

ART. V.—*Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas.* By F. A. WADIA, M.A.

[Read 12th March 1901.]

The fragmentary mass of writings, which at present are known under the name of the Zend Avesta, and which form the sacred books of the Parsees, may for our purposes be roughly divided into two parts—the Gathas, and the rest of the Avesta. The external form, the idiom and metrical composition of the Gathas lead us at once to make a distinction between them and the rest of the scriptures. Evidently they are the oldest of the writings which have come down to us. If we look to the subject matter of the Gathas, the same distinction appears between them and the rest of the Avesta. In the Avesta, the spirits presiding over the different phenomena in nature are found in abundance, sometimes placed on a level with the Creator. We find in it legends and fables belonging to a later time. Whereas in the Gathas all these are absent, everything here is sober and historical. We have no legends or fables; Zoroaster is simply a human being endowed with a superior intelligence; the spirits presiding over nature are hardly to be found; and the seven Amshaspands are attributes of God, more than personified spirits. Thus both the form and the matter of the Gathas are sufficient evidence of the difference that exists between them and the rest of the Avesta. They reveal the religion in a purer, more abstract, and less developed form, and must therefore have preceded the rest of our writings by a considerably long period.

The task we have undertaken in this paper is to attempt to ascertain the probable time during, and the place in, which they may have been composed.

Mon. Darmesteter is of opinion that the Gathas, such as we possess them to-day, are only a re-edition of ancient texts, lost during the Alexandrine period; that they were composed during the early part of the era of Christ, and that they show traces in them of influences and opinions of a recent date. He grants the possibility that they might have reproduced the songs as they were actually written and sung during early times of which Herodotus makes mention, but at the same time he urges that we have no data to enable us to say with certainty that they are actually the same.

We venture, however, to dissent from this view. The archaic form of the language leads us to suggest a very early date for the Gathas;

the hypothesis that the Gathas may have been written in the first century A. D. in a dead language, which is urged by Darmesteter, it seems difficult for us to adopt when we find that the songs, as they are handed down to us, appeal to the people at large, and seem to have been sung before large assemblages, instead of being confined to a few savants. The historical allusions found in the songs seem to point likewise to an early date; if they were composed so late as Darmesteter suggests, we might have found in them at least some evidence of the history of later times; but of this we have no trace. The organization of the people, such as it is found in the Gathas, points to a time when settled agricultural life was not yet the order of the day, when a regular political government had not yet been in existence, when tribe fought against tribe for years and years without any decisive result, when the followers of the religion of Mazda had often to endure the hardships of failure and defeat. There is no trace here of the history of the Achaemenide Empire, of Darius and Xerxes, no trace of the Alexandrine invasions, no trace even of the Sassanides. We cannot, therefore, assent to the theory that the Gathas were only a re-edition of ancient texts made during the early years of the Christian era.

Mon. Darmesteter finds a confirmation of his theory by tracing a close analogy between the *Vohu Mano* of the Gathas and the Logos of Philo of Alexandria, and explains this identity of opinions by the view that the re-editors of the Gathas, or rather of the Avesta in general, over whom presided a man holding Neo-Platonic views, must have been influenced in this doctrine by the Logos of Philo. To this we reply, firstly, by the remark that the conception of *Vohu Mano* is not so well developed in the Gathas as it is in the later Avestic writings, that in the Gathas it is wavering between an abstract attribute of the Deity and a personified being. But even supposing that this close analogy exists to its full extent, we have historical evidence that this conception was familiar to the Mazdeasnians long before the time of Philo. The theory of *Vohu Mano* and the rest of the Amshaspands is mentioned in a passage of the "Isis and Osiris;" and this exposition of the Persian doctrine is usually attributed to Theopompus, from which we may infer the existence of a belief in the Amesha Spentas in the Achæmonian period. But Mon. Darmesteter remarks in a note (note 3, Vol. III, *Zend-Avesta*, p. LXV) that the author describes the Zoroastrianism of his own times (the second century

A. D.), and "quotes Theopompus for a special doctrine, that of the periods of the world's life." But although this last point may be correct, the first part of Darmesteter's theory does not seem to be justified by investigation. The whole passage of Plutarch's is a well-arranged composition, written in a style that does not vary, and "may be regarded as an exposition of the system described by Theopompus, probably in the eighth of his Philippics."* We may therefore regard it as very probable, or almost certain, that the doctrine of the Amshaspands was known to the Mazdeasians in the times of the Achæmenides, and could not therefore have been derived from external sources. If so, the Gathas could not have been composed so late as Mon. Darmesteter supposes, thoroughly embodying as they do the doctrine of the Amshaspands. Having now determined thus far that the Gathas could not have been composed later than the Achæmenide period, we shall proceed to trace the time during which, and the place where, they may have been written, whether by one man or several, by collecting together in detail all the glimpses of history which the Gathas reveal to us. Taking this for our basis, we shall seek in the early history of the East, the time and place that may roughly correspond to those indicated by the Gathas.

The political condition depicted in the Gathas.

Yasna XXIX, 2, 3 and 6, seem to imply that the enemies of the religion are for the moment too strong, and cannot be repelled. Yasna XXXI, 1 and 14, make the opponents of the religion the destroyers of the fields of the faithful; in short, robbers and plunderers. XXXI, 16 and 18, allude to the economic and social organization of the Avesta people, and subdivide it into four grades, the house, the village, the district, and the province, or the *Nmana*, *Vis*, *Zantu* and *Dahyu*, they also refer to the enemies of the religion who destroy everything that they come across.

XXXII, 1, gives us again an allusion to the tribal organization of the times, and makes the enemies of the religion heads of various tribes, who, allied together, bring their followers against the followers of the faith. Yasna XXXII, 7, hints that the followers of Mazda have no conception of the number and forces of their enemies. XXXII, 14, talks as if the opponents had at one time got the upper hand and prevailed over the faithful.

* See Maspero—"The Passing of the Empires," p. 579, note 4.

XLIII, 14, speaks of Zoroaster as inducing the chiefs of various tribes to take up his side against the enemies.

Yasna XXXI, 2, had alluded to a civil struggle among the connected tribes themselves, and here in Yasna XLIV, 18, Zarathushtra asks of Mazda to which side he will give the victory ; in the same Yasna 16 and 17 show that the contest between the tribes is constant and does not leave the victory with any one party decisively. Yasna XLIV, 20, implies that the hostile tribes have never governed their dominions well, and seems to imply that they were more or less nomad tribes.

Yasna XLV seems to suggest that a victory has been won by the followers of Mazda, and Zarathushtra collects together his tribesmen from near and from afar to listen to the words of wisdom.

Yasna XLVI, 1, seems to be written at a time when the followers of the faithful were defeated and almost driven from their homes. XLVI, 2, says that Zoroaster is aware of the cause of these disasters, and that he seeks the help of Mazda. In the same Yasna 4 and 5, he shakes off his dejected mood, and makes an appeal to all to rise and fight for the good cause. Section 12 of the same Yasna again repeats that there is hope even for the enemies, not only for the hostile Aryan tribes, but also for the non-Aryan aborigines of the land. "If these shall repent they shall be blest." We have in this same section a hint as to the conversion of one of the tribes called Fryana. In the rest of Yasna XLVI, Zarathushtra calls upon firstly, Vistaspa the king, secondly, upon the members of his own family, and then upon all the followers of the religion in general to take heart and fight against the enemies.

Yasna XLVIII seems to have been composed at a time when a struggle was once again expected. Section 5 implies that a stable and settled industrial life, resisting all raids and assaults from outside, is the best reward by itself for those who follow that life ; and in Section 8 Zarathushtra asks Ahurah how to encourage the chiefs to take up the good cause. The following sections again speak of the uncertainty as to the results of these wars ; and the Yasna ends with the hope that the followers of the faithful shall prevail.

Yasna XLIX, 1, says that a chief, Bendva by name, had proved himself very formidable, and had succeeded in defeating the followers of Mazda ; the man appears to have had an organised following of his own, almost on a level with the tribe of Mazdiasnians. Section 7

alludes to the division which we have already noted elsewhere, *viz.*, the division into chiefs, peers, and followers.

Such are briefly the historical data afforded to us by the Gathas. The people whom it puts before us are tribes hitherto nomadic in their organization, but at the same time aware of the benefits to be derived from a settled agricultural life. At least the author of the Gathas seems to be fully aware of the benefits which would accrue to civilization if a settled agricultural life were adopted, not only in one place and among one tribe, but in all adjacent districts and amongst all neighbouring tribes. He therefore calls upon his followers to fight against their enemies until they succeed. The struggles of which the Gathas speak seem to be struggles between one tribe and another, all the tribes being ethnologically connected. Some allusions are made to non-Aryan nomadic hordes also, briefly designated as Turanians. The organisation of the tribes seems to be divided into a house, a village, a district, and a province. But this organisation is overlapped sometimes by another, in which heads of provinces are allied together having a sovereign chief, whose peers or equals they are said to be; and against them, or rather under them, are placed their retainers and followers. These internecine strifes—if so we may venture to call them—are present all through the Gathas; sometimes the one party wins, sometimes the other, and the strifes have not yet ended when the Gathas close. There is not the least mention here of any place from which we can infer where these strifes were located; we are left to pure conjecture, and any hints we may get as to the locality can only be derived from the later Avestic writings. At the same time the plain, sober, matter-of-fact way in which the songs are composed leads us to affirm that they deal with real personages and real incidents in history, and there seems no reason whatsoever to impeach their value. There are indications in some places as in XLVIII, 5 and 10, that the tribe or tribes which followed the religion of Zarathushtra were sometimes obliged to submit to the authority of an anti-Zoroastrian king; sometimes as in XLVI, 1, Zarathushtra himself calls upon these hostile chiefs to offer their services to him. From these indications we gather that the struggles were for the most part internecine at any rate in the Gathas. We here have no mention of a formidable authority external to the tribes. It is only in later

Avestic writings that allusions are found to the existence of an external power warring against the followers of the religion.

Having thus ascertained what the political condition of the country was, as it is given to us by the Gathas, we will proceed to examine what period and place in history corresponds to these conditions.

The historical researches of a recent date have entirely changed the aspect of affairs as regards the theories of the original home of the Aryan race. The opinion that had hitherto been entertained on this topic was that the south-west of Asia or the plateau of Iran was the home of the primitive Aryans. But lately the view first adopted by Latham that the original home is to be sought in Europe has been gaining ground, and is now accepted as almost demonstrated by Penka, Canon Isaac Taylor, Prof. G. H. Rendall, and especially by Dr. Ö. Schrader. According to this last-mentioned writer the south-west Russian steppes are the region where the Aryan nomads first tended their flocks, and whence they spread eastwards to Asia, and by the Volga, Don, and Danube, throughout Europe. These Asiatic nomads gradually swept before them all the non-Aryan or Turanian tribes who were too weak to stem their progress, and occupied the western edge of the great plateau where they soon became mainly represented by the two compact groups, the *Persians* to the south on the farthest confines of Elam, and the *Medes* between the greater Zab, the Tournat, and the Caspian. This must have been about the end of the 9th Century B.C., when we find historical mention of them made in the Assyrian monuments as we shall see later on. But there are two possible ways by which the Aryans may have descended into the countries designated; the one is by way of Mount Caucasus into the plains of the Kur and the Araxes, and this is the way by which they are said to have migrated by Prof. Maspero in his history of the East.* The other is by the Aral sea and up the Oxus and Jaxartes into the province of Sogdianna, Bactria, etc. From these lands they further passed over into Media and Persia. This is the opinion put forward by Dr. Schrader. For our part, we are inclined to hold to the latter opinion for reasons for which we would refer to Dr. Schrader's pre-historic antiquities. There is one reason, however, which influences us decisively to this view. It is already established as a fact that the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryan family was once closely knit together. The migration of one part of these Aryans to

* "The passing of the Empires," p. 452.

India cannot be placed later than the 12th century B. C. If so, it would be possible for us to account for the presence of Aryan tribes in Media about the 9th century B. C. in history. But if we suppose that the Medes or Aryans first passed through Media before they came to Bactria, whence lies the safest route to India, then the migration to India could not have taken place earlier than the 9th century B. C. We feel therefore inclined to hold to Schrader's view that the Aryans passed into Bactria and the east of Iran, from whence a part of their group crossed over to India, and the rest may, with the lapse of time, have migrated towards Media and Persia.

We will now refer to Herodotus' narrative of the rise of the Median power. "There was a man among the Medes of the name of Deiokes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised. The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deiokes was distinguished in his own by his impartial distribution of justice." The men of his village, observing his merits, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes, and he did his best to settle their differences on the line of the strictest justice. The people of neighbouring villages unanimously resorted to his tribunal. The number of complaints continually increasing, Deiokes announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes. Hereupon robbery and lawlessness prevailed throughout the country, "wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters, and held a consultation on the state of affairs, determining to have a king. Their choice fell upon Deiokes, and he was proposed and elected king, whereupon Deiokes had a great palace built, and calling upon his subjects to leave their villages, built the city now called Ecbatana."

Two or three facts, as Prof. Maspero remarks, stand out from this legendary background. It is probable that Deiokes was an actual person; that the empire of the Medes first took shape under his auspices, that he founded an important kingdom at the foot of mount Elvend. Herodotus credits Deiokes with a reign of 53 years from 700 to 647 B. C. The records of Nineveh contain a mention of a certain Dayaukku, who was governor of the Mannai (Medes), and an ally of the Assyrians in the days of Sargon; moreover, about 713 B. C. reference is made to an expedition across the territory of Bit-Dayaukku, which is described as lying between Elippi and Karalla. It is therefore probable that the Dayaukku, who gave his name to this district, was identical with the Deiokes of later writers.

“ He was the official ancestor of a royal house, a fact proved by the way in which his conqueror uses the name to distinguish the country over which he had ruled ; moreover, the epoch assigned to him by contemporary chroniclers coincides closely enough with that indicated by tradition in the case of Deiokes.”

Jumping over half a century, we come to the time of Assurbanipal, when the Assyrian empire had not yet fallen. According to Herodotus, a certain Phraortes, son and successor of Deiokes, came to the throne of Media about 655 B. C. We are told that this Phraortes first conquered all the neighbouring princes who had remained independent, and then subjugated the kings of Anshan, the descendants of a Chaispis, alleged son of Akhamanish, who ruled over half of what was known as Elam. Then the Medes rose against the Assyrians. Now the ancient form of the name Phraortes, as handed down to us by a passage in the great inscription of Behistun (Col. II, l. 14) is Frawartish, or Frawarti ; and according to Justi, this means, *the man who proclaims faith in Ahura-Mazda*. The existence of this Phraortes was at first called in question by the Rawlinsons ; but later authorities seem now to be inclining to hold that this Phraortes really existed, whoever he may have been. If this be correct, we have strong reasons to affirm that at any rate the main outlines of the Zoroastrian religion were already fixed at this time, that is to say, about the middle of the 7th century B. C. The names of the tribes which Herodotus mentions as being subdued, and formed into a Kingdom by Deiokes have, according to M. Lenormant, strong affinity to Zend or Iranian names, a fact which, if true, would confirm us in our supposition. The political condition, however, of the country which the Gathas lay before us, and the surroundings of which they give us a glimpse, as we have already observed, is that of a country in which the people had not yet settled down to an agricultural life, in which the highest authority was the head of the province (Daihyu), and where a constant conflict seems to have been waged between the governors of one province and another. The Gathas must therefore have been composed earlier than the time of Phraortes, before even the rise of the Median power, that is to say, before the rise of a sovereign authority keeping under strict obedience the subject provinces. We must therefore assign to the Gathas a date earlier than 700 B. C. This conclusion, at which we have thus arrived, seems to receive confirmation if we accept Justi's identifica-

of the word Deiokes with the Zend *Dahyupaiti*, the master of a province; Deiokes being an abbreviation from *Dahyupaiti* with the suffix *Ka*.

And this same train of reasoning, moreover leads us to conjecture that the Zoroastrian religion first took its rise among one of the Median tribes, of which there were many such in the time preceding the rise of the Medic Empire. The identification of the Vistaspes of the Avesta with the Hystapes, father of Darius, whom history mentions, is therefore out of the question, since Histapes, father of Darius, lived long after Phraortes of Media.

Philology leads us to the same conclusion, that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Zend, the language in which the sacred writings were composed, was a dialect akin to, yet different from, that of the Achemenide inscriptions. Hence the Avesta must have been composed not in Persia, but in lands in the vicinity, probably in Media.

The hypothesis that Zend was the language originally spoken in Bactria rests, as Mon. Darmesteter says, on three propositions: (1) Zend is not the language of Persia; (2) It is in Bactria that, according to tradition, Zoroaster made his first important conquests, *viz.*, over king Gustasp or Vistasp; (3) the geography of the Avesta knows only the east of Iran; the last argument is nowhere so impressively advanced as by Geiger in his civilisation of the East Iranians.

The *first* argument is negative, and helps us in excluding Persia from the question.

The *second* proposition, even granting its validity, does not give us the inference that Bactria was the place where Zoroastrianism first took its rise. Supposing Zoroastrianism to have originated among one of the Medic tribes, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Zoroaster should have attempted to convert neighbouring tribes to the religion of Mazda. Of this we have indications in the Gathas, where a border tribe Fryana is mentioned as being converted. A Bactrian tribe may very well have been the first to be converted, and hence a great importance might naturally be attached to that country in Zoroastrian legends.

The *third* fact advanced, *viz.*, that the geography of the Avesta knows only the East of Iran, is not exact. Mr. Geiger argues that taking all geographical names mentioned in the Avesta into consideration, it appears that the greater part of them belong to the

north-east of Iran. But this, supposing it to be correct, does not give us as an inference that the north-east of Iran or Bactria was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Taking into consideration the fragmentary condition of the Avestic writings, it is just possible that the geographical names of places in West Iran may have been lost in the rest of the writings that have not come down to us. Moreover, as has often been shown, the Avesta is positively familiar with some places which are located in the West of Iran, *e. g.*, Ragha, Aryanem Vaejo, Ranha, Varena, etc. The argument therefore loses much of its force. Further the Gathas, undoubtedly the oldest portion of the Avestic writings, with which alone we have to do here, are entirely silent as to places in West Iran or East Iran. It is only the later Avestic writings that mention these places. Supposing these later writings to have been composed during or after the time of the Persian empire, or sometime earlier, when the religion had spread through Bactria and other adjacent places, we might well account for this seeming anomaly—that places in East Iran should be mentioned in the Avestic writings more frequently than those in West Iran. As Mills and others have shown the Mazdeism professed by Darius and the Persians was not the pure Mazdeism of the Medes, but a schismatic form of it. The true followers of Mazda might therefore well have confined themselves to East Iran in the first fargard of the Vendidad, when they were professing to trace the regions where the Mazdiasnian religion prevailed in its purest and best form. (That is the passage most often relied on in the course of the argument.)

But it is not even true that tradition assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. According to another tradition preserved by the Phelvi commentary of the Vendidad, it was at Ragha, in West Iran that Zoroaster was born, and a celebrated passage of the Yasna proves the existence at Ragha of a sacerdotal estate where the grand-priest, the Zarathushtra, was the governor of the province and possessed temporal along with spiritual power. Everywhere else, says the Yasna, there are five grades of chiefs; the chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the district, the chief of the province, and the Zarathushtra is the fifth." Thus it is everywhere except in Ragha, the town of Zoroaster, where there are four chiefs: "The chief of the house the chief of the village, the chief of the district, and the Zarathushtra is the fourth." In other words, the grand-priest at Ragha held the position of *Dahyuma*, chief of the province. The

Yasna (XIX) might well have been composed in the times of the Medic ascendancy, a suggestion confirmed by Justi's identification of Deiokes with *Dahyupaiti*. This is, moreover, confirmed by two independent sources; on the one hand A. Marcellinus attests to us the existence of a sacerdotal Magian state in Media (XXIII, 6); on the other, the historians of the Arab conquest talk of a fortress near Rai, Ustunvend, seat of the power of the Magi chief, in the time of Magism. (*vide* Darmesteter — *Etudes Iran.*)

We therefore think it probable that the Zoroastrian religion first arose among one of the Medic tribes, and that its date cannot have been later than the 7th century B.C. We now proceed to ascertain whether a more exact time and place cannot be found for the Gathas.

"The Assyrian chronicle," says Prof. Maspero, "have handed down to us a considerable number of noble houses," scattered over Media and the adjacent districts, each of them autonomous and a rival of its neighbour, and only brought into agreement with one another at rare intervals by their common hatred of the invader. Some of them were representatives of ancient races; others belonged to tribes of a fresh stock, that of the Aryans, and more particularly to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family. We first catch glimpses of them in the reign of Shalmeneser III (860-825 B.C.), who calls them the Amadai, or "Madai;" it is the first mention that we meet with in history about the Medes.*

After this first contact with Assyria, intercourse and conflict between the two nations became more and more frequent every year. Rammân-nirari waged ceaseless war against them; Tiglath Pileser III twice drove them before him from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the foot of Demavend; while Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, during their respective reigns, kept anxious watch upon them, and endeavoured to maintain some sort of authority over the tribes which lay nearest to them. We may lay it down therefore as historically certain that Aryan tribes are found in Media by the beginning of the 9th century B. C. How long before this time they may have arrived there we cannot ascertain. But the condition in which they are found at that time does not show that they had settled there very long back. Now the condition of the Medic tribes in the beginning of the 9th century B.C., as we have historically ascertained from hints in the Assyrian chronicles, corresponds very

* Passing of the empire, Vol. III. pp. 89 and 418-9.

closely to the state of affairs which the Gathas disclose to us as existing in the times in which they were composed. May we not therefore suppose that this was the place and this the time of the composition of the Gathas — *viz.*, Media as the place, and the ninth century as the time? The tradition which assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism is not supported by the Gathas. Vistaspa is mentioned here only as a king, and nowhere is he called the king of Bactria. It is only tradition of a later date that makes Vistasp, king of Bactria. The first fargard of the Vendidad, which has been very often brought forward, even by savants, men like Mills, in support of a Bactrian origin, has ever since M. Bréal's searching criticism in his "fragments Zends" been generally acknowledged to be historically of no value whatsoever. It is a list of geographical names consisting of many mythical as well as real historical places; and the historical value of the list is now discredited by the hypothesis of Schrader of a European primitive home for the Aryans. We cannot therefore look upon Bactria as the original home of Zoroastrianism.

There are some allusions in the later Avesta which seem to confirm our supposition that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism, and that the Gathas were composed about the 9th century B. C. In Yesht V., Section 29, Azi Dahaka, the traditional foe of the followers of Mazda, the foreign invader, is mentioned as reigning in Bawru or Babylon. (Cf. Harlez and Darmesteter's remarks on their commentaries.) In this we may perhaps detect an historical allusion to the Assyrians and their constant attacks on the Medes tribes, of which we have spoken already, supposing as we have done that the Yashts were composed much later than the Gathas. Later on when Assyria was forgotten, Azi became an Arab, and we find the change completed in Firdausi, where he is always treated as an Arab. We might also detect an allusion to the Assyrian empire in the first fargard of the Vendidad. Varena is mentioned as the place where Azis Dahaka fought against Thraetona. Varena is identified with *Patish Kavhgar*, and localized by the Phelvi commentators to the south of the Caspian Sea, and is further identified with the Patubarra of the Assyrian inscription by Tiele (Babylonian and Assyrian history). If Azis Dahaka be at one time localised, as we have noticed, in Babylonia, might this not be an indication of the time when Assyria was in possession of the land, or at any rate fought against the tribes in-

habiting them? It would be thus a reminiscence of the times when Assyria came into hostile contact with the Medic tribes. (Darmesteter's *Etudes Iraniennes*, Vol. II., p. 212.)

Another confirmation of our hypothesis might be found in the coincidence between the animals mentioned in the Avesta or rather in the Gathas, and the historically established fauna of the Medic lands. All the animals held sacred in the Avesta, of which we find mention made in the religious writings, are found in Media at the time when the Medes first came to our notice. In the annals of Tigleth Pileser III, we find mention made of horses as being given as tribute by the Medic chiefs to the kings of Assyria, and according to Polybus X, 27) in the time of the Seleucides Media supplied nearly the whole of Asia with these animals.

A. Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, Section 30) mentions the Nysian breed of horses as being well known during the Byzantine period. And we find in the Avesta indications that the horse is highly esteemed. Now the value of the horse generally consists in serving in warfare; it must, therefore, have been an especial favourite with the chiefs of tribes. And this conclusion we find verified by the fact that the word *Aspa*, horse, is of frequent use in the formation of names of princely families handed down to us, *e. g.*, Auroat-Aspa, Ker-Saspa, Erzraspa, etc.

The bronze bas-reliefs on the gates of Balawat portraying the two-humped camel show that the camel was a familiar animal in Media during the time of the Assyrian Empire, and we find allusions in the Gathas to this animal, *e. g.*, Yasna XLIV, 18, "When shall I get justly and rightly my reward ten mares with their stallions and a camel?" Yasht IX sec. 30, praises a Turanian for possessing 700 camels. A camel is likewise more highly prized than a horse or a cow (Vendidad VII., 42). The Avesta also praises dogs and gives them a very great value, as is shown by the penalties prescribed in the Vendidad for the man who beats or kills a dog. This indirectly gives us the conclusion that the Avesta people must have been mainly pastoral in their (industrial) organisation. We find this confirmed by Herodotus, who says, respecting the Magi, that they kill every thing except man and the dog. (Herod. I., 140.) Among the fauna of Media, of which we find mention in history, *e. g.*, in the annals of Esarhaddon II, we find the dog, sheep, goat, likewise enumerated. (Maspero—passing of the Empire, p. 454.) We therefore think

that the animals of which the *Avosta* makes a special mention as being particularly useful, being all found in Media, if other evidence leads us to locate the rise of the religion in Media, the circumstance acts as a corroborative argument supporting the main conclusion.

Further, we very often find in the Gathas and in the later Avestic writings, allusions to struggles with non-Aryan races; may not these—or at least some of these—non-Aryan races be those usually designated under the name of Scythians, whom history often mentions as making incursions upon the borders of Media, *e. g.*, they are mentioned as settling on the eastern basin of the Araxes, on the frontiers of Urartu and the *Monnai* (that is to say, the Medes) about 678 B. C. in the reign of Esarhaddon, and again previously to that about 716 B. C. in the reign of Sargon II.

We now come to an argument of a different nature, which likewise seems to support our view. The names of the six tribes whom Herodotus declares to have been in existence in Media about the time of Deiokes have been traced to Iranian derivations, and M. Lenormant derives some conclusions from this identification. One of the names means "natives," another "nomads," a third "dwellers in tents," a fourth "owners of the soil," and only one is expressly designated as "Aryan people." If so, we infer that the rest of the tribes must probably have been non-Aryans; and this inference can agree very well with the supposition that the tribes designated as Medes were Aryans who had gradually advanced from the east towards the west, or from Bactria and Sogdiana towards the central plateau of Iran. Here in Media they became the ruling class, keeping the original inhabitants in subjection. In the course of time, these aborigines themselves came to be designated as Medes. (*Vide* Oppert's *Peuple et la Langued Médes* Ch. III.

The course of these migrations, which we have sketched out, is in complete harmony with Schrader's hypothesis that the Aryans originally must have started from the steppes of the Southern regions of Russia in Asia, since on this hypothesis the Aryans must have passed through Bactria and Sogdiana before they came to Media.

We are therefore inclined to hold to the opinion that Zoroastrianism as a reforming doctrine handed down to us in the Gathas, must have taken its rise about the 9th century B.C. among one of the Media tribes, and that Vistasp, whose name has been so often conjoined with

that of Zoroaster, must have been either the head of this tribe, or following later tradition, must have been the king of one of those tribes which were at first hostile to the religion, and whom Zoroaster succeeded in winning over to his own side.

This is the conclusion at which we are able provisionally to arrive by the aid of data afforded to us by history. Have we any reason to assume that the Medes were already Zoroastrians when they came down from Bactria and the East? Do we possess any data historically ascertained, which might enable us to trace the existence of Mazdaism in Bactria? We have no such data up to the present. Much stress was formerly laid on the traditionary history of Ninus, the alleged founder of the Assyrian empire, who was said to have reduced all Central Asia, including Bactria, to subjection. Men like Harlez have made statements, historically supposed to be valid, founded on this legend, first put forward in Diodorus Siculus. History now regards the story of Ninus as purely mythical and legendary; and thus it comes about that history has hitherto afforded us not a single item of information regarding the early times of Bactria. Under these circumstances to conjecture that the Zoroastrian religion first took its rise in that land is to assert or put forward a hypothesis incapable of verification for the time being.

On the other hand, supposing our theory regarding the time and place of the composition of the Gathas were correct, we may perhaps account for the the tradition of its Bactrian origin, which took its rise in later times, by saying that it was founded upon the historical reminiscence of an original migration of their ancestors from Bactria into Media. It is just possible that the later followers of the religion in their zeal for proving the antiquity of that religion, gave to Vistasp, who may have been a chieftain of one of the Medic tribes, that had emigrated from Bactria, the title of king of Bactria.

If so, we believe we have sufficient grounds, in the present stage of our historical knowledge, to assert that the Gathas may have been composed about the 9th Century B. C., and that their birth place was one of the tribes of Media.

ART. VI.—*An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundesh.*

By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 1st August 1901.)

With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889, "a very noble allegory." He says :—"There can be but one opinion among those who have thus perused the Gathas, that, in the midst of a world almost wholly given up to a gross material eschatology, this ancient Irânian prophet declared the true rewards and punishments to be spiritual. His teaching is based on a distinction, which to the Jews came much later, between the material or bodily life and the mental or spiritual, the latter of which connects us with 'those veritably real (eternal) worlds where dwells Ahura.' This distinction did not pass away with Zarathustra; it pervades the Avesta . . . In short, heaven and hell are not primarily the localities appointed for souls after death; the one is 'life,' 'the best mental state,' the other is 'life's absence,' 'the worst life'—a high doctrine which is embodied in a very noble allegory in the Vendidad . . . Conscience, in fact, according to the fine allegory, appears to the soul of the deceased man and conducts it to its place."¹

What is this noble allegory? According to the Parsee books, at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him, a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, *i.e.*, the handsome damsel, speaks words of praise, and welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, *i.e.*, the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world.

For a poetic description of this beautiful allegory I would refer my readers to a short paper, entitled "Oltre-Tombe—A Zoroastrian Idyll," by Rev. Dr. Casartelli of St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.²

¹ The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter, by Rev. Dr. Cheyne, 1891, pp. 398, 399.

² The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays in Irânian literature written by various scholars and edited by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1900, pp. 74-78.

Some think that this allegory had "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial hours." "But at any rate," says Dr. Cheyne, "this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels, who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels, who meet the bad man when he dies." ^a Several Parsee writings refer to this allegory. They are the Vendidad (XIX. 27-32), the Vishtâsp Yasht (VIII. 53-64), Hâdôkht Nask (chaps. II. and III.), Virâf-nâme (chaps. IV. and XVII.), Minokherad (chaps. II., 123-157), and the Dâdistân-i-Dini (chaps. XX. and XXI.). I beg to draw attention to-day, to another writing, wherein the subject of the allegory is described, and that in a rather different and amplified way. The book I propose referring to is the Bundeshesh.

Of all the Pahlavi books, there is no book so often referred to, and so often translated, as the Bundeshesh. It was first translated by Anquetil du Perron in French in 1771. Dr. Windischmann translated it into German in 1803. In 1868 Dr. Ferdinand Justi translated it for a second time into German. Dr. West, the best Pahlavi scholar now known, translated it in 1880 into English in the fifth volume of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East. In 1818 it was translated into Gujarati by Dastur Edalji Darabjee Jâmâsp-âsânâ; but as Dr. West says, that translation was more a paraphrase than a translation, I beg to take this opportunity to present to the library of our Society, a copy of my Gujarati transliteration and translation with notes, just published. It will be the first complete translation of the Bundeshesh in Gujarati.

The texts, which all these translators have followed, and which Dr. West has described at some length, do not contain the chapter which refers to the above allegory about the future of the soul. So, through the medium of the Journal of our Society, I beg to place, for the first time, before Irânian scholars, the text and translation of this chapter. Dr. West, though he has not translated the chapter, has drawn the attention of students to a copy of "the more extensive text" ⁴ of the Bundeshesh which contains this and several other chapters. He has named this text TD, as it belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. At the time when Dr. West wrote, that was the only "more extensive text" known. But in 1899, Dastur

^a The origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

⁴ S. E. E., Vol. V., Introduction.

Naikobâd Âdarbâd of Poona, in the preface to his "Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht" drew attention to another "extensive text" of the Bundesh in the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. This text, which I have named DH, from the name of its owner Dastur Hoshang, is not as complete as TD, some of its folios in the middle of the book being missing, but is older than TD. The Trustees of the Parsee Panchâyet, on the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee, at one time thought of printing this older text DH, by the photo-zinco process, at Poona, but gave up the idea, as some of its folios are wanting. They have now begun printing the later but more complete text TD. I would refer my readers to my introduction to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, for a genealogy of the writers of these two old manuscripts.

For the text of my translation of the hitherto untranslated chapter referred to above, I follow the text of DH. I have given collations here and there from a copy of the TD kindly lent to me by its owner. I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks to Dastur Hoshangji and to Mr. Tehmuras for kindly allowing me the use of their valuable manuscripts.

On the subject of "the much more extensive text" of TD—and what applies to TD applies to DH also — Dr. West says, "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text, as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty, until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined."³

From the contents of this new chapter, which I have translated, I am inclined to believe, that the much more extensive texts of TD and DH, are not copies of the text as it originally stood, but are of copies of an after recension of the work."

I have two reasons to believe so. Firstly, take the case of the allegory above referred to, as presented in this new chapter. While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before his soul, after death, in the form of a damsel, in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented—(1) in the form of a cow (tôrâ-karp), and (2) in the form of a garden (bostân karp)

³ S. B. E., V., Introduction XXXVIII.

This is foreign to the old idea of the allegory, as presented by the older Avesta books and other Pahlavi books. So this is an interpolation by the writers of a later recension of the original Bundeshesh. These three different allegories, of the maiden, the cow and the garden, remind us of "the three bands of the ministering angels" in the Talmudic story above referred to, but they are foreign to the original source of the ancient Avesta book of the Vendidad. ⁶

The second fact which induces me to believe that these "much more extensive texts" are copies of a later recension of the work, and not of the text of the Bundeshesh as it originally stood, is the comparison of the number of the chapters of the Bundeshesh with the number of the chapters of the Avesta Dâmdâd Nask, of which it seems to be a Pahlavi rendering.

Dastur Edulji Jamasp-asana says that the Bundeshesh was a Pahlavi rendering of an Avesta Nask. ⁷ Dr. West adduces two proofs to show, that the Damdâd Nask is probably the origin of the Bundeshesh. Firstly, the similarity of the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, as given in (a) the Dinkard, (b) Din Vajarkard, and (c) the Revâyetes ⁸ and of those of the Bundeshesh.

Secondly, the reference to the Damdâd Nask in the Zâdsparam, the contents of which, and in some parts, even the language of which, are similar to those of the Bundeshesh. ⁹

⁶ The later writer, finding that in the Talmudic story, the soul of the pious man was met, one after another, by three bands of ministering angels, perhaps thought it advisable to improve upon the only old allegory of the damsel and added one after another two more,—one, of a handsome cow and another, of a beautiful garden.

⁷ Preface to his Bundeshesh, pp. 4-5.

⁸ For the originals of the Pahlavi and Persian passages, *vide* my Gujarati translation, transliteration and notes of the Bundeshesh (1901), Introduction, pp. 11-15.

⁹ Dr. West says on this point :—"Zâdsparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style ; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from." (S. B. E. V. Introd., p. XLVII.) I beg to differ from Dr. West. Had the Bundeshesh been before Zâdsparam, he would have named that book as his authority, instead of naming the Damdâd Nask. But as he has named the latter book, I think that the writers of the Bundeshesh and Zâdsparam both had a common book, perhaps a summary of the Damdâd Nask, before them.

It seems to me that the very names of the two books adduce a third proof. The word Bundelesh signifies "origin of the creation." The word Dâmdâd signifies something similar. It means "the giving (dâd) of the creation (dâm)." In the passage¹⁰ of the Dinkard, which gives the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, we find in the very beginning "Yehabûntan-i-Dâm," as another word for "Dâmdâd." In this other word, we find for the Pahlavi word dâd, its Semitic equivalent (Yehabuntan). In the description of the division of the 21 nasks into three classes, given in the 8th book of the Dinkard, occur the words Deheshnê-i-gêti dâd (Dahisnô-i-steh-dadô, i.e., production of the wordly creation) which, Dr. West thinks, refer to the Dâmdâd Nask, and are "evidently another name for the Dâmdâd."¹¹ All these similarities of names point to the fact, that the Dâmdâd Nask was the origin of the Bundelesh.

Now we know from the Revâyets, and from Din Vajarkard, that the Dâmdâd Nask had 32 chapters.¹² So the Bundelesh, which had Dâmdâd Nask for its origin, must also have 32 chapters. But "the much more extensive text" presents about 42 subjects or chapters. This shows, then, that these more extensive texts are copies of later recensions, and not of the original texts of the Bundelesh, which, following its source, the Dâmdâd Nask, must contain about 32 chapters. As a matter of fact, we know that the shorter text, hitherto translated by various translators, only contains about 32 or 33 subjects or chapters. So I am of opinion, that the texts hitherto known and translated, before the discovery of TD, and the later discovery of DH, are copies—with the exception of a few interpolated references to the Arabs and to subsequent historic events—of the Bundelesh originally known, and that the much more extensive texts TD, DH and others, are copies of later recensions, in which many chapters are subsequently added.

¹⁰ Vide the Introduction of my Bundelesh, p. 11, for the passage.

¹¹ S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 8, Dinkard, Bk. VIII., ch. I. 16, note 3.

¹² این کتاب سی و دو کورده است Manuscript Revâyet, of the Bombay University Library, Vol. I., Folio 109 A., l. 16. Vide also Fragmens relatifs a la Religion de Zoroaster par Mohl et Olshausen, 1829. Le second morceau, p. 12., l. 10

دین و جوارکارد کو و دو کورده است Din-i-Vajarkard (from an extract kindly supplied by Dastur Kaikobad Aderbad). For the originals of the Persian and Pahlavi passages, vide the Introduction to my Bundelesh, pp. 12-13.

AN UNTRANSLATED CHAPTER OF THE BUNDEHESH.

I would like to say here a few words on the subject of the name of the original writer and the date of the Bundeshesh. In reference to these subjects, I lay stress on the following passage¹³ of the Bundeshesh (West, ch. XXXIII.).

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀
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Translation.

All other priests, who are spoken of in the *Khodâi-nâmeh*, as belonging to the same family, are of this family of *Minôchêher*. Also these *Mobads*, who are of the present times, call themselves of the same family, and also I (your) servant, whom the people call *Dâtakiya* (the son) of *Asha-Vahishta* (the son) of *Goshan Jam* (the son) of *Vâbrâm Shâd* (the son) of *Zarthusht*, which *Zarthusht* is (the son) of *Adarbâd Marespand* (am of the same family).

I conclude from this passage that the *Dâtakiya*, referred to here, was the author of the original *Bundeshesh*, and he was the 5th in descent from *Âdarbâd Marespand*, who was the chief *Dastur* of the Court of *Shapur II.*, who reigned from 309 to 379 A.D. Supposing that *Âdarbâd Marespand* flourished in the latter half of the period of *Shapur's* reign, say, at about 350 A.D.—and calculating 25 years for each generation, we can say that this *Dâtakiya* lived at the end of the 5th century (350 + 125 = 475).

¹³ Taken from DH. folio 229 a., line 16.

¹⁴ DH has 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 which is evidently miswritten for 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 and which TD has written correctly.

¹⁵ DH has 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 which is miswritten for 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀 and which TD has written correctly.

Dr. West translates the words 'Dâtakiya-i-Ashavahishta' in the above passage as "the administrator of perfect rectitude." He then begins a new sentence with the next word "Yudân-Yim." But on referring to the older manuscripts D. H. and T. D., we find that the words Asha-Vahishta and Yudân-Yim (Goshana Jam) have an "i" (ﺉ) between them. This shows that Asha-Vahishta also is a proper name and the (ﺉ) i between that word and the next word shows the line of descent. In the same way the ﺉ i between Asha-Vahishta and Dâtakiya shows the line of descent.

So, I think that the Bundeshesh was written, at first, at the end of the fifth century. Later on, additions have been made to it from time to time. So, we find allusions to the Arab conquest and even to some subsequent events. Dr. West has referred to these allusions at some length. Dr. Darmesteter, in a paper read before the Jarthôshti-Dinni-khol-karnâri Mandli in Bombay in 1887, referred to the words *Zing-i-Sidk pôshht* (i.e., the black-skinned negroes) in chapter 23, and said that the words alluded to the Zangis or the people of Zanzibar. He thought that it was a reference to an event which occurred in 862 A.D. The people of Zanzibar had settled in the Eastern countries of Irân at the end of the seventh century. In 686 A.D. a chief, named Ali bin Abdul Rehman, said that he had descended from Ali, and that the Khalifate was due to him. He raised an army of Zanzibar slaves and conquered the Persian territories in the east of Irân. It was in 892 A.D. that the Persians finally drove away the Zangbaris from Persia. So Dr. Darmesteter thought that the above was an allusion to the Zanzibar people of that time, and placed the latest date of additions to the Bundeshesh as late as from 862 to 892 A.D.

At the end of chapter 34 we find the following words in all manuscripts: "Âkhar val Tâzikân vazlûnt," i.e., "at last (the sovereignty) went to the Arabs." The older manuscripts D. H. and T. D. give the following words instead of the above:—

"Vad zinûkih aiyâft anshakui Tâzikân vad shant-i-chohâr sad chahal-ô-haft-i-Pârsikân. Kun panj bist-o-haft shant-i-Parsik."

I translate this passage as follows:—

"Up to the time the wretched Arabs got the place (of Irân), 447 years of the Parsis. Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis."

I understand the passage to mean as follows :—In the paragraph preceding the one, where this sentence occurs, it is said of Ardešhir Bâbakân and the Sassanians, that they reigned for 460 years. Now the writer means to say that all these 460 years were not of the rule of the Sassanians. 447 years were of the Sassanian rule and the remaining (460-447) 13 were of the period when Yazdagird was flying here and there after his first defeat.

But the most important part about the latest date of the Bundešesh is the last part, wherein the writer says :— “Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis,” i.e., 135 of the Parsis. We know that even after the death of Yazdagird the Parsis ruled for some time here and there, in the mountainous tracts of Khorâssân and adjoining districts. So the writer means to say that the Parsis ruled here and there for 135 years after Yazdagird. And as he uses the word *kun*, i.e., now, it appears that the date when this part was added to the Bundešesh was 786 A.D. (651 the date of Yazdazard + 135).

With these prefatory remarks I give the text and translation of the chapter. ¹⁶

**Madam Chinvaħar va
robân-i-vadardagân
(D H f. 217 a. l. 3).**

**On Chinvaħar (bridge)
and the souls of the
departed.**

1. Yemalelûneđ pavan dîn,
aigh Chekâtî i yâk sađ gabrâ
bâlâî, mfyân-i-gehân, mun
Chekâtî Dâiti karîtnnd, gôk¹⁷-i-

1. It says in religion, that
(the mountain) Chekâtî, which is
as high as one hundred persons,
(and) is in the middle of the

¹⁶ This chapter is the 37th in order in T. D. as pointed out by Dr. West under the heading of “On the Chinvađ bridge and the souls of the departed.”—(S. B. E., V. Introduction, p. XXXVII.)




¹⁷ ۴۴ P. قوق plain ground. T. D. gives ۴۴. If you read it gôđ, it is p. گود low-lying ground. Perhaps it is كوی a dome, cupola. If ۴۴ is read *jard* it is miswritten for ۴۴۵ yellow. cf. Virâf V, ۵ ۴۴۵ ۴۴۵
۴۴۵ ۴۴۵ ۴۴۵ ۴۴۵

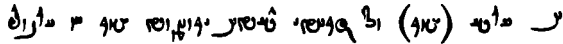
tarâzûk Rashna yezato. Tahî¹⁹
pavan bûn-i-kôf-i-Albûrz pavan
kôst-i-apâkhtar, va tahi pavan
rôêshman kôf-i-Alburz pavan
kôst-i-nîmrôj, miyân madam
zak Chekât-i-Dâitî yekavimûnêt.

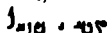



world, (and) which is called
Chekâtî Dâitî, (is) the place of
the balance of the angel Rashna.
One end (of the bridge) is at the
foot of the mountain of Albûrz
on the northern side, and one end
on the top of the mountain of
Albûrz on the southern side, and
its middle part on that Chekât-
i-Dâitî.

Pavan zak miyânê zinâk¹⁹
tahi²⁰-i-tiz-i-shûpshîr²¹ hûmânâk
yekavimûnêt,²² mûnash nuhnîzê
darnâê va pehnâê. Va tamman
yekavî-mûnêt²³ minôyân yazad-
dân²⁴ mûn minôyfiikhâ rôbân-i-



In that middle part (there is)
a place with a sharp edge, which
is like a sword, whose length and
breadth (are) nine spears; and
there are spiritual Yazatas there,
who purify pious souls; and


¹⁹ Same as  tih p.  single, bottom or  single, a unit; end, point. cf. Pahlavi Vendidad XIX., 30. Spiegel, p. 217, l. 21.



i. e., It has two ends, one is in the Chekât-i-Dâitî and one on the Alburz. cf.  Dadistân-i-Dinik, question XIX, S. B. E. West Pahl. texts, II., chap. XX., 4 The word  can also be read tâb. p.  to sharpen, to give an edge. In the Dadistân the word is written  P. تیغ point of a spear.

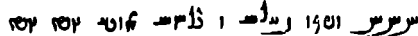
¹⁹ T. D. Zinâk. ²⁰ T. D. omits.

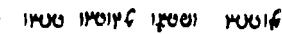
²¹  T. D. has  arb. سيف (pl. سبوری) a sword, scimitar.

The writer of D. H. seems to be doubtful about this word Shûpshîr, because he writes in Persian, below the word,  (bâ mim), i. e., he asks the reader to read the word with "m" instead of "p" shûmsîr instead of shûpshîr.

²² In D. H. and T. D. we have "yekavimûnât yekavimûnêt," but the word seems to be written twice. T. D. has simply "yekavimûnêt."

²³ Dadistân ques. XX., S. B. E., XVIII., West, ch. XXI., 5.



²⁴ cf. Pahlavi Vendidad XIX., 30. Sp. p. 216  i. e., "Which (bridge has) spiritual angels of its own."

âhalôbân yôshdâsarend va kalbâ²⁵-
i-mînôyi pavan rôêshman-i-zak
pûbar vadûshakhû azîr zak
puhar.

2. Amatmardûm barâ vadîrend
seh lêlyâ rôbân pavan nazdik-i-
tan tamman âghash rôêshman
yehevûnt yetîbûnêt; va zak lêlyâ
mûn Vîzarîsh shêdâ va hamkârân
kabad ân shap²⁷ avshân khadî-
tûnêt, va hamê pûsht lakhvâr
val âtash vâdûnêt i tamman
atrûkht yekavimûnêt. Hanâ râê
zak seh lêlyâ vad yôm tamman
aighash rôêshman yehevûnt âtash
pavan afrujashna yakhsûnd. Va
amat zak âtash lôit pûsht lakhvâr
val âtash-i-vâharâm ayûp âtashûn-
i-ham-afrank²⁸ hômand vâdûnêt.
Den zak seh lêlyâ amat kari-
mushna va vashûpashna val tan
yâmtûnêt adînash aêtûndûshkhvâr
medammûnêt chîgûn g a b r â i
amatash mân²⁹ kbefrûnd.

spiritual dogs (are) at the head
of the bridge; and hell is below
that bridge.

2. When men die, for three
nights, the soul rests near the
body, at that place, where there
was the head; and on those
nights, (he) who (is) the demon
Vîzarîsh, with (his) co-workers,
looks much at them during the
night, and always turns his back
towards the fire²⁶ which is kind-
led there. For that reason, during
the three nights, up to (the dawn
of) the day, the fire is kept
burning there, where his head
(is lying). And when the fire is
not there, he turns his back to
the Âtash-Vâhrâm, i.e. to the all
glorious fires. During the three
nights, when pain and misery
come to the body, then as much
uneasiness appears to him, as to
a man when his house is being
dug up.

²⁵ Compare this idea of the dogs watching at the gates of Heaven with the similar Vedic thought. "Fear not to pass the guards. The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed." (*Vide* my *Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees*, pp. 9-10.)

²⁶ It is a Parsee custom to keep the fire burning for three nights, in the room, where a dead body is placed before its removal to the Tower.—*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 10. *Vendîdâd VIII.*, 79-80.

²⁷ **آن شب** P. **آن شب**. This is a repetition, "zak lêlyâ" having been already mentioned a little above. The word can be read "andâz" P. اندازه purpose, intention or measure. Then the phrase "kabad andâz" may mean "with great intention" or "several times, repeatedly."

²⁸ P. **افرنک**. dignity, grandeur.

²⁹ DH has mân. Mân of TD is better. P. **آن** Av. **آن**. It can also be taken in the sense of "family."

