

Beames' Contributions  
TO  
**The Political Geography**  
OF  
The Subahs of Awadh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa  
in the Age of Akbar



EDITED BY-

*Ambashthya*

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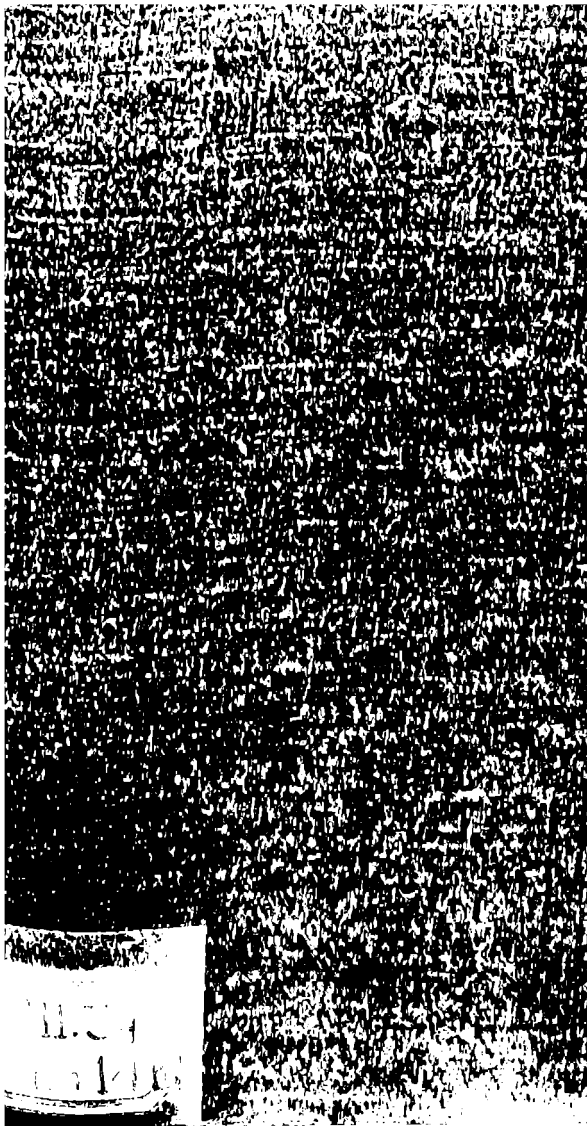


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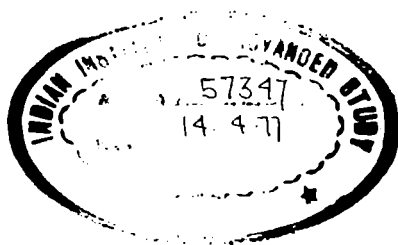
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AND ORISSA  
IN THE AGE OF AKBAR

*Edited by*

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Atlas; the editor of Contributions  
On Akbar and the Parsees.

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## FOREWORD

John Beames' contributions to the political geography of the subahs of Awadh<sup>1</sup>, Bihar<sup>2</sup>, Bangal<sup>3</sup> and Orissa<sup>4</sup> in the period of Akbar are memorable in the field. He has fruitfully utilised a good number of articles relevant for the subject, contributed by Messrs. Westmacott, Beveridge and Dr. Wise in the period from A.D. 1876-96 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These, being mostly written by those who were stationed on the spot by virtue of their official assignments, are worthy of highest credence.

As is well-known, history and geography go hand in glove with each other. The history of a country can not be studied in its depth without a clear concept about its geography. As such, the studies in the field of political geography are an indispensable concomitant for a proper comprehension of the political history of a country.

In the studies on the subject, particularly for Bengal, the name of Blochmann shines forth for his pioneer contributions. Beames' contributions on the political geography of Bengal as found in the collection of his articles in this book, demand a proper presentation of Blochmann's findings on the subject, so as to enable the serious students of history to make a combined study of their contributions to form a clear picture and have a proper evaluation about them.

The Fifth Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated July 28, A.D. 1812, edited by Firminger, Volume II, is another mine of valuable information, embodying important statistical returns in

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1. J. A. S. B., 1884, pt. I, L iii, p. 215 ff.

2. *ibid.*, 1885, pt. I, L iv, p. 162 ff.

3. J. R. A. S., London, 1896, p. 83 ff.

4. *ibid.*, p. 743 ff.

the field of political geography, agrarian administration and fiscal studies on the trade and commerce. The agrarian economy of a country is indissolubly associated with the studies on political geography. Fifth Report is, therefore, an indispensable 'must' in the studies on the political geography of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa right from the days of Akbar down to the eighteenth century, culminating in the establishment of the British rule on the demise of the Mughal power in this land of ours.

I am, however, quite conscious of limitations involved in writing the introduction to be appended to this book which embodies the articles of John Beames on the political geography of the aforesaid three eastern subahs of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa of emperor Akbar, excepting subah Awadh, and which requires a careful study of the survey settlement reports of all their respective districts as they stood on the eve of independence in A.D. 1947 as well as other relevant records available in the office of the Members, Boards of Revenue, at Patna, Bhubneshwar, Calcutta and Dhakah, so as to be able to identify all their sarkars and parganahs as they existed in the time of Akbar in the perspective of the present administrative divisions, ranging from the district at the top, sub-division at the intermediate stage and thanah at its bottom. This is, no doubt, a Herculean task which requires a good deal of pin-pointed attention, in the midst of so many multifarious occupations and distractions in life and which I propose to take up in a work on the political geography of the three eastern subahs of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, embodying sections on historical studies about them relating to their sources viz., recorded chronicles and their importance, epigraphic and numismatic evidences, established historical findings along with a critical evaluation and discussions on the dates about the various monarchs, where possible, in the light of the aforesaid source materials.

I further feel tempted to propose that in section on the historical studies in the said projected work, I may discuss matters on agrarian economy and fiscal studies, so indispensable in the studies on the political geography of a region, in the

process historical of evolution coming down even to the later half of the eighteenth century by one or two decades more, where possible, so as to be able to have a total survey of the period all through the Age of the Mughal rule down to its extinction on the eve of the foundation of the British power in our land.

If fate ordains, I may take up the studies on the political geography of the rest of the subahs of emperor Akbar with historical studies about them in the light of the aforesaid plan.

I am grateful to Shri Bhagwan Prasad Sinha, M. A., the Librarian, and Shri Narendra Mohan Jha, Assistant Librarian, Patna College, Patna, the premier academic institution in Bihar, for their kind and valued co-operation to make the materials readily available to me for their utilization in this book. I acknowledge with thanks the magnanimous co-operation of the Librarian of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, who extended to me all facilities to consult, collect and photograph the materials available in his rich collections.

Patna, the 30th September, A.D. 1975.

B. P. Ambashthya

## EDITOR'S NOTES

### **Blochmann and Political Geography of Bengal**

Unlike Beames who preferred to discard the arrangement on the nineteen sarkars in subah Bangal of Akbar as found in the ain, for the simple reason that it is neither alphabetical nor geographical, and has instead followed a geographical order, taking first western sarkars from north to south, then those of Central and lastly those of Eastern Bangal, Blochmann has followed a more composite and organic process in true accord with the natural division of the region, instead of Beames' arbitrary grouping commencing from the west and finally coalescing in the east. In this arrangement Blochmann has taken the Ganga to be the natural feature of division for the purpose of his studies in the grouping and allocations of the nineteen sarkars in subah Bangal of Akbar. Under Group 'A', he has studied sarkars to the north and east of the Ganga; under Group 'B' his studies are confined to the sarkars situated into the Delta of the Ganga, and under Group 'C' he has studied sarkars that lay to the south of the Ganga and west of the Bhagirathi (high river). What is important to take notice of is that Beames' accusation that ain's arrangement about sarkars in subah Bangal is not geographical, does not hold tenable in view of the fact that the distribution of Akbar's sarkars depended, as in the old Hindu division, on the courses of the Ganga, Bhagirathi and Megna or, as the ain itself expresses it, on the courses of the Padmavati, Ganga and Brahmaputra, a fact quite evident from the list of sarkars therein.

Blochmann in his studies on the political geography of subah Bangal in the period of Akbar attempts it in four sections and sub-sections.

In the first section he has dealt with the sarkars that lay to the north and east of the Ganga. Here he has grouped the

sarkars of Lakhnauti, Purniah, Tajpur, Panjrah, Ghoraghat, Barbakabad, Bazuha, Silhat, Sonargaon and Chatgaon.

## First Section

### SARKARS NORTH AND EAST OF THE GANGA

1. Sarkar Lakhnauti, called Jannatabad, extended from opposite to Teliagarhi (Kahalgaon) along the northern bank of the Ganga, including a few mahals that belong to the districts of Bhagalpur and Purniah in present North Bihar, and nearly the whole of Maldah district. Besides Gaur, this sarkar contained the ancient town of Rangamati. This sarkar had sixty-six mahals; khalisah revenue Rs. 4,71,174<sup>1</sup>.

2. Sarkar Purniah, the greater and chiefly westerly portion of the present district of Purniah, extended as far as the Mahananda<sup>2</sup>. This sarkar had nine mahals, revenue Rs. 1,60,219<sup>3</sup>.

3. Sarkar Tajpur extended over eastern Purniah, east of the Mahananda, and western Dinajpur. It had twenty-nine mahals, revenue Rs. 1,62,096<sup>4</sup>.

4. Sarkar Panjrah, so called from the haweli mahal Panjrah, that lay to the north-east of the town of Dinajpur, on the river Atrai, comprising the greater part of Dinajpur district. It had twenty-one mahals, revenue Rs. 1,45,081<sup>5</sup>.

5. Sarkar Ghoraghat, so called from the town of Ghoraghat or Chaukhandi on the right bank of the Karataya, comprised portion of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bagura (Bogra) districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Being a frontier district towards Koch Bihar and Koch Hajo, it contained numerous jagir lands of Afghan chiefs and their descendants. This sarkar produced a great deal of raw silk. It had eighty-eight mahals<sup>6a</sup>, revenue Rs. 2,02,077<sup>6</sup>.

6. Sarkar Barbakabad, so called from Barbak Shah, king of Bangal, extended from sarkar Lakhnauti along the Padda to Bagura. It comprises portion of Maldah and Dinajpur, and a large part of Rajshahi and Bagura. Its clothes were well known,

especially the stuffs called Khassah (the koss of old writers) as the Khassah of Shahbazpur, the Shahnah (the 'sahnes' of Dutch writers), and the mumini. It had thirty-eight mahals, revenue Rs. 4,36,288<sup>7</sup>.

7. Sarkar Bazuha extended from sarkar Barbakabad across the Brahmaputra into Silhat, comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bagura, Pabna, Maimansingh, and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of Dhakah<sup>8</sup> (Dacca). It had thirty-two mahals, revenue Rs. 9,87,921<sup>9</sup>.

8. Sarkar Silhat, adjacent to sarkar Bazuha, covered chiefly east of the Surma river. It was conquered by the Muhammadans in the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continual invasions from Tiparah and Assam. According to Marco Polo, the ain and the tuzuk-i-jahangir, Silhat supplied India with eunuchs. Jahangir issued one edict, forbidding the people of Silhat to castrate boys. Like Kamrup, Silhat is also often mentioned as the land of wizards and witches and it is still remembered as such. It had eight mahals, revenue Rs. 1,67,032<sup>10</sup>.

9. Sarkar Sonargaon lay to both the sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, containing portions of western Tiparah, Bhatua and Noakhali, subejct to repeated attacks by the rajahs of Tiparah and Arakan. It had fifty-two mahals, revenue Rs. 2,58,283<sup>11</sup>. The haft-iqlim gives Rs. 3,30,000.

10. Sarkar Chatgaon (Chittagong) was never properly annexed to the Mughal empire before Aurangzeb. It had seven mahals, revenue Rs. 2,85,607<sup>12</sup>.

## Second Section

### SARKARS IN THE DELTA OF THE GANGA

11. Sarkar Satgaon. Only a small portion of it, the land between the Hugli and Saraswati, lay west of the Hugli, whilst the bulk of this sarkar comprised the modern district of the 24-paraganahs up to the Kabadak, western Nadiya, south-western Murshidabad and extended in the south to Hatiagarh, below

Diamond Harbour. To this sarkar belonged mahal Kalkatta (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauzas, paid, in A. D. 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. This sarkar had fifty-three mahals, revenue Rs. 4,18,118<sup>13</sup>.

12. Sarkar Mahmudabad, so called after one of the three Mahmud Shahs of Bangal, comprised northern Nadiya, northern Jessore and western Faridpur. It had eighty-eight mahals, revenue Rs. 2,90,256<sup>14</sup>.

13. Sarkar Khalifatabad comprised of southern Jessore and western Baqirganj. This sarkar was called after Khalifatabad, which was the name of the small haweli-parganah near Bagerhat. The largest mahal of this sarkar was Jesar (Jessore) or Rasulpur, and among others, one finds here the mahals of Mundagachha and Malikpur, which the Khan-i-A'zam, when governor of Bengal under Akbar<sup>15</sup>, is said to have given them to Bhabeshwar Rai, the ancestor of the present rajahs of Jesar. The name of Jesar, therefore, occurs as early as A. D. 1582; hence Van den Broucke's map (A. D. 1660) also gives it conspicuously as "Jessore"<sup>16</sup>. It had thirty-five mahals, revenue Rs. 1,35,053<sup>17</sup>.

14. Sarkar Fathabad, so called after Fath Shah, king of Bengal, comprised a small portion of Jessore, the whole of Faridpur, southern Baqirganj, portions of Dhakah district, and the island of Dakhin Shahbazpur, Sondip and Sindhu at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpur lies in the haweli parganah of Fathabad. It had three mahals, revenue Rs. 1,99,239<sup>18</sup>.

15. Sarkar Balka or Ismailpur, north east of sarkar Fathabad, comprised portions of Baqirganj and Dhakah districts. It is the Bacala of old maps. It had four mahals, revenue Rs. 1,78,750<sup>19</sup>.

### Third Section

#### SARKARS SOUTH OF THE GANGA AND WEST OF BHAGIRATHI (HUGLI)

16. Sarkar Audambar, or Tandah, comprised the greater portions of Murshidabad district, with portions of Birbhum.



The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, e.g., in Kachh<sup>20</sup>. Tandah did not enjoy for long the position of capital. Sher Shah had already made plans to remove the capital from Tandah to Agmahal on the opposite bank. But he could not translate it. The plan was executed by rajah Man Sinh who changed the name of Agmahal to Rajmahal and made it the capital of Bangal. Rajmahal was subsequently re-christened in its name by Akbarnagar. Sarkar Tandah became again in later period under prince Shuja the seat of government in Bangal and later still remained as such under Nawab Jafar Murshid Quli Khan who changed the name of the old town of Maqsudabad, the Muxabad or Muxabad of old maps, to Murshidabad. It had fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 6,01,985<sup>21</sup>. The haft-iqlim gives its revenue at Rs. 5,97,570.

17. Sarkar Sharifabad that lay to the south of sarkar Tandah, comprised the remaining portion of Birbhum and a large portion of Burdwan district, together with the town of Burdwan itself. The mahals of Barbak Sinh and Fath Sinh, so called after the Bangal kings Barbak Shah and Fath Shah, and Sherpur Atai, where Man Sinh defeated the Afghans,<sup>22</sup> also belonged to this sarkar. This sarkar had twenty-six mahals, revenue Rs. 5,62,218<sup>23</sup>.

18. Sarkar Sulaimanabad, a straggling sarkar, comprised a few southern parganahs in the modern district of Nadiya, Burdwan and the whole north of Hugli district. This sarkar was so called after Sulaiman Khan Kararani who ruled Bangal as its sovereign, and who also called several parganas after himself in the districts of Murshidabad, Jessore and Baqirganj; but whether the name was too long, or was purposely changed after Akbar's conquest of Bangal in honour of prince Salim (Jahangir), it only occurs now-a-days in the form "Sal'mabad". The chief town of the sarkar was Salimabad (Sulaimanabad), on the left bank of the Damodar, south-east of the town of Burdwan. It is marked as "Silimath" on Van den Brouckes' map. Ola (the old name of Birnagar) in Nadiya, known from the Srimanta legend, and Panduah, on the E. I. Railway, with its Buddhist

ruins and ancient mosques also belong to this sarkar. It had thirty-one mahals, revenue Rs. 4,40,749.<sup>24</sup>

19. Sarkar Madaran extended in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birbhum over Raniganj along the Damodar to Burdwan, and from there over Khand Ghosh, Jahanabad, Chandra-kona (western Hugli district) to Mandalghat, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river. It had sixteen mahals, revenue Rs. 2,35,085.

Thus the above nineteen sarkars which made up the subah of Bangal in A. D. 1582, paid a revenue on khalisah lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, hats and fisheries, of 25,34,82, 106 dams, or Rs. 63,37,052<sup>25</sup>. According to Grant, the value of the jagir lands was fixed at Rs. 43,48,892, so that we have, in A. D. 1582, as total revenue of Bangal, in its then circumscribed units, the sum of Rs. 1,06,45,944. This was levied from the raiyats in specie as the fourth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as being despotic proprietary lord of the soil.

This rent-roll remained in vogue during the reign of Jahangir. As the remittances from Bangal were neither regular nor up to the marks of the sum fixed to be payable, Jahangir appointed towards the close of his reign Fidai Khan as the Governor of Bangal and who promised in return to send regularly to the court one million of rupees every year. Under Shah Jahan the boundaries of Bangal were extended in the south-west, because of the conquests of Mednipur and Hijli, and in the north-east, because of the conquests made in Tiparah and Koch Hajo, and when prince Shujah was appointed to the charge of Bangal as its governor, he, shortly before A. D. 1658, made a new rent-roll which raised the number of sarkars to thirty-four, those of mahals to thirteen hundred and fifty, and fixed a total revenue inclusive of khalisah and jagir lands, at Rs. 1,31,15,907. Shujah's rent roll remained in force till A. D. 1722, and addition came to be made in its revenue returns as well as in mahals after the conquest of Chatgaon. In A. D. 1722 Jafar Khan (Murshid Quli Khan) issued his kamil jama tumari, or Perfect rent-roll, in which Bangal was divided into thirty-four sarkars,

forming thirteen chaklahs and sub-divided into sixteen hundred and sixty parganahs, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,186.

It was only after the rule of nawab Jafar Khan that the above revenue gradually appeared in the books of revenue. Though vast sums had been levied on this head, they had been looked upon as the private emoluments of office. As early as in the period of Shuja Khan, the successor of Nawab Jafar Khan, one finds the abwabs entered as yielding Rs. 21,72,952, and they rapidly increased under Alivardi Khan and Qasim Khan, so that, when the East India Company in A. D. 1765 acquired the diwani, the net amount of all revenue, collected by the authority of Bangal, came at Rs. 2,56,42,223.

## Fourth Section

### THE FRONTIERS OF MUHAMMADAN BANGAL

Abul Fazl records the breadth of Bangal from Garhi to Chatgaon at four hundred kos; the longest line was, however, from Kuch Bihar to Chittua in sarkar Mednipur. The zamindars are mostly kayasth. Not a word on the numbers of Muhammadan population, so essential in the study of political geography as comparative statistics were not thought of in his age. One thing is, however, sure that conversions among the semi-aboriginal rural population did follow on a large scale during the reign of independent kings of Bangal, chiefly through the tireless exertions of the numerous Afghan jagirdars, on the coastal region of south-eastern Bangal and in the island there, as is borne testimony to by the remarks made by old English travellers.

A study of the military and naval strength of Bangal for which allotments were made in the rent-rolls which became indispensable in the study of political geography, clearly brings to light in the ain that Bangal had to maintain 23,330 horses, 4,260 guns, 1,170 elephants and 4,400 boats. Nawab Jafar's rent-roll, however, put the strength of the boat (nawara) at 768, armed

cruisers and boats, principally stationed at Dhakah to guard the coast against the Mags and foreign pirates, while the number of the sailors included 923 Firingis, chiefly employed as gunners. The annual charge of the navy in Jafar Khan's rent-roll, inclusive of its repairs and construction, came at Rs. 8,43,452 levied under the name of amal-i-nawara from parganahs in south eastern Bangal. This rent-roll further shows that the garrisons along the entire eastern coast from Chatgaon to Rangamati on the Brahmaputra consisted of 8,112 men (ahsham) and which cost the exchequer of Bangal Rs. 3,59,180 per annum.

The political geography of a country is inconceivable without a proper study of its roads. Prior to Van den Broucke's map (A. D. 1660) in Valentyn's work, one has no information on the subject, so far as Bangal is concerned. Van den Broucke's map, however, shows the following network of roads that he found in Bangal : (i) A principal road, coming from the direction of Patna, Munger and Rajmahal, reached Suti where the Bhagirathi branches off from the Ganga. From Suti a road branched off to Moxudabath (Murshidabad), Plassi (Palasi), and Hagdia (Agardip), crossed the Bhagirathi for Gasiapur, and then passed on to Burdwan, Mednipur, Bhadrak (wrongly marked in Van Den Broucke's map on the right bank of the Baitarni) and Katak. The other branch went from Suti along the right bank of the Padda to Fathabad, from where it passed on to Dhakah. These two are marked as the principal roads; (ii) A road went from Burdwan to Baccaressor (Baklesar in Birbhum, famous for its hot springs) and from there to Qasimbazar and the banks of the Ganga, and across the river to 'Hasiarhati'. This is Hajrahatti, on the left bank of the Padda, now also a place for ferry, near the entrance of the Bural river, below Rampur Baolia, and seems to be the Qazihatti (Beng. Kajierhatti) which Abul Fazl mentions in the ain. From Hasiarhati the road passed to a place called Harwa, and from there to Ceerpoor Mirts i.e., Sherpur Murchah, on the Karataya, and passing over Tessiadin (Chandijan, north of Sherpur) to Gorregaut (Ghoraghat) and Bareithela (Baritala) on the Brahmaputra; (iii) A road from Burdwan to Salimabad, Hugli, Jessore, Basnah,

Fathabad, across the river to Sjatterapoer, Casisella, Idrakpur, opposite the confluence of the Lakhia and Dalasari, near Ballal Sen's palace; (iv) A road from Dhakah across the Dalasari to Piaarpur and Bedlia, which the latter place is marked at the point where the Dalasari leaves the Jamuna, and from there to Sasiadpoor (Shahzadpur in Pabnah), and Handiael (Harial).

### THE WESTERN FRONTIER

In the north-west, the frontier of Bangal went but little beyond the Kosi river, the old bed of which is still seen extant by the side of Purniah town. But under early Muhammadan governors and independent sultans of Bangal, the Bangal kingdom included the whole of the north of Bihar as far as Saran in the west. It is said that Ilyas Shah of Bangal founded Hajipur, opposite to Patna, on the eastern bank of the Gandak at its confluence with the Ganga, although Firoz Shah of Tughlaq dynasty on his return from Bangal has been chronicled to have appointed for the first time the imperial governor in Tirhut. The cousins of Sultan Sikandar Shah of Bangal have also been found to the far west of the Kosi.

Southern Bihar only belonged to Bangal from the time of its conquest by Bakhtiyar Khilji to about A. H. 730 (A. D. 1330), when Muhammad Tughluq annexed it to Delhi. From A. H. 800 again (A. D. 1397), the whole of Bihar came to be annexed to the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur. Under Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Darya Khan Nuhani came to be appointed as the Governor of South Bihar; under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Bahadur Khan Nuhani, the son of Darya Khan Nuhani, assumed independence in South Bihar under the title of Sultan Muhammad Nuhani. In the time of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Bangal, the territory of Bangal kingdom had come as far as Barh town in the district of Patna in the west as per the treaty of Barh concluded between Sultan Sikandar Lodi and the envoy of this Bangal Sultan, whereas the whole of north Bihar then lay in Bangal kingdom. The inscriptional evidences, however, represent Sultan Husain Shah of Bangal as firmly established in A. H. 903 at Munger,

while inscription from Banahra to the south of Akbarpur railway station in Bhagalpur district substantiates the hold of Bangal sultan in this region of south Bihar. The inscription at Cheran in Saran district conclusively proves that the whole of north Bihar was then included in the kingdom of Bangal. These inscriptional evidences conclusively prove that the whole of North Bihar upto Saran, its western limit, and the eastern portion of south Bihar belonged to sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Bangal in A. H. 908 and 909 (A. D. 1502, 1503). On the other hand, one finds in the history the cession of Bihar, Saran and Tirhut by Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Bangal, and of their reconquest again by Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bangal who, finding his precarious situation, allied with sultan Jalal Khan Nuhani of South Bihar against Babur in the battle of Ghagrah, fought in A. D. 1529. The jurisdiction of Nusrat Shah had extended even beyond the Gandak, for a mosque near Sikandarpur in Azamgarh district has an inscription of this Bangali sultan.

South of the Ganga, the western frontier is better defined. The fort of Teliah-Garhi or Garhi, to the further east of present Sahebganj railway on the loop line, was treated as the key to Bangal, a position which the Muhammadan historian compares with that of the fort at Sachwan on the Indus, the key to Sindh. From Garhi, the western frontier of Bangal passed along the Ganga to the south of Akmahal (i.e. Rajmahal), when it again turned westward to north-west in Birbhum passing along the boundary of the modern Santhal Parganah to the confluence of the Damodar and Barakar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damodar to the neighbourhood of the town of Burdwan. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction, and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Hugli and Habra (Howrah) districts down to Mandalghat, where the Rupnarayan flows into the Hugli river.

This boundary, therefore, excludes the whole of Santhal Parganahs from the south of Kahalgaon to the Barakar, Pachet and the territories of the rajahs of Bishunpur (Bankura).

In Todarmall's rent-roll, the following mahals are mentioned

along this portion of the western frontier of Bangal—Agmahal (Rajmahal), Kankjol, Kunwar Pratab, Molesar, all in sarkar Audambar or Tandah; Bharkundah, Akbarshahi, Katangah, all in sarkar Sharefabad (Birbhum); Nagor, Sainbhum, Shergarh (Raniganj), Champanagar (N. W. of the town of Burdwan), Madaran (Jahanabad and Chandrakona, west of Hugli), Chittua (district Mednipur), and Mandalghat, at the mouth of Rupnarain, all belonging to sarkar Madaran.

The name of the frontier mahal of Bharkundah in Birbhum district, seems to have been formerly extended to the whole of Birbhum and the Santhal Parganahs. It is in this extended sense that Bharkundah has been used in tarikh-i-dauidi, on De Barros' map of Bangal, and on Blaevs' map of India (pt. IV). In the latter, it is given as 'Barcunda' but in the former, it is as 'Reino de Barcunda', extending from Ferrandus (a corruption of Burdwan) to Gorij which is no other than Garhi, the key of Bangal. West of Barcunda, De Blaev and De Barros give 'Patnes' i.e., the Pathans, the military and semi-independent land-holders of the western Bangal frontier. On the Ganga, both maps show Gouro (Gaur), and opposite to it, 'Para', for which Barros gives 'Rara'. In the opinion of Blochmann both spellings are mistakes for Tara i.e., Taudah which should of course be on the other side of the river, or that 'Rara' stands for the old Hindu division of Radha which commences there.

South of 'Ferrandus', the old maps give 'Mandaram,' and 'Cospetir'; the latter's name is wrongly placed on Blaev's map north of Mandaram, whilst De Barros has correctly marked it west of Mandaram. Mandaram is no other than Madaran, the chief town of sarkar Madaran, 'Cospetir' or De Barros' 'Reino Cospetir' is no other than 'the kingdom of Gajpati', or Lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orissa, the final 'r' of 'Cospetir' being nothing but the ending of the Bengali genitive. Sarkar Madaran was indeed the frontier of Orissa.

What is striking to take notice of here is that most of the names of the places in the jungle and hill frontier districts ends with bhum, viz. Birbhum; Sainbhum, along the left bank of the

Ajai, in Birbhum district; Sikharbhum or Shergarh, the mahal to which Raniganj belongs; Gopibhum, along the right bank of the Ajai; Bamanbhum of Brahmanbhum in northern Mednipur district; Manbhum, Barabhum, Dalbhum, Singhbhum, all in Chota-Nagpur; Tunbhum in southern Purulia; Malbhum, the frontier of Burdwan and Mednipur districts; Bhanjibhum, with the town of Mednipur etc. Similarly, the frontier districts between Rangpur and the Brahmaputra, comprising the mahals of Bhitiband and Bahirband, is called in Shuja's rent-roll as 'Bangalbhum'.

Blochmann located Mandalghat at the confluence of the Rupnarayan and the Hugli as the south-western frontier of Bangal. The districts of Mednipur and Hijli were, therefore, excluded from Bangal. They belonged to the kingdom of Orissa till A.H. 975, or A.D. 1567, when Sulaiman, the king of Bangal and his general Kala Pahar defeated Mukund Deb, the last Gajpati of Orissa. Even after the Afghan conquest, Mednipur and Hijli continued to belong to the province of Orissa, when Khan-i-Jahan was appointed by Daud Khan Kararani, the son of Sulaiman Khan Kararani, as the governor of Orissa, while Qutlu Khan Nahani was appointed to the charge of Puri. On the 20th Zi-Q'adah, A.H. 982 (3rd March, A.D. 1575), Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan, Akbar's general, defeated Daud Khan Kararani at Tukaroi or Mughalmari, north of Jelesar, and in the treaty, concluded in the beginning of A.H. 983 (April-May, A.D. 1575), Bihar and Bangal were ceded to the Mughals. In A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576) Daud once again raised the banner of revolt and this time he met with his death in the battle at Rajmahal in July, A.D. 1576, in a pitched battle with the Mughal forces led by Khan-i-Jahan Husain Quli. Bangal was now annexed finally to the Mughal empire. Finally came the Great Rebellion in Bihar and Bangal, and Orissa was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Rajah Man Sinh in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1592). Hence Mednipur and Hijli appear together in Todarmal's rent-roll as one of the five sarkars of the provinces of Orissa. Subsequently Orissa had separate governors; under Shuja the portion from Mandalghat to Baleswar (Balasore) was



separated from Orissa and permanently attached to Bangal.

Hijli (Hidgelee, Hedjeelee, Grant; Hingeli, Van den Broucke; Ingellee, Rennell, Injellee, Steward Marshman, Angeli Purchas, De Laet etc.) appears in the ain under the name of Maljhatta. According to the local legends, the Muhammadans made their first settlement here during the reign of Sultan Husain Shah of Bangal in about A.D. 1505, when Taj Khan masnad-i-ali and his brother Sikandar Pahalwan established themselves at the mouth of Rasulpur river, opposite Sagar island. They conquered the whole of Hijli which remained in the possession of their descendants, when it passed into the hands of a Hindu. As late as A.D. 1630, one hears the conquest of Hijli again. "Hingeli which had for many years a chief of its own, was conquered about A.D. 1630 by the great Mogul; but in A.D. 1600 the lawful chief of Hingeli who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means of escape, and with the help of his own reconquered his country. But he did not long enjoy it; he was brought in A.D. 1661 into Aurangzeb's power with the help of the E. I. Company (the Dutch company), and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first."

### THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bangal was the northern out-skirts of the Sundarban, which extended, generally speaking, in the same manner, as it now does, from Hatiagarh, south of Diamond Harbour on the Hugli, to Bagherhat in southern Jessore and to the Haringhata (Horingotta), or 'Deer-shore River' i.e., along the southern mahals of sarkar Satgaon and Khalifatabad. Beyond the Haringhata and its northern positions, called the Madhumati or 'honey-flowing', the frontier comprised sarkars of Bakla and Fathabad, the modern districts of Faridpur and Baqirganj (north). Sarkar Fathabad included the islands of Dakhni Shahbazpur and Sondip, at the mouth of the Megna. Tiparah, Bhaluah, Noakhali and district Chatgaon were contested grounds, of which the rajahs of Tiparah and Arakan were at least before the 17th century oftener masters than the Muhammadans. It was only after the transfer of the

capital from Rajmahal to Dhakah that the south-east frontier of Bangal extended to the Pheni river which was the imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, when Chatgaon was permanently conquered and annexed to Subah Bangal.

Various etymologies are advanced for the explanation of the word "Sundarban". It has been derived from 'Sundar' and 'Ban', the beautiful forest. Others say that it has been derived from Chandradipban or Chandradip forest, from the large zamindari of Chandradip which occupies the south and south-east of Baqirganj district. Some say that the name in question has been connected with the Chandabhandas, an old Sundarban tribe. Grant derives it from Chandraband, the embankment of the moon, which has led to the spelling 'Soonderbund' adopted by the Europeans.

The application of the name 'Sundarban' to the whole sea-coast of southern Bangal is modern. Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Hugli to the Megna 'Bhati' or 'low land subject to the influx of the tide'. The sovereignty of this tract, according to akbarnamah and the legend of rajah Pratapditya, was divided among twelve chiefs, and which Col. Wilford puts as "the twelve Bhuniyas".

The sea-coast itself here has been marked on Van den Brouckes' map in Valentyn's work as 'Onbekent' or 'unknown', consisting of numerous inlands and rivers.

In order to trace the direction of the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, as it existed shortly before A. D. 1582, one has to fall upon Todarmall's rent-roll in the ain. There we notice that mahal Hatiagarh (below Diamond Harbour) was, in A. D. 1582, the most southerly assessed mahal of sarkar Satgaon. The jungle boundry then passed north-east to Baridhatti and Mednimall, north-west of Port Canning, to Balinda and Mahihatti (Meyhattee), then south again to Dhulia-pur, and Bhaluka to the Kabadak river. These mahals now belong to 24-Parganahs; and sheet no. 121 of the Indian Atlas of the Survey Department will show that they lie even now-a-days very little north of the present northern limit of

Sundarban in the 24-Parganahs. Going up the Kabadak, in Jessore, one comes to Amadi, to the north of which, in the immediate neighbourhood, one has Masidkoor, a corruption of Masjidkur, one of the clearances of Khan Jahan (died in A.D. 1459), the warrior saint of Khalifatabad or southern Jessore, to whom the tradition ascribes as the indefatigable establisher (Sundarban-abadis). Ain then gives mahals of Tala, with Tala on the left bank of the Kabadak as chief town and Kapilmuni near it, and then mahals of Sahas, Khalispur, Charulia, Rangdiya and Salimabad—all north of modern Morellganj at the beginning of Haringhatta. North-west of Morellganj, on the Bhairab (the dreadful) one finds the small station of Bagerhat which gives name to a sub-division, and in its immediate neighbourhood one comes to another settlement or clearance (abadi) made by the aforesaid patron saint of Jessore, where his mosque and tomb stand. It is the country round about Bagerhat which till the close of the 18th century bore the name given to it in the ain as haveli Khalifatabad, 'the vice-gerent's clearance'. Here, amidst creeks and the jungles, Nusrat Shah had erected a mint, apparently in opposition to his father Alauddin Husain Shah.

Thus one finds that in southern Jessore also the northern limit of Sundarban has not considerably changed since A. D. 1450.

Passing from Haringhatta eastward, one comes to sarkars of Bakla and Fathabad. Sarkar Bakla only contained four mahals, viz. Bakla, Srirampur, Shahzadpur and Adilpur, and they all belong to Baqirganj district. Abul Fazl, speaking of the great cyclone that had overtaken Bakla in A. D. 1583, chronicled that the then zamindar of Bakla had a son, namely Parmanand Rai. Sarkar Fathabad derives its name from the haveli mahal Fathabad in which the modern station of Faridpur lies. All these identified mahals that lay in sarkar Fathabad are: Yusufpur and Belphuli in Jessore district; haveli Fathabad and Sirdia (Sherdia) in the district of Faridpur; Balaur, Telhatti, Sarail or Jalalpur, Kharagpur, all in the districts of Faridpur and Dhakah; Hazratpur in Dhakah district; Rasulpur in the districts of Dhakah and Baqirganj; the islands of Sondip

and Shahbazpur, in addition to a few unidentified mahals. Thus one finds that greater portions of both sarkars lie between the Haringhata (Madhumati) and the Titulia river which flows between Baqirganj district and the island of Dakhin Shahbazpur. At the mouth of Titulia one finds the Don Manik islands, one of the few still surviving geographical names of the Portugese. Opposite to these islands, one finds the mahal of Nazirpur which one sees on the maps of De Barros and Blaev as placed rather far to the north. Near Nazirpur one has Fatiabas, the chief town of sarkar Fathabad. The whole south and south-east of Baqirganj district was in the occupation of the old Chandradip zamindari as far late as the last quarter of the 19th century. On Rannell's map, it has been marked "depopulated by the Mugs".

Abul Fazl says that in sarkar Fathabad the zamindars as a class consisted of three stratum composed by the Afghans, Hindus and Portugese. In A.D. 1574, when the imperial army under Munim Khan invaded Bangal and Orissa, Murad Khan, one of the imperial officers, was sent to subjugate south-eastern Bangal. According to akbarnamah, Murad Khan effected the conquest of the sarkars of Bakla and Fathabad and settled there, but soon after he came into collision with Mukund, a powerful Hindu zamindar of Fathabad and Bosnah, who, in order to be rid of the former, invited him to a feast and then got him treacherously murdered along with his sons. This notice helps us to explain a remark made by Grant that in Shah Shuja's rent-roll (A.D. 1658) a portion of Sundarban land had for the first time been assessed at Rs. 8,454, the abadis being called Murad-khanah i.e., Murad Khan's clearance and not the "house of desire" as literally interpreted by its textual meaning as done by Grant. Blochmann himself confesses his inability to explain as to what part of Baqirganj or Faridpur district this term 'Murad-khanah' applied. The name of Mukund still survives in the name of the large island 'char Mukundia' in the Ganga, opposite to Faridpur. This Mukund is the same zamindar whom padishahnamah wrongly calls "Mukindra of Bhosnah". His son, namely, Satrjit gave to Jahangir's governor of Bangal

endless trouble and refused to send the customary peshkash or pay homage to the court at Dhakah. He allied himself with the rajahs of Koch Bihar and Koch Hajo and was at last in the reign of Shah Jahan captured and executed at Dhakah about A.D. 1636. One of his desendants who survived in the last quarter of the 19th century, was the notorious Sitaram Rai of Mahmudpur.

Another zamindar of Fathabad in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign was Majlis Bayazid, an Afghan.

The parganahs to the south of Baqirganj are marked on the map as 'Boozoorgoomedpore' and "Auranpore", named respectively after Buzurg Umed Khan, son of Shaistah Khan (Aurangzeb's governor of Bangal from A.D. 1664 to 1677), and with Aurangzeb, 'Arang' being a corruption of Aurang. East of these two parganahs one finds Shaistahnagar. These names at least point to the time when they came for the first time on the imperial rent-roll.

Sarkar Fathabad, as seen before, included the islands of Dakhin Shahbazpur, Sondip, etc. About Sondip island, one finds a short notice by Caesar Frederick, the Venetian merchant, who travelled in Asia in the period from A.D. 1563 to 1581. He left Pegu for Chatgaon, but on account of the sea storm he was driven to Sondip in his boat. When the people of the island saw Frederick and his associates coming to the island, the former supplied to the latter the food at very cheap rates, so much so that it put them to surprise. Frederick purchased for half a Larine one salted kine, very good and fat, when one Larine was equivalent to 12 shillings and 6 pences, while for 4 wild hogs he paid only one Larine. He also purchased fat hens, each costing one bizze, when one bizze was to the utmost a penny. Still the native people told Frederick that he was deceived the half of his money. He got a sack of rice for a thing of nothing. Things for human consumption were so cheap that it was a thing incredible to them. Frederick wrote that the island was called Sondiva, belonging to the kingdom of Bangala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan (Chatgaon), a place for which he and his associates were bound. He called the people

of the island Moores and their king was also a Moore who was a very good man and not at all tyrant.

Ralph Fitch was also about the same time (seventh decade of the 16th century) in south-eastern Bangal. He says : "From Chatgaon in Bangala I came to Bacola (sarkar Bakla), the king whereof is a gentile (Hindu), a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silk. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streets large, the people naked except a little cloth about their waste (waist). The woman wear great store of silver hoops about their necks and armes and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephant's teeth."

"From Bacola I (Ralph Fitch) went to Serrepore, which standeth upon the river Ganges, the king is called Choudery. They be all here about rebels against their king Zebaldin Echebar (Jalal-ud-din-Akbar), for here are so many rivers and islands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here."

"Sinnergan (Sunargaon, says Ralph Fitch) is a town six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called Isacan (Isa Khan), and is chiefe of all other kings, and is a great friend to all christians. I went from Serrepore the 28th November, 1582, for Pegu."

Sondip was only conquered in the end of A.D. 1666 (middle of Jamadi II, A.H. 1076), when Dilawar Khan zamindar submitted, though not without fighting, to Aurangazeb's army that invaded Chatgaon.

Blochmann has found untenable the hypothesis then held that Sundarban was once in a flourishing condition, as there is convincing proof adduced for it. That it was once in a flourishing condition, is an impossibility, especially on physical grounds. The scattered remains of tanks, ghats and short roads point at mere attempts at colonization and nothing beyond that.

