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(JOURNAL :)
OF
FRANCIS BUCHANAN
KEPT DURING THE SURVEY OF THE
DISTRICT
OF
SHAHABAD
IN
1812-1813

Edited with Notes and Introduction

BY

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS,

	PAGE.
Introduction	i-xx
List of abbreviations	xxi
Explanation	xxi
List of maps and plan	xxi
Text of the Journal, with foot-notes	1-154
Note	155
Appendix I (Buchanan's daily record of marches and observations in tabular form)	156-171
Appendix II (List of stones procured by Buchanan in Shahabad)	172-174
Appendix A.—The Arrah House	175
Appendix B.—Wild Cattle in Shahabad	176-177
Appendix C.—Rohtasgarh	178-179
Appendix D.—Sher Shah's Residence	180-181
Appendix E.—Sher Shah's Mausoleum	182-183
Appendix F.—Shergarh	184-185
Appendix G.—Belannja	186-187
Appendix H.—Guptesvar	188
Appendix J.—Gaharwars; Kharwars and Cheros	189-192
Index to names of places and persons	i-vii

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I.—Introduction.

THE Journal that is now being printed for the first time comprises Vol. III of the Buchanan Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Whitehall. It contains the daily record written by Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) of his movements and inquiries in the district of Shahabad during the cold weather months of 1812-13, the sixth field season of his work on the statistical survey of the then Bengal Presidency.

The only full account of Buchanan's life and labour yet written will be found in Sir David Prain's excellent memoir,⁽¹⁾ published in the *Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta*, and therefore perhaps not so widely known as it should be. Some interesting details will also be found in Colonel Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*.⁽²⁾ Dr. Buchanan in his earlier life had made voyages as surgeon to an "Indiaman", the last of which, in the *Rose*, took

(1) *Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)*, 1905.
(2) *History of the Indian Medical Service*, 1914, Vol. II.

him to Bengal, where he was appointed an Assistant Surgeon on the establishment in 1794. He was not, however, destined to spend much time in the normal station duties of a surgeon in those days. His botanical knowledge and his aptitude for other sciences, such as Natural History and Geology, combined with rare powers of methodical investigation, soon singled him out for special employment in various directions. After the conquest of Mysore, the Marquess of Wellesley—with the acumen he so often displayed in choosing the right man for a particular duty—selected Buchanan to carry out an investigation into the “state of agriculture, arts, and commerce; the history, natural and civil; and the antiquities” in the ceded and allied countries. The results of these inquiries, which were carried out during the years 1800-1, were not published till 1807. Meanwhile the value of Buchanan’s work had been fully appreciated by Lord Wellesley, who had appointed him to control an establishment for investigating the natural history of India; and when the Court of Directors decided in January, 1807, that a “statistical survey” of the Bengal Presidency should be carried out, they named Francis Buchanan as the officer to whom the work should be entrusted. The instructions issued to him, obviously an amplification of those given in respect of Mysore by Lord Wellesley in 1800, have been quoted in the Introduction to Martin’s *E. I.*

Buchanan started on his work in the cold season of 1807-8, commencing with the eastern districts and then moving westwards to Purnea, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Patna, Gaya and Shahabad, and ultimately Gorakhpur, which was the last district surveyed by him in the season 1813-14. The extent of country over which Buchanan had already completed his survey is not always realized from the headings given in Martin’s publication, owing to subsequent re-adjustments of boundaries and the subdivision of old districts. Buchanan had finished the survey of the Assam Valley area, now included in several districts, of Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, part of Bogra,

Maldah, Purnea, Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, Monghyr, Patna, and Gaya districts. A fine feat for one man, having regard to the mass of detailed information comprised in each report. For a true appreciation of the magnitude of Buchanan's task it is essential to remember that his work throughout this area was pioneer work: he had no previous accounts to guide or assist him; he had to formulate the methods of collecting the details required under each head of inquiry, sift, classify and check the information obtained, and finally compile and write out the voluminous reports, the manuscript of which filled twenty-five folio volumes. He was seriously handicapped by having no maps on a scale suited to such work, or even maps showing accurately the physical features of each area and the roads available. He had only Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* sheets to work upon, and these on a scale of 11 to 12 miles to an inch. After five years of continuous labour of this arduous character it would have been only natural perhaps had Buchanan shown some signs of weariness and flagging zeal; but we may look in vain for any indication of this, unless an occasional remark denoting irritation, or a perhaps unnecessarily severe criticism of some architectural feature, be attributed to this cause.

The wholly unmerited oblivion into which Buchanan's valuable researches passed for so many years was largely due to two causes, the assumption of the name Hamilton after his retirement from India, and the neglect of the East India Company to have the result of his labours published in complete form, with all his maps, plans and sketches correctly reproduced, under his own supervision if possible: and he lived till 1829. It was not till nine years after his death that the three volumes of what has all along been known as "Martin's Eastern India" were published by Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin. These volumes are simply a publication of such portions of Buchanan's MS. as appeared to Martin to be a "judicious selection". It is astonishing that the officials of the India House should have permitted these

volumes to be printed without Buchanan Hamilton's name appearing anywhere on the title-page. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question whether Martin omitted matter of material value. He obviously had neither the experience of the country nor the knowledge of the subjects dealt with to decide what was or was not of material value. I can only add that when I first studied portions of the original manuscripts at the India Office in 1903, I was amazed at the facts disclosed, and impressed with the importance of having the portions scored through (by Martin's pencil presumably) published.

Buchanan completed his tours in the Patna and (old) Bihar districts in March, 1812, and spent the hot season and rains at Patna, collating the information gathered, drawing his map of the area surveyed, and writing his Report. On the 1st November he started off once more from Patna, going westwards to Sherpur, and next day on to the Son, and, crossing it at Koilwar Ghat, entered Shahabad. On the 3rd November he started on a series of tours through the district to its furthest extremities on the south, west and south-west, crossing the plains portion in various directions; touring the whole way round the fringe of the Kaimur plateau, ascending it and its outlying spurs at several points; penetrating to the heart of the hills at Lohra, at the Guptesvar caves, and at the Chhanpatthar waterfall of the Karamnasa; examining and describing numerous sites which many District Officers even have never had time to visit. He toured about the district continuously until the 24th February, when he crossed the Shahabad border into the Mirzapur district, visiting Chakia, Bhulli, Sarewa and Saktesgarh, and reaching Chunar on the 26th of the month. The routes he followed and the towns and villages at which he halted, or which he visited have been shown on the map facing p. 1. The only village site which I have been unable to verify from the maps available is that of Lalganj, where he halted for the night of the 17th November. The site has been marked approximately.

At Chunar Buchanan halted, and as far as we know, worked up the material collected, compiled his map of Shahabad and wrote his Report. In the course of 118 days, that is from the time he left Patna till he reached Chunar, Buchanan's bare route, taking only the halting places and sites specifically named by him, covered, I calculate, a distance of some 820 miles, which means that he travelled at the average rate, all halts included, of about 7 miles per diem. During this period he moved his camp 57 times, or on the average every second day; and on 20 other days made trips in the vicinity of his camps; that is to say he was actually travelling about or moving from camp to camp on 77 out of the 118 days. When we consider that he was over 50 years of age at the time, that in addition to the constant movement Buchanan was all the while making archæological, botanical, geological, ethnographical and historical inquiries, besides collecting elaborate statistics under a variety of prescribed heads, such as topography, material conditions of the people, religions, products, agriculture, arts and commerce, and that he had to maintain a careful record day by day of what he saw and learnt, it can be realized what a remarkable personality was the author of the journal.

So far as we know at present there was no published description or record of the sites of interest in Shahabad prior to Buchanan's visit. A few stray records of individual sites had been made by travellers from time to time, such as Peter Mundy, Tavernier and the artists Thomas and (his nephew) William Daniell. The Daniells had painted at Agori (on the Son, above Jadunathpur), Rohtasgarh, Sasaram, Dhuan Kund, Chainpur, the Mundesvari hill, Ramgarh (incorrectly described as in Benares district in the letterpress) and even Shergarh. Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit missionary, was the only person who had hitherto attempted to deal with the geography of Northern India generally, but his work can have been of no help to Buchanan. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* similarly did not help.

Of the district officials at the time of his survey, the only one who had been long in the district was William Cowell, who had been posted there since 1802, but as District Judge was not likely to have had much opportunity of travelling about. William Augustus Brooke, who knew the district well, having been in charge of it for several years, was not then in Bihar. Thomas Law, who had been Collector of Sarkar Rohtas for some three years, had left India. Philip Carter, Thomas Twining's protégé, whom he had appointed Superintendent of Roads, and for whom he had built a bungalow and established an indigo factory, both in the Bhojpur pargana, was still in the district it seems. Another Carter (Joshua, perhaps a relative) who had just passed through the College at Fort William, had joined as Assistant Collector in 1812. Philip must have known a good deal about the district, as he had travelled over it in the suite of Twining when the latter was Collector in 1801-3. Twining appears to have been the only official prior to Buchanan's time who left any record of travel in Shahabad, but except in the case of Rohtasgarh, Sasaram and Buxar, he treats almost wholly of administrative matters; and Buchanan cannot have had access to his papers, as he had left India. It seems probable in the circumstances that Buchanan had to map out his tours for himself.

MODE OF TRAVEL.—For Buchanan's mode of travelling and method of computing distances and areas, the reader is referred to Mr. V. H. Jackson's Introduction to the Patna-Gaya Journal (*J.B.O.R.S.* VIII, pages 163-6). I need only add that after studying the Shahabad Journal I entirely accept the conclusion so ingeniously worked out by Mr. Jackson. Buchanan generally travelled on an elephant or in a palanquin. In this journal he twice mentions that he was travelling on an elephant (see pages 45 and 143). There is no specific reference to the use of a palanquin. In several places it is evident from his description that he was on foot, and in one or two places he definitely refers to the steepness of the path or the irregularity and height of the steps he had to climb.

At other sites, if he had been on an elephant or in a palanquin, he must have got down, to have observed the details or taken (or checked) the measurements he records.

• •

FEATURES OF WORK AND CHARACTER.—From a study of his daily journal certain features of Buchanan's work and character stand out prominently: his almost unerring flair for finding out those sites that contained objects of real importance; his discernment in giving his attention to matters of more or less permanent interest; his care to question such persons as were likely to give the best evidence, and his faculty of sifting the wheat from the chaff in accepting what was told him; and where facts were concerned, the scrupulous pains he took to record them with accuracy. He seems to have been wholly absorbed in his work; he never complains of fatigue or of discomfort, of heat, cold or rain; in fact he ignores personal conditions. When he complains of the steps up the Shergarh Ghat, it is perhaps more because their irregularity offended his eye than because the exertion of climbing them tired him. He had a keen eye for beauty of natural scenery, and seems to have thoroughly enjoyed many picturesque landscapes. His regard for scientific accuracy, detail and finish perhaps detracts at times from his judgment of architectural features; while even amidst the wild, natural beauty of a deep river valley among the hills his sense of neatness revolts at the sight of untidy long grass and withered branches hanging from the trees! His grasp of the broad topographical outlines of a situation, his faculty for selecting the salient features for examination, and his minute care in recording small details of interest are exemplified in his visit to the Shergarh fortress. He had first of all three miles to go across country from his camp at Karma to the foot of the hill, and then to make the steep ascent to the summit of the plateau 1817 feet above sea-level according to Sherwill). As he returned to his tents at Karma the same evening, he had only the inside of the day to explore the top, find out what buildings or remains there were worthy of description, inspect them, take numerous

measurements and record his notes, which were no doubt transcribed into his journal the same evening (as he had a long march before him next day) illustrated by no less than seven sketch plans showing the true shape of this little projecting plateau (which is not shown correctly on any of the Survey maps), the line of the surrounding battlements, the half-moon bastions, gates, path of ascent, etc., and including two plans of the buildings within the area of what he calls the "castle". Yet no more comprehensive, and at the same time detailed, description has ever been published; nor have I been able to trace any other plan of this fortress, which many who have visited it regard as in some respects more interesting than, though of course not so imposing as, Rohtasgarh.

• **AREA OF DISTRICT SURVEYED.**—The district of Shahabad at the time of Buchanan's survey covered the same area as at the present time (1925) with two exceptions, viz. (1) the Chausa pargana had not yet been attached to the district, and (2) a small area now included within the United Provinces district Balia, to the north of the present deep stream of the Ganges, which formed part of Todar Mal's mahal Fathpur Bihiya, was still within the boundary of Shahabad, as it had been (in the then Sarkar Rohtas) in 1582. Although geographically forming part of Shahabad, as lying wholly south of the Ganges and east of the Karamnasa, Chausa pargana was long attached to districts outside the province of Bihar proper. The present decayed village of Chausa occupies an old site that must once have been of considerable strategic importance, and was probably included within the ancient kingdom of Kasi. No inscriptions have yet been found that throw light upon the history of the locality prior to the Muhammadan invasion. It may be that there is some connexion between the name and that of the country which Yuan Chwang transcribes as *Chan-chu*. However this may be, it appears that from the first arrival of the Muhammadans in Eastern India up to Sher Shah's time Chausa pargana was included in Bihar, but in Todar Mal's rent-roll (1582 A.D.) during Akbar's reign, mahal Chausa was

included in Sarkar Ghazipur. When we first find the East India Company's troops in the district, the Karamnasa was recognized as the boundary of Bihar between the hills and the Ganges. In the earliest map prepared by James Rennell, the 5 mile to 1 inch sheet of 1773, which was based on the surveys of De Gloss, Richards and Russell during the years 1766 to 1771, we find pargana "Chowsar" in "Shawabad". It should be noted perhaps that at this period the area now comprising Shahabad was included within two sarkars, namely (1) Shawabad (parganas Barahgany, Arrah, Bihiya, Bhojpur, Chausa, Dinara, Danwar, Piro, Nanaur and Panwar), and (2) Rohtas (parganas Chainpur, Sasaram, Rohtas, all now in Shahabad; parganas Siris and Kutumba, now in Gaya; and parganas Japla and Belaunja, now in Palamau). Before 1773 Mangraur, Kot and Ratanpur had been taken from Sarkar Rohtas, and Rennell in that year shows them as included in Chunar sarkar or district. In Buchanan's time pargana Chausa (1) was excluded from Shahabad (probably as a result of Balwant Singh's occupation of that area), while Siris, Kutumba, Japla and Belaunja had been included in the huge district of Ramgarh.

BOTANY.—In the instructions issued to Buchanan for his guidance he had been directed to investigate the kinds of trees contained in the forests and their comparative value, and to point out such means as occurred to him for increasing the number of the more valuable kinds, or for introducing new ones. He had also been requested to take every opportunity of forwarding to the Company's Botanical Garden at the Presidency "whatever useful or rare and curious plants and seeds" he might be able to acquire, with such observations as might be necessary for their culture. The Journal sheds no light on his activities in this direction. He mentions from time to time the most common or conspicuous trees observed in the course of his tours; and in his appendix of "Observations" he describes the crops grown in considerable detail. In the notes I have added the botanical names of all trees

(1) It was made portion of the district of Shahabad in 1818.

and plants named with a view to their better identification. From other sources we know that Buchanan's botanical researches were so highly valued by experts that he was appointed to succeed the famous Dr. Roxburgh as Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden in 1814.

GEOLOGY.—The value of Buchanan's geological researches in Shahabad cannot be properly assessed, as it does not appear that his collection of specimens (*vide* Appendix II) was ever scientifically examined or described. In this journal he does not make any regular references to the specimens collected, as in his Patna-Gaya Journal.

ARCHÆOLOGY.—It is in the field of archæology that Buchanan did some of his most valuable pioneer work in this district, chiefly perhaps in the way of pointing out where remains of interest were to be found and recording the existence of sculptures and inscriptions, of a large number of which drawings and copies were made. Before his time the subject of archæology in India had scarcely been touched (e g. by C. Wilkins and H. T. Colebrooke). The first activities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal had been largely directed to other subjects. It was not till much later that a sure foundation for research was laid by James Prinsep's series of discoveries (1835-8), and by the translation into European languages of the invaluable records of the Chinese pilgrims. Two of the very first papers on archæological subjects read before the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1824 and 1827 were by Buchanan (then B. Hamilton). Even up to date, during all the years that have elapsed since Buchanan wrote his Shahabad Journal, it is doubtful if a single fresh site of archæological importance in this district has been the subject of professional investigation: most archæologists seem to have contented themselves with revisiting sites referred to by him. It is hardly necessary to add that the defective knowledge of his time rendered it impossible to decipher correctly several interesting inscriptions found; and very many of the conclusions drawn and identifications then made

must be modified as a result of the enormous advance since made in historical, iconographical and epigraphical research

ETHNOGRAPHY.—Later writers on ethnography have at times questioned the value of Buchanan's notes on this subject. While he sometimes suggests a conclusion of his own from the evidence gathered, he generally contents himself with recording the information given him. The great value of his work in this connexion rests, however, not on his own views (which he never expresses dogmatically), but on the fact that he faithfully recorded the statements made by the people themselves. It seems to me that one of his chief claims to our gratitude is the scrupulous care with which he noted down traditions of the illiterate country folk and of the so-called aboriginal races, who as he himself somewhere remarks, often preserve genuine tradition more undefiled and reliable than the literate population of the towns and persons versed in the Brahmanical texts. It will be noticed that he devoted considerable time in the remoter parts and among the hills to questioning the people on such subjects; and the traditions so preserved may yet prove of use towards dispelling the mist that still hangs round the past history of tribes like the Bhar, Kharwar, Chero, "Siyur" or "Seoree" and Gaharwar.

HISTORY.—Perhaps the least valuable portions of the Journal are those which relate to questions of history. Take, for instance, his references to Raja Bhoj or to the family of Sher Shah, or the myth about Humayun having had the women flung down the precipice at Shergarh. Here again we must remember the state of historical knowledge at the time. No reliable history of ancient or medieval India was available to him. For Hindu chronology he was dependent on writers like Wilford. The Muhammadan histories had not been seriously examined. Buchanan seems to have had to depend upon works like *Firishta*, as interpreted by Dow! We must not wonder at the result.

GEOGRAPHY.—It has already been stated that Buchanan had only Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* maps to work upon (for Shihabad, see Plate III). Apparently he had not even got a tracing of Rennell's larger scale (5 mi. = 1 inch) "Map of the Southwest Part of Bahar" drawn in 1773. Even this, however, would have been of little use to him for most of his journeys, as it shows practically only towns and villages along, or in the immediate vicinity of, the main lines of road, but few of which Buchanan followed. The details of even the fringes of the hill country, except around Akbarpur and Rohtas, where De Gloss had spent nearly a week during his survey, are very incorrect: Most of the central part of the district is either blank or sketchily filled in; the Kao river, for example, which has the longest course of any stream lying wholly within the district, is not shown at all at any part of its course. Even of Buchanan's halting places, most of which were comparatively well-known, more than half (perhaps 26 out of 47) are not marked. It has been deemed unless, therefore, to refer to Rennell's maps in the foot-notes: the names there quoted are those entered on the latest editions of the 1 mi. = 1 inch sheets obtainable in 1924 from the Map Record and Issue Office. The Survey sheet spelling has been retained. On these sheets I have been able to trace most of the sites mentioned by Buchanan, and all the rivers and streams of any importance. Round the edges and on top of the plateau I have found considerable difficulty in identifying some of the sites, owing to the still defective condition of these sheets in respect of the hill areas. In several cases in connexion with sites on the fringe of the plateau or within the smaller outlying hills, Buchanan has added sketches in the margin of his MS., which disclose the orographical features more accurately; but, for obvious reasons, it has been decided not to reproduce all these hand-sketches. They have, however, been of much assistance in tracing sites described. I have also derived special assistance from a "Geological Map of the southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad, drawn and constructed by Lieut. Walter S. Sherwill, Revenue

Surveyor, 1846''. In several respects this is a most interesting and valuable map. It shows the heights of all the most prominent hills, as calculated by him; the quarries of lime and chalk; the outcrop or occurrence of alum ore, sulphur iron sulphate, hornstone, potstone, laterite, etc., and traces of old iron workings. It is the only map that names the principal deep valleys (*khoh* in the vernacular) that wind in among the hills towards the plateau, and constitute the most distinctive feature of the Kaimur borders, and the great charm of these hills from the point of view of natural scenery. As insets Sherwill gives a sketch of the *Raja Deo ka Pind* peak, that towers up precipitously opposite Shergarh, on the other side of the Durgavati, like a huge sentinel at the entrance to the Karamchat valley—perhaps the most picturesque bluff of all—as well as a plan, probably the only plan ever drawn to scale or published, of the Guptesvar caves.

BUCHANAN'S MAP.—The manuscript map of the Shahabad district in the Map Department of the India Office looks as if it had been drawn by Buchanan himself. The outlines of the plateau and the hills, including even the little hillocks near Jabra and Bamani and along the Son valley between Kasiawan and Parchha, and the outlying hills round the northern flanks of the plateau from the Durgavati and the Karamnasa, are all etched in with great minuteness. No name, however, is given to any hill. The courses of all the rivers have been carefully shown, and the name entered against each, except in the case of the small hill torrents. The boundaries of the Police Thanas, or "Divisions" as he called them, are shown by dotted lines coloured over. Each Division is indicated by a number in Roman numerals. The sites of towns and villages and market-places are indicated by little circles and Arabic numerals, a separate serial being used for each Division. These numerals (both Roman and Arabic) refer to corresponding numbers in his "Index to the Map", which formed an appendix to the Report. A few little circles have been marked which have no numerals attached.

These indicate the sites of villages which have not been given in the Index to the Map, but which can be identified. For example, in the extreme southern corner three circles will be noticed, which are intended to mark the sites of Jadunathpur, Sanraki and Sarodag; but these villages were evidently not regarded as market-places calling for entry with details in the Index.

Along the northern boundary of the district many changes have occurred since Buchanan drew his map, owing to the shifting of the main stream of the Ganges. Several of the places marked by him have been washed away, and other villages have been established since. On the whole the Ganges follows a more northerly course than in his day, especially to the north of Simri and of Mahuar. The courses of the *Bhagars* (*bhāgar* means an old river bed) and of the streams flowing into them have, in consequence, almost wholly altered since Buchanan's time. In this part of the district Buchanan's map is extremely interesting as containing a record of the situation in 1812-13 and, specifically, as showing by the long *jhil* he has marked between Chilhari and Ranisagar (a distance of about 16 miles) an old course of the Ganges, of which traces may also be found much further east, to the north of Karisath, Masar and Arrah. The scale of Buchanan's map works out to about 11·58 miles to the inch, or practically the same as the scale of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* sheet (Plate III). Buchanan has told us in his Report (MS) that it was drawn on the *Bengal Atlas* scale. In the same place he adds:—"I have given a separate map of the hills executed by a native assistant on a scale sufficiently large to admit of the names being written at length". Unfortunately this map of the hilly tracts is no longer traceable.

The reproduction of Buchanan's map now published (at end of volume) has been prepared by myself. Its blemishes from a cartographical point of view are patent; but I have sought to reproduce as accurately as practicable the topographical details shown by Buchanan. With a view to reproduction the map was

first drawn to double the scale of the original. This of course involved a liability to error in relative positions and distances, but effort has been made to minimize such error by systematic cross measurement. All names shown on the original have been given; and the names of the Divisions and of all the places mentioned in the Index to the Map have been added. I have retained Buchanan's spelling throughout, except that the termination *ganj* has been substituted for *gunj* in one or two cases, for sake of uniformity. Having regard to the means and time at Buchanan's disposal, it will be generally conceded, I think, that it was a remarkable piece of work, and a further proof of Buchanan's versatility.

Here and there errors are noticeable; e.g. the shape of the hills is incorrectly shown, or place sites are one or two miles out. But full allowance must be made for the small scale on which it was drawn. Mistakes of a very similar nature may be found in the latest edition of the 8 miles to an inch Administration Report Map prepared in the Survey Office. On the whole, however, the hills, rivers and sites are shown with praiseworthy precision. It was a notable advance both on Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* map of 1779 and on his larger scale sheet of 1773. There was no map of the district to compare with it till Sherwill completed his survey more than thirty years later; and yet it lay among his manuscripts unused and forgotten, until the diminutive and imperfect map, intended to be a reproduction, appeared with Vol. I of Martin's *E. I.* The scale of this latter map ($21\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch) is only half that of Buchanan's; and, besides other defects, it shows no hills at all, and scarcely half the names of places and rivers marked by Buchanan: it gives no idea, in fact, of Buchanan's careful and valuable work.

THE OLD "FOREST" — This is not the place to review the value of Buchanan's survey under heads of inquiry the discussion of which he has confined to his Report. Only those who have studied the *Statistical Accounts* prepared more than sixty years later along with his reports can realize the extent to which the

compilers of the former were beholden to him. But certain statistics that have been developed in his Report have been based upon his daily notes recorded under the heading "Observations," in the last column of the Appendix to this Journal. I shall refer here only to one matter in regard to which these observations contain interesting information, and that is the area in the plain country covered by *jangal* and woods in his time: the hill country was of course mostly *jangal*.

From many sources we know that in ancient days a forest extended up the middle of Shahabad; and any record of the time up to which traces of this were still in existence is of interest. As he travelled from place to place, Buchanan used to note the time it took him to pass through the different types of country—rivers, hills, occupied, fallow and waste. The "waste" he generally subdivided into "broken corners", "woods", "bushes" and "long grass". These time records give a valuable estimate at least of the *proportion* of the different classes of country he traversed. I have tabulated the figures in respect of all his marches through the central part of the district, roughly speaking between the present Grand Trunk Road on the south and the East Indian Railway line on the north, and from Kochas on the west to Ekwari on the east, omitting the remaining areas, which were either more or less fully cultivated, or else hill and plateau. Out of a total of about 3,330 (I take round figures) minutes spent in 22 journeys across the central area in various directions, about 1,400 minutes represent "waste" of different types. Of these 1,400 minutes, again, 183 represent "woods", 189 "bushes", and 380 "long grass"; or adding the last three items together, we may say that 752 represent *jangal* in the comprehensive sense of the term. So that we may roughly calculate that 22 per cent. of the area traversed was occupied by different kinds of *jangal*, 11 per cent. by woods and bushes, and 5½ per cent. by woods alone. The woods and bushes were most extensive between Ekwari and Lalganj (about 14 per cent. of the total, or say about 3 miles); between

Lalgañj and Belauthi (21 per cent, or nearly 3 miles); between Dumraon and Nawanagar (17 per cent., or say 6 miles, the distance being really about 13 miles though Buchanan notes "over 10"); between Surajpura and Deo Markandeya (23 per cent., or say, 3 miles); between Surajpura and Devisthan (17 per cent, or say $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles); between Lahthan and Jagdispur (35 per cent. or more than 3 miles); and between Jagdispur and Koath ($12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or about 2 miles). In most other cases the proportion of woods and bushes is very small, or else inappreciable. We are by this method able to locate with a fair degree of accuracy the position of the remnants of the old "forest" that existed in 1812-13. The statistics given in the Report show the following areas in the central portion of the district as covered by "woods, bushes and deserted villages":—

			SQUARE MILES.
Belauthi Division	...	...	... 34
Dumraon	..	...	... 110
Ekwar	..	...	... 54
Karanj	..	...	... 35
TOTAL			... 233

Combining both sets of figures, we find the remnants of the old forest to have lain roughly within an irregular pentagon with its five corners near Bihiya, Mathila, Karanj, Bikramganj and Gadhani, respectively. Such a pentagon would approximately cover an area of some 325 square miles. Within this there were large open areas that had long been populated and cultivated, which included several very old village sites. When considering the figures shown in the table above we should not forget that they must include large areas of uncultivated lands around the deserted villages over which *jungle* might have recently sprung up. As far as can be judged from what Buchanan has left on record, I think it will be safe to estimate that woods and *jungle* must have occupied nearly 200 square miles in his time: the largest stretches lying between Mathila and Nawanagar; to the east and north-east of Kesath; to the west and south-east of Surajpura; around Lahthan, Jagdispur and Baligaon; and to the south of Bihiya.

In his "Notes on Zillah Shahabad", dated April, 1849, Mr. W. Travers, the then Collector, gives the following figures of recorded "jungle":—

Pargana Bhojpur (Buchanan's Dumraon) ...	Nil acres.
" Bihiya (Ditto Belauthi) ...	5,000 "
" Piro (western part of Buchanan's Ekwar) ...	1,250 "
" Danwar (eastern part of Buchanan's Karanj) ...	1,250 "

The total amounts to 7,500 acres, or less than 12 square miles. These figures appear to be quite unreliable⁽¹⁾. Even ten years later the extent of *jangal* in the Bihiya pargana alone must have largely exceeded the above total, as I can safely say from the description thereof given me about 1893 (while Subdivisional Officer of Buxar) by the late Mr. James Mylne of Bihiya, who had seen the *jangal* before it was all cleared.

The district had suffered very severely from the frequent passage of armies and troops between 1759 and 1765, and more particularly from the devastation wrought by Qasim Ali Khan in 1761-2. Then came the great famine of 1770, which must have largely reduced the population, the extortions of "renters" and *amils* which prevailed during the period of "experiment and error"⁽²⁾, and some disturbances in the south of the district at the time of Chait Singh's outbreak. Under Lord Minto's "moderations, firmness and capacity"⁽³⁾, security had been established, and cultivation had no doubt been re-extended. By the time Buchanan entered the district, it is mostly likely that the central area of *jangal* was on the decrease. The water of the Kao river was being used for irrigation, and Buchanan mentions that the whole channel near Surajpura, where the banks are very low and the bed wide, had been cultivated. This extension of cultivation continued, and Mr C. W. Odling, c.s.i., who joined the Son Circle in 1876, tells me that he once submitted a report to the effect that there were some

(1) The correctness of Mr. Travers' estimates was also, I find, doubted in other respects by Mr A P (afterwards Lord) Macdonell in 1876 (*Report on the Food-Grain Supply of Behar and Bengal*).

(2) (Sir W. W. Hunter.)

(3) (Sir John Malcolm.)

twenty embankments and irrigation channels across the bed of this river. The utilization of the Kao water must have transformed considerable tracts of waste into cultivation; but it was not until the seventies of last century that the *jāṅgal* was practically eliminated by the opening of the Son Canal system, which rapidly metamorphosed this part of Shahabad.

THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT.—The Journal bears many traces of having been written up from place to place under pressure for time. Buchanan has not aimed at any literary finish. Facts are stated as concisely as possible. He does not even appear to have read it through afterwards with a view to revision. Corrections, which are rare, were made as he wrote. Some few notes added either at the foot or in the margin were evidently added later, after looking up books of reference. Punctuation has been largely neglected. It has been found necessary to add marks of punctuation in most parts of the journal, often to avoid the obscurity of meaning that arose from their absence. Again, Buchanan generally used numerals instead of words where possible, probably to save time. This habit sometimes leads to confusion in the text, especially where he is dealing with features (e.g. at Rohtas Palace) which he has indicated by figures on his plan. In many such cases I have substituted words for figures.

Buchanan's spelling may be referred to under three heads, viz. (1) English words, (2) Indian, or vernacular, words, and (3) proper names. Buchanan always writes "cupalo" for cupola, dome is generally "domb"; gallery, "galery"; apartment, "apartment"; entry, "entery". The following spellings also often occur: "accomptant", "affar", "allways", "detatch", "skreen", "symetry", "traddition"; and many of similar type. In such cases the modern recognized spelling has been substituted. In regard to the spelling of Indian words, while Buchanan's own acquaintance with the vernacular was not deep (as internal evidence discloses), he was evidently influenced in his spelling by the pronunciation of his Bengali pandit. Hence, no doubt, we find such spellings as

Bhor, Gong, Jogdespur, Nolicha, Soti, etc., for *Bhar*, gaon (*gāṇv*), Jagdispur, naicha, sati, etc., *Anusvāra* and *anunāsika* are generally represented by "ng". The sound of the Sanskrit ञ and of the Persian , is generally represented by "uy". Sir David Prain, in the Memoir already cited, quotes Buchanan as having said that the Sanskrit names of localities continue, after the lapse of ages, to be "known to all Hindus of learning, while each new invasion or revolution sinks into immediate oblivion the unknown appellations imposed by modern rulers, whether Muhammadans or Christians". He therefore decided to employ the ancient Sanskrit names as more scientific and more useful, and probably more permanent. There was not much scope for this in Shahabad, but we notice signs of his effort to work up to the resolution in such spellings as Baidyonath, Narayan, Navaratna, Shahasram, Suryapur, Vagsar, etc. In the case of all proper names Buchanan's own spelling (as far as it can be read) has been retained.

If any word has been inserted to complete the sense, this has been indicated by the use of square brackets

Place names have been added at the top of each page to enable the reader to see at a glance what localities are therein described.

For readers conversant with Bihar and its vernaculars much of the matter in the notes may be regarded as superfluous: I have advisedly run the risk of this criticism in the interest of a wider circle who have not this local knowledge.