3. Zak seh yôm rôbân pavan bâlu i tan pavan zak âhmîd³⁰ yetîbûnêt aîgh yehevûnêt amat khûn tâpêt va vât val tan vazlûnêt³¹ va li lakhvûr vazlûntan tôbân yehevûnât. Va âkhar lêlyâ i seh yôm den bâmi ât zak rôbân âhloban denman yemallûnêt aîgh: "neyôk valman mûn min zak i valman neyokih katarchâc, aîgh li neyôk azam har kas neyôk, avam Aûharmazd pavan kâmê sharîtâih³² yehabûnt."³³ Va ât zak rôbandarvand yemallunet denman "Zak tan jân na karp mûnash levatman pavan dûbârishna, dûbârêt, Homanam³⁴ âkhar min latamman val aîgh dûbâram."³⁵

4. Va ât âhloban tîz pavan zak gôbashna vâti padîrê yâtûnêt i shapîr neyôktar v hubôitar pîrôjgartar min hamâk vâtân i pavan gêtiha mûn rôbân barâ hûravâkhmînêt. Va ât darvand vâti padîrê yâtûnêt gandôtar va pûtêtar a-pîrôjgartar min hamâk

3. For those three days, the soul sits before the head of the body, in the hope, that it may so happen, that the blood (of the dead body) may be heated and the wind may enter the body³² and "I may be able to go again (into the body)." And afterwards, on the third night at the dawn, if the soul be pious, it says thus: "He is good from whom goodness (proceeds) to any body else, i.e., (if) I am good every body else will be good through me, Aûharmazd has created me with a free will." And if the soul be sinful, it says thus: "That person, whose life and body were together in a state of loitering, loiters. Then, to which place shall I run from here?"

4. And if (the soul be) pious, immediately with those words, there comes before him a wind, which is better, more excellent, more fragrant, more auspicious than all the winds that are in the world, and which pleases the soul. And if (the soul be) sinful,

³⁰ For 𐬀𐬀𐬀 p. 𐬀𐬀𐬀. ³¹ i.e., the body may be resuscitated.

³² Lit royal will. Cf. Hâdôkht Nask II., 5.

𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀

³³ DH yehabûnêt. ³⁴ In the sense of 𐬀𐬀𐬀

³⁵ Cf. Virâf XVII., 7. 𐬀𐬀𐬀, 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬀𐬀

vâtân pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân
dûshmarîha³⁶ pîm³⁷ yâmtunêt.

there comes before him a wind,
more stinking and more putrid
(and) more inauspicious than all
the winds of the world, which
brings to the soul a fear of evil
recollections.

5. Va âkhar yedrûnd ât zak
rôbân val hamâk mûn âhloban
mûnach darvand. Ât âhloban den
râs adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê
yâmtunêt farpîh pûr pim mûn
r o b â n azash patîkhûih³⁸ va
charpîh yâmtunêt. Dûd³⁹ kanîk-
karp padîrê yâmtunêt hû-karp i
sapid vastarg i pânzdah sâlê mûn
min hamâk kôstê neyôk mûn
rôbân patash shâd shayêt.⁴⁰
Dûd bôstân i-karp yâmtunêt pûr-
bar pûr-maya pûr-mivê pûr-
patîkhû mûn rôbân hu-ravâkh-
mînîh va patîkhu-mînashnîh
yâmtunêt. Âit hûm⁴¹ vahîshîk

5. Then they carry that soul
whether (it belongs) to all who
(are) pious, or who (are) even
sinful. If pious, there comes
before him in the way, the figure
of a fat and milky cow, from
whom come to the soul, happi-
ness and sweetness. Again, there
comes before him the figure of a
damsel, who is well-formed, of
white clothes, of fifteen years of
age, who is good from all sides,
(and) with whom the soul is
pleased. Again, there comes the
figure of a garden, full of leaves,
full of water, full of fruits, full

³⁶ Perhaps miswritten for 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 unpleasantness. It will then be
the opposite of the above hûravâkhminîh.

³⁷ P. 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 of Virâf I. 20. 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

³⁸ 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 This word occurs in Minôkherâd II., 2, where its Pazend
equivalent is 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 Neryôsang gives its Sansorit समृद्धि samriddhi
(prosperity, opulence). It is there used in the sense of prosperity. a *Avesta*
𐭥𐭩 or 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 to nourish 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 nourishment.

³⁹ *Lit.* another. Here used in the sense of 'secondly, thirdly.'

⁴⁰ DH 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 but TD has 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 which is better. P.
𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 so perhaps shâyêt is from Pazend 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 or it is miswritten for
𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 yehavûnât.

⁴¹ DH 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩 but TD 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩

demman pîsh min hamâr dakhshê pavan gêhân khaditûnêt.

6. Ait mûn zak rôbân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt amatash padirê yehevûnêt. Pûrsêt aigh "lak mûn hûmanî mûn li aîtûn mayam-mûnêt? aighat harvesp khvârih va âsânih." Patash aêtûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pasakhun yemallûnd. "Li hûmanam âhloban Dîn i lak kûnashna⁴² ziyat varzît. Amat lak neyôkih kard li lak râê latamaman yehevûnt humanam.

7. Ât zak rôbân darvand adinash tôrâ-karp val padirê yâmtûnêt khushk va zârva sahamkîn mûn rôbân khûshk khushkih va zâr charpîh azash yâmtûnêt. Dûd kanik-karp rasêt sahamkûnd dûsh-karp mûnash tar-mînashnih nehûft yêkavimûnêt min hamâk kôstê sahamkîn mûn robân azash bim va tarsashna yâmtûnêt. Dûd bôstân-karp yâmtûnêt avî-maya i avî darakht⁴³ avî-khvârih mûn rôbân dûsh-mînashnih yâmtûnêt.

of fertility, from whom blissfulness and fertile thoughts come to the soul. It is a paradise-like place, incalculably more (paradise-like) than that of which one sees signs in the world.

6. There are some souls, who, when they meet, ask one another. One asks: "Who art thou, who appeareth thus to me? that is thou art all happiness and ease?" They, one by one, reply to him thus: "Oh righteous man! I am the Din (i.e., religious picture) of thy work, which you performed. When you performed good deeds, I was formed here for thee."

7. If the soul is sinful, then there comes before him the figure of a cow, without milk, and weak, and frightful, (and) from whom there comes to the soul, dry dryness and weak fatness. Again, there comes the figure of a damsel fearful, ill-formed, who has evil thoughts concealed in her, who is frightful from all directions, and from whom come to the soul, terror and fear. Again, there comes the

⁴² DH has ۱۱۹ which is a mistake for ۱۳۰۱۱۹, which we find in TD Cf Virâf IV., 23, 24. ۶۶۴ ۱ ۱۳۰۱۱۹ ۱ ۳۳ ۱۳۰۱۱۹ ۱۳۰۱۱۹ ۱۳۰۱۱۹ If we take simply 'kun,' the meaning would be "which you now performed;" but this evidently seems to be a mistake.

⁴³ ۱۳۰۱۱۹ miswritten for ۱۳۰۱۱۹

Ait i bûm i dûshakhûik denman
pish hamâr daklishê güyed.⁴⁴

8. Ait mûn valmanshân ayôk
ayôk pârsêt aîgh "lak mûn
hûmanî? min lak hanâktar pavan
gêih lâ khaditûnt." Pasakhun val
valman yemalelund aîgh "âi
darvand li din i lak munat nafsh-
man kûnashna humanam. Amat
lak zak i saritar varzît latamman
lak râc yehevûnt humanam. Âi⁴⁵
paçtâk aîgh kolâ aîsh kunashnih
nafshman padîrê yehovûnt.

9. Âkhar zak róbân râinênd
bûn i kôf i Albûrz aîgh tîgach i
gök⁴⁶ madam zak sâtûnêt vad
bâlist i Chekât aîgh zak tîgi tiz
yekavînûnt. Âtarô i Farbag
i pirôjgar târikîh barâ zanêt va
pavan âtash karp zak róbân
pavan zak tîg vaârêd. Avash
zak minôyân yazadân yôshdâsrênd
minôyihâ pavan gok⁴⁷ i dadîgar
vaârêt vad val bâlist i Albûrz.

figure of a garden, waterless,
treeless, dreary, from whom
there comes to the soul evil
thoughts. This is a hellish place,
whose (hellish) character is said
to be immeasurable.

8. There are those (souls) who
ask one another: "Who art
thou? A more harmful (person)
than thee is not seen in the
world." They say in reply to
that:⁴⁶ O sinful! I am thy reli-
gion, who (*i. e.*, I) am thy own
work. When you performed what
was evil, I was formed here for
thee;" that is to say, it is clear that
one's own actions come before him.

9. Then they carry that soul
to the foot of the mountain
Albûrz, where it walks over it up
to the very edge of the hill, up
to the top of the Chekât where
the edge is very sharp. The
auspicious fire Farbag smites the
darkness and that soul passes
over the edge in the form of fire.
Those spiritual yazads purify it,
and it goes spiritually to another

⁴⁴ ٤٥ Zond Pah, Glossary, p. 33, l. 2. If read javid, the meaning would be
"Its characteristic is quite of a different kind beyond measure."

⁴⁵ DH gives ۴ but TD correctly ۴

⁴⁶ ٥٣ P. ٥٣ a dome. In the sense of a hill. If we read "tig-
i-obîgûk" it may mean the "edge of a knife" P. چاقو or چاقو. The Revâysts
speak of "knives" in these matters. TD, has ٥٣ Perhaps it is miswritten
for ٥٣ Chinvad.

⁴⁷ T D, has ٥٣ Then it would mean, "It passes on with goodness."

Avash vâê shapîr yadman madam
vakhdûnêt val jînâk i nafshman
yedrûnêt chegûn zak amat rôbân
makadlûnêt va tamman avaspârêt.
Tanach amat pavan gêtîh yôshdâ-
srênd pavan zak angôshidê
mînôyîk.

10. Ât zak rôbân darvand
amat pavan gôk madam val i
Chekât yâtûnêt zak tîg i tîz pavan
ham tîgî barâ yekavîmûnêt va
vaçarg lâ yehabûnêt va avash
a-kâmagîhâ madam ham-tig
sâtûntan âvâyêt pavan seh gâm
i farâz khanakhtûnêt i nêt dûsh-
mata dûshhûkhta dûshhvarshta
ziash varzit yekavîmûnêt. Farut
bardanêt min rôêshman i puhar
sar-negûn val dûshakhû aûftêt
va khaditûnêt kolâ hanâkih.

11. Denmanach yemalelunêt
aigh mûn pavan râdîh âhlôban
yehavûnt yekavîmûnêt, amatash
zak vât val paçirê rasêt, den
zak vât kanîk karp khaditûnêt,
zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Avash
zak kanîk pavan râs-nûmâih val
saratî⁴⁸ yedrûnêt mûnash seh
pâyak patash va pavan zak sarat
val garûtmân vazlûnêt pavan
seh gâm i aît⁴⁹ hûmata, hûkhta

summit, up to the very summit
of Albûrz. The Good Wind
catches hold of his hand, carries
it to its own place, as the soul
would like, and there it entrusts
it (to the heavenly beings). In
the same way, as that, in which
they purified the body in the
world (they purify it) spiritually.

10. If that soul is sinful, when
it comes from the hill up to the
Chekât, that sharp edge continues
to be of the same sharpness and
does not give a passage; and it is
forced against its will to walk
over the same edge, with three
steps, which it places forward
and which are evil thoughts, evil
words (and) evil actions which
it had performed. It retires
below from the top of the bridge,
(and) falls headlong into the
hell, and sees all kinds of harm.

11. It is likewise said, that he,
who has become righteous by his
generosity, when that wind
comes before him, sees in that
wind, the form of a damsel (and)
puts him that question. That
damsel takes him, under her
guidance, to a pleasant locality
which has three grades over it
and by that pleasant locality
takes him to the paradise, by

⁴⁸ Arabic سمرّة *surrat*, the choicest part of a valley. Perhaps it is P. *سمرط* *sarat* "travelling smoothly along the road" or *صراط* *sirât* the straight road. In Korân, a bridge is spoken of as *Al sirât*, which corresponds to the Chinvat bridge.

⁴⁹ DH has *سار* but ID has correctly *سار*. In the corresponding sentence in para. 10 also, we have *سار*

hûvarshta. Nazdest gâm vad val
setar-pâyak, dadîgar vad val
mâhi-pâyak, sehđigar vad val
khûrshid-payâk âigh garût mân
i rôshan.

12. Ât pavan pîjih⁵⁰ darvand
yehavûnt yekavimûnêt amatash
zak vât padirê yehavûnt den zak
vât kanik karp rasêt va zak
pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Âft kûnashna
tîg i tîz hûmânâk varđêd mûn ha-
mâk tîg i tîz. Val zak robân ye-
mulelûnêt âigh "darvand amatat
kâmê va amatat la kâmê. Madam
denman pavan gâm sâtûntan
avâyet." Adin rôbân yemale-
lûnêt âigh âtam pavan kardô i
kabad tîgi borîni shapîr mayam-
mûnêt aigh pavan gâm madam
denman sâtûnam. Dadîgar ham-
âinînê yemalelûnêt. R ô b â n
pasakhun yemalelûnêt aigh âtam
pavan tîr barâ makhîtûnî shapîr
mayammûnî aigh madam denman
pavan gâm sâtûnam. Sedîgar
hamâinînê yemalelûnêt. Valman
pasakhun yemalelûnêt aigh âtam
khayâ min tan barâ makhîtûnî
shapîr mayammûnî aigh madam
denman pavan gâm sâtûnam.

three steps, which are good
thoughts, good words and good
actions. The first step is up to
the Setar-pâyak (*i.e.*, star-grade
paradise), the second up to the
Mâhpâyak (*i.e.*, the moon-grade),
the third up to the Khûrshid-
pâyak (*i.e.*, the sun-grade), *i.e.*,
the brilliant Garût mân.

12. If, by his baseness, he has
become sinful, when that wind
appears before him, the form of
a damsel comes in that wind and
makes that inquiry. She is (a
picture of his) actions, like a sharp
sword which moves about like
all sharp swords. She says to
that soul: "O sinful! what is
your desire? What is not your
desire? You shall have to walk on
this with your steps." Then the
soul says: "If you will cut me,
with a very sharp knife, it will
appear better than that I should
walk on this (sharp edge) with
steps. For the second time (the
damsel) speaks in the same way.
The soul says in reply: "If you
will kill me with an arrow, it will
appear better than that I should
walk with steps on this. For the
third time (the damsel) speaks
in the same way. It says in
reply: "If you cut off (my)
soul from (my) body, it will
appear better than that I should
walk with steps on this."

⁵⁰ P. دوج vile, base, trifling. From the context it appears to be opposed to
رادى radîh, generosity.

13. Adîn⁵¹ ât⁵² zak kûnashna dad i sahangûn i lâ dastmôk hûmânâk yehavûnet lavîn i rôbân barâ yekavimûnêt. Zak rôbân avîn tarsêt aigh madam zak pavan gâm sâtunêt va pavan seh gâm farût bardanêt val dûshakhû aúftêt. Munash vanâs va kerfê kolâ dô râst adînash val hamîstêgân yehabûnd. Hamîstêgân râê yemalelunêt aigh jînáki chegûn gêtî hûmânâk. Kolâ aish pavan zak pâyak zîshân kerphê va jînáki yehabûnd yetîbûnand⁵³.

13. Them that (picture of one's) deed becomes like a frightful untamed wild beast (and) stands before the soul. The soul is so much frightened with it, that it walks over this (narrow path) with steps and retires down with three steps and falls into the hell. Those, whose sins and righteous acts are both equal, are then given into the Hamîstêgân. It is said of the Hamîstêgân that it is a place like the world. All persons sit in that grade, which is assigned according to his righteousness and position.

⁵¹ This word is not found in TD, but found in TD₂ and DH. Miswritten for آدین adîa 'then.' Perhaps miswritten for آهنگون 'at once,' which is sometimes interpreted by اکنون 'now' (Pahl. Paz. Glossary, p. 51).

⁵² This word has been subsequently added in DH. It is not necessary. The meaning can be complete without it.

⁵³ TD has the whole sentence thus $\text{آهنگون ایش پان زاک پایاک زیشان کرپه و جنکی یه‌ابوند ی‌تیبوند}$ i. e. All persons are given a place according to their righteousness.

ART. VII.—*A Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District.* By SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated, September 1901.)

The six gold coins or pagodas on which the following note has been drawn up have been received from the Collector of Bijapur. They were found near the pathway of a village (Malghan), some sixteen miles south of Bijapur, having been unearthed by cattle constantly treading up the ground. They are circular pieces cut off from thin gold plates, the diameter being about an inch. Each weighs about 67 grains. The reverse is markedly convex and the obverse concave in the case of three of them, and less so, in the case of two. The sixth one is almost flat. Except for the raised lines due to the punches on the obverse, the reverse is blank.

The central design is that of a conical pagoda. Within the pagoda there is at the top the archaic form of श्री, and at the bottom the following letters on two of the coins:—

श्रीजगदे

कमल

On the other four, the letters at the bottom are simply:—

जगदे

कमल

The form of the letters is old Canarese. The *ma* especially is sharply distinguished from the modern Canarese or Telugu *ma*, and resembles closely that of the middle stage of the Canarese and Telugu type of the Southern India alphabets. Round about the central figure on all four sides of it, श्री has been punched in four different places, and also similarly between every two "Sri"s, more or less of the letters जगदेकमल. These punch marks do not have exactly the same relative position with regard to each other on any two of the six coins. In the first two, the four letters in the first line are crowded together, and in the other four the three letters are wider apart. In the former again there is a greater distance between क and म than between म and ल. In the latter all the three are equally apart from each other.

The coins, therefore, seem to have been struck from the simplest form of a die in which, according to Elliot (*Coins of South. Ind.*, p. 54, last para.) there "appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, having the other side or reverse plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested. The force of the blow has in many instances given the upper side a concave surface."

Such "a particular application of the Indian method of punch-marking, by which each portion of a definite design is impressed on the coin by a separate punch," the Chalukya (*i. e.*, the earlier Chálukya) coins are remarkable for (Rapson: *Indian Coins*, p. 57). The present coins then resemble them in that respect. The usual Chálukya emblem of the boar is, however, absent. But no coin which can be assigned to any of the later Western Chálukyias has yet been known to possess that emblem. There are two coins mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch at pp. 321-2 of the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV., which, on account of the legends on them, he would assign to the Chálukyias, one to a later Chálukya and the other either to a later or an earlier Chálukya. They do not, however, bear the emblem of a boar but of a lion.

As to which Jagadekamalla the present coins are to be assigned to, there are three of that name known so far. One is Jayasimha (A.D. 1018-1040) of the line of later Chálukyias called Jayasimha II. by those who would regard the earlier and the later Chálukyias as one. The second is one known among the records by that name only (A.D. 1138-1150). The third is Permađi Jagadekamalla, of the Sindas of Yelburga. He was not a Chálukya, but a great feudatory of the Chálukyias, who with his father helped Vikramāditya II. of the later Chálukyias in his wars, and who, during the reign of Jagadekamalla, ruled over provinces now forming part of the Bijapur and Dharwar districts. But as he was a feudatory only and, as according to Mr. Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 575) he was called Jagadekamalla-Permađi, because he was a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II., it is unlikely that the coins could have been stamped with his name, and that as Jagadekamalla.

To which of the remaining two Jagadekamallas the coins should be assigned, it is very difficult to decide. Perhaps the fact, that the

name Jagadekamalla, which originally at least is a *biruda*, should have been so far identified with the second ruler of that name; that his original proper name, if he had any, does not occur even once amongst the "some fifty" records of his reign that are now known (*Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 457); would seem to indicate that they should be assigned to him.

The presence of a pagoda on these coins instead of a boar as also that of a lion on one of the coins mentioned above, that Dr. Hultzsch would, on account of the legend on it, assign to a Trailokyamalla might, perhaps, be considered an additional reason for regarding the earlier and the later Châlukyas as separate dynasties besides those given in Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 79-80 (Second edition). In that case, however, the second coin mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch as bearing five punch marks representing a lion, which on account of the additional punch marks "Jaya" and "Deva," he would refer to Jayasimha, would have to be referred to Jayasimha (or Jagadekamalla I.) of the later Châlukya Dynasty, and to admit that in the case of that dynasty either the same king or two different kings (if the present coins are referred to Jagadekamalla II.) made use of two different emblems.

The word "pagoda" originally meant a temple, and has since come to mean a golden coin on account of certain golden coins having the figure of a pagoda stamped on them. Such coins, it therefore seems, were once very common even up to a recent date. Hence it appears very curious that the present coins should be the first ones of that kind which should have come up for notice.

ART. VIII—*The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherji Ráná.*

(Read 19th December 1901.)

Akbar, who is spoken of as the Edward I. and the Henry VIII. of his race,¹ as the Joseph II. of Hindustán,² and as the first Darwinian before Darwin,³ had tried his best to unite his people in religion and government. To a certain extent, he tried to play the same part in India, as that which Ardeshir Babegán (Artaxerxes I. of the Greek historians) played in Persia and Soter or Ptolemy I. played in Egypt.

It is a little difficult to say what his new religion exactly was. It was a mixture of several elements. Prof. Blochmann calls it "monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism." (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 212.) Comte de Noer chooses to call it a sort of Parsi-Soufi-Hinduism, of which the Iránian worship of the sun was the purest expression. He says:—

"On pourrait appeler la foi nouvelle une sorte de parsi-çoufi-hindouisme, dont le culte iranien du Soleil était l'expression la plus pure."⁴

Prof. Max-Müller says: "It is well known that the Emperor Akbar (1542—1605) had a passion for the study of religions, and that he invited to his Court, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians, and had as many of their sacred books as he could get access to, translated for his own study."⁵ As the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica⁶ says, "Scepticism as to the divine origin of the Koran led him to seek the true religion in an eclectic system. He accordingly set himself to obtain information about other religions, sent to Goa, requesting that the Portuguese missionaries there would visit him, and listened to them with intelligent attention when they came. As the result of these inquiries, he adopted the creed of pure deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster."

Captain Vans Kennedy⁷ says on this subject, "Akbar, however, seems to have been aware that deism was too spiritual a system to admit of its becoming a national religion, and that it was necessary,

¹ A Handbook to Agra, by Keene, p. 130.

² L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer. Traduit de l'Allemand, par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I., p. 346. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid, p. 343.

⁵ Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 17. ⁶ Vol. I., p. 434.

⁷ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (1820). Reprint of 1876, Vol. II., pp. 277-278.

in order to recommend it to the people, to introduce some ceremonies and some visible mode of worship. But, anxious to divert the minds of men as little as possible from the direct contemplation of the Supreme Being, he adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire. . . . The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zardushtian." Further on Captain Kennedy says, "It may be supposed that the worship of the sun and of the sacred fire was borrowed from the Hindus; but it seems more probable that it was adopted from the followers of Zardusht, as Akbar not only adopted their year but also their festivals."¹

Blochmann says, "The principles of toleration, which no king before Akbar had dared openly to confess, had even laid hold of the philologic mind of the king's subjects, and for the first time did the words of the worshippers² of 'the fire which Muhammad extinguished,' find a place in a dictionary, the compiler of which was, moreover, a Sayyid of the purest blood. Merely to flatter Akbar, who, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites, could not have been the compiler's sole object." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. I., 1868, "Contributions to Persian Lexicography," p. 14.)

Prof. Rehatsek says: "He (Akbar) had no doubt considered that outward signs would be captivating to the minds of untutored natures, and therefore he began to worship the sun as one of the greatest manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator; he revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hegira, and also maintained sacred fires. As the number of Parsees was too small, these matters were not introduced from political motives."³

¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II., p. 285, Reprint of 1876.

² As an instance of Zoroastrian words used at the Court of Akbar, we may quote the following from Abul Fazl's work . . . "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe. . . . Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyân khwarah*" (Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl's Preface, p. III., Vol. I., Blochmann). The *kiyân khwarah* referred to here is the *kucaēm kharenô* of the Avesta. The language of antiquity, referred to by him, is the ancient Pahlavi language.

³ The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eullâm, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-Al Tawârikh of Bârlâoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1866). Translator's Preface, p. 11.

The Parsees of the 16th Century had an influence not only upon king Akbar, but also upon many great men of the age. Comte de Noer says on this point : " Il y avait aussi la religion des Guèbres ou Parsis, dont le centre principal était sur la côte Ouest, notamment dans le Goudjarat ; c'est là qu'ils avaient transporté le feu sacré, et une partie de leurs livres saints, où était contenue la doctrine vénérable de Zarathustra Et, malgré leur petit nombre et leur peu d'importance politique, les Parsis ont exercé une influence considérable sur les plus grands esprits de l'Inde vers la fin du XVI^{ème} siècle." ¹

All these scholars then say that in his new religion Akbar was, to a certain extent, influenced by Zoroastrianism.

It appears, that Akbar's co-religionists themselves, knew well his leaning towards Fire-worship. We find Abul Fazl defending his king in the 72nd Ain.² Speaking of Akbar's adoration of God at morning, noon, evening and midnight, when the Sun has different positions in the sky, and defending his ways of adoration, he says : " But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps ? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun and the introduction of fire-worship ? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."

Now, the question is: Who were the Zoroastrians that went to the Court of Akbar and influenced him, to a small or great extent, towards Zoroastrian forms of worship, ritual and festivals, as referred to above? Were they Indian Zoroastrians or Persian Zoroastrians? In a paper entitled "Akbar and the Parsees"³ read before our Society on the 8th of August, 1896, by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, it has been attempted to shew, that it was the Persian Zoroastrians from Persia, under Ardeshir, who had an active hand in influencing king Akbar, that the Indian Zoroastrians under Dastur Meherji Rana had very little to do in the matter, and that Akbar must have called the latter to his Court only "out of curiosity."⁴ This is not the

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, par Comte de Noer, Traduit par G. B. Maury. Vol. I., p. 23. ² Ain-i-Akbari, by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 155.

³ Journal of the B. B. B. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., pp. 289-305.

⁴ Ibid, p. 296.

first time, that doubts have been raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission to the Court of Akbar. Unfortunately, latterly there has been a division of parties among the priesthood of Naôsâri. Some are opposed to the family of Meherji Rana and its associates. Some of them have, ere this, raised such doubts, several times, in some of the Gujarâti papers. But it was for the first time, that the question was transferred by the abovementioned paper, to the platform of this Society.

At the time when the paper was read before our Society, the question was discussed with some warmth in the Bombay papers.¹ I then took only a passive interest in the question. But at the instance of a friend, who lately came to Bombay from Europe, and who takes a great interest in the question, I have gone over the question and studied it. So, I beg to place before the Society, a few facts, which lead me to a conclusion, different from the one arrived at in the above-mentioned paper. I have fortunately been able to secure some original documents and old manuscripts bearing on the question, and these I beg to produce before the Society to-day.

I will treat the whole question under three heads. I.—Firstly, I will try to prove, that it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who influenced Akbar. II.—Secondly, I will try to prove that, it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees who influenced Akbar. III.—And thirdly, I will examine the objections that have been raised to these two facts. I will then give in the Appendix, copies of some of the documents referred to in this paper, with my translations and observations.

I.

Before going into the subject of our paper, in order to have a clear grasp of all the events of king Akbar's reign, referring to this matter, I will give here a chronological table of those events. The dates of the events, referring to his reign and to the religious discussions of his Court, are given on the authority of Badâoni. Most of them are taken from Blochmann's version of the extracts from Badâoni given in his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., pp. I.—XXXVI. 167—213. (For the comparison of Hijri years with the Christian years, *vide* *ibid.*, p. 168, note 2. Also Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V., p. 246. The Hijri year 981 began on 3rd May, 1573.)

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Kharshedji Manockjee Shastri for kindly placing at my disposal his very interesting file of extracts from papers on this subject.

Chronological Events of the Reign of Akbar.

Events.	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
Akbar born	14th October 1542	949
Mubârak, father of Abul Fazl, attached himself to the religious movement suggested by the approach of the first millenium of Islâm, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. (The movement had first begun in 900 Hijri.) ...	1549	956
Shaikh Alâi appeared as a Mâhdi		
Abul Fazl born ¹	14th January 1551	6th Mohar-ram 958
Akbar ascended the throne ...	10th March 1556 ²	963
Akbar assumed the reins of government from the regent, Behrâm Khân	March 1560	
A document of the Naosari priests agreeing to perform religious ceremonies properly. Meherji Rana signs it at the top... ..	1566	
A document of the Naôsâri priests agreeing that they should not drink toddy when engaged in the Atash Beharâm (Fire temple). Dastur Meherji Rana signs it at the top	1570	
A document of the Naosari Parsees entrusting a piece of land to Dastur Meherji Rana	1573	
Abul Fazl received favourably at court. (Long before this he had talked with the wisest men of different religions.) He says in the Akbar-nâmeh ³ : "My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the pâdris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit		

¹ Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's, Vol. I., Introd. p. 1.

² Vide Elliot, Vol. V., p. 246.

³ Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XII.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
with the priests of the Pársis and the learned of the Zend Avesta.") Abul Fazl speaks, under the events of 981 Hijri, of his interviews with Mobeds. (Bengal Asiatic Society's Akbar námah. by Maulawi' Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. II., p. 84.)	1573	981
Badâoni introduced at the court of Akbar	1574	981
Badâoni appointed Court Imâm ...	1575	982
Commencement of the religious discussions, of which Badâoni gives an account	1576	983
The appearance of a comet (Rôz Ard 25 (Arshiasang) Mâh Abân).	1577	985
Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of Naôsâri priests under the events of the year 986 Hijri. ¹ They must have come some time before, because Badâoni speaks of it as a past event, آمدہ بودند.		
The Dabistán also, in the events of the year preceding Rajeb 987, speaks of the event as a past event. (آمدہ بودند. Bombay Lithographed Edition of 1277 Hijri, p. 266, l. 4)	1578-79	986
Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Parsees at Akbar's Court under the events of this year (Akbar-námeh, Calc. ed. III., pp. 252-53, Elliot VI., p. 59) ...	1578-79	
Abul Fazl brought up, at the Thursday evening meetings at court, the question that the King was the temporal as well as the spiritual head and guide of the state	1579	986
The date of the document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to as the leader of the Naôsâri priests ² ... 12th March	1579	
The date of the document "unique in the Church History of Islâm," which Shaikh Mubârak, in con-		

¹ Lowc's translation, p. 260. Lees and Ahmad Ali's text, p. 261.

² Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 8., Vide Appendix for the original document.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
junction with his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl had drafted, and by which Akbar was certified to be "a Mujtahid, i.e., an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islâm" ¹	September 1579	Rajab 987
Mir Jamaluddin commences his new Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jehangiri ²	1579	987
The principal religious disputations at the Court, in which the Parsees were concerned, came to an end, because the unique document محضر was signed, and on the 16th (15th according to Rehatsek's translation) of the Rajab of this year, the King left for Ajmere (p. 272, l. 17, Vol. II., Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition of Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Rehatsek, p. 33), and from the new Jalali year the King openly adopted Sun and Fire-worship	1579	987
Date of the second document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to, as the leader of the Naôsâri priests ³ (Samvat 1336)	1st September	1580
King Akbar openly began to worship the Sun and Fire from the New Jalali year ⁴	1580-81	988
King Akbar established 14 holidays and adopted calendar according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Rehatsek, p. 53).	1582	990
Abul Fazl lost his mother. Akbar personally went to console him.		

¹ Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, p. 272, l. 7, Vol. II., Rehatsek's translation, p. 32. It was of this time that Abul Fazl wrote:—"The Court became a gathering place of sages and learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features." Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction p. 14.

² Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Part I., No. 1., 1868, p. 12.

³ Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9, *Vide* Appendix for the document.

⁴ Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 261, l. 16. Blochmann's translation in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 134. Rehatsek, p. 27.



	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
("Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. . . . The Islamic prayers were abolished at court and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Pársis and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindûs. The new era (Târikh i-Ilâhî) which was introduced in all Government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pársi") ¹	1st September 1589	997
The date of a letter from Naâsâri to Div, in which Meherjee Rana is referred to as the head of the priests ²	6th August 1590	998
Meherjee Rana died	1st November 1591	1000
Mir Jamaluddin received orders from King Akbar to complete the Dictionary (Farhang-i-Jehangiri). ³ Akbar granted sums for the purchase of manuscripts and called Ardeshir from Persia to assist Mir Jamâluddin	1592	1000
Shaikh Mubârak died	4th September 1593	1001
Date of the grant of 100 Bigâhs of land to Dastur Kaikobâd in addition to 200 granted, to his father Dastur Meherji Rana ⁴	1595	1003
Badâônî's History ends ⁵	1595-96	1004
Abul Fazl completed the Ain-i-Akbari	1596-97	1005
The date of the letter of Ardeshir of Kermán to Kamdin Padam of Broach ⁶ (Roz 24 Mâh 1. 967 Yazdardi Kadmi)	20th November 1597	1005
Abul Fazl killed by Jehangir	12th August 1602	4th Rajab 1011

¹ Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XVI.

² Khan Bahadoor B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9. Vide Appendix for a true copy. ³ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 12. Vide below, pp. 19-20. The preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

⁴ roz 10 mah 12 year 964 Yazdajardi 2nd November 1895.

⁵ Elliot's History, Vol. V., p. 479. ⁶ Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 10 gives roz 23. Mr. Manockjee R. Unwala's lithographed edition of the Revâyet, Vol. II., p. 468, l. 7. Vide below, p. 24. This date corresponds to 29-12-996 Shâhanshâhî,

गृत्र. रा. का. शु. आ. स. दी. न. क. वि. इ. न.
 दी. न. क. स. के. न. प. द. ना. इ. चो. ही. ना. द.
 ज. त. ब. वा. दि. श्या. म. दी. न. हू. यो. इ. अ. ग्या. म.
 मृ. दि. अ. श्यो. ज. श्या. र. वि. ग. ह. ता. सि. दी. इ.
 म. क. टि. कु. जो. दी. व. नो. म. म. स्त. वि. दि. ह. नि.
 क. के. के. एक. दे. वे. दे. म. श. ने. म. य. ओ. ही. आ.
 वि. ते. ब. न. ध. स्त. नि. गि. दि. जा. त. ए. क. रि. अ.
 ह्या. रा. म. श्या. नी. नि. म. त. आ. म्र. गौ. न. करि.
 ते. ह. नी. अ. श्यो. जे. ह. वा. क्. ते. ह. वी. ते. ह. नी.
 त. त. यु. क. इ. ते. वा. त. की. ध. म. पर. ए. श्री. म.
 दि. श. जी. री. यो. नु. वे. दु. यु. ड. वी. ता. की. ह. क.
 री. दी. न. नी. को. म. या. उ. ता. क. र. वा. मो. क. य.
 इ. उ. कि. ष. म. कि. वा. इ. म. कि. उ. ह. कि. यी.
 म. उ. कि. जे. ह. पु. श्या. प. णी. दी. नि. जो. ई. इ.
 ते. ह. व. कि. ए. ह. नी. त. त. यु. ए. ह. न. के. क.
 जो. ई. कर. जो. य. ही. रो. गु. आ. द. मा. आ.
 दर. जी. व. त. १६४६ व. यो. गी. 
 म. म. स्व. म. दि. ही. न. न. द. आ. गा. तु. प. ह.
 ना. ई. अ. क्. यो. वा. द. क. ति. यु. 

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri.
Akbar died... ..	13th October 1605	1014
The Dictionary called Farhang-i-Jehangiri (so called because finished in the time of Jehangir), for which Ardeshir had come to India, finished	1608	1017
The author of the Dabistân born some time about	1615	1024
The last event mentioned in the Dabistân relates to the year 1653. So the Dabistân must have been written after 1653	1653	1063

Having this chronological list of the events of Akbar's reign before us, we will now proceed to the subject of the question, as to who it was that led Akbar toward Parseeism? Were they the Zoroastrians of Persia or those of India? There are two works of history which show directly and two works which show indirectly that they were the Zoroastrians of India.

I.—The first and the most important work, which refers to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Abdul-Qâdir ibn-i-Mulûk Shâh Badâûni. We find the following passage in this work referring to the Parsees that went to the Court of Akbar, to take a part in the religious discussions there:—

BADÂÛNI.

و آتش پرستان که از شهر نوساری از ولایت گجرات آمده بودند دین زردشت را حق نمودند و تعظیم آتش را عبادت عظیم گفتند و بجانب خود کشیده از اصطلاح و راه و روش کبانیان واقف ساختند تا فرمودند که آتش را باهتمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروش ملوک عجم که آنشکده ایشان همیشه بر پای بود دایم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در محل نگاه میداشتند باشند که آیتی است از آیات خدا و نوربست از انوار وی و بوم که عبادت است از آتش پرستی بموافقت دختران راجه های هند خود از عنفوان شباب درون حرم معمول بود و در ایام نوروز سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس مجده آفتاب و هم مجده آتش علانیه میکردند و مقربان نیز در وقت افروختن شمع و چراغ قیام لازم ساختند

(Page 261, l. 7. The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâûni, edited by Capt. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., Calcutta 1865.)

Translation by Blochmann. (The Âin-i-Akbari, by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 184.)¹

¹ Badâûni's passages about the religious views of Akbar have been translated by other scholars also. *Vide* (a) The Emperor Akbar's Reputation of Esfâm, by Prof. Rehatsek. For this particular passage, *vide* p. 28. (b) Works of Prof. Wilson, Dr. Rust's Collection, 1862, Vol. II., pp. 379-400. Wilson gives

"Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausâri in Gujrât and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fireworship 'the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favourably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis, and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning; for fire was one of the manifestations of God and 'a ray of his rays.'"

"His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the Horn (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem."

"From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988) His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."¹

rather a free rendering or purport than a literal translation. For the particular passage about the Parsees, *vide* p. 389. (c) Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 530. (d) The work has been translated by Prof. Lowe, 1884; *vide* Vol. II., p. 268, for the passage. (e) Blochmann's versions have been quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his Introduction to the Science of Religion; *vide* Edition of 1882 (pp. 220-234), p. 231, for this passage.

¹ The *Âin-i-Akbari* also refers to the king's reverence for fire and light. It says:—

گیهان فروز روشن دل نور دوستی را ایزد پرستی شمارد و ستایش
 الهی اندیشد نادان تیره خاطر دادار فوامشی و آذر پرستی خیال
 کند خرد پزوه ژرف بین نیکو داند هرگاه نیایش صورتی بر کزیدگان
 طراز شایستگی دارد و نکردن را نکو دیده بر شمارد بزرگ داشت این
 والا عنصر که سرعایت هستی و پایندگنی مردم زاد بود چگونه سزاوار
 نباشد و چرا بدان تباہ خیال در شود و شیخ شرف الدین صدیقی چه
 خوش میگوید هرگز آفتاب فرو شود اگر با چراغ نازد چه کند شعله
 از آن سرچشمه آلهی نورست و نشان آن گزهر قدسی اگر خور
 و آذر نبودی غذا و دوا از کجا صورت بستنی و چشم بیفا بچہ کار
 آمدی آنش این شمع اقبال آسمانی است

Blochmann's Text of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 42, 18th Ain.

Translation.

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surly, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the

Now what do we find from this passage of Badâ'oni's history? We find the following facts:—

(1) That the Parsees from Naosâri "proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines."

(2) That they "impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsia."

(3) That Akbar thereupon "ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings."

(4) In Hijri 983 (A. D. 1581), i.e., about two years after the coming of the Naosâri Parsees to the court, "His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace." (This is a practice which is even now observed by many Parsees.)

Thus, we find from the above passage of Badâ'oni, that the Parsee mission from Naosari was successful in showing satisfactorily to Akbar, the fundamental principles of their religion. Badâ'oni says nothing about any mission of Persian Parsees. Had any Parsee mission come from Persia at this time, he would have alluded to it. He only speaks of the Naosari Parsees. It was on the authority of the above passage from Badâ'oni, that an eminent orientalist, like the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his paper entitled "Account of the Religious Innovations attempted by Akbar," printed in the *Quarterly*

Almighty, and fireworship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select," is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said, 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty." (The *Alm-i-Akbari*, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 49). The tone of justification for sun-worship adopted here by Abul Fazl in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc." reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avestâ in the Khurshed Nyâish and Khurshed Yasht (The Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "should not the sun rise up then the Dævas would destroy all things, etc."

••••• (yt. vi. 3. B. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86).

Oriental Magazine, Calcutta, in 1824, said that a number of fire-worshippers from Naosari had influenced King Akbar in favour of Zoroastrianism.

Extracting from the work of Badâoni, "the substance of those passages which relate to the new religion of Akbar,"¹ he says, "A number of fire-worshippers who arrived from Nausari in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them; and he committed the charge of maintaining a sacred fire in the palace night and day to Abul Fazl. He also assisted at the Homa, a species of fire-worship, which was performed daily in the inner apartments by those ladies of the harem, who were of Hindu descent."²

We must bear in mind, that this evidence from the work of Badâoni is the evidence of one, who was a staunch Mahomedan, and who was quite hostile to the religious discussions at the court, and to the Emperor's spirit of toleration. Badâoni wrote, as Prof. Max Müller says, "with an undisguised horror of Akbar's religious views."³ His "book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mirât-ul' âlam*, it was made public during the reign of Jahângir."⁴ So, had the Naosâri Parsees failed in their mission, he would not have hesitated to say so. It is on the authoritative testimony of such a contemporary writer, that Wilson bases his statement. He understands Badâoni clearly to say, that it was the fire-worshippers of Naosâri, who influenced King Akbar in the matter of Zoroastrianism.

No authority can be stronger than that of Badâoni, in the matter of describing the result of the visit of the Naosâri Parsis to the court of Akbar, and no authority can be stronger than that of Wilson, in the matter of properly understanding Badâoni's passage about the Naosâri Parsees.

There is another author, who has clearly understood Badâoni, as saying, that it was the Naosâri Parsees, who instructed King Akbar in Zoroastrianism. It is the Comte de Noer (1830 to 1881). I quote his words as translated from the German by M. G. Bonet Maury. "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat, des disciples de Zarathushtra, descendants de réfugiés persans, qui avaient été proscrits pour cause de

¹ Works of H. H. Wilson, collected by Dr. Roost, Vol. II., p. 381.

² *Ibid.* p. 389.

³ Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 209.

⁴ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 104, note 2.

religion et avaient trouvé dans l'Inde une nouvelle patrie ; on les appelaient Parseis, c.-à-d. adorateurs du feu. Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent maudés à Sikri, et initièrent l'empereur à leur religion.¹

II.—The next important work which refers directly to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the *Dabistân*, which was written, at least about 57 years after Badâoni's death.² The passage referring to this matter is as follows :—

و همچنین آتش پرستان که از قصبه نوساری که از ولایت گجرات است آمده بودند دین زردشت را حق و تعظیم آتش را عبادت عظیم می گفتند حضرت ایشانرا بجانب خود خواند از راه و روش کیانیان و توفی حاصل نمودند و هم اردشیر نام زردشتی دانارا زر فرستاد از ایران آوردند و آتشرا با تمام تمام بنواب علامی شیخ ابوالفضل سپردند و مقرر ساختند که بر آئین موبدان بطریقی که آتش کده ملوک عجم همیشه برپا بود دایم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در اندرون شبستان نگهدارند که آئینی است از آیات خداوند و نورست از انوار ایزد بلند و همچنین از کرمان آتش پرستانرا بخواند و دقائق دین زردشت از ایشان پرسیدند و ناعها بآذر کیوان که سر کرده یزدانیان و آبادانیان بود نیشند و اورا به هد طلبیدند

(p. 266 of the Bombay Edition of the *Dabistân* of 1277 A. H.)

تعلیم دهم در عقاید الهیه . نظر دوم از تعلیم دهم در بحث های اهل ادیان

Translation.

“In like manner, the fire-worshippers who had come from the town of Nôusari, situated in the district of Gujerât, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire.

¹ L'Empereur Akbar par le Comte de Noer, traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., pp. 314-315.

² The *Dabistân*, translated by Shea and Troyer. Introduction.—The author of the *Dabistân* mentions dates from A. D. 1618 to 1653, so it must have been written at least after 1653. He lived from A. D. 1615 to 1670. Badâoui died about 1596.

The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre¹ of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazil, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti set*² was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniân and Abâdâniân, and invited him to India. (Dabistân, Vol. III, pp. 95-96, translated by Shea and Troyer.)

We learn from this passage the following facts:—

(1) That "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nôusari, situated in the district of Gujerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire."

(2) That "the emperor called them to his presence and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre¹ of their wise men" (*Kiâniân*).

(3) He ordered Abul Fazl to keep the sacred fire burning day and night.

Thus we see that the three facts found in the passage of Badâoni are repeated in the above passage from the Dabistân.

But in the passage of the Dabistân there is one more statement which is not found in Badâoni. It is—

That Akbar "also called (mark the word '*ham*,' in Persian, *i. e.*, also) from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money. He invited likewise (mark the word "*hamchunân*" in Persian, *i. e.*, likewise) the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kaivân."

¹ The word is روش not روشن; so it means customs.

² The English translator has not properly understood this passage. It is badly taken from Badâoni, where it is translated by Blochmann as "Fire was one of the manifestations of God."

Now it is sought to infer from the additional fact mentioned in the Dabistân that "Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Nâôsari whom Badâoni mentions, and seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kirman."¹ The Dabistân does not at all permit that inference.

Firstly, in connection with this matter, simply from the fact that the Dabistân gives the above additional fact, it is supposed to give "a fuller and more detailed account."² A careful examination of the above two passages from Badâoni and the Dabistân in their original Persian, shows that the account of the Dabistân, on this subject, is no way "fuller and more detailed." It is an almost verbatim reproduction of Badâoni's passage. Were it not for the fact, that it is the old oriental authors that are concerned, among whom such things were, to a certain extent, common, such a reproduction, in modern parlance, would be called plagiarism pure and simple. I give below, side by side, the passages, both from Badâoni and from the Dabistân in their original Persian, which will enable any one to see at a glance that the Dabistân passage is nothing but a reproduction of the Badâoni passage, with the exception of the statement about Ardeshir and the fire-worshippers from Kirman.

BADÂONI.

*Va âtash parastân ké az sheher
i Nâôsârî az relâyat i Gujrât ûma-
dê búdund,*

*din i Zardusht rá hak namúdund
va taazim i âtash rá ébúlat i
azim goftund, va ba jáneb i khúh
kushidê az estelâh va ráh va
raresh i kiányán rákef sákhtand.*

DABISTÂN.

*Va hamehunin âtash-parastân
ké az kasbê i Nâôsârî ké az velâ-
yat i Gujrâtast úmadê búdund,*

*din i Zardusht rá hak
va taazim i âtash rá ébúdat i
azim mi-goftand. Hazrat ishân rá
ba jáneb i khúh khoând az áh
ra raresh i Kiányán rákuf hásele
namudand.*

*va ham Ardeshir nám Zar-
dushtî dánâ rá zar firastâd va az
Irân avurdand.*

¹ Mr. Karkaria, "Akbar and the Parsees." Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII, p. 296.

² Ibid., p. 295.

tâ farmûdand kê *âtash râ ba ihtamâm Shaikh Abu- al- Fazl ba ravesh mulûk i Ajam kê âtash-kadêh i Ishân hamîshê bar pâê bûd dâyam al avkât chê dar shab chê dar rôz dar mahl negâh mi-dâshîtê bûshand ke âyatî ast az âyat i khûdâ va nûrst az anvâr i vad.*

va *âtashrûi ba ihtamâm i tamâm ba navâb elâmi Shaikh Abu- al- Fazl separdand va mukarar sâkhtand kê bar âin i mûbadân ba tarikî kê âtash-kadêh i mulûki Ajam hamîshê bar pâ bûd dâyam-al-avkât chê dar shab va chê dar rôz dar andarân i shabastân negeh idârand kê âyatî ast az âyat khûdâ va nur-ist az anvâr i Izad buland.*

The author of the Dabistân has taken bodily, not only the above passages from Badâoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, but a large portion of this subject of religion. Take for example Raja Birbal's praise of the sun, (Compare Dabistân's Persian Text, Bombay Edition of 1277, p. 265, l. 12, and Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II, p. 260, l. 14. Compare Shea and Troyer's translation of the Dabistân, Vol III, p. 93, and Rehatsek's translation of Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh in his "The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eallâm," p.25) and Abul Fazl's argument with Badâoni on the subject of the previous authors not doing full justice to ancient prophets. (Compare Bombay Edition of the Dabistân, p. 266, l. 14, and Lees and Ahmed Ali's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh of Badâoni, Vol. II., p. 262, l. 7. Compare the above-mentioned translations. Shea and Troyer III, p. 96 Rehatsek, p. 27).

Many other passages show that the author of the Dabistân has taken passages bodily from Badâoni, with slight changes of words here and there, and with this difference, that while Badâoni, strict Mahomedan that he was, has shown his bigotry in his expressions, the author of the Dabistân is free from it.

As to which is a better authority, the Muntakhab-al-Tawârîkh of Badâoni or the Dabistân of the supposed author, Mohsan Fani, we have the following opinion of Prof. Wilson. He says :¹ "The Dabistân gives us an account of the religious disputations, which were held in Akbar's presence, and in the character of a philosopher may be supposed to personify the opinions of the king. This work does not, however, state the particular dogmas of the sect instituted by the monarch, and the sentiments of the sage are more of a negative than

¹ Works of Prof. Wilson by Dr. Kost (1862), Vol. II., pp. 379-380.

affirmative description, subversive of all existing systems rather than the foundations of a new code of belief. From this uncertainty, however, we have a satisfactory appeal, and find in a work written towards the close of Akbar's reign, a most minute recapitulation of progress of the Emperor's defections from the faith of Mohammed, and the new institutes and observances which he laboured to introduce. The work is the *Muntakhab-at-Tawârikh* compiled by Abd-ul-kâder Maluk Shah Bedâoni."