The upholder of the hypothesis argues that the old Portugese and the Dutch maps show that the Sundarban had been well cultivated even upto the 16th century and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five Sundarban towns, namely Pacaculi, Cuiptavaz, Noldy, Dipuria (or Dapara) and Tiparia, places which are well marked on the maps of De Barros, Blaeu and Van den Broucke close to the coast line, has inclined people to believe that they represent "lost towns". Blochmann feels disposed to believe from their respective positions that Pacaculi belongs to the Sundarban of the 24-Parganahs, Cuiptavaz lay in Jessore district, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. In the opinion of Blochmann, Pacaculi is either a mistake for Pacacuti i.e., Pakka Kothi, a factory or ware-house erected by some trading company, as one finds several such along the Hugli, or it stands for PENCHAKULI, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the Damodar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. Cuiptavaz is most unhesitatingly identified with Khalifatabad. Van den Broucke also places it correctly south-east of Jessore. Noldy is the town and mahal of Noldi (Naldi) on the Noboganga, east of Jessore, near the Madhumati. Dipuria is Dapara, or Daspara, south-east of Baqirganj station, near the right bank of the Titulia, prominently marked on Rennell's map. Tiparia cannot stand for anything else but the district of Tiparah, which is correctly placed north-east of Daspara.

The old Portugese and Dutch maps, therefore, prove nothing. Blochmann asserts that the aforesaid supports the conclusion drawn from Todarmal's rent-roll, that in the 24-parganahs and Jessore the northern limit of the Sundarban, omitting recent clearances, was in the fifteenth century much the same as it is now. But considerable additions must have been made in Baqirganj district, as one finds from the numerous accessions during that period, to the imperial rent-roll.

From the old maps, one finds the following towns along the southern boundary of Bangal, viz., above Noldy lay Nao-Muluco (?); Buram (Borhun in the 24-parganahs); Maluco (Bhaluka on the Kabadak ?); west of them lay Agrapara and Xore

(Agarpara and Dakhineswar, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Hugli, lay Abegaca which seems to be some Amgachha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambika (Kalnah); Bernagar which should be Baranagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; Betor (?) as on Blaev's map, and and Belor (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Hugli district, Sjanabath (Jahanabad); Sjandercona (Chandrakone); Cannacoel (Kanakul); Deniachali (Dhonekhal); Caatgam (Satgaon); Tripeni (Tripani, the Muhammadan form of Tribeni); Pandua (Panduah); Sjanegger; Basanderi (the old mahal Basandhari), where Van den Broucke makes the remark : "*t Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexander M. gestuyt werd*", i.e., "the bush Sanderie where Alexander the Great was stopped", although this remark of his is wholly wrong.

Again along the lower Ganges, the old maps have Bicaram (Bikrampur, south of Dhakah); Belhaldy; Angara (Angaria, at the confluence of the Kirtinasa and the Megna); Sornagam (Sonargaon); Dacca (Dhakah); Mularangue<sup>25a</sup>; Bunder (Bandar 'harbour'); Nazirpur, mentioned above; Bulnei or Bulnee; Guacala or Gucala, perhaps a mistake for Bacala; Noorkuly or Noricoel, as Van den Broucke gives it, (Narikol, due south of Dhakah, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinasa); Sundiva (Sondip island); Jugadia (Jogdiah in Noakhali near the Little Phani, mentioned in the alamgirnamah as an imperial thanah, and often quoted as the seat of the English and the French factories in the 18th century); Tarquetea ?; Maua, or Moua, and Alvia, for which Vanden Broucke gives Mava and Alvia, ?; Jefferi, on Van den Broucke's map, the same as Rennell's Jeffri, at the mouth of the Phani, right bank.

The coast of Arakan on the map of De Barros and Blaev is broken up into numerous islands as the Sundarban coast; it looks as if some of them belonged to Bangal. Thus one finds Bulua and Bacala, which must refer to Bhaluah in south Tiparah and Bakla. Chokuria may be identified with Chukuria, marked on modern maps opposite Maskal island, on the Mamori river, as thanah and saltgola; but the names of Irabu, Maoa (perhaps a



mere repetition of the Maua given before), Santatoly, Orieton, could not be identified by Blochmann.

Blaev's map (pt. IV) and chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul by N. Sausson (A. D. 1652) give opposite Chatigam (Chittagong) a town, called Bengala or Bengola. Purchas (a compiler who never came to India) says in his 'Pilgrims', "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengalla are faire Cities. Of this, the Gulfe, sometimes called Gangeticus, now beareth name *Golfo di Bengola*". Rennell, in his 'Memoir' mentions the town as being given "in some ancient maps and books of travels; but no traces of such a place exist". But he says that it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganga, and that it may have been carried away by the river (Ganga?). Lately also, a writer in Mookerjea's journal (Dec. 1872), Mr. H. J. Rainey, published an imaginative account of the submersion of this now lost city, which in his opinion had given name to the kingdom of Bangal. But the town is nowhere mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor by Ibn Batutah, Caesar Frederick and Ralph Fitch who were in Chatgaon, nor by De Barros and Van den Broucke. The probability, therefore is that no such town ever existed, and that the name was put on Blaev's map from Purcha's statement; or else the name 'Bengola' is a mere corruption of what we call a 'Bungalow' (bangalah), or a 'Flagstaff Bungalow', of which one finds many marked on the district maps of Chatgaon along the Karanphuli river, as early as on Rennell's chart. However, this mysterious town "*Golfo di Bengala*" is not to be identified with 'Dianga' given by Van den Broucke as half way between Chittagong (Chatgaon) and Rammoe (Ramu or Rambu), the most southerly point to which the Mughals ever advanced in Bangal, because Dianga is Dakhindanga or Brahmandanga, both on the Sangu river, south of Chatgaon, where salt golahs still exist.

The state of Codavascam lay to the east and south-east of Chatgaon.

The province of Chatgaon frequently changed hands among the kings of Bangal, the rajahs of Tipparah and the kings of

Arakan. In A. H. 750 (A. D. 1350), when Ibn Batuta was in Chatgaon, it belonged to king Fakhr-ud-din of Sonargaon. The year A. D. 1350 fell in the reign of the Arakanese king Meng-di who is said to have reigned from A. D. 1279 to 1385 or 106 years, when king of Thu-ra-tan (Bangal), called Nga-pu-Kheng, courted his alliance. About A. D. 1407, again the king Meng-tsau-mwun (of Arakan) fled to Bangal where he witnessed the war between rajah Kans and Jaunpur. He was ultimately restored to his throne with the help of Bangal troops, but he became a tributary to the king of Thu-ra-tan, and from this time the coins of the Arakan kings bore on the reverse their (Bangal Kings) names and titles in the Persian character. The custom was probably first made obligatory upon them as vassals, but they afterwards continued it, even when they had recovered their independence and ruled the country as far as the Brahmaputra river. Meng-tsau-mwun, having got rid of his allies, meditated a change of capital.

In A. D. 1512, Chatgaon was conquered, according to the rajmala, by the rajah of Tiparah, who drove away Husain Shah's garrison. Whether the rajah of Tiparah kept it for any time is doubtful, for in A. D. 1517 "John de Sylvera was invited by the king of Arakan, and he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king's dominions". Anyhow one can now understand why Nusrat Shah, Husain Shah's son, should have invaded Chatgaon. Nusrat Shah's invasion of Chatgaon was, however, not the first Muhammadan invasion, but other such raids by the Muslim sultan of Bangal had preceded it, though the popular belief holds this invasion of Chatgaon by Nusrat Shah as the first Muhammadan invasion.

It is not known how Chatgaon was again lost to Bangal; but during the troubles of Sher Shah's revolution, the Mughal invasion and aggression of Portugese and the Great rebellion in Bihar and Bangal, Chatgaon did not belong to Bangal. If, therefore, Todarmal's rent-roll of Bangal shows Chatgaon included therein, he did so exactly on the principle on which he had included Kalinga Dandpat and sarkar Rajahmandri in the rent-roll of Orissa.

### (C) THE EASTERN FRONTIER

The eastern frontier of Muhammadan Bangal extended from Sonaragaon and the Megna northward, and then passed to the east, including the district of Silhat. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and the Garo Hills to Mahal Sherpur (in northern Maimansing) to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmari, and from here it ran along the said river to mahal Bhitartand which formed the north-east frontier of Bangal. The sarkars that lay along this boundary, were Sonargaon, Bazuha, Silhat and Ghoraghat, and the neighbouring countires that lay to the east of this boundary were Tiparah, Kachhar (the old Hirumba), the territories of the independent rajahs of the Jaintiah, Khasiah and Garo hills, and, on the bank of the Brahmaputra, the Karibari hills, the zamindars of which were the rajahs of Sosang. They depended in reality on the powerful kingdom of Kuch Hajo, the 'Azo' or 'Asoe' of old maps, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kamrup. In the Karibari hills, the Muhammadans possessed, opposite to Chilmari, the old frontier thanah Hattilah, which Rannell in his Bengal Atlas has shown as 'Hautchella'. The north-eastern frontier was never absolutely fixed. Baritalah, on Van den Brauckes' map marked as *Barithella*, was looked upon as a frontier town till the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign.

The invasion on the part of the Assamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Assam, the inroads of which commenced under the successors of Bakhtiyar Khilji. During the reigns of rajah Kans and his son in Bangal, the Assamese under Chaudangpha (A. D. 1414 to 1425) conquered north-eastern Bangal as far as Karataya, and it was about this very time that as the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur were at the height of their power and had been successfully encroaching on the western frontier of Bangal, for Bihar then lay in their territories, and as rajahs of Tiparah had also made likewise invasion and some conquests, one may feel rightly disposed to conclude that Bangal under the kings of Kans dynasty had become very

shrunken. With the restoration of Ilyas Shahi dynasty (about A. D. 1440) in Bangal and the gradual downfall of the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, Bangal recovered her ancient limits and entered upon her most flourishing period. The invasion of Husain Shah into Kamrup is a well known event, although Kamrup was permanently annexed in A. D. 1637, when Gauhati became the north-eastern frontier of Bangal.

Silhat was conquered in A. D. 1384, and the earliest inscription found here belongs to the reign of Yusuf Shah (A. D. 1480). North-western Silhat had the name of Laud, or Laur, and the thanah which the Muhammadans established there, was under the command of the iqlim Mu'azzamabad i.e., "the territory of Mu'azzamabad", also called Mahmudabad. The exact extent of iqlim Mu'azzamabad is not known; but the name occurs on coins and inscriptions, once in conjunction with Laur, and once with Tiparah, and it seems, therefore, as if the 'iqlim' extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansing and the right bank of the Surma. In the ain one finds in sarkar Sonargaon, a mahal Mu'azzampur, the chief town of which lies between the Brahmaputra and the Lakhia and bears the same name.

The thanah Laur finds mention in the ain as a mahal of sarkar Silhat, and which consisted of Pratapgarh, Panchkhand, Banyanchang, Bajuua Bayaju (?), Jaintia, Haveli Silhat, Satrakhandal, Laud and Harinagar. The haft iqlim repeatedly calls Silhat and this explains perhaps "Reino Sirote" which De Barros and Bleav give instead of Silhet (pl. iv). The town of Sirote is correctly placed on the right bank of the Surma, which leaves not the least doubt as to the identity of Srihat with Silhat.

Kamrup which also appears under the name of Kamrud, Kamru, and Kanwru, is often mentioned together with Kamta. Ibn Batuta calls the Brahmaputra as "the Blue river" and this old traveller correctly described it as coming from the mountains of Kamrup. De Barros and Bleav, however, give it the name of Caor, and show it as flowing from the Reino de Caor, north

of Camota and Sirote. Wilford identifies Caor with "Goda or Gaur i.e., Gorganw", which is no other than Ghargaon, the capital of Assam. But Ghargaon was built by Chu-klun-pha, between A.D. 1549 and 1563, i.e., at a time when the materials had long been sent to Europe from which De Barros in Lisbon wrote his book. It seems, therefore, more natural to compare 'Caor' either with 'Gaur', the old name of northern Silhat; 'Caor' may also be the distorted form of Garos who inhabit the hills near the bend of the Brahmaputra.

The south-east frontier was Tiparah, or Tripura, spelt on old Mahammadan inscriptions as *Tipurah*, from whence Tipora as spelt by De Barros and Blaeu has come. Abul Fazl in the Ain chronicles: "Triparah is independent; its king is Bijai Manik. The kings all bear the name Manik and the nobles that of Narayan". The military power of Tiparah, according to Rajmala, was put at 2,00,000 foot and 1,000 nobles and it further chronicled numerous invasions of Silhat and Sonargaon by the Rajahs of Tiparah. The old capital of Tiparah was Udaipur, or Rangmati, on the left bank of the Gumti. Hence Van den Broucke speaks of 'Oedapoer and Tipera' but in his map he places between Tipera and Brahmaputra above Bolua, the "Ryk van Udesse" which is not found on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. As Van den Broucke does not mention Udesse in his text, the name is either a mistake for Udaipur, or he has been led astray by his countryman i.e., De Barros who wrote an account of Kamrup in his book at Lisbon. De Laet writes that "Udessa or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jokat or Jekant, the furthest province of empire (i.e., Tiparah) to the eastward, is adjacent to the Mag kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians", and he thus places Orissa (Odesa) and Jagannath near Arakan.

Todarmal's rent-roll shows the western and southern portion of Tiparah included in sarkar Sonargaon, but they were conquered actually in the reign of Shahjahan; A. D. 1728 witnessed its fresh reconquest, when the district was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Raushanabad.

Stewart, Stirling, Dowson and Thomas identify Jajnagar with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson, however, also apply the name to a portion of Orissa, on the basis of an effort to link it (Jajnagar) with the town of Jaunpur, north-east of Katak, on the Baitarni. *Tabaqat-i-nasiri* chronicled Jajnagar as a country full of wild elephants and the two *tarikhi-firoz shahis* by their two respective authors refer to it till A. D. 1440, and thereafter its mention therein disappears. The name of Jajnagar appears also in the *ain*, but the text there mentions it in connection with the reign of Hushang of Malwah (A. D. 1405-1434).

Jajnagar in the chronicle appears first as lying together with Bang, Kamrup and Tirlhut, near the kingdom of Lakhnauti. When Tughan Khan ('Izz-ud-din Abul Fath Tughril) invaded Jajnagar, he left the city of Lakhnauti in shawwal, A. H. 641 and came, after a month or so, on the 6th Ziqadah, at Katasan, the frontier of Jajnagar. In A. H. 642 (A. D. 1244), the Rai of Jajnagar invaded the kingdom of Lakhnauti and laid siege to Lakhnor, identified with Rarha (west of the Hugli), where he killed the jagirdar Fakhr-ud-din Laghari, and then marched to Lakhnauti.

This showed that the author of *tabaqat-i-nasiri* meant that Jajnagar lay somewhere west or south-west of the Burdwan and Hugli district i.e., in Jharkhand or Chota-Nagpur.

The next invasion of Jajnagar followed in the reign of emperor Balban who marched from Lakhnauti to Sonargaon about A. D. 1280 in the pursuit of Sultan Mughis. From Sonargaon, Balban reached the confines of Jajnagar after marching for about 60 or 70 kos, where Mughis was killed.

This remark of Barni led Stewart, Stirling, Thomas and Dowson to conclude that Jajnagar corresponded to Tiparah, as the eastern parts of Triparah certainly lie about 70 kos from Sonargaon. The *rajmala*, however, never mentions that Tiparah had the name of Jajnagar.

Jajnagar receives mention again in the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq in the course of the invasion of Talinga, Jajnagar and

Bedar. It receives once again its mention in the course of Firuz Shah's unsuccessful invasion of Bangal to conquer Sikandar, while returning in A. H. 1360 from Hazrat Panduah to Zafarabad and Jaunpur where he passed his rains. He then went to Jajnagar through Bihar, and after coming to Satgarh in the pursuit of the Rai of Jajnagar, he came to Baranasi, the residence of the Rai, and finally crossed the Mahindri and went for some distance into Talinga in the pursuit of the said Rai. Firuz Shah then returned, passing through the Padmavati and Baramtala, the region for elephants, to Karah.

Ain then records that Hushang of Malwah went in disguise to Jajnagar in order to obtain elephants.

From the aforesaid, it transpires quite patently that Jajnagar meant a country that lay between Talinga and Bihar, or as found in *tabaqat-in nasiri*, west of Rarha i.e., the wild districts of western Orissa, Chota-Nagpur and the eastern portions of the Central Provinces where Ratanpur, Bastar and Sirguja are also mentioned in the ain as hunting places for wild elephants. What is pertinent to note is that Barni, in the course of recounting Balban's expedition, mentions Jajnagar 70 Kos beyond Sonargaon, and, while chronicling the reign of Tughlaq Shah's reign, refers to Jajnagar as a district near Talinga. This enables one to infer that either there were two Jajnegars, one noted for elephants near south-western Bangal as per the testimony of *tabaqat-i-nasiri*, Barni's *tarikh-i-firuz shahi* and ain, and another in Tiparah or south-eastern Bangal, on the basis of a single passage found in the chronicle of Barni. In the alternative one may also assume that there was actually only one Jajnagar, bordering on south-western Bangal, and that Barni in the above noted single passage wrote by mistake Sonargaon for Satgaon which removes here all difficulties that crop up.

### THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

From Bhitareband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, and in later times from Gauhati in Kamrup over Khontaghat, the frontier went along the southern portions of Koch Bihar to

mahal Patgaon, or Patgram (west of Koch Bihar), which is chronicled by the Mughal historians as the frontier town in the extreme north, and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepal to the northern portions of the Purniah district. As such, by far the greater portion of what is now called Kuch Bihar Division, did not then comprise the part of Bangal.

The sarkars along the northern frontier of Bangal were Ghoraghat, Panjrah, Tajpur and Purniah.

The inhabitants of northern Bangal were, on the basis of *tabaqat-i-nasiri*, the Koch, Mech and Tharu tribes with a prominently marked Mongolian features. The rajahs of Bangal were strong enough to maintain their semi-independence, if not full independence, despite the various invasions that began from the time of Bakhtiyar Khilji, when Debkot, near Dinajpur, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the the north.

In the 15th century, the area to the north of Rangpur lay in the hands of the rajahs of Kamta, about which many casual references are available, already noticed before. On the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (pl. IV) the kingdom of Kamta is marked as "Reino de Comotah", or "Comotay". The town of Kamta or Kamatapur lay situated on the eastern bank of the Darla river which flows to the south-west of the town of Kuch Bihar and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. The river near its confluence with the Brahmaputra separates Bhitband from Baharband, as their very names indicate. The town of Kamta and the Darla river have been correctly indicated in their positions on the old maps. According to Buchanan, the Kamta or Kamtapur in its circumference covered 19 miles, and the palace, in consonance with the Burmese and the Chinese practices, stood in the centre. The chronicles give information to the effect that Kamta was invaded about A.D. 1498 by Hussin Shah and the legend says that the town was destroyed and Nilamba, the last Kamtah rajah, was taken prisoner. The rajah, however, managed to escape.



The Kamta family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty and to which the present maharajah of Kuch Bihar belong. The new rajahs of Kuch Bihar made their position secure by raising along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which still survive in a good condition.

The ain and the haft-iqlim refer to the prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihar.

Ralph Fitch was the first European to visit Kuch Bihar. He wrote : "I went from Bangala into the country of Couche or Quicheu, which lies 25 days' journey from Tandah. The king is a Gentile; and his name is Suckel counse; his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China : for they say that they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countries is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both ends and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee-deep, so that the men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvelous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be young. There they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old or lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their small money is almonds. which often times they use to eate".

Since Ralph Fitch refers to Chichakota and the alamgirnamah Kanthalbari, as belonging to Kuch Bihar, it follows that portion of the Duars must have belonged to the Kuch Bihar.

Aurangzeb's army under Mir Jumlah occupied Kuch Bihar on the 19th December A.D. 1661, when it came to be named as Alamgirnagar, a name which could not survive for long. The imperial officers were directed there to raise its revenue to eight

lakhs of rupees, whilst in Shuja's rent-roll of A.D. 1658 its revenue was shown as yielding Rs. 3,27,794.

On Van den Broucke's map, the whole of the Himalayan region from north Bihar to Assam has been written as "*T Ryk van Ragiawara*" i.e., the realm of rajwara, and in the text he recorded to the effect: "Ragiawara consists of several separate countries, which sometimes fight the Great Mogul, and at other times are forced to submit". Of these rajwaras, Van den Broucke mentions "*T Ryk Van Morang and T Ryk Van Jesval*".

The Morang was entered by the Mughal troops towards the commencement of Aurangzeb's reign. One such is an expedition led by Mirza Khan, the faujdar of Darbhanga, and Ilah Vardi Khan, the faujdar of Gorakhpur, against the rebellious zamindar of Morang towards the beginning of A.H. 1075 (end of A.D. 1664). While Mirza Khan met with his death in this expedition, Ilah Vardi Khan returned with fourteen wild elephants and nine of them were presented to emperor Aurangzeb. Towards the close of A.H. 1079 (beginning of A.D. 1669), Masum Khan reported that a false Shuja had raised commotion in Moarang. The emperor thereupon directed Ibrahim Khan and Fidai Khan to arrest the rebel and send his head to the court. Lastly in A.H. 1087 (beginning of A.D. 1676), one again hears the conquest of Morang, but no particulars are available in the chronicle.

#### **THE FIFTH REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN ENGLAND—A. D. 1812**

The Fifth Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated July 28, A. D. 1812, Vol. II, is another authority that demands our attention on the subject under studies here. It gives us an abstract of the "ausil toomar jumma of Bengal" about the year A. D. 1582, by rajah Todarmal, excluding the five sarkars of Orissa which were shortly thereafter annexed to subah Bangal. But these five sarkars of Orissa were finally desmembered and they came to form a separate subah either before the close of Akbar's reign or at the commencement of the reign of Jahangir.

Subah Bangal was divided into nineteen sarkars as found in Todarmal's revenue settlement in A. D. 1582, and they were composed of six hundred and eighty-two parganahs, and were assessed in dams. Forty dams then constituted a rupee of Akbar.

The sarkars, according to the Fifth Report, in subah Bangal were as such :

1. Jennetabad (Jannatabad), or Gaur, the ancient capital of Bangal, on the north-east side of the Ganga, near Maldah. It had sixty-six parganahs. Its revenue returns were rupees 4,71,174.

It may be pointed out here that in the ain Jannatabad finds no mention. Lakhnauti was named as Jannatabad by emperor Humayun. But this new designation was used only in official records, finding no prevalence among the people. Jannatabad was commonly known as Gaur, having a brick fort.

2. Poorneah (Purniah) lay to the east of the river Cosah (Kosi). It had nine parganahs. Its revenue returns were Rs. 1,60,219.

Purniah, as is evident from Rannell's Bengal Atlas of A. D. 1781, had been a sarkar in subah Bangal, and lay to the east of the river Kosi, the old bed of which is still found by the side of the town of Purniah.

3. Tajepour (Tajpur). It lay to the further east of Purniah and was included in the territorial limits of Purniah divisions in A. D. 1812. It had twenty-nine parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 1,62,096.

4. Pinjerah (Panjra) formed the Havellee (haveli) or household parganah, which at the time of presentation of Fifth Report in A. D. 1812 formed the zamindari of Dinajepour (Dinajpur) and which lay situated on Teestah (Tistah) river. It had twenty-one parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 1,45,081.

5. Gohragaut (Ghoraghat). It extended from the river Tistah to the Burrapooter (Brahmaputra), and lay to the south of the then Raje (rajah) of Cooch Bihar which included the greater

part of the divisions of Feckhercoondy or Rungpoor (Rangpur). It had eighty-four parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 2,09,577<sup>26</sup>.

6. Barbeckhabad (Barbakabad) lay adjoining to the sarkar of Jennetabad (Jannatabad) and was lower down the two sides of the Ganga, extending as far as the zamindari of Lashkarpur. It had thirty-eight parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 4,36,288.

7. Bajooha (Bazuha) stretched further eastward from the sarkar of Barbakabad across the Brahmaputra to the bounds of Sylhet, and one of its angles went as far as to the south of the city of Dhakah. It included thirty-two parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 9,87,921.

8. Sylhet lay adjoining to Bazuha beyond the Soormah (Surmah) and its northern limits constituted the easternmost frontier of Bangal, at lat.25° N bordering on Cachar, a tributary principality to the dominions of Ava, and was only about 300 miles west of the empire of China. It had only three parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 1,67,040<sup>27</sup>.

9. Soonargong (Sonargaon) lay primarily on the eastern side of the Brahmaputra, a river which received the name of Megna after it joined with the Surma that lay to the south of Sylhet and west of the then unconquered principality of Tipparah. It comprised fifty-two parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 2,58,283.

10. Futtehabad (Fathabad) lay chiefly to the east of the river Megna, extending south of the sarkar of Sonargaon right upto the sea-coast, and it included the islands of Sondwip, Decan, Shahbazpur etc. which were formed near the mouth of the united streams of the two great rivers i.e., the Ganga and Brahmaputra. It had thirty-one parganahs and its revenue returns were Rs. 1,99,239.

11. Chittagong (Chatgaon), then called Islamabad, was separated by the river Fenny (Pheni) from the south-east angle of Tipparah, along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bangal.

Under Akbar, it was very imperfectly conquered and wrested from the state of the Arrakan or the Mogg (Maggs) to which it had been adjacent as well as a tributary. It was, therefore, rated only by estimation and not from any certain and actual knowledge of the country. It had seven parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 2,85,607.

The grand total of these eleven sarkars with the exception of Fathabad that lay to the north and east of the Ganga, except about one fourth of those of Jannatabad and Barbakabad, on its western side, comprehended nearly one-half of Bangal in its most ancient known state in territory, having three hundred and seventy-seven parganahs, and their assessment stood at Rs. 34,82,529.

12. Oudember, Tandah, Rajemehal (Rajmahal) or Akbar-nagar, was made the capital of Bangal after Gaur, its old capital, fell into decay, and it lay near the mountains and the well-known passes of Teliah-Garhi and Sakri-Gali which constituted the easternmost frontier of subah Bihar then. It extended along the south-west side of the Ganga, as far down as the parganah of Chunacally (Chunah-kali) which borders on the present city of Murshidabad. It had fifty-two parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 6,01,985.

13. Shereefabad (Sharifabad) lay south of the sarkar Oudember and to the west of the smaller branch of the Ganga, now called the river Hugli, including the town and parganah of Burdwan. It had twenty-six parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 5,62,218.

14. Selimabad (Salimabad) lay still further south to Sharifabad, approaching the sea, and chiefly on the same side of the lesser Ganga. It had thirty-one parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 4,40,749.

15. Madurum (Madaran) formed a broken frontier on the west of the last two sarkars of Sharifabad and Salimabad, enclosing the last named two sarkars in a semi-circle right from Birbhum to Mundelgaut (Mandalghat), near the confluence of

Damoodah (river Damodar) and Rupnarain, while the river Hugli acted as a barrier for the aforesaid two sarkars against the inroads of the neighbouring unsubdued rajahs who had been sheltered in the jungles of Pachet and Bishunpur i.e., the low marshy lands of Hijli, called Bhati in remote past because of the fact that it was liable to tidal inundation. It had sixteen parganahs and its revenue returns came to Rs. 2,35,085.

The total of these four sarkars (Nos. 12-15) that lay to the south of the Ganga and west of the Bhagirathi (Hugli river), i.e., the greater and lesser Ganga, constituted the regions where the horses were found in plenty to be supplied to the rest part of India. The total number of the parganahs came to one hundred and twenty-five and their assessment stood at Rs. 18,40,039.

16. Satgong (Satgaon). It had been the very old but great emporium of Bangal for international trade, and lay situated in the eighteenth century on a dried-up channel of the lesser Ganga (Bhagirathi), for miles north-west of the succeeding mart of Hugli, extending its districts along both the banks of that river (the dried-up channel of the lesser Ganga), but chiefly on the eastern side from Plassey, and coalescing in the island of Kasimbazar, southward to Mundelghaut (Mandalghat). It had fifty-three parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 4,18,118.

17. Mahmudabad, or Boosnah, lay in the upper or northern angle of the Gangetic Delta, formed by the eastern and western branches of the Ganga and adjoining to sarkar Satgaon. It had eighty-eight parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 2,90,256.

18. Khalifatabad, or Jessore, lay further south to Sarkar Mahmudabad, skirting Sundarban i.e., salt marshy islands, covered with forest on the sea-coast and formed by alluvion with successive channels of the Ganga, the opening of which, though still denominated as so many district rivers, serve more as beds for the ebb and flow of the tide rather than outlets for the excessive fresh waters excepting in the rainy season. It had thirty-five parganahs and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 1,35,053.

19. Boklah (Baklah), or Ismailpur, lay, literally speaking, eastwards to the aforesaid sarkars (nos. 16-18) and was situated on the western bank of the river Paddah i.e., great Ganga, extending to its mouth near the island of Rabnabad which forms the south-east angle of the Bangal Delta, and adjoining also the further extremity of the lowlands of Bhati. This sarkar Baklah commenced in the west from Hugli. Two years subsequent to Todarmal's financial operations of A.D. 1582, the whole sarkar of Baklah was overwhelmed and laid waste by innundation. It remained depopulated till A.D. 1812, the date of the presentation of the Fifth Report to the House of Commons in England, as a result of the incessant ravages of the Maggs, though it is equally true that the lands in this sarkar are capable for a good cultivation, despite its proximity to the sea, for it is ananully overflowed by the fresh waters and thus fertilised by the slimy mould carried down by the river Ganga. It had four parganahs, and its revenue returns were fixed at Rs. 1,78,266<sup>20</sup>.

The total of the sarkars (nos. 16-19) that lay in the Gangetic Delta, had one hundred and eighty parganahs and their assessment stood at Rs. 10,21,793.

Khalisah lands of Bangal, as found in the abstracts in Fifth Report, embodying each of the divisional assessment, stood as such.

East of the Ganga, comprising eleven sarkars with three hundred and seventy-seven parganahs, the khalisah land was assessed at Rs. 34,82,529.

West of the river Ganga and its lesser branch of the river Hugli, comprising four sarkars with one hundred and twenty-five parganahs, the khalisah land was assessed at Rs. 18,40,037.

In the Gangetic Delta between both branches of the sea, comprising four sarkars with one hundred and eighty parganahs, the khalisah land was assessed at Rs. 10,21,693.

Total of the sarkars, comprising khalisah land, came at nineteen with six hundred and eighty-two parganahs, rated at Rs. 63,44,260.

The akta or jagir lands in the nineteen sarkars with six hundred and eighty-two parganahs in subah Bangal, as found in the abstracts in the Fifth Report, were assessed at Rs.43,58,892. The total of the assessed amount of the khalisah and jagir lands in subah Bangal came at Rs. 1,06,93,152.

This last sum of Rs.1,06,93,152 i.e., nearly one karor and seven lakhs of rupees in round numbers, constituted in full the ausil toomar jama, or original established revenue of Todarmal for the whole of the subah of Bangal. It was levied from the raiyat, being one-fourth share of the entire yearly produces of the lands claimed on behalf of the sovereign, by the ancient principle of the conquered right, as being the sole despotic proprietary lord of the soil, after making deductions for kharijah-jama i.e., the nankar lands given to the karoris, and zamindars or collectors of public rents and which came at Rs. 3,26,250 in the whole of the subah of Bangal. In spite of this assessment, the fact essentially remained that Mughal Government, right from the days of Akbar down to its close, always shared the unavoidable losses of the peasantry occasioned by factors like extraordinary draught, famine, pestilence and calamity over which a man had no control and in such eventuality the government scaled down its demand for assessment suitably to square with the needs of the hour.

In the like manner, the government also shared the good fortune of the peasantry, when the latter had a bumper crop, much beyond the assessment rate, and in such eventuality it raised the revenue demand suitably. But it must be pointed out that this practise of sharing the misfortune of the peasantry by the government in case of natural calamities, cost the state exchequer heavily, for it led to the creeping in of dirty practices of wrong reporting, whereas the government suffered more and more, as the proper reporting on the better produce by the peasantry was more often with-held as a result of the collusion of the rajyat with the reporting officials.

It is no doubt a fact that when rajah Man Sinh was appointed to the charge of Bangal and was also made the ataliq of prince



Khusrau who was appointed to the charge of subah Orissa, towards the close of Akbar's reign, the rajah had considerably increased the revenue of subah Bangal by effecting the conquest of the maritime region of Bhati that lay near the mouth of the Ganga, and had succeeded in exacting tribute from Lakshmi Narayan, the rajah of Kuch Bihar; still the gains so made were never accounted for in the subah of Bangal and they did not enhance the public income for the imperial exchequer. It is not to be wondered at, for the ordinary established rental of the whole subah of Bangal was then entirely absorbed actually, and more often fraudently, in jagirs for protecting the sea-coast of the subah from the ravages of the Maggs or the Arakanese, and while doing so, the friendly help of the Portugese who inhabited the port of Chatgaon, was purchased and who, in their hope of being profited through their commercial activities, were allowed to make settlement at Hugli after necessary due concessions. Such was the reduced state of revenue in Jahangir's time that Fidai Khan was given the charge of subah Bangal in return for his payment of rupees ten lakhs only to the imperial exchequer. By A. D. 1638 in the reign of Shah Jahan things had come to such a sad state of affairs that when the Assames, having become emboldened and taking advantage of the internally distracted and powerless state of subah Bangal, made hostile descents from their boats, while sailing down the Brahmaputra, not a rupee was paid into the royal treasury at the imperial capital, though it is also equally true that those who were delegated with powers in this subah, reaped a rich harvest from the yearly produce of the lands and in the general dissipation of the public wealth. It was at this crisis that prince Shuja was appointed viceroy of subah Bangal, a charge which he held during the remainder of his father's reign for the next twenty years, with an interruption by two years occasioned by his recall to the court as a sequel to jealousy among his brothers. In this period of his long stay at the helm of affairs in Bangal, he introduced essential reforms in all the departments of the Government, specially in finance, and the proofs for which are to be found in the records of the history as well as in the figured accounts of that period which show an

enlargement of the king's receipts, far beyond the recovery of the former defalcations. It does not appear that while putting the finance of subah Bangal on sound foundation, prince Shuja made any deviation from the original principles, in rating the lands, as established by Todarmal. Yet the number, extent and valuation of several other territorial divisions underwent such a great change that though the ancient denomination of toomar jama was still retained to express the amount of the new rent-roll, the gross and the fractional sums of the latter were largely increased, and in fact it exhibited an entirely different statement of the annual revenue.

## SUBAH BIHAR

### FIFTH REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN ENGLAND. A. D. 1812

Subah Bihar has remained one of the most highly fertile, the best cultivated and densely populated region in Hindusthan, in proportion to its areas of the plain and flat cultivable land. This subah comprised in extent about twenty-six thousand square British miles, according to Fifth Report presented to the House of Commons in A. D. 1812, an extent which has remained tolerably so since the time of Akbar with little of variations here and there in points of time. It could be divided in two broad and nearly equal portions of territory, north and south of the Ganga which runs here in its intermediate easterly course for nearly two hundred miles.

One of these grand divisions that lay to the north of the Ganga, stretches northerly to seventy mile in the horizontal distance, veering round the forests of Nepal and Morang that lay at the foot of the lower range of the great Tibetan mountains. This division was separated from Gorakhpur in subah Awadh on the west, by the river Gandak, with a very indistinct and irregular line in its course to indicate a "crooked" frontier stretching to about sixty miles between this river and the river Dewah; on the east it was rounded off by sarkar Purniah in Bangal in the age of the Mughuls since the time of Akbar and remained so down to A.D. 1812 when this sarkar gave way to a

new denomination of the district of Purniah which was then in Bangal. This sarkar of Purniah in Bangal, until A.D. 1732, extended in the west no farther than the river Kosi in its ancient channel, but thereafter it has been considerably enlarged in a parallel direction in the further west as a result of the annexation of parganah Dharmpur etc. which originally belonged to sarkar Munger in subah Bihar and had been as such dismembered from this last named sarkar. The area thus described, being one vast sheet of flat land, had been since the establishment of Mughal authority under Akbar here, divided into four sarkars, enumerated from the west as those of Saran, Champaran, Hajipur and Tirhut, the last named being the most easterly one. It also contained a strip of lands adjacent to the north of the course of the Ganga in North Bihar and which formed the part of sarkar Munger in the time of Akbar. The sarkar of Munger chiefly lay to the south of the Ganga. The whole of north Bihar since the time of Akbar, comprised the following sarkars viz., Tirhut, the most easterly, covered in square dimensions about two-fifths; Hajipur, Saran, Champaran which was known as Beteah, included in its respective turn nearly one-fifth more each; the four dis-severed parganahs of subah Munger in the east that lay adjacent to the northern bank of the Ganga and were annexed to sarkar Purniah in Bangal after A.D. 1732, originally belonged to sarkar Munger in subah Bihar in the time of Akbar. The whole of north Bihar, though containing one-half of the available lands of subah Bihar, was assessed in all at not more a third of the entire annual income.

The other grand division that lay to the south of the Ganga and extended sixty miles until the range of hills, called Vindhya-chal, which separates the lower plains from Balaghat or the elevated mountainous region, common to the interior of Hindusthan, is separated in the west by the river from the sarkar of Chunar in subah Allahabad; on the east it is separated from Bangal by a branch of the southern hills which, curving to the north, form at its extremity to the close of the Ganga, the boundary pass of Teliah-Garhi that lay on the confines of the district of Rajmahal. The sarkar of Bihar in the middle covers

about half of the whole of the flat and level area of this great southerly division; the plains of sarkar Munger on the east take up a sixth more, including in this share only a fourth part of the dimensions of the entire district with all its mountainous dependencies; the sarkar of Rohtas, the southerly and western one, being the seventh, situated chiefly between the two rivers of the Soane and the Karmanasah, completed thus the total number of seven sarkars of subah Bihar in the time of Akbar. But subsequently the sarkar of Shahabad urf Bhojpur carved out of the old sarkar of Rohtas as found in Akbar's days, was, according to the dasturul-amal of Shah Jahan, adopted by Alamgir in the 27th year of his reign i.e., A.D. 1685. This sarkar of Shahabad comprehended the zamindary of Bhojpur and stretched northerly quite to the bank of the Ganga. It was primarily and basically rich because of the superiority of its soil and produce, but was particularly rich in commercial article of opium, so that the moiety of the assessed cultivable lands alone produced nearly two-thirds of the total annual revenue.

But over and above these two broad divisions of productive regions in subah Bihar and which excluded from the proper area of three sarkars to the south of the Ganges a straggling hilly country to the extent of eight thousand square miles, there was a third and elevated adjoining region still farther to the south of these three southerly sarkars in south Bihar and which formed the part of subah Bihar. It was no less extensive than either of the two grand divisions already noted before and it contained an extent of nearly eighteen thousand square miles, though proportionately of very little value in view of its predominantly rocky and forested area. This upland of Chota-Nagpur which comprised the sub-divisions of Palamau, Ramgarh and Chota-Nagpur in A.D. 1812, was bounded on the west by the subah of Allahabad, on the south by the subah of Orissa, and on the east by the subah of Bangal. This upland of Chota-Nagpur, since the age of Ptolemy, had been geographically termed as the three balads, or canton, in Arabic, and from which its denomination of velayat, so commonly spoken of in the age of the great Mughals, had been derived, though it may

be in its corrupt form, to express a foreign dependent government.

This upland of Chota-Nagpur is also known by the appellation of Kokrah, more commonly called Nagpur, a name derived from the diamond mine of the region, which gave to it its prime importance, barren as it was in almost everything except the most precious jewels that it abounded in. It extended in a devious southerly course from Panna in Bundelkhand to Kanjicotah beyond the river Krishna in the Deccan, including in its fold the mines of Sambhalpur and Golkundah. What is singularly important is the fact that it is inhabited by races who are undoubtedly original savage inhabitants there, differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners from the Hindu lowlanders of Hindusthan, and since they have remained awfully poor from the remote past, they yielded to the state a scanty revenue not exceeding two and a half lakhs, ordinarily speaking.

Generally speaking, subah Bihar derived its superiority in the past in the age of the great Mughals over most of the other subahs in the Mughal empire, from the great natural advantages of a temperate climate, flat and fertile soil, well watered, a centre for the production of the drier grains and all the luxuries so badly needed by its more active and warlike inhabitants. It was and is still more or less very conveniently, if not exactly centrally situated, serving as an emporium rendered possible by its smooth communication by means of the river Ganga, a highway, so to say, to facilitate the commercial intercourse for both national and international trade between Bangal and the more interior provinces of Hindusthan as well as foreign maritime countries. These factors of advantages drew forth for subah Bihar arts and manufacturers from abroad. The conquest of Patnah by Akbar in A.D. 1574 led to its development and growth in its populations, both in soldiers and emigrants constituted by martial agricultural people who felt tempted to settle down here either as a result of its local allurements or the political encouragement received from the government in order to form a national militia

meant for the eastern imperial frontier. The establishment of the Mughal authority on a secure foundation under the stewardship of Akbar and going down to the period of Aurangzeb in an unbroken chain, roughly speaking, heightened greatly the prosperity of the well-being of subah Bihar under the crown of Dehli. What added an element of strength towards the galvanization of prosperity in subah Bihar was the independent state of numerous Muslim fief-holders who came to be joined to the refractory spirit of a hardy warlike race of Hindu land-lords and peasantry and who thus resisted the arms of the tyranny of the defiant faujdar erring on the wrong side of the law in disturbed times. But it is also equally true that their hardy constitution, coupled with their refractory disposition, grinded the axe equally against the preservation of peace at times as is evident from the two great rebellions that followed in Bihar in the period of Akbar by A.D. 1580-2.

It may be pointed out that the muslim jagirdars and their counterparts in Hindu land-lords and peasantry in subah Bihar differed greatly in their bodily accomplishments, nourished as they were and are so nourished even today by the more healthy food-taking habit of wheat and barley as against the effeminate neighbours of Bangal who lived and still live today chiefly on the watery diet of rice, so as to prevent their stomach trouble.

