IX

Sād

Jannat Makānī

(Seal)

Mukarram Khān, the wali of Shah Alamgir
1093 (A.D. 1682)

Be it known to the mutaṣaddīs of the affairs of the parganah Pathān that:

Whereas, it has been submitted (to the Emperor) that in accordance with the exalted farmān of the Jannat-Makānī Emperor (Jahangir), land in the abovementioned parganah had been conferred by way of madad-i-maʿūsh upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhav Nath and others. Subsequently, the abovementioned land having been resumed, Amānot Khān, the diwān of the khālisah sharījah keeping in view (the fact) that no one except the Jogis came forward to undertake the cultivation (of that land), had given (them) a pāṭṭah for the (annual) revenue of one hundred and seven rupees on a fixed basis; and to the former jagīrdārs also, revenue had been paid as stipulated in the same pāṭṭah.

Now, after the death of those (Jogis), Hira Nath who has succeeded to their place, gets the abovementioned land cultivated and submits the stipulated revenue which,
therefore, has been fixed according to the *sanads*\(^{13}\) of the former *hākims*.

Hence, it is being ordered that the revenues (from Hira Nath) should be exacted in accordance with the revenue abstract of this land, and on a fixed basis. Any amount which might have been exacted in excess of the fixed revenue, should be returned (to him), and henceforth he should not be molested for any reason whatsoever.

Written on the 24th of *zul‘qa‘dah* of the Auspicious (regnal) year 39\(^{13}\)

*Baiż*
قلمی شر

(Endorsement)

3

مقدارت صحیفہ جو یقین متعتیب ہے متعلقہ مکمل مربع برشندہ ہو گیا رزمیہ پر ہے جہاں مسافر
امروہہ کی روز وہاروں میں مراکز پر مخصوص ہیں اور ان مراکز پر مخصوص انٹرنیٹ چکیپیج
دو گھنے میں جو برج میں فرمان جرمن نشیمن حضرت جنت سکچان مقری و خان ایمک
اراضی مکور میں پر ایقت سند ایک دیگر لہوت چوٹی میں نظریہ برہنہ بنگ
یہ ہیں کہ پرآج پرالم بین ریاستی قانون میں موسیقی کی صد و فوجت دوسری کے لئے استمرار
دیادہ وچ قومی یادا میں بہتی میں نیزواں میں جسا پر پچھلی جنگ جلد دادو مشن سے
اعمال بعد ااتروٹ جنہاں پر اہم کہا جا سکتا ہے استمرار میں 15 میں مکور اور چوگنیکان
(Endorsement)

5

کہ تا کہ چاہے مکشوف استمرار اسی سے معنی میں خاص سے اس سے پہلے پر استمرار
ہیں دو چوگن اور اس میں بھی شاہ شریف کے پتے حاصل کر کے پہلا کہا مکور اور
پر اہمہ رام کیا کو ہے بہت چوگنیکان

(Endorsement)

1

پر آج میں پر اہم کہا جا سکتا ہے استمرار

(Seal A)

(Seal B)
Appended abstract, according with the record (of rights)\textsuperscript{14} has been received under signatures, (to the effect) that:

According to the \textit{parwānah} of the asylum of loftiness, Bahadur Khan, it has been ordered that, in accordance with the exalted \textit{fārmān} of the Jannat-Makānī Emperor (Jahangir), land by way of \textit{madad-i-ma'āsh} was in conferment upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhav Nath and others in the village Narot within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the \textit{parganah} Pathān. Subsequently the above-mentioned land having been resumed, Amānat Khān, the \textit{diwān} of the khālisah shrifah, keeping in view (the fact) that no one except the Jogis came forward to undertake the cultivation of that land, had given (them) a \textit{paṭṭah} for the (annual) revenue of one hundred and seven rupees on a fixed basis; to the former jāgīrdaṛs also, revenue had been paid as stipulated in the same \textit{paṭṭah}, (and) a \textit{sanad} had been given (to them).

Now, after the death of those (Jogis), Hira Nath has succeeded to their place. He gets the abovementioned land of the Jogis cultivated and submits the fixed stipulated revenue. A \textit{parwānah}\textsuperscript{15}, indicating the fixed revenue, should be given (to him) in accordance with the former \textit{sanads}.

Any amount which might have been exacted in excess of the fixed revenue, should be returned (to him). (Keep in view) what has been ordered in the matter of the figures of the \textit{parwānah}.

\textit{Paṭṭah}\textsuperscript{16}, with the seals of Amānat Khān, Ḥājī Bahrām and Muḥammad Hakīm.
(Endorsements)

(1) مطمعً د ولا د اكس، د یوا ن پرفندیت رخصت یافت.
(2) پیامبر ۹۵ دو قدر ملکش تنق پخش شد.
(3) موافق سیاپچرگار است.
(4) بنا بر ۹۹ دو قدره تخلیه جلوگ‌وار
(5) تنق وضع محدود شد.

(Seals)

(A) سميد نامزلف داس... امیر دارالطاف پایدار

(B) سمید نامزلف داس... بیرام

(Below)
Rupees 107 (comprising of)
77 (for) kharīf
30 (for) rabi‘

Parwānah of the 27th of Rajab of the (regnal) year 33, under the seal of Hafiz Ullah khan.
Rupees 107 (comprising of)
77 (for) kharīf
30 (for) rabi‘

Parwānah, dated the 29th of zulhajj of the (regnal) year 36, under the seal of Nuṣrat Khan.
Rupees 107 (comprising of)
77 (for) kharīf
30 (for) rabi‘

Seals:
(below) affixed on the 24th of zul’qa’dah of the (regnal) year 39.

B: The slave, Bhāgīrath, son of Hīrāman.
(below) dated, the 24th of zul’qa’dah of the (regnal) year 39.

Endorsements:
1. Signatures on the jard-i-haqiqat by the asylum of ministership, Sānwal Dās, the dīwān; specially drawn up by way of the document (or rights), in accordance, with the order of the asylum of loftiness, Bahādur Khan, that “the parwānah should be issued”.
2. Dated the 24th zul’qa’dah of the (regnal) year 39. Copy...Office

3. In accordance with the siyāhah of the Emperor, the 24th of zul’qa’dah of the (regnal) year 39.
4. Dated the 24th of ḥulʿaqadah of the (regnal) year 39.
The copy of the wāqiʿa was made.

5. Dated the 24th of ḥulʿaqadah of the (regnal) year 39.
The copy received in the office of the dīwān.

Note:
On the right hand top corner appear the words: "Duly inscribed".
THE DOCUMENTS

NOTES

1. The seventeenth letter of the Arabic-Persian alphabet, with a numerical value of 90, is the abbreviation for Ṣafar, the second month of the Hijra calendar, but more frequently for ṣādiq (not ṣahih, as it is generally believed), which would make it a sign for "true, genuine, authentic". It establishes the authenticity of the document on which it is placed.

2. The Mughal Emperors, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, were "designated in life as Khalifa and the Shadow of God, and after death by a distinct title, which required interpretation for later ages" (Mughal Administration, 220). Jahangir was known as the Jannat-Mahāni. For the others, see Appendix D, which we have reproduced here for a ready reference.

It was quite customary to place the title of the Emperor at the top of the document and to leave a blank space in the text, indicating where that title would have been ordinarily placed. This was done as a mark of honour.

3. Mukarram Khān uses the word wali for himself. The term was used in several senses: "a helper, guardian, defender; a prince, lord, president, governor, judge, a servant, slave, a saint, a holy man". Here it appears to be a variation upon the more usual 'abd.

4. The term mutaṣaddi is sometimes taken to mean "a clerk" (e.g., Wilson, Glossary, 359), but it appears to have been used in a more general sense, for "the official," in this document as in other documents of the time (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 287, n. 79).

5. As already pointed out, the grant was resumed in the fifteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign. It is evident from this document that the annual revenue was fixed at one hundred and seven rupees, seventy seven rupees for the kharīf and thirty rupees for the rābi' crop.

