارک راند که علامتِ سلامتیِ ایمان آنست که رونده را وقتِ رحلت روی زرد شود و جبین عرق کند. در اثنای آن این معنی فرمود که والدهٔ مرا وقتِ نقل همین علامت[2] سعادت داشت.

بعد ازان روی سوی حاضران کرد و فرمود که دو رکعت نماز است که بجهتِ نگاهداشتِ ایمان می باید گزارد بعد از صلوٰة مغرب، در رکعتِ اوّل بعد از فاتحه هفت بار اخلاص و یک بار سورة الفلق و در رکعتِ دوم بعد فاتحه هفت بار اخلاص و یک بار سورة الناس، بعد ازان سر بسجده نهد و سه بار بگوید یَا حَیُّ یَا قَیُّوْمُ بِرَحْمَتِکَ اَسْتَغِیْثُ اَصْلِحْ لِیْ شَاْنِیْ کُلَّهٗ وَلَا تَکِلْنِیْ اِلٰی نَفْسِیْ طَرْفَةَ عَیْنٍ وَّلَا اَقَلَّ مِنْ ذٰلِکَ وَلَا اَکْثَرَ وَاَلْهِمْنِیْ عِنْدَ مَفَارَقَةِ رُوْحِیْ جَسَدِیْ اَنْ اَقُوْلَ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ ثَبِّتْنِیْ عَلَی الْاِیْمَانِ. آنگاه برکتِ این نماز را حکایت فرمود که شنوده ام از خواجه اجل پیشینه شیخ معین الدّین حسن سجزی قدس الله سرهٗ العزیز، و این

---

[1] ن: که [2] ن: علامات [3] ح و ه = شنودم

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تبسم فرمود و گفت من این حکایت از طرفِ شما نمی گفتم من از عالَم خود می گفتم!

مجلسِ شانزدهم

پنجشنبه ششم ماه مبارکِ رمضان عمت میامنہا سنه مذکور سعادتِ پای بوس بدست آمد. آن روز بنده با چند یارِ دیگر بزرگ بیعتی تجدید کرد. ملایم این حال حکایت فرمود که چون رسول علیه الصلوٰة والسلام عزیمتِ مکه مبارک کرد پیش از فتح عثمان را رضی الله عنه برسالت برمکیان فرستاد. درین میان بارجاف رسول را علیه السلام خبر رسانیدند که عثمان را کشتند. رسول علیه السلام چون این بشنید صحابه را طلب فرمود و گفت بیائید و بیعتی بکنید تا با مکیان حرب کنیم! یاران بیعت کردند. آن زمان مصطفیٰ علیه الصلوٰة والسلام بر تنه درختی تکیه کرده بود. این بیعت را بیعت الرضوان گویند. درین میان صحابی که اورا ابن الاکوع گفتندی او بیامد و بیعت کرد. پیغمبر علیه السلام فرمود که تو پیش ازین بیعت نکرده ای؟ گفت یارسول الله کرده ام این ساعت باز بتجدید بیعت می کنم. پیغمبر علیه السلام اورا دستِ بیعت داد. بعد ازان خواجه تذکره الله بالخیر فرمود که این تجدید بیعت ازان جا است. بعد ازان فرمود که اگر

ل ن و ح: 'نمی گویم' بجای 'نمی گفتم' دارد — ن: حال

ن و ح: 'می گویم' بجای 'می گفتم' دارد — ن و ک: 'دیگر' ندارد

ح: بجای 'بارجاف رسول را ... رسانیدند' 'از جانبی برسول علیه السلام خبر رسانید' دارد

ن: ابن الاکوع — ن: تجدید

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مریدی خواهد تا تجدید بیعتی کند و شیخ حاضر نباشد جامهٔ شیخ پیش نهد بآن جامه بیعت کند. درین میان فرمود که عجب ندارم که شیخ الاسلام فریدالدین قدس الله سره العزیز بارها همچنین کرده باشد و من همچنین می کنم!

لختی سخن در حسن اعتقاد افتاد. فرمود که من از شیخ رفیع الدین که شیخ الاسلام اودهه بود شنودم او گفت که مرا قرابتی بود که او مرید خواجه اجل شیرازی بوده است رحمة الله علیه. وقتی آن مرید را باتهامی گرفتند و در معرض قتل آوردند. سیافی که او را گردن خواست زدن او را همچنان باستاند که روی او جانب قبله باشد. مرید خواست که روی جانب قبله خود کند مگر دران جهت گور پیر او پس پشت او می شد. بر فور روی سوی گور پیر خود کرد. سیاف گفت که درین محل روی جانب قبله باید کرد تو چرا روی گردانیدی؟ مرید گفت من روی سوی قبلهٔ خود کردم تو در کار خود باش.

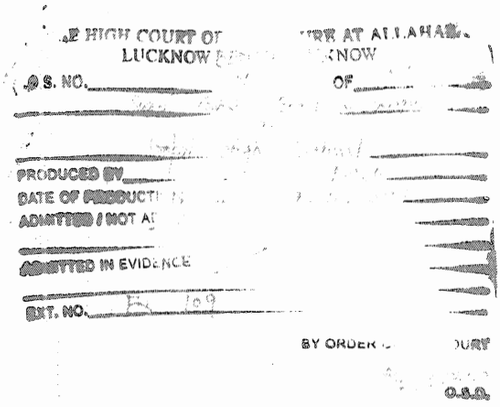
از نسبت این حکایت فرمود که من وقتی در سفر بودم. روزی در منزل رازی رنج دیدم، اگرچه سوار بودم تشنگی اثر کرد، بر لب آب گیری رسیدم، از اسپ فرود آمدم و خواستم تا قدری آب برگیرم و بخورم، دل من سبکی آورد و صفرا غالب شد. دران حال که بیخود می شدم همین بر زبان من می آمد که شیخ! شیخ! بعد ازان ساعتی بهوش باز آمدم، الغرض بعد ازان مرا وقتی تمام شد بر عاقبت کار خود که

ه ۵ ن: دوستی
ه ۳ ن: زد ... ه ۴ ن: صورت
ه ۵ ن: کرده ام
ه ۵ ن: باز، ندارد

ه ۲ ن: قتال
ه ۵ ن: می گردانی
ه ۶ ن: تشنگی ه: بجای سبکی آورد، به تشنگی و تنگی آورد، دارد

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Amir Hasan A'la Sijzi, Records of Conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya: *Fawa'idu'l_Fawad*, ed. Muhammad Latif, Lahore, 1386/1966

TRANSLATION:

000069

Pages 75-76

Sunday the 15th of the month of Muharram of the Year 710 A.H. [14 June 1310 A.D.], the felicity of kissing the feet [of Shaikh Nizamuddin] was attained. Conversation turned to the books written by mystic guides (*shaikhs*), and the beneficial things they write. A friend was present; he said, "A man showed me a book in Awadh [Ayodhya], and told me this is a book written by His Holiness (Shaikh Nizamuddin)." His Holiness (God's peace by his mention!) observed, "He spoke in deviation [from the truth]. I have not written any book!"

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[Conversation of Thursday, 6 Ramazan 710 A.H. =
27 January 1311 AD]

For some time the conversation turned to firmness in faith. He (the Shaikh) said, "I heard this from Shaikh Rafi'uddin who was Shaikhu'l Islam [chief theological functionary) of Awadh. He said, 'I had a kinsman who was the *murid* (disciple) of Khwaja Ajal Shirazi. Sometime they seized him on account of some offence and took him to the execution ground. The executioner, who wished to strike at his neck, made him stand so that he faced the *qibla* (direction of Mecca). The *murid* wished that he should himself face the *qibla*. But in that case the grave of his *pir* [spiritual master, i.e. Ajal Shirazi] would be behind his back. Immediately, he turned away to face his *pir's* grave. The executioner said, "At this time, one should face the *qibla*. Why have you turned away your face?" The *murid* said, "I have put my face in the direction of my own *qibla*. You do your work."

Certified that the Translation from Persian into English is correct and accurate

SHIREEN MOOSVI
SECRETARY
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CAS in History
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Aligarh-202 002

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Exhibit 110
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خیر المجالس

ملفوظات حضرت شیخ نصیر الدین محمود چراغ دهلیؒ

مرتبہ مولانا حمید قلندر

EX 110

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با تصحیح و مقدمہ و تعلیقات

از

خلیق احمد نظامی

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در شهر بودن ازینها چاره نیست و نباشد[1]. آنگاه فرمودند: برای خواجه ما را نیز[2] سحر کرده بودند. بعد ازان این آیه خواندند و آهسته خواندند: قوله تعالی: واتبعوا ما تتلوا الشیاطین علی ملك سلیمان، وما کفر سلیمان ولکن الشیاطین کفروا یعلمون الناس السحر، وما أُنزل علی الملکین بابل هاروت وماروت، وما یعلمان من أحد حتی یقولا إنما نحن فتنة فلا تکفر.[9]

بعد ازان حکایت فرمودند که مولانا داؤد پالهی[10] قوی مرید شیخ الاسلام فرید الحق[3] و الدین بود. خدمت شیخ الاسلام نظام الحق والشرع والدین رحمة الله[4] می فرماید که وقتی مرا و مولانا داؤد را از پیش خدمت شیخ یکجا وداع شد، و یکجا[5] بیرون آمدیم. او در کام بلند کام زدی[6] و پیش رفتی و بنماز مشغول شدی، تا آنکه ما بدو رسیدیم. چون مزاج او معلوم شده بود[7]، ما پیشتر شدیم[8]. او در نماز بودی[9] تا یك کروه دو کروه می رفتم. او از عقب بر ما رسیدی و از ما بگذشتی، یکدو کروه پیش رفتی. باز بنماز مشغول شدی و در چنان جنگل و بیابان راه گم[10] نکردی[11]. بعد ازان فرمودند که او در دیهی بودی. نزدیك ردولی[11] و در اوده[12] هم آمدی. من او را دیده بودم. حکایت فرمودند در اوده بزازی بود. وقتی پسر او را زحمت شد، سخت. مگر مولانا داؤد را با او محبتی بود. بپرسیدن رفت. بزاز بدوید و بعجز تمام در پای مولانا داؤد افتاد و بگریست و گفت: شیخ! یك پسر دارم، او هم می رود. دعائی بکن تا[12] خدای تعالی او را صحت دهد[13]. مولانا داؤد گفت: چیزی از مال خود ما را قبول بکن. من دعا میکنم. گفت: آنچه حکم کنید[14]. گفت: من حکم نکنم، تو بگو. گفت: ربع مال بدهم. مولانا داؤد بر سر او ایستاده

۱ — ج: «و نباشد» ندارد.
۲ — ج: هم.
۳ — ج: «الحق و» ندارد.
٤ — ج: خدمت شیخ الاسلام نظام الدین قدس الله سره العزیز.
٥ — ج: «یکجا» ندارد.
٦ — ج: بلند زدی.
۷ — ج: شد.
۸ — ج: می شدیم.
۹ — ج: «او در نماز بودی» ندارد.
۱۰ — ب: غلط.
۱۱ — ج: و غلط نخوردی.
۱۲ — ب: که.
۱۳ — ج: بدهد.
۱٤ — ج: فرمائید.

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چیزی خواند و دست او گرفت و گفت: «برخیز». در حال برخاست و بنشست، گوئی هرگز زحمت نبود. آنگاه با آن بزاز گفت: پسر تو صحت یافت، آنچه نذر کردهٔ بیار. رفت و حساب کرد که من چندی مال دارم. چیزی زیادت از ربع آورد. و بخدمت مولانا داؤد نهاد. پانصد تنگه بود یا ششصد تنگه[۱] بود. مولانا بیرون آمد و هرکه پیش می‌آمد او را می‌داد تا آنکه در خانه رسید، جمله بمصرف رسیده بود.[۲]

بعد ازان هم در مناقب مولانا داؤد علیه الرحمه حکایت دیگر فرمودند و گفتند حکایات او بسیار در آنجانب مشهور است. وقتی بزرگ دیگر بود در اوده. او را زحمت سخت شد، چنانکه چادر بالای او انداختند[۳]، و دم بکلی ماند و ساختگی تجهیز و تکفین[۴] می‌کردند. مولانا داؤد و رضی الدین منصور[13] هر دو بزرگوار بر سر او حاضر شدند، با همدیگر[۵] گفتند که چون ما به سر او آمدیم، همچنین نگذاریم که صحت او نخواهیم[۶]. بعد ازان مولانا رضی الدین گفت: یك طرف این مریض شما قبول کنید و یکطرف من. مولانا داؤد طرف سر آن قبول کردند، مولانا رضی الدین بطرف پایان. هر دو بنشستند، و چیزی خواندند. بعد ازان برخاستند و دست آن مریض گرفتند و گفتند «برخیز». در حال برخاست و صحت شد. بعد ازان هم در مناقب مولانا داؤد فرمودند که بعد از نماز بامداد از خانه[۷] بیرون آمدی و در بیابان رفتی و مشغول شدی و آهوان می‌آمدند و گرد بر گرد او ایستاده می‌شدند و چشم در او نهاده تماشای او می‌کردند[۸]. بعد ازان خدمت خواجه ازین حکایت فارغ شدند و در تفکر بودند که آیتی یاد میکنم، باز یاد نمی‌آید[۹]. مگر مناسب حکایت گذشته آیتی بر خاطر مبارك ایشان گذشته بود. یاد نمی‌آید. حمایل فرود آوردند و بکشادند. سبحان الله[۱۰] همان آیه بیرون آمد. حمائل باز نهادند. فرمودند که یافتم و[۱۱] این آیه خواند: قوله تعالی: یا أیها النبی حسبك الله ومن اتبعك من المومنین[14]. فرمودند: «واو» بمعنی «مع»

۱ — ج: ششصد یا چیزی بیشتر.
۲ — ج: هیچ نماند.
۳ — ج: کشیدند.
٤ — ج: او.
٥ — ج: یك دیگر.
٦ — ج: صحت او از خدای نخواهیم.
۷ — ج: «از خانه» ندارد.
۸ — ج: و دو چشم درو نهاده تماشا می‌کردند.
۹ — ج: بعده ازین حکایت چون خدمت خواجه فارغ شد فرمود، آیتی یاد میکنم، از کی باز نمی‌آید یاد.
۱۰ — ج: «سبحان الله» ندارد.
۱۱ — ج: این آیت بود.

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حکایت فرمودند که سوداگری بود در اوده. او را خواجگی خجندی[1] گفتندی. حانظ بود. در حلقهٔ مسجد جمعهٔ اوده من و او یکجا می نشستیم. او در دهلی جامه هائی پت بیاوردی و بفروختی. مال بسیار داشت. کسی او را پرسید: تو چندین مال داری رخت کمینه می خری. اگر مهین بخری، ترا نفع بیشتر باشد. جواب داد که رخت کمینه برای آن می خرم که پوشش فقیران و درویشان است، اما رخت مهین پوشش ترکان و لشکریانست.

حکایت دیگر فرمودند که وقتی او جامه هائی پت خریده، در دهلی می آورد. در گذر جمن فرود آمد، و در آن وقت آب بسیار تا بجلانه گرفته بود. رخت در کشتی بار کردند. درگذر بجلانه رسید. وقت فرود آوردن رخت یك تملیت[2] در آب افتاد و غرق شد. هرچند که ملاحان و کسان او تفحص کردند، نیافتند. خواجگی خجندی می گفت که رخت من هرگز نه رود. من زکوة مال داده ام. خلق گفتند که این مرد دیوانه است. رخت غرق شد و تفحص کردند، نیافتند، می گوید رخت من هرگز نه خواهد رفت، دیگر چگونه خواهد رفت. الغرض خواجگی خجندی در شهر آمد، و رخت فروخت و باز گشت، بجلانه دور رفته و بجای خود قرار گرفته. رختی که اینجا خرید کرده بودند آنجا بردند، و در کشتی بار کردند. غلام بچه کسی برای وضو رفته بود. در آن محل که تملیت غرق شده بود. آنجا درختان گز برآمده بودند. غلام بچه در بند آن درختان گز به وضو مشغول شد. طرف زمین دید، رشته در نظر آمد. دست در آن زد، بکشید. رشته محکم بود. گل را دور کرد، تملیت بیرون آمد. برخاست. فریاد کرد که تملیت کسی افتاده وزیر گل شده. خواجگی خجندی شنید، گفت رخت من نه خواهد رفت.

حکایت دیگر فرمودند که وقتی پسران خواجگی خجندی را حسام الدین پسر ملك تگین موقوف کرده بودند. شخصی از اوده حاضر بود. او ایشان را می شناخت. نام یك پسر گفت. مولانا شیرو نام بود. خدمت خواجه فرمودند: آری پسر خورد را مولانا شیرو نام بود. الغرض پسر ملك تگین دران شب خواب دید که کسی با او می گفت: ای پسر آن پسر را میگذاری، یا نه؟ چون بیدار شد هیبتی در دل افتاد. هم در شب فرمود. آن جوان را که بند کرده ام بیارند، بیاوردند. خلاص داد و معذرت کرد و پیش ایشان خدمتی آورد. خوشنود کرده

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فرستاد. حکایت دیگر فرمودند که وقتی خواجگی خجندی در شهر آمده بود، و رخت فروخته سیم در حجره نهاده بود. و در قفل کرده، بیرون رفته. غلامی بود. بالای بام رفت. سقف حجره بشگافت و فرود آمد و مبلغ تنکه هائی زربستد و هم در آن راه بالا آمد، و بگریخت. خواجگی خجندی به خدمت شیخ آمد، شیخ الاسلام نظام الحق والدین قدس سره. عرضداشت کرد که غلام گریخت و مبلغهای تنکه هائی زر برد. خدمت شیخ زمانی سرفرو کرد، و در مراقبه شده، فرمود: خواجگی چون روان خواهی شد، وداع من بیائی. الغرض وقت روان شدن به خدمت شیخ آمد. خدمت شیخ فرمودند: خواجگی! غلام تو سر بر کرده در خانه برده، در اوده رفت. یك روز بازار خرامان رفته بود، آنجا مردی را دید، مکتوبی بر دست داشت، وفریاد می کرد که خانهٔ خواجگی خجندی کجا است؟ خواجگی خجندی بیشتر شد. گفت: منم. گفت: غلامی گم کرده بودی؟ گفت: آری. مبلغ تنکه هائی زر برده است. گفت اورا کوتوال گژه گرفته است و پیش دروازه در کنده کشیده. غلام در خمار خانه بود. کسی بر حال او اطلاع یافت. گرفت و بر کوتوال برد. کوتوال تفحص کرد. او گفت: من از آن خواجگی خجندی ام. خواجه در شهر دهلی رفته بود. این زمان در اوده آمده باشد. شما مکتوب در اوده بفرستید. این گفت و مکتوب به دست خواجگی خجندی داد. نوشته بودند که دو گواه معتبر بیار و غلام و مال خود را بگیر. ازان تنکه ها هفت تنکه زر خرچ شده بود. دیگر همه موجود بود. بعد ازان فرمودند که ما در حلقهٔ مسجد جمعهٔ اوده یکجا می نشستیم. رسم او این بود که چون او از خانه برون آمدی، در یك آستین او کوزه بودی، و در یك آستین کنجد و شکر، هر فقیری که پیش آمدی ازان چیزی بدو دادی و شکر و کنجد در مزار و در سوراخ های مورچگان انداختی. بعد ازان فرمودند که بارها دست راست بر کله راست زدی، و گفتی خواجگی مسلمان شو. باز دست چپ زدی و گفتی: مسلمان مشو. والحمد لله رب العالمین.

مجلس پنجاه و پنجم

بالخیر والسعادت، سعادت خدمت حاصل شد. قلندران رسیده بودند و خدمت خواجه

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بودی، دو بار لبانچه بردی.

بعد ازان حکایت فرمودند که قاضی حمید الدین ملك التجار[7] در آن مدت در خطهٔ اوده رفته بود. دعوت کرده و مرا طلبیده. چون خلق بازگشت ما یکجا نشسته بودیم. حکایت کرد که وقتی سلطان علاءالدین را دیدم بر تنگی نشسته، و سر برهنه و پا بر زمین، مبهوت در خیالی فرو شده می گوید: من پیش رفتم. سلطان را خبر نبود. بازگشتم. بیرون آمدم بر ملك قرا بیگ[8] گفتم که سلطان را این چنین دیدم، برو ببین چه حالست. ملك قرا بیگ در مجلس جلیس هم بودی. پیش رفت و سلطان را در سخن در آورد. بعد ازان این عرضداشت کرد که بادشاه مسلمانان! عرضی دارم. فرمان داد: بگو. قاضی پیش شده گفت: من درون آمدم، بادشاه را دیدم بدین حال سر برهنه و در تفکر شده. بادشاه در چه تفکر بود. سلطان گفت: بشنوید، چند باشد که ما را خیالی در دل شده است، با خود می گفتم، ای فلان خدای تعالی را در جهان چندین بندگان اند، ما را بر سر ایشان برگزید، اکنون چیزی می باید کرد که از من نفع بهمه خلق رسد. با خود گفتم چه باید کرد. جمله خزاین که من دارم و صد چندین دیگر باشد بدهم. بهمه خلق نرسد. و اگر دیه ها و ولایت‌ها دهم، هم نرسد. درین تفکر بودم که چه کنم که از من بهمه خلق منفعت برسد. این زمان چیزی در دل من گذشته است. با شما بگویم. گفتم که غله ارزان بکنم که نفع آن بهمه خلق برسد[9]، و غله چگونه ارزان شود؟ فرمان بدهم که جمله نایکان اطراف زا بطلبند. ایشان که غله ها از اطراف در شهر می آرند. بعضی ده هزار ستور می آرند و بعضی بیست هزار. ایشان را بطلبم و جامه بدهم و سیم از خزانه بدهم، و خرچ خانه های ایشان بدهم، تا غله ها بیارند. نرخی که من کنم بدان نرخ بفروشند. همچنان فرمان داد. غله ها از اطراف رسیدن گرفت. میان چند روز هفت جیتل من شده، روغن و شکر و نعمتهای، جمله ارزان شد و به همه خلق عالم ازو نفع رسید. چه بادشاهی بود سلطان علاء الدین رحمة الله علیه. یکی گفت خلق در زیارت او میروند و ریسمان می بندند و حاجتها بر می آید[10]. بنده را درین محل حکایت یاد آمد عرضداشت کردم. همدرین ایام من بنده زیارت سلطان علاء الدین رفته بودم. بعد از نماز زیارت کردم و آنجا آمدم که خلق ریسمانها می بندند. اگرچه من بنده حاجتی نداشتم، اما

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

خاصهٔ خدمت شیخ الاسلام والمسلمین قطب الوقت والعهد غوث الزمان شیخ[1]، آن مبارز فرد[2] جهاد اکبر، و آن شاهد[3] شهود، و ظهور انوار،[4] و آن صنوبر ریاض ریاضت، و آن نیلوفر حیاض افادت، و آن شامل تنزیه و تشبیه، و آن عامل تشبیه و تنزیه، و آن برگزیدهٔ حضرت معبود، عبدالواحد نصیر الدین محمود[5] قدس الله سره العزیز.

در مشایخ کبار ممتاز بود، و در مجردان روزگار اولی الأبصار. جد بزرگوارش یوسف[6] نام داشت. تولد ایشان[7] در خطهٔ لاهور بود. و تولد حضرت مخدوم شیخ نصیر الدین محمود[8] در خطهٔ اوده بود. پدرش در نه سالگی از سر ایشان برفت[9]. والدهٔ مبارک ایشان[7] در صلاح و عفت نظیری نه داشت. در تحصیل علم ظاهری[10] سعی[11] می نمود. در مبداء حال پیش مولانا عبد الکریم شیروانی که یکی از ممتازان عهد خویش بود هدایه[2] و بزودی[3] تحصیل نموده[12]. بعد رحلت آن بزرگوار پیش مولانا افتخار الدین محمد گیلانی از هر علمی نصیبی کامل بحصول آورد[13]. در بیست و پنج سالگی ترک و تجرید نموده به مجاهدهٔ نفس اشتغال نموده، و ریاضتی عظیم داشت و عبادتی مستقیم. هفت سال با یك دو درویش نماز با جماعت او فوت نه شد. به ویرانه های آن دیار می گشتی و تخم سعادت در[14] زمین استعداد می کشتی. اکثر افطار او به برگ سنبهالو[4] بودی، و آن گیاهی است که در زمین هند باشد. در چهل و سه سالگی از[15] اوده به دار الخلافت دهلی آمد، و به سعادت ارادت حضرت شیخ المشایخ نظام الملة والدین محمد بدایونی مشرف گشت. و مدتی به خدمت

۱ — س: «خاصه خدمت . . . شیخ» ندارد. ۲ — س: نبرد. ۳ — س: مشاهده. ٤ — س: اظهر
٥ — س: «چراغ دهلی» نیز دارد. ٦ — س: یحیی. ۷ — س: او. ۸ — س: حضرت شیخ.
۹ — گذاشته از دار فنا بدار البقا رحلت نموده بود. ۱۰ — س: ظاهرش. ۱۱ — س: بلیغ.
۱۲ — س: بمحاسبه و مجاهده نفس اشتغال کلی نموده. ۱۳ — س: «بعد رحلت . . . مولانا افتخار الدین محمد گیلانی . . . آورد» ندارد. ١٤ — س: بر. ۱۵ — س: دیار.

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حضرت ایشان ملازم بود[1]. درویشان حضرت ایشان او را نصیر الدین محمود گنج می گفتند. او بس محبوب قطب[2] مشایخ بود، در آن ایام والدهٔ[3] ایشان در خطهٔ اوده[4] بود. شیخ نصیر الدین[5] در خطهٔ اوده آمد. به خدمت آن عفیفهٔ مستورهٔ دهر می بود. بعد وفات آن عزیزه چند ماه در خطهٔ اوده[6] بجهت تشریف زیارت والدهٔ خود ماند. الآن مقبرهٔ والدهٔ ایشان پس پشت نمازگاه عید است. و از آنجا باز به[7] شهر دهلی روی کرد[8]. العصر[9] پای پیر خود نظام الدین[10] قدس سره مالید و بملازمت ایشان در جماعت خانهٔ[11] کیلوکهری که[12] بر کرانهٔ آب جون واقع است می بود. بالای بام آن جماعت خانه[13] حجرهٔ خاص حضرت شیخ[14] المشایخ شیخ نظام[10] الدین[15] بود. حضرت ایشان در آن حجره شغل[16] می داشتند. و حضرت شیخ نصیر الدین محمود[17] در گوشهٔ آن جماعت خانه مشغول می بود.

همدران ایام[18] درویشی چند از مریدان خانوادهٔ حضرت شیخ[19] بهاء الدین زکریا[5] قدس سره از ملتان آمدند، و روزی چند[20] همدران جماعت خانه آرمیدند. شبی از شبها[21] درویشان برای تجدید وضوء تهجد پوششها گذاشته به کنارهٔ آب جون رفته بودند، ایام زمستان بود. بدزدی پوشش درویشان[22] دزدید، و بدر رفت. چون درویشان تجدید وضو نموده به جماعت خانه رسیدند و در پوششهای خود پوشش درویشی نه دیدند. یکبار[23] زبان شتی به غوغا کشیدند. درین میان حضرت شیخ[24] نصیر الدین محمود لبانچهٔ خود[25] در بر داشت، بدان درویشی که پوشش خود گم کرده بود، داد.[27] و او را از آن گفتگو فراهم آورد که مبادا از غوغای ایشان در مشغولی حضرت شیخ تفرقه روی دهد. این معنی را حضرت شیخ[24] نظام الملة والدین[28] بنور باطن دریافت. بعد از نماز چاشت[29] شیخ

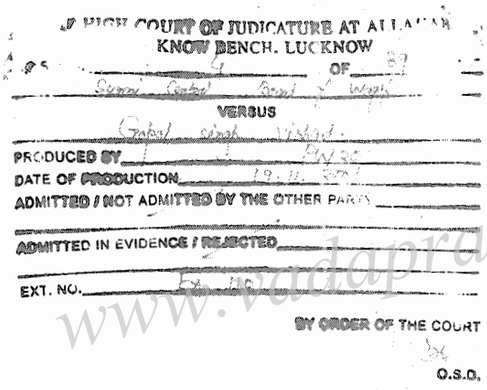
۱ — س: چنانچه همان. ۲ — س: قلوب. ۳ — س: مبارك. ٤ — س: در صدر حیات بود.
٥ — س: از حضرت سلطان الاولیاء نظام الملة والدین قدس سره رخصت گرفته بخدمت والدهٔ خود.
٦ — س: مذکور. ۷ — س: در. ۸ — س: برسید. ۹ — س: و روی گرد آلود خویش.
۱۰ — س: الملت و. ۱۱ — س: که در. ۱۲ — س: «که» ندارد. ۱۳ — س: آن جماعت خانه بامی داشت بالای آن بام. ١٤ — س: ملك. ١٥ — س: قدس سره. ١٦ — س: مشغول. ١٧ — س: نصیر الملة والدین قدس سره. ١٨ — س: وقتی از اوقات چند. ١٩ — س: المشایخ. ۲۰ — س: چند روز.
۲۱ — س: آن. ۲۲ — س: درویش. ۲۳ — س: یکبارگی. ۲٤ — س: المشایخ. ۲٥ — س: تو.
۲٦ — س: خویش. ۲۷ — س: پوشانید. ۲۸ — س: قدس سره. ۲۹ — س: حضرت.

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KHAIRU'L MAJALIS

Conversation of Nasiruddin

Mahmud Chiragh-i Delhi

recorded by Maulana Hamid Qalandar

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edited with introduction and notes by

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S. Shireen Moosvi
15.10.01

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EXTRACTS FROM THE *KHARU'L MAJALIS* (CONVERSATIONS OF SHAIKH NASIRUDDIN

EXTRACT A

000089

Page 118, line 6 *from bottom* of main text to Page 119, line 6:

He [The Shaikh, Nasiruddin] related that there was in Awadh a cloth-seller (*bazzaz*). Once his son had a serious illness. Perhaps, Maulana Mahmud felt some affection towards him. He went [to his house] to ask about him. The cloth-seller ran and fell to his feet with great abasement and wept. He cried: "Shaikh! I have one son. He too is going. Do please pray [for him] so that God may give him health." Maulana Daud said: "Agree to give me something out of your money. I will pray [for him]." He replied: "[I will give you] whatever you instruct." [Maulana Mahmud] said: "I do not give any instructions; you tell me." He said: "I will give a quarter of my money." Maulana Daud stood over his [the son's] head and recited something, took hold of his hand, and said: "Stand up." (The son) stood up and sat down, as if he never had an illness. At that time he [Maulana Daud] told him: "Your son has recovered health; bring what you have offered me." he left and, having counted, [said]: "I have so much money." He brought something above a quarter and placed it before Maulana Daud. It was five hundred *tangas* (*tankas*) or six hundred *tankas* (silver coins). The Maulana came out and whomever he met he kept giving him [something out of it], until when he reached his house, everything had been spent.

EXTRACT B

Page 183: from the beginning of page to line no.5.

He [the Shaikh, Nasiruddin] related that there was a merchant in Awadh, whom people used to call Khwajagi Khujandi. He had memorised the Quran. I and he used to sit together in the enclosure of the Friday Mosque (*Masjid-i Jama'*) of Awadh. He used to take cloth of the *pat* fabric to Delhi and sell it there. He had much wealth. People asked him, 'You have so much wealth, yet you buy inferior cloth [to sell]; if you buy fine cloth [here], you would gain much [more] profit.' He replied: 'I buy inferior cloth, because this is for the clothing of the poor and the derveshes. The fine cloth is for the Turks and soldiers [so I do not deal in it].'

EXTRACT C

Page 184, from line 8 from top to line 3 from bottom:

He [Khwajagi Khujandi] went [from Delhi] Awadh and was walking about in the bazar there. He saw a man, who had a letter in his hand and

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was raising the cry: "Where is the house of Khwajagi Khujandi?" Khwajagi Khujandi went forward, and said "I am he." The man said, "Had you lost a slave?" He said, "Yes: he has taken away a sum of money in *tankas* [silver coins]." The man told him, "The Kotwal of Garrah [Karra] has arrested him and detained him in front of the town gate. The slave was visiting a tavern. Someone found out who he really was and took him to the Kotwal. The Kotwal interrogated him. The slave said, `I am the slave of Khwajagi Khujandi. The Khwaja had gone to the City of Delhi. Now he must have returned to Awadh. Send him a letter at Awadh.'" The man said this and gave him the letter. It was written there: "You should bring two reliable witnesses and recover your slave. Out of those *tankas* [he had lost], seven *tankas* been spent [by the slave]; the balance is here." Then, [the Shaikh, Nasiru'ddin] said: We used to sit together in the enclosre of the Friday Mosque. His custom was that when he came out from his house, he used to have under one sleeve a small cup, and under the other rape-seed and sugar. To every beggar he met, he gave him something out of the cup, while he put sugar and rape-seed over graves and into ant-holes. He [the Shaikh] further said: He used often to slap his face with his right hand and to say: "Be a Muslim", and then he slapped with his left hand, saying "Don't be a Muslim!" Praise be of God, Lord of the Worlds!

EXTRACT D

Page 241, from lines 2 to 5

He [Shaikh Nasiruddin] thereafter related that Qazi Hamiduddin, the Chief Merchant (*Maliku't Tujjar*) about that time [Alauddin Khalji's reign, 1296-1316] had gone to Awadh. He held a reception and invited me [among others]. When the people left, [some of] us remained sitting together. He [Qazi Hamiduddin] narrated that once I saw Sultan Alauddin sitting on a narrow seat, head bowed and feet on the ground, immersed in thought. I went in but the Sultan did not become aware of it. So I came away.

EXTRACT E

Page 282, line 7 to Page 283, line 5

[From Hamid Qalandar's biography of Shaikh Nasiruddin at the end of his record of Conversations.]

His Holiness Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud's birth took place in the town of Awadh. His father died, when he was nine, and he was brought up by his mother. His august mother had no rival in virtue and modesty. He endeavoured to obtain learning in the conventional sciences and in the beginning studied the *Hidaya* [legal text] under Maulana 'Abdu'l Karim Sherwani, who was one of the prominent persons of his time, and rapidly became learned in it. After the death of that honoured scholar, he obtained complete command over all sciences by studying under Maulana Iftikharuddin Muhammad Gilani. When twenty-five years of age, he gave

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up [worldly life] and took to solitude, and began a great struggle against self, engaging in great asceticism and constant prayer. For seven years, keeping company with one or two derveshes, he never forsook a single congregational prayer. He wandered in the wastes of that country and cultivated the august seed of spiritual attainment. Most of his *iftars* (evening terminations of fast) were with leaves of *sanbhalu*, which is a grass which grows in the country of India. He was forty-two years old, when he left Awadh for the Capital City of Delhi, where he was honoured by being accepted as a disciple by the Great Shaikh Nizamuddin Muhammad Badauni [Nizamuddin Auliya]. He spent some time in his service, and the derveshes of the Shaikh's hospice called him Nasiruddin Mahmud Ganj ['Treasure'], and he was much loved by the Great Shaikh. At that time his mother lived in the town of Awadh. Shaikh Nasiruddin returned to the towns of Awadh to be in attendance upon that pious lady. After her death, he stayed a few months in the town of Awadh by way of waiting upon his mother's tomb. His mother's grave is behind the *idgah* (*namaz-gah-i 'id*). From there he went back to Delhi...

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خلاصۃ التواریخ

مصنفہ

منشی الناشی سجان رائے بھنڈاری ساکن بٹالہ

بہ تصحیح

احقر العباد ظفر حسن بی اے اسسٹنٹ سپرنٹنڈنٹ محکمہ آثار قدیمہ

در سنہ ۱۹۱۸

در مطبع جی اینڈ ڈبلیو ہاتی باقاعدہ طبع درآمد

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وبرنده ، غیره است طول از سنجهولی جون پور تا کوه جنوبی صد و شصت کروه عرض از گذر چوسا دریائے گنگ تا گهاتم پور صد و بست کروه شرقی صوبه بهار غربی صوبه اکبر آباد شمالی صوبه اودده جنوبی باندو گڈه و سرکار الہ آباد و جون پور و غازی پور و بنارس و چنادہ و کالنجر و کورا و مانک پور وغیره شانزده سرکار مشتمل بر دو صد و چهل و هفت محال دسی و هفت کرور و شصت لک و شصت و یکهزار دام داخل این صوبه است ؛

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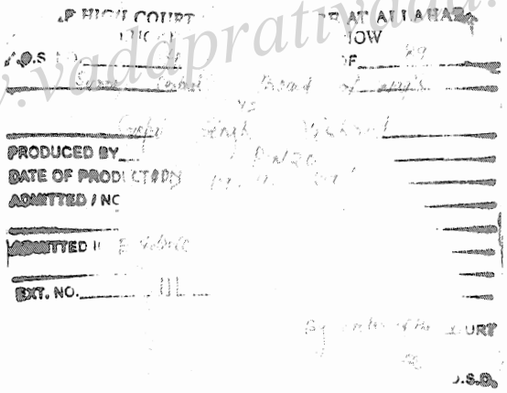
اودہ شهریست بزرگ و متقدمین ان را در هندی نامجات اجودهیا گویند زادگاه راجه رام چندر نوشته اند و بستن او قطره بر روے دریائے شور و رفتن در لنکا با عساکر بیشمار بوزنه و خرس و رفتن راون مرزبان انجا و آوردن زوجه خود را که در قید راون با عصمت و عفت محفوظ بود مشهور است و تاریخ را این در شرح مشگرفکاری او عجایب کارنامه اوست دازیں رو که ان شهر جگاه راجه رام چند بود از گزیں معابدی دانند و یک کروه ان دریائے گهگهر بدریائے سرجو پیوسته پایان قلعه میگذرد و در سواد شهر خاک بیزی میکنند و طلا بدست میگیرند و دران شهر تربت شیث بن حضرت آدم و ایوب پیغمبر علیهم السلام زیارت گاه اهل اسلام است و در [illegible] کبیر یافته است که در زمان سلطان سکندر لودی در بنارس از کثرت یاد رب العباد [illegible] شهرستان صوری راه بدار الملک معنوی برده بود و بسا اسرار معرفت و دقایق رموز حقیقت در اشعار هندی از و در طوایف انام خاص و عام یادگار بهر ایچ شهریست بزرگ متقدمین بر ساحل دریائے سرجو سواد وش بس دل کشا تربت سالار مسعود از خویشاوندان قریب سلطان محمود غزنوی در جنب سالار برادر سلطان تغلق شاه و پدر سلطان فیروز شاه والی هندوستان در انجا است طوایف انام از دور دستها با علم زرین بزیارت می آیند و انجمنها می آرایند و فراوان نذوری گذرانند و در نزدیکی شهر موضعی است دوکون از دیر باز دار الفلوس و از شمالی کوهستان فراوان چیز بر پشت آدمی و بر اسپ کونت بار کرده می آرند طلا و مس و شرب و مشک و قطاس و عسل و چوب ترش که از آب ترنج و لیمون بجوش آورده بر سازند و نبات که در هندی پکورا گویند و انار دانه و زنجبیل و فلفل دراز و کهربا و رود و نگ هندی و نگ و انگوزه و زیره و پشه و اوند و موم و پشمینه و باز و جره و شاهین و باشه و دیگر اشیائے

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by

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[Translation of Extract from *Khulasatu't Tawarikh*, written A.D. 1696]

Page 43, from lines 6 to 13

THE PROVINCE OF AWADH

Awadh is a large city. The ancients called it Ajodhya in the Hindi nomenclature. They have written of it as the birth-place of Raja Ramchandar. The story is famous of his erecting a birdge across the sea, reaching Lanka with countless troops of monkeys and bears, killing Ravan, the ruler thereof, and rescuing his own wife, who had been kept in prison by Ravan, with her honour and virtue preserved. The history *Ramayan* is devoted to describing his wonderful works and achievements. For the reason that the city was the seat of Raja Ram Chandar, they regard it as one of the major places of worship. At one *kos* from it, the river Ghaghar [Ghaghara], having joined the river Sarju, passes under the fort. In the outskirts of the city, they obtain gold from sand. In that city the graves of Shis, the son of his holiness Adam, and Aiyub the prophet (peace be on them!) are a place of pilgrimage for the Muslims.

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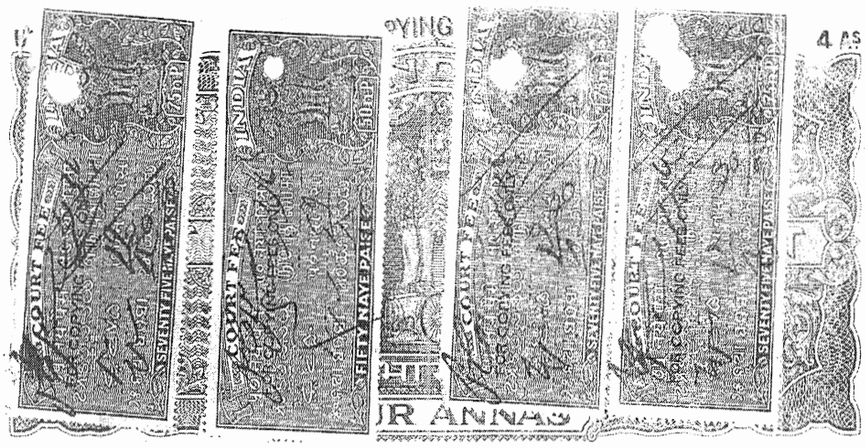
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ANNEXURE A

LIST OF SACRED PLACES IN AND ABOUT AYODHYA-

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Sl. No.	Name of sacred Place	Number given in Sheet No. 1 Annexure or Register ref.	Area	Situation	Brief and special subject of connection	Remarks
1	2	4	5	6	9	12
2.	Janam Bhumi	144	1			
3.	Ramkot Sitaramdas	150	5			
4.	Janam Asthan	2.0	6			
5.	Bhandar Gharbhat	250	7			
6.	Sugriv Tila	2.0	3			
7.	Angad Tila	—	Amongst Place	—		
8.	Matangmuni	Akhandpuja	Asthan	5		
9.	Ratan Das Kutia	Akhandpuja	1,900	12		
10.	Gaddi Ganeshpur Das	Gaddi Das	300	7		
11.	Ankur Janmasthan	Gaddi Ankur	250	6		
12.	Ram Janmasthan	Janam	2.0	7		

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34.	Ditto of Chaturbhujji	Ramdas	100	5	1	2	0	Ditto	Do pore land in 3 mauzas	Ramanuvan Ram Landi	60	Kund, 39 Tela Kund 40 Sugreo Kund.
35.	Ditto of Badri	Badeki Das	100	5	2	0	0	Ditto	No fixed means of support	Dagambasi Do,	10	41 Sita Ram Kund, 42 Lakshman Kund, 43
36.	Ditto of Dipchiji	Ramdas Tyagi	100	2	1	2	0	Given by Behari	Ditto	Ramanundi Do,	40	Janaki Kund, 44 Mani Parvat Kund, 45
37.	Bishan Khoki	Dyanam	100	7	1	0	0	Granted by Nawab Begumbala	Income of mauza and 100 Bighas	Do. Rajnathji Lachhmanji	50	Gya Kund 46 Ram Pokha 47 Lakshman 48 Budar
38.	Ashan of Mahabirkot	Balak Das	100	2	0	2	0	By Maharajji	1 mauza	Raghunathji	4	Kund 49 Bisnopat Kund 51 Lakshman Kund, 51
39.	Ditto of Gobindas	Gobindas	90	4	0	1	0	Purchased	No fixed means of support	Do Ramjanki	6	Bhawan Kund 52 Jugin Kund, 53 Gopi Kund, 54 Radha Kund, 55
40.	Pakadi Dhirajji Ram Charan Das	Ram Charan das	90	2	2	0	0	By Raja Chandeki Zamindar	Raja and Zamin Sasi	Bishno, Ramjanki	10	Chandrodah, 56 Nalgaon.
41.	Do of Chandellah Rajah	Ram Charan	90	2	2	0	0	Ditto	Income of 2 Mauzah 1966 Bighas	Do do	10	The following wells (Kuabats) are held sacred:—
42.	Ashan of Raudurbar	Radhio Rajia	86	2	0	2	20	Mafi	Has zoja Cultivates Something	Brahman, Thakur	1	Manjarkot 2 Patangeh 3 Sringatad. The trees (Vrcs) also held sacred are:—
43.	Bicharaj of Ram Charan	Ram Charan Das	80	2	4	0	0	Dewan Daud Kh.	500 K. B.	Bandiwala, Rama Lamki	40	Ashoktatka 2 Kelab 3 Bikkar.
44.	Asthan Harbhajan	Harbhajan Das	70	3	1	20	0	From Nagpal	Some Mafi in Sultanpur	Bishno Bairagi Raghunathji	5	The following is a list of the Bathing Ghats
45.	Do. of Dutheshari	Dutheshari	70	3	1	2	10	By Purun Chand Banian	No fixed means of support	Harbhajan Srikishan	1	1- Janki Ghat 2. Rinmochin Ghat 3 Rup Mochin Ghat 4. Lachhman Ghat. 5.
46.	Do of Jaggdas	Nathodas	70	3	0	0	24	Purchased	Ditto	Ramanundi Ram Janki	6	Sugandwati 6 Rangghat— 7. Rajghat 8. Gupta Ghat—
47.	Thakur Dhiraj of Rajia Bhedon	Rajia Bhedon	70	3	1	1	0	Dilla for 60	Ditto	Bishno Raghunath	1	Details of some of These places will also be found in appendix note.
48.	Ashan Bishno das	Jubidas	60	2	0	0	0	Jagir Ex. Com. Sunder Dhirajji	Bhas	Ramdhundi do	4	
49.	Do of Lachkari Ramdas Malani	Lachhmandas	60	3	1	1	20	Given by Private Government	Ditto	Bishno do	5	
50.	Thakur Dhiraj of Rajbar Srivastoka	Rajbar Srivastoka	60	1	0	3	0	Purchased for 36 Rs.	Some Mafi	Do do	5	
51.	Do of Kashidas	Kashidas Ram Kishan	53	4	1	2	0	By Pandit Hardeo	No fixed means of support	Harbans Ramjanki	4	
52.	Do of Dhaniahar	Nursingh Das	50	1	0	0	20	Heredity Antiquity	Ditto	Ramanundi do	2	
53.	Do of Hobari	Ramkishji	50	5	5	0	6	By Hereditary	Some mafi	Bishno, Sankar Bulish	8	

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54.	Do g. [illegible]	[illegible]	50					[illegible]			
55	Jagannathchandra	Harichandra	50	1	0	1	0	By Rent free land	Ditto	Do	do	4
56.	Hathang Kalijee	Kalijee Das	50	1	0	0	24	By Rent free land	Ditto	Ramanandi	do,	4
57.	Do g. Pushkardas Jee	Gajadhar Jee	50	1	0	1	0	Purchased	Income of 1/60 Rights Rupee	Do	do	4
58.	Hathang Bichai Raja Jee	Lachhmandas	50	4	1	1	0	Purchased	No fix Income of Zemindari	Brahmo Ranjanki		2
59.	Thakurdwara g. Ramanuja Raja Jee Ramanandi Sect	Ramanuja Jee established by Ram Raja in Ramnathpuri	50	1	2	0	0	By Mafi land	Ditto	Do	do	2
60.	Do g. Pragdasji	Pragdasji	50	2	2	2	0	Granted by late Chakramahant	Ditto	Do	do	3
61.	Do g. Bhagat Kalijee	Bhagat Kalijee of Kalyanpur	50	5	0	1	0	Ancestral property	Ditto	Gudar Rajdhanpur		13
62.	Ditto g. Nidhi Singh	Nidhi Singh Gaur	41	2	2	0	0	Given by late Zemindars	No fix Income of Zemindari	Nikari	ditto	8
63.	Ramgir Gir	Bhabuti Giri g. Singh	60	2	—			Granted land	Ditto	Hirbani Ram Janki		5
64.	Santokhi Das	Ganeshi Bania	40	1	0	1	0	Purchased	No fix Income of Zemindari	Rama Mandi Ram Chandra		3
65.	Hathang Chalis Bhaji	Chalis Bhaji	40	2	0	2	0	By Raja g. of Singhpur.	Income of 1/60 Rights Rupee	Brahmo Rajdhanki		3
66.	Mandar g. Nathu Mahajan	Nathu	40	} vide remarks in no. 10						Ditto Ranjanki		
67.	Ditto g. Kherkharya	Ram Das	40							Ditto ditto		
68.	Thakurdwara g. Jai Singh Pandit	Jai Singh Pandit	40	included in above	0	0	20	} vide remarks in No. 10		Ditto. ditto		3
69.	Ditto g. Rani Bardi	Rani g. Bardi	40	ditto	0	0	20			Ditto. ditto		1
70.	Ditto g. Baldeo Das	Ganga Das	40	ditto	0	0	20			Ditto. ditto		1
71.	Rasik Newas	Raja g. Tikari	40	2	1	2	0	Purchased for Rs. 76	Raja gives 4 rupees per diem	Ramanandi. Ram Janki		10
72.	Hathang Jundallandal	Raja g. Bahampur	39	1	2	2	0	From native Government	Malikyat Sri Mandir given Rs. 350 and Mahajanat of Bal-Rampur Rs. 360			
73.	Ranjit Lal	Ram Das Mahajan	35	3	1	1	0	Purchased Rs. 250	Income 3 450 Kopaital	Ranjanki		20

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वादी प्रतिवादी द्वारा पेश किये गए दस्तावेजों की सूची

आदेश ११, नियम ६

न्यायालय ... स्थान ... जिला ...