In conclusion, I should add that the task of editing this reproduction of Buchanan's journal in Shahabad has been much facilitated by the great care and accuracy with which a copy had been prepared in type by Miss L. M. Anstey.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

A.S.I.—Archæological Survey of India Reports.

Martin's *E. I.*—The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India, by R. Montgomery Martin. 3 vols., London, 1838.

S. S.—Survey Sheet. *Note.*—The one inch to the mile sheets have been used.

EXPLANATION.

The names printed in thick type in the notes are the names shown on the one inch to the mile sheets (topographical maps) published by the Survey of India. The spelling used on these sheets has been retained.

LIST OF MAPS AND PLAN.

- (1) Buchanan's Map of the District of Shahabad (reproduction by hand).
- (2) Map of Shahabad District, showing routes followed by Buchanan.
- (3) Plan of the Guptesvar Caves (after Sherwill).

11.—Shāhabad Journal.

1st November 1812.—I went to Serpur.⁽¹⁾

• 2nd.—I went to Koilwar ⁽²⁾ ghat. The eastern channel of the Son is small and dry. The island ⁽³⁾ belongs to Patna and although sandy is entirely cultivated. It is in particular planted with many palmira trees. The western arm of the Son is full from bank to bank and is never fordable at the passage, but at many places above and below contains very little water, but the sand is there so troublesome that the passengers prefer the ferry. The boats are pretty good but the descent to them is very difficult. Koliwar is a decent village with abundance of shops. Near it are some houses to which the gentlemen of Shahabad occasionally retire⁽⁴⁾ when that station is considered as unhealthy. The people say that the country formerly belonged to the Cheru.⁽⁵⁾ They do not reckon it Magudha. ⁽⁶⁾

(1) **Sherpur**, in Patnā district, 6 mi east of Maner

(2) **Koilwar**, in Shāhabād district, on the west bank of the Son 8 mi east of Arrah. The ferry across the Son on the old route to and from upper India, *via* Patnā, Arrah, Buxar and Benares, has been at this site for many centuries, since the lower course of the Son shifted westwards.

(3) **Suraudha**, a very ancient site, where, according to a tradition still lingering in the neighbourhood, Tārakā Rākṣasi was slain by Rāma-chandra, and the name is believed to commemorate the event (*i.e.*, Suraudha = Suravadha = Asura-vadha, the place where the destruction (*Sans. vadha*) of the Asuri took place. Other sites, however, claim a similar distinction.

(4) Buchanan seems to refer to the district officials. The same reputation still attaches to the site. Indian gentlemen of the district have long maintained "garden-houses" there.

(5) *i.e.* the Cherios, who are supposed by some to have been a branch of the Muṇḍas, at one time powerful in Shāhabād and western Bihār.

(6) *i.e.* Magadha. The earliest records yet available indicate that the Son, though fordable in places for half the year, has always formed a dividing line between peoples racially or linguistically distinct. The area now comprised within the district of Shāhabād formed part of the ancient Kārūṣa deśa, and was never regarded as included in Magadha. Crossing the Son from Magadha, crowded with sites associated with the history of Buddhism, and teeming with archaeological evidence of Buddhist influences, into Shāhabād, one enters a country over the greater part of which there is scarcely a trace of Buddhist remains, amongst a people proverbially of a more turbulent nature, who not only speak a different dialect but even use different words for some common objects and plants.

3rd.—I went 8 miles to Arrah through a very fully occupied country and by a very good road with brick bridges wherever there is occasion and in some parts a row of trees on each side. In the rains it becomes impassable. The country finely wooded, but scarcely any palms and no bamboos. No villages near the road. The people as dirty as in Behar.⁽¹⁾ Between 3 and 4 miles from Arrah is the Sanna,⁽²⁾ a small creek with a little stream and a bridge of 2 arches. The river in Arrah has at present no stream but some dirty water in puddles. The bridge pretty long but very narrow, probably a Muhammedan work.

6th November.—I went about 6 miles to see an antiquity at a village called Mosar⁽³⁾ for about 4 or 5 miles I followed the great road to Baksar⁽⁴⁾ which is as good as a road merely of clay without any hard materials can be and over every water course has good brick bridges in excellent repair. In fact it is just what the roads of communication between capitals of zilahs ought to be, only that in some parts I understand that it is not sufficient raised and becomes impracticable in the rainy season. On this road I crossed several small channels containing stagnant water, but whether natural or artificial I cannot say; they are called Nalas. The road seems to run along the bank of an old channel of the Ganges.⁽⁵⁾ Having gone towards 5 miles on

(1) Here, as elsewhere below, Buchanan means by Bihâr the old district of Bihar (see map facing p. 1 of Martin's *E.I.*, Vol. 1) the survey of which he had just completed, and not the provinces of Bihar.

(2) Nagin N. The bridge referred to is the Qaimnagar bridge, where Captain Dunbar, in attempting the relief of Arrah, halted his force on the night of the 29th July, 1857 just before it was ambushed and nearly annihilated.

(3) Masar.

(4) Buxar. Buchanan elsewhere spells it "Vaguar", which more closely represents the correct vernacular pronunciation. The name is pronounced in the local dialect Baghar (Sanskrit *vyaghraśara*). The road from Koilwar to Buxar had been constructed by W. A. Brooke, the eponymous founder of Brughany on Buchanan's map.

(5) Buchanan's surmise is correct. At one time the Ganges, after passing Chauās and Buxar (between which places its course seems to have altered little since Pauranic times) took a much more southerly course than it takes now; and traces of this old bed are to be seen to the east of Manjhwari, north of Old Bhojpur, close under New Bhojpur, not far from Dhakāich and Nukon, by Nimej and Sarā and, further east, to the north of Kāruāth, Masar and Arrah town. The memory of this course seems to be preserved in the name *Giangi* given to portions of old *sāls* to the north of Kāruā and Arrah. We do not yet know at what period the river followed this route. There is reason to believe that in the

this road I turned south to a small indigo work on the Barcar⁽¹⁾ a small river in a clay soil containing however a good deal of dirty water, nearly stagnant and running towards the west. I followed its left bank for a little and proceeded west to the village where the ruins are. The country finely planted with Mangoes and Mahuya⁽²⁾ chiefly. No palms but a few bamboos, which however do not thrive. The villages much such as in Behar but less raised, and I see no mud castles. On the west side of Mosar is a pretty considerable ruin of brick, extending perhaps 50 yards each way and in the centre rising to a considerable height and said to have been erected by Ban Asur,⁽³⁾ a Dhanu.⁽⁴⁾ On the summit of the central heap in a cavity the head and shoulders of an image project and are of a colossal size. I sent people afterwards to dig it out, and found that it entirely resembled those called Vasudeva in Behar with a male attendant on one side and a female on the other. The natives consider it as a representation of the Dhanu and therefore pelt it with bricks, and its vicinity is a common receptacle for the offerings to Cloacina. Yet they say that they are very much afraid of it, and allege that a man who attempted to dig it up was punished with death for his temerity. The owner of the village,

7th century A.D. when Yuan Chwang was travelling eastwards from Benares, the Ganges flowed closer to Masar and Arrah than now. When Todar Mal's rent roll was drawn up (c. 1582 A.D.), it would appear from the description of the *mahala* included within the *Sarbhār* (then Rohtās) that the course of the Ganges was little different from what it is now, except that as *mahāl* Fathpur Bihā included portion of what is now the eastern corner of the Bahā district, the deep stream probably curved further to the north at this point.

(1) *Banas N.*

(2) i.e., Mahuā (*Bassia latifolia*).

(3) Traditions regarding a powerful ruler known as "Ban Asur" are met with over great part of northern India, from Assam through northern Bengal and Bihār to the U. P., and remains at numerous places are ascribed to him. Possibly these legends carry us back to Bāṇa, king of the Daityas, mentioned in the Purāṇas, possibly the king intended is Vana, the reputed son of Bali Varocana; possibly there has been confusion, as we so often find, between the two names. I think the original name must have been Vana Asura, which becomes Banāsūr in the local vernaculars. *Vana* is Sanskrit, which becomes *ban* in the vernacular, also means "forest", and we know that a great forest extended close up to Masar and Arrah in ancient times. The Banās river no doubt preserves the memory of this forest in its name (*Vanavāsi*).

The image, now thought to represent Viṣṇu, and to be of the Gupta period, was removed to Arrah in 1882, and set up in the Dumphon Rāj garden there. For illustrations of this and some other images seen by Buchanan at Masar, see Martin's *E. I.*, Vol. I, 414.

(4) i.e., Dānava. See below, p. 33, Note (1).

a Rajput, would willingly, he says, take the bricks to build his house, but he is afraid. At the north end of the heap of bricks there projects an octangular column ending in somewhat like the Phallus of a Linga and it is considered as such by the natives. I saw several undoubted Lingas about the village, and the people said that there were many images taken from the ruin in private houses, partly lingas partly of other forms, but the houses were inaccessible to males, belonging mostly to Rajputs. Banasur lived very long ago and after him the country was subject to the Cheru, a chief of which tribe resided at the place. There are 2 old tanks, one to the south and a larger one to the east of Banasur's house. Along the south side of this last is a long heap of ruins which the natives say has been occupied by various small temples ever since the time of Banasur, rebuilt from the ruins by various sects, and this account seems abundantly just. Beginning at the east end of the heap I shall notice what I observed in walking to its western extremity. First I observed a Linga under a tree, with the head and neck of a female carved on one side of the phallus and called Gauri Sankar. Then I came to a Linga of the common form. Near this was lying a very rude representation of the nine planets (Nauagraha)⁽¹⁾ and by it was erected a slab the chief figure on which was a male with two-arms called Bairub⁽²⁾ but different somewhat from any image in Bihar. My people seem to think it represents Narud⁽³⁾. Then I came to a Linga like that called Gauri Sangkar. The principal object of worship among the orthodox now came in view, although all the others are allowed occasional Pindi as the people say; but this has a Brahman Pujari who covers the image with a cloth and anoints it with oil. He calls it Maha Maiya⁽⁴⁾, but it evidently represents

(1) *Nauagraha*, the "nine seizers", usually known as the nine planets. These are the Sun and Moon, the planets Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn, and the ascending and descending nodes, Rāhu and Ketu.

(2) i.e. Bhairava. See also below, p. 27, Note (1).

(3) i.e. Nāradaṛṣi.

(4) *Mahā Mātī*, "the great mother"; often regarded as a form of *Devī*, probably an aboriginal goddess that has been promoted to the Hindu pantheon as *Jagadambā Devī*. The name is sometimes also applied to *Śitalā Devī*, the goddess of small pox. By Pindi is meant *piṇḍa*, properly an obsequial oblation or offering.

the female Brahma as it has the three faces of that god and being seated on a throne rests its foot on the goose sacred to him. On each side is the lion rampant of the Buddhas. It is seated on a small terrace of brick elevated about 4 feet, and on this are placed many images and fragments partly representing gods and partly groups. On each side is an image exactly like that called Ban Asur but here called Chotorboj⁽¹⁾ as they have 4 arms, and they have 2 angels, as usual in Behar, hovering over their heads. Those of the great Banasur have been broken away. Beyond this is a male figure with 4 arms, standing and chucking under the chin a female also standing. This is called Krishna and Rada⁽²⁾ but my people allege that it has the emblems of Hargauri. I now came to a new temple which is building by Sunkar Lal, a Jain merchant of Ara.⁽³⁾ Before the door on a slab is a figure entirely resembling those above mentioned called Chotorboj, but this is called Krishna. On the back of this slab is a small image of Brahma seated with many ornaments over his head. It must be observed that most of the slabs here have figures on both sides, which I have nowhere else observed. The principal figure on one of the sides is generally much larger than that on the other, and the empty space above the smaller figure is filled with various fantastic ornaments. Except one small apartment the foundations alone of the now Jain temple have been erected. The one which formerly stood in the place is said to have been erected by a Hurji mul, a merchant, and was probably of no great antiquity, as many old images that belonged to previous temples and ornamental stones were found in

(1) *Chaturbhūja*, i.e., four-armed.

(2) *Rādhā*, wife of *Kṛṣṇa*.

(3) *Ara*. Buchanan's spelling here is correct (आरा). Many suggestions have been made as to the derivation of the name, e.g., *aranya*, a forest; *ārā* (आरा), a saw—the usual legend being related in explanation thereof; *ārāmnagar* (the name also given on an inscription found at Masār), etc. But I think it quite possible that the name simply means "the place on the high bank", as it stood at the eastern end of a stretch of higher ground that once formed the southern bank of the Ganges, आड़ meaning a "protection", or an "embankment". The word आड़ is still used in the vernacular in the sense of a high bank, of a river, etc., and the cerebral *r* constantly becomes liquid in the current speech (and vice versa).

digging for the foundations and in taking up bricks for the new building. In the chamber now completed are 8 small images of the personages worshipped by the Jain. These were formerly in an equal number of chambers, and it is said that in the new building each will be placed in a separate temple. They are very small and rude, with both hands crossed on their lap, and have short inscriptions on their thrones which are supported by animals. They are nearly all alike, and the inscriptions on 7 are said to be the same with that given along with the drawing of one of them, and are placed immediately under the legs. The 8th has one inscription on the bend under the animals and another on the back of the stone. Both kinds are nearly of the same era, that is about 400 years old. Along with them are some other images, one very like that of which I have given a drawing in my account of Behar, No. 84, and another similar to the Krishna and Rada before mentioned. In the centre of this apartment on a small cubical altar is placed a Linga, an object of worship with the heretical as well as orthodox Hindus. The images that have been dug up in searching for materials are placed under a tree west from the foundations and near the end of the heap of ruins. They are mostly slabs with figures on both sides. The principal figures that I noted were two like the Krishna or Chotorboj before mentioned, a Ganesa,⁽¹⁾ a female sitting on a lion with a child on her knee as in No. 125 of the Behar drawings, a Krishna and Rada as before mentioned. The slabs used in these images seem to be the freestone of Chunar, which being very inferior to the potstone or hornblende of Behar the images are more rude. The strong resemblances however induce me to think that these also are the work of the Cherus.⁽²⁾ What is called the house of Banasur has been evidently a temple with

(1) Ganesa (Gajeda).

(2) Elsewhere also, it will be noticed, Buchanan ascribes to the Cheros remains which later research would indicate as being of Gupta age. It is possible that during the period of confusion succeeding the breaking-up of the Gupta rule, or even at a later date, the Cheros swept over Shahabad, and appropriated images which they found ready-made to their own forms of worship, calling them after the names of godlings and deities whom they propitiated, just as followers of the Brahmanical cults have appropriated Buddhist images all over South Bihār.

some small buildings round it, probably the habitations of priests. There is no appearance of fortification. I returned to Ara by the same route.

Ara stands on a small elevated space surrounded by numerous creeks and low land liable to be occasionally flooded,⁽¹⁾ so that the town cannot be extended without erecting embankments, and then the houses would be damp. The only remedy would be digging tanks and building on the earth thrown out: but enlarging such a place is no object as it is already abundantly large for containing all the attendants of the courts of justice, and it is not a place suited for trade. In an estimate made by the Collector, but without an actual enumeration, it is supposed to contain 2,775 houses, with 8 people to a house. The former I do not think can be exaggerated. The buildings are in general mean and close huddled together, but some decent roads have been made through it, forming tolerable streets. The Buxar road runs its whole length and at its east end has a close built town on both sides, but towards the west and on its north side is an open lawn in which are placed the court houses, the accommodations for the judge of circuit and the houses of the Judge⁽²⁾ and

(1) The lower parts of the town have for centuries been liable to flood on the occurrence of high floods in the river Son. Much damage was done in this way so recently as 1923, when the Son rose to an unusual height.

(2) William Cowell was judge of Shahabad from 1802 to 1814, and was, therefore, the judge at the time of Buchanan's survey. The East India Register corrected up to December 30th, 1812, shows Robert Morrison as "Register" of the court, while the next issue, corrected up to September 1st, 1813, shows that he had been succeeded by Thos. C. Robertson. The Collector at this time was David Burges, and the Surgeon was John I. Gibson. The house (no longer standing) then occupied by the judge stood in what is now the middle of the town, to the north of the main (Kailwar Buxar) road, just on the western side of the Chhapra Ghat road, opposite the civil court buildings, which stood on the eastern side of that road. From information for which I am obliged to Chaudhari Karamat Husain of Arrah, it appears that the house was originally built by the well known William Augustus Brooke, who became Revenue Chief of Patna at the end of 1781, a position which at that time involved the performance of the functions of the Collector of Shahabad. Brooke acquired an area of 42 *bighas* odd in Mauza Murshidpur, and built a residential house—as well as subsidiary buildings—which was called "Arrah House". William Tayler seems to have occupied this house while judge of Shahabad, the post he held before he became Commissioner of Patna. Mr. E. Littledale, who was the District Judge when the mutiny broke out, also occupied this house till he joined Wake, Coombe and the others in Boyle's house (in which the District Judge now resides). See also Appendix A.

Surgeon all buildings sufficiently commodious but no sort of ornament to the place. Two fine broad roads pass south at right angles to the west end of the great road, and about their middle are crossed at right angles by another parallel to the [great] road. This is the handsomest part of the town. At its west end are the Collector's office, his and his assistants' houses and those of some Europeans not in the service; none of the buildings in any degree ornamental. Good roads with abundant small bridges surround the town in all directions for a little way, and are kept in very good order by the convicts. The Jail is a very poor building. There are 2 or 3 small mosques and temples in good repair but in no manner remarkable. The soil seems poor and the plantations rather stunted, but several of the natives seem fond of gardens, in which they have collected a great variety of trees and a good many flowers. The environs are very neatly cultivated and well watered.

November 11th—I went to Pauna⁽¹⁾ about 11 miles. I was told that there was a good road for carts but my guides chose to conduct me through by-paths in which I met with much difficulty in some rice grounds. Near Arrah the plantations are not numerous, are stunted and contain a few palms and bamboos. Farther on they became superfluous and have thriven better. These consist chiefly of Mangoes and Mahuyal. The villages very poor and 2 of them deserted. At Bukri⁽²⁾ about 3 miles south from the judge's house is a small elevated piece of ground said to have been the residence of Bankasur. It looks like the foundations of a village in Behar, increased by the accumulation of mud from the huts that have gone to decay. The road to Pauna is not in fact that by which I should have gone. I should have proceeded to [by?] Nimsagar to

(1) Pauna, a large village, about 4½ miles east of Garhani.

(2) Bukri. The name is supposed to be connected with that of the legendary Asur Bakra (Vakra) or Bakula (Vakula). For the story of this "cannibal demon of the wilderness", see *A. R.* / III, 73; and Watters—(In *Yuen Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 60, 61. Traditions of a powerful asura named Vakra or Vakula may be traced through the fringes of the hilly country to the south of the Ganges from the Birhum to the Shahdol district.

Sawara,⁽¹⁾ where the Daroga of Ekwari usually resides, and by that route the road is very good. Although the Daroga knew this very well he permitted my people to provide themselves with Ekhas : of course after coming in these for about 3 miles they were under the necessity of sending their carriages back and proceeding by foot.

12th November.—I went about 8 miles to Ekwari,⁽²⁾ the road to Sawara being represented as almost impassible. Ekwari is a wretched village of farmers without a shop, on which account although the Thana is situated there the daroga privately resides at Sawara, and no one complaining, the judge supposes that he is at Ekwari. There was scarcely any trace of a road. The country in a wretched state. A great deal of it said to be flooded. The villages high as in Behar. No mud castles. The houses poor, but all mud. Plantations superfluous.

15th November.—I went between 10 and 11 miles in a westerly direction to a village called Deo Burunarak⁽³⁾ to see an old temple. The country finely wooded but poorly occupied, and the houses and appearance of the people and their cattle all equally miserable. The country rises into gentle swells, with about an equal proportion of flat land between in alternate spaces about a mile wide, and running southerly and northerly. In one place on the swelling land I observed a little gravel. About 7 miles from Ekwari I came to a considerable elevation, but consisting only of earth.

(1) *Sahar* on the Survey sheet. Buchanan apparently means that he should have been advised to go to *Sahār*, where the Darogha of the "Division" usually resided—a much pleasanter situation, close to the bank of the Son (and where the Police Station now is), and that in order to reach *Sahār*, from Arrah he should have turned off to the south-east near *Nimā*, before reaching *Paunā*.

(2) *Ekwari*, still an unimportant place, though an old site. It is not clear why this village was selected to be the headquarters of a Division, to which it gave its name. In Todar Mal's rent-roll, *Nannor* (*Nananr*, which is still the name of a *pargana*) gave its name to the *mahāl*.

(3) *Deo*, 8 miles in a direct line west by south of *Ekwari*. This is *Deo Barunarak*, to be carefully distinguished from the other village (*Deo Mārkaṇḍeya*) in the *Sāsaram* Subdivision, about 6 miles north by east of *Nauriganj*. For the remains at *Deo Barunarak*, see *A. S. Ben Civ. Report* for 1903-4.

It is attributed to the Cherus, and is called Palmari.⁽¹⁾ Not quite 3 miles farther on I crossed the Banas,⁽²⁾ a very small and shallow channel in clay with pools of stagnant water

Deo Burun Aruk is a small village belonging to a moslem as Aimah.⁽³⁾ On three sides it is surrounded by a wide canal, a good deal obliterated but which still contains a good deal of water at this season. The 4th side towards the north is shut in by the old temple which is said to have been built in the dwaper⁽⁴⁾ yug by Burun Raja, a Rajput who resided at Baraung,⁽⁵⁾ 3 coses north from the temple and 5 from Ekwari. The Cherus⁽⁶⁾ possessed the country after his time. The temple has occupied an elevated terrace constructed of brick and surrounded by a brick wall, and all the parts are very ruinous. East from it a considerable way is a tank said to be about 5 russies⁽⁷⁾ from N. to S. and 2 or 3 wide and much filled up; before the gate, which is on the east side of the terrace, are a small temple and column. The temple which is on the N. of the gate has fallen, and the image which is lying on the ruins represents a male standing with only 2 arms, his head and feet wanting. A young Sakadwip Brahman who is Pujari has contrived no name for him, which need excite no wonder as he is

(1) Panwari.

(2) In South Bihar the streams that have their sources below the hills (in the "Gangetic alluvium") have clayey beds while those that issue from the hills carry along sand, finer or coarser, according to the strength of the current. * The clayey nature of the bed of the sluggish Banās also indicates that the sand deposits spread by Son floods can have rarely reached so far west as this stream, even in ancient times. The embankment of the Arrah Canal now prevents any Son sand being deposited to the west of it, though the canals themselves carry very fine sand in solution, especially when the Son is swollen after rain.

(3) *Aima* (Arabic *أمان*), land given by a king as a favour or reward, at a very low rent: a fief.

(4) i.e., *dwapara yuga*, the third cosmic age of the Hindus, who reckon four—(1) *Krita*, *Satya* or *Dharma*, (2) *Treta*, (3) *Dwapara*, (4) *Kali* or *Tuga*.

(5) *Baraon*, eight miles north north east of Deo, and two and half miles north of Piro.

(6) For the late Dr Bloch's views, see *Arch. Sur. Ben. Cir. Report* for 1903-4.

(7) One *rassi* = 20 *laggi*. The *laggi* varies, but in South Bihar may be said to be generally of six *kāth* (cubits), so one *rassi* will usually mean about 120 cubits, or 60 yards. 60 *rassi* = one *hog*.

far from anxious in extending his nomenclature and worships several for whom he has no name, and in this he shows prudence as he has been far from successful in his attempts. The column is curious and is south from the gate. It is quadrangular at the base and capital, and octagonal in the centre and a good deal ornamented. On the base there are 4 figures which being half buried I could not make out. On the middle are 8 figures which are called the 9 planets, and the usual figure of Rahu⁽¹⁾ is very distinguishable, but Ketu⁽²⁾ is wanting having probably remained unknown when this pillar was carved. On the capital are 4 figures, one riding on a winged person, called Krishna and Garur.⁽³⁾ a second riding on an elephant called Indra, a third called Kuber⁽⁴⁾ and like the figure so called in Gaya, and a fourth called Yom Raj⁽⁵⁾ a man riding on a buffalo. The gate projects from the building and the outer door faces the south, after which you turn to the left to pass through the wall surrounding the terrace opposite to the chief Mandir, which however has been but a small place. It has had in front a Nat⁽⁶⁾ mandir supported by 4 stone columns a good deal more ornamented than usual in Behar, but the roof has fallen entirely in. In this are placed against the wall several images and fragments said to have been mutilated by Kasem Ali⁽⁷⁾. I observed 4 or 5 fragments resembling what were called Vasudeva in Behar, 3 Gauri Sangkars⁽⁸⁾ such as usual there and 2 Ganesas. The Pujari oils the 2 last kinds, and gives them these names. The arched chamber of the shrine still remains and is very small, but most of

(1) and (2) For a succinct but reliable account of the legendary lore and rural worship in connexion with these two so called *dānavas* or *asuras*, see Crooke's *Folklore of Northern India*, I. 19. Rāhu and Ketu are included now in the "Nine Planets", see page 4. Note (1) above.

(3) Garuda, the vehicle (*vāhana*) of Viṣṇu.

(4) Kuvera, the god of wealth.

(5) Yama, the god who presides over the lower regions.

(6) Nāṭa (Sanskrit *naṭa*, to dance) an outer chamber leading into the main chamber of the temple.

(7) i.e., by the Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān, in 1762 when he personally visited Shāhābād, to quell the "turbulence" of the local zamindars, and, if rumour be true, to pay off an old score against one of them. See also page 22, Note (3).

(8) Gauri Sangkara, i.e., Pārvatī and Śiva when represented together.

the Mandir has fallen, especially its East face; the back is pretty entire for some way up. The image is called the Sun,⁽¹⁾ but resembles more Vasudeva and has no horses. The next largest Mandir of this temple is north from the above and has been nearly as large but has had no porch. The Pujari calls the image Kamari.⁽²⁾ It is a male with two arms and a flower in each and a crown on his head. It stands on a throne of stone, the figures on which seem to represent horses. This therefore has a greater resemblance to Surya than what is called by that name. I suspect the image was not that originally intended for the throne as it is supported by a mass of clay and bricks placed on the stone, and must be a modern addition; the original image no doubt was placed on the throne without the intervention of such vile materials. East from this Mandir is a small shrine shaped somewhat like a lantern, and apparently much more modern than the two chief Mandirs. It contains a female with two arms and in a standing posture. The Pujari makes offerings but has given it no name. Another similar shrine is placed near the porch of the great Mandir. The image of this seems to be a Gauri Sangkar and is worshipped at marriages, but the Pujari gives it no name. Behind this towards the West is a small shrine containing Mahadeva, very ruinous but the roof still entire. At the SE. corner of the terrace has been a small chamber the roof of which has fallen, but several images have been placed in it. One resembles Gauri Sangkar, but a child is seated at the feet of the female, while a bull as usual attends the male. A Ganesa. A fat male image like Kober with 2 arms, called Bhawani or the goddess. A female with 4 arms seated on a lion⁽³⁾ and called by the same name. One of the hideous empty-bellied monsters like Jaradevi⁽⁴⁾ with 4 arms

(1) One of the very few sites in Bihâr where temples to the sun are found.

(2) ? Kdmâri. Mistakes as to the sex represented by images are commonly made by illiterate rustic priests.

(3) Probably Pârvatî

(4) From the description this seems clearly to have been Chāmudî, of non-Aryan origin, but absorbed in the Hindû pantheon as a form of Durgâ.

and seated on a carcase. I suspect that what I supposed armour may have been meant to represent bones;⁽¹⁾ as we depict death by a skeleton. The arms and head of this image have somewhat the appearance of the human skeleton. The Pujari calls it Kankali.⁽²⁾ The best informed people at the Thana attribute the creation of the temple to Kumur dir Saha⁽³⁾ an Ujeyini⁽⁴⁾ Rajput who lived at Baraong about 150 years ago, and it is probable that the small lantern like temples were in fact erected by him and he may also have repaired the larger. The name of the temple is usually corrupted into Deo Bunaruk.

Ekwari is a pretty large village of cultivators, but has few shops or artificers.

November 17th—I went between 10 and 11 miles to Lalganj⁽⁵⁾ The country finely planted with Mangoes and Mohual⁽⁶⁾ scarcely any palms, a very few bamboos, villages very poor. I passed through a wood of stunted palas⁽⁷⁾ on the banks of the Banas which is rather less than 5 miles from Ekwari and is a very small dirty stream in a narrow deep channel of clay. From thence is about 5 miles to a still smaller rivulet called Nullar⁽⁸⁾ which has no stream. From thence to the boundary between Ekwari and Bilaungti is rather less than half a mile, and from the boundary to my tents just beyond Lalganj was about half a mile. No road.

(1) Her body is represented as very emaciated.

(2) Kankali (Sans. कंकाल, a skeleton), Kankālīni is one of the forms of Durgā.

(3) and (4) Perhaps Kuñwar Dhir Sāhi, but he is not known to fame, unless the tradition preserves the name of the same person who has been elevated to the rank of a godling as Kuñwar Dhir, or Sānwar (see Crooke—*Folk lore of N. I.*, 1, 205). *Ujeyini = Ujain, by which is meant a Prāmāra Rajput, one of the Agnikula clans. The Prāmāras (Pōñwār in the local vernacular of Shāhabād) claim to be descended from the rulers of Ujain in Mālwa.

(5) Lālganj is not marked on the Survey sheet. According to Buchanan's own map it lay within the Belauthi jurisdiction, somewhere near the village of Baligāon shown on the Survey map.

(6) Mahuā (see page 3 above, Note (2)).

(7) Palāśa (Sans. पलाश vulg. *parāś*, the *Butea frondosa*; the "flame of the forest". Brandis described the trees when in flower as looking like fire on the horizon, and an Urdu poet used a like simile—

(8) Malār N.

بن میں آگ کی

November 18th.—I went about 14 miles to Bilaungti.⁽¹⁾ The country, wherever it is not actually forest, overwhelmed with useless plantations, part of them indeed has gone quite waste and in the Biya⁽²⁾ forest through which or along its skirts I passed for about 4 miles I see many traces of former plantations especially a great many Mahuyals and tamarinds, almost the only large trees. The others are stunted. The palas is the most common but there are many mimozas⁽³⁾ and prickly jujubs, an indication of a rather poor soil, also many Nim, Bat and Pipar. Many villages of cowherds seem to be scattered in its skirts, perhaps all through it, and some places in it are covered with long grass, being low land fit for winter rice. About 7 miles from 'Lalgunj I came to a small dry torrent in a soil of stiff clay, immediately beyond which I entered the woods, which continued for about 4 miles. They end where the country slopes down to the plain watered by the Ganges. The slope well cultivated with rubbi⁽⁴⁾ and watered. From thence I went almost 2 miles west at no great distance from the forest when I came to the great road between Patna and Benares at a bridge of three arches over a small stream of which the women washing in it could not tell me the name⁽⁵⁾, probably owing to their confusion

(1) *Belauthi*.

(2) *Behen*. In ancient times there would seem to have been an extensive area of *jungal* in Shāhābād, reaching nearly up to Arrah. From Buchanan's account the southern half of the Bihiya pargana and the south-eastern portion of the Bhojpur pargana, to the east of Kesath, Changāin and Dumprān appear to have been largely covered by *jungal*. In 1867-8, the *jungal* still extended from Jagadispur northwards to Bihiya, and special measures were taken by Government, after the campaigns of those years, to have it cleared (see *forthwith* 1924 page 171). A small area (a few acres) was kept uncleared by the grantees immediately adjoining Bihiya House, to show what the whole tract used to be like.

(3) Possibly Buchanan noticed many *acacia* (*Albizia* sp. and *kharir* (*Acacia Catechu*) trees, which come under the Sub Order Mimosaee. By prickly jujub he refers to species of *bar* (*Zizyphus* sp.) Nim = *Melia Azadirachta*, Linn. Bat (Sansk. बट), the bat of the local vernacular = *Ficus indica*, Roxb., the "Banyan tree". Pipar (Sansk. पिप्पल), the papal or pipar of the vernacular = *Ficus religiosa*.

(4) The *rabi* or spring crops. The word, like many others used even in the local dialects, is a purely Arabic word (ربيع) = spring.

(5) *Chher* H. The word has several meanings, one of which fully explains the reticence observed, apart from the natural modesty of Indian women when addressed by a stranger. This is one of the remarks that rather belittle out Wilson as to Buchanan's limited acquaintance with the vernacular.

and reserve. From thence I proceeded along the great road to Bilaungti. By the road side this day I saw 3 or 4 small ruined mud forts.