Professor Blochmann takes the same view. Giving extracts from Badâoni on the religious views of Akbar, he says: "The above extracts from Badâoni possess a *peculiar value*, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith, combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsis. *This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Âin, nor to the longer article in the Dabistân.* As the author of the latter work has used Badâoni it will only be necessary to collect the *few remarks* which are *new*" (Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 209). As to the discussions at the religious meetings, as described by the Dabistan, Elphinstone thinks them to be "probably *imaginary*" (Bk. IX, Chap. III., Cowell's ed., p. 535. The italics are mine).

Now, let us see, if we can account for the additional statement in the Dabistan, viz., Ardeshir's visit to the court of Delhi. That a learned Persian Zoroastrian, named Ardeshir, came from Persia at the special invitation of Akbar is certain. That is proved from the independent source of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. But the facts (1), that he came for quite another purpose, *not* for the purpose of taking any part in those religious discussions, which led Akbar to openly acknowledge Zoroastrian forms of worship, and (2) that he came a long time *after* the years 1581 and 1582 when Akbar adopted these forms of worship, are equally certain, and can be placed beyond any shadow of doubt.

As to the first fact, viz., that Ardeshir was sent for, from Persia, by Akbar, for quite another purpose, we have the authority of Mir Jamal-ud-din, a writer contemporary with Akbar. He was the writer of the well-known Persian lexicon, *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. This work was begun by him in the reign of Akbar, who had patronized it, and finished in the reign of his successor Jehangiri, after whom it was called *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. We will give here, in the words of the

author himself, an account of his dictionary, as far as Akbar was connected with it. He says in the preface ¹ :

Translation.

“ From the prime of youth, I had the inclination and desire of reading and perusing the poems of the ancients, and in the company of friends and companions, a good deal of my time was spent in (reading) the discourses and collected poems of teachers of old times; and when many of their poems contained Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c., I had helplessly to refer to Persian vocabularies called *farhangs*. And I came across many words and idioms in the poems of the ancients, which were not found in any dictionary; and in the case of those that were found, there was a good deal of contradiction and confusion. As the bankers of the thread of learning and wisdom, had written much in investigating and ascertaining the origin of words and idioms, but had made no difference between Persian and Arabic words, the object was not fulfilled, and necessary questions (of difficulties) remained neglected. Therefore, the desire of preparing a book in this noble branch of learning, became fixed in my poor mind. I collected in several parts, all the unknown words that came across my sight in books of poetry and prose. In short, I spent, well nigh one generation, which is the period of 30 years, a good deal of my time and a good deal of my life in making researches in Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c.

“ ‘I worked hard for 30 years and revived Persia with this Persian.’ ” The hand of eloquence became strong through me. I finished the book of Pahlavi. After many researches and investigations, such a number of words and idioms were collected as had not come to the hand of any other lexicographer. But the arrangement of those, on account of difficulties, the description of the encounter of which is of no great advantage, had fallen into the sphere of delay; and from the excess of my inquiries,

¹ Luoknow lithographed edition, of 1293 Hijri (ديبا ۱۲۹۳) Introduction, from page 3, l. 5. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript, p. 1, l. 16. As far as I know, this portion from the preface of the *Farhang* has not been translated. So I give my own literal translation of it.

² Quoted from Firdousi. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. XC., l. 20. Macan's Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 65, l. 18.

my excellence in this art (of writing a lexicon) had reached such a stage, that very few words and phrases have remained uninvestigated by this slave (*i.e.*, myself) by means of his fiery inquiries of proofs; so that many just-minded friends, knowing me to be worthy of confidence in this kind of learning, brought before me every difficulty which they met with, in their study of prose and study of words In short, the excellence of this servant, in this (branch of) learning, being sufficiently well known, in the month of Zi-'l-qu'da (*i.e.*, the 11th month) of 1000¹ Hijri, at the time, when the banner of Akbar Badshâh, the sun of the nobles had the honour of appearing in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital of Cashmere, one of my friends spoke in the paradise-like assembly (of the king) about the researches of Persian words and phrases which I had been fortunate to make. The members of His Majesty's court, as soon as they heard this matter, called the humblest of sincere friends (*i.e.*, myself) in the noble and holy presence of his Majesty. His Majesty said very gracefully and elegantly (lit. with a tongue that drops pearls and scatters jewels) 'since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy.

¹ The lithographed edition from which I translate gives the year 1000 (*i.e.*, 1050), which is evidently a mistake for 1000 (*i.e.*, 1000). A manuscript copy of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, lent to me by Mr. Manockji B. Unwala, gives 1000 (*i.e.*, 1005). That also is a mistake. Blochmann's manuscript (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1868, Part I., No. 1, p. 12) gives 1000. This is correct, because the writer connects the event with Akbar's visit to Srinagar, and we know that Akbar visited Cashmere in 1000 Hijri, "and reached his destination on the sixth of Muharrum (the first month) of the year one thousand and one" and spent nearly a month in "his private garden" باغ خاصه (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 398, Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, Vol. II., p. 384, ll. 19, 20). Thus according to Badâ'uni, on the 6th of Muharrum (the first month) of 1001, he arrived in Cashmere (*i.e.*, the capital). So the interview with Jamal-ud-din may have taken place a few days before.

Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protects learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No body could perform that work as it should be.¹ It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame, and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever). . . .”

The author then goes on to say, that he then began to collect about 44 previous *farhangs* or lexicons, Zend and Pazend books and other Persian works. But, before he completed his work, Akbar died in 1014 Hijri (1605 A.D.). Akbar's son Jehangir came to the throne, and the dictionary was finally completed in his reign, three years after Akbar's death. So the author named it after Jehangir and called it Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

He says—

مرنبت گشت این فرنگ نامی
 باسم شاه جمشاه جهانگیر
 چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
 زهی فرنگ نورالدین جهانگیر
Translation.

i.e., this famous dictionary became honoured by the name of king Jehangir, who is like king Jamshed in dignity. When I looked for its date, wisdom said: “Zabi Farhang Nur-ud-din Jehangir,” *i.e.*, Well done, the dictionary of Nuruddin Jehangier!

The numerical value of the letters of the above *miqrá* is 1017 Hijri (1608-09 A.D.). This is the date of its completion.

We learn from this long passage several facts. *Firstly*, we learn, why it was that king Akbar patronized it, and *secondly*, we learn the different dates of its commencement, its patronage by Akbar, and its completion. We will speak of the dates later on.

Firstly, as to the patronage extended to it by king Akbar, we learn that the speciality of this new lexicon, to which the author attaches great importance, and to which the king himself also attaches great importance, is that it contains many old Persian words, especially of Zend and Pazend origin. It is for this purpose, that the author collected several Zend and Pazend books.

¹ Arabic 'ka-má-yambaghi' meaning “as it should be.”

Now, it was to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din, the author of the Farhang, in his work, that king Akbar had specially sent for Ardeshir, a learned Persian of Kerman, to whom the Dabistan refers. Blochmann says on this point: "From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srínagar, Mir Jamál-ud-din received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Persia to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din in the compilation. The historian Badâônî indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis-i-khâq*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess The Zand and Pazand words form a peculiar feature."¹

We learn from the Farhang-i-Jehangiri itself, that Ardeshir was sent for from Persia, for the purpose of this dictionary. Blochmann refers to this passage in his abovementioned paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

برسام شرح این لغت از مجوسمی که در دین خود
بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و اورا مجوسمیان موبد می
دانستند و حضرت عرش² آشدانی محض بجهت تحقیق لغات فرس
مبلغها از برایش فرستاده از کرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت

(Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14, article by H. Blochmann.)

As Blochmann has not translated this passage, I give my own translation.

Translation.

"Barsam—The meaning of this word is written, after being ascertained from a Majûs (Magus), who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom the Magi held as their Mobed (priest), and whom His Glorious Majesty,

¹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, p. 12-14, 1868. Paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

² Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives the word as آشدانی. It would then mean "of the throne-like threshold." But the word as given in Blochmann's manuscript is correct, because عرش آشدانی meaning "nestling at the foot of the divine throne" was "a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease."—(Steingass.)

having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining (the meanings of) Persian words." The word 'barsam' is an old Zand Avesta word. Firdousi uses it.¹

The long explanation, which the author gives, of the word *Barsam* is very technical, and so he refers to his authority.² In the case of another word also, we find, that the author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* gives his authority. It is in the case of the word *Azar* آذر. He does not give the name of the person but simply refers to him as an old person of the Zoroastrian faith. Blochmann thinks, that perhaps this is a reference to the same person Ardeshir. We read the following under the word, اذر or آذر. I follow the text of Mr. Unwala's manuscript.

فقیر کہ راقم این حروفم پیری از پارسیان را کہ در دین
زردشت بود دیدم کہ جزوی چند از کتاب³ زند و سنا داشت چون
صرا رغبت و⁴ صغف تمام بجمع لغات فرس بود و در فرس از ژنه

¹ The author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* quotes the following lines in which Firdousi uses it:—

پرسندند آذر زر دہشت
ہمیرفت با باژ برسم ہوش
چو از دور جای پرستش بدیدہ
شد از آب دیدہ رخس ناپدید
فرود آمد از اصپ برسم ہدست
بزم زم ہمگفت و لبرا ببست

The first couplet is from the account of Behrámgor's reign (Mohl VI., p. 64, couplet 705, Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1579). The next couplet can be traced, with a little modification, to the account of the reign of Khusró Parviz (Mohl VII., p. 186, couplet 2205, Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV., p. 1949), but the third couplet, which seems to be in continuation of the second couplet, I am not able to find in any of the copies of the *Sháh-Námeh* with me.

² The word is so obsolete, from a non-Parsee point of view, and the explanation is so technical, that the later lithographed editions of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* have omitted the word 'barsam,' perhaps as being of no use to the modern students. Blochmann's manuscript of the work has given it. Mr. Manockji Bnstomji Unwala's MS. which I have used for this purpose gives the word, *vide* p. 155.

³ Blochmann's copy has the word correctly written ژندا و سنا (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14).

⁴ The lithographed edition of Lucknow of 1293 Hijri (1876 A.D.), p. 56, has شفقت

و وصتا¹ کتابی معتبرترینست بجهت تحقیق لغات با او صحبت میدادیم و اکثر لغاتی که در خانه این کتاب از زند و بازند و وصتا نقل شده از تقریر آن² زردوشنست و او هرگاه قراءت ژند مینمود باین لغت که میرسید آدر بضم دال غیر منقوطة میخواند و میگفت که در کتاب ژند و³ وصتا این لغت بدال منقوطة نیامده

Translation.⁴ (I give my own translation, as Blochmann's is rather a free one.)

"I (lit. my humble self) who am the writer of these lines, saw an old man of the Parsees, who was of the Zoroastrian religion, and who had a few parts of the Zend Avesta books. As I had a great longing and yearning for the collection of Persian (*fars*) words, and as there is no more authoritative work for the Persian than the Zend Avesta, I kept up a friendly intercourse with him for ascertaining (the meanings of) words. And most of the words, which are given in the supplement of this book, from the Zend and the Pazend and the Avesta are as explained by that Zoroastrian. While reading the Zend whenever he came to this word (*Âzar*) he read it *Âdar* with a *zamma* (or '*pešh*') over *dâl* without the *nûkta*, and said that in the book of Zend Avesta this word does not occur with a *dâl* with the *nûkta*."

Of these two passages, the first is very clear. It distinctly says, "that Ardeshir was (mark the ord *صحض*) *specially* sent for, from Kirman for the purpose of ascertaining Persian words."

Dastur Aspanyâr Kâmdin of Broach (who lived from 1751 to 1826) in his book entitled *ՀԵՆՆ ԳԻՆԻՆԻ ՎԱՐՏՈՒՄԻՆԻ ԶՅՈՂ*. (pp. 50-51) published in 1826, a short time before his death, refers to the fact of Ardeshir's being called to India for the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

¹ The Lucknow edition adds *تقریر* before this word.

² Blochmann's MS has *زرتوشنی است*

³ The Lucknow edition adds *پاژند* before this.

⁴ Blochmann's translation runs as follows:—"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zend Avesta. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zend Avesta, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khatimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zend Avesta. Whenever he came across the word *آذر* in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it *âdur*, not *adzar*, etc." (Journal of the

But one may argue, that Ardeshir, even if specially sent for, for the purpose of the Dictionary, may have taken an active part in influencing Akbar to Parseeism. In order to meet that argument, we must try to fix the date of Ardeshir's visit to India.

We find in the Persian Revâyet, a letter from this Ardeshir to Dastur Kiamdin Padam of Broach, on the subject of fire-temples. The letter ends thus—

نېشته شد در روز دین ماه فروردین قدیم سنه ۹۶۷ یزدجرد شاه پنجاه

i.e. Written on the day Din month Farvardin 967 Yazdazardi.¹

After copying that letter, the compiler of the Revâyats makes the following note :—

وقتی که دستور اردشیر نوشیروان کرمانی از ایران زمین در ملک هندوستان پیش شاه اکبر آمده بود آنگاه این مکتوب بدستور قیام دین پدم نوشته بود (p. 458, l. 9)

i.e. At the time, when Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwân Kermâni had come from the country of Persia, to the country of Hindustan, before king Akbar, this letter was written to Dastur Kiamdin Padam.

From the body of the letter it appears that Ardeshir had received a message from Dastur Kâmdin of Broach at Mooltan, when he was

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1888, p. 14.) Prof. Max Müller refers to this passage and says (Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 18): "We have the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it, far more complete and far more correct than any that Emperor Akbar obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian, whom he invited from Kirman to India." Prof. Max Müller does not say a single word more than this, and still he is quoted in the paper, above referred to, as supporting the inference that "Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently-conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia." (pp. 296, 297.) One can easily see from the full quotations from Blochmann and Max Müller that there is nothing at all in Max Müller's words supporting the above inference. The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says that Ardeshir had "some parts (juz or *juswa*, *i.e.*, a little, a trifle) of the Zend Avesta," and what Prof. Max Müller wishes to say is merely this: that in our times we have "far more complete and correct" manuscripts and translations than those brought by Ardeshir. Yet he is represented as supporting the above inference!

¹ Lithographed edition of the Revâyet, which is being printed by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwála, Vol. II. (pp. 455-458), p. 458, l. 7.

on his way back to Persia. Ardeshir says, that had he received the message at Lahore, he would have thought of going to Dastur Kamdin at Broach.

چون در ملتان رسیدم بهدین کاوس ماچار را دیدم..... اگر این فقیر بهدین کاوس را در لاهور میدید البتہ در خدمت میرسید

i.e. When I reached Multan, I saw Behedin Kâus Mâhiâr. . . . Had I seen Behedin Kâus at Lahore, of course, I would have come (p. 456, ll. 7-11).

This passage shows that Ardeshir left India in 967 Yazdajardi (1597 A.D.). This is the date of the departure of Ardeshir. Now let us see, if we can fix the date of his arrival. The above quoted long passage from the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri helps us to do that.

We learn from that long passage of the preface, that Mir Jamâluddin had devoted 30 years to the work of his lexicon, and that it was during the time of Akbar's visit to Srinagar in 1000 Hijri (1592 A. D.) that the King extended to him his patronage. Now, as we saw, that Ardeshir was specially sent for, for the work of the lexicon by king Akbar, and as we further saw, that Akbar extended his hand of patronage to the author of the lexicon, only in A.D. 1592 (Hijri 1000), it is quite evident that Ardeshir must have come to India *after* A.D. 1592. This was then about 13 years *after* the date (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khânch, which influenced Akbar towards Parseeism were closed, about 11 years *after* the date (1581 A.D.) when Akbar openly accepted the outward forms of the Parsee worship, and one year *after* the death (1591 A.D.) of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Thus we see, that the Farhang-i-Jehangiri clearly proves the two facts (1) *firstly* that Ardeshir came from Persia, *for the purpose of the dictionary*, and (2) *secondly* that Ardeshir came to India *after* 1592, A.D., a long time before which, Akbar had openly adopted some of the visible forms of Parsi worship. This clearly shows then, that it was the Indian Parsees of Naosari, who had explained to Akbar the Parsee religion and not Ardeshir from Persia.

The discussions, which are called "the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibâdatkhana,"¹ and to take part in which, none of

¹ The Ibâdat Khânch is spoken of in the Tabakat-i-Akbari نشیمن قدس—کاشالم آتش *i.e.* the holy seat, the place of fire (Munshi Nawul Kishore's Edition of 1875, p. 328, l. 4).

the Gujarat Parsees are supposed to "have possessed the requisite ability" were practically closed in 1579 A.D. (987 Hijri). Blochmann says "the disputations had now come to an end (A.D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor."²

It may be said that the religious disputations were not closed in 1579, because missionaries continued to come and go, long after that year.³ But the later missions in after years, had nothing to do with the religious disputations of the Ibâdat-khaneh. Anyhow, as far as the Parsees and their influence on Akbar were concerned, the disputations were closed. This is proved by several facts on the authority of Badâ'oni.

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

² *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XV.

³ The dates of these missions differ according to different writers.

I give below the dates according to different authors:—

	Father Catrou, on the authority of Manouchi.	Comte de Noer, on the authority of Du Jarrlo.	Murray.
First Mission.	Arrival.—(Does not give the exact date, but it can be calculated by references.)	Arrival 1580.	Arrival 1570.
	About 1576 or 1577.	"Departure probably 1582,"	Departure 1593.
	Departure.—1579 or 1580. (Rudolph Aquaviva left in 1582 or 1583.)	(Rudolph Aquaviva probably left in 1585.)	
Second Mission.	Arrival.—1589 (date of departure from Goa).	Arrival 1591.	Arrival 1591.
	Departure.—Date not given, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay seems to have been short.
Third Mission.	Arrival.—No date given, but it must have been before 1597 as a great fire, which took place in 1597 is said to have taken place when the mission was there.	Arrival 1595.	Arrival 1595.
	Departure.—The mission remained till the death of Akbar.	Departure.—Gives no date.	Departure.—Gives no date, but says that the mission left, when Akbar went to conduct a war in the Deccan. That was in 1596 (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 92).

(1) From the new Jalâli year (988) 1580-81, the king openly adopted sun and fire-worship (Badâôni : Lowe, Vol. II., p. 269; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184; Rehatsek, p. 27). (2) Two years after, *i.e.* in 1582 (990) he "established 14 holidays according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Badâôni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 316; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53). (3) The document "unique in the Church History of Islam," which was the result of these disputations, and which separated Akbar from orthodox Mahomedanism, was signed in 1579 (Rajab 987) (Badâôni : Lowe, Vol. II., pp. 278-279; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 186; Rehatsek, p. 31). It was a document for preparing which Badâôni applies to Abul Fazl, the proverb, "He prefers hell to shame on earth." (4) After the signing of this document, the king left for Ajmir on the 16th Rajab of the same year 987 (1579 A. D.). (5) He adopted the Parsee Calendar and established his era after the manner of the ancient Persians in 1584 (992), (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. (Jarrett), pp. 30-31.). Badâôni describes this change under the events of 990 Hijri (1582), (Lowe II., p. 316; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53).

Though the later missions came as late as 1595, they had nothing to do with the original discussions of the Ibâdat-khana. It is only the first mission, that seems to have taken a part in the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana. All the three missions had to leave Akbar's Court disappointed, as far as the king was concerned.

Father Catrou says of the first mission that "Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause¹ of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only." Comte de Noer says something similar.

According to Abul Fazl, the first mission of Father Rudolf (Padri Radif) took part in the discussions at the Ibadat-khaneh in 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) (*Akbar-nâmeh*, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20, Asiatic Society's Calcutta Edition. Elliot VI., p. 60). Badaoni places under the events of the year 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) the event of Akbar ordering "Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity." (Badaoni-Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 260, l. 6. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 182. Rehatsek, p. 25). Now it was Father Monserrat, a member of the first mission, who gave these lessons to this prince (Calcutta Review, January 1886, Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXIII, pp. 2 and 4). So according to Badaoni the date of the first mission was 986 Hijri (1578-79 A. D.).

1 History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 113.

He says "Mais ayant manqué le but réel de l' entreprise, qui était a conversion d' Akbar, les Padres retournerent à Goa (L' Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 330)." Murray says the same thing. "One of the courtiers however, allowed it to transpire . . . that his (Akbar's) sole aim was curiosity and entertainment." (Vol. II., p. 90.)

As to the second mission, the discussions at the Ibâdatkhana were long before over, and according to Father Catrou, we do not find them carrying on any "learned and philosophical discussion" whatsoever with the courtiers. They expected Akbar to be a Christian. "He often visited the fathers, proposing to them the most specious objections to our sacred mysteries, and appearing satisfied with the mysteries (explanation) he received." Nothing further happened. They had instructions to leave "whenever they should be satisfied that their mission had failed in its object." Their mission failed, and so they returned to Goa.¹

According to Comte de Noer also, the second mission left without achieving any result. "Ils quittèrent L' Empire, sans avoir obtenu aucun résultat religieux."²

From Murray also we find, that they "went through nearly the same career as their predecessor. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he appeared glad to have them about him . . . They found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes."³

Coming to the third mission, we find the same thing in their case. From Catrou, we do not find them taking any part in any discussions whatsoever. They converted some of the people. Akbar appeared at times well inclined toward them and their religion. But says Catrou "Nevertheless, some vestiges of his former superstition would escape him at intervals . . . Heaven punished the pride and impiety of the prince in a remarkable manner."⁴

According to Comte de Noer, the third mission had a political object rather than a religious one. He says: "L'Ordre jugeait avanta-

¹ History of the Mogul Dynasty, Catrou, pp. 126-127.

² L' Empereur Akbar, Vol I., p. 330.

³ Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol II., pp. 92-93.

⁴ History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 128.

geux d'entretenir des agents politiques, à la cour du Grand Mogul, comme à d'autres cours."¹ From Murray also we learn the same thing. "There remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression." Thus, we see, that as Blochmann says, the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana were closed in 1579, and that the later Christian missions had no part in those discussions.

But even, if, for argument's sake, we take it for granted, that the discussions by the Christian missionaries continued after 1579 A. D., that *does not affect the main issue*, that by 1582 Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar and the Parsee festivals, whereas Ardeshir came long after that in 1592.

We said above, that the influence of Parseeism on king Akbar, was a *fait accompli*, sometime before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia into India, because, he had adopted long before 1592, many of the Parsee forms of worship and observances. Among these was his adoption of the Parsee festivals. We find a reference to this fact in the *Ain-i-Akbari* also. We read the following (*Ain* 22, Book II.)² : — "His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pârsî priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. The New Year's day feast³ Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pârsîs, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month"

III. The third important work which refers—though indirectly—to the question whether it was the Indian Parsees or the Persian Parsees, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the Ibâdatkhanah in 1578-79 is Abul Fazl's *Akbar-nâmeh*. Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions under the events of the commencement of the 23rd year of King Akbar's reign (986 Hijri, 1578 A.D.), a long time before Ardeshir's arrival. He thus speaks of a meeting for religious discussions on the 20th of the month Meher.

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 331. ² *Ain-i-Akbari*. Blochmann, Vol. I. p. 276. ³ "Badâ'uni generally calls this day Naûrûz-i-Jalâli."

بیستم مهر ماهِ الهی در آن عبادت خانہ خلوت تجرّد را در بزم
تعلق چراغ افروختند و نقد دانش اندوزانِ مدرسه و خانقاه بعبارگاه
بردند صاف از درد و مره از مغشوش جدا کردن آغاز شد و تراخی
حوصله و بسطت ظلّ الهی چهره آرای گشت عوفی حکیم متکلم لقیه منی
شیده برهن جتی سیورا چار باک نصاری ا یهود صابی زردوشتی و سایر
گوناگون مردم از دید آرامش محفل همایون..... نشاط فارغبالی نمودند

(Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., pp., 252-53, I. 22, Calcutta Edition of Abd-ur Rahim) Translation.

“On the 20th Mir¹, in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. [Health from disease, and good money from false money, began to be separated. Abundance of spirit and excellence of divine power enlightened faces.]² *Sūfīs*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnīs*, *Shiās*, Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists, *Chārbāks*,³ Christians, Jews, [Sabeans]² Zoroastrians and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight⁴.” (Elliot’s History of India, (Dowson,) Vol. VI., p. 59.)

As Ardeshir came after 1592, as already shown, the Zoroastrians present at the above discussions in 986 Hirji (1578 A.D.), were those of India.

As the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says. Ardeshir was, no doubt, a learned priest. So one must naturally expect an inquisitive king like Akbar, to take advantage of his presence at his court, and make inquiries from him about Zoroastrianism as observed in Persia.⁵ It is this fact, that the Dabistān takes note of, in adding one statement more, to those, that it had copied verbatim from the work of Badāoni.

¹ Meher. ² As Elliot has omitted to translate this portion, I have given my own translation in brackets. ³ “Hindu materialists.” The preceding words ought to be *Jatis* and *Seuras*, which are names of races. ⁴ Lit. showed exultation of joy at the sight of the pleasure of the royal assembly. ⁵ Things like that may happen even now. Several Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies performed by the Parsees of India, even now, differ from those performed by their co-religionists in Persia. Though I have personally officiated at Parsee marriages on several occasions in Bombay, it was only this month, that I had an occasion to witness a marriage of a Persian Zoroastrian, when I found a good deal of difference in the ritual.

It is this fact, which Comte de Noer alludes to when he says: "Akbar avait fait venir de Perse, à grand frais, un prêtre parsi Ardjer, qui initia l'empereur aux rites antiques de sacroyance." (Maury's Translation, Vol. I., p 340). But there is not a particle of evidence to show, that Ardeshir took any part in leading Akbar to the adoption of some of the Zoroastrian forms of worship and of Zoroastrian festivals, &c. The fact, as shown above, by authentic dates, proves that Ardeshir came long *after* the event.

Again, apart from the question of dates above referred to,—and that is a question of very great importance in the consideration of the main question,—there is nothing whatever in the Dabistau, to any way belittle the work of the Naôsâri Parsees. It nowhere says that Naôsâri Parsees had no influence upon Akbar, and that it was because the Naosari Parsees had failed to explain their religion to Akbar, that Ardesir was sent for, from Persia. It says nothing of that kind. On the contrary, it says in the very commencement that (a) the Naosari Parsees "asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster" and (b) that the Emperor "was pleased to take information" from them.

If from the mere fact, that king Akbar called Ardeshir from Persia, long after the visit of the Naôsâri Parsees to Akbar's court, we were to infer, that the Naôsâri Parsees did not satisfy the king, then there remain, several facts to be explained.

1. The Dabistân further says that the king "invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion."¹ If it was Ardeshir, who, as alleged "took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism," and not the Naôsâri Parsees, why was there the further necessity of inviting more Zoroastrians from Persia?

2. Again, we learn further on from the Dabistân, that Akbar "wrote letters to Azer Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniân and Abâdâniân and invited him to India."² Now, if it was Ardeshir, who had "been able to take part in discussions showing skill and dialectical ability," why was there the necessity of inviting Azer Kâivân also.

3. Then take the case of another community, the Christian. We know that Akbar called from Goa, some of the learned

¹ Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 95-96.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Portuguese missionaries. They were Rodolfo Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrat and Francisco Enriques.¹ We learn from the same authorities, which give these names, that later on Akbar sent for some other Christian missionaries. They were "Edouard Leiton, Cristophe de Vega and a layman."² Again later on, a third party of missionaries, consisting of Jérôme Xavier, Emmanuel Pignero and Benoît de Gois³, came to the Court of Akbar. Are we then to understand, that Akbar sent for these two other bands of missionaries, because he was *not satisfied* with the learning and the teaching of the first missionaries? No, these later parties of missionaries had little to do with the discussions at the Ibâdat-khaneh. They were latterly sent for, for other reasons, but not because Akbar was dissatisfied with the first party.

Again, one must mark the words *م* and *چنین* meaning 'likewise' used in the Dabistân, in connection with both (a) Ardeshir, (b) and the other Zoroastrians from Kerman. Even, suppose, for argument's sake, that Akbar sent for Ardeshir from Persia, both for the purpose of the dictionary, and for seeking knowledge on Zoroastrianism. But that does not show, that he was *not satisfied* with the Naôsûri priests. If an inquirer after truth, goes on sending for experts from different parts of the world, that does not necessarily show, that he is dissatisfied with the first batch of experts. His inquisitive mind may crave for knowledge from different quarters.

We find from these facts, that according to Badâûni and according to the Dâbistan also, it was the Naôsûri Parsees, who explained to king Akbar, the tenets of Zoroastrian religion, and influenced him, and not Ardeshir and the Parsees from Persia. Ardeshir did not come to India earlier than 1592. Long before that year, the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh, in which the Parsees were concerned, had been closed, and according to Badâûni, the contemporary historian

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. L, p. 326. The names are given on the authority of du Jarric. History of the Mogul Dynasty by Father Catrou, translated into English (1826), p. 105. Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol. II., p. 83.

² *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 330; Catrou, p. 126; Murray, (p. 92,) alludes to this mission but does not give names.

³ *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 331; Catrou, p. 127; Murray, (p. 93,) alludes to the third mission, but does not give names.

of Akbar, in 1581, *i. e.*, at least about eleven or twelve years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia, the king had openly accepted Parsee forms of worship. Badâôni is very clear on this point. "From the New Year's day of the 25th year of his reign (988 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1581 A. D.), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269.)

IV. There is another work of history, which distinctly says that in the 24th year of his reign (*i. e.*, in 1579 A. D.), Akbar was led away from Mohamedanism by several learned men, among whom it includes "several infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi." The writer here gives the exact date of the influence of the Parsees, *viz.*, the 24th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1579 A. D., the very date when the Naôsari Parsees were at Akbar's Court according to Badâôni. Ardeshir came at least 13 years after this date. This work then leads us to conclude, that it was the Naôsari Parsees, and *not* the Persian Parsees, who led Akbar towards Zoroastrianism. Though the work is later, its statement is supported, both by Badâôni and the author of the *Dabistân*. It is known as *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* (تاریخ ممالک ہند) *i. e.*, The History of the countries of India.¹

¹ It was written by one (غلام باسط) Gulam Basit, in 1196 Hijri (1782 A.D.) at the desire of an English officer named (جنرل جایلز ایسٹبت) General Giles Isthat. I read the name, as it is given in the manuscript copy of the Mulla Firoz Library (Rehatsek's Catalogue IV. (History), No. 15, p. 76). Elliot (History of India, Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 200-201) reads the name of the officer, from the manuscript he saw, as General Charles Burt. Rehatsek reads the name from the Mulla Firoz MS. as General Jayles Estbet (?). The author says in his preface, that he had made two copies of his work, one for the General and one for himself. Prof. Rehatsek seems to have committed two mistakes in his catalogue—(1) about the name of the author, and (2) the date of the work. He says, "The compiler of this work, Kuhmân Singah, states that he began it A. H. 1196 at Calcutta, by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (?), in whose service he was, and at the end of the MS. he states that he completed it A. H. 1240 (*i. e.*, 44 years afterwards)." Prof. Rehatsek has evidently committed a mistake here. Kuhman Singah is not the name of the compiler or author, but of the copyist, and the date is not the date of the completion of the work, but of that of the copy. This is clear from the following passage which we read at the end of the book:—

تاریخ ممالک ہند بروز پنجشنبہ ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری
بدستخط بندہ کترین کہانسنکہ صورت اتمام یافت

In describing the events of king Akbar's reign, the author says, "Birbal and chiefly the infidel (Kâfar) Parsees brought about a change in the mind of Akbar." The words in the original are:—

در سنه ۲۴ جلوسی خود بسبب موافقت اکثر علمای دین فروش
و ابن الغرضی مثل ابوالفضل و فیضی و برہمان خلیای عقابہ مثل
ببربر و اکثر کفار و ملحدہ پارسی کہ بدین مجوسی مقید اند و بعضی
جوکیان انحراف در مزاج بادشاہ افتاد ازین معنی نوعی بالہ چندان در
مقدمہ شریعت اعتقاد نہاشت

(Mulla Firoz Library's MS. folio 237a, ll. 6-13, Behatsek's Catalogue of 1873, IV, History, No. 15.)

As this work is not translated I give my own translation of the above passage.

"In his 24th Jaldsi year, through association with several learned men, who were irreligious and interested—in short, men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, and Brahmins of opposite faiths, like Birbar and chiefly infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi, and many Jogis—a change came upon the mind of the king. On that account, may God save us from such an evil (*na-uzu-billah*) he had not much faith in the principles of the faith (of Islâm)."

Now, though these are the words of a later historian, they are supported by Badâoni and the author of the Dabistân.

i. e., The *Târîkh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind* was completed by the hand of humble servant Kuhman Singah on Thursday Mâh Rabi-ul-Aval 1240.

It is a small work which cannot have taken 44 years to be completed. It is the date of the completion of the copy, not of the original work. Again, Prof. Behatsek is also wrong in concluding that "The only copies existing are that which he made for himself, and the one for his master—probably this MS., because it is very neatly written on glazed paper, &c." Prof. Behatsek was, perhaps, misled by what is said in the preface by the author, that he made two copies, one for his master and one for himself, and perhaps by what Elliot* wrote, "I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mullâ Firoz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kanauj with the title *Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh*." (Elliot VIII., p. 202.)

* Elliot's History, Vol. VIII., was published in 1877, *i. e.*, 4 years before Behatsek prepared his catalogue (in 1873) of the MSS. of the Mulla Firoz Library.

Birbal or Birbar was a favourite courtier of king Akbar. By Bada'oni, he is spoken of as *mala'ün* ملعون *i.e.* accursed,¹ because he was believed to be one of those, who led the king away from Mahomedanism to sun-worship and fire-worship. Badaoni says, "The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west The conquered philosophers and scholars of the court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor of the whole world These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnity of the Jallâly new year's day, which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign."²

The word in the text which Rehatssek translates by "conquered" is مقهور. It has several meanings, though all well nigh similar. They are: "conquered, subdued, vanquished; deserving or destined to be vanquished (as the armies of the infidels); oppressed, vexed."³ Blochmann translates it as "in disgrace."⁴ Lowe does not translate the word. Wilson simply translates, "The learned men of the Court acknowledged that the sun, &c."

We thus see, that the learned persons at the Court, of whom Badaoni speaks as *Maqhûr*, *i. e.* "deserving to be vanquished as the armies of the infidels", are the Parsees, referred to by the writer of the later work *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* as "infidel Parsees."

¹ Bada'oni applies several such abusive epithets to Birbal. He calls him "hellish dog" (*سگ جهنمی* Lees' and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 274, l. 6.; Lowe II., p. 282) and bastard (*حرامزاده*) p. 211, l. 11; Lowe p. 214) wretch (*بدبخت* Text II., p. 317, l. 2; Lowe II., p. 326). Of his death he says, he "was killed and entered the pack of the hellhounds and received a portion of his base, deeds *بقتل رسید در ملک مگان جهنم داخل شد و پارگی از جزای اعمال شنیعه خود یافت* (Text II., p. 350, ll. 16, 17; Lowe's translation II., p. 361.)

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eullâm, translated from Badaoni by Rehatssek, p. 25. *Muntakhab-al Tawarikh*, edited by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 260. Lowe's Translation II., p. 268. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. p. 183. Works of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II., p. 387.

³ Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183.

Anyhow, whatever meaning we attribute to the word (مقهور) *maqhūr*, the passage shows, that when Birbal spoke of sun-worship before Akbar, he was supported by some learned men at the Court, of whom Badâôni speaks contemptuously. Some learned men at the court were Birbal's associates. These learned men whom Badâôni condemns, were the Parsees, whom the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* associates with Birbal.

The *Dabistân* which follows Badaoni's work also gives a similar version. It says:—

"The Rajah Birbal conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables, and gives splendour and life . . . A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is possible about the existence, the splendour and the beneficence of the sun."¹

We find from this passage of the *Dabistân*, that its author has clearly understood the allusion in Badâôni, as referring to the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. The later editions of the *Dabistân*, *e. g.* the Bombay edition of Hijri 1277 (p. 265, l. 16) which I have used, give the words as "a sect of sun-worshippers" (طایفه از آفتاب پرستان) Some editions give the word "Atash parast," as it appears from the translation of Shea and Troyer. Thus we see from the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* and from the passages of Badaoni's history and of the *Dabistan*, that Birbal's arguments at the court of Akbar in favour of sun-worship, were supported by the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. Thus the statement of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* is supported both by Badaoni and the author of the *Dabistân*.

Now the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* places this event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i. e.*, in 1579, which was the very time of the religious discussions, at the *Ibadat-khânah*, and the time of the visit of the *Naôsari* priests at Akbar's Court. Even if we had no date of the above event in the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik*, we could have determined it in another way. We learn from Badâôni,² *Abul*

¹ The *Dabistân* by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 93-94.

² Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 350. Lowe II., p. 361. Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., pp. 204. 344. 404.

Fazl¹ and other writers² that Birbal was killed in 994 Hijri (1586 A. D.), in a battle with the Yusufzâi Afghans.³ This was at least about six years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia (about 1592).

This additional evidence of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, based on Badaoni's work and on the Dabistân, shows that it was the Indian Parsees, who had associated themselves with Birbal in influencing Akbar, and not Ardeshir from Persia. But we need not take the date of the death of Birbal to prove indirectly, that the event took place before Ardeshir's arrival in India. We have, as said above, the direct statement of the author, who places the event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, in 986-987 Hijri (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâne were coming to an end. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind then very clearly shows that it was the Parsees of India, who brought about "a change in the mind of the king."

We have so far seen then, that the Muntakhab-al Tawârikh of Badaoni and the Dabistan, directly, and the Akbarnameh of Abul Fazl, and the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind of Gulam Bâsit, indirectly show, that it was the Indian Parsees, the Nûsari Parsees, who had led Akbar towards Parseeism. According to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, Ardeshir came in or *after* 1592 A.D. So he had no share in bringing

¹ Akbar nameh, Elliot VI., p. 84. ²Zubdatu-t-Tawârikh, Elliot VI., p. 191.

³ The idea, with which Akbar, on hearing of Birbal's death in a distant country, was consoled, is significant. Badaoni says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amir, as he did at that of Birbal. He used to say 'Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames!' But, afterwards they comforted him with these words, 'Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun (نیرِ اعظم) is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification.'" The words of respect here used for the Sun are the same as those used by Birbal in his advocacy of Sun-worship. (Badaoni's Text II. p. 260). (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II, p. 362, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II, p. 351, ll. 4-8.) As Birbal was a staunch advocate of Sun and fire-worship, in which advocacy, according to the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, he was supported by the Parsees, the above words of consolation about his corpse being exposed to the Sun, are significant. Elliot attributes these words of consolation to Akbar himself. He translates "Afterwards he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Birbal was pure." etc. (Elliot Vol. V. p. 529, n. 2), but I think that the words in the text (باز نسلی باین میدادند) do not allow of that rendering, and Lowe's translation is more correct.

about the above result. A long time before his arrival the king had openly adopted Sun and Fire worship from the new Jalâli year 988 H. (1580-81 A. D.), had established 14 Zoroastrian holidays in 1582 and had adopted Parsi calendar.

II.

We now come to the second part of our subject.

The question is, who was the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees? There is a very old tradition, supported by written documents among the Parsees, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who headed the party from Naôsâri and explained to Akbar, the principles of Zoroastrianism. If it was not Dastur Meherji Rana, who was it? It is for those, who have doubts about his mission, to say who it was. The tradition about Dastur Meherji Rana is confirmed by facts which we will now examine.

I. The *first* important fact showing that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of Akbar and influenced him, is, that he was granted a piece of land of about 200 *bigahs* at his own native town of Naôsâri. We have not got the original *farmân* to Dastur Meherji Rana, but we have got the one granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad for continuing in his possession the above land granted to his father, together with 100 *bigahs* more, granted to him personally. In this *farmân*, the grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana is clearly referred to. In describing the land, the document says about the 200 *bigahs* صواد قصبر نوساری کہ زمین مذکور قبل از این در وجه
صدد معاس بما یار بود

i.e. In the district of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was (allotted) before this time, for the purpose of the help of livelihood (*madad-i-maâsl.*) of Mâhyâr.¹

I produce several original documents on the subject of this grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana.

(1) I lay before the Society, the very original *farmân*, kindly lent to me for the occasion, by Dastur Dârâbji Mâhyârji, the present Dastur of Naôsâri. I append at the end of my paper a copy of the document.² It is dated 40th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, 1595 A.D.

Mr. Karkaria doubts the fact of Meherji Rana's going to Akbar's court, on the ground, that his name "is not found even in this family grant." He is quite wrong. As quoted above, we do find Meherji

¹ Mâhyâr is the original Persian form of the name, from which Mâhyârji and then Meherji are irregularly formed. ² *Vide* the photo-litho facsimile at the end and pp. 93-94 for the copy.

Rana's name in the above document, as that of the person to whom 200 *bigahs* of the land were originally given. The document bears king Akbar's seal, and is given in the 40th year of his reign.

The form of the seal is one of the forms, referred to by Abul Fazl, in his 20th *Ain* on "the Royal Seals."¹ Abul Fazl says, "the seal-engraver cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqá* ع^ق, character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Tímúrlang." The seal on the *farmán*, which I produce, is of this kind. The name 'Jalaluddin Mahamad Akbar Badshah,' we find in the centre. On the right of that name, we find the name of his ancestor Babêr. A little above that of Humâyûn. That of Taimur stands at the top.

This document clearly shows, that some land at Naôsári was granted by Akbar to Meherji Rana. Why was it granted? It was for services as tradition asserts, rendered by Meherji Rana at the court, in explaining to the king the religion of Zoroaster. These services are referred to by a writer in 1765, as we will see later on.

We must note here, that the grant was as *madad-i-ma'âsh* (assistance for livelihood), which was a special form of gift. *Madad-i-ma'âsh* was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court.² Badâônî had a similar *madad-i-ma'âsh* of 1000 *bigahs* of land. It differs from *jâgîr*. *Jâgîr* is a grant for services at court, but *madad-i-ma'âsh*, for services to the court, but not directly at the court continuously.³

On the subject of these grants, Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considered doing so an act of divine worship."

"Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazifah*; lands conferred are called *Milk* or *Madad-i-ma'âsh*."⁴

Blochmann thus explains this word⁵: "The latter term (*madad-i-ma'âsh*) signifies 'assistance of livelihood' and, like its equivalent *milk* or

¹ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 52. Blochmann's Calcutta Edition, Vol. I, p. 47, ll. 18-19. For further particulars *vide* appendix, p. 107.

² *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 126, Article on Badaônî and his Works by Blochmann.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 268, Bk. II, *Âin* 19. Blochmann's text, Vol. I, p. 198, ll. 1-2 and 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

property, it denotes 'lands given for benevolent purposes,' as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jâgîr* or *tuyûl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançabdârs in lieu of salaries." This shows, that the grant of land given to Dastur Meherji Rana, was of a kind, superior to that of the ordinary *jâgîrs*. This must be then in appreciation of some valuable services of Meherji Rana.

This grant to Dastur Meherji Rana was, according to tradition made in about 1578 A. D. This was the very time when king Akbar, according to Badâ'oni,¹ deprived the former Mahomedan *Ulamas* of their *madad-i-ma'âsh*. A grant of land to a Parsee priest, in the very year, when there was a general resumption of the grants, shows, that there were special reasons for rewarding him. Abul Fazl says of this department of the grant of lands that "His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and providing true piety, pays much attention to this department."² According to Badâ'oni also, the king "wished personally to enquire into their grants".³ There must have been, then, special reasons for the king to reward Dastur Meherji Rana with a grant of land, and that grant, not a *jâgîr* or a temporary grant, but a *madad-i-ma'âsh*, i.e. an hereditary grant.

(2) We have also a second *farmân* for the above grant of land. It is a *farmân* subsequently repeated in the 48th year of Akbar's reign (1603 A.D.). It also makes the same statement, as that in the first *farmân*, viz., that the grant of 200 bigahs of the land was at first made for the *madad-i-ma'âsh* of Mâhiyâr. I beg to produce this second original *farmân*.⁴ It bears Akbar's seal as in the first case. The name of the *parganah* in which the additional land to Kaikobad was situated is different here from that in the first *farmân*. In the first *farmân* the land is said to be in Erûî in the *parganah* of Pârchôl (از بروی در پرگنه پارچول).⁵ In the second *farmân* it is said to be in Tavri in the *parganah* of Talâri.⁶ (تروی در پرگنه تلاری).

¹ Text II, p. 278. Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 189; pp. 263-69, Bk. II. *Âin 19 Journal Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 128.

² Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbar-i*. Vol. I., p. 270, Bk. II., *Âin 19*, end. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 189. ⁴ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 119-120 for the copy. ⁵ Erûî is in the taluka now known as the Jalalpur Taluka near Naôsâri.

⁶ The *parganahs* of Telâri and Pârchôl are referred to in the *Âin-i-Akbarias* being situated in the *sarkâr* of Surat (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, pp. 256-257. Calcutta text of Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 497. Column II., ll. 1 and 14). Pârchôl

The change in the name may be due to the fact, that the plot of ground to Dastur Kaikobad may have been subsequently changed. The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* suggests the reason why this change may have been made:—

و پس از چندی آگهی شد که این گروه زمین یکجا ندارند—کم
نیرواز انبازنی خالصه و جاگیردار آزرده میگردد و بدگوهران را
دستمایه بی دیانتی میسازد فرمان شد که یکجای دلخواه تن دهند و
چاره این دو گروه بر سازند

(Blochmann's text of *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 16-18, Bk. II., *Âin* 19.)

Blochmann thus translates the passage: "After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khâliqah* lands or near the *jâgîrs* of *Mançabdârs*, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties." (Blochmann's translation of *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., pp. 268-69.) Akbar changed the *madad-i-maâsh* for other reasons also. Badaoni's land was so changed. He says in his *Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh* (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 379): "Mentioning my name, he (the Emperor) said, 'there is a certain man of *Bâdâôn*; we have of our own will changed his *madad-i-maâsh* without abatement from *Basâwar* to *Bâdâôn*.'" From the translation of the document, which I append at the end, it seems that about eight years after the first *farmân*, Kaikobad was subjected to vexations. The second *farmân* refers to this fact and asks the authorities concerned, to return to Kaikobad, whatever he may have been deprived of from the income of his land.

(3) We have a third document dated the 48th year of king Akbar's reign (1012 H., 1603 A.D.), from *Khân Khânân*, the *sepâhsâlâr* giving orders, that though a general *farmân* directs that all the land given for

had 55,920 *bigahs* of land and *Tôlari* 35,091. *Pârchôl* had the revenue of 1,50,8000 *dams* and *Tôlari* of 917,890 *dams*. (According to the 10th *dîn* of the first book of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, the *dam* weighs 5 *tânks* (تانک) i.e., 1 *tolah* 8 *mâshahs* and 7 *surks*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee) (چهارم بخش رویه) (Blochmann's translation I., p. 31, text l. p. 26, l. 25.)

madad-i-ma'ash may be halved, Kaikobad's grant of 300 *bigāhs* may not be halved. I produce that original document.¹

(4) Then we have a fourth document—and that a very important document—dated 1005, H. (1597 A.D.) from Nawāb Qāḍik Muḥammad Khan, specially referring, to the 200 bigahs of land, given to Meherji Rana² for his *madad-i-ma'ash*.

II. The *second* important fact is, that we have some very old songs or poems, that chronicle the events of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar and of his influence upon the king. Of these songs Mr. Karkaria says: "These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on inquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written." I beg to show that these songs were not composed a generation or two ago and by hirelings. One of these songs was composed by Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

I produce before the Society, an old manuscript of a book of songs, which contains a song, connecting the name of Dastur Meherji Rana with Akbar. The manuscript, which I produce, belongs to my friend Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The book contains a number of songs, and at the end, the story of Changragāch, who was supposed to be an Indian sage visiting ancient Persia.

It appears from the colophon³ of the manuscript that the manuscript was written on *roz* Abān, *mah* Bahman 1161 Yazdazardi, 1848 *Samvat* (i.e. 1792 A. D.). So the manuscript is 110 years old. The writer of the book is a priest of Surat, Mobeḍ Behrām, son of Jiji. It was written for Behdin Jamshedji Kukāji. The date of the colophon, as given above, shows, that it is an old manuscript. Also the name of the person, for whom it was written, shows, that it is an old manuscript. We find from the Parsee Prakash⁴, that this Jamshedji Kukāji was a well-known merchant of Bombay and lived from 1745 to 1810 A. D. He was the father-in-law of Mr. Nusservānji Cowasjee Petit, the great-great-grandfather of the present Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart. This fact also then proves, that the manuscript is more than 100 years old. So the song in this manuscript must be older. I give the song in the appendix. The song points clearly to Dastur Meherji Rana's relations with king Akbar.

¹ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 133 for a copy.

² *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 139 for a copy.

³ *Vide* appendix for the song and for the colophon pp. 163-64.

⁴ The Parsee Prakash, by Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, Vol. I. p. 116.

We find from the song itself, that its author was Tansen, the celebrated minstrel of the court of Akbar. His name occurs at the end of the song, as in the case of the songs of many oriental songsters and poem-writers. Tansen is spoken of by Abul Fazl, in his 30th *Âin*¹ of the second book, as "Miyân Tansen of Gwâliâr." He places him at the head of all the principal musicians of Akbar's court. He says that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." According to Blochmann,² "Râm Chand³ is said to have once given him one *kror* of *tânkahs* as a present." This Râm Chand was Rajah of Bhat'h or Bhattah. Blochmann says of him: "The emperor sent Jalâluddin Qûrchî to Bhat'h to induce Tânsin to come to Ágrah. Râm Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Ágrah, and the first time that Tânsin performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tânsin remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindûstân."⁴

My attention to this song was drawn, when it was first published in the *Rast Goftar* of 29th October 1899 by Mr. Rustomji H. Kharshedji. I know, that at that time some doubted, and even now some doubt, whether this song was really composed by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar. They say, it may have been written by some later songster, in the name of Tansen. Opinions, even of experts, may differ. But then, anyhow, the fact, that it occurs in a manuscript written about 110 years ago, very clearly shows, that it is a very old song, and that it was not composed, as alleged, "by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago."