Thus as a whole, one finds that agriculture, manufacturers and commerce highly flourished in this subah of Bihar in the age of the great Mughals. Opium was then a staple produce in subah Bihar. Saltpetre, manufactured chiefly in the sarkars of Hajipur and Saran, reckoned at two lakhs of maunds, yielded to the labour, sovereign and the merchants ten lakhs of rupees. Cotton cloths in export from this subah fetched additional twenty lakhs of rupees; the production of grains, sugar, indigo, oil, beetle-leaf etc., on their sale, brought forth to the subah at least fifteen lakhs of rupees, after deducting an equal sum for the annual imports of Bangal. Salt was the only article that subah Bihar imported from abroad for consumption at home. In all, it left a clear balance of trade to subah Bihar to the tune of fifty lakhs

of rupees, constituting the net tribute which was derived from a gross rental of nearly a million sterling per annum, beside the accruing profit of ten lakhs of rupees that came out of the usual state monopolies or opium with saltpetre. Such was the affluent state of subah Bihar under the despotism of the Mughals and that its mercantile prosperity which formed the basis of its actual wealth and revenue, hath surely not diminished on the establishment of the British power in the second-half of the eighteenth century.

One aspect in the agrarian economy of subah Bihar in the age of the Mughals, as was true of other subahs as well then, was that in the time of Akbar one third of the assessable land in each subah was given into fief or jagir to the officers of the state for their maintenance and which included the upkeep of their entire feudal provincial establishment; the remainder was assessed for rent payable immediately into the royal treasury in order to meet the requirements of the king's expenses, civil and military, as well as the extraordinary drain occasioned by wars from time to time. Another thing to be kept in view was that both jagir and khalisah lands were subject to the operations of the same financial rules in matters relating to the nature, form and amount of the annual collections to be made, with this very material difference that in the case of the jagirs the superintending management was assigned to the jagirdars acting in their own immediate behalf and in the case of khalisah it was vested in the amil or amildars appointed solely on behalf of the crown.

This distinction in the superintendance of management led to unequal effects in the increase of the public revenue, and it became more remarkably noticeable in subah Bihar where all the khalisah lands, consequent upon the gradual alienation until in the end on the general assumption of Qasim Ali in A. D. 1760, turned into jagirs. The holders of these jagirs, taking advantage of the Mughal principle to become entitled to share the profit officially consequent upon the advancement of agriculture and manufactures, reckoned either by actual real improvement effected or shown by fictitious figures on papers alone and attributed to the "extraor-

dinary influx of specie" which followed the discoveries of America and the sea passage around the cape of Good Hope and which in their turn affected the economy of even the interior parts of Hindustan, reaped a rich harvest out of them by extending the original standard of the crown rent. Moreover, because of the smallness of the territorial possession of these fief-holders for the most part, they, with the constant aid of their standing feudal militia, were in a better position to attend minutely and effectively to the details to turn them to their proper benefits. The officers of the state in the khalisah land on the other hand, influenced by their private interests which proved incompatible for the furtherance of the interest of the crown, became negligent as well as corrupt in the discharge of their duties and were as such often bribed by the inferior agents of the zamindars to remit or diminish the dues of the Government instead of augmenting them consistent with the improvement effected in the areas under local situation. The attending and creeping corruption in khalisah land had risen to such height that the rulers in Bangal were forced to relieve the public agencies in khalisah land, and which then was handed over to the subordinate jurisdictions of the zamindars.

The said corruptions in the agrarian economy demanded reforms from time to time under an upright and vigorous administration and they were accordingly effected. This set in motion the resumption of such jagirs having already undergone improvement on the death of their holders, and were with additional rents, technically called *taufir* or profitable increase, consequent upon the betterment effected, annexed to the royal exchequer. The imperial exchequer then made new grants out of the improved monetary value of the fiefs as found in the 'ausil toomary jama' to cover larger number of fief-holders to offset their assigned funds in new settlement. The result was that in the course of time, thanks to such repeated operations, prominently noticeable both in khalisah as well as jagir lands, effected through "hustabood investigation, establishment of *abwabs* or conquered annexation of territory", the revenue of the whole empire received a great spurt in the upward directions in the



statistical returns, when compared with the original settlement of Todarmal in the reign of Akbar and their statistics. This spurt in the upward directions shot up to more than double in some subahs, but it was scarcely less than a half in addition of the said old rent-roll of Todarmal. Hence the more recent assessments, superimposed upon the old standards in different points of time, formed a new permanent jama under the same denomination of ausil toomary.

Accordingly in subah Bihar three periodical improvements in the standard of assessment followed since its Mughal conquest under Akbar. The first was the universal one, common to the whole of Hindustan proper to the north of the river Narbada in the time of Akbar in A. D. 1582, accomplished by Todarmal. This revenue settlement of Todarmal resulted in the appreciable increase in the revenue in the Mughal empire by one-sixth more than what it was in the Turko-Afghan period. The second revenue settlement in Bihar followed in the 27th regnal year of Aurangzeb i.e. A.D. 1685 and this doubled the revenue returns of the Mughal empire since A. D. 1532. The third revenue settlement followed in A. D. 1750, soon after the accession of Ahmad Shah, under the administration of Alivardi Khan and the amaldari of Jankiram, both of whom had been long associated with this subah of Bihar. It established a new permanent rent-roll, called ausil toomary, with an increase of one-eighth on the preceding one in A. D. 1685, effected through progressive improvements of jagir lands which then stood at about ninety-five lakhs of rupees annually, raised gradually from forty-two. The fourth revenue settlement followed here in A. D. 1765 on the grant of the Diwani by the Mughal emperor Shah Alam to the English East India Company.

The first ausil jama toomary raqbah i. e., original rent-roll of subah Bihar having an extent of 51,973 British square miles, as found in the Fifth Report presented to the House of Commons in A. D. 1812, relating to Toodarmal's land revenue settlement made in A. D. 1582 in the reign of Akbar, stood thus :

## SOUTH BIHAR

1. Sarkar Bihar, with Palamu etc. It had forty-six parganahs, having 9,52,598 bighas in raqbah, 8,31,96,390<sup>29</sup> jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., 20,79,907<sup>30</sup> standard revenue in rupees.

2. Sarkar Munger with all its dependencies. It had thirty-one parganahs with no figures of bighas in raqbahs, 2,96,37,344<sup>31</sup> jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 7.40,933<sup>32</sup>.

3. (a) Sarkar Rohtas i. e., Sahsaram division etc. created in the twenty-seventh regnal year of Aurangzeb or A. D. 1685. It had seven parganahs, with no figures of bighas in raqbahs, 1,61,50,566 jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 4,03,765.

(b) Sarkar Rohtas i. e., Bhojpur Division etc. created in the twenty-seventh regnal year of Aurangzeb or A. D. 1685. It had eleven-parganahs, with no figures of bighas in raqbahs, 2,47,28,873 jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 6,18,221.

However Rohtas in its undivided form in the time of Akbar had 4,73,343 bighas in raqbah, having its revenue in dams as 4,08,19,493<sup>33</sup> i.e., Rs. 10,20,487.32<sup>34</sup>.

## NORTH BIHAR

4. Sarkar Tirhut. It had seventy-four parganahs, 2,66,464 bighas in raqbah, 1,91,89,777<sup>35</sup> jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 10,21,986<sup>36</sup>.

5. Sarkar Hajipur. It had eleven parganahs, 4,36,952 bighas in raqbah, 2,73,31,030 jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 6,83,276<sup>37</sup>.

6. Sarkar Saran. It had seventeen parganahs, 2,29,052 bighas in raqbah, 1,61,72,004<sup>38</sup> jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 4,04,300<sup>39</sup>.

7. Sarkar Champaran. It had three parganahs, 85,711 bighas in raqbah, 55,13,420 jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 1,37,836<sup>40</sup>.

The total number of parganahs in all the said seven sarkars in the time of Akbar came at two hundred,<sup>41</sup> and the total statistical returns of subah Bihar stood at 24,44,120 bighas in raqbah, 22,19,19,404<sup>42</sup> jama toomary in dams of forty to each rupee i. e., Rs. 55,47,984<sup>43</sup>.

It may be pointed out that the aforesaid statement included the entire figures, both real and estimated revenue of the subah, inclusive of all the charges. But out of two hundred parganahs, only one hundred and thirty eight, comprising all the assessed lands, were reckoned for rent payable to the government, yielding the sum of 17,26,81,744 dams i. e., sicca rupees 43,17,044 per annum. Out of sicca rupees 43,17,044, one-fifth i. e., twenty percent may fairly be deducted for musquart and mufassil expenses, leaving only rupees 34,53,636 as the net income that accrued to the state out of the jagir and khalisah lands, on the basis of the one-fourth as state's share out of the produce and the remainder was given to the cultivators of the land. All the unmeasured sixty one and a half parganahs which included the whole of sarkar Munger, along with the hilly and forested regions as found in the sarkars of Bihar, Rohtas and Tirhut, were for the most part unsubdued and probably unexplored in the time of Akbar, having been then held by the independent or refractory zamindars, although they were valued on the basis of the information gained about them and entered on public records of the exchequer at 4,92,37,630 dams i.e., rupees 12,30,940, in consonance with the ambitious conquering policy of the Mughals to make things look grandiose on the paper. The Sayurghal i.e., religious and charitable endowments, known as aiyma or madad-i-maash, i. e., subsistence grants, amounting to rupees 55,803, seemed to have formed the part of the estimated portion of the rental of the subah. As for the figures of 11,415 cavalry, 4,49,350 infantry, and 100 boats furnished by subah Bihar, it may be said that they meant nothing more than that such an

establishment might be maintained out of the whole of its territorial funds annually.

## Subah Orissa

### FIFTH REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN ENGLAND, A. D. 1812

This subah was conquered for the first time by rajah Man Singh in A. D. 1592 and since the rajah was then the governor of subah Bangal, Orissa was then annexed to subah Bangal as a dependent territory. Subah Orissa then extended from Tamluk, situated on the bank of the great Ganga of Hindustan proper that lay to the north of the Narbada, to Rajmundary on the lesser Ganga i.e., Gangagodavari of the Deccan. This subah lay situated in a maritime border round the north-west quarter of the Bay of Bangal, six hundred measured miles in length and about forty miles wide. Its breadth, generally speaking, stretched back in the west to the chain of the hills which everywhere bounds in sea coast of the Coromandal and runs almost in a parallel direction towards the south, going down to the extremity of the peninsula at Cape Comorin. It contained the entire race of Oria, a race distinct from the Hindus, differing in language and manners and having some peculiarities in religious practices in relation to the rest of Hindustan. Orissa had been a very flourishing area in matters of agriculture, manufacturers and commerce in the period prior to the Muslim conquest, and this is quite evident from the accounts of ancient European travellers, fragments of national history and a few remains of its past splendour of non-muslim period and which are now extant in the wretched edifices of its rustic bridges. The only exception could be made in the case of Jagannath temple at Puri, noted still for its antiquity, being then a centre of a great yearly pilgrimage which fetched considerable revenue. But still it may be said that in point of structural magnificence, it is awfully poor, having nothing to appeal to aesthetic sense. The most positive proof of the former prosperity of Orissa in pre-muslim period and its subsequent decline thereafter could be gauged from the actual

state of its finance which, notwithstanding the great changes that came about in the relative value of money since the time of Akbar, continued down to A. D. 1812, the year of the presentation of the Fifth Report to the House of Commons in England, to stand at nearly the same original of jama toomary first fixed in the reign of the said great Mughal emperor, the only exception being in the case of the dismembered territories that were annexed to the government of the neighbouring subahs and where they profited by partaking of a superior civil advantages there. The fact on the static character of the finance in subah Orissa which remained stationery at the level fixed first in the time of Akbar, may be accounted for by three-fold factors, viz., (a) prodigious depopulation and ruination of a good number of its towns, the neglect of the most fertile and richest cultivable lands with a flourishing culture in the past, and the misery of its scanty peasantry, accompanied by a total stagnation of its foreign trade and the attending predatory tyranny and savagery of the Maratha inroads that followed here from time to time. It had sunk into obscurity to such a low depth that the famous port described by Czar Tredericke in his travels, noted for its fabulous wealth and prosperity, has become impossible to locate, unless one feels disposed to find it in the private state of Coojung that lay at one of the mouths of the Mahanadi.

According to ain-i-akbari, Orissa in its greatest dimensions, when attached to subah Bangal as its dependency in A. D. 1592 contained five sarkars, having ninety-nine parganahs, and it was rated as such below :

1. The territory of Jalesar which included all the actual British possessions in the province of Orissa in the eighteenth century lying to the north and east of the river Soobanuka, was first sub-divided into the four sarkars of Maljethiah, Gaulparaha, Muscoory and Jalesar. But afterwards in the second half of the eighteenth century the territory of Jalesar was compounded into the two chaklahs, one of Mednipur and the other of Hijli sarkar. Sarkar Jalesar in the time of Akbar had twenty-eight mahals with a gross rental of 5,00,52,737<sup>44</sup> dams i.e., Rs. 12,58,318<sup>45</sup>

at forty dams to a rupee.

2. Buderuck. It had seven mahals, having a rental of 1,86,87,770<sup>40</sup> dams i.e., Rs. 4,67,194<sup>47</sup>.

3. Sarkar Katak. It had twenty-one mahals, having a rental of 9,14,32,730 dams i.e., Rs. 22,85,818<sup>48</sup> at forty dams to a rupee. These two sarkars of Buderuck and Katak had been assigned to the Marathas and they stood as such in A. D. 1812, the year of the presentation of the Fifth Report to House of Commons.

4. Sarkar Kalinga. It had twenty-seven mahals, 55,60,000 dams i.e., Rs. 1,39,000 at forty dams to a rupee.

5. Sarkar Rajmundary. It had sixteen mahals, 50,00,000 dams i.e., Rs. 1,25,000<sup>49</sup> at forty dams to a rupee.

These two sarkars of Kalinga and Rajmundary in A. D. 1812 were found as comprising northern sarkars in subah Hyderabad. Thus subah Orissa had in all ninety-nine mahals, 17,07,33,237 dams i.e., Rs. 42,68,330 at forty dams to a rupee.

These five sarkars of Orissa, when added to the nineteen sarkars of subah Bangal as its dependencies, made up the whole of subah Bangal to comprise of twenty-four sarkars with seven hundred and eighty-seven mahals, having 59,84,59,319 dams as rental i.e., Rs. 1,49,61,482 at forty dams to a rupee as recorded in ain-i-akbari. Hence it was that Mr. Francis, who did not go into the particulars of the total jama herein set forth, inclusive of Orissa, erred in his assertion, while proceeding on the comparative survey of Todarmal's revenue settlement in Bangal with that of Shah Shuja when Orissa was outside it with the exception of a very small part of it which had still then been annexed to subah Bangal, that the tumar of A. D. 1728 was rather less than that of Todarmal which had been established a century and a half before in the past.

It is worth-while to observe that nowhere from the history does it ever transpire that the Mughal arms had ever penetrated beyond the Chilka lake in the neighbourhood of Ganjam in the age of the Mughals. Thus it is quite reasonable to hold that the

sarkars of Kalinga, also called Cicacole, and Rajmundary, though valued in the imperial rent-roll, were never subdued in the time of Akbar. But if otherwise, these two sarkars were certainly soon afterwards chopped off, and then reannexed, a process that continued to follow since then, resulting to be finally in the dominion of Hyderabad. The remaining portions of subah Orissa in the time of Shah Jahan between A.D. 1627 and 1658, if not before, had been dismembered from Bangal and were formed into a separate subah, after being more fully explored and rated, and modelled into its territorial sub-divisions of twelve sarkars.

### Subah Awadh

#### SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT, RACES OF NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES OF INDIA AND POLITICAL GEO- GRAPHY OF SUBAH AWADH IN THE AGE OF AKBAR

Sarkar Gorakhpur : Sarkar Gorakhpur had nineteen mahals and they were as follows :—

- |                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Atraula          | 2. Anhaura     |
| 3. Binakpur         | 4. Bamhniparah |
| 5. Bhawapara        | 6. Tilpur      |
| 7. Chilupara        | 8. Dhuriapara  |
| 9. Dhewapara Kuhana | 10. Rihli      |
| 11. Rasulpur Ghaus  | 12. Ramgarh    |
| 13. Gorakhpur       | 14. Katihla    |
| 15. Rihlapara       | 16. Mahauli    |
| 17. Mandwa          | 18. Mandla     |
| 19. Ratanpur Maghar |                |

The aforesaid mahals are according to the enumerations of the ain-i-akbari<sup>69</sup>.

Elliot wrote this work in A.D. 1844 and it was edited by John Beames in A.D. 1869. By A.D. 1844 sarkar Gorakhpur which then formed only one dastur, contained twenty-four mahals. This increase in the number of mahals to twenty four, may be explained by the fact that each of Gorakhpur haveli, Rasulpur

Ghaus, Ratanpur Maghar, Binaikpur and Ramgarh Gauri, was reckoned then as two mahals.

Sarkar Gorakhpur proved very difficult to reconstruct and, even after verifying all the illegible names, Elliot has found nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17 and 18 mahals to be either extinct or that they were not in British dominions and belonged [to some other native power.

Atrauli (no. 1) was then in the dominion of the nawab of Awadh.

Bamhniparah (no. 4) was then in the south-eastern angle of parganah Nawabganj which was ceded by the English to nawab of Awadh in A.D, 1817.

Dhewapara Kuhana (no. 9) is the old name of Salimpur Majhauhi, Shahjahanpur and Sidhoa Jobna which were part of the large and extensive Majhauhi raj. In some old writings the name of the mahal has been entered as Nawapar Kuhana Dhewapar. The popular name of the village of Salimpur is Nawapur, and the parganah would have been restored as Kuhana Nawapur, had it not been for the alphabetical arrangement requiring an initial 'd' in this place. The name Dhewapar had become extinct by A.D. 1844. Nawapar had become more common by that time.

Rihli (no. 10) is the northern and western part of Nawabganj which was ceded by the English to the nawab of Awadh.

Ramgarh Gauri (no. 12) is on the Rapti. It is the old name of Balrampur, then in the territory of Awadh.

14. Katihla is the old name of North Bansi. When the Katihla rajah was defeated and slain by Bansi rajah, the old name of the parganah became extinct. Bansi, south of the Rapti, was called Ratanpur, which mahal was combined with Maghar in the ain-i-akbari.

15. Rihlapara : At the suggestion of Mr. Reade, the late collector, Elliot entered this parganah as the old name of Aurangabad Nagar. Elliot, however, had still some doubts on



the subject, for all the copies gave distinctly Kihlapara, and the substitution of the *re* for *kaaf* displaces the alphabetical order usually preserved.

17. Mandwa is the ancient name of Basti.

18. Mandla : No trace could be had of this mahal. Mr. Reade suggested that it might be the old name of Amorha. But Amorha is itself an old parganah and is included in the *ain-i-akbari* in Sarkar Awadh.

The new parganahs, as found in Sarkar Gorakhpur in A.D. 1844, when Elliot composed this work, were as follows :—

1. Salimpur Majhauri
2. Sidhua Jubna
3. Shahjahanpur
4. Silhet
5. Mansurnagar Basti
6. Aurangabad Nagar

Salimpur Majhauri. This is a portion of the old parganah of Dhewaparah Kuhana.

Sidhua Jubna. This is also a portion of the old parganah of Dhewaparah Kuhana.

Shahjahanpur. This too is a portion of the old parganah of Dhewaparah Kuhana.

Elliot wrote that he found these parganahs (Salimpur Majhauri, Sidhua Jubna and Shahjahanpur) mentioned somewhere to lie in Saran, but in his opinion this information is all without foundation.

Silhet was detached from parganah haveli about the year A.D. 1633 by the Majhauri rajah and was recovered by Satasi rajah about fifty years afterwards. It has since about A.D. 1683 been rated as a separate parganah.

Mansurnagar Basti :  
Aurangabad Nagar :

## SARKAR AWADH

Amorha (Amodha) was the only parganah of this sarkar, then in British territory. This sarkar was in the dastur of haveli Awadh.

## SARKAR KHAIRABAD

The only portion of this sarkar in the British jurisdiction was then Khakatmau, and which probably included also the modern parganah of Paramnagar, although the local officers, one and all, were unanimous in representing that Paramnagar was originally a portion of Shamsabad. Khakatmau was then in the dastur of Pali.

### Foot-Notes

1. This figure is arrived at after calculating Akbarshahi rupee @ 1 rupee, equal to 40 dams. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 471, 174.17, as the original figures in dams in ain, are 1,88,46,967; Cf. Ain J & S, 1949 ed. II, p. 143. Grant substitutes 'Sicca rupees' at 2 Sh. 3 d.; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 7, f.n.
2. Mahananda in its upper course is often called Mahanadi. Van den Broucke calls it on his map "Martnade"; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 7 & f. n.
3. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 1,60,219.37, as the original figures in dams in ain are 64,08,775; Cf. Ain, J & S, II, p. 147.
4. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 1,62,096.425, as the original figures in dams in ain are 64,83,857; Cf. Ain, J & S, II, pp. 147-8.
5. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 1,45,081.87, as the original figures in dams in ain are 58,03,275; Cf. Ain, J and S, II, p. 149.
5. (a) This is wrong. Actually the number of mahals was eighty-four only; Cf. Ain, J & S, II, p. 148.
6. Some mss. of ain have rupees 209,577; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 7 and f. n. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 2,02,076.81, as the original figures in dams are 80,83,072½; cf. Ain, J & S, II, pp. 148-9.
7. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 4,36,288.3, as the original figures in dams in ain are 1,74,51,532; Cf. Ain, II, J & S, p. 150.

8. Stewart says that Dhakah is a modern town, for the name finds no mention in the ain. But it is not so. Blochmann refers to his text edition of the ain (p. 407), where the mahal to which it belongs, is called Dhakah Bazu. Dhakah occurs in the akbarnamah as an imperial thanah in A. D. 1584. Sir A. Phayre mentions Dhakah in existence in A.D. 1400; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 8, f.n.
9. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 9,87,921.77, as the original figures in dams in ain are 3,95,16,871; cf. *Ain*, II, J & S, II, pp. 150-1.
10. This figure on actual calculation comes to Rs. 1,67,032.7, as the original figures in dams in ain are 66,81,308; Cf. *Ain* J & S, II, p. 152.
11. This figure on actual calculation comes to 2,58,283.32, as the original figures in dams in ain are 1,03,31,333; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, pp. 151-2.
12. This figure on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 2,85,607.75, as the original figures in dams in ain are 1,14,24, 310; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 152.
13. This figure on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 4,18,118.1, as the original figures in dams in ain are 1,67,24,724; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, pp. 154.
14. This figure on actual recokoning comes to Rs.2,90,056.4, as the original figures in dams in ain are 1,16,02,256; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, pp. 145-6.
15. *Ain*, translated by Blochmann, p. 326; Cf Blochmann *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 9.
16. Westland, *Jessore Report*, p. 29; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 9, f. n.
17. This figure on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 1,35,053.5, as the original figures in dams in ain are 54,02,140; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 146.
18. This figure on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 1,99,239.2, as the original figures in dams in ain are 79,69,568; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 144.
19. This figure on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 1,78,765.12, as the original figures in the dams in ain are 71,50,605; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 147.
20. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, p. 248.
21. The figures on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 6,01,984.98, as the original figure in dams in the ain are 24,079,399-1/3; Cf. *Ain*, J & S II, p. 142.
22. *Ain*, translated by Blochmann, p. 341; Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 10.
23. This figures on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 62,218.75, as the original figures in dams in the ain are 24,88,750; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 153.
24. The figures on actual reckoning comes to Rs. 4,40,749.1, as the original figures in dams in the ain are 1,76,29,964; Cf. *Ain*, J & S, II, p. 153.
25. Grant's total is Rs. 63,44,260 or Rs. 7,208 more, chiefly on account of the higher sum given by him for sarkar Ghoraghat (*Fifth Report*, p. 258); Cf. Blochmann, *Contri. Geog. Hist. Beng.*, p. 11., f.n.

- 25 (a) As it is marked on an island south-west of Dhakah, it seems to be Mulnadangi in the south of char Mukundia.
26. See f.n. 6 supra.
27. See f.n. 10 supra.
28. See f.n. 19 supra.
29. Ain, J & S, II, p. 165, put it at 8,01,96,390 dams.
30. 8,31,96,390 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the figure as Rs. 20,79,907.75. According to Ain, J & S, II, p. 165, 8,01,96,390 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the sum as Rs. 20,04,909.75.
31. Ain, J & S, II, p. 167, put the figure at 10,96,25,981½ dams.
32. 2,96,37,344 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the figure as Rs. 7,40,933.6. According to Ain, J & S, II, p. 167, 10,96,25,981½, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the figure as Rs. 24,90,649.53.
33. According to figures, the revenue returns from the two sarkars of Sahsaram division and Bhojpur division created in the 27th regnal year of Aurangzeb out of the undivided sarkar Rohtas of Akbar's period, came at 4,08,79,439 dams after adding their respective revenue returns of 1,61,50,566 and 2,47,28,873 dams.
34. According to Firminger, the total revenue returns of 4,08,79,439 dams out of Sahsaram and Bhojpur sarkars, created in the 27th regnal year of Aurangzeb out of the original undivided sarkar Rohtas of Akbar, came at Rs. 10,21,986.
35. Ain, J & S, II, p. 168, gave the figure as 1,91,79,777½ dams.
36. 1,91,89,777 dams as given by Firminger, when divided by forty dams equivalent to Akbar's rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 4,79,744.42 only. 1,91,79,777½ dams as given by Ain, J and S, II, p. 168, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 4,79,494.43 only.
37. 2,73,31,030 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 6,83,775.75.
38. Ain, J & S, II, p. 167, gave the figure as 6,01,72,004½ dams.
39. 1,61,72,004, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 4,04,300.1.
40. 55,13,420 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 1,37,835.05.
41. Ain, J & S, II, p. 165, gave the figure as one hundred and ninety-nine only.
42. Ain, J & S, II, p. 165, gave the figure as 22,19,19,404½ dams i.e., Rs. 55,47,985, 1 anna and three pies.

43. 22,19,19,404 dams as given by Firminger, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the figure as Rs. 55,47,985.1. The sum of 22,19,19,404½ dams, as given by Ain, J & S, II, p. 165, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, yielded the figure as Rs. 55,47,986.11
44. Ain, J & S, II, p. 155, gave the figure as 50,52,738 dams. Perhaps either Firminger here himself erred or that this is printer's devil.
45. 5,00,52,737 dams as given by Firminger, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 12,51,318.42 only. 50,52,738 dams as given by Ain, J & S, II, p. 155, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 1,26,318.45 only.
46. Ain, J & S, II, p. 156, gave the figure as 1,86,87,170 dams only.
47. 1,86,87,770 dams as given by Firminger, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 4,67,194.25. 1,86,87,170 dams as given by Ain, J & S, II, p. 156, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 4,67,179.25.
48. 9,14,32,730 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 22,85,818.25.
49. 5,00,000 dams, when divided by forty dams equivalent to a rupee, gave the figure as Rs. 3,125 only.
50. Trans. J & S, II, p. 186.

*On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar.*—By JOHN BEAMES,  
B. C. S. (With a Map.)

No. I. Subah Avadh (Oudh).

The object of this series of papers is to reconstruct as far as possible the map of the Mughal empire at the time of the first great settlement of the financial and political administration effected in A. D. 1582 by Rájá Todar Mal.

The details of this important operation—the basis of all subsequent settlements—are preserved to us in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Persian text of which has been fixed and published by the late Professor Blochmann. He did not live long enough to translate the whole work, and as the valuable notes which he had collected for the second volume, (in which the details of Todar Mal's settlement are given), have been lost; the greater portion of the work has to be done over again. The continuation of the translation has been entrusted by the Society to other hands, and I therefore refrain from encroaching on that ground. But I presume there is no objection to my extracting from the Persian text such details as are necessary for my purpose and supplying such comments as may be required for their elucidation. There is room for many workers in the vast and as yet imperfectly explored mine of the *Ain*. On the present occasion I shall confine myself to geography, reserving for a larger work on which I am engaged references to the Muhammadan historians and other authorities.

The dominions which Akbar either ruled, or claimed to rule, were divided, as we learn from the *Ain*, into twelve provinces, to which His Majesty gave the name of *Súbahs*. These were

Iláhábád.	Ajmir.	Bangálah.	Láhor.
Agrah.	Ahmadábád.	Dihlí.	Multán.
Avadh.	Bihár.	Kábul.	Málwah.

to which were subsequently added three more, *viz.* :—

Birár.	Khándesh.	Ahmadnagar.
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making a total of fifteen.

Abul Fazl gives a chapter to each *Subah*, and takes them in geographical order, beginning with Bangálah (Bengal) in the extreme east, and going westwards. I have departed from this order for the following reasons.

The *Subah* of Bangálah is by far the largest of all, and as it was not at the time of Todar Mal's settlement actually under the sway of the

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Dehli emperor, the details given in the *Ain* are less full than those of other Subahs. Moreover, owing to various causes which I need not explain in this place, the changes that have occurred since the sixteenth century are more numerous and perplexing than in any part of India. For Bengal we have some of Blochmann's work, a general sketch of the extent and position of the nineteen sarkárs, and detailed identification of two or three of them.\* I am now engaged in working out the rest, but I am not yet quite ready with Bengal, and though I have received much assistance from the Collectors of the various districts—which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging—I fear some time must elapse before the whole sarkár will be fully reconstructed.

Bihár was not undertaken by Blochmann, but I have nearly finished my identification, and hope to publish it shortly.

Iláhábád, Agrah, Dihli and all those parts of Subahs which were included in the North West Provinces in 1844 have been worked out by Sir H. Elliot and may be found at Vol. II, p. 82 of his *Races of the N. W. P.* (my edition) and those parts left untouched by him I am now working out.

Under these circumstances I have thought it better to begin with Oudh, as I have been able to complete my work on that Subah. Oudh was not British territory when Elliot wrote, and he has therefore omitted it from his lists, with the exception of Gorakhpur, which has all along formed part of the N. W. P.

The materials which I have used are chiefly the reports of the recent settlements of the various districts, supplemented by much valuable information scattered here and there in the *Oudh Gasetteer*. The settlement reports being official publications are not generally accessible to the learned public either in India or Europe, they contain much curious and useful information, and in respect of the old names of estates and parganahs give data not usually procurable, being derived from local tradition, the histories of the great families, and the records preserved by the Kánúgoes or fiscal recorders, an office founded by the Mughal Emperors and which has survived to our own times. I have thought it might be serviceable to students to publish in the Society's Journal material at present virtually buried in the Settlement Reports, and to bring together into one general view the scattered notices to be found in the *Gasetteer*. The accompanying map is an attempt at making our knowledge of the subject precise and definite.

\* See his articles on the Geography and History of Bengal in J. A. S. B. Vol. XLII, p. 209; Vol. XLIII, p. 280; Vol. XLIV, p. 275 and in Appendix to Hunter's Statistical Account of the 24 Pargannas District.

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I. Sarkar Avadh.\*

- 21 mahals. Area 2,796,206 bighas 19 biswas. Revenue 40,956,347 dams nakdí, 1,680,247 dams sayurghál. Castes various. 1,340 cavalry, 23 elephants, 31,700 infantry.
1. Avadh bá havelí. 6 mahals. 38,249*b.* 17*b.* 2,008,366*d.* 1,58,741*s.* Brahmans and Kunbis. 50 horse, 500 foot.
  2. Ambođhá. Has a fort of burnt brick 2,82,097 bighas, 1,298,724*d.* 7,318*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 700 foot.
  3. Ibrahímábád. 19,338*b.* 8*b.* 445,417*d.* 103,806*s.* Ansáris.
  4. Inhoná. Has a fort of burnt brick. 74,090*b.* 126,847*d.* Chau-hans recently converted to Islam (nau muslim). 100 horse, 2000 foot.
  5. Pachchhimráth. 289,085*b.* 4,247,104*d.* 38,885*s.* Rajputs of the Báchhil and Gahlot clans 20 horse, 500 foot.
  6. Bilahrí. Has a fort of burnt brick. 15,859*b.* 815,831*d.* Bachgotis. 50 horse, 2000 foot.
  7. Basodhí. 31,188*b.* 505,473*d.* 1,500*s.* Bachgotis. 20 horse, 500 foot.
  8. Thána Bhadánw. 8,703*b.* 2*b.* 427,509*d.* 36,172*s.* Bachgotis. 1000 foot.
  9. Baktahá. 44,401*b.* 385,008*d.* 3,960*s.* Bachgotis. 500 foot.
  10. Daryábád. Has a fort of burnt brick. 487,014*b.* 5,369,521*d.* 226,871*s.* Rajputs of the Chauhan and Raikwar clans. 100 horse. 2000 foot.
  11. Rudaulí. Fort of burnt brick. 351,533*b.* 3,248,680*d.* 249,083*s.* Chauhan and Bais Rajputs. 50 horse, 2000 foot.
  12. Sailak. Fort of burnt brick. 571,071*b.* 4,723,209*d.* 200,945*s.* Raikwár Rajputs. 100 horse, 2000 foot.
  13. Sultánpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 75,893*b.* 3,832,530*d.* 98,967*s.* Bachgotis. 300 horse, 8 elephants, 7000 foot.
  14. Sátanpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 80,154*b.* 1,600,741*d.* 109,788*s.* Bais converted to Islam Bachgotis, Joshis (?). 300 horse, 4000 foot.
  15. Sabihah. 104,780*b.* 1,609,293*d.* 87,200*s.* Rajputs. 30 horse. 1000 foot.
  16. Sarwápáli. 58,170*b.* 1,210,335*d.* 48,107*s.* Bachgotis. 1000 foot.

\* Translated from the Persian text of the *Alin-i-Akbari*. Blochmann's Ed. Vol.



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17. Satrikh. 37,041*b.* 11,26,295*d.* 92,695*s.* Ansáris. 20 horse, 1000 foot.
18. Gúárichh. 79,158*b.* 3,773,417*d.* 3,782*s.* Raikwárs. 50 horse, 1,070, foot.
19. Kishní. Fort of burnt brick, 25,674*b.* 1,339,286*d.* 123,847*s.* Rájputs, 3 elephants. 1,500 foot.
20. Mangalsí. 116,401*b.* 1,360,753*d.* 86,504*s.* Sombansis. 20 horse, 1000 foot.
21. Naipur. 5,997*b.* 308,788*d.* 2,945*s.* Castes various. 500 foot.

[NOTE. In the above list the name of the mahal (*i. q.* parganah) comes first, then the cultivated area in bighas and biswas. Next the revenue in dams (40 = 1 akbarshahi rupee) then the "sayúrghál" or rent-free lands;\* then the prevailing caste or clan of the inhabitants, and the contingent of troops both horse and foot. The abbreviations are explained by this note.]

Of these 21 mahals those numbered 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, are still in existence under the same names and probably with nearly the same boundaries as in Akbar's time.

The following require some explanation.

2. Ambodhá, now written Amorha, is on the left bank of the Ghogra and is now in the district of Basti in the N. W. Provinces. In the Gonda S. R.† p. 11 it is said to have included Bámhanípáir, but this is a mistake as "Bámhanpárah" occurs in the Aín as one of the mahals of Sarkár Gorakhpur. Ambodha, however, appears to have included the southern part of the present parganah of Nawábganj on the left bank of the Ghogra facing the city of Ajodhya.

3. Ibrahimábád is now only a village in parganah Satrikh. O. G. ii. 85.

6. Bilehri is now the northern portion of parganah Sultanpúr and is called Baraunsá, see below No. 13.

8. Appears to be now known as Tappah Asl. O. G. iii. 457 where there is a partial reconstruction of this and some other sarkars taken from the Sultanpúr S. R. by Mr. A. F. Millett, C. S. I have followed this officer's guidance almost entirely, as far as it goes.

9. Bakthá is not traceable. Mr. Millett says it is now Baksaha in Bára Banki district, but this latter is not mentioned either in the Bara Banki S. R. (which is meagre on this subject) or in the O. G.

11. Rudauli is still in existence but is smaller than in Akbar's time, when it included the present Khandansá parganah to the south-east.

\* See Blochmann's Translation of the Aín, p. 268.

† S. R. stands for Settlement Report, O. G. for *Dudh Gazetteer*.

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12. Sailak presents some difficulty. In O. G. i. 92, it is said to have comprised the present parganahs of Bado Saráí, Ramnagar and Muhammadpur, as well as a tract described as Lálpur-Rámpúr-Mathará, which probably is on the tongue of land at the junction of the Ghogra and Chauká rivers now in South Kundri parganah. But if this is correct it is difficult to understand where to put the Bhitauli parganah of Sarkár Lakhnau. Either Sailak must have consisted of two parts, one (Bado Saráí) lying to the south of Bhitauli, and another consisting of the remaining parganahs to the north of it, or else Bhitauli must have been cut in two by Sailak. In the map I have adopted the latter supposition which seems more in accordance with the history. The two parganahs of Bhitauli and Sailak are, however, very much mixed up throughout the Muhammadan period, indeed they are occasionally spoken of as identical, and I shall be glad if any local officer will throw some light on the subject. Unfortunately the author of the *Bára Banki S. R.* omits all historical and geographical details, and the *Gazetteer* does not supply the omission. The portion of this Subah which is included in *Bára Banki* is consequently the most difficult of all to restore.

13. Sultánpúr was that part of the present parganah of that name which lies on the right bank of the Gumti, that part which is on the left bank was formerly known as Bilahri (see No. 6) a name which includes also Baraunsá. The southern portion is known as Sultánpúr Miránpúr or Kathot, a name not found in the *Ain*.

14. Sátánpur and Kishni (No. 19) now compose parganah Jagdispúr in Sultánpúr district.

16. Sarwapáli is now Amsin in Faizabad district.

19. See No. 14.

21. I cannot find this place. Mr. Millett in his valuable reconstruction of this Sarkár has omitted Nos. 20 and 21. In O. G. i. 462 it is said to be the same as *Iltifátganj*, but the position of this place is not indicated.

Three modern parganahs in this part of the country (*Bára Banki* again!) are obscure.

i. Mawái Maholára. This seems from O. G. ii. 494 to have been created out of parts of Rudauli and Basorhi, and I have accordingly in the map divided it between them.

ii. Surajpúr. Lies between Daryáhd of Sarkár Audh and Sidhaur of Sarkár Lakhnau. In the O. G. in two places (iii. 332, and iii. 447) it is said to have been in existence under that name in the time of Akbar, but it does not occur in the *Ain*. It appears to have been included under Daryáhd and I have while waiting for further information shewn it so in the map.

iii. Partárganj This is admittedly a modern parganah, and I have

included it under Satrikh, the area of which seems to be considerably smaller now than it was under Akbar.

The Sarkár of Avadh or Audh, as thus reconstructed, was a tolerably compact tract of about 90 miles in length lying principally on the right bank of the Chauká and Ghogra, but including also a strip of varying width on the left or northern bank of the latter. The breadth varies very much, and owing to the want of details for Bára Banki cannot be exactly stated. At its north-western end it is much mixed up with parts of Sarkárs Lakhnau and Bahráich, and two detached portions of the former Sarkár, one consisting of parganah Siddhaur, the other of parganahs Isauli and Garh Amethi, are included in it on its south-western side. On the south it marches with Sarkárs Mánikpur and Jaunpúr of the Subah of Iláhábád.

In the endeavour to depict accurately the exterior and interior boundaries I have felt this difficulty that though parganahs bearing the same names as these in the Aín are still extant, it is far from certain that the boundaries were the same as now. The areas given in the Aín only refer to cultivated land, and the exact size of Akbar's bigah is somewhat uncertain. The map can therefore only claim to be an approximation, though probably a very close approximation, to the actual facts of A. D. 1582.

## II. Sarkár Gorakhpur.

- Twenty-four mahals. 244,283*b.* 13*b.* 11,926,790*d.* 51,235*s.* Castes various. 1,010 horse, 22,000 foot.
1. Atraulá. Fort of burnt brick. 32,052*b.* 1,397,367*d.* 6,935*s.* Afghan Míáuas. 50 horse, 1,500 foot.
  2. Anhanlá. 4,114*b.* 17*b.* 201,120*d.* 2,170*s.* Bisens, horse. 400 foot.
  3. Bináikpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 13,857*b.* 7*b.* 6,00,000*d.* Surajbansi Rajputs. 400 horse, 3000 foot.
  4. Bámbhanpárah. 6,688*b.* 414,194*d.* Rájput. 2000 foot.
  5. Bhanwáparah. 3,105*b.* 15*b.* 155,900*d.* Bisens. 200 foot.
  6. Tilpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 9,005*b.* 17*b.* 4,00,000*d.* Surajbansi Rájputs. 100 horse, 2000 foot.
  7. Chilúparah. Fort of burnt brick. 6,036*b.* 14*b.* 289,302*d.* Rájputs. 2000 foot.
  8. Daryáparah. Fort of burnt brick. 31,357*b.* 19*b.* 1,517,078*d.* 5,067*s.* Bisens. 60 horse, 400 foot.
  9. Dewáparah and Kotlah. 2 mahals. 16,194*b.* 17*b.* 717,840*d.* Bisens. 20 horse, 2000 foot.
  10. Rihlí. 33,183*b.* 19*b.* 1,618,074*d.* 20,873*s.* Bisen Rájputs. 1000 foot.