6. The Khāliṣa-Sharīfah or simply Khāliṣah comprised the lands and sources of revenue reserved for the imperial treasury. Wilson
equates it with "the royal exchequer" (Glossary, 275). Though various mahals could be transferred from or included in the Khalisah, the most fertile and conveniently administered lands formed as a rule the khaliṣah and, consequently, certain mahals remained attached to it more or less permanently. The extent of the Khalisah varied from time to time (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 259, 270-71; cf. Wilson, Glossary, 275). It hardly needs pointing out that the land reverted to the khaliṣah on its resumption and that Amānat Khān at that time was the Diwān of the khaliṣah-Sharifah.

7. The original word used in the document is bardāsht; the Bahār-i-'Ajm (Nawal Kishore, 1894 A.D.) defines bardāshtan as ikhtiyār-o-qubūl kardan, a meaning which justifies our interpretation of bardāsht in the context of this document.

8. "A deed of lease, a document given by the collector to the Zamindar, or by some other receiver of the revenue, to the cultivator or under tenant, specifying the condition on which the lands are held and the value or proportion of the produce to be paid to the authority or person from whom the lands are held; the term is laxly applied to a variety of deeds securing rights or property in land, also to a deed of gift in general" (Wilson, Glossary, 408). The pattah stated, among other things, the revenue demand upon an individual cultivator or a village (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 184). The pattah-i-istimrār of the document would refer to the permanently stipulated revenue-demand. In fact the document also contains the word jama‘-i-istimrār.

9. The word used in the document is b’tariq-i-istimrār, which refers to the fixed basis of this demand (cf. n 8, above). The revenues even on this category of tenure could be remitted in part, depending upon the extent of non-preventable calamity to the crop sown (Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 182).

10. Succeeded his guru, Anand Nath, in or about A.D. 1673. His is a name well preserved in the tradition at Jakhbar, for his appears to have been one of the longest periods on the gaddi. Tradition also ascribes to him a life span of 101 years which receives considerable support from the documents several of which mention him. The last one to mention him by name is dateable to A.D.
1741, thus giving him a period on the gaddi of at least 65 years. One of the samādhis at Jakhbar is described as being his.

11. This would indicate that the Jogis did not actually undertake the cultivation of the land in their possession. The land, however, would remain under the category of khud-kāshṭah.

12. "A grant, a diploma, a charter, a patent:" a document conveying to an individual, among other things, "rights to revenue from land"; there were different forms of sanads according to the nature of the grant (Wilson, Glossary, 460). In this document, the reference is to the sanads obtained by the Jogis from time to time in the past.

13. This would indicate that for over fifteen years the arrangements made with mahant Hira Nath suffered no alteration.

14. Both fārd-i-haqiqat and fārd-i-haqiqat were in use; the former was used for the record of "right, claim, property" and the latter, for "a memorial, a statement of circumstances" or simply a report (Wilson, Glossary, 155, 194). But, since the document relates to some kind of rights, we have used that word, though the reading of the original term is more likely to be fārd-i-haqiqat.

15. The parwānah, here, should refer to an ordinary order and not to the parwānchah as described by Abul-Fazl.

16. This paṭṭah appears to be the one which had been originally given to the Jogis in connection with the jama‘i-istimrār.

17. As already suggested, the revenue-demand for the kharif crop is nearly two and a half times more than the demand for the rabi’. This may be taken as a general indication of the relative importance of the two crops.

18. Sānwāl Dās was probably the provincial diwān at this time, the 99th year of Aurangzeb’s reign. The diwān’s use of the words lutf-i-Qādir on his seal is quite remarkable.

The provincial diwān, according to Wilson, was charged with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the imperial
treasury and was invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes (Glossary, 144-45). He was expected to prevent the oppression of the peasants by the jāgirdārs and he could report on the administration of a jāgīr; he could execute the imperial orders regarding the assignees and their agents; and the claims of the assignees against their own āmils were settled in the court of the diwān. His own jāgīrs were to be in the medium and raʿiyātī maḥāls (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 283, n. 59, 294-95).

19. The letter dāl, eleventh in the Persian alphabet and with the numerical value four, occurs frequently in these documents below some of the endorsements. It occurs in many other documents also. We do not know its significance; we may venture, however, to suggest that it might be an abbreviation for didah shud or “seen,” i.e., “noted”.

20. The letter mīm (numerical value, forty) too occurs very frequently in these and other documents. We have noticed that sometimes it is placed below the endorsement containing the words muṭlaʿ shud, which suggests that it might be an abbreviation for these words. In that case it would signify something like “orders received”.

21. This should refer to the actual words of Bahadur Khan’s order. The expression qalamī numāiyand is to be found at the top of the reverse of some documents.

22. The word siyāḥah is much more clear in Jhaveri’s Document No. XIV in the Imperial Farmans in which the reference is to the daftar-i-tan. B. R. Grover has noticed that in a copy of the Akbar Namah (British Museum, Add. 27247, f 332 a), there is a term siyāḥah-i- zabt instead of the nuskha-i- zabt which may be equated with the Khāsra or the record of the fields of a village under cultivation “Raqba-Bandi Documents”. IHRC, Part II, 59 & n. 18).

Wilson defines siyāḥah as “an account book, an inventory, a list; it is especially applied in Hindustan to the daily ledger or account book of the receipts and disbursements of a village or estate, specifying all sums received, whether regular or miscellaneous, and all items of disbursement, whether customary or inciden-
tal" (Glossary, 481). In the present document, the statement does refer to its conformity with some kind of record; the siyāḥah might be some ledger in which the entry of the mahṣūl-i-istimrār of this document had been made.

23. The words qalamī shud appear to be in answer to qalamī numāiyand, as if to say that the orders had been duly carried out in drawing up the document.
(Signatures)

(1) غورنگار
(2) سیم‌کسن
(3) ایمآوند
(4) سیمفونی

(Seal)

(in the margin) نیاکردن

(Signatures)

1. (Signature)

“In Sanskrit” “Pramānāmāt Paṭram.”

“In TaKari” دستورامدار گویند

2. دکتر کوهلر

3. فلوکارداس گوواهش

4. (Seal)
X

The purpose of this statement is this:

That we, the Jogi Hira Nath of Jakabar, Ramdev and Gobind, the muqaddams\(^1\) of the village Muradpur\(^3\) in the (administrative) jurisdiction of the parganah Pathān, (who) had twenty bigahs of disputed land under wheat, agree to accept Shankar, the muqaddam of the village Bir\(^3\) and Bilas, the muqaddam of the village Bhoj, as arbitrators.\(^4\) Whatever demarcation they decide upon, knowing God to be present, would be acceptable to all the parties, and whoever deviates from the decision of (these) arbitrators, would be regarded as false in the eyes of the Law.\(^5\)

On that account, this (muchalkah\(^6\)) is being drawn up for reference in the future with these words as a warrant.\(^7\)

Dated the 10th of ẓulḥajj of the (regnal) year 47

Signatures:
1. (in Sanskrit\(^8\)) Hira Nath
2. (in Tākri\(^9\)) Ramdev and Gobind
3. Gurbakhsh Vakīl (as a witness)
4. Shankar Das (as a witness)

(Seal\(^10\))

"May Shiva be the Protector"
Shankar Das

Note:

On the reverse there is the following brief statement in Devnāgari script:

"Muchalkah about the boundary dispute between Jakabar and Muradpur."
1. The term *muqaddam*, according to Wilson, applied especially to the village head-man (*Glossary*, 351-52). He was the sole village official besides the *patwārī* and his office was practically hereditary, though in some cases the office could be purchased by even a townsman. In those *ra‘iyati* villages where the community was either weak or non-existent, the *muqaddam* held a position of crucial importance. He collected the revenue from individual peasants and two and a half per cent of the assessed or the collected revenue went to him; but he could also make unauthorized collections from the villages. The *taqāwi* loans were distributed through him and he took commission on these, besides the customary *muqaddami* from the villagers individually. The duties were not merely fiscal, for he was answerable for any crimes committed in or near the village—especially robbery and murder. This duty could be used to cow down the poorer sections of the villagers. In the territories of the *zamindārs*, the *muqaddam* was little more than a servant, but in the case of the *madd-i-ma‘āsh* lands he was not under the grantee. In fact he acted as an informer over the grantee. (Irфан Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134). Dr Irfan Habib has discovered, "in one case at least", the *muqaddam* acting as an arbitrator in a boundary dispute between two land holders. The present case, though only the second, might suggest that such arbitration by the *muqaddam* was a normal feature of his position.