A Cheru from Yagodispur⁽¹⁾ says that there are in that vicinity 10 or 12 families. They are all in the service of the Babu⁽²⁾ as hunters. They shoot deer, hogs and hares (लमहा Lamha ⁽³⁾). There are two Deer, Chitra and Kulsar⁽⁴⁾ that is the axis and antelope, the former living in the forest the other in the plain. In the rainy season they collect medicinal herbs. They call themselves Nagbongsi⁽⁵⁾ Rajputs, and the tribe mostly reside in Nagpur under their own Raja. There they speak a peculiar language, but it is not known to the people here. Their old forts here are Bihiya and Turaung⁽⁶⁾ south from Dumraung. They eat like the Rajputs here, and wear the thread. They do not drink. A Kanaj⁽⁷⁾ Brahman is their Guru and Purohit. They pray to a male god called Kuwar⁽⁸⁾ represented by a heap of mud. They do not know to what sect they belong.

23rd November.—Bilaungti is a poor bazar with nothing remarkable in its vicinity. The country south-east and west from it rises into very gentle swells of a hard ash-coloured clay, which however becomes a very soft loose mud by watering. Plantations vastly too numerous and rapidly increasing. They consist of Mahuyal and Mango trees with a few bamboos and scarcely any palms. I went along the Banaras road about 9 miles to a Mango grove in a Mauza called Brahmapur,⁽⁹⁾ but there were no houses near,

⁽¹⁾ Jagodispur.

⁽²⁾ i.e., the head of the Jagodispur branch of the Ujain (pramāra) Rajputs in Shāhābad. Sāhibzādā Singh was the Babu in Buchanan's time.

⁽³⁾ i.e., lam kaana, or long (लम्बा) ear (कान?).

⁽⁴⁾ Chitra means "spotted", the *Cervus axis*, or chital deer. Kulsar is the *Antelope cervicapra ul. bezoartica*, the "black buck".

⁽⁵⁾ Nāgavanshi, "of the serpent race".

⁽⁶⁾ Turaon, about two miles south-east of Nawanagar, once a place of importance, now almost deserted and forgotten.

⁽⁷⁾ Kanaujīya.

⁽⁸⁾ Unfortunately Buchanan has not given the full title. There are many godlings, generally deified ancestors or heroes, with this prefix worshipped or (sometimes) appeased by tribes of non-Aryan origin and illiterate Hindus.

⁽⁹⁾ Barhampur.

The boundary between the Thanas is about 5 miles from Bilaungti at a bridge over a small channel⁽¹⁾ of stagnant water. The road is pretty tolerable. At Brahmapur is a temple of Siva, a good deal frequented. It is surrounded by a high brick wall, within which are two shrines built after the Muhammadan fashion and each containing a Linga. They are quite modern, but some old stones remain about them. The threshold of the door has at each end a lion couchant, and near it is a small image of Ganesa. There is also an old image very much defaced. The Linga is called Brahmeswar because, as an old dotard the Pujari says, it was inserted by Brahma. He has just sense enough to deny all knowledge of the person whom every one remembers to have built the place. A Sakadwipi⁽²⁾ Brahman at the tents passed the whole day in prayer, standing on his neck and shoulders with his legs turned up over his head. He had done the same at Bilaungti yesterday. When advised to practice his austerities in some place where he would not be seen of men, he said that was his intention so soon as he had perfected himself in the various penances which he intended to pursue. He proposed passing a whole cold season in the water, and says that he eats nothing but milk and fruit. Gram⁽³⁾ as raised by the labour of the ox he considers as impure.

November 24th.—I went above 8 miles to Dumraong.⁽⁴⁾ About a mile from my last night's quarters came to a bridge over the Gurhatti, a small stagnant nullah. About a mile and a half farther on I left the great road, where I had been joined by the Bojpur Rajah⁽⁵⁾ and his brother, and proceeded through the fields with them, my tents being at their house. The great road very good. Near the Rajah's house, the

(1) Not named on the Survey sheet. It is the little stream that passes under the Koilwar-Buxar road between Rānisagar and Mahārājganj.

(2) The original home of the Śākadvipi Brahmins is supposed to have been ancient Magadha (see Sherring, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 20, 102).

(3) *Cicer arietinum*, the chick-pea.

(4) Dumraon.

(5) i.e., the Raja of Dumraon, at that time Rājā Jaya Prakāś Śariffa, created Mahārājā Bahādur by the Marquess of Hastings a few years later.

country rises very high.⁽¹⁾ It is finely planted with a few palmira⁽²⁾ trees intermixed with the Mangoes.

26th November.—I went with the Raja to see old and new Bojpur ⁽³⁾, the seats of his ancestors and both now small towns situated on the banks of a long channel filled with water which from its size would appear to have been the principal channel of the Ganges at no very remote period, and probably continued so until after new Bojpur was deserted. This is still a good village and some of the houses are pretty good although built of mud. Traces remain to show that it once extended far along the banks of the Ganges on a high swelling poor bank. There are traces of a small fort and some pretty considerable buildings of brick which are said to have been deserted by Rudra Saha, who went to live in Baksar properly named Bagreshwar.⁽⁴⁾ Whether or not this was at the time when Bojpur and Patiyali⁽⁵⁾ were destroyed as nests of robbers I cannot say. I could not in decency ask the Rajah, who is a most attentive and obliging person. The largest ruin is called a Navaratna⁽⁶⁾ and has been faced with enamelled tiles, some of which still retain their colours. This had been the seat of the family from the time of its second arrival in the country, which the Rajah says was in the time of Timur⁽⁷⁾, but he imagines that this was 500 years ago

(1) The high, sandy stretch here appears to be due to the flood deposits of the Kāo river in ancient times.

(2) *Borassus flabellifer*

(3) Bhojpur Qadun (old) and Bhojpur Jadid (new) respectively. Portions of the old channel of the Ganges to the north of these two villages now forms a large *shāl*. For a short account of the history of the Durrāon family and of their different headquarters, see *Gazetteer* 1924, pp. 168-9. The account given by Buchanan is defective. Durrāon, to which Rājā Horil Singh moved in 1745, was in Buchanan's time, and is still, the headquarters.

(4) The name, still pronounced "Baghsar" by the rural folk, is supposed to be a corruption of *vyāghrasara*, or the "tiger tank" (For legend, see *Gazetteer* 1924 page 163)

(5) Patiyali is the "Pattial" of the Bihar Report, see Martin, *E. I.*, I, 30. Martin substituted "Patna". In this reference to Bhojpur and Pattiali being destroyed as nests of robbers, Buchanan must have had in mind Zia ud-din Barani's account of how Sultan Balban destroyed Kampil, Bhojpur and Pattiali—all places in the Doab, near Farrukhābād, in a distant part of Hindustān. See Elliott, III, 105, and IV, 455.

(6) The word means "nine jewels", a name often applied to a building of importance.

(7) Timur invaded India in 1398.

and that Timur was king of Hindustan. Old Bojpur he considers as having been the residence of Raja Boj⁽¹⁾ his ancestor, son of Vikrama of Ujeyin, a Pomar Rajput of the family of the sun. At first he said that he lived perhaps 14 centuries ago, but he afterwards corrected this on the supposition of the era now in use being derived from this Vikrama. He laughs at the idea of Bhoj being connected with Vikrama by marriage, both having been Pramars. Some time after the Pramars had held this country they were expelled by the Cherus, and retired to Ujeyin from whence they did not return until after the Muhammedan conquest. The remains of Old Bojpur are very trifling. A small heap of earth is shown as the place where the throne was placed, and various places are shown as having been appropriated to various purposes, such as the elephant stables and the like; but no traces of buildings remain, nor are many bricks scattered on the surface. This however is no absolute proof of the whole story being a fable. Cultivation may have removed the whole, and the Raja says that many bricks are found in digging wells and that his father saw some coins with Hindi characters that had been found in the place. I suspect that this town was that destroyed by the Moslems in 1266 as a nest of thieves,⁽²⁾ and that the fort now shown as the Rajah's residence was that built by the Moslems, as there is a ruinous mosque close by it and no sort of appearance of temples. It is probable also that the Ujeini Rajputs were on this occasion first brought here and placed as a garrison in the new fort, and the country given to their chief in order to eradicate the robbers who probably were

(1) The local genealogists had mixed up legend with history. Rājā Bhoja (Pramāra) ruled at Dhārā, not Ujain, in Mālwa, from about 1018 to 1060. The importance of the family seems to have declined after his time. Probably members of this, as of other Rājput clans, were driven eastwards by the ravages of Shihāb-ud dīn Ghori and his generals, whose conquests and raids extended over great part of northern India, and carved out for themselves estates in South Bihār, where the confusion following the downfall of the Pāla dynasty produced conditions suitable for such adventurous spirits.

(2) See in this connexion Buchanan's historical résumé in his Report on the Bihār and Patnā districts (Martin's *N. I.*, I, 30 and Note (5), p. 17, above).

Bhars.⁽¹⁾ The Ujeini Rajputs probably brought with them the story of their ancestor Boj having lived here formerly, being misled by the name.*

The Rajah's house at Dumraong was reduced to an entire ruin by Kasimali,⁽²⁾ and the family retired into the woods. The fortifications have not been repaired and the buildings at present are not considerable, but the Rajah, who received the estate very much encumbered, has begun to enlarge them and will probably render it a respectable abode as he has already discharged a considerable part of his debts. He has lost his genealogy from Raja Boj, which was destroyed in the house by Kasem Ali. Whether or not it had any foundation in truth I know not; but although I think his family never was here until 5 or 6 centuries ago, it is very possible that it may have been descended from the Kings of Ujein. The account given by the Rajah's Purohit in writing seems reasonable enough. Pritap Rudra⁽³⁾ was brother of Narain Mul, and he being killed in battle Rudra managed for his nephew and built new Bojpur. The proper caste is Pramari. Kalidas lived at the court of the Pramari Boj.⁽⁴⁾ This the Pandit from the south also

* Bhoj Raja according to Mr. Bentley began to reign A.D. 982 and governed 100 years. See for this date, A. R. IX. 156. In the south of India, page 157, he only governed 50 years. After him came his adopted son Jayananda, who died without issue, and was succeeded by Chaitra Pala or Jyotepala of the Towara family, who fought with Mahmud in 1002 and is called Vikrama, page 167. Jayananda died 998 of Christ, see also page 177. Chaitra Pala was son of a powerful zemindar of Ganda. When Jaya (page 168), the son of Bhoja died there was none of the Pamaras fit to wear the crown, on which account it was given to the Tomaras, see history of the Palas there and in page 203 (5).

(1) The Bhars were anything but "robbers". Numerous remains attributed to this most interesting people found throughout Oudh and the eastern and south-eastern districts of the U. P. would show that they had attained a high degree of civilisation. (P. Carnegie, *Notes, etc.*, pp 19, 22, 28; Sherring, *T. & C.* pp 357-375, Crooke, *T. & C.*, s. v. Bhar.)

(2) In 1762 (see page 11 above) The *Siyar ul-Mutakharis* is silent as to this.

(3) Raja Rudra Pratāpa Nārāyan Sinha

(4) Kalidāsa probably lived in the time of the "Imperial" Guptas, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. See V. A. Smith, *O. H. of I.*, pp. 158-9, and A. B. Keith, *Classical Sans. Lit.*, page 32.

(5) This is a marginal note of Buchanan's quoting from an article in Vol. 9 of the *Asiatic Researches*, the information contained in which has been superseded by more recent research.

acknowledges. He has seen the ruins of Daranagur ⁽¹⁾ where Boja resided, 18 coses from Ujayin. Many old monuments at both places.

In the Raja's yard I observed a fine male stag which he calls Samar or Sabar. ⁽²⁾ It is of a dark blackish brown and has very long harsh hair on all sides of the neck. The horns have one lateral branch and are bifurcated at the end and are said never to be larger. It strongly resembles the stag I saw at Mysore, but is darker coloured. It came from the hills of Rotas. A male axis was called Jhangk, ⁽³⁾ the female Chitri.

In a spring flowing into the old channel of the Ganges at new Bojpur the thermometer in the evening being in the open air at 76 degrees rose to 82 degrees.

Dumraong is a pretty large country town surrounding the Raja's house on all sides. Few of the houses are good, nor is it so well built as either Bojpur.

The Pandit from the south contends that Kikat ⁽⁴⁾ and Magadha are perfectly synonymous.

29th November —I went rather more than 10 miles to Nawanagar. The country high and rising even into slight waves. I passed through a great deal of stunted woods and most part of the way had a forest at a little distance from the road to the east. The road passable in a cart. Nawanagar ⁽⁵⁾ is a very

(1) Dhārānagar—the Dhara of page 18, Note (1) above.

(2) The *sābar* or *sābar* (Sansk. शम्बर).

(3) *Jhangk*, vulg. *jhank*, means a stag, the "horned" deer. H. *काँच* meaning a thorny plant not *काँच* a "peep" or "glance", which is of different origin.

Chitri is simply the feminine form of *chitra* (page 15 above).

(4) In the Report (see Martin's *E. I.* 1, 406) Buchanan cites Kikat as a name applied to the country between the Son and the Karamansa. The view of the pandit of the south is probably more correct. *Kikat* appears to have been an ancient name of Magadha, when Shahabād formed part of *Karūṇa desā*. (See *Rigveda*, III, 53, 14, *Taya P.*, ch. 105; *J. A.*, family).

(5) *Nawanagar*. The "younger branch" referred to here seems to be the Keanth family.

wretched small town occupied chiefly by Goyalas.⁽¹⁾ It belongs to a younger branch of the Prammar family, which has consisted of 5 generations and has subdivided into 3 shares. Its wretched state seems to be owing to their inactivity. They do not manage their own affairs, but have farmed out their rents, and the Tikadars have neglected Ahars so that the whole crop almost has failed, the country being fitted for rice. The country all to the west is quite flat and of a rich clay land, but is mostly overgrown with stunted Palas⁽²⁾ trees. The chief of the family, a wretched, dirty, starved-looking creature, said they had no strength to cultivate and that the wild cattle⁽³⁾ from the neighbouring woods eat every thing up that was sown. His ancestors on receiving the village as an appanage made a kind of fort in the form which I have considered very ancient. A deep and wide ditch was dug round and the earth taken out was thrown up into a solid terrace, on which some brick buildings and huts have stood for their accommodation, while the ascent from the ditch and the counterscarp was defended by a parapet and round bastions at the corners.

30th November - I went to Suryapur⁽⁴⁾ by a route of about $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Having followed the road to Sasaram⁽⁵⁾ for rather more than a mile I turned off to the east to visit the old fort of Tūraong⁽⁶⁾ about half a mile from the road. The ruin consists of an

(1) *Gosia* (*gwalā*) or Ahir, the most numerous caste in the district. The Shāhābād Ahirs have a fame all their own. The thieving propensities of members of their community have given rise to the proverb well-known in Bihār- "Don't go to Bhojpur. If you do go, don't eat. If you eat, don't go to sleep. If you sleep, don't feel for your purse. If you do, don't weep."

(2) An invariable indication of old *jungal*. The old central forest had extended as far as this.

(3) This reference to wild cattle, now so rare, is of special interest, not only because their existence in Shāhābād is little known, but also because their survival bears out the persistent tradition of a wide extent of thick *jungal*, which in ancient times must have been linked up with the forests on the Kaimur hills. A further note about these wild cattle will be found in Appendix B.

(4) *Surajpura*.

(5) *Sasaram*.

(6) *Turaon*. (See also page 15 above.)

elevated space perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile square. There are no traces of a fortification, and the surface rises into various irregular heaps without any symmetry of form and of various elevations. It seems to consist chiefly of bricks, the broken fragments of which are thickly scattered on the surface and for a considerable way round. In one place I could trace the walls of some small chambers on a level with the surface, and by digging many would probably be found entire at least for some part of their height. I saw no stones except one broken image, and the people said that they never had seen any other. The image has been quite broken, only a part of loins and thighs remaining, so that it is impossible to say what it represented farther than that it was somewhat in the form of man and less than nature. On the east side of the building has been a Tank called simply Pukhori.⁽¹⁾ It has extended the whole length but is nearly filled up. The ruin appears to me to be evidently that of a considerable palace. It is called Turaong by the people of a small village situated on its South end, and is attributed by them to a Cheru Rajah called Phulchand, who before he built it lived at a place called Deo⁽²⁾ SE. towards the Son.

1st December —I went rather more than 12 miles east to Deo to see the abovementioned ruin which has been a small mandir with a nath mandir, both built of brick and placed on an elevated terrace of no great size, also constructed of brick. The terrace, partly by decay partly by the fall of the buildings, has become a shapeless heap, on the surface of which are 3 or 4 Siva Lingas, one adorned with 4 heads. On the south-west corner has been a very small temple

(1) *Pokhari*, a small tank, a diminutive form of *pokhar*, the vernacular for Sans. *पुष्कर*.

(2) *Deo*. This is Deo Markandeya. Buchanan writes that he went 12 miles east: the direction is rather south south-east, but the distance is correct. For accounts of the remains here see *A. S. J.*, XIX. and *A. S. J. Ben. Civ. Report* for 1903-4. In the latter (page 10) Dr. Bloch wrote:—

"The local people quote a Sanskrit verse which says that the main temple was built in Vikrama Samvat 100 or A.D. 63 by Gobhavini, the queen of Raja Phulchand Chero, but this of course is quite fabulous." Excavation may yet disclose that this site is as ancient as Deo Baranpura.

of Siva still containing the image, but only part of the walls remain. The chief temple was in the centre. The walls of the Nat mandir remain in part, but the roof is gone. In it is a stone leaning against the wall which contains an inscription very rudely cut and much worn, but most of the characters are still distinct enough. All the upper part of the shrine has fallen and the arch has given way, but the bricks and plaster still exclude the rain. The throne, although much decayed, still remains and is pretty large and has probably supported a large image that has been removed, while some small broken images which formerly were ornaments have been placed on its side. One is evidently Ganesa, 2 seem to have been like the Gadadhar of Gaya, and one like that usually called Surya in that district. The door of the shrine has been of stone, very much and not inelegantly ornamented. The lintel is lying in the Nat mandir, and in the centre in place of the Ganesa usual with the orthodox is a female figure seated like a Buddha. The two sides of the door are not at all alike, which induces me to suppose that they have been taken from some older ruin.

About 100 yards north from this temple is another small and more entire building of brick which contains an immense Linga with a large humanlike but ugly face carved on one side. The ears very large. This is called Gauri Sankar. About half a mile further north is another small square brick building without a roof, and said to be modern. It contains an image called Devi, but which represents a male with 4 arms with a two-armed female seated on his knee, as usual in Behar, and has probably been taken from the temple attributed to Phulchand Cheru. There is no trace whatever of any house belonging to such a personage having ever been in the vicinity, but all the people say that he built the temple and refer to the inscription for a proof, although I doubt much whether any person in the vicinity can read it.*

*The era being Vikrama and not Sombot probably commences A. D. 441, See A. R. IX, page 150. [Marginal note by Buchanan.]

Deo is 3 coses from Daudnagar, and the villages in its vicinity look better than usual in this district as most of them have mud castles and as some palms are intermixed with the groves of Mango and Mahuyal, but they are very mean. Rather more than a mile from Suryapur I crossed a wide space of fine land containing pools of stagnant water. In the rainy season it is said to be a river called Ka,⁽¹⁾ and as the water dries up the mud receives a slight ploughing and is cultivated. It was just now ploughing. No traces of sand. It is about 500 yards wide.

3rd December.—I had a visit from Rikinidas a priest of the Duriya pangth⁽²⁾. This order was established by a Muhammedan tailor who took the name of Duriya Das and rejected the prophet, admitting Hindus into his society and adopting the worship of the supreme being alone under the name Sutti Sukrit.⁽³⁾ They have no images, but call on his name and offer fruits, sweets, milk, &c., placing them on the ground, for they have no temples unless the grave of Duriya Das at Dorkunda⁽⁴⁾ 4 coses from Surjapur west northerly. Many people place their offerings there, but they invoke only the deity. Hindus of all ranks or Moslems may be admitted into the priesthood, after which they all eat in common, and will eat from the hand of any of the laity who follow their rule, but they reject even the food of a Brahman who adheres to the old doctrines. They give an upadesa⁽⁵⁾ to the laity, but do not interfere with the rules of their caste nor their using Brahman purohits at their ceremonies, but they are to pray to no God but Sutti Sukrit, who created all the Devatas. They kill no animal nor drink any strong liquor, but some of them smoke tobacco, but all the priests carry

(1) *Kah*, but pronounced *Kao* locally throughout its course.

(2) i.e. Daryāpanth. The founder called himself Daryā Dās *Panth*, literally "path", is applied to a religious order or sect. For short accounts of the *Daryāpanthi* sect, which never attained a very wide celebrity, see Buchanan's *Report* (*Martin's B. I.*, I, 499-501, and *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, Pt. I, 243).

(3) Apparently = *Sati sukriti* (the good and righteous one).

(4) *Dhorkunda*. From Dināra it is only four miles north east.

(5) *Upadesa* (Sansk. उपदेश), instruction; also preaching, sermon.

a peculiar kind of hukah⁽¹⁾ as their emblem and call it Raitana and Nolicha :⁽²⁾ they also carry an earthen vessel for holding water. They shave the whole head and abandon women and their families. They are buried. The laity of Hindus are burned, nor do the priests interfere to prevent widows from burning. At Dorkunda there remains the Takot⁽³⁾ or throne of the tailor, and the chief priest who sits on it is called Mahant. All his disciples are called Das and Chelas⁽⁴⁾. Duriva Das is called the Pangth. His throne was occupied first by Gunadas then by Tekadas, now alive. Two other persons have the title of Mahant but their abodes are only called Mokams :⁽⁵⁾ one is at Dungsi⁽⁶⁾ in Betiya, the other at Telpa⁽⁶⁾ near Chupra. To these 3 houses perhaps 70 priests belong, but they are constantly wandering about making converts and levying contributions. At Darkanda they have 101 bighas given them by Kasem Ali. Duriva Das composed 18 volumes in the Hindi language, of which the Pandit has the names of 17; the other has been lost. They reject the Purans and Koran and are quite ignorant of the Vedas. They say that the essence of all books are contained in theirs, although few of them pretend to understand the whole. They in general can read more or less. Of the three whom I examined one was a Rajput, one a Kaistha and one a Kurmi. The laity are allowed to read. They reject burnt offerings. They have no science, grammar, metaphysics, law or astrology. The reason they assign for not killing

(1) *Huqq* (Arabic *هوك*), pipe.

(2) In the Report (see Martin's *R. I.*, 8, 499) we find *ratna-nalita*, *Ratna* means a jewel or gem. *Nolicha* is probably the Bengali pandit's pronunciation of *Nalicha* a hybrid word made up of the Hindi *noli* a tube, and the Persian diminutive termination *cha*. The correct word is *naicha*, the tube or "snake" of the *huqqa*.

(3) *Takht* (Persian *تخت*), a throne.

(4) *Dasa* and *chela* (Sanskrit *दास ; चेलक*) Both words originally meant slave or servant. *Chela* is now used in the sense of disciple or follower; and both words are used in this sense here.

(5) *Mugam*, an Arabic word meaning first "staying", then "place of staying", and so "abode".

(6) In the Report both places are described as being in district Saran. Telpa is about two miles from Chhapra. I have been unable to trace "Dungsi".

animals is that they are all portions of the deity. They condemn the burning of widows, but do not judge it prudent to interfere. They do not prevent their laity from being soldiers. Very good men go to God; bad men are born again often as low animals. No other punishment. The priests will not give their books to infidels, but the laity will. He thinks that the 3 Mahants may have in all 20,000 houses [of] followers.

Another road to heaven, Dadu Pangthi,⁽¹⁾ was discovered by another Muhammedan tailor, but I have not yet learned the particulars.

I went about 3½ coses west to see a celebrated place of worship dedicated to Kali under the name of Devi. It is situated in a forest chiefly consisting of Khoyer,⁽²⁾ which is not allowed to be cut except for fuel by the pilgrims, yet has not attained to such a size as I have seen in Ava, although the soil is very rich—a strong hard clay. The forest is thick only near the temple and seems to be extending, scattered thickets occupying a considerable extent of land that has been evidently once cultivated for rice and is now covered with harsh grass quite burnt up. The buildings are of little note. A square area of no great size and surrounded by a brick wall in tolerable repair contains 3 small temples without porches and each covered by a single dome in a Muhammedan style of architecture. The largest contains an image of Kali, and I am told that it represents her with 8 (eight) arms, but the place is so dark that I could not distinguish the form. The next in size of the temples contains a Linga, and at each side of the door has been placed the fragments of an image so much defaced that no conjecture can be formed of what it represented. The

(1) For a good account of the *Dādūpanthia*, see *Encl. of Rel. & Eth.*, Vol. 4; also Crooke, *Tribes & Castes of the N. W. P. & O.* II, 236-9, and Oman's *Mystics, Ascetics & Saints*, pp. 133, 189. Dādū (A. D. 1544-1603) was born in Ahmadabad of Brahman parents. He said:—"I am not a Hindu, nor a Musalman. I belong to none of the six schools of philosophy. I love the merciful God."

(2) *Khair*, the *Acacia Catechu*. Buchanan does not tell us the name of the village where these temples were; but as he calls the place Devinthan in Appendix I, it must have been Bhaluni, where an important *mela*, or fair, is still held in April and October every year.

smallest temple contains what is called Bhairav⁽¹⁾ but it is a Buddha seated as usual. On a small platform at a corner of the area is a fragment of an image called Sita, which seems to me to represent one of the female attendants usual in the images called Vasudeva in Bihar, and near it is built into the wall a row of small images carved on one stone and seeming to me to be quite like those rows called Asto sakti⁽²⁾ in Behar; but it is a good deal defaced, and the deities it represents have got quite other names perhaps as appropriate as those given in Behar, especially as one of them at least called Bhairav is allowed to be a male as the figure represents. There is only one hut near the temple occupied by the officiating priest, a Brahman of Sakadwip, but I understand that the family has multiplied greatly and occupies a village at some little distance. Two tanks have been dug, one in front of the temple lately and the other at a little distance behind, which is more ancient. There are at the place what are called 4 Kunds⁽³⁾ or pools where offerings are made. These have been small tanks but have in a great measure been filled up. The priest who was making offerings to Kali on my arrival said that when his ancestors came these kunds were all that remained in the forest, where the goddess now worshipped manifested herself to him. At one time the priest said he was the 6th, and at another the 10th, in descent from this fortunate discoverer; but another branch of the family I am told claims a succession of 100 generations. The appearance of the temple founded by the discoverer of the image is by far most

(1) Bhairava, regarded as a form of Siva, the special deity of the Kāpālikas (an ancient sect of Śaivas), has numerous forms. (See Gopinath Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, II Pt. I 1802.) The name literally means the "terrible" one, but Bhairava also has the attributes of a protector or "supporter". It is very noticeable how frequently male Buddhist images are nowadays called Bhairava (Bhairon, Bhaironāth in the vernacular) by the local folk. Cf. the Jaina worship of Bhairava. Indeed the subject of the connexion between Bhairon and Bhairava, and their origin involves interesting questions. Here again we have possibly an example of a non- (or pre-) Aryan deity being elevated and absorbed.

(2) *Asto Sakti*, properly, the 8 "energies" or active powers of the deities personified as their wives; impersonations of the female energies of nature.

(3) *Kunde* (Sanskrit), originally meaning a jar or pot, now applied to a pool or small reservoir.

easily reconciled with the first of the three eras. The priest said that in digging into one of the 4 old Kunds close by the hut which he occupies in order to procure water for domestic purposes, the other images were found, and he supposes not irrationally that it contains many more. On the west side of this old tank or kund I could observe some stones in a row like the foundation of a building, and presume that there had been here some temple which had probably been destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders, and the images thrown into the tank. The sage to whom the image of Kali manifested itself took advantage of the reverence which the neighbouring peasants still showed for the place, and has established his family on a very advantageous footing.

Suryapur⁽¹⁾ is a small town with a market place of another name. It belongs to a family of Kaiasthas,⁽²⁾ of which two brothers have large brick houses not plastered on the outside and exceedingly dismal to appearance, but larger than those of the Bhojpur Raja. The family held the office of Kanongoe⁽³⁾ for a third part of the Perganah, by which it acquired its wealth. The elder brother resides, and although he is a civil man, he has a cunning disagreeable manner and keeps all the people at a distance; so that little information could be procured, although the officers of police advised me to stay here rather than go to the Thānah as being more likely to procure what I wanted. The second brother is Dewan of Bhojpur.

5th December.—I went rather more than 13 miles to Noka,⁽⁴⁾ which was called 5 coses, and I was told that the road was good, but although traces of a road remained it was so neglected and destroyed by the

(1) Surajpura.

(2) *Kāyastha*, the "writer caste". Nearly all the large landed proprietors in Bihār had Kāyasth diwāns Superintendents of the revenue and financial administration; and in many cases the office remained in the same family for generations. The present head of the Surajpura family was granted the title of Rājā in 1919, his father had also received this title from the British Government.

(3) Correctly *gōnango*.

(4) Nokha.

operations of agriculture that in many places it cannot be followed even by loaded oxen. The boundary is about 6 miles from Suryapur. About 3 miles from Noka a small tank has been dug and laid bare some rude masses of stone, the produce of the place and not brought by men. Noka is a small, poor town built round a castle belonging to a family of Ujeini Rajputs. The castle is very large, perhaps 100 yards each way, and consists of a high irregular wall of brick not plastered and without embrasures, loopholes, turrets or any flanking defences, but without it is surrounded by a rampart of earth and ditch, neither of which is in good repair. The three branches of the family reside within, but none of the houses rise above the wall so as to be visible from without, and I did not go in lest I should give offence. The late zemindar was the chief in Bojpur and at the same time a very haughty overbearing man. While Kasem Ali was in the district as a subordinate officer of the Mogol officer, this descendant of the Sun took the utmost umbrage at the Moslem nobles having presumed to ride before him, and is said to have hamstrunged his horse⁽¹⁾. On Kasem Ali's succession to be Subadar he was determined to revenge this insolence and assembled a force in Behar for the purpose. The whole Ujeynis rose to defend their brother and assembled in considerable numbers on the banks of the Son, determined to oppose the Moslems, but as these advanced the hearts of the Hindus failed and it was discovered that the banks of the Son were not a fortunate⁽²⁾ place. They then retired to the banks of the Ganges, where a similar discovery was made, and they dispersed and retired beyond the boundaries of the Subadar of Behar, leaving their numerous castles and property to be destroyed by Kasem Ali and his ferocious agent Sumeroo.⁽³⁾ The eldest son of

(1) This interesting story does not appear to be given elsewhere. Buchanan evidently refers to the celebrated Pahalwan Singh,

(2) i.e., auspicious.

(3) The notorious "Samru" (Walter Reinhardt). The *Sin-e-Mutakharin* tells us that about the time referred to by Buchanan (1762), Samru had been stationed by Mir Qasim Ali at Buxar with three or four regiments of disciplined Talingas.

the Noka chief has died, leaving a boy now under the tutelage of the Collector. Two other sons remain, very civil men like all the other persons of the family that I have seen; but very hard favoured and vulgar in their appearance, which is indeed the case with the whole except Jai Prakas⁽¹⁾ who is rather handsome, and except that he speaks to Europeans in too humble a manner, has in other respects very much the appearance of a person of rank and appears to be a kind-hearted, well-disposed man. The quarrel with Kasem Ali threw the Ujayinis into the party of the English, and they seem very thankful for the treatment which they have received from these conquerors.

6th December.—I went rather more than three miles south-west to the small hill Jubra,⁽²⁾ at which is a Thanah of invalids.⁽³⁾ It may be a quarter of a mile long and 150 feet perpendicular height. It is one of the barest rocks that I have ever seen, and possesses all the ruggedness of granite, but is evidently disposed in horizontal strata. These, however, have not that regularity which resembles strata supposed to be deposited from water, and the fissures by which they are separated are probably the production of decay. The strata are all of the same nature, and consist of a very hard stone very much resembling the hard useless mill stone at Kamaiya in Laheta⁽⁴⁾ near Munger, but less changed from a perfect granite. It consists chiefly of small grains apparently united by a small quantity of powdery cement with many

(1) See page 16, Note (5).

(2) Jabra, three miles west by south from Nokhā

(3) i.e., one of the numerous settlements for invalid sepoys maintained by the E. I. Co. Traces of these so-called "thanahs" may be found in many parts of South Bihar, e.g., in villages called *Arāṭ*, *Jagṭia*, or where *Jagṭia* has been added to the village name. Buchanan frequently mentions them in his journals. In his time Colonel Hutchinson (see Patnā-Gayā Journal, under date 18th February, 1812) seems to have been the "Regulating Officer of the Jaghirdar Institution" at Patnā. Thomas Twining gives a very interesting account of his connexion with settlements under his control some ten years earlier, when Colonel Hugh Stafford was in charge of them (see *Travels in India a hundred years ago*, page 507 f.). This organisation, which evinced the solicitude of the Company in their behalf, was much appreciated by the soldiers.