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11. Rasúlpúr and Ghausí. 2 mahals. 4,200b. 622,030d. Sombansis. 500 foot.
12. Ramgarh and Gauri. 2 mahals. 10,726b. 485,943d. Sombansis. Included in Bináikpúr.
13. Gorakhpúr bá havelí. Has a fort of burnt brick, on the banks of the river Rápti. 12,656b. 567,985d. 3919s. Súrajbansis. 40 horse, 200 foot.
14. Kañhlá. Fort of burnt brick. 900b. 12b. 40,000d. Bisens. 300 horse, 200. foot.
15. Kihlápárah. Fort of burnt brick. 16,012b. 425,845d. Bansis (?) 20 horse, 300 foot.
16. Mahaulí. Fort of burnt brick. 2,523b. 617,256d. Bisena. 2000 foot.
17. Mandwah. 1,909b. 19b. 452,321d. Sombansis. 20 horse, 500 foot.
18. Mandlah. 1,252b. 6b. 51,100d.
19. Maghar and Ratanpúr. 2 mahals. Fort of burnt brick. 26,062b. 1,352,585d. 16,771s. Bisen and Bais. 2000 foot.

The above list is taken from the Persian text, and differs in some particulars from Elliot's (*Races of N. W. P.* Vol. II, p. 119). It also gives the area and revenue and other details omitted by Elliot. The following remarks are necessary for its elucidation.

1. Atraulá. The correct name is Utraulá or perhaps strictly Uttaraulá. Akbar's parganah includes the modern parganahs of Utraulá, Sadullahnagar and Búrhápárah on the eastern frontier of the Gonda district (*Gonda S. R.* p. 11, *O. G. s. r.* Utraula, iii. 574).

8. Daryápárah is the spelling in the text and no variants are given by Blochmann. The parganah which is still extant is, however, now called Dhuriápárah. In the map I have given the name as it is in the Persian text, which of course might also read Duryápárah as no vowels are given.

9. Dewapárah and Kotlah. So in the text, but Kotlah كوتله is an easy and probable mistake for Kohánah كوهانه. The real name appears to be Dewápárah Kuanah which I have shewn on the map after Elliot's explanation. It covers all the east of the Gorakhpúr district.

10. Rihlí comprises the northern parganahs of Mánkúpúr, Mahádewá and Nawábganj. Probably, as suggested under Amorbá in Sarkar *Audh*, a portion of Nawábganj belonged to that parganah. See *Gonda S. R.* p. 11.

12. Rámgarh and Gauri appear to have included all the forest tract north of the Rapti, the northern parganahs of Balrámpúr and Tulispúr.

15. Kihlápárah may be, as Elliot suggests, a mistake for Rihlápárah.

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an extant pargauah. It is no argument against this that to read *Bihl-parah* would disturb the alphabetical order in which the mahals are given; for I have found a considerable number of such errors in other Subah Lists in the *Ain*.

18. *Manḍlah* cannot be traced.

The remaining mahals of this Sarkár are still extant.

Sarkár Gorakhpur thus stretches from the Gandak to the Ghogra, and includes the modern Districts of Gorakhpúr and Bastí in the N. W. Provinces and the greater part of Gonda in Audh. The western boundary where it marches with Sarkár Bahraich is however extremely indefinite, and the same may be said of the northern boundary. Even in the present day a very large portion of this tract is covered by dense forests, and this must have been the case to a much greater extent in the sixteenth century. The very small areas given for pargauahs which stretch for scores and scores of miles prove this, and historical proofs are not wanting to confirm the impression. Consequently the boundaries of the different mahals in the north of this Sarkár cannot be restored with any approach to accuracy, and I have therefore not attempted to lay them down on the map; this omission is less to be regretted when it is considered that there were certainly no definite boundaries in Todar Mal's time. There were clearings in the forest here and there, which were loosely grouped together under some local name taken from the residence of the Hindu chief or Afghán adventurer who was powerful in those parts. The dominions (if we may use the term) of these chiefs varied constantly as mahals or towns were taken and retaken by contending forces in the petty wars and raids that were constantly going on.

### III. Sarka'r Bahra'ich.

- 11 Mahals. Area 18,23,235*b.* 8*b.* 2,41,20,525*d.* 466,482*s.* Castes various. 1170 horse, 14,000 foot.
1. Bahra'ich bá haveli. Fort of burnt brick on the banks of the river Saraū. 697,231*b.* 9,139,141*d.* 402,111*s.* Rajputa. 600 horse 4,500 foot.
  2. Bahrah. 926*b.* 37,135*d.* Kahnah. 500 foot.
  3. Husámpúr. Fort of burnt brick. 157,415*b.* 3,707,035*d.* 1,601*s.* Raikwars, Bháles and a sept of Bisens. 70 horse, 900 foot.
  4. Dánkdon. 84,436*b.* 440,562*d.* Janwárs. 2,000 foot.
  5. Rajhat. 4,064*b.* 11*b.* 166,780*d.* Janwárs. 1000 foot.
  6. Sanjhauli. 124,810*b.* 877,007*d.* Janwár Rajpúta.
  7. Sultánpúr. 58,146*b.* 166,001. Janwárs. 700 foot.

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8. Fakhrpur. Fort of burnt brick. 191,720b. 3,157,876d.  
56,035s. Raikwára, 150 horse, 2,000 foot.
9. Firozábád. Fort of burnt brick. 108,601b. 1,933,079d. 4.107s.  
Tuunwar Rájputá. 200 horse, 8,000 foot.
10. Kila' Nawágarh. 417,601b. 2,140,757d. Various castes.  
50 horse, 1,000 foot.
11. Kahronsa. Fort of burnt brick. 28,489b. 17b. 1,315,051d.  
2,628s. Bais. 100 horse, 1,000 foot.

All the mahals of this Sarkár are either still extant under their old names, or distinctly traceable. The Settlement Officer of this district Mr. H. S. Boys, C. S. has effected a very complete reconstruction of the Sarkár accompanied by a clear map. I have filled in the boundaries on my own map from those given by Mr. Boys. One or two points, however, call for notice.

1. The figures for area and revenue given in the S. R. do not agree with those in Blochmann's text. Mr. Boys probably worked on Gladwin's translation which is not always correct. I have given the correct figures above. The mahal of Bahráich included the modern parganah of that name, and Akona (except a small portion north-east of the Rapti) all but 133 villages of Naupára, all but the trans-Rapti portion of Char-da and Bhinga this side of the Rapti.

2. Bahrah included the rest of Bhinga and 77 villages now in Nipál.

3. Husámpúr now known as Hisámpúr is still extant, but it was larger formerly, including a considerable tract to the south-east now in the Gonda district, while on the north it included some estates now in Fakhrpúr.

4. Dankdon now called Dángoói (for which *دنگدون* in Blochmann's text is possibly a copyist's error) comprised the rest of Akona, the rest of Bhinga, and the northern part of Tulsipúr. Its boundaries were probably never very clearly defined.

5. Rajhat is, all but a few villages, now in the Nipal taráí.

6. Sanjhaulí, written by Boys Sijaulí, contained some villages now in Nipál.

7. Sultánpur is an *enclave* in Bahráich and also included a few villages now belonging to Nipál.

10. Kila' Nawágarh. This comprised the modern parganahs of Tambúr, north and south Kundri in Sitápúr and apparently parts of Dhaurahra and Firozábád in Kherí, but its boundaries are not very clear. It seems generally speaking to have occupied the whole Doab between the Kauriala and Chanká rivers, except a small portion at the extreme south which belonged to Sailak or Bhitauli.

11. Kahronsa is a difficult mahal to restore. The local settlement

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officers who have had the advantage of consulting the *Kánungos*, the records of the great families, and other local sources of information have been followed in my map, but the exact boundaries for this, as for all *parganahs* beyond the *Ghogra* are probably now not determinable.

The *Sarkár* appears to have occupied all the western portion of the trans-*Ghogra* country; its boundaries on the *Gorakhpúr* side are very uncertain. An immense proportion of it was jungle with scattered settlements of *Junwár*, *Raikwár* and other *Rajpút* clans here and there. It stretched far up into the *Nipal Tarái* and much of it was only nominally under *Musalmán* sway, the revenue derived from the northern *mahals* was very small, and the hill chieftains appear constantly to have levied even that. There was also, however, a long narrow slip on the right bank of the *Chauka* which yielded a much better revenue and was much prized as is shewn by the frequency with which it changed hands under royal grants.

#### IV. *Sarkár Khairábád.*

- 22 *mahals.* 1,987,700*b.* 6*b.* 43,644,381*d.* 171,342*s.* Castes various.  
1,160 horse, 27,800 foot.
1. *Barwar Anjanah.* 79,670*b.* 7*b.* 4,325,237*d.* 107,079*s.* *Rájputs* and *Bráhmans.* 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
  2. *Biswah.* Fort of burnt brick. 135,119*b.* 3,545,643*d.* 107,916*s.* *Báchhil Rájputs.* 30 horse, 1000 foot.
  3. *Páli.* 144,627*b.* 1,849,270*d.* 37,945*s.* *Ksanín* (?). 30 horse, 1000 foot.
  4. *Báwan.* 56,156*b.* 1,161,235*d.* 62,488*s.* *Ksanín* (?). 20 horse, 1000 foot.
  5. *Basrah.* 60,063*b.* Castes various. 300 foot.
  6. *Bhurwárah.* Fort of burnt brick. 8,971*b.* 18*b.* 435,430*d.* *Ahanín* (?). 50 horse, 2,500 foot.
  7. *Bisará.* 21,740*b.* 676,066*d.* *Báchhils,* 200 foot.
  8. *Pailá.* 981*b.* 14*b.* 48,202*d.* *Ahanín* (?) 200 foot.
  9. *Chhitiápúr.* 64,706*b.* 1,765,641*d.* 41,094*s.* *Gaur Rájputs.* 50 horse, 700 foot.
  10. *Khairábád bá Havoli.* 2 *mahals.* Fort of burnt brick. 159,072*b.* 6,161,234*d.* 174,191*s.* *Bráhmans,* 50 horse, 2000 foot.
  11. *Sáñdi,* Fort of burnt brick. 211,804*b.* 3,055,339*d.* 195,106*s.* *Somhansís.* 20 horse 2000 foot.
  12. *Sarah.* 28,832*b.* 2,091,983*d.* 8,666*s.* *Chauháns.* 60 horse, 500 foot.
  13. *Sadrpúr.* 120,698*b.* 831,175*d.* 15,581*s.* *Janwárs* and *Báchhils.* 20 horse, 500 foot.

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14. Gopáman Fort of burnt brick. 1,07,368*b*. 5*b*. 5,620,466*d*. 562,037*s*. Rajputs Kunwar (var. lect. Bisen and Kunwar). 100 horse, 3000 foot.
15. Kheri. Fort of burnt brick. 260,168*b*. 3,250,522*d*. 50,522*s*. Bisen Rajpúts and Janwárs. 60 horse, 1,500 foot.
16. Khairigarh. One of the strongest forts in Hindustán, and it has six forts of brick plastered with lime at a short distance from it. 43,052*b*. 7*b*. 1,829,327*d*. Bais, Bisen, and Báchhil and Kahanah (?). 300 horse, 1,500 foot.
17. Kharkhilá. 15,815*b*. 16*b*. 473,727*d*. Káin (?). 20 horse, 500 foot.
18. Khánkatman. 3,057*b*. 11*b*. 235,656*d*. Castes various. 400 foot
19. Láharpúr. 208,288*b*. 3,029,479*d*. 209,079*s*. Bráhmans. 50 horse, 1000 foot.
20. Machhraṭṭah. 71,069*b*. 2,112,176*d*. 2,430*s*. Báchhil Rajpúts. 30 horse, 2000 foot.
21. Nímkhár. Fort of burnt brick. 58,775*b*. 18*b*. 3,566,055*d*. 66,055*d*. Ahirs. 100 horse, 1,500 foot.
22. Hargánw. 66,952*b*. 200,000*d*. 26,385*s*. Bráhmans. 20 horse, 500 foot.

In this sarkár all the mahals have been identified by the settlement officers of the Hardói, Sítápúr, and Kheri districts, but nearly all of them call for some explanation.

1. Barwar Anjanah was a large tract of mostly uninhabited forest country which included the present parganahs of Alamnagar, Piháni-Padaruá in the Hardói district and Pasgánw, Muhamdi, Magdápúr, Aurangábád, and Atwá-Pipariá in Kheri. It is said that the second name is properly Anjánah "unknown" so-called from the wild nature of the country, but this is doubtful. It was one large estate held by the Sayyids of Barwar. [In tracing the divisions of Akbar through the pages of the Settlement reports and the *Gazetteer* I have been much impeded by the fact that the writers are all deeply interested in the history of the great proprietary clans and only give geographical notices under those heads, so that one has to hunt up a parganah through a dozen notices.]

3. Páli included the present parganahs of Shahábád and Pachhohá and part of Saromannagar and Katiári.

5. Basrah, was apparently a very small parganah and it is remarkable that no revenue is assigned to it in the text. It is not to be found on the map nor is it mentioned in the O. G.

6. Bhurwárah, a vast and undefined mahal which appears to have included the present parganahs of Bhúr, Haidarabád, Aliganj and per-



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haps also Paliá across the Chauká or so much of it as was inhabited at that time. In the north of the Kheri district we get into the jungles again as in Bahráich and exact boundaries are not to be expected.

7. Bisará, there is a small parganah of this name west of parganah Kheri, there is no notice of it in the O. G. unless perhaps it may be alluded to casually in some of the long accounts of Rajpút and other clans of which that work is full, to the exclusion of more precise information.

8. Paila still extant, it included also Karanpúr to the north.

9. Chhitiápúr is the old name of Sitápúr.

11. Sándi appears to have included so much of Katiari as was not in Pali, but where the line is to be drawn is not known.

17. Kharkhilá, The spelling is that of Blochmann's text, but it appears it should be Karkhila and not Khar. The modern name is Karaona, and the first syllable is said to be the Sanskrit *kara* = a hand; there is a legend about a Raja who lost his hands and had them restored by bathing in a sacred tank at this place.

18. Khánkhatmau is now in the Farnkhábád district of the N. W. P.

21. Nímkhár. There is now no parganah of this name though the ancient and sacred town of Nímkhár or Nimsár is still in existence. This large estate comprised the modern parganahs of Aurangabad, Miarikh, Maholi, Kasta-Abgánw, and Sikandarábád forming a long narrow strip running from north to south in the Sitápúr and Kheri districts.

The remaining parganahs are still extant and probably very nearly their former extent, though there have been here and there a few transfers of villages from one to another.

In Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 17, the ruling clan is given as Ásanín or Áhanín with variants Ásín and Áhin. I would read in all these cases Ahbans. In the Persian character *آهبنين* or *آهبنين* is very like *اهبني* and may easily have been mistaken for it. The Ahbans were a powerful proprietary tribe in western Oudh for many centuries. I am in doubt as to the name *كهنه* in No. 16. It may be for *كهنبه* Khumbí. There are one or two parganahs unaccounted for in the Aín. These are:

I. Barwan, between Páli and Sándi. In the Hardoi S. R. p. 95 it is said that Barwan is mentioned in the Aín and the writer gives its area and revenue. I do not know where he got this information as there is no mention of Barwan in Blochmann's text, nor is there any mahal having the area or revenue quoted in the S. R.

II. Chandra. In the Sitápúr S. R. p. 85 it is stated that the old name of this parganah was Haveli. But the Haveli or home county of this Sarkár is Khairabad which is separated from Chandra by Nímkhár and Sitápúr. Some changes of villages from one parganah to another

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have occurred since Akbar's time, and it is possible that Chandra may have formed part of the Haveli mahal of Khairabad. I have shown it in the map as uncertain.

IV. Gundlmau. This pargana is not in the Ain and my authorities give no information on the subject. I presume it was part of the great Nimkhár estate but have shown it in the map as uncertain.

This Sarkár it will be seen includes the whole of western Oudh. In the southern part the mahals are generally clearly traceable and well defined, but in the north the great submontane forest appears to have been only sparsely peopled and to lay down definite boundary lines on the map would not only be impossible, but would convey an erroneous impression by making precise divisions which were not in existence in the time of Akbar. Kheri on its northern side, Khairigarh and Bhurwára have therefore been left unmarked by boundary lines and I am very doubtful about the northern boundary of Killá Nawagarh and Firozabad which adjoin them.

It only remains to observe that special interest attaches to Láharpúr in this Sarkár from its being the birthplace of the illustrious financier Raja Todar Mal, the author of the great revenue settlement whose features we are now endeavouring to restore.

#### V. Sarkar Lakhnau.

- 55 mahals. 3,307,426*b.* 2*b.* 80,716,160*d.* 4,572,526*s.* Castes various.  
2,680 horse, 36 elephants, 83,450 foot.
1. Abethí. Fort of burnt brick. 117,381*b.* 3,076,480*d.* 3,002,17*s.*  
Ansáris. 300 horse, 20 elephants, 2,000 foot.
  2. Unám. Has a brick fort. 61,045*b.* 2,012,372*d.* 2,537,475*s.*  
Saiyids. 50 horse, 4,000 foot.
  3. Isauli. Fort of burnt brick on the banks of the river Gúdi.  
1,670,093*b.* 4,208,046*d.* 240,846*s.* Bachgoti  
Rajpúts. 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
  4. Asewan. 57,726*b.* 830,625*d.* 63,421*s.* Bais and Chandel.  
10 horse, 500 foot.
  5. Asoha. 25,027*b.* 509,901*d.* Ahanín (?). 400 foot.
  6. Unchhgánw. 33,122*b.* 417,957*d.* Bais. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
  7. Bilgránw. Fort of burnt brick. 5,124,113*b.* 356,892*d.* Saiyids  
and Bais. 20 horse, 1,000 foot.
  8. Bangarmau. Brick fort. 242,291*b.* 3,802,122*d.* 151,481*s.*  
Gahlot Rajpúts. 2,000 foot.
  9. Bijlor. 80,581*b.* 2,505,047*d.* 193,961*s.* Chanháns. 30 horse,  
1,000 foot.
  10. Bári. 70,590*b.* 1,284,799*d.* 51,560*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 1,000 foot.

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11. Bahrimau. 19,409*b*. 3*b*. 591,406*d*. Bais. 20 horse, 500 foot.
12. Pingwán. 34,727*b*. 420,832*d*. 12,730*s*. Bais. 500 foot.
13. Bithauli. 8,736*b*. 8,194*s*. 340,191*d*. Rajputs and Jats. 200 foot.
14. Panhan. 8,945*b*. 267,809*d*. Bais. 300 foot.
15. Parsandan. 9,111*b*. 237,537*d*. Rájputs and Khumbis. 200 foot.
16. Páñan. 5,621*b*. 214,255*d*. Bráhmans and Khumbis. 400 foot.
17. Tará Shikaur. 9,357*b*. 123,534*d*. Brahmans. 300 foot.
18. Jhalotar. 61,774*b*. 1,123,176*d*. 21,441*s*. Chandels. 20 horse, 2,000 foot.
19. Dewe. Fort of burnt brick. 88,638*b*. 1,933,837*d*. 174,207*s*. Rajputs. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
20. Deorakh. 13,340*b*. 9*b*. 689,536*d*. Bais. 100 horse, 1,500 foot.
21. Dadrah. 10,796*b*. 73,737*d*. Rajpúts. 50 foot.
22. Rambharpur. Fort of burnt brick. 75,490*b*. 2,425,775*d*. 79,225*s*. Bais and Bráhmans. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
23. Rámkot. Fort of burnt brick. 9,790*b*. 267,099*d*. Rajputs. 200 foot.
24. Sandilah. Fort of burnt brick. 3,937,200*b*. 10,623,901*d*. 837,245*s*. Gahlots and Báchils. 100 horse, 5,000 foot.
25. Sáipúr. 39,083*b*. 15*b*. 2,625,388*d*. 27,736*s*. Chandel Rájputs. 40 horse, 1,000 foot.
26. Sarosi. 25,710*b*. 1,239,767*d*. 1,567*s*. Chandel Rájputs. 20 horse, 1,000 foot.
27. Sátanpur. 60,600*b*. 1,028,800*d*. 10,192*s*. Bais and Brahmans. 50 horse, 2,000 foot.
28. Siháli. 13,065*b*. 694,707*d*. 130,216*s*. Rájputs. 10 horse, 500 foot.
29. Sidhaur. 35,794*b*. 1,692,281*d*. 313,022*s*. Afghans (?) and Rájputs. 100 horse, 1,000 foot.
30. Sidhúpúr. 9,371*b*. 4*b*. 505,018*d*. Bais. 150 horse, 1,500 foot.
31. Sandi. 7,852*b*. 9*b*. 392,313*d*. 13,792*s*. Rajputs. 1,000 foot.
32. Saron. 5,576*b*. 210,316*d*. 2,858*s*. Rajputs and Khumbis. 100 foot.
33. Fatihpur. Fort of burnt brick. 19,830*b*. 3,161,440*d*. Shekh-zádas and Rajputs. 200 horse, 5 elephants, 2,000 foot.
34. Fatihpúr Chaurási. 105,952*b*. 909,176*d*. 6,594*s*. Rájputs and (1) Chandols. 10 horse, 500 foot.

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35. **Gaḥ Ambīḥī.** Fort of burnt brick. 47,356*b.* 1,800,000*d.*  
Bahmangoti Rajputs. 250 horse, 8 elephants,  
5,500 foot.
36. **Kursi.** Fort of burnt brick. 80 817*l.* 1,693,844*d.* 62,919*s.*  
Rajputs. 60 horse, 3 elephant, 2,000 foot.
37. **Kākori.** Fort of burnt brick. 31,574*b.* 1,134,432*d.* 14,430*s.*  
Bisen Rajputs. 30 horse, 500 foot.
38. **Kahanjarah.** 22,300*b.* 818,472*d.* Bais. 100 horse, 2,000 foot.
39. **Ghātampūr.** 27,390*b.* 552,561*d.* Brahmans. 500 foot.
40. **Kachh Ando.** 22,066*b.* 430,596*d.* 4,460*s.* Chandels. 500 foot.
41. **Garandá.** 4,803*b.* 334,769*d.*
42. **Kúmbhī.** 5,940*b.* 267,089*d.* Rajputs. 400 foot.
43. **Lakhuu bá Havelí.** 91,722*b.* 1,746,771*d.* 241,195*s.* Shekh-  
zádahs, Bráhmans, and Káyaths. 200 horse,  
3,000 foot.
44. **Laahkar.** 16,794*b.* 167,529. Bais. 4,000 foot.
45. **Malihábád.** Fort of burnt brick. 169,269*b.* 4,479,250*d.*  
108,545*s.* Bais. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
46. **Maláwah.** 83,022*b.* 3,598,713*d.* 222,038*s.* Bais. 30 horse,  
2,000 foot.
47. **Mohán.** Fort of burnt brick. 60,990*b.* 1,996,673*d.* 198,484*s.*  
Bais Rajputs. 30 horse, 2,000 foot.
48. **Moránw.** Brick fort. 68,847*b.* 1,698,444*d.* 4,806*s.* Bais Raj-  
púts. 150 horse, 2,000 foot.
49. **Maḍiánw.** 49,422*b.* 1,136,613*d.* 32,900*s.* Baswar and Bar-  
kalá (?). 30 horse, 500 foot.
50. **Mahonab** 50,895*b.* 977,860*d.* 8,805*s.* Rájputs. 50 horse, 2000  
foot.
51. **Manwí.** Fort of burnt brick. 29,500*b.* 771,372*d.* 13,767*s.*  
Musalmáns and Rájpúts. 2,000 foot.
52. **Makráid.** 17,959*b.* 576,200*d.* 5,247*s.* Bais Rájputs. 1,000  
foot.
53. **Haḍhah.** Brick fort. 11,734*b.* 359,748*d.* 6,026*s.* Bráhmans.  
300 foot.
54. **Haihar.** 13,109*b.* 329,735*d.* Bais. 30 horse, 500 foot.

The greater number of the mahals in this sarkár are still extant and have been identified by Mr. Millett in the Sultanpúr S. R. Those portions which lie in the Bara Banki district present some difficulties owing to the absence of all historical data from the S. R. of that district; the writer of which says he leaves such matters to the compiler of the *Oudh Gasetteer*. The O. G., however, merely copies the scanty notes of the S. R., so we are left in the dark.

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1. Abethí is now spelt Amethí. The original word appears to have been Ambishthi which would give either spelling in its Prákrit form. The parganah is now known as Mohanálganj, the town retains the old name.

5. Asohú is now combined into one parganah with Parsandan No. 15

6. Unchhganw. This mahal with Tara Singhaur (which appears to be the true reading for Bára Shikaur of Blochmann's text) No. 17 and Sidhúpúr No. 30, has since Akbar's time been made into the one parganah of Daundia Khera.

7. Bilgránw or -grám is the site of the famous battle in A. D. 1540 where Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah. The mahal included the modern parganah of Bangar. O. G. I. 223.

9. Bijlor is now written Bijnor. The *l*, however, is right, as the original word seems to have been Bijlipúr.

11. Bahríman or Pahríman was the old name of Pírnagar.

12. Pingwán or Bangwán I cannot find anywhere. Perhaps the local officers can enlighten me.

13. Bithaulí. Spelt in the O. G. Bhitauli. The town is on the Doab between the Gogra and Chauka but it is difficult to define the boundaries of this mahal and Sailak in Sarkár Avadh (*vide supra*).

20. Deorakh. This mahal also I cannot find.

21. Dadrah appears to account for a portion of the blank space in the Bara Banki district not covered (as far as can be seen) by any name in the Ain. This space is now divided between the Nawábganj and Partábganj parganahs both of which, however, are of very recent creation.

22. Rambhirpur is now called Purwá, the last half of the old name Rambhirpurwá with the Eastern Hindi lengthened nominative.

23. Ramkot lies all by itself in the middle of Khairábád. This Sarkár has several detached portions besides Ramkot, *viz.*, Garh Amethi and Isauli in S. Avadh, Hardoi in S. Manikpur and perhaps Bithauli in Bahráich.

24. Sandilá appears to have included Bálámanu O. G. I. 209.

25. Sáipúr is also known as Safipúr.

26. Saron the old name of Sikandarpur near Unao.

27. Sátanpur the old name of Khiron.

28. Sihálí, still a town in parganah Fattihpur of Bara Banki.

31. Sandí, now called Siassindi, this is probably the proper name for which Sandi is a copyist's error.

38. Kahanjarah, not traceable.

41. Garandá, probably the same as Gundwa or Gonda. The text گوند may be an error for گوند.

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42. Kumbhi, not traceable.

44. Lashkar said to be for Nisgarh, which is said to be a well-known village (Sultanpur S. R. s. v.) the position, however, is not stated.

48. Moránw is now spelt Manránwán, an E. Hindi dialectic form.

49. Madiánw now Madiánwán. This is now included in Mahona.

54. Haihar is not traceable.

All the others are still extant. Modern parganahs not in the Aín, and not clearly identifiable are Nawabganj, Partabganj, Surajpur and Mawai Maholára, the last of which, however, probably belonged to Sarkár Avadh.

This Sarkár, the richest and most cultivated of the whole, occupies the south-west portion of the Subah with certain outlying patches, and includes within its boundaries the *enclave* of Satrikh.

The Dastúrs, which appear to have been somewhat similar to modern Districts (see Elliot, *Races of N. W. P.*, Vol. II, p. 201) are as follows: (Aín, Text, Vol. I, p. 352.)

Sarkár Avadh. 19 mahals, 2 of which are included in Khairábád.

These two, however, are not specified. All the mahals of the Sarkár except two form the 1st dastúr. Ibrahimábád alone forms the 2nd dastúr, and Kishni alone the 3rd.

Sarkár Bahráich. Firozábád and Sultánpúr 1st dastúr. Kahronsa, 2nd dastúr, and all the rest the 3rd.

Sarkár Khairábád. 1st d. Haveli, Bisará, Biswah, Basrah, Chitimpúr, Khairigarh, Sadupúr, Kheri, Karkhilá, Láharpur, Machhrahtá, and Harguon.

2nd d. Páli, Barwar-Anjaná, Báwan, Sándí, Sarah, Gopánnu, and Nimkár.

3rd d. Bhurwárah and Pailá.

Sarkár Gorakhpúr. Constituted one dastúr.

Sarkár Lakhaná. 2 dastúrs. Unám, Bilgrám, Bangarmau, Hardoi, Sultánpúr, Fatihpur-Chaurási, Kachhand and Maláwah form one dastúr, and all the rest the other.

I have excluded from this review all those portions of the present province of Oudh which did not lie within the Subah of that name. These will be dealt with under Subah Iláhábás. They are parts of Rai Bareli, Partábgarh (nearly the whole), Sultánpúr and Faizábád. It will be seen that there are a good number of uncertain points, and my map cannot be accepted as anything but a first attempt. I trust, however, that it will be useful in one way; it is not until you come to construct a

map, and find yourself forced to account for every inch of the tract included, that you find out the gaps in your information. These I have now indicated, and I conclude with again expressing a hope that local officers interested in the history of the province will come forward with information which may clear up all the doubtful points.



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*On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar.* Part II.—By JOHN

BEAMES, B. C. S.

(With a Map.)

NO. II. SUBAH BIHAR.

In reconstructing the details of this large and important province very great difficulties have to be encountered. It is not so much that changes have taken place, for that has happened everywhere; but that for a long time past no record has been kept of such changes, rather there has been at one time an effort to obliterate all traces of them, and at another a policy of deliberately refraining from enquiring into them. The intentional falsification of the fiscal records by the later Muhammadan Subahdars, and the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis have each in its own way done much to efface the former political geography. That so many of the old parganahs are still traceable is due more to the conservative instincts of the people, than to any care that has been bestowed upon the matter by those in authority.

Even in Todar Mal's time parts of Bihár seem to have been somewhat imperfectly known. In the whole of the large Sarkár of Múngir (now generally written Monghyr) the areas of the mahals are wanting, and in some of the other Sarkárs also we find areas omitted here and there. The information regarding the contingents of horse and foot soldiery to be furnished is not given in detail for each mahal, but in most cases only in the lump for each Sarkár, and the castes or tribes of the proprietary families are only mentioned in a few instances. Moreover there are large areas on the map which are not covered by any of the mahals named in the lists, and which we must therefore assume to have been unassessed, and probably uninhabited, in those days.



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When we examine the extent and boundaries of the whole province as given in the *Ain* we find nevertheless that they correspond tolerably closely to those of the present day. The length is said to be from Garhi to Rohtás 120 kos. Garhi is the old fort now known as Teliágarhi a little to the west of Sahibganj at the point where the Santhál Hills touch the Ganges. This fort was regarded as the key of Bengal, and the beginning of that province. By Rohtás we must understand, not the historical fortress of that name, but the western boundary of the Sarkár of which it was the capital, for the fortress itself as will be seen from the map lies far to the east of the boundary. Taking Akbar's kos at about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  English miles,\* the distance would be about 300 miles; but this must have been obtained by measuring along the then existing roads, for the actual distance as the crow flies is only 210 miles.

Similarly the breadth from north to south, which is vaguely described as being from Tirhut to the hill ranges, meaning evidently the northern ranges of the Vindhya, is given as 110 kos = 275 miles. But measuring as the crow flies on the modern map from the northern boundary of Tirhut to the southern boundary of Monghyr,† we find the actual distance not more than 160 miles. It will also be seen further on that some of the mahals included in Sarkár Tirhut are now under Nepal, and that it is impossible to decide how far to the south among the scattered and broken groups of hills which run all through this part of the Subah, Muhammadan power, or at any rate Muhammadan pretensions, extended.

Abul Fazl states the boundaries of the Subah as follows. On the east Subah Bangálah (Bengal), on the west Subahs Iláhabád and Avadh, on the north and south high mountains, meaning of course the Himalayas and Vindhya respectively. These boundaries correspond with tolerable accuracy to the present ones on the east and west, though they can hardly be said to be defined at all on the north and south any more than they are in the present day. On the north disputes with the Nepal State have recurred at intervals down to the present time, and on the south the boundaries between districts in the Bihár Province and those in Chota Nágpur are varied from time to time to suit the exigencies of modern administration. The country is hilly and irregular, and it is difficult to draw a definite line of demarcation between the tracts inhabited by an Aryan population, and those inhabited by Kolarian and Dravidian tribes, such as Santhals, Khonds and Koles. The former only would, it may be supposed, be included in the Subah.

\* Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.* vol. ii, p. 194. The exact length is 2 miles 4 furlongs 168 yards.

† I mean the modern districts bearing those names, not the Sarkárs of the *Ain*.

The southern boundary has in fact always been vague and undefined. The Muhammadan forces consisting as they did, chiefly of cavalry, seem to have been very easily beaten back from broken or rocky country, and it will be seen further on how even the insignificant hills which cut in two the southern part of the province impinging on the Ganges at Múngir, remain independent down to a comparatively late period, and how the names of the mahals in Sarkar Bihár and Múngir testify to the scattered nature of Muhammadan power in those parts.

The Ganges, Son, and Gandak are mentioned as the chief rivers of the province, and a petrifying power is ascribed to the waters of the Son. This is true only of certain springs in the upper part of its course. It is also correctly stated that the Son, Narbadda and Jhulá rivers all rise close to each other on the Amarkantak mountain.\* But on the whole the geographical details regarding this Subah are decidedly meagre when contrasted with those of Subahs nearer the capital.

Todar Mal's Settlement of A. D. 1582 lasted unaltered only for about a century, a fresh Settlement having been made in the 27th year of Aurangzeb, A. D. 1685—by which the total revenue of the province was raised from fifty-five to eighty-five lakhs. The only territorial change was the division of the old Sarkar of Ruhtás into two; Ruhtás and Bhojpúr.

This Settlement did not remain in force so long as its predecessor having been superseded in 1750, at a time when the power of the Mughal dynasty had virtually come to an end, by a fresh Settlement the details of which were carried out by Jánaki Rám the Naib Diwán of Bihár, under the orders of Ali Vardi Khán, Subahdar of Bengal. The revenue was now further raised to ninety-five and a half lakhs. Although the old territorial divisions of Sarkárs and mahals remained nominally unchanged, there were nevertheless in reality very great changes made. It would lead me too far from my present subject to enter into details of these changes and they could not be understood without reference to official maps which are not available to the public. The object aimed at was the increase of the revenue levied from the people to the highest practicable point, while the increase of revenue payable to the central Government should be as small as possible, so that there might remain

\* There is apparently an error in the Persian text of the Ain (Vol. I, p 416) where the Son is said to fall into the Ganges from the north instead of from the south. The text is here, however, corrupt. That the Son is meant seems clear from the mention of Munir as the point of junction. If we can read the doubtful word *ساریا* or *ساریا* as *sarya*, the passage would refer to the Ghográ, which does fall into the Ganges from the north opposite Munir. Possibly the word *بی* or *بی* preceding *نیر* may be for *نال* = *ندی* *nad* 'river,' as Abul Fazl sometimes employs Hindi words.

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a very great difference between what the Subahdar had to receive from those below him, and what he had to pay to those above him; such difference naturally going into his own pocket. Another object was to carve out for favourites and dependants new estates in various parts of the province without reducing to a corresponding extent the revenue demandable from the landholders whose estates were thus encroached upon and diminished. With this view a village here and a village there, a few bighas in one place and a few more in another, were created into an estate, the grantees of which had to pay a certain revenue, while the persons from whose estates these pilferings had been made still continued to pay their old rent, or at most a rent only slightly reduced.

These tactics were followed by large proprietors in respect of their own estates, and in fact every one who was powerful enough to rob the State or his neighbours, robbed to his heart's content. In addition to this constant spoliation and forcible transfer of estates, there was the unceasing resumption of rent-free tenures, and the creation of all sorts of fresh imposts, under the generic title of *sáir* or "remainder," and other quaint technical names, mostly in order to provide an income for the various ranks of officials, or to meet some new extravagance of the Subahdar himself. Whosoever wishes to bewilder himself by an examination of this extraordinary complication of revenue matters, may read Mr. J. Grant's *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*, and may wonder at, though he will probably not understand, the remarkable skill with which the writer disentangles the web of accounts, and produces as the result the "*Jamá tashkhis bandobasti*" of A. D. 1765, on which the Permanent Settlement was based. With the Permanent Settlement the curtain falls on the subject; and from that time to the present all is darkness.

I now proceed to the details of this Subah. It contained seven Sarkáras, viz. :—

Bihár.	Hájípúr.
Múngír.	Sáran.
Champáran.	Tirhut.
	Ruhtás.

Comprising 199 mahals or parganahs. The total revenue is given in the introductory remarks as dams 22, 19, 19, 404 of which dams 17, 26, 81, 779 are from *nakdí*, and dams 4, 92, 37, 630 *sayúrghál*. These figures, however, do not agree with the result obtained by adding together the revenue of each of the seven Sarkáras as given in the lists which follow the introduction. The total of the figures for the Sarkáras is dams 38, 51, 18, 242.\* As regards the area no definite statement can

See Thomas's *Pathan kings of Delhi*, p. 368, for a discussion as to the accuracy of Abul Fazl's figures.

be arrived at, for though the total area is given in the introduction as 24,44,120 bigahs, these figures refer only to the measured (i. e., cultivated) area "zamin-i psimúdah" and in the Sarkár lists detailed areas are wanting for all the parganahs of Sarkár Múngír and many of those in the other Sarkárs.

## I. SARKÁR BIHÁR.

46 mehals. Area 9,52,598 bigahs. Revenue 8,019,639 dams naḳḳí under the head of zabti\* and naḳḳí: 2,270,147 sayurghál. Castes various. 2,115 horse 67,350 foot.

1. Arwal. 5,79,089 b. 5 b. 4,26,780 d. 1000 foot.
2. Ukhri. 49,401 b. 10 b. 3,747,940 d.
3. Ikal. 40,404 b. 4 b. 3,35,260 d. Bráhmans and Afgháns. 200 foot.
4. Amretú. 24,387 b. 19 b. 1,821,333 d. 16,035 s.
5. Amblo. 8,47,920 d. Bráhmans 250 foot.
6. Anclihá. 10,296 b. 7 b. 6,700,000 d. Afgháns. 20 horse. 300 foot.
7. Antari. 1,998 b. 9 b. 1,47,980 d. Káyaths. 20 horse. 200 foot.
8. Bihár bá havelí. Has a fort of stone and burnt brick. 70,683 b. 9 b. 5,534,157 d. 6,53,200 s. 10 horse. 400 foot.
9. Bhiláwar. 48,310 b. 3 b. 3,651,640 d. 9000 s. Bráhmans. 500 foot.
10. Biswak. 35,318 b. 18 b. 2,706,539 d. 1,708,130 s. Shaikhzádahs. 300 foot.
11. Pilich. 30,030 b. 18 b. 2,270,438 d. 59,185 s. Bráhmans. 500 foot.
12. Bahá. 26,000 b. 18 b. 2,056,502 d. 85,747 s. Rájputs. 20 horse. 400 foot.
13. Patna. Has two forts, one of burnt, the other of unburnt brick 21,846 b. 8 b. 1,922,430 d. 1,31,807 s.
14. Phulwári. 20,225 b. 19 b. 1,585,420 d. 1,18,120 s. Rájputs. 20 horse. 700 foot.
15. Panrá. 12,283 b. 6. b. 941,160 d. 18,560 s. Bráhmans. 20 horse. 400 foot.
16. Bhímpúr. 10,862 b. 15. b. 824,584 d. 24,424 s.
17. Pundág. 727,640 d. Jabardah. 300 horse. 2000 foot.

\* "Zabty, resumed lands appropriated in jagher to defray the expenses of the standing military force," but subsequently "included in the receipts of the royal treasury." (Grant's Analysis, p. 255.)

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|------------------|---|
| 18. Tilādah.     | 39,053 b. 12 b. 2,920,366 d. 232,080 s. Shekhzādahs<br>20 horse. 300 foot.                                  |
| 19. Jarar.       | 12,930 b. 10 b. 979,363 d. 880 s. Shekhzādahs. 20<br>horse. 500 foot.                                       |
| 20. Chirgānw.    | 904,440 d. Brāhmans. 20 horse. 300 foot.  |
| 21. Jaychampā.   | 620,000 d. Jabardah. 20 horse. 600 foot.  |
| 22. Dādar.       | 262,500 d.  |
| 23. Dhaknair.    | 215,680 d.  |
| 24. Rūh.         | 250,100 d. Brāhmans. 20. horse. 1500 foot.  |
| 25. Rāmpūr.      | 363,820 d.  |
| 26. Rājgarh.     | 3,756 b. 12 b. 288,228 d. 17,225 s.   |
| 27. Sunaut.      | 36,780 b. 7. h. 28,24,180 d. 20 horse. 500 foot.  |
| 28. Samāi.       | 32,514 b. 3 b. 2,537,080 d. 62,380 s. Kāyths. 10<br>horse. 200 foot.  |
| 29. Sihrah.      | 20,79,000 d. Kājputā. 500 feet.   |
| 30. Sāndah.      | 24,962 b. 2 b. 1,889,956 d. Afghāns. 500 foot.  |
| 31. Siyur.       | Stone fort on top of a hill. 14,145 8 b. 1,250,591 d.<br>Brāhmans. 200 horse. 5000 foot.                    |
| 32. Ghayāspūr.   | 84,205 b. 5,657,290 d. 227,554 d.   |
| 33. Gidhaur.     | Stone fort on top of a hill in the middle of the jun-<br>gle. 1,452,500 d. Rājputā. 259 horse. 10,000 foot. |
| 34. Kātibharā.   | 7,37,540 d.   |
| 35. Kābar.       | 7,400 b. 9 b. 5,60,875 d. Kāyaths. 30 horse. 700 foot.  |
| 36. Gūh          | 374,880 d. Rājputā. 100 horse. 1000 foot.   |
| 37. Ghāsi Bihār. | 360,820 d.  |
| 38. Karanpūr.    | 353,820 d.  |
| 39. Gayā.        | 951 b. 74,270 d. 14,235 s.  |
| 40. Mamr.        | 69,039 b. 15 b. 7,049,179 d. 325,380 s.   |
| 41. Masudhā.     | 67,161 b. 10 b. 4,631,680 d.  |
| 42. Māldah.      | 28,121 b. 9 b. 2,151,575 d. 49,805 s. Brāhmans. 100<br>horse. 3000 foot.                                    |
| 43. Mansurā.     | 7,706 b. 6 b. 585,500 d. Brāhmans. 20 horse. 500<br>foot.   |
| 44. Mahair.      | 23,937 b. 19 b. 1,779,540 d. 47,700 s. Brāhmans. 200<br>foot.   |
| 45. Narhat.      | 30,555 b. 7 b. 2,380,309 d. 5 horse. 200 foot.  |

At the beginning of the list it is stated that there are 40 mahals but the list itself only contains 45. Either Bihār is to be counted as two mahals, one for the Haveli, and one for the Baldah, or No. 21 Jaychampā must be counted as two, as the modern parganahs of Chai and Champā are distinct from one another, and may have been so in former times.