वाद संख्या ... सन् ... ई०

... वादी

बनाम

... प्रतिवादी

... वादी प्रतिवादी की ओर से वाद पत्र के साथ पेश किये गये दस्तावेजों की सूची

प्रथम सुनवाई के समय

इस सूची को ... ने आज सन् २००५ ई० के ... के ... दिवस को पेश किया।

१	२	३			४
क्र० सं०	दस्तावेज का अभिवर्णन और संक्षिप्तता० यदि कोई हो	कामय क्या हुआ			टिप्पणी
		यदि अभिलेख में सम्मिलित किया गया तो प्रदर्शन चिन्ह जो उस पर डाला गया	यदि नामंजूर हुआ तो पक्षकार को लौटाये जाने की तारीख और पक्षकार या उसके अभिवक्ता के हस्ताक्षर जिसको कागज लौटाया	यदि वाद के विनिश्चय के पश्चात् कागज अभिलेख में रह जाये और अध्याय ३ नियम २४ के अधीन लिफाफा में बन्द किया गया हो लिफाफा में बन्द करने की ता०	
१-	कागजी नोट्स एवं सरकारी रिपोर्ट्स 'A' A historical sketch of Tehsil Kairana and Pargana Howeli including Pachim Nath and old Capitals Ayodhya and Fyzabad by F. Carnagy Officiating Commissioner and Settlement Officer Fyzabad	Ex A10			

by R. L. Arora
7.2.05

सूची पेश करने वाले पक्षकार का अभिवक्ता के हस्ताक्षर

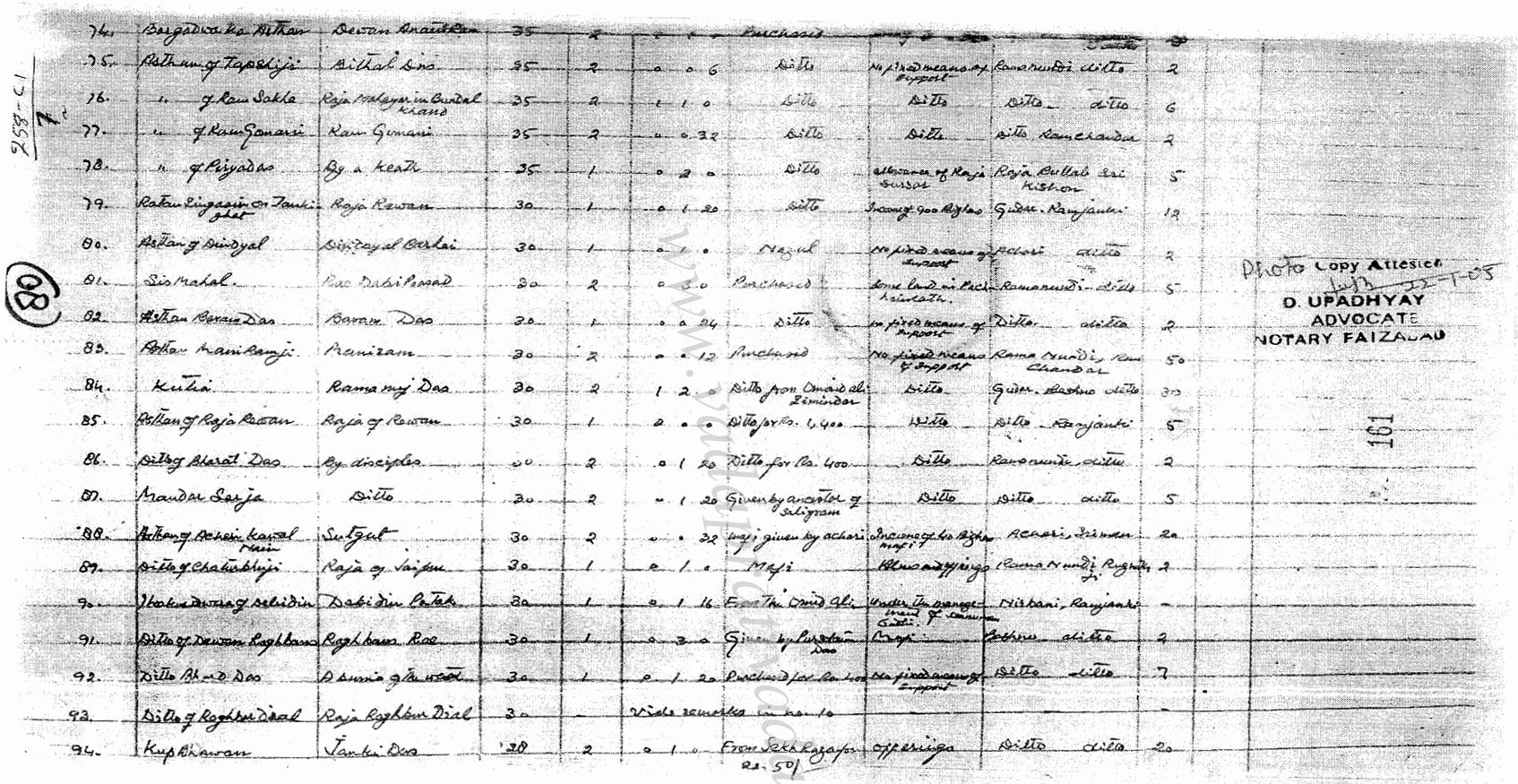
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74.	Bargadwa ka Asthan	Dewan Anandram	35			Purchased				
75.	Asthan of Tapasiji	Billab Das	35	2	0 0 6	Ditto	No fixed means of support	Ramanandi	ditto	2
76.	" of Ram Sakla	Raja Malaya in Bundal khand	35	2	1 1 0	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	ditto	6
77.	" of Ram Sanani	Ram Sanani	35	2	0 0 32	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ramchandra	2
78.	" of Priyadas	By a heath	35	1	0 2 0	Ditto	allowance of Raja Sussai	Raja Ballab Sri Kishan		5
79.	Asthan Lingasin or Janki ghat	Raja Rewan	30	1	0 1 20	Ditto	Income 900 Rupees	Gudar. Ranjanki		12
80.	Asthan of Dindyal	Dindayal Barhai	30	1	0 1 0	Mazul	No fixed means of support	Achari	ditto	2
81.	Sis Mahal.	Rao Dabi Prasad	20	2	0 3 0	Purchased	Some land in Pachhiarkath.	Ramanandi	ditto	5
82.	Asthan Barwa Das	Barwa Das	30	1	0 0 24	Ditto	No fixed means of support	Ditto	ditto	2
83.	Asthan Rani Ramji	Ramizam	30	2	0 0 12	Purchased	No fixed means of Support	Rama Nandi, Ram Chandar		50
84.	Kutia	Rama myi Das	30	2	1 2 0	Ditto from Omrao ali Zimindar	Ditto	Gudar. Rashno	ditto	30
85.	Asthan of Raja Rewan	Raja of Rewan	30	1	2 0 0	Ditto for Rs. 1,400	Ditto	Ditto	Ranjanki	5
86.	Ditto of Bharat Das	By disciples	20	2	0 1 20	Ditto for Rs. 400	Ditto	Ramanandi	ditto	2
87.	Mandar Sarja	Ditto	30	2	0 1 20	Given by ancestor of Saligram	Ditto	Ditto	ditto	5
88.	Asthan of Achari Kamal Nain	Sutgut	30	2	0 0 32	Mafi given by achari	Income of his Rajha mafi	Achari, Sriram		20
89.	Ditto of Chaturbhuji	Raja of Jaipur	30	1	0 1 0	Mafi	Khud cultivating	Rama Nandi Pujari		2
90.	Ibadat Dewan of Salabdin	Dabi Din Patak	30	1	0 1 16	From The Omrao Ali	Under the management of Gadi.	Nishani, Ranjanki		-
91.	Ditto of Dewan Raghbar	Raghbar Rao	30	1	0 3 0	Given by Purshotam Das	Mafi	Jodhpur	ditto	2
92.	Ditto Bhagwan Das	A Sannia of Ramsat	30	1	0 1 20	Purchased for Rs 400	No fixed means of support	Ditto	ditto	7
93.	Ditto of Raghbar Dial	Raja Raghbar Dial	30		Vide remarks in col 10					
94.	Kupa Rawan	Janki Das	30	2	0 1 0	From Seth Raja for Rs. 501	Offerings	Ditto	ditto	20

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95.	Ramnaresan	Balbhaddar Das	25	2	0	10	0	By Kanungo of Daah	No fixed means of support	Guddi Ramnaresan Ram Jiwan	7
96.	Bachi La[illegible]	Daughter of Raja Balwant Singh.	25	1			0	Purchased per Govt.	Ditto	Ramnaresan. Ramjiwan	5
97.	[illegible]	Dharam Singh	25	1			20	Purchased	The Raja gives something	Ramnaresan	Ditto 2
98.	Nathang Lalji Parshad	Lala Parshadlucknow	25	1			20	Purchased	No fixed means of support	Ramnaresan Ram Jiwan	5
99.	Ditto of Lalji	Raja of Bilya	25	2	1	0	0	Ditto	The raja gives me Expenditure	Ditto Ramnaresan	7
100.	Ditto of Ramdeen	Raghunath Das	25	2	0	0	10	Ditto	No fixed means of Support	Ditto. Ramnaresan	4
101.	Ditto of Ramchandra	Ratanji	25	2	0	0	0	Ditto	Founder allows something	Ditto Ditto	4
102.	Ditto of [illegible]	Rajpurwasi	25	1	0	0	0	Rahim's Nagri	Offerings	Ramnaresan Ramjiwan	2
103.	Dharmdas	Bahora Bhagat	25	1	0	1	10	Purchased for Rs.158	No fixed means of support	Ramjiwan. Ditto	3
104.	[illegible]	Lachhmandas	25	1	0	0	20	Do for 25 Rs.	Ditto	Do. Ramjiwan	3
105.	Do. Manik[illegible]	Manikrawa	25	1	0	1	20	Ditto	Ditto	Do Do	25
106.	Do. Mahadeo[illegible]	By Thakur Sammath pur	25	1	0	3	0	By Mahant of Nirmohi Akhara	Under Khalsa of Oudh	Nirmohi Ramnaresan	4
107.	Do. Raja Hardat Singh	Raja Hardat Singh	25	1	1	0	0	Purchased	Supported by the Rajah	Ramjiwan. Ramjiwan	1
108.	Do Bhawani Singh Tenancy	Bhawani Singh	25	1	0	3	0	Private property of founder	Founder allows something	Do- Do	4
109.	Do. Mahadhar's Prasad's Mother	Mothang Mahasan Prasad	25	1	0	1	20	Purchased	Ditto	Do- Do.	2
110.	Do. Lachhmandas Ramsarwa	Lachhmandas	25	1	0	1	20	Do. for 150 Rs.	He pays under hires himself	Do Do vide V. 8.	
111.	Do. Budhiram	Budhiram	25	1	0	2	0	Given by Prasadeen Das	No fixed means of support	Do do	2
112.	Do Radha Kishan	Shital Prashad	25	1	0	0	0	Vide No-10	Ditto	Do do V. No. 10	
113.	Do Dabi Brahman	Dabi Brahman	25	1	0	0	4	Ditto	Ditto	Do do Ditto	
114.	Do Jagannath	Jagannath	25	1	0	1	10	Purchased for 19 Rs.	Ditto	Do do	2

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115.	Mandir of Purshotam Das	Purshotam Das	24	2	0 1 0	By Ramchandra Pahari	offerings	Do	do	2	
116.	Mandir of Sewa Das	Ram Dat Ponda	22	1	0 2 0	Purchased	Some lands in Gonda District	Ramanandi. Ram Dawat.		12	
117.	Pathan Basanth ji	Sarju Das	50	2	0 0 20	Place of worship by Jhagang & Ayo		Bashn. Ranjaki	do.	2	
118.	Do. Goomti Das	Rani of Barki and Gyadhar General of Bellampur	20	1	1 1 0	Purchased	Some where some lands	Bashno	do.	2	
119.	Do. Kapurdas Lachhman das	Raja Balki Shah and Lachhman Das	20	2	0 2 0	Ditto	no fixed means of support	Ramanandi	do	3	
120.	Do. Ramkunkar Das	Bhondu	20	3	1 1 10	Ditto	Ditto	Khaki	Do	4	
121.	Kuti of Sadasun Das	Sadasun Das	20	2	0 1 10	From Omed Ali Zemindar	Income of 500 R. B.	Bandi wali	do	8	
122.	Thakur Dasa of Santoki Das Sadhu	Santokhi Das	20	1	0 2 0	Purchased for 25 Rs.	No fixed means of support	Bashno.	do	1	
123.	Do. Raja Mahar	Raja of Mokasi in Bundelkhand	20	1	1 0 0	Do for 400 Rs	Ditto	Do.	do	12	
124.	Thakur Mo of Khagali Das Ram.	Khyaliram	20	1	0 1 0	Purchased for 175 Rs	Founder gives him Daily	Bashn. Ranjaki		3	
125.	Do of Subadar	Shaoghulam	20	1	0 0 0	Vide remarks in no. 10					
126.	Do. Pandit Thakur of Mangalpi	Thakur Pandit	16	1	0 2 0	Given by Rai Dalichand	No fixed means of support	Pandit Do. Thakur		1	
127.	Kutia of Gola Ghat	Mathura Das	15	1	0 0 6	From Government	Do	Ramanandi. Ram Janki		2	
128.	Pathan Ramkunkar ji	Parida Kishor Das	15	1	0 2 20	Income for 1,200 Rs.	Some mafi in Utraula	Do	Ranjaki	0	
129.	Do of Pathan Fakhapur.	Ganga Prasad of Bardi	15	1	0 1 0	Do for 100 Rs	Founder gives something	Do	do	1	
130.	Do. Khaki	Hari Das	15	1	0 0 20	Do.	No fixed means of support	Do	do	2	
131.	Thakur Dwara of Mast Ram	Mardan	14	1	0 2 0	Do for 200 Rs.	Do	Do	do.	5	
132.	Kuti Janki Das	Janki Das	12	1	0 0 14	Do	Do	Do	do	2	
133.	Pathan Bharat Das	[illegible]	12	1	0 1 14	Do	Do	Do	do	2	
134.	Thakur Dwara of Maharaja Bijeraja	Bijeraja Singh	12	1	0 1 0	By Revenue Free	Vide remarks in 72	Ramanandi	do	4	

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135.	Do. of Bhagwat Das	A Bania of Nagar	11	1	0	0	25	Do for 87-8	No pecuniary means of support	Ramanandi do	2	
137.	Do. Ram Lakhyanji	Julgal Rai	10	1	0	1	10	By Ayodhya Das	Do.	Do. Sitaram	2	
138.	Asthan of Lachhman Das	Dewan of Raja Rewan	10	1	2	2	0	Confiscated by the Government	Do.	Sashno Raghunath ji	25	
139.	Mandir of Baldeo Das	Baldeo Das	10	2	0	0	3	Purchased	Do.	Ramanandi, Ram Dhun Das ji	2	
140	Ganga Das ji	Ganga Das	10	2	0	2	20	Do	Income of Mg. in Pargana Amli 4 villages	Do. do	10	
141	Asthan of Amelipeer	Dhuna Das	10	1	0	0	20	Purchased		Ramanandi Sashno	2	
142.	Thakur Dwarka Rai of Ekona	Rai of Ekona	10	1	0	1	10	By Pandit Uma Dutt	Domoth Do	Domoth do	—	
143.	Do of Babu Bhagwan	Babu Bagwan	11	1	0	1	20	Purchased for 105 Rs.	No pecuniary means of support	Sashno do	3	
144	Do of Sher Singh	Sardar Singh of Ketari	10	1	1	0	0	Do for 500 Rs.	Founder allows Sher Singh	Do Ranjenshi	1	
145.	Do of Sitkishor Singh	Sitkishor Singh of Tillak chanda	10	1	1	2	0	Do for 1,000 Rs.	Founder gives an allowance in kind.	Do do	1	
146.	Do of Sabookaw Das	Sabookaw Das	10	1	1	2	0	Do for 1100 "	No pecuniary means of support	Do. do	2	
147.	Do of Mst. Gurcharan Koer	Mst. Gurcharan Koer	10	1	0	1	0	Do for 105 "	Do	Do do	2	
148.	Do of Kunj Behari	Ganga Singh Sursar	8	1	0	3	0	Do for 150 "	Raja Bishan Pd. feeds on man.	Do. Raghunathji	1	
149.	Do and Mahal Sarai	Raja Sursar	8	1	2	2	0	Do for 40 "	Thakur Jagnath	Do. do	1	
150.	Do and Mahal Sarai of Ram Lal	Ram Lal Khyaki	8	1	0	1	10	By Pandit Uma Dut	under Ram Lal Khyaki	Domoth do.	4	
151	Do of Dewan Anant Ram	Anant Ram	8	1	0	2	0	Given by Maharaj Kadsingh	Superintendent of Jungle under	Sashno, Ranjenshi	2	
152.	Do of Ganga Das	Ganga Das	7	1	0	3	0	Purchased for 60 Rs.	Income of 2 mauzas	Do do	3	
153	Do of Ram Dhan	Tula Ram ji Pandit	6	1	1	0	0	Purchased for 730 Rs.	Officiating	Do do	10	

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154.	Do of Bawan Das	Thegur Bisra	6	1	0 1 20	Do for 120 Rs. (300)	allowance made by the Mina	Do	do	5			
155.	Do Thakur of Tulsi Das	Basdeo Das	6	1	0 2 20	Do for 240 Rs.	Maintenance of Support	Rama Nand Singh	Ujaini	4			
156	Thakur Durga of Bakas of Bhanpur.	Babu of Bhanpur	6	1	0 2 0	Do for 600 Rs.	Do	Brahmo	Ranjanki	5			
157.	Do of Bechi	Bechu Thakur Daughter & Raja Sheikha Singh	6	1	0 1 20	Do for 300 Rs.	Under the Malaut of Hanuman Gadhi	Bishani	Bi	2			
158.	Do of Lanki Das	Rup Koer	6	1	0 1 10	Given by Mirzapur Zamindars	150 Rs. income from land	Brahmo	do	6			
159.	Do of Mirzapur	Ramkishen Singh Raja Tikari	6	1	3 0 0	Purchased for 60 Rs. in Cash	The Raja gives Rs-5 per diem	Do.	do	40			
160	Do. of Gyan	Salona Gyaja	5	1	0 0 14	By Kishen Singh	No fixed means of Support	Ramanand Ji	do	2			
161	Do of Beshoshan Ganga Pustak	Beshoshar	5	1	0 1 10	By Malaut Board Cloth	Same as makes allowance	Brahmo	Do	2			
162.	Rishi Baba Raghunath	Baba Raghunath Das	5	1	10 0 0	By Maharaja Man Singh	No fixed means of Support	Do	do	200			
163.	Thakur Durga Prabhu Nath	Babu of Kedali	4	1	0 1 0	Purchased	The Babu gives Some Thing	Do	do	2			
164.	Do of Magh Prasad	Mangli Prashad	4	1	0 2 0	Given by Rao Delhi Prashad	Founder makes an allowance	Do	Thakur	4			
165.	Asthan Beltaru Das	Lakshmi Mal of Jaipur	3	1	0 1 0	Purchased for 450 Rs.	Founder makes Food	Gujar	Ranjanki	4			
166.	Shevale Darshan Singh	Darshan Singh	25	1	10 0 0	Purchased	Village Income	Brahmo	Mahadeo	20	25		
167.	Thakur Durga of Tanki Das	Sobh Seth of Jhodhpur	3	1	0 1 0	Purchased for 250 Rs.	No fixed means of support	Brahmo	Ranjanki	2			
168.	Do of Khushyal Baria	Khushyal Baria	2	1	1 1 0	Do for 450 Rs.	Founders allowance	Do	do	1			
169.	Asthan of Telipal Bilya	of Some disciples	2	1	0 2 0	Purchased	No fixed means of support	Do	do	1			
170.	Thakur Durga of Raja Tilori	Thakurain of Rani	2	1	0 0 24	Do for 100 Rs.	Thakurain gives Some Thing	Do	do	2			
171.	Do of Jugraj Singh	Wife of Jugraj Singh	2	1	0 2 0	Do for 450 Rs.	The founder also gives Something	Bishani	do	1			
172	Do of Beshoshar Pd.	Beshoshar Prasad Bulis	2	1	1 0 12	Do for 775 Rs.	Do	Brahmo	Do	1			

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173.	Do of Raja Gunga Singh	Ganga Singh of Bhet	2	1	2	1	0	Do for 29 Bs	Raja Allows 1000 per annum	Do.	do	20	
174.	Do of Suraj Kal Ganga Pisha	Suraj Kal	2	1	0	3	0	Do for 1,100	Founders Allowance	Do.	do	1	
175.	Do of Ganga Dasji	By a Bania	1	1	0	1	0	Purchased	Founder gives on account of pre diem	Permanent	do	1	
176.	Do. of Bhikusah	Bhikusah under proprietor	—	—	2	2	0	Do. for 2,700	The Sah gives food	Beshno	do	2	
177.	Asthan of Lala Das	Pandit Dabidin Jounpur.	—	—	0	0	20	By Hoditya Board	No fixed means of support	Gudur Beshno	do	2	
178.	Asthan of Lala Jiwi	Pandit of Dabidin of Jounpur manager	—	—	0	2	0			Beshno, Delhi			
179.	Do of Gyapum (Bombay)	Nikamul	100	4	0	2	0	These places of antiquity of which the details have not been obtained	offering made to the Devi	Do	do		
180.	Do Sundari Bhawani wife of Shiva a Devi	—	—	—	0	0	2			Do	do		
181.	Do Bhagi	—	—	—	0	0	2			Do	do		
182.	Do Vidya Devi	—	—	—	0	0	2			Do	do		
183.	Mari Mata	—	—	—	0	0	2			Do	do		
184.	Do Patteri Bhawani	Nikamul	100	4	4	0	0			Do	do		
185.	Nageshwar Kal Mahadeo	Raja Bikramajit	1900	—	0	1	0	Very great antiquity	some lands and Sanyasi, Mahadeo			7	
186.	Dharmbat Mahadeo	Baboo Bhagat	25	1	included in Purchase No. 103				No fixed means of support	Beshno	do	2	
187.	Chandarbar	Salak Rae.	300	4	0	2	5	Do	Manji	Bawan Bhawi	do	—	
188.	Bishan Mandir	—	old Place	—	0	0	0	Do	old Place	—	—	—	
189.	Sharkhandi Mahadeo	Bheron Puri	100	6	0	2	0	Manji	do Byd. Manji	Sanyasi	do	5	
190	Kharesthar Mata	old Place	—	—	0	0	5	Government land	cultivation	Ahir Mahadeo		—	
191.	Kalesthan Mata	Bheron Puri	100	6	2	2	0	Manji	No one lives here,			—	

SHEVA

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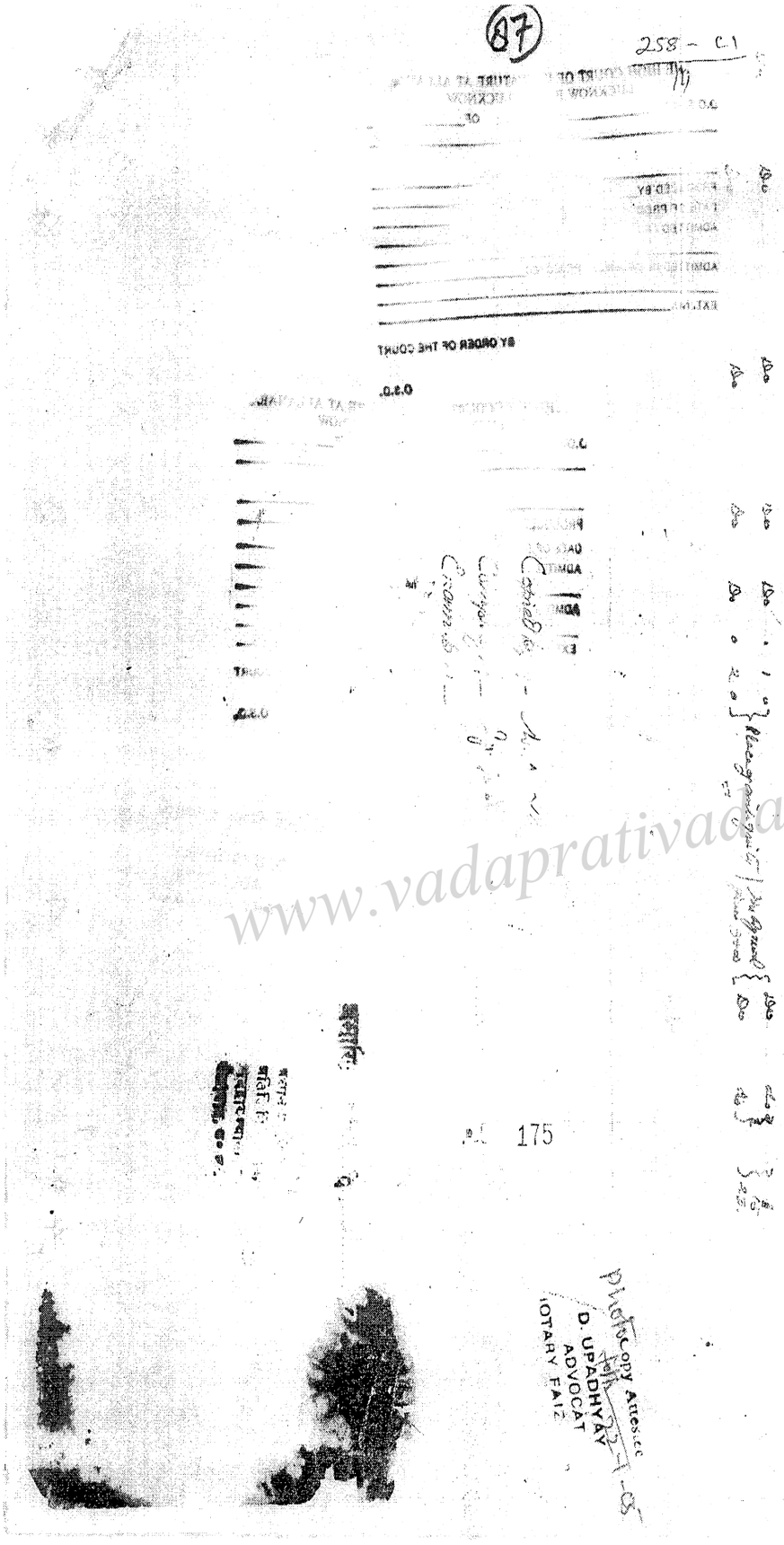
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258-C1

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH LUCKNOW

O.S.S NO. ____ OF 19__

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BY ORDER OF THE COURT

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IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
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O.P. SADHWANI
ADVOCATE
NOTARY FAIZABAD

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Exh-A12
Scif 4

1462

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
(LUCKNOW)

O.O.S. No.4/1989
RS. No. 12 OF 1961

Sunni Central Board of Waqf and others

Versus

Gopal Singh Visharad &,Ors.

In re.

Abhuram Das Vs. Sunni Central Waqf Board. UP

Shri Abhiram Das, Chela Mahant Sarmu Das resident of Shri Hanuman Garhi, Ayodhya, stated on oath that:-

. X X X b y Shri R.L. Verma on behalf of Shri K.K Ram Verma, on his affidavit.

1. In the case of 2 June 1950, an order of injunction was passed by the Civil Judge, for attachment of the temple, that no Muslim shall come within the perimeter of 180 sq. yds. Babu Priya Das remains its receiver from the year 1949 till his lifetime. K.K. Ram Verma is the nephew of Babu Priya Dutt Ram. K.K. Ram Verma has no value in the income allowance. Satya Narayn Dass is in my Bahi patti and I admit them, but I do not know that he is the party in the case or not. I came to know about the

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appointment of K.K. RamVerma, after one month. I do not remember that when I came to know about the appointment, since then till July 1966 I have filed any written complaint against K.K. Ram Verma before ay Court or Officer or not. I knw Madan Mohan Dubey from the last 10-12 years. I left from misa on 14.1.77 and since then I have not seen Madan Dubey.

2. Kateha Mandap made by me is in the East of the temple of Janmabhumi at the 25 steps, and adjacent to it has dharmshala of Ramcharit Manas Trust. Madan Mohan Dubey was the manager of said Dharmshala. Therefore I used to meet him. Now I have not seen Madan Mohan Dubey in Ayodhya. I was manager in Hanumat College Hanumangarhi. It is incorrect that I was removed over audit report. No case is filed over me in this college. I have mandir and land in Barabanki District. It is incorrect that I reside there, rather I went there whenever needed. My pupils lived there.

3. In the janmabhumi priest was doing the worship and also tells mantras. Name of speaker of the

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mantra is Laxman Dutt Shasni son of Ambika Pandey, who is present today in the Court. Initially I was priest appointed by Babu Priya Dutt Ram. Vishishtaytr Shaili means at the time of worship of God we have feelings of God, Maya and creature all three. Vedic mantra are being uttered, and from the bath of the god there are sixteen types of worships. This worship cannot be done by one person. In case priest knows the mantra then when needed he can worships. Authority to give permission for entering into the temple was with Babu Priya Ddutt Ram and not to City Magistrate. Babu Priya Dutt Ram used to give permission to whom he wanted. These rights were with Babu Priay Dutt Ram, same are with Babu K.K. Ram Vera being receiver. I do not know K.K. Ram Verma was the Honorary Magistrate. I also not now that he was member in the Municipality or manager in various societies. K.K. Ram Verma had never called to examine the accounts. One file of 145 was made before City Magistrate, in which account would be given. I do not know. I had not examined it. There no any police in the name of Golak. Police l guarded at the

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gate. It is incorrect to say that in collusion with the Madan mohan Dubey I have given false statement.

Above statement is typed on my dictation

Sd/- illegible District Judge

18.3.78.

Read over and affirmed as correct

18.3.78

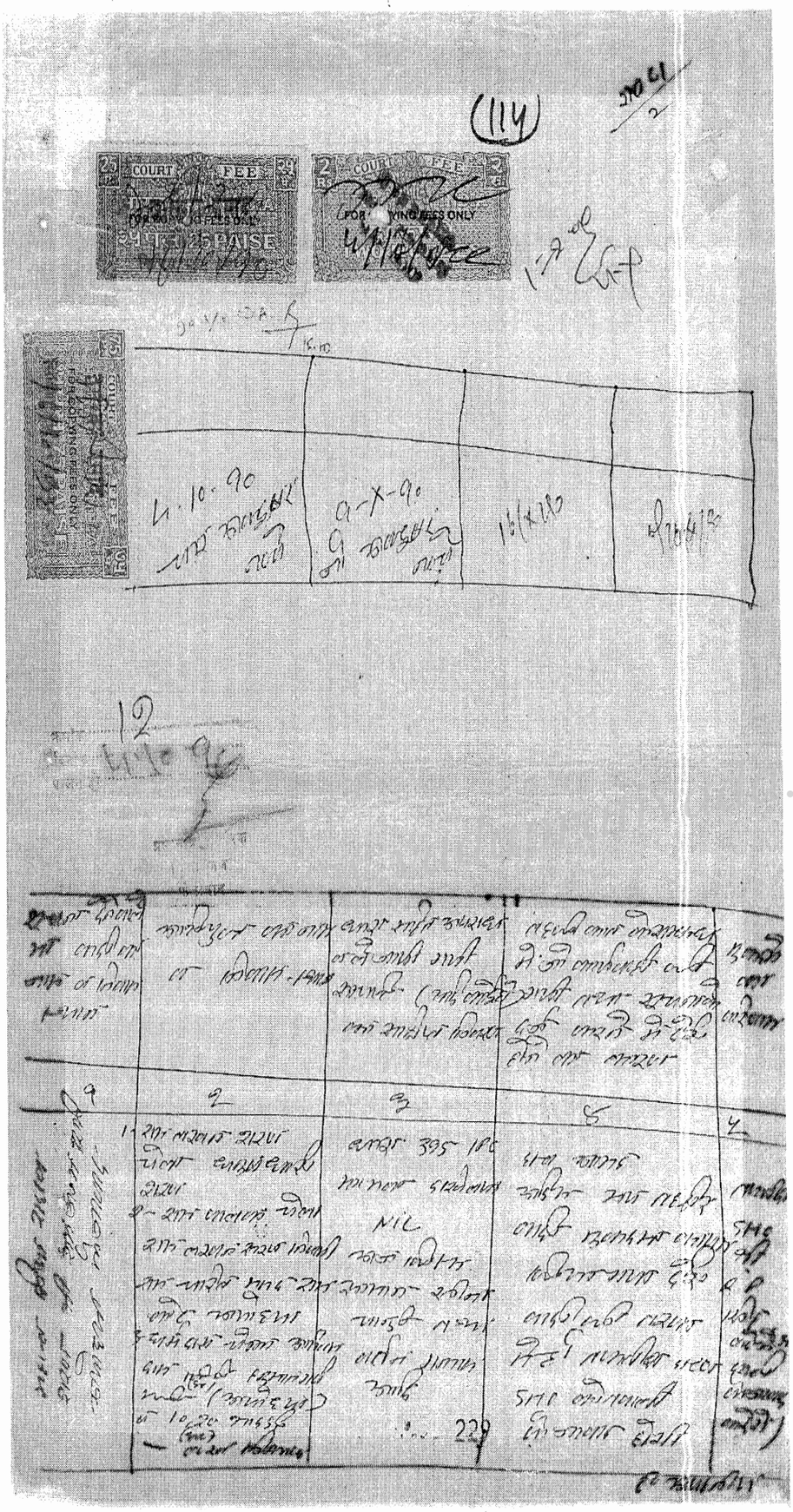
Sd/- Abhiram Das

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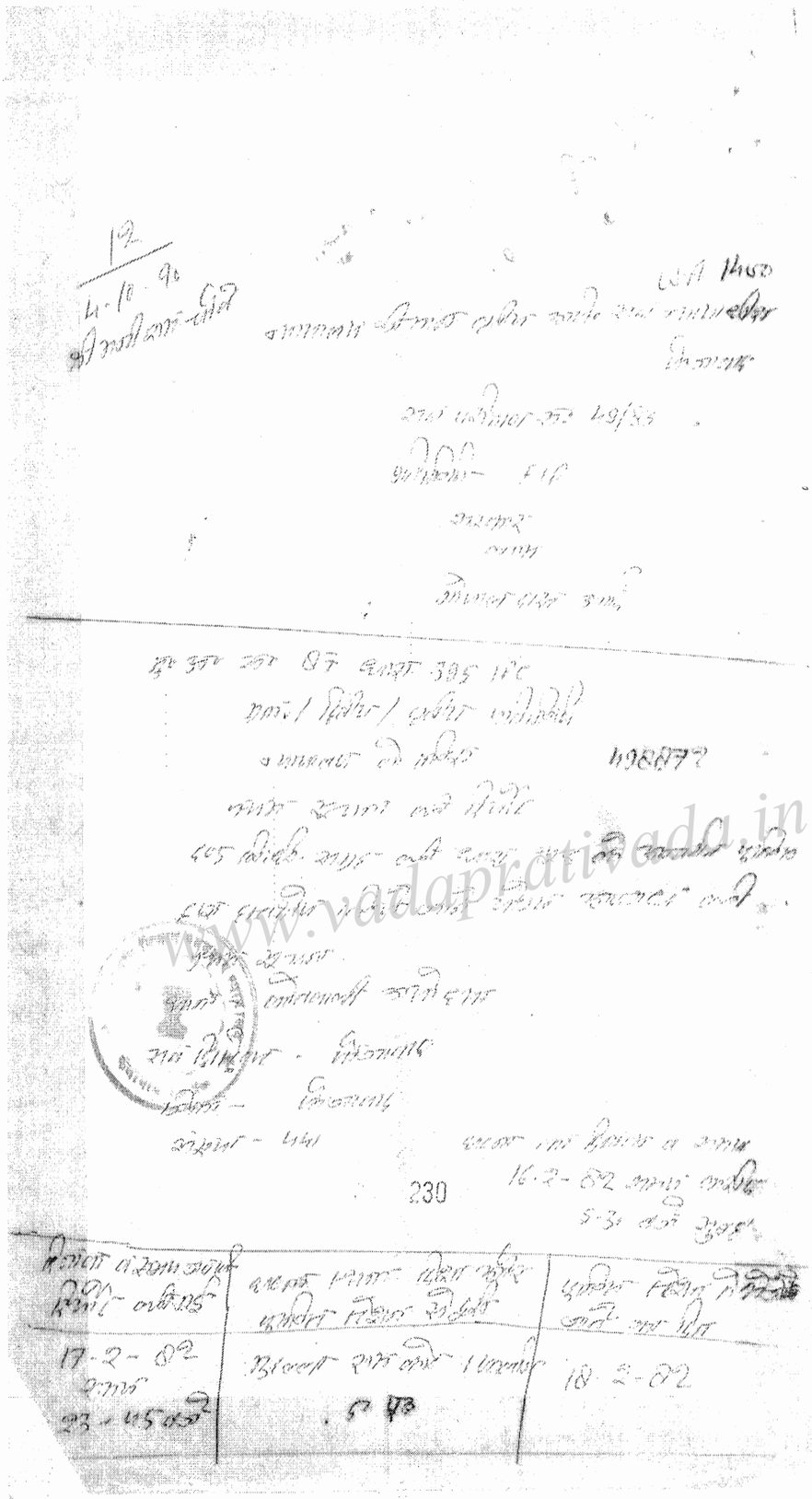
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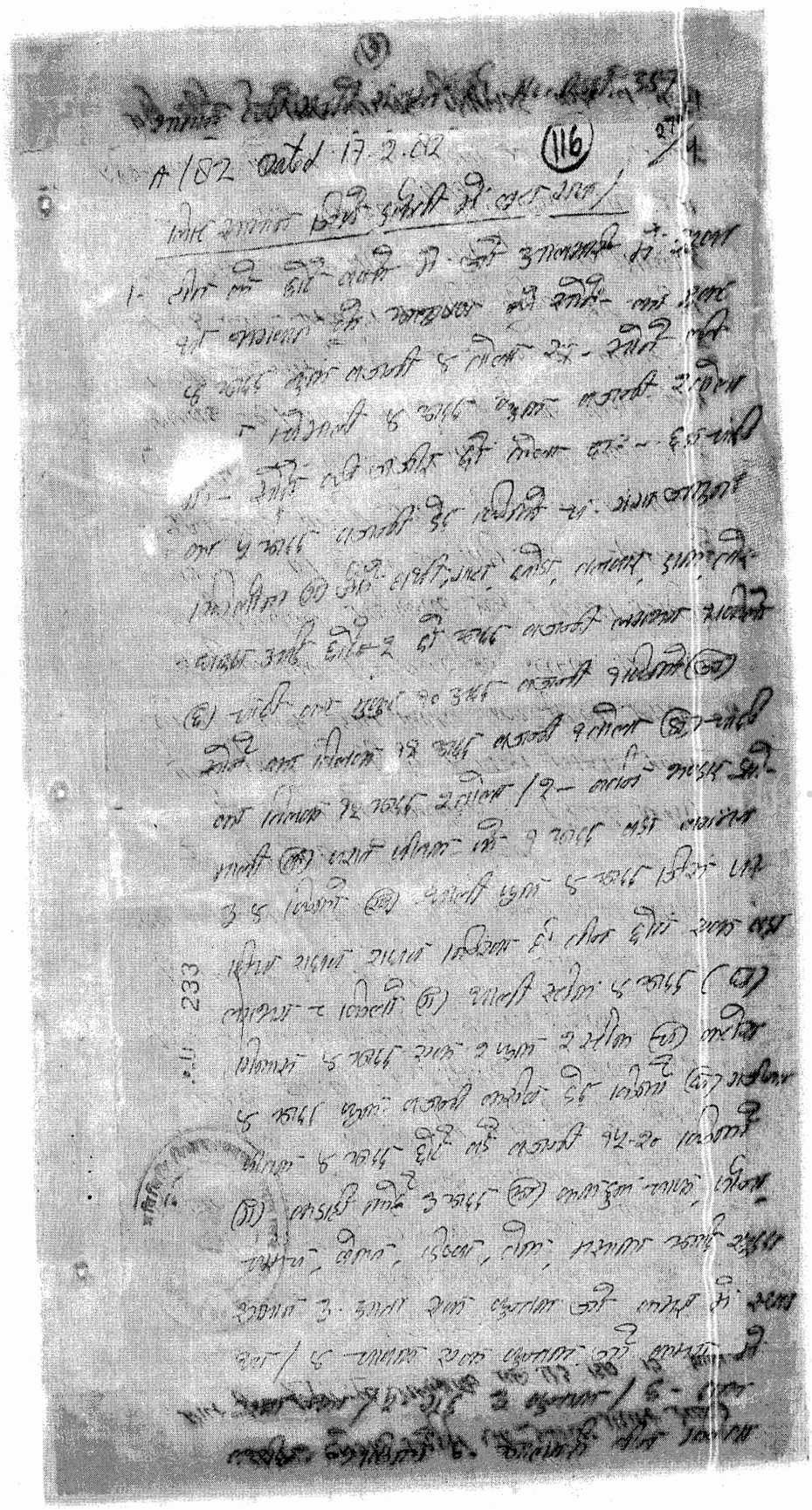
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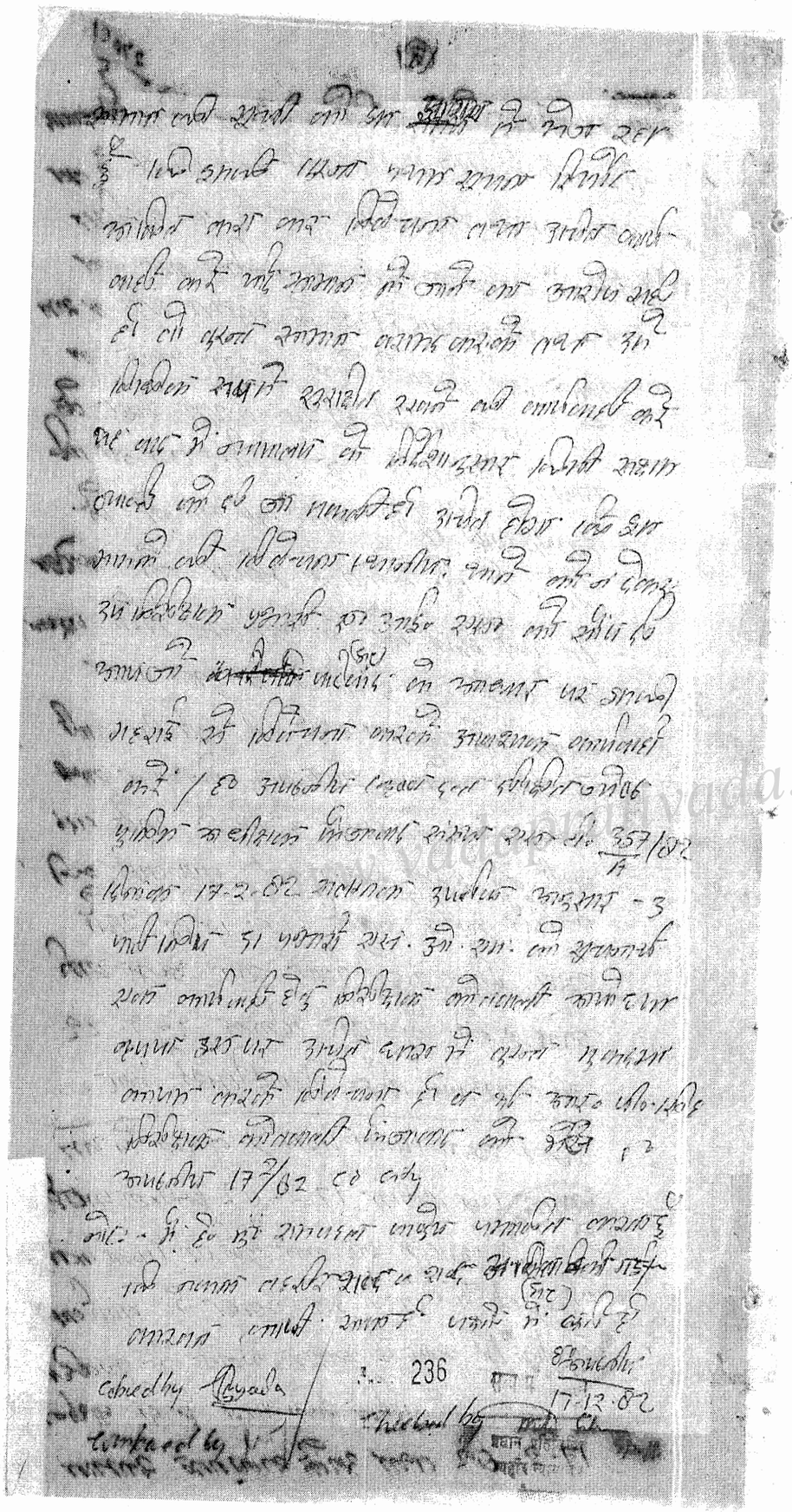


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CHARGE SHEET

Charge-Sheet No. 451 dated 21.3.82
Crime No. 87 date 17.2.82

1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Name Address & Occupation of Complainant or informant	Name and address of the accused not challaned, whether arrested or not		Name and address of the accused challaned	Property (including weapons found and seized	Charge or information – Name & offences connection with it in concise details under what section of the law charged	Result of the case	Name and address of the witnesses	Details of offence	Remarks
	Suspect	Absconder							
Mahant Siya Raghav Saran, Shri Ramjanmabhumi, Ahyodhya, Faizabad.			1. Ram Lakhan Sharan Chela DhanushDhari Sharan 2. Ram Falak Chela Ram Lakhan saran Resident of Ram Charit Manas Ram lot Ayodhya 3. Dharam das Chela Hanumangarhi (Ayodhya and 10-20 others			Sir it is requested that this time ..... Shr Ram Ramjanma bhumi..... accused persons and several other people entered into the house of complainant ..... they have looted the articles clothe, ornaments, utenciles etc..... illegible			

333

Exh. A-13

14/83

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1474

Name and residence of information and complainant	Name and residence of accused	Brief description of offence with section and of property carried out, if any	Steps taken regarding investigation of delay in recording information	Result of the case
1	2	3	4	5
Mahant Siya Raghav Saran, Shri Ramjanma bhumi, Ahyodhya, Faizabad.	1. Ram Lakhan Sharan Chela Dhanush Dhari Sharan 2. Ram Falak Chela Ram Lakhan saran Resident of Ram Charit Manas Ram lot Ayodhya 3. Dharam das Chela Hanuma ngarhi (Ayodhya and 10-20 others	Case under section 395 IPC. ... Nil Today ... articles gold, silver and utensils etc.	On receipt of the tehrir case has been registered. Delay is on the part of complainat n	SHo Shri..... will investigate

HINDI TEHRIR OF THE COMPLAINANT

To the Superintendent of Police, Faizabad, it is requested that I am the mahant and *Sarvar Sewat* of the Ram Lala Shri Ramjanma Bhumi and am in possession of the

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mandir from the last 78 years and looking the affairs of the mandir and my statement has been recorded in the City Civil Court and in the court of City Magistrate. I am disciple of the Mahant Ram Kewal Das of Nirmohi Akhara. On 16.02.82 at about 5.30 hrs when I was sitting in my seat in my room and was remembering to God and other activates went at .....ground and were brushing their tooth. Meanwhile Ramlakhan Saran chela Dhanush dhari, Ram .... Chela Ram lakhan saran resident of Ram Charit Manas ,Ram Lot Ayodhya, Dharamdas Chela Ram Das, resident of Hanuman Garhi, and other people, to whom I can identified when came before me, came. Djharam Das and Ram Lakhan have caught ... and .. closed the Applicant and told to other associates and taken all the articles. Later they broken open the lock of the door of almirah in which gold and silver ornaments of the god were, they broke open the lock and looted the articles and documents pertaining to the other case. Their list is being annexed separately . Ram Lakhan Das and Dharam das and Ream Lakhan Sharan have picked up the applicant saying that he will be dropped into Sita jKoop, so that he will kill and entire dispute regarding the temple will solved. Applicant was

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scared that now he will not alive and he raised alarm on which they people gave him beatings. Hearing the noise constable and havaldar from the chowki came running and they saved the life of a applicant. In this regard Applicant had application at Police Station Ayodhya. It is therefore requested to register case against the respondents and take legal action and recover the articles of applicant. All are giving threatening. Order be passed to take the Accused persons into custody. Applicant Sd/- Siya Raghav Saran Shri Ramjanma Bhumi Ayodhya, dated 17.2.82

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1477

A/82 Dated 17.2.82.