(4) See Martin's *B. J.*, II, 180, 260, and Buchanan's Patnā-Gayā Journal, *J. E. O. B. S.*, VI, 1, 260.

black specks, probably of schorl,⁽¹⁾ interspersed. The larger grains are glassy quartz, and the smaller particles composing the greater part of the stone have a reddish tinge and are probably felspar, but both kinds of particles have lost their angles probably changed into the powdery cement.

From Jubra I turned south-east and rather more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from it came to an old fort called Hatniya⁽²⁾ built by a son of the Noka family. It entirely resembles that of Nawanganar, being a large square heap of earth thrown up from a wide and deep ditch, by which it is surrounded, and strengthened at each corner by a circular bastion on a level nearly with the plain. The ditch is still full of water. It was destroyed by Kasem Ali. The people resided on the summit of the mound, but the defence of the place consisted in the ditch and parapet on the counterscarp. From thence to Barang⁽³⁾ is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

8th December.—I went about 3 miles to Bamina⁽⁴⁾ at the southern end of the small range of rocks extending from thence to Noka with many long interruptions. The different parts of it are called by the names of adjacent villages and entirely in structure resemble Jubra. Bamina consists of a cluster of 7 or 8 peaks which surround the village Pahari,⁽⁵⁾ the next cluster, consists of 3 peaks united in a row with some little detached masses at the south-west end in particular. The village is situated at the west side of its north end. On the highest part of the ridge a Sunnyasi⁽⁶⁾ lately built a small temple, but the speculation seems to have failed and it has been deserted. Kusmi consists of one small hill like Jubra. Gimela⁽⁷⁾ consists of 3 small hummocks. No granite peaks can be

(1) A mineral occurring in black prismatic crystals.

(2) Hatni.

(3) Barawan.

(4) Bamani.

(5) Pahara (the hill), and Pahari (the village).

(6) Sunnyasi (Sanskrit *संन्यासि*) literally one who has "renounced", the world.

(7) Gimala.

more rugged or naked, yet horizontal fissures are every where predominant and often widen into little caverns. The country all round is a perfect plain surrounding them like a sea, nor is a single stone visible near, except such as have evidently fallen from the peaks, so that the clay reaches the hills, just as the ocean does the sides of an island from which a few broken rocks or islets may be detached. If things have not been so from the beginning, three suppositions may be formed. These hills may be masses of stone thrown upon the plain. They may be the summits of a rocky ridge, the lower part of which have been buried in a plain deposited round them, or they may be peaks that have been thrust from below through a superincumbent plain ⁽¹⁾

9th December—I went a mile east to see some broken images at a village named Jakini. ⁽²⁾ Every village almost in Raotas circus ⁽³⁾ so far as we have come seems to have had a mud fort similar to that called Hatniya, although I have not seen any so regular or well defined. Near one of these built by the Noka family the images are lying under a tree upon a small platform of mud, and are an object of worship under the name of Jagadumba. ⁽⁴⁾ Besides a few irregular fragments I could trace the lower part of seven images with the feet and legs only remaining, and these much defaced by the chisel. So far as I can judge from their position and from the appearance of somewhat like the lower part of the prominent belly on one of them they have been like those called Kuber ⁽⁵⁾ in Behar. The people say that they were

(1) Probably thrust up, and alluvium subsequently deposited around.

(2) Jakhani.

(3) By "circus" Buchanan may mean "circle", or more probably perhaps *sarkar*, as up to 1787, the southern portion of Shāhābād district was included within Sarkār Rohtās, which formed a district, including some parganas now in the Gayā and Palāman districts.

(4) Jagadambā (Sanskrit जगन्, world, and यम्बा, mother), the Mahānāi of the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal people, commonly known to the village folk under the more comprehensive term Devi.

(5) Kubera (कुबेर), or Kuvera (कुवर), both forms being found, the Indian Pluto, the god of wealth.

destroyed by a set of Dhanu⁽¹⁾ who came this way. Dhanu are a kind of impious monsters or cannibals like Daityas, Paisachhi or other such infidels.

11th December.—Baraong is a small town with a ruinous mud fort belonging to Ujayenis, as usual in this neighbourhood. I went this day three coses to Saheeram.⁽²⁾ The approach to which from the north is very fine. The two domes of the monuments of Shere Shah and his father are visible from afar amidst fine plantations intermixed with palms, and the hills behind give the whole a grand air. A want of water is the chief defect in the prospect. Sahasram is a large town extending more than a mile each way and more closely built than usual. Many of the houses are of brick and all seem to be tiled, but they are slovenly to the last degree, and the streets narrow and crooked. It is not quite so miserable as Behar. It is filled with tombs, most of the principal inhabitants I presume claiming a descent from some saint. Tombs are also scattered all over the environs, for the place is chiefly inhabited by Moslems. A Perzadeh,⁽³⁾ who is called the Shah Sahib, very civilly ordered his garden to be opened to me. It is crammed with fruit trees, flower and pot herbs in the most slovenly condition, and contains a house of recreation, the most wretched place I have ever beheld for dirt. It consists of a centre and two wings. The centre consists of a hall with an open gallery at each side, but the roof of one of the galleries has fallen. At one end is

(1) Dānava, meaning "desendant of Danu". Opinion as to the nature of Dānavas, Daityas, Dasyus, Nāgas, Pisācas and Rakṣasas has changed much since Buchanan's time. Probably all these were originally names of peoples of non Aryan race, against whom the Aryans had to contend, some of them perhaps inheritors of an ancient civilization, others perhaps of wild or even savage habits. As bitter antagonists of the Aryan invaders and the Brahmanical cult, they were regarded with hatred and aversion, and in Sanskrit literature their very names became synonymous with fiends and demons. The Asuras had better be differentiated, as of other origin probably, though this name also became synonymous with demon, and used in association with the others.

(2) Sasaram. Buchanan returned to Sāsārām on the 4th January, 1813 (page 91 below), when he dealt with the local antiquities in detail.

(3) Pirāda, "born of a spiritual guide". The gentleman referred to was the *Sayyada-nishin*—he who is sitting (سید نشین) upon the prayer carpet (سجده)—or incumbent of the *Kāṣmagaḥ*, the Muhammadan religious establishment or convent at Sāsārām, the most important of such institutions in Bihār and Orissa.

a small room with a fire place. In the wings seem to be kitchens and rooms for servants. The owner probably considered it as very fine. There was no article of furniture in it. He did not make his appearance, but sent a present of fruit by a decent servant. His house which is near is large but not at all neat. I shall say nothing farther of the great monuments of the place until I have examined them thoroughly; I only observe that it was said that Sher Khan's house was north from the town, where a small heap of bricks⁽¹⁾ remains on one side of which a Hindu temple has been erected. This heap may have indeed been the place where his father lived and where he was born,⁽²⁾ but the size of the heap is vastly too small for supposing him to have resided in it after his fortunate elevation, as the people with whom I conversed imagined. If after he was raised to empire he ever visited Sahasram it must have been in the fort that he dwelt, where there is still standing part of a very large building.⁽³⁾ North at a little distance from his tomb is a considerable heap,⁽⁴⁾ and I observed that in digging into it the people had laid bare a large Siva Linga, probably the image that had been worshipped in a temple destroyed by the Moslems.

12th December.—I went to Tilautta⁽⁵⁾ by a passage between the hills. Between the town and this passage about three miles distant there are many banks, very irregular but still having somewhat the appearance of having been works of art. In the broken ground at the foot of the hills are found many calcareous nodules which are burned into lime. The hills, although very stony, and although they contain

(1) Buchanan means at Kurāich. Khān Bahādur Saiyid Aulād Haidar Khān of Kōth, writes to me it was Islām Shāh, Sher Shāh's younger son and successor, who laid the foundation of a residential house at Kurāich. The site was subsequently appropriated by the Hindus, and a Mahābrahmān now stands there. For the question of Sher Shāh's residence at Saharām, see Appendix D.

(2) Farid Khān, afterwards Sher Shāh, was born at Hīār-Firūza (see Ni'mat-ullāh, *Makhsan-i-afghānā*), that is before his father Hasan Khān Sur ever came to Saharām.

(3) See Appendix D.

(4) It is not clear what site Buchanan refers to here.

(5) Buchanan went to Tilothu by the Tārāchandi gap, through which the Kudrā breaks away to the west.

many abrupt precipices of naked rock, are not near so rugged as those of Behar and the western parts of Bhagalpur, but contain much more soil and are in general covered with stunted trees. They have on their summits tablelands some of which are regularly cultivated by the plough. They evidently consist entirely of horizontal strata, many of which are thin and fit for flags, while others may be procured very excellent for building. A good many are quarried at the passage. The stone may be called a sandstone, although it is harder than the good sandstones used in building in Scotland; but it cuts smooth with the chisel and is vastly softer than granite, although it consists of small particles of different kinds aggregated together. In some places it is whitish or pale ash-coloured, in others a reddish brown, in others dark grey. The pass is not very difficult, ascending by the side of the Kudra river, which contains some dirty stagnant water in pools but no stream. At the top of the pass has been carved on a ledge of the rock an image called⁽¹⁾ which seems to me to represent a woman sitting on a man's knee, but not in the usual form of Hargauri, and so besmeared with oil and red lead that I am not certain about its form. Near it a natural excavation of the rock aided by a little art forms a shed where some people sit daily to sell provisions to votaries and passengers. On a ledge of the rock within this is a very long inscription⁽²⁾ in the Deva Nagari character.* In a little space beyond this I crossed the Kudra twice. A person of the family of the Shah Sahib had built stone bridges over it, but the channel being sandy they soon give way. This river sends off [to] the right a small channel which passes to the east side of the

* It respects Jaya Chandra, last emperor of India of the Rattor tribe. See A. R. B. page 171 (?).

(1) Blank in the MS. This is Chaqdi Devi.

(2) One of the inscriptions of a local chieftain named Pratāpachāvaṇa (dated Vikrama, Samvat 1225) others being found at the Tutrāhī waterfall and on the Rohtās plateau (*Gazetteer*, 1924, pp 175, 183, 191, *J. A.*, XIX 184). Buchanan's pandit apparently, did not see the Asoka inscription (*J. A.*, VI, 155; XXII, 209).

(3) This is a marginal note of Buchanan's. See Note (2) above. Raja Jyāścandra of Kanauj is referred to in the inscription.

Northern hill and forms the Ka⁽¹⁾ river, while the main channel runs through the passage and passes west of Sahasaram. From the pass I went south-east about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the boundary of Tilautta, when I had a detached hill on my left and the great range on my right. This detached hill called⁽²⁾ is much covered with wood, but I could observe the horizontal strata on its summit, and the stones at its bottom consist of sand, partly whitish with ochraceous spots and partly iron spots. The horizontal disposition of the strata on the great ridge is very distinguishable from a distance, there being on them many perpendicular precipices of the naked rock. From this to Tilautta is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. All the way from the pass to Tilautta there is much brushwood. The road all the way practicable in a cart.

14th December.—I went first a little more than five miles to Ramgur,⁽³⁾ an old mud fort in a wood at the foot of the hills south-west from Tilautta. It is of inconsiderable size, a square rampart with a round bastion at each corner and a gate towards the north. There have been some small brick buildings within, and under a Pipal tree it is supposed that a Muhammadan Saint was buried, but the whole is overgrown with thorns through which I had great difficulty in cutting a way. It is attributed to the Cheru, but has no resemblance to any other of the works of that people which I have seen, and I suspect that it is rather of Muhammadan construction.

From thence I went about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north skirting the hills, which have very abrupt rocks showing the horizontal strata, but wherever these do not interrupt, have a good deal of soil covered with small trees and a few bamboos. The ridges are not at all broken, but run tolerably level at from about 2 to 3 hundred feet perpendicular. At this distance from Ramgur I came

(¹) The Kāo.

(²) Blank in the MS. The small hill lying partly in Ooralla and partly in Bharkurra.

(³) Rāngarh (?). Not marked on the Survey sheet; apparently about one mile south of Ramgur.

to the⁽¹⁾ torrent from whence a canal has been dug for irrigation, and a dam of stone has been constructed to turn the water into the canal during the rainy season. This torrent is now quite dry, and its channel filled with rounded stones. It comes from a circular recess⁽²⁾ in the mountain about half a mile deep, which is very grand and terminates in a magnificent abrupt rock forming a smaller circular recess at the bottom of the larger, and from 180 to 250 feet high. Both recesses have a good deal the appearance of what may have been supposed to have been craters. In the centre of the smaller is a deep pool filled with water which receives the torrent as it falls⁽³⁾ down this immense rock from a gap at the farthest end of the recess. This gap may be 30 feet wide, and the perpendicular height over which the water falls to the pool I reckon to be about 180 feet. At present the stream is very inconsiderable and is broken quite into drops before it reaches the bottom. I have called the rock perpendicular, but that is not exactly the case. For about 60 feet from the pool it inclines backwards at an angle of 75 or 80 from the horizon; but the upper part of it overhangs, so that the summit of the rock is in fact nearly perpendicular from the base. The dung of the wild pigeons that nestle on the higher ledges falling on the edge of the pool as do the drops of water that now come from above. The horizontal nature of the strata is here also perfectly evident, especially towards the summits of the rocks, but in the lower parts where the centre of the rock as it were has been laid bare the real original nature of the mountain is clearly shown to be entirely similar to those of the silicious hornstone or jasper already often described. That is it consists of trapezoidal masses formed by horizontal and

(1) Blank in the MS. The Kachhuhar Nadi: one of the many descriptive names (the "tortoise-catch" river) found in South Bihār.

(2) This circular recess is not apparent from the contours shown on the Survey sheet: but on Lieut. W. S. Sherwill's *Geological Map of the Southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad, 1846*, the circular recess and the waterfall are very clearly shown, just as Buchanan describes them.

(3) The Tutrahi waterfall. Buchanan's estimate of the height is still the only one available.

vertical fissures. On the superficial strata the horizontal fissures are the most conspicuous and have a slight inclination to the north, while the vertical fissures are most clearly marked in the lower part of the rock, especially those which run north and south with a slight inclination to the west. Still, however, even there the horizontal fissures are very clear, giving the trap⁽¹⁾ or stair like form to the ascent from the bottom to the first 60 feet of the precipice. The rock here is of a dark grey granular hornstone⁽²⁾ exceedingly hard and having a perfect conchoidal fracture. It contains many black specks, and the freestone of Sahasaram seems evidently the same stone in a state of decay. I have long thought that the changes produced on mountains by the action of air, water and other causes are much less considerable than are usually supposed, and I have here a strong confirmation of that opinion. On the rock at the very back of the recess at the highest part of the slope and just at one side of the cataract is an image of Mohoo Mardini⁽³⁾ which has been long an object of worship. A rude outline of the deity has been carved on the face of the rock, and several persons who have visited the place have carved their names around. One inscription⁽⁴⁾ of some length and by a person of some note is dated between 8 and 9 centuries ago, during which long period the letters have remained perfectly distinct, nor can the rock have lost the 100th part of an inch, although every particle separate from it must be constantly washed away, and it is peculiarly exposed to every change of air, and during the rainy season to the constant spray of an adjoining cataract. If under

(1) A word of Teutonic origin, meaning step or stair, applied by geologists to certain igneous rocks.

(2) The occurrence of hornstone here is marked on Sherwill's map, from which the exact site can, therefore, be identified.

(3) Mahisha-mardani, or, more correctly, Mahiṣāsura-mārdani, the slayer of the buffalo-like Asura Mahiṣa. Many legends centre round this Asura in the early mythology. Accounts are found in the Varāha, Vāmana and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas and elsewhere. Among the illiterate rural folk of South Bihār the goddess is regarded as a form of Devi: in the Hindū pantheon she is an aspect of Durgā. Kātyāyani and Chāṇḍikā have also been credited with the slaying of this Asura.

(4) One of the inscriptions of the Nāyaka Pratāpādihāvala (See page 36 above), who made a pilgrimage with his retinue to the fall.

such circumstances such trifling changes are made, the alterations made so as to affect the appearance of a country by washing down mountains and of their debris forming secondary strata would require a time far beyond imagination. The image that is at present an object of worship represents the same deity carved on a detached stone of a different nature and has a short inscription.

From thence I proceeded down the channel of the torrent to examine some lime quarries. The south bank of the torrent within the recess is the highest, and in many places is covered with thick masses of calcareous toffa⁽¹⁾ which has involved various small masses of khari gheru⁽²⁾ a white crystallized matter, hornstone, &c. I observed two small univalve shells among other involved matter, and have one of them in a specimen. They appear to me to be shells of snails found in the fresh waters of the country, and after much search I could find no more. The quarry is in an abrupt bank with much of this tufaceous breccia lying in the channel below it, having been undermined and fallen down. There is also lying at the edge of the channel many large masses of what are considered as imperfect or unformed limestone, which probably was what appeared on the surface. It differs little if at all from the perfect limestone, except that it is not so much divided into thin plates. It has a complete conchoidal fracture, but is much finer grained than the great strata of the mountain. On the surface of some of its plates are found rhombic crystals of calcareous spar.

The proper limestone has also some of these crystals and the same fracture, and is disposed in thin parallel layers, white and horn-coloured, which dip towards the west from the horizon at about an angle of 40 degrees. The lime which it gives is beautifully white. I see no traces of animal exuvia in it. Among the stones in the channel of the river and that are imbedded among the soil of its banks are some

(1) Tufa, meaning of porous, vesicular character.

(2) खरी (khari), chalk; गेरु (geru), red earth or red ochre.

that are considered as decayed limestone, but which are vastly lighter and are of a pale yellowish colour and entirely resemble Khari. Although divided into plates, they in many places retain somewhat of the conchoidal fracture, and I have no doubt possess a common origin. In fact I presume the whole were originally hornstone and have been partly changed into limestone, partly into this kind of Khari.

From the entrance into the recess I returned to Tillautta by a direct road, about four miles.

The Rajewars⁽¹⁾ who burn the lime say that, like those of Behar, they derive their name from being cutters and workers in stone and earth. They are paid by day's wages $1/12$ of a rupee, and both cut the wood and quarry the stone, but know nothing of what the total expense amounts to. They never work except when employed by the merchant.

They say that they kill the spotted deer which lives below the hills. The Kharwar⁽²⁾ who live in small villages above, 4 or 5 coses from each other, kill the Sambar and Gaur⁽³⁾ who abound on the tableland: they don't call these deer. They say that on these hills also there are wild buffaloes.⁽⁴⁾ All are shot with balls. No nets used here.

15th December.—I went to the hills in order to see a quarry of Khari and another of mill stones. The Khari may be a mile⁽⁵⁾ north from the opening of the

(1) Rajwār, a cultivating and labouring caste, generally associated in South Bihār with the Bhūiyās, and probably of "Kolarian" origin. Colonel Dalton (*Lth. of Ben*) reckoned them among the "mongrel" tribes. Sir H. Rusley classed them as Dravidian (*Tribes & Castes of Bengal*, II, 192). For fuller details, see Russell, *T. & C. C. P.* and Crooke, *T. C., N. W. P. & O., s. v.* Bhūiya and Rajwar.

(2) For the Kharwars, see also p. 83 below, and Appendix J.

(3) Here Buchanan refers to the Indian bison. It seems clear from what he states here and in the Report that in his time bison wandered as far as the Rohtās hills; but they have not been seen there within recent times. Bison are said to have been met with in the Mirzapur district some 80 or 85 years ago. They are still found in Sargujā State, and small herds move thence at times into the south of the Palāman district near Netarhāt, and even as far as the Korh jāngal.

(4) It is very unlikely that even in Buchanan's time wild buffaloes were found in Shāhābād. See also Appendix B.

(5) Quite two miles. These chalk quarries are marked on Sherwill's map about half a mile west south-west of Netarhāt.

recess which I visited yesterday. Between the two a hill called Balmunuya⁽¹⁾ projects a considerable way into the plain, and between it and the continuation of the ridge are two crater-like circular small recesses.⁽²⁾ The quarry of Khari is on the lower part of the main ridge, about half way up a moderate ascent to the bottom of a perpendicular rock which descends from the summit to about the middle of the hill, as usual in these mountains. The moderate slope consists of fragments of the common rock with a little earth. At the quarry 5 or 6 shafts have been made, the roofs of which fall in with the first rains, and the Khari has not been long wrought, having been discovered when Mr. Marcus⁽³⁾, was digging for lime. All the shafts have now been choked, and a Kamst⁽⁴⁾ had just begun with a number of Rajewars to form a new one. I only saw therefore the upper or perhaps outer stratum, for so far as they had gone they had dug into the hill horizontally, but they said that they were about to sink a perpendicular shaft. They were working a rotten stone in thin plates, very much like the best limestone in the quarry which I visited yesterday, but which is useless. They had dug into this about 4 feet and expected to sink into it 3 feet more. They then expected to find 2 cubits of limestone called Gotti⁽⁵⁾ of which they showed me many fragments. It is in thicker plates than those in the quarry of yesterday, the piece being from 4 to 6 inches thick and it is less decayed having very much the appearance of hornstone. Below this they expected to find 3 cubits of a substance called Chanar⁽⁶⁾ which resembles hornstone in plates about half an inch

(1) The name is not on the S. S., but the projecting hill is shown.

(2) Clearly shown on Sherwill's map, south-west and north-west, respectively, of Belwai.

(3) This must be the John Paul Marcus, indigo planter, who purchased "Arrah House" from William Cowell (see page 7 above, and Appendix A). I cannot find his name in the East India Registers of Buchanan's time. His daughter was buried at Arrah in 1834, and his wife and a son were buried in the Circular Road cemetery, Calcutta.

(4) Illegible in MS. "Attempt"

(5) A doubtful word; perhaps from गुर्त, a small lump of hard matter, or of stone.

(6) Possibly derived from the Sanskrit शिष्ट, a grindstone. But both these words are obscure.

thick. Below this they expect to find four cubits of a white earth called Rak or ashes, but what had been dug out last year owing to its powdery nature had been washed away. Below this they expect to find the Khari four cubits thick. It seems of an uncommon fine quality, being very soft and white. Under the Khari are found large contiguous masses of stone, a white sandstone with some red stains and apparently of a better quality than any I have yet seen on these hills, but it is considered as useless. Having examined this, I went about half a mile farther north and ascended to the summit of the hills by a very difficult road to the quarry of millstone called Surai (1) The slope at the lower part is moderate but afterwards I came to the foot of the perpendicular rock until I came to a more moderate ascent over Gaighat, up which I ascended by a zigzag until I reached the summit and went along that to the quarry, which is north-west from the quarry of Khari. The country above the ascent is very uneven, rising into small hills and valleys but nowhere sinks into the level of the plain. A low valley however extends west from Gaighat, (2) through which I could see the low country (3) south from Sahasaram. The surface does not rise into peaks, but is very stony and arid, but contains a good deal of withered grass and small trees thinly scattered. No water is to be had, except in a river (4) which passes about two miles west from the quarry to Duya Khund. (5) The stone everywhere on the surface of the hill where I was appears to be of the same nature, being a kind of sandstone flag, but it is only in a few places that it is found fit for working, being in most places too hard and the layers not separating with sufficient ease. The workmen called Ghor try various places until they find what splits easily into flags 3 or 4 inches thick, which they cut into

(1) Indistinct in the MS.; may be Ourai. Not marked on the S. S. unless it be *Saina*.

(2) Not marked on the S. S. The word simply means the pass, or path (over the hill) used by cattle.

(3) i. e., the Kauria valley.

(4) The *Dhaha*, the headstream of the Kudra and the Kao.

(5) *Dhahan Kund* (see below, page 103).

stones for hand mills and carry down on their heads to the plain, whence they are carted to the Son to be embarked for Patna. The quarries extend from 2 to 3 coes in length at various ghats, and the Ghor (1) who work [them] live in Thilauta and Amdira. (2) They never work except on commission, and when employed remain night and day on the hill under sheds made of the branches of trees.

Of the face of the hill a little below the summit has been wrought a quarry of very thin flags or slate approaching to the hornstone of Totula (3) Devi, but much changed. It had been wrought by an European for indigo works. He used it instead of tiles to place over the burgers that supported the roof. The difficulty of carriage I imagine rendered it dearer than tiles. It is light and not above $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick. Lower down, the solid rock forming the abrupt precipice is in thicker strata, evidently horizontal, but the vertical fissures are very distinguishable, although not so evident as at Kotuts. (4) Devi, where the stone has suffered less change. This rock and the thin flags or slates show the gradual transition to the millstone flags where the strata are completely horizontal and the vertical fissures of no importance, and in my opinion shows that what are called horizontal strata do not always at least arise from deposition from water but from a certain stage of decay, as vertical fissures or strata arise from another state.

17th December — Thilautta including (5) is a close built small town, almost all tiled, with many houses of two stories. One or two of brick, very large.

(1) It is difficult to state definitely what caste Buchanan refers to (*passim*) by Gor or Ghor. I think he must mean Gôur, regarded as a sub-caste of Kāndū in Bihār, who work as grain parchers, as stone-cutters, makers of stone plates and utensils, and even as wood sawyers.

(2) Possibly intended for Rāmdhira, $\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-west of Tilothu, or for Amra, $\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west.

(3) Totālā, a form of Devī, supposed to be able to destroy all sins, now regarded as an aspect of Gaurī by Hindūs. In a paper read before the R. A. S. in 1824, Buchanan described the falls of the Tutrāhī as a holy place "sacred to the goddess Totālā" (Trans. R. A. S., 1826, page 203).

(4) Thus is MS.; evidently for Totālā, as above.

(5) Blank in the MS. Saraiya immediately adjoins Tilothu.

The streets very narrow. It is inhabited almost entirely by Iraki⁽¹⁾ Muhammedan traders, but they have entirely lost the Arabic, and live by merchandise. They pretend that they formerly dealt to a great extent in cloths with Ratnapur,⁽²⁾ but that about 20 years ago having suffered a severe loss by robbery the trade has been abandoned. So far as I can learn however the trade went formerly by Mirzapur and it was on that road that the robbery took place. Since then I believe that road has been abandoned, but this has been opened. There is not round the town the smallest cultivation, but it is buried in Mango groves among which are many tombs. An Imambari built lately, very neat but small.

I went five coses to Kasima,⁽³⁾ all the way near the Son, which is an exceeding wide channel with many streams of water, perfectly clear but quite fordable. Boats of 300 mans⁽⁴⁾ come up, but they advance very slowly, being often obliged to turn back finding the channel which they have chosen too shallow. In the rainy season it often is quite filled, and after continuing so a few days, in 10 or 12 days more will be fordable. It is only in the dry season that bamboos can be floated down, and they advance very slowly, often having to clear the way by digging. I saw no pebbles in its channel here, and in vain inquired after petrifications.

In the afternoon I went about two coses to Amjhor⁽⁵⁾ in order to visit a mine of Kasis⁽⁶⁾ which was discovered by an European whom the natives call

(1) Irāqī (عراقي), belonging to 'Irāq, a name applied since the Arab conquest to the Euphrates-Tigris plains, anciently known as Babylonia. Cf. reference to two "Irakis, or descendants of Russian merchants, residents of Tilothoo" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1878, Vol. LXVI, page 39 ("Chronicles of Rohtas").

(2) Ratnapur, now in Bilaspur district, for many centuries capital of Chhattisgarh under the Haihayavanshi dynasty. The ruins are said to cover some 15 square miles.

(3) Kasīawan.

(4) Anglice "mans".

(5) Amjhar, not marked on the S. S.; but the name Amjhar is written on Buchanan's sketch map, with a sign like that used for a fork. The exact site is clear from the map drawn by Sherwill, who not only marks the "sulphate of iron" lode, but also a "Ruined, Bungalow", evidently the house referred to by Buchanan.

(6) Kasis, sulphate of iron, manufactured from the iron pyrites found impregnated in the "Bijapur shales".

Zogel,⁽¹⁾ who showed them the art of preparing the mineral and built indigo works in the vicinity. He died after four years residence. Both these works and his house have gone to ruins. Amjhor is a semicircular recess in the mountains into which I could proceed some way on an elephant by a road a good deal frequented, chiefly I believe by those who cut bamboos, of which the woods in the recess chiefly consist, but I am persuaded also in part by those who carry away the mineral, although the people deny that any is now taken. But I saw a heap lying a little beyond the place where I dismounted, and the guides said that it had been thrown there by the people who brought it from the mine on their heads until it could be carried away by oxen, as the road from thence is both steep and very difficult. The recess of Amjhor is semicircular and placed in a projecting part of the mountains. On its north side is a small detached hill⁽²⁾ which like most others here contains limestone at its foot. The mountains surrounding the recess consist as usual of a perpendicular rock reaching about a third way down from their summit, below which is a steep slope consisting of fragments of rock intermixed with a little earth and covered with trees. Towards the bottom of the recess the perpendicular part descends lower down and is exceedingly bare. The horizontal fissures, although sufficiently observable, are not near so remarkable as the vertical, as was also the case in the other deep recess into which I went. A large torrent⁽³⁾ comes from the centre of the recess, and falls down a still greater height than in the other recess, and is said to form a large pool, but I was not able to visit that. Where I crossed the torrent it was quite dry. I then ascended a torrent which falls into the above from a small recess towards

(1) There is no Zogel to be found in the *East India Registers* of the time. There was one Alexander Zeiglar "near Benares" from 1803 onwards, who is described in the later years as an "indigo manufacturer" and is last shown apparently in the volume for 1814 (corrected up to 7-12-1815). This may possibly be the person.

(2) Not shown on the S. S.

(3) Apparently the Bakhra N. of the S. S., though this is therein shown arising at the foot of the hills.

the north and followed it for some way by a very rugged channel full of fragments of rock and descending very rapidly, until I came where there is a precipice about 20 feet perpendicular, which stopped my progress, but the mine is at its bottom. Down this precipice came a small stream which runs about 100 yards before it is entirely absorbed.* The precipice in most places consists of large detached masses of rock which have probably fallen from above; but the strength of the torrent in the rainy season has laid bare the mine, the only matter in its original situation within my reach, for the rock at the bottom of this recess down which the torrent comes seemed to be about 200 yards beyond the precipice, and must be at least 200 feet high. I cannot state its nature, but in the masses of which the precipice nearest me consists I observed three kinds of rock, two granular, the one whitish the other reddish, and the 3rd a black stone approaching to the Songk Mouser(?) of Behar. The space of stratified matter laid bare may be about 20 feet long and 6 or 8 high, but were the fragments of rock removed the extent is probably considerable. The greater part consists of horizontal plates, and where most perfect these entirely resemble Gentle slate or the Alum ore of Stirlingshire. The great mass is of this kind, which seems to be a transition from the black strata of which I found masses in the precipice, but is much lighter. At its upper end much white matter has effloresced from it, and the mine is supposed to be better. At its lower end it has become still whiter, is quite rotten, and when broken is found to contain much ochraceous matter. Between these two extremities and below the most entire part of the stratified matter is a mass or nest of marked pyrites (?) about 10 feet in diameter. The other parts are in regular horizontal plates, but this forms an uniform mass, which I therefore consider as a nest or vein if it should extend far. It is covered with a yellowish efflorescence called the flowers of

(1) This is the black potstone, which Buchanan calls Song Musa, or stone of Moses (سنگ موسا) in his Bihār Journal (J. B. O. R. S., VIII, 192); the "indurated potstone" shown by Sherwill at the same site.

(2) Crystallized iron disulphide.

through a small camp of Marattah horse⁽¹⁾ in the utmost confusion. There was nothing of military show or regularity, nor do I believe a single sentry. Beyond the river is the town of Akberpur⁽²⁾ which is mostly tiled with mud walls, and although there is the utmost abundance of stone and lime close at hand no one building is erected of these materials. The environs are however extremely beautiful. A fine plain well cultivated extends east from the town to the Son. The groves about the town are very fine, and to the east⁽³⁾ are magnificent hills, wooded at the bottom but perfect precipitous rocks towards their summits. The same kind of view extends in fact all the way from Thilauta, only that the banks of the Son are here better cultivated, the rich soil reaching to the river.

Two people that I sent to Murli top brought me specimens of the stone. A little way up they found a breccia like that from Kotula Devi⁽⁴⁾ towards the summit, and there the rock resembles the lime and has some parallel layers of different colours and crystalizations, but its fracture is more perfectly conchoidal.