It is important to observe the situation of the mahals whose area is given as distinguished from those for which only the revenue is stated, as this distinction affords a means of judging how far Muhammadan supremacy really extended. On comparing the list with the map accompanying this article it will be seen that the mahals whose measurement is given are those lying in the great plain of Bihár, while most of those in and between the hills are unmeasured, and there is every reason for believing that they had not at the time of the Settlement been really conquered.

I have succeeded in identifying all but two out of the forty-five mahals of this Sarkár, though some are only conjecturally traceable.

5. Amblo. There is no parganá of this name now extant in either Gya or Patna districts. There is Amlo (now called Amlo Mutia) in Bhágalpúr, but that is separately given under Sarkár Múngír. It is just possible that in the general ignorance that prevailed regarding the outlying parts of of Sarkár Bihár this mahal may have been entered twice over by mistake. It is one of the unmeasured mahals many of which were put down by Todar Mal from hearsay or other vague indications.

16. Bhimpúr is still extant, but it was formerly larger than at present, a new parganah Shahjáhánpúr having been carved out of it, the name of which shews that its creation was later than Akbar's days.

17. Pandág is the same as Paláman and roughly indicates a vast tract of country lying south of Sherghotty and only nominally subject to the empire in the time of Akbar as it was not conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb,\* though there had probably been occasional raids into various parts of the country before, and the name was therefore known to Todar Mal and inserted in his rent roll with a purely imaginary revenue. The name of the proprietary clan in this and No. 21 is given as جبرده Jabardah in the Persian text; but this is a copyist's error for چيروك cherok, the Muhammadan way of spelling the name of the well known aboriginal Chero race.†

21. Jaychampa. Properly Chai Champa two contiguous parganahs now in the north of Hazaribagh district, invaded about A. D. 1340 by a general of Muhammad Tughlak.‡ The old fort of Chai is still in existence. These mahals like Pandág were probably only known by hearsay to Todar Mal and not actually subject to the Empire.

23. Dhaknair. Properly spelt Dakhnair, i. e., Dakshina nagara. Nagara becomes nayara in Prákrit, e. g., Bikanír, Bhatnair, etc.

\* See a full account by Blochmann in J. A. S. B. Vol. XL, p. 111.

† *ib.* p. 118.

‡ Col. Dalton's note in Hunter's Statistical Account of Hazaribagh, p. 67.

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25. Rámpúr. An unmeasured mahal probably the pargana of that name in Hazáribagh, known to, but not possessed, by the Mughals.

26. Rájgarh. The celebrated Buddhist centre Rajgir. Abul Fazi has substituted the familiar termination *garh* for the less common *gir* from Rájagriha the original Sanskrit name.

29. Sihrah. There is now no pargana of this name, the village of Sahra is in the south-east corner of Ghayáspúr.

31. Siyúr. There is no pargana of this name, but the fort of Sior or Siyúr Muhammadabad is well known. It is in pargana Rúh and the mahal dependent on it seems to have been very extensive including not only Pachrukhi but also the great zamindari of Klarakdihá in Hazaribagh.\* It is strange that its area should be given, while that of Rúh is not. The measurement, however, can refer only to a very small portion of the whole of this vast territory.

33. Gidhaur. Gidhrápúra = vulture-city. This is the capital of the great estate of this name; even in Akbar's time the Rája was one of the great chiefs of Bihár. The mahal included the modern pargana of Chakái and stretched nearly as far as Rohini.

34. Kátibhará. I have been unable to identify this place.

37. Ghátí Bihár. This is now called Shahr ghátí (vulgo Shergotty) and is a large and well known place at the foot of the gháts or mountain passes leading from the highlands of Chutia Nágpúr to the plain of Bihár.

38. Karanpur. A large pargana of this name is still extant south of the town of Hazaribagh. It was probably entered on the rent roll by Todar Mal merely on hearsay, the name having become known from the Muhammedan raids on Kokrah and Pundág. It could not have been actually subject to Akbar.

The Sarkár of Bihár thus reconstructed occupies the whole of the modern districts of Patna and Gaya, the western half of the great plain of Magadha. It also includes certain tracts now included in the districts of Hazaribagh and Lohárdaga in the Chutiá Nágpúr country, but as has been shown above, these latter tracts, such as Pundág, Chai-Champá, Karanpur, etc., were rather claimed, than possessed by the sovereign of Delhi, and it is impossible to say how far they extended. In the map which accompanies this article they have not been coloured but merely indicated by a line under the name.

It may be interesting to students of the science of language to notice that the area of this Sarkár corresponds pretty accurately with the area of the modern Magadhí dialect of Bihár as shewn in the map prefixed to Part I of Mr. Grierson's grammars of the Bihári language

\* Ibid, p. 129.

recently published. In fact the dialectic boundaries throughout this Subah correspond in a remarkable manner with those of the Sarkárs. Thus Sarkárs Ruhtás, Sárán and Champáran speak Bhojpúri, Sarkár Bihar Magadhí, Sarkárs Tirhut, Hajipúr and Múngír Maithili.\* This coincidence may be merely accidental, and due to the fact that the language boundaries were decided by the same considerations as the administrative boundaries, namely, the leading natural features of the country such as hills, rivers and so on. There are, however, parts where no such natural boundary exists, and in those the coincidence is not easily to be accounted for. The remarkable tongue-like projection of Magadhí south-eastwards beyond Jamui almost as far as Deogarah is apparently to be accounted for by the fact that all that country belonged to the Rájas of Gidhaur who on conquering it from the Santhals probably settled it with cultivators from the western parts of their territory who naturally spoke Magadhí.

## II. SARKÁR MÚNGÍA.

31 mahals, 109,625,981½ dams. Castes various. 2,150 horse. 50,000 foot.

1. Abhaypúr.	20,00,000 d.
2. Uslá.	89,760 d.
3. Ango.	147,800 d.
4. Amblo.	50,000 d.
5. Bhágalpur.	46,96,110 d.
6. Baliá.	32,87,320 d.
7. Pharkiyah.	30,00,000 d.
8. Pahárpárah.	140,920 d.
9. Pasmí.	132,300 d.
10. Tanúr.	88,420 d.
11. Chha.	92,80,000 d.
12. Chanduí.	3,60,000 d.
13. Dharpúr.	40,00,000 d.
14. Dánd Sukhwárah.	1,36,000 d.
15. Rohini.	95,360 d.
16. Sarohí.	17,73,000 d.
17. Sukhdhará.	670,240 d.

\* I think, however, that Mr. Grierson has carried northern Maithili too far to the east in Purniab and the Morang. I was Collector of that district for four years, and my impression is that Maithili is confined to the parganah of Dharampur which formed part of Sarkár Múngír. In central and northern Purniab the language is utterly corrupt and too much mixed with Bengali to be fairly called Maithili. This, however, will be decided by Part VII of the Series of Grammars.



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18. Singhauli.	360,000 d.
19. Súrajgaḥ.	2,99,445 d.
20. Sikhrá ábdí.	1,60,000 d.
21. Saṭiári.	58,730 d.
22. Kahlgánw.	28,00,000 d.
23. Kherhi.	689,044 d.
24. Kojrah.	260,602 d.
25. Khetki.	160,000 d.
26. Lakhanpur.	633,280 d.
27. Masjidpur.	12,59,750 d.
28. Múngír bá Haveli.	808,907½ d.
29. Masdi.	29,725 d.
30. Hindue.	108,300 d.
31. Hazartaki.	9,182 d.

In this Sarkár it is noticeable in the first place that not a single mahal contains more than a statement of the revenue payable by it. There is no information as to area, ruling castes, or anything else. This is the more remarkable because Todar Mal himself resided for some time at Monghyr, though it is true he was at that time more intent on warlike than on financial pursuits. There is much to shew that all this south-eastern corner of Bihár was very imperfectly known to the Muhammadans, for instance, the important and well known estate of Kharakpúr does not occur as the name of a mahal at all. It is still the largest estate in south Bihár though it has passed away from the ownership of the ancient line of Rájás. Blochmann has discovered from the Akbar-náma that at the time of the conquest of Bengal and Bihár by Akbar Rája Sangráam Sahái of Kharakpur was one of the three principal chiefs of the country, and as he submitted to Akbar and with the exception of one or two passing revolts remained on the whole tolerably submissive all that reign one would expect to see his estate figure on Todar Mal's list. The only way to account for the omission is to suppose that Kharakpur itself was not at that time a separate mahal, and as nearly the whole of it consisted of hills either barren or covered with jungle there was probably no assessment, or if brought on the books at all, any assessment there might be would probably be Sayúrghál, and as no Sayúrghál is recorded for this Sarkár, the name of Kharakpúr would not find entry. All or nearly all the other parganas in this vast estate are duly mentioned, viz., Dándá Sukhwára, Hendueh, Hazártaki, Lakhanpur, Masdi, Pahárpárah, Sahrúí, Sukharábadi, Amló Mutia, Wasila and Kherhi, and it may be supposed that the land on which the fort and town of Kharakpur stood was included in one or other of these parganas.

Of the mahals entered in the above list all but three are still extant though probably the area of many of them has varied considerably.

2. Uslá is now written Wasilá.

3. Ango, not traceable.

4. Amblo, now called Amlo Mutia far down in the south of the Bhagalpúr district.

8. Páhárpára. This word is written in the text پنهرا with a var. lectio پهررا I propose to read پهارپارا and to identify the mahal with that now called Parbatpára, *parbat* and *pahár* meaning the same thing.

10. Tanúr. The record-keeper of the Monghyr Collectorate conjectures that the true reading is تهور, there is a mahal of this name Tahaur or rather Tahaurganj in Kharakpúr. This seems a somewhat doubtful identification. There is no place called Tanúr, as far as I can learn.

16. Sarohi now written شروپي Sahroi.

17. Sukhdhará seems to be a mistake for Sukhohará due to the similarity between د and ر. It was once a separate pargana but is now included in Haveli Monghyr.

21. Satiári now included in Bhágalpur.

25. Khetki not traceable, but is probably intended for Khetauria.

This Sarkár runs far down south-eastwards into the jungly tracts now in the Saathal Parganas and it is impossible to fix any definite boundaries in that direction. Probably the Muhammadans did no more than make occasional raids into this wild and difficult country, and the mahals lying in this direction, such as Hindue (Handoi, Hondueh, etc.). Bohizi and Passi have therefore been treated in the same way as Pundág and Chai Champá of Sarkár Bihár, and merely underlined.

In the north too the parganas of Pharkiyá and Chhai covered vast areas of sparsely peopled swamps and marshes and it is uncertain how far their boundary could be held to extend on the north. Much of the country included in the modern parganas of Náthpúr, Dhaphar, Náridigar and Nisanáhpúr Korá was down to comparatively recent times under the rule of the Nepalese government. None of these names are found in the Ain under Sarkár Múngir, though as will be shewn further on it is possible that some part of this country is included under one or other of the easternmost mahals of Sarkár Tirhut. The large mahal of Dharpúr now lying east but formerly west of the great Kosi river which has changed its course within recent times,\* forms the eastern

\* Almost within the memory of living men the Kosi flowed to the north-east of the town of Parmanah and its old course may still be clearly traced by a broad and deep depression in the soil running for some fifty miles across the district. Even

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frontier of Bihár and its boundary with Sarkar Purniah of Subah Bengal is distinct and unmistakable, but how far it went to the north cannot now be said with any certainty.

### III. SARKAR CHAMPÁRAN.

3 mahals. Area 85,711 b. 5 b. 55,13,420 d. 700 horse. 30,000 foot.

1. Simráw.	7,200 b. 2 b.	5,90,055 d.
2. Mihai.	56,095 b. 7 b.	35,13,435 d.
3. Majhowa.	22,415 b. 16 b.	14,04,890 d.

All three mahals are still extant. Simráw lies partly in British territory and partly in Nepal. The ruins of the old capital of Simráw (Samara gráma = battle-village) lie among dense jungle just across the Nepal frontier. Mihai, or Mahai lies to the south of it.

3. Majhowa is a very large parganah in the present day stretching as far as Tribeni Ghat, the point where the Gandak issues from the hills. It was not so large in the time of Akbar, for the great forest of the Champak tree from which the district takes its name (चम्पकचम्पकराज्या = Champáran) was not fully conquered and settled by the ancestors of the Mahárája of Bettiah nor was the now flourishing town of Bettiah founded till a much later date. I have shewn on the map only the eastern and southern boundaries of this mahal, it is impossible to say how far it may have extended in a north-westerly direction. It, however, probably touched on Sarkar Gorakhpúr in Subah Avadh just across the Gandak river, much of which especially on its eastern frontier was covered with forests.

### IV. SARKAR HÁJÍPÚR.

11 Mahals. Ten towns قصبه 436,952 b. 15 b. 2,73,31,030 dams.

1. Akbarpur.	3,366 b. 17 b.	1,95,040 d.
2. Busáji.	10,851 b. 14 b.	6,24,791 d.
3. Bisará.	1,06,370 b. 7 b.	63,80,000 d.
4. Bálágachh.	14,638 b. 2 b.	9,13,660 d.
5. Patkhará.	58,306 b. 13 b.	35,18,354 d.
6. Hájipúr Havelí.	62,653 b. 17 b.	38,33,460 d.
7. Rati.	30,438 b. 13 b.	18,24,980 d.
8. Suresá.	1,02,461 b. 8 b.	27,04,300 d.
9. 'Imádpúr.	12,987 b. 7 b.	7,95,870 d.
10. Kadahsandh.	8,76,200 d.	
11. Naipúr.	27,877 b. 9 b.	16,63,980 d.

within my own period of service the Kosi has removed many miles to the west of the course shewn on the Atlas of India and other comparatively recent maps; one stage of its frequent changes is marked by the chotá Kosi which still forms the boundary of parganah Dharampúr.

The whole of the above pargannahs are still in existence and clearly identifiable under their ancient names. Even in the cases of Nos. 5 and 10 there is no doubt as to what is meant.

2. Is usually spelt in the present day Bhusadah بهوسادہ

3. Bisará is a very large pargannah, now broken up into Tappas, the names of which are more used than that of the pargannah itself. Its actual situation and extent, however, are well-known.

5. Patkhará في پتھرا the reading given in Blochmann's text. He gives, however, in a note a *var. lect.* تیکھرا and this is correct. The old pargannah of Teghará lying along the left bank of the Ganges, in the south-east corner of the Sarkár, is now known as Mulki, but the town of Teghará still retains its old name.

10. Kadahand. This name is spelt in many ways in various MSS. but there can be no doubt that by it is meant the present pargannah of Gadhsar occupying the north-western point of the Sarkár.

This Sarkár is a long and rather narrow strip comprising the tract between the Burh Gandak river on the north-east, and the Gandak and Ganges on the south-west and south. North of the Burh Gandak lies Sarkár Tirhut, though in later times that name was applied to a much larger area.

#### V. SARKÁB SÁRAN.

17 mahals. Measured area 229,052 b. 15 b. 60,172,004½ d. Castes various. 1000 horse. 50,000 foot.

1. Andar.	7,218 b.	4 b.	5,34,990 d.
2. Barai	7,117 b.	10 b.	5,33,820 d.
3. Bál.	66,320 b.	5 b.	48,93,378 d.
4. Bára.	15,059 b.	3 b.	383,797½ d.
5. Narhan.	8,611 b.	8 b.	6,54,508 d.
6. Pachlakh.	9,266 b.	15 b.	4,87,997 d.
7. Chirend.	8,413 b.	13 b.	6,33,270 d.
8. Chaubára.			4,00,000 d.
9. Júnah.	6,763 b.	8 b.	3,09,282 d.
10. Digaí.	5,825 b.		2,77,630 d.
11. Sipáb.	2,662 b.		2,90,592 d.
12. Goá.	28,049 b.	3 b.	20,12,950 d.
13. Kalyánpúr.	17,437 b.		7,74,496 d.
14. Kashmir.	16,915 b.		13,14,539 d.
15. Mángjhi.	8,752 b.	19 b.	6,11,813 d.
16. Mandhal.	9,405 b.	7 b.	6,97,140 d.
17. Makír.	10,936 b.	14 b.	8,11,095 d.

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This Sarkár like that of Champáran has no Haveli; but it is well preserved. In the present day sixteen out of Todar Mal's seventeen mahals are in existence, though some of the modern names differ slightly from those in the Ain.

5. Narhan is entered here though not its proper place in alphabetical order, because it is by mistake written Barhan in the Ain. There is, however, no doubt that Narhan is meant.

7. Chirend now called Chiránd.

9. Júinah. There is no parganah of this name. I suspect the real reading is Chausah (چوسہ for چوبیس), which, according to Grant who calls it "Choseh," was transferred to Sarkár Gorakhpúr at some time between 1750 and 1765 A. D.

10. Digei is for Dhangsí, a mistake of dots only.

14. Kashmir is now called, and has apparently been always called Kasmar; the substitution of the better known name of the mountain kingdom which Akbar was then in process of absorbing into the Empire is a characteristic touch of the politics of the time.

15. Mángjhi, now, and probably always, Mánjhi. It is difficult to account by any phonetic process for the presence of the ك.

16. Mandhal now Marhal which is the same word under a slightly different pronunciation (मण्डल or मरुड).

#### VI. SARKÁR TIEHUT.

74 mahals. Measured area 2,66,464 b. 3 b. 1,91,89,777½ dásms.  
Castes various. 700 horse. 80,000 foot.

1. Ahispúr.	4,880 b.	3,02,550 d.
2. Utarkhand.	2,068 b.	1,28,412 d.
3. Ahilwár.	1,001 b. 1 b.	62,212 d.
4. Ubbí.	60,000 d.	
5. Ughará.	836 b. 15 b.	53,980 d.
6. Atháís.	559 b. 17 b.	34,356 d.
7. to 10. Basrí and others.	4 mahals	11,25,000 d.
11. Bharwárah.	16,176 b.	9,42,000 d.
12. Nánpúr.	40,347 b.	8,94,792 d.
13. Barel.	6,185 b.	7,89,858 d.
14. Píprá.	1,823 b. 18 b.	1,12,591 d.
15. Pađrí.	9,048 b.	5,54,258 d.
16. Basotrá.	8,864 b.	5,46,627 d.
17. Pachbí.	5,816 b.	3,61,960 d.
18. Bahnur.	5,033 b.	2,897,773½ d.
19. Baohhnur.	4,956 b.	275,185 d.

20.	Pachhim Bhigo.	4,095 b.	271,828 d.
21.	Bagdá.	3,716 b.	267,862½ d.
22.	Púmb Bhigo.	3,022 b. 17 b.	2,22,290 d.
23.	Pendrájab.	3,135 b. 4 b.	195,837½ d.
24.	Bádi Bhúsádi.	2,823 b.	1,75,585 d.
25.	Bhálá.	2,840 b.	1,25,437 d.
26.	Bhadwár.	2,087 b.	130,471½ d.
27.	Parihárpúr.	1,968 b.	121,067½ d.
28.	Bahádurpúr.	1,936 b. 12 b.	119,305 d.
29.	Barai.	1,455 b. 12 b.	90,369½ d.
30.	Parihár Rágho.	1,303 b. 17 b.	81,605 d.
31.	Bhaurá.	1,170 b. 9 b.	69,608 d.
32.	Pulwárah	1,060 b. 4 b.	65,527 d.
33.	Búrá.	875 b. 15 b.	55,757 d.
34.	Banwá.		40,539 d.
35.	Parihárpúr Jabdí.	6,040 b. 14 b.	37,736 d.
36.	Pengi.	505 b. 5 b.	31,550 d.
37.	Búchhávár.	188 b. 10 b.	12,875 d.
38.	Barsáni.	200 b. 18 b.	12,695 d.
39.	Tarání.	7,171 b.	443,242 d.
40.	Tilok Cháwand.	2,211 b. 7 b.	149,896 d.
41.	Tájpúr.	1,351 b. 14 b.	85,434 d.
42.	Tándah.	1,038 b. 1 b.	63,768 d.
43.	Tarson.	980 b. 4 b.	61,180 d.
44.	Tirhnt Haveli.	21,397 b.	1,307,706 d.
45.	Jákhár.	17,140 b.	1,068,020 d.
46.	Jaráíl.	8,297 b.	515,732 d.
47.	Chakmaní.	5,173 b.	321,326 d.
48.	Jakhalpúr.	3,092 b.	196,020 d.
49.	Jabdir		54,025 d.
50.	Dharaur.	3,165 b.	159,052 d.
51.	Darbhanga.	2,038 b.	202,818 d.
52.	Rám Cháwand.	7,409 b.	470,005½ d.
53.	Sareshtá.	15,474 b.	941,010 d.
54.	Salimpúr.	458 b. 14 b.	29,094 d.
55.	Salimábad.	44 b. 15 b.	4,184 d.
56.	Sanjaní Tadrá.	2,450 b.	150,843½ d.
57.	'Alápúr.	8,796 b.	442,466 d.
58.	Fakírábád.	1,170 b. 6 b.	72,355 d.
59.	Kahnaulí.	4,644 b.	408,804 d.
60.	Garh Cháwand.	5,510 b.	349,480½ d.
61.	Kodá Khand.	3,888 b.	243,677 d.

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62. Korádi.		9,000 d.
63. Khandá.	330 b. 6 b.	21,443 d.
64. Ladwári.	2,609 b.	142,495 d.
65. Mahilá.	15,295 b.	942,048 d.
66. Morwáh.	8,289 b.	515,485 d.
67. Mahend.	1,077 b. 12 b.	66,693 d.
68. Narangá.	632 b. 18 b.	39,022 d.
69. Malhni.	151 b. 1 b.	9,728 d.
70. Noram.		288,140 d.
71. Nautan.	3,381 b. 7. b.	209,153 d.
72. Háthi.	2,568 b. 18 b.	159,790½ d.
73. Hirni.	796 b. 17 b.	50,342 d.
74. Hávi.	3,665 b. 8 b.	230,700 d.

It would be a mistake to infer from the very great number of parganahs it contains that this Sarkár is larger than the others in this Subah. In fact it covers less area than Sarkárs Bihar or Múngir; the parganahs of which it is composed are in many instances very small, so small that they can hardly be shown on a map of moderate dimensions. I have had to indicate some of them by numbers. The Sarkár is one of the most difficult to reconstruct of any outside Bengal, many changes have taken place both in the names and arrangement of the parganahs and there are large areas absolutely unaccounted for. In dealing with tracts lying north of the Ganges we have always to take into consideration the fact that the extent of the *tarái* or submontane forest varies at different points in the most capricious manner, in some places stretching far down to the south and being apparently omitted from Akbar's census, while at others parganahs are mentioned which lie close up under the hills and are now included in Nepal. Of the 74 mahals comprised in this Sarkár some are not to be found at all in the present day, while on the other hand there are several modern parganahs, some of them very large, which are not mentioned in the *Ain*. It is probable, in fact almost certain, that the older and now untraceable mahals are represented by these modern parganahs, but which modern name corresponds to which ancient name is a mystery I have not been able to solve either by enquiry on the spot or by any other means. During the greater part of the period lying between our own day and Akbar's, Tirhut has been under the rule of the great house of Darbhanga, and it was probably by the successive Rájás that the changes were made which appear to have obliterated so many of the old fiscal divisions. I am, however, informed by good authority that even the Kánúngo's papers do not contain any record of these changes. It seems therefore hopeless to attempt any

further elucidation. Such facts, and more or less probable conjectures, as I have been able to arrive at are included in the following notes. The mahals not mentioned are still extant under their old names, though it is of course quite uncertain whether their present area is the same as their former; in all probability, it is not.

4. Ubhí. No parganah of this name. The most probable conjecture, though it is no more than that, is that for *اوبهي* we should read *اوتهي* Othi. This is said to have been the local name for the country lying on the extreme east of the Sarkár, north of the two vast and undefined parganahs of Pharkiya and Chhai of Sarkár Múngír; and now included in parganah Nisankhpúr Kora. The tradition is however a very vague one.

6. Atháís. Not found, and probably now known by some other name.

7 to 10. Basrí wa ghairuh. Not found. I hazard the suggestion that we have under this name the present parganah of Nári digar on the north-east frontier of the Sarkár *بصري* may be a copyist's error for *باري* and the Persian *digar* is a commonly used equivalent for the Arabic *ghair*. This parganah is not otherwise traceable; but I do not attach much importance to the suggestion.

14. Piprá is a copyist's error for Babrá.

18. Bahnúr. There are several parganahs the names of which closely resemble each other, especially when written in Persian, such as Bahnúr. Bhanwar, Bhanr, Bhúrá, all of which would be written *بهنور* or *بهور* and in the Shikastah or even in the Naskh-ta'lik hand would easily be confounded. It appears that owing to this cause the names have been entered more than once, as all the mahals so named cannot be traced.

32. Pulwará not found.

33. See remark on No. 18 above.

37. Búchhwar now Bachaur.

38. Barsáuí, properly Parsáni. It is not now a parganah but merely a village in Babrá, the residence of the Rájás of Turki.

42. Tándah, not found.

44. Tirhut Haveli. This is the strangest entry of all. There is now no parganah called Tirhut, and there seems good reason for believing that there never was one so called. Tirhut (Sansk. Tirabhukti) is the old name of the whole stretch of country from the Gandak to the Kosi, there is no evidence to shew that the name was ever restricted to a single mahal. Nor is there locally any tradition of there ever having been a Haveli Tirhut. The only two Havelis in the modern Tirhut region are those of Darbhanga and Hájjipore. The latter is as we have seen duly recognized in the *Ain*, the former, however, appears merely as



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a mahal without the addition of Haveli. It could only have acquired this title after the Rájás had moved their residence to that place from Bhawará, an event which did not happen till 1762.

Although, however, there is not, and probably never was, a mahal called Tirhut, there is a very large parganah named Tirsath *تیرساتھ*, which occupies the centre of western Tirhut, just as Darbhanga does that of eastern. It seems more than probable that Todar Mal or his informant was misled by the similarity between the two words and wrote *تیرساتھ*. The point is, however, an obscure one.

53. Sareshtá not found. Possibly a copyist's error, by which rasha Suresa of Sarkár Hajipur has been repeated. Or it may be that a portion of that mahal was included in Sarkár Tirhut. There is a large tract of country opposite to Suresa on the Tirhut side of the Burh Gandak unaccounted for. It now bears the name of Kasmi, but this name does not occur in the Ain.

55. Salimabád. This very small mahal containing only one village is included in parganah Hávi.

56. Sanjauli Tadra, not found.

58. Fakirábád, this is now written Fakhrábád *فخرآباد*.

61. Kodá Khand. There is no parganah of this name, but I suspect that parganah Kab Khand is meant. The tract included in this parganah is surrounded on all sides by mahals of the Ain and it must therefore have been inhabited and assessed. The origin of the name is unknown to me, but if Kab = Kavi 'poet' it may have been equally correctly written Kay which would account for a spelling *كورا* changed by a copyist's error into *كودا*.

62. Korádi, an unmeasured mahal and probably not actually in the possession of the Muhammadans as it lies far to the north reaching to the base of the Himalayas and is now in Nepalese territory. I have merely underlined the name in the map as in the case of Pundág and other outlying regions in Sarkár Bihár. The ancient city of Janakpur, the capital of Mithila, is in this parganah.

70. Noram. There is no mahal of this name. It is evidently a copyist's error for Loánw (*لوانم* for *لوانم*) *लोणाव* and *लोणाव* being equivalent. The origin of the name is not known to me, but it seems to point back to Lokagrāma, Lohagrāma or some such name. If it were not almost too far to the east to come within the area of the Rāma and Sitá legend I should think of Lavagrāma from the name of Rām's son.

## VII. SARKÁR RUHTÁS.

18 mahals.	473,340 b.	15 b.	40,819,493 d.	Castes various.	4,550
hors <sup>o</sup> .	162,000	foot.			
1.	Aírah.		53,516 b.	16 b.	30,281,000 d.
2.	Bhojpúr.		66,078 b.	17 b.	4,903,310 d.
3.	Piro.				3,407,840 d.
4.	Panwár.		7 733 h.	3 b.	1,677,000 d.
5.	Bargánw.		10,540 b.	17 b.	842,400 d.
6.	Jaund.		45,251 b.	3 b.	4,440,360 d.
7.	Jidar.		26,538 b.	16 b.	1,634,110 d.
8.	Danwár.		29,154 b.	4 b.	6,076,520 d.
9.	Dinár.				350,000 d.
10.	Ruhtás Haveli.		34,330 b.	19 b.	2,258,620 d.
11.	Ratanpúr.	Has a strong fort.			783,425 d.
12.	Sirái.		44,710 b.	3 b.	2,769,466 d.
13.	Sahasráw.		31,220 b.	18 b.	2,370,790 d.
14.	Fatpúr Bihia.		50,474 b.	15 b.	3,736,040 d.
15.	Kotrá.		29,168 b.	15 b.	18,293,200 d.
16.	Kot.	Has a stone fort.			847,920 d.
17.	Mangror.				924,000 d.
18.	Nannor.		26,921 b.		2,000,000 d.

This Sarkár is in the main conterminous with the modern district of Shahábád being bounded on the north by the Ganges, on the east by the Son, on the west by the ill-omened Karamnásá and on the south by the Kaimúr range, though in this direction it is impossible to say exactly how far it may have been held to extend in Akbar's time. The hold of the Muhammadans on this district must have been at all times somewhat precarious owing to the turbulence and independence of the Rájás of Bhojpúr. Dalpat Singh the Rájá in Akbar's days appears to have spent his time alternately in durance and in rebellion. A great deal of this Sarkár was doubtless in the words of Mr. Sarristahdár Grant "unsubdued and probably unexplored as held by independant or refractory zamin-dárs, though valued by information and entered on the public records of the exchequer."\*

In the settlement made under Aurangzeb in A. D. 1685 it was broken up, as stated above, into two Sarkárs of which Rohtás contained 7 and the new Sarkár of Bhojpúr, or Shahábád (a name which apparentlly occurs for the first time at this period) contained 11.

\* Grant's Analysis. Fifth Report, p. 508.

Though in general comprised within the boundaries above mentioned the territory of this Sarkár breaks out in a curious way at one or two points. Mahal Fathpúr Bibíá includes the Doáhhá or tongue of land between the Ganges and Ghogra rivers which should geographically belong to Sarkár Gházipúr of Subah Ilahábád; but on the other hand mahal Chaunsá which from its position should form a portion of this Sarkár is given to Gházipúr.\* In the present day this irregularity has been rectified, Chaunsá now belongs to Bahábhád, and the Doáhhá to Gházipúr or strictly speaking to the recently formed district of Buliá in the North West Provinces.

Again in the south-east the parganas of Siris and Kutunba which should by their position on the right bank of the Son, belong to Sarkár Bihár are attached to this Sarkár. Probably as lying within sight of the lofty fortified plateau of Rohtás they were more easily managed from there, than from the distant town of Bihár. (See No. 7 below.)

In the south-west also the parganah of Mangrer lies beyond; that is, to the west of the Karamnáśá and should belong to Gházipúr. It is now included in the district of Mirzapúr in the N. W. Provinces

There is not much difficulty in reconstructing this Sarkár.

1. Alrah is evidently a mistake of the copyist for Árah or Arrah the present capital of the district.

5. Bargánw, a copyist's error for Bárahgánw, a still extant parganah at the extreme north-east corner of the Sarkár comprising most of the alluvial formations and islands at the junction of the Ganges and Son rivers.

6. Jaund. Should be Chaund. In the present day the name is usually written Chánd, and the area of this parganah is included in the modern one of Chainpúr. The name Chaund is identical with Cháwand borne by several mahals in Sarkár Tirhut and is derived from Cháraudá चारुदा, a name of Durgá, who according to a local legend destroyed a demon at this place.

7. Jidar. Should be Haidar (حيدر), and probably indicates the country on the right bank of the Son opposite Rohtás. There is a large fort called Haidargarh still extant in that region. It is now in parganah Jhapla. This parganah, together with Bilaunjah to the south-west, was assigned by Sháh Jahán along with Siris, and several others, for the maintenance of the garrison of Rohtás, and down to the time of British rule was included in that Sarkár.

11. Ratanpár, this mahal together with Kot (No. 16) and Mangrer (No. 17) comprised the district of Bijaygarh which passed into the possession of the Maharaja of Benares prior to British rule. We may

\* See Elliot's Races of N. W. P. vol. ii. p. 115

probably therefore identify the "strong fort" mentioned in the *Ain*, with the well known hill-fort of Bijaygarh on a high plateau overlooking the Son. No place or tract bearing the name of Ratanpúr seems to exist in the present day.

12. Sirsi, now called Siris, a parganah in the Oya district on the right bank of the Son. It appears to have included also the modern parganah of Kutumbá which in Grant's Analysis is coupled with Siris in one zamindari, and included in Sarkár Rohtás.\*

13. Sahasránw, now vulgo Sasseram, the home and burial-place of Sher Sháh, and his son.

15. Koṭrá appears to be the parganah now called Rámgarh, the village of Koṭrá is still extant in that parganah.

16. Kot. See remarks on No. 11. The fort of Kot appears to be that called Nangarh.

17. Mangror, now in the Mirzapúr district. I have treated this mahal together with Kot and Ratanpúr as being beyond the actual limit of Muhammadan possessions and have indicated them in the map by a coloured line under the name.

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In conclusion, it will be seen that the reconstruction of this Subah is far from being complete. Here, as in the case of Subah Avadh, I would express a hope that persons living on the spot may be able to clear up some, if not all, of the doubtful points, by local enquiry.

\* Fifth report, p. 515.

ART. IV.—*Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with reference to the Ain-i Akbari.* By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. I.

*BENGAL.*

FOR upwards of twenty years the late Professor Blochmann's translation of Abul Fazl's monumental work, the *Ain-i Akbari*, has remained a splendid fragment, and students have longed in vain for its completion. It is, therefore, cause for congratulation that this has at length been effected. Colonel Jarrett's scholarly translation of the remainder of the work, which has recently appeared, is fully equal in accuracy, while it is superior in grace of language, to that of his predecessor. Only those who have laboured over the intricacies of Abul Fazl's detestable style, at one time turgid and overloaded with meaningless phrases, at another so curt and jejune as to be obscure, can fully appreciate the skill and learning which Colonel Jarrett has brought to bear on the supremely difficult task of rendering his author intelligible to European readers.

The translation, moreover, is illustrated by notes, which, if not so copious as Blochmann's, are sufficient—and more than sufficient—for all practical purposes. It is not given to everyone to possess such stores of learning as the late Professor Blochmann, who was as familiar with the Court and times of Akbar as we are with those of Victoria, and who, in fact, sometimes rather overdid his note-making, giving us treatises instead of notes. Colonel Jarrett's sense of proportion has led him to restrain his notes within reasonable limits, though he is rather unequal in this respect, some subjects being far more generously illustrated than

others. Of course there is good reason for this, some subjects being more abstruse and requiring more light thrown upon them than others. The only subject on which the translator can be charged with giving insufficient assistance is the geography; and this is peculiarly unfortunate, because perhaps the most practically useful and interesting portion of the work is the geographical account of the twelve Súbahs at p. 129 of vol. ii, and here the editor leaves us almost entirely without notices. The elucidation of this important section calls, it is true, for minute local knowledge, such as few men possess. No amount of scholarship is here of any use, for the text cannot be relied upon. The Persian character is notoriously the worst in the world for expressing words foreign to the Persian or Arabic languages. The omission of vowels and the fact that nearly half the letters are distinguished from each other merely by dots, which are always carelessly applied and often omitted altogether, introduces an amount of confusion which baffles the most acute student. It is only by knowing beforehand what word is meant that one can be sure of transliterating the original correctly, and this knowledge can only be obtained by careful local enquiry. Colonel Jarrett's authorities seem to be Tieffen-thaler, Gladwin, and the Gazetteer of India. But neither of the two former were sufficiently well acquainted with the interior of the country to be trustworthy guides for the spelling of places unknown to fame, and the numerous compilers of the last-named excellent publication were not in any way concerned with the Ain or its geography. No one, as far as I know, has worked out the details of all the twelve Súbahs, though several writers have published partial identifications, and have attempted more or less successfully to reconstruct some of them. The following may be mentioned as the principal, and, indeed, to the best of my belief, the only hitherto published sources of information.

1. Mr. "Serishtadar" Grant's "Analysis of the Finances of Bengal," being Appendix iv to the Fifth Report of the

Select Committee of Parliament on the Affairs of the East India Company. Mr. Grant was the official appointed to take over the revenue and financial accounts of the three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa when the Dewani was conferred on the Company, and had, therefore, exceptional opportunities of studying the details of the Moghul administration. His "Analysis," masterly in all respects but style, was written in 1786. It examines in minute detail, and sets forth in ponderous sentences half a page long, all the systems of revenue administration from the days of Raja Todar Mal down to his own time. It has long been known as a mine of the most accurate and valuable information on this very intricate subject, but it is, of course, useful for our present purpose, only as regards the Súbahs of Bengal (including Orissa) and Behar.

2. Sir H. M. Elliot's "Races of the North-western Provinces," vol. ii, p. 82 (my edition), gives a map and elaborate reconstruction of the Súbahs and parts of Súbahs which in his day (some fifty years ago) were included within the limits of the North-western Provinces. Sir H. Elliot's official position, his personal knowledge of the people and places concerned, and the copious assistance he was able to command from experienced officials of all classes, both European and native, render his statements in the highest degree reliable. Colonel Jarrett hardly seems to accord to them the confidence they deserve, as he appears to have adopted the spellings only when supported by MSS., though they are, in fact, far more likely to be correct than those of MSS., copied again and again, with a fresh crop of errors on every occasion.

3. The late Professor Blochinann's learned articles entitled "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)," in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Article I is in vol. xlii, p. 209 (1873), and contains, among other things, a description of the extent and position of all the Sarkáras included in the Súbah of Bengal. Article II is in vol. xliii (1874), p. 280, and Article III in vol. xliv (1875), p. 275.

4. Two articles by myself in the same Journal entitled "On the Geography of India in the reign of Akbar." Article I, containing a reconstruction of the Súbah of Oudh (Avadh), is in vol. liii (1884), p. 215. Article II, containing the Súbah of Behar, is in vol. liv (1885), p. 162. Each article is accompanied by a map.

5. There have also appeared in the same Journal during the last twenty years articles, too numerous to specify *seriatim*, identifying individual places. These, being mostly written by officers stationed on the spot, are worthy of the highest credit. Specially valuable are those by Messrs. Westmacott and Beveridge and Dr. Wise, of Dacca.

It is to be regretted that it did not enter into Colonel Jarrett's plan to consult the above-mentioned authorities, with the exception of Elliot, and it may, therefore, now be useful to note the corrections and alterations which should be made in the names of places as they stand in his translation by the light of these researches. I propose also to make use of a considerable mass of materials referring to Súbah Bengal collected by me in the course of my service in India, but not yet published<sup>1</sup>; as well as two MSS. which I have obtained from the India Office Library, and which I shall quote as I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114. All the MSS. of the Aín, however, repeat the same mistakes so slavishly that very little assistance can be obtained from them. It will be convenient to begin with the lists for Bengal (see vol. i, p. 394 of Bloehmann's Persian text and vol. ii, p. 129 of the translation).

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used:—J. Colonel Jarrett's translation. S.M. (*i.e.* Survey Maps) the official maps of the several districts of Bengal made by the officers of the Revenue Survey. A. of I. the Atlas of India. G. Grant's Analysis. E. Sir H. Elliot's articles. Bl. Professor Bloehmann's articles. Bea. my articles. Bea. MS. unpublished material in my possession. The numerals indicate for J. and G. the page of their works; for E. the page of vol. ii; for Bl. and Bea. the vol. and page of the J.A.S.B.



*Súbah Bangálah (Bengal).*

This, which is the largest of all the Súbahs, is also the most difficult to reconstruct. For this there are several reasons.

In the first place, at the time of Todar Mal's settlement the ancient kingdom of Bengal was not yet fully conquered. His lists must have been compiled from materials supplied by the local revenue authorities, which, though for a short time Governor of the Province, he had not sufficient means of controlling or verifying. They are, therefore, not worthy of the same confidence as those of the Súbahs actually under the Imperial Government. It will be seen further on that there is good reason to suspect serious mistakes in many instances: places mentioned twice over—parganahs placed in the wrong Sarkárs—mis-spellings of the most extraordinary nature omissions, incorrect insertions, and careless misplacements of the dots which mark the Persian letters—whole tracts of country included in the Súbah, with their revenue duly noted, which had never been conquered by the Kings of Bengal, and paid no tribute to them.