LIST OF LOOTED ARTICLE

One Gold and silver ornaments of God kept in the small tin boxes in the almirah – 4 total weight 4 tola gold chimali – 4 total weight 2 tola. 2- gold chain, gold chain two tola, 6 – silver , 5 weight 1 12 .....toys such as elephant, horse, sword, bow and arrow, etc small two eight around ..... (6) silver crown 10 weight 9 Kg,, gold tilak 18, weight 9 tola, 8 silver tilak 12 adad 2 tola, 12 utensils, (a) brass paraat, 9, big around 3.8 kg, (b) Plate flower 5 on which Raghav is written, three small one big around 8 kg (c) plate steel – 5 (d) Glass -5, one two flower steel, (e) bowl -5, weight 1 ½ kg (f) brass -5 big small weight 15-20 kg, (g) Kadhai iron -3, (g) ..... spoon, box, belan tola, spices etc. article 3. ½ 1 ton which was tkane...5. Rice 1 quintal which was kept in room 5. Wheat – 3 quintal wheat ..etc. kept in the almirah....., which lock was broken and following , belongs to Nirmohi Akhara. Shr Magddh Ra Lakhan Sharan whose case was filed. .....3. documents regarding to the Bhagwan Ram Lala and Ram Swaroop Dass., and all site plans from the ..... last 1908, ... several registered in which religious proceeding was mentioned and Jamabandi regarding

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proceedings..... 6. Three big register in which also case history s written by Raghu Nandan Das and religious books on which seal of the wachnalayan is put. 7. Three big register in which other ..... written about applicant and Mandir. 9. 4 Chair, 2 table 4 takhat 4 Bench, 10 wooden box in which Applicant's wearing cloth, dhoti an etc. are kept. Two big *dari* which were lay in the office. Seven Thousand cash, ... I am sending list of the articles, its information is mentioned in the report and conduct investigation and other action. In case charges of the taking of articles is true then articles be recovered immediately and take proceeding to kept the same in safe custody. Later as per the directions of the Court it can be handover to the competent person. It would be appropriate that investigation be not entrusted to the local police station and handover to the Sub Inspector Incharge AIS and on the basis of the complaint conduct depth investigation and take necessary action. Sd/ Illegible Krishan Dutt. Senior supdt. of Police, Faizabad. ST 357/82. Dated 17.2.82, Enclosure as above 3 SI Inchage SO for information and necessary action. Inspector Kotewali Ayodhya, Please register the case

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under appropriate section and conduct investigation. R.P Singh Inspector, Kotwali Faizabad. Illegible 17.2.82

Note: I HC ram Pahal Pandy certified that the copy of tehir is mentioned word to word.

Sd/-

Sd/-
17.2.82

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Exh. A14

1480

Date of giving application	Date of Information of preparing the copy	Date of issuing the copy	Signature of the retiring
18.8.90	22.8.90	22.8.90	Sd/- 22.8.90

Copy of objection of Dharamdas Date 16.7.82 Court of Addl. City Magistrate (Administration) Nazul Officer, Faizabad, application Muhalla... Ram Chander Ayodhya Pargana Haveli, Tehsil Sadar and District Faizabad

Date of hearing 24.9.90

Mahant Siya Raghav Saran Vs. Raghunath Das

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1481
Exh. A 14
Suit 4

IN THE COURT OF NAZUL OFFICER, FAIZABAD,

Siya Raghav Saran .... Applicant

Versus

Mahant Raghunath Das ... Respondent (Deceased)

Dharamdas pupil Shri Abhiram Das, Resident of Hanuman Garhi, Ayodhya, at present residing at Ramjanmabhumi, Mohalla Ramkot, Ayodhya Ji, Pargana Haveli, Avadh, Tehsil and District Faizabad. ...Objector

Case No. 866/...

Date of hearing 16.67.82

Sir,

Objector respectfully submits as under:-

1. That Shri Ramjanma Bhumi and its premises and disputed place is a public place and Temple and is not the personal property of any one and as such Siya Raghav Saran has no right to get mutate the its property.

2. That the present temple of the Ramjanma Bhumi situated in the disputed place was constructed around 450 years in the beginning of Mugal empire, in which initially Great Samarat Maharaja Vikramaditya has constructed specious and

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beautiful temple, which certain articles are still visible in the temple.

3. That when above temple was built, since then it is made the subject of dispute between Hindu and Muslims, because Muslims says that it is their mosque and in a case under section 145 Cr.P.C. above main place is attached.

4. That in case mutation of the disputed land is accepted in favour of Shri Raghunath Das, then same is not admissible to the objector in any manner. Applicant Raghunath Das is not entitled for the same nor Raghunath Das is successor of the applicant in any manner. Above Siya Raghav Saran was some time made the disciple of Janki Jevan Sharan and sometime disciple of Ram Kewal and now frequently he is stating himself disciple of Raghunath Das.

5. That the objector is the mahant and administrator of the temple of Bhagwan Ramlala situated in the disputed place and its related place. Ram Lakan Saran is managing the Akhand Jyoti and Akhand chanting of on a tin-shed chabutra in front of the aforesaid temple of Bhagwan Ramlala, in personal

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capacity. After his death now his successors and sadhak Shri Ram Dayal Sharan is managing the same.

6. That in relation to the temple of Bbhagwan Ramlala several cases are pending between the objector and the Applicant before the City Magistrate and Judge Faizabad and Civil Judge, Faizabad. During the pendency of the above cases it came to know that in relation to the Shri Ramjanmabhumi Siya Raghav Saran has initiated proceeding of mutation before the Hon'ble Court, and on having its knowledge objector is filing this application without any delay.

7. That to protect the title, it was Indispensable and absolute necessitated to the objector to file his objection in the proceeding of mutation before your goodself.

8. That according to justice rule and actuality it is absolute necessary to made the objector as a party.

It is therefore prayed that objector be made part in the above proceeding and provide opportunity to the objector for filing the objection, failing which irreparable loss would be caused to the objector. Date 16.6.1988.

Objector
Sd/-
Dharamdas

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Exh. A15

1484

IN THE COURT OF NAZUL OFFICER, FAIZABAD,

SiyaRaghavSaran .... Applicant

Versus

MahantRaghunath Das ... Respondent
(Deceased)

Date of hearing 16.7.82

Dharamdas aged about 28 years disciple of ShriAbhiram Das, Resident of Hanuman Garhi, Ayodhya, at present residing at Ramjanmabhumi, MohallaRamkot, AyodhyaJi, Pargana Haveli, Avadh, Tehsil and District Faizabad solemnly affirm on oath as under:

1. That ShriRamjanmaBhumi and its premises and disputed place is a public place and Temple and is not the personal property of any one and as such SiyaRaghav Saran has no right to get mutate the its property.

2. That the present temple of the RamjanmaBhumi situated in the disputed place was constructed around 450 years in the beginning of Mugalempire, in which initially Great Samarat Maharaja Vikramaditya has constructed specious and beautiful temple, which certain articles are still visible in the temple.

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3. That when above temple was built, since then it is made the subject of dispute between Hindu and Muslims, because Muslims says that it is their mosque and in a case under section 145 Cr.P.C. above main place is attached.

4. That in case mutation of the disputed land is accepted in favour of ShriRaghunath Das, then same is not admissible to the deponent in any manner. Applicant Raghunath Das is not entitled for the same nor Raghunath Das is successor of the applicant in any manner. Above SiyaRaghav Saran was some time made the disciple of JankiJevanSharan and sometime disciple of Ram Kewal and now frequently he is stating himself disciple of Raghunath Das.

5. That the deponent is the mahant and administrator of the temple of BhagwanRamlala situated in the disputed place and its related place. Ram Lakan Saran is managing the AkhandJyoti and Akhandchanting of on a tin-shed chabutra in front of the aforesaid temple of BhagwanRamlala, in personal capacity. After his death now his

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successors and sadhakShri Ram DayalSharan is managing the same.

6. That in relation to the temple of BbhagwanRamlala several cases are pending between the deponent and the Applicant before the City Magistrate and Judge Faizabad and Civil Judge, Faizabad. During the pendency of the above cases it came to know that in relation to the Shri Ramjanma bhumi Siya Raghav Saran has initiated proceeding of mutation before the Hon'ble Court, and on having its knowledge deponent is filing this application without any delay.

7. That to protect the title, it was Indispensable and absolute necessitated to the deponent to file his objection in the proceeding of mutation before your goodself.

8. That according to justice rule and actuality it is absolute necessary to made the deponent as a party.

Illegible

Deponent
Dharamdas

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1487

Exh. M2

2080
18.7.58

(16)

Copy of an order dated 26.6.58 passed by Shri H.S. Tiwari A.D.M. Faizabad in case no. 58 of 23 of 1956 u/s Miscellaneous ½ application of Abhiramdas in respect of P.S. Kotwali Distt Faizabad.
S.O. Ayodhaya

There is no objection if the T-hatch is repaired. Please inform the applicant

Sd. H.S. Tiwary
26/6/58.

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compared by. YRW
Records abroad do

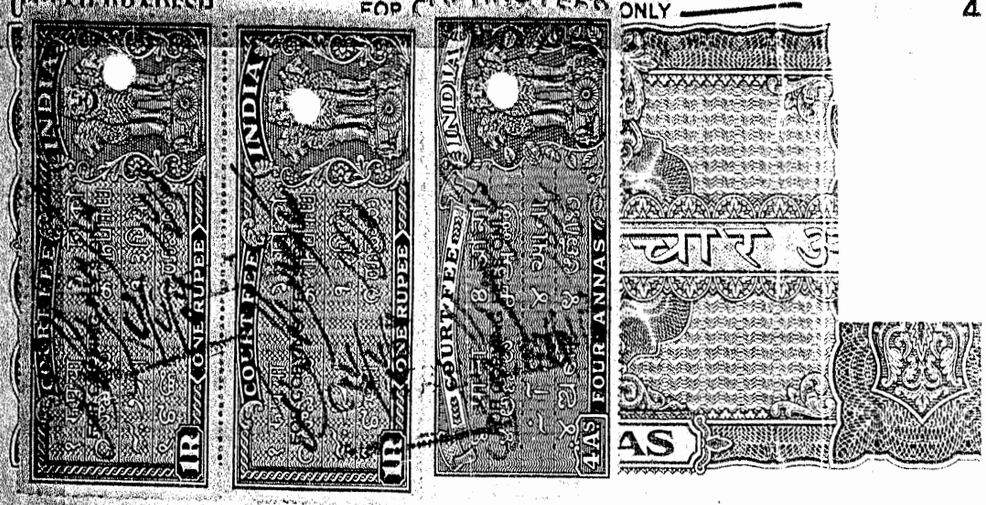
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18-7-56 July Eighteen 1956.	21-7-56 July twenty 1st 1956	24-7-56 July Twenty four 1956	

Ex M2

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

O.O.S. NO. 4 OF 1989

The Sunni Central Board of Waqfs U.P. and others
VERSUS
Gopal Singh Visharad and others

PRODUCED BY Defendant No. 13

DATE OF PRODUCTION 2.3.68

ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY

ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED

EXT. NO. M-2

BY ORDER OF THE COURT

2/12/64
O.S.D.

2/12/64

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1489

Exh.M 2

Copy of an order dated 26.6.56 passed by Shri H.S. Tiwari A.D.M. Faizabad in case No.58/73 of 1956, on miscellaneous application of Abhiram Das in respect of PS Kotawali District Faizabad.

S.O. Ayodhya

There is no objection in the thatch is repaired please informed the applicant.

Sd/- H.S. Tiwari
26.6.56

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Exh. M3

1490

Electric

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1491

Copy of the application Abhiram Das Shri Ram Janmabhumi, Ayohdya, Faizabad Dated 29.11.73, report fo police against M. Baldev Das etc. before Shri S.N. Sharma City Magistrate, Faizabad.

Hon'ble City Magistrate, Faiabad.

Sir,

It is requested that as usual this year also Applicant is organizing the programme of 62 Jayanti Samaroh, procession etc. on 21 and 29 December 1962 at Sriramjanmabhumi.

Receiver of the Disputed Shri Ramjanma Bhumi Mandir Babu Priya Dutt Ram Ji, is at present in Faizabad and his permission is always in favour of the applicant.

It is therefore prayed that in absence of the receiver after receiving the report of the permission Applicant be permitted to celebrate the above program.

Applicant

Shri Ramjanmabhumi ... through
Abhiram Das,
Date 2[illegible].12.62

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Exh. M 4
suit 4

1492

256
3/14.25 2 mvs (18)

835
29

4 Copy of report made by Sri Brijadhikaram Receiver about the misconduct appointment of Baba Abhai Ram Das.

To,

The City Magistrate
Faizabad.

Sir,

I am Connected with only the forecourt under dispute within the railings and the walls on the so-called Anniversary Day, only two Vedic Pundits enter it and perform HAWAN on a temporary clay altar, and the same should be allowed only as well.

As far as functions outside the forecourt, they have no Concern with me.

Of Course, it is in my knowledge that on so-called Anniversary Day, some functions were Organized by Sri Abhai Ram Dass and also by the Janambhumi Sewa Samiti. for the last five years, I had been out of Faizabad.

I was faithfully
sd. Illegible.
(PRIYA DAT RAM)
Receiver under dispute
Janam Bhumi,
Ayodhya

D/21-12-62

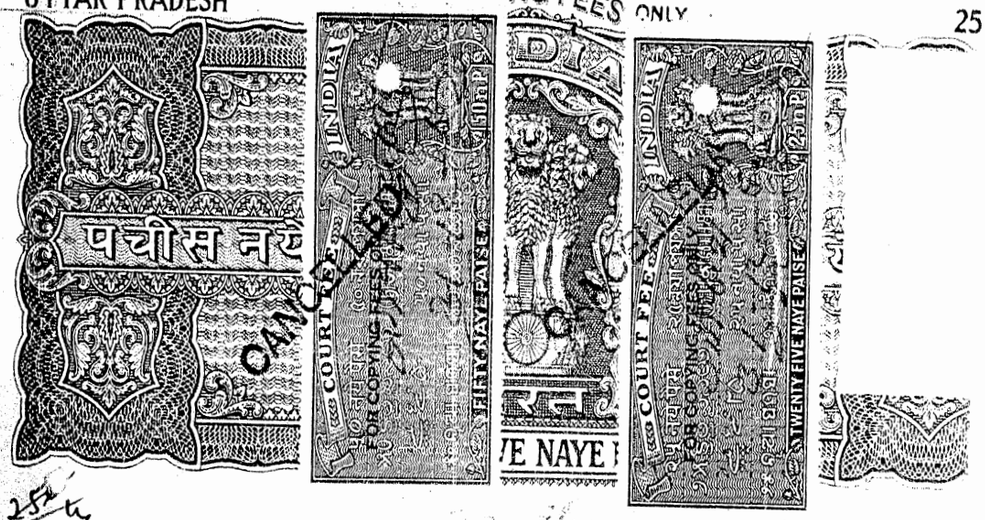
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Compared by Head
Words 200

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
FAIZABAD.
TRUE COPY
Keeper
11.2.1963

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1493

UTTAR PRADESH



केवल नक़ल की फीस के लिए

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5-2-63	11-2-63		

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

O.O.S. NO. 4 OF 1963

The Sunni Central Board of Waqfs U.P. and others

VERSUS

Gopal Singh Vishard and others

PRODUCED BY Defendant No. 11

DATE OF PRODUCTION 9-2-68

ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY

ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED

EXT. NO. M-4

BY ORDER OF THE COURT

O.S.D.

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1494

Exh.M 4

Copy of report made by Shri Priyadatt Ram Receiver about the miscellaneous application of Baba Abhi Ram Das.

To,
The City Magistrate Faizabad,

Sir,

I am connected with only the premises under dispute within the railways and the walls on the so called anniversary day, only two Vedic Pundits enters it, an perform Hawan on a temporary day after, and the same should be allowed this year as well.

As far as functions outside the premises, they have no concern with me.

Of course, it is in by knowledge that on so called anniversary day, same functions were organized by Shri Abhi Ram Das and also by the Janam Bhumi Sewa Samiti for the last 5 years, I had been out of Faizabad.

Yours faithfully

Sd/- illegible
(Priya Dat Ram)
Receiver disputed Janam Bhumi Ayodhya
11.02.1963

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Exh- M5

1495

(19)

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Exh. M5

Copy of an order passed by Sri S. N. Sharma, City Magistrial, Nagpur, on application of the Babu Ram Das.

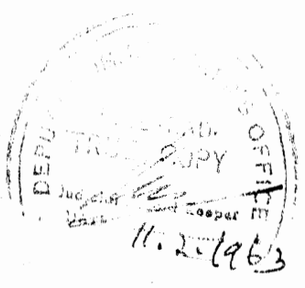
The applicant is allowed to hold the Ramayan Path and religious discourses in the ground of the Jamun Bhumi Temple from 21st to 29th Dec., 1962.

Sd/- S. N. Sharma
A.M.
21/12/62



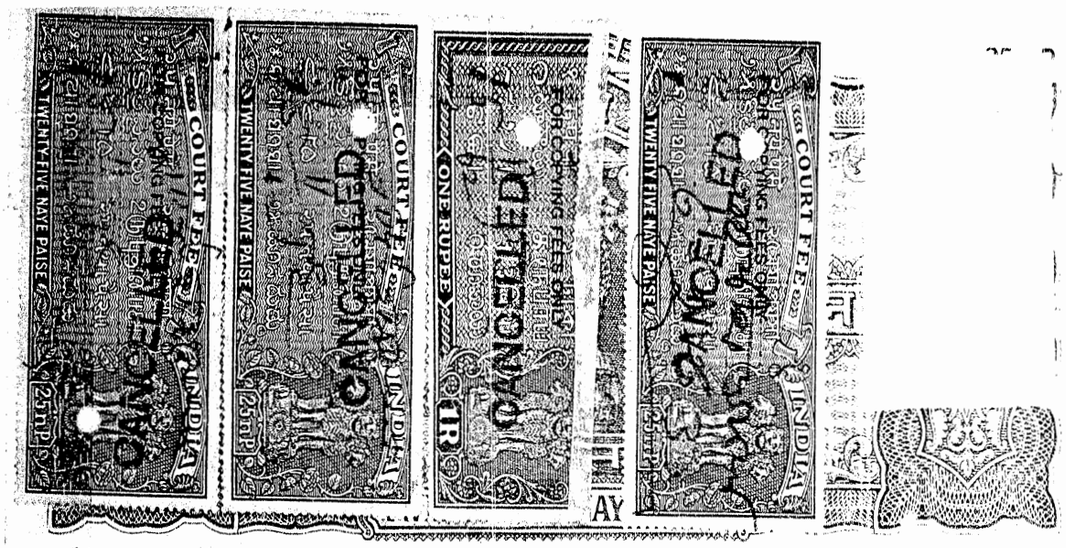


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Compared by Hardas
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1496



केवल नक़ल की फीस के लिए

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2-2-63	11-2-63		

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

O.O.S. NO. 4 OF 1989

The Sunni Central Board of Wakf U.P. and others

VERSUS

Gopal Singh Visharad and others

PRODUCED BY Defendant No. 13

DATE OF PRODUCTION 2.3.68

ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY

ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED

EXT. NO. M-5

BY ORDER OF THE COURT

O.S.D.

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1497

Exh.M 5

Copy of an order passed by Shri S.N. Sharma by the Magistrate Faizabad.

An miscellaneous application of Shri Prabhu Abhi Ram Das.

The applicant is allowed to hold the Ramayan Path and religious description in the ground of the Janam Bhumi Temple from 21st to 29th December 1962.

Sd/-
S.N. Sharma
21.12.62

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1498

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Exh.- M-6

524/59

Copy of an order passed by Sri L.N. Sharma Addl Magistrate Ranchi in connection with Sri Abhai Raw Das.

Report Police against M. Baldeo Das Etc.

S.O. Ayodhya

As you are already know I have allowed Sri Abhi Raw Das to hold Ramayan Path and Hawan in the grounds attached to the 'Jamna Bhumi' temple. The rival party Baba Baldeo Das may be permitted to hold Ramayan Path near Shamtra Bhawan which is quite apart from the Jamna Bhumi grounds. You should see that this arrangement is not allowed to be disturbed and you should not hesitate to take action against any person who attempts to disturb the public peace.

I hear that Baba Baldeo Das has stored some bricks in front of 'Jamna Bhumi' temple with a view to 'obstruct' [redacted] Ramayan Path near Shamtra Bhawan. Since he has been directed to hold [redacted] Ramayan Path near Shamtra Bhawan I cannot see any reason [redacted] to hold the Hawan near the Jamna Bhumi temple. [redacted] Sri Abhai Raw Das will also hold his Hawan on the same site and this would lead to trouble if the bricks are [redacted] Baba Baldeo Das are allowed to remain there. You should ask Baba Baldeo Das to remove the bricks at once [redacted] and report to this court. A compliance report should be sent to me [illegible] days.

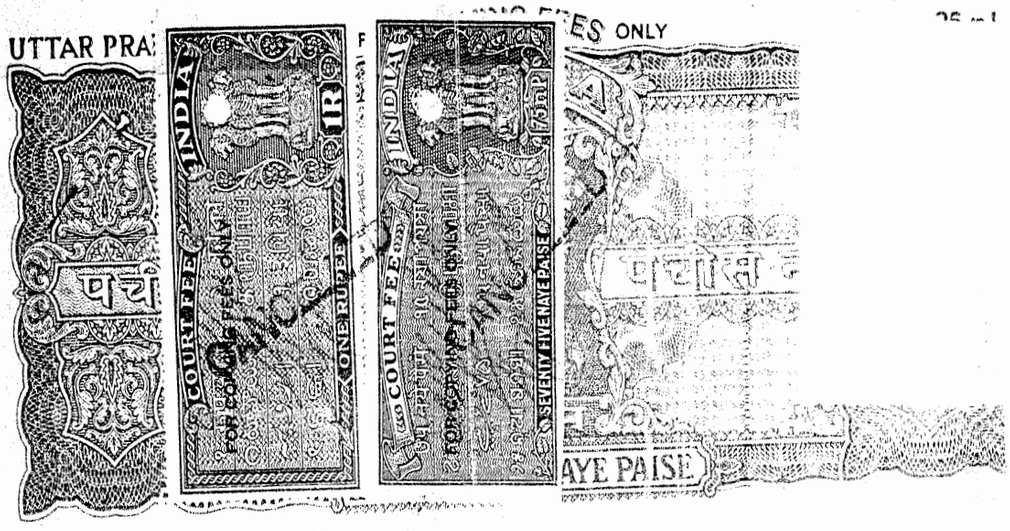
Sd. L.N. Sharma
Addl Magistrate
Ranchi 26-12-62

Copy by - Dispatched.
Compared by -
Typed by - 200

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
Judicial Branch
Ranchi
14/2/1963

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2- 2ए.

केवल नक़ल की फीस के लिए

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13-2-63	14-2-63		

COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

O.O.S. NO. [redacted] of [redacted]

Gopal Singh [redacted] and others

PRODUCED BY [redacted]

DATE OF PRODUCTION [redacted]

ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY [redacted]

ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE AS [redacted]

EXH. NO. M-6

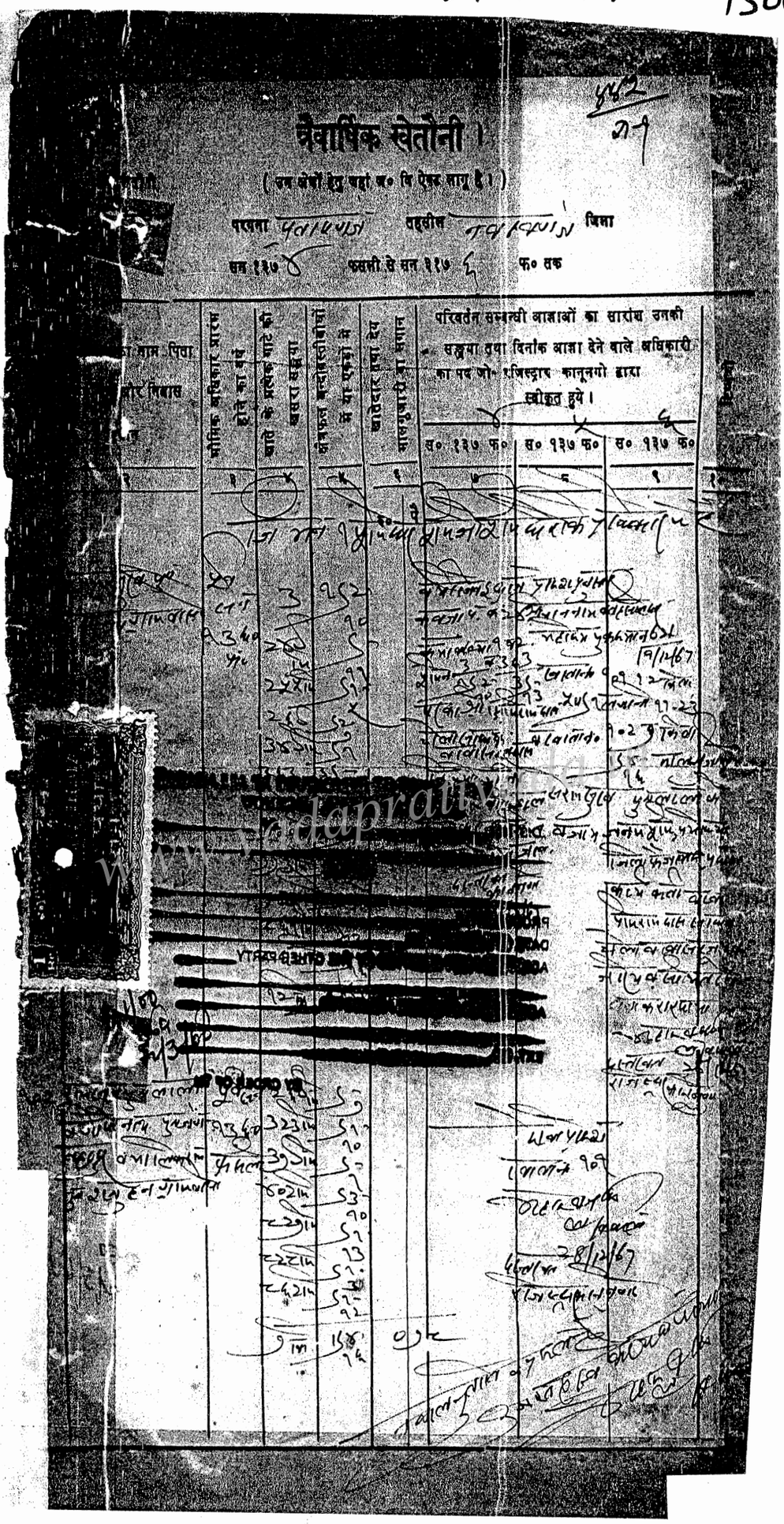
BY ORDER OF THE COURT

O.S.A.



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Exh. M7 1500



त्रैवार्षिक खेतौनी।

(उस मौजे हेतु जहां ज० वि ऐक्ट लागू है।)

परगना पुरानापुल तहसील नयाबाजार जिला

सन १३७६ फसली से सन १३७९ फ० तक

नाम पिता और निवास	भौमिक अधिकार आरम्भ होने का वर्ष	खाते के प्रत्येक असामी की भूमि का एकड़ में	अफसल अलगअलग खेतों में	आसेदार तथा देय	मालगुजारी का विवरण	परिवर्तन सम्बन्धी आज्ञाओं का सारांश उनकी संख्या तथा दिनांक आज्ञा देने वाले अधिकारी का पद जो० एजिस्ट्रार कानूनगो द्वारा स्वीकृत हुये।		
						स० १३७ फ०	स० १३७ फ०	स० १३७ फ०
१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९

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TRIENNIAL KHATONI

PARGANA PRATAPGANJ TEHSIL NAWABGANJ

YEAR 1974 FALSI YEAR 3176 TO F.

S.No. of Khata Khatoni	Name of Khatedar / Parent's name with address	Date f commencement of land right	Khasra No. of each Gata of the khata	Area of each khasra No. in bighas/ biswas	Land revenue or rent	Name designation of the Authority for ordering change No. & Date of order			Remark
						Crop year	Crop year	Crop year Crop year	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		59 360	3/ 24 25 Min 25 34 365	2 10 5 11 10 5		Possession Ka ..... Khata No..... Sir Case No. 621/ 19.12.67 Khata no. 142.... .....Khata no.101 12 Kita Siya Ram Das 5/- Lagani 11-23 Chela Raghav ... Khata no. 102 Kita .....illegible District Faizabad ..... Illegible Sd/- Revenue .... Khata NO. 101 Sd//- 8/12/67 Registrar			

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Ex-B1

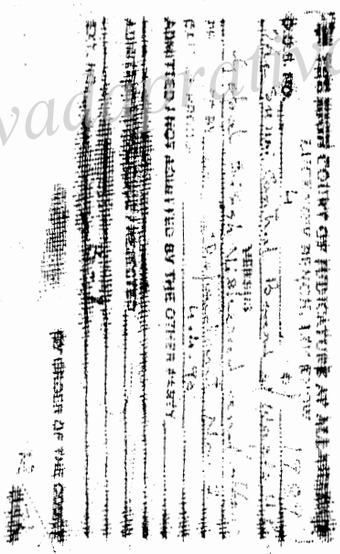
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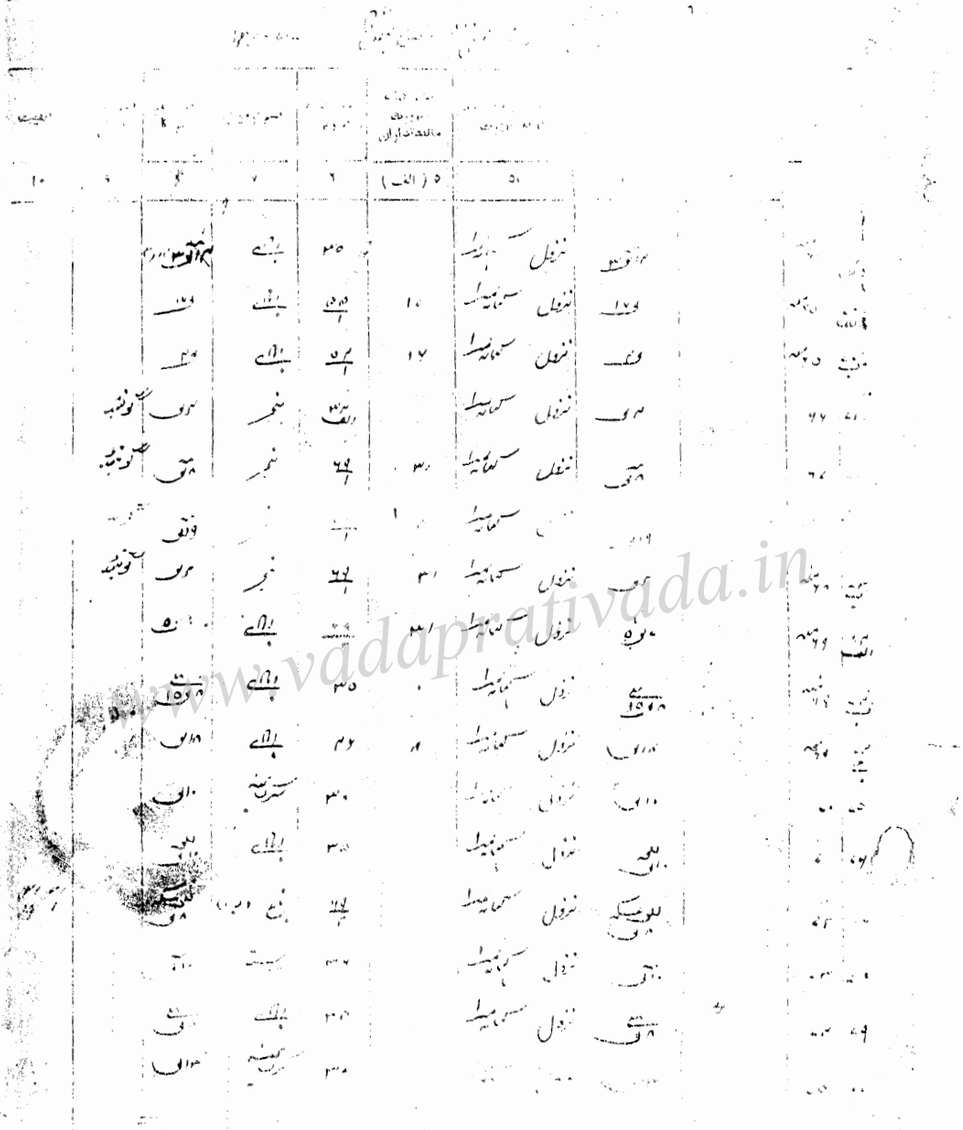
Exh. B2

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नक्शा खसरा किश्तवार बन्दोबस्त सानिकसन
7348, 42 फ़सली वाक़ेत मौज़ा रामकोट परगना
हवेली अवध तहसील व ज़िला फ़ैज़ाबाद

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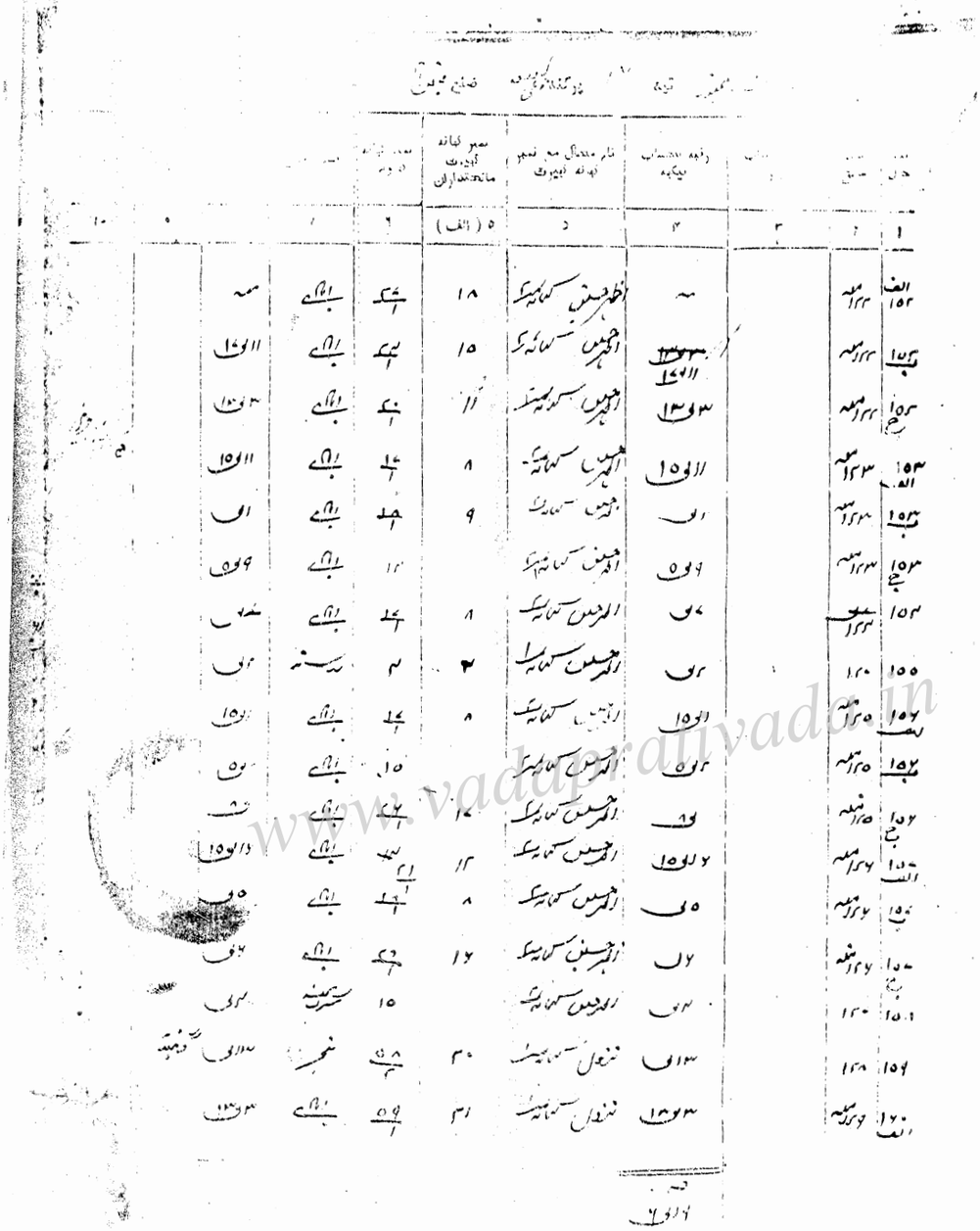


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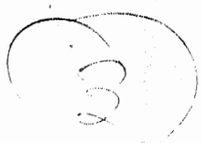


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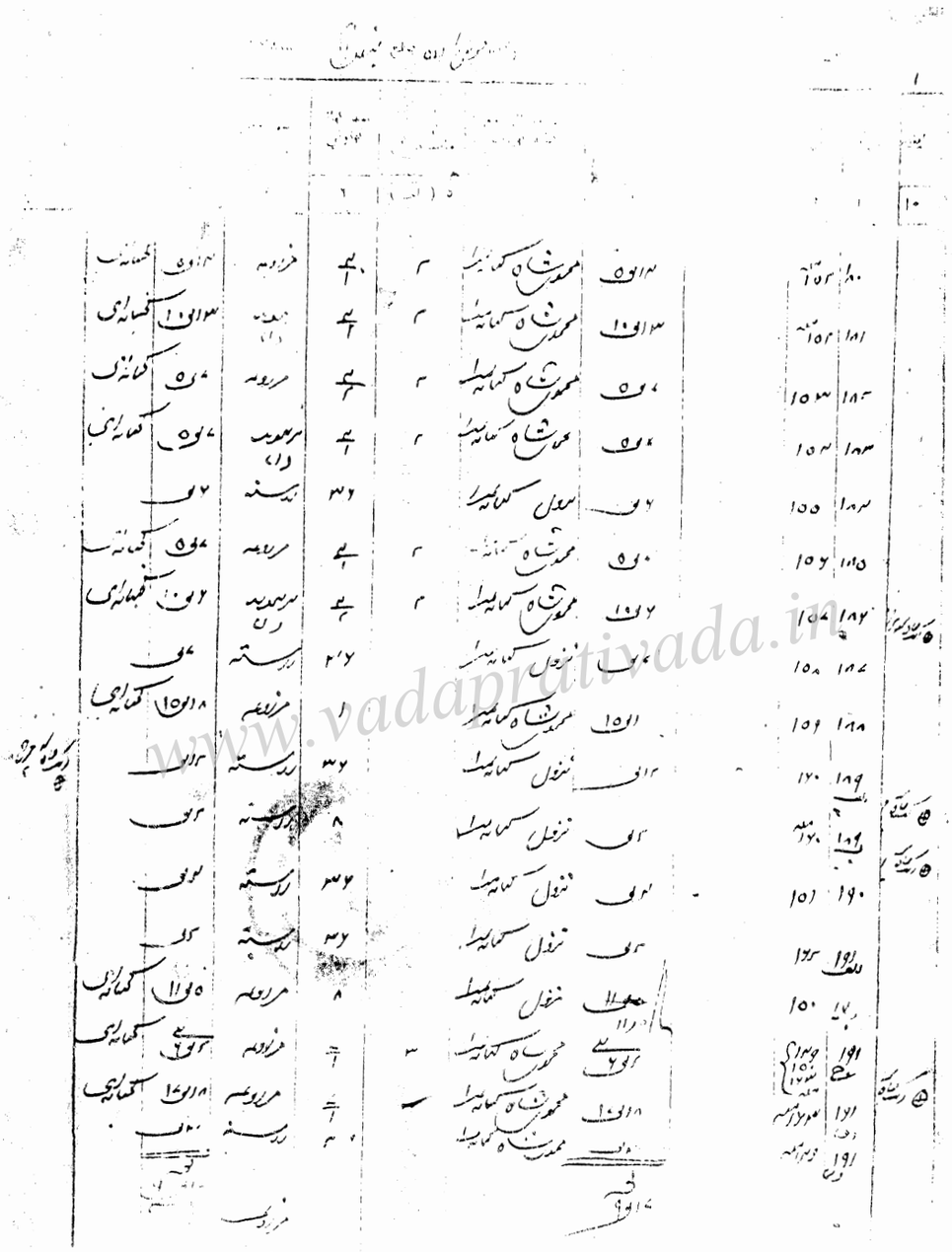
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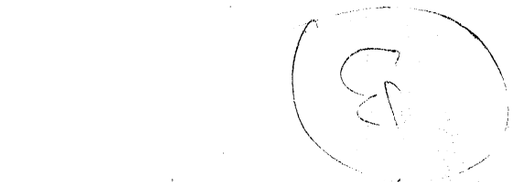