2. The village that lies at a distance of about one and a half miles to the north east of Jakhar and with which it shares a boundary. The inhabitants of Jakhar and Muradpur live peacefully enough with each other now, but stories are often told of the boundary disputes between Jakhar and Muradpur, and Muradpur and Sherpur, even today.

3. It has not been possible for us to identify or locate this village. It appears, however, to have been across the Beas from this side; for one of the other documents (XIV); in referring to several villages in that region, gives Bir as one of them.

4. As mentioned in the first note, the *muqaddams* were accepted as arbitrators in a boundary dispute probably as a matter of routine. The document drawn up in this connection became
legally binding, which would suggest that the muqaddam's arbitration was acceptable to the higher authorities also. The term used here is munsif, and it must bear its ordinary connotation of "one who does justice". In fact, Wilson defines it not only as "a judge" but also as "an arbitrator" (Glossary, 356).

5. The original term used is Shara'-i-Shari'a, which would actually make it the Islamic Law. But in the context of this document, it may be inferred that the reference here is to the law of the land. The use of this term is very significant, for the document was not signed in the qādi's court and there is no Muslim associated with it.

6. A bond, a deed or a draft of any binding undertaking, mucha-lkah also covered "an engagement under a penalty to observe the conditions of any deed or grant," and it was applied to the documents "exact from thieves or suspected persons engaging to desist or refrain from any illegal acts" (Wilson, Glossary, 348; cf. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 132 n. 15, 144). The legally binding nature of the present document may again be pointed out.

7. The word used in the document is hujjat, i.e. "argument, proof, reason, demonstration, plea, allegation, sentence, decision, pretext, excuse" (Steingass). We feel that, in the context of this document, the import of this word is conveyed through our rendering.

8. The words, apparently in the hand of Mahant Hira Nath himself, are: "pramāṇam idam patram", meaning, "This paper is proved". The mahant's name does not appear after this conventional formula, but this inscription appears on other documents at Jakhbar belonging to Mahant Hira Nath's period also.

9. Tākārī, or Tānkarī as it is sometimes called, was for several centuries the general script of the hills, with its local variations being popular in different areas. It is descended from the Shārdā but took on, later, an almost illegible aspect so that Tākārī inscriptions are extremely difficult to read. (For several variations of Tākārī, and a discussion of the script, see Grierson, G. A., Linguistic Survey of India, 11 vols., Calcutta 1898-1927, IX, i-iv.)

10. Shankar Das is the only witness in this document who has used his seal. It may be of some interest to note that a muqaddam is using his seal on an "official" document.
سلطان علی میرزایی

(Seal)

خیام علی میرزایی

صلح علی میرزایی

(1337)

غافلان حال داسنشال پیاده‌بانان مضاح حضرت‌های مطامن،
بی‌منزله و کلاه‌سته مارکان این‌ها به‌خیابان و البته بی‌خانگری
به‌خانه‌ی هرچه‌ی عیان داده‌اند و کناره‌ی داده‌اند و استاد‌های آمریکایی
وکیم مزایی دویست و بیست دریج از مدتی در زندان، سر و حیال‌السال
حال نگه‌داری و جمع‌بندی معاشرت‌های این دیه‌اند تا همیرا نازد
و نه می‌توانند از هم‌پیمانی این‌یاله متقاضیم مبتنی بر قلمی می‌گردد.
اماکه جز وی بی‌خیام مراکز مقرر کرده‌اند و استادبات اذیت
منه‌زاندن و مشترک شدن احالت‌ها نیازی ندارند. خیابان بی‌پرده‌ای
بیچاره را بیان بست، اشکال شفاهی، و بی‌پرده کاره‌ها...

بتاریکه نژادهای مشهور مونار...

(Torn)
XI

HU
(He Is)

Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim

(Serial)
Faiz,
the Khānah-zād
of Shah Alam Padshah
Muhammad Ghāzī
1122
(A.D. 1710)

Be it known to the present and the future āmils of the parganah Pathān in the province of Punjab which (at present) forms the rich domain of the exalted and dignified prince (Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim), the embodiment of bounty, that:

Whereas, in accordance with the exalted ūrmān (of the Emperor), the parwānahs of the diwanī (officials) and the sanads of the jāgīrdārs and the hakims, two hundred bigahs of land in the village Narot (which is) in the (administrative) jurisdiction of the abovementioned mahals have been in conferment by way of madad-i-ma‘āsh from olden times upon the Jogis Than Nath, Bhāu Nath, Hira Nath and others.

It is therefore hereby ordered that, regarding the aforesaid land as verily in conferment according to the former practice (upon the abovementioned) Jogis, they should
refrain from molesting (the Jogis) on account of all the forbidden *abwāb*⁵, so that they remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Everlasting Dominion, (while) meeting their daily needs of livelihood from the produce of that (land). This should be treated as a strict injunction in this matter.

Dated the 19th of Muḥarram-al-ḥirām. ...(torn)
NOTES

1. As already pointed out, the name of the prince is being placed at the top and a blank space is left in the body of the document, as a mark of honour to Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim. It may be noted that he is not the reigning monarch. The title Sultan, which is being used for him, was quite commonly given to the Mughal princes during the life-time of the ruling Emperor. Prince Ibrahim was the grandson of the reigning monarch Bahadur Shah.

2. The word Khānah-zād, which is being used in this seal, signifies that Faiz was the member of a family which had served the Mughal Empire for at least a few generations. Thus, Faiz would belong to the older nobility.

3. The word Sābah-i-Punjā occurs here for the first time in these documents.

4. The jāgīrs of the princes of blood royal were next in size to the Khalisah-Sharīfa. Their jāgīrs were naturally large because they held the highest mangabs. The administration of their jāgīrs was modelled on that of the Khalisah lands. The princes could grant jāgīrs to their own officials, probably without imperial sanction, but such jāgīrs were transferred with the transfer of the prince's jāgīr. At the time of this document, the parganah Pathān obviously formed a part of the jāgīr of Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim. The term used for his jāgīr here is tuyūl which was in use in Perseia from the fourteenth century onwards synonymously with jāgīr. Sometimes a technical distinction is made, however, between jāgīr and tuyūl, the former being used for the assignments of the umarā and the latter being reserved for the jāgīrs of the princes. Dr Irfan Habib does not believe in the existence of any such refined distinction, for he finds several instances of jāgīr being used for the lands assigned to the princes. However, to make the point more convincing, instances of tuyūl being used for the assignments of the umarā have to be found. See, Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 257, 258 & n 2, 282, 283.

5. Wilson defines abwāb as "the taxes" imposed in addition to the regular assessment on the land (Glossary, 2). For Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the term connotes "illegal cesses" which are discussed by him at some length in the Mughal Administration (77-90) where
sixty-three cesses abolished by Aurangzeb are listed. The exactions made on various pretexts “in addition to the regular land-revenue or custom duty” were again and again declared to be illegal and forbidden “but they soon reappeared with some changes in their items” (ibid., 77). Of the six broad classes of *abwāb* made by Sarkar, the third appears to apply to the present case: “Perquisites exacted by the officials for their own benefit, and fees or commissions levied on behalf of the state, on almost every conceivable occasion” (ibid., 78). Dr Irfan Habib equates *abwāb* with *faruʿāt*, *ikhrajat* or *ḥubūbūt* (*The Agrarian System*, 243). We have seen already that the *sāir-jīhāt* cesses of a few of these documents appear to be the *ikhrajat* of some other. That would at time equate *abwāb* even with *sāir-jīhāt*. The empirical content of all these terms is not always clear and it certainly appears to have changed with the passage of time. However, it may perhaps be safely stated that all items not included in the approved list of taxes at any given time would be regarded as illegal cesses or *abwāb*. For the interesting variety of such cesses, see Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 247; Wilson, Glossary, 339. “The exact rates set for these cesses cannot be known and in any case they could hardly have been uniform. But together they could have sometimes amounted to pretty large sums” (Irfan Habib, ibid., 248).
مفتاح جزئيات نظام شرعی مصطفی (1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

مفتاح جزئيات نظام شرعی مصطفی

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

(9)

(10)
XII

HU
(He Is)

'Arsh-Āshiyānī

(Seal)
Qāzi Ḥayāt,
ministering to the
Sacred Law of Muḥammad

1122
(A.D. 1710)
(below) “The statement is
verily true”

The purpose of this statement is as follows:

WHEREAS in accordance with the exalted ḥaṁmah of the
‘arsh-āshiyānī Emperor (Akbār), two hundred bigahs of
land in the village Narot within the (administrative)
jurisdiction of the parganah Pathān had been in confer-
ment by way of madad-i-ma‘āsh upon the Jogis Kanchan
Nath and others. Accordingly, till the end of the fifteenth
year of the reign of the khuld-makānī Emperor (Aurang-
zeb), that land remained in the possession and usage of
the aforesaid (Jogi) and his followers.