19th December.—I went up to Rohtas⁽⁵⁾ by the Rajghat, which is the southern ascent and reckoned the easiest. In fact there is very little perpendicular rock there, but the same is the case in many parts as may be known by the growth of grass and trees. The ascent however is uninterrupted and very steep, even to the first guard, which may be $\frac{3}{4}$ of the way, but a road formerly existed so far, and if made smooth,

(1) It is probable that these were Pindāris, and not 'Marattah horse'. See H. T. Prinsep, *Political and Military Transactions, &c.*, I, 34, 47, where he describes how a party of Pindāris led by Fazl Khān penetrated, in 1812, through Rewa into Mirzapur district, "and, turning east as soon as it reached the Mirzapur frontier, advanced to the neighbourhood of Gaya, and then disappeared up the course of the Soane, on its way back to Malwa by the Chandya Ghat, before a single soldier from any British cantonment could come up with its track." The incident is very remarkable, and it is unfortunate that Buchanan should have treated it so summarily.

(2) Akberpur.

(3) A slip for "west".

(4) See page 43 above, Note (3).

(5) i.e., Rohtāgarh, "the fortress of Rohita", son of Hariscandra, and grandson of Tānkū, of the Solar race of Ayodhya. For a further note on this ancient site, see Appendix C.

which might be done with very little pains, persons on horseback might ride up and down with great safety. At present a horse without load even can pass with great difficulty. Above this guard the ascent has been by a stair now very ruinous and at all times bad, the steps having been from 12 to 18 inches high, but as the most excellent materials are at hand an excellent stair might have been formed with ease. This part of the hill, although not perpendicular, consists of rock; below nothing but fragments are to be seen. The works at this ascent are very strong, unless they could be destroyed by artillery from below; and they flank each other so judiciously that any attempt to force them while nearly entire would, I conceive, be fruitless. Within the gate is a considerable building called the Pangch⁽¹⁾ Mahal or five halls. It is exceedingly irregular and totally destitute of the slightest taste, but its ruins have from their irregularity a picturesque appearance. Some of the chambers are entire, but the roofs of others have fallen, although the whole has been constructed of stone, in some parts squared but in most parts covered with pillars. It was designed as a treasure storehouse and as accommodation for the guard stationed at the gate, and as the residence of the Kiladar when any person of high dignity occupied the castle. From thence I went about half a mile east to the Mahal Serayi⁽²⁾ or castle, which was the usual residence of the Killahdar⁽³⁾ or governor, an officer appointed by the Vazir of the empire, to whose Jaygir⁽⁴⁾ this fortress belonged. He usually had with him 400 or 500 soldiers, but this did not compose the whole garrison; they were his private guard. Attached to the artillery were 1000 men under an officer called on that account Hazari, whose office seems to have been hereditary, four persons of the same

(1) *i.e.*, *Pāñch*

(2) A clumsy term, both words having the same meaning (mansion, palace). The palace lies north, not east, from Rājghāt.

(3) The commandant of a fort or fortified town, *gal'adar* (Persian (گالدار)).

(4) *Jāgir*, an assignment of land, either in perpetuity or for life, as a reward for services.

family having held it in succession, and from the son of the last I take my account. The family was originally Rajputs but had been converted. Their soldiers were of both sects, and all had their families here and were married. Their houses formed a town. Besides these there were usually stationed in the fort two Rasalahs⁽¹⁾ of Matchlock men each consisting of about 2000 men. These corps were frequently changed and many of them were horsemen who of course could only go to the plain one by one, and proba[b]ly 50 could not pass down in an hour.⁽²⁾ These were also cantoned through the vast extent of the fort. The chief market seems to have extended from the gate by which I ascended to Mahal Serai, but is now totally deserted. Tradition universally attributed [it] to Ruedas Kumar a Hindu prince, and therefore the name is undoubtedly Ruedas ghur⁽³⁾ although the Moslems have corrupted it to Rohtas. It continued in possession of the Hindus until the time of Shere Shah, when it belonged to a Chandra Ban⁽⁴⁾, a Brahman, to whom all the hilly country belonged quite independent of the Moslems. He lived on Ruedas hill, but seems to have trusted entirely to the natural strength of the place, which was sufficient against enemies of such little enterprise as the Moslems. The only works attributed to various persons of this family are three tanks called after their names Ben Raja⁽⁵⁾, Gaur Raja

(1) *Rasāla*, properly speaking, should only be applied to mounted troops

(2) A very low estimate, surely!

(3) The second part of the name is *garh*, a fortress, not *ghar*, a house, as Buchanan seems to have thought. Rohita is often called Ruedas (from Rohitaśva) by the illiterate

(4) Elliot (*History of I*) writes Chutaman, quoting Abbas Sarwani. In Khwāja Nīmat-ullah, *Makhzan-i-afāghānā* (B. M. Egerton MS 699) I read "Chintāman *zunnār-dār*", the latter expression meaning Brahman (literally "belted", i.e., with the sacred thread). He is usually described as the Nāib, or Deputy, of the Rājā of the district. It is hardly correct to say that he trusted to the natural strength of the place, which was captured by a stratagem described by many historians.

(5) Buchanan seems likely to have been mistaken as regards these names, which are probably the names of legendary or ancient aboriginal or Kshatriya rulers. Ben Rājā, for instance, is probably the Veṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and *Purānas*, who "has from Rohilkhand to Bihār: a fairly familiar reputation as a Chakravartī or universal emperor" (E. T. Atkinson, *Bihar Statistical Account*). The Gaur Rājapūts are still numerous in the U. P. and the C. P. Chandrabān may possibly have been the name of the Rājā who possessed the fortress in Sher Khān's time (see below, page 78, Note (1)).

and Chandra Ban. They are now overwhelmed with weeds and become almost dry in the heats of spring. Shere Shah made a large tank and built some houses. He seems not to have fortified any of the ascents, trusting like his predecessors to their natural strength, but in the centre of the area was erecting a citadel* and employed an Abyssinian⁽¹⁾ as superintendent of the works, which were only commenced, the wall of the north and east faces being still incomplete, while the west has not even been commenced. The south side would have been defended by the natural precipices of the hill. This fort seems to have been intended to have included all the tanks, and thus although the hill had been carried the assailants must have been obliged to retire for want of water. This superintendent died on the place and has been buried in a large stone monument somewhat in the style of his masters at Sasaram, but much smaller. The present fortifications and most of the buildings, especially the quarters of the Kiladar and the castle, are attributed⁽²⁾ to Man Singha, although entirely built in the Moslem fashion. Nor is there any symptom of the Hindu except two elephants⁽³⁾ carved on the gate of the castle, a gryphen carved on a gate of Katautea and a small but very handsome temple of stone called the sivali,⁽⁴⁾ but the image has been taken away and the floor of the shrine dug up in search of treasure, probably whenever the power of Man Singha was at an end. The roof of the nat mundir is [of] the same

* This citadel seems to have been intended to include the space now occupied by the Pangch Mahal and the Mahal Serai, and would probably have been a mile from east to west and half a mile from north to south. [Marginal note by Buchanan.]

(1) Known as Habsh, or Hawas, Khān *Habash* (حبش) Abyssinian.

(2) The existing buildings were undoubtedly built for Mān Singh, but not in his private capacity and he knew that succeeding governors were practically certain to be Muhammadans.

(3) The Hāthipol, or "elephant gateway" हाथी पौर was a feature in other Muhammadan forts since the time of Akbar, e.g., at Delhi, Agra and Monghyr.

(4) i.e., *śivalaya*, a temple dedicated to Śiva. Thomas Daniell painted a fine view of this temple (*Oriental Scenery*, Vol. I, Plate XI). By the end of the last century the temple had fallen down, and the stones lay scattered around. It has been rebuilt, under the orders of Government, Daniell's view of it, as it stood in 1789-90, being utilized.

structure as that of the Vishnupad.⁽¹⁾ The whole building is the lightest and handsomest of any Hindu work that I have seen. It is situated in the middle of where the bazar stood. Near it is a small temple like an oven, also supposed to be the work of Man Singha, but the object of worship would appear to have been the feet of Jain ⁽²⁾ a stone with these remains in the temple, but it has been displaced in search of treasure.⁽³⁾ The last Kiladar, Nisar Ali, was a dependent of Kasem Ali, to whom the fortress had been given by Ali Gohar⁽⁴⁾ the King. Kasem Ali after his defeat at Uduya nullah ⁽⁵⁾ sent 1700 of his women, his wife and treasure here under the charge of Lalah Nobut Rai, who soon died. At Buksar the Kiladar was with his master having left the fort in charge of his dewan Shah Mull. Shah Mull seems to have behaved with honour. When Kasem was finally defeated his wife joined him in his flight with all the cash. The other women with many effects were left behind. The dewan of the dewan's family, a very good looking old man, says that only the gold was carried away. The silver was left behind as too bulky. About a month after the battle Colonel Goddard ⁽⁶⁾ came and assembled the garrison without arms and told them that such as chose the company's service he would entertain and that such as chose might go to their own home. The dewan of Shah Mull says that Kasem Ali had directed him to deliver the fort⁽⁷⁾ in preference of the Vazir who had used him ill. The women dispersed as they pleased. One among them was an European⁽⁸⁾ who joined Mrs. Goddard. The Colonel remained in the fort about two months, and destroyed all the military stores. A small guard

(1) At Gayā.

(2) i.e., of a Jaina Tirthankara.

(3) An anonymous writer in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. LXVI, page 397) records that to his knowledge a quantity of bar silver was extracted from between the plaster and the stone of the wall under the *Takht-i-Bādshāhi* in 1873.

(4) The emperor Shāh Ālam (whose name was 'Āli Gauhar).

(5) Uduā Nālā, 5th September, 1763. For the best account, see Mallet's *Decisive Battles of India*.

(6) Then Captain Thomas Goddard, who afterwards achieved fame by his march across Central India and campaign against the Marāṭhās (1776-1781). He had taken possession of the fortress from Shāh Mal two months before the battle of Buxar.

(7) sc. to the English.

(8) Possibly a captive, taken at Patnā or elsewhere.

remained for about a year,⁽¹⁾ when the place was totally destroyed.

20th December.—I went about a cose to the eastern extremity of the hill to see Ruedas Chauri⁽²⁾ supposed to have been built by that personage. It consists of a small conical mound, the top of which has been enlarged by art so as to form a small terrace to which there is an ascent by 84 steps, perhaps 8 inches by ten and ten feet long, so that it is by far the best stair about the place. The steps are quite entire and it does not appear to me that they can be of an older date than the time of Man Singha. On the terrace is a small Mundir of stone. The lower part of the shrine although ruinous is still standing and the arch of its roof entire, but the pyramid and nath Mundir are both completely fallen. The image has been removed but the door contains some figures. A Ganesa on the middle of the lintel. Above it 4 animals, so rudely carved that it is impossible to say to what class they belong. They have somewhat more the appearance of the Hangsa⁽³⁾ than any thing else. On each side at the bottom is a man in the act of drawing his sword. Behind (east) the temple a small mosque has been built, it is said by the orders of Alungir,⁽⁴⁾ to whose zeal the idol probably owes its destruction. It is possible that Ruedas may have had a place of worship here, but we may with safety refer the present building to the time of the last Hindu dynasty who held the place. Near the bottom of the stair is a small but very neat temple attributed to Man Singha, and nearly in the same state of decay with the stair and the buildings known to have been actually built by him. The image from this also has been removed. Near this is a large heap of stones, still perhaps 20 feet high but which has lost all symmetry. If any ruin about the place can be attributed to Ruedas this must be it, and

(1) Longer than this, as Captain DeGloss in his Journal, under date 20th December, 1766, records that Lieutenant Muskett had joined with three companies to relieve Ensign Johnson who was there with a detachment of sepoy. The fortifications were never "totally destroyed".

(2) Known as Rohtāsan, "the seat of Rohita", or perhaps more generally by the local folk as *chaurāsi aṛhi*, "the 84 steps".

(3) *Haṁsa*, goose.

(4) Aurangzeb. This unsightly structure has since been demolished (*Gazetteer*, 1924, page 180).

it may have been such a pillar⁽¹⁾ as that called the ~~seat~~ of Jara Sandha. From thence the view is uncommonly fine. The hill is only fortified in particular places called Ghats.⁽²⁾ The eastern ascent called Mirara⁽³⁾ has no accommodations for troops near it, but where I went to-day has been scattered houses.

21st December.—I went to the western gate of the fort called Katautea⁽⁴⁾ about 3 miles from the Mahal Serai. The country within the fort rises into considerable swells, but not into very steep hills, although the surface of most of the considerable swells is very much broken and rocky, as is also a great deal of the more level parts. Perhaps 3/16 might be cultivated with the plough. Meruya and Kulthi⁽⁵⁾ are the only crops on which dependance can be had, but hill cotton will also grow, and where manure can be had the people say that Maize will thrive. There may be 10 or 12 acres which have been cultivated for rice by means of a reservoir, and this is rather ruinous and it seems doubtful whether it would be worth while to repair it. This kind of cultivation seems to have been carried on merely from ostentation⁽⁶⁾ and to save the consciences of the Kiladars when they declared to the emperor that everything might be reared in their fort in order to prevail on him to keep up such a monstrous and useless establishment.⁽⁷⁾ Wherever the soil is

(1) Jarāsandhi kā Barthak, on top of the Giriek hill. See *J. B. O. R. S.* VIII, 283, where Buchanan describes it correctly as a "conical mass of brick" (and not as a "pillar")

(2) The word ghāt (Sanskrit घट्) has many meanings. Originally it was applied to a landing-stair, a flight of steps leading down to the water's edge. Then it came to be used for the passage across the water, the ferry or ford, then for the passage across or through a range of hills; and further, as here, for a road or pass up a steep hill-side on to the top. In the last case steps had sometimes to be cut or built to obtain a foothold, and hence no doubt the term came to be applied to such approaches.

(3) Marara Ghat, the north-eastern ghāt, now generally used as being nearer to Akbarpur and the railway station. मंड़रा or मेंड़रा conveys the idea of "circling", i.e., "winding".

(4) Kāṭhantīyā, i.e., shaped like a trough or basin (कटौती), a name applied to other sites also, where there is a trough-like depression.

(5) Marua (*Eleusine coracana*), a cereal, Kulthi (*Dolichos biflorus*), a pulse.

(6) Buchanan goes too far here. We know from earlier accounts that such cultivation was carried on, and it is likely that when the forest vegetation was denser there was more moisture.

(7) Buchanan seems to have overlooked the great strategic importance of the fortress in the old, pre-artillery days.

tolerable there are the remains of stone fences and the ruins of huts in which the garrison lived scattered. Many mango and Mohuyal trees have been also planted, and still produce a small revenue. There are also many spontaneous trees of various kinds but in general rather stunted, and between the clumps the country opens into fine lawns with respect to extent and situation, but they are to the last degree dismal, as the grass is either quite withered or has lately been burnt down. In the rainy season some buffaloes come up for pasture, which is then very abundant. In the dry season they frequent the woods at the foot of the hill. No bamboos grow above, many grow below. A few buffaloes only remain through the season, but by planting pipal and but (1) trees for pollards a considerable number might then be preserved. At Katautea the hill of Ruedas contracts suddenly by two recesses. That to the south is semi-circular and of inconsiderable depth, but that towards the north comes winding from the Kolurea (2) gap and forms a deep glen with exceeding abrupt sides. The neck at the narrowest part between the two recesses is not above 200 yards wide but it suddenly enlarges to at least double that size and the land there rises into a little rugged hill towards the south with a narrow level towards the northern glen which is called Guloriya (3). An irregular rude ditch has been dug across the narrowest part of the neck. In this has been left standing a kind of truncated cone flattened at the sides, against one of which are two or three steps. This my guide, a Dangar, (4) said was the God which guarded the

(1) The *vata* (Sanskrit वट), pronounced *bat*, or more generally *bat* in the vernacular; *Ficus indica*; the "banyan tree", of the English.

(2) Apparently meant for the *Kauriari*, or Koriyāri, valley. Buchanan's description here is not as accurate as usual.

(3) *Guloriyā* Khoh, so called from the occurrence of *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*) trees.

(4) *Dhāngar*, a people of so-called aboriginal origin, probably of "Kolarian" stock, who came from the hilly country, as the name suggests. The *Dhāngars* found in South Bihār are either quite distinct from the *Dhāngars* of Bombay and Hyderabad (who are recognised as a shepherd caste) or have been so long separated from them as to have lost all trace of the connexion.

territory of Ruedas and that it continued to be worshipped by the Koirwar,⁽¹⁾ as was indeed evident from its being daubed with red lead. The Dangar assigned no name for this deity. Immediately within this ditch rise the works which were erected by Man Singha, as is declared by an inscription on a gate in Persian and Sanskrit, of which former I procured a copy. The works form the finest castellated ruin I have ever seen.⁽²⁾ Two fine gates, one about 30 yards from the other, each with many winding passages, bulwarks [and] half moons defined the passage along the narrow plain, while both they and the ditch are commanded by a double line of bulwarks, half moons, curtains, &c &c all finely embattled, which rise along the small hill and tower to a height of 60 or 70 feet above the plain beyond the ditch for an extent of about 400 yards. From that plain their view is exceedingly grand and imposing, but as a defence in modern warfare they are quite contemptible, as they are commanded by a rising ground about 200 yards west from the ditch, and their great height and exposure would soon enable a few guns there to shake them to pieces and to fill the ditch with their ruins. A near view is not favourable. They are very badly contrived for giving access to the various works, so that they would require to be lined everywhere with troops, the passages from one work to another being almost as difficult from within as from without. The walls are not thick and the masonry is exceedingly rude, as indeed is the case in most of the works of Man Singha. The stones even where squared are not in uniform rows. Large stones are often even placed erect with their flat side out and the interstices built up with smaller ones, every thing in fact done to save the trouble of cutting. About 400 yards east from these works is another set, not near so conspicuous but perhaps better contrived. One gate, called from the red colour of some of its stones, the Lal

(1) Kharwār. See page 80 for the name of the godling (Bhainsāsūr).

(2) Anyone who has viewed this towering mass of ramparts from the plateau on the western (Rehal) side of the gap will appreciate Buchanan's high praise. The massive grandeur of this corner of the fortifications recalls the bastions of Tughlakabad near Delhi.

darwazi,⁽¹⁾ secures the narrow plain between the northern precipice and a second small hill that is adjacent to the northern. This gate is not strong, but the advance to it is flanked by low works that run south-west along the hill. The whole passage however could not have resisted artillery, and although it is said that vast numbers of guns were in the fort it does not appear to me that these works were fitted for receiving them. The embrasures appear to have been intended entirely for musketry or wall pieces, although perhaps some very small guns may have been mounted and fired through holes about a foot square. I am inclined to think that abundance of good water might be had in many parts from reservoirs, wells and tanks.

22nd December — Having procured a ground plan of the Serai Mahal, I took an especial view of the whole which I found as follows

The greatest length of the building which is called Mahal Serayi extends north and south, and the principal front is towards the west. Although superior to the others, it is quite irregular, and is entirely destitute of either taste or grandeur, being a plain wall of the bad masonry usual among the natives, in general of no great elevation and having only one door, and a few pitiful windows scattered at great and irregular distances. The door is the most ornamented part, and is a large Gothic arch, having on each side a rude figure of an elephant, from whence it is called the Hatiya pol ⁽²⁾. Within is another arch of the same dimensions which leads into a guard room (A), ⁽³⁾ one of the most elegant parts of the whole building. Two sides (2,2) are surrounded by a stone platform for the guards, in place of the benches usual in our guard rooms, while in three of the corners, behind the buttresses (1,1,1,1,) which support the roof are kind of room-like recesses (3,3,3) probably for the

(1) Lāl Darwāza (There is no diminutive form *darwāzi*) Illiterate people usually give the explanation quoted by Buchanan, but the name Lāl Darwāza occurs elsewhere, applied to an important or "principal" gateway. and lāl is used in association with other things in a similar sense.

(2) See above, page 51. Note (3).

(3) The letters and figures inserted by Buchanan in this (perhaps excessively) detailed description of the palace buildings correspond with those given on his plans (see Martin's *H. I.*, I, 439).

higher ranks of the guard. The room (4) in the 4th corner is larger than the others, has no air but by a very small door, and resembles strongly a dungeon. The roof of the guard room is plastered in the alcove form with many small compartments somewhat like those in the stone roofs of our cathedrals, but intended merely for ornament, and consisting entirely of plaster, the roof being supported by beams and flags of stones, passing horizontally from wall to wall. The arches which in some places pass under them are so rude as scarcely to be able to support their own weight. The roof is divided into 4 great compartments, one in the centre, one in front, one towards the north and the fourth towards the south. The only passage into the interior is by this last, through a high double-arched gateway, (5) which leads into an open area (B) or Chauk. On the west side of this is a gallery (1) open in front, and terraced above. The pillars in front are square, and the cornice, as usual, consists of sloping flags supported by brackets. The door (3) leads into a small outwork (4), which commands the gate. The door (2) leads into the area of another court (C), which is only distinguished from the former by being elevated a few steps. This open gallery was intended for the accommodation of persons who came on business, and who approached to the presence of the Kiladar or chief person of the place by the door (2), the great man sitting in his office, which occupied the centre of the inner area (C). No person durst proceed straight up in front. This building for the transaction of business is perhaps the most regular part of the whole palace, and that in the best taste. It is called the Baradwari⁽¹⁾ or 12 gates, and communicates its name to the square (B) in its front. An elevation of the northern face has therefore been given in the drawing. It has in front an open hall (C¹) supported by 4 double columns, and two double pilasters with the usual cornice. Over this are 5 small windows, and above them a kind of pediment, in which there is a window, before which there is a balcony 4 or 5 foot square, which is covered by a dome

(1) *Baradwari*, or, more usually, *bārah-dari*.

supported on 4 pillars. On each side of the colonnade is a small plain door, and above each a similar balcony rather below the level of the windows above the colonnade.

The hall within the colonnade (1) was occupied by the clerks, while those who came for admission, having sneaked from the corner door, stood with joined hands on the threshold until one of these clerks was pleased to communicate his business to the governor, who sat in a hall behind (2), and issued his orders through the clerk. The two halls communicated by 5 doors of a proper size, so that a man can pass through without stooping, but which could not admit a waggon. In general, however it must be observed, that in native buildings no medium is observed in the size of the doors: they are either monstrous gates or mere creeping holes. Above each is a small arched window, but except that in the centre, these do not penetrate into the inner hall. At each end of the outer hall is a small square room with 4 doors (3,3). The roofs of these 3 rooms in front are flat, and are supported by stone beams covered by flags. The end rooms are very low, but the central hall is of a good height, rather more than its breadth. The great hall behind (2) is a fine room with an alcove roof divided into 3 compartments: that in the centre high and round, those at the ends low and semicircular. At the back it has one door with a window over it, the door leading into the area; and at each end it has the same. These doors at the end of the hall lead into two low square rooms (4,4) which are open in front, and supported by a double row of small square columns. At the east and west ends of the building, near the front corner, a stair (5,5) leads up to a small door, and passes up from thence through the thickness of the wall, being as usual here narrow, dark and steep. After ascending a short flight, a door leads into a small chamber (6,6) over those on the ground floor (3,3) with an alcove roof and 2 alcove recesses. There is a window in front, with a balcony as described when speaking of the external appearance of the building. In the recess towards the front hall (1) are

two windows, one opening into that, and the other into a vault above it. The other recess leads into a narrow passage (7,7,7) through the wall between the halls (1) and (2), above the doors by which these communicate, and has a view into both by the windows, which I have mentioned as being above these doors. This passage, called a *Shah neshin*,⁽¹⁾ is about 2 feet wide, and forms a communication between the upper parts of the two ends of the building, the central hall No. (2) occupying the whole height. From the narrow passage at each end is a door of communication with a small handsome room (No. 8,8) over those marked No. (4,4). These rooms have a coach roof, and open in front with three arches supported on short pillars. Each has a window in the end opposite to the door, and another which looks into the great hall (2) below.

The same stairs by another very bad flight lead up to the flat roof of the building (see additional plan), surrounded as usual by a heavy parapet wall about 6 feet high, part of which in front is raised into the pediment, and you enter by a small gallery (9) supported by 4 pillars into the balcony or *Gumji*,⁽²⁾ (10) described as in front of the pediment. On either side of this gallery a stair (11,11) still more execrable than the others leads down into a very low roofed vault (see additional plan), (12) which is above the front hall (1), is lighted by the 5 small windows in front of the building, and is divided by 4 gothic arches into 5 compartments. This served as a treasury. Behind the extreme compartment, at each end, there runs south into the thickness of the wall an arched gallery about 3 feet wide (13,13), and reaching to the back part of the building, but without any opening except the small door, by which it communicates with the vault. These galleries held the money, while the vault in front was the office of the accountants, &c. The vault at each end looks down into the small

(1) *Shāh neshin*, literally "king's seat", generally applied to the balcony from which the king showed himself to the people; also used (as here) for a gallery.

(2) *Gumji*, a dialectic diminutive from the Persian word *gumbaz* (گمباز), vulg. *gumbaz*, a cupola or dome.

chamber (6) by the small window mentioned when describing it. To return to the roof, at each end towards the north front is a small dome (14, 14), supported by 8 pillars, forming a cupola or what the natives call a Gumji. Were it not for the monstrous parapet wall these would have a very good effect, as such cupolās are the only light or showy parts of Hindustani buildings, but from below no part of them can be seen except the very summit of the domes. (15), (16), (16) are elevations (Chabuterās) on the terrace, on which the people sat to enjoy the cool of the evening. The five windows behind these in the parapet wall gave a view of the country; and it would seem, that in fair weather the evenings and nights were usually passed on the roofs, on which account these were always surrounded by walls or screens.

There is nothing else remarkable in this court (C), except that it had to the east a lower area (D), distinguished from it only by being on a level with (B) and having in its centre a small tank. These two areas (B) and (D) served as parades for the guards, where they assembled to be viewed by the governor seated in the Baradwari. In the area (B) is a small door (No. 4) with a window over it. The door leads into a den under a stair, and the window into the stair itself. The small court (E) is called Rosun Sahidka Chauk⁽¹⁾ from its containing the tomb of a martyr (No. 1) named Rosun. The west end of this court is chiefly occupied by a gallery (No. 2) open in front. This was intended for persons in waiting. The door (No. 3) leads into the gallery and is merely meant for uniformity; No. (4) leads into an execrable stair, which is long, dark, narrow and steep, and which in its course has been defended by two doors. Ascending this stair we come to a narrow landing place, having a door to the right, and another in front. It brings us into some apartments above the main guard (A), as may be seen in the plan of the upper story of the building, and terminates in a small closet (1) with

(1) *Roshan shahid kā chauk*. Nothing seems to be known of this martyr.

a door to the south (2), from whence there was a door leading to the roof of the gallery (1) in the area (B), which has on both sides a low parapet.

Another door (3) leads into the corner of an open terrace (4,4,4) surrounded by a high parapet wall. Another more elevated terrace (5,5,5,5), about 4 feet high, projects from the west wall of this area, and occupies most of its space. On the centre of this elevated terrace is another octagonal one (6), still higher and probably intended as the evening place of recreation for the chief officer of the guard. In the western wall of this area are two doors leading into two small chambers (8,8) in front of the gate, where each has a balcony (9,9) covered as usual with a cupola and between these is another small chamber (10), with which both communicate, and in front of which is a small window (11) immediately above the point of the arch of the outer gate. The northernmost of these 3 small chambers communicates by a door (12) with the interior of the palace, to which I shall afterwards return. On the south side of the area is a stair (13), open above, leading to the roof of the small chambers, a terrace surrounded by a parapet, and having in front two small cupolas, in which the low minarets of the gate (14,14) terminated. It seems to have been afterwards discovered that this terrace commands a view of the women's apartments, and a rude high wall appears to have been built above the original parapet, and this was covered with a pent roof, which must have disfigured the gate, the only external part of the building in the least handsome. These additional works have in a great measure fallen.

The area F was the abode of the eunuchs. The chamber No. (1) is handsome, with a coach roof, and has in front and at one end 2 fine open galleries (2, 3). The chamber No. (5) has a plain coach roof. No. (6) is handsome, having an alcove roof divided into many compartments, and a large arched gate, and two small windows towards the area. At its west end is a small door leading into a hovel (7) under a stair

which enters however from the area (F). This stair is perhaps the best in the building, being 4 feet wide and the steps tolerably easy. It leads up to an area above the chamber No. (6) which is surrounded by a very high parapet wall (see plan of the upper story No. 15). On the east side of this area is a small neat chamber No. (16) above No. (5). It has an alcove roof in compartments and two windows, one of which looks into the women's apartments, the other into the area (F). This has before it a balcony and cupola as usual. This apartment is called the Ronggomahal⁽¹⁾ or abode of pleasure, and seems to have been the sleeping room of the Rajah Man Singha. A stair (17) leads up to its roof which in place of being surrounded by a parapet wall, is surrounded by a row of square pillars, about 4 feet high, which have been united by screens of stone fretwork, most of which is gone. This roof commands a full view of the women's apartments, and was probably a place where the chief might sit concealed to watch their conduct.

To return to the lower apartments at the west end of the area (F), in front is an open gallery (10) supported by 4 columns and 2 pilasters, with a sloping cornice as usual. The roof is supported by 6 great arches which divide it into 7 narrow compartments again arched. At each end a wide arch conducted into two chambers (11) and (12). Behind this gallery and lighted from it by a wide door and 2 windows is an ugly hall with an arched roof (9), and having at each end a small door communicating with two dismal dens (13 and 14), which communicate also with the rooms (11) and (12) that are before them. Beyond this are 3 retiring closets, one within the other (15), (16) and (17). They have no light, but from the outer door of (17), and no covered communication with any other part of the building. It may indeed be observed that in the whole palace there were scarcely any covered communications from one set of apartments to another; and that very often indeed there was no

(1) *Rang mahal*, "pleasure apartment".

going from even one room to another in the same set, without being exposed to all the inclemency of a burning sun or to the torrents of rain which pour down in such a climate.

Above these apartments is a large terrace, as will be seen in the plan of the upper story (No. 18). This area is surrounded by high parapet walls, which totally exclude a view of the women's apartments so that the male attendants of the Rajah or his friends might be admitted to his principal place of residence (28) through the apartments above the main guard (A). In the west of this parapet are 3 small windows looking out to the court in front of the castle. North from these is a handsome room (19) with a door to the south and another to the east, while on the west there is a window with a balcony covered as usual, but larger than common, as it is covered by 3 cupolas. The roof of this chamber has been composed of flags joined in a bad manner, and some of them therefore have given way. A narrow hanging stair (No. 20) led up to the roof, but some of the steps have given way, and it is no longer practicable. This and the other hanging stairs in the building although they at first sight resemble those so called in Europe, are of a very different and rude structure. One step is no support to the others, each is upheld entirely by the end built into the wall, and although the projecting part never exceeds 2 feet in length, many have given way. At the north end of this area a short open stair (21) leads to a small area (22), on the west side of which are two retiring closets (22,23) above No. (15) and (16), and each has in front an open area (24,24).

Returning again to the area (F) on the ground we find a chamber (18), which was the station of a guard of eunuchs, and it forms the chief entry into the women's apartments and also into the area (H), the more peculiar residence of the Rajah or prince.

The area (G) was probably the place where women waited in the open galleries (1) and (3) for admission into the eunuch's lodgings, either to sell commodities,

or to be carried into the inner apartments. The passage from without was through the alley (R) and the door (1) in the court (M). The guard room (2) was the entry into the interior.

The area (K) is surrounded on three sides by buildings, and was probably kitchens for the ladies.

The open space (M), to which no buildings are immediately attached, seems to have formed a general route of communication, and had in it a small tank (2), to which all the domestics might resort.

The apartments round the area (L) appear to have belonged to the male domestics of the Raja, and the stair leads up to the terrace, by which they are covered, and from thence into a chamber, which may have been above No. (1) in the area (K), but the roofs of both upper and lower chambers have fallen, and I know not whether or not the communication went farther. These terraces overlook all the area of the baths (N) and the space (M), into which therefore the ladies never came.

The baths in the area (N) consist of an antechamber (1), a cold (2), and a hot bath (3) with boilers (4) heated from without, and a retiring closet (6), with a passage (5) opening both to the antechamber and to the open space (M). The baths, both hot and cold, have been dug up in search of treasure.⁽¹⁾ They are lighted from above by a small circular opening in the summit of the dome, by which each is covered. From the area of the baths (N) into the area (O) are two doors for the sake of symmetry, for one would have answered every purpose equally well as will be seen by the plan.

In the centre of the area (O) has been a small reservoir of water. The apartments here seem to have been intended as a place of repose after bathing. A stair leads to the roof of the buildings, which as usual is terraced.

(1) Cf. above, page 52, Note (3).

The small area (S) at its north end has had some buildings (1) between it and the area (I), the use of which, as they are very ruinous, is not very clear; but in the central projection (2) there is a niche, above which is an opening about 6 inches high and 3 feet long. Terminating in this I observe 3 water pipes, and it probably formed an artificial cascade, as in the area there is a stone basin evidently intended to receive the water. The use of the niche, over which the water fell, was probably in order to contain a light to illuminate the cascade, when it ran in the dark.