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Vol. I., p. 612. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 263, l. 7, column 1. میان تانسن—درین هزار ساله همچو او نشان ندهند

² *Ibid*, note 1.

³ Baddâni says of him: "This Râm Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *kror* of gold (*kror-zar*) to the minstrel Mîân Tansen in one day. The Mîân did not wish to leave the Bâjâ, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back." (Elliot, V, p. 539.) از جمله بخششهای او اینکه یک کرور زر بمیان تانسن
کلونت در یک روز بخشیده

Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., 335, ll. 11-12. Lowe's Translation Vol. II., p. 345.

⁴ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Vol. I., p. 406, note.

I had sent a copy of this song to Maharaja Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur of Calcutta, who is well known as a great authority on music in India, and asked his opinion as to "whether there is any reason to doubt the authenticity of its being a song by Tansen." In reply to my telegram this morning, requesting his opinion on the point, he says: "The style and music of this song appear to me as having been composed by Tansen."¹ Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore's opinion then shows that the song is Tansen's. Thus we have the evidence of a contemporary authority to show that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of king Akbar and influenced the king.

(2) There are other Hindustani and Marathi khiāls or ballads, which also allude to Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court of Akbar. The Hindustani khiāl begins thus:

મેહરજીરાણી બરા નેક યા, પુરાબંદા શહેબકા,

પાદશાહ અકબર શુધેરા પેહના, દેખ તમાશા મજહબકા.

i.e. Meherji Rana was a very virtuous man. He was a perfect servant of God. King Akbar put on the Sudrāh (i.e. sacred shirt). Look to the display of the (Zoroastrian) religion.

This ballad is printed in a book² called ગાએને દેહચમન i.e. "Pleasant Songs," printed in 1867, and so it must have been composed before that date. There is a Marathi song also, but it is not printed in any book.

Thus we see, that the event of Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar's court, is referred to in old songs and ballads, and so it is not hireling rhymsters, as alleged, who have composed them.

The writer of the history of a nation or community, has not to despise old songs and ballads sung in that community. They at times supply him good materials. As M. Mohl says: "L'histoire de tous les people commence par là, car on conte et l'on chante avant d'écrire, et les premiers historiens n'ont pu fonder leur récits que sur des matériaux pareils."³

III. Thirdly, it is not old songs and ballads alone, that chronicle the fact of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar. We have the authority of a learned writer, who wrote about 136 years ago, to say that Meherji Rana went to the court of Akbar to explain to him the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

¹ I have latterly received a letter from the Maharājā, giving the same opinion at some length. *Vide* Appendix p. 165. ² ગાએને દેહચમન શરને જ્ઞાનના આબેનના શુભરહની ચોપડી. અંગરેજી તથા ગુજરાતી જ્ઞાન પરીતરકીંગ કાપાખાનુજી શરને ૧૮૬૭ પા. ૫૭૪. This song is also printed in શરેરે મરદાકીત. Vol. II., p. 31. A copy of this book is in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library. (*Vide* Catalogue of 1894, Gujrati list p. 3 No. 74. ³ Le Livre des Rois. Preface. Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1805¹, in his Persian treatise known as *Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naosâri*² (قصه آتش بهرام نوساری) i. e., the description of the fire

¹ Parsee Prakâsh I., p. 101.

² The name of the treatise as given by the author himself is

قصه آتش در شهر نوساری نو ساختہ

i. e. "An account of the Fire temple which was newly founded in the city of Naosari" (p. 1, l. 3 of Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai's MS.) There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (vide the catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana library published in 1898 p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that *انچه در دسترس من است* i. e. it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, by his own hand). The MS. belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai in writing to a friend Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says "انچه در دسترس من است" i. e. "it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana's own hand, and it is the very first draft." On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai's MS. we find on almost all pages a number of corrections both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS. between the first portion of the verses which gives an account of the first great fire temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37) some notes in Gujrati, describing how at the request of Chângâshâh, the sacred fire of the first fire temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Atashbeharam (fire temple) is preceded by the *Sa'ddu-Nazam* صدر نظم. In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library are as follow:—

(1) *قصه زرتشتیان ہندوستان* i. e. An account of the Zoroastrians of India.

(2) *بیان آتشبہرام نوساری* i. e. An account of the fire-temple of Naosari.

The fair MS. would at first sight appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (e.g. ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to

temple of Naôsâri, thus refers to the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana to the Court of Akbar.¹

در این ایام دستوران دستور .: که نام او بود سهراب پرنور
 که نسل اوست از دستور ماهیار .: بدانی باب آن رانا نکوکار
 همیشه دین به را جلوه داده .: گنہگاران نگوئسر شد زیادہ
 بنزدیک شہ اکبر رفته بود او .: بسی بریان دین ظاہر کرد او
 کہ نام او ہمہ جاہست ظاہر .: سرآن دستور بود او پاک و طاہر
i.e., "At this time there was a chief Dastur. His name was glorious Sôhrâb. His descent is from Dastur Mâhyâr. Know this, that his (*i.e.*, Mahyar's) father was virtuous Rânâ. He had always given splendour to the good (Zoroastrian) religion. Many sinners were put down by him. He had gone to King Akbar. He had shown many proofs of the religion. His name is known everywhere. He was a holy and pious Dastur."

This book was written in 1135 Yazdajardi, 1765 A.D.,) because the fire temple of Naôsari, of which it gives a description, was consecrated on *rôz* Sarosh *mâh* Ardibehesht 1135 Yazdajardi.²

بروز آن سروش پاک رہبر .: بہاء اردیبهشت نیک خوشتر
 سنہ گریزدجر دی رابدانی .: ہزار و یکصد و سی پنج خوانی

IV. Fourthly we have two old original documents, which lead to show, that Meherji Rana was specially and formally recognised as the head of the Parsee priesthood of Naôsâri, just after the event of his visit to Akbar's court. I beg to produce those documents. They are dated *rôz* Guâd *mâh* Tir Samvat 1635 (12th March, 1579) and *rôz* Meher *mâh* Deh Samvat 1636 (1st September, 1580). By these documents, the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, agreed that Meherji Rana should be entrusted with the work of the proper distribution of the income of

transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 68 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.

¹ *Vide* the fair MS. of the Meherji Rana library, ll. 20-24 of the *Kisâch*, referring to the fire temple of Naosari, p. 36. Mr. S. M. Desai's rough MS., p. 40. The recent MS. of Mr. Framjee Nowrojee Kutar, p. 8.

² Naosari Meherji Rana Library MS., l. 211, p. 49, ll. 9-10. Mr. Kutar's MS., p. 19, ll. 10-11. S. M. Deesai's MS., p. 54, ll. 2 and 3.

the Agiâry (fire-temple), and that all ceremonies should be performed with his permission, &c. They thus formally acknowledged Meherji Rana as their head. I give in the appendix the literal translation of the documents ¹.

Of course, these documents do not say that Meherji Rana was appointed head for such and such services. But we must bear in mind, that even nowadays, when people appoint somebody at the head of their society or institution, on account of his status, social position, and past services, they do not always say in the resolution of the appointment, that he is appointed for such and such past public services. These two agreements show, that the priests of Naôsâri acknowledged, in the years 1579 and 1580, Meherji Rana as their head. Let us note here, that the years of the principal religious discussions at the Ibâdât-Khâneh in which the Naôsâri Parsees took part, and after which Akbar openly accepted the Parsee forms of worship, &c, were 1576 to 1579. So the date of the first document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their head, corresponds with the date when the principal religious discussions had closed. Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of the Naôsâri priests as a past event under the events of the year 986 Hijri, i. e., 1578-79. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind also, places the event of the Parsees bringing about a change in the mind of Akbar, in about 986 Hijri.

This fact then supports the tradition, that Meherji Rana was acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, as their head, on account of some of his services in the cause of Parsee religion at the court of Akbar. It seems, therefore, that immediately on Meherji Rana's return from the court, the priesthood of Naôsâri formally appointed him their head, to settle all questions about sacerdotal affairs and sacerdotal fees. He was already their leader, but they now formally appointed him and acknowledged him as such. The date also tallies with the date given by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnameh,² as that, at which Zoroastrians were present in the court of Akbar.

Professor Darmesteter says on this point :—

“ Les Mobeds originaires de Nausâri, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité de la famille sacerdotale, reconnaissent un *Dastûr des Dastûrs*,

¹ Vide Appendix for the photo-litho facsimiles of these two documents. Vide pp. 147-48.

² Calcutta edition of Abdur Rahim, Vol. III., pp. 252-53; Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 59.

frère image du Maubadân Maubad des anciens temps. La dignité est héréditaire depuis 1579 dans la famille de Mihirjirana, Mobed célèbre du temps d'Akbar, qui avait gagné une grande influence auprès de l'empereur et l'avait initié aux doctrines du Parsisme."¹

Mr. Dosabbhoy Framjee, in his history of the Parsees, refers to this matter, and says :—

“By his piety, learning, and irreproachable character, he not only gained the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, but his fame spread far and wide, even to the ears of the Emperor Akbar the Great, and he was summoned by that wise ruler to Delhi, that he might explain to him the tenets of the Parsee religion. It is said that the emperor was favourably impressed with the religion of Zoroaster, and bestowed upon the “dastur” a free grant of two hundred acres of land at Naôsâri, as a mark of his royal favour.”²

Mr. B. M. Malabari, in his “Gujarat and the Gujaratis,” says : “The Dastoor in India was a beneficent power even in Akbar's time. Those who have read of the Meherji Rana need not take the account for a mere rhapsody.” (2nd edition, p. 177.)

There is a third writing, that leads to show, that Meherji Rana continued to be acknowledged as their head. It is the copy of a letter, addressed by a prominent Parsee priest, Asdin Kâkâ of Naôsâri, to the laymen of Div in Kathiawâr, which was then a Parsee colony. It is dated *Samvat* 1646, *i.e.*, 1590 A.D. Therein also, Meherji Rana is referred to, as the head of the community. I produce a very old copy of the letter.³

V.—Fifthly, among the Parsees, there is a particular mode of commemorating the names of their departed worthies, who have rendered eminent services to the community. I quote from my paper, “The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.” (pp. 30-31.) (*Vide Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 434-435.*)

“The Parsees have another custom of commemorating the name of a deceased person, if he be a great public benefactor. At the conclusion of the above Oothumna ceremony on the third day, the head

¹ Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction III., p. LVI.

² History of the Parsais, by Dosabbhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I., Vol. II., p. 3.

³ *Vide Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile—Vide Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I p. 9, and below, pp. 162-63.*

priest generally, or, in his absence, an *akábar* (اکابر), i.e., a leader of the community, proposes before the assembled Anjuman, i.e., the public assembly, that the name of the deceased public benefactor, whose benefactions or good deeds he enumerates, be commemorated by the community consenting to remember the name of the deceased in all the public Oothumna religious ceremonies. This proposal is sometimes seconded by somebody, or very often it is just placed before the assembly without any formal seconding. When nobody opposes that proposal, silence is taken as consent, and thenceforth the name of the deceased is recited in all public religious ceremonies."

Now the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is thus commemorated in Naôsâri as that of a great departed worthy. It is not oral tradition alone, that has brought down his name as one of the departed great men, worthy to be commemorated in the religious prayers, but his name is put down as such, in old manuscript books of prayers, where, after the names of the ancient worthies of old Irân, we find his name commemorated. I beg to produce before the Society an old manuscript prayer-book where Dastur Meherji Rana's name is thus commemorated.

The manuscript prayer-book, which I produce, is one written on day Din, month Asfandârmad of the Yazdajirdi year 1078 (i.e., 1709 A.D.). It is therefore 192 years old. It is written by Herbad Jamshed, son of Kaikobad, son of Jamshed.¹

In this manuscript prayer-book, in the commemoration prayer, known as Nirang-i-bui-dâdan (نیرنگ-بوی-دادان) we first find the name of some eminent men of ancient Irân, and then the names of some of the departed worthies of India. In the latter list we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana thus commemorated.²

¹ It is a large work of 436 folios or 876 pages. The colophon, which gives the name of the writer and the date in Persian, occurs on f. 363a, l. 12. It is lent to me by Mr. Manookjee Rustomjee Unwala. The colophon runs thus:—

فرجید پدرو د شادی و رامشینی بروز مبارک دین و بماء مبارک
سفندار صد و پگاه باون فرزانه و سال اوریک هزار هفتاد و هشت از
شهنشاه یزدجرد شهریار ماسان نخمه خجسته بشهر ایران کاتبلمشروف
من خادم دین بنده پیر به جمشید بن کیقباد ابن جمشید

² Folio 60 b. l. 4.

We have so far examined, at some length, the direct evidences in (1) Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh and (2) the Dabistân, and the indirect references, (3) in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâme, (4) in the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and (5) in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, which clearly prove that it was the Naôsâri priests, who influenced Akbar, and explained to him the Zoroastrian forms of worship, and that Ardeshir came to India after the event.

અખતાબર શને ૧૮૨૪ અંગ્રેજી તારીખ દરીઆઈ ૫૧ ઓ ઓ ધીને પુરૂરે અબ્બાસાદુ દેહલર તમામ શમપુરજી ડીપુને. એજી લખનાર અડશારે કમતરીન મોનેઃ શોરોતજી ગુઠ બીઠ ઓ. વેશાતજી ગુઠ બીઠ ઓ કુઈઅ જાઈઃ બીઠ ઓ ઘુરાબજી લખને રેવારી શી મુલાલી અંદરનાએ લખી તમામ ડીપી ડે તે કરતાં અશાલ માફક નક્ક ડીપી ડે અગરે જલ પુક ડુએ તેા મેરબાન્કીમી દર્યાત કરવી શામારવી શાફી • • ફરમાઈશ કરેન લખનાર નેકનામ નેક શારન્ગમ નેક અશાલત જુવાકુંલત આદાલી હીમત પુલંક શાખાવંક મેરેહીન મેરેહીન, શી ૫ મેરેહી રેરબાઈજી ગુઠ બીઠ ઘુસેરાબજી બીઠ કડબાજી અઈઃ મોરે લખને રેવારી શીક્રાને ભરખબ અંદરનાએ લખાવી ડે. આશા યેતાવી ઉમેરે પઢવા તાઠ પઢવવાને શાફ આશા યેતાને જર આપીને લખાવી ડે. એ ઉતાબ ને કાઈ ચોરે તાઠ ચોરલે તાઠ લઈલાઈને એરલે તે શી ઘવાર અદુરમઝદુ ચોર થાએ અને તે ઉપર દેમેશા લેઆત ડોળો ને લેઆત માઈઃ ગેરઘાર ડોળો. એકુન્યાઈ એકુનતરજી બાઈ તમામજીલ તન્ગમ તમામજીલ.

The writer says in the above colophon તે કરતાં અશાલ માફક નક્ક ડીપી ડે i.e., "it has been exactly copied from another original." So the name of Dastur Meherji Rana must have been recorded in the original, of which this was a copy, and which original must, therefore, have been written long before 1824 A.D.

The prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan is written on folios 40 to 43 of this manuscript, and the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is commemorated on folio 43a, l. 2, as ઠંતુર મેરજી એરવંક બાઈ અધરીઆઈ બાઈ અનુરોઈ રવાં રવાની.

Now the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's name being commemorated in the prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan, in a manuscript prayer-book written by a priest of Surat, for a layman of Broach, is very significant in itself. It shows that Dastur Meherji Rana's name and fame were not confined to Naôsâri itself, but were known much beyond that town. This manuscript which is about 77 years old, and which, as its writer says, is an exact copy of an older manuscript, clearly proves that. Again, the fact, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is still commemorated in prayers in Broach confirms this view. Khan Bahadur Adarjee Muncherjee Dalal, B.A., one of the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Broach, in a letter, dated 17th November 1901, in reply to my inquiry, says, "the name of Meherji Rana is taken in our આફીન અને યુ પ નિરંગ prayera as under. "ઠંતુર મેરજી એરવંક બાઈ" before the name of ઠંતુર અસપંદીઆર ઠંતુર કામદીનજી" (Dastur Aspandyâr Kamdin was a learned high-priest of Broach. He was the author of the book કામદીન તારીખ પારસીઓની ક્ષર referred to above (p. 28).)

As to why Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated in prayers in Broach, Khân Bahâdur Adarjee says, that it is not authoritatively known, but the Mobeds say, "that it was in consideration of his high scholarship and his fame in the court of Emperor Akbar." He adds: "It will be noted that his name is recited just after the name of અરદેશાર બાબેગાન (Ardeshir Babegân, Artaxerxes I of the Greeks) and just above that of ઠંતુર અસપંદીઆરજી ઠંતુર કામદીનજી" (Aspandyârjî Kâmdinjî).

We have also examined, at some length, the evidences and facts based upon (1) the original documents about the grant of land by king Akbar, (2) an old song of Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar, (3) Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana's book written in A. D. 1765, (4) three old documents, (5) and the book of prayer written in A. D. 1710, which lead to show, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who, as the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, explained to Akbar, the religion of Zoroaster.

III.

We will now examine the objections that have been raised (I) to the mission of the Naôsâri priests in general, and (II) to that of Dastur Meherji Rana in particular.

(I) Two objections have been raised against the capability of the Naôsâri mission; (1) *firstly*, that the Parsees of Gujerat were ignorant at the time, and so were not capable of taking any part in the discussions at the court of Akbar; (2) *secondly*, that Naôsâri itself, was a town in a corner of Gujerat, and was not in a position to produce capable men to explain to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

1. It is said: "The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadat-khana." ¹

(a) Drs. West² and Geldner² and Professor Hodiwâlâ³ have shown, elsewhere, that there was no such general ignorance, as that which is attributed.

(b) But it appears that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia, was not after all much better than that of the Zoroastrians of India. It is said, of the Zoroastrians of India, "We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low, and that there was no man among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood,"⁴ If that was true of the Zoroastrians of India, it was not less true of the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia lived among

¹ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 247.

² Vide *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898. Vide Appendix pp. 165-66 for extracts.

³ *Vic's Letters to the Bombay Gazette* in October and November 1896.

⁴ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 297.

aliens more unsympathetic than those among whom their co-religionists in India lived. Owing to this want of sympathy, their number in Persia went on diminishing, while that in India went on increasing.

In the very letter sent to India from Persia in 1478 through Nariman Hoshang, on whose authority the above statement is made, we have a passage in which the Zoroastrians of Persia deplore their fall in religious matters as much as they do that of their co-religionists in India. The passage runs thus :

بدانند که در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سخت تر و دشوارتر ازین هزار سر بهشم نبوده است و نه از دور ضحای^۱ تازی و نه افرسیاک و نه تور جادو و نه اسکندر یونانی که دادار اورمزد میگوید که این کسان گران کناه تراند و ازین هزاره سرکه اورمزد گفته است که هشتصد و چهل و هفت سال که گذشته است پشترین روزگار بتر نبوده است اما بهدین درین زمانه کار کوفه کردن و راه اورمزد دسترس اندک است و نیرنگ و برسم و یوزداثرگری و پاکي و پلیدی هم اندکي بجای مانده است و باقی از دست افتاده است چه از ایوان و خندرمستان هم بسیار پاکي و پلیدی ره و رسم است

(Bombay University MS. of Darâb Hormazdyâr's Revayet, vol. I., f. 11b, ll. 1—7. Letter brought by Nariman Hoshang. The MS. of Barjo Kamdin's Revayetin the Mulla Firoz library, p. 336, ll. 7—16, MS. No. 2, VII., in Behatsek's catalogue p. 178.)

Translation.—They may know, that during the time that has passed, since (the time of) Kayômars up to this day, no time—neither in the time of Zohâk the Arab, nor in that of Afrâsiâk (Afrâsiâb), nor in that of Tûr, the magician, nor in that of Alexander the Greek, of whom Oharmazd the Creator has said that those persons were great sinners—has been more hard and troublesome than this end of the millennium of Aêsham (the demon). And previous² times have not been worse than this millennium, of which Oharmazd has spoken, and of which 847³ years have passed away. But during these times, the Behedins resort very little to works of righteousness and to the path of God; and very little of *nirang* and *barsam* and Yaôzdâçragiri

¹ Corrected according to the copy of Mulla Firoz library. B. U. (Bombay University MS.) has تازی.

² Reading pashtarin. If read pashtarin "the most ignoble."

³ This number of years (847) also gives the Yazdajardi date, when this letter was written.

(i.e. performance of religious services) and of purity and impurity, has remained. The rest has fallen away from our hands both in Irân and in Hindustân. Many rules both of purity and impurity are in vogue.

Herein the writers from Persia complain, that the Behedins of the time are less after works of righteousness, and that there is very little of the religious observances of the *nirang*, *barsam*, and *Yaodâragiri*. They clearly say that the same is the case both in India and Persia. (چه از ایران و هندوستان). We thus see from the very Revâyet from Persia referred to as pointing to a poor state of religious knowledge in India, that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia was in no way better than that of the Zoroastrians of India.

Again, in the second letter brought by the same Nariman Hoshang in 850 Yazdajardi (1481 A.D.), they similarly deplore their own condition.

این ضعفاں چهارکس پنج کس هستند که اندر خط پهلوی راه میدانند
فاما آنچه اصل است یافت نمیشود از سبب آنکه بداد و ستد روزگار
وتن و جامه آورده شده اند

(Bombay University MS. of Dârâb Hormazdyar's Revâyet, vol. I., f. 136, ll. 6-7.)

Translation.—Among us poor persons, there are four or five persons who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But what is original is not known, for this reason that owing to oppression¹ and tyranny,² our fortunes, bodies and clothes have all been contaminated.

Thus we see that the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia at that time was not very enviable. Of course, being in their ancestral land, they had the advantages of having some of the old Zoroastrian books in their possession and of carrying on some of the old traditions of their community; but then, on the other hand, they were still under the iron grip of their Mahomedan rulers, under whom their number gradually diminished by conversion. It is true, that the Zoroastrians of India received from Persia explanations of some of their questions, but the mere fact that they asked for information from Persia, does not prove that they were, as alleged,³ altogether ignorant of the principles of their religion, and were not capable to explain those principles to their ruling monarch. Why, even now, several Parsees,

¹ lamentation under oppression.

² Lit. ستد taking.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

in case of difference of opinion or in case of controversial questions, or even in ordinary matters, address questions to scholars—to Christian scholars—in Europe and America. But that fact should not lead one, centuries after to-day, to conclude that the Parsees of India in the 19th and 20th centuries were altogether ignorant of their religion, and were not capable to understand or explain to others, their own religion. Sir James Campbell takes a similar view of the questions sent to Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. He says the questions sent to Persia were on “doubtful points of religious practice” (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Thana, Part I., p. 254). Dr. West takes a somewhat similar view (*vide* Appendix, p. 166).

(c) But we have other contemporary authority, to show, that during that time one had not always to go to Persia, to seek knowledge on Zoroastrianism. There were Mobeds in India, who could impart knowledge to seekers after truth. The other authority I refer to, is Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

We find from the table of dates given above, that Abul Fazl appeared at the court in 1574. His father, Shaikh Mubârak, was of the Mâhdawî sect. He had attached himself to the religious movement, which had first begun in 900 Hijri, and which was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islam, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. Abul Fazl also belonged to the sect, to which his father belonged. Mubârak was persecuted for his Mâhdawî views and for his liberal tendency. As Blochmann says: “The persecutions which Shaikh Mubârak had to suffer for his Mahdawî leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his (Abul Fazl’s) young mind. . . . The same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments, the clique of the Ulamâs whom Akbar hated so much.”¹ About this study referred to above, Abul Fazl himself says in his Akbar-nâme.

“My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia² or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pâdris of Portugal, and

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. x.-xi.

² *Lit.* boundary of Khata, a province in Northern China.

I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pársis and the learned of the Zend avesta."¹

Abul Fazl here describes his state of mind and his course of study at the time of his introduction to the Court of Akbar, which was in 1574 A.D.

Now then, if there was such a general ignorance, as alleged, among Indian Parsees, that none could explain their religion to king Akbar, who were the priests (*mobeds*) of the Parsees and the learned of the Zend Avesta, whose interviews Abul Fazl sought, in and before 1574 for gaining knowledge in religious subjects? They cannot be Ardeshir and his suite, because they came after 1592 A.D.

(d) But, for the sake of argument, take for granted, that the state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times generally was not good. But that does not show, that there were not individual members here and there, head and shoulders above the common class of men. The mass may be ignorant, but there may be individual members, at least capable to explain to the ruling monarch the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

2. In this controversy, Naôsári is spoken of as a town in "a corner of Guzerat," and as such, it is supposed not to be capable to produce men, who could explain their religion to Akbar.

(A) But it appears both from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the *Akbar-nâmah* of Abul Fazl, that it was a town of some

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. xii. This passage is quoted in the notes to *Akbar's Dream* by Tennyson. (*Vide* The Complete Works of Tennyson, published by MacMillan and Co., 1894 (p. 845). The following is the original Persian text of the above passage :—

شورستان خاطر مرا علاج مفید نمی آمد گاه دل بصحبتِ دانایان
خطئه خطا کشیدی— و گاه بمرئاضان کوه لبنان خاطر را میل پدید
آمدی گاه شوق همزبانی جوگیان تبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه بمنفلی
پادریان پرتکال دامن مزیمتم گرفتی و گاه بمنشینین موبدان فارس
و رموز دالئی ژند و اسنا شکیب ربای خاطر شدی

Akbar-nâmah, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Abd-ur-Rahims, Vol. III., p. 84. ll. 10-13.)

"Et j'aurais aussi volontiers abordé les prêtres des Parsis et les théologien du Zend Avesta." L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand, par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 305.

importance. In the time of Akbar's father, Humâyûn, one of the nobles of Sultan Bâhâdûr of Guzerât, who was fighting against Humâyûn had "prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausâri He took possession of Nausâri and . . . marched against Broach."¹ According to Abul Fazl also, "Khân Jahân Shirâzi and Rûmi Khân, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausâri, which was held by Abdu-lla Khân, an officer of Husain Khân, and he retired to Broach."² Being so close to Surat, an important city of Guzerat, Naôsâri could not long remain unknown. Akbar was at Surat, and so the town of Naôsâri close to it, may have drawn his attention also.

From the *Âin-i-Akbari*³, we learn, that out of the 31 Mahâls of the Sarkâr of Surat, it was 19th in point of area, as well as 19th in point of the revenue it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 bighas and its revenue was 297,720 dâms. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."

(B) Even taking it for granted, that Naôsâri was in a mere corner of Guzerat and not well-known, the very fact, that Badâûni, the contemporary historian of Akbar, while speaking of the Zoroastrians, who came to the court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, mentions the town by name, and says that the Parsees were from Naôsâri, shows that he attached importance to Naôsâri, at least as a town which could send capable Parsees to the meetings of the Ibâdat Khâneh of Akbar. Surat, Rânder, Broach Ankleshwar and Khambayet (Cambay) were well-known as Parsee towns. Out of these, he names Naôsâri, as *the* town sending Parsees to the court of Akbar. If any Parsees from Persia had come to the Court, Badâûni would have mentioned that fact.

Out of the different Parsee towns, named above, Raner or Rander in the immediate vicinity of Surat, is specially mentioned by Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, as a town of the Parsees. He says (Calc. Text, Vol. I., p. 488, ll. 2 and 3). وزردشتي کيش از فارس

¹ *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. Munshi Newul-Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A. D., p. 198, ll. 21-23, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 197.

² *Akbar-nâmah*, Bengal Asiatic Society's ed. by Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. I., p. 142, ll. 20-21, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 15.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's edition, Vol. I., p. 493, l. 13, Column I., Col. Jarrett's translation. Vol. II., p. 257.

(روغن خوشبو آليا سازند که در پيچ جا نشود)

آمده بنگاه ساختم اند ژند و پاژند بر خوانند و دخمه بر سازند
i.e., "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here.
 They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect
 funeral structures." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 243.)
 Thus, though according to Abul Fazl, Rander was specially known
 as a colony of the Parsees, according to Badâ'oni, and the author
 of the Dabistan, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who were invited at
 the religious discussions of the Ibâdat Khaneh. This fact in itself
 is very significant. It shows that Naôsâri was looked at, as an
 important town, as far as learning and religious knowledge of
 Parseism was concerned.

(C) But there is another very important fact, which shows, that
 Naôsâri was then well-known as the principal centre of Parsee priests.
 It is, that when the Zoroastrian priests of Persia addressed their
 replies to the questions from India, they put down the name of
 Naôsâri and the names of its leading priests first, and then the names
 of other towns and their priests. We find this from several Revayets.

(a) In the Revayet from Irân, dated *rôz* Khorshed *mah* Abân 847
 Yazdajardi (25th June 1478)², addressed to Changâh Shâh and
 brought by Nariman Hoshang,³ the name of Naôsâri is mentioned
 first, and then the names of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay.

The address runs as follows :—

نام متایش و یاری دادار اورمزد..... بکام و نام و سایه شادماني
 و زندگاني و فیروزی و به روزی کدخدایان و بهدینان ہندوستان
 و سالار شہر نوساری جنگر شاہ و باقی انورنان و ردان و ہر بدان
 لساری و دیگر سورت و انکلیسر و بروج و کمبایت (Bomb. Univ. MS.)
 Vol. I., f. 11a, ll. 13-19)

¹ The word is *khânan*, which means "They read."

² Vol. I. (folio) 13a, l. 2, Bombay University Library MS., which is written
 by Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself from 20th April to 21st November 1679. *Vide*
 Dr. West's remarks in the beginning of the MS. p. 1, ll. 15 to 18. This
 particular portion was written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr on *mêhê* (Mohôr) *rôz*
mah Deh 1048 Yazdajardi, (*i.e.*, 15th August 1679 A.D.) (f. 13a, l. 10),
 (Mulla Firoz library MS. of Barjo Kâmdin's Revayet, p. 335.)

³ *Ibid.* f. 13a, l. 7, Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 6.

این کتاب از ایران لریمان ہوشنگ بہروچی اورده بود کاتب الحروف
 من دین بندہ داراب بن ہرمز یار بن فیاعدین بن کدقباد لقب
 سنجانان ہرکہ خواناد برنویسنده آفرین برساناد روز صہ ماہ مبارک
 دی سال یک ہزار چہل و ہشت از یزدجردی

i.e., (By) the name, praise and help of God.....May they (live) in (the enjoyment of) their desire and name and protection and happiness and life and success and good livelihood,—they, the masters of house and the Behedins of Hindustân, and Jangê Shah¹, the chief of the city of Naôsâri and the rest of the Âthôrânâs (i.e. priests) and leaders and Herbads of Naôsâri and also of Surat and Anklesar and Broach and Cambay.

(b) There is another Revâyet from Sharfâbâd (شرفآباد) in Persia, known as Nariman Hoshang's second Revâyet.² It is dated *rôz* Daêpadin *mâh* Daê, eight hundred and fifty³ (A.D. 1481). It is also addressed to the Parsees of Hindustân, among whom those of Naôsâri are specially mentioned.⁴

(c) There is a third Revâyet, dated *rôz* Ormazd, *mâh* Khordâd 880 (A. D. 1511), from Persia,⁵ where the Parsees of Naôsâri are addressed before those of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ankleswar.⁶ We do not find the name of the messenger of this Revâyet.

(d) There is a fourth Revâyet, known as Shâbôr (Shapûr) Âshâ's Revâyet.⁷ It was written in Yezd and dated *rôz* Depâdar *mâh*

¹ Commonly known as Chângâshâh. In the collection of the Revâyets by Burzo Kamdin, we find the name properly written چنگ شاه. *Vide* Mulla Firoz Library MS. (Rehatek's Catalogue VII, 2), p. 335, l. 18.

² Bombay University Library MS., Dr. West's contents, p. 6, l. 5; Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. ³ *Vide* Bombay University MS., Vol. I., folio 13b, ll. 17-18. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 504, l. 8. Dr. West and Mr. Patel give 855. I think Dr. West is guided by the reading of Mr. Patel, because the Bombay University MS., which he follows, gives 850. The passage of the date runs as follows in the Bombay University MS., (f. 13b, ll. 17-18)

فرجبد بدرود شادی و رامشنی اندر روز دپدین و ماه دی سال
هشتصد و پنجاه پس از تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار نبشته شد بجانب دستوران
وردان و پیربدان و حکیمان و فرزنانک انجمن هندوستان

† *i.e.* after the date of Yazdajardi (*Vide* Dr. West's remark p. 6, l. 4.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, folio 19a, l. 16-17. بجانب پیربدان و بهدیان و پیشوایان
Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. و کہ خدایان هندوستان و ساکن قصبه نوساری

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 16a, ll. 1 and 2 on the margin. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, folio 15a, ll. 9 and 10. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 508, ll. 6-7.

⁷ This Revâyet is spoken of in the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) as Câmâ Ashâ's Revâyet. (a) We have a very old copy of the Revâyet belonging to the Dastar Meherji Rana Library at Naôsâri. (*Vide* the printed catalogue of

Bahman 896, Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). Therein also the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first¹ and then those of Cambay.²

(e) In the fifth Revâyet, brought from Persia, by Aspandyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam, dated *rôz* Khordâd *mâh* Ardibehesht 904 Yazdajardi (1535 A.D.), the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first and then those of Surat and Cambay.³

(f) The sixth Revâyet is that known as that of Kâûs Kâmdin written in 922 Yazdajardi (1553 A.D.) Therein the priests of Naosari are addressed first and then those of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay. (*Vide* below, p. 64, for particulars.)

(g) The seventh Revâyet, which I want to refer to, is that⁴ from Turkâbâd in Persia, dated *rôz* Shehrivar *mâh* Farvardin 996⁵ (1626 A.D.), brought by Bahman⁶ Aspandyâr. It, also, is first addressed

the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library printed in 1894. Guzarati catalogue of Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend books, p. 64, No. 28. It is a MS. of 236 folios. *Vide* folio 101b, l. 10, for the name of the messenger. (b) We have another old, but a little later copy of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala. It is a MS. of 241 folios. *Vide* folio 119b, l. 11, for the name of the messenger. (c) We have another old manuscript of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria. Its colophon is lost. It is a MS. of 79 folios.

¹ *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1a, l. 12. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2a, l. 1. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1b, l. 14.

² *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1b, l. 3. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2a, l. 9. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1b, l. 21. The passages of the address and dates are quoted and more particulars are given below, pp. 66-67.

³ Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 8.

⁴ Bombay University Library Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr Revâyet, Vol. I., f. 69a, l. 1. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 453. For reference first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* p. 453, ll. 2 and 4 and 6, respectively. For date, *vide* l. 13. For the name of the messenger, *vide* l. 16. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 11. ⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 69b, l. 21.

این نامه در روز شهریور ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۶ یزدجردی نوشته شد

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 69a, l. 19, and f. 70a, ll. 2 and 4. The following passage gives some particulars about the messenger:—

و معلوم دستوران و پیربدان و سوبدان و بهدینان کشور بندرستان
بوده باشد که بهدین بهمن بن اسفندیار در ایران شهر در ولایت
ترکاباد تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون براه کشنی
و تران دریا آمده بود اورا نوجش لازم بود و آنچه قاعدہ دین
زرتشتی بود اورا نوجش فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجای رساند و

to the priests and the laymen of Naôsâri¹ and then to those of Surat² and Broach.³

(h) The eighth Revâyet is that known as the Revâyet of Bahaman Poonjiéh of Surat, brought from Kirman (این کتابت از کرمان). It is addressed first to the Dasturs of Naôsâri,⁵ and then to those of Surat⁶ and Broach.⁷ It is dated *rûz Âdar mâh Bahman* 996 Yazdajardi⁸ (A.D. 1627). نوشته شد این رقعہ نامہ بروز آدر لہم و ماہ قدیم بہمن یازدہم ماہ الہی سنہ ۹۹۶ یزدجرد

Thus we have the authority of eight Revâyets from Persia, all written in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to show, that in those times, at least as far as the Parsees were concerned, Naôsâri was not an unknown town in a corner of Gujerat, but

اورا بر شرف نوم کردیم و نہ شوق داشت و خدمت آب و آتش ہا و آتش و رہرام آنچه قواعد دین بود کردہ تا واضح بودہ باشد دیگر معلوم بودہ باشد کہ خدمت خاتون بانو پارس کہ زیارت گاہ است ہم کرد (Ibid. f. 69a, l. 18 to f. 69b, l. 1.) The custom referred to here, that Zoroastrian priests travelling by sea should perform a purificatory ceremony, is an old one. Cf. "Neither would his (Vologeses I.) brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld him (Works of Tacitus, Vol. I., The Annals, Bk. XV. 24. The Oxford translation.) The Ziârat-gâh (a place of pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânû, the daughter of the last king Yazdajard, referred to here, sounds strange in the ears of a Zoroastrian, but the statement shows under what kind of Mahomedan influences the Zoroastrians of Persia had fallen. For the story of this lady Khâtun Bânû, vide Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 12.

¹ Ibid., f. 69a, l. 5. ² Ibid., l. 9.

³ Ibid., l. 11.

⁴ Bombay University Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Revâyet, f. 65a, l. 3. Parsee Prakâsh, vol. I., p. 12. This messenger Bahaman Poonjiéh is the same person as Bahman Aspandyâr of the preceding Revâyet. In this Revâyet also at one place he is spoken of as Bahman Aspandyâr.

و القاسم فقیران این جانب آنت کہ گوشہ خاطر از بہمن بن اسفندیل دریغ نفرمایند و ہمہ روز اورا حرمت داشتہ کہ پسند ایزد است (ibid., f. 65b, l. 6).

Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., 449. For references first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach. vide ibid., ll. 7, 10 and 11 and 13 respectively. For the name of the messenger and for his good services f. 449b, l. 2.

⁵ Ibid., l. 9. ⁶ Ibid., ll. 12 and 14. ⁷ Ibid., l. 16. ⁸ Ibid., f. 68b, l. 20.

was well known, not only here, but also in Persia, as the centre of Parsee priesthood, and that the Parsees of that town took a good deal of interest in all religious subjects.

II. Against Dastur Meherji Rana personally, the following objections have been raised:—

- (1) That he was an obscure priest.
- (2) That his name is not mentioned in the histories of Akbar's time.
- (3) That tradition attributes to him miracles, which are not referred to at all in the histories of Akbar's time.
- (4) That he is reported in traditional songs to have invested Akbar with Sudreh and Kusti, the symbols of Zoroastrianism, which is not possible.

We will now examine these objections.

(1) We will first examine shortly the allegation, that Dastur Meherji Rana was an obscure priest in a corner of Gujerat, and was therefore not capable of taking an active part in the religious discussions and of explaining to Akbar the principles of his religion. I beg to produce (A) several old documents, and (B) several old manuscripts which lead to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, but that he was one of the leading men of Naôsâri.

(A) Firstly, I will produce some old documents.

(a) I beg to produce an old copy¹—not the original itself—of a document dated *rôz Âdar mâh Aspandârmad Samvat 1622* (A. D. 1565-66), wherein Dastur Meherji Rana's name stands first among the signatories.² It is a kind of agreement amongst the priests themselves, to perform the religious ceremonies properly and conscientiously, to charge only legitimate fees and not more, and to give all proper account of the professional fees received, etc. Dastur Meherji Rana would not have signed at the top, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(b) I produce an original document,³ four years later in date. It is a document about 331 years old. It is dated *rôz Ardibehesht mâh Aspandârmad 1626 Samvat, i.e. 1570 A. D.* It is an agreement

¹ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 151-153.

² Dastur Meherji Rana signs his name as "Mâhiâr Vâchhâ." Mahiâr was his proper name, of which Meherji is the popular rendering. Râna was his own father's name. But as he was adopted by Vâchhâ, he adopted his adoptive father's name. ³ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below pp. 154-55.

among the Parsee priesthood themselves, to abstain from the drink of toddy, at the time when they were engaged for some days in particular rituals. The toddy of Naôsâri was then, and is even now, as much known in Gujerat, as the beer of Munich is known in Europe. So it was, and is even now, a favourite beverage of the Naôsâri people. But being a little intoxicating, they agreed among themselves not to drink it during those days when they were engaged in certain ceremonies, e. g. Bôî-devi (i. e. the ceremony of officiating at the Fire-temple). Among the signatories of this document, Dastur Meherji Rana is the first. This would not have been the case, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(c) I produce an original document¹ of three years' later date, i. e., it is about 328 years old. It is dated rôw Hormazd, mâh Shehrivar Samvat 1629, i. e. 1572 A. D. It is an agreement signed by some of the leading laymen of Naôsâri, on behalf of the community in favour of Mahiâr Vaccha¹ (Meherji Rana), assigning him, in a place called (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀) Pipaliâ-wâdi, a piece of ground 10 bighas in area, with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees. This seems to be given to Meherji Rana, as the head of the priests, for religious purposes. They undertake that the land shall be maintained free of taxes.

These three documents, then, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that he was a leading priest, even before his departure to the court of Akbar.

B.—Now we come to old manuscripts.

(a) In the Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, we have a letter brought from Persia, by Faridun Murzbân. We find it addressed to two Dasturs, the first of whom is Dastur Mâbyâr² (Meherji Rana). Judging from the names mentioned, Dr. West thinks it to have been written about 1570 A. D.³

¹ Vide appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and below pp. 155-58

² University Library Manuscript, Vol. I, f. 16b, l. 10. Vide l. 17 for the name as Faridun Marzbân; l. 19 for Fredun's name singly. There the name is written فریدون و مرزبان i. e. Faridun and Murzbân, as if the letter was brought by two persons, but the letter vâv for 'and' seems to be a mistake of the copyist, because later on the messenger is spoken of in the singular number. They say الغناس است که از ہمہ طور اورا از کوشه خاطر 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 (1. 19). Again, later on, the messenger is spoken of singly as Faridun (l. 20). In the references to this letter, the full name seems to have been taken as that of two brothers by mistake. (Vide Dr. West's remarks in Vol. I. of the Bombay University Library, p. 3, l. 6.) ³ Ibid. Dr. West's remarks attached at the beginning, p. 3, l. 8; p. 6, ll. 14-15.

I quote the passage from our Bombay University manuscript *Revâyet*. دستوران دینداران دین آموزگاران دین چاشیداران دین سرانیداران پنت گفتاران نیایش ورزیداران درست اوسفاء راست داوران از نیاکان آذرباد بن مارسفندان استوان دین زرا تشتی چو دستور ماہیار و دستور ہوشنگ را یک صد ہزاران درود

It must be noted, that Dr. West¹ says, that this manuscript *Revâyet* of our University library "is probably the original compilation of Dârâb Hormazyâr Frâmroz Kiyâmu-d-din (or Kawâmu-d-din) Kai-ḡubâd Hamajiyâr Padam Sanjânuh, and contains eleven colophons written in his name and varying in date from 20 April to 21 November 1679, at which latter date the compilation was completed." So it is about 222 years old.

(b) In a *Revâyet*² of 922 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Dasturs, Herbads and Behdins of Naôsâri,³ Surat,⁴ Anklesar,⁵ Broach⁶ and Kambûyat⁷ (Cambay), by the priests of Persia, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, put at the head of all. It is the *Revâyet*, known as "*Revâyet-i-Kâûs Kâmdîn*" (1553)."

The commencement of the *Revâyet* which contains the address runs as follows⁸ :—

بہستوران و ہیریدان پدشویان و کدخدایان و بہدینان و مینو
نگریداران مانقرنیداران اشای ورزیداران چون دستوران و کدخدایان
بہدینان قصبہ نوماری چون دستور ماہیار بن واچہا دستور بہمن بن
چاندا دستور خورشید بہرام.....

The date of the receipt of this *Revâyet* from Yezd in Persia is given at the end, and runs thus (10) :—

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماہ بہمن روز بہمن نہصد و بیست و دو ۹۲۲
i.e. month Bahman, day Bahman, 922.

I produce an old copy of this *Revâyet* belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. Some of its folios are missing, and

¹ *Ibid.* Vide his remarks attached at the beginning of the MS, Vol. I., p. 1, ll. 15-19.

² Manuscript belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala, pp. 177 to 190. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 177, l. 15; p. 178, l. 11. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179, ll. 2 and 5. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 8. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 10. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 13.

⁸ Vide Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I. Dr. West's contents in the beginning, p. 3, l. 14. Vide Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS, p. 201, l. 12.

⁹ Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's manuscript of this *Revâyet*, p. 177, ll. 13-15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190, l. 9.

among them, the one that contains the above date of its receipt. Again, some of the folios are not bound in proper order (*vide* pp. 15 to 22 of this MS. for the Revâyet in question; *vide* p. 15, ll. 7-9, for the address.) In the catalogue of the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library published in 1894 in the Gujrati list, p. 65, of Zend, Pahlavi, and Pazend manuscripts this MS. bears No. 30. It is a MS. of 76 pages.

Thus in the above letter, given in the Revâyet, and in the above Revâyet of Kâûs Kâmdîn, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana mentioned first among the leading men to whom they are addressed. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but a leading priest.

(c) Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, a learned Dastur of Naôsâri, who lived from 1668 to 1735, and who was the writer of two works¹ on Zoroastrian subjects, refers to Meherji Rana in his Kholaseh-i-Dîn, written about 211 years ago (1690 A.D.) as a Dastur-i-mihîn, *i.e.*, a great Dastur. While speaking of Dastur Maneck Mehernôsh, he traces his descent from Dastur Meherji Rana, and says² :—

زئسل ڀاڪئن مہر ڀار رانا . : کہ دمخور مہین بود او بدنيا

i.e., "He was descended from pious Mâhiâr Rana, who was a great Dastur in the world." Here, then, we have the authority of a writer, more than two centuries old, to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but was a well-known great Dastur.

We have thus seen that, *firstly*, the above three documents, *secondly*, the above two references in the Revâyets, and, *thirdly*, the reference in the Kholaseh-i-Din, written about 211 years ago, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged.

Not only was Dastur Meherji Rana the leading priest of his time, but his father Rana Jeshang also was the leading priest. I produce several documentary proofs to show this.

1. The first original old document³, that I produce, is 382 years old. It is dated *roz* Bahman *mdh* Bahman *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A.D.).

¹ Kholaseh-i-Din and Farziât namah.—*Vide* Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 31.

² Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. folio 18b, l. 11. It is a MS. 65 years old, being written by Jamshed, son of Manock, son of Rustam on *roz* Rashnê *mdh* Amardâd 1206 Yazdajardi—(1837 A.D.).—*vide* colophon at the end of the MS. The work was written on *roz* 6-6-1059 Yazd, *vide* couplet 732.

³ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below, pp. 158-161.

The Revâyet was written in the city of Yezd on *rôj* Depâdar *madh* Bahman 896 Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). The following passage¹ gives the date, when, and the name of the city, where, it was first written.

۱۵۲۷ سالی در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶ یزد
 در این شهر در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶ یزد
 در این شهر در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶ یزد
 در این شهر در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶ یزد

(b) The second copy, which I produce, belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala.² It is a copy made on *roz* Khorshed *mah* Spendâr-mad in 927 Yazdajardi (1558-59) at Naôsâri from the copy of Yezd (*az naskha-i-sheher-i yezd*). The following passage³ gives the date, when, and the place, where, it was written.

۱۵۵۸ سالی در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷ یزد
 در این شهر در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷ یزد
 در این شهر در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷ یزد
 در این شهر در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷ یزد

(c) The third copy, that I produce, belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. It is an old copy, but unfortunately, its last folio being lost, it bears no date; but the owner, who is the fortunate possessor of many old Parsee manuscripts, believes, from the quality of the paper and the writing, that it is an old copy.⁴

¹ Meherji Bana Library manuscript of Shâpur Asa's Revâyet f. 99a, ll. 6 to 11.

² It is a manuscript of 241 folios containing various subjects. For the address, *vide* folios 1, l. 7, to f. 2, l. 2.

³ *Ibid* folio 116b, ll. 4 to 11.

⁴ It is a manuscript of 80 folios. It contains nothing but this Revâyet. On comparing this manuscript with the above-mentioned manuscripts, I find, that the last three or four pages are missing. The passage of the address in this manuscript (folio 1, ll. 7 to 15) is the same as the above two manuscripts, except in this, that the name of Dastur Meherji Bana's grandfather Jeshang is properly written.

We have so far seen then, that not only was Dastur Meherji Rana not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that it appears, from an original old document, and from a Revâyet written in Yezd in 1527 A.D., that even his father Rana Jeshang was well known as a leader of the Naôsâri priests.

Rana Jeshang was well versed in Pazend and Persian. That is proved by the fact that we have two manuscripts of copies by his own hand of two well-known Pazend and Persian books.¹

2. The second objection against Dastur Meherji Rana is, that his name is not mentioned in the history of Akbar's time. The fact of a person's name not being mentioned by a contemporary historian, should not always throw a doubt upon that person's existence, acts or influence. For example, Baber does not mention even once the name of his wife Gul-rukh, while he mentions the names of his other wives. As Mrs. Beveridge says, "this may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious," (*Humayun-nâmah* by Mrs. Beveridge). The fact of the Naôsâri priests' influence over Akbar, is clearly mentioned by Badâôni, the contemporary of Akbar, and even by the writer of the *Dabistan*, who wrote about 57 years after Badâôni. Still "the fact of his (Dastur Meherji Rana's) having gone to Akbar's court" is doubted "because his name is not mentioned in any historical book."² We must bear in mind, that as far as contemporary historians go, even Ardeshir's name is not mentioned by Badâôni, Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin, as having gone to Akbar's court for taking a part in religious discussions. But, if one is justified in doubting the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at Akbar's court on that ground, he must be prepared to doubt the presence of the representatives of other communities also. For example, as we said above (p. 32), according to Father Catrou, three parties of Christian priests went, one after another, to the court of Delhi. Two of these went later. The first party³ consisted of Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henric. The second party consisted of Edward Leiton and Cristophe Vega.⁴ The third party consisted of Father Jerome Xavier and Father Emanuel Pinnero.⁵

¹ *Vide* below pp. 169-71.