In the sixteenth year, Hira Nath and his followers...towards Hindustan for...(torn).
Attestations:

1. Witnessed by the Chaudhari⁴,
   Muhammad:
   "The statement is verily true to the facts."⁵ Bāįž

2. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
   Muhammad Naqi:
   "The statement is verily true to the facts." Bāįž

3. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
   Qanauji:
   "The statement is verily true to the facts." Bāįž

4. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
   Bilas:
   "The statement is verily true to the facts." Bāįž

5. Witnessed by the Chaudhari,
   Maha Singh:
   "The statement is verily true to the facts." Bāįž

(Two more in Tākṛi, partially torn.)
1. The qazi’s seal on this document and the attestations at the end would make it a mahzar. Wilson defines qazi as simply “the chief judge of a town or district in civil causes and questions regarding the Mohammedan religion” (Glossary, 8). The “civil causes” formed indeed an important aspect of his office. He was associated with the decisions regarding the disputes about the possession of a zamindārī. A madad-i-ma‘āsh grant always went with the qazi’s office. He was sometimes overawed by the jāgirdārs (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 179 & n. 47, 297, 301 & n. 17, 311).

2. It is not possible to ascertain whether Kanchan Nath ever sat on the gaddi of Jakhbar. The mention of his name indicates that he did; so also does the figuring of his name in the 1865 shijrā-nash: but if the succession after Udant Nath went in the order that we believe followed, i.e., Udant Nath, Surat Nath, Than Nath, Anand Nath and Hira Nath, then it is not clear as to where the name of Kanchan Nath fits in. We have, however, conceded, in the first section of the Introduction, the possibility of other mahants with short reigns having sat on the gaddi; and Kanchan Nath might have been one of them.

3. As already suggested, Mahant Hira Nath might have gone towards the court in connection with the resumption of the Jakhbar grant.

4. Nearly all the witnesses in this document are chaudhharis. According to Dr Irfan Habib the chaudhari was usually a zamindār himself and occupied a crucial position in the machinery of revenue collection. In Mughal documents chaudhari is sometimes coupled with zamindari. His treatment of the cultivators was to be watched by the diwān and he was not to be permitted to take any village on farm. Complaints against the chaudhari were not uncommon and it is quite certain that he resorted to occasional oppression. His position was usually hereditary, though an imperial sanad was necessary to legalize the position of a new chaudhari; and he could be removed from his position for various reasons. The most important of his functions were related to the collection of the revenue. He was generally helpless before the jāgirdārs (The Agrarian System, 126-27, 131 n. 10; 174, 231, 232, 235, 242, 246 n. 28; 252, 254, 255,
259 n. 8: 289-91, 292, 293, 294, 297). The jurisdiction of the chaudhari ran to anything between a village and a tappah.

5. This appears to be the set formula for attestations in a mahaj. It is interesting to note that every signature is followed by "harz".
(Seal)

امیدویگ خان
فرح‌دار شاہ غازی
محمدشاه
1311

یاد درشت

دِجَد فضل‌الله در برَم کاریم با اسمِ گوسانی بن بُیِرالله
بُیِرالله مُکَبَّر بِعَصیریت با نازی‌الرسوُمی، الی‌ان مُکَرَّر رَشَعه
کمرُی و داکان عَلیِّک‌مُکَبَّر عَلی‌الْمَگِییرِی، برکوم مِه‌یاداء با چِخُتِیجکس
و کُحَنِّک‌کُر بَپِرُضاء سَعَدِیت مِه‌یا توْحَدُ مُکَرَّر ایْن‌پِنارالْکَجُت
بطریقِ یاد درشت لُوکشامت داده شکرکُن تُناغ اَلی مدیر
بُیِرالله مُکَبَّر با جَذَبِیرِیِ بِبِرُضِاء المبکرم کُلِّتُر هَدَیه

پیش
(Seal 1)
Adina Beg Khan,
Servant of Padshah Ghāzī
Muhammad Shah
1141
(A D 1728-29)

(Seal 2)
7
Muʿīn-ud-din
Sayyid
Qāzī

YAD-DASHT 3 on account of the jalānah, 4 devoted to religious purposes by the entire panchāyat 5 of the bāzār of the qasbah 6 Muḥiuddin Pur, 7 in the name of Gosain 8 Hira Nath, the Jogi of Jakhbar (to the effect) that:

Each one having a shop shall continue to pay one tankah-i-ʿAlamgīrī, 9 and no one should object or resist. We have agreed (to make this contribution) of our own accord and inclination. On that account, these few words are being recorded in the form of a memorandum so that it may subsequently serve as a sanad 10.

Written on the 25th of Ramzān-ul-Mubāarak of the (regnal) year 14.

Baiẓ

Note:
In the margin there are attestations in Ṭākūrī by four witnesses.
NOTES

1. This seal of Adina Beg Khan bears the date A.D. 1728, though the document was drawn up four years later. The public career of Adina Beg Khan is generally believed to have started in the 1730's. Therefore, this seal has an importance of its own. Dr H. R. Gupta, basing himself mainly on the *Aḥwāl-i-Adina Beg Khan* places the early career of Adina Beg Khan in the Jalandhar Doab and it is only on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion (A.D. 1739) that Adina Beg Khan appears to have become an official of any consideration (*Studies in Later Mughal History of Punjab*, 58, 59). In the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, however, Adina Beg Khan is stated to have founded Dina Nagar (District Gurdaspur) in A.D. 1780, which implies an earlier association of Adina Beg Khan with this part of the Punjab. It is evident from this seal that he was occupying a reasonably important position already in A.D. 1728, if not still earlier. For a detailed account of his career, see Gupta, H. R., *Studies in Later Mughal History*, 56-108.

2. Mu’in-ud-dīn's seal here is on quite a few documents, in the Jakhbar collection. He appears to have held the qazi's office in this area for a considerable number of years (See, document XIV, below).

3. *Yād-dāṣht* is defined by Wilson as "a memorandum, a memorial, a position, a certificate" (*Glossary*, 558). This document is professedly a *yād-dāṣht* and it relates to an undertaking which, though voluntary in its origins, becomes legally binding through this document (See, note 10, below).

4. *Faṣlānāh* was one of the *abwāb* according to Dr Irfan Habib (*The Agrarian System*, 247 n. 32). It is believed to be an allowance for the *patwāri* given at the time of very harvest (*ibid.*, 135 n. 38). Indeed the association of *faṣlānāh* with harvest (*faṣl*) is understandable and perhaps also significant. In the present document, *faṣlānāh* obviously is neither the *patwāri*’s allowance nor any of the *abwāb*. It occurs with the words "*dharmkūraj*", which definitely suggests that the contribution raised was regarded as a gesture if not an act of piety. Now it was quite customary for the local people to take the "first fruits" to the *mahants* at Jakhbar. Therefore, it may be suggested that the term *faṣlānāh* in this document implies among other things the bi-annual nature of this subscription.
5. This reference to *panchāyat* is quite interesting. In the first place it exists in a town; and then, it does not cover the town as a whole but only its *bāzār*. This restricted signification of the institution would make it very much different from the *panchāyats* of the village communities which are believed to have been very effective in ancient and "medieval" India.