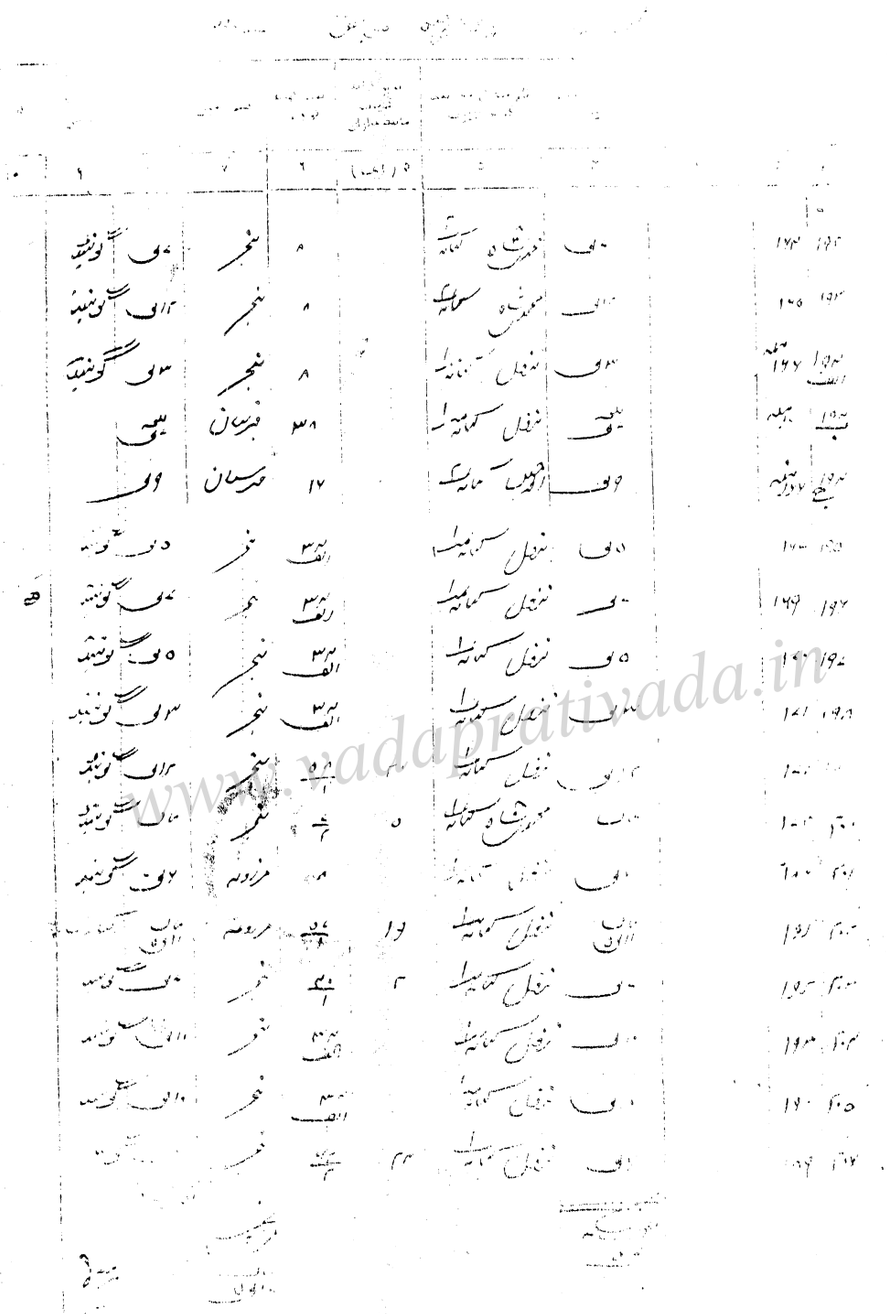
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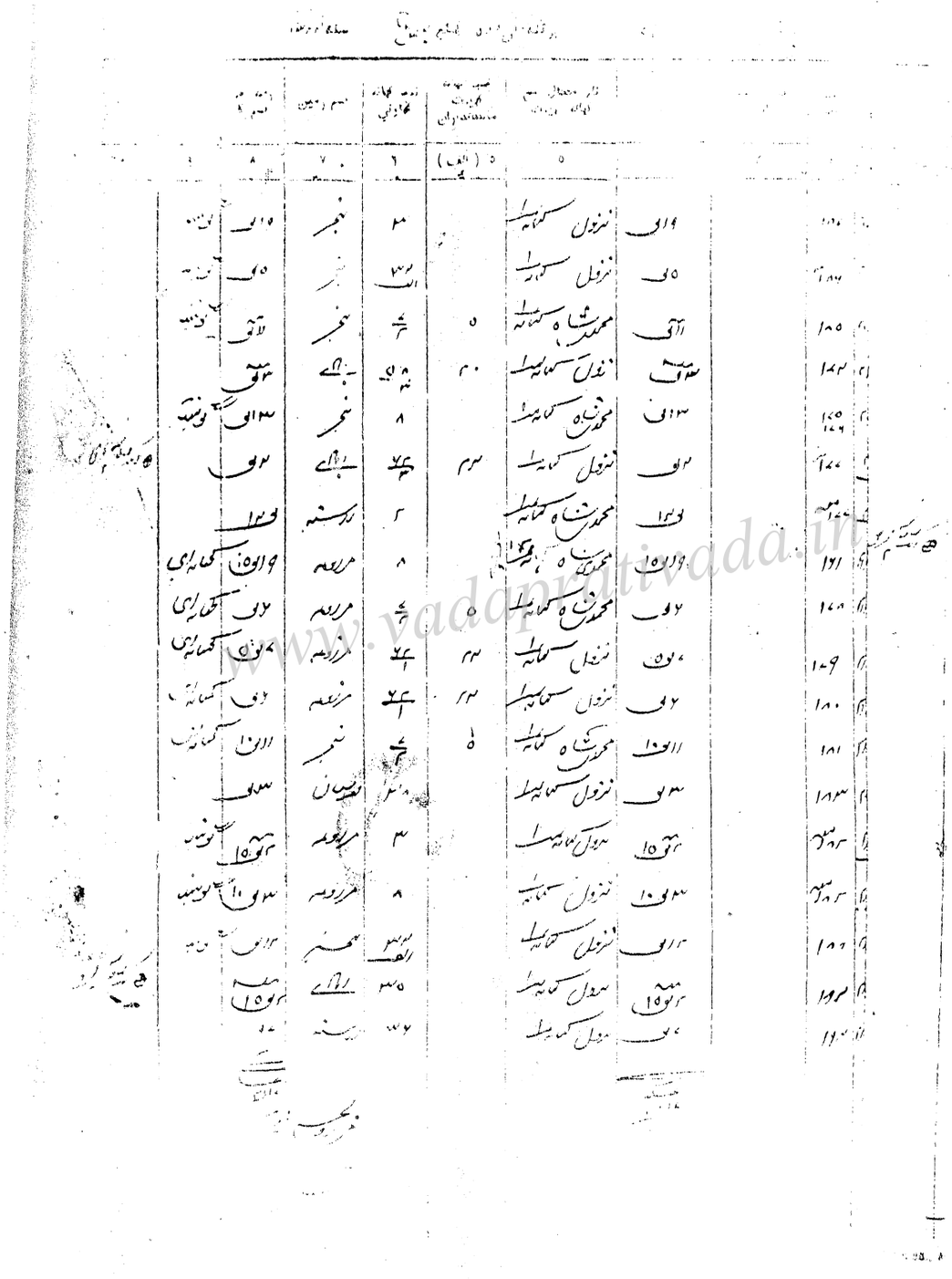
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۲۲۲	۱۹۰	الف	منزل سکنایی		۹	نجس	الف سگ نمیشد
۲۲۴	۱۹۲	ب	منزل سکنایی		۸	نجس	ب سگ نمیشد
۲۲۵	۱۹۷	الف	منزل سکنایی		الف ۳۲	نجس	الف سگ نمیشد
۲۲۶	۱۹۹ تا ۲۰۰	الف ۵	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	الف ۵ سکنایی
۲۲۷	۱۹۹ تا ۲۰۰	۶ الف	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	۶ الف سکنایی
۲۲۸	۱۹۹ تا ۲۰۰	۵ الف	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	۵ الف سکنایی
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۲۳۵	۲۰۵ تا ۲۰۶	الف	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	الف ۱۲۰ سکنایی
۲۳۷	۲۰۵ تا ۲۰۶	ب	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	ب سکنایی
۲۳۸	۲۰۵ تا ۲۰۶	الف	منزل سکنایی	۶	۲ بر ۱	مرمت دار	الف سکنایی
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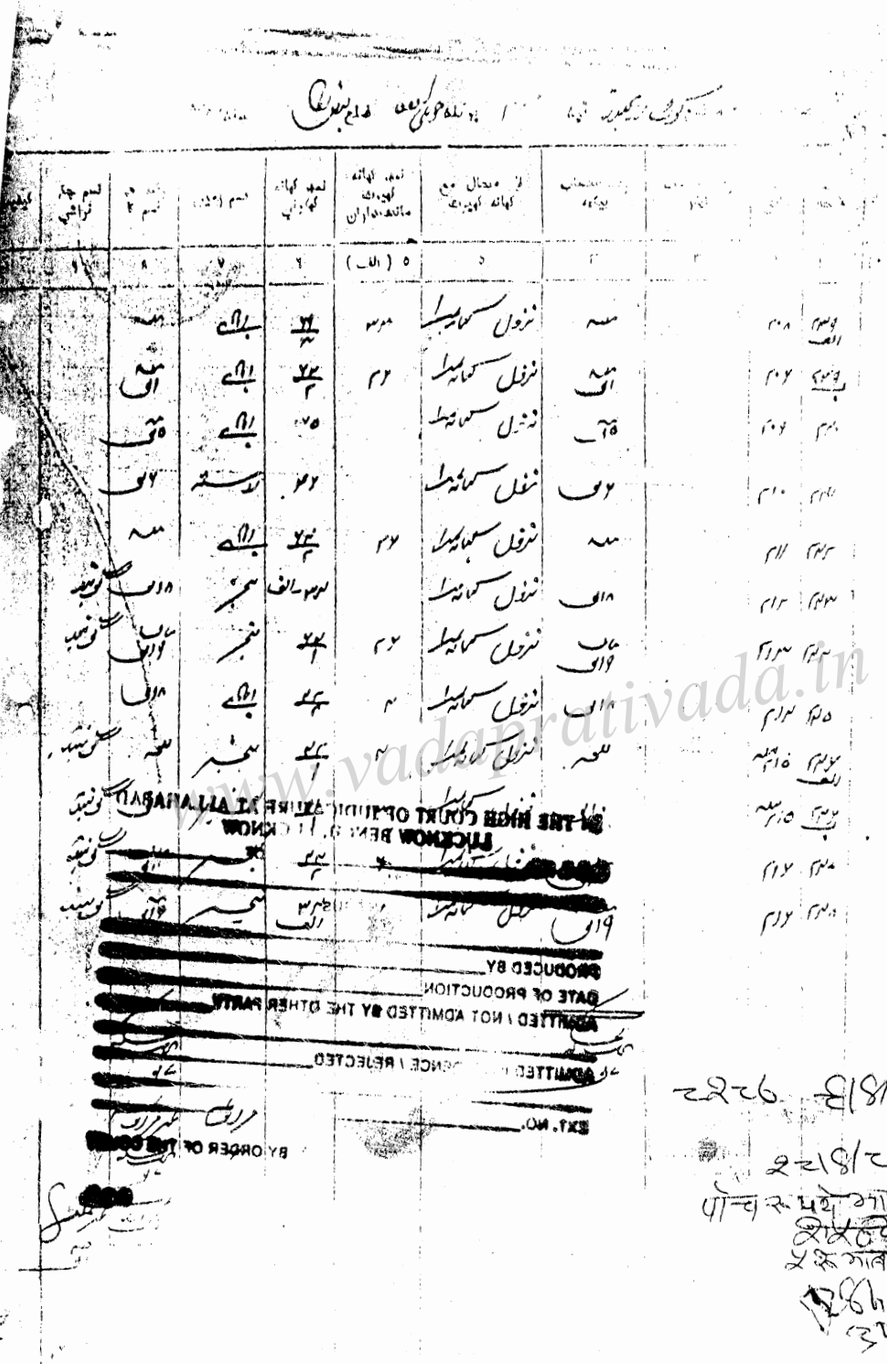
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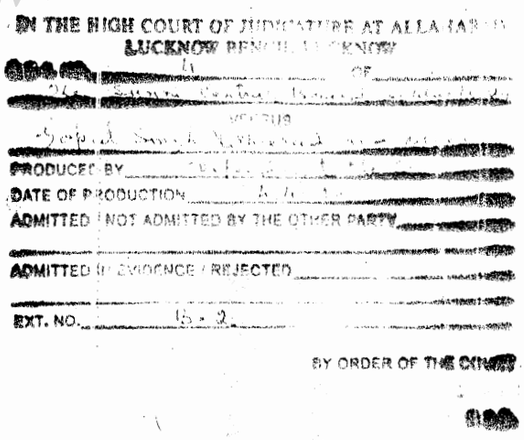
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IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLA[illegible]
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW
[illegible] OF
[illegible]
VERSUS
[illegible]
PRODUCED BY [illegible]
DATE OF PRODUCTION [illegible]
ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY [illegible]
ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED [illegible]
EXT. NO. 15-2
BY ORDER OF THE COURT

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1514

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

54A2/13
(2)

Village Awadh District Faizabad

1	2	3	4	5	5 A	6	7	8	9	1
Present	Previous		Area according to Bigha Biswansi	Name of Mahal with Khata Khewat No.	Number of Khata Khewat, right holder	No. Khata Khatuni	Kinds of Land			
152 A	122 Min		..... Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	18	27/1	Population	..... Biswansi		
152 B	122 Min		11-17 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	15	24/1	Population	11-17 Biswansi		
152 C	122 Min		3-13 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	11	20/1	Population	3-13 Biswansi		
153 A	123 Min		11-15 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	8	17/1	Population	11-15 Biswansi		
153 B	123 Min		1-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	9	18/1	Population	1-0 Biswansi		
153 C	123 Min		9-5 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		12	Population	9-5 Biswansi		
154	124		7-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	8	17/1	Population	7-0 Biswansi		
155	120		2-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	2	4	Passage	2-0 Biswansi		
156 A	125 Min		1-15 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	8	17/1	Population	1-15 Biswansi		
156 B	125 Min			Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		15	Population	2-5 Biswansi		
156 C	125 Min		2-5 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	17	26/1	Population	0-8 Biswansi		
157 A	126 Min		0-8 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	12	21/1	Population	16-15 Biswansi		
157 B	126 Min		16-15 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	8	18/1	Population	5-0 Biswansi		
157 C	126 Min		5-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	16	28/1	Population	6-0 Biswansi		
158	120		6-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		15	Pucca Road	4-0 Biswansi		
159	128		4-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1	20	58/2	Barren	13-0 Biswansi		
160 A	129 Min		13-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1	21	59/1	Population	13-13 Biswansi		
			13-13 Biswansi					5		
			5					19- 6 Biswansi		
			19- 6 Biswansi							

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TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

54A2/14

(3)

Village Awadh District Faizabad

1	2	3	4	5	5 A	6	7	8	9	10
Present	Previous		Area according to Bigha Biswansi	Name of Mahal with Khata Khewat No.	Number of Khata Khewat, right holder	No. Khata Khatuni	Kinds of Land			
160 B	129 Min		13-12-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		35	Population	13-12-0 Biswansi		
160 C	129 Min		0-7-3 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	10	19/1	Population	0-7-3 Biswansi		
160 D	129 Min		0-4-17 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	4	7/1	Population	0-4-17 Biswansi		
160 E	129 Min		1-6-7 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	0	14	Population	1-6-7 Biswansi		
161 A	130 Min		0-5-9 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	7	1/1	Population	0-5-9 Biswansi		
161 B	130 Min		0-8-2 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	2	6/1	Population	0-8-2 Biswansi		
161 C	130 Min		0-0-9 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	5	9/1	Population	0-0-9 Biswansi		
161 D	130 Min		0-4-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1		3	Population	0-4-0 Biswansi		
162 A	131 Min		0-6-14 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	6	10/1	Population	0-6-14 Biswansi		
162 B	131 Min		1-1-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	3	8/1	Population	1-1-0 Biswansi		
162 C	131 Min		0-0-13 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1	1	5/1	Population	0-0-13 Biswansi		
163	132		2-0-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2	13	22/1	Population	2-0-0 Biswansi		
164 A	133 Min		5-0-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1		35	Population	5-0-0 Biswansi		
164 B	133 Min		0-3-6 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1	18	56/1	Population	0-3-6 Biswansi		
165	134		0-6-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1		36	Passage	0-6-0 Biswansi		
100	...		7-0-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1	18	56/1	Population	7-0-0 Biswansi		

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1516

54A2/15
(4)

Village Awadh District Faizabad

1	2	3	4	5	5 A	6	7	8	9	10
Present	Previous		Area according to Bigha Biswansi	Name of Mahal with Khata Khewat No.	Number of Khata Khewat, right holder	No. Khata Khatuni	Kinds of Land			
167	136		4-10-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1	2	40/2	Population	4-10-0 Biswansi		
168	137		1-7-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		16	Cemetery	1-7-0 Biswansi		
161	138		1-7-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		38	Cemetery	1-7-0 Biswansi		
169						38	Cemetery			
170	139		0-8-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		16	Cemetery	0-8-0 Biswansi		
171 A	140 Min		0-8-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		38	Cemetery	0-8-0 Biswansi		
171 B	140 Min		0-19-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		38	Cemetery	0-19-0 Biswansi		one pucca well
172	141		2-7-0 Biswansi			2	Barren	2-7-0 Biswansi	Tomb	
173	142		0-18-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1		38	Cemetery	0-18-0 Biswansi		
174	143		0-3-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		13	Barren	0-3-0 Biswansi	Tomb	one pucca well
175	144		0-6-0 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		13	Barren	0-6-0 Biswansi	Tomb	one pucca well
176 A	145 Min		0-14-11 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 2		2	Barren	0-14-11 Biswansi	Tomb	
176 B	145 Min		0-7-7 Biswansi	Athar Hussain Khata No. 1			Barren	0-7-7 Biswansi	Tomb	
177	146		0-16-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1	27	65/1		0-16-0 Biswansi	Tomb	
178	147		0-10-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		34	Barren	0-10-0 Biswansi		
179 A	148 Min		0-13-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		34	Barren	0-13-0 Biswansi	Tomb	
179 B	148 Min		0-1-0 Biswansi	Nazol Khata No. 1		8	Barren	0-1-0 Biswansi		one pucca well
			16 Bigha Biswa					16 Bigha Biswa		

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1517

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

54A2/16
(5)

Village Awadh District Faizabad

	2	3	4	5	5 A	6	7	8	9	10
esent	Previous		Area according to Bigha Biswansi	Name of Mahal with Khata Khewat No.	Number of Khata Khewat, right holder	No. Khata Khatuni	Kinds of Land			
30	152 Min		0-14-5 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-14-5 Biswansi	Khata E Khata E	
31	152 Min		0-13-10 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-13-10 Biswansi	Khata E Khata E	
32	153		0-7-5 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/2	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-7-5 Biswansi	Khata E	
33	154		0-7-5 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/1	Illegible (No.1)	0-7-5 Biswansi	Khata E	
34	155		0-6-10 Biswansi	Nazool Khata No. 1		36	Passage	0-6-10 Biswansi		
35	156		0-7-5 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-7-5 Biswansi		
36	157			Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1	2	4/2	Illegible (No.1)			
87	158		0-6-10 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		36	Passage	0-6-10 Biswansi	Khata E	
88	159		0-7-0 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1		1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-7-0 Biswansi		
89 A	160		0-1-15 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		36	Passage	0-1-15 Biswansi		One pucca well n workin
89 B	160 Min		0-12-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		8	Passage	0-12-0 Biswansi		
90	151		0-1-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		36	Passage	0-1-0 Biswansi	Khata E	
91 A	162		0-4-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		36	Passage	0-4-0 Biswansi	Khata E	
91 B	150		0-1-0 Biswansi	Nazool Khata nO. 1		8	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-1-0 Biswansi		
91 C	149, 150 163, 810		0-5-11 Biswansi 3-2-6 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1		7/1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-5-11Biswansi 3-2-6 Biswansi		

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91 D	163 Min		0-18-10 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1		7/1	Agricultural (Majrua)	0-18-10 Biswansi		
91 E	149 Min		0-8-10 Biswansi	Mohmmadi Shah Khata No. 1		2	Passage	0-8-10 Biswansi		
			9 Bigha 17 Biswa 9 Biswansi					9 Bigha 17 Biswa 9 Biswansi		

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Exh. B3

1519



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1520

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
LUCKNOW BENCH, LUCKNOW

O.S.R. NO. 21 OF 1987

[illegible] Central Board of [illegible]

VERSUS

Gopal Singh Srivastava and others

PRODUCED BY [illegible]

DATE OF PRODUCTION [illegible]

ADMITTED / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY [illegible]

ADMITTED IN EVIDENCE / REJECTED [illegible]

EXT. NO. [illegible]

BY ORDER OF THE COURT

[illegible]

[illegible] VIJAY PAL

O.O.S. [illegible]

VERSUS

[illegible]

[illegible]ED BY [illegible]

[illegible] PRODUCTION [illegible]

[illegible] / NOT ADMITTED BY THE OTHER PARTY [illegible]

[illegible] ADMITTED [illegible]

Photograph of Babri Masjid
for identification
Admitted
[illegible]

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Exh-B5

1521

Annexure No. 6

God is one. Satguru Prasad.

Among the Sakhis published so far it is most perfect, the biggest and is written hundred years ago.

Bhai Balaji's

Janam Sakhi of Shri Guru Nanak Devji

Sakhi of Panja Sahib and all Sakhis with biographies often Gurus are included.

- Publisher

Bhai Chatur Singh Jeevan Singh

Printer and Book-seller,

Bazar Mai Sevan, Amritsar.

Vetted by — Panth Prasidh, Lasani Sodhak.

Gayani Mohinder Singh 'Ratan'

Fine Cover : 90/- Rupees

Cloth Cover: 100/- Rupees

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1522

Sakhi of Tirath Yatra (Pilgrimage)

Ten Gati Awgati Nahi Janiye,
Anjanat Nam Vakhaniye .
Nanak Vachara Kiya Kahe,
Sub Lok Salahe Ake Sai.
Siru, Nanak Loka Pay Hai,
Balihari Jao Jete Tere Nay Hai.

After that all people and king of that place became Sikhs of Guru. Guruji blessed all the persons. Then Shri Guruji had Darshan of Jagannathji and went away from there.

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Guru ji went to Ayodhya

Shri Guru Nanak ji said, Bhai Bala this city is of Shri Ram Chanderji. Shri Ram Chanderji was born here and did his Leelas (lived his life) so let us go to see this city. Then Shri Guruji went and sat at the bank of river Saryu. Then the people of that place fell on his feet. Bhai Bala said, "Since Shri Ram Chander ji took away the city with him. So where from it has come now? Then the Pandits of thai place told Babaji that He couldn't take the houses with Him. The devotee of Shri Ram Chander ji went to Vaikunth. Then Guruji said, "You should also see Guruji and recite Parmeshwarji's (God's) name. Think about perfect Guru then you will also go to Vaikunth(Heaven). Pandits further said that Maharajji how many types of Gurus are there. Then Guruji said : Guru are of three types, First Gurus are Pandits. But Pandit Gurus preach other people, but they don't follow what they preach. You get Punya after seeing them but you cannot achieve salvation by following them. Awadhoot Guru, don't have knowledge. They get knowledge from Saints. So, they get salvation for themselves but can't salvate others. The Third one is Mahapurush Guru. They themselves are emancipated and whoever meet them, they give them satnam and salvate them. These are Guruji's words. All the residents of Ayodhya fell on Guruji's feet and requested: 0 Nirankarji, save us from the suffering of the world and bless us with good fortune. You are Mahapurush (Superman). Then Guruji said, "Bhai, this world is transitory so serve the Sadhu who come to your house, recite

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Parmeshwar's name with full devotion and eat only after distributing a portion of your food, believe in religion and do your duty. Then he went away after preaching this.

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1525

Sakhi: Guru ii went to Prayag Raj

When Shri Guruji reached Prayag Raj, many pandits alongwith local people gathered there and came to Guruji and begins to discuss things with Guruji. Then Guruji prayed before the God. Then Guruji said that some study Sanskrit some study Purans. Some recite the name with bead string, some set their mind in Trikuti. So Maharaj said, "Hey, Nirankarji I don't know anything else except your name. I knew your name only before and I depend on your name. I don't know what will be my fate. I am ignorant.

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The End

The wound was torn again. Jarha wanted it to stitch, but Guruji refused to get it stitched. In Vikrami Samvat- 1765 on Kartik Sudi Guruji took bath, wore new clothes and also made the horse to take bath and decorated it with ornaments. He himself took weapons and called a meeting and read Guru Granth Sahib and bowed his head keeping five paise and coconut in front of it and delivered these words from his Shri Mukh (Mouth)

Dohra —

Aghya Bhai Akaal Ki Tabi Chalayo Panth,
Sab Sikhan Ko Hukam Hai Guru Manayo Granth.
Guru Granthji Maneyo, Pragat Guran Ke Deh,
Jaka Hirda Shudh Hai, Khoj Shabad Mahi leh.

It means- It was the order of God to start a cult. This order is for all Sikhs that they must accept Granth as their Guru. Accept Guru Granthji as Guruji's body whose heart is pure, you will find Guru in words.

After that he distributed Prasad (Haiwa) and prepared a Chita(Pyre) of Sandalwood and erected a tent around it. Then he rode upon a horse and went towards pyre and asked all Sikh, to come in the tent and not to touch his pyre and not to construct Samadhi". After giving this order, he went inside and a roaring sound came from inside that —

Shri Wahe Guruji Ka Khalsa
Shri Wahe Guruji Ke Fateh.

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In the last it was prayed that, "Hey Kalgidhar Majaraj! As you have started the cult with difficulties. In the same way always help the cult and make it progressive and install your will-power in them, so that people may become Sikh or Singh with their heart and soul, remember your kindness and Guru Khalsa may progress further.

By- Servant of the Panth,
Khush Nawees Budh Singh 'Ratan'
Lahore. 1840 Vikrami

Bole So Nihal Sat Shri Akaal

Vetted by — Gyani Mohinder Singh Ratan
Published by Sardar Jeevan Singh's Gurumukh Press, Malwai Bunga, Bazar Dhobian, Amritsar.

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B-6

EXH-B6

1528

Annexure No. 1

Oldest Manuscript among the available manuscripts

Janam Sakhi of Bhai Bala

Manuscript of 1715 Vikrami

Authentic Text and its critical editing

Dr. Gurbachan Kaur
Department of Language
Punjab.

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1529

Authentic Text and Critical editing of Janam Sakhi of Bhai Bala

Dr. Gurbachan Kaur

Department of Languages, Punjab
Year : 1987
Copies : 1000
Price : 23.50

Publisher : Director, Department of Language, Punjab

Printer : Swan Printing Press, Adda Tanda, Jalandhar

Through: - Controller, Department of Printing and stationary,
Punjab, Chandigarh.

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He read it quickly. Guru Angadji was very happy. Guru Angadji asked, "Bhai Paira to write this for them, in Gurumukhi Script". Paira said, " All right, Please asked for papers. I will write it Guruji asked for paper, pen and ink. Paira Mokha wrote. Guru Angadji dictated: Paira wrote it in Gurumukhi Script.

(2, Birth)

God is one! Satguru Prasad.

Horoscope of Guru Nanak Bediji. Nanak was born on dated (15) Kartik Sudi Pumima in Sarnvat 1526 at midnight past one Ghari in Kalu Bedi's house. Hardiyal was the family priest of Kalu Bedi. He was a

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Brahmin and Guru of Kalu. Kalu went to Hardiyal's house at morning and said, "Hardiyalji do a favour to me". Pandit Hardiyal said: Tell me, Mehta Kalu, why you have come at this time? Upon this Kalu said: A boy has born. Hardiyalji, kindly make a horoscope of the boy. Then Pandit Hardiyal said, "O.K.,Mehtaji, I will come after worship, you may go now.

Kalu came back to his house and after sometime Pandit went to Kalu's house. After reaching there he called Mehta Kalu! I have come. Kalu came out and took the Pandit inside. Kalu had already spread the bedding. He asked the Pandit to sit on the bed. After sitting, Pandit asked Mehta Kalu to bring paper and ink. Mehta Kalu brought the paper and ink. Then Pandit said: Mehta Kalu tell me about the sound the boy made at the time when he was born? Tell me the time of his birth. Kalu said that I know the time of birth. It was a Ghari and two.

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1. (S, G, M, D)
2. Word(S, D)
3 (G)
4. P (Bh, S, G, M, D)
5. Purnima (Bh, S, G, M, D)
6. Yes Panditji (Bh, S, G, M, D)
7. (Bh, S, G, D)
8.D 9.(S,M)
10.(M)
11. When it was heard. (Bh, S, G, M, D)

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B-7

Exh-B7

1531

Annexure No. 2

God is one! Satguru Prasad.

Bhagtan Seti Goshete jo Keeria So Labh".

It means — We are always benefited with the company of devotees.

(Shri Kabirji)

Janam Sakhi Shri Guru Nanak Devji

By

Shri Meharban ji Sodhi

Editor

Kripal Singh

Prof. Incharge Sikh History Research Department

Khalsa College, Amritsar

Assistant Editor

Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok, Patiala

Publisher

Sikh History Research Department

KhaLsa College, Amritsar

1962

He sipped from God's hand. He was delighted after sipping and enlightened about the universe Then Guru Baba Nanakji touched Shri Parbrahma's feet. He prostrated before him. Then Shri Parbrahma (almighty God) said; Oh Nanak, I am blessing you with salvation. I will give salvation to the persons who will seek your darshan, who will listen to you, who will recite your name. I will forgive those to whom you will forgive. I have made you and those persons happy, who recite your name. Hey Nanak, you ask people to recite my name in Kaliyug. Preach the people to recite and spread my name and to take a dip in a holy water, in Kaliyug.

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And do spread my fame in the world. Propagate and spread the religion, so that the world may be benefited by it. Then Guru Baba Nanakji said that Hey Shri Parbrahmaji be kind to us and bless me. Kaliyug is very difficult, kindly save me from Kaliyug. Kaliyug has strayed the Universe. Save it from Kaliyug. Then Shri Parbrahmaji said all right Nanak, I forgive you and I will forgive the world for you. Then Shri Parbrahmaji said goodbye to Nanak. He gave him his devotion, name, praise suggestion and said goodbye to him. Shri Parbrahma said good bye to him so that he may start a cult for redemption of human beings in Kaliyug by giving truth, satisfaction steadiness, intelligence, virtue, and self-control. Meanwhile three days, equal to one day (in heaven) have passed in the Universe. Parbrahmaji said goodbye to Nanak and gave servants to him. Then on the third day Guru Baba Nanakji came back. He got the divine light of Parmeshwar (God) in the year (1507) Samvat- 1564 Bhadhra Sudi (15) Purnima in the morning' Shri Parbrahma graced Baba Nanak with His appearance in mid-river. Shri Parbrahma Parmeshwar (Almighty God) met Nanak in person when he was thirty-six and a half year old. When he went to take bath in the river, he came out immediately. That Nafar became worried about Babaji. He used to sit at that Ghat everyday till night. He used to recite Nanakji, Nanakji while sitting there. When he was reciting Nanakji, Nanakji he saw Baba Nanakji. He got up and fell at the feet of Baba Nanakji. He said Blessed Nanakji and blessed Parmeshwar, who has shown Nanakji to me. He gave clothes to Nanak. Baba Nanak wore clothes and came

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back to his house. He said Bhai Shri Wahe Guru, Dhan Guru, Satguru.

Shalok

Adhsut Miliya Kyun Janiye. Kahan Basi Kitu Thour I
Das Nanak Tab hi Janiye, Jab Hoi Awar ki Aur II

It means- How can we say that we met the unseen? Where He lives? Das (servant) Nanak says God can be known if there is devotion and a wish to see Him in the heart.

Bhaiji say Wahe Guru, Dhan Guru, Satguru, Ram Sat, Guru Sat, Satnam Kartapurkh, Sadguru Prasad. // 25 //

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38

EXh-BB

1534

Annexure No.3

Ancient Sakhies

(Revised and enlarged third edition)

Horoscope Baba Nanakji

Manuscript copy of 1758 Vikrami Samvat Ashaad Krishna 13

Editor

Pyar Singh

Lahore Book Shop

2, Lajpat Rai Market, Ludhiana

(All rights are reserved)

Editor : Pyar Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Professor and Head (Sabik)

Department of Punjabi Language, Literature & Culture

Guru Nanak Dev, University, Amritsar

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1535

SAKHI-9

(Baba went to Tria Raj)

78(B) He said (Shalok) Sach ..... Dehi. The persons who practice Truth, austerity and recite God's name are good. Nanak think those persons are good who don't lead to the path of sin. Then Baba said this austerity is pious. Then he took off Janeyu at once. He fell on Baba's feet and said behave with me as you wish. My life is in your hands. Uplift me as you wish. Then he fell on Guruji's feet.

79(A) He squandered his property, money whatever he had. He was rich. He squandered all horses, vehicles and ponies. He became recluse. Babaji blessed him. He became radiant with joy with the name of Parmeshwar(God). He became the first Sikh.
79(B) After blessing him Baba went ahead.

// 8 // Sakhi continues.
80(a) (Baba went to Triaraj)

Then Babaji went to next Tiraths. He went to Ganga, Godavari, Gaya, Prayag, Varansi, Gomati, Ayodhya, Dwarka, Jagannath, Othsa (68) Tiraths. He had its benefit He took balh and saw the and Guru Babaji went to that land on sea-beach where a person could not go. Tria raj is the country or village where women earn and men don't earn. Then Mardana said: See this country. Baba
said: that this country is of women.

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80(B) Going there is not right. Then Mardana said: If you give permission then I will go and see, who will come that far again? Then Guru Baba said: Go, if you want to go, go and see it. Mardana went there with Rabab (a musical instrument) on the pretext of begging. He went to that town. On seeing Mardana, all women came running to him, no man was available there. They asked him to come in, Mardana said: Mai, I will not come in. When they saw that he was not coming in, they caught him.

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Exh. B9

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1537

Annexure No. 4

God is one! Satguru Prasad

Ancient Janam Sakhi of Shri Guru Nanak Dev ji

(Pictorial)

Editor

Shamsher Singh Ashok

Research Scholar

Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee

1969

Shri Guru Nanak Panchsao Sala Prakash-Utsav

Committee Dharam Prachar Committee

(Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee)

Shri Amritsar.

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Ghal Khati Kichu Hathu De
Nanak Rahu Pachane Sai.

Nanak says people recognize only that person in the path whosoever gives a part of his earning to the needy.

Then Guru Baba became happy and moved ahead from there. He recited Wahe Guru, Wahe Guru, Wahe Guruji.

30. Kam Roop — Tria Raj

Then Baba went ahead for next Tiraths. He took Darshan of Ganga, Godawari, Gaya, Prayag, Gomati, Ayodhya, Dwarka, Jagannath and Orrisa etc. sixty-eight Tiraths. He got benefit of tiraths, took bath, saw the entire land, Guru Babaji went to that land on sea-beach where man can't go. Tria-raj is there. In this country villages, women earn, no man was there.

Then Mardana said, "Babaji, what kind of country is this"? Babaji said, "this country is of women. It is not good to go there". Mardana said, "Since we came here, we must see, who will come here again. It is so? Then Guru Baba said, "Go if you wish to go and see". Mardana went there with Rabab (a musical instrument) on the pretext of begging. He entered in the town. Seeing Mardana all women came out running to him and surrounded him. There was no man. They asked Mardana to come in. Then Mardana said "Mai! I won't come in" when they saw he was not coming -

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Exh- B-10

Annexure No. 5

1539

Pothi (Book) Janam Sakhi

On the order of Mia Chiragdeen and Sarajdeen the Pothi (Book) Janam Sakhi was printed in Musatfai Printing Press.

Baahetmam Hafiz Mohammuddin

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Babaji went to Ayodhya

If someone is on board with an object and cross the river, so is the name of Maharaj from which one get salvation. But only the Guru who preaches can bless one with fortune.

On hearing these words all fell on Babaji's feet. Then Babaji preached them about Satnam. Then Babaji went to Ayodhya and said, "Mardana, this Ayodhya Nagri is of Shri Ram Chanderji. So come and have Darshan. Then Babaji went into the river and on hearing about him, all people fell on his feet. Then they said since Shri Ramji took away the town with him so from where this town has come. Then those Pandits said that He took the people with him who used to see him and used to recite and not the houses. Those who used to His name, went to Vaikunth Dham. Then he preached that if you also see Gurus and recite the name of Parmeshwar and think about Him then you will also go to Vaikunth. Then they said, "Guruji, how many types of Gurus (teachers) are there? Then Guruji said, "Gurus are of three types. The first one is Pandit Guru and the second is Awadhoot Guru and third is Maha Purusha (Superman) Guru. Pandit Guru preaches others but do not act accordingly. Therefore, you get punya not knowledge on meeting them. For example if there is a blind sailor, he swims himself but he can't see the shore. Then how can he take the others to the shore and the second one is Awadhoot Guru who don't have hand and feet in the form of knowledge. Because he gets Yoga and knowledge from other

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saints. So he gets salvation for himself but can't give salvation to others.

Pages	Name of Sakhi	Number	Pages	Name of Sakhi
576	Baba said the word	219	586	Babaji went to Vaikunth with his body and both of them distributed the chadar.
577	Babaji preached Angad			
578	Chatur Saloki recited			
579	Meaning of Chatur Saloki	220	588	Gaddi (seat) was given to guru Amar Das Ji.
582	Kikar (Tree) gave sweets and made all Sadhus and people eat it	221	589	Guru Ram Das ji sat on gaddi (Seat)
583	Father Kaluji went to Parlok (he died)	222	590	Guru Arjun ji got Guruai (He became Guru)
584	Mata Tripata ji also died	223	591	Guru Har Gobind ji sat on Gaddi (He became Guru)
585	Angad ji was given the seat of Guruji	224	592	The importance of name of Wahe Guru
		225	592	Guruji put signature on this janam Sakhi

Janam Sakhi is concluded here, Please forgive if there is any mistake in regard to writing, research or printing.

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Chaupai-

Unnis So Santalees Jano,
Bhadra Shukla Ashtami mano
Guru Gobind Singh, Singh Ko,
Dasa Vishakha Singh Likhyo kar Aasa!

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Exh. B-11

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Annexure No. 7

Guru Nanak Vansh Prakash

Written by

Sukhvasi Ram Bedi

Editor

Dr. Gurumukh Singh

Publication Bureau

Punjabi University, Patiala

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1544

Department of Study of Punjabi Literature
Punjabi University, Patiala

Guru Nanak Vansh Prakash(Punjabi)

By

Sukhbasi Ram Bedi

Edited by
Dr. Gurmukh Singh, M.A., Ph.D,
Language Department, Punjab, Patiala
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Dohra

Hath Jor Kar kahe Sahu ab jo Mange So Leo,
Echacha Keeje Pragati Kar Soi Turn Ko Deo.

Soratha

Ham Ko Locha Na Nische Jano Shah ji,
Darab Dijie Ta Dhan Asha ji Purukh ko.

Dohra

Shah Keo Rukhsat Pratham Satguru Bhai Udas,
Chale Jahanabad Te, Namakh Dhari Aas.
(Tirath Yatra)

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Chaupai

Nem Kharan Chale Guru Swami Kirpa, Sindhu Prabhu Antarjami.
Pahunche Jai Gomati Teer, Manjan Kar Han Guni Gaheer.
Mishr Kaneem Khar Mahi Rakhbari,Mele Aai Satguru Ko Tatpari.
Hath Jor Tin Math Niwayo,Prabhu Ko Nirakh Param Sukh Payo.
Aadar Kar Ashram Le Gaye,Bhakh Boj Vidikar Sukh Dai.

Dohra

Chale Tehan Te Sati Guru Mardana le Sang,
Aaye Audhpuni Bikh Sarju Nadi Jeh Sang.
Sarju Jal Manjan Kiya, Darshan Ram Nihar,
Adamrup Anant Prabhu Chale Magan Hit Dhar.
Pahunche Tirath Raj Par Gang Yamum Ka Mel,
Nam Prayag Khey Sada Rishimuni Ka Khel.
Kar Manjan Isthit Bhayey Puran Prabhu Guru Aap,
Kirpa Sindhu Anand Dhani Bedi Purukh Pratap.
Bhardwaj Rishiwar Tahan Mele Guru Ko Aai,
Harsh Paraspar Jugal Kar Charanan Sheesh Niwai.
Bhardwaj Kari Venati Legayo Apne Dharn.
Bhakh Bhoj Adar Adak Kene Sukh Vishram.

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Guru Nanak Vansh Prakash

Chatrath Bedi Ko Sari Yatharath Janiye,
Bedi Kul Avatar Kiyo Guru Aap Han.
Ho Santati Sikh Udhare Kewal Maya Kari.

Sortha

Nanak Vansh Prakash Pare Sune Sab Bhav Dhari,
Antar Gyan Hulas Prapati Sukh Sampati Jagti.

Dohra

Sarbi Tirath Falu Pavi Chatar Bed Ko Sari,
Nanak Prakashu Eh Pare Arth Vichar.
Satgugu Nanak Devi Prabh Jas Puran Trayi Loi,
Thir Vhir Kirtan Gaviye Bhed Bhram Ko Khoi.
Gur Nanak sarni Pare Sanchati Pap Mitai,
Jeevati Bhog Raj Padi Ant Mukti Hui Jai.
Nanak Vansh Prakash Jag Uchasre Gurumukhi Santi.
Sakal Manorath Sidhi Jasu Brahm Prapati Ant,
Samvat Vikram Nripati Ko Sat Ashtadash Jan.
Yug Upar Satar Sama Jestha Nirjal Man,
Satgur Prabh Nirban ki Katha Vansh Prakash
Sukhvasi Kavi Deen Jo Ucharayo Brahm Vilas
Samantu Adhara Sa Chaiasea Pothi Likhi Sujan
Falgun Mas Puneet Ma Shive Chaude jee Jan.
Achhar Singh Bedi Likhi Taragarh Sobhi Thani,
Bhool Chook Jahi Ham Likhi Samajh Paro Budh Aan
Nij Bachan Ke Karne Pothi Likhi Sitabi
Din Chalis Sampuran kari Kagaj Kiye Khrab,
Samvat Ahara So Chhiyasi Falgun mas Krishan Paksh
Shiv
Chaudisi Ko Sampuran Bhai
Achhar Singh Bedi Likhi Guru nanakji Ke Janam
Sakhi Sampuran

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Bhai.

Guru Nanakji Sahai Krit Sukhvasi Ram Bedi

Savaiye

Waheguru Rasna Rabiye Nit Meet, Na Preet Akhand

Prakashi

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Exh- B12

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Annexure No. 8

God is one! Satguru Prasad

"Bhagtan Se Goshte Jo Kene So Labh"

(Shri Kabirji)

Janam Sakhi of Shri Guru Nanak Dev ji

Written by — Shri Meharban ji Sodhi

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Publisher

Sikh History Research Department

Khaisa College, Amritsar

1962

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The people in young age are lively. At the age of fifty year, their youth to be on decline and old age comes. At the age of sixty' and seventy years one loses mental balance. At the age of eighty years one goes from worldliness, became tired and can unable to do anything and nobody obey him. Everybody says if he has any son, bring him we will talk to him and at the age of ninety years unable to move, lying on the cot Unable to take turn of his own and after ninety years death graced him, after taking birth in this world. Like the white clouds of smoke which scatter into pieces with the wind This world is like the cloud of smoke. It comes in existence and then disappeared.

O brothers saints: take refuge in Shri Rama. Death is a truth. All get destroyed. Sur (gods), Nar(mankind), Gan(Shiva's devotees), Gandharva, animals, birds, human being all come to their end with time nd God made the perishable world like that'°. After hundred years the New World is created again. No ancient animal or insect live for hundred years. The Siddh(got siddhi) will live upto" the age of four yugas(eras) after that' they will also leave the body and died. God created this body to live in this world only. No siddh, no saint, no peer, no god, no moneylender, no king, no poor, no rich' person will live on. Whosoever comes in the world, he will have to go. Therefore, if you want to ripe the fruit of this birth, you must recite Ram Naam. So recite Ram Naam. Then they all fell on Guru Baba Nanakji's feet and said, "Wahe Guru". They all became Sikh. They all begins to recite Guru, Guru and said Wahe Guru.

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Shalok

Jeevan Bikhiya Bhog, Keeyu Chahat Sab koi.

Jaise Pani Budbuda, Upje Vinsi Jal Hoi.

Nanak Das Han Nam Jap,Jeevan Ka Fal Soi.

All want to enjoy life, but this life is like a bubble of water, it comes in to existence and then get destroyed and become water again. Nanak says whosoever recites God's name, he gets benefit of this life' Bhaiji say Waheguru, Dhan (Thanks) guru, Satguru, Ram Sat, Guru Sat, Satnaam, Kartapurukh, Satguru Prasad.

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(A) **Shri Guru Nanak Dev ji in Ayodhya**

Discourse by Shri Guru Baba Nanak ji (The importance of reciting God's name).

Then Guru Baba Nanak after registering his name with Patel (Nambardar of that village) went to the eastern city of Ayodhya and started living there.

Then one of Gobind ji's (God's) devotee came there to Baba Nanak ji. He said, "Ram-Ram Baba Nanakji! Ram Ram". Then Guru Baba Nanakji said, "Sat Raja Ram, come and sit:. After saying Ram-Ram and bowing before him, they sit near Babaji. After taking rest for a while they requested to Babaji, " Hey Baba Nanak ji! We are happy to see you, we came to see you, but we also have a request, if you give permission, we will tell. Then Guru Nanak Babaji said," Tell me, whatever is there in your mind". Then they said to Babaji, "Some people donate, some do home yagya, some do penance, some worship, some are Digambar (remain without clothes), some keep their head under saw and commit suicide, some do penance with water, fire penance, upside down penance, some tolerate pain, will they all get salvation or not? Then Guru Nanak ji said in Rag Bhairava:

Jagan Home Pun Tap Puja, Deh Dukhi Nit Dukh Sahe.
Ram Naam Bina Mukti Na Pawasi, Mukti Nam Gurumukhi lahe.
Ram Naam Binu Birkhe Jag Janma,
Bikhu Khave Bikhu Boli Bole, Bin Nave Nihful Marl Brahmna.

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It means –

Then Guru Baba Nanakji said,"Listen men, recite Ram's Name. People do donate, do yagya(worship), go to holy places, become yogi, Sanyasi, remain Brahmachari(unmarried), become Di garnber Sadhu (remain without clothes), put their head under saw travel the whole earth, do worship, penance, do charity, do Bodh tapasya, do Sadhña with body, yet none get salvation without reciting Ram Naam (Name of God). When a person meets Guru and recite Ram Naam (Name of God) he gets salvation. Man came to the world for reciting Ram Naam (Name of God). If he recites Ram Naam his life becomes successful and if he doesn't recite Ram Naam his birth or life go waste Man eats poison, speaks poison (means criticize others and use dirty/hard language) with the result of which he takes birth and dies again and again. Brother, it is like' reciting Ram Naam. So brother recite Shri Ram Krishna, Waheguru.

Then those devotees of Gobind said,"Guru Baba Nanak ji we are for you, some people read books, some read Puranas, some do Trikal Sandhya. Will they get salvation or not"?

Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that

Pustak Pad Viakran Bakhane, Sandhya Karam Tikal Kare.

Binu Gur Shabad Mukti Keh Prani,Ram Naam Binu Urchi Mere. People read books, Puranas, Do Sandhya Trikal Karam. But they don't get salvation without Guru (their teacher), without reciting God's name they die struggling in life.

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(A) Shri Guru Nanak Devji in Ayodhya

Discourse by Guru Baba Nanakji (with devotees).

After that Guru Baba Nanak worshiped in Ayodhya. Then God asked his devotees to go and seek the darshan of Nanak Tapasvi', a devotee of God who came to Ayodhya, so that you may recognize the importance of my name and recite my name. Nanak knows my invocation. Then all devotees requested together, Hey, Shri Parbrahma (God). Nanak knows your invocation. So what is your invocation which Nanak does and makes you happy. Then Shri Parbrahma (God) said, "Hey devotees, my invocation (Praise) is like that: Nanak doesn't claim anything, not of earning, not of worship, not of reciting God's name, not of penance, not of good character, not of self-control, not of common sense, not of living according to Guru's instructions, not of deeds, not of religion, not of good deeds, not of bath, not of name, not of service, he considers himself a small insect and recognize me as doer of all things. The people who do work and consider himself passive it is my praise and it is my attribution and it is my service only. He is my devotee, servant and friend. And the devotee of other's show off their earning, but the devotee of Nanak knows me only, considers himself a small insect, and recognizes me as doer of all things. Go and listen to my praises from devotee Nanak. Then all devotees bowed and said we are for you, we will follow you and we praise the devotees who praise you and know your qualities.

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Then Baba Nanak, ascetic, sat in a Math situated on a panchtirathi in southern side in Ayodhya. Then all devotees gathered at the order of Shri Parbrahma (God), they together — Narna, Jaidev, Kabir, Trilochan, Ravidas, Sen Sadima, Dhama Veni, came to meet Nanak. And every devotee present there, together went to Guru Baba Nanak. The devotees asked Sen Servant to go and see and see if the devotee is remembering God, or is he reciting God's name or that Is he lost in child behaviour of God (or Childish pranks of God). See how he is sitting. If the devotee is lost in reciting God's name or remembering him then don't mention about us, and if he is lost in happiness then you may request to him that servants are waiting for his darshan, what is your order? Then, Sen servant came and saw that Baba Nanak was sitting in a happy mood and he knew that devotees want to see him He stood up and said I am for you, come this way.

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Exh-B13

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Annexure No. 9

God is one! Satguru Prasad

"Bhagtan seti gosht ejo kene so labh (Shri Kabirji)"
It means — "We are benefited by the company of devotees. Their discourse is always beneficial."

Janam Sakhi of Shri Guru Nanak Devji
by Shri Meharban Ji Sodhi

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Khalsa College, Arnritsar,
1962

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said,' me, whatever is there in your mind". Then they said to Babaji, "Some people donate, some do home yagya, some do penance, some worship, some are Digambar (remain without clothes), some keep their head under saw and commit suicide, some do penance with water, fire penance, upside down penance, some tolerate pain, will they all get salvation or not? Then Guru Nanak ii said in Rag Bhairava:

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Ram Naam Bina Mukti Na Pawasi, Mukti Nam Gurumukhi lahe.
Ram Naam Binu Birkhe Jag Janma,
Bikhu Khave Bikhu Boli Bole, Bin Nave Nihful Man Brahmna.

It means —

Then Guru Baba Nanakji said,"Listen men, recite Ram's Name. People do donate, do yagya(worship), go to holy places, become yogi, Sanyasi, remain Brahmachari(unmarried), become Digamber Sadhu (remain without clothes), put their head under saw travel the whole earth, do worship, penance, do charity, do Bodh tapasya, do Sadhna with body, yet none get salvation without reciting Ram Naam (Name of God). When a person meets Guru and recite Ram Naam (Name of God) he gets salvation. Man came to the world for reciting Ram Naam (Name of God). If he recites Ram Naarn his life becomes successful and if he doesn't recite Ram Naam his birth or life go waste Man eats poison, speaks poison (means criticize others and use dirty/hard language) with the result of which he takes birth and dies again and

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Then those devotees of Gobind said that Guru Baba Nanak ii we are for you, some people read books, some read Puranas, some do Trikal Sandhya. Will they get salvation or not?

Then Guru Baba Nanakji said that

Pustak Pad Viakran Bakhane, Sandhya Karam Tikal Kare.

Binu Gur Shabad Mukti Keh Prani,Ram Naarn Binu Urchi Mere.

People read books, Puranas, Do Sandhya Trikal Karam. But they don't get salvation without Guru (their teacher), without reciting God's name they die struggling in life.