Secondly, Todar Mal's settlement, such as it was, did not remain in force for many years. It is dated 1582, but was probably not completed till 1589. Fifty years later Sultán Shujá', son of Sháh Jahán, revised it, adding several newly-conquered territories. His settlement was completed in 1658 on the accession of Aurangzeb, and lasted for about sixty years. Then came a radical change. Nawáb Ja'far Khán in 1722 introduced a new division of the whole province into thirteen chaklas or circles, abolishing the old Sarkárs, and mixing up the various parganahs, dismembering and readjusting them, and increasing their number from 684 to 1,660. Thus a number of new names were introduced into the map, with a considerable reduction of the old ones.

This was the beginning of a series of changes, which lasted for another fifty years, till the country came under

British rule. Successive Nawábs tampered with the revenues, as well as with the boundaries of all the political divisions, in order to defraud the Imperial Government and fill their own pockets. They imposed numerous abwábs, or illegal cesses and exactions, and they created the immense Zamindáris or estates, which are so striking a feature in the Bengal of to-day. I am not, however, writing a history of the revenue administration of Bengal, and I therefore confine myself to this cursory notice, and refer those who wish to realize the extent of the confusion thus introduced into the geography of Bengal to Grant's "Analysis," where he will find it worked out in almost bewildering detail.

It may be asked if Todar Mal's lists are open to the suspicion of inaccuracy at starting, and if his settlement remained in force so short a time, what is the use of laboriously striving to trace and locate in its proper place on the map each petty division of so transitory an arrangement? The answer is, that the materials which Todar Mal used must from the necessities of the case have been the ancient records of the Kingdom of Bengal. The Bengal officials who handed them to him would of course have been quite capable of altering the amounts of revenue due from each parganah if such a course had seemed advantageous to themselves, but they are not likely to have falsified to any great extent the names of those divisions. Very great carelessness and stupid blundering there have undoubtedly been in transcribing the lists, but there does not seem to have been deliberate falsification. The very uncouthness of many of the Hindu names—old Prákrit corruptions, most of them—is an argument for their genuineness, even when not still extant, and the Persian or Arabic names can, in most cases, be traced to kings or governors known to history. We have, therefore, in these lists the last surviving fragments of the mediæval geography of the province before peccolating revenue officers and extortionate Nawábs tampered with it and manipulated it for their own base purposes. As we

become more and more acquainted with the early history of India, which in the present day is being gradually and painfully pieced together from inscriptions, copper-plate grants, and other recondite sources, by earnest students, we shall more and more appreciate the advantage of possessing in Todar Mal's lists information of a genuinely ancient and reliable character.

In the face, however, of all the confusion that was rampant in the revenue administration of the province during what I may call the 'Nawábi period,' A.D. 1722-1793, it is a matter of the very greatest difficulty to place on the map in their proper position all the mahals or parganahs of the Aín. The boundaries of all the nineteen Sarkárs can, indeed, be more or less accurately ascertained, and I have indicated on the map that accompanies these notes what I believe to be their real position. The Sarkárs on the western side of Bengal—Purniah, Audambar, Sharifábád, Sulaimánábád, Sátgáon, and Madáran—have suffered less than others; but when we come to Central Bengal the difficulty of identification becomes greater, and in three of the largest Sarkárs—Mahmúdábád, Ghorághát, and Sonárgáon—a great majority of the mahals have not been identified. Perhaps officers stationed in those parts of Bengal may by means of local enquiries be able to trace them. The maps give very little assistance. The following note, printed on many of the Revenue Survey District Maps, speaks for itself:—"In consequence of the great intermixture of pergunnahs in this district the areas of the separate or local fiscal divisions could not be recorded, nor their exact limits shown on this scale (1 inch=4 miles). For such information the lithographed maps published on the scale of one British mile to the inch must be consulted." If one consults these latter, the detached villages of the parganahs are found to be jumbled together in such confusion that it would be impossible to show them on any map of reasonable dimensions. Besides which the mahals of the Aín have in a great number of cases been taken up and amalgamated into

the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period; the old names have given place to new ones. Every successive Nawáb, and many of their officials, as well as the greater landholders, took a pleasure in "calling the lands after his own name." 2

Blochmann's articles mentioned above are a mine of informations, and, in addition to the articles by other writers, there is a mass of casual notes buried in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which I have occasionally referred. My own notes have also been incorporated, together with such readings of the MSS. as throw light on the subject.

The arrangement of the Sarkárs in the Aín is neither alphabetical nor geographical. It will be more convenient to follow a geographical order, taking first the better preserved Western Sarkárs from north to south, then those of Central, and lastly those of Eastern Beúgal, in the same order, thus :

- |                  |                   |                |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Purniah.      | 8. Lakhnauti.     | 14. Bázúhá.    |
| 2. Audambar.     | 9. Bárbakábád.    | 15. Fathábád.  |
| 3. Sharifábád.   | 10. Mahmúdábád.   | 16. Báklá.     |
| 4. Sulaimánábád. | 11. Khalífatábád. | 17. Silhat.    |
| 5. Sátgáon.      | 12. Panjrá.       | 18. Sonárgáon. |
| 6. Madáran.      | 13. Ghorághát.    | 19. Chatgáon.  |
| 7. Tájpur.       |                   |                |

#### SARKÁR PURNIAH.

This Sarkár comprised only the central portion of the present district of the same name (not "the greater and chiefly westerly," as stated by Bl. xlii, 215). Parganah Dharimpur—a long strip on the west and south—belonged to Súbab Bīhar; another long strip on the south was divided between Sarkárs Audambar, Lakhnauti, and Tájpur; all the lands east of the Mahánandá river (often, but erroneously, called Mahánadi) were in Tájpur; and the northern part of the district was as yet unconquered. It is therefore impossible to define precisely the northern limit. The

limits of Muhammadan power towards the submontane country of northern Bengal in the reign of Akbar, and for long afterwards, were very uncertain and variable. For a long time the fort of Jalálgah, only some ten miles north-coast of the town of Purniah on the old bed of the Kosi river, was the frontier, and beyond were wild tribes—Kichak, Mech, Koehh, and the like. See Bl. xli, 49 for an account of the expansion of Moghul power towards the north and east of Bengal.

Of the nine mahals in this Sarkár, one is rather a tax than an item of land revenue. It represents duties levied on the capture of wild elephants, which were common in the sub-Himalayan forests of the Morang. J. omits to translate the word *هَرْنَا* in this entry, and Bl. seems not to understand it, for he gives several impossible variants. It is a mistake for *ارْنَا* *arná*, Hindi *बुरखा* 'a wild buffalo.' The MS. I.O. 6 has correctly *ارْنَا*. The word is also used for wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and other large game. It is the Sanskrit *बुरख* from *बुरख* 'forest.' These duties existed till quite lately, for in 1862-6 a large estate was held revenue-free in the parganah of Sultánpur by Mir Muhammad Kásim and his brother Háji Muhammad Taki on the tenure of maintaining an establishment for the capture of wild elephants. There was a lawsuit about this tenure, but, as I left the district before it was decided, I cannot say how it ended. I believe, however, that the tenu *s* has been resumed.

The remaining eight mahals are, with one exception, still in existence under their old names, and are shown in S.M. and Atlas of India. Jairámpur no longer exists; it has, in all probability, been absorbed into Haveli.<sup>1</sup> It had

<sup>1</sup> In a note on p. 168 J. comments on an explanation of this term given by me in a note on p. 83, vol. ii, of Elliot in these words: "Mr. Beames in a note . . . distinguishes between Haveli and Baldah, the former alluding to the district close to the capital and the latter to that at a distance. It would have been more satisfactory if he had determined the limits of the distance." The "limits" of a parganah, if by this is meant its extent, are as hard to define as those of an English county. Rulland contains 148 square miles, Yorkshire over 6000. So the Haveli parganah of Purniah is some fifty miles

disappeared before 1722, and in the subsequent Nawábi changes the name does not occur, nor could the revenue officials of the district trace it for me in 1885. Dolmálpur lies about twenty miles north-east of Purniah town, and has been incorporated into Sripur. Sripur-Dolmálpur was the name of the whole district during most of the Nawábi period. Asonjá, or Asúmjá, is now pronounced Asjah اسجه, and Kadwán is known as Kadbah كدبه.

#### SARKÁR AUDAMBAR, *alias* TÁNDÁ.

Stretches from the southern boundary of the preceding Sarkár, southwards across the Ganges, all along the right bank of that river down to the city of Murshidabad on the one hand, and through nearly the whole of the Birbhúm district on the other. How far it may have penetrated into the hilly country on the west it is impossible to determine, but probably some, at least, of the parganahs, now no longer traceable, represent territory claimed and assessed (on paper) in these hills, though not actually conquered (Bl. xlii, 222; Bea. liv, 164-9).

Udner, J., p. 129. This reading is apparently based on Tieffenthaler, who, however, probably wrote down the word from the dictation of an up-country munshi, who knew as little about Bengal as he did himself. Bl. also, by a printer's mistake, has اودنير at p. 394 of the Persian text, but in the list of *errata* at p. 3 he gives the correct spelling اودنبر. The mistake is easily caused by putting two dots

long by twenty broad, while that of Khalfatabad is less than two square miles. The fact seems to be that the parganah in which the capital of each Sarkár lay, no matter how large it might be, was called the Haveli parganah (the 'home county' we might say; O. calls it the 'household county'), because its revenues were devoted to the maintenance of the household (haveli) and establishments of the governor. When the revenue of only a portion of the parganah was so applied, that portion was called haveli, and the other portion, whose revenues were paid into the public treasury, was called 'baldah, or country. This, at any rate, appears to be the original meaning of the terms, though, of course, during the changes and confusion of the Nawábi period the real meaning was often lost sight of.

under the last letter but one, instead of one, thus changing  $\text{ا}$  into  $\text{آ}$ . Bl. throughout his articles writes Audambar; so also does Gladwin; and G. writes everywhere "Oudember" or "Audimber." I have always heard the word pronounced Audambar, or Adambar, by the native revenue officials and landed proprietors in the Birbhúm district. It is said to be derived from Sanskrit  $\text{औडुम्बर}$  from  $\text{उडुम्बर}$ , a species of fig-tree (*Ficus glomerata*), which may or may not be the case. MS. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have  $\text{اودومبر}$  and  $\text{اودومبر}$  without dots respectively, which, though wrong, shows that the writers heard the sound *audh* or *avadh* in the first syllable, and erroneously connected it with the Súbah of Audh, or Avadh (Oudh).

Ak maḥal. Should be Ág maḥal, the old name of Rájmaḥal, a famous ancient city, once the capital of Bengal, and still a flourishing place (Bl. xlii, 217). The parganah of Rájmaḥal was in the Nawábi period absorbed into the immense estate of Kánkjol: *vide infra*. Under the name Akbarnagar it was the capital of one of Ja'far Khán's chaklas (G. 254). In all the MSS.  $\text{ك}$  is everywhere written for  $\text{گ}$ . I.O. 6 sometimes writes  $\text{گ}$  for  $\text{گ}$ .

Achalá. } I have not been able to find these two.  
Darsanpára. } I.O. 6 has  $\text{احلا درس پوره}$ .

Ashraf Nibál. G. calls it Ashraf Chag, p. 374, and Chog, p. 384. The correct name is given by Beveridge (J.A.S.B. *1* *100*, June 1892) as Ashraf Bhág. It is not in S.M. or Atlas of India.

Ibrahimpur. Now Jowás Ibrahimpur in Birbhúm. The name occurs over again in Sarkár Shurífabad.

Ajjal gháti. G. "Ujjál kahly," 374, i.e. Ujijál kháli. Not in the maps. The word ujijál, which occurs so often in names of parganahs, means, I believe, 'high land,' and should be written with initial *u*, not *a*.

- Angáchhi. G. 374, Amgáchhi, and so in all MSS. It is not in S.M. or other maps.
- Barhgangal. Should be Burh—. It is now known as Budhigangal, and is a small parganah in the south of Purniab.
- Bhatál. Should be Buitál or Babtál in Birbhum.
- Bahádurpúr. In S.M. a little south of Rajmahal.
- Bahrári. G. 378, Bahorai. Situation not known to me. I.O. 6 باهررای.
- Phulwári, Bahádursháhi, Tájpur, Ta'allak Barbhákar. These four are not traceable.
- Tánda bá haveli. Has been washed away by the Ganges. The extant parganah of Ambar may possibly represent the word Audambar, but this is doubtful (Beveridge, J.A.S.B. Proc., Jan. 1893).
- Tanauli. This name has several variants in the Persian text. I suppose the correct reading to be چیتولی Chitauli. The parganah of that name (Chetowleah in S.M. and A. of I.) is close to Rajmahal.
- Júnágháti. Should be Chúnákháli, the parganah in which the city of Murshidabad is situated. Not in S.M. or A. of I.
- Chánderpúr. A large parganah in the north of Murshidabad.
- Nasibi. There are many variants, and a word beginning with *n* is not in its proper alphabetical order here. Bl. text reads جیفاتی Jífatí, and other readings are باقیتی Baqítí and پفاسی Pafasi. I think the name meant is جمونی Jamúni, a small parganah at the bend of the Ganges north of Rajmahal. جیفاتی written without dots is very like جمونی, especially if, as often happens in *Shikastah* writing, the tail of the *waw* were accidentally carried on to the next letter. I.O. 6 has هستی and I.O. 1114 هستی !!
- Chúngnadiya. Still extant. Bev. 'loc. cit. I do not know its position.
- Hájipur. Absorbed in parganah Gankar. The village is near Sutí in North Murshidabad.



Husainabad, about eleven miles east of English Bazar.  
Bl. xliii, 293.

Khánpur, Sulaimánsháhi, Sulaimánabad. Not found, and the last two probably entered by mistake. They really belong to Sarkára Sharifábád and Sulaimánábád.

Dhává. Still extant in North Bírbum. In S.M. and A. of I.

Deviyápúr. Should be Diwánapur. Not in S.M. Beveridge, *loc. cit.*

Daudsháhi. Not in S.M., but mentioned in G. and Beveridge.

Dugáchhi. Absorbed into Gankar; the village is a little south of Kánkjol.

Rámpúr. G. 380. Perhaps Rámpur Hát, but the name is almost too common for identification.

Rúbaspúr. This name is written with many variants. I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114 have both روپس پور. It is probably the Rasúlpúr of G. 375, but I do not know where it is situated.

Sarúp Singh. } In S.M. and A. of I. in North Bírbum.  
Sultánpur Ujjiál. }

Salimpur. In G. 375, but not otherwise traceable.

Sambalá. This name is written with many variants, and I can trace no parganah corresponding to any of them.

Shersháhi. On the left bank of the Ganges, south of Maldah. S.M.

Shamakháni. In North-east Murshidabad. S.M.

Sherpur. There are hundreds of places so named. This one is probably the village in the north of Gankar. There does not seem to be any parganah of this name still extant.

Firospur. In G. 375; not otherwise traceable.

Kunwar Partáb. Still extant; a large parganah in North Bírbum. Beveridge suggests, with much probability, that the name refers to Pratáp Singh, nephew of the celebrated Raja Máu Singh.

Kanakjok. Should be Kánkjol. The old town of this name lies near the East Indian Railway, about twenty miles south of Rajmahal. The parganah has been immensely extended in the Nawábi period, swallowing up not only Rajmahal but many other parganahs. It now stretches from the south of Purniah, down both sides of the Ganges, into the Rajshahye district, with many scattered portions in other districts. In Ja'far Khán's settlement it gave name to one of the largest estates in Bbngal. G. 322, 441, *et passim*.

Káthgarh, Káshipnr, Kuchlá, Kafurdíá. Not traceable. Not in S.M.

Gankarah. Now Gankar. A very large parganah in North Murshidabad, which has apparently absorbed many smaller ones.

Mudesar. Should be Molesar. In Central Birbhum. Bl. xlii, 223. The original name is Sansk. Mayúreshvara. There is a temple of that name still in the village of Molesar or Moresar, on the banks of the river Mor (Sansk. Mayúra).

Mangalpur. So in Bl. text, but I suspect the real name was Mandalpur, now pronounced Maralpur, and by the East Indian Railway officials metamorphosed into Mollarpur, in which guise it figures as the name of a railway station in Central Birbhum.

Nasibpur. This parganah has been absorbed by Chándpur. The village lies about twenty miles north of Murshidabad.

#### SARKÁR SHARÍFÁBÁD.

This Sarkár extends from a point close to the northern end of the Birbhúm district to the southern boundary of that of Bardwán, embracing portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Birbhúm, and Bardwán. With one or two exceptions all the mahals in this Sarkár are still extant or identifiable.

- Bardwán.** The well-known parganah and town, headquarters of a Commissioner's Division, a district, and one of the largest Zamindari estates in Bengal.
- Bharor.** Should be Bahrol. It is partly in Murshidabad and partly in Birbhúm.
- Bárbaksail.** Should be Bárbaksingh. G. 408. Still extant, in south of Birbhúm.
- Bharkonda.** Should be Bharkúndah, in Birbhúm (Bl. xlii, 223). Apparently very much shrunk from its former extent.
- Akbarshahi.** Adjacent to the last named.
- Bághá.** On the Damodar river, south-west of Bardwán town.
- Bhatsela.** G. writes Bhut Salah, 379, 380, 384. The name is Bhátsalá (Bea. MS.<sup>1</sup>). It has been subjected to *mudákhil wa mukhárij*, and is now scattered in several places, principally in Murshidabad district.
- Janki.** No place of this name is known; it is probable that Jánkibáti, about fifteen miles south-east of Bardwán, is meant. It is now included in the parganah of Chutipur, in Sarkár Sulaimanabad (Bea. MS.).
- Khot Makand.** Should be Jot Mukund. This is also a scattered parganah, chiefly south of the Damodar river (Bea. MS.).
- Dhaniyán.** Now Dháiyán, or Dháinyán. In Hindi characters धान्या or धान्या. North-east of Bardwán.
- Sulaimánsháhi.** Now called Salímsáhi. In Bardwán and Birbhúm.
- Soniyá.** Should be Sotiyá. No parganah of that name now exists, having apparently been dismembered during the Nawábi changes, but the village is still in existence near Khandghosh (Bea. MS.).
- Suburban district of Sherpur Atái.** The Haveli parganah of Sherpur is about twenty miles west of Murshidabad town, but in the Birbhúm district (Bl. xlii, 218).

<sup>1</sup> The information thus marked consists of the report of an enquiry made at my request by the Sarisáitadar and Record Keeper of the Bardwán Colloctorate in 1886.

- Uzmatpur.** Should be 'Azmataháhi. A very large parganah occupying the centre of the Bardwán district.
- Fath Singh.** A large parganah in the south of Birbhúm.
- Husayu Ajiyál.** Should be Ujiyál, in Birbhúm. Shown in S.M. and A. of I. under the local corruption Zainujal or Zynoojal.
- Kargaon.** Should be Khargáon. It is in East Birbhúm, immediately south of Haveli Sherpur.
- Kiratpúr.** Should be Karatpúr. The village is near Ganguria, south-east of Bardwan. The parganah has been absorbed (Bea. MS.).
- Khand.** Now called Khand Ghosh. It lies south of the Damodar river, opposite Bardwan. S.M.
- Khanga.** I.O. 6 reads Khatangá, which is correct. G. 408. There are two places of this name. One is now included in Manoharsháhi. The village is near Keogáon, or, as the present Sanskritizing generation of Bengalis persist in calling it, Ketugráma, in the north-east corner of Bardwan (Bea. MS.). The other is on the western frontier of Birbhúm.
- Kodlá.** Now included in parganah Jahangirabad, East Bardwan (Bea. MS.).
- Mahland.** A large parganah on the west side of the Bhágirathi, opposite the towns of Murshidabad and Berhampur. S.M.
- Manoharsháhi.** A large parganah on the northern bank of the Ajay river, partly in Bardwan, partly in Birbhúm. S.M.
- Muzaffarsháhi.** This large parganah has been much dismembered. The 150 mauzahs which it contains are scattered all over the central and eastern parts of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).
- Nassak.** Should be Nisank or Nishank. It is scattered over the south of the Bardwan district (Bea. MS.).
- Natrán, or Nabrán, or Hatrán.** Not traceable. Both the I.O. MSS have نتران.

## SARKÁR SULAIMÁNÁBÁD.

This is a somewhat scattered and ill-arranged Sarkár. The bulk of it lies in the southern part of the Bardwan and the northern part of the Hughli districts. But a large portion lies to the east of the Hughli river in the Nadia district, and it is much mixed up with the Sarkárs of Sâtgaón (which it cuts in two) and Madáran. Nearly all of the mahals which it contains are still traceable, and the others can be located conjecturally. The name, as far as it has been preserved, has been generally shortened to Salímábád, either, as Bl. suggests, because it was too long, or in honour of Prince Salím, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir.

**Indaráin.** Should be Indráin. It is in the north-east corner of Bardwan.

**Iamá'ilpur.** Now included in the modern parganah of Jahangirabad (Bea. MS.).

**Anliya.** Should be Ambiyá; انبیا, as in I.O. 1114, not انلیا. It is now Sanskritized into Ambiká, and is situated near Kalna in South-east Bardwan. It is also locally pronounced Ambowá.

**Basandhari.** Should be Basundhari. It is now included in parganah Baliá in Central Hughli. G. 478, where it is called "Bellia Bassenderi."

**U'lá.** The village of this name is now known as Birnagar. The parganah is now called Mámjoáni. It is in the Nadia district. S.M. and A. of I.

**Bhosat.** Should be Bhursat, a large parganah in Central Hughli. S.M. and A. of I.

**Pandwah.** Should be Panduah, in Hughli, a well-known town, with ancient tower and other ruins, also a large railway station. S.M. and A. of I.

**Pachnor.** Now written Páchnúr, a parganah in West Nadiya.

**Bálibhangá.** Should be Bálidhaugá. There are at least five places of this name in the Nadiya district alone, and

I know not how many in other parts of Bengal. Which of all of them is meant here, is not certain.

Both the I.O. MSS. have *بالی دھنکا*.

Ohhotipur. A parganah in South Bardwan.

Chúmbhá. Should be Ochaumúhá, west of Panduah in Hughli.

Jaipur. A small parganah in Central Nadiya.

Husaynpur. Probably a portion of the parganah now known as Husaynpur-Kalarúá, the remainder of which belonged to Sarkár Sâtgaón. It is in the Nadia district.

Dhársá. In Hughli. The well-known town of Serampoor is in it.

Ráesát. Probably Ráiná, now in Haveli Sulaimánábád.

Suburban district of Sulaimánábád. Now called Haveli Salimábád, the name having been shortened as stated above. The town of Salimábád is on the left bank of the Dámodar, about twenty miles below Bardwan; at the point where the Káná nadí takes off.

Sátsíka. Now spelt Satsoika. A parganah in East Bardwan.

Sahspur. There are several places named Sáhaspur; I do not know which is here meant. There is no parganah of that name, as far as I know.

Sanghali. Should be Singholi, now spelt Singúr. It is a small parganah in Central Hughli.

Sultanpur. In Central Nadiya.

Amarpur. In Central Nadiya.

Alampur. In Central Nadiya.

Kabázipur. Should be Kubázipur. In Eastern Bardwan.

The seventy villages comprised in this parganah are scattered all along the right bank of the Hughli river above and below the town of Púrbosthali (Bea. MS.).

Gobinda (Kosada). The name is Koeda. It is a parganah in Central Nadiya.

Muhammadpur. Now absorbed into parganah Ársá of Sarkár Sâtgaón. Under the name of Muhammad Aminpur it was a large zamindári in the Nawábi period (G. 457).

- Molghar. Should be Múlghar, a parganah in Central Nadiya.
- Nagin. No place of this name is known to my local informants, but they are probably right in suggesting that the place meant is the large village of Nigun, or Nigun Sarái, twenty-two miles north-west of Bardwan town. There is no parganah of the name; it has, apparently, been absorbed into parganah Dhaiyán of Sarkár Sharífabad. (Ben. MS.)
- Náirá. No place of this name is known. In spite of its being against the alphabetical order, I am convinced that the place meant is Báirá, a parganah in North Hughli adjacent to the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár. Báirá, though a very ancient place, is not mentioned in the *Áin*, unless this is it, and the parganah remains otherwise unaccounted for. Instances of places put out of their proper order are not infrequent in these lists. We shall come to several others further on.
- Nasang. Should be Nisank. It has been already mentioned under Sharífábad: see above. Perhaps part of the parganah was in one Sarkár and part in the other. Instances of this kind are not uncommon. But as there are only seven mauzas in the parganah this is improbable, and I incline to think that this is another instance of repetition, a common fault in these lists.
- Nabiá. Probably Nalahi is meant, a small parganah some fifteen miles east of Bardwan. The Mymaree railway station is in it. If the name was originally Nalahá, نلاها, it might easily be corrupted into نيا or نيا. I.O. 6 has the former spelling, while I.O. 1114 has نيا or نيا, Nabá or Baná—the dots are so placed that it may be read either way. The dots are very loosely placed throughout this MS., and frequently omitted altogether.

## SARKÁR SÁTGAON.

The parganahs in this Sarkár have retained their ancient names and positions, with very few exceptions, unchanged to the present day. The Sarkár, which is cut up into two portions by mahals belonging to Sarkár Sulaimánábád, lay principally on the east of the Hughli river in the modern districts of the Twenty-four Parganahs and Nadia. The town of Sâtgaon itself, however, was on the west side of the river, and there are several parganahs on that side also. The once celebrated town and port of Sâtgaon has now almost disappeared. Only a few insignificant ruins mark its position. For a description of it see Bl. xxxix, 280. As so many of the old parganahs are still extant and shown on the S.M. and Atlas of India, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to those maps.

The following will be found in the district of the Twenty-four Parganahs on the east or left bank of the Hughli, above, below, and eastward of the city of Calcutta. I give J.'s spelling, with the correct form where necessary in brackets.

Anwarpúr, Bodhan (Búðhan), Báлиндá (Bálandá), Baliya, Phalká (Bhálúká), Baridhati, Suburban district (Haveli Shahr, nowadays generally corrupted into Hali-shahr: Bl. xlii, 216, note †), Dhaliyápur (Dhúliápur), Calcutta, Khárar (Khári), Mugorá (Magurá), Medni mal, Mundágáhhá (Mundágáhhhi or Murágaehhi), Mahihatti (on the maps Myehatty), Helki (Hilki).

The following are in the district of Nadiya, adjacent to the Twenty-four Parganahs on the north:—

Ukrá, Bagwán, Bangábári (Patkábári), Husaynpur, Kalárúá, Matiyári, Nadiyá, Sátanpúr (Sántipur). The two last are large, well known towns; the parganahs have now been absorbed into Ukra, of which they constitute *tarafa* or subdivisions.



The following are in the district of Hughli, on the right or western bank of the river, opposite to the Twenty-four Parganahs:—

Ársá, Panwán (in the maps Pownan) Salímpur, Purah (Boroh), Balia (a part of this parganah is in Hughli and two other parts in the Twenty-four Parganahs), Muzaffarpur, Háthikandhá.

For the remaining parganahs some explanations are necessary:—

Ársá and Tawáli Sátgáon. Ársá is the parganah in which are situated the towns of Hughli and Chinsurah. The town of Sátgáon was at Tribeni Ghát, about six miles north of Hughli. *توالی* means 'extremities, 'remainders.' It will be observed that the greater part of the Haveli parganah of this Sarkár is on the opposite side of the river. Apparently those small portions of it which lay on the western side are here indicated by the term *tawáli*, in the sense of 'remaining portion' or 'the rest of—'.

Banwá, Kotwáli, and Farásatghar. These three items do not appear to be territorial divisions, but represent taxes levied on various quarters of the town of Sátgáon. The term "Kotwáli" or Police Station either meant fines levied in criminal cases, or more probably rents of the quarter of the town where the Kotwáli was situated. Farásatghar I should be disposed to read Farásighar, and interpret it as the town now called Chandernagore, occupied by European traders. Farási (*i.e.* Français) was the old name in Bengali for the French, while Firingi denoted the Portuguese. Banwá is probably a mistake for Bandar, the port of Sátgáon. *بندر* would easily be miscopied *بنوا* in Persian current hand.

Akbarpur has been absorbed into the large parganah of Sháh Ujjiál in Nadia.

Barmhattar should be Brahmuttar, more correctly Brahmottara, rent-free lands assigned to Brahmmins, scattered in small patches over the country.

Mánikhatti is probably Páigháti in the Twenty-four Parganahs, *مانک ہتی* for *پانگہاتی*. In both I.O. MSS. the reading is *مانک* without dots.

Belgáon. Now dismembered and scattered in Bagwán and Plassi parganahs in Nadia.

Tortariya. No place of this name can be found; my local informants suggest with some probability that the place meant is Tárágúnia, now dismembered, in the northern portion of parganahs Rájpur and Sháh Ujijál of Nadia district (Bea. MS.).

Hájipúr, and Bárbakpúr or Báríkpúr. Not found; both names are extremely common.

Ránihát is a large parganah in the south of the Bardwan district.

Sadgháti has been absorbed into parganah Mahatpur of Nadia (Bea. MS.).

Sakota. Should be Sigúná. G. 432. I.O. 6 has distinctly *سکونا* and I.O. 1114 *سکونا*. Its position is not indicated.

Srirájpur. Should be Sarafrázpúr in Twenty-four Parganahs.

Sair dues from Bandarbán and Mandavi. For Bandarbán I would read *bandarián*—rents levied from the *bandaris* or persons frequenting the port (*bandar*); and *mandavi*, I think, indicates the temporary booths erected during the dry season on the sandy bed of the river for trading purposes, and removed when the river rises in the rains. It is from *मण्डो* 'a market.'

Sákhát. Probably to be read *ság hát* 'vegetable market,' or as it would be in Bengali, *sáka hát*. I.O. 6 has *سال کات*, the *ل* probably repeated by mistake from the next word.

Kátsál. Properly Káthasál, or warehouse for storing timber. In my notes I find it stated that it was on the

Jabuna river, in parganah Máhibatti in Twenty-four Parganahs. It was, therefore, probably a station for taking toll on timber brought from the Sundarban forests.

Fathpur. Not traceable.

Kandaliá. Properly Kundaliá. Part of this mahal is in Sarkár Mahmúdabád. It is in Nadiya district.

Haiyágarh. Should be Hathiágarh, as pointed out by Bl. in a note to the Persian text. It lies in two parts, south of Calcutta, on the edge of the Sundarbans.

#### SARKÁR MADÁRAN.

A very long straggling strip of territory running from Birbhūm in the north to the junction of the Hughli and Rúpnaráyan rivers in the south. As G. quaintly but truly expresses it, "forming a broken frontier on the west of the two last-mentioned circars (Sharifabad and Salímabad), and enclosing them in a semicircle from Beerbhoom to Mundleghat . . . . . serving them as a barrier against the incursions of the neighbouring unsubdued Rajahs, sheltered in the jungles of Pachet and Bishenpoor or the low marshy lands of Hidgellee" (p. 242).

All but three of the mahals are still identifiable, and shown on the ordinary maps.

Anhatti. May perhaps be Hatia in the Bankura district south of the Damodar, but this is not certain, though rendered probable by the fact that it is written **آن هٹی** as two words in both I.O. MSS. These words mean 'corn market.'

Bálgarhi. Now pronounced Bálgarhiá; in Central Hughli. Birbhūm. A parganah in the district of the same name, once much more extensive than now.

Bhawálbhum. My informants agree with me in holding that this is a mistake for Gwálbhum. The parganah of that name, now Sanskritized into Gopbhum = 'cowhord land,' is in Western Bardwan (Boa. MS.).

No trace can be found of there having ever been a *parganah* named *Bhawálbhúm* in this neighbourhood. *G.* 478 also calls it '*Gowalbhúm.*' *G* has been mistaken for *B* by omission of the *markaz*, a common error in all MSS.

*Chatwa.* Should be *Chitná*, in *Midnapur*, near *Ghattál*.

*Champánagari.* In *Bardwan*, a short distance west from *Bardwan town*.

*Suburban district of Madáran.* *Haveli Madáran*, or, as the country people round about call it, *Mandáran*, lies near *Goghát*, five miles west of the *Darkesar* river. It was a large fortified place, and the ruins of the fortifications still exist. The place is now known as *Bhitargarh Mandáran*, or "Inner Fort," and the local *pandits* derive the name from Sanskrit मद् 'bad' and वन 'forest.' That the whole of that country-side was anciently and down to comparatively modern times a very evil forest—the wide-stretching legendary forest country of the *Jhárkhand*, where the *Kali Yuga* first began, and where *mlechhas* and wild beasts abounded—is undoubted. So the *pandits* may be right. See *BL* xlii, 223, and his identification of *Madáran* with *Bhitargarh* in *Proc. A.S.B.*, April 1870. The *parganah* is no longer called *Haveli*, but *Jahánabad*. *Bl.* gives some of the legends of this strange, haunted, interesting neighbourhood, but a complete collection of them would fill a book.

*Sainbhum.* Now *Senbhum*. It lies on both sides of the *Ajai* river, partly in *Bardwan* and partly in *Birbhum*. The southern portion is now called *Senpahári*.

*Samar Sánhas.* Should be *Samarsháhi*. It is in the south of *Bardwan*, across the *Damodar*, opposite *Bardwan town*.

*Shergarh*, commonly called *Sakharbhum*. Should be *Sikharbhúm*, *i.e.* शिखरभूमि = 'peak-land,' a name the appropriateness of which must strike anyone who

has seen the numerous peaked hill-tops of Pachet from Raniganj or Asansol. It is an immense parganah, occupying the whole western angle of Bardwan between the Damodar and Ajai rivers—a land of coal-mines.

**Sháhpúr.** A detached parganah lying in the middle of the Midnapur district.

**Ket.** Should be Kait, or, as it is now pronounced, Kaití. It is now absorbed in Samarshábi.

**Mandalghát.** A very large parganah forming the extreme south angle of the Hughli district, and occupying all the tongue of land between the Hughli and Rúpnaráyan rivers, together with some lands on the western or Midnapur side of the latter river.

**Nagor.** The extensive ruins of the fortifications at this place on the western frontier of Birbhum show that it was once a place of great importance. It is the Lakhnor, *i.e.* Nagar Lakhnor, of the Muhammadan historians. Bl. xlii, 211, 212.

**Minabák.** Probably Mainapúr in East Bankura.

**Hisuli.** The variant Misduli suggests that this may be Maisadal in Midnapur, which lies only a little way from the western boundary of Mandalghát.

#### SARKAR TÁJPUR.

This is a large but compact territory, stretching eastwards from the Mahananda river nearly to the Purnobhába. It includes all eastern Purniah and the western half of Dinájpur. The boundary to the north ran up into the sub-Himalayan forests, and is not susceptible of accurate definition. Probably several of the northern mahals, such as Surjápur, Debhatṭa, and Sálbári, were only partly under Muhammadan sway at the date of the Áin. Of the twenty-nine mahals one is the Zakát or Poor-tax, leaving twenty-eight territorial areas.

**Bankat.** There is no trace of any mahal of this name, and as the revenue of this one mahal is more than half

that of the whole Sarkár, so large an area can hardly have disappeared without leaving any trace. The name, however, apparently gives a clue. Bankat means 'forest clearing,' and evidently points to the great forests of the Tarái which covered so much of the northern part of this Sarkár. In the present day this area is comprised in a very large parganah called Sálbári, or 'Sál-wood tract,' and G. 405 states that Sálbári was in Tájpur. As no such name occurs in the Ain, nor in G., it is reasonable to suppose that Bankat and Sálbári are identical.

**Badokhar.** Should be Badoghar.<sup>1</sup> This must, I think, be meant for the extensive parganah now known as Bador or Badaur. The present name is probably shortened from Badohar, a transitional form of Badoghar. It lies along the eastern side of the Mahánandá in Purniah. In its wide circuit are contained numerous detached portions of other parganahs.

**Bandol.** G. 410. It is absorbed in Haveli Tájpur.

**Bobará.** Probably Bhúpará in the north-west corner of Bador.

**Bhonhará.** Absorbed partly in Hatinda, partly in Dhanjar (Sarkár Lakhuauti), and partly in Bador. Scraps of Hatinda also lie within Bador, and bits of Bador in Hatinda, while lands of both are found in Kadba and Asjah (Sarkár Purniah)! It is spelt Bhooihará in the parganah map of Dhanjar.

**Badgáon.** There are hundreds of villages of this name in Bengal. There is not, as far as I know, any parganah of that name now extant. It is not in G.'s lists.

**Básigáon.** Absorbed in Hatinda (Bea. MS.).

**Pangáon.** Should be Bangáon. A dismembered parganah scattered over various parts of the Sarkár.

**Bahádurpúr.** In Hatinda.

<sup>1</sup> Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Purniah Collectorate. I was also myself Collector of Purniah for four years, and have, therefore, personal knowledge of this neighbourhood.

**Bahanagar.** Should be Bhángur, now in Akbarpúr parganah in Maldah (Bea. MS.).

**Badalká.** Probably Baḍál in parganah Báisházari in Maldah.

**Táldwár.** In spite of its place in the alphabetical order, there is little doubt that Máldwár is meant. This is a large and well-known parganah on the west border of Dinajpur. No place named Taldwar is traceable.

**Chhápartál.** Now known as Jhápartoil and so spelt in S.M. and A. of I. It is in Central Dinajpúr. I.O. 6 has

جہا پور.

Suburban district and town of Tájpúr. There is not, as far as I know, any town of this name now, though it is shown on the old maps. It is not in S.M. or A. of I. The parganah is still extant on the west border of Dinajpúr, adjacent to Máldwár on the south.

**Diláwarpúr.** In the south-west corner of Dinajpúr.

**Dabhat.** Should be Dehaṭṭá or Debhattá, a parganah in the north-west of Dinajpúr. Bl. gives the variant Dehat in a note on the Persian text.

**Sesahrá.** Probably Susihra, now included in Haveli Tajpur.

**Sújápur.** Should be Surjápur, the large parganah about sixty miles long which occupies the north-east corner of the modern district of Purniah. Probably the greater part of it was unconquered in the reign of Akbar.

**Sháhpúr.** A small parganah about ten miles north of the town of Purniah, separated from the rest of the Sarkár.

**Kuwárpur.** Now called Kumáripur (which is the same thing); in the south of Purniah, forming a small projecting strip between Sarkárs Purniah and Audambar.

**Kasárgaon, Gopálnagar, Nilnagar, Nilún, Yúsef.** I have not been able to identify these. I.O. 6 has for Nilún نبلون with vowel points, reading Niblaun or Niblon. Both MSS. have Yúsufpúr.

**Goghra.** Absorbed in Hatinda.

**Mahon.** Should be Mahasún. It is mixed up with Haveli Tájpur.

## SARKÁR LAKHNAUTI.

Also known as Jannatabad, but this title, said to have been conferred by the Emperor Humáyun, is only used in official documents, and does not seem to have come into common use among the people.

This Sarkár is divided into six subdivisions entitled Jawárs. The word *jawár* means originally 'neighbourhood,' and J. has therefore translated it 'neighbouring villages of.' But this translation is misleading, for the mahals in each Jawár are, as a matter of fact, by no means 'neighbouring,' being often widely scattered, and the term used obscures the fact that we have here official divisions of territory, each with its Haveli. It is somewhat surprising that so many mahals should be included in 'so small an area; but, in the first place, many of the entries refer not to territorial areas, but to taxes on markets, customs, transport duties, and the like; and in the second place an unusually large number of mahals belonging to this Sarkár are scattered amongst the lands of adjacent Sarkárs. Identification is peculiarly difficult owing to the creation of the large estate of Ruknpúr, which has absorbed many of the smaller estates, and to the devastations caused by the Ganges, which has washed away large tracts of land. The old names have in many cases perished with the places to which they belonged, and new towns and villages with new names have arisen in their stead. One searches the S.M. and A. of I., and even the parganah maps on the large scale of 1 inch=1 mile, in vain for these ancient names. It is only from old inhabitants who have preserved the traditions of the sites of these lost towns and estates that one can sometimes obtain a trace or a clue.

"Jannatabad, commonly known as Gaur. It has been a brick fort."—J. *Dárad* means 'it has,' not 'it has been.' The fort is still there, though in ruins. I translate *Jawar* by 'circle.'



## CIRCLE OF AGRA.

- Ajor.** Now usually written Ajhor. An extant parganah in North-east Maldah. The name is correctly given in S.M., but incorrectly as Aihour in A. of I.
- Bázkhokhra.** Not traceable. I.O. 1114 has بلبر Balambar, also unknown.
- Baler.** Probably Blkar in North-east Maldah: بليكر for بلير. A common type of error in Persian MSS. caused by omitting the sloping stroke or *markaz* of the *káf*.
- Haveli Akra.** Probably Agra on the Púrnabhába river, now absorbed in the Shikárpúr parganah of Bárbakábad.
- Dhanpúr.** Probably Dhanjar, a large parganah in South Dinájpúr, which is much intermixed with other mahals of this Sarkár.
- Deviya.** Probably Deoriya, in parganah Kasimpur, in South Dinajpúr.
- Serhwar.** The text should probably be read Sirhúr. Parganah Sirhur, spelt in S.M. and A. of I. Surhur, is in South Dinajpur, adjacent to Dhanjar.
- Madnáwatí.** A scattered parganah in South Dinajpur; most of it is in Dhanjar. Spelt in S.M. Mudnabattee.
- Nábat.** Now Nact. In parganah Dhanjar.

The other mahals of this circle I have been unable to trace.