6. *qaṣbāh* is generally equated with "a town". It is not clear however what distinguished a *qaṣbāh* from a village. In this document, one distinguishing feature of the *qaṣbāh* is the existence of a *bāzār* in it. According to B. R. Grover, *qaṣbāh* was also treated as a territorial unit, generally named after the largest village contained in it ("Raqba-Bandi Documents", *IHRC*, XXXVI, Part II, 59). It is possible that the *qaṣbāh* also had in it the headquarters of some official.

7. A small town near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur district, lying at a distance of nearly eight miles from Jaklibar in the south-western direction. The place appears to have been named after Muḥi-ud-din Aurangzeb, but the name has now lost its significance and is often vulgarly given as "Madhīnpur".

8. This is an epithet used loosely to describe almost any religious personage, regardless of his sectarian affiliation. TheVaishnavas of Pandori are almost always referred to as "Gosains," and a tribe so described used to engage in wholesale trade with the hills, mostly in opium, making Jwalamukhi as their business headquarters.

9. The Mughal coins were in gold, silver or copper—the *adhelā* (*dām*), *paisa* and *tankah* being in copper.

With the disappearance of the *tankah* during the seventeenth century, the *dām* came to be called *tankah*, while the old *adhelā* was now called *paisa*. With the increasing price of silver, the actual value of the *tankah* became much less than the fortieth of a rupee. Aurangzeb was obliged to issue a new *dām* (because of the scarcity of copper) which was a third lighter than the old *dām*. The new coin started issuing in the 1660's and gradually replaced the old *dām* (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 281, 282). It is most likely that the *tankah-i-ʿAlamgīr* of this document refers to the coin introduced by Aurangzeb.

10. *Sanad* here is not used in its ordinary connotation, but in the sense of *kujjat* or a warrant in document X, above (see note 7 to that document).
(Seal A)
(Seal B) (Signatures)

پیشہ،
لال سمجھ

(1)

چیت میں

اراضی مدریہ معاشرہ موانع کے لئے بھیبہ کی نیشنل زراعت خصوصیت

(2)

عائد کیا گیا ہے، اوہ ایسے فارغ مائعات نہیں ہے۔ ایسی امر صفت کے لئے فی الحال

سکر، جہاں فن والیات پتا ہے۔ 32 ہزار کیوں نہیں کہ اس کے لئے اب جمیل دواڑ اخلاق

اعظم اف پر کیا گیا ہے

جس لئے مخصوص کر لیا گیا ہے جہاں دهلی اور لاطینی فارسی اور ایک انگریزی

مکمل، پر

کچھ بھی درج مہم کے ساتھ اسی نشان و نگار سامنے گیا جو اپنی ایک

حاصل ایک میں ایک سال بسن میں محبت خورا کے خیال پر، یہ بنا کہ

دوام دہلت قام کرے اتے اخلاق کو نوروب با سرنگھے۔)

95 بیکری

مکذور سنگین عرش طول

کیا ہے یہ ماں اب

لعل خوب جنابی شیانی

میں سادات میں ملک میں حضرت سولtan مسعود
XIV

HU-AL-GHANI
(He is Independent)

(Seal 1)
With the Grace
of God, Qāżī Muhammad
Ṣiddīq, ministering to the
Sacred Law
1145
(A.D. 1732-33)

Zill-i-Subhānī
(The Shadow of God)

(Seal 2)
14
Qāżī Mu‘īn-ud-din
Sayyid, ministering
to the Holy Law
1144
(A.D. 1731-32)
CHAKNĀMAH

In accordance with the exalted farmān of the auspicious inscription, twenty-five bigahs of revenue-free culturable waste have been in conferment by way of madad-i-ma‘āsh upon Udant Nath and Surat Nath in the parganah Domāl, within the jurisdiction of the doāb Bist-Jalandhar, in the province of Punjab, as given in the appended detail.
This land was given through the benign grace of the holy Qurān⁶ and the mandate of the peer of Alexander, the asylum of vicegerency, a Jamshid in splendour, the generous prince of the status of Saturn, (who had) graciously issued the order in (the light of) the manifestation of the Great Creator

With the concurrence of the chaudharīs, and the qānūngos and the willingness of the proprietors⁷, (this land) duly measured and demarcated with its limits and location determined and defined,⁸ in the village Jangiāl,⁹ and elsewhere, within the jurisdiction of the above mentioned parganah, has been handed over to Guru Hira Nath, so that he may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining himself, harvest after harvest and year after year, with the produce of that (land)

2½ bigahs

A: The above mentioned (village, Jangiāl):
   East : The boundary of Bilas¹⁰
   West : The boundary of Bilas
   South : The boundary of the village Sukhowal¹¹
   North : The boundary of the village Sansarpur¹²
   4 bigahs
   breadth    length
   ... kān    ... kān

B: The village Sukhowal:
   East : The stream-bed
   West : The boundary of Bilas
   South : The boundary of Banswanni¹⁴
   North : The boundary of Sansarpur
   10 bigahs
   breadth    length
   ... kān    ... kān
جثثیت میں مذکر ہونے والے علاقوں کی تعداد اور تعلقات

Seals
A) ہمارے مطابق علاقوں کی تعداد اور تعلقات
B) با عنايت المذکر ہونے والے علاقوں کی تعداد اور تعلقات
C) با عنايت المذکر ہونے والے علاقوں کی تعداد

Signatures
1) غلام حسین ہریان قطب دومنال
2) غلام سرحاداندر افغان
C: The village Sansarpur:
   East: The boundary of Bir
   West: The boundary of Sukhowal
   South: The stream-bed
   North: Sukhowal
   10 bigahs
   breadth length
   ... kān ... kān

\textit{(Seal\textsuperscript{15})}
\begin{center}
14
\end{center}
May God be the
Protector.
\textit{Suchchā Nand}

In accordance with the \textit{parwānah} of the eminent Rai Sahib Gurdit Mal, the land was measured and handed over.

\textit{Attestations:}

1 Witnessed by the \textit{Chaudhari}, Harjas, of the \textit{qasbah} Domāl.

2 Witnessed by the \textit{Qānūngo\textsuperscript{16}}, Sadānand.

\textit{Note}: There are several others, mostly \textit{chaudhāris} witnessing in Ţākārī to the effect that the boundaries have been correctly defined.
NOTES

1. Mu'in-ud-din's seal appeared on the preceding document also. That was made in the seventh regnal year of Muhammad Shah. This seal was made in the fourteenth year (A.D. 1791-92), but placed on this document probably later (cf note 2 below).

2. This appears to be the principal seal, though it bears the date A.D. 1792. The endorsement besides the seal would suggest that it was put on the document at the time of its preparation.

3. Chaknāmah, according to Wilson, is "a register of the extent and boundaries of a detached or separate piece of land, or of a separate village. A grant authorizing individuals to hold alienated lands, and specifying their limits" (Glossary, 97). The present document lays down the area and boundaries of the madad-i-ma'āsh land in conferment upon Mahant Hira Nath in three villages which were in close proximity to one another.

4. Despite best efforts, we have not been able to succeed in locating any place or area with this name but considering that it is referred to as falling within the doāb of Bist Jalandhar, it should have been in the present day districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur or Kapurthala. The nearest that we came to is the village of Domeli in tahsil Phagwara of the Kapurthala district, but that appears to us to be a somewhat unlikely identification.

5. The doāb between the Beas and the Sutlej was then, as now, known as the Bist-Jalandhar. It has been noted already that in the province of Lahore (or Punjab) the reference was made generally to the doābs and not to any sarkārs, except during the reign of Shah Jahan when some chaklaahs are mentioned.

6. We have been a little unorthodox in interpreting this well-known expression which certainly is of common occurrence in the documents of Mughal times: "bataaadduq-i-furg-i-mubārak," in our view, refers to the source of pious inspiration for the grantor; and if we read furg instead of the generally read farq (the head orforehead), the reference then would be to the Qurān.
7. The existence of “private property” in Mughal India was doubted by the majority of modern scholars as much as by the contemporary European travellers to Mughal India. With a better understanding of the terms used for the different categories of land, it has become possible to show now that mālik or proprietors of land and private property were not unknown in Mughal India (See, Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 114-15, 139-40). The term mālikān is quite clear in the present document and it should certainly refer to the proprietors of land. The grantees sometimes had to pay the claims based on proprietary rights (haqq-i-milkiyat) on the lands of their grants to the mālik. The peasant-held land (zamin-i-ra‘iyati) could not be legally converted into a self-cultivated land (zamin-i-khud-kāshītah), neither by the grantees nor by the officials (Irfan Habib, ibid., 114-15, 145).