The area (S) communicates by an open stair (3) with the large terrace (T), on which a building called the palace of flowers is situated, and which forms also a part of the buildings which surround the area (I). Under the side of this terrace which fronts the area (S) are 6 small recesses. Under its end, which faces the area (D), is a kind of cellar (1) with one door. Finally under its side towards the area (I) is a long gallery (2) supported by square buttresses, and behind this gallery is another cellar (3) with 2 doors.

The building called the Phul Mahal or palace of flowers, as will appear from the separate plan, occupies the whole terrace (T) contiguous to the areas (D) and (B), from which its outer wall rises perpendicular; but along the area (S) there is a walk (1) about 4 feet wide; and towards the area there is an open terrace (2) as far back as the gallery and cellar. An open stair leads up to this at the west end of the area (E). The building consists of a central hall (3) with three small doors towards each side, and another at each end. A man cannot pass any of them without stooping. The end doors open outwardly into wide arches (4,4). In the centre of this hall has been a cistern and jet, destroyed in making accommodation for the family of Kasem Ali. On each side of the hall is an open gallery (5,5) with a door in each end, like those in the ends of the central hall, terminating in wide arches (4,4,4,4). On each side of the terrace (2) a stair leads up by the walls which bound the

terrace. That on the east is for the sake of uniformity, and ends at a false door: that towards the west leads up by an execrable covered stair to the roof that is surrounded by an high abominable parapet wall, 7 feet high, in which there are various peep holes. Under this, all round, has been a cornicé of the usual form, and had this been surmounted by a balustrade instead of the parapet wall, the whole building would have been neat. The building forms a neat set of apartments designed for a place of cool retreat, in which surrounded by jets of water the Rajah might sit to transact business.

The chief entrance into the area (I) is by a guard room (4) which has stone benches for the guards on each side of the passage, and holes at one end (5,6) I presume for holding ammunition. Adjoining to the guard room a stair leads up to the roof of the adjacent buildings, and near to this is a passage into a retiring closet (8). South from this is the door of a small chamber (9) by which there is a communication with the area (B). Opposite to the guard room is an open gallery (1) for the accommodation of those in waiting. In the centre of this area (I) has been a reservoir and a jet of water.

The area (P), to which there is admission through two small guard houses (1,2), seems, to have been designed as a kind of theatre or place for looking at dancers or singers; and the apartments round the area (Q) were intended for their accommodation, to dress and refresh, before they began to perform. These apartments have been placed at a distance from those of the ladies, and in the vicinity of where the Raja could go under pretence of business, in order to avoid the offence which the ladies might take at his frequenting such company.

Returning to the area (H), which was the principal seat of the chief's grandeur and more legitimate pleasures, we find on the ground floor some large apartments. No. (1) has a large arched gate in the centre, on each side of that a large window, and beyond

each of these a small door. Its roof is low, and supported by 6 gothic arches, dividing it into 5 compartments, each of which has a pavilion or coach roof. Behind this is (2) a long low-roofed hall which communicates with the gallery by one wide arched door, and two windows; but is not so long as the gallery, a stair which leads to the upper story being taken from the south end. Behind it communicates by one small door with a long dark cellar (3), which at its south end under the stair has a recess. In the north is a small door leading into a small arched room (5), behind which is a dark cellar (4), the door of which is not above 2 feet high. Opposite to that door the chamber No. (5) communicates with a suite of three rooms (6,7,8) of which that in the centre is very handsome. It is supposed, and highly probable, that the lower apartments of this area were the wardrobe and depositories of other valuable effects. At the end of this suite is a chamber (9) which completes the north side of the area, and formed the chief passage with two very wide gothic arches into the ladies garden, which was separated from the east side of this area by a wall surmounted by a balustrade.

The stair (10) which conducts from these lower apartments to the second story is exceedingly bad, and an irregular and dangerous landing place at its top (see plan of the upper story). No. (25) has two doors, one to the right, and the other to the left. The latter forms the communication with the upper parts of the buildings at the west side of the area (F). That to the right leads into the end of a very fine open gallery (26), with a flat roof supported on each side by 4 massy buttresses, and 4 semicircular arches with fine cornices, so as to have a grand solid appearance, although rather heavy. At the north end, opposite to the door of entry, is a recess with an alcove roof in a very good style.

Behind this gallery is a very fine hall (28), called the Emperor's throne (I'adshah Takht), in the same style, but it has an alcove recess at both ends. It communicates with the gallery by a grand door, and

two very large windows which have been screened by fretwork in stone. This differs a good deal from the windows of our cathedrals and does not equal their appearance, although it has a very fine effect. It is intended to conceal from full view, without excluding the air. In the back wall of this hall are two small windows towards the western face of the castle, and each has had a covered balcony, but these windows are not regular, the one being towards the south end of the hall, and the other being within the northern recess, from which also there was a window that looked into a small chamber (29) at its north end, through which there was a passage to the terrace on the roof of the ladies' apartments. The Raja therefore, even sitting in state, had an opportunity of seeing what was going forward in that quarter. The style of architecture in this hall, and the gallery before it, will be understood from the elevations accompanying the plans.

Before the gallery is an area (27), open above but shut in towards area (H) by a high parapet wall, so as totally to exclude a view of the ladies. At its north end is a door, by which, turning towards the left, there is the passage to the small chamber (29) above mentioned, through which was the entrance into the terraced roof of the ladies' apartments; and by the right was an open passage along the roofs (30) of chambers (7), (8) and (9).

At the south end of the terrace (27) is a stair partly open, partly covered. Although tolerably light, and rather wide, being from 3 to 4 feet, this stair is exceedingly steep. It leads to the roof of the great hall and gallery (26, 28), which is surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and to some buildings forming the third story of this part of the building, of which a separate plan is given. In the north parapet, towards the west end, is a small cupola leading to a window and covered balcony (1) overlooking the terrace on the roof of the ladies' apartments. At the south-west corner is a handsome square room (2) supported by 4 gothic arches, behind the southern of

which is a semicircular recess. This room has one door, and 2 very small windows. At the south-east corner of this terrace is another stair (3), partly covered, partly open, which leads to the fourth story of this part of the building on the roof of the chamber in the third story just now described. Of this fourth story also a separate plan is given. The small chamber (1) is open towards the north, where it is supported by 4 slender columns. The area on the terrace in front of this chamber has been surrounded by stone pillars, between which there were screens to conceal the ladies who might occasionally be admitted. A very narrow passage leads from this small apartment along the stair to a cupola (2) supported by 4 pillars, which commands a most magnificent view, having not only the whole country but almost every area of the castle perfectly exposed. This is the highest pinnacle of the building, and has a showy, light appearance.⁽¹⁾

I now proceed to the flower garden (Phulwari), as it is called by the Hindus, or (Khaneh bagh) house garden, as it is called by the Persians, which is in fact the abode of the ladies, or zenana, as we call it from the Persian zenana mahl (women's apartment); but this term appears too plain to Hindustani jealousy, which chooses to exclude altogether the mention of the sex. It forms a large square from the south-west corner of which the area (H) has been taken; but on every other part it is surrounded by apartments one story high, as will be seen on the plan. The most usual form of each apartment consists of a hall opening towards the garden with a wide door, and having at each end a room which is sometimes lighted by one window, but sometimes receives no air except through the hall. There are however several irregularities, as will be seen by the plan. It is probable, that, when not too much crowded, each lady had one of these apartments for herself and slaves. Three staircases, as will appear by the plan (7, 22, 44), led up to the roof near the south-east, north-east and north-west corners, where there are buildings, to

(1) To follow this description, see the small plan of the upper story. known locally as *Mān Singh ka barīkhā*.

which we shall afterwards return. There are also two private entries from the outside of the castle, marked No. 11 and No. 38. The latter is guarded by two small chambers, (39) and (40), which form a projection; but to my great surprise there would appear at the other passage (11) to have been no precaution except a wooden door. I am inclined however to suspect that both these passages were made by Colonel Goddard, to give access to his men, probably quartered in the flower garden, and that the passage No. 11 had been originally a stair like No. 22, and that the passage No. 38 has been like that marked No. 26, which leads into two chambers projecting in conformity with numbers 39 and 40, and which probably served as baths. The passage No. 18 led into a small area (U) surrounded by nine apartments, as will appear from the plan. Nos 7, 8 and 9 seem to have been retiring closets, the others surrounding this area seem to have been the apartments of careful women attendants. In the wall between (8) and (9) has been a stair leading to the terrace on the roof.

The area called the Phulwari has probably in fact been a flower garden, and is divided into numerous parterres by various narrow paved roads, crossing each other at right angles. The flowers of course have long ago vanished.

The chief ornament of this area is a square building called the Aina Mahal, or mirror of palaces,⁽¹⁾ the residence of the chief's married wife. It is placed near the centre on a terrace (W), to which on three sides there is an ascent by a stair leading to a cistern (1, 2, 3), in which there was probably a jet of water. On the west side were two stairs, and no cistern. The building is very clumsy. Each side in front has three doors, and some way above them a cornice in the usual form. Above the cornice is a window with a covered balcony, and the parapet is crowned with a clumsy balustrade. In other respects the whole of each front is a dead wall, varied only

(1) More correctly "the mirror apartment", an apartment hung round with mirrors. The same names are found in many palaces of the Mughal period.

by six windows, placed regularly, indeed but entirely unornamented, and quite pitiful in size. Within on the ground floor, which was probably the usual resort of such of the ladies as enjoyed the wife's favour, are 12⁽¹⁾ chambers, and a stair, the distribution of which will be seen from the plan. The rooms (5), (6), (7) and (8) are tolerably light and airy and high in the roof, which consists of a plain semicircular arch. The rooms Nos. 9 and 11 are neat, being octagons with two doors and four windows, two to the outside, and two towards the rooms Nos. 6 and 8, and 5 and 7. The roof forms a hollow hemisphere and is rather too lofty. Nos. 10 and 12 differ only in being square, and are also very neat. The central room no. 7,⁽²⁾ were it lighter, would be also handsome; but its four doors are very low, as the stair passes over one of them. Each door has over it a window; and, had that under the stair been sacrificed, the doors might have been made of a good height. The hemispherical roof, which covers the centre, is supported by four gothic arches, and within the arches at each end is a semi circular alcove completing the roof in length.

The stair which goes up from No. 8 is 3½ feet wide, but very steep. It leads up to the roof, or second story, the form of which will be seen by the plan. The terrace (31) is surrounded by a high parapet wall and balustrade, in which, as I have mentioned, are four windows with four covered balconies (33, 33, 33, 33), and it surrounds an elevated terrace (32), and a small building (35) above the stair, through the middle of which there is an arched passage (36). Above this a stair, exceedingly steep, leads to a small platform (38) on the summit, which is covered by a cupola (39) supported on four pillars not quite so high as that above the Padshah's throne, but still commanding a most noble view both of the country and castle. At each corner, above the chambers (9), (10), (11) and (12) is a small square room (34) covered by a dome, too low to have any effect from below. Each chamber has a door, and two small windows.

(1) Should be "9", judging from the plan.

(2) Should read "No. 4", according to the plan.

I now return to the buildings above the roof of the ladies' apartments, which is flat. Above the doors and windows their front towards the area was ornamented all round with a sloping cornice, above which was a low parapet wall, sufficient only to prevent those walking on the roof from falling over, but above the roof on the opposite side, the outer wall of the castle rose 10 or 12 feet above the terrace (40) which formed their roof.

Above the stairs Nos. 44, 22 and 7 are three small buildings (41) which cover the stair, and open with a door to each side from the landing place. A stair (42) leads up from the terrace to the small platform on the roof of each of these buildings, on which has been constructed a small cupola or Gumji, supported by 4 pillars (43). On each of the three corners of the roof of the ladies' quarters above the apartments (9), (24), and (42) is a square chamber (44), which on two sides towards the terrace has a door and window over it, and a window on each of the two sides that look towards the country. Each of these latter windows leads to a covered balcony, which of course was carefully covered by screens.

A wretched open hanging stair (46), such as before described, leads to the roof of each of these rooms, which are light and handsome, being nearly cubes. On the outside they have all round a sloping cornice, surmounted by a low parapet wall, which could not conceal from view the ladies that might ascend, and which of course they never were permitted to do, except in the dark.

Above the chambers (27) and (28) is a small area (47) open above, with a retiring closet (48) behind it; but there is nothing analogous above the corresponding apartments No 39 and 40.

Before the west front of the castle is a large area not however corresponding exactly with the dimensions of the front, as it does not reach to the southern end, while it passes the northern, as will appear by the plan. It has three gates towards the north, south

and west, but none of them is in the centre of its respective side. That towards the west had above it a gallery for the band of music called Nohobut,⁽¹⁾ and through this gate came an aqueduct about 4 feet high, which brought water into the flower garden from a small tank at some distance west, from whence it was raised by machinery. This aqueduct cut the court into two, so that there could have been no passage for a carriage from the north to the south gate, and horses could only indeed have passed by scrambling over a steep ascent paved with stones, which was in the line of the two gates. Except at the gates, the area was surrounded on every side by a high wall, on the inner side of which was erected a very narrow gallery, opening towards the area by numerous arches about 5 feet wide, with buttresses between of about 3 feet. The gallery was not subdivided into rooms, but served as barracks for the men immediately attached to the governor's person. The roof of the gallery served as a rampart, defended by the outer wall rising into a parapet capable of defence against musketry. The centre of the west face was ornamented by a cupola, supported on four pillars, and overlooking a small tank.

The stones of which these works consist are partly red and partly white, but the latter are the most common. The whole hill at least towards the summit consists of them. The strata are apparently horizontal, and the masses that have been procured are very fine and cut well. It is granular, but much harder than proper sandstone, and approaches in nature to granular hornstone.

In the afternoon I returned to Meygaong.⁽²⁾

25th December.—I went about 10 miles, which were called 7 cooses, to Nahatta.⁽³⁾ The road led for a great

(1) *Naubat*, originally a large kettle-drum; then used for the music played at fixed times in front of the king's or raja's palace.—*Naubat khāna* is the music-gallery, generally above the main gateway or entrance to a palace.

(2) *Majhigawan*. See page 47 above, where Buchanan spells it *Majhigwa*.

(3) *Nauhatta*, just under ten miles from *Majhigawan* by the present road.

part of the way between the great hills and some small ones which skirt the Son. These do not reach to the great hills as represented in the Bengal Atlas,⁽¹⁾ and are of inconsiderable height, but are very rocky. The stone like the white kind on Rotas, but not so hard, approaching nearer to freestone. The country between is a fine level.

The houses of sirkar Rotas I observe have the ridge of their roof straight one side, overlapping the other as in a government house in Ava. Those here are surrounded by high but rude railings of sticks and bamboos covered with Sem.⁽²⁾

The people of Nahatta say that Bupnath⁽³⁾ the owner is descended from Ruedas, and call him Surya-bongsi.⁽⁴⁾ They say that at Bandu on the bank of the Son where there is a place dedicated to Doriswara Siva, but no temple, there is a stone⁽⁵⁾ on which every Rajah's name appears engraved when he dies. Bupnath is called the Bilaunjiva Rajah, which seems to be the same name as Billaunja of Rennell, no such name being known.⁽⁶⁾ His estate formed the part of Circar

(1) i.e., Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*

(2) The broad bean, *Dolichos lablab*. These fences covered with bean plants are a distinctive feature of the villages close under and among the hills of South Bihār and Chotā Nāgpur, and add much to their picturesque-ness.

(3) Bhūpanātha, "lord of kings".

(4) Sūryavamśi, i.e., of the solar race. Rohita, according to the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, was a scion of the Ayodhya branch of the solar race, an Aiksvāku, not an Aila (lunar race). For the significance of the distinction, see F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1922), page 295.

(5) See Buchanan's paper in the *Transactions, R. A. S.*, Vol. I, Pt. II. 203-4, which shows that he visited the place, and examined the rock and the inscriptions on it, finding among other names that of Pratāpadhāvala Deva. The family which in Buchanan's time held the "principality of Bilonja" claimed descent from Pratāpadhāvala, "chief of Japila". The history of the Sonpura family, the head of which is still respectfully called "Mahārāj" by the country folk around, is of peculiar interest, and merits critical investigation.

I cannot think what Doriswara represents, unless it be *dvāresvara*, the "lord of the gateway", or entrance, i.e., of the narrow passage up the Son valley, the route so often followed in ancient times, by invading hosts from the south-west. Possibly we have the same idea in the name Dārānagar (? Dvāranagara) the important village due south of Rohtāsagarh and north of the embouchure of the Koel river.

(6) It is not clear what Buchanan means here. Apparently he should have written "Bittounja", as thus is how Rennell spelt the name on his map. See also Appendix G.

Rohtas from Rohtas and upward, including Husinabad, and Bandu and Mangea have been separated to collateral branches, and the whole on the south side of the Son has been granted in Jaygir⁽¹⁾ to a Nawab of Patna, who farms it to the Rajah for Rs. 6,000 a year, but this is in Ramgar.⁽²⁾ For what he has on this side he is called Talukdar, and paid Rs. 3,300 to the Rani, while there are 6 or 7 zemindars under him, besides a little that he retains Khas. The Rajah will now get the independent management of this part of the estate. The family had two seats, at Daranagar, a cose from Bandu, and at Morabba⁽³⁾ on the Koyil river, but he now lives at Sonpur,⁽³⁾ 2 coses above the mouth of that river, on the south side of the Sone. Bhaiwani Singha the owner of Bandu is also called Talukdar, and paid his revenue to the Rani, levying it from zemindars. They know nothing of Chanderban nor of who took Rohtas from the family. South from Majiya is Gurwa⁽³⁾ which belongs to Nursingha Deva, a person of the same branch of the family with Bhawani Singha but he pays his revenue to Ramgar, and his estate is a separate pergunah. Ranka⁽³⁾ in Palamon is south from thence. The rajah of Palamon is a Cheru. Some people say that the Cheru speak Hindi, others not. Ranka belongs to the Dewan who is a Suruyar⁽⁴⁾ Rajput. Sirguja in the Maratta country belongs to [a] Raksel⁽⁵⁾ Rajput, of the same family with Ajidsingha, on whom he depended. Singraula⁽⁶⁾ belongs to Udawant Singh, a Ben Bungsi

(1) Evidently the Husainābād family, descendants of Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, father of Ghulām Husain Khān, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutākharrin*, who held the estate from 'Alī Vardi Khān's time.

(2) The old district of Rāmgarh covered a very large area. It was broken up after the Kol insurrection in 1831-2, parts being allotted to the Mānbhum, Monghyr and old Bihār districts, while the bulk was divided between the districts of Hāzāribāgh and Lohardagā (the present Rānchi and Palāmau districts).

(3) All in the north-western portion of the Palāmau district, see **Morwe, Sonpura, Manjeawan, Garhwa and Ranka** on the Survey map.

(4) The "Sarwar" or "Surwar" of Sherring (I, 228).

(5) A name not ordinarily found in lists of Rājput clans and tribes. A Raksel of the same family as the Sargujā rājās seized a considerable area south of the Son about the middle of the 17th century; but Ajit Singh does not appear to have been of this stock. At least Ajit seems to have been a Singrauli rājā—generally regarded as Kharwār. (See Crooke and Dampier's *Note on Mirzapur District South of the Son* (1894).)

(6) Singrauli, in Mirzapur district, south of the Son.

Rajput, who pays tribute for 700 villages to the company and 700 to the Marattahs. The Chowhan Rajputs possess the country between Singrauli and Surguja and [*sic.*] belongs to the Marattahs. All these are pure Rajputs. The most prevalent caste in the parts are the Porya,⁽¹⁾ who are supposed to be a branch of the Gor or stone cutters. In Palamon the Cherus are by far the most numerous. A good many Khorwar on the hills of Palamo and Bellauja and some below. The Palamo Raja wears the thread and lives pure, but the poor live impure.

26th December.—I went between 7 and 8 miles to Porcha⁽²⁾ between the hills and the Son, which is scarcely here navigated although it contains a good deal of water. The people say that there are no pebbles either in it or in the Kiyul.⁽³⁾ About a mile from Noahut⁽⁴⁾ I crossed a deep torrent named Badua,⁽⁵⁾ and about 2 miles farther on the Nunona,⁽⁵⁾ both with very steep banks. In other places the road is very tolerable for such a country. There are said to be many tigers⁽⁶⁾ in the woods.

In the evening I received a visit from Bupnath, who lately lived at Srinagar,⁽⁷⁾ a mud walled house with two stories thatched and a mud fort near, just opposite to Porcha, but has now gone to Sonpur, a similar abode. He was well dressed and very civil, but has little the appearance of a gentleman. He says that he is descended of Chundroban who was expelled from Rohtas by Shere Shah, as usually related, and that Chundrabhan was descended through the

(1) Written thus in the manuscript. It is difficult to say what caste Buchanan refers to. There is no such caste or tribe to be found in south Shahābād. I suspect that the c should be read r. Porya would about represent the pandit's pronunciation of Parhaiya (Crooke, *T. & C.* IV), or Parheya, as Dalton calls them (*EtA. of Ben.*, 127, 129, 131, &c.).

(2) Parochha.

(3) Koel.

(4) Nauhatta.

(5) Not named on the S. S.

(6) Captain De Gless, in his journal kept when on survey work in South Bihār, under date 20th December, 1766, found this very neighbourhood (near Dārānagar) "much embarrassed with Junggles and Immense Quantity of Tygers", and further on, the next day, he records "Great numbers of Tygers".

(7) On the south bank of the Son, in Palāman district.

Oyudiya⁽¹⁾ family of Ruedas [Rohitas]. That he is descended of Chandrabān is highly probable. He says that the image on Ruedas Chauri represented that prince, and that the conical rock mentioned in my account of Katautea gate was left by one of his ancestors, who was attempting to dig a passage for the Son through the hills. When the workmen began to cut this part blood issued from it.⁽²⁾ He says that he can trace his ancestors very far in the papers belonging to his family, and has promised me a list.

The Son here is about a mile wide and the stream is 4 or 5 hundred yards, not rapid but tolerably clear, and in most parts pretty deep. It is now fordable at two places between this and Bandu, but in the spring is fordable in most places. The banks or channel are not at all rocky, and they contain but few pebbles, and fewer of these are of a fine kind than lower down.

The people of Porcha are Kanoj⁽³⁾ Brahmans who cultivate by means of slaves.⁽⁴⁾ Their huts wretched, and they seem bad and indolent farmers. They do every kind of labour except holding the plough. For nine years the rains have been scanty, owing to which many have gone to other places.

27th December.—I went rather less than 10 miles to Jadunathpur by a road which was represented as impracticable, but I found it not very bad; 2 or 3 descents into torrents were rather steep, in other respects it was good. The torrents are numerous, and in general contain a little stagnant water, and by receiving them into reservoirs near the hills might

(1) See also above (page 50) where Buchanan calls him "Chandra Ban, a Brahman". It seems to me that he has confounded the Rājā with his deputy, or diwān. The Muhammadan historians distinguish between the two. The "mighty Raja" of Ni'mat-ullah may have been descended from Rohita's race, the Aiksvākus of Ayodhya. I do not find his name given in the Muhammadan histories; it may possibly have been Chandra-bān; but it is also possible that Chandrabān represents the Churāman of Abbās Sarwāni (Elliot, IV, 157) and of Ni'mat-ullah (see Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, 107, who writes Churamen).

(2) The same story is still told, and the spirit is still propitiated by the hill folk.

(3) Kananjiya.

(4) Buchanan no doubt refers to the *kamiyauti* system. The *kamiyā* is not a slave in the sense in which this word is generally used in English.

irrigate a very large proportion of the country; but this has been entirely neglected. The most remarkable in the order I passed them were called Titahi, Pinsa, Dusiyari, Bohariya Jagrewa, Barand Kota,⁽¹⁾ and one at Jadunathpur the name of which I did not learn. The country by nature, is most remarkably beautiful, little wooded hills, winding rich plains, most rocky and precipitous mountains bounding on both sides a river from 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, leave nothing to be wished for except that the plains should be cultivated by an intelligent people; but all here is poverty and ignorance. There are sundry villages, but exceedingly wretched, and chiefly occupied by Sakadwipi Brahmans and their slaves, as bad as the Konjiyas.⁽²⁾ The woods are not so stunted as farther down, although many of them are on little hills, but the soil of these is very rich. These little hills seem of a singular nature.⁽³⁾ They are in short detached ridges or hemispherical lumps, perhaps 40 or 50 feet in diameter and 10 to 15 high, with narrow passages winding among them. Some have been cultivated, and I see one producing mustard without irrigation.

Near Jadunathpur the rock comes to the surface without rising into hills, and the rock descends to the bank of the Son, but not at all into its channel, which is entirely of sand. This rock is divided into masses by fissures running nearly E. and W. and N. and S., with others having a slight dip to the south. It is a hornstone, where most entire of an uniform colour and substance, but the greater part is much decayed and crumbling into fragments like dry clay. In these the substance has been divided into thin layers of different colours, and not straight but waved. In most places not only the larger masses but the fragments into which these are crumbling are cuboidal, but in one place I observed it dividing into vertical plates running east and west.

(1) None of these names are marked on the S. S.

(2) Kananjiyā.

(3) Are these the "Cuddapah sands" of the geologists? Sherwill did not mark them on his map.

A nephew of Torul Mul, and an uncle of the Adhaura⁽¹⁾ Chaudri, says that the Kharwar always lived on these hills from Rohtas to Vijayagur and are under two Rajahs, Torul and Siva, one who has the hills of Tilautta, the other those of Saseram. The hills of Chainpura are under 4 independent Chauduris. Siva Singha has one Chauduri, and Torul Mul 7. The Kharwars of Tilautta are called Turkan, I believe, because they paid fowls to Rotas, but they say from the name of the district. Siva Singha's people are called Koruh from the name of the district.⁽²⁾ The country or people of the 4 Chauduris is called Rajewar, but they disclaim all affinity with the Rajwars, but they do the same with the Kharwar bearers of the plains and with those of Nagpur and Palamo, who speak a language which they do not understand, they using the ordinary Hindi. They have no remembrance of having been sovereigns of any country but their own, nor do they worship Ruedas nor claim any connection with him.⁽³⁾ Torul and his 7 Chauduris were not of the same family, and each paid his contribution separately to the Rani,⁽⁴⁾ but they obeyed his orders. The Raja and his male relations wear the thread and call themselves Surya-bongsi Rajputs, but do not pretend to have any kindred with Bupnath, nor did they ever hear of Chandrabhan, but they say that they always depended on whoever possessed Ruedas. The stone in the ditch at Katautea they call Baings Asur,⁽⁵⁾ and some of

(1) Now the most important village on the plateau, about 20 miles W. by N from Rohtāsgarh.

(2) Perhaps Korās, on the bank of one of the headstreams of the Durgāvatī, about 12 miles west of Akbarpur Cf. Koresh, pages 85 and 114 below.

(3) In the Report, however (Martin's *E. I.*, 493), Buchanan says they call themselves Sūryavamsī.

(4) Buchanan mentions "the Rani" several times, but does not tell us who she was. Thomas Twining, who was Collector of Shāhābād from December 1801 to September 1803, when describing a visit to the fortress, mentions that the "Rajah of Rotas" resided at Akbarpur. This may have been Harbans Rāya, son of Shāh Mal, the *diwān* of the fortress *jāgir* who surrendered the place to Captain Goddard in 1764. Haveli Rohtās pargana was granted in *jāgir* by the E. I. Co. to Shāh Mal, and the grant was continued to Harbans (see *Gazetteer*, 1924, page 124). Shāh Mal was sometimes called Rājā Shāh Mal, and probably Harbans was also known, locally at all events, as the Rājā. Probably then the Rāni referred to by Buchanan was the widow of Harbans, who we know resided at Tilothā.

(5) i.e., Bhainsāsūr (Mahiśāsura).

them make offerings but others do not. They all pray to Durga, Devi, to whom they offer buffaloes and goats. The poor among them eat fowls and swine, but the chiefs who have Brahmans for Gurus and Purohits reject these. The poor at harvest worship chiefly the Gong⁽¹⁾ Devi, or village goddess, whose name the chiefs do not know. All except the Rajah's family hold the plough. The poor are not slaves. The Gaur⁽²⁾ bring forth young in Asaur⁽³⁾ and go in flocks of 4 or 5. The males that are solitary are savage and attack men. The Gaur and Arna are the same. There is no other Arna on these hills. Their horns are round, not like those of the buffalo. They are only procured in Choyet,⁽⁴⁾ when the jungle is burnt and they come to springs to drink. Their commodities come from Banaras by Vijapur⁽⁵⁾ on which route there is no considerable ascent.

The Cherus of this place say that the Palamo Rajah is of their caste and calls himself a Nagbangsi Rajput, and the persons of high rank there marry with Rajputs and wear the thread, but the low Cherus do not, although they live pure and have Brahman Gurus and purohits. The people here speak only the Hindi, but although those of Palamo in general understand it, they have a dialect or language which the people here do not understand, and which they call the Nagpuri; but it is probable that in Nagpur several languages quite distinct are spoken. They have a tradition that they were driven into the forests by the Huriyabangs.⁽⁶⁾

(1) *Grāmadevatā*, "village goddess".

(2) See also page 40 above, Note (3), and Martin's *E. I.*, II, 14. Gaur and Arna are not the same. In South Bihar the word *gaur* (Sanskrit गौर) is always applied to the Indian bison, and *arna* (Sanskrit अरण्य) to the wild buffalo.

(3) *Asāṇh*, the 10th month of the Hindi Fasli year, corresponding with about the middle of June to the middle of July.

(4) *Chait*, the 7th month of the Hindi Fasli year, corresponding with about the middle of March to the middle of April.

(5) *Vijayagarh*, generally pronounced and written *Bijaigarh*.

(6) i.e., *Haihayavāṇśī*, one of the most interesting races of the past in India. See Sherring, *T. & C.* I, 213; Crooke, *T. & C.*, and Russell, *T. & C.*, s. v. For their connexion with Shāhābād (see *Gazetteer* 1924, 168), where they appear as *Harihobana*.

The Raja of Billounja says that the Palamo Raja is a Cheru, and not a Nagbongsi Rajput like the Nagpur Walih.⁽¹⁾ The proper Rajputs will not marry with the Cherus, who are descended from illegitimate sons of Chohun⁽²⁾ Muni. These must not be confounded with the Chohan⁽³⁾ Rajputs of the west. The Chohans of this vicinity are only pretenders, and are in reality Paiks. All proper Rajputs are called Rawut burg,⁽⁴⁾ an inferior breed are called Paik burg, but the Cherus do not even belong to these. The Palamo people fled from Bojpur from an ancestor of Bupnath's, and settled first at Deruya⁽⁵⁾ in Palamo. All speak the Hindi language. In the hills of Billounja a people called Parahia⁽⁶⁾ speak a quite distinct language.

The Ramgur, Kunda and Toree⁽⁷⁾ Rajahs are Kharwars but call themselves Rajputs. Their people speak Hindi. In Nagpur almost all the people are Dangurs,⁽⁸⁾ Rajwars, Kharwars, &c. The iron smelters are Kol lohar.⁽⁹⁾ The persons of rank in Kunda, Toree intermarry with the Cherus of Palamon. The Kharwars of Ramgar, &c., who are learned, say

(1) *Walī*, an Arabic word, now used in the sense of guardian, or (as here) governor.

(2) Cyavana Rsi, the Bhārgava. For the association of the earliest Bhārgavas with non-Āryan races, see Pargiter, *Anc Ind Hist Tradition*, Chap. XXVI.

(3) Chauhān, one of the Agnikula clans.

(4) *Rāvat varga*, "princely class" *Rāvat*, sometimes *rāt*, is derivatively the same as *rājpūt*.

Pāyika varga. The name *pāyika*, lit a foot-soldier, was applied to men, generally selected from martial races, employed as a sort of militia, e.g., by landholders to guard treasure, &c., and so men employed on military service, not necessarily Rājputs. Cf. also the Paiks of Orissa.

(5) Now a small place in north-western Palāmau.

(6) Parhaiyā? See above, page 77, Note (1).

(7) Rāmgarh, Kuṇḍā and Torī, all famous forts at one time.

(8) *Dhāngars*, see page 55; Note (4).

(9) For Kol Lohārs, see *Census of India*, 1911, Vol V, page 502. The term Kol is used in a very comprehensive sense in South Bihār and Chota Nagpur, and covers several tribes or races of so-called aboriginal origin. The ancient iron-smelters of the hill country are now represented by the Agariyas of south Mirzapur, and the Asuras and Agoriyas of Chota Nagpur. The iron smelters referred to by Buchanan were probably Agariyas. Heaps of iron slag, the relics of ancient workings, have been found on the plateau above. An interesting description of the method of work followed by these people will be found in V. Ball's *Jungle Life*, page 668.

that they derive their name from Khairagur⁽¹⁾ and that they ought to be called Gurwar the title which Ajit Singha's family assumes. This family is acknowledged universally to be true Rajputs and have long possessed their present territory. Khairagur is on the road between Eardí and Mirzapur a small mud fort.