Then Sen Sevak (servant) went there and bowed before him. He said, Jai jai Ram Krishna' (It is a sort of salutation of Vaishnavs). Then he told him about the request of the devotees that they want your Darshan, it means they want to see you. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said "Don't delay, bring them." Then Sen Sevak went back to the devotees and said, "Baba Nanak knows about you, beforehand and he is waiting for you, prostrate before you and says you are welcome, please come." Then all the devotees came and after coming they wished Guru Baba Nanak. Guru Baba Nanakji also wished and prostrated before them and said come in. From one side devotees came and from the other side Guru

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Baba Nanak came. Devotee prostrated before him. They met each other and Guru Baba Nanak Ji said in Shri Raga" that :-

Avahu Bhane Gal Milah Ank Saheliya'
Miii Ke Kareh Kahaniyan Samarth Kant Ki Aah
Sache Sahib Sab Gun Awagun Sab Asah
Karta Sab Ko Terah Jon. Ek Sabahu Bichariye Ja Tu Ta Kia Hon.

"Rahau"

It means :- Then Guru Baba Nanak Ji said, there is one husband and who are his maids? Oh, devotee, who are his maids. All maids are sisters in relation. For example if any man who have two or four wives and they do not become jealous of each other. If there are maids and they are called sisters. Likewise God is a Lord (husband) of everyone and that whoever serves him is called his servant (maid). All maids are sisters in relation. Then many maids and servants meet each other. They talk about the palace in which their husband meets them and in what way he meets them. 0 my sisters, who is our husband, who is our Kant (husband or lover). He has all merits, we have demerits. None knows his value that how is He that whatever merits are there that are in my Ram (my God) and all the living things depends on him. Dwell on one word that there is nobody except God. Whoever is there Money lender, Emperor, poor, the person who is lost in himself, good-bad, Sadhu servant, high and low all are made by God. Shah (money lender) are there if God keeps them, Emperors are Emperors if God makes them, Greatmen are there if God makes them. Without Him

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nobody can do anything and all depend on Him. Nobody depend on each' other, man lives due to Him, dies due to Him, man gets order from Him, if he doesn't get order it is due to Him. Whatever is of that Doer, whatever is there it is His only. Say Bhai Shri Ram Krishna. Wahe Guru

Then devotees said that Guru Baba Nanak ji, God is adorable then why is He adorable. Tell me about it. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that:

Jai Puchu Sohagani Tusi Rania Kini Guni Sahji Santokhi Sigaria,
Meetha Bolani Peru Risalu Ta Meleja Gur ka Sabad Suni

It means- Then the devotees asked Baba Nanak ji that we are for you. How did you get God. How you served Him, what merit you had that God liked in you? Then Baba Guruji said to him that you are married women, whichever I got, you got it also. And he liked you because of your service. The person whose heart is normal and he has control over his tongue i.e. speaks nicely, he is liked by God. God goes to him and only that person is His servant. The name of the Guru is God. The person who hears the name of God gets God. He, who is Peru (husband) how is He? The person who thinks about other things other than God' in life, he does not get God. Man is like the particles of sand which reflects the things. Man gets God when he keeps God in eyes' in words' in heart, remember God while awakening, while in dream, or if he make God his object or aim only then

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he gets God. When he keeps God in his mind then he gets God who is all happiness personified' otherwise the person lose devotion and goes to hell. When a person has selfishness or remain self- conscious he cannot merge with God. Say Brother Ram Krishna, Wahe Guru.

Then the devotees said to Guru Baba Nanak ji that whoever recites His name, you know about them, tell us how His nature is? How are His blessings? What is His caste? And what is His Sanati? Then Baba Nanakji said that I am for you.

Ketia Usdia Kudrati, Keti Usdi Dati, Kete Uske Jeev jant Seefti Karhi Denu Rati, Kete Us Ke Roop Rang, Kete Jati Sanati

It means — Then Guru Baba Nanak Ji said that hey devotees I like your question. How many natures He has, no body knows its end. And how many living things He has who praise Him day and night. Only He knows their exact number. Only He knows how many forms He has. Only He knows how many types of living things are there. Only He knows about the nature and if any person says that he is somebody, he is a liar. Say brother Shri Ram Krishna. Wahe guru is true.

Then the devotees said that Guru Baba Nanak Ji God is kind to you. Tell us what devotion and service will make him happy so that we may get him. Then Guru Baba Nanakji said those words that—
Sachu Melai Sachu Upje

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Sachu Mahi Sachi Samai
Surati Hove Pati Ugah
Gurbachani Bhau Khai
Nanak Sacha Pat Sahu
Ape Lai Melai

It means - Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that Hey Bhai devotees of Ram, if that God is kind to you then truth comes to mind and the persons leave the lies behind. Only truth comes in the mind and only truth comes out, he earns truth only, only truth remain in mind. The mind remains truthful. When the good thoughts come in mind, then the husband (God) comes. If the man works with good mind and thoughts then he becomes fearless, He is not afraid of anything. The fear ends and he becomes fearless and it is true that when He becomes kind to you then He calls you and unite you with Him. Only then God meet you otherwise nobody can get Him with his/her merits or works. Nobody gets salutation without His blessings. When He Himself unite you with him only then you can get Him' otherwise you cannot. Say brother Shri Ram Krishna. Wahe Guru.

Then the devotees prayed to him that Guru Baba Nanakji, you prayed to God you prayed with what words and you are saved from the poisonous well, how you were saved from it. How you were saved from the wrongs of this world. With what or whose power you were saved. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said these words in Shri Raga that —
Bhali Sari Je Ubri Haume Mui Ghrahu
Doot Lage Fin Chakari, Satguru Ka Besa

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Kalap Tiyagi Bad hai, Sacha Beparwahu
Man Re Sach Mile, Bhau Jai
Bhai Binu Nirbhru Kiyu Thie, Gurmukhi Sabdi Samai
"Rahau"

It means — then Baba Nanak requested to the devotees that God did good to us that I lost my self consciousness. I became humble. Again by whose prayer I lost my self conceit. I believed in my Guru (teacher) I had faith in Guru so I lost self conceit by the blessings of Guru. When self conceit goes, worries also go and how many messengers were there, they all begins to serve again. When Guru became kind, Guru' love came to my mind, then all the messengers begins to serve again. And whatever desires I had or I dreamt of, all were gone. The mind became peaceful. When I got truth, when truth came to my mind then mind became fearless, when fearless God met fearless person then the man also became free from Maya. As long as it is not true, till then it doesn't become fearless. When it is true it becomes fearless and its fear goes. Say brother Shri Ram Krishna.

The devotees requested that Guru Baba Nanak ji whichever living things are there they all recite His name only. It is not that they don't know Him. They recite His name and ask His blessings only. They will also meet Him and get Him or will they not meet Him or get Him? Then Guru Baba Nanak ji requested the devotees that I am for you.

Keta Akhnu Akhiye Akhni Tot Na Hoi
Mangan Wale Ketare, Data Ako soi
Jis Ke Jee Pran Hai, Man Bseye Sukh Hoi

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It means —
Then Guru Baba Nanak Ji said that all living things pray to him. Everybody pray to him in pleasure and pain, in good or bad times. It is not possible to count the number of devotees. Everybody beg from Him and He is the only giver. All say and ask but one doesn't get happiness without having Him in the mind, happiness come when God resides in the mind, otherwise all recite His name and their mind is engaged in worldliness. In this way they neither get God nor happiness.

He said: This is the world and this world is transitory. What is this? Say Wahe Guru. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that—

Jug Supna Baji Bani, Khin Mahi Khel Khelai

Sanjogi Miii Akase Viyogi Udi Jai

Jo Tis Bhana So Thiye, Awaru Nakarna Jai

It means - Then Guru Nanak Baba Nanak ji said that Hey brothers people of Ram, this world is like dream, this game is created by God, as Bajigar create game (Baji) while playing and many people together come to see the game. When the Bajigar finishes his game, the people disperse Then as sleeping person dreams, this age is like dream, by chance mother-father, son-daughter unite, in separation they go to heaven. Man wants to have pleasure here (in this world). King and beggar both want pleasure of life. He let

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fall the person who is high make the King a beggar. He bares the money lender or make the rich people poor, let the young die, keep the old people give bad name to the good and good name to bad people. Nobody has influence on Him. If he has a power to do something but he doesn't do. It is said whatever you want to do, you have to do yourself and nothing can be obtained from others. When he can't do anything then how can he take something on him. Good or bad, he doesn't have any say in that all is done by Him (God). Whatever God has done, is right. Say borther Shri Ram Krishna, Wahe Guru.

Then the devotees requested that, Guru Baba ji, entire world is His. He is the giver. Nothing can be done without Him. In the end whom He will keep or will not keep or all people will be same. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that hey bhai people of Ram, good people, how can I know about that God. But I am telling you what I heard from Guru. Kindly listen —

Gurumukhi Vastu Vasahiye Sachu Vakhru Sachu Ras
Jinni Sachu Vanjiya Gur Pure Sabasi
Nanak Vastu Pachanasi Sachu Sauda Jis Pas

It means Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that, Hey people of Ram, the thing purchased by the Gurumukh (the people who follow Guru) what is that thing? True name is that of God, who made this bargain, they spoke truth, earned truth, they live in truth, they don't know anything except truth. Their bargain is truth, truth is entertainment, truth is the bargain and they trade in truth. He is blessed and

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his Guru is blessed, cheer for him and cheer for his Guru. When he will see the accounts of whole earth, whole earth will unite there who will have true bargain. He will make him sit with Him after recognizing, and remaining earth will be given punishment He will keep them to Himself the man will merge with God. He will unite them with Him then He will be devotee and He will be God. Say Bahiji Shri Ram Krishna Wahe Guru.

Then the devotees requested that Guru Baba Nanak ji. one is thief, one is Sadhu, one is worldly, one is happy, one is sad, why you think so much. All men are of God. He is living in all. How can they get Him. He is not living at one place He is omnipresent, how can we get Him and how can we recite His name, how can we get Him, how can we control ourselves and be satisfied. Then Baba Nanak ii said that hey Bhaiji, you asked well. He replied in Shri Rag that —

Dhatu Meela Funi Dhatu Kiyu, Sifati Sifati Samai
La! Gulal Ghebara, Sacha Rang Charai
Sachu Mele Santokhya, Han Jap Ak Bhai
Bhai Re! Sant Jana Ke Renu
Sant Sabha Gur Paiye Mukti Padarath Dhenu
"Rahau"

It means - Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that, "Hey Bhai, you are devotee of Rama, temperament meets temperament. How many types of habits are there? Habit of theft, habit of immorality, habit of greed, habit of ignorance, habit of perversity. This is nature. Thief meets thief, immoral person meets immoral person. Greedy meets greedy, perverse person

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meets perverse person, trader meets trader. Worldly person meets worldly person. Metal meets metal and servant meets servant. They talk of bargain of metal but they talk of God, they praise God on meeting the servant then how they become with praising God. They become red and of dark colour. As they praise God, they are merged in his colour or they are lost in him. They become satisfied when they recite Han-Han submerged in his love. Then they feel blessed. When they recite God's name merged in his love, then he became happy. But, hey Bhai, devotee of Ram, this creature (man) is ruin of the saints. The saints are those by whose blessings we get salvation. What is salvation? Salvation is a thing. How is that thing Salvation is God, when man gets God, he gets salvation and salvation is the name of God as Kamdhenu. Say Bhai ji Shri Ram Krishna Wahe Guru is true.

Then the devotees said that Guru Baba Nanak ji where is God's palace and how can we get God's paiace and that God how and by which thought can we get that God. Babaji kindly tell us. Then Guru Baba Nanakji said that

Uchau Thanu Suhawana, Upri Mahal Murari
Sachu Karni Dc Paiye, Daru Gharu Mahal Piari
Gurumukbi Manu Samjaiye Atam Ram Bichari

It means — Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said, it "Bhai devotees of Ram! where God resides that place is a particular place where Shri Ram ji (God) resides, where can we find it. It is said, when we remember Ram in our mind then we get Him there only. As long as we don't remember Ram, we cannot get him. How can we remember Ram in our mind. Atam Ram thinks

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that we must work truthfully. If we work truthfully then we can get God's path, home, palace. How can we work truthfully? When we meet true or complete Guru (teacher), we can earn working truthfully by listening his preachings and that complete (true) Guru make us work truthfully. Say Bhai ji Shri Ram

Trividh Karam Kamai Ahi, Aas Andesha Hoi
Kiyu Gur Bin Trikuti Chutsi Sahaj Miliya Sukh Hoi
Nij Ghar Mehal Pachaniye Nadri Kere Mal Dhoi

It means — Then Guru Baba ji said that listen Bhai devotees of Ram, the persons who earns with Trividh Karma (three types of works) i.e. works of purity (good work), royal and bad works. They have hope and doubt. This world is of three types. We cannot leave Trikuti of three qualities. But when we get complete Guru. Trikuti of three qualities is left when we get normal behaviour, then hope and doubt is removed and we get this comfort. We can leave Trikuti with the blessings of Guru, the hope and doubt of three qualities is also gone, mind went to own house with Guru's blessings. When God paid attention, all dirt is gone, person went to own home (heaven). Say Bhai ji Ram-Ram, Wahe Guru.

Then the devotees said that Guru Baba ji, how can we clean our mind, how can we pay attention to own home, how can we leave hope, how can we see own home. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that—

Bin Gur Mail Na Utare, Bin Han Kiyu Ghar Vasu
Ako Sab Du Bichariye, Awar Tiyage Aasu
Nanak Dekh Dekhaiye
Hau Sad Balihare Jasu

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It means — Then Guru Baba Nanak ji said that, listen bhai devotees of Ram, the dirt of mind (bad thoughts) are gone with the blessings of Guru, if God's blessings come to mind and we get own home. Whoever see that home (God's Dham) and show others I am all for him. If you saw that home (the home of God) and you can show it to us whatever happened, it all happened by your blessings. There is none without you. Save us. I am all for you.

Then from this side Baba prostrated before them. On the other side devotees prostrated. Devotees said that blessed be Guru Baba Nanak, blessed be Guru Baba Nanak. Guru Baba Nanak ji said that blessed be the devotee, blessed be sadhu, blessed be sadhu. Then Guru Nanak ji requested that there is no difference between you and God. If you met, he met. Bless us that we get something special with your meeting. Then devotees blessed Guru Baba Nanak ji that "your devotion will be complete and go, your panth (sect) will prosper, devotee's panth couldn't prosper in kalikal (kaliyug). Your name will spread in the three worlds i.e. people will recite your name 'Nanak' in kalikal. We bless you, your panth will prosper."

Then the devotees bid farewell and went to Satya Khand. Sat guru Baba Nanak, Blessed be Guru Baba Nanak, waheguru Baba Nanak. Order, order, order, Baba Nanak ji's order. All the sadhus ordered Guru Gobind ji. Say bhai ji Waheguru. Whoever read, listen and sing this discussion of Guru Baba and the devotees, he will get salvation. There is no doubt that he will get dham (home) of God.

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Shalok

Kukaram Kiye Haume Base, Bin Karma Bekar
Das Nanak Papi Jeev Ka, Keyu Kar Hoi Udhar
Man's misdeeds are in his mind. Without work he is useless Servant of God Nanak says how can the sinful creature (man) get peace and happiness.

Say Bhai ji Wahe guru, Dhanguru, Satguru. Ram Sat, Guru Sat, Satnam karta purukh, Satguru Prasad.

Guru Nanak Dev Ii in the court of God

Conference of Guru Baba Nanak ji (with God)

Then devotees went to God after finishing the discussion with Nanak. Then God asked from devotees that how do you like my devotees Nanak. Then the devotees praised Baba Nanak that blessed be your devotee Nanak who know your devotion. Then God became very happy. Then God called Guru Baba Nanak to his Dham (home). After saying that who attracted the devotees by singing, call that Nanak to me that he may praise me and tell others about me. Then God called Guru Baba Nanak to his Dharn and said that hey Nanak, sing my praises. Then Guru Baba Nanak said that ji, I cannot sing your praises but I recite the name of those who praise you. Then God said that sing something, Nanak, I like your singing, sing something. Then Guru Baba Nanak praised God in Rag Asa that, "your kindness"!

Sodaru Tera Keha So Ghar Keha
Jetu Bahi Sarab Samale //

What is that gate and mansion of yours, where you sit and take care of all? It means 0 God! How is your

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Dham and the door of that Dham where you sit or reside and from where you take care of all creatures and keep them united.

It means then Guru Baba Nanak requested that- 0, God! I don't know about that door through which people go to your Dham and also I don't know about your home, in which you sit and take care of all the creatures. How can I sing about you What I can sing about you as I don't know about you. But I recite the name of those persons who praise you.

Waje Tere Nad Aneke Asankha, Kete Tere Gawan Hare
Kete Tere Rag Pan Siv Kahi, Aahi Kete Tere Gawan Hare
Gawan Tudhano Pawan Pani Basantaru Gawe Raja Dharma Duare
Gawan Tudhano Chit Gupta Likhi Janani Likhi Likhi Dharam Bichare
Gawan Tudhno Isro Brahma Devi Dan Sohni Tere Sada Savare
Gawan Tudhno Indra Indrasani Badhe Devatia Dan Nale
Gawan Tudhno Sidh Samadi Andar Gawan Tudho Sadh Bichare
Gawan Tudhno Jati Sati Santokhi Gawan Tudhno Vir Karare
Gawan Tudhno Pandit Parani Rikhisur Jugu Jugu Beda Nale
Gawan Tudhno Mohania Manu Mohani Surugu Mandhi Paiale
Gawan Tudhno Rattan Upay Tere Adsadh Tirath Nale

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Gawan Tudhno Jodh Maha Bali Sura Gawan Tudhno Khani Chare
Gawan Tudhno Khand Mandal Brahmanda Kari Kari Rakhe Tere Dhare
Sei Tudhno Gawan Jo Tudhu Bhawan Rate Tere Bhagat Resale
Hon Kete Tudhno Gawan Se
Me Chiti na Awan Janu Nanak Kia Bichare

Innumerable musical instruments of different kinds are played there by many singers. Many minstrels sing praises of God in various measures and their consorts.

Water, wind, fire and the god of justice, sing the praises of God at His door. Angels, who record the mortals deeds and know how to write these, and on the basis of whose recorded accounts, the god of justice will administer heavenly justice, also sing God's praises.

Shiva, Brahama and the fair goddesses, adorned by God, sing the songs of God. Indra, sitting on his throne with deities, sings the praises of God at His gate. Persons, claiming to have miraculous powers, and saints sing praises of God in their meditation.

Continents, true and calm, saints and the fearless warriors, sing God's praises. Scholars, readers of Vedas of all ages and seven supreme sages, sing the praises of God.

Fascinating Apsaras who captivate hearts in paradise, sing the praises of God in this world and

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the nether regions. Invaluable objects created by God as well as the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage, sing His praises.

Great mighty warriors, divine heroes and four sources of creations, sing God's praises.

The continents, worlds and solar system, established by God, sing His glories God's saints steeped in the name (the home of nectar) who are pleasing to God, sing His praises.

(Satguru) Nanak says that many more, who cannot be recollected in the mind, sing God's praises.

It means — That Shri Parbrahma ji, I described those whom we can see and there are so many unseen, innumerable, unheard people who sing your praises. How can I think of them and sing about them. Many innumerable Neeldhwaj, sing your praises. These are people who recite your holy name. But you are their father, I am not able to sing your praises

Ge Tu Soi Soi Sada Sachu Mera Sahib Sacha Sachi Nai
Ge Tu Hai Bhi Hosi Jai Na Jasi Sab Rachna Jinni Rachai
Rangi Rangi Bhati Kari Kari Jinsi Sab Maiya Jisu Upai
Je Tu Kari Kari Dekhe Kita Apna Jeeu Ten Vadiyai
Jo Tudhi Bhave So Kichu Karsi Fin Hukamu Na Karna Jai
Tu So Patsadhu Patisahbu Nanak Rahnu Rajai

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God, His name and glory are always true. God, who created the creation exists and will exist forever, and will not depart when the creation disappears. God, who created MAYA, has by various ways, created the creation of different colours and kinds. After creating the creation, God in His grandeur, beholds His works.

God does whatever pleases Him, and no one can give any order to Him (Satguru) Nanak (says that) one should live subject to His will, who is the king of kings.

Then Shri Parbrahma ji became very kind to Guru Baba Nanak ji and blessed him that go Nanak, I am pleased with you. Recite my name and make other people recite my name in Kaliyug. I am always with you, say Waheguru, Dhanguru, Satguru. Then Guru Baba Nanak ji came back to this world for the welfare of this world. Waheguru, Dhanguru, Satguru.

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B14

Exh-B14

1575

Annexure No. 10

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God is one. Satguru Prasad

Shriman Tara Han Narotam

By

Shri Guru Tirath Collection

Publisher

Shri Niramal Panchayati Akhara

Kankhal

May 1975

Donation (5) five coins

C) The information about Shri Guru Tirath Sangrah (collection). He emphasized his views, it is a proposal of far reaching effect because

Jab Lag Rahe Khalsa Niyaro

Tab Lag Tej Riyo Mai Saro

Inspiring for the implementation of its theme, he expressed his strong desire to see the Sikh religion complete in every way.

Sikh intellectuals in their books, has praised the wisdom and displaying power of Shri Nirotamji, the Sikh Cult will always be incensed by the garland of homages paid in praise of pandit ii's selfless, unfathomable and difficult work.

Wishing for intellectual's blessings.

Gyani Mahinder Singh Ratan

(Sr. Budh Singh Press Wale)

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1576

May 1975

Amritsar
Shri 108 Shri Mahant Sahib

Pt. Tara Han Narottam ji
Nirmal Panchayati Akhara, Kankhal (Haridwar)

Writer: Gur Tirath. Collection

Who became successor of Shri Mahant Ram Singh ji on the suggestion of Bhakh and you were Raj Pandit of King of Patiala.
1879-1948 Vikrami

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Very good silk cloth (Reshami cloth) is made in this city.

72) Malda city — Twenty five note in the east from Makhsudabad, Gurudwara, Udasi — this city is in Bangladesh across river Ganga. Maldev Mango of Malda city are famous in all countries, it is heard that there is a Gurudwara in Rangpur on this side of Dhaka ahead of it.

73) Dhaka City — Thirty Kos from Maldal, Gurudwara2, Sikh-3 Gurudwara is in the city a mile far from 'Charan Paduka' of Guru Nanakji. It was the famous city in Bangladesh before Calcutta 4.

74) Dhobari Gram — 90 Kos far from Dhaka in Ishan 1, Damdama2, Sikh —3 Tenth Guruji was born in Patna. Guruji made Damdama by putting one-one dhal earth through the army of King Bishan Singh in Dhobari Gram near Gauripur city at the heither bank of river Brahmaputra Kamakshya Devi is in Kawaru desh at the other side of Brahamputra thirty Kos in the east from here. Its name is shown in the history 4.

75) Patna Sahib 1, Harmandir 2, Sikh 3 — kamakhshya is near Damdama after travelling.

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Guruji came here after leaving his palaces to see the situation here that if Dheermal, Ramrai is against him as before or they have forgotten the enimity.

76) Yavanpur City — Khas district 1, Accompany Mradanga 2, Sikh—3 Guruji came to the house of Gurbaksh Premi walking through kashi starting from Patna. There is more sangat of train on the river bank 4.

77) Three Kos far from Ayodhya in the east 1, Gurudwara 2,
Brahmin 3 — There is place of Guruj i near the Samadhi of Dashrath at the bank of river Saryu 4.

78) Anandpur 1, Guru's Palace 2, Sodhi 3 — When came here and saw they didn't seem to rebel. Then called his family from Patna. Tenth Guruji became five years old in Patna. Tenth Guru came to this country from Patna in Samvat 1727 in the month of Paush. In samvat 1730, Guru Teg Bahadurji get him married 4.

79) Makarapur Gram — Five Kos far from Basi in the east 1, Gurudwara 2, Masand 3 — In Samvat 1732 Guruji came here while going to Delhi in second half of month of Ashar, when Aurangzeb called him.

80) Kaboolpur, Hasanpur — Five Kos far from Rajpure in the south.

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Shri Guru Tirath Collection

Guru 10

South 1, Gurudwara 2, Bhalla 3 — Guruji came here walking from Patna and passing through Anandpur when he was five years old. He came to the same place where Guru Teg Bahadur ji was in Kashi, not in another place. Some people say that the Guruji's Bagh place is theirs 4.

5) Ayodhya — Near Vashishta Kund 1, Gurudwara 2, Nihang 3 — There he came to the birth place of his Kul's old man Ram 4.

6) Suraj Kund — One and a half Kos far from Buria in the south 1,
Gurudwara 2,0,3 — Guruji came here at Gurudwara Suraj Kund
coming through Patna Sahib 4.

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7) Lakhnur — Six Kos far from Ambala in the south 1, Gurudwara
2, Bhalla 3 — Guruji stayed with Jathe Masand coming from Patna. In this village Saiyad Bhikam Sake gram famous saint had Darshan of Guruji4.

8) Rane Majra — Ten Kos far from Lakhnor in the North 1, Gurudwara 2, Nihang 3 — Guruji went for hunting from Lakhnor 4.

9) Sular Gram (village) — Six Kos far from Lakhnor in the west 1, Gurudwara 2, Sikh 3 — Guruji came here from Lakhnor for hunting 4.

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10) Mardo Gram — Two Kos far from Lakhnor 1, Guru dwara 2, Nihang 3 — Guruji lived here in Lakhnor 4.

11) Bhano Kheni — Two Kos far from village Mardo 1, Gurudwara2, Sikh 3 — He went there from Lakhnor 4.

12) Ambala City 1 near Gurudwara Tehsil, on the bank of the pond 2, Nihang 3 — He came here to visit the city from Lakhnor 4.

13) Anandpur 1, Guru ke Mahal 2, Sodhi 3 — Guruji reached Anandpur ji walking from Lakhnor. In his palaces which were constructed by Guru Teg Bahadur ji while laying down the city. Dialect — Guru Sahib used to speak Purabi dialect.

14) Basantgarh — Six Kos far from Anandpur in the north 1, Gurudwara manji 2, sikh 3 — Guruji came for marrying wearing orange clothes from Basantgarh 4.

15) Guru ka Lahore — Seven Kos far from Anandpur in the north. One Kos far from Basantgarh in the north 1, place of marriage Basant fair 2, Sikh 3- Father of jeeto ji said, he would marry his daughter in Lahore. Guru Teg bahadurji did'nt want to go there due to increase in rebellion there. Therefore, in savat 1730 in Anandpur

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B 15

Exh-B 15

1581

Annexure No. 11

God is one! Satguru Prasad

Tawarikh

Guru Khalsa

Bhai Gyan Singh ji Gyani creator of Panth Prakash has written it after travelling across the country for twenty years.

In this creation there is true description of the life of the ten Guru
Sahibs, bravery of Banda, battle of Sikhs against enemies while
remaining united and for winning the countries, all the Kings of
Punjab and their costumes Panths, places, temples etc.

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1948 BC

Part—I

Samvat 1891

Printed from Guru Gobind Singh Press, Sayalkot under the supervision of Babu Rajinder Singh Manager, on the order of Mahant Press Singh Sahib raeese, Sardar Han Singh, Sahib Raeese Sayalkoti and Sardar Buta Singh Sahib contractor Raeese Rawalpindi.

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Shri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib

This Guru was born on 13 Posh Sudi, 7 Samvat 1723 Vikrami, year 198 Guru, year 1666 A.C, Saturday, Dhavishtha Nakshtra, at midnight in the house of Guru Teg Bahadurji, born to Mata Gujri in Patna city, in the era of Emperor Alamgir. He did such childhood pranks like Rama and Krishna, on seeing it Jagta Seth, Rahirn Khan Nawab, Shiv Dutt Brahmin, Fateh Chand Mani Khatri etc. became Sikhs. In their family they still accept him Guru.

This Guru used to play such games that making two armies of the boys at the banks of river Ganga, making them hold Neje (javelins), guns of sticks, making them parade and fight and used to hold courts like Emperors, and he himself used to shoot with bow and arrow of sticks. Later on he used to distribute pay of sweets, money and kories to the children. People used to get surprised on seeing these types of games. In Samvat 1729 Vikrami, Guru leg Bahadur ji called him to the place Anandpur in Punjab desh, then he came and stayed at Kashiji (where now Guru ka Bagh is famous) travelling through towns like Sasaram, Chapra Are, Jaunpur etc. After staying fifteen days, he visited Vishwanath, Kal Bhairav, Dhundidas etc. temples and took bath in Manikamika, Dashashavmedh, Varunasangam, Assari etc ghats and visited city Kashi Ramnagar. Starting from there after seeing the cities of Mirzapur etc he

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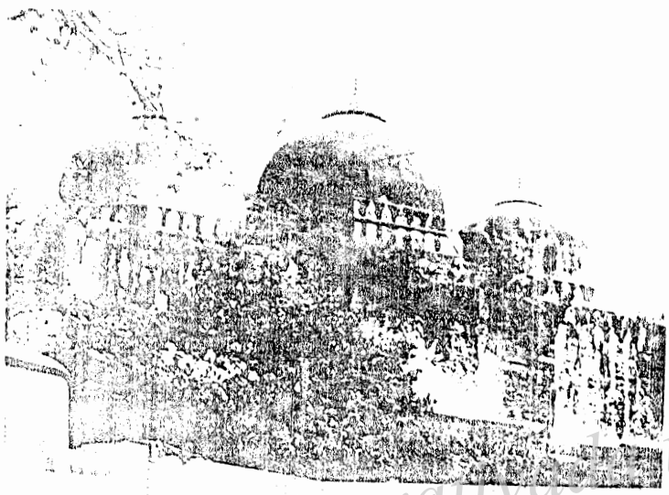
came to Ayodhya ji Vashishth Kund (Which is the home of Vashisthji and the place of worship) and stayed there. Then he saw places like Suraj Kund, Hanumangarhi, temple of Ramchanderji, Kitchen of Sitaji etc. and he took bath and donated at Sawargdwari, Guptar Ghat Sarayu. Then after going through Lucknow, Chandosi, Khurja he visited Mathura, Brindawan, Gokul because Mata Nanaki, Gujri, Maternal uncle Kripal Chand, Munshi Sahib chand, Diwan Mati Ram etc. wanted to see these cities. Then after taking bath in Haridwar he reached near Suraj Kund Karbe Buriay and stayed at the house of Jathe and Jhandu Masand in Lakhnor village near Ambala. Here a well which was underground for many days (it means for quite sometime), Mata Gujri ji uncovered it and made it work after get it repaired. Here peer said Bheekh Daske wala Alafbeen, Sarfdeen, Peer Sadore wale who came to nawab of Coat kachue after taking care in donation from their devotees. When they heard about the fame of Guruji, they came for his Darshan and after seeing him they said to their devotees that this Guru would be famous and brave.

In Samvat 1729 Vikrami on fifth of Basant Tenth Guru reached Anandpur. On hearing about his arrival, countless people came with many types of gifts, toys, weapons.

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Exh- J-1

1584



IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT ALLAHABAD
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(90)

(*nishānāshtār*) by way of . . . . .[1] Here upon the begs were summoned for a consultation and it was settled that Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and Sl. Junaid *Barlās* who in place of Jūnpūr had been given Chunār with several *parganas*, Maḥmud Khān *Nūḥānī*, Qāẓī Jīā, and Tāj Khān *Sarangī-khānī* should block the enemy's road at Chunār.[2]

(*June 2nd*) Marching early in the morning of Thursday (*25th*), we left the Sarū-river, did 11 *kuroh* (22 m.), crossed the Parsarū (Sariū) and dismounted on its bank.

Here the begs were summoned, discussion was had, and the leaders named below were appointed to go detached from the army, in rapid pursuit of Bīban and Bāyazid towards Dalmūṭ (Dalmau) :—Aisān-timūr Sl., Muḥammad Sl. M., Tūkhta-būghā Sl., Qāsim-i-husain Sl., Bi-khūb (Nī-khūb) Sl., Muẓaffar-i-husain Sl., Qāsim Khwāja, Ja'far Khwāja, Zahid Khwāja, Jānī Beg, 'Askarī's retainer Kīchik Khwāja, and, of Hind amīrs, 'Ālam Khān of Kālpī, Malik-dād *Kararānī*, and Rāo (Rāwūī) *Sarwānī*.

(*000. The march continued.*)

When I went at night to make ablution in the Parsarū, people were catching a mass of fish that had gathered round a lamp on the surface of the water. I like others took fish in my hands.[3]

[1] Hai. MS. *ferāna khānī tawābī sī bīla* (perhaps *tawābi'ī* but not so written). The obscurity of these words is indicated by their variation in the manuscripts. Most scribes have them as Chunār and Jūnpūr, guided presumably by the despatch of a force to Chunār on receipt of the news, but another force was sent to Dalmau at the same time. The rebels were defeated s.w. of Dalmau and thence went to Mahūba; it is not certain that they had crossed the Ganges at Dalmau; there are difficulties in supposing the fort they captured and abandoned was Lakhnau (Oude); they might have gone south to near Kālpī and Ālampūr, which are at no great distance from where they were defeated by Bāqī *shaghāwal*, if Lakhnūr (now Shahābād in Rāmpūr) were the fort. (Cf. Appendix T.)—To take up the interpretation of the words quoted above, at another point, that of the kinsfolk or fellow-Afghāns the rebels planned to join:—these kinsfolk may have been, of Bāyazid, the Farmūlīs in Sarwār, and of Bīban, the Jaiwānis of the same place. The two may have trusted to relationship for harbourage during the Rains, disloyal though they were to their kinsmen's accepted suzerain. Therefore if they were once across Ganges and Jumna, as they were in Mahūba, they may have thought of working eastwards south of the Ganges and of getting north into Sarwār through territory belonging to the Chunār and Jūnpūr governments. This however is not expressed by the words quoted above; perhaps Bābur's record was hastily and incompletely written.—Another reading may be Chunār and Jaund (in Akbar's *sarkār* of Kehtās).

Bāqī tashqātīār. It may be observed concerning the despatch of Muḥammad-zamān M. and of Junaid *Barlās* that they went to their new appointments Jūnpūr and Chunār respectively; that their doing so was an orderly part of the winding-up of Bābur's Eastern operations; that they remained as part of the Eastern garrison, on active service apart from that of blocking the road of Bīban and Bāyazid.

[2] This mode of fishing is still practised in India (Erskine).

(*June 3rd*) On Friday (*26th*) we dismounted on a very slender stream, the head-water of a branch of the Parsarū. In order not to be disturbed by the comings and goings of the army-folk, I had it dammed higher up and had a place, 10 by 10, made for ablution. The night of the 27th[1] was spent on this ground.

(*June 4th*) At the dawn of the same day (*Saturday 27th*) we left that water, crossed the Tūs and dismounted on its bank.[2]

(*June 5th*) On Sunday (*28th*) we dismounted on the bank of the same water.

(*June 6th*) On Monday the 29th of the month (*Ramẓān*), our station was on the bank of the same Tūs-water. Though tonight the sky was not quite clear, a few people saw the Moon, and so testifying to the Qāẓī, fixed the end of the month (*Ramẓān*).

(*June 7th*) On Tuesday (*Shawwāl 1st*) we made the Prayer of the Festival, at dawn rode on, did 10 *kuroh* (20 m.), and dismounted on the bank of the Gūī (Gūmtī), a *kuroh* (2 m.) from Māing.[3] The sin of *ma'jūn* was committed (*irtikāb qīlīdī*) near the Mid-day Prayer; I had sent this little couplet of invitation to Shaikh Zain, Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr :—

(*Turkī*) Shaikh and Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr,
Come all three, or two, or one.

Darwīsh-i-muḥammad (*Sārbān*), Yūnas-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-lāh (*'asas*)[4] were also there. At the Other Prayer the wrestlers set to.

(*June 8th*) On Wednesday (*2nd*) we stayed on the same ground. Near breakfast-time *ma'jūn* was eaten. Today Malik Sharq came in who had been to get Tāj Khān out of Chunār.[5] When the wrestlers set to today, the Champion of Aūd who had come earlier, grappled with and threw a Hindūstānī wrestler who had come in the interval. Fol. 37

Today Yaḥyā *Nuḥānī* was granted an allowance of 15 *laks*

[1] Islāmicé, Saturday night; Anglicé, Friday after 6 p.m.

[2] This Tūs, "Tousin, or Tons, is a branch from the Ghogrā coming off above Faizābād and joining the Sarju or Parsarū below 'Azamgarh" (Erskine).

[3] Kehr's MS. p. 1132, Māng (or Mānk); Hai. MS. Tālk; I.O. 218 f. 328 Bā:k; I.O. 217 f. 236*b*, Bīāk. Māing in the Sulṭānpūr district seems suitably located (*D.G. of Sulṭānpūr*, p. 162).

[4] This will be the night-guard (*'asas*); the librarian (*kitābdār*) is in Sambhal. I.O. 218 f. 325 inserts *kitābdār* after 'Abdu'l-lāh's name where he is recorded as sent to Sambhal (f. 375).

[5] He will have announced to Tāj Khān the transfer of the fort to Junaid *Barlās*.

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following leaders were appointed to bar their crossing[1]:—The Turk and Hind amirs Jalāl'u'd-dīn *Sharqī*, 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī*; Fardūn (or, Tardī *yakka*), Nizām Khān of Bāna, together with Tūlmish *Lūshay*, Qurbān of Chāk and Dawlat Khān (of Bihra's
Fol. 376b. son) Ḥasan Khān. They were given leave to go on the night of Thursday.[2]

(*iii. Damage done to the Bābur-nāma writings.*)

That same night when 1 watch (*pās*), 5 *garīs* had passed (*cir.* 10.55 p.m.) and the *tarāwīḥ*-prayers were over,[3] such a storm burst, in the inside of a moment, from the up-piled clouds of the Rainy-season, and such a stiff gale rose, that few tents were left standing. I was in the Audience-tent, about to write (*kitābat qilā dūr afātim*); before I could collect papers and sections,[4] the tent came down, with its porch, right on my head. The *tūnglūq* went to pieces.[5] God preserved me! no harm befell me! Sections and book[6] were drenched under water and gathered together with much difficulty. We laid them in the folds of a woollen throne-carpet,[7] put this on the throne and on it piled blankets. The storm quieted down in about 2 *garīs* (45 m.); the

between Lʿknū and Lʿknūr makes the movements of the rebels difficult to follow. Comment on these variants, tending to identify the places behind the words, is grouped in Appendix T, *On Lʿknū (Lakhnau) and Lʿknūr (Lakhnūr)*.

[1] Taking *guẕr* in the sense it has had hitherto in the *Bābur-nāma* of ferry or ford, the detachment may have been intended to block the river-crossings of "Sarū and Gogar". If so, however, the time for this was past, the rebels having taken a fort west of these rivers on Ramẓān 13th. Nothing further is heard of the detachment.—That news of the rebel-crossing of the rivers did not reach Bābur before the 18th and news of their capture of Lʿknū or Lʿknūr before the 19th may indicate that they had crossed a good deal to the north of the confluence; and that the fort taken was one more remote than Lakhnau (Oude). Cf. Appendix T.

[2] Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

[3] These are recited late in the night during Ramẓān.

[4] *kaghaz u ajzā'*, perhaps writing-paper and the various sections of the *Bābur-nāma* writings, *viz.* biographical notices, descriptions of places, detached lengths of diary, *tūrmārs* of Shaikh Zain. The *Tawārīkh* of 934 AH., 935 AH., and perhaps earlier ones also may be attributed reasonably to this storm. It is easy to understand the loss of *e.g.* the conclusion of the Farghāna section, and the diary one of 934 AH., if they lay partly under water. The accident would be better realized in its disastrous results to the writings, if one knew whether Bābur wrote in a bound or unbound volume. From the minor losses of 935 AH., one guesses that the current diary at least had not reached the stage of binding.

[5] The *tūnglūq* is a flap in a tent-roof, allowing light and air to enter, or smoke to come out.

[6] *ajzā' u kitāb*. *See* last note but one. The *kitāb* (book) might well be Bābur's composed narrative on which he was now working, as far as it had then gone towards its untimely end (Haï. MS. f. 215*b*).

[7] *saqarlāṭ kut-zīlūcha*, where *saqarlāṭ* will mean warm and woollen.

bedding-tent was set up, a lamp lighted, and, after much trouble, a fire kindled. We, without sleep, were busy till shoot of day drying folios and sections.

(*iii. Pursuit of Bīhan and Bāyazīd resumed.*)

(*May 26th*) I crossed the water on Thursday morning (*Ramẓān 18th*).

(*May 27th*) On Friday (*19th*) I rode out to visit Sikandarpūr and Kharīd.[1] Today came matters written by 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) and Bāqī about the taking of Luknūr.[2]

(*May 28th*) On Saturday (*20th*) Kūki was sent ahead, with a troop, to join Bāqī.[3]

(*May 29th*) That nothing falling to be done before my arrival might be neglected, leave to join Bāqī was given on Sunday (*21st*) to Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, Khalīfa's (son) Ḥasan, Mullā Apāq's Fol. 377. retainers, and the elder and younger brethren of Mumin Ātāka.

Today at the Other Prayer a special dress of honour and a *tīpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Shāh Muḥammad (son) of Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, and leave to go was given. As had been done last year (934 AH.), an allowance from Sāran and Kūndla[4] was bestowed on him for the maintenance of quiver-wearers. Today too an allowance of 72 *laks*[5] from Sarwār and a *tīpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Ismā'īl *Jalwānī*, and his leave was given.

About the boats Gunjāish and Arāish it was settled with Bengalis that they should take them to Ghāzīpūr by way of Tīr-mūhānī.[6] The boats Asāish and Farmāish were ordered taken up the Sarū with the camp.

(*May 30th*) On Monday (*Ramẓān 22nd*) we marched from the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk passage along the Sarū, with mind at ease about Bihār and Sarwār,[7] and after doing as much as 10 *kurohs*

[1] Kharīd-town is some 4 m. s.e. of the town of Sikandarpūr.

[2] or Lʿknū. Cf. Appendix T. It is now 14 days since 'Abdu'l-lāh *kitābdār* had left Tīr-mūhānī (f. 380) for Sambhal; as he was in haste, there had been time for him to go beyond Aūd (where Bāqī was) and yet get the news to Bābur on the 19th.

[3] In a way not usual with him, Bābur seems to apply three epithets to this follower, *viz.* *ming-begī, shaykhāwal, Tūshkīnidī* (Index *s.n.*).

[4] or Kandla; cf. Revenue list f. 293; is it now Sāran Khās?

[5] £18,000 (Erskine). For the total yield of Kundla (or Kandla) and Sarwār, *see* Revenue list (f. 293).

[6] f. 375, p. 675 n. 2 and f. 381, p. 687 n. 3.

[7] A little earlier Bābur has recorded his ease of mind about Bihār and Bengal, the fruit doubtless of his victory over Maḥmūd *Lūdī* and Naṣrat Shāh; he now does the

Farmūlī in conjunction with Aūd. Its estates are recorded as still in Farmūlī possession, that of the widow of "Kala Pahār" *Farmūlī*.—(*See infra.*)

The fifth instance (f. 334) connects with Aūd (Oudh) because royal troops abandoning the place Liknū were those who had been sent against Shaikh Bāyazīd in Aūd.

The remaining three instances (f. 376, f. 376*b*, f. 377*b*) appear to concern one place, to which Bīban and Bāyazīd were rumoured to intend going, which they captured and abandoned. As the table of variants shows, Kehr's MS. reads Lakhnūr in all three places, the Hai. MS. once only, varying from itself as it does in Nos. 1 and 2.—A circumstance supporting *Lakhnūr* is that one of the messengers sent to Bābur with details of the capture was the son of Shāh Muh. *Dīwāna* whose record associates him rather with Badakhshān, and with Humāyūn and Sambhal [perhaps with Lakhnūr itself] than with Bābur's own army.—Supplementing my notes on these three instances, much could be said in favour of reading Lakhnūr, about time and distance done by the messengers and by 'Abdu'l-lah *kitābdār*, on his way to Sambhal and passing near Lakhnūr; much too about the various rumours and Bābur's immediate counter-action. But to go into it fully would need lengthy treatment which the historical unimportance of the little problem appears not to demand.—Against taking the place to be Lakhnau there are the considerations (*a*) that Lakhnūr was the safer harbourage for the Rains and less near the westward march of the royal troops returning from the battle of the Goghrā; (*b*) that the fort of Lakhnau was the renowned old Machchi-bawan (cf. *Gazetteer of the Province of Oude*, 3 vols., 1877, ii, 366).—So far as I have been able to fit dates and transactions together, there seems no reason why the two Afghāns should not have gone to Lakhnūr, have crossed the Ganges near it, dropped down south [perhaps even intending to recross at Dalmau] with the intention of getting back to the Farmūlīs and Jalwānīs perhaps in Sārwār, perhaps elsewhere to Bāyazīd's brother Ma'rūf.

U.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON BĀBUR'S MOSQUE IN AJODHYA (OUDH).

THANKS to the kind response made by the Deputy-Commissioner of Fyzābād to my husband's enquiry about two inscriptions mentioned by several Gazetteers as still existing on "Bābur's Mosque" in Oudh, I am able to quote copies of both.[1]

a. The inscription inside the Mosque is as follows :—

۱. بفرمود شاه بابر که عدلش * بنایست تا کاخ گردون مُلاق
۲. بنا کرد این مُهبط قُدسیان * امیر سعادت نشانِ میر باقی
۳. بود خیر باقی چو سال بنایش * عیان شد که گفتم بود خیر باقی

1. *Ba farmūda-i-Shāh Bābur ki 'ādilash*
Banā'īst tā kākh-i-gardūn mulāqī,
2. *Banā kard īn muhbiṭ-i-qudsiyān*
Amīr-i-sa'ādat-nishān Mīr Bāqī
3. *Bavad khair bāqī! chū sāl-i-banā'ish*
'Iyān shud ki guftam,—Buvad khair bāqī (935).

The translation and explanation of the above, manifestly made by a Musalmān and as such having special value, are as follows :—[2]

1. By the command of the Emperor Bābur whose justice is an edifice reaching up to the very height of the heavens,

2. The good-hearted Mīr Bāqī built this alighting-place of angels;[3]

3. *Bavad khāir bāqī!* (May this goodness last for ever!)[4]

[1] Cf. *in loco* p. 656, n. 3.
[2] A few slight changes in the turn of expressions have been made for clearness sake.
[3] Index *s.n.* Mīr Bāqī of Tāshkint. Perhaps a better epithet for *sa'ādat-nishān* than "good-hearted" would be one implying his good fortune in being designated to build a mosque on the site of the ancient Hindū temple.
[4] There is a play here on Bāqī's name; perhaps a good wish is expressed for his prosperity together with one for the long permanence of the sacred building *khair* (*khairat*).

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The year of building it was made clear likewise when I said, *Buvad khair bāqī* (= 935).[1]

The explanation of this is :—

1st couplet :—The poet begins by praising the Emperor Bābur under whose orders the mosque was erected. As justice is the (chief) virtue of kings, he naturally compares his (Bābur's) justice to a palace reaching up to the very heavens, signifying thereby that the fame of that justice had not only spread in the wide world but had gone up to the heavens.

2nd couplet :—In the second couplet, the poet tells who was entrusted with the work of construction. Mīr Bāqī was evidently some nobleman of distinction at Bābur's Court.—The noble height, the pure religious atmosphere, and the scrupulous cleanliness and neatness of the mosque are beautifully suggested by saying that it was to be the abode of angels.