## CIRCLE OF DARSHIRAK.

Seven out of the sixteen mahals are cesses and imposts on markets; *e.g.*—

**Áchárikhánah** is pickle-market.

**Kátháhhápá** means 'wood-stamp.' Probably a place by the river-side where timber floated down the Mahánandá from the forests of Nepal was taxed and stamped.

**Modi Mahal.** The market of grain and sweetmeat sellers.

**Mewa Mahal.** Market for dried fruit, such as is annually brought from Kabul: nuts, walnuts, pistachio nuts, dried apricots, etc.

Of the territorial areas I can identify only

Ráekamati, which should be Rángamáti, now in pargana<sup>h</sup>.  
Shikárpur.

Gangapat and neighbourhood of Hindui. I.O. 6 reads Gangábat; G. 374, 380, etc., has Gangánat. The place is not traceable. For Hindui both the I.O. MSS. have مندوی mandávi or 'market,' which is more intelligible.

G. spells Dar Sarak—Dershirak—a spelling which I have adopted; the area of this circle was probably nearly all within or close to the city of Gaur, and must have suffered great changes from the action of the river.

#### CIRCLE OF DEBIKOT.

Debikot is in both the I.O. MSS. the distinct reading of the word which J. reads as Dihikot, and seems to be the correct name. No place bearing the latter name can be traced, while on the other hand we have in the north of this Sarkár the celebrated ancient city and frontier fortress of Debikot or Debkot, now known as Damdamah, on the Purnabhába river, in the south-west of Dinájpur. The identity of the ruins and remains known as Damdamah with Debikot has been fully established by Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Westmacott. The only identifiable names in this circle lie in the same neighbourhood.

Pakor. The correct reading is evidently that of both the I.O. MSS., viz. Nákor, which is in pargana<sup>h</sup> Rájnagar, on the boundary between Dinájpur and Maldah, sixteen miles south-west of Damdama. In the S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Nokore.

Dahlgau. Should be Dakhingaou. Four miles north-west of Damdama. S.M. and A. of I.

Maligaou. Now absorbed in Dhanjar.

Modipur. Probably Mahdipur. Two miles south of the last-named place.

## CIRCLE OF RAMAUTI.

The only place I have been able to identify in this circle is

**Máhinagar.** A small parganah in the north of the Maldah district.

Sangdwár may perhaps be the ancient city of Panduah, which is sometimes mentioned as Bardwár.

## CIRCLE OF SARSABAD.

The name of this circle suggests a curious bit of diplomacy. The full name is Shersháhábád, so called from the famous Afghan Sher Khán, who drove the Emperor Humáyun from the throne of Delhi and ruled in his stead. On the restoration of the Moghul dynasty Sher *Sháh*, as he was called during his reign, was of course regarded as an usurper, and his regal title was not acknowledged; he is always mentioned as Sher *Khán*. When Todar Mal, a courtier and trusted councillor of Humáyun's son, came to draw up the financial account of the empire, such a name as Shersháhábád would present a difficulty. As the name of a large fiscal division of the country it could not be ignored, while it would be disrespect, if not treason, to speak of Sher *Sháh*. He would get over the difficulty by using the popular corruption of the name Sarsábád, which conveyed no meaning, and was therefore unobjectionable. This is merely a conjecture, but, I think, a probable one. All the mahals of this circle are still extant and shown on the maps.

**Akbarpur.** A large parganah in the north-west of Maldah lying along the Ganges.

**Párdiyár.** Now absorbed in Shersháhábád in the extreme south of Maldah.

**Khizrpur.** Shown on the maps as Khidurpoor on the Kalindri River in Akbarpur, north of the large town of Hayatpur.

**Sarshábad.** Now restored to its proper form, and shown in S.M. and A. of I. as Shershábad. It is an extensive parganah covering all the south-west of Maldah, and including the ruins of the ancient capital, Gaur, as well as the modern capital, Angrezabad, or English Bazar.

**Kotwáli.** In Akbarpur, close to Hayatpur.

**Garhand.** A parganah in the north-west of Maldah. Spelt Gorbund in S.M. and A. of I.

**Garhi.** The small parganah south of the Ganges, now in the Sonthal Parganahs district, in which was the celebrated frontier fortress of Teliagarhi, the key of Bengal. It lies a long way from the rest of the Sarkár, but its importance perhaps led to its being attached to the headquarters Sarkár.

**Makráin.** A parganah in N.W. Maldah, adjacent to Akbarpur.

**Mánikpur and Hatanda.** These two constitute the large parganah of Hatinda in the north of Maldah.

#### CIRCLE OF MALDAH.

The eleven mahals of this circle are given without any revenue, and are mostly unrecognizable from the materials at my disposal. This part of the list is probably corrupt, but the means of correcting it are not available. The following are still recognizable:—

**Haveli Máldah** is the town of Old Máldah at the junction of the Kalindri and Mahánandá rivers.

**Sarbadahpur** is probably Sarbadhikpur in Shikárpur, six miles north-east of Old Maldah.

**Sháhmandawí** is on the Mahanandá, two miles south of Old Maldah.

**Fattibpur** is four miles north of the same place.

The general distribution of the circles is shown by the identified places:—

**Debikot** occupied the north-eastern part of the Sarkár.

Agra to the south and west of Debikot.

Ramauti the north centre.

Darshirak the city of Gaur and its neighbourhood.

Sarrábád the west and south.

Máldáh the environs of the town of that name.

#### SARKAR BÁRBAKÁBÁD.

Called after Bárbak Sháh, king of Bengal A.D. 1460-1474 (Bl. xlv, 289). It comprises the greater part of the modern district of Rájsháhi (officially spelt Rajeshahye!), and parts of Maldah, Dinajpur, and Murshidabad. Most of the mahals are still extant and shown on the S.M. and A. of I. A list of them is given by Bl. xlv, 290, which J. has apparently not seen. The two large estates of Lashkarpur and Bhaturia have absorbed many of the smaller ones, as usual.

Amrol. In N. Rajshahi. S.M. and A. of I.

City of above-mentioned (Barbakabad). There is no evidence that there ever was any city of this name,<sup>1</sup> and the amount of revenue shows that we are dealing here not with a town, but a large tract of country. As mentioned before, *baldah* in Indian revenue phraseology more usually designates a district than a town. This *baldah* probably indicates the unassigned portion of the Haveli, which will be discussed later on.

Basdol. } These two mahals are now combined; the latter  
Báltápur. } name is properly Paltápúr. In N.E. Maldah.

Polárhár. } I have not found these.  
Barbariá. }

Hastol. } Now united; the former word is Pastúl. In S.  
Chaurá. } Dinajpur.

Bangáon. Absorbed in Chandlai. W. Rajshahi. S.M.

Chhandiyá Bárá. So Bl. *loc. cit.*, but the correct name is Chhedia: G. 451. Now absorbed in Bhaturiá.

Jahásand and Joká. Correct names Jásindh and Chaugáon. The latter is given as a variant in the Persian text.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Bl. xlv, 291 and my remarks on the Haveli below.

Jiasindh is in North-west Rajshahi, Chaugáon in Bhaturiá. S.M. and A. of I.; G. 459 under the head of *Zamindari parganahá-e mutafarrakát*.

Jandlai. Correct name Chandláí; partly in Rajshahi, partly in Maldah.

Janású. Correctly given as Chinású by Bl. *loc. cit.*, and by G. 376, 381 as Chinasun. . Absorbed in Bhaturiá.

Suburban district of Síkh Shahar. This being the Haveli, we must look for the capital of the Sarkár in it. The word here rendered Síkh occurs again in Ghorághat, in both places with numerous variants, as Sabtakh, etc. In both the I.O. MSS., though the dots are rather wildly placed, there is a distinct dot above the line making a reading Sankh, and in Sarkár Ghorághát the entry looks very like Santakh. The place meant is, I have no doubt, the celebrated old city and fortress of Santosh, so often mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. It is written in Sanskrit सतोष, and ष in Hindi and all the western Indian languages is invariably rendered by *kh*. To Todar Mal and his up-country clerks the natural transliteration would be سنٹوكه, which would easily be corrupted into Santukh سنٹكه.<sup>1</sup> The parganah still exists in South Dinajpur, adjacent to the other mahals of this Sarkár, and the *balдах* above mentioned must have formed part of it. The site of the city is still traceable by extensive ruins at the village of Mahinagar on the Atrái (Máeenuggur in S.M. and A. of I. See Westmacott in J.A.S.B. xlv, 190; Bl. *ibid.* 290). The place is still known locally as Mahi Santosh. On a line between the one frontier post of Ghorághát and the other of Debikot, it would be a suitable place for the capital of one of the northern Sarkárs, and at one time must have been almost a frontier

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable throughout the Ann that Abul Fazi always transliterates the Sanskrit ष by *kh*, as in *makh* मेख, *lakhkh* लखख, etc.

## NOTES ON AKBAR'S SUBAHS.

- post itself. This identification, if correct, explains how the inscription given by Bl. xlv, 291 came to be found at Mahi Santosh, and the inscription itself confirms my view.
- Dhárman.** Probably the Dhaurim of G. 383. It has been dismembered.
- Daúdpur, Sankárdal** *alias* Nizampur, Sherpur, Bahrapur, and Kázihattí. I have not identified these.
- Shikárpúr.** In East Maldah; has absorbed several mahals from Sarkár Lakhnauti.
- Táhirpúr.** Absorbed in Lashkarpúr.
- Kardahá and Kharál** (now Kharáel). Combined together in South Dinajpur.
- Guzrhát.** Along the Ganges in Maldah and Rajshahi. Wrongly spelt Gururhat in S.M. and A. of I.
- Khás.** Correctly Guhás. Now spelt Goás. South of the Ganges in Murshidabad.
- Ganj Jakdal.** Jagdal in North-east Maldah.
- Gobindpur and Lashkarpur.** These two parganahs occupy all the centre of Rajshahi district.
- Káligái and Káligáe** Kothia. There is only one parganah called Káligái; it is in Central Rajshahi.
- Kodánagar.** Should be Godánagar. Probably Godágari on the Ganges in Guzrhát.
- Máljipur.** Should be Málanchi (Bl. xlv, 292) in Bhaturiá.
- Masdhá.** Should be Masidha in South Dinajpur adjoining Santosh.
- Mansamala.** G. 467 writes Malsemanny. It seems to have been absorbed in Jahangirpur.
- Mahmúdpur.** Now called Muhammadpur. It lies north of Rampur Boaliyá. Bl. *loc. cit.*, S.M., and A. of I.
- Wazírpúr.** In South-east Maldah.

The parganah of Jahangirpur, intermingled with Masidha, is not mentioned in the *Ain*. Its name shows it to be a later creation, but I cannot find to which mahal of the *Ain* the area covered by this name belonged. G. 467 ascribes it to this Sarkár.

## NOTES ON AKBAR'S SUBAHS.

## SARKÁR MAHMÚDÁBÁD.

This very extensive Sarkár includes one parganah of the Murshidabad district, all the northern part of Nadia and Jessore, and a portion of Pabna and Farídpúr. The headquarters may still be traced at the ruined fort of Mahmúdábád on the Madhumati river on the eastern frontier of Jessore (see Westland's Jessore, p. 25). The number of mahals is very large—eighty-four; but a great majority of them appears to have been absorbed in the larger parganahs, especially Naldi. As these smaller, and for the most part now extinct, parganahs are not shown on the S.M. or A. of I., it is impossible for me to assign them their proper position. In this, and several other Sarkárs in this part of Bengal, all I am able to do, even after consulting local revenue officials, is to indicate the positions of such of the mahals of the Áin as I am able to identify. The identification of the rest I must leave to more favourably situated enquirers.

Indarkalli. Probably Andarkotha, now absorbed in parganah Rajpur in North-west Nadia (Bea. MS.).<sup>1</sup>  
 Bázu Rást } *i.e.* "Right and left wing." By the name  
 Bázu Chap } these ought properly to belong to Sarkár  
 Bazúhá, by which, indeed, they are almost surrounded.  
 They are in the Pabna district north of the Podda or Ganges. The town of Pabna is in Bázu Chap: S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has بازدراست and I.O. 1114 ناردراست for the first, and for the second بازوجب and باروجب respectively. This instance shows how blindly the copyists erred, not taking the trouble to understand what they wrote, even when the words are pure Persian.

Betbariya. Bítbariya in Rajpur on the Kumár river.

<sup>1</sup> Report of enquiries made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Nadia Collector's Office. It is surprising how few places this local official can identify. This shows how completely the parganah as a local unit has fallen out of use in Central Bengal.



Bandwál. Probably Bāonwál; بانووال not باندوال. In Rajpur near the last-named.

Pátikámára. Pátikábári in parganah Ghaznabipur in North-east Nadia.

Barmahpur. Now written Brahimpúr. In North Nadia on the Podda, a large extant parganah. S.M. and A. of I.

Patkámári. This is probably Patkábári. Though the greater portion of this parganah is in northern Satgáon, the scrap given here (only Rs. 88 revenue) was apparently in this Sarkár. As we go on we shall find several other instances of mahals partly in one Sarkár and partly in another.

Belkasi. It has been suggested that the correct reading is Palási, and this is not improbable. G., indeed (pp. 375, 431, 432), places Palási (or Plassey, to use the historically famous name) in Satgáon, but in this, as in the last-mentioned mahal, a portion may have been in this Sarkár. In both I.O. MSS. the dots are so loosely placed that no reading can be made out.

Tarákina. Bl. text reads Tárakania. The place meant is probably Tárágunia, which has already been mentioned under Satgáon, another case of a mahal in two Sarkárs. I.O. 6 reads Tárakania or Tárakíná—the word may be read either way; so also in I.O. 1114.

Jediya. Probably Jháodiya, in parganah Ghaznavípur, in Nadiya (Bea. MS.).

Haveli. Haveli Mahmúdabad, now corrupted to Muhammu-dabad (see on this point Bl. xlii, 216 *et seqq.*), is on the Madhumati in North-east Jessoro. Near it is the village of Bhúsna, the name of which was often used for the whole Sarkár, being the residence of the powerful Zamindars, who owned the greater part of the country round about.

Dukási. Probably Dugáchhi, now absorbed in Rájpur (Bea. MS.).

- Dahlat Jalálpur.** The variant Dahkat suggests that we have here Dháká Jalálpur, the old name of Faridpur. If so, one would have expected to find it in Sarkár Fathábad, which joins this Sarkár on the east.
- Sator.** Now written Shatoir and mixed up with the Haveli parganah of Fathabad in Faridpur. S.M. and A. of I.
- Shah Ujjial.** A very large parganah in North-east Nadia and West Jessore. S.M.
- Sherpurbari.** Probably Shuhrbári, now absorbed in Rajpur.
- Ghaznipur.** Now known as Ghaznavipur, which was probably always the real name. It is an extant parganah in North-east Nadia.
- Kandaljya.** Should be Kundalia, a part of which is also in Sátgáon.
- Kolbariya.** Should be Kulberia, in South Murshidabad.
- Mihmán Shahi.** The parganah of this name is far away north of the Ganges, and belongs to Sarkár Bázúhá. Unless this is an instance of an erroneous double entry some portion of that extensive parganah may have lain south of the Ganges, or from some other reason may have belonged to this Sarkár.
- Mahmúdshahi.** A very extensive parganah in Nadia and Jessore.
- Naldai.** Now known as Naldi, in Jessore. It covers an immense area, and as it was one of the large Zamindáris created in the Nawábi period (G. 259, 320) it has probably swallowed up a large number of smaller mahals, whose names have in consequence been consigned to oblivion.
- Nasrat' Sháhi.** Another very large parganah, now in N. Faridpúr.
- Haldá.** Still extant in E. Nadiya.

The remaining mahals of this Sarkár I am unable to identify.

## SARKÁR KHALÍFATÁBÁD.

Not a very large Sarkár; bounded on the north by Mahmudabad, on the east by Fathabad, on the west by Satgáon, and on the south by the Sundarban. Identification is here also rendered difficult by the Nawábi creation of the extensive Zamindári of Jessore, divided into two estates, Yusulpúr and Saidpúr, both of which were made up of numerous tracts of land, which, on being thus absorbed, appear to a great extent to have lost their ancient names (G. 447). The Sarkár comprises the modern district of Khulna, with portions of Bakirganj, Nadiu, and Twenty-four Parganahs. The following are still identifiable:—

- Bhálká. Should be Bháluká, a portion of the still extant parganah, the rest of which is in Twenty-four Parganahs.
- Bágh Mára. Written as one word, Bághmára; in the Nadia district, on the Kobádak river.
- Tálá. A town on the Kobádak, in Khulna, with parganah now included in Ramchandrapúr. S.M.
- Jesar, *alias* Rasúlpúr. A very large parganah, but it is doubtful whether it corresponds to the mahal of the Aín, and the modern town of Jessore was not founded till a century later. (Bl. xlii, 217; Westland's "Jessore," p. 23.)
- Charaula. Now Charulia, in S. Khulna.
- Suburban district of Khalifatabad. The Haveli town was near the town of Bagerhát, on the Bhairab river. It is now in ruins (Bl. xlii, 227).
- Khalispur and Sáhas. Both intermingled. In Khulna. Sáhas is spelt Shahosh in S.M.
- Dániyá. Probably Datiya, in Twenty-four Parganahs. Spelt Datteah in S.M. and A. of I.
- Imádpur. Should be Itimádpur *اعتمادپور*. It is now in Aurangpúr in the Bakirganj district. See Bev. Bak.

Rangdia. In S. Khulna. Wrongly spelt Sangdia in S.M. and A. of I (Bl. xlii, 227). It lies just above Morellganj.

Sulaimanabad. In E. Jessore and W. Backerganj, on both sides of the Madhumati river. In S.M. spelt Selimabad.

Mundágáchhá. A portion of this parganah is in Satgáon. How much of it belonged to Khalifatabad and where that portion was situated is not known.

### SARKÁR PANJRA.

We now again return to the northern end of the province, where we find the small Sarkár of Panjra occupying the eastern half of the modern district of Dinajpúr.

The proper name of this Sarkár is Panjra—not Pinjarah, as J. gives it. It is true that G. writes it Pinjra, but his spelling is no guide; the first Europeans in India had a curious habit of changing the short *a* into *i*, as in Chittagong for Chatgáon, Chinsurah for Chanchurá, and the like. Mr. Westmacott's suggestion in J.A.S.B. xlv, 8 that the word represents the old Hindu local name Paundra is, at any rate, highly probable, if not actually proved. Nearly all the mahals of this Sarkár can be identified. It comprises the western half of Dinajpur, with some outlying mahals further south. How far it extended to the north into the wild, half-conquered, submontane tracts cannot be ascertained with any certainty.

Anbel. The variants give Ambil and Ampol. I.O. 6 has Ambil very distinct. I.O. 1114 is indistinct. G. 405 calls it Appol. No parganah of any of these names seems traceable, though Appol existed down to British rule, and is probably still extant in some part of the immense area of Dinajpur and Rangpur, such as Salbári.

Aubári. Misprint for Anbári, i.e. Ambári. The ruined fort of Amrábári, now in parganah Sarúpur in S.E. Dinajpur, probably represents it.

- Augochah. Misprint for Angocha (G. 405). Situation not known to me.
- Bárangpúr. Should be Bárbakpúr, a parganah in Rajshahye divided between Sarkárs Panjra, Bárbakábad, and Ghorághát.
- Bijánagar. { All still extant in Central Dinajpur. Shown in S.M. and A. of I. under the names of Bejoynuggur, Bajitpoor, and Behinuggur respectively. The town of Dinajpur is in the first-named.
- Báyázidpúr. {
- Baharnagar. {
- Barigher. Not identified. G. 405 has Cheparypoor. Both I.O. MSS. have the word inverted, Gherbári, which is more like a Bengali place-name than Barigher.
- Badúghar. Probably part of Bador in Tájpur.
- Takasi. Should be Tegáchhi, just as Dukasi stands for Dugáchhi in Sarkár Mahmúdabad. In many parts of Bengal *chh* is pronounced *s*. It is a detached parganah in the Rajshahye district. G. 376 writes Teggachee, at 381 Teygachee, and at 383 Teygachy.
- Hálon. This cannot be right, as there is no  $\text{ح}$  in Hindi words. G. 405 has Chipalun, and there is Chalun in parganah Sashbír, which I suspect is the place meant.
- Suburban district. Haveli Panjra is a large parganah still extant on the north-east frontier of Dinajpur. Panjra was for a long time used for the whole province of Dinajpur. G. 320 and 402.
- Dekha. More probably Dikha or Dhíka, which is the reading of both I.O. MSS. G. 376 writes it Dhiha. It is not now traceable.
- Deora. A large parganah south of the Haveli. S.M. and A. of I.
- Sadharbári. Not found. I.O. 1114 has سبدیاری, which, if read Sibdiári, is a very likely name for an island in a river.
- Sankatá. Probably Saguná, a parganah in North-west Bogra, which G. places in this Sarkár, p. 467. S.M. and A. of I. I.O. 6 has سكتا Sugatá; I.O. 1114 سكت, which may be Saguná.

- Sultanpúr. South-east of Dinajpur. A portion is also in Sarkár Ghoraghat.
- Sasber. South of Dinajpur.
- Sulaimanabad. Not found.
- Khattá. A large detached parganah surrounded by mahals of Sarkár Bazuhá, in south of Bogra.
- Kedábari. Should be Gilábári, a parganah in South-east Dinajpur.

## SARKÁR GHORÁGHÁT.

At first sight this appears a very large Sarkár, having no less than eighty-four mahals. But on closer inspection it will be seen that twenty-three of these are very small, having a revenue of less than 300 rupees each, which would, roughly speaking, represent an area of 100 acres. Then there are four ta'alluks, which would be merged in parganahs. So that, these deductions made, there are only fifty-seven mahals to account for, and many even of these are very small. The country lying to the north-east of the Karatoya river, and comprised in the modern district of Rangpur, was not fully conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xlii, 235). At the time of the compilation of the lists in the Aín, it was for the most part independent, and when conquered was settled under different names from those in our lists. The area really under Musulman rule must have been comparatively small, and a large number of the entries in the lists must be nominal merely. G., indeed, p. 454, speaks of the Zamindári of "Edrackpoor," which comprised the greater part of this Sarkár, as "this little territorial trust." It contained sixty parganahs, nearly the same number as those of this Sarkár after the deductions above made. It lies in the Rangpur, Dinajpur, Pabna, and Maimansingh districts.

I have identified, either certainly or conjecturally, the following, which, from their situation, suffice to fix the boundaries of the Sarkár, and from their extent very nearly fill up the whole of the area included within those boundaries.

- Anwarbán. I would read Anwrián or Aonrián, and identify it with Aonrá in North Bogra.
- Algaon. G. 454, "Alygaon." Aligaon is in North-west Bogra.
- Bázú Zafar Shahi (two mahals). A large parganah still extant on both sides of the Brahmaputra, which in Akbar's reign was much smaller at this point than it is now. The two mahals probably mean the two portions one on each side of the river.
- Bázú Faulád Sháhi. In North Bogra. The Persian word for 'steel' is generally pronounced *fúlád* in India (as it is also in Persia) and *púlád*. In Bengal the latter would be the more natural pronunciation, as there is no *f* in Bengali. The name got corrupted very early. G. writes it Folad-dessy, p. 454, and in S.M. and A. of I. it appears as Pulladassee.
- Págdwár. There is a ta'alluk Bágdwár in parganah Boda in North Rangpur, but this seems to be too far north, unless it were an outlying tract, an *enclave* in Panjra. There are many such tracts, as we have seen already.
- Bárbakpúr. Part of the parganah in North Rajshahi, other parts of which belong to Panjra and Barbakabad.
- Town of Nasratábád. Baldah here, again, must mean a district; the revenue is too large for a town. BL xliii, 293 says Nusrat (not nasrat) -ábád is a synonym for Ghoraghat itself. In the Royal Asiatic Society's beautiful MS. of the Aín, this Sarkár is entered as Sarkár Nusratábád. This Baldah will, therefore, be the country adjacent to that town.
- Barsalá. Should probably be Barbillá, a parganah adjacent to Ghoraghat, on the opposite or north-east side of the Karatoya.
- Bari Sábakbálá. G. 454 writes this "Bery Shanurkfallah," perhaps in modern spelling Sánkphalá. The position is not indicated. Both I.O. MSS. read سأك Sámak.

- Bari Ghorághát. The town of this name is still existing on the Karatoya in South-east Dinajpúr.
- Báyázitpur. The parganah of this name has already been noticed under Panjra. A portion of it appears under this Sarkár also.
- Pátáldeh. North of Zafar Shahi, on both sides of the Brahmaputra. In S.M. and A. of I. it is spelt Pateeladoha.
- Báلكá. In South Rangpur. Spelt in S.M. Palika; in A. of I. wrongly Paieka.
- Bajpatári. G. 454 writes Taji-puttary, but does not say where it is. The dots are vague in both I.O. MSS.
- Hámilá. Cannot be right, there being no ح in Hindi words, and the Arabic حامله is not to be thought of. I suspect this is Chápilé, a parganah in East Bogra south of Zafarshahi. All the MSS. have Hámilá, blindly copying one another.
- Khásbári. Probably the parganah now known as Khas Ta'alluk, near the town of Ghoraghát.
- Sultanpur. In South-east Dinajpur.
- Sikhsbahr. A portion of Santosh, as explained under Sarkár Barbakabad, *supra*.
- Sírhatá. Sarhatta in South-east Dinajpur.
- Siriyá Kandi. In East Bogra, on the Bangáli river, between Zafarshahi and Chapila.
- Fathpur. Fathjangpúr in Bogra.
- Kandibari. Probably Kundi in North-west Rangpur.
- Kának Sakhar. I suspect this is a copyist's error for Kángor, though the I.O. MSS. read كَانَك سَهَكَر. This was a well-known place in ancient times, and from its situation must have been either in Panjra or Ghoraghat, most probably the latter. Yet the name does not appear in the Ain lists at all, unless this be it. كَانَكُو كَهَر is not very unlike كَانَكُو كَهَر. The second stroke of the *markas* of the *gáf* was probably taken for another *káf*.



Magatpur. Should be Mukutpúr. A parganah in South Rangpur. In A. of I. Mukuteepoor. The three words beginning with *w* are rather puzzling; as there is no *w* in Bengali they must be Persian or Arabic. The second of the three Wachhi is probably the Aunchi of G. 454, which seems to be Uchai in parganah Kangor in North Bogra. In A. of I. Kasbah Oochai.

### SARKÁR BAZÚHÁ.

The name of this Sarkár is wrongly written by J. Bázohá. It is surprising that he did not recognize the well-known Persian plural of *Bású*, 'an arm or wing,' which is added as a termination to almost all the mahals of this very extensive Sarkár. It comprises nearly all the very large district of Maimansingh, parts of Dacca, Pabna, Bogra, and Rajshahi. The immense area of this Sarkár is to a great extent accounted for by the fact that much of it—as, for instance, the great Bhowal jungle—was uninhabited. A majority of the mahals are still known under the names they bear in the Aín, and are shown in the S.M. and A. of I. maps.

Alápscháhi (Alapsingh in the maps), Bakhariá Bázú (should be Pukhariá), Husain Shahi, Das Khádia (should be Daskaháoniá), Manmani Singh (should be Maiman Singh), Husain Singh, Nusrat Ujjal—are all in the Maimansingh district.

Badmár (should be Barbázú), Sonabázú, Katármal, Khatábázú—are in the Pabna district.

Bhoriya Bázú (should be Bhatúria) is in Rajshahi district.<sup>1</sup>

Bahwál Bázú (should be Bhawál—the great 'Bhowal jungle'), Dhaká Bázú, Chándpartáb Bázú—are in the Dacca district.

<sup>1</sup> This identification is due to Mr. Beveridge, J.A.S.B. lxi, 120. There can be little doubt as to its correctness. Bhaturiya was too important a place to have been omitted from the Aín, and there is no name but this which can indicate it. There is no place called Bhoriya Bazu, and Bhaturiya is just in the right place at the western extremity of the Sarkár.

Partáb Bázú, Soná Bázú, Silbaras, Yúsufsháhi (in the maps Esupshahee), and Mihmánsbháhi—are in the Bogra district.

The other names are probably the older names of several modern parganahs which do not appear in the list of the Aín.

Daskubáonia is the old name of Sherpur (BL xliii, 283). Shushang, the parganah which occupies the north-east of Maimansingh, does not appear to have been conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (G. 444).

#### SARKÁR FATHÁBÁD.

Is adjacent to Bazúhá on the south, and includes parts of the Dacca, Farídpur, and Bakirganj districts. It is fairly identifiable, though the extent of many of the mahals appears to have altered considerably, owing chiefly to the action of the great rivers by which it is everywhere intersected. The Record Keeper<sup>1</sup> writes: "Sarkár Fathábád included a larger area before, and at present the portion of land bounded by the rivers Kumár, Padma (Ganges), and Ariál Khán is called Fathábád. Several places have lost their former names in full or partly, and are known by new names." For the southern portion of this Sarkár and for Sarkár Báklá we have the valuable aid of Mr. Beveridge's work on Backergange<sup>2</sup> (Bákarganj).

Bholiya Bel. Bel should everywhere be read Bil. It is the Bengali for 'a swamp.' A 'great part of the Farídpur and Bakarganj districts consists of vast morasses, or *bils*. The Bholia Bil is in the north of Faridpur.

<sup>1</sup> Report of enquiry made at my request by the Record Keeper of the Faridpur Collector's Office, 1886. Referred to as Bea. MS.

<sup>2</sup> "The District of Bákarganj: its History and Statistics," by H. Beveridge, B.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Bákarganj. London: Trübner, 1876. Referred to as Bev. Bák.

**Bhágalpúr** was in the north-west of Faridpur; it has now been washed away by the Ganges (Bea. MS.).

**Belor.** Should be Balior. It is in Faridpúr, but its precise position is not stated by my informant.

**Báçhadiya.** Bárhádiá, *alias* Bháçdi, is now included in the Shatoir parganah of Sarkár Mahmúdabad.

**Telhaçi.** A parganah in S.W. Faridabad.

**Suburban dist ict, etc.** There is no town of Fathabad. The Haveli parganah lies round the civil station of Faridpúr.

**Hazratpur.** On the north side of the Ganges, in the Dacca district.

**Rasúlpúr.** Also on the north of the same river, adjoining Bikrampur.

**Súndíp.** A large island far away from the rest of this Sarkár, being the easternmost island in the Gangetic Delta. The name is Sanskrit शुन्बद्वीप 'empty island.' It was uninhabited till the reign of Shah Jahan, when it was peopled by Afghans, whose descendants still live there.

**Sarhárkal.** Should be Sundárkul, or bank of the Sundá, a river which formerly existed in W. Bakarganj, near Nalchiti; it has now dried up (Bea. MS. and Bev. Buk. 24, 43).

**Sadhwa.** Should be Sidhuá. I suspect, however, that we have here two words run into one, Sidhi and Bidu, two islands separated from each other by a very shallow channel, and lying close to the northern end of Súndíp.

**Sawáil,** *alias* Jalálpúr. A large parganah in Central Faridpur. The whole district was formerly known as Dacca Jelalpoor.

**Shahbázpúr.** A portion of the large island of that name, the greater part of which belongs to Sarkár Sonárgaon.

**Khatakpur.** Now known as Kharakpur, a small parganah absorbed in Haveli.

**Kasodiya.** A village in Thana Bhangá, in Faridpur. My informant does not state what parganah it has been included in (Bea. MS.).

**Hazárbhatti.** Now called Hazráhbhatti, in Thana Bhangá; the parganah is not mentioned.

**Yúsufpúr.** A large parganah in the Jessore district, detached from the rest of this Sarkár.

I have not succeeded in identifying the remaining parganahs. Nawábi changes have been particularly active in this part of Bengal. (See Bev. Bak., pp. 51-158, for a history of all the parganahs at present existing.)

#### SARKÁR BÁKLÁ.

J. erroneously writes Bogla. The references to this Sarkár by Blochmann in the three articles in J.A.S.B. so often referred to, are so numerous that I cannot give them all. The place is constantly mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and by early European travellers. It had a curious and interesting history, which it would lead me beyond the limits of my subject to go into.

The Sarkár had only four mahals. It lay along the eastern side of the present Bakarganj district—the mainland, that is to say.

**Ismáilpur, alias Bákla.** Is identified by Bev. Bak. 50, 70, *et passim*, with the ancient estate of Chandradvip, the name of which still survives, and in this view Bl. and my informant also agree. The identification seems to me unassailable. If there ever were a town called Bakla, which seems doubtful, it was probably at Kachúa, on the Titulia river, near Bauphal.

**Srirámpur.** A small parganah, very little of which now remains, most of it having been washed away by the Meghná river (Bev. Bak. 147).

**Sháhzádehpúr.** A small parganah near Nalchiti (Bev. Bak. 153).

Aádilpúr, عادلپور. Now corrupted into Idilpur (on the maps 'Edilpur'), a large parganah occupying the north-east corner of Bakarganj and adjacent portions of Faridpúr (Bev. Bak. 125).

### SARKÁR SILHAT.

This frontier Sarkár lay very far to the north-east, beyond the furthest limits even of the great Sarkár of Bazúha. In Akbar's time it was probably not under Muhammadan sway, and probably at no time prior to that had there been more than temporary occupation of outposts. In the Nawábi period its dense forest supplied timber for the royal navy or *Nawára*, and its revenues were devoted (*minus* peculations) to the support of that arm. The eight mahals of the Aín were increased to 146, and a crowd of petty landholders arose, whose existence forms a peculiar feature in the revenue administration of the district. G. 444.

After such violent changes it is hardly to be expected that much of the original division into mahals should still be identifiable. The following is all I can identify:—

Partábgarh, also called Pánchkhand. Is probably the country round Pánchgaon fort in Sushang, in Mymensingh.

Banián Chang. A large parganah still extant in the south-west of Silhat.

Jesá. The reading Jaintiya suggested by both Bl. and J. is probably the correct one. The town of Jaintiya is in the north-east corner of Silhat, just at the foot of the Jaintiya hills.

Suburban district. Lies round the town and civil station of Silhat.

Sarkhandal. Said by Bl., xlii, 236, to be a misprint for Satarkhandal, but he does not say where it is, and I cannot find it on the maps.

Ládú, *var.* Látú, which latter is correct. It is a very large tract of country occupying all the south-east part of the Silhat district. Bl., *loc. cit.*, confuses it with Láur, which is a different place in the north-west of the district.

Harnagar. I cannot find this place.

### SARKÁR SONARGÁON.

By the situation of the identifiable muhals, this Sarkár is shown to be a long straggling stretch of territory extending from the north of the Dacca district to the Phani (Fenny) river and the large islands at the mouth of the Ganges. How far it extended to the east is not known. Most of the present district of Tipperah was under independent Rajas (Bl. xlii, 236). To the west it approached within a few miles of the town of Dacca, which had not yet risen to its subsequent importance. The Survey maps of the districts comprised in this Sarkár do not, unfortunately, indicate the parganahs, and I am, therefore, unable to identify much of it. This and Ghoraghat remain the most obscure of all the Sarkárs to me. There is an interesting article by Dr. J. Wise on Sonargaon in J.A.S.B. xliii, 82.

Uttar Sháh-púr. Should be Shahbázpúr. A well-known island in the Bakarganj district. Uttar (or northern) Shahbázpúr is smaller than Dakhin (or southern) Shahbázpúr, from which it is separated by the Ilshá river.

Uttar and Dakhin Usmanpúr. In Tipperah.

Bikrampur. A large and well-known parganah occupying the eastern end of the island formed by the Ganges (here called Podda and Kírtinásá) and Dhaleswari. It is a place famous in history, and now celebrated for the learning of its pandits.

Bhalwá jowár (two words, not one as J. writes it). Bhalna circle. In Noakhalli district, which was formerly

known as the Bhalúá district. In S.M. and A. of I. wrongly spelt Bulloah, omitting the *h*. See also Bl. xli, 49.

**Baldákhāl and Bardia**, both in West Tipperah.

**Tota.**, Probably Thorla on the Gumti, in Central Tipperah.

**Jogidiya**. In the east of the Noákhalli district, near the little Phani (Fenny) river. Bl. xlii, 232. Once a celebrated frontier post, now a large and an important estate.

**Environs of port**. The port of Sonargaon, the town itself being situated a little way back from the river. See Wise, *loc. cit.*, and his map.

**Chand Yáhar**. This entry only wants three dots below the  $\tau$  to make it quite intelligible. It reads Chandíá Char, as it is distinctly written in both I.O. MSS. A *char*, as most people familiar with India know, is a sandy island in a river. There are several hundreds, not to say thousands, of them in the Brahmaputra and Ganges. This particular one seems no longer to exist, which is not surprising, for chars are perpetually being swept away and new ones formed in the vast estuary known as the Meghná.

**Chandpur**. On the east bank of the Meghná, in South-west Tipperah.

**Suburban district**. The Haveli of Sonárgaon lies about twelve miles east of Dacca. See Dr. Wise's article above quoted.

**Khizrpúr**. About one mile north of Naráyanganj, at the mouth of the Lakhya; nine miles or so east of Dacca. There is a description of the fort and ruins by Dr. Wise in J.A.S.B. xliii, 211.

**Dándrá**. In Tipperah.

**Dakhin Shahbázpúr**. The large island on the western side of the estuary of the Ganges. It belongs to the Bakarganj district.

**Ráipur**. On the Megna, at the extreme western point of the Noakhally district.

**Sálisari.** This name occurs also in Sarkárs Jannatabad and Khalifatabad. I do not think it is the name of a territory. It seems to me to be a term, under some copyist's corruption, indicative of *yearly* assessments or assignments of revenue, such as were made to officials or employés. *Sáliánah*, or *sálnah*, is what one would expect, but the variants are so numerous that it is difficult to guess what is the actual word meant.

**Sakhwá.** In West Tipperah, near Tubkibogra.

**Shamshpúr.** Probably Shamspúr, in Northern Tipperah.

**Mu'azzimpur.** Between the Brahmaputra and Lakhia rivers, fifteen miles north-west of the village of Sonargáon. Bl. xlii, 236; Wise, xliii, 85.

**Mahár.** In South Tipperah, a short distance from the Dakatia river. On S.M. shown as Mehar Nij.

**Manoharpur.** Now known as Manohardihi, about ten miles north of Sonargáon, on the western side of the Meghna.

**Naráenpur.** This must be the flourishing port of Naráyanjanj, nine miles east of Dacca, on the Lakhyá.

**Nawakot.** Probably Nawákháli (*vulgo* Nonkholly), the present capital of the district of that name. It was a fortified place in Akbar's reign, though very far from being so now. Bl. xlii, 232. I.O. 6, however, reads نلواكوت Nalwákot, and I.O. 1114 ملواكوت Malwákot, both of which seem wrong.

**Hátgháti.** Probably the large island of Hatiyá, east of Dakhin Shahbazpúr, which, unless meant by this entry, is not mentioned in the Ain.

#### SARKÁR CHÁTGAON.

This Sarkár was not conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb (Bl. xli, 49), about the year A.D. 1665 (G. 494). The present names of the parganahs, dating from the conquest only do not in any way correspond with those given in the



Ain, and to those, like myself, familiar with the district do not recall any of the local names now current. Grant is therefore probably correct in his opinion that it was "very imperfectly conquered under Akbar from the state of Arakan or Mogg (*sic*), to which it was adjoining and tributary, therefore probably rated only by estimation, not from any certain knowledge of the country" (p. 242). It is impossible, therefore, to identify any of the mahals. I have roughly indicated on the map the northern and western boundaries. As much of the country, even close down to the sea, is still covered by dense forests, and as we know that a large portion of the cultivated area was only brought under cultivation at the beginning of British rule, Todar Mal's names and figures must be regarded as almost entirely imaginary, and the eastern and southern boundaries cannot be indicated. A large proportion of the inhabitants are still Maghs, of the same race as the people of Arakan, but they are slowly receding before enterprising Bengali cultivators.

In order to bring these notes within reasonable limits, I have purposely omitted all but the most summary references to the numerous interesting legendary, mythical, antiquarian, and historical associations that cluster round many of these ancient names. "What shall be said for the obscurer roll of names which the above list preserves?" asks Colonel Jarrett in a note on p. 129. A large proportion of these names are far from being obscure to those who know the province of Bengal. If I had allowed myself to put down only a selection of the interesting facts connected with these places my notes might easily have been expanded into a bulky volume.

*Note.*—I have inserted accents wherever I think them necessary. My practice is to spell the words on the usual Jonesian (or Hunterian) system, but where the name of a place is very well known—as *e.g.* Bengal, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Bardwan, etc.—I do not put any dots or accents, but follow the popular method of spelling. So also in the very common terminations -abad, -pur, -gon, -ghat, -nagar, I have not always inserted accents.

## THE MAP

The Map has been compiled by taking careful tracings from the District S.M., and occasionally also from the 1 inch=1 mile parganah maps of all identifiable parganahs of the Ain. These were then joined together into one large map for the whole province, and reduced to the scale of 1 inch=16 miles. It was impossible to insert the names of all the parganahs on a map of this size without overcrowding it, but most of the large parganahs have been given. The blank spaces here and there represent tracts from which the ancient names appear to have died out altogether. The names and boundaries of modern British districts, with the rivers and some of the principal towns, have been inserted to facilitate identification.

ART. XVII.—*Notes on Akbar's Súbahs, with reference to the Áin-i Akbari.* By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (ret.).

No. II.