² *Journal*, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX. No. LIII. p. 296.

³ *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, translated from the French of Father Catrou, 1626, p. 105. ⁴ *Ibid*, p. 126. ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 127. *Vide* L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., pp. 326, 330, 331.

Of these seven Christian priests of the three missions, only one, Father Rodolph, is mentioned by one Mahomedan historian.¹

He is spoken of, only once in the Akbar-namah, as Padri Radif (پادري رديف).² If that is the case, can one be justified in saying, that the above missionaries did not go to the court of Akbar, because their names are not mentioned in the Mahomedan histories? Just as we have the authority of Father Catrou, who wrote in 1708, for the above-mentioned Christian missionaries, so we have the authority of Dastur Shapoorjee Sanjana, who wrote, in 1765, for the mission of Dastur Meherji Rana. If you accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians of Akbar's reign, in the one case, viz., that of the Christian missionaries, you must accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians, in the other case, viz., that of the Parsee Dastur.

3. The third objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission, is this, that tradition attributes a miracle to him. Folklore has attached to the visit of Meherji Rana a certain miracle, said to have been performed by him at the court of Akbar. A certain Brahmin

¹ The Akbar-namah (Calcutta edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 577, l. 4 and notes. Elliot (Dawson), Vol. VI, p. 85) speaks of one other priest, Pâdri Farmalîûn (فرماليون پادري) which one manuscript writes پادري فرماليون Bâdhari Farmaliûn, and another writes پادري فرماليون Pâdri Farmalîûn). But he does not seem to have been a member of any religious mission. Abul Fazl says of him: "At this time (the 35th year of Akbar's reign, about 1591 A.D.) Padre Farmaliûn arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."—Elliot, VI., p. 85. This passage shows, that he was called for a literary purpose, just as Ardeshir of Kermân was called a year later.

² Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim's Calcutta edition for the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20. The Editor adds a footnote, saying that the name is found رديف Ravik in some MSS. Elliot's MS. gives it Radalf (Elliot's History of India, VI., p. 60). There is one remark of Elliot in connection with this passage, to which I will draw special attention. He says: "Here and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre" (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 60, n. 1). Later Mahomedan copyists of books, at times, left off passages, that spoke well of the doings of the personages of other communities.

is said to have raised in the sky, by the force of his magic, a metallic tray, which resembled a second sun, and which Meherji Rana, by his prayers and incantations, is said to have brought down to the earth. But intelligent men should not allow such stories, attached by later generations to the names of historical persons and events, to throw doubts on those historical persons and events. Many a well-known name in the history of different countries, would not be safe in the hands of later generations, if we allowed such stories to throw doubts upon the historical events of their times. Why! Take the case of Virgil. There is no person, in the past history of the world, round the halo of whose name and fame, so many stories of miracles and magic have been put as those round that of Virgil's name and fame. The tourist in Naples even now, centuries after his time, hears dozens of stories about his miracles and about the magical power of his name. I heard several such stories while travelling there in 1889. But, for all that, we are not prepared to doubt the fact of his influence and his work. But why go further! Take the case of another personage of this very time, and of the very court of king Akbar. According to the Akbar-nameh, the Christian priest at the court, Father Rodolf, in order to convince the disbelievers in the truth of the Holy Gospel, offered to perform the miracle of passing through a furnace of fire with the Gospel in his hand. Here is the passage from the Akbar-nameh on the subject: "Twenty-third year of the Reign, (A.D. 1579).—When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. . . . *Sûfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shiûs*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chârbâks*,¹ Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly one night the *'Ibadat-khana* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they

¹ *ic.*, Hindu materialists, *vide* p. 30, n. 3.

were nearly put to shame ; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kûran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *ûlamâ* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The blackhearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."¹

Here is the evidence of a contemporary writer, who attributes to the Christian priest a desire to perform a miracle. Well, from the fact of this statement, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of the visit of the Christian priest to the court of Akbar, and of his services to explain his religion to the king ? Of course not. How, then, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit, and of his influence on Akbar ? In his case, we do not read at all, in any contemporary writer, any statement about his desire to perform a miracle. It is some later tradition, that connects with his name, the performance of a miracle. If we are not justified in doubting the historical event of Father Rudolf's visit and services, on account of his offered miracle, referred to by a historical writer, we are much less justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit and services, on account of the story of a miracle, which is not even alluded to by any book of history.

We must note that there are several versions of the miracle attributed to Father Rudolf. Murray gives the following version : " At length, he (Akbar) sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith ; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand ; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection

¹ Akbar-nameh. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 59, 60. Calcutta edition of Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20—p. 255. 15. Badâoni gives another version. He says, that it was a Mahomedan Sheikh, who challenged the Christian priest to perform the ordeal by fire. (The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, by Behatssek, p. 46. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 308. Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 299, ll. 10-15. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 191.)

to accompany him with the Bible ; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy ; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded. (Murray's Discoveries and Travels II., p. 91.) This is a version of the Christians. The two well-known contemporary historians of the very time of Akbar, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Badâôni, differ in their versions. One says that it was the Christian priest who offered to perform the miracle and challenged the Mahomedan priest to do the same, and the other says *vice versa*. Thus, when in the writings of two well-known historians of king Akbar's own time, some true or probable facts, with which Father Rodolf was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, there is no wonder, if some similarly true or probable facts, with which Dastur Meherji Rana was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated by tradition in later times. But, as from the fact of some probable events connected with Father Rodolf being so misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar, so, from the fact of some probable event connected with Dastur Meherji Rana being misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar.

It is said : " It need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badâôni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *Jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the Dabistan, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history."¹ Well, the fact, that the authentic histories of Akbar's reign, do not mention the so-called miracle, connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name in later times, should rather go in Dastur Meherji Rana's favour, and *not*

¹ Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LIV., No. XIX., p. 293, Mr. Karkaria's paper.

against him. The fact, that no "highly improbable, if not impossible, event," is connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name by authentic historians, shows that his services were real and not flimsy.

Dr. West, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, says on this point¹:—

"That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578, seems well attested by the grant of a Jaghir to him at that time; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth, which no educated Parsee of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts). It would be easy to understand that the Parsee's veneration for the sun, would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari".

As Dr. West says, it appears, that there may be "some probable facts" at the bottom, and that a myth has subsequently grown round them. Let us examine the myth a little closely, and see if any fact can be traced at the bottom.

(a) The story, as given in the song,² says, that a Hindu priest, by a sleight of hand, suspended a dish high in the air. This was taken by the king's subjects to be a second sun. Now, as far as the description in the story goes, the thing was a sleight of hand or a trick. The writer of the story says, that the king's subjects took it to be a second sun, and that the dish appeared like a sun. Dastur Meherji Rana possibly saw what the sleight of hand or what the trick was, and he may have exposed it.

Such sleights of hands and tricks and such jugglers were not uncommon in the court of Akbar. We read, that once Akbar

¹ His letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.—*Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898.

² Cf. the first stanza of the song "नेहेरळ संखीं जरा नेह था पुरा जंदा साहेरळ"
The lines describing the trick or so-called miracle say

(*vide* गाळीने रत्नपत्र (1867) p. 574).

जगत पुरने थाली ठीराळं जीरे जेदरी गगनने
ठोरा थालीअ सुरळ दुवा रे। सुरळ रेणे जावळने
रे। सुरळ रेणे रथंजित रथरी अपरत दुवे अपने रंखने

himself exposed the trick of a juggler, who said, that he had "the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to re-appear on the other side of the river."¹ Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed a trick of this kind, and later oral tradition may have exaggerated it into a miracle, though, from the written account of the story, we find, that it seems to be spoken of as a sleight of hand and trick; but from that exaggeration one cannot be justified in doubting the event of his going to Akbar's court and of his influencing the king.

We must bear in mind, that in those times, unusual extraordinary handiwork or skill in some kind of workmanship also, was taken to be a kind of magic. For example, a grandee of the court Mir Fathulla Shirazi once made a windmill which automatically ground flour. This was taken by people to be magic. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* says on this point, "He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement." (Elliot V., p. 469.)

(b) Again, in connection with this subject of the appearance of a second sun, we must bear in mind, that, apart from the question of a sleight of hand or trick, such a meteorological phenomenon is not rare. All books on Meteorology speak of mock-suns and mock-moons.² I quote here, from Buchan's *Meteorology*, the description of such phenomenon.

"Parhelia and Paraselenæ. At the points of intersection of the circles of the halo, images of the sun or moon generally appear from the light concentrated at these points, the images of the sun being called parhelia (Gr. para, about or near, and hélios the sun) or mock-suns, and those of the moon paraselenæ (Gr. para about or near, and seléné the moon) or mock-moons, which also exhibit the prismatic colours of the halo." (Introductory Text-book of Meteorology, by Alexander Buchan, 1871, p. 193.)

So, perhaps, it is quite possible, that during the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar, a phenomenon of a mock-sun may have happened. It is quite possible, that Meherji Rana might have said a prayer at the time, not with the view of performing a

¹ Badâoni. *Rehatsak. The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm*, p. 82. Ahmed Ali's Calcutta Edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 22, to p. 367, l. 12. Lowe's translation of Badâoni, Vol. II, pp. 378-79.

² I have referred to them in my book on *Meteorology*, pp. 303, 304.

miracle, but in the ordinary way, because it is not unusual, even now, among some of the Parsis, to say prayers on the more frequent phenomena of eclipses.¹ A Hindu priest may have attributed that meteorological phenomenon to his power of magic, and Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed it.

(c) Again, we find from the histories of Akbar's time, that a natural phenomenon of an unusual kind did occur at the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit. It was the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, just at prayer time in the evening. Perhaps the appearance of this brilliant phenomenon, though properly understood by the learned and the intelligent, was misunderstood by the ignorant and the illiterate, and so latterly it was misinterpreted. This phenomenon created a great stir at the court of Akbar. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* thus alludes to it:—

“Twenty-third year of the Reign. (A.D. 1578-79.)

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H. (11th March 1578).

“At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinions of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstân, but probably in Khurâsân and Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawi, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia.”²

¹ *Vide* my paper on “A Few Ancient Beliefs about Eclipses,” read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 25th April 1894. (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*: Vol. III., No. 6, p. 360.)

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 407. *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, Munshi Newnl Kishore's lithographed edition of 1876 A.D. (1292 Hijri), p. 339, ll. 3-4. Elliot seems to be wrong in translating “a comet appeared in the sky towards the east.” The words of the text are

ذکر ظاہر شدن دور دانه درین ایام در وقت نماز شام در طرف عرب
مائل بشمال دور دانه روی آسمان ظاهر شد

Elliot has translated the word عرب *Arab* by “the east.” *Arab* does not mean east. It simply means ‘Arabia.’ So the translation should be: “At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north.” Now as Arabia is in the west, the words may be translated “towards the west.” This translation will then tally with the statements of Badâ'uni and Abul Fazl, who also say that the comet appeared in the west مغرب

As Elliot points out, Badâôni and Abul Fazl also allude to this event. Badâôni places the event in the 22nd year of the reign. (A.D. 1577-78).

و از اتفاقات آنکه در همان سال ستاره ذوزنابه از جانب مغرب
پیدا شد و در همان سال خبر رسید که شاه اسمعیل ولد
شاه طهماسب پادشاه عراق را بمشیره اش پری جان خانم با اتفاق امرا
بقتل رسانید و تأثیر ذوزنابه در آن ولایت ظاهر شد و
در عراق برج و مرج عظیم افتاد¹

Translation. "And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. . . . In this same year news arrived that Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tashmâsp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amirs, by his own sister Pari Jân Khânam. . . . And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in Irâq the greatest perturbation resulted."²

The Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad places the appearance of the comet in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west. but the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni places it in the 22nd year, and in the west. Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh³ places it in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west.

Before coming to the subject of the appearance of the comet of this particular year, Abul Fazl gives a short introduction, presenting

¹ The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 240, l. 16; p. 241, l. 5.

² Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâôni, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 248.

³ The Calcutta edition of Abul-ur Rahim, Vol. III., p. 221, l. 24.

از سوانح پدید آمدن ذوزناب است بعد از نشستن نیر اعظم عتابخش

عالم بکرستلی مغرب زمین

i.e. Of the event of the appearance of a comet in the evening [lit. after the time, when the great luminary (*i.e.* the sun) which bestows favours on the world, sits on the seat of the western land]. As to the discrepancy in the year of the appearance of the comet, whether it was in the 22nd or 23rd year of Akbar's reign, Elliot thus explains it. "The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijra. 981, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul-l-Fazl in the twenty-second (Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 403, n. 1).

his views of the occurrence of the phenomenon and describing the events of the appearance of comets in former years. He then describes this phenomenon in the time of Akbar's reign¹ (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.) in the following words:—

As the above passage² has not been translated by any author, I give my own translation of it:—

“On the day *Ârâd* (Arshisang), the 25th of the *Ilâhi* month *Âbân*, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the comet ذُو ذَنْب) kindled its brilliant face in the sign Saggiarius, faced towards the west (*bdkhtar-rûz*) inclined toward the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries, belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus: “that among some of the inhabited³ parts of Hindustan, there will be

¹ Comte de Noer gives the date of this phenomenon as the end of October 1577 (Chaban 985). *L'Empereur Akbar*, Vol. I., p. 262.

روز آراد بیست و پنجم آبان ماه الهی هنگامیکه نیر اعظم در برج عقرب سعادت می افزود در برج قوس این نشان آسمانی باختر روبرو مایل بشمال چهره تابش افروخت دنباله دراز داشت چنانچه بحدی رسید که در بعضی بلاد تا پنج ماه دیدند اختر شناسان آگاه دل و رموز فهمان انجمن بالا چنین گزارش نمودند که در لختی از مساکن هندوستان غله گوانی پذیرد و از جایهای خاص نشان دادند و فرمان روی ایران را روزگار سپری کرده و در عراق و خراسان گرد آشوب بر خیزد همچنانکه گفته بودند بی کم و کاست بظهور آمد درجهان نزدیکی قافله از ایران رسید برخی از کاردانان راستی منش بدرگاه همایون شرح گذاشتن شاه طهماسب و کشته شدن سلطان حیدر و بسطنت رسیدن شاه اسمعیل بعرض اقدس رسانیدند

(The Akbar-nameh by Abul Fazi, edited by Manlavi Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. III., p. 224, ll. 3-10.)

³ Or “the poor” or the “inhabitants.” *masâkin* (pl. of *maskan* or *maskin*) Habitations; (for *masâkin*) the poor; *masâkin* an inhabitant.” (Steingass.)

scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Irân, will come to an end, and in Irâk and Khorâssân there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Irân. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind, informed his Majesty, of the death of Shah Tahmâsp, and of the murder of Sultân Haidar, and of the accession to the throne of Shâh Ismail."

As pointed out by Elliot, Fergusson's list¹ of comets, included a comet, which appeared in 1577. It passed its perihelion on the 26th October 1577.

There is one thing in Abul Fazl's description of the phenomena of comets, which requires to be noticed. He says, that the phenomena were supposed to forbode evils to a certain extent, in the countries, where they appeared, and that there were *nirangs* (i.e. incantations) among the ancients for averting the evils. He says *و باندا ز درنگ و نئای آن بظهور آید و نیرنگی آثار این در نگاهها پیشینیان بیشتر* *ازان است که گفته آید* i.e., "Their consequences appear in proportion to its duration, and the incantations for (counteracting) the influence of these occur in the writings of the ancients more than can be described."

The *nirang* (i.e., prayer or incantations) of the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, seems to be the *nirang* of the ancient Irânians. We find from the Shikand Gumânik Vijâr (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., Chap. IV., 47-48) that the appearance of comets was believed by the ancient Persians, to bring with it, damage and harm to the countries where they appeared. They believed that the resulting harm can be averted by prayers. Among the Parsees, there is still one *nirang* of that kind known as the *Nirang Vanant Yasht*. It begins thus *کل بلا دفع شود و دیو و دروج و پری و گفتار و سحران* i.e. "May there be averted all the calamities, and (the evils of) the Devil and the Druj and the Peri (fairy) and the Kaftâr (lit. despoiler of the dead) and the magicians."

We must note, that firstly, this is a *nirang* or prayer to avert the evils or wrongs from the *sahrân*³ (i.e., magicians or trick-players).

¹ Fergusson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster, Vol. II. (1811), p. 360.

² Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., p. 223, ll. 4-5.

³ Vide the last word of the quotation from the *Nirang*.

Again, secondly, we must note that as the *nirang* referred to by Abul Falz, is in connection with a star (and the comet is spoken of by Badâôni as a star ستاره ذوزنابه) so the Parsee Nirang-i-Vanant Yasht above referred to, also bears its name from Vanant, which is the name of a star.

Now, Prof. Darmesteter says in his *Zend Avesta*¹, that the tradition, as he had heard it from a member of the Meherji Rana family, said, that it was the Vanant Yasht, which Dastur Meherji Rana had recited at the time of the so-called miracle. Perhaps he recited that *nirang*, or some other *nirang*, to pray to God, to avert the evils of the natural phenomenon that had occurred at the time.

I have examined this question of the so-called miracle, rather at some length, to show that, as Dr. West said, there may be "some probable fact" at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon, or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, viz., Badâôni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, viz., the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed, that the writings of the ancients (*pishiniqân*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted those evils. So, they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*. Let it be specially noted that in Tansen's song, it is his prayers that are referred to as accepted (*vide* pp.163-64.)

Thus, one or another of these actual facts may have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated in subsequent times. But for the sake of that misinterpretation, misunderstanding or exaggeration, the historical fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court, and of his influence on Akbar need not be doubted. Why! more exaggerated things than these, and supposed to be more miraculous, have been attributed to Akbar himself by his historians. He is said to have had the power of miraculously curing the sick, for which reason, and for other reasons, some of his people prostrated before him as before their god. But such statements should not be taken as throwing doubts upon the historical events and acts of his life.

¹ *Le Zend-Avesta*, Vol. II., p. 644.

4. The fourth objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission is this. Tradition, as embodied in a song, says, that his mission so far succeeded, that he converted Akbar "to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith."¹ The idea of Akbar's putting on the sacred shirt and thread of the Parsees, as referred to in the song, is looked upon with doubt and ridicule. It is supposed, that a king like Akbar, who had his peculiar ideas of a new religion, could not have put on the symbols of the religion of Zoroaster. I admit, that Akbar was never a staunch Zoroastrian, as he was never a staunch Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu. But in spite of that, it is very likely that he once may have put on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, if for nothing else, for the sake of curiosity. We have authentic statements, that he put on visible symbols of other religions, like Christianity and Hinduism.

Father Catrou, who wrote the History of the Mogul dynasty in 1708, on the authority of a Portuguese manuscript of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who had visited the Court of the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehân, says: "Akebar took the Bible, placed it upon his head, in sign of respect, kissed the images, and made his children kiss them."² "He, on certain occasions, paid honours to Jesus and Mary. He carried, suspended from his neck, a relic, which he had received from Father Aquaviva, an Agnus Dei, and an image of the Virgin Mary."³ "On the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, he had caused a throne to be erected, on which the image of the Virgin was placed"⁴ "Akebar produced before the fathers the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. He pressed them to his heart and kissed them with affection."⁵ "It was no longer possible to doubt but that Akebar was in spirit and in belief a Christian. He was often present at the services which the fathers celebrated in their chapel; he assisted at their prayers, repeating them in a kneeling posture."⁶

All these are the statements of the Christian missionaries from their point of view. The Mahomedan historians, though they give an expression to his leaning towards the teachings of the missionaries,

¹ B. B. R. A. Society's Journal. XIX., No. LIII., p. 292.

² History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father François Catrou, 1826, p. 106. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

do not go so far. But even in spite of all the above public expressions of sympathy towards Christianity, the Christian fathers at times "apprehended"—to quote Father Catrou's words—"that dissimulation and policy, so natural to the Moghuls, had the greatest share in the discourse of the Prince."¹

Coming to Hinduism, we find, even from the Mahomedan historians, that Akbar assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put on the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark and with the Hindu thread *raḥ'hi* on his body. Badā'oni says "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing. . ." It became the current custom also to wear the *raḥ'hi* (راهی) on the wrist." (Lowe's Translation, vol. II., p. 269. Rehatsek p. 27. Blochmann. *Áin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Calcutta Text, Vol. II., p. 261, ll. 18 to 22.) According to Rehatsek *Rakhi* is an amulet of string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna during the full moon of Srāvana" (p. 27 n. 24). It is still put on by the Hindus on the Nālieri Punam or Baley holiday.

Now then, if Akbar put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus—either out of temporary real affection for these religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity—there is no wonder, if he put on, even for a short time, the *sudreḥ* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Parseeism, from which he had taken several elements for his new religion, as noted by several historians of his reign.

There is one thing, which draws our special attention in connection with this question of *sudreḥ* and *kusti*. We read in Badā'oni in the account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) that Birbal recommended sun-worship to the king. There, at the end of the passage, the author says *و قشقم و زنار را جلوه داد*. Blochmann translates it "(For similar reasons, said Bir Bar should man pay

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

* Compare the words *جلوه داد Jalveh dād* here, with the same words used by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjānā about Dastur Meherji Rana in connection with his visit to Akbar's court (*vide* above p. 16. *همیشه دین بهرا جلوه داد*)

regard . . .) to the mark on the forehead and the Brahmanical thread."¹

Rehatsek translates this as "he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings." Rehatsek adds in a note: "Both are badges of caste; the forehead mark our author calls *qashyah* and the string *zenâr*."²

Lowe translates it: "That he should adopt the sectarian mark and Brahmanical thread." (Lowe's translation, Vol. II. p. 268.)

Now the word *zunnâr* (زَنَار) referred to by Badâôni, signifies, according to Steingass: "A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews, also by the Persian Magi), the Brahmanical thread."

Badâôni does not use the word Brahmanical. It appears that it is latterly that it has been applied to sacred threads or cords put on by different communities, but formerly it was specially applied to that used by the Persian Magi. Firdousi applies it to the *kusti* or sacred thread of the ancient Persians. For example he says about Minocheher³:

منوچهر بنهاد تاج کیان . . . بستش بزَنَارِ خُونینِ میان

i.e. "Minocheher put on the Kiânian crown and, bent on revenge, tied his waist with *zunnâr* (i.e. *kusti*)." The Farhang-i-Jehangiri,⁴ written in Akbar's reign, says of this word زَنَار—رشته را گویند که آتش زَنَارِ پَرستیان با خود دارند i.e., "a thread which the fire-worshippers put on is called *zunnâr*." It seems to me, that as the word *zunnâr* appears here in connection with sun-worship adopted by Akbar and with the establishment of fire temples, it may have been understood by some to refer to the *kusti* of the Zoroastrians.

As the word *zunnâr* (*zenâr*) has the meaning of *kusti*, and as it has also the meaning of "a priest's gown," as Richardson puts it, it is quite natural, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have been taken by some later Parsees—even by mistake—to refer to their *sudreh* and *kusti*. So, irrespective of the question, whether Akbar put on or not, the *sudreh* and *kusti*—it may be through curiosity—as he put on the visible symbols of Christianity and Hinduism, it

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183.

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of *Esllâm* (1866). p. 25.

³ Mohl. *Livre des Rois*, Vol. I., p. 210, l. 1139.

⁴ Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. copy. Lucknow Edition, *Jald Second*, p. 124.

is possible, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have led some later Parsees to infer, that *zunnâr* meant *sudreh* and *kusti*. Thus we find, that if later songs spoke of Akbar putting on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, they had some authority, real or mistaken.

But then, it is not the Indian songsters and singers alone, who say, that Akbar was converted to Parseeism. Even European writers, on the strength of Mahomedan authorities, have come to the conclusion, that Akbar was, to a certain extent, a convert to Zoroastrianism, and that it was the priests of Naôsâri who brought about that result. Prof. Wilson renders the passage of Badaoni on Akbar's religion thus: "A number of fire-worshippers, who arrived from Nausâri in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them."¹ Again, we have a German author, who says a similar thing. It is Comte de Noer. I quote him in the words of his translator Maury: "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat des disciples de Zarathustra. . . . Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés à Sikri et initièrent l'empereur à leur religion."² Thus, if it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who, according to these authors, led Akbar to Zoroastrianism, it is quite natural that Dastur Meherji Rana, the head of the Naôsâri Parsees, should have an active hand in the work.

Tennyson also, in his *Akbar's Dream*, takes the view that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. He makes Akbar complain of the fact, that the people railed at him as a Zoroastrian. Tennyson³ puts the following words in the mouth of Akbar:—

" The sun, the sun ! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal ! Yea and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love
For all thy rule—by equal law for all ?
By deeds a light to men ? "

There is one thing very peculiar in this passage of Tennyson. He represents Akbar, as complaining against the people railing at him

¹ H. H. Wilson's Works, edited by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 389.

² L'Empereur Akbar, pp. 314—15.

³ Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream."

as a Zoroastrian, and then as justifying his sun-worship : He says :

Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine."

Tennyson here bases his thoughts upon that very passage of Badâôni, in which the word *zundr* occurs, and in which Birbal justifies sun-worship, and is supported by other learned men of the court who, according to the Dabistan, were "a sect of the fire-worshippers." Badaoni's words corresponding to the above words of Tennyson are :—

"The sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary."¹

Summary.

To sum up : We have the authority of four writers—two of them Badâôni and Abul Fazl, contemporaries of king Akbar—to say that it was the Indian Parsees who explained to the king, the religion of Zoroaster. Badâôni says that it was the Naosari Parsees who did so. The author of the Dabistan, written at least about 57 years after Badaoni, supports him in almost his own words. From these writers and from the author of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik Hind*, we learn that by 1582-84 the king had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar, and the Parsee festivals. The Dabistan adds one fact more, viz., that Ardesir from Persia had also come to the Court of Akbar by special invitation, and was questioned "about the subtleties of Zordusht's religion." This event had happened subsequently in or after 1592, long after Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, etc. So Badaoni takes no note of this event; but the author of the Dabistan, who wrote at least 57 years after Badâôni, takes a note of this subsequent event. The *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* says, that the special purpose, for which Ardesir was called, was to help its author in the work of the dictionary, and that he was called in or after 1592.

Dastur Meherji Rana was the head of the Naosari Parsees. (1) Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjânû, in his *Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naosâri*, written in 1765-66, clearly says that "he had gone to the

¹ Blochmann. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 183.

court of King Akbar and had shown him proofs of religion." This statement is supported by further facts. (2) Two farmâns of King Akbar himself and two other old documents of his time affirm that he was given 200 *bigâhs* of land by Akbar. (3) There are three old documents, which clearly show, that just after his return from the court of Akbar, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head. (4) Old manuscripts of Zend Avesta prayer books, one of which is about 192 years old, affirm that his name was commemorated in prayers. Why was this? It was in recognition of services rendered to the cause of Parsee religion at the Court of Akbar, as affirmed by Dastur Shapurji Sanjânâ in his book. (5) Agin old songs, one of which is recorded in a manuscript about 110 years old, and believed to have been written by Tansen, the minstrel of Akbar himself, record the event of his visit to Akbar's Court.

Coming to the objections raised against Naosari Parsees in general, it is said that the Gujarat Parsees were all ignorant at the time of King Akbar. Drs. West and Geldner, and Prof. Hodiwala have shown elsewhere that there was not that general ignorance as that alleged. We have the authority of two letters from Persia, recorded in the Revâyet, to say that the Zoroastrians of Persia were not far better than the Zoroastrians of India. As to the objection that Naosari was an obscure town, and as such was not capable of producing capable men, we have the authority of eight Revâyets, one after another, to show that it was not so. Coming to the objections against Dastur Meherji Rana, we have the authority of three documents and two manuscripts, and of a work of Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, to show that he was not an obscure priest as alleged. We have the authority of one old document and an old manuscript Revâyet to show that even his father Rana Jeshang was not an obscure priest. We have two manuscripts written by Rana Jeshang himself to show that he was versed in Pazend and Persian. So Dastur Meherji Rana was a known and learned son of a known and learned father.

The main issues in this question are :—

1. Is it, or is it not, a fact, (A) that Badaoni, *under the events of 1579 A. D.*, says (a) that "the Parsees from Naosari proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines," and that (b) they "impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis," and that (c) he "ordered

Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings"; (B) that the Dabistan supports the above statement of Badaoni about the Naosari priests; (C) that Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh, under the events of the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, i.e. of 1578, refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions; and (D) that the Tarikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind says that in 1579 A.D. Akbar was led away from Mohomedanism by the Parsees? In short, is it, or is it not, a fact, that before 1583 Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship and adopted Parsee calendar and festivals?

2. As to the additional facts of Ardeshir's coming from Persia to the Court of Akbar, is it, or is it not, a fact that, according to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri Ardeshir was called for the purpose of the dictionary, and that he came *in or after* 1592?

If you decide these most important issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was the Naosari Parsees who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

Then as to the next question as to who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees the most important issues are :—

(1) Is it, or is it not, a fact that we have (A) documents of King Akbar's time saying that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land given to him by Akbar as *madad-i-madsh*, a special kind of grant; (B) documents of King Akbar's time, showing, that at the very time, which corresponds with the time of his return from Akbar's Court, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head; and (C) a Zend manuscript about 192 years' old, which is supported by other later manuscripts, showing that his name is commemorated in a prayer as that of a departed worthy who had rendered some services to his community.

If you decide these issues in the affirmative, the question arises, (a) Why was it that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land by Akbar; (b) why was he formally acknowledged as their head by the priests of Naosari; (c) why was his name commemorated? It must be in reward of some services rendered. What those services were appear from the writing of a Parsee author, who, in his work, written in 1765-66 A.D., says that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the Court of Akbar and explained to him the religion of Zoroaster. This visit to the Court of Akbar, is referred to

in a song by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar, a song that is found in a manuscript written about 110 years ago.

If you decide all these issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Dastur Meherji Rana the leader of the Naosari Parsees who had gone to the Court of Akbar. These are the main issues. Without deciding them, all other arguments would be futile and useless.

Before I finish, I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria has done gross injustice to Dastur Meherji Rana's descendants. He says:— "A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Meherji Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purports to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, viz., Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica!*"¹

Now, I produce those very papers, which were placed in the hands of Mr. Karkaria. Mr. Karkaria has taken care, to get them initialled by two or three well-known citizens. I find thereon, among other initials, the initials K. N. K. and D. F. These two, are the initials of Mr. Kaikhoshroo Nowrojee Kabraji and Mr. Dosabhoy Framji Karaka, c.s.i. It is fortunate, that what Mr. Karkaria thought to be necessary for his protection, has turned out to be necessary for the protection of the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Mr. Karkaria says in the above passage, that the paper, with which he was supplied, purported to contain passages from Badaoni. I do not find anything of the kind. Therein the name mentioned, is *not* that of Badaoni, but it is that of one Abdul Kadir Badlani, and the book is that called *Vakaât Akbari*. Perhaps Mr. Karkaria would say, that by mistake he took Badlâni for Badâôni. But then, in the paper given to him, Badlani's book is mentioned as *Vakaât Akbari*, and we know that Badaoni's work is *Muntakhab-al-tawârikh*.

Secondly, Mr. Karkaria says that he was supplied with passages purporting to be from Abul Fazl, "the excellent editions" of whose

¹ Vol. XIX., No. 53, pp. 293-94.

works (the *Âin-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-nâmeh*), he says, are "published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*." But I find, that in the paper given to him, the above-named books are *not at all* mentioned. The book mentioned is "*Tawârikh-i-Mâhânâmeh*."

Thirdly, he says, that the paper given to him, was said to contain passages from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. What he calls the "excellent *Tabakât-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din" is *not at all* referred to in the paper, but the *Tabakât* referred to, is spoken of, as one, written by Moulvi Abdul Nabi Sistani.

In the case of all the three above-mentioned books, Mr. Kar-karia has given altogether wrong names. He represents the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana's family, as giving him from three well-known works (Badaoni's *Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh*, Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* or *Akbar-nameh*, and Nizam-ud-din's *Tabakât-i-Akbari*), passages which did not exist in those works, while, as a matter of fact, the passages are clearly spoken of in the paper supplied to him *as belonging to some other books*. Again, the worst of it is this, that he makes this charge, in spite of his being very clearly told by the giver of the paper, that the books, named in the paper, have not been found, though he tried his best, and that he was not sure whether the books existed or not, and that if they existed, he was not sure whether those passages were therein or not.

The fact is that those passages were given to the late Dastur Erachjee Sohrabjee Meherji Rana, the late learned librarian of the Mulla Firoz Library, by a friend at Poona, as being found by a Mahomedan Munshi in some manuscript books at Agra. As one taking an interest in all that related to the history of his family, he copied those passages in his manuscript book of family notes. Had the names of the books been those of the above well-known works, he would have at once verified the passages from the books in his Mulla Firoz Library. One of our vice-presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, as the President of that institution, can certify, that Dastur Erachjee was a learned and diligent traditional scholar, and had written many manuscripts for his library. So, he could have easily verified the passages by a reference to the above works in his library, but as the names given were quite unknown, he simply took down the passages for what they were worth.

The gentleman who sent to Mr. Karkaria at his express desire, the paper containing these passages very clearly said, at the time, “એ કેતાબોની હૈયાતી છેકે નહીં તે જાણાતું નથી. કારણ માહારી મુશાફરી દરમ્યાન મેં ઘણી તજવીજ કરવા છતાં એ કેતાબો અને મળી નથી અને કદાચ કેતાબો હોય તો તેમાં એ ફકરા છેકે નહિં તે પછુ હું કહી શકતો નથી. અને તો જેવા મહ્યા છે તેવાજ મેં નકલ ઉતારી લીધી છે.”

i.e., “It is not known, whether these books exist or not, because during my travels, though I tried my best, I could not find these books. And even if these books exist, whether these passages occur therein or not, I cannot say. I have copied them as I have found them.”

Mr. Karkaria put in a para. in the Gujarati papers, asking for papers connected with Dastur Meherji Rana. A member of the family sent him those papers, very clearly saying that, in his travels, he had tried his best to find the books named, and that he could not find them. His words very clearly show, that he did not mean at all, the well-known works of Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. In spite of all that, Mr. Karkaria dares to say that the passages were “very likely a forgery by the copyist himself.” To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made a “pretended claim” for their ancestor.

I cannot conclude this paper, without offering my best thanks to the gentlemen, whose names I have mentioned in the paper, for placing at my disposal the valuable documents and manuscripts in their possession. My best thanks are due to Dastur Dârâbjee Mâhîârjee, the present Dastur of Naôsâri, for kindly lending me the first original *Firmân* of king Akbar to be placed before the Society. My best thanks are due to Professor Shapursha Hormasji Hodiwâlâ for kindly lending me the old documents *re* the appointment of Dastur Meherji Rana at the head of the Naôsâri priesthood, and some other old documents. Most of these documents belong to Mr. Hormusjee Beharamji Dastur of Naôsâri. All those documents were brought to Bombay by Prof. Hodiwâlâ, from their owners at Naôsâri about 5 years ago, when the question was discussed. Professor Hodiwâlâ

has placed some of the results of his study in his letters to the *Bombay Gazette* over the *noms de plume* of Edie Ochiltree Junior and J. O. E. in 1896, and those letters have been of much use to me. I am indebted to these letters for many of my references in this paper. I offer my thanks to Mr. Manockjee Rustomji Unwala for some old manuscripts bearing on the subject. Lastly, my thanks are due to the Committee of the Naôsâri Meherji Rana Library, and to the President of the Mulla Firoz Library, for placing their old manuscripts at my disposal for the occasion.

Appendix.

I will give here the text and the translation of some of the original documents, referred to above in the paper. Firstly, I will give the two *farmāns* of the 40th and 48th years of king Akbar's reign, given to Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rānā, in which it is mentioned, that before the dates of the grants, 200 *bigahs* of land, which formed a part of the 300 *bigahs* granted to him, were given to his father, Dastur Meherji Rana, for his *madad-i-mādāsh*. I will give at the end, the photo-litho facsimiles of these two *farmāns*, together with those of some other documents referred to in the paper. I have to thank Mr. Jehangier Rustomjee Unwala for the photographs of these two documents, and Messrs. Cooper and Dhondy, of the New Litho Printing Press, for the photographs of the other documents. To photograph such very old documents is not an easy task, especially when some of the documents are too large to be had within the sphere of the camera at one and the same time. So the photos of some of the Persian documents had to be taken in parts and then arranged together on the stones. Then the lithographing of the documents was not, again, very easy. The lithographed stones had to be cleaned between the lines and the letters, to make the print distinct and legible. With all trouble and care the work has not been such, as one would wish it to be. However, I am indebted to the Education Society's Press, for the patience with which they have done this work and for the printing of this paper generally. My best thanks are due to my friend, Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unwala, for helping me in seeing these old documents pass through the press.

To help both students and ordinary readers, I give the old documents in type also. The careful reading of these old *farmāns* requires some practice in this matter, which I had not before I undertook the work. So I am indebted to Mr. Khodāyār Shehryār Dastur for helping me in reading them. A few words here and there are still not clear and legible to me, and a few words here and there may perhaps be read and translated by others, in a way, different from that, in which I have read and understood them, but that does not make much difference in understanding the documents as a whole. In printing the last portions of the two *farmāns* with the seals, I have printed it upside down, in the same way as it is written in the original *farmāns* (*vide* the photo-litho facsimiles). I have explained

the reason there. The *farmāns* are printed line by line according to the original documents.

Irrespective of the question of support, which these two old *farmāns* of king Akbar's time give, as evidence, to the subject-matter of the paper, they are very interesting in themselves. They are of some interest to calligraphists. Again, they are interesting from another point of view. They give us an idea, of some of the customs and rules, connected with *jagirs* and land revenue in Akbar's time. In this matter, they serve as illustrations, as it were, of the different *âins* on this subject in the *Âin-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl. So, I have translated these *farmāns* with the very help, as it were, of the *Âin-i-Akbari*. I have tried to explain the technical words and phrases, by means of the very language of the above book.

Most of the documents given in this paper are worth studying from their own standpoints of view. If I do not mistake, it is for the first time that such documents of Akbar's and Baber's times are printed. I beg to submit this appendix as a humble result of my studies in this matter.

(Translation of the first *Farmān*.)

GOD IS GREAT.¹

The *Farmān*² of Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Gāzi.³
At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the

¹ الله اكبر 'Allah Akbar' was the form of salutation, which, according to Badā'uni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*salām*). The reply to this new *salām* was جل جلاله *Jal Jaldleh*, i.e., "May his magnificence be glorified." (Muntakhab-al-Tawārikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 356, l. 10. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Rehateek, p. 77. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 205.) It was in 995 Hijri (A.D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. We find from Badā'uni that he had discussed the question of this formula with some of the courtiers before introducing it. We read in the Muntakhab-al-Tawārikh:—

"In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allah Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Hāji Ibrāhīm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,* and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ān *Lasikrullāhi Akbaru*,† because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 213. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 210, ll. 7-15. Elliot's (Dowson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 523.)

* "God is great" or "Akbar is God."

† To commemorate God is the greatest thing. لَدِكْرَالله أَكْبَرُ

² According to Abul Fazl *farmāns* were issued for three purposes. In the list for the second set of purposes fall the "appointments to jagirs without military service," and in that for the third set, fall "grants on account of daily subsistence allowance." (Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain 11. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 260-61, Text I., p. 194.)

³ Jalāl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Gāzi (جلال الدين محمد اكبر) was the title by which king Akbar was known. (Vide the Tabakāt-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1293 Hijri (A.D. 1875), p. 242, l. 8. Vide Muntakhab-al-Tawārikh of Badā'uni. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 8, l. 1; p. 9, l. 11. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II, pp. 1 and 2.)

honour of publicity, that, Whereas, about ¹ 300 *bigahs* ² of land (measured) by the *Ilâhi gaz*,³ together with palm and date trees, etc., which are growing on that land, have been assigned in the environs⁴ of the town⁵ of Nâosâri, etc., from the *Sirkâr* of Surat, according to the particulars of the contents⁶ (of this *farmân*)⁷ for the purpose⁷ of the assistance of livelihood (*madad-i-madâsh*)⁸ of Parsi Kalkobad, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment⁹ of

¹ موازی *mu'âzi*, nearly, about.

² According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book III, *Ain* 10) a *bigah* (بیگمہ) "is a quantity of land 60 *gas* long by 60 broad. (قطعہ زمین است در درازا و پهنای 60 گز) Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gas*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 62) "3,600 square *gas* = 2,600 square yards = 0.538, or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ibid*, n. 1.)

³ According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book III., *Âin* 8) the *Ilâhi gaz* "is a measure of length and a standard gauge. (پیمایندگی مقدار است و گذارندگی حال) High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, viz., long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *tassûj* (طسوج Pers. *tassu*). A *tassûj* of the first kind was equal to eight ordinary barley-corns placed together breadth-ways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, &c." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 21-25. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 58-59.)

⁴ *Savâd* *Savâd* is a term used in the *Âin-i-Akbari* in connection with different *subâhs* or provinces (*Vide* Bk. III., *Ain* XV., Blochmann's text, p. 377, e.g., صواد لاہور پشت صواد Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 110.)

⁵ *قصبہ* The Dabistân also calls Naosari a *qasabah*.

⁶ contents. It is a technical word used in connection with *Farmâns*. The *Âin-i-Akbari* alludes to it.

صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیمہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد و شرح آنرا

در ضمن فرمان نویسد

i.e. "The *Çahib-i-Taujth* keeps the former *Ta'liqah* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân*." (Bk. II., *Ain* 11, Blochmann's text, I., p. 194, l. 13. Translation I., p. 261.) The particulars referred to, are given at the end of the *Farmân*.

⁷ *وجہ* "way, means, expenses."

⁸ *Vide* above p. 39 for this kind of grant of land.

⁹ *تعین* *ta'in* is a technical term of appointment for the different *mançab-dârs*, *jagir-dârs*, etc.—*Vide* Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 242.

the Jagirdâr, from the season of *khariif*¹ *ku el*, so that from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). It is incumbent² upon the present and future governors,³ tax-gatherers,⁴ *krorîdârs*⁵ and *jâgirdârs*⁶ of that district, that, acting according to what is written, and measuring the above-mentioned land, and preparing a *chak*⁷, they shall transfer it to

¹ *خريف* *Khariif* is autumn. As to *قو* *ku* the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III. *Âin* 1.), speaking of the Turkish era, says that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle, which Abul Fazl gives, we find *قو* *K* the sheep (*گوسفند*) as the 8th year. As to the word *ایل* *el* Abul Fazl says that they added "the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year" *در انجام هر یک لفظ ایل کہ بمعنی سال است برافزایند* (Blochmann's text I., p. 273, ll. 16, 17, Translation Jarrett, II., page 21).

² *سبیل* *path*, road; so lit. it is the path or way for governors, etc.

³ *حکام* pl. of *حاکم* *Vide* Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 241, for these officers. He says, "The higher *Mançabdârs* were mostly governors of *Çûbaha*. The governors were at first called *sipahsâldârs*; toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hâkims*. and afterwards *Çâhib Çubah* or *Çubahdârs*, and still later merely *Çubahs*. The other *Mançabdars* held *jâgirs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The *Mançabdârs* are also called *ta'Inâtiyân* (appointed)."

⁴ *عمال* *agents*, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

⁵ *کوری* *Korîri* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *krôr* (10 millions) of *dâms*.—*Vide* *Âin-i-Akbari*, Bk. I., *Ain* 2.

و یک یک کرور بدیانت پیشگان جدگزیں سپردند
(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 10, ll. 4 and 5.) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *krôr* of *dâms*" (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 13).

⁶ *Vide* above, n. 3.

⁷ According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* 6), it was the duty of the *amal-gusdr* (*عمل گزار*) *i.e.*, the revenue collector to "ascertain the correctness of *shaknâmah*" *چکناصها مشخص گرداند* (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 287, l. 16, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 47). Jarrett says that the *chaknâmah* is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak* according to Elliot, is a patch of rent free land detached from a village." (*Ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1).

the above-named¹ person. And that trying to bestow care in the settlement and perpetuity of that land, shall make no change or modification. And that on account of land-tax² and

¹ مشار الي هي *mushār ilai-hi* "abovementioned person." *Mushār*, i.e., signified; lai-hi, i.e., to him (Steingass, pp. 96 and 1242).

² مال *māl* "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass). The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain 7) explains this and some other words for different taxes mentioned in this *furman*.

و در هر ملكي جز كشت و كار از مال مردم چيزي خواهند و آنرا
تمغا گویند در توران و ایران برخي را بعنوان مال بر گیرند و غلغله
را بائين جهات برستانند و لختي را بطرز سائر جهات طلب رود و
چندي را بنام وجوهات و فروعات و خلاصه سخن آنكه آنچه بواراضي
مزدوعي از راه ريع قرار يابد آنرا مال گویند و از انواع صحفونه
گزيده جهات خوانند و باقي را سائر جهات و آنچه منفرع بر مال
باشد آنرا وجوهات گویند اگر بديوان رود ورنه فروعات نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 12-16.)

"In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamgha*. In Irân and Turân, they collect the land tax (*mâl*) from some, from others the *Jihât*, and from others again the *Sâir Jihât*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajihât* and *Farûâ't* are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mâl*. Imports (? imposts) on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihât*, and the remainder *Sâir Jihât*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajihât*; otherwise they are termed *Farûâ't*." (The *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., translated by Jarrett, pp. 57-58.) From another part of the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Âin* 11, on *sanads*) we learn that the entries about this *mâl* or land tax formed one of the three parts in which the *Daftar* of the empire was divided. We read there

ابواب المال از خراج ملك باز گوید و افزوني و كمی بر خواند و
Blochmann's text, Vol. I.,
هر گونه خواصنه كه فراهم آید در آن بنگارند
p. 193, ll. 22-23):—

"The *Abudâb ul mâl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 280.)

imposts on manufactures¹ and capitation taxes² and the rest of the taxes,³ such as imposts⁴ and

¹ جهات *Vide* the preceding note.

² اخراجات from خراج capitation tax. The *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Âin VII.* on *روای روزی* i.e., currency of the means of subsistence,) says of this tax (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 292, ll. 24-25). "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called *Khirdj*" (*Âin-i-Akbari* translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 55). In the same *Ain* it also said *ملح نموده باشند بران* آنکه بیگانگان دین بران *ملح نموده باشند* انرا خراجی شمردند و خراج خراجی را بردو گونه پندارند *مقاسمه از پنجم تا ششم بخش خراج و وظیفه آنکه در خور توانائی و سودمندی قرار دهند و طایفه اصل مال ارتفاعی را خراج گویند و چون حصه آن گروه از خرج ایشان افزون آید بشرطی چند زکوة از آن برگیرند و آنرا مشر نامند*

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 5-9). "Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirdji*. Tribute paid by *khirdji* lands is of two kinds: (1) *Mukdsamdih* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil, (2) *Wazifah* which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirdj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *Zakât* is taken from the amount under certain stipulations, and this they call a tithe (Translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 57).

³ مالرجهات *Sâir Jahât*, *vide* p. 98, n. 2. Jarrett says of this word "In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* of all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, a customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax, &c." (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 58, n. 1.)

⁴ This word is not clear and legible. One may read it *قلعه* *qu'la*. It would mean "anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money" (Stein. *gasm*). I think it is the same as *قلغمه* spoken of as one of the imposts of king Akbar's time in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Âin XI.* Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 8). Another MS. gives the word as *قلغمه*. In Blochmann's text the word is marked as doubtful. Jarrett has not translated it, saying he "cannot trace it" (Translation, Vol. II., p. 67, note 1.)

presents¹ and fines² and village assessments³ and marriage fees⁴ and Dârôgha's fees⁵ and tax-gatherer's fees⁶ and five per

¹ پيشکش It appears from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 66) that *pihkasâh* was one of the imposts (واجرات *wajâhât*) of king Akbar's time. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." (Steingass.)

² جرمانه *jurmâna*, "penalty, forfeit, fine." (Steingass.)

³ ضابطانہ We find from the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 15, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 417, l. 16. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 153) that ضبطی *sabti* is a kind of special rate for the revenue from crops. Jarrett says "Abul Fazl, employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village" (*Ibid.*, p. 153, n. 1). The word ضابط means "a governor, commander, superior or chief." So perhaps the word may mean "payments due to the chief of a town."

⁴ مہرانہ *mahrânâh*, "a fee exacted by the Qâzi from the Muhammadans at weddings." (Steingass.) Perhaps this is a reference to the marriage tax of king Akbar's time, referred to by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. (Bk. II., Ain 24 on کدخدائی marriage. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 201, Translation, Vol. I., pp. 277-78.) The tax varied according to the position of the parties. "The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one *dâm*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (*Ibid.*, p. 278). Abul Fazl says of this tax that Akbar took it to enable the parties "to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious." (*Ibid.*, p. 278).

⁵ داروفاگانہ According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 68.) Dârô-ghâna was one of the imposts (*wajâhât*) of king Akbar's time. Dârôgha according to Steingass is the "headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department."