3rd couplet :—The third couplet begins and ends with the expression *Buvad khair bāqī*. The letters forming it by their numerical values represent the number 935, thus :—

B = 2, *v* = 6, *d* = 4	total	12
Kh = 600, *ai* = 10, *r* = 200	,,	810
B = 2, *ā* = 1, *q* = 100, *ī* = 10	,,	113
Total		935

The poet indirectly refers to a religious commandment (*dictum* ?) of the Qorān that a man's good deeds live after his death, and signifies that this noble mosque is verily such a one.

b. The inscription outside the Mosque is as follows :—

۱. بنام انکه دانا هست اکبر * که خالق جمله عالم لامکانی

۲. درود مصطفی بعد از ستایش * که سرور انبیائی دو جهانی

۳. فسانه در جهان بابر قلندر * که شد در دور گیتی کامرانی

[1] Presumably the order for building the mosque was given during Bābur's stay in Aūd (Ajodhya) in 934 AH. at which time he would be impressed by the dignity and sanctity of the ancient Hindū shrine it (at least in part) displaced, and like the obedient follower of Muḥammad he was in intolerance of another Faith, would regard the substitution of a temple by a mosque as dutiful and worthy.—The mosque was finished in 935 AH. but no mention of its completion is in the *Bābur-nāma*. The diary for 935 AH. has many minor *lacunæ*; that of the year 934 AH. has lost much matter, breaking off before where the account of Aūd might be looked for.

1. *Bā nām-i-anki dānā hast akbar*
   Ki khāliq-i-jumla 'ālam lā-makānī
2. *Durūd Muṣṭafā ba'd az sitāyish*
   Ki sarwar-i-anbiyā' dū jahānī
3. *Fasāna dar jahān Bābur qalandar*
   Ki shud dar dour gītī kāmrānī.[1]

The explanation of the above is as follows :—

In the first couplet the poet praises God, in the second Muḥammad, in the third Bābur.—There is a peculiar literary beauty in the use of the word *lā-makānī* in the 1st couplet. The author hints that the mosque is meant to be the abode of God, although He has no fixed abiding-place.—In the first hemistich of the 3rd couplet the poet gives Bābur the appellation of *qalandar*, which means a perfect devotee, indifferent to all worldly pleasures. In the second hemistich he gives as the reason for his being so, that Bābur became and was known all the world over as a *qalandar*, because having become Emperor of India and having thus reached the summit of worldly success, he had nothing to wish for on this earth.[2]

The inscription is incomplete and the above is the plain interpretation which can be given to the couplets that are to hand. Attempts may be made to read further meaning into them but the language would not warrant it.

V.—BĀBUR'S GARDENS IN AND NEAR KĀBUL.

THE following particulars about gardens made by Bābur in or near Kābul, are given in Muḥammad Amīr of Kazwin's *Pādshāh-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 585, p. 588).

[1] The meaning of this couplet is incomplete without the couplet that followed it and is (now) not legible.

[2] Firishta gives a different reason for Bābur's sobriquet of *qalandar*, namely, that he kept for himself none of the treasure he acquired in Hindūstān (Lith. ed. p. 206).

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for Bihār began along the bank of Jūn. After 5 *kurohs* (10 m.) done, halt was made at Lawain.[1] I went by boat. The people of the army were crossing the Jūn up to today. They were ordered to put the culverin-carts[2] which had been landed at Adampūr, into boats again and to bring them on by water from Pīāg.

On this ground we set wrestlers to wrestle. Dost-i-yāsin -khair gripped the boat[3] champion of Lāhor; the contest was stubborn; it was with great difficulty that Dost gave the throw. A head-to-foot was bestowed on each.

(*March 15th*) On Tuesday (*6th*) People said that ahead of us was a swampy, muddy, evil river called Tūs.[3] In order to examine the ford and repair the road, we waited two days (*Tuesday Jamādī-l-āk and Wednesday 6th*) on this ground. For the horses and camels a ford was found higher up, but people said laden carts could not get through it because of its uneven, stony bottom. They were just ordered to get them through.

Fol. 361.

(*March 17th*) On Thursday (*7th*) we marched on. I myself went by boat down to where the Tūs meets the Gang (Ganges), there landed, thence rode up the Tūs, and at the Other Prayer,

[1] Search, beginning on the Jumna, is now along the united rivers.

[2] *Ganīā-gāṛā*. Here the cart-barrel for carrying the guns.

[3] [illegible] particular. Bābur leaves about the 21st (14th) and Karma nasī, it would seem, did not join them till their last week, an inference supported by what is known of his movements in the year. The crossing from Gūdāra to the Kanūr passage (f. 350), there crossed the Jūn[illegible] and went to the Ganges (Ganag) (f. 352), above Qanauj bridged the Ganges, went on to Ḥājīpūr (f. 353), crossed the Gūmtī and went to near the junction of the Ghogra and Ganges (f. 355). The next indication of his route is that he is at Baksara. But whether he reached it by water down the Ghogra, as his meeting with Muh. Ma'rūf *Barmak* suggests (f. 357) or by land, is not shown. From Baksara (f. 360) he went up-stream to Ghāzīpūr (f. 365), or perhaps to Sayyidpūr, 2 m. from the mouth of the Gūmtī, and there left the Ganges for Jaunpūr (f. 365). I have found nothing about his return route to Agra; it seems impossible that he would go so far south as to near Pīāg if a more northerly and direct road to Fathpūr and Sarsī Bāburnāma may have been taken.—Concerning Bābur's acts in 934 AH., the following item, met with since I was working on 934 AH., continues its settlement (f. 338) that he spent a few days near Ūdā (Ayodhya) to settle its affairs. The *Tr. &c. of Akbarī* (H. E. Nevill) p. 173 says "In 1528 AD. Bābur came to Ayodhya (Ūdā) and halted a week. He destroyed the ancient temple" (marking the birth-place of Rāmā) "and on its site built a mosque, still known as Bābur's Mosque . . . It has two inscriptions; one on the outside, one on the pulpit; both are in Persian; and bear the date 935 AH." This date may be that of the completion of the building.—*Corrigendum*.—On f. 339 n. 1. I have too narrowly restricted the use of the name Sarjū. Babur used it to describe what the maps of Arrowsmith and Johnson show, and not only what the *Gazetteer of Oudh* map of the United Provinces does. It applies to the Sarda (f. 339) as Bābur uses it when writing of the fords.)

[4] Here the lacuna of the Haī. Codex ends.

reached where the army had encamped after crossing the ford. Today 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) were done.

(*March 18th*) Next day (*Friday 8th*), we stayed on that ground.

(*March 19th*) On Saturday (*9th*), we marched 12 *kurohs* and got to the bank of Gang again at Nuliha.[1]

(*March 20th*) Marching on (*Sunday 10th*), we did 6 *kurohs* of road, and dismounted at Kintit.[2]

(*March 21st*) Marching on (*Monday 11th*), we dismounted at Nānāpūr.[3] Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī* came from Chunār to this ground with his two young sons, and waited on me.

In these days a dutiful letter came from Pay-master Sl. Muhammad, saying that my family and train were understood to be really on their way from Kābul.[4]

(*March 23rd*) On Wednesday (*13th*) we marched from that ground. I visited the fort of Chunār, and dismounted about one *kuroh* beyond it.

During the days we were marching from Pīāg, painful boils had come out on my body. While we were on this ground, an Ottoman Turk (Rūmī) used a remedy which had been recently discovered in Rūm. He boiled pepper in a pipkin; I held the sores in the steam and, after steaming ceased, laved them with the hot water. The treatment lasted 2 sidereal hours.

While we were on this ground, a person said he had seen tiger and rhinoceros on an *ārāl*[5] by the side of the camp.

(*March 24th?*) In the morning (*14th?*), we made the hunting- Fol. 364b.
circle[6] on that *ārāl*, elephants also being brought. Neither tiger nor rhino appeared; one wild buffalo came out at the end of the line. A bitter wind rising and the whirling dust being very troublesome, I went back to the boat and in it to the camp which was 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) above Banāras.

[1] Perhaps, where there is now the railway station of "Nuliha" (I.S. Map). The direct road on which the army moved, avoids the windings of the river.

[2] This has been read as T. *Kint*, P. *dih*, Eng. village and Fr. *village*.

[3] "Nankenpur" lying to the north of Pahari railway-station suits the distance measured on maps.

[4] These will be the women-travellers.

[5] Perhaps jungle tracts lying in the curves of the river.

[6] *Qarā*, which here stands for the beaters' incurving line, witness the exit of the hunted at the end. Cf. f. 367*b* for a *qarā* of boats.

1590

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the river Sird[a?];' let His Majesty send help." We detached a reinforcement of 1600 braves under Qarácha.

(*March 28th*) On Saturday the 7th of Rajab we dismounted
Fol. 338b. 2 or 3 *kurohs* from Aúd above the junction of the Gagar (Gogra) and Sird[a]. Till today Shaikh Báyazíd will have been on the other side of the Sird[a] opposite Aúd, sending letters to the Sultán and discussing with him, but the Sultán getting to know his deceitfulness, sent word to Qarácha at the Mid-day Prayer and made ready to cross the river. On Qarácha's joining him, they crossed at once to where were some 50 horsemen with 3 or 4 elephants. These men could make no stand; they fled; a few having been dismounted, the heads cut off were sent in.

Following the Sultán there crossed over Bi-khúb (var. Ní-khúb) Sí. and Tardí Beg (the brother) of Qúj Beg, and Bábá Chuhra (the Brave), and Báqí *shaghávul*. Those who had crossed first and gone on, pursued Shaikh Báyazíd till the Evening Prayer, but he [illegible] jungle and escaped. Chín-timúr [illegible] of standing-water, rode on at mid-night after the rebel [illegible] as much as 40 *kuroh*s (80 m.), and came to where Shaikh Báyazíd's family and relations (*nisha?*) had been; [illegible] however must have fled. He sent gallopers off in all directions from that place. Báqí *shaghávul* and a few braves drove the enemy like sheep before them, overtook the family and brought in some Afghán prisoners.

We [illegible] days on that ground (near Aúd) in order to settle the affairs of Aúd. People praised the land lying along the Sird[a], 3 *kurohs* (14–16 m.) above Aúd, saying it was hunting-ground. Mír Muhammad the arrowsman was sent out and returned after looking at the crossings over the Gagar-water (Gogra) and the Sird[a]-water (Chauka?).

Fol. 339. (*April 2nd*) On Thursday the 12th of the month I rode out intending to hunt.[2]

[1] I take this to be the Kali-Sarda-Chauka affluent of the Gogra and not its Sarju or Saru one. To so take it seems warranted by the context; there could be no need for the fords on the Sarju to be examined, and its position is not suitable.

[2] Unfortunately no record of the hunting-expedition survives.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Here, in all known texts of the *Bábur-náma* there is a break of the narrative between April 2nd and Sep. 18th 1528 AD.—Jumáda II. 12th 934 AH. and Muharram 3rd 935 AH., which, whether intentional or accidental, is unexplained by Bábur's personal circumstances. It is likely to be due to a loss of pages from Bábur's autograph manuscript, happening at some time preceding the making of either of the Persian translations of his writings and of the Elphinstone and Haidarábád transcripts. Though such a loss might have occurred easily during the storm chronicled on *f.* 376*b*, it seems likely that Bábur would then have become aware of it and have made it good. A more probable explanation of the loss is the danger run by Humáyún's library during his exile from rule in Hindústán, at which same time may well have occurred the seeming loss of the record of 936 and 937 AH.

a. Transactions of the period of the lacuna.

Mr. Erskine notes (*Mems.* p. 381 n.) that he found the gap in all MSS. he saw and that historians of Hindústán throw no light upon the transactions of the period. Much can be gleaned however as to Bábur's occupations during the 5½ months of the *lacuna* from his chronicle of 935 AH. which makes several references to occurrences of "last year" and also allows several inferences to be drawn. From this source it becomes known that the Afghán campaign the record of which is broken by the gap, was carried on and that in its course Bábur was at Jún-púr (*f.* 365), Chausa (*f.* 365) [illegible] aksára (*f.* 366–366*b*); that he swam the Ganges (*f.* 366) [illegible] wed Sarún on a Farmúlí Shaikh-záda (*f.* 374*b* and *f.* 377) [illegible] ted with Ránā Sangá's son Bikramájít (*f.* 342*b*), order[illegible] ábagh laid out (*f.* 340), and was ill for 40 days (*f.* 340*b*); [illegible] say be inferred too that he visited Dúlpúr (*f.* 353*b*), recalled [illegible] ú (*f.* 339), sent Khwája Dost-i-khāwand on family affairs [illegible] ul (*f.* 345*b*), and was much pre-occupied by the

Ex J9

Ex-J9 1591

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1592

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Exh-J 10
Suit 4
1593

TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

Illegible

Page No. 71

By Mirza Rajab Ali Beg ..Petitioner

Marka A Ali

Illegible 137 Shahganj, Lucknow

The incident related to Masjid of Hanumangarhi is found in every historical book of that era either in less quantity or in excessive quantity. A small piece of paper from that book namely "Fasina E Ibrat" whose writer is Rajab Ali Beg Sarvar, which is written in year 1887, is reproduced here for the readers and for the persons for looking it in the interest of justice. Which place is

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known in Awadh as "Sita Ki Rasoi" at that place, during the period of King Babar, a Masjid namely "Rafi Usshan" was constructed and the same was constructed upto very high height and during the Kingdom of King Babar, Hindu Community has no courage to make complain against it. This Masjid was constructed in year 923 under the supervision of Sayyad Meer Ashiqan. Its history was kept there and in Darbar E Shahi, one Masjid namely "Fidani" was constructed by Khan Subedar and base of Islam was established there and there was one Tila adjacent to it. Raja Ram Chander gave that place to his friend namely Hanuman, after conquering Lanka. Now this place is called "Hanumangarhi".

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There King Aurangzeb constructed one Masjid. When Shujaudduala went in Baksar and there he was defeated in the battle field then his administration destroyed. Afterwards saints (Faqirs) came there and they started residing there. They constructed there Chabutra (Platform) and they put upon it Chhappar (Roof) and after putting an idol of "Hanuman" they started worshiping him. Afterwards, few anti social persons came there and they made to run away those saints (Faqirs) from there and this detailed description has been in the historical books and in the book (Sahifa) namely "Bahadur Shahi", its detailed description has been mentioned from year, month and

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date and any person can peruse the same. When Darshan Singh became Najim (Caretaker) of Paschim Rath, then he constructed Ahata upon the above mentioned Teela and afterwards he gave it name "Hanumangarhi". Due to the negligence of the central government, the local administration of this area destroyed and all kinds of anti-social persons started coming there and residing there and with the help of Hindu persons, above mentioned anti-social persons

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TRANSLATION FROM URDU TO ENGLISH

78-A2/28

Army told to commit murder of Muslim persons because these idle persons use to harass Hindu Community. It came to the knowledge that there every person was willing to sacrifice his life. Every person thinking that can he be able to offer more scarifies in comparison to other persons. I use to ask happily and voluntarily whether there is any other God of Yazeed? All those persons who have been murdered there, they are certainly martyrs. Because this world is perishable and it is very good to think for self respect. "Bola E Dil Ki Agle Dafa Sham Awadh Aur Subah Shahadat Mein" (My heart says that on the next time, my

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evening will be passed in Awadh and I will become martyrs in the Morning).

1273 Hijri

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Exh- J-11

EXH. J11 1599

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(a)

THE DISPUTED MOSQUE

A detailed account of the first bloody conflict over the Babri Masjid-Ramjanambhoomi issue was given by H.J. Boas. (This narrative was confirmed by Rai Mahadeo Bali, Taluqdar of Rampur in Pargana Daryabad, District Bara Banki.)[12] According to the report, the event occurred in 1853 and the cause was the recurrent disputes that had been arising for some time between the Hindu *Mahants* and the Muslims of Ayodhya over the ground on which the Babri Masjid stood. before the incident, the belief had spread among the Hindu priests that the *Janamasthan* temple had been destroyed by the Mughal Emperor, Babur, who had then had a mosque constructed in its place. Although Aurangzeb was also said to have desecrated some temples in Ayodhya had had them converted into mosques, in 1853 the *Mahants* chose to reclaim only the *Janamasthan*. The explanation of the British officials was that the mosques of Aurangzeb were not contested because they had fallen into decay and were not considered worth a struggle. The very ground on which the Babri Masjid stood was considered extremely scared by the Hindus, which is why it became an issue with the *Bairagis* at once.[13] According to Boas, the *Bairagis* easily took possession of the Babri Masjid in 1853. The

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1600

(b)

situation grew worse when one of the *Mahants* was expelled from the brother-hood. He proceeded to Lucknow where he embraced Islam in revenge. He spread the rumour that the Hindus had destroyed the Babri Masjid.

The expelled *Mahant* came in close contact with Moulvi Amir Ali in Lucknow. The Moulvi was in the capital for the renewal of the rent-free land grant made to his ancestor Sheikh Bandagi Mian, a famous Sufi saint of Amethi, by Emperor Akbar.[14] When he met the angry *Mahant*, the Moulvi had been trying to approach the royal court. He thought the issue of the Babri Masjid would enhance his status and place him in a better position to bargain for the grant.

Moulvi Amir Ali returned to Amethi and declared a *jehad* for the liberation of the Babri Masjid. He also demanded the destruction of the Hanuman Garhi. The Moulvi was popular in Ayodhya and was able to amass a well-armed force comprising largely of Muslims and some low-caste Hindus. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was disturbed to learn of the march of Moulvi Amir Ali towards

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Exh- J-13 EXH. J13 1601

Mullā *kitāb-dār* (librarian). The following quatrain, written impromptu, was sent to Shāh Ḥasan and those gathered in his house :— Fol. 237.

In your beautiful flower-bed of banquetting friends,
Our fashion it is not to be ;
If there be ease (*ḥuzūr*) in that gathering of yours,
Thank God ! there is here no un-ease [*bī ḥuzūr*].[1]

It was sent by Ibrāhīm *chuhra*. Between the two Prayers (*i.e.* afternoon) the party broke up drunk.

I used to go about in a litter while I was ill. The wine-mixture was drunk on several of the earlier days, then, as it did no good I left it off, but I drank it again at the end of my convalescence, at a party had under an apple-tree on the south-west side of the Tālār-garden.

(*June 11th*) On Friday the 12th came Aḥmad Beg and Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāī* who had been left to help in Bajaur.

(*June 16th*) On Wednesday the 17th of the month, Tīngrī-bīrdī and other braves gave a party in Ḥaidar *Tāqī's* garden ; I also went and there drank. We rose from it at the Bed-time Prayer when a move was made to the great tent where again there was drinking.

(*June 23rd*) On Thursday the 25th of the month, Mullā Maḥmūd was appointed to read extracts from the Qorān[2] in my presence.

(*June 28th*) On Tuesday the last day of the month, Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh arrived as envoy from Shāh Shujā' *Arghūn* bringing a *tīpūchāq*. After bargain made about swimming the reservoir in the Plane-tree garden, Yūsuf-i-alī the stirrup-holder swam round it today 100 times and received a gift of a head-to-foot (dress), a saddled horse and some money.

(*July 6th*) On Wednesday the 8th of Rajab, I went to Shāh Ḥasan's house and drank there ; most of the household and of Fol. 237*b* the begs were present.

(*July 9th*) On Saturday the 11th, there was drinking on the terrace-roof of the pigeon-house between the Afternoon and Evening Prayers. Rather late a few horsemen were observed,

[1] This verse, a difficult one to translate, may refer to the unease removed from his attendants by Bābur's permission to drink ; the pun in it might also refer to *well* and *not well*.

[2] Presumably to aid his recovery.

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going from Dih-i-afghān towards the town. It was made out to be Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*, on his way to me as the envoy of Mīrzā Khān (Wais). We shouted to him from the roof, "Drop the envoy's forms and ceremonies! Come! come without formality!" He came and sat down in the company. He was then obedient and did not drink. Drinking went on till the end of the evening. Next day he came into the Court Session with due form and ceremony, and presented Mīrzā Khān's gifts.

(*y. Various incidents.*)

Last year[1] with 100 efforts, much promise and threats, we had got the clans to march into Kābul from the other side (of Hindū-kush). Kābul is a confined country, not easily giving summer and winter quarters to the various flocks and herds of the Turks and (Mughūl ?) clans. If the dwellers in the wilds follow their own hearts, they do not wish for Kābul! They now waited (*khidmat qīlīb*) on Qāsim Beg and made him their mediator with me for permission to re-cross to that other side. He tried very hard, so in the end, they were allowed to cross over to the Qūndūz and Bāghlān side.

Ḥāfiẓ the news-writer's elder brother had come from Samarkand; when I now gave him leave to return, I sent my *Dīwān* by him to Pūlād Sulṭān.[2] On the back of it I wrote the following

ol. 238. verse :—

O breeze! if thou enter that cypress' chamber (*ḥarīm*)
Remind her of me, my heart reft by absence;
She yearns not for Bābur; he fosters a hope
That her heart of steel God one day may melt.[3]

(*July 15th*) On Friday the 17th of the month, Shaikh Mazīd Kūkūldāsh waited on me from Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, bringing *taṣaddūq* tribute and a horse.[4] Today Shāh Beg's envoy Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh was robed in an honorary dress

[1] *aūtkān yīl*, perhaps in the last and unchronicled year; perhaps in earlier ones. There are several references in the B.N. to the enforced migrations and emigrations of tribes into Kābul.

[2] Pūlād (Steel) was a son of Kūchūm, the then Khāqān of the Aūzbegs, and Mihr-bānū who may be Bābur's half-sister. [Index *s.n.*]

[3] This may be written for Mihr-bānū, Pūlād's mother and Bābur's half-sister (?) and a jest made on her heart as Pūlād's and as steel to her brother. She had not left husband and son when Bābur got the upper hand, as his half-sister Yādgār-sulṭān did and other wives of capture *e.g.* Ḥaidar's sister *Ḥabība*. Bābur's rhymes in this verse are not of his later standard, *āī ṣubāḥ, kūnkūlīkā, kūnkūlī-kā*.

[4] *Taṣaddūq* sent to Bābur would seem an acknowledgment of his suzerainty in Balkh [Index *s.n.*].

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EXh-J-20

1603

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

By

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M.A. (History & Sanskrit), Ph.D. (Agra)

With a foreword by

Dr. KARAN SINGH

1972

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पर्यटन तथा नागर विमानन मंत्री
MINISTER OF TOURISM & CIVIL AVIATION

FOREWORD

Kashmir is unique in many ways, as much for its extraordinary natural beauty as for the fact that it has over the last thirty centuries been the seat of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic culture. In the course of these millenia a remarkable fusion has taken place, with the result that although today the predominant religion in the valley is Islam, the tradition of synthesis and tolerance is deeply rooted among its inhabitants. This is evident not only in Kashmiri architecture, music and language, but also in the fact that many religious shrines are visited and worshipped with equal veneration by people belonging to different religious persuasions.

The recent volume seeks to study in some detail the advent, growth and ultimate decline of Buddhism in Kashmir. This is a fascinating story, which has not really received the serious attention that it deserves. I am glad that Kumari Sarla Khosla has undertaken this study, and I am sure it will be of interest to scholar and layman alike.

Karan Singh

KARAN SINGH

New Delhi,
June 1, 1972.

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1609

among the religious monuments.[77] His minister Rilhana was a pious man. He built a Vihāra at Bhalerakaprapā, in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā.[78] Sussalā must have been a devotee of Buddha as she erected a magnificient building on the site of Cankuna Vihāra for the Buddhists.[79] Jayasiṁhā adorned Bhuttapura with Vihāras and mathas[80] and completed Bijjā Vihāra.[81] His commander-in-chief's wife Cintā, built a Vihāra on the bank of the river Vitastā with five other buildings. They looked like the five upraised arms of Law.[82]

It appears from all these Buddhist monuments and from Kalhaṇa's recorded testimony that there was a vigorous revival of Buddhism in Kashmir during the reigns of Lohara monarchs. Kalhaṇa wrote Rājatarangini during this period, a work full of deep regard for Buddhism. According to Buhler's report, Jinendrabuddha a Buddhist ascetic lived during 12th century at Varāhmūlā in Kashmir.[83] The fact that Buddhism continued to flourish, more or less in a satisfactory condition in the 12th century is also proved from the discovery of an inscription by Mr. Sten Konow in the village Hadigrama in 1908.[84]

Causes of the Downfall of Buddhism in Kashmir

Internal

In Kashmir Buddhism started on its downward path as early as the 6th Century A.D. when its monks began to lead

77. *Rajat.*, VIII, vv. 2401-2402, 2433
78. *Rajat.*, VIII, v. 2410; Stein, M.A., has not been able to locate the place.
79. *Rajat.*, VIII, v. 2417.
80. *Rajat.*, VIII, v. 2431.
Bhuttapur or Bhuttapuri is situated in Muzaffar Pargana. It may be "Batpora" 79°49' 30", 34° 26' 30" Lat. Stein is not sure (Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol II, p. 458).
81. *Rajat.*, VIII, v. 2433.
82. *Rajat.*, VIII, vv. 2452-2453.
83. *Buhler's Report*, p. 73.
84. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX, pp. [illegible]
Refer Chapter VI also

the life of worldly comforts.[85] By the 8th and 9th Centuries Buddhism became so corrupt that it no longer attracted the people.[86] In the 10th and 11th centuries, the monks and nuns lost high ideals of morality.[87] The works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva bear ample testimony[88] to this state of affairs. Upto the middle of the 14th Century, the hold of Shaktism over Mahāyāna Buddhism unfortunately became tightened and the latter became foully erotic.[89] Each Dhyāni Bodhisattva began to have a consort.[90] Thus, Buddhism died away in the North. The Tantra system, a mixture of magic and witchcraft and Shiva worship was introduced into the corrupted Buddhism.[91]

External Causes

According to Chinese Buddhist scripture, king Mihirakula's (515-556 A.D.) persecution of Buddhist followers brought the end of Buddhism in the North[92] and the streams of Swat overflowed with blood.[93] He demolished 1600 topes and monasteries and put to death 9 *kotis* of adherents of Buddhism.[94]

Hindu kings of the valley after king Avantivaran (855-883 A.D.) did not show any regard for Buddhism. On the

85. Eliot, *Hind. and Buddh.*, Vol. II, p. 109;
Rajat., III, v. 12.
86. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 245-246.
87. *Desa. and Narmamala*, (Ed. by M. Kaul) Kash. Series, 1923, pp. 9-35.
88. Vide Chapter VIII of this thesis.
89. Temple, *The Word of Laila*, p. 80.
90. Temple, *The Word of Laila*, p. 88.
91. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 207;
Tibetan Tale by Schiefner, Intro. p. XI, XII
92. Beal's Catena, p. 158, fn. 3.
93. Beal's Catena, p. 139;
Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, p. 87.
94. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 288-289;
Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, p. 87.
'*koti*' is generally taken for one thousand. In Watters' letter to Rhys Davids vide *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, pp. 110-111, [illegible] Mihirkula demolished topes and Viharas. He slew Buddhist Bhikshus with a religious motive, because he was a great non-Buddhist.

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other hand, as Kalhaṇa narrates, King Kṣemgupta (950-958 A.D.) and King Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) showed great disrespect towards Buddha and Buddhist monuments.- In short Buddhism lost state patronage.

Brahmanas due to jealousy towards the growing popularity of Buddhism tried to uproot the faith from the valley. The great writers and reformers Kumarila Bhatt, Shankarachārya, and Abhinavgupta preached Hinduism. Buddhism which had lost the patronage of the kings could not stand the onslaught of these Hindu preachers.

The advent of Islam with its political dominance became a powerful cause of the fall of Buddhism.

Shah Mirza became the first Muslim king of Kashmir in 1339 A.D.[95] Buddhism was prevailing in the valley at that time.[96] During the Islamic period, Buddhism which had been so prominent a religion in the past, was crushed by some of its rulers and was left to its fate by others.[97] There is no example of any Muslim ruler of Kashmir of this time who might have appointed a Buddhist to a high position in the state service. Ali Shah is a rare example who appointed Tilakacharya a Buddhist in the highest position. He also spared a golden image of Buddha.[98] King Haider Shahi (1470-72 A.D.) cut off the arms and noses of Ajara, Amara Buddha.[99] Sikander (C. 1495-1316 A.D.)[100] is still remembered in Kashmir with horror. He mercilessly destroyed Hindu temples and images, works of art and architecture, and attempted to convert the people to Islam. Many Hindus fled from Kashmir to save themselves and their religion. Some Buddhists settled in Ladakh and hence went to China and others were converted

95. Vide Chapter V of this thesis.
96. *J.A.S.B.* Jarrett, Part I, 1880, p. 17.
97. *Jonaraja and Shrivara's Rajat.* depict this.
98. J.C. Dutt, *The Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, pp. 83-84.
99. J.C. Dutt, *The Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 195.
100. *J.R.B.S.*, 1918, p. 455.

to Islam. Those who remained in the valley were very small in number and were hated by the ruling class.[101] Buddhism seems to have vanished with the Muhammadan conquest of the land.[102]

Dr. Hoffmann says, Kalchakra Tantra, which had borrowed much from the system of Shaivism, Vaishnuvism and foreign teachings, and was the last attempt to revive the slowly declining Buddhism, could not save the religion from the shocks of Muhammadan irruptions.[103]

101. Wolsely Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 1958, p. 279-80 : D.D. Pandey, *Avadana-Kalaplata* (Churamani-Avadana), Intro., p. 1.
102. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 246 ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, 1903, p. XV.
103. H. Hoffmann, *The Religion of Tibet*, pp. 123-124. *Kalchakra Tantra*, orignated in Simbla in a country in the North beyond Jaxartes (45° and 50°). It was introduced in Central India in the last half of the 10th Century. From Central India it travelled to Kashmir and thence to Tibet (*J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) Vol. III, 1907, pp. 225-226 ; *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1992, p. 71 ; Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 126).

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As mentioned by Yuan-Chwang Buddhists constructed relic stūpas in Kashmir as well. Tooth-monastery and tooth stupa attached to Jayendra monastery,[130] and the stupa constructed by Kanishka enclosing copper-sheets having the commentary of three pitakas engraved upon them, are worth mentioning.[131] According to Sufi Muhammadens imitated this relic worship custom and enshrined the prophet's hair at Hazrat Bal. Khwaja Nur-u-din Ishbari brought this hair from Bijapur in 1698.[132]

Muhammaden Buildings on Buddhist Plinth

One important factor responsible for a marked resemblance between the Buddhist and Muslim shrines is the fact that many Muslim shrines in Kashmir were built on the site of Buddhist sacred buildings and in many cases out of the material of these buildings. Sultan Sikandar's tomb is probably erected on the plinth of a Buddhist or Brahamanical temple.[133] Zain-ul-Abdin's mother's tomb in Srinagar was originally a Hindu or Buddhist shrine. Its Muslim architect does not seem to have tampered with his art, as it is built on the lines laid down by his Hindu predecessor.[134]

130. Watters' *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 279-80.
Harsha forcibly took a 'tooth-relic' of Buddha from Kashmir and enshrined that in a Sanghārāma in Kanauj (S. Beal, Life of *Yuan-Ch.*, pp. 131, 183 quoted by R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanouj*, p. 165).
131. Vide Chapter III of this thesis.
132. Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. I, p. 55.
Hazrat Bal shrine is situated on the Dal Lake shores on the site of one of the early Mughal gardens. It was built in Shahjahan's time Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 519).
The Buddhist worship of relics though crept in India's Islam is no where so prominent as in Kashmir. Hazrat Bal is an outstanding instance. Modern India and the West, Edited by O' Malley 1941, p. 391 quoted by Sufi, Kashir., Vol. I, p. 388).
133. Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 505.
134. R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monu.*, p. 79;
Marg, Journal, March 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 68;
H.H. Cole, *Architect Buildings in Kashmir*, 1869;
Cole dates it 400-500 A.D.

The Jama Masjid of Srinagar stands on a spot which was sacred to the Buddhists, and Buddhist from Ladakh visited the site. Sometimes it was called by its old name Tsitung Tsublack Kang,[135] otherwise it is known to the Tibetans as Bodo Masjid and not Jama Masjid. A.H. Frank in his 'Tibetan Notes' states that it was formerly a Buddhist temple. As stated by him the pictures of Buddhist saints could be seen behind the white-wash on the walls.[136] Even now Buddhists from Ladakh pay their homage and offer salutations to the wall-paintings which are decayed and have become invisible. According to tradition during the days of 'Tsitsung Tsublack Kang,' nearly ten thousand monks used to gather here and offer their salutations to the paintings of Buddha. It is still sacred to the Buddhists.[137]

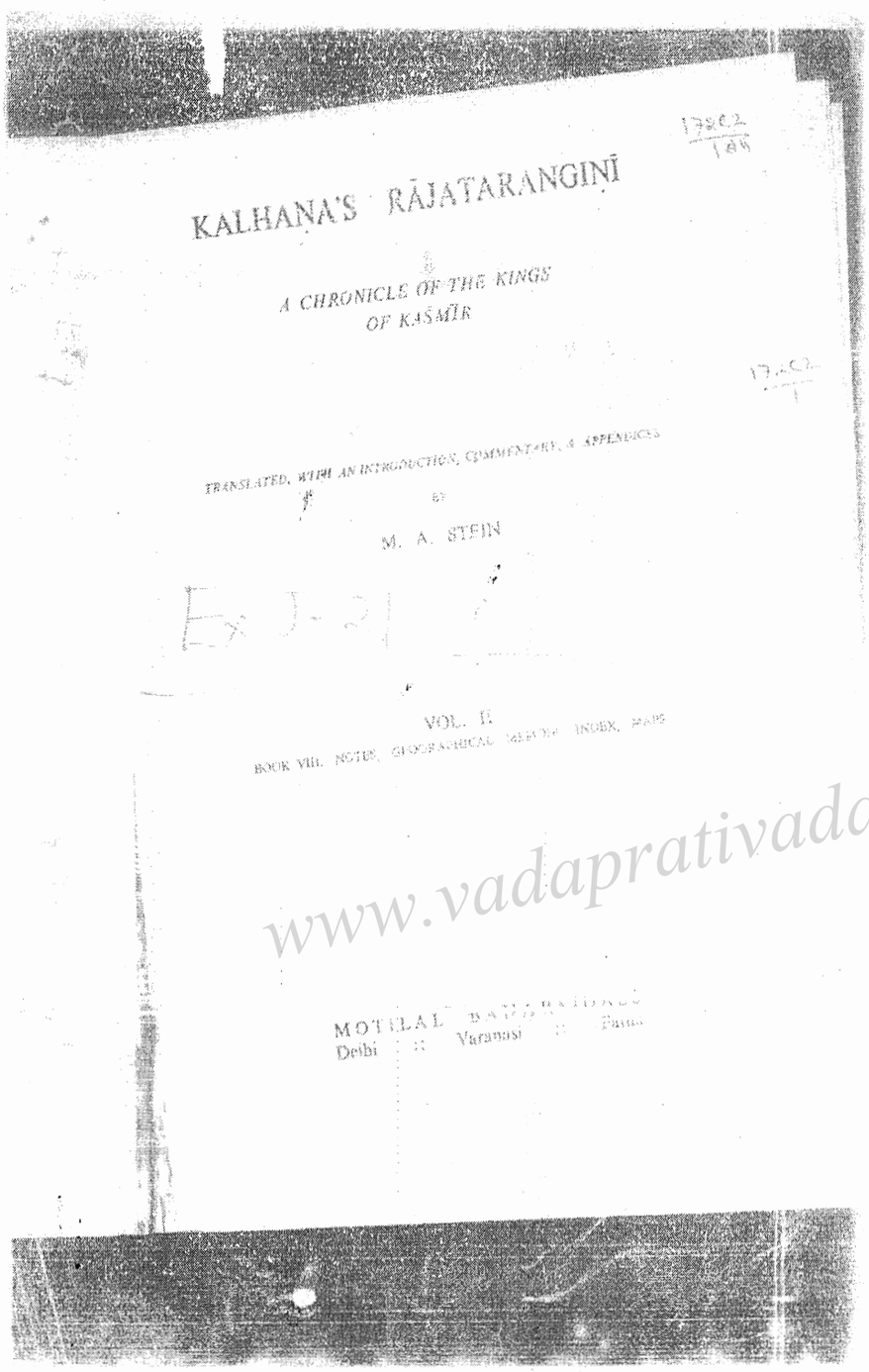
At about twenty miles from Srinagar there is a Gumpha, at present in a decayed condition. It is said to have been the cave of 'Tsitsung Naropa.' Even now Ladakhis visit it and regard it sacred.[138]

135. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290
136. The Indian Antiquary Vol. 37, July 1898, pp. 192-93;
Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 512.
'Bhod or Bhot or Bod is the name by which Tibetans call their country (Hem Chandar Banerji, *Brahmo Theism in India*, p. 52).
137. The present writer is indebted to Shri Kushak
and
138. Bakaula for this information.

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KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, & APPENDICES

BY

M. A. STEIN

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VOL. II

BOOK VIII. NOTES, GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX, MAPS

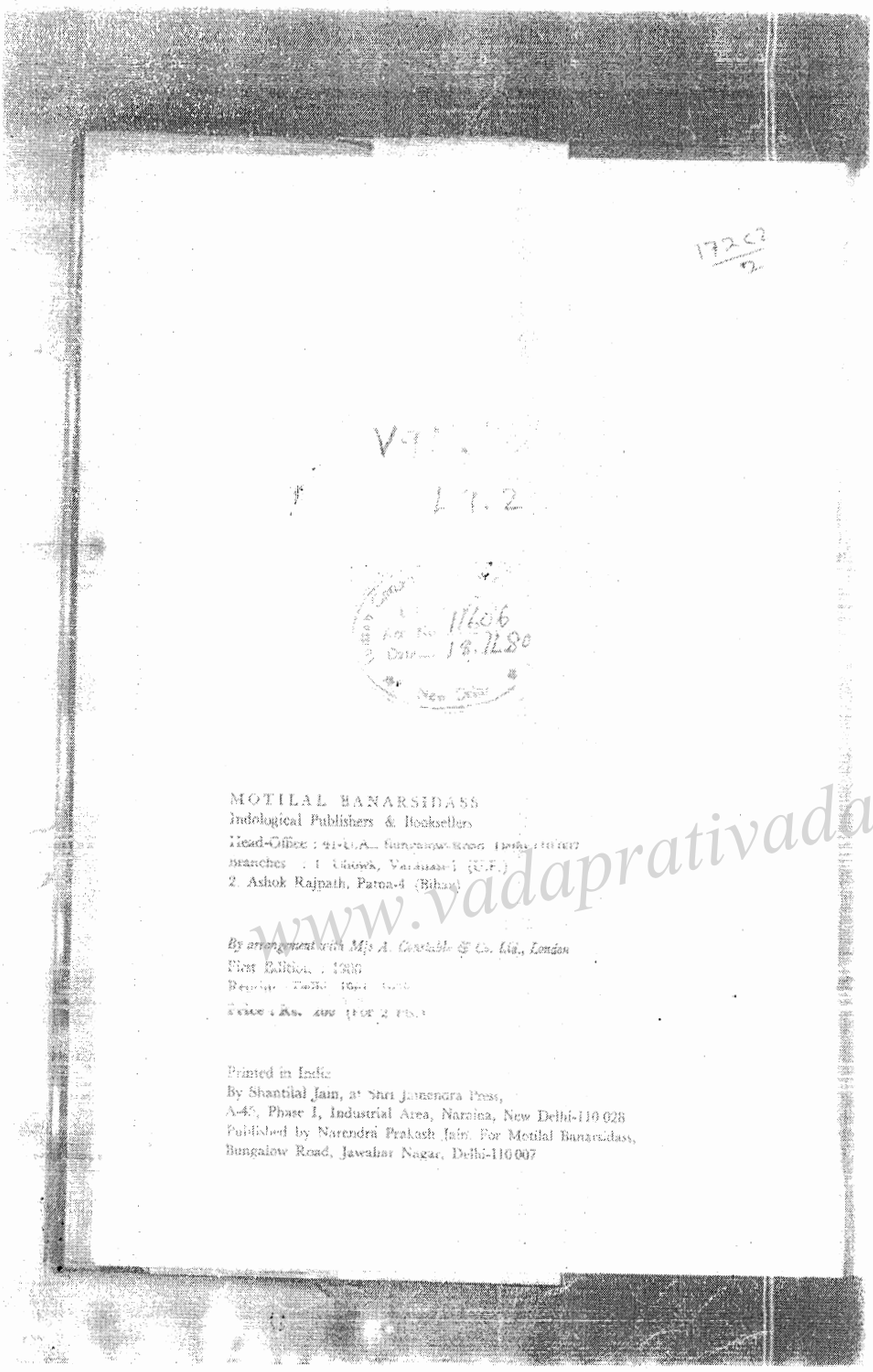
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of centuries. We do not know exactly when the extension of the city in this direction began. The number of ancient sites on this side is comparatively small. The royal road residence was transferred to it only in the reign of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). Here, too, we find a natural line of defence. It is the Kaṇḍiṭa or Kuṛhal which flows round the western edge of this part of the city and is also often mentioned in the accounts of the later sieges.

SECTION IV.—ANCIENT SITES OF ŚRĪNAGARA.

Hill of Śārikā.

95. Having thus reviewed the origin and general position of the Kashmir capital, we may proceed to a brief survey of the more important ancient sites which we are able to identify in it. We can conveniently start on our circuit from the Hill of Śārikā to which the legendary account of the city's foundation had taken us.

The goddess Śārikā which has given to the hill its name, has been worshipped since ancient times on the north-west side of the hill. Certain natural markings on a large perpendicular rock are taken by the pious as representing that kind of mystical diagram which in the Tantraśāstra is known as *Śrīchakra*.[1] This 'Svayambhū' Tīrtha is still a much-frequented pilgrimage place for the Brāhmaṇs of the City, and has been so probably since early times.[2] The Śārikāmāhātmya now in use relates that the hill was carried to its present position by Durgā, who had taken the shape of a Śārikā bird, and who used it to close a gate of hell. This legend is alluded to already in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[3]

Another ancient designation of the Hārparvat is 'Hill of Pradyumna' (*Pradyumnapīṭha, -giri, -śikhara*, etc.), often found in the Chronicles and elsewhere.[4] The Kathāsaritsāgara accounts for the origin of this name by a story which connects the hill with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna. Kalhaṇa mentions a Maṭha for Pāśupata mendicants which King Kṣemagupta built on the hill. The eastern slopes of the latter are now occupied by extensive buildings connected with the famous Ziārats of Muqaddam Ṣāḥib and Akhūn Mullā Shāh. It is probable that Muhammadan shrines have taken here the place of Hindu religious buildings, just as at so many old sites of Kashmir.

Close to the foot of the southern extremity of the hill is a rock which has from ancient times received worship, as an embodiment of Ganeśa, [illegible] of Vighneśvara. A legend related by Kalhaṇa connects the [illegible] with Pravarasena's foundation of Pravarapura.[5] From regard for the pious king the god is said to have then turned his face from west to east so as to behold the new city. The rock is covered by the worshippers with so thick a layer of red paint that it is not possible to trace now any resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced god, still less to see whether it is turned west or east. In fact, if we are to believe Jonarāja, the rock-image has changed its position yet a second time. This Chronicler relates that Bhāmaśāh from Ghakkas at the confluence of Sūraṇḍa [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

There is nothing in the Chronicles that would [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1] Compare note i. 127 regarding the worship of such figures.
Compare *Jonar.* (ine. ed.), 412, 705.
[3] See lxxiii. 167 sqq.
[4] See note iii. 460.
[illegible]
[illegible]

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of Varāha was ever fortified in Hindu times. The great horizontal stone wall which now encloses the hill and the ground beyond its foot ('Nagarnagar'), was built by Akbar,[7] as an inscription still extant over the main gate proclaims. The fort which now crowns the summit of the hill, is of even more modern origin.

Temple of Śiva Pravaresvara.

96. A short distance to the S.E. of the Bhimasvāmin rock and outside Akbar's fortress, lies the Ziārat of Bahān-d-din Sāhib, built undoubtedly with the materials of an ancient temple. The cemetery which surrounds it contains also many ancient remains in its tombs and walls. At the S.W. corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway, built of stone blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally believed by the Srinagar Pandits to have belonged to the temple of Śiva Pravaresvara which Kalhana mentions as the first shrine erected by Pravarasena in his new capital.[8]

An old legend, related by Kalhana and before him already by Bilhana, makes the king ascend bodily to heaven from the temple of Pravaresvara.[9] Bilhana speaks of the temple as "showing to this day a gap above, resembling the gate of heaven, through which King Pravara bodily ascended to heaven." Kalhana, writing a century later, also saw at the temple of Pravaresvara "a gate resembling the gate of heaven." Its broken stone roof was supposed to mark the king's passage on his way to Śiva's abode.

This tradition still attaches to the roofless stone-gate above described, which may, indeed, be the very structure seen by Bilhana and the Chronicler. As far as its architecture is concerned, it might well belong to the earliest monuments of Srinagar. It owes its preservation probably to the exceptional solidity of its construction and the massiveness of its stones. Blocks measuring up to sixteen feet in length, with a width and thickness equally imposing, were no convenient materials for the builders of Muhammadan Ziārats, Hamāmas, etc., who have otherwise done so much to efface the remains of ancient structures in Srinagar. The position of the ruins is very central and might well have been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for a prominent shrine in his new city.

Position of Bijbihāra temple.

Not far from Bahān-d-din Sāhib's Ziārat, to the S.W., stands the Jāmi' Masjid, the greatest Mosque of Srinagar. Around it numerous ancient remains attest the former existence of Hindu temples. Proceeding still further to the S.W., in the midst of a thickly-built city-quarter, we reach an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation probably owing to its conversion into a Ziārat. It is now supposed to mark the resting-place of the saint styled Pīr Hāji Muhammad. It consists of an enlarged cella of which the high basement and the side walls are still well-preserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by ornamental gateways.

The position of this shrine has suggested to me its possible identity with the ancient temple of Vishṇu Ranasvāmin which Kalhana mentions as founded by King Bandhitya.[10] This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity up to a comparatively late period. Mahākūta refers to it as an object of his father's devotion, and [illegible] in his comments on this passage quotes a Vishṇu Bhagavatīya as one of the chief shrines of Pravarapura. The evidence on which this [illegible] identification is based has been fully indicated above in note iii. 453.

[7] Compare Fourth Chron. 939 seqq.
[8] See note iii. 390.
[9] See Vikram. xviii. 28.
[10] See iii. 463 sq.
[11] See *Srikanthacar.* iii. [illegible]

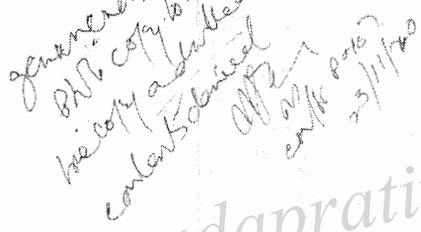
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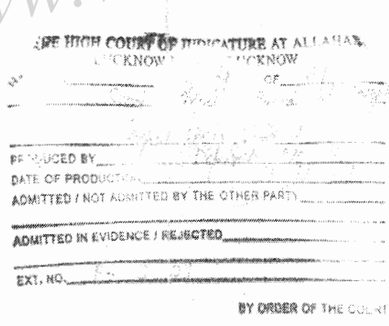
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THE

HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, TOPOGRAPHY, AND STATISTICS OF EASTERN INDIA;

COMPRISING THE DISTRICTS OF

BEHAR, SHAHABAD, BHAGULPOOR, GORUCKPOOR, DINAJEPOOR, PURANIYA, RONGGOPOOR, AND ASSAM,

IN RELATION TO THEIR

GEOLOGY, MINERALOGY, BOTANY, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, FINE ARTS, POPULATION, RELIGION, EDUCATION, STATISTICS, ETC.

SURVEYED UNDER THE ORDERS OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT,

AND

COLLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AT THE E. I. HOUSE

BY

MONTGOMERY MARTIN,

Author of the "History of the British Colonies," &c.

Volume II

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INTRODUCTION.