8. Besides the usual patmūdah-o-chak-bastah, there occurs here the phrase mu‘aiyan-o-mushakkhhas sakhītah, which might simply reinforce the former expression in this document. However, Wilson defines mushakkhhas as a farm or lands held at “a stipulated rent:” and the term, in his view, was also applied to “subordinate tenures for which the holders engage to pay a fixed rent annually upon the whole lot” (Glossary, 357-58). That would equate the above-mentioned tenure with the istimrāt tenure of document IX above. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the term used for the revenue “fixed at an unalterable rate for a specified quantity of the land” was kharaj-i-muazzaż (Mughal Administration, 177). The present document gives no indication of the tenure. Indeed a madad-i-ma‘āsh land would not be given on the basis of a revenue of any kind. The word mushakkhhas here should bear its ordinary connotation of “individuated, distinguished, defined, specified” (Steingass).

9. There are several villages in the Pathankot region as also in the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts bearing names like “Jugial” or “Jogial”. Possibly one of these was meant by the name used here, but it becomes naturally difficult in these circumstances to identify this place with any certainty.

10. Unidentified.

11. Unidentified.

12. Unidentified.

13. Unidentified.
14. Unidentified. Several villages bear names beginning with "Bir" which refers to a local godling or deotā, but it is difficult to ascertain which of these is meant here.

15. Suchchā Nand of this seal might be a muqaddam. We noticed (in document X above) a seal of the muqaddam Shankar Das being used on a document relating to boundaries. It is not impossible that the muqaddam was associated with the demarcation of boundaries as with the settlement of a boundary-dispute.

16. Another witness to attest this chaknāmah is Sada Nand, the qānūngo; and his association with the document is even more easily understandable than that of the muqaddam (cf. note 15 below), for his primary functions were related to land and its revenue (Wilson, Glossary, 260; Nagar, R. N. "The Kanungo in the North-Western Province (1801-1833)", IHRC, Mysore 1942, 166-20).

The qānūngos belonged generally to one of the "accountant castes" (Kāyasthas, Khatriś etc.) and the office usually ran in the family. Though an imperial sanad was necessary for the first appointment, the office was for life. However, the qānūngo could be removed from office for a number of reasons. In the reigns of Sher Shah and Akbar, there used to be one qānūngo in each parganah, but from Aurangzeb's order that there should not be more than two qānūngos in a parganah, it would appear that the numbers had considerably increased. The number of Muslim qānūngos also increased because of Aurangzeb's policy of supplementing the Hindu with Muslim qānūngos.

The qānūngo was the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue rates, and practices and customs of the parganah. He was required primarily to place his records and knowledge at the disposal of the amin and put his signature on the amin's assessment. A "friend of the peasants," he was required to see that imperial regulations were carried out by the assignees, to report on the 'āmil's illegal exactions and, at the same time, to facilitate the preparation of the maximum revenue assessments. The assignee's agents depended heavily on his information; this position he could, and sometimes did, employ to his own advantage. Helpless against the ājārdār, he could enter into collusion with the 'āmils, the zamindārs or even the faujdārs. (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 203, 262, 288, 289, 290, 291). For qānūngoi, see note 15 to document IV above.
سید
امیر الدوláری‌خان بی‌حد
پرZH.Yی بخیه برادر
فاضل خسروی‌خان

فناکم‌داران حال و استناد‌های گذشته و فقرات نقلی که در اینجا مطرح گردیده‌اند، مسئول تمامی ماده‌های مربوط به موضوع نزدیک و شبکه‌ای قابل بررسی و پژوهش است. مواد مربوط به استناد در صفحه درون اینجا مطرح گردیده‌اند.

حب اشتهای مقررات داده‌های روزت این مسئله که بر طبق استناد مکرر از اراذی و در اکثر موارد مکرر از اکثر موارد مکرر مزاحم و متشنج شده‌اند این موضوعات از آن‌ها می‌کنند که نظر ساخته‌های روزت افتتاحیه انجام گرفت و دو و دو تا گاهی در همین روزت انجام شد.
(Seal)
I′r-r-ud-daulah
Zakariya Khan Bahadur
Hariji waan, Servant of
Padshah Ghazi, Muhammad Shah
1138
(A.D. 1725-26)

BE IT KNOWN to the present and the future thanādars and others of the parganah Pathān, attached to the chaklah of Jammu in the province of Punjab, that:

It is manifest that the Jogi Hira Nath is a holy recluse in accordance with mandatory farman, and the sanads of former āmils, he has in conferment upon him madad-i-maʿāsh land and other (possessions) in the village of Narot proper and elsewhere within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the abovementioned parganah, and other parganahs and mahals, as given in the appended detail.

It is accordingly being ordered that, recognizing the (said) land and tenements of the abovementioned holy man as being rightfully his on the basis of the abovementioned sanads, they should on all accounts refrain from molesting (the Jogi), so that he may remain occupied with praying for the Everlasting Dominion (while) meeting his daily needs of livelihood from the proceeds (of those possession) This is the injunction.

Written on the 19th of Ramzaan of the (regnal) year 17 Baiḍ.
ضروری ہے کہ بچوں کو اپنے انٹرکلائر انٹرکلائر پر ہاتھ پڑھائی اور بھیجتے رہے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

مضامین شاہ مقر

موجب انسانیت دوسرے قومی

برلے کے ایڈمی وشک پوری ہو جائیں

و اپنی زندگی آپ کی نیکیلے بخشندہ

و زمام نوشید

گر در کوئی دوسرے

گو بھی بھیجوں

بچیوں کو دوسرے

گر در کوئی دوسرے

کو بھی بھیجوں

سے کہ کاں بہر

گر در کوئی دوسرے

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔

بچوں کے لیے روزانہ گرمائیں کھیتی اور ترویج کی جانے چاہئے۔
XV A

The detail in accordance with the sanads, under the seals of the faujdārs of those places, which (the Jogis) possess in the name of the Jogi Hira Nath who in association with the jamā‘al of Jogis expends the proceeds on (their) sustenance: —

1 The mutasaddīs of the Shāh Nahr should continue releasing the water of the canal for the inhabitants of the village Chak Jogiān (Jakhbar) and its orchard and cultivated land in accordance with the former sanads and the practice of old. There should be no obstruction

500 . (?)

2 In the parganah Pathān, within the (administrative) jurisdiction of the chaklah of Jammu, in accordance with the exalted farmāns and the sanads of the ḥākims, (the following lands) which have been always in the use and occupation of the Jogis:

(a) 265 pakkā bigahs, according to the exalted farmāns, in the village Narot proper and elsewhere;

(b) 17 bigahs
63 ghumāos, according to the sanads of the ḥākims, in the village Muradpūr, and elsewhere

3 Tenements of Gorakh Dibbi and elsewhere, in the jurisdiction of Jwālāmukhi: —

(a) Gorakh Dibbi and elsewhere:
   (i) Gorakh Dibbi
   (ii) Nāgā Arjun
   (iii) Kapāl Bhairō and Chander kūp
   (iv) Shri ... Makān-i-pīr
   (v) ...
   (vi) Gang Bhairo and Nāgā Arjun
   (vii) ...
(in the right hand margin)

(ندیده می‌گردد)...
(b) Sri Jwālāmukhī and elsewhere:
   (i) The said dwelling (at Jwālāmukhī proper)
   (ii) Nandī Kesar \(^{17}\)
   (iii) Pathīār, .. forest \(^{18}\)
   (iv) ...
   (v) Droh\(^{19}\)
   (vi) Tiārā \(^{20}\)
   (vii) Tanaulī Chak \(^{21}\)
   (viii) ...
   (ix) Mahādev Bālakrupī\(^{22}\)

4. In the parganah Gumtāl,\(^{23}\) within the (administrative) jurisdiction of Nurpur\(^{24}\):
   8 bigahs
   8 bigahs
   \{ 63 ghumāos \}
   qadim
   100 ghumāos

5. In the parganah of Shahpur,\(^{25}\) according to sanads in Persian and Indian (Tākāri') characters
   i) ... bigahs
   ii) ... bigahs
   iii) 45 ghumāos (in) Rānipur\(^{26}\)

Endorsement:
   Dated, the 21st of Ramgān-ul-mubārak of the (regnal) year 17.
   (below) Copy received in the office of the diwān

Baiż

Note:
   On the top right hand corner are the words: "The detail should be drawn up"\(^{28}\)
NOTES

1. Zakariya Khan had succeeded his father ‘Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Khan to the Governorship of Lahore in A.D. 1726 and he died in A.D. 1745 after a successful career of nearly twenty years. For some more details of his career see, Gupta, H. R., Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab.