⁶ محصلانہ "Fees of the bailiff or tax-gatherer" (Steingass). I think it is the same impost as that spoken of as تحصیلداری (*tahsildâr's fees*) in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66).

cent¹ tax and two per cent² tax and *kánungúí*,³ (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens⁴ for cultivation and gardening and *zakát*⁵ of duties on

¹ *deh-ním* ده نیم (Lit. half of ten, i.e.) five per cent. This tax on manufactures is alluded to in the *Áin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Áin XI.*, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 300, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66). This and the following two imposts, viz., *sad-dáí* صد درئی, i.e., two per cent., and *kánunguí* قانون گوئی are explained in the following passage of the above-mentioned 11th *Áin* (Blochman's Text I., Vol. I, p. 300, ll. 21-24):—

شهریار آگاه دل در مال بدانسان که گذارش یافت نوازش فرمود
در جهات ده یک بخشوده ده نیم توار داد و صد دوئی پتواری نصفی بدو
و نیمی بقانون گو باز گردد ° نخستین نویسنده ایست از طرف بزرگان
خرج و دخل نویس و بیچ دیم بی او نباشد ° و پسین ملاز کشاورزان و در
هر برگنه یکی بود ° و امروز حصه قانونگو بر انداختند و بشرط خدمت
گزینی سه گونه از درگاه یابند

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

² *Vide* the above note. Lit. two in the hundred, i.e., two per cent.

³ *Vide* the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kánungó*:—"An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwáris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, &c., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildár* (Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 47, n. 3).

⁴ *لكرار* also means 'disputes' and 'repetitions'.

⁵ This word is written *زكوة* or *زكا* *Vide* above, p. 99, n. 2, for this word.

From the passage of the 8th *Áin* of the *Áin-i-Akbari* there quoted, it appears, that this impost amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarrett says as follows of this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby, the root of the word, *كز*, denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p.c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (*Áin-i-Akbari*, II., Jarrett, p. 57, n. 4).

manufactures¹ and assessments,² no molestations should be given him every year, after (*i.e.* beyond) the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and all civil taxes³ and all royal revenue. And (that) excusing and absolving⁴ him of all charges,⁵ they should not go round (him)⁶ and should not ask every year for renewed⁷ *farmāns* and *parwanchahs*⁸ in this matter. And that when (it, *i.e.* the *Farmān*) comes with the royal signet⁹ of His most exalted¹⁰ Majesty, they should rely upon it. Written on the tenth of the last month *Asfandārmaz* of the 40th *ilāhi* year.¹¹

Explanation of the *Ta'liqah*.¹²

¹ جهات "Duties on manufactures" (Steingass). *Vide* the passage quoted on p. 98, n. 2, from the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., 7th *Āin*).

² ضبط *Vide* the reference to the 15th *Āin* (Bk. III) on p. 100, n. 3, for this word.

³ تكليف pl. of تكليف "impositions, levies, taxes."

⁴ موقوف القلم *marfū'ul qalam*, absolved, remitted.

⁵ حوالات pl. of حوالة transfer, commitment, charge, care.

⁶ پیرامون گردیدن To go round. Here the meaning is, that the officials should not go round him, or round his land, *i.e.*, should, in no way, disturb or molest him. ⁷ Arab. مجدد *mujaddad*, renewed.

⁸ کما فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 195, ll. 7-8). "Firmāns are sometimes written in *Tughrd* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmān* is called a *Parwanchah*. (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 263).

⁹ توقيع *tauqin* "signing with the royal signet; the royal signet put to diplomas, letters patent and other public deeds." (Steingass.)

¹⁰ اجل اعلى *a'la* most exalted. The word looks like this, but it may be اجل (most glorious), which we find in its stead in the second *farmān*. This sentence may refer to the person. ¹¹ *Ros.* 10-12-964, *i.e.*, 1595.

¹² *Sharh-i-ta'liqah*. تعلیم *taliqah* is a technical term used in the *Āin-i-Akbari* for an abridgment of the *yaddasht* (*i.e.*, memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmāns*, etc. Its explanation in details is said to be its شرح *sharh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th *Āins* will explain who made this *yaddasht*, or memorandum and *taliqah* or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th *Āin* on the واقع نویسی *waqiahnawisi* (*i.e.*, the writer of events). "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn

(His Majesty) had ordered on the date, the 13th day Tir, month Abân, *ilâhi* year 40, that about three hundred *bigdhs* of land, together with palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, may be assigned, in the environs of the town of Naôûâri, &c., as detailed below¹, for the purpose of the assistance of

(نویت *naôbat*) of each comes after a fortnight Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; appointments to *arançabs*; contingents; of troops; salaries; jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwânchi*, by the *Mir'Ans*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yâddâsh* (یار داشت) or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yâddâsh* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yâddâsh*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wâqiah-nawis*, and the *Risâlahdâr*, the *Mir'Ans* and the *Dârogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Taliqah* and the writer is called *Taliqahnawis*. The *Taliqah* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I, pp. 258-259, Text I, pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th *Âin* then explains the terms *ta'liqah* تعلیق (abridgment of memorandum), *wâqiah* واقعه (event or record), *wâqiahnawis* (writer of records), and *risâlah* رساله (writing or record) which occur in these *Farmâns*.

The following passage of the 11th *Âin* explains why this *Taliqah* or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the *Farmân*. "The *Çâhib-i-Taujih* (صاحب توجیه or Military accountant) keeps the former *Taliqah* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân* (صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیق را پیش خود نگاه دارد و شرح) and seals and signs it. It is then (آنرا در ضمن فرمان نویسد)

inspected by the *Mustaufi* and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Nâsir* and the *Bakhshis* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the *Diwân*, his Accountant, and the *Vakil* of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I, pp. 261-62, Text I, pp. 194, ll. 13-14.)

¹ ازقرار تفصیل ذیل or بموجب تفصیل ذیل "appendix, postscript." ذیل
"as detailed below; in accordance with the following statement." (Steingass.)

livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr. Whereas, before this time, on the 15th day of the month Meher, *ilâhi* year 40, an order was issued (which) as it had not been entered with particulars into the records,¹ it has been entered in details in the *rasâlah* and *chauki*,² of Allâmi³ Shaik Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, overflows in power, and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge, and in the *naubat* of the *waqiah* of Khwâjah Muizzuddin Hussain.

The marginal note (written) by the hand of *Wâqiah-nawis*. The explanation of the text⁴ is according to the record of humblest slave Muizzuddin Hussain.

¹ *waq'ah*, an event, record. *waq'ahnawis* or recorder was an officer in king Akbar's time, in each Çubâh. There is a separate *Âin* (Bk. II. in *Âin* 10) about his work in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 25, Translation, Vol. I., p. 258). His duty is thus described in the above *Âin* فرموده و کار کرد گیتی خداوند بر نویسد..... منصب تا بین ما پیمانہ جاگیر..

"Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty appointments to mançabs; contingents of troops; salaries; *Jagirs*. . . ."

² The following passage in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Âin* IX., the *âin* of کَشک, i.e., hall or parlour) seems to explain this word.

بزبان وقت چوکی خوانند سه گونہ بود سپاہ چہار گونہ ہفت بخش
شد و ہریک بروزی نامزد و امیری بزرگ ہوش بسر کردگی سرافروز
یکی از طرزدانان معاملہ شناس بپیر عرضی چہرہ افروز سعادت
گردد و ہمگی احکام خلافت بشناسائی این دو فرویدہ مرد روانی
کیود شبانروزی پیرامن دولتخانہ بہ نیایش ایستند و در انتظار فرمایش
بنشینند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, ll. 4-7.) "Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chauki*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mançabdâr. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mir'Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 257). It appears, that the particular officer, in whose turn of *chauki* the king issued orders or Farmâns, took notes in his books. ³ *علامی*, very learned. It was a title given by Akbar to Abul Fazl. (Badaoni Text II., p. 198, l. 11, Lowe II, p. 201).

⁴ *matn*, the text of a book.

Another *sharh* (is) in the hand of Mulla Nazar. From the assignment of the Jâgirdâr the assignment¹ should be made with the *ilâhi gaz* from the season of *kharif kuel*.

300 *bigâhs*.

Village² Erui³ in the *paragnah*⁴ Pârchôl. In the environs (*sawâd*) of the town of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâlyâr.

100 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.

200 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.⁵

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, of the lines on the margin which give dates, and of the lines under the different seals.

1. (First marginal line.) Date 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.⁶ (It is not clear what the figure ۲ (two) in the beginning indicates.)

2. (Second marginal line.) Copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin Ilâhi, year 41.

3. (The two lines on the first fold.) In the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Nawâb Shaikh Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, diffuses power and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge and in the *naubat* (turn) of the Wâqiahnawis Muizzuddin Hussain with *sah*.⁷

4. (Seal No. 1) Khân Khânân, the follower of king Akbar.

5. (Seal No. 2) Mirzâ Kokâh.

(Seals Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, not legible.)

6. (Seal No. 6) Humblest slave, Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini.

¹ تفخواگ "an assignment on lands." ³ قریتم *karyat* village.

² *Vide* above, p. 40, n. 5. * According to Elliot *Sarkâr* is "a district into which *parganahs* are aggregated." Jarrett (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 114 n.) says, "Each *sûbah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkârs* and each *sarkâr* into *parganahs* or *mahals*."

⁵ صحیح *i. e.* with صحیح *sah*, which is an abbreviation of صحیح *sahih*, *i. e.* "official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed."

⁶ Perhaps this is the marginal note of the *Waqiahnawis*, as referred to in the *Farmân* as the marginal *sharh*, of the *waqiahnawis*.

⁷ The last word after this is the same as that written above under the figures 100 and 200.

7. (Date under Seal No. 7.) Entered on day 7 (?) month Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

8. (Date under Seal No. 8.) Entered on day (?), month Ardibehesht, year 41. (There are one or two words at the end which are not legible or intelligible.)

9. (Seal No. 9.) Nazar Ali bin Hussain.

10. (Date under Seal No. 9.) Written on the day, the first day (*ghurra*), of the month Farvardin, year 41.

11. (Seal No. 10) Praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin.

12. (Date under Seal No. 10.) Became informed on day 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

13. (Seal No. 11) Servant Hussain Kamâluddin.

14. (Date under Seal No. 11) Written on 29 Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

Having given the translation of the first *farmân*, we will now examine the seals on the *farmân*. We have, at the top of the *farmân*, the seal of His Majesty. This is just in conformity to what Abul Fazl says about the position of king Akbar's seal. He says, "The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra*¹ lines on the top of the *farmân*," (vol. I., p. 264) (قدسی مهر فراز طغرا روی فرمان آراید) (lit. the holy seal adorns the face of the *farmân* above the *Tughra*). King Akbar's seal on our *farmân* is just at the top and just above the lines in which the title and name of the king are written.

As to the form of Akbar's seal, Abul Fazl, in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. I., Âin. 20), says, as follows, about the royal seals. (نگین شاهنشاهی).

"In the beginning of the present reign, Maulânâ Maqqud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ'* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timûrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal in the *nastâliq* character, only with His Majesty's name The round small seal goes by the (chagatai) name of Uruk, and is used for *Farmân-i-sâbtis*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for

¹ طغرا "The royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds which are generally written in a fine ornamental hand; a sort of writing."—Steingass.

letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both." (Blochmann's translation I, p. 52, Text I, p. 47, l. 18.) The seal on the two *farmāns* given to Dastur Meherji Rana's son Kaikobād, in which the 200 bigāhs of land given to Meherji Rana are referred to, is the large one in which the names of Akbar's ancestors are mentioned. The following list, prepared from the pedigree of the house of Timur, given in Elphinstone's *History of India*,¹ gives the names of Akbar's ancestors.

Timur—Mirān Shāh Hosein—Mohammed Mirzā—Abū Said—Omar Shekh—Bāber—Humāyūn—Akbar. This list gives us eight names, Timur and Akbar included.

The circular seal of Akbar on the *farmāns* in question, has eight circles, each of which contains the name of one of the above-named eight kings. The central circle is a large one and contains the name of king Akbar himself. The document being very old, the photo and the photo-litho have not come out as one would wish. But in the original document, one can decipher the names with a magnifying glass, though with a little difficulty.

The king's name in the central circle is Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh. The name is read from below.

Exactly above the circle of his name, stands the circle, containing his ancestor Timur's name. It is "ibn Amir Timur Saheb-i-quirān." Saheb-i-quirān was a title of Timur. The word "*ibn*" is used in the sense of "son" with all names except that of Akbar. It means that the first named was the son of the next and so on up to Timur. Just as now-a-days, in round seals and monograms, people arrange their names and initials in the best stylish way they like, so we find it in the case of the above seal and names. ابن امير تیمور صاحب قران is the order in which the name seems to be written from below.

Coming down by the left, from the top circle, which contains Timur's name, we find one by one, the names of his descendants. In the first circle, on the left coming down from the top, we read ابن میران شاه *ibn-i-Mirān Shāh*. This is Timur's son, Mirān Shāh Hosein of Elphinstone's list. The next name lower down is *ibn-i-Sultān* Muḥammed Mirzā. Then comes the name at the bottom, *ibn-i-Sultān* Abul-Said. In all these last three names, the word *ibn* begins the line from the

¹ Fifth Edition by Cowell (1866), p. 773.

bottom and the word Sultân is above it. Then going up on the right from below, we have the name ibn Mirzâ Omar Shekh. Then we have in the ascending order the two familiar names, ibn-Bâdshâh Bâbar and ibn Bâdshâh Hûmâyûn. The order of the names in the seal would be Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh, the son of Bâdshâh Humâyûn, the son of Bâdshâh Bâbar, and so on up to Timur. The document being very old, the deciphering of some of the names is a little difficult.

Now we will examine the seals of the different officers placed at the end of the document. In those times, seals took the place of signatures of the present day. Abul Fazal says in his *Âin-i-Akbari* on this point

بل ہرگز در معاملہ ناگزیر *i. e.* "in fact every man requires them in his transactions" (Blochmann's text, I., p. 47, ll. 17, 18. Translation I., p. 52, Bk. I., *Ain*, 20). Blochmann says, "We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." (*ibid* n. 2).

There are altogether eleven seals attached to the document, besides that of the king at the commencement. Of these eleven, six are more or less legible and five are illegible. The way, in which the seals are affixed, as well as the names on the seals, require an explanation. To enable the reader to follow me in this explanation, I have put in the printed Persian copy of the *farmân*, progressive numbers in English figures over the circles of the seals.

The position of the seals can be more exactly ascertained by looking to the photo-lithographed fac simile.

First of all, we notice, that the position of the document, after the mention of the situation of the 300 *bighâhs*, is inverted, *i. e.*, the signatories turn the document upside down, as it were, and then proceed to put down their seals and their statements about the dates on which the documents were noted in their respective records (*vide* the original photo-litho facsimile). The reason, why these seals appear in an inverted order, is explained by the following paragraph of the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II, *Ain* 12), which says that the seals were put in the order of the folds (شکستگی) of the document. So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document, where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the *Âin-i-Akbari* on this subject says:—

"Farmâns, Parwanchahs, and Barâtas, are made into several

folde beginning from the bottom. On the first fold¹ which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif² of the Diwân³ puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Çadr. But when Shaikh Abdunnabî and Sultân Khwâjah were Çadrs, they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakil. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil. . . The Mîr Mâl, the Khân Sâmân, the Parwânehî, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwan, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Dîwân-i-juz, the Bakhshî-i-juz, and the Dîwân-i-Buyûtât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustanfî puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhib-i-Taujib on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrá* lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in *Ta'liqahs*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 195, l. 19. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 263-64.)

We must note, that this is a general statement for the positions of the seals of the officers named in the passage, when they have to sign documents. It applies to *farmâns*, *parwânehahs* and *barâts* (i.e., cheque farmâns). So it appears that all the officers named above need not sign all the documents.

We will now proceed to examine the position of the seals and the names of the signatories.

At first on the first fold in the middle we find two lines saying that the document has been noted in the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl, who was the officer in charge of those posts.

The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 19) explains why Abul Fazl had also to take, at times, a note of the grants of *jâgirs*.

"On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the

¹ بخشین لختی کم بہنا لخت *lakht*, portion, part, bit. The text is

² مشرفی an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.

³ دیوانی is the officer who keeps the jagir accounts.

Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for *Sayūrghal*-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with. Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred big'habs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Çadr Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants "چنان قرار گرفت کہ صدر بصلاح دید را قم شگری زیادہ و کم سازد (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 269-70. Text I., p. 199, l. 10.) This passage says that the Çadr had to seek "the concurrence of the writer of this work," i.e. Abu Fazl.

We, see, that, by the side of the seal of the Çadr, of whom we will speak later on, we find the note, that the document has been recorded in the records of Abul Fazl. In the same above-mentioned two lines, it is also noted, that it is recorded in the record of the turn (*naubat*) of the *waq'ahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. The following passage of the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Âin* 10) explains, who the officer was, and why he had to take a note of the grant of jâgirs, and why it is put down on the document in question that it has been entered in his record.

"Keeping records is an excellent thing for a Government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (نوبت *naubat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report . . . appointments to mançabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs" (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 258, Text I., p. 192, l. 20).

This passage then says, that one *waq'ahnawis* was, according to his turn (نوبت *naubat*), always in attendance upon His Majesty and took notes, among other doings of His Majesty, of his grants of jagirs, &c. Hence it is, that we find that in the *farmân* under examination, the name of the *waq'ahnawis*, during whose turn of office, the grant was made by the king, and in whose records it was entered, is mentioned. This *waq'ahnawis* is one Muizzuddin Hussain. Now we come to the seals.

Seal No. 1.—On the extreme right of the above two lines, at the edge, first of all, we find a seal, on which we can distinctly read the name **خان خانان** **مريد اکبر شاه خان خانان** Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân.

In the matter of this seal, we must note, what the above passage, of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, says about the first fold. It says **نخستين لختى** **کم پهنا بر کنار پشت پيومت جاى که قطع کنند مهر وکیل شود** “on the first-fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal.” (Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.)

We see in the case of both the original farmâns that are produced, that a portion of the paper at the right hand corner at the bottom, (which when folded forms the first-fold) is cut off, and it is just at the edge, where the paper is cut off, that the seal of this Khân Khânân, who was the Vakil at this period (1003 Hijri), occurs.

We gather the following particulars about this personage from Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*.

Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khânân Mirzâ Abdurrabim. When his father Bairâm Khân was murdered, he was a small child. Akbar took charge of him. Khân Khânân was the title conferred upon him in 992 Hijri for his victories. (Bada'oni. Lowe's Translation II., p. 346.) In the 25th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed Mir 'Arz and in the 34th year Vakil. He died in 1038 Hijri.

He calls himself in his seal, *murid*, i.e., a disciple or follower of Akbar Shah. He was one of the grantees of Akbar's court named by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbar* (Blochmann I., p. 334-38, No. 29).

Seal No. 2.—The next seal, on the right of the above two lines of Abul Fazl's and Muizzuddin's records, and a little on the left of the above-named seal of Khân Khânân, is that of Mirzâ Kokâh. The name is clearly legible. We gather the following particulars about this personage and of the different offices that he filled in Akbar's court.

His full name is Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokâh. He was a great favourite of Akbar. He is one of the grantees (No. 21) mentioned by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari*. In the 34th year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed Governor of Gujrat. In the 39th year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 Hijri. He was made Vakil in 1004. Âzam Khan was

the title latterly bestowed upon him. (Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 325-27.)

Now in what capacity is it, that Mirzâ Kokah signs this document. He was not the Vakil, because the Vakil of the time of this document (the 40th of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1003 Hijri) was, as said above, Khân Khânân, and he himself was appointed Vakil, as said above, in the next year, i.e., 1004 Hijri. So he seems to have signed it as "one who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil." In the above quoted passage about the order of the seals (Book II., *Âin* 12) we read

میان آن شکنج جایی کسی است که رتبه او نزدیک و کالت باشد
چنانچه آنکه خان در زمان عنعم خان و ادھم خان

(Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 22-23.)

"In the middle of that fold (i.e., the first-fold), is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khan did at the time of Mun'im Khân and Adham Khân. (Translation I., p. 263.)

To understand the above allusion, and to understand how it applies to the case of Mirza Kokah in the document under question, we must look to the list of vakils or prime-ministers given by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Âin* 29. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 232, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 527). Blochmann says (*ibid.*, p. 527, n. 1) that Abul Fazl's list is not complete. But, as it is, it is as follows :—

Bairâm Khân, Mun'im Khân, Atgah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Khwâjah Jahân, Khân Khânân Mirzâ Khân (خان خانان میوزا) (خان اعظم میرزا کوکھ) Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ Kokah

Now in the above passage of the 12th *Âin*, Abul Fazl says, that when Munim Khan and Adham Khân¹ were Vakils in turn, Atkah Khân, who was nearest in rank to each of them, put his seal in the farmâns, &c., on the first-fold. We find from the above list, that this Atkah Khân himself was subsequently appointed a vakil. This shows that the person who is intended to be the next successor to the vakilship, is considered to be the "nearest in rank" or what we,

¹ Abul Fazl does not give Adam Khân's name in the list, in the 30th *ain*. He has evidently forgotten to give it, because he clearly says here that he acted as a Vakil. As Mun'im Khân came to Vakilship after Bairam Khân (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 323), it is clear that Adam Khân succeeded Munim Khân.

in modern parlance, call "assistant." This nearest in rank or assistant generally succeeded to the place at the first vacancy. Now as we find from the above list that Mirzâ Kokah was occupant of the post of Vakilship in Akbar's Court, and as we further see that he was appointed to the post in 1004 Hijri, it is quite clear, that in 1003, *i.e.*, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, when the Farmân in question was granted, he was "the nearest in rank" to the Vakil, Khân Khânân. Hence it is, that next to the seal of Khan Khânân, the Vakil and his immediate superior, we find his seal as that of the nearest in rank or assistant.

The above passage of the Âin allots "the middle" of the first fold to the seal of "the nearest in rank to the Vakil," and we find Mirza Kokah's seal in the middle of the first fold. By the term میان *miân*, *i.e.*, middle, we must not take it to mean the middle of the fold held horizontally, *i.e.*, the middle of the breadth of the paper of the document, but the middle of the breadth of the fold itself.

Seal No. 3.—It is altogether indistinct and illegible.

Seals Nos. 4 and 5.—They are both illegible. They are just near the two lines which mention that the document has been recorded in the *risalah* and *chauki* of Shaik Abul Fazl and the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. So very likely they are the seals of these two officers. On the first (No. 4) of this set of two seals, a word Shaik شيخ, is a little legible. It appears more so with the help of a magnifying glass. So this seems to be the seal of Shaikh Abul Fazl. The second (No. 5) of these two seals may be that of the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin.

Seal No. 6.—On the left of the above-mentioned two lines, and opposite to the seals of Khân Khânân and Mirzâ Kokah, but a little lower, we have a seal, the writing on which is a little clear and legible. It is Al Hussaini Çadr Jahân Kamtarin Bandeh (الحسيني صدر جهان كمترين بنده) *i.e.*, humblest slave Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini. We read in the above Âin of seals, "Opposite to it (*i.e.*, the Vakil's seal), but a little lower,¹ the Mushrif of the Diwân puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower (پانتر), comes the seal of the Çadr." This seal then, which bears the name of Çadr Jahân, is the seal of the Çadr, referred to in the Âin-i-Akbari as above. Its position tallies with the situation allotted to it in the above passage of the *Âin*.

¹ واپنتر vâpâçtar. Vâpâç μέωυς "behind, in the back."

Çadr was an high officer of the State. Abul Fazl says of this officer, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir 'Adl are under his orders." (Book II., Âin 19, Blochmann's translation I., p. 268.) Blochmann says that the Çadr, who was also generally styled Çadr-i-Jahân, ranked during Akbar's time, as the fourth officer¹ of the Empire.

The Çadr or Çadr-i-Jahân, at the time when this *Farmân* was issued (1003 Hijri, 40th year of the reign), was a person whose name coincided with his title. Hence it is that we find in the *Farmân* the seal of the Çadr bearing the name Çadr-i-Jahân. We find his name last in the list of Çadrs given by Abul Fazl in the 30th Âin (Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 15; Translation I., p. 528.) He came to office in 997 Hijri. He continued to serve under Jahangir. (Blochmann I., pp. 272-74.)

Seal No. 7.—This seal is quite illegible. It is perhaps the seal of the Mushrif of the Diwan, to whose seal, the above passage of the Âin allots a place in the first fold in the same line with that of the Çadr. It is on the same line and fold with that of Çadr Jahân and quite close to it. As the position of the seal in the *Farmân* is the same as that allotted, in the Âin-i-Akbari, to the seal of the Mushrif-i-Diwan, it appears very probable that this seal is that of that officer. There is one word that is legible on this seal, and that is جهان *Jahân*. But that word alone does not help us to determine who this personage was and whose seal it is.

Seal No. 8.—This seal is quite illegible. Not a single word or letter can be deciphered. The date, on which it was affixed, is put down under it thus :

۴۱ ثبت شد فی التاريخ ماہ اردیبهشت
 i.e., entered in the book on the date month Ardibehesht, year 41. At the end of the line there is a word which may be the particular date, but I cannot make it out. The words ثبت شد *sabt shûd*, used in connection with

¹ The four chief officers are (1) Vakils or prime ministers, (2) Vazirs or Ministers of Finance, (3) The Bakhshis, and (4) the Çadrs.

this seal, show, that this may be the seal of the Diwân. In the 11th Âin, speaking about the drafts of the *Farmâns*, Abul Fazal says: "The draft is then inspected by the Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numâyand* (نُبت نماید i.e., ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi and the Accountant (of) the Diwân (مشرفی دیوان Mushrif-i-Diwân) are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature (نُبت *sabt*) to the Diwân."¹ We learn from this passage that *sabt* نُبت seems to be a special technical word for the office of the Diwân. Thus, as the position of the seal in the document is the same as that allotted to the Diwân, and as the phraseology of the date نُبت شد is the same as that attributed to the Diwân in the Âin-i-Akbari, I think it is the seal of the Diwân. From the 12th Âin we learn, that "the seals of the Diwân and the Bakhshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold" (دیوان و بخشی از شکنج دوم در نگردد)²

Seal No. 9.—This seal is distinct and legible. From the *Farmân*, as it is folded now, we cannot exactly determine what the first fold of the document was, and up to what the second, third and fourth folds extended. But from the position of the seals in the first fold, as described by the 12th Âin, this seal appears to be on the third fold. It gives the name Nazar Ali bin Hussain. Under the seal we read ۴۱ صرقوم شد فی التاریخ غرة صا فروردین سنه ۴۱ i.e., written on the day, the first day³ of the month Farvardin of the 41st year. The same date is thus given a little below on the margin of the document written vertically up from below.

غرة صا فروردین الهی سنه ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

i.e., copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin, 11âhi year 41.

Then the question is, who this personage, Nazar Ali or Ali Nazar is? He gives the date on which he put on the seal and entered the document in his books. He seems to be one of the

¹ Blochmann's Translation I, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, ll. 11-13.

² Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, l. 24, Translation I., p. 263.

³ The word may also be read نحره *nahrat*, "the first day of the new moon: also the last day."

⁴ This word can be read *nahrat* also—vide above, n. 3

officers like the above-mentioned *Wāqiahnawis* Muizzuddin, who had to do something with the original *Tâliqah* or its *Yâddâsht*. His name is also mentioned in the body of the *Farmân*, as one who also had made a *sharh* about the *Farmân*.¹

Seal No. 10.—The name on this seal is quite clear and legible. It is *داعي بندة حسين كمال الدين* *i.e.*, praying slave Hussain Kamâluddîn. Under the seal we read

مطلع شد ۲۹ ماه اسفندارمزالهی ۴۰

i.e., became informed on the date 29 of the month *Asfandârmaz*, *Ilâhi* year 40. The same date is given a little below on the margin of the document in a vertical line. This seal seems to be on the fourth fold which is allotted, in the above-mentioned 12th *Âin*, to the seal of the *Mustanfî* (مستوفی), who is an auditor or a controller of accounts. So perhaps this is the seal of that officer. Now it is not certain who this Kamâluddîn was. We come across three personages of the name of Kamâluddîn in Akbar's time,

1. Mir Kamâluddîn Khwâfî, who is said to have served under Akbar, but it is not said under what capacity.³

2. Kamâluddîn, the father of Abu Turab, who was appointed Mir Hajji by Akbar.⁴

3. Maulana Kamâluddîn Husan, father of Maulana Alauddîn, who was the teacher of Akbar.⁵ This third personage Kamaluddîn Husan seems to be the signatory of this *farmân*.

Seal No. 11.—This seal also is quite clear and legible. It is that of Al-Abd⁶ Hussain Kamaluddîn *داعي العبد حسين كمال الدين* *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamaluddîn. Under the seal we read *قلمی شد ۲۹ اسفندارمزالهی سنه ۴۰* *i.e.*, written on the 29th of *Asfandârmaz* of the *Ilâhi* year 40. So we find that both the names and the dates of the

¹ *Vide* p. 105.

² *ت* is the contraction of *تاریخ*

³ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* Translation I, p. 445, n. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁶ *عبد* servant, slave. In many of the seals we find the signatories attaching some words of humility to their names, such as *داعي بندة*, *کمترین بندة*

two seals No. 10 and No. 11 are the same. This may be the case perhaps because the same person may have held two offices. This seal is the last and the lowest; and the last officer, to whom the lowest part of the farmân, the fifth fold, is allotted in the above-quoted passage of the 12th Âin, is Çahib-Taujîh صاحب توجیه who is the adjuster of accounts. Just as in the case of the Diwân, the words *sabt-shûd* ثبت شد used in our Farmân, helped us to think that the seal may have belonged to an officer of the Diwân, in whose connection the same words were used in the Âin-i-Akbari, so the words *قلمی شد qalami shûd* used in the *Farmân* under this 11th and last seal of Kamâluddîn, help us to think that this seal may be that of the Çahib-i-Taujîh. In the 11th Âin we read that "the Çahib-i-Taujîh keeps the former Taliqah¹ with himself." (صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود لگا دارد)

Now in the case when the Taliqah was confirmed by the king, and the Jagir conferred, the words written in the report were, according to the above Âin, "*Taliqah-i-tan qalami numayand* تعلیقہ تن قلمی نمایند i.e., they are to write out a *taliqah*."² So the words *qalami shûd* written under the 11th seal show that as alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari, this seal may be that, of the Çahib-i-Taujîh.

Let us now examine the different dates as given in the Farmân. From the Sharh-i-taliqah, i.e., the details of the abridgment, we learn that His Majesty king Akbar first issued the order of the Farmân on the 15th of the 7th month Meher in the 40th year of his reign (1003 Hijri). The order was recorded on the 13th day Tir of the 8th month Âban of the same year. In accordance with that order, the Farmân was prepared on the 10th day of the 12th month Asfandârmaz of the same year.

Then there are three statements of dates in which we read the month Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. One is under seal No. 7, which is illegible, and in which, the only word that we can read with

¹ i.e., the abridgment of the Yâddâst or memorandum of the affairs of the king. Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text L, p. 194, l. 13.

² *Ibid.*, Translation, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 11.

accuracy is جہان Jahan. It is the date when the Mushrif or some officer attached to the Diwan put the seal. The particular day is not clear. It looks like 7, but that cannot be the date, as it must be one after the 10th. It may be the 17th, or it may be some date in connection with the first *sharh*. Then the seals Nos. 10 and 11, those of Kamluddin, have the dates put under them. These dates are clear. They are the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. The same date, we read in one of the two marginal statements. Then we find that one seal (No. 9) of Nazar Ali has the date of the succeeding month, *i.e.*, Farvardin of the 41st year of the reign. This date is also given in the second of the two marginal statements. Then there is one seal (No. 8) which bears the date of the next month Ardibehesht of the 41st year. We notice one thing, and it is this, that all officers did not put down the dates when they attached their seals. Perhaps it was only those, in whose books the Farmâns were regularly recorded or taken note of, who put down the dates of their seals, to facilitate reference to their books in case of necessity. I think Abul Fazl seems to make a distinction, when he uses, in the case of some officers, the words *nishân va môhr* نشان و مهر *i.e.*, sign and seal, and in the case of others simply the word *môhr* مهر *i.e.*, the seal. When they put down the dates with their own hands, under their seals, that was meant to be putting their *nishân* or sign. For example, he says that the Çahib-i-Taujib, the Mustaufi, the Nazir and the Bakhshis put on their signs and seals. In the case of the Diwân, his accountant and the Vakil, he uses simply the word seal.¹

¹ Blochmann's Text I., p. 194, ll. 13-15, Translation I., pp. 261-62.

(Translation of the second *Farmân*.)

God is Great.

The *Farmân* of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.

At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the honour of being issued, and the dignity of being published, that, **Whereas** about 300 *bigdhs* of land (measured) by the *ildhi gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, in the environs of the town of Naosâri, &c., according to the particulars of the contents (of this *Farmân*), had been formerly assigned from the *Sarkâr* of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikobâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the *jâgirdâr*, according to an order which has issued¹ forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif*² *ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty) **It is incumbent** upon all present and future governors, and tax-gatherers and *jagirdars* and *krôriâns* of that district, that they should, according to what is written, give back in his possession, totally and entirely, the allotted part of 300 *bigâhs* in the same way as ordered above,³ and should not diminish or refuse anything; and whatever may have been received during the past and current years from the income of 300 *bigâhs*, should be returned; and no burdens should be imposed in that matter; and trying to bestow care in the confirmation and perpetuity of that

¹ قضا decree, order; جريان *jaryân* "which issues forth (as an order)." (Steingass.)

² خريف autumn, autumn harvest, harvest.

³ Lit. in the beginning, front, chief. The word *Çadr* used in the seals in the sense of minister is derived from this meaning. Abul Fazl in his "*Âin-i-Akbari*" (Bk. II., *Âin* 19) says of this officer: "As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office . . . Such an officer is called *Çadr*. The *Qâzi* and the *Mir'Adl* are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled *Diwan-i-Sâdat* . . . and afterwards it was determined that the *Çadr*, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, (*i.e.*, Abul Fazal), should either increase or decrease the grants. (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.)

should make no change or alteration ; and make no deduction¹ from those lands;² and on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and capitation taxes, the rest of the taxes, such as imposts and presents and fines and village assessments and marriage fees and Darogha's fees and tax-gatherer's fees, and five per cent. tax and two³ per cent. tax and *kánungú* (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens (i.e., taxes) for cultivation and gardening and *zakát* of duties on manufactures and assessments, no molestation should be given him every year, after (i.e., beyond) the ascertainment of the grant and all civil taxes and all royal revenues; and excusing, freeing⁴ and absolving him in every way⁵ and of all charges, they should not go round him and should not ask every year for renewed *farmáns* and *parvánchahs* in this matter; and when (it, i.e., the *farmán*, is once) adorned⁶ and illustrated⁷ with the royal signet of the respect⁸ of His Most Glorious⁹ Majesty, they must show their confidence in it.

Written on the date¹⁰ second (day) of máh Mêhêr *ilâhi* year 48.

Postscript¹¹ explanation (or details) of the *waqiah* (i.e. record). On the second day Bahman of the month Meher *ilâhi* year 48, corresponding to Thursday, according to the writing of *Jumlatul-*

¹ وضع subtraction, deduction, abatement.

² اراضى (pl. of رضى) lands, estates.

³ Sad-dui. Vide above, p. 101, n. 1.

⁴ مسلم musallam "free, dispensed, exempted from all public burdens."

⁵ من كل الوجوه or من كلى وجوه *min kulli wajuh* "in every shape, entirely, every way."

⁶ مزين muzaiyan, "adorned; signed and sealed by the Shâh."

⁷ مجلى *mujallâ*, illustrated, manifested. This sentence may also refer to the person. ⁸ وقع respect, regard. This word is not found in the first *farmán*. If read وقيع sharpened.

⁹ اجل "more excellent, more or most glorious."

¹⁰ لى لى, or if you read it as لاني *alâni*, "belonging to the present time," i.e., row. The figure after this word is ۲ two. But as there is a slight faint ink blot near it, the man cleaning the photo-litho stone took it to be a nought, and having inked it has made it look like ۲۰ twenty. That the date is second appears from the next but one line and other subsequent dates. This date corresponds to *roz 2 mah 7* year 972 Yazdazardi A.D. 1603.

¹¹ حاشيم a marginal note, postscript.

*mülki*¹ *madarul-mahammi*² *nizamul-rasâ*³ *Âsafkhan*⁴, and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*, the favoured of His Majesty Khwajagi Fathullah⁵ (and during) the turn⁶ of the *waqiah-nawis*, the humblest of slaves, Muhammad Shafia.

The order of the universally-obeyed,⁷ lustre⁸ of the sun (*i. e.*, the king) has been issued that, Whereas about 300 *bigahs* of land (measured) by the *ilâhi gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land in the town of Naôsâri, &c., had been formerly assigned, from the Sarkâr of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Pârsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the Jagirdâr, according to an order which has issued forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in pray-

¹ جملة الملك *Jumlat-ul-mulk* was a title. It was bestowed upon the *Vakil* of the Empire. It was bestowed by Akbar upon Muzaffar Khân-i-Turbati (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 349.) Badâûni says :—

"In this year (the 17th of his reign) the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sârangpûr, and appointed him prime minister and gave him in addition to his other titles that of *Jumlat-ul-mulk*. (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 174.)

² مدارال مهمام lit. the centre of important affairs, *i. e.*, a minister.

³ نظام الرضا clever administrator. رما skilful, quick of apprehension (?). Perhaps for *nizam al rayhsat*.

⁴ *Vide* below, p. 128, for this personage.

⁵ خواجگي فتح الله Khwajagi Fathullah was one of the grandees (بزرگان جاوید دولت) enumerated by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., Âin 30.). He was one of the سيصد و پنجاہي *i. e.*, the commanders of Three hundred and fifty (Blochmann's text I, p. 229, column 1, l. 11), grandee No. 285, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 499). He is there described as the son of Haji Habibullah Kâshi (of Kâshân). He once served under Mirza Aziz Kokah.

⁶ *Vide* above, p. 102, n. 11, for the *waqiahnawis*. They were fourteen in number and worked in turn. Abul Fazl says هر روزی دو کس قرار یافت و پس از چهارده روز نوبت بیگی رسید

"Two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight." (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 22. Translation Vol. I., p. 258). So here the particular writer, who had his turn to record the document, gives his own name.

⁷ جهان مطاع *Jahân mutâ*, obeyed by the world.

⁸ شعاع *a shu'â'*, light, splendour.

ing for (His Majesty's) daily-increasing¹ fortune, (It is enjoined) to all present and future governors and tax-gatherers and *Jagirdárs* and *kroris* of that district that ascertaining (the fact) according to what is written, they should, give back in his possession, 300 *bighás*, in the same way as declared in the most noble order, and whatever may have been received during the past year and during the current year should be returned. The writing of the postscript is in the hand of the *waqidh-nawis* according to the record.

The 300 *bighás* are fixed according to the former royal Farmân in this way :—

Village Tavrf in the *paragnañ*
of Talâri.

In the environs of the town of
Naôsâri, where the abovemention-
ed land was (allotted) ere this for
the purpose of the assistance of
livelihood of Mâhyâr,

100 *bighás*.

200 *bighás*.

With *sah*.

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, and of the marginal lines, and of other lines under the seals which give dates.

(The three lines in the first fold on the side containing the seals.)

In the record of *umdatu'l-mulki*,² *rukni saltanat*³ *a'la*,⁴ *itimâd-ul-daolat*⁵ *alkhâkhânieh*,⁶ *layak-ul-inâm*⁷ *wa al-ahsân*,⁸ *jumlat-ul-mulki*,⁹ *madaru'l-mahammi*,¹⁰ *nizamu'l-raça*,¹¹ Açafkhân,

¹ روز افزون increasing daily (in glory); a royal title implying august, fortunate.

² عمدة الملك "pillar of the state" (a title conferred on high officials).

³ ركن سلطنة pillar of the dominion, a nobleman.

⁴ اعلى most exalted.

⁵ اعتماد الدولة reliance of the state.

⁶ خاقانى imperial.

⁷ لايق العنাম worthy of prize.

⁸ وال احسان and (worthy) of beneficence.

⁹ جملة الملك the sum total of the country, vide above, p. 123, n. 1.

¹⁰ Vide p. 123, n. 2.

¹¹ Ibid, n. 3.

and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*,¹ *muqarrabul-hazrat-ul Sultāni*,² Khwājagi Fathullah³ and (during) the turn of the *waqiah-navis* Muhammad Shafia. On the day 2nd, month Meher *ilāhi* year 48 corresponding to Thursday.

(Seals Nos. 1 and 2 not legible.)

(Seal No. 3) Fathullah, (other words are not clearly legible).

(Seal No. 4) Āḥaf Khān.

(Seal No. 5) humblest slave ʿĀdr-i-Jahān al Hussaini.

(Seal No. 6 not legible.)

(Date under the two seals Nos. 6 and 4 which are mixed together.) Entered on the date 14th month Meher *ilāhi* year 48.

(Date just below the above date written vertically.) Fixed and Sealed and signed on the date 14th month Meher *ilāhi* year 48. With *sah*.

(Seal No. 7). Abdul Karim, *yazdāni* slave (i. e., slave of God).

(The date under Seal No. 7). Became informed on the 9th of month Meher *ilāhi* year 48.

(Seal No. 8. The whole of it is not legible. The only word which is clear is) Ali Murtaza *علی مرتضیٰ*

(The date under Seal No. 8). Written on 7th of month Meher *ilāhi* year 48.

(Seal No. 9) slave Kamāluddin Hussain.

(The date under Seal No. 9). Written on 7th day of month Meher *ilāhi* year 48.

(The marginal line under Seal No. 8 written vertically). Written in the book on the date 7th month Meher *ilāhi* year 48.

We will now examine the seals on the Farmān.

¹ Bakhshi of the State *بخشی الملکی* Fathullah was at one time appointed Bakhshi—*vide* below, p. 128, n. 2.

² *مقرب الحضرت السلطانی* the favourite of His Majesty the king.

³ *Vide* above, p. 123, n. 5. This commander seems to be in charge of the *chauki* at the time when the order in connection with the farmān was given.

The king's seal is at the top of the Farmân, as in the case of the first Farmân, and as referred to by the *Âin-i-Akbari*. It is made up of eight circles, containing the names of Akbar and his seven ancestors. The names in these circles are not as distinct and clear as in the case of the first farmân, and unfortunately the photo-litho has not come out so well. However, placing these two farmâns side by side, one can determine the names with the help of a magnifying glass.

We will now come to the seals at the end of the Farmân. As in the case of the first Farmân, we have to turn the Farmân upside down to read the seals and the note of the *waqial-nawis*, beginning from the first fold.

Seal No. 1. The name on it is not at all legible. But from what is said in the *Âin-i-Akbari*,¹ and from the fact that that statement of the *Âin-i-Akbari* is confirmed by the seal No. 1 of the first Farmân,² we can safely say, that this is the seal of Khan-i-Âzam Mirzâ Azil Kokah, the then Vakil of king Akbar's time. We saw in the case of the first Farmân,³ that at that time (1003 Hijri, the 40th year of Akbar's reign), he was the person "nearest in rank to the Vakil," and as such we saw his seal on the first fold on the left of that of the then Vakil, Khân Khânân. But Mirza Kokah was promoted to the Vakilship in 1004 H. He continued in that post up to the time of the death of Akbar.⁴ So at the time of the second Farmân (the 48th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1011-12 Hijri) he was Vakil of the state and so the seal No. 1 seems to be his. It is just at the place pointed out by the *Âin-i-Akbari*, as the place of the Vakil's seal. It says, "On the first fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal."⁵

Seal No. 2. The writing on it is not legible. Only a letter here and there can be deciphered. I think that from a comparison with the order, observed in the first Farmân, we can infer that it may be the

¹ Vide p. 111.

² Vide p. 111.

³ Vide pp. 111-112.

⁴ Vide Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's Vakilis.—Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 8. Translation I., p. 527. About Mirza Kokah's career, vide *ibid* pp. 325-28.

⁵ *Ibid* Text, p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.

seal of the *Waqiah-nawis* who must be in attendance on the king, when the order of the *Farmân* was issued. In the case of the first *Farmân*, we saw,¹ that at the end of the text of the *Farmân*, on the very first fold, a note was put down to say, that the document was noted in the *resûlah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl and in the record of the turn (*naôbat*) of *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. We also saw that the two seals on the left of the above two lines of the first fold, seemed to be those of Abul Fazl and the *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin.

Now in this second *Farmân*, we find a similar statement about the documents being recorded in (a) the *resûlah*, (b) *chauki*, and (c) *naôbat*. But there is this difference that, while in the case of the first *Farmân*, both the *resûlah* and the *chauki* were in the charge of Abul Fazl, in the case of the second *Farmân* they seem to be in the charge of two separate officers, the *resûlah* in that of Âçaf Khân, and the *chauki* in that of Khwâjagi Fathullah. The *naôbat* (i.e. the record of the turn) was that of Mahomed Shafia. So in the case of the second *Farmân*, we must expect three seals of three different officers on the left of the above-mentioned lines, in which these officers, make a note that the *Farmân* had been issued according to the records of their *resûlah*, *chauki* and *naôbat* respectively. Now on seals Nos. 3 and 5 we read the names of the above two officers, Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Alla (or Fathullah). So I think, that this illegible seal may be that of the third officer, the *Waqiah-nawis* Mahomed Shafia.

Seal No. 3. We read in it at the top the words **فتح الله** *Fat-tah Allah*. The words below these are not legible. This name then shows, that it is the seal of Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, who, as said in the three lines on the first fold, was in charge of the *chauki*. As referred to above,² and as pointed out by the 9th *Âin*, there are two trustworthy officers always in attendance upon the king and in charge of the royal guard at the palace. One was a *Mançabdâr* and another the *Mir 'Arz*. As Abul Fazl says, "All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the *Mir 'Arz* and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue."³ Thus it

¹ p. 105.

² p. 104, n. 2.

³ Blochmann's Translation, I., p. 257.

is, that we see, that these two officers Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, together with the *Wâqiah-nawis*, make a note upon the Farmân to say that the Farmân was issued during their time of office, and they put their seals to verify that statement.

We find the following particulars about this Khwâjagi, given by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari*, (*خواجگی فتح اللہ* No. 285).¹ He was one of the *si-sad va panjahi*, i.e., officers in charge of 350 men (*سیصد و پنجاهی*). At one time he was a Bakhshi of the State.* In the 45th year of the reign (1008 Hijri), when Akbar besieged Âsir, he was associated with Muzaffar in besieging Fort Lalang.

Seal No. 4. We read over this seal very clearly the words Açaf Khân. As said above, he is the officer who, together with the above Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, the officer in charge of the *chauki*, and Mahomed Shafia, the *waqiah-nawis*, makes a note on the Farmân that the order was entered in his *resâlah*. He is the *resâlahdâr* in whose term of office, the original orders for the Farmân were issued. We said above that according to the *Âin-i-Akbari*, an *yâddâsht* or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the king. A Taliqah or abridgment is then prepared from the *yâddâsht*. From that Taliqah the Farmâns are prepared. "The abridgment is," says the *Âin-i-Akbari*, "signed and sealed by the Waqiah-nawis and the Resâlahdâr, the Mir 'Arz and the Dârogah."² Of the first three officers, we saw that Mahomed Shafia was the *Wâqiah-nawis* in charge of the *waqiah*, Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, the *Mir' Arz* in charge of the *chauki*, and Âçaf Khân the Resâlahdâr in charge of the *resâlah*. Having made a note on the Farmân of the issue of the orders for the grant of land during their terms of office, they put their seals on the Farmân near the note.

We find the following particulars about this officer Âçaf Khân. Âçaf is a title. Akbar had bestowed this title upon three of his grantees. So, Badaoni, to avoid confusion, distinguishes the second and the third Âçaf Khân as *آصف خان ثانی* i.e., Âçaf Khân II. and *آصف خان ثالث* i.e., Âçaf Khân III. Abdul Majid, Âçaf Khân I., died

¹ Blochmann's text I., p. 229.

² Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., pp. 323, 372. So he is called Bakhshi-al-mulki in our document.

³ Blochmann's Translation I., p. 259.

before 981 Hijri. Khwajah Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali, Aḥaf Khân II., died in 989 H. So the Aḥaf Khân referred to in this Farmân of 1011-12 H. was Mirza Jâfar Beg, Aḥaf Khân III., who lived at the time of the Farmân. (*Vide* Badâ'oni Lowe II., p. 322.)

He was one of the grandees enumerated by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (No. 98). His name was Jafar Beg جعفر بيگ. He came from Qazwin in the 22nd year of the reign. He was first appointed a commander of Twenty (بیستى). After a short time he was made a commander of Two Thousand (دو هزارى) and was then given the title of Aḥaf Khân. In the 44th year (1008) he was appointed *Diwan-i-Kul*.

According to Badâ'oni he was a known writer of Akbar's time. He also fought several battles for Akbar. He was the colaborateur with Maulânâ Ahmad in his *Târikh-i-Alfi* (i.e. the history of 1,000 years), which Akbar, in about 990 Hijri, asked to be written for all Mahomedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era. (Elliot, Vol. V., pp. 150-53). Maulânâ Ahmad was killed by one of his personal enemies after having finished two volumes. "The remainder of the work was written by Aḥaf Khân up to the year 997 H" (*Ibid* p. 153). Badâ'oni also had a hand in the writing of this history.

In the 38th year of the reign (1001 H.) this Aḥaf Khân took part with Zain Khân Koka in a fight with the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. (Elliot V., p. 467.) According to the *Akbar-nâmeh*, in the 45th year of the reign, he, in company with Abul Fazl, took part in investing the fortress of Âsir. (Elliot VI., p. 971.)