December 28th.—I remained at Jadunathpur preparing to ascend the hills by the Sokri⁽²⁾ ghat. Jadunathpur is a wretched place. There are two Ahars,⁽³⁾ one totally neglected, the other cultivated with wheat, and the fields under it with rice. In the evening I went to hawk with the Rajah who, although his territories are very small, had an elephant, a servant on horseback and eight or nine hawks. He is said to be very much in debt. He seems quite regardless of his people. His elephant stood in the midst of a wheat field and was allowed to pull up the young plants and eat without restraint, although there is a great scarcity if not famine. The Son here is much as at Porcha. In its bed a few pebbles, very few of these diaphanous, but some red, green, yellowish and blackish, quite opaque. At Bandu ghat the diaphanous become common: whether they come down the Keyol or are generated in the banks I cannot say.

December 29th.—I went to Sorkey.⁽²⁾ The bottom of the hill is not quite 2 miles from Jadunathpur, near which there are some small hillocks such as I saw on the 26th; but on the whole no hills come within 1½ mile of the Son, the channel of which is quite sandy and not only contains fewer pebbles than lower down, but a much smaller proportion are

(1) Both Santāls and Kharwārs have a tradition that they came from Khairāgaph, but it is not definitely settled where this was. The Mirzapur Kharwārs locate it in the Allahabad district. Other sites have been suggested in Chhattiāgaph State, Mirzapur, South Gayā, Hāzāribāgh, and even in the south of the Bhāgalpur district. Khairā is a very common place name. The very name Kharwār is simply *khair wāla*, a person who prepares catechu-extract from the *khair* tree (*Acacia Catechu*).

(2) Saraki.

(3) An *āhar*, meaning derivately a place that holds or contains (Sanskrit *√* , to hold) is an artificial reservoir used for purposes of irrigation, formed in the localities under description by constructing a dam across the outlet of a water catchment area fed by a stream from the hills.

diaphanous, a good many red and green opaque stones, but no good specimens procurable.

The ascent may be a mile in length, and is not near so steep as Rajghat to Rotas, as it winds a good deal, although not conducted with much judgment. It is exceedingly rough, although some pains have been bestowed in former ages to improve the natural ascent. Loaded oxen carry up small loads, but with great difficulty. From the summit to Sorkey is about a mile. The country rises into gentle swells, with here and there an inconsiderable hill, but many rocks project both on the deeper and more level parts. There is however much good soil fit for the plough and of a red colour which I have nowhere seen on the plains of this district. It entirely resembles the best ragy⁽¹⁾ soil of Mysore, and no doubt would be very productive of that grain. It is covered with long grass, quite parched, and scattered trees, Mohuyal, Bot, Chironji⁽²⁾ &c. Near the village of Sorki, where it is manured, it produces wheat without watering, but without manure it is supposed incapable of producing any crop. A narrow valley, perhaps 100 yards wide, winds past Sorki, and is cultivated with rice. Many banks are made across it, which preserve the water with which some of the fields are still filled owing probably to springs. The crop seems even this year to have been very good. The straw is in a great measure neglected. I saw only 2 or 3 oxen, but a herd of 18 or 20 buffaloes. The people say that wells cannot be dug on account of stones, but that most of the rivers contain perennial streams and that there are many springs. The Rajah's grandfather has dug a small tank, now overwhelmed with weeds, but it contains much water, and a well lined with stone under its lowest bank contains water within a few feet of the surface, which I believe soaks into [it] from the tank.

The Rajah is a decent looking peasant, but very meanly and even dirt[il]y dressed. He does not want

(1) *Eleusine coracana*, called *marud* in South Bihâr.

(2) *Buchanania latifolia*. The kernels of the fruit, which yields a wholesome oil, are widely eaten by the people.

sense, and he had with him one of the Chauduris whose linen was bleached and his manners good. They had with them 50 or 60 men, several of them armed with matchlocks, as the whole tribe I am told is. There are 5 Taluks, Turkan, Koresh, Rajwar, Atgaungwa and Vijaiyagiri,⁽¹⁾ besides some scattered villages west from Tilautha and some in Kera, north-east from Vijayagiri which have no chiefs, but the greater part of Taluk Kera⁽²⁾ is on the plain and depends on Benares. Each of the 3 last mentioned Taluks has 4 Chauduris, but no Rajah. There are therefore in all 2 Rajahs and 19 Chauduris, who all intermarry. They disclaim all connection with the Kharwars of the south-east and never heard of those to the north. The only caste settled here are a few Dusads, who watch the villages and collect rent. They get 10 sers of gram a month from each house. The barber comes once in 14 days. Clothes when washed are sent below, but this is seldom required. All articles of manufacture brought from below. I saw some pigs, but whether belonging to the Dusads or not, I cannot say. Sorkey contains about 20 houses, or rather families, some having several huts fully as good as those of the farmers below. The Rajah's is large. We were however kept at a distance, evidently from fear of the women, no one of which was seen but all the people very civil.

December 30th.—I went 9 miles to Lora⁽³⁾ which agrees very well with the people's calculation. The country very beautiful, like Mysore, to Khethangs,⁽⁴⁾ swelling with a few rocks near the banks of the torrents; between Khethangs and Lora rather hilly and rocky. The woods very much stunted, and in a few

(1) This is evidently meant for Bijaigarh. For the names Turkān, Koresh and Rajwār, see above, page 80. Atgaungwa means "eight villages" (*āṣṭ gāṇv*): it may possibly be the same name as that spelt Aughtgama on page 144 below. All five names may represent branches or distinct families of the Kharwār tribes, after which the different estates or "lordships" (Buchanan's Taluk = *ta'alluqa*) were called.

(2) Kera Mangraur, now a pargana in the Mirzapur district. In Todar Mal's rent-roll it is shown as a *maḥāl* in *sarkār* Rohtās. Rāi Balwant Singh obtained a grant of it in *altamghā* from Alamgir II in 1754.

(3) Lohra.

(4) Chathans.

places only trees thinly scattered among the long grass. The Sal⁽¹⁾ the most common tree. Near the villages, usually situated on rising ground, the country is cleared, and fine Mango, But and Mohuya trees are thinly scattered over it, which look very fine. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Sorkey crossed a torrent named the Barha,⁽²⁾ which contains some stagnant pools of water. By the way crossed 2 narrow valleys cultivated with rice, but saw no houses near. The village of Surha⁽³⁾ I saw at a good distance to the left. More than a mile of the road was through stunted woods. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther on came to the Karamnasa at a good village named Sarodaj,⁽⁴⁾ which may contain about 15 families. The Karamnasa is a small stream or burn, clear as crystal. A good deal of the country between Sorha and Saroda covered with thinly scattered trees and long grass. About half a mile beyond the Karamnasa, covered by stunted woods, is a large rocky channel with some stagnant pools of water and called the Karnasiya.⁽⁵⁾ About half a mile from this, through a stunted wood, is a poor village named Bohera,⁽⁶⁾ containing 2 or 3 families. From Bohera to Khethangs is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles through stunted woods. Khethangs is such a village as Saroda. From thence to Lora is about 2 miles, through a hilly and rocky country.

There can be little doubt but that Bhupnath is a Khairwar as his family intermarried within these 5 or 6 years with that of Singroula,⁽⁷⁾ who acknowledge themselves such. The chief of Singroula until lately was called Lal, but he now takes the title of Rajah. All the Khairwars here call themselves Suryabungsis. On the hills they marry all promiscuously, although they have given up all connection with those below. They have Sakadwipi Brahmans as Puruhits, and

(1) *Sal* (Sanskrit शल) *Shorea robusta*, called *sakwā* among the hills of South Bihār.

(2) A small tributary of the Karmanāsā.

(3) *Sorha*.

(4) *Sarodaj*.

(5) Not marked on the S. S., but the name means the "little Karmanāsā".

(6) *Bohera*, called after the tree (*Terminalia belerica*).

(7) *Singroula*.

some, as Gurus, but in the latter office the Dasnamis⁽¹⁾ have interfered. Torul follows this sect. Most of them worship Siva, but some have become Vaishnavas and abstain from hunting and meat.

December 31st.—I went to Churunda⁽²⁾ called by some Korhur.⁽³⁾ I first returned by the same way that I came yesterday to the skirts of Chethangs, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, and then turned more to the east. I had not stopt yesterday at Chethangs because it was said that it afforded no water, but about a mile after I left the yesterday's road, I came to a large rocky channel containing many pools and a stream of water running north, very little less than the Karamnasa. About a mile beyond that I passed through a rice field belonging to Neyur⁽⁴⁾ village, but did not see the houses. From thence to Duga⁽⁵⁾ is about 2 miles. Duga is a small village with 3 or 4 families. A mile beyond this I crossed the Durgauti, a rocky channel with many pools and a stream larger than the Karamnasa. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond it I passed Purohangs,⁽⁶⁾ where a solitary family resides on the west side of the Kulhutta⁽⁷⁾ river, nearly similar to the Durgauti. These three rivers contain streams at all seasons, and might be applied to great advantage in irrigation. About a mile above the last I halted at Korhar,⁽³⁾ the residence of a Chauduri. It is said to contain only 8 houses, but I saw in it at least 30 strong young men. In fact each house consists of 3 or 4 huts crammed with people. The Khairwars are a strong people, with features exactly like the Cherus; and both have nearly the same customs. Both eat swine, the Khairwars eat even fowls. The country is much less populous and cultivated than formerly. The people assign no reason for this, except that the former inhabitants have died. I perceive that in every village some shark⁽⁸⁾ from the low country has settled, or rather comes occasionally. He advances whatever the people

(1) The ten sub-orders of the *gusāṁs* or *sannyāsīs* who regard Śankara Āchārya as their spiritual guide.

(2) Chunda.

(4) Neurur.

(3) Koras?

(5) Dugna.

(6) and (7) Not marked on the S. S.

(8) Apparently the Pathān or so-called "Kābuli" money-lender

want, and is repaid partly in produce, partly in *posts*, but chiefly in the former, and it is to this chiefly that I attribute the decay of the country. Churunda is a village much such as Lora.

1st January, 1813.—I went in the first place about 6 miles to the top of Koriyari ghat. The country not so hilly as yesterday but more so than near Sorky. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Churunda I came to a similar village named Luka. In the rice land on its west is a fine stream of water running north. The people there have a very numerous herd of cattle. A little more than 2 miles from thence is a similar village called Ranadi⁽¹⁾ with more Rubbi about it than usual. The women of this village were allowed to peep at a distance, an indulgence shown nowhere else. About half a mile beyond Ranadi is a small stream⁽²⁾ in a rocky torrent called Achela. I then walked down the pass,⁽³⁾ which is fully as difficult as Sorky and conducted with no skill as it follows a torrent which renders the road very bad. On coming into the plain I went about a mile to the village of Koriyari,⁽³⁾ and from thence went into a recess called Kasisiya⁽⁴⁾ Ko from its containing a mine of that substance. The distance from Koriyari is called 2 coses, but does not appear to me more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 2 on the plain and $\frac{1}{2}$ up the lower part of the hill. All on the summit of the hills from Sorki to Koriyari ghat the stone is exactly similar to that of Rhotas gur. As you descend the ghat it assumes more the appearance of hornstone. At the bottom of the recess is a grand precipice showing the strata admirably. They are nearly horizontal, with a slight dip to the east, but that the vertical fissures are also very distinct appears from a grand mass of rock, perhaps 50 feet high, 100 long;

(1) Ranadth.

(2) Not marked on the S. S.

(3) Kauriari. It was up the Kauriari valley that Major James Crawford led his regiment in September, 1781, when directed by Warren Hastings to proceed to Bijai garh. Whether by the ghât described by Buchanan, or by another ghât up the Gulariyâ Khoh, it is not clear; but he dragged his guns with him on to the top of the plateau, and got through to Bijai garh.

(4) Kasisiyâ Khoh, i.e., the glen where *kasis* (sulphate of iron) is found. This is not marked on the S. S., but Sherwill's geological map indicates the exact site (two miles north-west of Kauriari).

10 feet wide at the bottom, and perhaps 8 at the top, standing quite erect and detached from the precipice behind. At the Katautea gate of Rotas on the northern side are 2 similar masses, much larger indeed but not so far separated from the mass, being only separated by a qhasm of a few feet in thickness. The disposition of the ore is here very plain. It runs along the whole end of the recess at the bottom of the precipice and is about 10 feet thick, but much may be lower down, as its bottom has never been explored. It consists as in the other mine of two very distinct substances. The greater part is of gentle slate, which is at once distinguished by the saline efflorescence on its surface being yellow. Near its upper part, but covered by a portion 2 or 3 feet thick of the gentle slate, is a band of pyrites⁽¹⁾ about 2 feet thick and covered with a white or pale blue efflorescence. The mine is wrought by Khairwars, who break off fragments with stones, although it is so hard as to strike fire with a pick axe. They then carry it to Koriyari on their heads, although the road for the greater part of the way is very good for loaded cattle. They have already formed a considerable excavation, and will continue to advance until the rock falls in and overwhelms the mine, which will then cease to be wrought. The rock above is black, and seems a gradation between hornstone⁽²⁾ and potstone. No distinction is made between the two kinds of ore, although the one is vastly more heavy than the other, nor does sufficient pains seem to be bestowed on scraping the efflorescence. It is only wrought in Choyet Bysak.⁽³⁾ I then returned to Koriyari, where I examined one of the works for making Kasis. The workman who superintends is the most stupid creature I ever beheld, but so far as I could understand him the process is as follows. The new ore is brought down in spring and placed in a heap, when if no rains occur it is watered until the commencement of the rainy season, when it is put under a shed and is fit for filtration, the operation going constantly on.

(1) A combination of iron and sulphur.

(2) Sherwill does not show hornstone as found here, but only indurated potstone and sulphur ores.

(3) Chait-Balsakh, from about the middle of March to the middle of May.

A quantity is put with some water into a large earthen vessel at night, and after being stirred is allowed to stand until morning when the earth is taken up, strained and thrown into a heap which is exposed to the air until the rainy season. If no showers happen in spring, it is watered and then put under the shed; nor does it ever seem to be wholly exhausted, as the same is repeated year after year, but the new matter is always mixed with the old. In the morning another quantity of ore is mixed with the water and allowed to stand until night, when the earth is again lifted out and strained. They have no contrivance such as a cock for drawing off the water, and as a strainer use an earth pot with a large hole in the bottom. The hole is covered by a bit of tile and the solution passes of course through loaded with earthy matter. It is then put into a vessel and allowed to stand all night, when a good deal of the impurities subside and the solution is taken up in a cup and poured into the boilers. The furnace consists of 2 mud walls, the fuel going in at one end and the smoke out at the other. It is covered above, leaving three small openings for 3 small earthen pots, each may perhaps contain 10 sers. The evaporation is conducted chiefly in the two lateral ones, and as it goes on the thickened matter is collected in the central pot, which when filled is removed and the Kasis formed into balls of a deliquescent muddy substance, which no doubt contains much sulphate of iron with much pulverized pyrites and clay, and probably some Alum. What subsides from the solution is collected in heaps, which after a year's exposure to the air gives more Kasis than either new or old ore. The waste of labour both in mining and extracting the salt and the expenditure of fuel, were they estimated on the European scale, would render it as dear as silver and are on a par with the impurity of the salt procured. There are 5 boilers, one at Koriyari and 4 in a wood a little lower down the same valley.

2nd January.—I went down the valley of Koriyari to Akberpur.⁽¹⁾ The valley is about 2 miles

(1) Akbarpur. I have never seen this name explained. Possibly Mā Singh called it so, in honour of his master. It will be noticed how extremely rare Muhammadan names are on or about these hills.

wide, perfectly level, of a good soil and watered by several perennial streams, but except in the wretched village of Koriyari occupied by Khairwar it is entirely unoccupied and covered with woods consisting chiefly of bamboos, but these are not cut, all that are used are brought from the bottom of the hills. In fact the wealthy drones who have herds of buffaloes keep this waste as a place for their cattle; were it cultivated the scenery would be inexpressibly fine, both sides being covered by immense rocks of Rotas in which are numerous recesses, some penetrating far among the rocks and precipices. One spot has been cleared by the merchants for collecting their bamboos from the hills, and the quantity lying there for exportation was very great. Not one seems to be cut on the plain between that and Akberpur, although it is covered with them for above a cose.⁽¹⁾ I crossed the Kochla⁽²⁾ Koriyari, and immediately afterwards a smaller stream. About 2 miles farther on I crossed a pretty stream which comes from Gulariya Ko towards the Katautea gate. But I suspect that at this season no water falls from the hills. In going to the Kasis mine all the channels were dry, but at Koriyari there is a small stream, and where the river⁽³⁾ divides into two branches below each is more considerable than the stream at Koriyari. The natives have made no observations on the subject.

3rd January.—I returned to Vishnupur,⁽⁴⁾ near Tilautta, and observed that the water of the Son there is used for irrigation, so that the usual pretence of its killing every crop it touches⁽⁵⁾ is a mere imagination.

4th January.—I returned to Sasaram and observed that the river in the ghât is now dry.

(1) The tract falls within the boundaries of the peculiar Government Estate, known as the *Bānskaṭi Mahāl*, the nature and history of which were so fully described in Mr. (now Sir) D. J. Macpherson's Report on the Government Estates. For a brief account, see *Gazetteer*, 1924, page 127. Buchanan was perhaps not aware of the duty leviable on all bamboos and other timber products.

(2) Named Barua N. on the S. S.

(3) Ausane N.

(4) ? Bishunpura, four miles SSW. from Tilothu.

(5) This objection was raised some 60 years later, when the Son Canal system was under construction; and the complaint is still heard that the deposit of fine sand must ultimately deteriorate the soil.

5th January.—I examined the Rosa ⁽¹⁾ or monument of Shere Shah situated on the west side of Sasaram, in the midst of a fine tank. This extends (reckoning from the commencement of the steps for descending to the water) 1144 feet from east to west and 898 from north to south. The slope of the stair to the water is 38 feet in 5 or 6 monstrous misshapen steps, now in most parts totally broken, but enough remains to show that they have never been well cut or built, and they are out of all reach of convenient dimensions. Otherwise the work would have been very grand and beautiful. The earth taken out of the tank has as usual been thrown into large unseemly banks at the distance of 142 feet from the stair on the northern and southern sides, and of 113 on the eastern and western. These banks have always been ugly, but had they been planted ⁽²⁾ they might have added much to the grandeur of the place, and trees thrive very well on them. Further, had the area between the wall which lines their inside and the stairs descending to the 4 sides been in proper keeping, with shady walks and appropriate buildings, the design would have been complete. Originally it may have been so, and I suspect that the only building in this area was once a square hall, covered by a dome, with 4 doors, which stands in the middle of the northern stair and leads to the bridge which conducted into the tomb. This hall is heavy and clumsy to the last degree. At present, not only this area but the unsightly banks by which it was surrounded have been deformed by numerous tombs of all shapes, sizes, kinds and materials, quite irregularly and in all stages of decay. There is also on the west end an Idgahi ⁽³⁾ which is whitewashed and still frequented by the pious, and on the south side there is a ruinous Mosque, where however Nemaz is occasionally performed. Near this the area contains an

(1) *Rauza* (Arabic روضة), a garden, and then a mausoleum.

(2) It is evident from Peter Mundy's drawing, made in September, 1632, that in former days the banks had been neatly kept and planted with trees. The natural effect of rain and weather during nearly two centuries had since then disfigured the banks. No one acquainted with the great Muhammadan mausolea in Northern India can fail to have been struck by their "garden" character.

(3) *Id-gah* (میدان), a place where solemn feasts or festivals are held; used for prayer on particular occasions, especially on the two principal Id days (the *Id-ul-fitr* and *Id-ul-zuha*)

abominable village swarming with squalid Fakirs. I believe that originally there was an entry into the area of the tank by each corner, but the principal entrance seems to have been from the west, where there is a wide gap in the mound, shut up by a stone gate of plain workmanship but of considerable size, and not unsuitable for the entrance to a tomb. The banks have suffered considerably from various operations of the natives, not only in building upon them as before mentioned, but a great part of that towards the town has been carried away to construct the mud walls of houses, an operation still going forward.

The bridge has fallen,⁽¹⁾ a lucky circumstance for the tomb, which has long saved it from total ruin, as the entrance to the island in which the tomb stands is now difficult, and is performed on a raft of bamboos supported on large earthen pitchers;⁽²⁾ and this is only made when wanted by some person of curiosity. A Fakir pretends to have hereditary charge, but he never visits it except when some gentleman constructs a float, and he then is an assiduous attendant and most importunate beggar. The water is very dirty owing to all manner of men and beasts frequenting it to wash themselves and clothes; were it not for this I believe it would be very good and clean. As it is, it is much used, and I observed many Hindus performing their mummeries in it as quietly as if it had been dug by Rama or Krishna, and sipping contentedly the water that has soaked through so many Muhammedan graves.

The bridge has fallen,⁽¹⁾ a lucky circumstance for about 244 feet, rising for some way with rude steps of stone to the foot of an elevated terrace, in the centre of which the tomb is placed. This area, which is surrounded by an embattled parapet 6 feet high, is also a square, the side of which is about 183 feet in length; but it is placed obliquely on the island, each corner of the upper area being about 38 feet from one side of the lower and only 16 from the other. I cannot assign

(1) Peter Mundy's drawing shows the bridge standing complete in 1632. It had fallen, or been broken down, before William Hodges and the Daniells visited Sāsaram.

(2) i.e., on a *gharndi* (घड़ा, a pitcher, and नाव, a boat). The gaps between the fragments of the old causeway have since been filled in, and a solid, if rough, way made across.

any reason for this circumstance, which very much spoils the symmetry of the whole work. I at one time thought that it might have been made in order to render the place of prayer to face Meka, but if the tank is placed east and west this could not have been the case; for by this obliquity the western side of the upper area, in place of being brought to the N of W., is inclined towards the south,⁽¹⁾ as will appear from the plan.

The upper area in the centre of which the tomb stands is at present 30 feet above the level of the water, and the embattled parapet rises 6 feet higher, but then the steps from the bottom of the perpendicular wall reduce its height, so that, including the parapet, its height may be about 30 feet. On the E. N. and S. sides are simple small gates rising above the parapet, and having on each side a stair leading down to the water, besides the bridge which enters the northern gate. On the west side there is no gate, but there are stairs.

At each of the 4 corners of the area is a clumsy octagonal building surmounted by a dome, with a door in each face in form of a gothic arch. The cornice above is sloping as usual. These buildings from outside to outside in extreme dimensions are $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. Within they form airy and neat apartments, but their floors have been dug in search of treasure. In each side of the parapet are besides 2 doors near the corner buildings, from whence project an equal number of balconies, covered as usual by small domes supported by 4 pillars.

I now proceed to the Rosa or Monument itself, which at the base is an octagon of 54 feet each side. The sills of the doors are about 28 inches from the surface of the area, and the space below them is ornamented by a carved moulding.

The whole height of this 1st stage of the building is about $35\frac{3}{4}$ feet, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot is the basement under the doors and $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet are a very clumsy balustrade: under this is a sloping cornice as usual. In

(1) But Mecca is slightly south of west from Sāsarām! Though the obliquity may have been exaggerated, the reason conjectured by Buchanan is probably the correct one, in spite of views to the contrary. But see the article by James Burgess in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, page 454f.

each face are three gothic arches 12 feet wide, with buttresses on each side of the central arch 5 feet 2 inches wide. The thickness of the wall is 6 feet. The arcade runs round the whole building, and is 10 feet wide. The roof of each side is supported by 4 gothic arches which support 3 hemispherical alcove roofs, 10 feet in diameter. Rings in their centre show that each had in its centre a chain for suspending a lamp. The inner wall of each side of the interior on the outer side towards the area is divided by 3 gothic arches, in the central one of which on 7 sides is a door 7 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and in the two lateral ones are two shallow niches. On the 8th or western side are three niches and no door, the place for prayer being in room of a door. This inner wall is an octagon of $41\frac{1}{3}$ feet a side, and is 15 feet thick. Within is a great octagonal hall covered by a dome, and each side is 28 feet 7 inches in length. It has 7 doors on 7 of the sides and in the 8th a niche for prayer, a good deal carved and covered with pious sentences, in the centre being the name of God, Allah, which stands alone in many of the niches of the building. This great hall ascends very plain with 8 sides for about 27 feet, when it has a small rude cornice, above which are 16 very rude windows $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 4 feet wide and shut with fret work in stone which reduces considerably their dimensions. They are not arched, but their lintels supported by very rude brackets. The doors are supported in the same manner, but their brackets are neatly carved. There is one window on each side and one in each angle, which forms the upper part into 16 sides, and immediately above the windows it is subdivided by very rude mouldings into 32 sides, in each of which is a small rude niche. The part of the wall where it is 16 sided is about 25 feet high, and where it is 32 sided is about 11, giving in all 63 feet high to the spring of the dome which is about a hemisphere. From its centre hangs the fragment of a chain, which probably served to suspend a lamp or lustre. The grave of Shere Shâh is in the centre of the hall, with a small pillar about 3 feet high at his head and his right towards the place for prayer. The grave is raised about 6 inches above the

floor, and like it consists of plaster. At his feet are two rows of graves said to belong to his favourite officers. This tomb is sufficiently lighted and ventilated from the windows and doors, and its heaviness in such a building does not displease, but the attempts at ornament are in the very worst taste and rudely executed. Had it been perfectly plain it would have had a better effect. A few simple but neat cornices with well formed doors and windows and good masonry would have given it a very grand and solemn appearance, but here as usual in native masonry the workmanship is very rude. The stones are not placed in regular rows, one being thick, another thin, while a third is cut like a dovetail to fill up the inequality left by the two former. Some again are laid on their sides, others placed upright, so that even in the simple disposition of the stones no attention is paid to symmetry, which produces not only a very bad effect but tends to weaken the building. The tomb within consists of one hall the whole height of the building, but on the outside is divided into three stages, the first of which I have already described. I now proceed to describe the others. From the side of one of the doors leading into the great hall of the tomb a stair ascends through the thickness of the wall to one of the windows. This stair is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and the steps are of rough stones about 12 inches wide and as high, but some more, some less. Through the window you pass out to a terrace above the colonnade and fenced in by the balustrade. This terrace is 15 feet wide, and at each corner is an open cupola supported by 6 pentagonal rude pillars. The floors of these cupolas being about 18 inches above the level of the terrace interrupt the walk round, which would otherwise be very fine, although the balustrade is vastly too high ($6\frac{1}{2}$ feet), but views of the country may be had through it. The building above this terrace continues on the outside an octagon of 41 feet a side, although within it has 16 sides. It terminates in a very small cornice surmounted by a low parapet, very clumsy. Two stairs equally steep and a foot narrower than that below lead up in the thickness of the wall, and each turns out to a small door covered by 4 pillars and a dome adjacent to

a cupola, which disfigures the building as destroying the symmetry of the whole. Why these doors were not made to open into one of the cupolas I cannot say. These stairs conduct into a terrace forming the third story of the building and placed on the thickness of the inner wall, the dome above of course occupying only the thickness of one stone. The terrace, including the parapet, is 9 feet 10 inches wide. The building within the terrace rises for 11 feet with 16 sides, although on the inside of the tomb it has there 32. It is quite plain and covered by a hemispherical dome, on the centre of which is a small cupola supported by 4 pillars. On the terrace opposite to those below are 3 cupolas also supported by 6 pillars. On the whole the outside is still more defective than the inner. An attempt at more ornament with an equal heaviness of design and rudeness of execution have rendered its defects more glaring, while the simplicity of the interior is not ill suited for the purpose of the building. To crown the bad taste ⁽¹⁾ of the whole, the entablatures, balustrades and parapets of the whole have been painted with the most gaudy and glaring colours laid on plaster like a kind of enamel, and covered with tinsel flowers. Time has indeed removed most part of the paint, and has so far favoured the appearance of the ruin;⁽²⁾ for the building may now be considered as such, and has just arrived at the stage when its decay will be rapid. It has hitherto suffered little dilapidation and the inner wall and arch are perfectly entire, but fig trees have taken root on all the exterior parts, and have already overthrown several of the smaller buildings. There is no doubt that Shere Shah left an endowment for its support, but the Mogols, who very

(1) The reader will probably feel surprised at the numerous expressions of Buchanan's dissatisfaction with the architecture and details of construction of this magnificent mausoleum, so greatly admired by most travellers. Compare his eulogy of Makhdūm Shāh Daulat's *maqbara* at Maner.

(2) This expression is even more difficult to understand, as we have a view of the mausoleum drawn 10 or 12 years later by Captain R. Elliott, showing that it was still apparently complete, with the exception of the little cupola on the summit. We have also William Daniell's excellent view, taken only some twenty years before Buchanan's visit, which shows the mausoleum complete in all details. In fact up till 1882, when Government undertook the duty of restoration, the only portion of the central mass that had disappeared was the cupola that, supported on four pillars, had crowned the summit. See in this connexion Appendix E.

strangely affected to despise him as an usurper, had the meanness to resume this, and the place has been totally neglected ever since their authority was established.

6th January.—I went to visit some of the other monuments, and first that of Selim,⁽¹⁾ the son of Shere Shah, which is situated about half a mile west and north from that of his father. It has never been finished, as his reign was short and his son governed only a few months before the successful irruption of the Mogols. It had evidently been begun during his life, the few months which his family afterwards retained power having been unequal to carry the work so far. It seems to have been intended to be nearly on the same plan with that of his father, consisting of a tank and island with a bridge and a great tomb to be covered with a dome and surrounded by an octagonal arcade with three arched doors in each face. The building has only been erected from 10 to 15 feet high. Some of the arches of the arcade have been turned, others not. I observed the following alterations in the plan, some of them evidently improvements. The banks thrown out in digging the tank have been removed to a greater distance and have been sloped gradually towards the stair, although very abrupt towards the country. The view from within is not therefore so dismal. The bridge is entire, and is from the southern side of the tank in place of the north. It has 11 small passages for the water, which are not arched but covered by long stone beams laid from buttress to buttress. Small balconies on each side project from each side of the road between these openings, and would have been covered with cupolas. The island, in place of the obliquity of the structure with which that of Shere Shah has been deformed, is perfectly regular, and each side rises with a stair its whole length about 8 or 10 feet above the water. At each corner an octagonal projection like a bastion is connected with the island by a narrow neck of some length, and on these no doubt 4 octagonal buildings, as in the tomb of Shere Shah, would have been erected. The island from this height of 8 or 10 feet at each side rises gradually towards the great building, which as showing this from top to

(1) Iskhān Shāh is the correct title. His name was Jalāl Khān, the younger son of Shere Shāh, who was selected by his nobles to succeed his father on the latter's death at Kālanjar.

bottom must have had a good effect. The building would have been nearly of the same size, but at each corner would have had a minaret ⁽¹⁾ which would probably have superseded the miserable cupola on the second story, and have had a very fine effect. The niche for prayer is not so much ornamented as in the tomb of Shere Shah, nor does it contain any writing, but the name of God alone is carved on many parts of the building without.

The grave which occupies the centre of the building is undoubtedly that of Selim, who would naturally be deposited there until the building could be finished. On his left is a grave of the same size, probably that of his unfortunate son Adil, and at their feet are 5 smaller and of unequal sizes, such as may be supposed suited for children. These 7 are surrounded by a wall about 7 feet high enclosing a small square area, and built rudely of small stones and clay. It is probable that on the destruction of the family the murdered children have been deposited by some servant near their parents, and a wall built round to exclude wild beasts. The stair all round the tank has been completed, and at the south-western corner of the island some way from it is a small cupola erected on a circular base projecting from the water. This is quite an irregularity in the structure, nor do I know what purpose it could have served. Part of the tank has become dry, but the water would be very good were it not used by all the washermen of the town.

South some way from the monument of Shere Shah another on a similar plan has been commenced, but carried on a very little way. A good deal of earth has been taken out and thrown into a bank as usual, and the stair for a descent to the water has been constructed, but the island in the centre remains unaltered nor has any building been commenced. It is usually said to be the Mokbara or Rosa of Runadost, ⁽²⁾ brother of Shere Shah, but the people are very ignorant of the genealogy of this family and of history, and it is more probable that it was intended for Adil Shah, the eldest son and successor of Selim, and may have been commenced even before the death of this latter prince as a

(1) Apparently a mere conjecture, for which I cannot trace any evidence.