### ORISSA.

THE ancient kingdom of Orissa (Odra-deśa, whence Oṛeśá), strictly speaking, extended from the Kánsbáns river in the north to the Rasákuliá river near Ganjáin in the south; and from the Bay of Bengal on the east far into the tangled mass of low hills in the west, in which latter direction its limits seem never to have been clearly defined. But the kings of Orissa were not satisfied with these boundaries. It is a common boast both in literature and on monuments that their kingdom stretched from the great to the little Ganges; that is to say, from the Bhágirathí (called by Europeans the Huglí or "Hooghly") to the Godávarí. At various times different kings made good this boast by victorious campaigns, followed by temporary occupation of territory both to the north and south.

The latest of these towards the north, starting from the Subarnarekhá, which had at that time been for a long while the northern boundary, was led by the last independent monarch, Mukund Dev, called the Telinga, who, about A.D. 1550, really touched the Bhágirathí, and built at the sacred tírtha of Tribení, near Sátgáon, a stately bathing-place, the ruins of which still remain. He was attacked and defeated by the terrible Kálá Pahár, general of Sulaimán Kararání, really king, though nominally only viceroy, of Bengal. After holding out for some time at the strong fortress of Ráibanián on the Subarnarekhá, Mukund retreated, fighting as he went, to Jájpúr, where he was

either killed or driven into exile—for his fate is shrouded in obscurity—and Orissa became a province of Bengal in A.D. 1568.

It is so treated in the *Áin*. The arrangement, however, proved unworkable, and Orissa was eventually made into a separate *Súbah* by the Emperor Sháh Jahán. The suppression of the Bengal military revolt of 1572 led to the flight of Dáúd Khán, the rebel king of Bengal, into Orissa. Rájá Todar Mal accompanied the force under Mun'im Khán, which pursued Dáúd and defeated him at the battle of Tukaroi, near Jellasore, in 1574. Todar Mal advanced as far as Cuttack, and it must have been at this time that he obtained the materials for the financial arrangements which are preserved to us in the *Áin*. But as after the campaign Dáúd was left in possession of Orissa in little more than nominal submission to the Emperor, Todar Mal's arrangements did not take effect, and his lists must be regarded as little more than a sketch or project, and the local tradition which ascribes to him the settlement of the cultivated and civilized central tract known as the Moghulbandi rests on no historical foundation. The first actual Moghul settlement was made by Rájá Mán Singh in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), and even this did not come fully into operation till the final suppression of the Afghans in the reign of Jahángír, probably, judging from Grant's "Analysis," not before 1627.

Todar Mal's lists, as will be seen from the following remarks, are very imperfect, and cannot be taken as covering the whole territory of Orissa. A very large number of undoubtedly ancient and important estates are omitted, and the revenue assigned to others bears no proportion to their known extent. Stirling, indeed, who was intimately acquainted with the province in the early days of British rule, asserts that a measurement of the lands was made, and that the accounts still preserved in the offices of the *Sadr Kánúngos*, or Keepers of the Revenue Accounts, are founded

<sup>1</sup> For this date see the evidence in my article on "The History of Orissa," J. A. S. B., vol. lii, p. 233, note f.

on that measurement, but he could find no evidence or information as to the means by which the determination of the rents and revenue was arrived at, and it is highly probable that the measurement dragged on over many years, and the assessment of revenue was not finally made till long after Todar Mal's time.

It will be noticed that in the *Áin* the word *كلا'اه* *kila'ah* 'a fort' occurs very frequently. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the whole of Orissa bristled with strong castles or fortresses. The *kila'ah* was generally a much humbler affair. It was for the most part merely the house of a zamindár with the adjacent village surrounded by an earthen rampart or breastwork, and occasionally a rude moat, the whole girdled by a thick belt of bamboo and rattan jungle, forming an impenetrable barrier to the cavalry of which the Moghul armies chiefly consisted. Several of these so-called forts are still in existence, as, for instance, at *Ál*; but the number of stone forts is not large, and most of those which existed in the sixteenth century have since disappeared. They can, however, often be traced by the word *Gar* (fort) prefixed to the names of villages which still stand on their ancient sites though no longer fortified.

The materials for reconstructing this *Súbah* are Grant's "Analysis," the lists of *parganahs* in the appendices in vol. ii of Hunter's "Orissa," Stirling's account of Orissa in the *Asiatic Researches*, and the two I.O. MSS. mentioned in my article on Bengal. The notes which I supplied to the late Professor Blochmann in 1870 were unfortunately lost with his other collections after his death, but I have some notes in MS. still, and having been officially connected with Orissa for nine years (1869-1878) and with Midnapore for five (1880-1885), I have been able to supply some suggestions from personal acquaintance with the localities.

In the following notes the names of the *parganahs* will be given in the form adopted by Colonel Jarrett; the correct names, with the necessary remarks and explanations, being given opposite each. The same abbreviations are used as

in my article on Bengal. The Persian words are transliterated on the usual Jonesian system, with the exception of such places as are well known under English corruptions, e.g. Jellasore (Jalesar), Cuttack (Katak), Midnapore (Mednipúr), Balasore (Bálesar).

### SARKÁR JALESAR (JELLASORE).

This very large Sarkár includes the whole of the Midnapore district, with the exception of a few scattered areas on the eastern border attached to Sarkár Madáran in Súbah Bangálah. It also includes all northern Balasore as far as the Kánsbáns river, together with an indefinite extent of hill and jungle to the west.

**Bánsanda**, commonly *Haftchór*. Should be "Bánmundí, *alias* the Seven Chaur." The MSS., which have all evidently copied from the same original, blindly repeat the mistake of writing *s* for *m*. Bánmundí is still a large villago on the right bank of the Subarnarekhá, opposite Jellasore. The word *chaur* meaning a cleared space in a forest, is added to the names of many parganahs in this part of the country. There are fifteen of them at the present day, several of which, however, are of modern origin. The original seven are probably Bhelorá, Nápú, Kamardah, Dařará, Dántun, Kaurdah, and Kánkará, Chaur. They will all be found in A. of I., sheets 114 and 115, lying in a circle round Jellasore. Bánmundí, wrongly spelt Bandmundí in A. of I., sheet 115, is in Bhelorá Chaur.

The entry 'castes' means the caste of the Zamindárs. For J.'s *Bhej* read *Bhanj*, a very common caste title in Orissa.

**Bibli**, read *Piplí*. Celebrated as the earliest English factory in Bengal, established in 1640, at the mouth of the Subarwarekhá. It has now been completely washed away, and the river flows over its site. Sháh Jahán

named it the "Royal Port," Sháh Bandar, and the parganah now bears that name.<sup>1</sup> The zamindár showed me, in 1872, the original farmán of Sháh Jahán conferring on his ancestors the port dues and fees, on condition of their supplying provisions to the ships. In it the port is called Piplí Sháhbandar.

Bálisháhi. Now pronounced Bálsáhi. The latter part of the word is the Oriya sáhi 'a village,' mistaken by the Imperial scribes for the more familiar sbáhi 'royal.' The word means 'village in the sand,' an appropriate name, as it lies among the sand-hills on the sea-shore.

Báلكohsí. The name is written with many variants. Blochmann gives *kohi* and *khoši*. I.O. 6 has *kothi*, and I.O. 111-4 *málkoi*! I have no doubt that the word meant is *Bárah kosi* 'the twelve kos.' This was the name given to the much dreaded tract, twelve kos, or twenty-four miles long, between the Subarnarekḥá and Búrhábalang. The old pilgrim road to the shrine of Jagannáth passed through this country along the foot of densely wooded hills, and was infested by robbers and wild beasts. Pilgrims used to stop at Jellasore till a large crowd had assembled; then they subscribed and hired guides to take them through the dangerous part. In later times the name was extended as far south as the Kánsbáns, and it is in this wider sense that it is used in the *Áin*. Of the three forts, two can be identified—Sokrah as the place now known as Sohroh, a town and police-station half-way between Balasore and Bhadrakh; and Bánhastáli as Bhainsbátí, on the Kánsbáns, six miles south-east of Sohroh. Dadhpúr I cannot identify.

<sup>1</sup> He visited the place in 1621, when, as Prince Khurram, he rebelled against his father, the Emperor Jahángír (see my article on the "History of Northern Orissa," J.A.S.B., vol. lii, p. 237). His grant to the zamindárs was probably made in recognition of their support on that occasion.

**Parbadá.** This is an unlikely name for a place in Orissa. I.O. 6 has Barpadá, which is an extremely common name of villages in that province. None of the numerous Barpadás, however, possess the features here noted. Seeing how commonly the *markaz*, or sloping stroke of ك, is omitted in MSS. of the *Áin*, I have no hesitation in concluding that the place meant is Garpadá. It is exactly as described—a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly in jungle; though the fortifications have now almost ceased to be traceable. In the Middle Ages this place, halfway between Jellasore and Balasore, commanding the pilgrim road, the only high road into Orissa, and the residence of influential zamindárs, was a position of great importance. Here a battle was fought by Kála Pahár, and one of his captains who fell in it lies buried close by, and is worshipped as a martyr. (See my article on the “History of Northern Orissa,” J.A.S.B., vol. lii, p. 231; also my facsimile and translation of a copper-plate grant in the possession of the Bhuyáns of Garpadá in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 355, where I have erroneously spelt the word Garh- instead of Gar-.)

**Bhográi.** A parganah at the mouth of the Subarnarekhá, on the north side, partly in Balasore, partly in Midnapore. I have not been able to find any traces of the “fortress of great strength.” Possibly the river has washed it away.

**Bugdi,** now pronounced Bogri. It is a parganah in North Midnapore, lying on both sides of the Selái river. The town of Garbetá is in it.

**Bázár.** Now Dhenkiá bázár, on the Kasái river, a little below Midnapore town.

**Bábbanbhúm,** a parganah in North Midnapore, now more correctly pronounced Bráhmanbhúm (not Brahmanpúr, as stated by J.).

**Taliya,** with town of Jalesar. The first word is evidently incorrect; the MSS. offer every variety of reading



I.O. 6 gives نله, with no dots to the third letter. I.O. 1114 has نلتر. Mr. Beveridge has kindly examined for me six MSS. at the British Museum, all of which have تله or تليه. He suggests that the word may be تكيه *takiya* 'the hermitage of a darwesh.' I do not, however, know of any *takiya* near Jellasore. On the other hand, Jellasore has from ancient times been divided into two parts—the commercial town and the official station. The former has always been, and is still, known as *Paṭna Jalesar*; *paṭna* being, as is well known, a very common name for mercantile towns throughout India. It seems to me highly probable, indeed almost certain, that we should read *paṭnah bā kasbah*='the market town and citadel of Jalesar.' پتنه might easily be misread as نله if the dots over the *t* got mixed with it by running of the ink or a slip of the pen, and still more so if the cerebral were indicated by a superscribed ط, as is often done. As Blochmann notices in the preface to his Persian text, the MSS. follow one another so slavishly that a mistake in the original one would be faithfully reproduced in all the copies.

**Tanbúlak.** Read Tambúlak, ن before ب in Persian being always pronounced *m*. The place meant is the famous ancient emporium of Tamrálipti, now Tamlúk, still a flourishing town on the Rúpnaráyan river in North-east Midnapore.

**Tarkól.** Should be Tarkúá. The MSS. have apparently changed ل into ج. It is in South Midnapore, about ten miles north-east of Jellasore.

**Dáwar** Shorbhúm, commonly Bárah. Read Párah; it means the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorpárah. This expression is applied to the extensive tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore, where salt is, or till recently used to be, made, stretching from the Subarnarekhá to the Rasúlpúr river. In Sháh Jahán's settlement it is entered as Gwálpára

(Grant, 532). and extended far inland In Todar Mal's list, however, only the immediate neighbourhood of the coast is apparently intended, as the parganahs lying further inland are separately entered.

Ramná. An ancient and still flourishing town, the name of which is now pronounced Remná or Remuná. It lies some six or seven miles north-west of Balasore town. From the mention of the Haveli it would appear to have been the headquarters of some sort of political or fiscal division under the kings of Orissa, and under Sháh Jahán it again became the head of a Sarkár. There is some difficulty about the five forts, caused by the indistinctness of the MSS. In most MSS. of the Ain the details of the Súbahs are given in tabular form, the page being divided by lines ruled in red ink both vertically and horizontally, forming small squares. These are often too small for the information which has to be given. To get it all in, the words are written very small and crowded together, and the dots being sprinkled carelessly about, after the manner of Persian scribes, it is often impossible to determine whether any particular dot belongs to the word above or below it. I have to thank Mr. Beveridge for a valuable note on the result of his careful inspection of the six MSS. at the British Museum. The quotations from these MSS. in the following remarks are taken from his note.

The first fort is clear enough. It is stated to be in the Haveli, and must, therefore, have been at Remná itself, where there are still traces of mounds and ditches.

The second fort is Rámchandrapúr, still a well-known village, eight miles north-east of Remná.

The third fort is written رانكا, in Blochmann, with no dots to the third letter. The B.M. MSS. have رانكا, which looks like رانگانو, i.e. Rámgaon, with

the last two letters omitted. I.O. 6 has رانکا as in Blochmann. I.O. 1114 has رارکا. The local Kánúngo and other well informed natives whom I consulted all insisted upon it that the place meant is Armalá, a large village four miles south-west of Remná (shown as Urmullah on the A. of I., sheet 115). This is not impossible, for the *markas* of the *káf* is in these MSS. treated as capriciously as the dots, being often inserted where it ought not to be, and as often omitted where it ought to be. So also, ر and ل in Persian MSS. are often indistinguishable. Thus, رانما might easily be written رانما, and by mistaking the ل for ك and supplying it with a *markas* the word would become رانكا. As there is no Rámglón anywhere in this neighbourhood, the local tradition is at least worthy of consideration.

The fourth fort is written دوت in Blochmann, and Dút in Jarrett. There is, however, no such place, and the reading itself is open to serious objection. One B.M. MS. has دوت, but the dots seem to belong to the word *سوم* in the line above; another has دوت with no dots. But Blochmann has omitted some important words which occur in several of the B.M. as well as the I.O. MSS. Thus—

B.M. 7652 Addl. has چهارم دو سلسله از سنگ, or it may be read دو سلسله.

B.M. 6546 Addl. has the same; here also سلسله is not clear.

I.O. 6 چهارم دو سلسله از سنگ.

I.O. 1114 دوت سنم را سنگ; but the two dots over the *t* are quite at the right-hand corner of the letter, not over the centre as usual, and the *d* and *s* are joined together, so that they look like دو.

The key to this mystery is, I think, supplied by the reading of I.O. 1114. سنم is apparently a mistake

for صنم 'an image, and the word has been still further corrupted by the other copyists. In my opinion the full text originally ran—

چهارم دیول دو صنم از سنگ

i.e. the fourth Deúl (has) two statues of stone.

The place meant is the ancient stone fort of Deúlgáon, some thirty miles north of Remná, on the Balasore and Midnapore boundary. A description of this fort will be found in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 76. In the centre of the fort are two colossal statues of men on horseback. These represent the two horsemen celebrated in Orissa legend. In A.D. 1490, as Rájá Purushottam Dev was marching to attack Kánjivaram, two beautiful youths on horseback rode at the head of the army, and, like Macaulay's Great Twin Brethren, secured victory to the Rájá. They then vanished, after revealing themselves as Krishna and Balaráma. These must, I think, be the 'two statues of stone' alluded to in the text. In their efforts to get all this long note into the small space in the tabular form, the copyists have crushed it up into an unrecognizable muddle.

The fifth fort is given by Blochmann as سالدہ, which J. renders Saldah. This is, however, apparently a mistake derived from the reading دوما سالدہ of some MSS. Most of the B.M. MSS. have پنجم جدید است 'the fifth is new.' I.O. 6 has پنجم صد است, where صد is a mistake for جدید. I.O. 1114 has پنجم جاب, with no dot to the last letter. There is a town called Sildah, but it seems too far off. It is eighty miles to the north of Remná, in the north-west corner of Midnapore. It is of course possible that all the wild jungle country of Western Midnapore and Morbhanj may have been included under Remná, but as the reading سالدہ is so doubtful

it is perhaps safer to take the reading جدید, although this leaves us in ignorance of the locality of the fifth fort. I presume, however, that the 'new fort' was Chandrarekhá Garh, about eight miles north-west of Deúlgáon; the parganah is called Nayágrám, which seems to be indicated by the جدید of the Aín.

**Rayn.** The situation of this place "on the borders of Orissa" leaves no doubt that the correct reading is Raiban رابن, or more strictly رایبن. It is now called Ráibanián. The MSS. are here again incorrect. I.O. 6 has زبن, and I.O. 1114 زاین. The "three forts" mentioned in the text appeared to me when I visited the place to be four. (See my article on the "Jungle Forts of Northern Orissa," in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 33, where there is a description of Ráibanián, with a map of the forts and several sketches.) It was at Ráibanián, which is seven miles from Jellasore, on the opposite or western side of the Subarnarekhá, that Mukund Dev the Telinga, the last independent sovereign of Orissa, made a determined but ineffectual stand against the Musulman invaders. The memory of this fact may have caused the entry "on the borders of Orissa," for the Subarnarekhá was practically the northern boundary, though the power of Mukund had for a time extended to the Bhágrathi.

**Ráepur**, a large city with a strong fortress. The only place of this name known to me is in South Bánkurah, some forty miles north-west of Midnapore. It is now a small town, but it is said to have been much larger in ancient times. I.O. 1114 has ادی پور, probably to be read Udayapu, which is in Chutia Nágpúr, 200 miles away.

**Sabang.** A parganah in Central Midnapore, some twenty miles south-east of the town.

**Siyári.** A parganah on the Subarnarekhá, sixteen miles south-east of Jellasore.

**Kásijorá.** A large parganah in East Midnapore.

**Kharaksúr.** Should be Khargpúr. The "strong fort in the wooded hills" seems to point to some other place, as there is neither fort nor hill in Khargpúr, which is level country on the south of the Kasái river opposite Midnapore town.

**Kedárkhand.** A parganah in Central Midnapore.

**Karái.** This reading is doubtful. Many MSS. have كبرى. I.O. 6 and 1114 both have كراى. The place meant is, I think, Kasiári, on the Subarnarekhá, twenty miles south-west of Midnapore, an ancient and famous place.

**Gagnápúr.** Probably the parganah now called Gagneswar. I.O. 1114 has a word which may be read Gagnasápúr. I.O. 6 has Kalnápúr, which is evidently incorrect. Gagneswar adjoins Kasiári in South-west Midnapore..

**Karohi.** Some MSS. have كروى, which should be read Kurúli. This seems correct; parganah Kurúl Chaur in South Midnapore, fifteen miles from Jellasore, is apparently the place intended.

**Málchattá.** Should be Máljhattá. This is the name given to the tract on the sea-coast of Midnapore from the mouth of the Rasúlpúr river to the Rúpnaráyan. It included the well-known station of Hijlí (*vulgo* Hidgellee): see Grant, 246, 527.

**Mednípúr.** The large town and capital of a very extensive district, which is better known by the European corruption of Midnapore. Of the two forts, one is still partially extant. It has been enlarged and built upon to form the old district jail. This is probably the newer of the two forts mentioned in the Áin. The older one, is also, I believe, still traceable, but I have not seen it.

There is a sentence attached to this entry in some MSS. which seems to have puzzled Bloohmann, and is pronounced unintelligible by Jarrett. It varies considerably in different MSS., the copyists,

according to their custom, having written carelessly whatever they did not understand.

In Blochmann's text the passage runs—

کهندیت و بکسر خویش بکند و دیوانه

In a footnote he gives the variant—

وسيله خويشتن ديوانه ميکند

Neither of these readings is intelligible.

Mr. Beveridge has pointed out that the words occur in the column headed "Zamindár," which gives the caste of the landed proprietors. By omitting this distinction, both Blochmann and Jarrett have obscured the meaning of these entries throughout the lists in the *Áin*.

Of the B.M. MSS. 7652 Addl. reads—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش میکند دیوانه

MS. 16872 Addl. reads the same, substituting *تلنگه* for *سلسله*.

I.O. 6 has the same as the last but one, with this difference, that it inserts a *و* after *مکند* and omits the *markaz* of the *ک* in *کهندیت*. I.O. 1114 has *بلبله*, which is nonsense!

The difficulty seems to have been mainly caused by reading *مکند*, as if it were the Persian word *mi-kunad* 'he does,' and combining *دیوانه* with the following word into the Persian *دیوانه* 'insane.' As Mr. Beveridge now points out, and as I find I suggested to Prof. Blochmann years ago, what we have here is really the name of Mukund Dev, the last king of Orissa. The final word in the sentence is not *دیوانه*, but *اند* 'they are.' The passage should therefore run—

از قوم کهندیت و تلنگه خویش میکند دیوانه

i.e. "They (the Zamindárs are of the castes of

Khandait and Telinga, kinsmen of Mukund Dev." Mukund Dev, as we know, was a Telinga, that is, he came from the Telinga, or Telugu, country, the land on the banks of the Godávari, which gave so many kings to Orissa, and what more natural than that he should entrust the important frontier fortress of Midnapore to his own kinsmen, on whose fidelity he could rely? The Khandaits are not, strictly speaking, a caste, in the Hindu sense of that term. The word means 'swordsmen' (from *khaṇḍá*, Skr. *khaḍga* a sword'), and they were the *fyrde*, *landwehr*, or militia of the kingdom, called out when war arose, going back to their fields in time of peace. In the present day large numbers of peasants call themselves Khandaits, either because the title is respectable or because some remote ancestor served in the *fyrds*, and so the word has become a quasi-caste title. Mukund Dev's Telinga kinsmen appear to be called Khandaits because of the military duties they discharged in guarding the fort.

**Mahákánghát**, *alias* *Ḳutbpúr*, a fortress of great strength. The village is now called *Máníghátí*, and the parganah *Ḳutbpúr*. It lies about twenty-five miles north-west of Midnapore.

**Naráyanpúr**, *alias* *Khandár*. Two separate parganahs a few miles to the south of Midnapore. One is now known as *Naráyangarh*, the other as *Khandár*.

#### SARKÁR BHADRAK.

This Sarkár, much smaller than Jalesar, comprises in general the country between the *Kánsbáns* and *Baitarni* rivers and a few tracts to the south of the latter river. The tracts on the sea-coast are, however, included in Sarkár *Katak* (*Cuttack*).

**Barwá**. Now called *Birwá* (spelt *Beeroos* in A. of I., sheet 115). It is a parganah lying between the



Bráhmīni and Kharsúá rivers in North Cuttack. The two strong forts are given as Bánk and Riskoi; for the latter, I.O. 6 has Riskúri, I.O. 6 دین روی with no dots to the fourth letter. The places meant are probably Bánksháhi on the Bráhmīni and Risápúr (i.e. Rishpúra) on the Kharsúá.

**Jaukajri.** The proper name is Jogjuri. It is a large and well-known village on the southern slope of the Nilgiri hills in the tributary state of that name.

**Haveli Bhadrak.** A town on the river Sálindi, headquarters of a subdivision. Dhámnnagar is also an important place twelve miles south of Bhadrak, or Bhádrakh, as it should be written with final *kh*. It is said to be from (Bala)bhadrakshetra, the field or tract sacred to Balabhadra. Dhámnnagar is noticeable as containing a considerable settlement of Muhammadans, rather a rare thing in Orissa, but explained by the note in the Áin that it was the residence of a—presumably Muhammadan—governor.

**Sahansú.** Now called Sohaso, an extensive parganah on the west frontier of Balasore, fifteen miles west of Bhadrakh.

**Káimán.** Now divided into three parganahs called Káimá, Kismat Káimá, and Kila'a Káimá (in A. of I., Kymah), lying on both sides of the Baitarni below Jájpúr. The name of the last retains a remembrance of a fort, though no traces of it now remain.

**Kadeu.** A variant is Garśú. No place with any name at all resembling either word is known to me. The names given for this Sarkár in the Áin do not cover the whole area, and there are probably many omissions, as large tracts of country remain unaccounted for. I am inclined to think that part of the name has dropped out by negligence of copyists, and that the place meant is Gar Sokindah, a large tributary estate in North-west Cuttack. In Oriya, Gar is used for a fort, not Garh.

Independent ta'ukdára. Entered as Mazkúrin; with three forta.

1. Pachhim Donk. I.O. 6 reads **دونك**. I.O. 1114 something illegible, of which the first two letters are **دو**; the others look like **مل**. I know of no Donk, but Pachhimkot, a large village in parganah Ragadi (Rugree in A. of I.) in North-west Cuttack, near the Bráhmíní, is probably the place meant.

2. Khandait. This is not the name of a place. Khanditar on the Kharsúá (not marked in A. of I.), ten miles west of Jájpúr, where the Orissa Trunk Road crosses it, is probably the place meant.

3. Majori. Manjóri, as it is now called, is a parganah on the north bank of the Baitarni, four miles above Jájpúr.

### SARKÁR KAṬAK (CUTTACK).

The spelling Cuttack, being more familiar to Europeans than Kaṭak, will be used in the following remarks. The Sarkár includes the whole of the Cuttack and Puri districts, with the exception of the tracts already mentioned under Bhadrakh. But here also many important places, which are known to have been in existence in Todar Mal's time, are omitted, proving that his lists must have been incomplete. Nearly all the places mentioned are easily recognizable.

**Al** (A. of I. Aul; the town is shown as Rajbari). A well-known town and parganah on the Kharsúá in North-east Cuttack. The ancient fort and palace is the residence of a Mahárájá who is lineally descended from the kings of Orissa.

**Askab.** Aská a town in the Ganjám district on the Rasákuliá river, the extreme southern boundary of Orissa proper.

**Aṭhgarh.** One of the tributary estates, on the north bank of the Mahánadi, about ten miles above Cuttack.

**Púr̄b Dikh.** The latter word is evidently for Dig = 'quarter,' 'region,' which is the reading of I.O. 1114. The four forts on the eastern side of Orissa lying along the sea-coast are Kaniká, Kujang, Harishpúr, and Mirichpúr. They lie in the above order from north to south, and the territory attached to each is extensive, as will be seen from the A. of I., sheet 115.

**Pachchhim Dikh.** 'Western quarter.' The list of forts on the western frontier of the Cuttack district is not given, but it must be meant to include the *kila'as* of Darpan, Madhupúr (A. of I., Mudpoor!), Balrámpúr, and Chausat̄hpára between the Bráhmīni and Mahánadi, and probably also Dompárá and Patiá, south of the latter river.

**Bahár.** There is no place of this name in Cuttack. B.M. 7652 Addl. has بهاز Babáz, so has I.O. 6, but this also is an unknown name. Mr. Beveridge points out a passage in Grant 528 in which he includes in the province of Orissa "a mountainous, unproductive region on the western frontier, making part of the wilds of Jharkund, or jungly country, towards the velayt of Behar." The Muhammadans seem to have thought in their ignorance of the geography of these hitherto unconquered provinces that Orissa stretched back through the hills and jungle till it touched the southern frontier of Bihár; and Grant repeats this mistake. Probably by the entry Bahár, with its large revenue of fifty-one lakhs, Todar Mal meant to designate all the extensive tract of country now known as the Tributary Mahala, administered by a number of semi-independent Rájás who pay a small tribute to the British Government. But their country does not reach as far west as Bihár by a long way.

**Basáí Diwarmár.** The copyists have got into great confusion over this name. Blochmann gives the variants بسائی دیور پور and بسائی یوربا. The B.M. MSS. have دیور پور and دیور مارف; I.O. 6 has دیور بار; and I.O. 1114 apparently دیورنا, though the letters are so jumbled together that it is difficult to decide in which order to take them. I conjecture that these variants are an attempt to represent the name *Básudebpúr Árang*, i.e. the salterns of *Básudebpúr*. This place was for long, and is still, one of the chief seats of the salt-making industry. The Oriya word for a saltern, or place where salt is made, is *Árang*. In crushing up the letters to get them into the small space allowed for them in the table, some have been omitted and others transposed. *Básudebpúr* is in the Balasore district, about fourteen miles north-east of *Bhadra*k, near the sea, in parganah *Ankurá*.

**Bárang.** No place of this name is known to me. But the description of the "nine forts in hill and jungle" corresponds precisely to the celebrated fortress of *Sárang Gar*, which, with its nine (or even more) subordinate forts, guards the entrance to *Khurdhá*, the mountain fastness where the kings of Orissa sought refuge on the overthrow of their independence, and where they maintained themselves down to modern times. *Sárang Gar* lies some four miles south-west of the city of *Cuttack*, across the *Kátjorí* river. The Engineers of the Public Works Department—with their usual good taste and reverence for things ancient—have driven a road right through it, and pounded the stones to metal the road. The same enlightened officials sold me some exquisitely carved images of Buddha and some of Krishna as "stone ballast" at one rupee the running foot"! *Sárang* was too important a place to be omitted from the *Ain*, but unless this is it, it nowhere occurs. It is not shown in the *A. of I.*, but a number of

villages with the prefix Gar (A. of I., Gurr — Gar Dárutáng, Gar Andharúá, and others—represent the nine forts of the Áín.

Bhijnagar. Should be Bhanjnagar, which is the reading both of I.O. 6 and I.O. 1114, the old name of Gumsur, the capital of a state the semi-independent Rájás of which were of the Bhanj caste Upendro Bhanj, one of the Rájás of this place, is the most celebrated of the poets of Orissa.<sup>1</sup> Gumsur is in the Gaujám District, some twenty miles north of Aská.

Banjú I.O. 1114 has بڃوڊ. This must I think, be meant for Banchás in Central Puri. There is no other place, as far as I know, having any name resembling this.

Parsottam. Should be Purushottam; the full name of the own of Puri, where the celebrated temple of Jagannáth is situated, is Purushottama Kshetra, the field or tract sacred to Vishnu, the Purushottama or Highest Being.<sup>2</sup> The note attached to this entry, which J. renders 'detailed in each Sarkár,' means that the revenue recorded against it is made up of lands lying in all parts of the province. Even in the present day there is hardly a single parganah, perhaps not even one, in which there are not revenue-free lands belonging to the great temple of Jagannáth.

Chaubiskot, now called Chaubiskúd, a large parganah lying between the town of Puri and the Unilká lake. The four forts of great strength are now no longer traceable.

Jash, commonly called Tájpúr. The last word is a misprint for Jájpúr, which is distinctly the reading both in Blochmann's text and in all the MSS. The ancient, celebrated, and sacred city of Jájpúr on the

<sup>1</sup> A long list of his poems will be found in Hunter's "Orissa," vol. II. p. 206. He lived in the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> The word should therefore be written with short u and s; not Puri 'city,' as it is often erroneously written by Europeans.

Baitarni has been a noted place of pilgrimage from remote antiquity. I.O. 1114 reads Jashpúr 'urf Jáj. The form Jash should, I think, be read Jashn, and appears to be an attempt to reproduce the word Jajna, of the Sanskrit यज्ञपुर *yajñapūra* 'city of sacrifice, the original name of this city.

**Dakhan Dikh.** For *dikh* we should read *dig*. The four forts of the southern region are Párikúd, Málúd, Bajrakot, and Andhári, all of which lie between the Chilká lake and the sea, and are shown in the A. of I.

**Sirán.** Should be Siráin, a parganah in Central Puri, on the north-east shore of the Chilká lake.

**Sheigarh.** A large parganah in the north-west corner of the Cuttack district.

**Koṭdes.** A large parganah in the northern and central part of Puri. The entry against this parganah regarding the forts varies in the different MSS. I.O. 6 has *دو* inserted (erroneously, I think) before *اصل*. I.O. 1114 has *قلعه اصل قصبه*. The meaning apparently is that the original fort is a *kasbah* or town. The variant *كصبه قصبه* *kusabih* means a small town. The *koṭ* or fort, from which the parganah received its name of Koṭdes, or the 'country of the fort,' was, in fact, a fortified town, and not, as most of the Orissa forts were, merely a castle or fortified house.

**Katak Banáras.** The city of Cuttack, capital of the ancient kingdom and of the modern province. The name Banáras, so persistently attached to it by Muhammadan writers, has nothing to do with the famous sacred city on the Ganges, but is a mispronunciation of Biránasi (*Birá*=a kind of millet, and *nási*=a headland) the name of a village a mile from the fort on a point jutting out into the river Kátjorí. The "stone fort of great strength," or so much of it as the Public Works Department has not sold at "one

rupee the running foot," still stands to the north of the city. When yet uninjured, it must have been an imposing edifice, and covers a large area, surrounded by a broad moat with strong stone walls. Nothing but a huge mound remains of the palace of Mukund Dev.

**Khatra.** I.O. 6 reads کہڑہ, I.O. 1114 کہڈہ, but the most probable reading is that given in a note by Blochmann, کہیرہ. The real word is, I think, Khetra, meaning the sacred area round the city of Puri, the revenues of which were devoted to the service of the temple of Jagannáth.

**Mánikpatan.** Mánikpatan is at the point where the Chilká lake opens into the Bay of Bengal. There are still numerous salt-making stations round about it.

#### SARKÁR KALING DANDPAT.

#### SARKÁR RÁJMAHINDRA.

These two names cover the whole tract of country from the Rasákuliá to the Godávarí. Though occasionally for short periods subject to the kings of Orissa, this country never really formed part of their kingdom, and was never at any time subject to the rule of Akbar or his successors. No details are given concerning it, and the entries regarding revenue and contingents of troops are purely imaginary.

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This concludes the notice in the *Áin* concerning Orissa. It is worthy of note, as showing the incompleteness of the lists compiled by Todar Mal, that although many places both on the eastern and western frontiers are mentioned, hardly a single name of any of the wide and fertile territories in the central plain of Cuttack occurs. This plain, the heart of the Mughalbandi, in the delta of the Mahánadí and Bráhmíní rivers, is the richest, most cultivated, and most populous part of the whole of Orissa.

Yet Asureswar, Kalámátíá, Páindá, Tísáníá, Hariharpur, Deogáon, Sailo, Saibir, and a dozen other large and productive parganahs are omitted from the list, and there is no one of the names in the list which can be stretched so as to cover them. The same remark applies to the Puri District, where Limbai, Kotráng, Antarúd, and many other populous and well-cultivated areas, are entirely omitted. Kotdar, Chaubiskot, and Siráin can hardly have been so much larger than they are at present as to include all this territory.

It is true that under the head of Púrb Dig or eastern quarter a revenue of 22,881,580 dáms (=Rs. 572,014) is recorded, which is far more than can ever have been realized from the four jungly tracts on the sea-coast—Kaniká, Kujang, and the two other kila'as. So also the territory of the Mahárájás of Ál is known to have been more extensive formerly than now, and the Dakhan Dig or southern quarter is recorded as assessed at 22,065,770 dáms (=Rs. 526,644), which is much in excess of anything that can possibly have been levied from the four poor little kila'as between the Chilká and the sea. But even after making allowances for the area covered by these names extending over a far larger tract than at present, there must remain a great extent of country in the Cuttack and Puri Districts unaccounted for. The truth seems to be that Todar Mal's inquiries into the land revenue of Orissa were of a very superficial nature, and the province was not really surveyed, divided into parganahs, and assessed till the reign of Sháh Jahán.

### No. III. *Súbah Bihár.*

As I have already published my reconstruction of this Subah in J.A.S.B., vol. liv, p. 162 it will suffice to refer to that article for the identification of the parganahs, all but a very few of which are still extant under the same names as those given in the *Áin*, and are shown, more or less disguised by incorrect spelling, in the *Atlas of India*.



It is not therefore necessary to collate and compare MSS., as in those Súbahs (such as Bengal) where the old parganah names have fallen out of use and memory. The corrections necessary in Colonel Jarrett's spelling may be ascertained by reference to my article and the Atlas of India. It is not, on the whole, difficult to restore the spelling, by which that monumental work, the Atlas, is so often disfigured, to a scientific system.

With regard to the note 1 to Pandág (read Pundág) at p. 154 of J., my identification of the mysterious word *چیرود* as *چیرود Cheroh*, the name of the widespread and powerful aboriginal tribe of Cheros, who for centuries held all that large area of hill-country bounding Bihár on the south, is supported by Blochmann's article in J.A.S.B., vol. xl, p. 111, which seems not to have been consulted by J

For Jai Chanpa, in the same Sarkár, should be read Chái Champa, now two separate parganahs. I.O. 6 reads *جی چنپا*. As both Chái and Champá are still in existence, there can be no doubt as to the spelling.

Other corrections may be made from the article referred to above, and the situation of all the parganahs will be seen from the map accompanying it.

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ERRATUM.—Page 757, line 3: for the second 'I.O. 6'  
substitute 'I.O. 1114.'

# SUBAH AVADH

ACCORDING TO THE AIN-I-AKBARI  
A.D. 1582.

SARKARS.

Bahraich  Avadh  Gorakhpur   
Shahabad  Lakhnau

Scale 16 Miles = 1 Inch.  
0 4 8 12 16 32 48 Miles

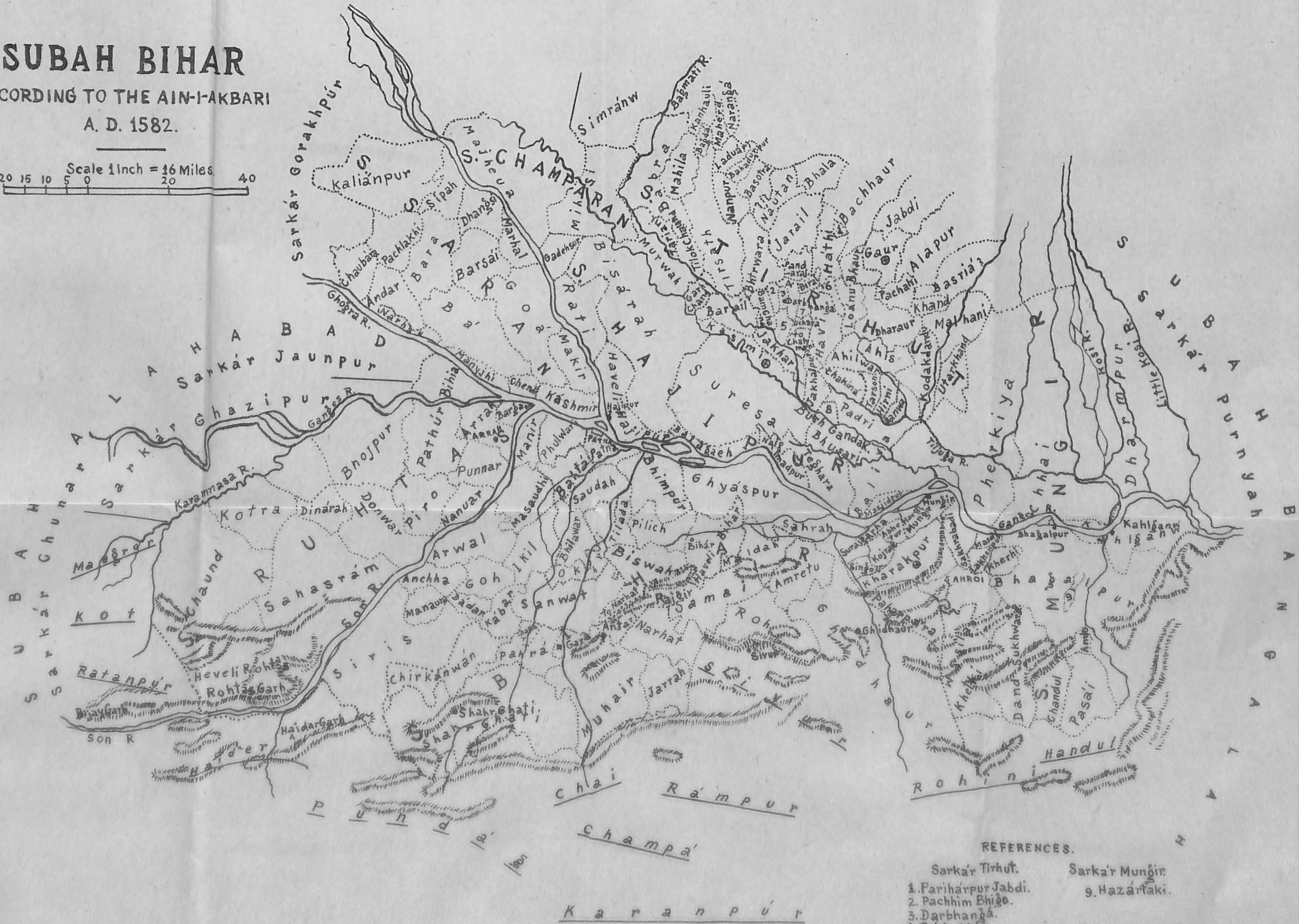


Note: The mark ⊕ indicates modern parganahs not identifiable with mahals of the Ain.

# SUBAH BIHAR

ACCORDING TO THE AIN-I-AKBARI  
A. D. 1582.

Scale 1 Inch = 16 Miles



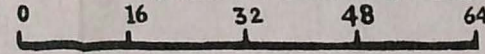
- REFERENCES.
- Sarkar Tirhut.
  - Sarkar Munger.
  - 1. Pariharpur Jabdi.
  - 2. Pachhim Bhiho.
  - 3. Darbhanga.
  - 4. Parb Bhiho.
  - 5. Bhadwar.
  - 6. Pariharpur Rajho.
  - 7. Pindi.
  - 8. Badeh Bhusari.
  - 9. Hazarfaki.
- ⊕ Indicates modern parganas not identifiable with mahals of the Ain.

# SUBAH BANGALAH

According to the  
A'IN-I-AKBARI

A.D. 1582.

Scale 1 Inch = 40 Miles.



Names and boundaries of the Ain, shown in red.  
Modern names and boundaries in black.



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