Seal No. 5. We read on this "Al Hussaini Çadr-i-Jahân *kamterin-bandeh*," i.e. humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân-al Hussaini. We saw his seal on the first farmân also. As we said above, he was the last Çadr of Akbar's court. He came to office in 997 Hijri and continued in office till the end of Akbar's reign, and even for some time in Jehangir's reign. So we find his seal in both the farmâns. In this second farmân also we find his seal in the same place as that allotted to him in the *Âin-i-Akbari*.¹ A little below this seal and on the left we find a date. It says: "Entered on the 14th of the month Meher ilahi year 48." On the first sight, it does not appear certain, whether the date belongs to this seal of Çadr-i-Jahân, or it belongs

¹ *Vide* above, p. 113.

to the above seal (No. 4) of Âçaf Khân, or to seal No. 6, which is illegible and which is mixed up with No. 4. But a comparison of the way, in which the date is put in here, with the way in which we find the date under Çadr-i-Jahân's seal in the first farmân, leads us to say, that this date is that of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal. There also we find it a little below Çadr-i-Jahân's seal and a little on the left. What is more striking is that in both cases there is a peculiar stroke over the dates. As Çadr-i-Jahân is the only person whose seal is common to both the farmâns, and as we find this peculiarity near his seals, we are led to believe that the date in question is the date of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal.

Seal No. 6. It is quite illegible, and it is mixed up with seal No. 4.

Between the seals No. 6 and No. 7, it is possible, there may be one or more seals of some officials, but as the portion between these two is patched up in the original old document with a piece of paper, to support the tattered condition of the old paper, we are not certain if there was or not any seal there.

Seal No. 7. We read on it the name Abdul Karim Bandah-i-Yazdâni and under it, the date 9th of the month Meher of the *ilâhi* year 48. The words are مطلع شد تاریخ ۹ ماه مهراہی سنہ ۴۸. They are written in a very mixed fashionable way. It seems that the different officers had different styles of recording the document: one said ثبت شد *sabt shûd*, another said قلمی شد *qalami shûd*, a third said مرقوم شد *marqum shûd*, and a fourth said مطلع شد *muttali shud*. All these seem to be the technical wording, special to different departments, for signifying, that the farmân had been entered into the records of their departments, or seen and passed by their departments. Now the technical wording of this seal is the same as that on seal No. 10 in the first farmân (pp. 106, 116). We saw in the case of the first farmân that the seal with that wording under it, was possibly the seal of the Mustaufi. So perhaps this person Abdul Karim (or perhaps Abdul Rahim) was a Mustaufi. We cannot positively say who this person was.

Seal No. 8. The words on this seal are not clear, but we can distinctly read the words Ali Murtaza. علی مرتضیٰ Under the seal we read مرقوم شد ۷ ماه مهراہی سنہ ۴۸ i.e., written (or dated) on 7th of month Meher *ilâhi*, year 48. The same date is written vertically on the margin a little below the seal. The seal in the first Farnân with a similar wording

is seal No. 9 (pp. 106, 115). The word علي in both the seals is common. Again in both cases their dates are repeated on the margin. So at first sight, one would be tempted to say, that it is the same person who has put down both the seals on the two Farmâns. But that is not the case. We saw in the case of the first Farmân that the seal seemed to be that of some officer connected with the preparation of the *Taliqah*. This seal therefore seems to be that of a similar officer. It may be that of the Darôgah داروغه (superintendent of the office). We saw above, on the authority of the Âin-i-Akbari that the original *Taliqah* from which the Fârman is made is prepared, "signed and sealed by the Wâqiahnawis, and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Ars* and the *Darôgah*." Of these four officers, we saw that the names of the first three, who are the principal officers, are mentioned in the three lines of the first fold, and that they have also put down their seals. So perhaps this is the seal of the fourth officer, the Darôgah.

Seal No. 9. This seal is quite legible. The words on it are عبده حسين كمال الدين i.e., servant Hussain Kamâlluddin. Under the seal we read ٧ ماه مهر الهی سنه ٤٨ i.e., written the 7th of the month Meher ilâhi, year 48. This seal occupies the same place in the second Farmân as seal No. 11 in the first Farmân. Again it is the same person who has put on the seal, though his seal is not the same. In the first Farmân, the seal reads العبد حسين كمال الدين but in the second Farmân it reads عبده حسين كمال الدين. The name is exactly the same, but the word expressive of humility, though the same, is a little different in its formation. It is *al abd* in the first Farmân, but *abdeh* in the second. Again the style of the date under both is exactly the same. From the technical phraseology "qalami shûd," found both in the Farmân and in the Âin-i-Akbari, and from its position in the Farmân, we determined, that the seal No. 11 in the first *farmân* seemed to be that of the Çahib-i-Taujîh. On the same grounds, and because the name on both the seals is the same, we can safely say that this seal also is that the Çahib-i-Taujîh.

Let us now examine the order of the dates in the second Farmân. It appears from the contents of the second Farmân that Kaikobad was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful possession of the 300 *bigahs* of land—of which 200 were those of his father and 100 of his own—given to him according to the first Farmân in 1003 Hijri. H

seems to have been molested. So the second Farmân, issued eight years later, mentions the fact of the previous Farmân, and enjoins that the land may be given back in his possession, and that whatever of his income from the land, in the then current year (*i.e.* the 48th year of the reign 1011-12 Hijri) and of the preceding year, he may have been consequently deprived of, should be made good to him. It further enjoins that no fresh Farmâns should be asked from him from year to year, but that the Farmân in question with the royal seal should suffice. This Farmân was dated 2nd of the 7th month Meher, in the 48th year of the reign.¹

In the case of the first Farmân we saw, that His Majesty had issued orders for the grant on the 15th of the 7th month Meher (1003 H.). On the 13th of the next month Abân, *i.e.*, 28 days after the first issue of the order, the order was properly recorded and the *taliqah* made, and on the 10th day of the 12th month Aspandârmad, *i.e.*, about four months after the first issue of the order, a regular and *pucca* Farmân was granted to Kaikobâd. The other officers took about two months to record it in their respective departments and to put on their seals. The whole thing was complete in the second month Ardibehesht of the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. In the case of the second Farmân, we see, that on account of the hardship caused to him by not being allowed to continue to remain in the peaceful possession of the land given by the first Farmân, there has been very little delay. The second day Bahman of the 7th month Meher is the day on which the Farmân is sealed with His Majesty's seal. On the same day, the officers who had to do with the *taliqah*, or the abridgment of the memorandum of His Majesty's orders, sign it. The Çadr-i-Jahân signs it, and within 12 days all the other officers sign and seal it.

¹ Kaikobad is said to have got subsequently from king Jebangir another *farmân* for these 300 *bigâhs* of land, all in his own name.

(Translation of the *parwānchah*, the third document relating to the grant of land in virtue of the two *Farmāns*.)

God is Great !

The order of Khān Khānān¹ Mirza Khān, Bāhādur,² the Sapāh-sālār (i.e., the Commander-in-Chief).

Let the Government officers³ of the affairs and business of the *sarkār* of Surat and *kasbeh* of Naosari and *paraganah*⁴ of Talāri know, that Whereas an order (of His Majesty), obeyed by the world and submitted to by all people, in the matter of the *wazifah-dārāns* (i.e., the holders of *wazifahs*) of the Subah of Guzrat, had been issued, to the effect, that of whatever may have been possessed as *madad-i-ma'ash*, half may be given ; (and Whereas) out of about 300 *bigāhs* of land, which, according to the previous *Farmān* of His Majesty, have been assigned from the abovesaid *kasbeh* and from the village⁵ of Tavri from the tract⁶ of the *paraganah* of Talāri for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Parsee Kaikobād, 150 *bigāhs* of land have been given to the above-mentioned person ;⁷ (and Whereas) at this time, when the above-named person⁷ brings a fresh *Farmān* from His Majesty, that the lands for

¹ Vide above, p. 111 We find him placing his seal on the first *Farmān* with the name Khān Khānān. His full name was Khān Khānān Mirza Abdurrahim, and as Blochmann says, "Historians generally call him Mirza Khān Khānān." (*Āin-i-Akbari* Translation I., p. 335.) Badaoni called him Mirza Khan before he was given the title of Khan Khanan. He says :

میرزا خانرا خطاب خان خانانی..... و منصب پنجزاری..... بخشید
 "To Mirza Khān was given the title of Khān Khānān and the rank of a commander of 5,000." (Badaoni. Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 336, ll. 10-12. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 346.) He is called Sapah-Salār because he was the commander of the army. According to Blochmann he was called *Khān Khānān* or *Khān Khānān o Sipah-Salār*. (*Āin-i-Akbari*, I., p. 240.)

² So called on account of his victories. With an army of 10,000 troopers he had defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat at the head of 40,000 troopers (Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbari*. Translation I., p. 334.) This bravery gained him the title of Khān Khānān. Again he showed great bravery in the fight with Suhail Khan (*ibid* p. 335).

³ *مستادی* *muttasaddi*, any inferior officer of Government, clerk, accountant.

⁴ For the terms *sarkār*, *kasbeh* and *paraganah*, vide above, p. 105 n. 4.

⁵ *موضع* a village, hamlet, place. ⁶ *اعمال* pl. of *عمل* rule, a tract, country.

⁷ *مشرقی ایلی* and *مومی ایلی* *mūmi ilāhi* the above named (person).

the *madad-i-madsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 *bigdhs*, should be given him, whole and complete, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order is issued that about 300 *bigdhs* of land of his old possession,¹ together with trees according to the particulars of the contents, should be assigned for his *madad-i-madsh*. And also that the above-named lands should be given over to the above-named person, so that he may be possessed² of its income, and joined with the servants of His Majesty, may be engaged in praying for his perpetual good fortune. And on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and the rest of the taxes and all civil taxes, nothing should be demanded of him. And in no way³ whatsoever should there be any obstacles⁴ and delay⁵ in his assignment⁶. And acting according to the order of His Majesty, they should not turn back from orders.⁷ Written on the 1st of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 21st of the month Ramzân al mubarak, 1012.

The contents of the *Taliqah* (are) fixed⁸ from the *qarâr*,⁹ on the date of the 22nd day Bâd (*i.e.*, Guâd) of the month Bahman ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 10th of the month Ramzân-al-mubûrak, 1012, with the seal of Mirza Hasan Alibeg,¹⁰ who is the protector of administration,¹¹ and who is intrepid,¹² and Mirza Abdul Mulk Divân

¹ مقبوض *maqûz*, seized, possessed, held. ² متصرف *mutasarrif* possessed.

³ Wajh min wajuh. Lit. in any way out of the ways. Or it may mean 'no tax out of the other taxes (*wajuh*) should cause delay in the assignment. *Vide* p. 98, n. 2. for *wajuhat*.

⁴ مزااحم *murâhim*, obstacle, impediment.

⁵ معاراة *mu'ârat* 'delaying.' If we read the word معاراة *mu'ârat* the meaning would be "contention, opposition."

⁶ حوالة *hawâlat*, *hawala*, transfer, assignment.

⁷ *Farmudah*, ordered.

⁸ Muqarar fixed, settled.

⁹ *qardr-nâmahs* are, according to Blochmann, papers, that "specify the revenue collections."

¹⁰ This officer seems to be Mirzâ Ali Beg Akbarshâhi referred to by Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari* translation I. p. 482).

¹¹ The word is not clear. It seems to be *vakulat*.

¹² شجاعت شعار *shajâ'at shâ'ar* intrepid.

who is the helper of premiership¹ and Khwajah Mahmūd Maḥmūd Mir Bakhshī, the pillar² of the well-wishers. The powerful Nawab, who is the centre of sovereignty, has ordered that (Whereas) according to the world obeyed order (of His Majesty) that of whatsoever the owners of the Wazifahs of the Subah of Gujrat may have possessed as madad-i-ma'ash, half may be given (And Whereas) of about 300 bigāhs of land, which according to the previous Farmān of His Majesty, has been assigned from the *kaṣbah* of Naosari and its village Tavri, for the *madad-i-ma'ash* of Parsi Kaikābād, 150 bigāhs of land, had been given to the abovesaid person (And Whereas) at this time, the abovesaid person brings a fresh Farmān, that the lands of the *madad-i-ma'ash* of Kaikobād, which are 300 bigāhs of land, should be given him entirely and completely, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order has been (issued) that about 300 bigāhs of his old possession, together with date trees, should be assigned for his madad-i-ma'ash. It is necessary that the officers of the *Sarkār* should instantly give to the abovenamed person a special grant.

Parrāngi (i.e., permission) of Maulana Abdul Aziz, who is the receptacle³ of excellences, the strength of premiership⁴ and the marginal *sharḥ* in the hand of Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwān, the protection of the royal court⁵. According to the exalted order, and in conformity with the Farmān of His Majesty, the *parwanchah* of the old possession may be put into writing completely.

Village Tavri in the paragnāh
Talāri.

The town of Naḥsāri, where
the abovementioned land was,
ere this, for the purpose of the
assistance of the livelihood of
Māhyār.

100 bigāhs.

200 bigāhs.

¹ *Sadrāt* premiership.

² *مِدَّة* pillar.

³ *مَاب* If you read *باب* door.

⁴ *مِدَارَة* The office of Grand Vazir or prime minister

⁵ *مَحَضَرَات پَنَاه* *nahsarat panah*. *مَحَضَر* royal court.

The text and the Translation of the lines on the margin.

(Lines written at the commencement in an inverted position. *Vide photo-litho fac-simile.* A line under these is not clearly intelligible.)

بمضمون پروانچہ عمل نموده ہر جا کہ فرمان عالیشان مجھد باشد
 بہروانچہ معطل ندارند بصرح
i.e., Acting upon the contents of the *Parwānchah* wherever His Majesty's order has been renewed, the *Parwānchah* may not be neglected.¹ (The abovementioned lines are under the following seal.)



A little under the seal we have the words *تحریر کرده شد* *i.e.*, written.

(The line on the margin of the other side of the *Parwānchah*.)

بموجب تعلیقہ حکم پروانچہ عالی قلمی شد

i.e. according to the *Taliqah*, the order of the exalted *Parwānchah* has been written.

This document is a *Parwānchah*. About this kind of document *Abul Fazl* says:—

کما فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دوسطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند
 آنرا پروانچہ برگویند

“*Farmāns* are sometimes written in *Tughra* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmān* is called a *Parwānchah*.” (Bk. 11, *Āin II.*, *Blochmann's Text I.*, p. 195, ll. 7-8. *Translation I.*, p. 263.)

We find, that as said above, in the two *Farmāns*, the two first lines are short, but in the *Parwānchah* in question they are not so.

Again the *Parwānchahs* are not signed by His Majesty. *Abul Fazl* says: “His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these *Parwānchahs* need not be laid before him.”²

¹ معطل *mu'attal* abandoned, neglected.

² *Blochmann's Translation I.*, p. 236.

Now let us examine the seals on the *Parwānchāh*. We find the seal of Khān Khānān in the front page below the marginal note. We read on it مرید اکبرشاه خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar-Shāh-Khān Khānān. The wording on this seal is the same, as that on Khān Khānān's seal on the first Farmān, though the seal is a little different.

The Khān Khānān issued this *Parwānchāh* as the senior officer, under whose seal as the Vakil, the first Farmān was granted.

As in the case of the Farmān, the *Parwānchāh* also has its first fold less broad, and at a place towards the edge the paper is cut off, as referred to in the 12th Āin. It has ten seals, including that of Khān Khānān, referred to above.

The first seal on the right in the first fold has the words معصود علي حسن العبد This seems to be the seal of the officer Mirza Hasan Ali Beg referred to in the document.

The second seal on the first fold, a little on the left of the first seal has the words معصوم . . . خان خانان legible on it. The word in the middle looks like مرید. It would then mean Mā'acum the disciple of Khān Khānān.

The third seal on the first fold, a little on the left and a little above the second seal, has a few letters here and there legible, but the whole seal is not legible.

The next six seals are not legible. In the matter of dates, this *Parwānchāh* differs from the Farmān in this, that though in the body of the *Parwānchāh*, the ilāhi era is mentioned, in the four dates attached to the seals of the officers the dates are Mahomedan. In three cases it is the 22nd of the Ramzān رمضان of 1012 Hijri, and in the fourth case it is the 23rd of the same month.

We saw in the case of the second Farmān that it was granted in the 7th month Meher of the 48th year of the reign. It appears that even after that, the difficulties of Kaikobād were not over. The king had issued a general order that the grant of Madad-i-maāsh may generally be halved. So out of his 300 *bigāha* of land, only 150 were left to him and the other 150 were taken away. This *Parwānchāh* then ordered that, in his case the whole of the land without any reduction may be given to him at once. The *Tuliqāh* in this matter was made on the 22nd day of the 11th month Bahman, and the final *Parwānchāh* granted nine days later on, *i.e.*, the 1st of the 12th month Asfandārmaz.

Document No. 4. The fourth document (محضر ۲۱۶۷۲) which speaks of the 200 bigahs given by King Akbar to Dastur Meherji Bana (vide above p. 42).

اللد اکبر

نواب نامداری^۱ صادق ماحمد خان

فرض ازین نوشته آنکه بتاریخ بیست و هشتم ماه ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۰۰۵ در عمل... بحضور شرع^۲ شریف شق نوساری و خواجه میرزا جان شفقدار قصبه مذکور مسمی کیقباد ولد مهربار پارسی فرمان عالیشان آورد که موازی دویت بیکه زمین معه درختان و تار و خرمان وغیره که دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبه مذکور قبل ازین در وجه مدد معاش مهربار که مقبوضه قدیم است تسلیم نمایند بنابراین بجهت تحقیق مقبوضه سابق خواجه مشارالیه و جماعت مسلمانان و کارکن! و کماشتم امین و شماري و رعایان و مقدمان قصبه مذکور بر مقبوضه سابق عزیمت فرمودند و تمام مقبوضه به تفصیل ذیل تحقیق نموده و پیموده مشخص نموده اند بدین تفصیل

(Here follow a number of lines giving a detail of measurements. Then we have the following lines on the right margin, making several statements. The first line on the right margin is as follows):-

ثبت هذا المسطور باخبار المعبرین عنم خادم الشرع شریف کثیر تمینا و نم

(The next marginal statement is also on the right, under the above one. It runs as follows:—)

بحضور شرع شریف قصبه نوساری معامله مدد معاش کیقباد مهربار بموجب فرمان و پروانچه قدیم^۳..... محمد صدیق^۴.....

¹ The word is without *nuktahs*. It can also be read پاداری

² The last two letters are torn off in the original.

³ "*Bhiq-dar* a governor; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land."—Steingass.

⁴ I cannot make out exactly what this word is, but it seems to be نواب *nawáb*, which we find in the full name in the beginning.

⁵ I cannot make out what follows.

(On the right of the foregoing lines, we find the following statement in Gujrati :—)

૧૨૨૬૧૨ની-
૨૨૨૨૧૧ ૧૦૦૫
શી. ૧૯૫૩.

૬૬૩૨ અમીન બુ. ક૨માન પાતશા...^૧ જલાલદી અક-
બર શાહ . . વજે વજીકે . .^૨ કેકબાજ મહીર પારસી ને બુ. મિ-
હજર દેલાઆ હજરતી કાજી તા. મીરજું જાહાન દી-વે-
તેજપાલ વા ગુમશતે
પારસીન! ને દેલાઆ મેહેજર ભરા ૨૦૦)

પાદિ ૧૧૯૧૧.

વી ૮૦૧૧૩ ૬૨ખતાન

(Then we have the following lines above the Gujrati lines) :—

چون درٓ سال گزشته زمین خود کاشته معہ درخقان خرما کہ آب
کیکہ دیسایہ پرکنہ پارچول بستہ نامی فرق شدہ بیچ از و حاصل نمی شد

(Then follow a few lines of measurement, after which we have the following lines of what is called گواہی *gawāhi* or evidence about the 200 *bigahs* granted to Dastur Meherji Rana.

کہ این مقبوضہ تمام بشرح صدر در وجہ مدد معاش مہربار مذکور
قبل ازین تعیین بود ہرکہ را برصحت این حال و صدق این مقال
اگاہ و روشن باشد گواہی خویش در ذیل این محضر ثبت فرمایند
تا موجب اعتقاد و سامان گردد

(Here follow a number of signatures. Owing to the peculiar way in which the Mahomedan signatures are made, their decipherment is a little difficult. It is possible others may decipher and interpret them in another way).

مشاہدہ^۵ بماقبل عبدالکریم نورمحمد بخطی^۶ الواحد من الحاضریں
تا بیوین کہریا

الواحد من الحاضریں خو محمد عبدالرزاق بخط

الواحد للہ من الحاضریں فقیر نعمت اللہ جہیل اللہ

شاہد^۵ بماقبل تاج الدین بن اطف اللہ

¹ This is the date given in the commencement of the document. There the month is called "rabi'u-l sāni," i.e., the second Rabi. Here it is called "rabi'u-l-ākhar, i.e., the last rabi.

² Some letters which are unintelligible. The word *ب* in the first line is an abbreviation of *بلند* i.e. the great (*farman*).

³ Not legible. Perhaps *م*.

⁴ Miswritten for *سال* ما

⁵ i.e., witness to what precedes.

⁶ i.e., written by my own hand.

अमंत नानाभाई शाह
 नाहींना¹ अंगा शाह
 १ शहेरीआर नागोज शाह
 १ येहरांम इरेदुन शाह
 १ रांयुंल आ. अमंत² शाह
 १ दाळ धळ्यां शाह
 १ कुका³? मायुक शाह
 १ मेहरा रोळ शाही
 १ केसव कुळ शाह
 १ महीच्यां भांहीच्यां शाह (?)
 १ नाना जदव शाहदी
 १ गोवंद⁴ नरांयु शाहदी
 १ धना हीरा शाह

(Translation of the above fourth document.)

GOD IS GREAT.

Nawâb Nâmdâri Çâdiq Muhammad Khân.⁵

The object of this writing is this, that Whereas on the date 26th of mâh Rabi-ul-sâni year 1005 in the rule of⁶

¹ Reading doubtful.

² Or perhaps आपरीन.

³ Reading doubtful. This and the succeeding two names seem to be Hindu.

⁴ The modern proper form would be गोवंद नरय. Govind Nâran. The last word शाहदी means witness دشاه

⁵ Vide below, p. 145 for particulars about this personage.

⁶ It is said that in old writings of this kind, sometimes, when the subordinate officers had to mention the names of kings or princes, they, out of respect for the king or prince, kept the place for the name blank, leaving the readers to supply it. Sometimes the name was written on the margin. It seems that here, after the word عمل or rule, some space is left blank with a similar purpose. The *amal* or rule referred to here may be either that of the king himself as the ruler of the whole country or that of Prince Sultan Murâd as the ruler of the province of Gujrat.

in the presence of Shar-i-Sharif¹ of the division² of Naosari and of Khwâjah Mirzâ Jân, the *shiqdâr*³ of the said town, a person named Kaikobâd, son of Meheryâr, a Parsee, brought the *farman* of His Majesty, that about 200 bigahs of land—from the environs of the abovenamed town, together with palm and date trees, which are growing on that land—which were ere this, in the previous possession of Meheryâr for the purpose of his *madad-i-mâdsh*, be given to him, therefore for the purpose of ascertaining that old possession, the abovesaid Khwâjah, and an assembly of Mahomedans and *karhuns* and superintendents (*gumastahs*) of the Amin⁴ and *shumâri*⁵ and non-Mahomedan subjects⁶ and leaders⁷ of the said *kasbah*, resolved (to meet) on the old possession and having examined as detailed below,⁸ and, having measured, ascertained the whole possession according to these details.

(Translation of the first line on the right margin, p. 139.)

This⁹ description (is) written according to the information of informers¹⁰ (brought) before¹¹ me (lit. servant) in the Court of Justice much¹² (. . .)

¹ شرع شریف Shar'-i-Sharif "citing one before a Court of Justice." The Qâzi seems to be referred to under this title. That the Qâzi of a place had something to do with the jagirs appears from the following passage in the 19th Âin. (Bk. II.):—

"Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qâzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men (the Qâzis)." Blochmann's Translation I, p. 269.

² شبق Shiqq "a large division of a country forming a collectorate."

³ Vide above, p. 139, n. 3.

⁴ امین an officer employed to collect the revenues.

⁵ شماري counting, gumâsteh-i-shumâri, i.e., officers making calculations.

⁶ رعايان subjects, especially non-Mahomedan of a Mahomedan ruler.

⁷ مقدم muqaddam leader. मुख्या

⁸ ذیل appendix, postscript.

⁹ هذا this. ¹⁰ مخبر mukhbîr, informer, teller of news. ¹¹ عند near, before, according to.

¹² The last two words are not intelligible.

(Under this first line on the right margin, we have a seal on the right. It reads):—

حضرت سبحان خادم الشرع فضل الله بن ادومي عادي
i.e., Fazlallah, son of.....,¹ servant of glorious God.²

(Translation of the second line on the right margin beginning with حضور p. 139.)

In the presence of Shar'-i-Sharif (i.e., Court of Justice or the Qâzi presiding there) of the town of Naosari, in the affair of the madad-i-maâsh of Kaikobâd Meheryâr according to the old *farman* and *parwanchah*³ Muhammad Çâdiq⁴

(Over these lines, a little on the left there is a seal. It reads:—)

عبد ميرا جان ابن خواجه خان
i.e., servant Mirzâ Jân,⁵ the son of Khwâjah Khân.

(Translation of the statement above the Gujrati lines, p. 140.)

As in the past year, his cultivated land with date trees,—the water of Kikâ Desâi (?) of the *paragnah* of Parchol, being shut up—was all drowned, no income was obtained out of it.

(Translation of the last statement about the *gawdhâ*)

The whole of this possession was, ere this, fixed in the above *Sharh*,⁶ for the purpose of the *madad-maâsh* of the abovesaid Meheryâr.⁷ Those who are aware and informed of the correctness of this state of affair, and of the truth of this statement may write their signatures (lit. evidence) below this document, so that it may be the cause of confidence and arrangement.

(Under this form, about 17 persons put their signatures to certify that the land of Meheryâr, was examined and settled by them. Among the signatories we find members of all communities, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Parsees.

¹ This name is not quite legible.

² The person referred to here seems to be the Qâzi or the *Shari-i-Sharif* referred to in the body of the document.

³ This word is not quite intelligible.

⁴ The rest of the writing is not intelligible to me.

⁵ The Gujarati lines also give this name.

⁶ The *Sharh* or description, as given above.

⁷ In this document, we find the name Mâhyâr as Meheryâr, which is the proper form under which the name has come down to us as Meherji.

As one should expect in a Mahomedan Government, the first signatories are Mahomedans, and they sign in Persian characters. It is difficult to give correctly the names of all the signatories of this document. But I will give them as far as can be deciphered.

The Mahomedan signatures are as follow :—

1. Abdul Karim Nur Muhammad.
2. Mohammad Abdul Razak.
3. Fakir Naamat Allah Jamil Allah.

(Most of the signatories begin their signature with the word الواحد *i.e.*, the one, *i.e.*, the God. They also add the words من ال حاضرین *i.e.*, "From the persons present." They mean to say that they were present when the measurements, etc., were made.)

4. Tajuddin bin Latfullah.

(Then follow Hindu and Parsee signatures. Most of them add the words 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺 or 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺 *i.e.*, witness after their names.)

5. Anant Nânâbhâi. (This is a Hindu name.)
6. Nâhnâ Changâ ?
7. Shaheryâr Nâgoj (Parsee),
8. Beharâm Faredun (Parsee).
9. Rânji Bahman (Parsee).
10. Dâji Dhayûn (Parsee).
11. Kuka Mânak.¹
12. Mesh Shôî.¹
13. Kesav Kau.¹
14. Mâhiâ Mâhiân (Parsee).
15. Nânâ Jâdav.
16. Govand Narân (Hindu).
17. Dhanâ Hira (Parsee!).

We will now examine the contents of this document :—Firstly as to the person Çâdik Muhammed Khân, who issued the order, we find the following particulars about him :—

¹ Reading doubtful.

صادق محمد خان Cādiq Muhammad Khân was one of the great Amirs and commanders of Akbar. He was one of the grandees (No. 43) named by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Âin* 30). Abul Fazl there calls him simply خان صادق Cādiq Khân.¹ Blochmann says, "Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abul Fazl leaves them out in this list."² "Other Historians call him Cādiq Muhammad Khân. . . . He was one of the best officers Akbar had."³ We read in *Badâ'uni*.⁴

از رسیدن این خبر فرمان بشازاده سلطان مراد بمالوه رفت تا
 بهارائی گجرات منصوب گردد و محمد صادق خان را بجای اسمعیل
 قلی خان بوکالت او نامزد گردانیده از درگاه رخصت دادند و سرکار
 سورت و بهروج از تغیر قلیم خان در وجه جایگیر او⁵ مقرر شد

Translation.—"On the arrival of the news,⁶ a *farmân* was sent to the Prince Sultân Murâd that he should become governor of Guzrât, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Cādiq Khân in the place of Ismâil Quli Khân as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Baronch (Broach), on account of the removal of Qulij Khân, was fixed as his *jâgîr*.⁷"

This event is described under the events of 1001 Hijri. We thus see that Cādiq Muhammad Khân was appointed under Prince Murad at the head of the Sarkâr of Surat in 1001 H. He continued to serve in this office till he died in 1005.⁸ So he appears to have issued this order a few days before his death.

¹ Blochmann's text I., p. 223, Translation I., p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, Translation I., p. 355, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 355 and 357.

⁴ Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 387, ll. 17-21.

⁵ Compare the words *وچر جاگیر مقرر شد* used here with similar words issued in the two *farmâns* and the *parwānchah*. These words, which Blochmann translates by "was fixed as his *jâgîr*," seem to be the technical words for similar *farmâns*.

⁶ *Vis.*, that Khân-i-Azam Mirza Kokah (Mirza Kokah, one of the signatories on the 1st *Farmân*, *vide* above, p. 111), who was the Governor of Gujrat, had suddenly left his post and gone to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

⁷ Lowe's Translation II., p. 401.

⁸ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 357.

He is called *nâmdâr*, but if we read the word پايدار *pâidâr* (i.e., holder of the foot), it seems to be a title or a post in the king's service. At one time he was called ريكابددار, *Rikabddâr*, i.e., spur-holder. This was a post he held in Bairam's service.

The first three documents were the documents from the King's own Court. They were what we can call Imperial documents. The fourth document under consideration is not Imperial, but what we may call Provincial. But it is very important in this point, that it speaks more particularly, of the 200 *bigâhs*, allotted previously to Dastur Meherji Rana. It seems that on Kaikobad's going to the *Sârkar* of Surat, armed with the very *farmân* of His Majesty (dated 1003 Hîjri) in the matter of the 200 *bigâhs* granted to his father and 100 to him personally, the Nawâb of that district issued an order that the original land granted to Meherji Rana may be ascertained and fixed on the authority of well-informed persons. It seems, that on the death of Meherji Râna, Kaikobad was not allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the place, so he must have gone personally to the Court of Akbar and obtained the *farmân* of the Shah. This inquiry was the result of the *farmân*.

Having given the text and translation of the Persian documents—two *farmâns*, one *parwanchah*, and one *mahzar*—of King Akbar's time referring to the original grant of 200 *bigâhs* of land to Dastur Meherji Rana, and having examined their contents, we will now examine some of the Gujarati documents referred to in the paper. The documents have an important bearing on the subject-proper of the paper. But apart from that, they will be found interesting from several points of view. To the student of the Gujarati language, they present specimens of Gujarati, especially Parsee Gujarati, written about 300 years ago. Again they throw side-lights on some religious customs of the day. In the case of the Persian documents, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles and have reproduced them in types in the same way as they are written. In the case of these Gujarati documents also, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles, but in reproducing them in types, I have changed a little the old forms of letters and have given them in a way as can be best read now by the Gujarati reader. In case of old archaic forms I have given in foot-notes their modern forms. I give the documents and their translations in the order in which they are referred to in the paper.

¹ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 355.

(Document No. 5. The first agreement (of 1635 samvat) that refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.)

नौसारीना भोभिंदा दस्तुर मेहेरञ्च रानाने पोता वडा गण्छे
ते बाभिंदा पेहेसो लेप्य).

संभस्त अंभंन नुसारीनां लोग ल. संभस्त हेरपुद ज्त ओस त. नवसो नवाडे के हेरपुद आपसनी नुपते^१ नवाडे ते अ. श्री मेहेरञ्च रांछाने ह्नुर पुछी नवसो दीअे त. ओस धजे ते पुछी धजे. पोत^२दार वरांअे ओस त. नवसोनां दोकडा के आवे ते पोतदार आसि^३ते वरांअे भीणु काई नही आसि^४ के आसि^५ ते अंभंननु गुनाहगार ओस धजे त. नवसो दीअे ते अ. श्री मेहेरञ्च वाछाने पुछी दीअे. नही पुछे ते अंभंननु गुनाहगार. दोज गुआद माह तीर संवत १६३५ वर्षे कतअे संभस्त हेरपुद

१^५

१ भोअद पुरसेद (सा)

१ आंदछां काका (भतु)

१ पदम इस्तम (भतु)

१ भोअद साअेर

१ अहेरांभ केसंग

१ आ. धमपाल^६ कामदीन

१ अल्लन होशंग

^१ तथा नवसे *Nav-shô*, the sacred bath given every third day in the Barash-num ceremony of nine days. Perhaps *نوشو*, i.e., a new bath (*شويدن*) or from Avesta *نوشو*, i.e. (the ceremony of) 9 nights.

^२ वारी प्रभाजे *نوبت* turn.

^३ वारीदार. The person to whose lot the turn comes, or perhaps *پوتندار* from *پوت* a treasury. The man who collects all income to be afterwards divided according to shares.

^४ The word *अल्लतु* in the sense of 'to give, to bring,' is still used in Nowsari.

^५ In the signatures in the Gujarati documents, I put into brackets those words at the end of names which do not form a part of the names, but signify different meanings which the signatories wish to convey. In these signatures *आ* is for *अपीआर* i.e., priests, *अ. or ल.* is for *अपतंग* i.e., writer. This word is sometimes written in full, in various ways, such as *अपत* or *अपतम*. The word *अतप* *کاتب* also 'signifies writer.' It also is variously written as *अप* or *अतप* or *अतपे*. The word *श्री* also is found appended to names. It is a Gujarati form of appellation still used among Hindus.

^६ or धरपाल.

- १ नुशैरवांन याशदन
 १ यांइथ्यां कांभदीन धनपाल
 १ अ. राथ्यां पेशीतन
 १ आ. मेहेरञ्च यांइञ्च
 १ आ. भुरसेद मेहेराम भाईआ
 १ आ. बल्लन मेहेराम

Translation of the first agreement.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers (are) all the Herbad's (i.e., priests). To wit. When they perform Sraôsh (ceremony) and give the sacred bath, the priest, who gives the bath according to his turn, shall give the bath, after asking the permission of Meherji Rana. And when he performs the Sraôsh ceremony he shall perform it after asking (him). The persons, entitled in turn, may bring the Dokdâ (i.e., the share of fees), which may come to their share for the Sraôsh and sacred bath. No persons, other than these, shall take them. He who will take them will be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. He who performs the Sraôsh and gives the sacred baths, must ask Meherji Vachcha before doing so. He, who would do that, without asking him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. *Rôz Guâd mâh Tir Samvat 1635*¹ Written by all Herbad's.

(Signed)—Mobad Khoorsed. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Padam Rustam. Mobad Sâhêr. Baherâm Jesang. Dhampâl (or Gharpâl) Kâmdin. Bahman Hoshang. Nushervân Yâshdain (Âs'din). Chândnâ Kâmdin Dhanpâl. Rana Peshitan. Meherji Chandji. Khoorshed Bahêrâm Bhâiyâ. Bahman Baherâm.

(Document No. 6. The second agreement (of 1636 samvat) which refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.)

(नौसारीनां भांभेदे दस्तुर मेहेरञ्च रानाने वडा गळ्हेछे ते भांभेने (संवत १६३६ ने) भीजे लेप)

श्री अंजमन नुसारीनां लेग्य ला. हेरशुद सभस्त जत अंगीथारीनी रास वेहेवा ता. धधरंथ्यां ता. सरोश ता. शेआव ता. संजना ता. नवसो तथा भगर ता. अंगीआरी संभधी जे कांई आये ते अ. श्रीमेहेरञ्च वाछानी तस्लीम^२ क्रीयूं. अ. श्री मेहेरञ्च वाछानी अगेर^३ रण कांई अंगीथारी संभधी

¹ i.e., 12th March 1579. Parsee Prakâsh, p. 8.

² تسليم conceding, granting. सापबु.

³ अगेर without अगद.

ઉચ્ચારે' વંણ પુષ્ટે' કામ કરે તે વરસ ૧ એક લગે ભાગથી અલગુ. એયાંન'ત-
યુગ' પકરે, તે દોઠકુ ૧ લીએ તેહેનાં બંનનાં એયાંનત આપે. એ નાંમુ એ.
શ્રી મહેરજી વાણાની તસલીમ કીયું. એ લખાથી ચુકે તે અજબનનું ગુહનેગાર.
એ નાંમુ એ. મહેરજીની શેહેતે રહે સહી. રોજ મહેર મા. દેએ સંવત ૧૬૩૬
છતરીશા વર્ષે.

ધૈય્યાં ચાંદજી શાખ્યે

- ૧
૧
૧
૧ બલન ચાંદા (મતુ)
૧ આ. પેસીતન ચાંદા (લખતંગ)
૧ અ. બહેરામ જેસંગ. (લખત)
૧ લા. આ. પદમ રૂસ્તમ
૧ અ. કર્ષકબાદ મહીઆર
આ. ચાંદણાં કાકા (લખતમ)
૧ આ. ધરપાલ કામદીન(લખતમ)
૧ લા. આ. શાપુર આસા
૧ લા. આ. ચાંદણાં કામદીન ધન-
પાલ (સાખ)
૧ લા. આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ મ-
હીઆર
૧ નુશેરવાન યાશદૈન (લખતમ)
૧ આદર રાણા (કતબિ)
૧ લ. બલન હેશંગ
૧ આ. મોબદ સાએર (મતુ)
૧ નરસંગ રામજી^૭

^૧ ઉચ્ચારે. The latter part of the word આરે, (bring) is the same as in the previous agreement. So it may be another form of the same word or it may be some word from *آلین* to recede, to depart from an agreement.

^૨ વગર પુષ્ટે.

^૩ *خيانت* fraud.

^૪ Perhaps *کوک* a profound inclination or genuflexion before the King; humility; or *پس* a mistake; or perhaps read *યુગપ રૂ* The meaning seems to be dishonesty.

^૫ કતબે is the same as લખતંગ. Like લ. or લખતંગ it either precedes the name or comes after it.

^૬ I have put into brackets the words at the end which do not form a part of the names, but simply signify "a witness, a signatory, a writer," &c.

^૭ or Bānji રામજી.

१ आ. डाडा असदीअ (सप्तम)
 १ हा. येसीतन शुवा (आ.)
 १ नरीमान डोम (साप्प)
 १ आ. पुरशेद पल्लन (साप्प)
 १ आ. धडीयां येहराम (साप्प)
 १ आ. येहराम इरेदुन

Translation of the second agreement.

To the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers all the priests. To wit. (All the affairs of) the income of the Agiâr¹, marriage and re-marriage and Sraôsh, and Siâv², and Sanjâna³, and *nav-sô*, and Bhagar,⁴ and all the income in connection with the Agiâr are entrusted to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He, who shall recede from the agreement,⁵ or do anything in connection with the Agiâr, without the permission of Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ, and shall do any work without asking him, shall be debarred for one year from his share. He who fraudulently or dishonestly (*i.e.*, without permission) receives any fees, shall have to give two, for every Dokdâ, that he receives.⁶ This agreement is given to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He who breaks the terms of this writing shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. This agreement shall remain with Meherji. Signed Rôz Meher, *mâh Deh Samvat* 1636⁷ thirty-six Varkhê.

Dhayân Chandji (Shâkh, *i.e.*, witness) Bahman Chânda. Pesitan Chânda. Baberâm Jesang. Padam Rustam. Kaêkabad Mahiyâr. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Gharpâl Kâmdin. Shapur Asâ. Chândnâ Kâmdin

¹ The temple where the religious ceremonies are performed.

² Consecrated clothes which are presented to the priests as a part of their fees.

³ *i.e.*, the fees of ceremonies falling to the lot of the priests, who had come to Naôsâri from Sanjân, with the sacred fire of the first great fire temple founded in India.

⁴ *i.e.*, the bhâg or share of fees falling to the lot of the original priests of Naôsâri. "भाग वित्त" *i.e.*, to divide the Bhagar or shares is a term even now used in some places. Out of the sacred breads presented at the fire-temple by different parties for the recital of the Bâjs, the officiating priest removes one from each Bâj and all from the Sraôsh *bâj*. The collection so made is afterwards divided by the priests as a part-payment of their fees.

⁵ *Vide* above, p. 149, n. 1.

⁶ *i.e.*, for every pice that one receives for secretly performing any religious ceremony, without informing and taking the permission of Meherji, he shall have to pay two as fine. ⁷ *i.e.*, 1st September 1580.

Dhanpâl. Khoorshed Baherâm Mahiyâr. Nushervân Yâshdain. Adar Rânâ. Bahaman Hoshang. Mobad Sâêr. Narsang Ranji. Kâkâ Asdiâ. Pesitan Jivâ. Narimân Hôm. Khurshed Bahman. Dhayîâ Beharâm. Beherâm Farêdun.

(Document No. 7. An old copy of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies, wherein Dastur Meherji Rând signs at the top).

ક્રીયાએ બરાબર કરવા બાબેનો સંવત ૧૬૨૨ નો લેખ જમાં મેહરજી રાના વડા તરીકે પેઢેલી સહી કરેછે).

સમસ્ત શ્રી અંજનન નુશારીના જોગ લખતં શમસ્ત અંધ્યર તથા શમશત હેરબુદ જત આજ પછી જે કોઈ અંધ્યર ધાઈ અગીઆરી માહાં ફતરત^૧ કરે ભગર લુટી^૨ ચોરી કરે બેહેદીનની ફરસ્ત આપણ શી કરી આપણ સિધી લેઈ જએ^૩ તે અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર અને દીવાનની ખેઆનત સમારે. ખીજું બાજુ ધરનાર જેહનું વારૂ^૪ હુએ તે દીશ પુકરમાં ખુબ કરી બે^૫ પુરમાંહા શરવ બાજુ બરે. બાજુ ધરતાં તખશીર નહીં કરે. તેહની બાજુ ધરણા શમદ^૬ જે લવાજમ સદા છે તે લીએ તે વરા^૭આ કાંઈ અધીક નહીં લીએ. બાજુ ધરતાં ઇજશને હીદાલાને કોઈ દારાહી^૮ નહીં દીએ આપણ શી દાદ દાવર આગલ માગે. ખીજું સરોશ, સ્થાવ, વેહેવા, ઘઘરણા શરવ^૯માંહ જે કોઈ ચોરી કરે તે ભી અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર, દીવાનની ખેઆનતસમારે. ખીજું ભગર વાંટે તે બાજુ ધરીઆ પાખી નહીં વાંટે. બાજુ ધરી સર્વે વાંટે લીએ સહી. અસ્યલ ખત વધે પ્રપાંસનાય^{૧૦} રોજ આદરમાંહ અસપંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૨ વર્ષે

^૧ فقرة relaxation, remission અપોકસર્ષ, ખેરકારી.

^૨ લુટ. એટલે અગીઆરીનાં કામમાં ખેરકારી કરે અને લુટ અપવા ચોરી કરે એટલે અપ્રમાણીપણ જાપરે. ^૩ પોતાનાં ફક્તી સરોસની બાજુનાં ફર જીપરાત ખેરેદીનાનાં ફર પોતાનાં કરી પોતાસાથે લઈ જાય, તે ખેઆનત (خيانة fraud) માટે જવાબદાર રહે. ^૪ જારો લેખ, turn.

^૫ બેપુર એટલે બપોર. દીશપુર (દાવનગેહની શરઆત) માં ખુબ કરી બપોર પડતાં બાજુ ધરી રહે.

^૬ صيت finding the right way, course, direction, towards. ^૭ ورا except, besides સીવાય.

^૮ داراي keeper, supporter. دارانیدن to cause to hold, i.e., કાંઈ અપેલે નહીં (doubtful); અપવા કાંઈ અડકે નહીં. કાંઈ બાજુ ધરતો રોપતો તેનાં ઇપોરાપર જઈ તેની ક્રીયાને અવાવ (અખત) કરે નહીં, પણ તેની સાથે જો કયાં દોષતો ફસતુર ઘવર આગલ જઈ ફર્યાદ કરે. Compare this word with the word دارائی used by Badaoni (vide above, p. 145, L 2 of the Persian passage). The meaning seems to be no body should disturb him while performing the ceremony.

^૯ સર્વે. ^{૧૦} It is an old form of benediction which means that the parties should adhere to the terms of agreement.

१ कतये^१ सभस्त हेरबुद अंध्यरू

१ सा. महीआर वाछा

१ बहमन आ. यांदा (कतयु)

१ आ. कुयेकबाद महीआर

१ आ. काका श्रुत^२ आसदीन

१ सा. आ. पदम रस्तम

१ राथां याया

१ आ. होशंग होसंग (सप्त)

१ सा. इरदीन काका

१ सा. बहमन होसंग

१ सा. शापुर आशा

१ आ. अरपंदीआर काका शाप

१ सप्तम रस्तम थथपास

१ सा. मोवद मेहेरवान

१ आ. नेसंग जथा

१ सा. आ. सायेर बहेरांम

१ सा. पदम रस्तम बहेरांम.

१ सप्तम कुछिया मथुका

१ सा. कामदीन राथां

१ सा. दोहीआ होम

१ आ. पदम णवा (भतु).

१ सा. यांदथा काका

१ सा. कामदीन होसंग

१ राथा नरसंग

१ सा. आ. पेशीतन यांदा.

*Translation of the document about the proper performance
of the ceremonies.*

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri.—Writers the priests and all the Herbad. To wit. From this day forward, he, who being a priest, is relax in (his work in) the Agiârî (i.e., fire-temple), or practises dishonesty and fraud in the matter of his share (*bhagar*) appropriates as his own, the *farast*^३ of the Behedin (i.e., the layman) and takes them away with him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman, and shall be responsible for the loss. Again he, whose

^१ अदरे सप्तम अथवा सप्तमर.

^२ कौकरो. अथवा कौकरो अरदीन अदरे आरदीन अथ Kâkâ's son Asdin.

^३ Of the draôns (i.e., consecrated breads) some are called *fracast* from the word (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀) *fracasti* (yaçna VIII-I), on reciting which, it is lifted up by the officiating priest and tasted in the ritual. (Le Zend Avesta par Darmestetter, Vol. I., Introduction LXVI). Out of these sacred breads used in the recital of "different *Bâjs*" (𐬎𐬀) in honour of different *yazatas*, the priest has the right of taking to his own house, those in the *Sraôsh Bâj*, i.e., the *Bâj* in honour of *Sraôsha*. The other sacred breads consecrated in the other *Bâjs*, are taken back from the fire-temple to their own houses, by the laymen, who get the ceremony performed. Here it is meant that the priest, who besides taking the sacred breads of the *Sraôsh Bâj*, over which he has a prescriptive right as a part of payment in kind, takes away other sacred breads also, will be considered as committing a dishonest act.

turn it is to perform the Bâj ceremony, shall perform the Khûb¹ in the *pôhar*;² of the day and finish all the Bâjs by the second *pôhar* (*i.e.*, noon). He shall commit no faults in the Bâj recitals. He shall take as his proper fee for the Bâj, the usual allowance. He shall not take anything more than that. While performing the Bâj ceremony, he shall not create a disturbance³ on the Hindôlâ (*i.e.*, the stone slab for the performance) of the Yazashné. He shall pray for justice before the Dâvar. Again, he also, who shall be dishonest in the matter of (the fees of) *Sraôsh siâr*, marriage, re-marriage and all (such ceremonies) shall be guilty before the Anjuman. He shall make amends for the loss. Again the distribution of the shares shall not be without the performance of the Bâj. All shall be distributed after the Bâj⁴. The original agreement may ever be respected.⁵

Rôz Âdar mah Aspandâmad samvat 1622.

Writers all the Herbadis, priests.

(Signed)

Mahyâr Vâchhâ.
Bahman Chânda.
Kaëkabad Mahiyâr.
Kâka's son Âsdin.
Padam Rustam.
Rana Châchâ.
Hoshang Hosang.
Fardin Kâkâ.
Bahman Hosang.
Shâpur Âsâ.
Aspandyâr Kâkâ.
Rustam Dhanpâl.
Morad Meherwân.
Jesang Jâyâ.

Sâer Baherâm.
Padam Rustam Baherâm.
Kaiya Mankâ.
Kâmdin Rânâ.
Dohiyâ Hôm.
Padam Jivâ.
Chândnâ Kâkâ.
Kâmdin Hosang.
Rânâ Narsang.
Peshitan Chândâ.

¹ Khub is a preparatory ceremony, which a priest must perform in order to be considered as qualified for the performance of several other ceremonies.

² *تہ* watch of the day. The time meant seems to be the first part of the Hâvangâh.

³ Doubtful! It may mean 'he shall not lean'. The priest who performs the Bâj ceremony has, even now, to do so sitting in a position detached from adjoining sîdes or things; or it may mean, he shall not go over the Hindôlâ of other priests and disturb them. If he has any grievance against others, he must properly submit them before the Dâvar, *i.e.*, the person deputed to inquire into and do justice in such cases. *Vide p. 151, n. 8.*

⁴ *Vide p. 150, n. 4.* ⁵ *Vide p. 151, n. 10.*

Document No. 8. (आतशयेहरामभां कीया काम करता ताडी नही
पीवा आभिनो सवत १६२६ नां लेख.)