The present volume of the official survey of "Eastern India" includes the Zilahs or districts of Bhaugulpoor, Goruckpoor (northward division) and Dinajepoor. The particulars given of the social state of the numerous inhabitants of these fertile and important Provinces are equally, if not more valuable and interesting with those detailed in the preceding volume. There may be some individuals who cannot appreciate the merit of the minutiæ which this survey presents, but the philosophic mind will arrive at juster conclusions respecting the character and condition of the people by means of this very minute specification, than by any other mode of ratiocination. The merchant and the capitalist will be also the better enabled to judge of the capability of the country for the speculations of commerce, and the employment of capital [in particular see Dinajepoor Appendix for the monthly household expenditure of families of different ranks]—and dependent as the proprietors of the East India Company now are for their dividends on the territorial revenue of India, the circumstantial account of the rent, tenure and produce of land—and the management of public and private estates, will prove of inestimable value. Since the appearance of the preceding volume, many old Anglo-Indians have declared that this survey has presented them with a clearer view of the actual frame-work and anatomy of society in the East, than any thing they saw or heard during their sojourn

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HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.

OF

EASTERN INDIA.

BOOK II.

DISTRICT OF GORUKHPOOR.

CHAPTER I.

AREA, TOPOGRAPHY, RIVERS, LAKES AND MARSHES; MINERALOGY, &c.

The extent of country surveyed comprehends that part of the district of Gorukhpoor which is situated to the left or north of the river Ghoghra.* The greatest length of this district in a direct line from the Gandak, at Parsoni, to Nawara marsh, at Lachhipoor, and in a direction of about east by south and north by west, is 151 miles; and the greatest breadth, crossing the above line at right angles, from Kamingong on the Ghaghra to the hills some miles east from Butaul, is 93 miles. The southern corner, at the junction of the little Gandaki with the Ghaghra,† according to Major Rennell, is in 26° 8′ north latitude; according to the map constructed by my assistants its northern extremity, near Butaul, extends almost 1° 30′ farther north. Its eastern extremity, on the great Gandaki, according to Major Rennell, is 8° 46′ west from the meridian of Calcutta; and, according to my map, it

* Dr. Buchanan found that the north component of the river [illegible] three miles—that it was not merely separated by a great river, but also [illegible] considerably in physical aspect, climate, &c. It was not surprised Major Rennell, and but very imperfectly known. Even Dr. Buchanan could not define its boundaries with precision.—[Ed.]

† This river is now usually written Gogra.

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extends 2° 22′ further west. By tracing the boundaries on the map last mentioned, the space, of which I am now giving an account, extends to 7438 square British miles, besides the lands usurped by Gorkha, about 1200 square miles. It may be necessary to give the following observations of Dr. Buchanan on this district:—

"With regard to the statements of the various kinds of soil I have followed what was said by the natives, whom I consulted, having no reason to think that it was materially erroneous; nor can a traveller, in passing through the country, judge accurately on this point. The statements given by the natives concerning the extent of cultivation, owing to the nature of the management employed in collecting the revenue, I have considered as much more liable to doubt; and it must be observed that, contrary to what I expected, the owners of the land appeared to me often to represent their estates much better cultivated than they really are, with a view, I suppose, of obtaining immediately a permanent settlement. The statements again given by the officers of revenue I consider as liable to very numerous objections. They are said indeed to be founded on what are called measurements; but I am assured by authorities which I am inclined to believe, being that of several of the persons employed, that these measurements were in general mere conjectures, in which the judgment of the surveyor was liable to be strongly biased by money received or in vain demanded. In general, therefore, I have followed my own conjectures, formed in carefully traversing the country. Where there were places that I could not conveniently see, and which I had reason to believe were in a state different from those that I examined, I have made allowances; but of course my conjectures are liable to considerable uncertainty."

Soil.—The extent of barren land, absolutely unfit for cultivation, is small: there are few or no ravines, and hills only occupy 16 square miles. Land containing soda is considered barren, although this is by no means the case, as I have remarked in Behar. It is, however, chiefly fitted for the cultivation of rice in the rainy season. In the dry, the soda being allowed to effloresce, no doubt checks every kind of vegetation. Calcareous nodules never here infect the soil, as, so far as I know, they are found only in the beds of rivers. In the bottom of wells, and in the rivers near the hills, there are often found gravel and small stones; but, except on the very roots of the hills, these never appear on the surface, nor interfere with the husbandman.

There are here two kinds of a strong free soil. The one containing little sand; and its clods, when dry, are exceedingly hard, so as to build good walls if sheltered from the rain; but when moist it possesses little or no tenacity. It very quickly parts with moisture, consisting of a dry clay mixed with sand, so that the crops, which grow on it in the dry season, require much watering, and the pasture burns up soon after the ceasing of the periodical rains. It is, however, far from being a poor soil, as, when watered, it not only gives heavy crops, but is much less readily exhausted by repeated cropping than any other soil in the district. In the places where fallowing is best understood, it produces from eight to ten years after a fallow of two years, and for the first three gives annually two crops; while the fine free vegetable mould requires two or three years fallow after three years of cultivation. The soil in question is also more favourable for plantations, and produces very stately trees. There is a great deal of a rich vegetable mould, which is very retentive of moisture, so as to produce some verdure even in the worst seasons, and to yield crops of wheat and barley without irrigation, although by this operation the crops are always considerably improved, except in inundated lands, where the trouble is unnecessary. This soil seems to be a favourite residence of earth worms (*Lombrici*), which in waste fields raise it into little heaps, a foot perhaps high and three or four inches in diameter, that often cover the whole surface, and render travelling on it exceedingly troublesome. This rich mould is seldom covered with forests, and in a state of nature seems chiefly productive of long coarse grass or reeds, which, if burned in February, send forth fine tender shoots in the heats of spring. There is much clay land, which in general is almost as retentive of water as the fine vegetable mould, and indeed the two run into each other, the stiffer kinds of vegetable mould being often called clay. The clay is more favourable for the production of trees than the free mould is, and many forests grow on this soil. No soil of a red colour was observed on the surface, although earths of this kind may be procured by digging.

Elevation.—The only elevation which can be called a hill is Maddar, a corner of the Himadri mountains, or Lmodus, which for some way form the northern boundary of the district, and send this corner through a [illegible] to the bank of the Gandaki. Maddar, although it has a plain to the north and south, is connected with the great mass which

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flatness of the country, the rain is long running off, so that many parts during the periodical rains are covered with water, which I have not included among the inundated lands. The low lands here are perhaps not so rich as those on the banks of the Ganges in Shahabad; but still are very valuable, and, as in all cases they require less trouble, and in many, none for their irrigation, they are better cultivated, although their crops are more uncertain than those on the higher lands. The difference in the proportional extent of cultivation in the two kinds of land, is in fact much greater as the whole occupied lands in the inundated parts consist of fields; while a very large extent of the high lands, there stated to be occupied is wasted in plantations, which have been so much multiplied, that the greater part of their produce is no longer saleable. In the inundated lands, where the soil is clay or vegetable mould, no crops require artificial irrigation; but where they are of an arid nature, wheat and barley require this assistance, although some other crops thrive without such an expense.

In the lands exempt from regular inundation, winter crops are always the better of artificial watering; although, where the soil is retentive of moisture, this operation is sometimes neglected, even with wheat and barley, and is never given to Chana; but where the soil is not retentive of moisture, watering is indispensable for everything.

This high land is divided into three stages, which in fact depend chiefly on their elevation, although their distance from the respective villages, to which they belong has also some effect. The villages are always in fact built in high places, and each usually occupies the highest spot that is near the centre of its territory. The land nearest the village, and therefore the highest, usually extends from the village 4 or 500 yards, and receives the chief attention of the inhabitants; and being generally more or less manured, and carefully watered, usually gives two crops in the year. The lands next to these generally produce only one crop, either of such kinds as are reaped in summer, or spring. The most remote and lowest lands are cultivated with winter rice, on which no great pains are bestowed, or with some kinds of pulse, that require still less trouble.

Although most of the inundated land is near the Ghaghra and Gandaki, it must be observed, that in the southern part

of the country there is very little rice, while towards the hills this grain forms the principal crop. The reason of this is, that the inundated land is chiefly fitted for the crops, which are sown after the waters retire, and that the higher land intermixed with it rises into little swells, which for the cultivation of rice would require reservoirs, such as are used in Behar and Shahabad, none of which have been here constructed, while the lands towards the hills are so very level, that the rain-water does not run off until the crop of rice has time to ripen.

Rivers.—In treating of the rivers of this district, I shall first describe the Ghaghra, then the Rapti, then the lesser Gandaki, and finally the larger Gandaki.

Ghaghra.—The accounts of the great river, which passes the ancient city of Ayodhya, that I have received, differ not only very much from the maps of Danville and Rennell, but disagree very much among themselves. The confusion is increased to the most perplexing degree by very different names being not only given to different parts of the same river; but even the very same portion by different people and tribes is called by different names. Finally the native maps, that I have received of the country; through which the remote branches of this river flow, are more imperfect than those of the country either to the east or west, so that what I have to advance on the subject is liable to great doubt; but as the information, if true is curious, I think, that until more accurate information is obtained, it should not be neglected.

At the city of Ayodhya this great river among the Hindus is usually called Sarayu (Soorjew, Rennell), and this name is in use in their sacred language; but by the Muhammedans it is called Ghaghra, from the Sangskrita word Gharghara. This name Mr. Gladwin (Ayeen Akbery) wrote sometimes Gelgher, sometimes Goghar; and Major Rennell writes it Gogra. The mountaineers from the east side of this river assure me, that neither name is known on the hills, and that the Sarayu celebrated in their legends is formed by the junction of the Bheri river, which I take to be the Soorjew of Major Rennell, with the Karanali Salasu, or Sanbhadrik, which is no doubt the Gogra of that eminent geographer, at the remarkable mountains emitting flame at Dulubasandra are situated near its bank. The inhabitants of the low country also in general

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agree with Major Rennell, in calling the eastern branch the Sarayu, and the western the Ghaghra, but the western branch which they mean, is quite different from that on which Dulubasandra is situated, and at any rate its principal branch on the mountains is the Kalinadi. Both these authorities therefore, that is, the mountaineers east from the river, and the people of the low country agree, that a great river coming from the west, and named the Ghaghra, unites with the Sarayu, coming from the east, and that this latter among the Hindus is considered as the principal river, and communicates its name to the united stream, while the Muhammedans adopt the opposite opinion, and continue the name Ghaghra to the river at Ayodhya. A learned and intelligent Brahman, however, Hariballabh of Kuman, from the mountains on the west side of the river, and perfectly acquainted both with the country and the legends, says, that the names Sarayu and Ghaghra are applicable to the same river, through the whole length of its course. That it rises by two petty sources in the Pergunahs of Karuvirpoor and Dunapoor, on the hills north from Almorha; but far removed from the snowy peaks of Emodus. These two torrents uniting at Bagheswar form the Sarayu, which continues to run east, receiving the Panar a small channel producing gold, and the Ramagangga of considerable size. Some way east from the junction of the latter, the Sarayu receives a river much larger than itself, which rises from the perennial snows of Emodus, and is called the Kalinadi. The united stream is the Sarayu, or Gharghara, and passes south-westerly towards the plains, nor does my informant know more of its course; but, that it passes by Ayodhya to join the Ganges at Dadri, he has learned from legend.

The account of the most intelligent boatmen that I could procure at Ayodhya, is as follows. The boats which load timber, can proceed no higher up the Ghaghra than Mundiya ghat, which is in the Bareli district, about 18 coss, or 27 miles, road measure, from Pilibhit. The channel is there very wide, but the stream is not large, and is not above two cubits deep. The territory of Gorkha commences about seven or eight coss from Mundiya, at a large forest named Langgar, from which much timber comes. About twelve coss below Mundiya the Ghaghra receives from the mountains a branch

called Neaula, down which much timber comes from the territory subject to Gorkha. Twelve coss lower down, it receives the Kauriyar, and immediately below its mouth a third named the Geruya enters. Timber is brought down both these rivers, and on the latter, in the dominions of Gorkha, are two great forests, Amba and Palamu. I suspect, that the Kauriyar and Geruya, and perhaps even the Neaula are only different mouths of the same river, which in the mountains is called Setigangga, or the white river.* The Hindus have given the preference to the Sarayu, which is said to be the smallest, nor is the larger branch any where fordable below the mouth of the Bhakosa. The united channel begins to form the boundary between this district and the territories of the Nawab Vazir, just at the city of Ayodhya, where its channel and stream seem fully larger than that of the Ganges at Chunar. For about 18 miles below Ayodhya its width is from one to three miles, as it surrounds two very large islands, the property of the upper of which is disputed by the landholders of the two governments; but the lower is the undisputed property of the Muhammedan prince. About ten miles above where the Ghaghra comes to be the boundary, it sends off a channel

* Dr. Buchanan adds in a note his reasons, namely, that "between the Neaula and Geruya is a town named Bharthapoor, no doubt the Bartapour of D'Anville, who makes the three rivers form an island; nor, so far as I can learn, is there any other considerable river in the mountains between the Sanbhadrik, on which Dulubassandra is placed, and the Kalinadi or Ghaghra. The illustrious French geographer, indeed, places Dulubassandra on the same river with Bharthapoor, but all the natives of the hills, whom I have had an opportunity of consulting, allege, that in this he is mistaken. About six coss north from the mouth of the Geruya, is a town named Padnaka, belonging to Gorkha. These three rivers enter the Ghaghra in the Company's district of Bareli. About 27 coss below the mouth of the Geruya, and in the territory of the Nawab Vazir, the Ghaghra receives the Bhakosa; and in the same territory, about 23 coss above Ayodhya, it receives the Sarayu of the eastern mountaineers and lowlanders, as well as of Danville and Rennell. This river, as I have already mentioned, is said to be formed by the union of the Sanbhadrik and Bheri, an account of which will be found in the appendix. Below the junction of this river it is universally agreed among the Hindus, that the name of the river is Sarayu. With the Muhammedans the western branch, for communication to the united stream the name by which it is usually known among the lowlanders, as it was this branch."

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merely called the Sota, or branch, which runs parallel to the main river for above six miles, forming for more than four the boundary between the two governments, when it joins the Teri river. I crossed this branch on the 11th of December, where it was about a quarter of a mile wide, and perhaps a fourth of the channel might be covered with water knee deep, but nearly stagnant.

The Teri comes to the boundary of this district, about 14 miles from where it receives the above-mentioned branch of the Ghaghra, and at the boundary receives from the north-west a marshy channel called the Nawara jhil, which forms the boundary for about four miles. The united channel called Teri is inconsiderable, and winds much, partly along the boundary, and partly on both sides of it, until about four miles from where it receives the branch of the Ghaghra called Sota. It there joins with a similar branch of that river called Bhagala, which for some way serves as the boundary. The united channel is called the Teri. On the 11th of December I found it about 200 yards wide, and one half of the channel was covered with water knee deep, and having a pretty strong current.

About half a mile below the junction of the Teri with the branch of the Ghaghra called Sota, it receives from the north a small river called the Nakaha, which has a very short course of about three miles; but in the beginning of December contains a small stream. Immediately before it joins the Teri, it receives a rivulet, which has a much longer course than itself; but contains less stream, and has no proper name, but at Nawabgunj is usually called the powder-magazine rivulet (Barudkhana nala) from a building of that kind erected on its bank by the Nawab's father. Its stream at Nawabgunj is very inconsiderable, but further north it enlarges into many long, wide, and shallow pools, filled with aquatic plants, and called Uttara ganggu, or the northern river. It commences by receiving the drainings from a kind of lake in the form of an horse-shoe, which is called the Parbati jhil. This again communicates with another similar lake called the Ayangga jhil, by a drain, which receives a little rivulet called Chiriyahagina. Parbati also receives the drainings of another kind of lake called Mahadeva jhil, which receives two rivulets. All

these branches of the Nakaha are of the utmost importance to agriculture, containing, so long as is requisite, a large supply of water very near the level of the fields.

About two miles below the mouth of the Teri, the Ghaghra receives a small river named the Ghaghuya nala, or nara, as the word is here pronounced. This has a course of four or five miles, and is the drain from a large piece of water or jhil, which goes by many names after the different villages on its bank. Both this piece of water, and the Ghaghuya, which drains from it, are of great use to the farmer. Below the mouth of the latter, the Ghaghra sends off a small branch or Sota, which has no peculiar name, and its course is not two miles in length.

After passing the two large islands below Ayodhya, the Ghaghra, for about 80 miles in a direct line to the mouth of the Rapti, has no interruptions of that kind, and is a clear channel usually about ½ of a mile wide. In two places, however, it sends off narrow branches called sotas, which, after short courses, rejoin the river, and are of no use to agriculture, but to a good deal of harm by cutting the fields. It would seem, however, very practicable to shut their ends, so as very soon to obliterate their channels. One of them separates from the river about two miles below the lower island, and rejoins it about four miles lower down. The other separates about nine miles above the mouth of Rapti, into which it falls a few hundred yards above the junction with the Dewha.

About 14 miles above the upper end of the latter, the Ghaghra is joined by the Koyane (Quannah R.), a fine little river, which with its numerous branches fertilizes all the south-eastern parts of the district, and which shall be now described. It reaches the boundary of this district about 13 miles west from Dumuriyaganj, and for between 9 and 10 miles forms the boundary between the dominions of the Company and those of the Nawab Vazir. It there sends to the south a small branch named the Jehuda, which joins the Bisui after a course of about three miles, its whole length forming the boundary between the two governments. This boundary then ascends to the north-west along the Bisui for about 20 miles.

The Bisui in the upper part of its course is nearly as large as the Koyane, and is entirely in the country of the Nawab.

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After it receives the Jahada, its remaining course of five or six miles is entirely through the Company's territory. In this part of its course it has a channel perhaps 50 yards wide, and in the end of December contains a narrow but rapid stream about three feet deep. Although it contains many aquatic plants, especially the Valisneria spiralis, it is perfectly clear. It would at all seasons be difficult for loaded cattle to pass in any part. A little before it joins the Koyane, it receives from the south-west a small stream called the Batparoya, which has a course of four or five miles.

The Koyane, before it receives the Bisui, is a similar channel and stream, but this is a little wider and deeper, nor without boats or bridges would it be at all practicable for loaded cattle. A little below the junction of the Bisui the Koyane receives from the north-east a rivulet called the Bengwora, about the same size with the Batparoya. It is a small muddy channel, which in the end of December I found nearly dry. Below this the Koyane in the beginning of January contained a fine stream, which I could not cross on an elephant without boats.

About 18 miles below the junction of the Bisui the Koyane is joined by the Rawai, which rises near Lalgunj, and has a course of about 22 miles in length. About five miles from its mouth it sends to the left a branch named the Majara, which, after receiving a rivulet named Gehadi, joins the Koyane about two miles higher up than the main stream of the Rawai. This latter is about 50 yards wide, but in the end of November the stream is not more than 12 or 15 feet broad, although it is clear and rapid. From the marks it has left, it would appear to swell enormously in the rainy season. Between the two mouths of the Rawai the Koyane receives from the north a rivulet called the Manari, which, although small, is very useful to the farmer; as its water is near the level of the fields, and is collected by dams, affording a plentiful supply in December and January.

About four miles below the mouth of the Rawai the Koyane communicates with one of its branches named the Kathne, by a channel named Sahiyabahiya, which is eight or nine miles long, and forms the boundary between the divisions of Basti and Sanichara. The Kathne rises in the northern part of the division of Basti, and, after a course of 10 or

12 miles to the south-east, swells out into a kind of marshy lake five miles in length. Below this its channel is contracted, and in January is nearly stagnant but deep. This, however, is probably owing to dams thrown across, partly for irrigation, partly for catching fish. As these dams are mere mounds of earth, its stream even in the rainy season cannot be very considerable, but on that account it is the more valuable, as it is near the level of the country. Where the stream is rapid, as in the Koyane, it forces its way into the soil so far, that the raising it for irrigation is attended with much labour. A very little below the mouth of the lake the Kathne communicates with the Koyane by the channel named Sahiyabahiya, which has been already mentioned; and after that has an uninterrupted course of about 16 or 17 miles, when it entirely joins the Koyane.

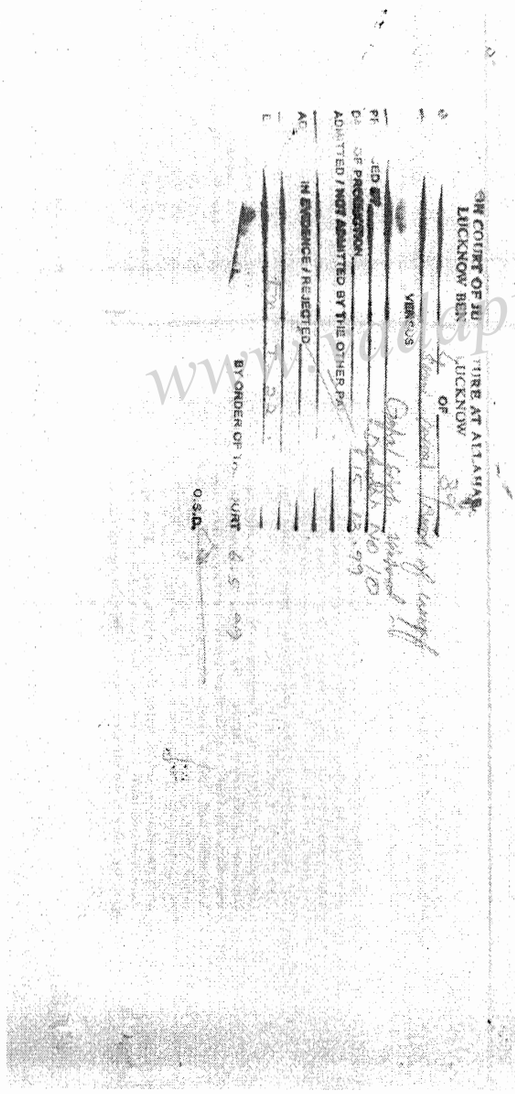
About 11 miles above the mouth of the Kathne, and 10 below the separation of the channel called Sahiyabahiya, the Koyane receives from the right a river named the Manaura or Manorama. This enters the western boundary of the district from the territories of the Nawab Vazir, and about five miles from thence passes Manikapoor, where it is a small channel, in which the water is collected for irrigation by dams of earth. About seven miles south-east from Manikapoor it is joined by a very inconsiderable rivulet named Sajai, which has a course of about 14 miles of length, but in the dry season may be passed without notice.

Nearly opposite to the mouth of the Sajai the Manaura receives the drainings of two extensive marshy lakes named Dinnagar and Payer. About three miles lower down it receives a stream fully as large as itself, which comes also from the territories of the Nawab Vazir, and for about four miles serves as a boundary, while it has a course of about 14 miles entirely within this district. It is highly useful to the farmer, admitting of having its water collected by mounds of earth, and affording a plentiful supply in December and January.

After receiving the Channai the Manaura passes south-east for about 20 miles through the centre of the Khanariya division. In this part of its course it is in general about 20 yards wide, and full of weeds, but rather deep, and cannot be forded except at some parts, where it is usually wider: at Koraiya Ghat the ford in the beginning of December was

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EXH-J-23

HISTORY OF INDIA UNDER BABER

By

WILLIAM ERSKINE

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NOTICE.

THE work now published occupied the attention of the late Mr. Erskine, as he mentions, through many years, being pursued with that carefulness and deliberation, with that anxiety to be accurate, which characterised all his literary labours: the object he had thus perseveringly in view is sufficiently explained in the following preface, which he himself prepared,—that of constructing the history of some of the most important periods in the annals of India on a wider and more comprehensive basis than the sole authority of the compilation of Ferishta, to which, almost exclusively, European writers had hitherto had recourse. That more ample materials existed for the elucidation of Indian history in all its stages,—materials even more abundant than those employed by Ferishta,—Mr. Erskine's studies made him fully aware; and his thorough acquaintance with the language of the authorities that were available enabled him to derive from them all the information they were calculated to afford. The consequence has been the present authentic record of an interesting and important period of Indian history.

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BOOK III. territories of Siláh-ed-dín, also a Rájpút; and, after he had conquered them, to complete his operations by marching at once against Rána Sánga himself by Cheitúr. But the unfavourable news from the East interfered with these intentions. He therefore resolved to leave Ahmed Shah (the prince whose claims to Malwa had been supported by Sultan Ibráhím, and whom Báber now found it convenient to patronise,) in possession of Chándéri, with an auxiliary force of two or three thousand Chaghatáis and Hindustánis to maintain the country; and himself to direct his march without delay, to restore his affairs beyond the Ganges.*

A. H. 934. A. D. 1528.

Death of Rána Sánga.

It must have been soon after these events that the life of Báber's great opponent Rána Sánga came to a close. The account given of his death, like the story of his life, is mixed with something of the romantic and marvellous. It is said, that, having laid siege to Irej †, a town which had declared for Báber, one of the sages of ancient days ‡ appeared to him in a dream, under a terrific form, and with a menacing demeanour; that the Rána arose from his troubled sleep, trembling and shivering; that a violent fever succeeded; that he raised the siege, but died in his retreat; having survived the vision but a few days. His death, and the internal feuds that followed in Cheitúr, relieved Báber from any apprehensions of danger from that quarter. §

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 60. It is at this period that Ferishta and Khâfi Khan (*ib.* 86.) place the surrender of the important fortresses of Raisen, Sarangpúr, and Rantambór to Báber; who, it is said, gave them over to Ahmed Shah. The real history of the acquisition of Rantambór, which, at this time, was in the occupation of Ráná Sánga, is given in a future page. It does not appear that Báber ever possessed either of the others.

† Or Erich.

‡ Perhaps one of the Ríshis.

§ Akbernáma, *f.* 52. v. Abulfazl makes Rána Sángs's death precede the fall of Chándéri, which does not agree with Báber's narrative. It probably took place soon after he had marched to the eastward. Báber, in his diary, 14 Moharrem, A. H. 935 (29 Sept. 1528), mentions that Ráná Purtoul had succeeded his father, and that Bikermájit, his next brother, was in Rantambór. Mem., p. 285.

CHAPTER III.

BÁBER'S CAMPAIGNS ON THE GANGES.

BÁBER MARCHES TO THE EAST — PASSES THE GANGES AT KANÁUJ — DISPERSES THE ARMY OF BABAN AND BAYEZÍD — RETURNS TO AGRA. — TRANSACTIONS IN KHORÁSÁN. — INVASION OF THE UZBEKS. — OBEID KHAN BESIEGES HERÁT. — THE SHAH DEFEATS AN UZBEK ARMY — RAISES THE SIEGE OF HERÁT — ADVANCES TO MESHHÍD — DEFEATS THE UZBEKS WITH GREAT SLAUGHTER. — TEMPORARY REVIVAL OF BÁBER'S DESIGNS ON SAMARKAND — BALÚCH INROADS. — THE EASTERN AFGHÁNS ACKNOWLEDGE SULTAN MAHMÚD LODI. — RAPID INCREASE OF HIS POWER. — THREE COMPETITORS FOR THE EASTERN KINGDOM. — BÁBER TAKES THE FIELD — DISPERSES THE AFGHÁNS — OVERRUNS BEHÁR. — AFFAIRS OF BENGAL. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THAT POWER. — BÁBER ATTACKS AND DEFEATS THE BENGAL ARMY. — SUBMISSION OF THE AFGHÁNS. — PEACE WITH BENGAL. — BÁBER RETURNS TO AGRA.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1528. Báber marches to the East. A. H. 934. Jemádi I. 11. Feb. 2.

BÁBER, having brought the war of Chándéri to a conclusion, lost no time in marching to meet the danger that threatened him in the East. Having repassed the Jamna, he proceeded without intermission towards Kanáuj. On the road, he learned that his suspicions of Sheikh Bayezíd's fidelity had not been unfounded. That chief had joined Baban and Maarúf, the leaders of the revolt, with his whole army; so that Báber's troops had been compelled to retreat across the Ganges, to evacuate even Kanáuj, and to fall back on Ráberi, — movements that had enabled the enemy to take Shemsábád, a rich town in the Doáb, by storm. The Emperor, having passed the Jamna, sent a light force in advance to gain intelligence of the motions of the Afghâns; but, while he was yet several marches off, the confederates having got notice of his approach, in alarm

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BOOK III. A.D. 1528.

abandoned Kanáuj; and, retreating across the Ganges, took up a position on its left bank, opposite to that city, determined to dispute the passage of the river.

Constructs a bridge at Kanáuj. Jemádi II. 6. Feb. 27.

On the 27th of February, the imperial army having marched past Kanáuj, encamped on the right bank of the Ganges. Báber had resolved to force a passage, and ordered a bridge to be constructed across the river. About thirty or forty boats were collected, by means of which several skirmishing parties passed over. The chief engineer, Ustád Ali Kuli, planted a great gun to cover the workmen employed on the bridge; while a number of matchlockmen kept up a fire from a breastwork a little above, and others from an island somewhat below. The account given by Báber illustrates the nature of the clumsy massy guns of that age. "For several days," says he, "while the bridge was constructing, Ustád Ali Kuli played his gun remarkably well. The first day, he discharged it eight times; the second day, sixteen times; and for three or four days, he continued firing at the same rate. The gun which he fired was that called Dig Ghází (the victorious gun). It was the same that had been employed in the war with Ráns Sánga, whence it got its name. Another gun," he adds, "larger than this, had been planted, but it burst at the first fire."* Such ponderous pieces of artillery must, in the open field, have produced effect chiefly by their novelty, and by the alarm they excited in minds not accustomed to the terrific effects of their explosions.

Passes the Ganges. Jemádi II. 21. March 13.

The Afgháns treated Báber's attempt to throw a bridge over the Ganges with ridicule. Yet, such was his success, that, on the 13th of March, it was completed; when part of his troops passed over, and had a skirmish with the enemy. He next marched over a considerable body of his best soldiers. These, the

* Báber's Mem., p. 379.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1528.

enemy advancing in all their force attacked with great vigour, while thus divided from the rest of the army; and succeeded, at one time, in driving the left from its position; but the centre and right, standing firm, repulsed that portion of the enemy to whom they were opposed. The action continued till late in the evening, and the night was employed in bringing the troops back to the right bank. Báber blames himself for not having rather carried over the rest of his army to join them on the other bank; but says that he was deterred from doing so by some superstitious fancy as to lucky times. Next day, however, he carried over his artillery: and the day following, all his army had orders to cross. But the enemy, in the meantime, had marched off. The Emperor sending Sultan Chín Taimur, with a strong force to pursue them, himself advanced and occupied Laknáu on the 21st, and passed the Gumti. Moving again in pursuit of the retreating enemy, he encamped, on the 28th, four or five miles above Uud, at the junction of the Gogra and Sirwu. Till then, Sheikh Báyezid had maintained his ground beyond the Sirwu, and had prevented Sultan Chín Taimur, Báber's general, from crossing. Being now reinforced, however, Chín Taimur effected a passage, and found the Afgháns in full retreat. He followed them with great alacrity, slew numbers of them, and dispersed their army. Sheikh Báyezid threw himself into a jungle and escaped. Chín Taimur, after a pursuit of sixty miles, reached a spot which the families of the fugitives had left but a short time before. The light force was now divided into several parties, who followed the flying enemy in different directions. Their baggage and families were overtaken and seized; and several Afgháns brought in as prisoners. The success was complete. But, as the heat was now become oppressive, and the rainy season approaching, Báber, after making the ne-

The enemy retreat.

He takes Laknáu. Jemádi II. 20. March 31. Rejeb 7. March 28.

Báyezíd's army dispersed.

Returns towards

BOOK III.

A.D. 1528. Acquires Rantambór. A. H. 925. Moharrem 5 to 24. Sept. 20 to Oct. 9.

cessary arrangements for the government of the country, returned to Agra.*

During all these operations, Báber's health had been considerably impaired, but his activity remained undiminished. At the close of the monsoon, he made a progress to Dhulpúr, Guáliár and Sikri. His rival, Rána Sánga, had been succeeded by his eldest son Ruttonsi; but his second son, Bikermájit, assisted by the intrigues of his mother Padmáwati, aspired to the throne, and possessed the strong fort of Rantambór. He sent, at this time, to court the assistance of Báber, in pursuing his pretensions; and, after some negotiation, it was settled that he should give up Rantambór to Báber, in exchange for Shemsábád in the Doáb, and that Báber should support his claims, and establish him as Rána in Cheitúr, in his father's room. It was in the course of these transactions that Bikermájit sent to the Emperor the crown † and rich girdle of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji of Málwa; which Rána Sánga had retained, when he released that king after his captivity. Báber dispatched a force to take possession of Rantambór, in pursuance of the treaty.‡

Increase of taxes.

The Emperor's liberality, and the necessary expenses of supporting a large establishment, had now so completely exhausted the magnificent treasures of Sultan Sekander and Ibráhím Lodi, which he had found on his arrival at the capital, that he was at this time obliged to add about thirty per cent. to the ordinary taxes, in order to meet the great expenditure of his armies. His giving up the tamgha or stamp-tax on Musulman property, however popular that act may have been among those of his own religion, could not fail to make a large diminution in the amount of the ordinary revenue.§

* Mem., pp. 379—381.

† Táj-kulah.

‡ Báber's Mem. pp. 385—387.

§ Báber's Mem., p. 387. Báber's expressions, in stating this fact, show that, on taking possession of Delhi and Agra, he did not distribute among his troops *all* the treasures of these princes, as is affirmed by Ferishta and other historians.

* Or Zinish.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1528. Transactions in Khorásán.

Important events, and deeply interesting to Báber, were in the meanwhile passing in Khorásán. We have seen that the Uzbeks, after the death of Shah Ismael, and during the minority of his son Shah Tahmasp, had twice entered that country, had even advanced to Herát, and were in possession of Meshhid and Túss. After this success, Obeid Khan, who, though second to his grand-uncle Kuchum, the Grand Khan, in reality directed the affairs of the Uzbeks, advanced and took Asterábád, defeating the Persian generals who opposed him. Leaving his son, Abdal-azíz Sultan, to defend that province, he marched for Balkh; but soon after, large reinforcements from Azerbáiján having joined the Persians, Abdal-azíz was forced to fall back; and, his father joining him, they turned on the Persian generals and totally defeated them near Bostám. Obeid, having recovered Asterábád, committed the government of the city and province to Renish* Beháder Khan, an officer of rank; and himself moved towards Herát, sending out detachments in different directions, and took up his winter-quarters at Ghurián.

A. H. 932.

A. H. 933.

Obeid Khan besieges Herat. A. H. 934.

Next year, he laid siege to Herát, which was bravely defended by Husein Khan Shamlu, who had succeeded Dermish Khan as governor of Sam Mírza, the young prince, and of the province. When the siege had lasted seven months, provisions began to fail. Husein being in the greatest distress, seized, for the use of his garrison, whatever grain was left in the place. He was, however, reduced to the last extremity, when news arrived of the defeat of Renish Beháder.

Shah Tahmasp defeats Renish.

The Persians had collected a large force, which was placed under their governors of Sebzáwár and Asterábád, who attacked Renish near Damghán, and at first defeated him; but he, having recovered the day, gained

* Or Zinish.

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BOOK III.

A.D. 1529. Jemádi I. 3. Jan. 14. Jemádi I. 22. Feb. 2. Jemádi II. 17. Feb. 27.

resolution immediately to assume the command of the eastern army; and accordingly, taking with him such troops as were at hand, he set out on the second day of February, and, crossing the Doáb, reached the right bank of the Ganges, at Dakdaki, on the twenty-seventh. Here he was met by his son, Askeri, and several generals, who came from the other side. He arranged with them, that, while his army marched down the right bank of the river, theirs should march down the left, and should always encamp over against his.

Rapid increase of Mahmúd's power.

The information which he here received was but little satisfactory. He found that the Afgháns, who were straining every nerve to recover their military and political ascendency, had gathered round Sultan Mahmúd Lodi to the number of a hundred thousand men; that the Sultan had detached Baban and Sheikh Bayezíd with a large force to Sirwár, while he himself, with Fateh Khan Sirwáni—the minister of Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Lodi, and of Sultan Ibráhím, in succession, by whom Mahmúd had been joined, and who had now deserted Báber as he had done his first master—kept along the Behár bank of the Ganges, and was marching on Chunár; that Shír Khan, whom Báber had distinguished by marks of his favour, having given him several perganas and entrusted him with a command, had joined the insurgents, had crossed the Ganges and occupied Benáres, from which the officers of Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Sherki (a descendant of the older dynasty of the country), who held the city under the Emperor's authority, had fled on his approach.*

Three rival competitors.

There were, therefore, at this time, three competitors for the Eastern or Sherki kingdom. 1. Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Sherki†, the representative of the older kings,

* Báber's Mem. p. 405.

† Called by Ferishta, Jilál-ed-dín Nur at Shah Sherki, ex-king of Jonpúr (vol. ii. p. 68.). He entertained Báber at Katra, and nominally commanded the second division of Báber's army at the passage of the Gogra. Báber's Mem. pp. 404, 405. 414. 426. He was also sent to oppose Baban, p. 419.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1529.

who ruled the country before it was conquered by Sultan Sekander Lodi. He had lately submitted to Báber, and sought his protection. His claims had become rather obsolete, but seemed to have been revived at this period, and acknowledged by the Emperor, evidently to serve an immediate purpose. 2. Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Behár-Khan Lohání*, whose father and grandfather had headed the revolt against Sultan Ibráhím. He was supported by many Afghán nobles in Behár, but had lately been forced to seek refuge with the King of Bengal, his ally. And, 3. Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, the brother of the late Sultan Ibráhím, and the representative of the Lodi dynasty of Delhi, whom the great body of the Afgháns had now united to support in his claims, not on Behár merely, but on Delhi itself.

On his approach Mahmúd retires.

Báber, informed of the real state of affairs, continued his march down the banks of the Ganges. In passing Karra he was magnificently entertained by Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Sherki, the prince whose pretensions he favoured, and on whom he bestowed the nominal command of a division of his army. When he had made a march or two below that city, the effects of his activity became visible. He learned that Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, who had recently advanced to Chunár, and even made an assault upon it, had no sooner received certain information of the Emperor's approach, than, filled with consternation, he raised the siege and retreated in confusion; and that Shír Khan had, in like manner, abandoned Benáres, and recrossed the river with such

Arrives at Jonpúr 24 March 6.

* He was, as we have seen, the son of Behár Khan Daría Khan Lohání of Behár, who assumed the name of Sultan Muhammed Shah. [illegible] to have been under the tutelage of his mother Dúdú. Pp. 411, 412. On his submission, Báber granted him an allowance of fifty lacs a year. P. 418. Shír Khan was for some time [illegible] and protector.

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BOOK III.

A.D. 1529.

precipitation that two of his boats were lost in the passage.*

Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Behári submits.

The imperial army having reached Allahábad, where the Ganges and Jamna unite their streams, began on the 10th of March to cross the latter river to Priág, whence Báber proceeded by Chunár, Benáres, and Gházipúr, hastening to attack Sultan Mahmúd, who had now taken a position behind the Són. At Gházipúr, Mahmúd Khan Lohání, an Afghán of influence, came and submitted to him; and, while yet near the same place,

Rajeb 21. April 1.

Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Behár-Khan Behári,—the expelled prince, and still one of the competitors for the throne of Behár,—Shír Khan Súr, the future sovereign of Delhi, and other Afgháns of influence, sent to tender their submission. This amounted to a breaking up of the new or Lohání dynasty of Behár, leaving only Sultan Mahmúd Lodi and his adherents to be combated.

Báber occupies Behár.

Báber now proceeded to cross the Kermnás, and encamped beyond Chousa, that was to become celebrated by the calamity of his son, and Baksara (or Buxar) memorable in our own history. Marching thence, he found that Sultan Mahmúd, whose army had been daily suffering from defection, and who had been lying not far off attended by only two thousand men, had retired with precipitation on the approach of an advanced party of the imperial army, had been pursued, and several of his men slain. He also now took refuge with the army of Bengal, which had crossed the Ganges, probably in the intention of co-operating with him. Báber proceeded to the district of Arí†, in Behár, lying between the Ganges and the Són at their confluence,

Shábán 2. April 14.

where he invested Muhammed Zemán Mírza, his son-in-law, with the government of Behár, and fixed the revenue to be paid out of that province.‡

Two Sultans of

The Emperor had now arrived opposite to where

* Báber's Mem. p. 405.
† The Arrah of Rennell.
‡ Báber's Mem. pp. 406—410.

CHAP. III.

A.D. 1529.

the Gogra joins the Ganges from the north-east; and where, apparently, the kingdom of Bengal commenced, on the left bank of that river. Here he learned that Sultan Mahmúd Lodi was in the Bengal camp at the junction of the two rivers, with a body of Afgháns, and, that when he and his followers wished to remove their families and baggage, they were not permitted, the Bengalis probably wishing to retain them as hostages. Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Lohání, his rival, who had lately sent his submission to Báber, was in like manner hindered from departing, in consequence of which he had come to blows with the Bengalis, had effected a passage over the Ganges into Behár with his followers, and was on his march to join the imperial army. The Emperor, therefore, who considered that the position of the army of Bengal, and the conduct of its leaders, had violated their neutrality, prepared to call them to account.

Behár to the Bengal camp.

Affairs of Bengal.

A.H. 905.

The transactions between Báber and Nasrat Shah, the King of Bengal*, are hinted at, but not explained, in the Emperor's commentaries. When Sultan Sekander Lodi overran the Sherki kingdom of Juánpúr, the reigning king took refuge with the King of Bengal. Sekander, having subdued Behár, entered Bengal; and his advance was stayed only by a convention, by which he was allowed to retain Behár, Tirhút, Sirkár, Sáran, and all that he had subdued, but was not to invade Bengal; and neither prince was to support the enemies of the other. The confusion occasioned by Báber's approach against Ibráhím Lodi, presented a favourable opportunity to the King of Bengal for recovering the ceded provinces. Nasrat Shah accordingly invaded and took possession of Tirhút, subdued Hájipúr, and,

A.H. 925-8.

* The complete title of Nasrat, according to Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 118., was "Sultan Nasrat Shah bin Sultan Alá-ed-dín Husein Shah." By many historians he is called Natib, a name by which he appears to have been familiarly known.

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BOOK III. A.D. 1529.

crossing the Ganges, took the fort and district of Mongeir, which he entrusted to Kuth Khan, one of his best generals. After the defeat and death of Sultan Ibráhím, many Afgháns fled to Bengal; and Nasrat even married a daughter of that prince.* He now afforded a refuge to her uncle, Sultan Mahmúd, when driven from his dominions.

Bábar's negotiation with Bengal.

Bábar found the army of Kherid, as the Bengal army was called, lying in what is at present the territory of Súran, which Nasrat had recovered from the Afgháns. It was encamped near the junction of the Ganges and the Gogra †, so as to be able to defend both the course of the Gogra, and the left bank of the Ganges, after the union of the two rivers. He discovered, too, that the Bengal generals had collected about an hundred or an hundred and fifty vessels, on their side of the stream; by means of which they were able, at once to hinder the passage of an enemy and to facilitate their own. Such an army he could not safely leave behind; especially as the troops of Bahan and Bayezíd had also taken refuge upon, and in strength occupied, the upper course of the Gogra. He was, indeed, at peace with Bengal; but the shelter afforded to his flying enemy, the position of the Kherid army, and the equivocal conduct of its leaders, made it indispensable, that he should have a categorical declaration as to the disposition and intention of the Bengal government. He,

* Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 113—116.

† Some confusion arises from the various names given to this river, Gogar or Gogra, Saru or Sirju, and Dewah. The principal branch rises in the Himálaye mountains, where it is named Kali. At Swarga-dwara it meets and unites with the Sarjú or Sirjú or Surjew; after which it is indiscriminately named Gogra, Saru, or Dewá.

There is another Surju or Saryu, which, from the map, appears to run parallel to it, and to branch off from it; and, passing Azimgar and Mow, falls into the Ganges.

It would appear that Kherid, a division not now known by that name, included the country on both sides of the Gogra, near Sahadeypúr, and thence on its left bank down to the Ganges.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1529.

therefore, dispatched an envoy to Nasrat Shah, the King of Bengal; and sent along with him an ambassador of that prince, who was in his camp, to remind the King that he had always carefully cultivated his friendship and preserved the relations of peace and amity that subsisted between them; but that these relations, as matters now stood, could be preserved only by his acceding to three conditions already sent him, but to which the Emperor had received no answer; that they should again be laid before the King, for his acceptance; that, in the meanwhile, Bábar, until he received the King's answer, must follow his flying enemies wherever they went; that he would engage, however, that the subjects of Bengal should suffer no injury from his troops, either by land or water; but that the army of Kherid must leave the track in which he was marching, and retire from its present position; that he was ready to afford safe-conducts to the Afgháns who had been in arms against him, to send troops to protect them on their march, and to allow them to return home with assurances of indemnity; that, if the road was not left open for the advance of his army, he could not be answerable for the consequences.*

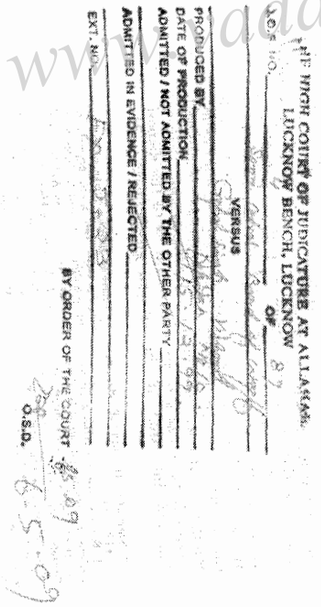
Bábar was now joined by Sultan Juneid Birlás, from Junúpúr, with about twenty thousand men. The tardy arrival of these troops subjected their commander to a temporary disgrace. Not having received a satisfactory answer to his demands, the Emperor resolved to compel the army beyond the Gogra to quit its strong position. He made the necessary arrangements for the intended attack. He formed his army into six divisions. Four of these, consisting of Askerí's army, which was already on the left bank of the Ganges, and of Sultan Juneid's, which had recently joined on the same side, were ordered to be prepared to cross the [illegible] either in boats

Skirmish to April 29. Bábar's arrangements to attack the Bengal army.

* Bábar's Mem. pp. 111, 112.

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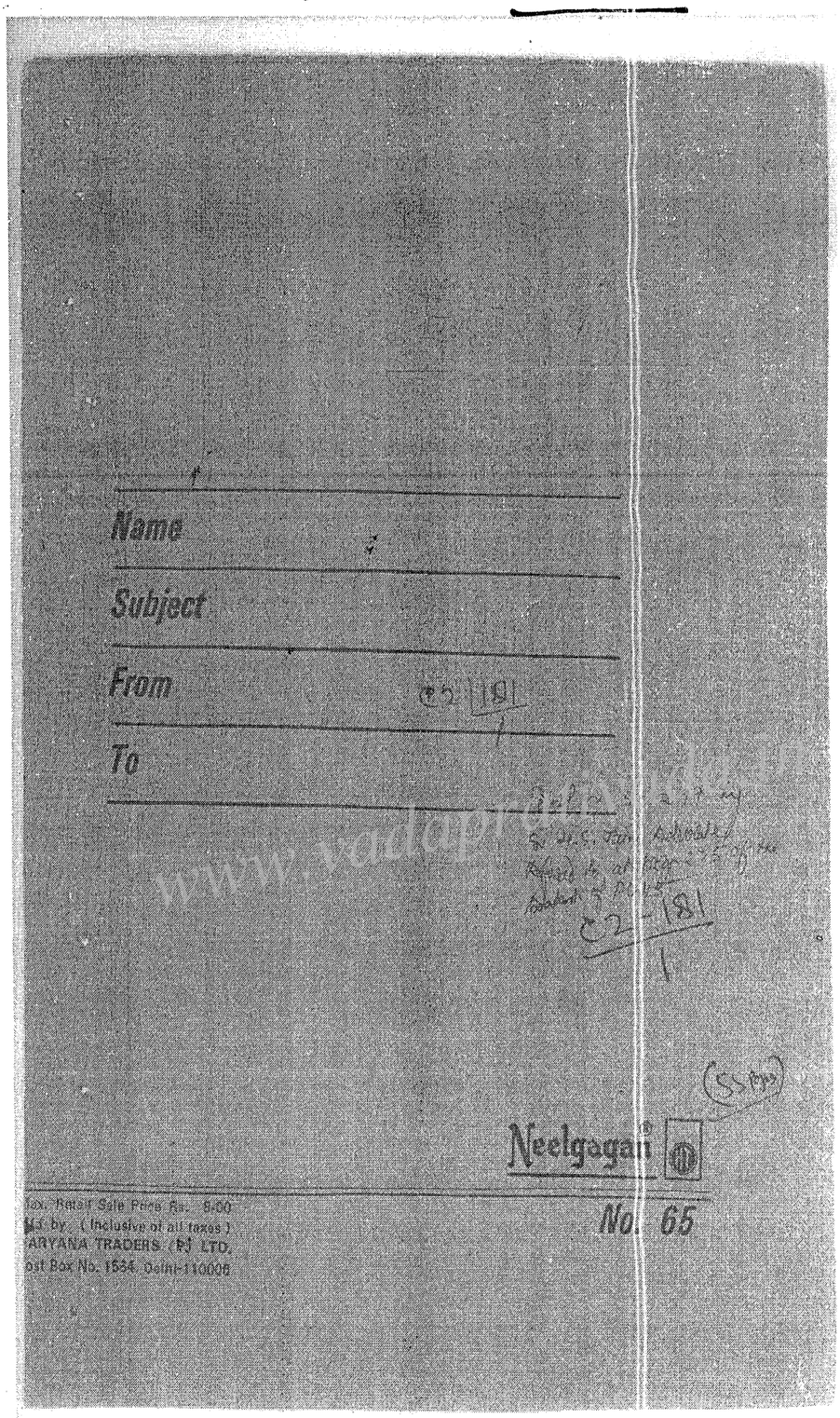

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

THE MONUMENTAL ANTIQUITIES

AND

INSCRIPTIONS,

IN THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH

DESCRIBED AND ARRANGED

BY

A. FÜHRER, Ph.D.,

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

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PREFACE.