2. “An officer in charge of a Thana, formerly an officer under the Faujdar, employed, with a small irregular force, in protecting the country and enforcing payment of the revenue: a petty police officer subordinate to a darogha” (Wilson, Glossary, 518).

3. The word taʿālluqah occurs for the first time in these documents; it is derived from taʿāltuq which simply means ‘connection’. It had come into currency in the latter half of the seventeenth century when it was used in the sense of land or area over which some kind of right was claimed by a jāgirdār, a zamīndār or a chief. Thus the term was used rather indifferently. Its equation with a small zamīndāri was probably a later development. (See, Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 139, 141, 142, 171, & n. 12, 172).

4. Chaklah is defined by Wilson as a large division of a country, comprehending a number of parganahs (Glossary, 98). As a territorial division it is first mentioned in the reign of Shah Jahan and was established probably by saadullah Khan. The chaklahs were often identical with sarkārs, as the chaklahs of Hissar and Sirhind; but in general, a chaklah was considered as a smaller unit than a sarkār, though in Bengal, where the sarkārs were rather small, a chaklah consisted usually of a small number of sarkārs (Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System, 277, n. 18).

5. Jammu as a chaklah is mentioned here for the first time in these documents. It is, however, quite likely that Jammu was made a chaklah during the reign of Shah Jahan.

6. The military or police power of the imperial government was represented by the faujdār, one of his chief duties being to aid any jāgīdār or ‘amīl of the Khāliṣah against any local malcontents. It was not uncommon to give faujdāri jurisdiction to the bigger assig-
nees within their jāgirs, though such powers seriously affected the power and prestige of the imperial faujdār (Irfan Habib. *The Agrarian System*, 295-96).

7. The reference here is to the entire body of Jogis at this establishment, the Persian word "jamā'at" being often applied to bodies of Indian sādhus also. The mention of this jamā'at lends substance to the point made earlier that the entire body of the Jogis was, in theory, supposed to be collectively in enjoyment of the grant. The word jamā'at is not applied to the Jogi community exclusively; one hears of the jamā'at of Bairāgi sādhus quite often.

8. In the reign of Shah Jahan a small system of canals was brought into existence in the Upper Bari Doab of the Punjab. Of these canals the best known was the Shāh Nahr, which was successfully excavated in the sixteenth year of the reign. It took off from the Ravi at Shahpur, close to the hills. Another canal from the same point ran to Pathankot and yet another to Batala. Sujan Rai Bhandari, a native of Batala, enthusiastically comments on the benefit of these canals (Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System*, 33, 34 & n. 35). Evidently one of these canals irrigated the fields of the Jogis of Jakhbar, the Chak Jogiān of this document.

9. From the *Ain-i-Akbari* and other contemporary records, horticulture appears to have been popular with the holders of madad-i-ma'āsh lands. The Jogis had their own orchard in Jakhbar. There is an orchard in Jakhbar even today.

10. This might be a reference to the *Bigah-i-Ilāhi*.

11. A small temple, with an endowment of its own within the precincts of the famous shrine of Jwālāmukhī (See n. 12 below). The name of the shrine is explained with reference to a small geyser of boiling hot water in which, it is narrated here, Gorakhnath left his pot, dibbi, with rice and dāl in it to cook. The water, it is solemnly pointed out to the visitors, is still boiling from the time of Guru Gorakhnath. A Kanphata Jogi looks after the shrine.

The Jakhbar Jogis do not now own any structures in Gorakh Dibbi or indeed in any, perhaps, of the several places mentioned in this document, but they do refer to an earlier association with many of these places. Baba Brahm Nath narrated an incident
of several years ago when the Nāths of Gorakh Dibbi were financially helped by the Jakhbar gaddi in redeeming a mortgage on their possessions. In return for this, a part of the offerings received at the Gorakh Dibbi temple was sent for several years as a token of gratitude to Jakhbar.

12. Literally, "The Goddess of the Flaming Mouth," so named because of the subterranean gas that keeps on constantly escaping from the rock inside the temple of the Devi in the Kangra district. Jwālāmukhi is a temple of great celebrity in the north of India and profuse references to it have come across from a very early period. Around the temple a fairly large town has grown up and in the neighbourhood of the town are the ruins of a large number of houses and establishments once belonging to the "Gosains" who had made this place as a headquarters for trading. The temple of Jwālāmukhi lay once in the territory of the hill principality of Guler.

13. A temple near Jwālāmukhi, situated on a considerable height. Its name associates it with one of the most famous and earliest of Jogi ascetics. Nāgā Arjun is associated with the Mānnāth sect of the Kanphatas; and Briggs (Gorakhnath and the Kāmphata Yogis, 71) has the following note on him: "To this line (the Mānnāthas) belongs Arjan Naga .. who is now in Kailas as siddha. There is an establishment belonging to this sub-sect at Jwālāmukhi".

14. One of the principal Shaiva temples in the Kangra district situated in the heart of the Kangra town. The temple is named after the kāpūl or skull of Sati, Shiva’s consort, which fell here when Shiva was roaming around wildly with her corpse on his shoulder after her immolation. The temple is looked after by a Jogi of the Alakh order. (See Rose, H. A. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, 3 vols., Calcutta, 1911-19, 1, 266).

15. It has not been possible for us to locate or identify this place but it is possibly associated with the Nāgā Arjun establishment near Jwālāmukhi.

16. A temple in the Kangra district, close to Ichhi. A fair is held at the place on the Shivratri day, and there is an interesting story
telling how the place came to be named like this. The temple contains a carving of Gang Bhairo Mahâdeo on a black stone 1 span high and 4 in circumference (Rose, Glossary, I, 269).

17. One of the Shaiva temples of great celebrity in the Kangra district. The temple is properly called Nandikeshwara Mahâdeo and is situated in Jadragal on the bank of the Bân Gangâ river. It is said to have been founded by a princess from Suket, and the pujârî at the temple is a Giri Gosain (Rose, Glossary, I, 271).

18. This refers possibly to the well known temple at Pathiâr near Palampur in the Kangra district. The place is of considerable sanctity in the area. There is a thick forest very close to Pathiâr which lends support to our reading of this entry, since a forest is clearly mentioned in the document.

19. A village in the Hamirpur tahsil of the Kangra district. A big fair is held here in the month of Chaitra (March-April).

20. A large village in the Kangra district that lies two miles off the main road connecting Pathankot with Kangra from where a path branches off in its direction near Gaggal. Several sâdhus still live at Tiârâ.

21. It has not been possible for us unfortunately to identify this place.

22. One of the most famous of all the shrines in the Kangra district, named after the form of a young cowherd that Shiva is said to have taken in this region. The temple is near Sujanpur and there is a long and somewhat complicated story connected with the temple, involving a Raja of Kangra and several miracles performed by Baba Balakrupî (see, Rose, Glossary, I, 261-64). Prominently mentioned in the story is a sâdhu, Kanthar Nath by name. This must be a reference, in fact, to a Jogi of the Kanthar Nath sub-sect (See, Dwivedi, Nâtha Sampradânya, 184).

There are several fairs held in a year at the temple and all offerings go to the Jogi on duty.
23. This, in all probability, is the place now called Damthāl, (see Introduction, n. 22, above). The origin of the name Damthāl is not entirely clear and it is possible that in an earlier period it was called Gumṭāl. There is at least one other reference to this place as Gumṭāl that occurs in a mid-nineteenth century account of a journey to Kashmir (Ganeshi Lal, Siyāḥat-i-Kashmir, tr. by V. S. Suri, Simla 1955, 6), and a detailed description of the place together with the name of the mahant in that work leaves no doubt that the place meant was modern Damthāl. In this document, again, Gumṭāl is shown as being in the parganah Nurpur which lends further support to the identification suggested here because of the closeness and association of Damthāl with Nurpur.