*The document about abstaining from toddy during one's turn
to officiate at the Fire-temple.)*

समस्त अंगभन जेग्य ला. समस्त हेरबुद जत हेरबुद सारतु^१ थाय्मे
ताडी नही पीय्मे जे ताडी पीय्मे ते अरसम हाथ नही धरे सारथा^२धी
बाहेर नीकणे, अरशनुम भांहांथी बाहेर कुले सही ने नी काछ आतश
बुय्मे दीय्मे ते ताडी नही पीय्मे. ताडी पीय्मे ते अरशनुमधी बाहेर नीकले
सही. रोज अरदयेहेरत भाह असपंदारमद संवत १६२६ वर्षे जे कोर्ध
बाज धरे ते तेतला दहाडा आपखसी नुबते अगीआराभांथी रहे तेतला
दहाडा दरवंद साथे नही अउके सही

कतामे महीआर वाछा	१ कतामे भुरशेद अहेराम
१ आ. शापुर आसा (कतामे)	१ क.३ आ. हभणुआर पदम
आ. धरपाल आ. कामदीन (कतामे)	१ कतामे आ. नरसंग साय्येर
१ आ. पेसतन शुवा (कतामे)	१ अहेराम सहीआर (कतामे)
	१ आ. काका सुत*. असपंदीआर (कतामे)
	१ (कतामे) पदम इस्तम
	१ महेरणु मानक (कतामे)
	१ आ. भुरसेद असदीन (कतामे)
	१ आ. कर्धिया भाखक (कतामे)
	१ नुशेरवान आसदीन (कतामे)
	१ सांख्यां कामदीन (कतामे)
	१ इस्तम सहीआर (कतामे)
	१ भावद साय्येर (कतामे)
	१ कुय्येक्याद महीआर (कतामे)

^१ सारतो, काम कीयाक्रम करते. Av. سارائون to chant. गायने लखतो (cf
"गेह सारतो, आरीरवाह सारतो, अदले तथली कीया करते.) The meaning seems to
be "when he begins to perform religious ceremonies."

^२ गाथा श्रवणने विगरे लखवानी कीयाथी.

^३ contracted form of कतामे कर्धक writer.

^४ Vide p. 152, n. 2.

^५ The first part of this name is not quite clear. But I think it is the same
as that which appears in the old copy of the original of 1622 *Samrat* as
कधआ मखक. The old copy of *Samrat* 1622 is not a safe guide, because it is not
the original itself. I think the name is कधआ, the like of which we find in
other names. By the help of the second part of this name here, we can correct
the second part (father's name) of the name in the document of 1622 as भाखक
instead of मखक. The former name is common among Parsees.

Translation.

To the whole of the Anjuman. Writers all the Herbads (priests). To wit. The priest who begins officiating (at the Yaçna ceremony), shall not drink *toddy*. He who drinks *toddy* shall not hold the *barçam* in his hand.¹ He shall be out of the Çârnâ,² shall be out of the Barashnûm.³ And he who performs the ceremony of Bôi before the fire (of the Âtash-Beharâm) shall not drink *toddy*. If he drinks *toddy*, he shall have to be out of the Barashnûm. *Roz Ardi-behesht mâh* Aspandarmad *Samvat* 1626. He who performs the Bâj may remain (at his home) from the Agiary during the days of his turn (of office), and shall not come in contact with *darvands* (i.e., non-zoroastrians).

Mahyâr Vâchhâ
Shâpur Âsâ
Gharpâl Kamdin
Pestan Jivâ

Khursêd Baherâm
Hamajjâr Padam
Narsang Sâêr
Baherâm Sabyâr
Kâka's son Aspandyâr
Padam Rustam
Maherji Mânock
Khursêd Asdin
Kaiya Mânock
Nusherwan Âsdin
Chandnâ Kâmdin
Rustam Sahyâr
Movad Sâêr
Kaekatâd Mahyâr.

(Document No. 9. The document for the assignment of a Wadi at Pipalia to Dastur Meherji Rana.

दस्तुर मेहरजी रानाने आपवाभां आवेक्षी पीपलीया भयिनी
वाडी बायेनो लेख.)

संवत् १६२६ त्रिगुण्यत्रीसोतरा वरजे देण ढारमण्डे मा शहरेवर

¹ The *برصم* (A. 7. 166) is used only in the Yaçna, Bâj and Vendidad ceremonies. So to debar one from holding the *barçam*, means that he shall not perform the above ceremonies, *vide* pp. 21-22.

² i.e., the higher class of ceremonies in which the *barçam* is used.

³ Those who perform the ceremonies in which the *barçam* is held, have to go through the Barashnûm ceremony.

⁴ The figure 29 is repeated in words.

અથે શ્રી નાગમંડળ કરણે¹ પાદશાહા શ્રીઅકબરશાહા વેજ² રાજે હવાસે-
ખાન શી કલેચ મહમદખાન વ્યાપારે પંચકુળ પ્રજાપતૈ³ સા. શા.⁴ મનો-
ચહેર બલન તથા પા. નાગુજ માણક તથા નુશેરવાન ચાંગા તથા શે.⁵
થેઆં આસદીન તથા રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ તા. સમસ્ત બેહેદીન અંજમન નુસા-
રીનાં આ. મૈહાર વાણા જોગ્ય જત એનામ વાડી પાપલીઆ મથે ભુમી
વીંધાં ૧૦ દસ તાડ ૫૦ પચાસ તા. ખજુરી ૧૦૦ એકસો સાલ પે સાલ⁶
એનાંમ પસે⁷ દીવાનકનેથી પલાવે⁸ સમસ્ત બેહેદીન મલી પલાવે સહી.

નાગુજ માણક (લખતન)

૧ નરીમાં હોમ (લખત)

૧ સા. નુશેરવાન ચાંગા

૧ આડીવા થેયાં લખતમ

૧ સા. રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ

૧ રાણુજ બહમન (શા)

૧ સા. ધર્ષઆં આશીદન

Translation.

In the year *Samvat* 1629 *roz* Hormazd *mâh* Shaharêvar in Nâgmandal⁹ in the time of Pâdshâh Akbar Shâh in the victorious rulership of Kalich Mahmâd Khân,⁹ the ruler of the trading and all the mixed communities. Writers Manochahêr Bahman and Nâgôj Mânock and Nusherwân Chângâ and Dhayân Âsîdî and Rustam Jâmshed and all of the laymen class of Nâôsârî. To Mahyâr Vâchhâ. To Wit, an Inâm¹⁰ wâdî at Pipalia of 10 *bigdhs* of land with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees shall be maintained¹¹ as *inâm* from year to

1 قرآن generation, time, વખત, અકબરપાશાહનાં વખતમાં.

2 વિજય victory.

3 એ મહમદખાનનાં વિષેસન છે કે "વેપારી પંચકુલ પ્રજાનાં પતી" એટલે વેપારી અને પાંચ વરણી પ્રજાનાં પછી.

4 એ આ. (અધ્યાર) અથવા પા. (પારની) જેવા કીપર આવેલા કુદ્ર રાનાં જેવું ૩૫ છે. એ શા તે શાહનું કુંડુ ૩૫ છે, એ શાન્દ ફાલપણ ફીંદુઆમાં આની ડંપાથી તરીકે વપાય છે. ફરેકે એ પ્રકુલમાં પચ વપડાય છે.

5 શી વાંખીએ તેા મરેત (રોટ)નું એ ૩૫ હોય.

6 ૬૦ સાલ એટલે ૬૨ વરસે.

7 કુરથી કોહને. દીવાન કનેથી રાજ્યનાં કુરોથી તે હનામી જમીન તરીકે ધર્મખાતે યુદી રખાવે.

8 An old name of Nâôsârî.

9 Vide p. 157 for this personage.

10 Inâm انعام. According to Badaoni In'âmi-zamînhâ, and In'âmi-dehbâ were some of the old terms applied to lands (Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akhari* I, p. 271).

11 The word is પારે. It is P. پاليدن to rear, to purify. The meaning seems to be that they would see that the land may remain in the hand of Meherji Rana for religious purposes as *inâmî* land, free of taxes. To properly understand this document we must read it in relation with another document (p. 158) given to Meherji Rana's father by the laymen. Or the meaning may be એ વાડી એ નામ ઉપર રજૂ હે, the wadî may be on this (Meherji Rana's) name.

year. It shall be maintained free from taxes from the Diwân (i.e., the civil authorities). All laymen shall so maintain it free.

(Signed.)

Nagôj Mânock

Nariman Hom

Nusherwan Changâ

Auwa Dhaiyân

Rustam Jamshed¹

Rânji Bahman (witness)

Dhaiyân Ashdin

We will examine here, who the officer Kalich (Kalij) Mahamad Khân, alluded to in the above document was.

We learn from the Tabakât-i-Akbari that Kalij Khan was the Governor of Surat at this time (1629 *Samvat*, i.e., 1573-74 A. D.). We read in that book: "Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarât. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, (1573) in the 18th year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded" The conquest of Surat "was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980. Next day the Emperor went on to inspect the fortress . . . on the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khân."²

Elliot gives the name in the above passage as Kalij Khan, but the text of the Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the full name as قلیج محمد خان Kalij Mahamad Khân, as we find it in the text of the document. Elliot's translation is too free. The passage about this officer's appointment is as follows:—

و همانروز نام حکومت و حراست قلعه صورت و آن، ناحیه را اقدار
 قلیج محمد خان که بشری و منزلت اختصاص دارد تفویض شده
 i.e., on that very day the Government and the custody of the

¹ On comparing his signature in the original (*vide* the photo-litho) with his name as written in the body of the document, we find that both are very similar. So I think that the document is in the handwriting of this person.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

⁴ ناحیه neighbourhood, surrounding country.

⁵ Munshi Newul Kishore's text of 1875, p. 299, ll. 4-5.

fortress of Surat and its neighbourhood, were confided to the trust of Kalij Mabâmad Khân, who has great distinction in honour and dignity.

This original passage of the *Tabakât-i-Akbari* shows, that the full name of the officer was the same as that which the document gives, and that he was placed in charge not only of Surat, but of its neighbourhood, of which Naôsâri forms a part. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* speaks of him as the *jâgirdâr* of Surat.

"When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarât, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men . . . once more raised their heads. . . . Kalij Khân, who was *jâgirdâr* of the fort (Surat), made it secure and prepared for a siege."¹

In the events of the 23rd year of the reign, Elliot also gives his full name as Muhammad Kalij Khân.² Under the events of the 29th year of the reign, we still find him named as the "*Jâgirdâr* of Surat."³

(Document No. 10. Document assigning a Wadi to Rana Jeshang.)

राधा जेसंगने अेक वाडी धर्मप्राते आपवा बाभेने लेण.)

७४॥ श्री दीननीप्रातर जेहदीवाने..

॥ ७४ ॥ श्री दीननीप्रातर जेहदीवाने..

संवत १५७६ छुतरा वर्षे मा पहमन रोज पहमन अेहेह^१ श्री नागभंडल
कुजे^२ पातशाह श्री सुलतान मजहरशाह व्यजराजे अभल मलक श्री छत्राम
नसीर व्यापारे पंचमुख प्रल्पते लपतं श्री भाळुक यांगा व^३ आ.^४ आस-
दीन भेहेरवान व^५ श्री येयां राधां व^६ श्री राधां जभास व^७ श्री आसा भेहेराम
व भाळुक भेहेराम व^८ आ. पुरशेद याया व^९ भेहेराम सागर व सभरत्तलोक व^{१०}
नेया राधा व गा.^{११} भेहेरवान अेर्वेद राधा जेसंग जेथ जत ताड व लुभी

¹ Elliot, V., p. 360.

² *Ibid.* p. 404.

³ *Ibid.* p. 434.

⁴ In the similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9) अवे *adhê*. Perhaps भेहेरुत अथ *i.e.*, "now, then" signifying 'at the time'.

⁵ For इरथ, *vide* document No. 9 p. 156 n. 1 वाशालेता वपतभा.

⁶ This word is Persian. *va* 'and' used for Gujrati 'अने' or 'तथा' used in the other similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9).

⁷ आ. doubtful, perhaps contracted form for अेहेता Av. ॥ ७४ ॥ श्री दीननीप्रातर जेहदीवाने..

⁸ गा. This seems to be a contracted form of a word like आ. for अंधीभाया वा. for पारभा, श्री for श्रेष्ठ or श्रेष्ठ, अे. for अेरव. Perhaps it is the contracted form of the Gujrati word गार or गारु *i.e.*, a priest. It seems, that this word was at one time applied to Parsee priests by their laymen, because the word गारुशी is still sometimes used for a wife of a priest, who prepares sacred breads, &c., for the ritual. Perhaps the word गार was specially applied to those priests who prepared दान *daruns* or sacred breads and sacred food used in the ritual.

अनाम¹ ताऽ १०० तथा लूमी वींषा १० दस अंके ताऽ सुप्त² रहे. राथा
 केसंगने साल पे साल पाले³ ताऽ व लूमी न माला पाअे⁴ साल प साल
 पाले समस्त अहेदीन मली पाले सही अे वात कल⁵ कावल⁶ नही दीवानथी
 प प्रावे. समस्त अेक दीधरी⁷ थार्ध पलावे.

- १ लपतं माथुक यांगा
- १ ला. आसदीन भहेरवान
- १ लपतं धेर्धयां राथा सेर्डा⁸
- १ ला. राथा नमास⁹
- १ लपतं पुरसेऽ याथा
- १ ला. माथुक अहेराम
- १ ले. आशा अहेराम
- १ ला. नर्धमा राथा धेर्धयां
- १ लपत. येराम सागर
- १ ल. अहेराम राथा

Translation.

For the sake of religion, Bahadîns.¹⁰

By the name of God.

In the year *Samvat* 1576 at the time of month (*mâh*)
 Bahman, day (*rôz*) Bahman, in Nâgmandal, in the time of the

¹ अनामनी लूमी श. انعام. According to Badâ'oni Inâm-i-Zamîna, In'âm-i-Dehâ were some of the terms used before the Moghuls. (Blochmann's *Ain-i Âkbari* I, p 271.)

² सांपेदी रहे P. مستقر *sufâ* 'gift.'

³ पोपालیدن to rear, educate; to purify. پاک. The meaning seems to be that they would see that it remains in the hand of Rana Jesong for the above religious purpose (दीननी आतर) from year to year, free of taxes.

⁴ "न माला पाअे" अेहेरे "न माले साअे" i.e., इर वगर. I think it is the corrupted form of *नरमाल साअे* i.e., without miscellaneous revenues, i.e., free of tax.

For the words *माल* माल *mâl*, and *साअे* *vide* above, p. 98.

⁵ कल *kall*, trouble, injustice, a heavy burden.

⁶ Perhaps *कल* *qûwal* speakers. The meaning seems to be that "there should be no troubles and questions or inquiries in the matter."

⁷ *दुगरी* *dugrî* uniting one with another, i.e., in concert with one another.

⁸ Or perhaps सेऽ. An old copy of this document reads it सेऽ.

The document seems to be in the handwriting of this man, because on comparing the names of the signatories, as written in the body of the document, with their own signatures at the bottom of the document, we find, that in the case of all signatories, their names and signatures differ a little in style and form, but in the case of this राथा नमास Rânâ Jâmâs they resemble a good deal.

¹⁰ Doubtful. Perhaps for *बेदपोानी* i.e., civil matter.

victorious¹ rulership of Padshâh Sultân Muzaffar Shâh,² in the rule of king Ibrâm Naçir,³ the ruler of the trading and all mixed communities. Writers Manock Chângû,⁴ and Âsdin Meherwân and Dhaiyân Rânâ and Rânâ Jamâs and Âsâ Baherâm and Manock Baherâm and Khurshed Châchâ and Baherâm Sâgar and the whole of the community and Naiyâ Rânâ and Meherwan.* To Ervad Rânâ Jesang. To wit, palm-trees and Inâm land, 100 palm trees and 10 *bigâhs* of land may be given. It (*i.e.*, the land) shall be kept with Rânâ Jesang free of taxes from year to year. The palm trees and the land shall be maintained free of taxes from year to year. All the laymen together shall maintain it free of taxes. There shall be no trouble and bother about it. It shall be kept free from the civil authorities. All uniting one with another shall maintain it free.

(Signed)—

Manock Chângû
 Âsdin Meherwân
 Dhaiyân Rana
 Rânâ Jamâs

¹ વિક્રમ રાજ, વિક્રમ is the same as વીજ્ય meaning 'victorious.'

² *Vide* below. p. 161 for this personage.

³ For notes on some of the words of this document, *vide* the footnotes under the Gujarati document, p. 158-59.

* This man seems to have been popularly known as ગો. મેહરવાન Go or Gor Meherwan, but his real name seems to be બેહરામ રાણા Behrâm Rânâ, because he puts down his signature as such. There are ten persons named in the body of the document and these ten persons sign the document. In the signatures the order is changed a little. The first four signatories sign in the order of their names in the document. Then the fifth signatory ખૂરશેદ ચાચા Khooresd Châchâ is the seventh in the order of the names in the document, and the eighth signatory આસા બેહરામ Âsâ Behrâm is the fifth in the body of the document. Then the eighth and ninth persons બેહરામ સાગર Behrâm Sâgar and નેયા રાણા Naiyâ Rânâ in the document similarly change places as signatories. Naiyâ Rânâ signs seventh as નેયા રાણા નાયયા Naiyâ Rana Dhaiyân. Then the tenth or the last person on the list ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwân signs as બેહરામ રાણા Bohram Rânâ. This shows then that ગો. મેહરવાન Go Meherwan must be his popular name, while his real name was Behrâm Rana. Again, we find that the writer seems to have first intended to close his list with the 8th person Behrâm Sâgar because he has put after this name the words અમને સ. સ., "and all the community or all the people," but after writing these words he has added the above two names of the ninth and tenth signatories.

Khurshed Châchâ
 Manock Baherâm
 Naiyâ Rânâ Dhairyân
 Asa Behrâm
 Berâm Sâgar
 Baherâm Rânâ

The king (Padshâh) Sultan Muzaffar Shâh referred to in this document of *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A. D.) is the Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar of Gujarat. He is one of the five Mahomedan kings, referred to by Bâbar in his *Tuzak-i-Bâbari*, as ruling in India when he conquered the country. He says, "At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulmân kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Râôs* and *Râjâs* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose Government included the capital. The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrâhim's¹ defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions)."² He is known in history,³ as Muzaffar II. He reigned in Gujarât for 15 years from A.D. 1511 (917 Hijri) to 1526.

The king *ابراهيم نسيير* Ibrâhim Naçir seems to be Ibrâhim Lodi.
 (Document No. 11. *दीव सभेसेो कागज. The letter to Diu wherein Dastur Meherji Rânâ is referred to as the leading priest.*)

स. अ.⁴ ५१५१ सुत^५ आसदीन यहदीन दीवना सभस्त के अ^६ पहाना अे
 अेनदां याद नत अ^७ यादि आसदीन कु सीअे^८ अग्यारी मोहे अलो न (न)

¹ Ibrahim Lodi whom he defeated in 1526 in the battle of Pânipat.

² Elliot IV. p. 259.

³ Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, by Cowell, p. 765.

⁴ Contracted from सभस्त अंधीआ.

⁵ A son. Kaka's son Asdin ५१५१ने जे१५१ने असदीन आसदीनअस.

⁶ Looks like न but it is 'अ.' Compare it with the first letter in the word असाजुम in l. 6 of the original *بنيان يزدان باد*

⁷ Doubtful. Perhaps न.

⁸ Doubtful. Perhaps नत ने पांय आसदीन दु श्रीअे (अेदरे अरी साथे)

ચાર બેઠા હતા તેહાં એમ કહિઉ જે દીવનાં સમસ્ત બહેદીને કહ્યું જે એક
હેવંદ બરીનુમ સુ¹ આંહાં આવે તે બાજ ધણું તા. ગહેસારણું કરે અભાંરાં
મુઆની નિમત² આફગાન કરે તેહેની અહમો જેહે વાણું³ તેહેવી તેહેની
તત્તુ⁴ કડું તે વાત કીયા પર એ. શ્રી મહેરણ રાંણાં તુએક શુડવી⁵ તાકીદ
કરી દીનનાં કાંમ ચાલતાં કરવા મોકલઈઓ છે ખુબ છે લાએક છે ડાહ⁶
છે સાંસતુ⁷ છે જેહલુ આપણો દીને જોઈએ તેહતું છે. એહની તતતુ એહના
ફેલ⁸ જોઇ કરજો સહી રો.⁹ ગુઆદ મા. આદર સંવત ૧૬૪૬ વર્ષે.

સમસ્ત બહેદીન નએ¹⁰ અભાંરૂં પનાહે અજદાં બાદ કતેતુ¹¹

Translation.

“Writer priest¹² Kākā's son Asdin. To all the Bahadins (i.e., laymen) of Diu. May they be in the protection of God. To wit, two persons (viz.) Chanda Kiamdin with myself (i.e., altogether), we four persons had sat together in the Agiāry (i.e., fire-temple). There it was said that all the Bahadins of Diu have said that “a Herbad (i.e., priest) with Barashnum,¹³ may come here, that he may perform the Bāj and Gehsārna¹⁴ ceremony, that he may perform the Afringān ceremony, for the repose of our dead, and that we will continue,¹⁵ him as you will fix.” On these words being said

¹ સુયાં.

² نيمت *nimat* sleep, slumber (peace) મુઆની સાંની મારે or for نيات *niyat* નડમન intention.

³ ? راجدين *rajidin* to collect, to pick out. ન મુકરર હેવ. Or it can be read *રહેવા ધુટે* (for *પર*) doubtful.

⁴ P. *تفتح* *tatḥ* searching diligently, continuation પણ રાખવો, રેવી i.e., નવી રીતે પર તેવી રીતે.

⁵ Doubtful reading, *vide* p. 163, n. 1.

⁶ For *સહેવા* wise. માનેદ મારો છે, લાવક છે, ડાહ્યો છે, ધતતો છે.

⁷ شایسته *shāyiste* worthy, fit. Or perhaps 'patient' as in *પીયું* સાંસતો

⁸ *عمل* *amal* work. એનાં પ્રમ જોઇ એની નોકરી ચાલુ રાખવા.

⁹ روز *roz*

¹⁰ نیت *niyat*, aiming at, intention. નડમતે, મારે, or towards.

¹¹ of the *کاتب* i.e., the writer. અમે *જમારની* યજ્ઞ પનાદ બાદ.

¹² *પા.* Contraction of *અંધારો* *andhiāroo*, i.e., priest.

¹³ i.e., an officiating priest who had gone through the Barashnum ceremony.

¹⁴ The funeral prayers to be recited near a dead body before its being removed to the Tower of Silence. The prayer recited is *yaḥna Chaps. XXVIII to XXXIV.*

¹⁵ If you read it તતતુ it is *تفتح* *tatabba*, searching diligently, continuation, or it may be corruption of તતતુ *تنخوا* *stipend*.

Ervad Meherji Rânâ agreed ¹ and has hastened to send (a priest) for carrying on religious rites (lit. affairs). He is a good, fit, wise, (and) worthy man. He is just what is required for our religion. Continue him (in your service) looking to his work. *Râz Guâd mâh* Adar year *samvat* 1646. May our good wishes be for the protection of God upon all Behdins."

Having given above, copies of the documents referred to in the paper, I will now give here the colophons of some of the manuscripts, and extracts of letters, &c., referred to therein.

(Colophon of the old manuscript of 1792 A. D., which contains

Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 42.)

એ કેતાબ રાગ તા. કૃપીત તા. ચંધરધાયનો કૃશિા વગેરે તમામ ધાઈ શ્રી રોજ આખાં ઈન્દ માહા મુબારક બહમન અમિશાશપંદ શને ૧૧૬૧૭ અબ્દ ૧૬૪૯નીનાં. ૧૮૪૮ આખાડ વદ ૧૩ શેમે તમાં કૃધી. એ કેતાબને લખાવનાર નેકનાંમ, નેક નઈઅંત, દીન દોશત, આલી હીમત, અશો પરવર, રોશન તાલિ બેહેદીન શ્રીજમશેદજી ગુરથમાં મકાંની કૂકાજી પેતે પોતાનાં મુતાસે ^૨ તા. વાચવા આદેશ કરી લખાવી શહી. એ કેતાબનો લખનાર કમતરીન આકશાર મોખેદ જોદે મૂખેદ બેહેરામ વલદે માબેદ જીજી શૂરતનો રેહનારાએ લખી શહી. એ કેતાબ ને કેઈ વાંચે તે બુલચુક દેએ તાંહાં શમારે શહી. ^૩

(Tansen's song about Dastur Meherji Rânâ—*vide* above, p. 42,

copied from f. 81b. of the above old manuscript.)

(એ રાગ શારંગ છે બપોરના ગાએ)

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પહે શો કબૂલ,
ઈઆ ધણી પારશી પહે શો કબૂલ.
અગરકી પંઠ ચંદન લપેટઉ.
જેશોઈ શ્રૂખડ પેડ.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પહે શો કબૂલ.

¹ Perhaps એક રૂત વી તારી કરી. P. *یک شد و تاکید کرد* એકમત વખ અને તારી કરી. ^૨ مطالع reading, study, અભ્યાસ.

^૩ Colophon at the end, folio 237b—238. The book has in all 239 folios with 13 lines in a page. From folio 202 we have the story of Changragâcha, an Indian sage, who is said to have visited the Court of King Gushtâsp to discuss religious matters with Zoroaster. The writer calls his book "રાગ તા. કૃપીત તા. ચંધરધાયનો કૃશિા" i.e., the book of songs and poems, and of the story of Changragâcha. For Changragâcha and for his visit, *vide* "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse, par M. Joachim Ménéant" (1857), pp. 57, &c. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by Prof. Jackson, pp. 85—88.

संजी संजी दाहाडी शाह मेहेरीआर.

तेरी भूअपर अरशत नूर.

धंआहू पारशी पढे शेो कयूस.

केहे तो भीरां तांन शंग.

शूनो शाह अकबर.

धंआही अदेशतो के कूस.

धंआहू पारशी पढे शेो कयूस.

(*Translation of the song of Tansen.*)

Oh Lord!! the Parsee's prayer is accepted,

Oh Master! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

The back of agar² and sandalwood is put round it,

With it there is a piece of sandalwood.³

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Sháh Meheryár!⁴ you have a long beard,

Glory rains over your face.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Mián Tansen says,

Oh King Akbar! hear me,

He is the flower of the paradise.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

¹ Yá-há, i.e., Oh God—*Vide* Blochmann's *Áin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 170. "His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yá hu* and *Yá hádi*." The word here seems to be originally *Ahu* (Avesta *ahura*), and it is applied in Persian even to kings. The song being transcribed in Gujrati, its language and orthography may not be quite correct. ² *Agar* (aloe wood) is a kind of fragrant twig.

³ The meaning of this second distich is not quite clear, but it seems to tell how the Parsee Meheryár (another proper form of Meherji) referred to in the song said his prayers, placing fragrant wood and twigs in the fire.

⁴ For the word *Sháh*, *vide* above, p. 156, n. 4.

(Mahārājā Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore's letter, about Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 44.)

Hara Kumara Bhabana,
Pathuria Ghata Raj Bati,
Calcutta, 6th February 1902.

To

J. JAMSHEDJI MODI, Esqre.,

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion, so far as my humble belief goes, that the song which you had sent me as Tansen's is, as I already wired to you, his. Though the language is not that in which he ordinarily composed his songs, yet from the construction and general style of the piece, the song affords internal evidence of being the composition of that great singer. The piece, I understand, is sung in the Sāranga Ragini, and if this tune has been traditionally handed down, this is another proof of the piece being Tansen's, for *Darliāri Kānārā* and Sāranga are known to have been his favourite Raginis.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SOUBENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Mss. Doc. Ozon.

Extracts from letters of Drs. West, Geldner and Mills, with reference to the alleged ignorance of the Parsees of Gujrāt in the 16th Century—vide above, p. 52.

Dr. West says : —

“I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper Cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coincide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree, Junior, and J. O. E.¹

“Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujerat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the

¹ Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's letters to the *Bombay Gazette*, in its issues of 24th August, 30th and 31st October, 5th November and 7th December 1896. His letter in the issue of 5th November 1896 is worth studying. Therein he has produced a number of instances as evidence to show that “even in those ages, supposed to be so dark, there were Parsees possessing a knowledge, not only of Sanscrit, but of Zend and Pahlavi”—*vide* below, p. 167, for his views on the general charge of ignorance.

Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking, these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

“One of the Iranian Scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows :—

“For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*magar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nauesari, Kambay, Broach, Surat, and Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing.” But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian. This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujerati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

“With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar’s Rivayet Collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

“If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of

Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

“The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare manuscripts from Iran.” (Extract from Dr. West’s letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.)

Dr. Geldner says:—

“. . . . It may be that such Dastur lived in the obscure corner of Gujerat. With Brahmins and Jews also, it is also often the case that the real traditional knowledge lived on in corners. In certain Indian Dastur families the knowledge of Pahlavi must have remained traditional. Where otherwise—to mention only one—would the venerable Dastur Hoshangji in Poona, the teacher of the Europeans, have acquired his knowledge of the Pahlavi? Consequently a learned Pahlavi scholar was very well able to explain the doctrines of Zoroaster to the great Mogul in a convincing manner.

“The Revayets, too, do not always treat elementary subjects, but often some with very important questions. cf. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXVII., pp. 419, &c. They frequently give the authoritative decisions of the learned Dasturs in Iran.

“It is reported that Jâmâsp brought the Farvardin Yasht to India in 1721, which was said to have been lost there. This loss can only refer to certain congregations and not to the Parsees of India in general. The fact is that this Yasht existed in India at that time in several copies, and partly in a better state than the Persian MS. gave, but it was possibly kept secret by the owners.” (Extract from Dr. Geldner’s letter, dated Berlin, 25th August 1898, to Mr. Mancherji P. Kutar.)

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala says:—

“. . . . Every scholar in fact knows that Pahlavi and Pazand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are comparatively numerous. May

we not ask the meanings of these facts? May we not ask why so many of these copies were taken at Navsari? May we not ask why these copies should have been so carefully multiplied, if the ignorance in Gujerat was so universal that no one, whether priest or layman, could read or understand them? Perhaps, it will be said that merely copying manuscripts requires no knowledge of the language on the part of the scribe. This is certainly not strictly true, but even if it were, what can be the object of having work copied if nobody can make any use of them? Besides the colophons of many of these transcripts contain express statements as to their having been made by priests for their own use—a fact which certainly militates against this theory of universal ignorance. But this is not all. We have something more than mere copies of the sacred texts. These efforts were really the earliest manifestations of a kind of literary activity whose ampler fruits we possess in the works of Hormuzdyar and his son Darab, of Rostam Peshotan, and many others in the next century” (Extract from a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* in its issue of 5th November 1896).

Dr. Mills says: —

“. . . . A highly intelligent traditional knowledge existed among Parsi priests at the time of Akbar, and before and after. And Akbar would certainly not have been so foolish as to get a Parsi who knew nothing to inform him.” (Extract from Dr. Mills’ letter, dated 119, Essex Road, Oxford, May 25, 1893, to Mr. Mancherji Palooji Kutar.)

(Colophons of Pazend and Persian manuscripts written by Rânû Jessang, the father, and Kaikobâd, the son, of Dastur Meherji Rana, *vide* above, p. 68.)

I have come across three old Pazend and Persian manuscript books which tend to show that the family of Dastur Meherji Rana was a learned family. They had that amount of learning which one may expect in those times from learned priests. Besides Gujrâti the language of their country, and Avesta, the language of their scriptures, they knew Pazend and Persian languages.

The first old manuscript that I want to draw attention to, is an old manuscript of the Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rana Jessang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana. It belongs to the first Dastur

Meherji Rana Library of Naosari.¹ I give below the colophon in Persian given at the end of the book. It gives its date as *roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht*, year 873 Yazdajardi (1560 *Samvat*), i.e., 1504 A.D.

(Colophon of the manuscript of the Pazend *Jâmâspi* written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana.)

تمام شد این ² کاتب جاماسپی من دین بندۀ از کترین خاک رویان
رانان بن هرید جیسنگ بن هرید دادا بن هرید جیسنگ بن هرید موبد
بن هرید قیام دین بن هرید موبد بن هرید کامدین بن هرید زرتشت بن
موبد هرمزدیار بن هرید رامیار از نسخه دیر زبوشنی هرید کروا بن
³ بیکیجو بهروجی نوشتم از جهت دانشی نوفر بنکیانرا و کوفه و خشنی
بهدینانرا تن درستی دیو زیشنی ایو په گیتی اشو په مینوی روانرا
گروز تمانی باد روز مهر و ماه اردبهشت سال بشصد بقناد سه بهندیوی سال

संवत १५६० वर्षे रोज महिर मा. अर्दबहिश्त पारसी संवत ८७६
वर्षे.

Translation.

Completed. I am the writer of *Jâmâspi*, I a servant of the religion from the humblest of the dust-faced,⁴ I Rana, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kayâmdin, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kâmdin, son of Herbad Zartusht, son of Mobad Harmazdyâr, son of Herbad Râmyâr. I have written it from a copy of Herbad Karvâ (may he live long), son of Bikajiv of Broach, for the knowledge of new preceptors and for the increase of righteousness of the Behdins (i.e., the Zoroastrians). May there be health of body, long life, i.e., in this physical world, may they be righteous, (and) in the spiritual world may their souls attain paradise. *Roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht* year eight hundred and seventy-three. In Indian year *Samvat* 1560 *roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht*, Parsee era 873.

¹ *Vide* the catalogue of the library published in 1894, Gujrati list of Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian manuscripts, p. 62, manuscript No. 9.

² One may take it as miswritten for کتاب and complete the sentence at the next word جاماسپی, but the sentence must be completed with the words تمام شد ³ For either Bhicâji or Vicâji.

⁴ *Khâk-rubân*. It may be *khâk-rubân*. A term of humility, an equivalent of *هاکسار*

The manuscript is written in Pazend and the colophon in Persian. This shows that Rana Jesang knew languages other than the language of the country, the Gujrati.

The next manuscript written by Rana Jesang is that of the Bahman-nameh.¹ It belongs to Mr. Minocherjee Burjorjee Pavree. It has 378 folios, i.e., 756 pages, with 13 couplets in a page.² Its colophon at the end, giving the name of the writer and its date, runs thus:—

تمام شد این کتاب بهمن نامه ایوانتو ایواشی³ تمام شد این دامتان
 شاه بهمن بن اسفندیار شاه ملوک ایران بیژدان کام باد فرجید پدرو
 شادی و رامشنی و دیرزبوشنی من دین بنده کاتب الحروف پیرید رانن
 بن پیرید جیسنگ بن پیرید دادا از گور مرید بررمزبیار پیرید رامبیار
 اندر قصبه نوساری در عهد محمدود شاه سلطان بن لطیف خان
 برادرزاده بهادر شاه سلطان بروز آستان و ماه آدر سال نهصد پانزده
 از تاریخ ایزدزرد شهریار و شهود سنه خمس خمسین تسع صاه و بندی
 سال صموت سول چود و نره

Translation.

This book of Bahman Nāmah is finished. There is only one path which is that of virtue (or piety).

This narrative of king Bahman, the son of Asfandyar, the king of the kings of Irān, is finished. May it be according to the wish of God. Finished with good wishes, joy and pleasure and long life. I a servant of the religion, the writer of these writings (am) Herbad Ranā, the son of Herbad Jesang, the son of Herbad Dādā from the family stock of Mobed Hormazyâr, (son of) Herbed Rāmyâr, in the city

¹ Le Livre des Rois par M. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVIII.

² This gives (756 × 13 =) 9828 couplets or distiches. M. Mohl says: "Le Bahman-nameh contient à peu près dix mille distiques." *Ibid.*

³ It is the first line, written in Persian characters, of the following Avesta proverb, which is found at the end of several old Parsee manuscripts.

هتو نوکته س تپه سچ سچ سچ

سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ

i.e., there is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths. The Pahlavi rendering of it is:—

سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ

سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ سچ

of Naosari, in the time of Mahmūd Shāh¹ Satān bin (i.e., son of) Latif Khān, the nephew of Bahādur Shāh Sultan, on day Āstūd and month Ādar, year nine hundred and fifteen, of the era of Yazdagird Sheheryār. Friday,² year 955 (Hijri),³ Hindi year *Samvat* sixteen hundred and two.

The third manuscript I wish to refer to, is an old manuscript of the Persian Darāb-nameh,⁴ belonging to Mr. Māhiar Nowroji Kutār. The manuscript is dated 1025 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1656). It appears from this manuscript that Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of the Persian Dārāb-nāmeḥ from the library of king Akbar. Dastur Kaikobad's own manuscript is not to be found, but the old manuscript of 1656 notes the fact.⁵ It is a MS. of 266 folios with 25 lines in a page.

The following lines in the colophon narrate the way in which the manuscript came to be written :—

توت تمام هذا الكتاب دارا بنامه در سنه الف..... شهر شعبان يوم
یکشنبه بقاریخ سیوم وقت فجر بخط بشوتن ابن فریدون لقب ارویسگان
در تصبه نوساری تحریر یافت فرجبد بدرود و شادی و رامشنی
روز رشن ما مهر مبارک سال اور یکہزار و بیست و پنج از شہنشاہ
بزدگرد شہریار از تخمہ صامان ابن ادرشیر ابن اسفندیار ابن
کشاصب نوشتہ شد

श्रीमं नृप विक्रमाके समवासीत सवत १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७८ प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरा
यन गते श्री सुर्ये सन्मागल्य परदे परम पद् पवित्र जेष्ठ मासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचमी तीर्थौ
रविवासरे पुष्य नक्षत्रे ध्रुव योगे बधकरणे एवं पंचांग शुद्धौ रविर्गते वर्षे राशी

¹ This Mahmūd Shāh was Mahmūd III. of Gujrāt, who reigned for 16 years from 1538 A.D. (944 Hijri) to 1553-54 (961 Hijri). Elphinstone says on this point, "Bahādurshāh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmūd, the son of Latif Khān." (Elphinstone's History of India, Fifth edition, by Cowell (1866).

² شہود *shuhūd*, Friday.

³ ما ٩٥٥ *tisa* 'nine.' لبع *chams* 'five.' خمسين *khams* five. So the whole number is, 5 + 50 + 9 × 100 = 955.

⁴ Le Livre des Bois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxiv.

⁵ The following lines in the colophon give the date of the manuscript :—

فرجبد بدرود و شادی و رامشنی روز رشن ما مهر مبارک سال اور
یک ہزار و بیست و پنج از شہنشاہ بزدگرد شہریار

चंद्र गते कर्क राशौ एवं शुद्ध भी शाराबनामः पुस्तकं लिखितं करेवून सुत पेद्युतं
न लिखितं समाहाः⁽¹⁾

چون این کتاب چنان افزا در بلاد هند و غیره غریب است
از آتش کم کسی بدیده و ازین مشکین نقاب دلربا مشام اهل تاتار
و خطا بوئی نشینده در اکثر اعصار و بلدان انرا هیچ کس نداشته
و نیافته مگر بکتاب خانۀ شریفه حضرت بادشاه جلال الدنیا
والدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی خلدالله تعالی ملکه ابدًا بنظر اندر
آمد و چون اشتیاق این کتاب نادر مقبول خاطر بجناب مکرمت آیاب ...
سعادت دئار صفخر اهل فارس یعنی نوشیروان ابن بهمن شاه بارسسی
ساکن قصبه نوساری طول عمره و زاد قدره فوق الحد بود بنوشتن
اشارات ارزانی فرمود بنابر حکم ایشان اقل العباد کیقباد ابن
مهیار بارسسی کمر خدعتکاری بر میدان جان استوار کرده سعی تمام و
کوشش لاکلام بجای آورده تا از روی آن منقول فریب مسوده شکسته
بمتمه سمت تحریر یافته بود و ازان مسوده ... خواجهگی حیر رضی الله عنه
بخط عبدالرحمان در برکنه هانوت رقم کنانیده بود پس آن کتاب بدست
مرزا بن مرزا محمد زمان آمده ازان مسوده این کتاب تحریر یافت
بخط بشوئن برای خود (Folio 266 a, l. 20.)

Translation.

"Finished this² book of Dārūb-nāmeḥ in the year one thousand

¹ I give below the correct rendering of the Sanskrit in modern Gujrati types, and its translation as kindly done for me by a friend. My English translation is rendered from the Gujrati version.

श्रीमान् १५५८ वर्षे सप्तम्यां सप्त १७१२ वर्षे शांड १५७८ प्रवर्तमाने वनरायण गते श्रीसूर्ये सन्
मांगल्ये प्रदे परम ५६ पवित्र नष्ट आते शुद्ध परी पंचमी तीथे रविवासरे पुष्य नक्षत्रे भुव योगे जन
करखे अत्र पंचांग शुद्धी रवे। गते वृषराशौ पंचगते कं राशौ अत्र शुद्धम् श्री शाराबनाम पुस्तकम् लि-
खितम् इरेवून सुत पेद्युतं लिखितम् शाभ.

अर्थ.

श्रीमान् राणा वीरभद्रना सप्तमने १७१२ वर्षे गथां त्यारे, अने शाहीवानाम् शांडुं वर्षे १५७८ सालतुं
इतुं त्यारे, अने सूर्ये वनरायणमां इतो त्यारे, सप्तमा मंगलने आपनार अक्षा पवित्र नष्ट शुद्ध ५ रविवासरे
पुष्य नक्षत्र, भुवयोग, जनकरख, ह्ता. अे प्रमाखे पंचांग शुद्धी इती त्यारे रवी वृषराशौ राशीना इतो
पंच कं राशीना इतो, त्यारे आ शाराबनामपुं पुस्तक इरेवूनना पुत्र पेद्युतने लखुं. शुभभाष्ये.

² ۱۵۷۸ hazā.

. . . .¹ in month Shâbân,² on day Sunday, on the 30th day at the time of morning. Written by the hand of Beshôtan,³ son of Faridun surnamed Arvisgâhân,⁴ in the town of Naosari. Finished with good wishes, joy, and pleasure. Written on the day Rashna, auspicious month Meher, year 1025 of king Yazdagard Sheberyâr of the line of descent of Sâsân, the son of Ardeshir, son of Asfandyâr, son of Gushtâsp.

In the year 1712 of the glorious king Vikramark, in the year 1578 of Sâlivân era, when the sun was in the winter solstice, on the true auspicious holy day *Jeth Shûd* 5 Sunday, *Pushya nakshatra*,⁵ *Dhruva yôga*,⁶ *Bav Karana*.⁷ When the positions of the heavenly bodies, according to the calendar, were in these proper positions, the sun was in the Taurus and the moon in the Cancer. It was then that this book of Dârâb-nâmeh was written by Peshutan, the son of Faridun. May it be auspicious.

¹ There is a gap which the writer seems to have thought of filling up later on. The number of the year in Arabic words cannot be written at once by a Parsee without a reference to books. This seems to be the cause of this gap.

² The 8th Arabic month.

³ Same as Peshôtan.

⁴ ارويسگاه *arwisgâh* is the place where the Parsee priests perform the ceremony of Yaçna, Vendidad, &c. The writer seems to have taken his surname from this word, because perhaps he belonged to the class of priests who performed those ceremonies. It is not all the priests who perform these ceremonies. He seems to have taken this surname just as others even nowadays take their surnames, such as Mobedji or Dastur from their work or profession. I find from a manuscript Persian book (*vide* colophon of the tract *چند ابیات در باب رحمت گوید گوید*) on miscellaneous subjects belonging to Mr. M. R. Unwala written in 1012 Yazdazardi that Arvisgâhân was used as a surname. In this manuscript, the writer gives his name as *هرید زاده هرید جمشید بن مهرانوش لقب ارويسگاهان*. The manuscript begins with Persian couplets under the heading

اندر گفت مي رسم امشامقند

⁵ The 8th lunar mansion.

⁶ Polar junction.

⁷ *Karana* "is a division of the day in astrology. These *Karana*s are eleven."

1 . . . As this soul-reviving book is rare in the cities of India, etc., one has seen very little of it, and as (even) the people of Tâtâr and Khatâ have not smelt the perfume of this heart-ravishing musky veil, (and) as nobody got it or acquired it in most of the great cities and towns, but it was seen in the library of His Majesty the noble king,¹ the splendour of the country and of religion Mahomed Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi, the exalted of the great God, of the everlasting royalty, and as the desire of having this rare book was dear to the heart of a great man possessing generosity . . .² clothed³ with happiness, glorious among the people of Pars (the Parsees), viz., Noshirwan,⁴ the son of Baman Shâh, a Parsee inhabitant of the town of Naosari, who was (a man) of excellent glory,⁵ and unlimited⁶ innate power,⁷ he ordered⁸ it to be written. So according to his order, his obedient servant⁹ Kaikobâd bin Mahiyâr, Parsee, tying the belt of service strongly on the waist of his life, tried his best and endeavoured a good deal, so that from the copy of the abovesaid rare manuscript eaten by worms (lit. torn by moth *matta* مٹتا) he wrote a copy correctly.¹⁰ And from that copy

¹ A portion of the page being spoilt, a word here is not legible.

² The portions omitted are in the praise of the book and of the king and they do not give any further particulars about the history of the manuscript.

³ دُئار upper garment.

⁴ He seems to be the great grandson of the well-known Chângâshâh of Naosari. His father is called Bahman Shâh. Shâh seems to be the appellation or title of honour by which his father Mânock and his grandfather Chângâ were known as Mânock Shâh and Chângâ Shâh. Shâh is a common term of respect. They say it is even now used in Afghanistan. Among the Bhâtîas, a sect of the Hindus, it is generally used before a name in place of 'Mr.' It appears that this family took an interest in the ancient literature of their fatherland. We learn from the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) that Bahaman Mânock, the father of this Noshirwan and Mânock Chângâ his grandfather, had got the Virâf-nameh rendered into Persian verse by one Kâus Fariborz bin Nowroz from Yezd.

⁵ excellent, long, and طول عمره crown, tiara.

⁶ فوق الحد *faqu 'l-hadd*, beyond measure.

⁷ زاد born and قدرة power, strength.

⁸ ارزانی فرمودن to order, اشارت sign, signal.

⁹ اقل least. عباد *ibad*, servant, holyman, devotee.

¹⁰ سميت Finding the right way.

Khajagi Hapu—may God pardon¹ him—got a copy made by the hand of Abdul Rahmân in the *paragnah* of Uansôt.² Then³ the book having come into the hand of Mirzâ bin Mirza Mahammad Zamân, this book was written from that manuscript by the hand of Peshutan for himself.

It appears from the colophon of this old Persian manuscript that Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of this book from the library of king Akbar. It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobâd in honour of Jehangier and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shâh-Jehan), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jehangier also. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that Kaikobâd was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of Dastur Meherji Rana's life:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1553	923	{ In the Revâyet known as Kâus Kâmdin's Revâyet, Dastur Meherji Rana's name is mentioned first in the address (<i>vide</i> p. 64 of this paper). { In an agreement about the proper performance of religious ceremonies, his signature stands first (<i>vide</i> p. 62). { In an agreement to abstain from the drink of <i>toddy</i> , while engaged in certain rituals, he signs first (<i>vide</i> pp. 62-63). { In a letter from Persia brought by Faredun Murzban, and given in the Revâyet his name is mentioned first (<i>vide</i> pp. 63-64).
1566	.....	1622	.....
1570	.....	1626	.....
1570	.....	.....	.....

¹ lit. May God be contented (*rasi*) with his faults (عفت)

² A town near Broach.

³ پس for پس

Date.				EVENTS.
A. D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1573	1629	.....	{ By an agreement by the laymen of Naosari, land in a place known as Pipalla-wadi, is given to him as the head of the community for religious purposes (<i>vide</i> p. 63).
1578	986	{ Badaoni mentions under the events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari priests to the court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a past event, so he must have gone there either this year or the year before (<i>vide</i> pp. 9-12).
1579	1635	.....	{ The date of the first document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of him as their head (<i>vide</i> p. 46).
1580	1636	.....	{ The date of the second document to the same effect (<i>vide</i> p. 46).
1590	1646	.....	{ The date of a letter to Diu, wherein he is referred to as the head (<i>vide</i> p. 48).
1591	960	.....	.....	Death.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, to show that Meherji Rana's family was a well-known family, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of the life of Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A. D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1504	873	1560	.....	{ Rana Jesang wrote the manuscript of Pazend Jamaaspi (<i>vide</i> p. 169).
1520	.....	1570	.....	{ He was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes (<i>vide</i> pp. 65-66 of this paper).
1527	896	.....	.....	{ The date of Shapur Asa's Revayat, in which Rana Jesang is addressed first (<i>vide</i> pp. 66-68 of this paper).
1546	915	1603	955	{ The date of his manuscript of the Persian Bahman-námeh (<i>vide</i> p. 170).

*Chronological List of Events in the life of Dastur Kaikobad,
the son of Dastur Meherji Rana.*

A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1505-06	1622	.....	Signs with his father and other priests the document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies, wherein his father signs at the top (<i>vide</i> pp. 151-52).
1570	1626	.....	Signs with his father an agreement to abstain from <i>toddy</i> while engaged in the <i>Ātash Behrām</i> and other ceremonies.
1580	1636	.....	Signs with other priests the second document, acknowledging his father Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priesthood (<i>vide</i> pp. 149-50).
1591	He came to Dasturship on his father's death.
1595	1003	Akbar's first <i>farmān</i> in his name (<i>vide</i> p. 95).
.....	1005	The <i>مخبر mahzar</i> for inquiry. Hijri 1005 (<i>vide</i> p. 141).
1603	1011	The second <i>farmān</i> (<i>vide</i> p. 121).
1608	1012	The <i>Farwauchah</i> (<i>vide</i> p. 134).
29-10-1619	12-12-988	.....	.....	Death.