THE Classified Lists of the Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh contained in this volume have been prepared in compliance with the orders of the Government of India, Home Department (Archæology), Resolution No. $\frac{8}{170-82}$ of the 22nd August, 1885. The information here given regarding these monuments is based partly on personal knowledge and partly on accounts given in the oriental scientific journals published since A.D. 1785 which bear on the subject. These include the numerous volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*, of the *Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, as well as the whole of General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, the *Indian Antiquary*, and the *Epigraphia Indica*; in the foot-notes the volumes and pages of the works consulted have always been referred to, so that the reader who wishes further information may know where to find it. Some additions doubtless will still have to be made to these Lists; but it is believed they include nearly all that is at present known as deserving of special notice. Of only a small proportion of these monuments is conservation or restoration desirable and possible; of very many of them a detailed archæological survey and delineation is desirable, but even of these only a selection can be made.

All the monuments here mentioned have been classified, on the margin, in accordance with the requirements of the Government of India Resolution, Home Department (Archæology), No. $\frac{5}{165-83}$ of the 26th November, 1883, as follows:—

Ia.—*Monuments which, from their present condition and historical or archæological value, ought to be maintained in permanent good repair, and which are in possession or charge of Government, or in respect of which Government must undertake the cost of all measures of conservation.*

Ib.—*Monuments of the same class, which are in possession or charge of private bodies or individuals.*

IIa.—*Monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like, such being in possession or charge of Government, or in respect of which Government must undertake the cost of such measures.*

IIb.—*Monuments of the same class in possession of private bodies or individuals.*

III.—*Monuments which, from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.*

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The lists given of all the *Inscriptions* known in each district are based on the same sources as the antiquities, but supplemented by the information obtained from the Returns of the "*Inscription* Forms," prepared by Dr. J. Burgess, C.I.E., the Director-General of the Archæological Survey, and issued to a large number of officials and private gentlemen, both European and Native, in these Provinces, under the orders of the Government of India, Home Department (Archæology), No. $\frac{9}{269}$ of the 13th October, 1886. The statements made in these returns are doubtless in many cases inaccurate and unreliable; and the Lists must, therefore, be considered as only provisional and tentative, not final. By corrections, additions, and alterations, these *Inscription* Lists may, however, in the course of time be rendered perfect: at present they must in many instances be considered merely as forming a basis for investigation. Additional information will be gratefully received by the Department.

The object of this volume is not only to produce complete lists so far as known of the antiquities and epigraphs in each district for the use of the Archæological Survey, but to furnish general information for the guidance of the many residents in these Provinces, with the view of enabling them, if their tastes so incline, to interest themselves in the character and history of the remains in their vicinity.

In conclusion, I have to thank Babu P. C. Ghosh, the Assistant in Charge, Camp Branch, Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the unremitting care and attention he has bestowed on the proof-sheets, and for the correctness and elegance of style with which this volume has been carried through the Press under his intelligent direction, which reflects great credit on Indian book printing.

A. FÜHRER, PH.D.,

Archæological Survey, N.-W. P. and Oudh.

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(d) v. 442-444.

One of them conquered the country (Bhotta) and entered the capital in glory. The other was fearful and, having been ca;ptured, saved himself by a trick.

(v. 443) Out of consideration for a time, even a brief description is not given (says the author Srivara) of the slaughter committed by the Bhottas, who attacked the (Sayyid's?) army from behind.

(v. 444). bahadur Agha and some other servants of the old king (were consumed) like moths in the fire - like battle with the Jyulchanas and Bhottas.

Translator's Notes

According to Dr. Stein, the terms Little and **Great Bhutta-land refers to** Baltistan **(Skardo) and Ladakh, respectively.**

In the time of Hasan, the Sayyids were exceedingly powerful, The jahangir referred to in v. 440 was Margesa or Margapati (Superintendent of Passes) and minister in the time of Hasan.

The term **Jyulchana occurring** in v. 444 denotes some such people as the Bhottas, and the five verses quoted above describe a campaign against the Bhottas by Jahangir and Nasir in the reign of Hasan (i.e., about the year 1483 A.D.). The leaders though desirous of invading the territory together, did not actually do so. The result was that only one of them was successful, while the other sustained a miserable defeat at the hands of the Bhottas,

Tibetan Notes

This expedition which ended in the defeat of the **Kashmir army**, probably took place during the reign of the **Ladakhi king Lhachen Bhagan,** who reigned about from **1470-1500 A.D.** He deposed the last king of the first dynasty, and was the first king of the second (*rnam-rgyal*) dynasty. Of this king it is said in the Ladakhi Chronicles that

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'he was very found of fighting, but we are not told whom he fought against, The change of dynasty and the great confusion resulting from it, may be the reason why the nistorical accounts referring to the latter half of the 15th century are particularly meagre. It is however, very probable that it was Lhachen bhagan, who inflicted the blow on the Kashmiris, and that in consequence of this victory, he was enabled to make himself supreme king of Ladakh. The consequence of this victory was that the Kashmiris came no more on raiding expeditions into Ladakh.

Since I wrote my article ' Archaeology in Western Tibet,' ante, Vol. XXXVI, p. 89 ff., it has occured to me, with regard to the **Inscription of Lhachen-Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal at Daru,** that it is possible that it refers to **Lachen Bhagan,** on the ground that the founder of the Nam-rgyal Dynasty may himself have taken a new title containing the words rnam-rgyal.

Jyulchana is very probably a Tibetan word, but hardly a proper name. It may be a corruption of the Tibetan words rgyal shen, or rgyaloan, the former meaning great king the latter victorious, if Jyulchana stands for rgyal chen it would probably point to Lhaohen Bhagan, who had made himself supreme king, the deposed members of the old dynasty having become rtyal chung, of heads kings.'

VI.

The Bhottas in Prajyabhatta's Rajatarangini

(v. 28). At that time (in the time of Fath, pronounced, in India, Fateh through the predomination of Kali there was a (remarkable) equality of all classes of people, whether they were wicked or virtuous, learned scholars (Bhattas) or Bhottas, actors or rogues.

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Translator's Note.

Fath was King of Kashmir from 1486 to 1513 A. D. Being incapable of governing himself, he entrusted the discharge of royal duties to his Margapati and minister, Ibrahim. The latter proved worse than the king and so misused his powers that the country was a scence of utter lawlessness during the whole of that reign.

Tibetan Notes.

At first sight this text would make it appear that there were **Bhottas among the subjects of the Kasmir kings.** This is not probable, for Ladakh as well as Baltistan were independent possessions during the 16th century. But the trade between the Panjab and Yarkand, through Kashmir and Leh, was probably carried on without any interruption, and this trade brought many Ladakhis and Baltis to Kashmir. They had there not only a rest-house of their own, but apparently also a Buddhist place of worship. There is a masjid below the castle hill of Srinagar, which is still known as the **Bodo Masjid,** and that it was formerly a Buddhist temple is shown by the fact that behind the white-wash on the walls the pictures of Buddhist saints are to be found. This is well known to all Ladakhis.

Conclusion.

In conclusion I may say that the Muhammadan Chronicles of Kashmir seem to contain material which is of impoortance to Western Tibetan history, though as yet a single instance only has come to my notice. It is in the *Towarikh-i-Rashidi* written by **Sultan Sa'id's son in Kashmir.** It is there stated that in **1531 A.D.,** Sultan Sa'id of Kashgar invaded Tibet (Ladakh) with an army of 5,000 men and died on his way back, This is very probably the same expedition as is mentioned in

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the *Ladakhi Chronicles* under King **bKrashis-rnam-rgyal I.**, who reigned during the first decades of the 16th century, probably till **about 1535 A. D.**

I cannor think that Sir Walter Lawrence drew upon Muhammadan sources when he wrote his account of **Rainchan Shah (Rinochana Bhoti)** in his Valley of Kashmir. He calls Rainchan Shah the **founder of the Jama Masjid and of the shrine of Bulbul Lankar.** With regard to this statement, Mr. Nicholls says :[13]

"The first line of the inscription over the gate-way of the Jami masjid at Srinagar is illegible, but the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Ayami* states that the mosque was first built by king Sikander the second and then burnet down. The second line of the inscription says that affter several years Hasan Shah rebuilt it. Since then the inscriptioon records other fires and restorations,

A manuscript from which I have taken an abstract, records that Sikandar But Shikan first built the mosque and it goes on to mention its being burned down and rebuilt by Hasan Shah and Zainu'l-abidin.

I have no evidence regarding the building of the mosque by renchana, the Ladakhi king of Kashmir, and should be glad to know on what the supposition is based. .....

I regret I have no notes regarding the 'Bulbul Lankar."

Sir Walter Lawrence may have based his statement on popular tradition. The man from Gilgit mentioned above who visited the Jama Masjid, sells me that people cannect the jama masjid with the Ladakhi king of Kashmir, because, in the court of the masjid, there is an ancient stone-sculpture with a Tibetan inscription, which is believed to date from the time of the Ladakhi king.

1- Dr. Vogel's letter to me, dated the 5th November 1906.

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BABAR

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By the same author —

The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar (Delhi, 1966)

Life and Times of Malik Ambar (Delhi, 1968)

Mughal Samrat Babar (Hindi) (Patna, 1976)

BABAR

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To

My Father And Mother.

&

Babur, his wife and children.

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(a)

politics. It is doubtful if he could have concentrated on India if the Central Asian political situation would have been favourable to him. Himself pining for the fauna and flora of his motherland, he had to combat the nostalgic attitude of his nobles who accompanied him to India. To lay the foundations of an Empire with the help of such human amterial was a herculean task. His success in achieving his objectives might have been limited but he never gave up his heart and tackled the problems with confidence and courage.

Some of Babar's observations about India are superficial but to treat them as prejudiced or based on distortion would be to misunderstand the entire tenor of his narrative. In fact he had no time to understand the 'soul' of the psyche of this country. He generalized whatever he saw in a part of northern India and did not make any attempt to go deep into the attitudes of the Indian people. Some of his observations are, none-the-less, very shrewed and penetrating. The instability of the Indian towns and the way population migrated from one place to another needs a careful study of the ecology and changing patterns and pressure in northern India during the first half of the sixteenth century. As ruler he has put his finger on two distinct advantages of Hindustan (a) large country with

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enormous gold and silver, and (b) 'unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind.' These two potentials to which he has referred were to be tapped and exploited to the full by his descendants who made India their home and identified themselves with its problems. Dr. Radhey Shyam's chapters dealing with Babar's problems and achievements in India are both interesting and illuminating.

I am confident that this book on Babar's life and work would be well received by all scholars and students of Mughal history and culture.

K.A. Nizami.

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PREFACE

Babur the founder of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan has attracted attention of scores of scholars and students. More than half a century back serious efforts were made by a series of European scholars of Medieval Indian Historyto introduce to the readers a person whose life story was of abiding interest and whose strenuous activities not only offered inspiration but also appeared to be an engima. Indeed, there are few figures in the history of the Oriental countries, who have drawn such encomiums from various quarters and whose heroic exploits are being remembered even to this day. Our hero has

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handed over to the posterity his autobiography in Changhtai Turki which came to be considered as chief source of contemporary history, a scintillating piece of literature, unalloyed, virgin and trustworthy. Later, it was translated into Persian and then in the early nineteenth century William Erskine translated it into English under the title, "Memoirs of Zehir-ud-din Muhammad Babar Emperor of Hindustan" (London 1826). Having thus been introduced to the Western world, a large number of European scholars found some attractive facets in his character and personality and they made sustained efforts to present a succinct, interesting, readable and thought provoking account. His booming guns in the historic field of Panipat, his new technique of warfare, his unrelenting zest and zeal, his unfailing courage and firm determination not only sounded the death knell of a ruling dynasty in northern India, but it also gave a new turn to the history of this country. Utilising the Memoirs in his own way and drawing upon the details meticulously from it, R.M. Caldecott brought out his "Life of Babar" in 1844 and the same year Leyden and William Erskine produced "Life of Babar : Emperor of Hindustan" (London 1844). Thereafter, William Erskine continued to make a thorough search of the vast

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historical material on Babar. He utilised the sources which were available to him and incorporated them in his "History of India" : under Babar and Humayun" (London 1854). This was followed by Sir Lucas King's "Memoirs of Zehir-ud-din Muhammad Babar," which was later translated, annotated and revised by Leyden. Then were published in 1899, in the Rulers of India Series, edited by Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., E.I.E. Stenley Lane Poole's "Babar" (Oxford, 1899) in 1909 F.G. Talbot's "Memoirs of Babar : Emperor of India," in 1918 Prof. Rushbrook William's, "An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century" (Longmans Green & Co.. London), in 1921 Mrs. A.S. Bevridge's English translation "Babar Nama," in 1927, Edwards "Babar: Diarist and Despot" and in 1930 Herold Lamb's "Babar the Tiger." These works have merits of their own. Broadly speaking they present Babar as a prince of autobiographers, man, soldier, warrior and empire builder. to remove the drawbacks of these works some Indian scholars attempted to narrate his life story in a different way and different perspective. This had to be done in the Indian setting. My "Mughal Samrat Babar" (Bihar Hindi Granth Academy, Patna 1974) is an humble attempt in this direction. The work was written with a view to fulfil the needs and requirements of vast majority of students of the Hindi speaking areas. A similar attempt has been made by

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Vandana Prashar whose thesis entitled, "Babar : Bhartiya Sandarbha men" (Delhi, 1975) examines Babar's life and activities in Hindustan only. Recently, a few more works have been published on Babar and they have largely contributed to the existing literature on the subject.

Despite the fact that a large number of monographs on Babar have been written, the interest in him has in no way diminished. His life story appears to be still fresh. The persistent desire of some of my favourite students and loving critics and colleagues that I should bring out a separate volume on babar in English, compelled me to undertake this arduous task and on its completion I heaved a sign of relief. Its publication added to my satisfaction that soon another work will be in the hands of the scholars and students of history.

In undertaking this arduous task the basic consideration which constantly goaded, guided and inspired me was to present a complete picture of the man, without exaggerating or minimising the importance of his success or failure. His personality continued to develop unceasingly from his childhood until the last day of his life when death drew curtain over him. As such effort has been made in this work firstly to analyse the contemporary atmosphere without bias or

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preconceived hypothesis and then to assess the role of the hero in the light of his character and equipment. Apparently he was not much different from those who had surrounded him, accompanied him, helped him and shared his joys and sorrows. And yet in certain respects he was different, unique and superb. He passed through four different phases of life. (1) His childhood and youth : I have begun with his parentage, narrated his childhood and also the circumstances in which he grew up to be a young man, bubbling with energy, ambition, vigour and vitality. Though arrayed against the heavy odds, surrounded by self-seeking, divided and weak nobility, torn by factious strife and pitted against the ambitious potentates, he is not to be found wavering like a broken read. The Farghana period of his life was not only tiresome but troublesome as well. Like the other scholars, I am least inclined to concede that it was his inexperience in the realm of administration and diplomacy which was mainly responsible for his repeated set backs and his failure to cope with his adversaries. There were other factors also. These have either not attracted the attention of scholars or have been deemed to be quite insignificant. In fact, very few scholars have cared to take stock of the situation in all its comprehensiveness. Others

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walls and fell upon the garrison. Then began desperate fighting. Realising that further resistance was futile the Rajputs at once consigned their wives to flames, and thereafter followed gruesome hand to hand fighting between the Rajputs and the Mughals. Within an hour or so all was over. On the north west side of Chanderi, a tower of the skulls of the dead was erected in order to commemorate the victory over the Hindu ruler. The chronogram of the victory was "Fath Darul Harab."[8] After a terrible slaughter, conquest and occupation of the fort, it was restored to Ahmad Shah, a scion of the ruling house of Malwa and the two daughters of Medni Rao who had been made captive were given to Humayun and Kamran.[9]

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On 8th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 934 H./30th Jan. 1528 Babar left the fort of Chanderi and halted on the banks of Mallu Khan's tank. His original plan was to conquer Raisen, Bhilsa and Sarangpur, which were then in possession of Salahdi (Salahuddin).[10] After occupying these places Babar intended to attack and conquer the fort of Chitor. But the disquieting news from the eastern region compelled him to convene a council fo war and seek the advice of his nobles.[11] It was decided that he should first move against the Afghans in the east. Thus leaving Ahmad Shah in charge of the fort of Chanderi and fixing amount of fifty lacs as Khalsa and appointing Mulla Apaq as Shiqdar with two to three thousand Turks and Hindustanis under him to support

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Ahmad Shah and in a way completing the administrative arrangements of the newly conquered country Babar left for the eastern region on 11th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 934 H./2nd Feb. 1528.[12]

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8. B.N. II, p. 594-95; Briggs, II, p. 38 : Akbar Nama (Trans) vol. I, p. 268; Rizivi, MKB (Babar) p. 267.

9. B.N. II, p. 594-6; Rizivi. MKB (Babar) p. 267, 459; E & D. IV, p. 276-77. Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghana, p. 123-4.

10. B.N. II, p. 598; E & D, IV, p. 277.

11. B.N. II, p. 598; E & D, IV, p. 278.

12. .N. II, p. 598; Tarikh-i-Alfi, Rizivi, MKB (Babar), p. 643; E & D, IV, p. 278.

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PACIFICATION AND CONSOLIDATION

Starting from Mallu Khan's tank Babar first halted on the banks of the river Burhanpur. On Sunday 9th Feb. 11528, he despatched Yaka Khwaja and Jafar Khwaja from Bhander to bring the boats from Kalpi and reach the ford of Kanar. By forced marches Babar arrived at the ford of Kanar on Saturday 24th Jamadi I, 934 H./25th Feb. 1528 Feb.1528 and encamped there. He then ordered his army to cross the river. About this time he received the news that the Mughal soldiers who had been sent earlier towards the east had been forced by the Afghans to abandon Kanauj and to fall back upon Rapri and that Abdul Muhammad Nezabaz the leader of the Afghans had conquered and occupied the fort of Shamshabad and strengthened

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his hold over it.[13] Upon this Babar pushed on rapidly. It took three to four days for his troops to cross the river. Unmindful of this delay he continued his march. He sent a few men ahead to bring the news about the enemy. When he was just near Kanauj, he received the reports from these men that the son of Maruf hearing about the numerical strength of the Mughal army had taken to flight. But other Afghans like Biban and Bayazid on getting the news of the approach of the Mughal army crossed to the eastern side of the Ganges, ready to check Babar's advance. On Thursday 6th Jamadi II 934 H./27th Feb. 1528 Babar crossed the Ganges and encamped on the western bank of the river. A few of his braves seized and brought thirty to forty big and small boats. Mir Muhammad was sent to choose the site for the construction of the bridge and to collect the requisite material for it. Two miles from the base camp a place was selected for the purpose of throwing up the bridge across the river and the Mughal troops crossed it in the teeth of opposition. On this occasion too Ustad Ali, the commander of the artillery performed his job efficiently and his booming guns compelled the enemy to fall back. Advance parties were sent under Malik Qasim, Baba Sultan and Darvesh Sultan to deliver a surprise attack on the enemy's camp.

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13. B.N. II, p. 598; Akbar Nama (Trans) vol. I, p. 268.

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In these preliminary skirmishes, Malik Qasim lost his life. But no amount of loss could deter Babar from taking action. On 12th March 1528, when the bridge was complete a few of his infantrymen and cavalrymen crossed the river and engaged the enemy in a battle but the result was indecisive. On 13th March Babar's household-troops along with his centre and left and right wings of the main army, crossed the river on foot and advanced against the Afghans. Riding on elephants, the Afghans with their army moved from other direction and fell upon the Mughals. A general fight ensued. On one occasion the Afghans drove back the left wing of the Mughal army, but the centre and the right wings maintained the ground and at length defeated and compelled the Afghans to take to flight.[14] A large number of the enemy were made captive and others were killed. By evening Babar withdrew his troops.[15] On the next day 23rd Jamadi II, 934 H./ 15th March 1528, the carts and the rest of troops were brought from the other side of the river and final preparations were made for the battle.[16] But before the drums could be sounded and nigarets could be beaten, his scouts reported the enemy had decamped and fled away. As Babar himself wished to march towards Oudh, he ordered Chin Timur Sultan to pursue the Afghans. In this operation Chin Timur Sultan was to be assisted by Muhammad Ali Jung Jung, Husamuddin Ali bin Khalifa, Kuki bin Baba Qashqa,Dost Muhammad bin Bba Qashqa, Baqi Tashkandi and Wali Kizilbashi. They were ordered to explicitly obey their leaders.[17] Surprisingly enough Chin Timur Sultan and those who accompanied him in his train pursued the Afghans

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only leisurely. Consequently, there arose a danger lest the Afghans should reassemble and give battle to the Mughals. Without giving the enemy any opportunity to turn the tables

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14. B.N. II, p. 599; Briggs, II, p. 38-9; E & D, V, p. 278; Tarikh-i-Alfi, Rizivi, MKB (Babar) p. 643.
15. B.N. II, p. 599.
16. B.N. II, p. 599.
17. B.N. II, p. 601.

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Babar immediately sent reinforcements to the assistance of Chin Timur Sultan. Shortly after the arrival of reinforcements a hot pursuit of the enemy ensued. Much of their baggage was seized and many of the Afghan families were made captive.[18]

Marching via Lucknow,[19] Babar entered Oudh on 7th Rajab 934 H./28th March 1528 and encamped on the junction of Ghagra and Sarju.[20] We do not know anything about his activities in this region, for there is a gap in the Memoirs from 2nd April 152 to 17th September 1528 A.D. According to Erskine Babar withdrew to Agra in the beginning of the rainy season. While Mrs. Beveridge points out that, "much can be gleaned as to Babar's occupation during the five and half months of the lacuna from the chronicles of 935 A.H. which makes several references to the last year." And certainly if such references are put together it appears that Babar carried on his military operations

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against the Afghans in the east and south Bihar as well. These five and half months Babar spent at Jaunpur, Chausa and Buxar in defeating and driving away the Afghans and compelling them to take shelter in Bihar and Bengal. It was during this period that Shah Maruf waited upon him. Babar conferred great favour upon him and bestowed Saran on him.[21] After

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18. B.N. II, p. 601; Rizivi, MKB (Babar) p. 271; E & D, IV. p. 280.
19. B.N. II, p. 601-2; As early as 933 H. Lucknow had been in Babar's possession, because he struck his coins in Lucknow in 933 H. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal July - Aug. 1915. Also quoted by Dr. R.S. Avasthi, "The Mughal Emperor Humayun," p.14 (n61).
20. B.N. II, p. 601-2.
21. Prof. Hasan Askari's paper, "Bihar in the time of Babar and Humayun" Current Studies, Patna College Magazine, 1957, p. 5; Prof. Rushbrook Williams and Dr. R.P. Tripathi think that after having gone as far as Buxar and realising that the Afghan danger was over for the time being Babar returned to Agra at the beginning of the rainy season. He passed the next few months at Agra, building, his projects, writing his Memoirs and laying out Charbagh. See An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century, p.165; Dr. R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, p.47.

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settling the affairs of the eastern region Babar returned to Agra.

In September 1528 Babar went on a hunting expedition towards Gwalior and Dholpur. A little before his departure he received in audience Mirza Askari (Friday 3rd Muharram 935 H./September 152), and on the next day he received Khwandmir, the author of Habib-us-Siyar, Mulla Shihab Mummai and Mir Ibrahim Qanuni a relation of Yunus Ali who had come from Heart.[22] Thereafter, he started on his tour, visited Dholpur and Gwalior and he saw the beautiful palaces of Raja Man Singh and Vikramajit, which were famous for their architectural beauty. He was greatly impressed by their size and splendour but the grumbles a little at "their want of taste and elegance.[23]

Towards the end of September 1528 babar had the opportunity of coming into close contact with the political affairs of Rajasthan. It so happened that after the death of Rana Sangram Singh, his three sons Ratan, Vikram and Udai claimed the gaddi of Mewar. Since Ratan who was Rana's third son and whose mother belonged to the house of Jodhpur was vigorous and powerful, he was installed on the Gaddi. His younger brothers Vikram and Udai, who were with their mother Rani Karmavati of the house of Bundi and then at Ranthambhor decided to challenge his claims. Upon this Ratan Singh, the Rana of

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Mewar with a viw to deprive them of their position and the jagir of Ranthambhor demanded the crown and the belt of the late Rana, which were under their possession. Fearing the consequences of noncompliance, Vikram sent his representative Ashok Mal to Babar, offering to surrender the fort of Ranthambhor on the condition of receiving annual assistance of seventy lakhs,[24] babar accepted the terms and asked him to deliver the fort.

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22. B.N. II, p. 605.

23. B.N. II, p. 608-609. Briggs, II, p. 39; Akbar Nama (Trans) vol. p.269.

24. E & D, IV, p. 281

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PACIFICATION AND CONSOLIDATION

But Vikram suddenly, changed his mind and refused to surrender the fort. He sent Ashok Mal again to Babar to settle any other terms except the surrender of the fort of Ranthambhor. Ashok Mal saw Babar at Gwalior and told him that Vikram was prepared to exchange Ranthambhor for Bayana. This new condition was hardly acceptable to Babar because Bayana was of greater importance to him and was already in his possession. It was a link in the chain of his western line of defence. He therefore, promised to give him Shamshabad instead of Bayana. It was agreed that after nine days the agent of Vikram would again see him at Bayana with a definite reply.

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Thereafter, on 9th Muharram 935 H./29th Sept. 1528 Babar conferred Khilats on Ashok Mal and gave him leave.[25] We are not told as to what happened thereafter except that Babar's proposal was not accepted by Vikram. Perhaps in order to watch the developments in the western region Babar tarried for some time at Gwalior, visiting its temples, holding feasts in Char Bagh, enjoying the cool winds and the natural scenery presented by the water falls of the neighbouring hillocks, giving orders for the repair of the old buildings and the construction of baths etc. at Dholpur. On 14th October 152[illegible] he started on his return journey. On the next day i.e. on Thursday 30th Muharram 935 H./15 October he reached Agra.[26]

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On 5th Safar 936 H./19th October 1528 Babar sent Hamunsi son of Diwa, an old noble of Bhira along with Vikram's men, who were still present at his court at Agra, to Rathambhor to negotiate for a final treaty. He instructed Hamunsi to also settle the matter of surrender of the fort of Ranthambhor and persuade Vikram to accept the conditions and also settle these matters in accordance with the Hindu tradition. Babar himself has mentioned that the main purpose of his sending Hamunsi to Ranthambhor was to get

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25. B.N. II, p. 612-13.

26. Akbar Nama (Trans) vol. I, p. 269.

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other goods should be levied as prescribed by Shara. They should have no parity with the Muslims in matters of dress and should be forced to keep their Kufr concealed rather than be allowed to perform the ceremonies of Kufr openly and freely. Stipends should not be paid to them from Baitul Mal of Islam, but they should confine themselves in their own professions. They should not be allowed to consider themselves equal to the Muslims so that the glory of Islam may reach its zenith."[16] But Babar as we know never acted upon this advice. Both the Shaikh and Babar knew the mission of their life for the attainment of which they continued to struggle until death laid them to rest.

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Like other conquerors and empire builders of the medieval period, Babar never involved himself with triffling religious matters. His wars against Rana Sangram Singh and Medni Rao of Chanderi have been interpreted by some of the historians as the outcome of his religious zeal. Such historians have lost sight of some axioms and facts of history. Before the batle of Panipat, he was assisted by the Hindu Yogis of Balanath and in the post-Panipat period, a large number of Hindu Zamindars, Rajas and local chiefs assisted him in his campaigns. Nor did he ever show fanaticism by forcibly converting the Hindus to his faith or by persecuting the Hindus or prohibiting the

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religious assemblies and movements of the Hindu saints or the Hindu pilgrims from one region to another. In the Punjab over which he had firm control, he allowed Guru Nanak to carry on his mission without any interruption.

Charges of orthodoxy have been levelled against him by some of the modern historians, but they do not take into account the time and circumstances. The reference in his Memoirs to the erection of the pyramids of skulls of the Hindus, the declaration of Jihad against Rana Sangram Singh

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16. For the text of this letter see Appendix V.

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and Medni Rao of Chanderi, the massacre of the garrison of the fort of Chanderi and the frequent use of the word pagan or Kafir, has been interpreted by them as the outcome of Babar's orthodoxy and fanaticism. Long before Babar's entrance into this country it had become the land of the Hindus as much as of Muslims. Both had to suffer occasionally at the hands of intruders and invaders. It would be rather uncharitable to presume that during the course of foreign invasion of a Muslim invader only the Hindus suffered and the Muslims were spared. The wars which Babar waged were not purposely directed against any community or race but against Sultan Ibrahim

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Lodi, Rana Sangram Singh and Medni Rao, their Hindu and Muslim supporters and those who were not ready to acknowledge his authority. Nor did Babar ever hesitate in exposing superstition or in punishing the heretics. Having detected the trick of moving platform of a tomb in Ghazni he had the scafolding demoished. Similarly, he demolished the tomb of heretic Qalandar Shahbaz, who had perverted large number of Yusufzais and Dilzak Afghans. Whereas three thousand Bajauris were put to sword not because, "the very name of Islam had been rooted out from amongst these tribes" but to strike terror into the hearts of the people of the Punjab and its adjacent areas and to demoralise them completely. He only emulated the Mongol and Timuride tradition of building the pyramids of skulls.

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As regards the destruction of the Hindu temples there is historical evidence both in Babar's support and against him. During the course of his campaigns or pleasure trips Babar occasionally came across large number of Hindu temples. These temples provoked great interest in him. Some of them he visited and appreciated their architectural beauty. While at Gwalior in 1528 Babar visited the fort, wherein he saw the places of Raja Man Singh and Vikramaditya. On the west of Rahim Dad's garden he saw a "lofty idol house."[17]

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17. B.N. II, p. 610.

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This wasa famous Teli Mandir which is said to have been constructed by Raja Man Singh's Gujari wife Mrignaini. Then in the Urwa valley he saw the idol statues and be writes, "three sides of the Urwa valley are solid rock, not the red rock of Bayana but one paler in colour. On these sides people have cut out idol-statues, large and small. One large on the south side being perhaps 20 qari (yards) high. These idols are shewn quite naked without covering for the privaties,"[18] writes that, "we rode .... to visit the idol-houses of Gualiar. Some are two, and some are three storeys high, each storey rather low, in the ancient fashion. On their stone plinths are sculptured images. Some idol-houses in College fashion, have portico, large high cupola. In the lower celles are idols carved in the rock.[19] Except in the case of Jain idols in the Urwa valley. Babar never gave orders for the destruction of the temples of other places. As regards the Jain statues of the Urwa Valley he himself has mentioned in his Memoirs that the, "naked idols are its defect, I for my part ordered them to be destroyed."[20] It is rather doubtful whether this order was ever caried out. Mrs. Beveridge in a brief note writes that, "they were already in a mutilated condition and they continue to be so until the Jains repaired them with coloured plaster.[21]

It is related that at his orders famous Hari Mandir at Sambhal was demolished and a Jami mosque was constructed out of the debris of that temple by his famous general Hindu Beg. An inscription on one of the walls of the mosque reads :

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18. B.N. II, p. 611-612.
19. B.N. II, p. 613.
20. B.N. II, p. 613.
21. B.N. II, p. 612(n).

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HIS PERSONALITY

(۱) جامع اشیۂ فضل و کمال رافع الویۂ ملک و ملل
باسط اجنحۂ امن و امان (۲) بانی ابنیۂ علم و عمل
شاہ جم جاہ محمد بابر حفظ اللہ لہ عز و جل
(۳) شمع دولت چو برافروخت بہند روشن از پرتو آن شد سنبل
از پے ساختن ایں مسجد (۴) کہ مصون باد ز نقصان و خلل
کرد فرمان بکہیں بندۂ خویش کہ بود عمدۂ ارکان دول
(۵) میر باعقل و خرد ہندو بیگ آں باخلاق نکو گشتہ مثل
چوں ز فرمان شہنشاہ جہاں (۶) یافت اتمام بہ توفیق ازل
سال تاریخ وے مہ دوزش گشتہ یکم از شہر ربیع الاول

Translations :-

The collector of the buildings of grace and beauty the raiser of the standards of rule and faith,

The spreader of the wings of peace and tranquility, the builder of the buildings of knowledge and deed,

Muhammad Babar, a Jam in dignity—may God Almighty have him in His protection.

Kindled in India the lamp of power, when a ray of it felt upon Sambhal,

To build his mosque may it be protected from destruction and decay,

He gave orders to his mean slave, who is one of the principal officers,

Mir Hindu Beg, the intelligent and wise who is an example to others in polite manners,

And when in consequence of the order of the soverign of the world by guidance of Providence to the mosque was completed.

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Its date was first day of the month of Rabi L 933 H. (December 1526 A.D.).[22]

This inscription clearly mentions that at Babar's orders the mosque was built and completed on the first day of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal 933 H./6th December 1526 by Hindu Beg. But it is quite surprising that Babar who was quite festidious in mentioning about everything that concerned him or even others, has not mentioned about the construction of a mosque by Hindu Beg at Sambhal. Nor did he mention that he gave orders to Hindu Beg to demolish any Hindu temple and construct a mosque over it. There is no reference to any order for the destruction of a Hindu temple and construction of a mosque by Hindu Beg at Sambhal in his Memoirs. Babar visited Sambhal in Sept.-Oct. 1527 and stayed there for three days but in his Memoirs he does not say a word about the fanatical activities of Hindu Beg there. His annoyance at the destruction of the Hindu temple by Hindu Beg at Sambhal is reflected in his silence and his indifference towards the whole affair. During the years 1526-27 his position in Hindustan was so precarious that it was not possible for him to take any drastic action against any general, Hindu Beg being one of them; even though they might have continued to commit gruesome acts in the name of their master. However, it is definite that though Babar's name was associated with the construction of the mosque, as was

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the prevailing practice, the Hindu temple was not demolished at his orders. Hindu Beg might have demolished the temple on his own account and even did not care to refer this matter to his master.

Nevertheless, the whole affair has aroused controversy. Mr.Carlleyele is of the opinion that the Jami mosque which is still standing amidst the beautiful surroundings was not

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22. The late Maulvi M. Ashraf Husain's article "Inscriptions of Babar" Epigraphica, Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1965, p.51-52. Also see Blochman's paper "Inscriptions at the Sambhal Mosque", Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings, May 1873, p. 98.

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constructed by Hindu Beg and it is of much earlier period, The district Gazetteer of United Provinces (Moradabad) mentions that "Babar's inscription in the mosque is a great historical forgery of all times." And the account of the temple and the mosque given in it is as follows: 'The erection of Hari Mandir is variously ascribed to Prithviraj, to a Raja named Jagat Singh and one Nar Singh, the grandson of Raja Vikram Sen one of the Dors of Baran. This temple no longer exists and its place is taken by a striking mosque, which forms the conspicuous feature in the landscape for miles around. This building

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is mainly of stone, which is certainly the material employed for the great central dome, for the outer walls and porch and for the flooring of the broad courtyard." In 1874 Mr. Carlleyele visited and inspected the mosque and was convinced that the dome was of Hindu workmanship, but the bricks were of Musalman workmanship. The whole of the mosque is coated with plaster so that it is impossible to ascertain the material. The wings are divided by a lateral row of pillars into two aisels and each had three arched openings on the courtyard. A flight of stone steps on either side gives access to the roof of the mosque, from which fine view of the town and the surrounding country can be obtained. Mr. Carlleyele came to the conclusion that the conversion of the temple into a mosque was of very recent date. He based his decision on the fact that there has been recent litigation on the subject of the site between the Musalmans and Hindus and appears to have been influenced by the arguments of the latter to the effect that the old inscriptions on the mosque walls were impudent forgeries. This claim of the Hindus was of course rejected in the civil courts. Mr. Carlleyele could not see the documents going back to the days of Jahangir, now in possession of the guardians of the mosque General Cunningham has repudiated the suggestion that the inscriptions were not genuine. The most important of these states that the mosque was built by Hindu Beg at the orders of Babar in December 1526. It is certainly curious that the temple should have remained till that date, for Sambhal had long

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been the seat of the Muslim government, and it is even more surprising that a noted inconoclast like Sikandar Lodi should have allowed a building of such sanctity to stand in his temporary capital. A parallel may perhaps be found in Ayodhya where the famous Janamsthan temple remained till Babar's days, although the place, for more than two hundred years had been the capital of the Muslim province of Oudh. But the mosque at Sambhal might well be older than Babar, to judge from its appearance. The architecture resembles that of Pathan buildings such as great mosque of Badaon and the huge sloping bastions on the west. The whole structure is very plain, severe, and massive, and if the Hindu materials have been employed the ornamentation has been very effectively concealed, since the only traces of Hindu covering visible are two rosettes on the stone slabs of the steps leading from the eastern gateway to the quadrangle. In the middle of the later is a tank and fountain, filled from a large well outside the gateway. Whether Babar built it or simply repaired the mosque cannot be positively stated, but it is curious that the Ain-i-Akbari has referred to the celebrated temple of Vishnu at Sambhal. An inscription in the south wing states that Rustam Khan Deccani repaired the mosque in 1657, while a similar tablet in the north wing was erected by one Sayyid Qutb in 1626. The two inscriptions above the outer and inner arches of the central chamber record the

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restorations affected by the Musalmans of the town and district about 1845."[23] Thus Carlleyele's report asserts that Jami Masjid of Sambhal is of earlier date (ii) the inscription is fake (iii) that it was constructed much later.

But the arguments given against the construction of the mosque by Hindu Beg are not tenable. Had the mosque been of earlier date there should have been in inscription on it bearing the date of its construction. The grounds on which

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23. District Gazetteer of United Province (Moradabad), Vol. XVI.

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the inscription which assigns the construction of the mosque to Hindu Beg, has been declared fake, have not been indicated. Then the report itself records that in the mosque at places the use of the debris of a Hindu temple is visible. In addition to it may also be observed that ever since the occupation of Sambhal by the Mughals in December 1526 or a little earlier till the date when it was conferred on Humayun in jagir, the position of the Mughals there had always been very precarious. This is borne out by the fact that after its occupation Ali Yusuf was appointed to hold its charge. After his death Abdullah Kitabdar was sent and thereafter Hindu Beg and both of them returned to Agra after a few days and waited on Babar. Why

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did they return from there without being summoned to emperor's presence? babar does not mention the reason whi0ch forced them to return from Sambhal. Nor does any other authority. It can however be presumed that the Hindu population which was so hostile to Hindu Beg did not permit him to stay there any longer and to continue to display the zeal of a fanatic. Nor did Babar like to send him again to Sambhal. Even if it is conceded that the mosque is of the earlier date, it can be presumed that its repair by Hindu Beg was not liked by the Hindu population.

A similar type of controversy but a little different rages round the famous Janamsthan temple of Ayodhya. It is said that the aforesaid temple was destroyed at Babar's order and a mosque was constructed over a part of its ruins. On one of the walls of this mosque there are two inscriptions.[24] The date given in the inscription for the construction of the mosque by Babar's another brave general Mir Baqi is 935 h./ 1528-29. This date is significant.

Let us examine the whole matter regarding the destruction of the famous Janamsthan temple at Ayodhya and the construction of the mosque by Mir Baqi on its ruins. Immediately after the completion of the Chanderi expedition Babar

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24. See Appendix VI.

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marched towards the eastern region to deal with the Afghan insurgents. Moving via Kalpi and Kanoor, he crossed the Ganges and passing through Lucknow he entered Oudh on Saturday 7th Rajab 934 H./28th 1528 and encamped on the confluence of the Ghagra and Sarju rivers. From 2nd April 1528 to 17th September 1528 there is a gap in his Memoirs. It appears that during this period and until the beginning of the rainy season he remained busy in dealing with the Afghans. Before returning to Agra he appointed Mir Baqi to hold charge of Ayodhya. Shortly after Babar's departure Mir Baqi, on his own account attacked the Hindu temple with a large army. It is related that for seventeen days the Hindus offered resistance. At last failing to stand the onslaught they bowed before the inevitable. Mir Baqi, somehow managed to enter the temple and thereafter he tried to reach the sanctuary. Here the Brahmin priest of the temple, Shyamanand and the members of his family offered resistance to him and did not allow him to approach the sanctuary. Mir Baqi seized and killed the priest and the members of his family. He entered the sanctuary, but to his utter surprise he could not find a single idol there. Whether the temple was razed to the ground or not is still controversial issue. But it appears that he built the mosque over a part of the ruins or converted the temple into a mosque. The well known Baburi Masjid, which still

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stands there is claimed by the Hindus and Muslims both. The entire structure raises grave doubts. It may be observed that it would be quite injudicious to hold in any way babar responsible for the destruction of the famous Janamsthan temple. Destruction of temples was neither in consequence with his policy nor attitude, especially at a time when he neded the support of the non Muslim population.

Babur's Wasiyat Nama-i-Makhfi also strengthens our belief that he was quite liberal and was opposed to the destruction of Hindu temples and slaughter of cows. This document, which is of utmost importance was brought to light by Mr. Ghoshal of the Bhopal State Library. It measures 5X8 inches and is preserved in the Bhopal State Library.[25] It contains Babar's secret exhortations to prince Humayun. This document reads, "O! Son. The realm of the Hindustan is peopled by various creeds. Almighty God be praised that he confers its sovereignty on thee. Thou must cleanse the tablet of thy heart from the sectarian bigotries and do justice according to the custom of each cred. Above all, abstain from sacrificing the cow. Thus will be the hearts of Hindustanis be won and the peasants be made loyal by the royal bounty. Destroy not temples or worshipping places of any caste under the royal rule; thus shall be satisfied with the peasants, the peasants with the Padshah. Islam is better advanced by sword of kindness than the sword of oppression. Close the eyes to the

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disagreement of Sunni and Shia, otherwise the rift of Islam is made manifest. Control thy many minded subjects by four elements : Thus, will the body of the Sultanat be freed from various distemper. Let (Him) keep before eyes. His Highness Amir Timur Sahib Qirani's Karnama so that he may become expert in the government affairs."

This document, it appears is a rough draft and is not a finished, as is believed. In order to make it appear genuine, at later date, a seal, which is different from Babar's other seals was fixed. Though on various grounds doubts have been expressed about its authenticity, but a close examination of it leads to certain interesting conclusion.[26]

It may be asserted that in his religious views Babar was a moderate. He was neither conservative nor extremely liberal. He tolerated the Hindus as well as Muslims. Had he acted otherwise there would have ben utter chaos. Had he been a fanatic the temples of Mathura and other places would have been reduced to the ground, and Mathura would have not been allowed to grow as the centre of neo-Vishnavites. Nor

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25. For the text of this document see, Appendix IV.

26. For full discussion on the authenticity of this Wasiyat-Nama-Makhfi, see Appendix IV.

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could have there been cordial relations between him and the Hindu chiefs. Vir Bhanudya Kavyam speaks of the friendly relations between Babar and Raja Bir Singh Deo, the Baghela ruler of Arail.[27] Babar was a true Sunni of the Hanfi school, but he did not allow religion to over-ride politics.[28]

He was a close observer of men, their habits, nature and temperament. The thumb nail sketches which he has drawn through the medium of his pen in his Memoirs reval his ingenuity. His observations with regard to the members of royalty both Chaghtai and Mongol alike, and of the nobles are graphic and accurate. While writing about his own father Umar Shaikh Mirza, he records "he was short and stout, round bearded and fleshy faced person. He used to wear his tunic so very tight that to fasten the strings he had to draw his belly in and if he let himself out after tying them, they often tore away. . . ." He further continues, "he was a genius, in truth, his character, rose altogether to the height of generosity. He was affable, eloquent and sweet spoken, daring and bold." About Ali Dost Taghai, one of his nobles, he writes that, "he was a Falconer (qurhchi), worthless by nature and habits, a stingy, severe, strife stirring person, false, self-pleasing, rough of tongue and cold of face." His impression about Qambar Ali Mughal are worth mentioning. About him he says

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that, "he was full of talk and foolish talk—a great talker is sure to be a foolish one, his capacity was limited and his brain muddy." And there are numerous similar instances where he expresses his feelings about men whom he either personally saw or had heard about them. Anzum Hasan is styled as "traitor to the salt" and "heathenish and vicious tyrant." Khusrau Shah has been badly cursed by him when he says that, "up to the very verge of Resurrection let him who hears of this act of Khusrau Shah (blinding of Masud) curse him and may who hearing curses not, know cursing

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27. Memoirs of Archeological Survey of India (New Series).

28. Briggs II.

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equally cursed." Again Babar has denounced him as a person, "of no merit, no birth, no lineage, no judgment, no magnimity, no justice and no legal mindedness."

Babar remarks that, "The joy of life is full when the goblet is full with purple wine and there are companions to share it in turns." He enjoyed drinking and drinking parties. It is difficult to say as th when he started drinking. Excessive drinking and use of intoxicants was quite common in Trans Oxiana. Babar refers to it in his Memoirs. He informs us that his father Umar Shaikh Mirza in his early life was a

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great drunkard and towards the end of his life he preferred intoxicating confects and under their sway used to lose his head. Umar Shaikh Mirza's brother Sultan Ahmad Mirza had inculcated this habit much earlier and once he settled down to drink he would continuously drink for twenty or thirty days." The sons of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, Sultan Mahmud Mirza, baisanghar Mirza and Sultan Ahmad Mirza's wife Qutlugh Begam were fond of drinking. Babar too had inherited this trait from his ancestors. To overcome fatigue or to shake off frustration he would drown himself into the pleasure of life.

It was in the Kabul period of his life that he really enjoyed drinking in company of his nobles. In Kabul, it appears that wine of different varieties was available in abundance, due to large scale production of grapes and large number of brewing stalls. Babar mentions that the Kabul wines were strong. In Nur Valley two types of grapes, arah shahi and suhan-tashi were grown in abundance. The former were yellowish and the latter red. Of the first fine wine was made. Likewise, Kunar and Nurgal imported strong wines from Kafristan. The people of Chaghansarai and Nirjau produced wine of different varieties and strong in flavour. Whereas the people of Bajaur, Sawad, Kunar and the neighbouring regions made beer (bir bauza)." Babar himself preferred wine to beer and has stated that beer is bitter in taste and therefore he never tasted it.

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