24. The important state of that name in the Punjab Hills. The town, Nurpur, is at a distance of only about fifteen miles from Pathankot but falls in the Kangra district of today. Both the state and the town are closely associated with the Mughals, (see Hutchinson, J. & Vogel, J. Ph. History of the Punjab Hill States, 2 vols., Lahore 1933, I, 213-264).

25. This, in all probability, is Shahpur of the Shahpur-Kandi tract in the Gurdaspur district and not the tiny hill state of that name beyond Nurpur. Shahpur appears to have been an important Mughal town and lay on the bank of the Ravi. Lands in the Shahpur parganah are mentioned at more than one place held by the Jakhbar Jogis. Some land in the Shahpur-Kandi region is still held by the Jakhbar gaddi.

26. The use of the imperfect Tākari script in this part of the Gurdaspur district and the Punjab hills appears to have been quite common even for official documents. Several of the paṭṭahs of the Punjab hill rulers are in this unhelpful script and have been seen by us with the families of the rulers and their pandits.

27. A large village at a distance of about five miles to the north of Pathankot. Some land is still held here as jāgir by the Jakhbar mahants who receive a small but fixed amount from the persons to whom they have left its cultivation.

28. The original words are 'zimn-nawisand'. Wilson has the
following note on this expression: "A form of word, 'let them write the abstract,' formerly inscribed upon a sanad granting an assignment of revenue or Zamindari, which served as authority for the subordinate officers to make out the particulars of the assignment or grant" (Glossary, 567). The expression occurs quite frequently in official documents and in the present document it occurs at the top.
مستند مصالح د. استقلال یکتا، فیلسوف، در شماره ۱، رد شده است.

(Seal)

امیرعلی عزیزی یکتا
BE IT KNOWN to the present and the future mutaşaddis of the mahals and tappah of the parganah Shahpur, (who may expect) to be covered with favour and kindness, that:

WHEREAS, the Jogi Subodh Nath is a truly deserving person. On that account, we have bestowed upon him, according to the practice of old, twenty ghumāos of land by way of madad-i-ma‘āsh, on the death of Hira Nath, in the environs of the village Thār. It is ordered that the abovementioned land in the old mahals and their neighbourhood, duly measured and demarcated, should be handed over to the aforesaid (Jogi), so that he may remain occupied with praying (for the Emperor) while sustaining himself harvest after harvest with the produce of that (land). On no account should anyone interfere in this matter, now settled. A new sanad should not be demanded every year. In this matter, recognizing this to be an urgent injunction, the above order should be executed.

Dated the 25th of Muḥarram-al-ḥirām of the year 1154 (April 1, A.D. 1741).

Note:

In Ṭakari, at the top, there are the following words in the hand probably of some mahant: “Twenty ghumāos of land ... in the name of Subudha Nath”.

(XVI)

(Seal)

17

Saʿid Khan, the honourable Khānah-zād of Padshah Ghāzī Muhammad Shah

1147  
(A.D. 1734-35)
NOTES

1. These are numerous instances in these documents of seals being used much later than the dates they bear. This seal of Sa'id Khan, for instance, was made in A.D. 1734-35 but it is being used here on this document of 1741.

2. The succession of Mahant Subodh (Subuddha) Nath to the Jakhbar gaddi appears to have taken place in or about A.D. 1741, after the death of Hira Nath. The name of Subuddha Nath is well remembered at the gaddi, being connected with his having granted an important boon to the Gurdaspur mahants. From Subuddha Nath onwards the genealogical table of the Jakhbar gaddi assumes a definitive form. The date of his death is not known.

3. The area units under the denomination ghumāo varied considerably from one region to another in northern India and even from place to place in one region. According to Elliot, in Jallandhar it was only a fifty of a bigah (Memoirs etc. II, 166). This perhaps was an extremely small value, for on the other extreme a ghumāo at places is reckoned to be larger than two bigahs. Generally speaking a ghumāo is supposed to be equal to eight kanāls.

4. This, in all likelihood, is the village Dhar, at a distance of nearly fifteen miles from Pathankot in the north-eastern direction, on the road to Dalhousie. We are led to this identification by the fact that no other village by this name or the name "Thar" is known in this region; and that the present village of Dhar fell formerly in the parganah Shahpur which fact is clearly mentioned in this document.
(Seal)

اکال سمبہت
بمک سلائی

عزایالقدیر دیوان... راسے سلامت باشند
درخوا لا بگی کی سچھپر کیپور آدھا دھاکر دنگد
دوکان نداران سوجا پچور دباد کیپور اشکیا کی از سوجا پچور کری می شو ند
مزایمتی رسائی و سائاق کا نبہان اشکیا می اطهارس می رود
کری پچور کریان دکورترپکر کری دہ بیرنداوا فی مصونت ڈیم
مزایمتی نرس دیسرمول فوب تیست ونیزٹران
چوگ دھرم اندزیا دہ پھرم کشود
سوب بھیتی با تاچو کی مبینت
( in the margin. )
جبیشرست بگر گش مسکان مزایمت نباید
(Seal)
May the Immortal
(God) be the Protector.
Bhag Singh

The honoured diwān ... Rāi!
May (you) remain safe and in peace.
Now, the Jogis of Jakhbar, having come to (our) presence, have revealed that the shopkeepers of Sujanpur harass them by levying (octroi) duty on goods purchased from Sujanpur. This never happened in former times.
It is, therefore, being ordered that, in whatever purchases they might make to take away (from Sujanpur), the abovementioned Jogis should meet no hindrance in conformity with the practice of old. Deviation from an old practice is not to be commended. Moreover, (the Jogis) belong to a religious establishment.
What more need be said?

(In the margin):
The Jogi Subodh Nath is the mahant of Jakhbar. On the monastery of the Nāthās, there should be no imposition.
NOTES

1. This seal of Bhag Singh is undated and it is difficult to identify him with an absolute certainty. However, as already suggested, this seal should belong to the period between A.D. 1765, when the Sikhs were beginning effectively to occupy territories in the Punjab and A.D. 1809, when Ranjit Singh conquered Sujanpur. There are at least three Sikh chiefs, belonging to this period and bearing this name, who are known to history: Bhag Singh Hallowalia who belonged to the Bhangi mišl, Kanwar Bhag Singh who was the grandson of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Bhag Singh Bagga. Only the last named person is known to have had any connection with Sujanpur.

According to an account of the Shahpur Kandi tract by one "Mr. Roe," the Bagga family belonged to the Kanhaiya mišl and the founder of this family, Amar Das, obtained Sujanpur towards the late 1760's. Amar Das died in A.D. 1805 to be succeeded by his son Bhag Singh. The new chief lived only for three years more and was succeeded by his younger brother Budh Singh who was defeated by Ranjit Singh in 1809 when Sujanpur became a part of the Lahore Kingdom. (Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District, 1891-92, 38). The seal which appears on this document could easily be of the Sikh chief Bhag Singh. It does not follow, however, that the seal was prepared or used only in or after A.D. 1805. There is every possibility that Bhag Singh was effectively managing the affairs of his aged father's principality before his death in 1805. Instances of such usage of a seal by the son of a ruling Sikh chief are not unknown.

2. The flourishing town of Sujanpur in the Shahpur-Kandi tract rose to some importance after the berak-up of the Mughal empire, when 'Ajäib Räi, the Qämüngo, set himself up here and at Pathankot as an independent chieftain. The town fell later into the hands of the Bagga family which was ousted from its possessions by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as seen in n. 1, above, in A.D. 1809 (Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District, 1891-92, 38).

3. The word used here is mahżūl. According to Dr Irfan Habib this term was used in the Mughal documents and by the writers of those times in two senses: in the sense of revenue and in the sense
of produce from land (*The Agrarian System*, 141, 203, 204 & n. 36, 206, 231). In this document the term surely refers to revenue which in the context of this document could easily be a kind of octroi duty.