(2) *Magbara* means a burial-place, and so tomb. But I do not find this name in the list of Hasan Khan's sons given in the *Makhsan-i-afaghana*.

monument for his heir apparent : for it is said that Selim died at Selimpur⁽¹⁾ near this, on his way from Dilli to his native place. He had left his son Adil Shah at Dilli and had with him two younger sons. On finding his death approach he placed the young princes under charge of their mother's brother, giving him command of the forces then present, and directing him to give Bengal to one prince and Behar to the other, while Adil Shah should retain the western provinces. During the funeral the young princes disappeared and it is usually supposed that they were murdered and buried in his tent by their unnatural uncle, who immediately assumed the royal titles and commenced a civil war with his nephew Adil. Humayun, who during the vigorous government of Shere and Selim had been skulking on the frontiers, immediately proceeded east, and owing to the dissensions of the Patans had little difficulty in wresting from them the western provinces. Under pretence of usurpation he put the whole family of Shere Shah to death.

7th January.—I visited the tomb of Huseyn Khan,⁽²⁾ the father of Shere Shah, which stands in the middle of the town surrounded by a high wall of hewn stone, with gates in the eastern, northern and southern sides, and an octagonal building covered as usual by a dome at each corner. On the west side of the area is a small plain mosque built also of hewn stone. The tomb itself resembles that of his son, but is not so large, and consists of a large octagonal hall covered by a dome and surrounded by an arcade with three gothic arches in each of its faces. It has only 7 doors, and no windows. The whole of the arcade outside and in, although built of hewn stone, would appear to have been covered with plaster very minutely ornamented and containing a vast extent of pious sentences. The roof of the arcade, as in the other, supported by three domes on each side, but these rise above the level of the terrace on the top of the 1st story, which has no cupolas at the corners but is surrounded by a balustrade. Both this and the cornice under it have been

(1) There is no town called Salimpur anywhere near Sāsarām, Islām Shāh, moreover, died at Gwāliyar in 1553.

(2) Hasan Khān Sur.

gaudily painted. On the terrace above the second story there are, as in the tomb of his son, 8 cupolas. The dome springs immediately from this terrace, without the third stage that is under it in the tomb of his son. The summit is crowned by an ornament of various mouldings, and not by a cupola. It is difficult to say whether the small domes or the cupolas which surmount the first stage in the two buildings have the worst effect.⁽¹⁾ I am persuaded that had their places been superseded by a minaret at each corner, as seems to have been intended at the tomb of Selim, the effect would have been very grand and striking. In examining this building I was filled with disgust and shame. The Tahsildar of the Collector, a Muhammedan, had built his house adjacent to the mosque, kept that clean, and employed a person to perform worship; while the tomb, although neglected and allowed to fall a prey to the wild figs, suffered no disgrace, all intruders being excluded by the wall. On the arrival of General Wood's⁽²⁾ detachment the place was seized on for forming a military depôt, and had this been confined to the tomb which was abundantly large and had it been done with decency there would have been little reason for complaint. The insult offered to the dead might have been compensated by eradicating the trees, by putting in wooden doors and other essential repairs performed in a becoming manner; but the mosque, where worship is still performed, has been filled with grain, and the whole area defiled by the bullocks coming and going with loads, while the tumult of porters, carriers and weighers and clerks resounds through the whole sacred place. The tomb has been made a receptacle for firewood, pots and such like worthless articles, to secure which the doors of the hall have been built up with mud, and the doors of one side of the arcade have been filled up in the same manner to form accommodation for the keepers. Nor has one single fig tree been destroyed nor the slightest repair given. The area within the wall afforded room enough for any temporary buildings necessary for this purpose.

(1) Yet the tomb of 'Isā Khān, near Humāyūn's mausoleum at Delhi, which is a counterpart of this, is justly admired!

(2) Afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir George Wood, K.C.B.

From thence I went about a mile south to see a tomb said to be that of Alal Khan,⁽¹⁾ the person who superintended the building sacred to Shere Shah, and considered by the natives as a masterpiece of art and taste, but in my opinion it has little pretension to either, the masonry being rude as usual and the design ungraceful. A square area, in which the body of the Daroga and that of some other person have been deposited under two gravestones neatly enough carved, is surrounded by a wall of hewn stone, with some few ornaments and in general about 12 feet high. The area is of considerable size, and at each corner within has had a small dark low apartment, with neither light nor air but by one small plain door. Three of these chambers have been surmounted by cupolas of 4 sides surmounted by very clumsy domes. The fourth at the north-western corner has had a second story, with three wretched pigeon holes through which a man can scarcely creep, but its north face has been ornamented with a gallery, and a stair leads up to its roof from the east, which adds to the deformity occasioned by this want of regularity. On three of the sides are gates. Those to the north and south are very plain. That from the east rises higher than the rest of the wall, and has on its top two small cupolas, while a stair leads up from each side on the thickness of the wall. The west side of the area is the highest and most ornamented, but owing to the small chamber at its north end has a less elegant appearance than the east, which is regular. It contains a niche for prayer in place of a door, but is in other respects on the same plan with the east end. On each side of the wall within the area are 4 stairs about 18 inches wide and very steep, taken from the thickness of the wall, as in the plan.⁽²⁾ The grave stones have been displaced, probably in search of treasure. This tomb has a very bad character, and the mere mention of it is considered as a full excuse for a vixen of character to open the sluices of her eloquence upon any unfortunate person who should ask where it stands. It is alleged that formerly, although ill fitted for the purpose, it was the

(1) Alāwal Khān.

(2) This plan was not reproduced in Martin's *H. I.*

scene of a great deal of intrigue, and no woman of decent character is supposed to know where such a place is situated.

8th January.—I went to visit the Khunds on the Kudra river. I went first about two miles along the Tilautta road, when turning to the south I crossed the river which contains some clear water and a very small stream in a deep, sandy channel. The stream at Saseram is rather larger, and were it not filled with all manner of impurities would be fine water. Immediately above this I ascended the hill by the easiest of the passages that I have seen in the whole range, and which is nowhere very steep, although the rock is almost everywhere naked. About the middle of the ascent this passage, called Khutaghat,⁽¹⁾ was fortified in the time of Shere Shah by a wall of hewn stone, in order to secure this easiest⁽²⁾ passage to Shere ghur. The wall would have been of little use against regular infantry, but of these there were none in the armies of Hindustan. Indeed infantry could scramble up in a thousand places in these hills, and, having formed a lodgment to defend the workmen below, a road for artillery might be easily constructed in many places.

The lowest and greatest of the Khunds called Dhuya,⁽³⁾ from the smoke or mist that rises from it when there is water in the torrent, is about a mile from Khuta ghat and as much from the passage by which we went from Saseram to Tilautta. This mile is a narrow glen or gap, with perpendicular rocks on each side, perhaps 100 feet high, which terminate at the pool (Khund) where the water rushes over the precipice. The pilgrims might find an easy passage along the bottom of this glen, but that is not the object; the trouble of ascending Khuta ghat is vastly preferable. The river is at present quite dry, except in the pools where there is a good deal of stagnant water; but when

(1) ? Kota ghat.

(2) It can hardly be called the "easiest" passage to Shergarh, but Sher Khān probably intended to avail himself of it in case of threatened attack from the plain country to the north.

(3) "The pool of smoke", (धुआ कुण्ड) Thomas Daniell painted a view of this waterfall, reproduced as Plate XI of the Fourth Series of "Views in Hindostan", probably in the autumn of 1780, when the river was full of water.

filled the view of the cascade must be very fine, as from a rock on the west side you will have a full view of it from top to bottom, and after heavy rains it is said to be tremendous. On the whole however the scenery here is vastly inferior to that of the recesses in the east side of the hills. About $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile above this pool is Sitakund, where the river falls over a wide shelving rock perhaps 15 or 20 feet high upon a channel of one solid piece. At most times the quantity of water is said during the fair to be in such moderate quantity that the pilgrims can wade in the channel and wash in the little streams which fall broken over the rock, for this is of great length. Accordingly this seems to be the most favourite resort, and many platforms rudely built of stone have been constructed as stalls for the hucksters who attend. About a quarter of a mile still higher up, on a rocky height above the river is a small rude square building covered by a dome. It contains no image, but a heap of mud is placed against the farther wall. The people with me said it belongs to the Nanaks,⁽¹⁾ who are the most numerous of the pilgrims. Under the rock on which this stands is the third pool called—⁽²⁾ Khund. The fall into this is not considerable, but there is a good deal of water in different cavities of the rock. Seeing the flag of a saint at a little distance, I sent to find out the man who ventures to reside in this place, at least 4 miles from any house, and very little frequented. It is indeed on the path that leads to two bathans,⁽³⁾ where cattle remain all the year, and to a hill village; but there is no house nearer, and the place abounds with tigers, of whom [*sic.*] I saw the tracks. The hermit was absent, but under a rock and sheltered by some bushes was his abode, with a few pots, a fire and some cocoanut shells. He had no hut. On my way down I met the wretched animal, an elderly Hindu, who was returning from his usual morning round of begging. Any interruption to this from sickness or the increasing infirmities of old age must put his life in still greater danger than what arises from wild beasts; and of both the man

(1) Should read Nānakshāhis, i.e., Śikhs. There is still a considerable community of Śikhs at Sāsarām, mostly Agraharis.

(2) Blank in the manuscript. None of these *kunds* are marked on the S. S.

(3) A *bathan* is a cattle shed or cattle fold.

must be fully aware, and nothing but a mistaken notion of religion could induce a person to run such risks. It is true that he may establish a reputation that may raise him to the adoration of the stupid multitude, but this is very precarious, and his destruction is the more probable event; nor could it be regretted as he is a mere useless load on society.

The rock on the hill is quite similar to that on other parts, white, grey, reddish and mixed. That on the sides of the river above Dhuya khund is uncommonly white, but in the channel in many parts it has assumed a ferruginous appearance and seems to have been changed in part into an oxide of iron and [been] penetrated by that substance.

10th January.—Saseram is a large country town, not much short of a mile each way and closely built. Many of the houses, partly of brick and partly of stone, have tiled roofs. Some of the streets are tolerably wide and exceedingly rudely paved with stone. Some people keep their houses and the streets opposite tolerably clean, but this is of little avail as seldom more than 2 or 3 such persons live adjacent to each other, and their neighbours are involved in every species of nastiness. Most of the streets are as usual narrow crooked lanes. The fort⁽¹⁾ has never been completed and perhaps never was intended to be so: it is an oblong parallelogram with a round bastion at each corner; no ditch. The west gate, very large, in a building with a good many windows, but quite ruinous. It was probably intended for servants. The Rong Mahal,⁽²⁾ or Abode of delight, is a handsome building in the native style. The centre has 3 stories at one end and 4 on the other: otherwise it is quite regular. A very large alcove in front with 2 balconies on each side and the end of a colonnade above these. The colonnade runs along the end of the building. There has been a colonnade also on the ground at each side leading to two wings, both ruinous, but some part of

(1) Since Buchanan's time this "fort" has disappeared; but see next note.

(2) From the description given here and from the sketch which is among Buchanan's manuscripts the building which he calls the Rong Mahal is clearly the ruined building still locally known as the *Qila'* (literally "fort") in the middle of the town, near the Thāna. For further details, see Appendix D.

the southern remains and serves for a *Thanah*. The *Jummadar* has occupied an apartment or two in the central building, and in the remainder all sorts of vagrants, fakirs, etc., nestle amidst filth and misery.

11th January.—I went rather more than 11 miles through a level country to Alempur.⁽¹⁾ It is rather bare, there being no more mango trees than what are useful, and after leaving the palmira groves of Sasaram there are no others. The villages are bare as in Behar, and raised very high from the accumulation of mud walls. There would appear to have been mud gurbies⁽²⁾ in many of them. I went for about 1½ mile along the Banaras road,⁽³⁾ crowded with pilgrims returning from Gaya. I then turned to the south, and about half a mile on crossed the Kudra, which was quite dry owing perhaps to its having been dammed above for irrigation. About a mile farther on I crossed another narrow channel⁽⁴⁾ in clay which contained a little water, and was called the Durgauti; rather less than two miles farther I crossed a similar channel⁽⁴⁾ said to be the same. Rather less than a mile from Alempur I crossed another similar channel called the Udrahi.⁽⁴⁾ I had there on my right at a mile or two distance a small hummock. The torrents above mentioned I am told at the village have no names, and are mere channels from the hills or Ahars.⁽⁵⁾

12th January.—I went not quite 8 miles to Kurma.⁽⁶⁾ The country much as yesterday, two of the villages among the most comfortable that I have seen in India.

⁽¹⁾ Alempur.

⁽²⁾ i.e., *garhi* (a diminutive form from गढ़), a small fort.

⁽³⁾ The old pilgrim route (that is before the construction of the present Grand Trunk Road or of its predecessor the New Military Road) from Prayāg and Kāśī to Gayā, Deoghar-Baidyanāth and Puri, etc., appears to have passed slightly to the south of the line of the Grand Trunk Road between Benares and Sasaram. From near the latter town it again diverged from the Grand Trunk Road route, taking a more direct line to Gayā, crossing the Son either opposite Gothauli or near Dāūdānagar, and then going through Gōh, Konch and Pālī to Gayā. From Gayā it went direct to near Wazīrganj, and thence by a route lying south of the present metalled road to Nawāda, through Bareo, Govindpur and Kharagdihi. Buchanan again crossed this old route near Jamūwāz (see below, page 131).

⁽⁴⁾ All three streams are shown on the S. S., but not named.

⁽⁵⁾ An *āhar* is an irrigation reservoir, see above, page 83, Note (3).

⁽⁶⁾ Kurma (near Malahipur).

13th January.—I went to see Shergurh: (1) I proceeded about 3 miles to the foot of the hill, having passed a very deep channel worn in a clay soil in a great depth by a torrent (2) which comes from the recess which bounds Shergurh on the east and destroys much ground. The ascent on the north face of the hill, although apparently less considerable both in abruptness and elevation than in most part of these hills, is still very difficult, but a stair has been constructed the whole way with some skill, forming short flights from one corner of a zigzag to another. When entire the ascent was probably easy as the steps would appear to have been seldom more than 9 inches high, but the greater part has been broken, although in some parts it would appear to have been a grand work being at least 20 feet wide, yet great rudeness is displayed. The stones have not been regularly squared, the landing places from one flight to another have often been exceedingly awkward, and the breadth has been quite irregular according to the nature of the ground. The steps besides their roughness, although better than in most native stairs, have been in general too wide and deep. They never exceed a foot but generally are above 9 inches high, but in general they are above 18 inches wide; this with their total irregularity both in height and width must always have rendered the ascent exceedingly awkward. The stair in many parts is completely commanded by the works, so that while these remained entire no person could pass up without being completely exposed to a destructive fire. It terminates at a gate behind the gorge of a strong half moon projecting from the works, and very lofty. The area of the half moon, which is very large, is formed into a casern, (3) the roof of which is supported by numerous pillars supporting beams and flags of stone on which is a terrace surrounded by battlements and ornamented with 8 gumjis (4) projecting beyond the wall. There

(1) Shergurh.

(2) Marked, but not named, on the S. S.

(3) "One of a series of small (temporary) buildings between the amparts and houses of a fortified town for the accommodation of troops; also a barrack" (Murray).

(4) Small towers [see above, page 60, Note (2)]. For another account of the fortress written twenty years later, see Appendix F. See also Dr. T. Bloch's note at pp. 23-24, *A. S. Ben. Cir.*, 1901-2.

are loopholes to fire from the casern as well as from the battlements, but the whole defences are unsuitable for cannon, the roof of the casern is not strong enough to support the weight and shock of heavy artillery, nor are any embrasures fit for cannon to be seen in the place. From this work a strong wall with battlements surrounds the whole declivity of the hill, following all its windings, and is supposed to be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ coses round. At its angles and where the ascent is most easy it is strengthened by round bastions or bulwarks, and against every thing but cannon is very strong. The most remarkable of these that I saw, besides the half moon, were at the east and west ends of the northern face and between the last mentioned angle and the northern gate. The space within is exceedingly rugged. The most even part extends along the east face to a hill which runs between two recesses, one from the north and one from the west, that reduce the level to a narrow neck, and from each of which there has been a gate. It would appear that between the eastern of these gates and the northern gate there has been a large bazar, the ruins of many stone huts still remaining. From the eastern gate the works proceed round the hill above mentioned, and ought to be there the strongest as they are not defended by any great descent, but I could not afford time to visit them. The castle which occupied part of the west side of the fort overhanging the Durgauti makes a very conspicuous figure from the eastern gate and from a terrace that conducts along the bottom of the hill in the southern part of the fort. It stands on a high ridge, and put me in mind of the noble castle of Durham, although except in respect to its situation and size it cannot be in any degree compared with that grand monument of spiritual pride. Its exterior show is by far the best, and although it has all the massy grandeur of immense bulwarks and numerous battlements, it wants the relief of lofty towers; every thing in its external appearance is heavy, and in its internal structure rude. The approach to it from the north is by a long and wide but rude stair leading to a gate, within which on each side is a neat colonnade of considerable size and situated on the summit of the ridge where it is lowest and narrowest. Each colonnade is supported by a double row of

columns. Turning sharp to the right from the colonnade on that side of the gate, you ascend another very long rude stair along the ridge until you come to a rock about 10 feet high, through which a passage has been cut to the outer gate of the castle. On passing this you enter into a square parade having in front a large bulwark, the interior of which I had no leisure to examine. This parade is exceedingly rough and broken, except at the right side where there is a smooth terrace covered with plaster, and in this two apertures with steps leading down to two subterraneous apartments. The one is a Bauli, or well,⁽¹⁾ entirely arched above, and consists of an octagon perhaps 12 feet each side, with a window in each side, and surrounded by a gallery 8 or 9 feet wide. The water is good but does not overflow, and what number of people it would supply I do not know. The other stair leads into a dark apartment which I did not examine. From the outer gate, leaving this terrace on the right, you pass by an irregular uneven passage 736 feet long to the gate of the Rung Mehal or abode of pleasure. On the right are several small narrow buildings, the roofs serving as defences or cavaliers⁽²⁾ and the interior for lodging. They have had no air nor light but from one small door each towards the passage. On the left are several very irregular massy and lofty bulwarks commanding the passage and without any communication with it, on which account I could not examine their interior, but they probably contained accommodation for the garrison. At the end of this passage is a very high, plain wall enclosing the Rung Mahal or women's apartment. The gate, to which there has been a stair, has fallen, but many of the stones are ornamented in a neater style than usual. This leads into an area extending from E S E. to W N W. 212 feet and in the opposite direction 132 feet, and surrounded by chambers 20 feet wide. In each of the longer sides are three apartments, and in each of the shorter, two.

(1) A *baoli* (probably a diminutive formed from a corruption of the Sanskrit *vapi*, a pond) is more than a mere well, as it must be constructed of solid masonry and should contain chambers below, around the periphery of the well, where persons could retire to enjoy the coolth when the heat above ground was excessive.

(2) Another term of fortification. "A work generally raised within the body of the place, ten or twelve feet higher than the rest of the works..... to command all the adjacent works and country round" (Stocqueler).

Each apartment consists of an hall supported by two rows of pillars, and open towards the area, with some dark closets towards each end, especially in the 8 apartments next the corners. The stairs leading up to the terrace on the roof are more rude than usual, but the views from the terrace are most grand. They completely command the hills and rugged glens in the vicinity and also the rich Gangetic plain as far as the eye can see. In clear weather I have no doubt that the snowy mountains will be visible.⁽¹⁾ When I looked down on a flock of buffaloes in the Durgauti, the elevation is so great that I at first took it for a number of water birds swimming. The area forms the roof of a number of apartments which have no light or air except through some small apertures in the terrace. The passages into some have been filled up, but I descended into two of them by wretched stairs. One consisted of a square chamber surrounded by a gallery, the floor of which is 3 or 4 feet higher than that of the roof. In one side the room communicates with the gallery by a door and two windows, in each of the other sides by three windows. There are several small ventilators in the roof of the gallery. The air is very good. The other subterraneous apartment was extended 58 feet from the stair and was 36 feet wide, being divided by two rows of four pillars and corresponding pilasters into 15 compartments, each having an arched hemispherical roof. To the left of the stair was a narrow gallery looking into the apartment by some small windows. The plaster on both these apartments was very fresh and entire. These apartments under the terrace seem to have been intended as a retreat in the heats of spring. In the centre of the area is a cavity, open above, which has probably been filled with water,⁽²⁾ and some neatly ornamented pillars round it would seem to show that it has been surrounded by a colonnade. Beyond this area is a smaller one also surrounded by chambers which have probably served as the accommodation for the female domestics. On the whole, this is vastly inferior to the castle built by Man Singha in Rotas, but it seems to

(1) It is doubtful if the snows are visible from Shergarh, which Sherwill marks as 817 feet above s. l.

(2) This was a real *bāoli*. See note on previous page.

have been intended for the capital ⁽¹⁾ of India. It is said that a bazar extended all the way from the hill to Jehanabad along the banks of the Durgauti, and that this fort was merely intended as a place of safe retreat for the family of Shere Shah during his contest for empire, and for his treasures afterwards should its power have been established; and this would in all probability have been effected had not an early death cut off Selim⁽²⁾ before his son had acquired sufficient vigour. If intended for the capital of the Gangetic provinces alone the choice was judicious, as the climate of the plain at a distance from the Ganges is much more healthy than its banks, and as the choice for the fortress is very judicious. It far exceeds ⁽³⁾ that of Rotas, the enormous circuit of which no moderate garrison could secure from surprise, and the means of supplying a very numerous garrison with water and provisions in such situations is not obvious. To cut off the supplies of a moderate garrison would be very difficult, as a force to blockade it on the hills could in all probability find no water, and the hills are so extensive that they cannot be guarded at every point. A strong depôt for treasure, records and arms is desirable to every government as a security not only against foreign invaders but popular commotion and rebellion, and in India is peculiarly desirable owing to

(1) The Muhammadan histories do not appear to make any suggestion to this effect. We know, moreover, that it was Sher Shāh who selected Patnā as the best site for the capital of Bihār proper (in preference to the town of Bihār, hitherto the capital), and that he had intended to shift the Bengal capital from Gaur which had become unsuitable and unhealthy owing to the shifting of the river, to Āg Mahāl (the modern Rāj Mahāl), an idea that was later on given effect to by Mān Singh. As headquarters in Upper Hindustan he chose the old historic site of Indraprastha, to the south of the present city of Delhi, and there built the *Purānā Qila'* as the fortress of Sher Shāh is called. Sher Shāh was too far-seeing a strategist to think of making Shergarh the capital of India; the place was probably intended as a safe asylum for his family, and for the storage of treasure, in a crisis, and that too before his schemes of conquest embraced the whole of northern India.

(2) Islām Shāh. His son Firūz Khān, then twelve years of age, according to Ni'mat-ullah (see Dorn, page 171) was murdered at Gwālyar.

(3) Rohtāsgarh is a much more imposing site, projecting conspicuously from the main plateau, and towering, to a height exceeding that of Shergarh by nearly 700 feet, above the Son valley, from which it rises almost sheer in places; it is a noticeable feature in the landscape from 25 to 30 miles away. Shergarh, on the other hand, stands at the side of a secluded recess where the Durgāvati debouches from the plateau, and is scarcely distinguishable at a distance from the hills in the background; in fact the nature of the site can hardly be detected by the naked eye at a distance of more than five miles.

the want of loyalty in the people; but there also the extreme barbarity of the people has always rendered princes anxious to have a stronghold for the protection of their women and children, that time might be given for the wrath of the barbarian to cool before the family of his fallen adversary came into his power, and that the fear of losing the wealth they had with them might induce him to promise at least safety for their lives. The family of Shere Shah experienced no such indulgence from Humaiyun, although among the cruel descendants of the bloody Timur he has the character of a mild prince. He not only put Adil Shah his competitor to death, but it is here said issued orders that none of the family male or female should be spared. The terrified women of course took refuge in Sheregurh, which could not defend them on the general surrender of the country; not that the Mogols could take it by force, but the supply of provisions could not last long. On their surrender the whole are said to have been thrown down the precipice that overhangs the precipice,⁽¹⁾ and the fort has ever since been totally abandoned, and is beheld with terror on account of this dreadful catastrophe. It was late before I could return to my tents.

The stone on the hill of Sheregurh is exactly similar to that of Saseram.

14th January.—I set out for Gupti Banaras,⁽²⁾ and there being no houses near I sent provisions to the Dumuhani,⁽³⁾ or two mouths, of the recess (Ko) of the Durgauti and Gupteswor. The distance I reckon 10 or 11 miles, but we were about 4 hours in going to that distance owing to the badness of the road. In going to the south-west corner of Sheregurh I crossed two channels, one mentioned yesterday and another similar. This corner I reckon almost 4 miles from Karma. All near it beyond the second nullah is a very strange, broken country⁽⁴⁾ consisting of little clay hills

(1) Buchanan means the precipice that overhangs the Durgāvati river. A local legend apparently.

(2) Usually called Guptesvar, the "hidden lord".

(3) In the vernacular *domunhāni*, (the place of the "two mouths") is applied to the spot where two rivers bifurcate or join.

(4) The ravine zone, found in most places along the talus of the hills. The second *nālā* referred to is the stream that issues from the gap to the east of Shergurh.

12 or 15 feet high and very steep. Their sides quite parched but their summits crowned with trees and narrow passages winding between, as near Jogodispur but still more rugged. We had on our right here a fine recess beyond the Durgauti called Bitraband,⁽¹⁾ which is cultivated, and still farther on a larger one named Dharikh,⁽²⁾ but the whole bottom is said to be filled with these little clay hills and to be entirely useless. Having proceeded about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles through the little hills we came to the Durgauti, a fine clear river with large shallow pools of water between which are small gentle streams. The level in which it runs here may be half a mile wide, exceedingly rich, smooth and covered with wheat which requires no watering. The works of Sheregurh north from the castle look very formidable. The castle makes no great figure, the enormity of the precipice on which it stands rendering the appearance of the buildings despicable. After passing it we had to the left the recess straitening the bounds of Sheregurh, and the valley of the Durgauti winds to the east, but to the Dumuhani of the Jumsot,⁽³⁾ which comes from the south, continues nearly of the same width, and the soil is equally rich but is neglected. This Dumuhani may be $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the bottom of the precipice at the east end of the Rungmahal. From thence we proceeded 2 or 3 miles east by a very bad road east along the Durgauti which retains the same character, but its channel becomes in most places entirely stones, and in very great floods it would seem to rise very high. The valley is rather narrower, and the soil in most places is quite sterile sand or stones, although in others it is very rich, but in both is equally neglected. It everywhere contains trees among which are many Mohuyas, but the chief production is the small solid bamboo.⁽⁴⁾ A few Sal

(1) Bitribandh.

(2) No doubt Dharu Khoh, the south-western recess of the Karamchat valley, is meant. The word which Buchanan translates as "recess", and spells "Ko" or "Kho", is pronounced *khoh* in the local vernacular. The original meaning seems to have been "cave" or "den": it is applied to a glen or narrow valley.

(3) Marked Keel N. on the S. S.

(4) The "mas bamboo", *Dendrocalamus strictus*; Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*); Sal* (*Shorea robusta*); Kusum (*Schleichera trijuga*); the *Nauclea cordifolia* of Roxburgh is the *Adina cordifolia* of Hooker (the Karam tree, sacred to the Uraons); the *Nauclea parvifolia* of Roxburgh is *Stephogyne parvifolia*, Korth, generally called Kadam in

and Kusum trees with *Naucleas cordifolia*, and *parvifolia*, *Semicarpus*, *Nyctanthes*, *Emblica*, etc. I found my tents pitched a little below the junction of the rivers in a very confined bad place. They should have been carried about a quarter of a mile farther at the very junction, where there is a great Bathan of buffaloes, which was deserted on our approach. I was met here by Rajah Siva Singha, an old man, chief of the Koresh Khairwars. He stayed all night and left people to conduct me to the cave of Banaras. The appearance of these winding glens is very grand. The hills are everywhere very abrupt, and towards the summit in general perfectly perpendicular, especially in many little recesses through which in the rainy season torrents pour, while the slopes at the bottom are covered with woods. Channels of the Durgauti and of the other torrents have destroyed much of the level, but trees and bushes grow on most parts, although the mark of floods is often to be seen remaining on the trees 10 or 12 feet high, which shows that the stream cannot be very strong otherwise the trees would be swept away. The view is in many points more picturesque than any that I have seen, and when the rivers are full must be very fine, the want of water being in its present state its principal defect; but the ruin that attends every prospect in a state of neglected nature is also a very great drawback. The whole is filled with rotten stems and sticks and with grass allowed to grow high and then to wither. Were the fertile parts cultivated or dressed, did it contain any habitations and were the trees cut when approaching to decay, so that every thing might have a fresh appearance, I know no part that would have a finer effect.

15th January.—I went to Gupti Banaras⁽¹⁾ and returned. The Durgauti where we stopt turns to the

these hills. By *Semicarpus*, Buchanan no doubt refers to the *Semicarpus Anacardrum*, Linn., the "Marking-nut tree" (*bhela* in the vernacular) *Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis* is the vernacular *harsingdr*, so common in the *jungal*, where the strong, fragrant scent of the flowers, that open at night and drop off in the morning, is well known: the yellow tubes of the corollas produce an orange dye. By *Emblica* no doubt the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, Linn., is meant, the *aula* or *aulra* of the vernacular, the fruit of which is the "Emblie Myrobolan" of commerce, used for medicine and food, and for tanning and dyeing.

(1) The site of the caves is not shown on the S. S., but I have marked it on the Route Map. Guptesvar Khoh is the glen running north and south to the west of the caves.

south, while we proceeded east up another glen called Gupteswor Kho for about two miles. The road exceedingly bad, crossing constantly the channel of the Gupteswor,⁽¹⁾ which consists entirely of stones, from a wagon load downwards. Very little level land except the channel. Where it joins the Durgauti it is at present dry, but upwards to near the cave it contains many fine clear pools filled with fish, and between them more or less stream from little springs; but as the water is more or less absorbed by the channel the quantity in these streams varies. About two miles from our halting place we turned to the south along Gupteswor Kho, but another glen called Kordar⁽²⁾ runs some way farther east, having in the fork the hill in which Gupti Banaras is. From the fork we ascended the channel for about a mile, when we came to the place. The entrance is a little way up the hill facing the west in a great rock which consists of plates from two inches to one line in thickness, in general horizontal but often very curiously waved, and having entirely the appearance of the limestone of the eastern face of the hills; and some of the plates, especially the thinner ones, have a white crystallized structure, and some contain very distinct veins of white crystals. In fact it is exactly the same with the limestone of Akbarpur, having entirely the appearance of hornstone and often striking fire when struck hard with a large hammer. Its transition from the very similar hornstone of which the lower masses of these hills consists is rendered evident from several pieces still unchanged being found in the torrent below, which are perfect touchstones, retaining entirely their silicious nature. I also found in the gravel a piece of rock crystal. The cave⁽³⁾ is in general about 18 feet wide and 12 feet high to the roof, but its sides and bottom are very unequal; in some places there are steep ascents and descents and in others the floor slopes much to one side,

(1) Soptha N.

(2) This is the glen that Sherwill correctly calls Soogea (*Sigiyā*) Kho — the "glen of the wild parrots". Buchanan's Kordar is evidently meant for Kadhar, which is the glen further to the west, down which the Durgauti flows.

(3) Buchanan's description of the interior of these caves is the only one apparently that has ever been published (Martin's *E. I.*, I, 534-25) with details ascertained by personal examination and measurement. The accounts given in the *Statistical Account and Gazetteer* have been condensed therefrom. The only plan of the caves published, so far as I know, is

while shelving rocks project in the way, so that the walking everywhere in it is rather difficult. The first entrance extends straight east from the mouth for about 380 feet, where it terminates in a low part called Patalganga,⁽¹⁾ or the pit river, but there is no river. At the end is a small hole into which no one has attempted to penetrate, although it may possibly communicate with the farther parts of caves. About the middle of the first cave from the entrance a branch goes off to the south, and after running 87 feet rejoins the first gallery, but before it does so, sends off to the east a very narrow passage, through which the visitant must creep on his hands and knees. After passing through this 11 feet, you come to a similar gallery 370 feet long which runs east and west, and about 140 feet from its west end is crossed nearly at right angles by another gallery. The south arm of this is about 240 feet long and contains the chief object of worship. The north arm is only 92 feet long and is narrower and lower than the other parts of the galleries, but terminates in an apartment called Tulsichura⁽²⁾ which is 92 feet long and in the middle both wide and lofty. At the ends of these galleries also are narrow passages which probably communicate with other galleries and apartments, but these have not been explored. The air in these caves is by no means hot. The thermometer stood at Patalganga at 76°, while in the open air it was at 78°. Neither was it in any degree offensive, notwithstanding the torches which we carried with us and that for the first 200 feet from the entrance it nestles innumerable bats. These indeed do not go farther in, but there must be strong currents of air to

that given by W. S. Sherwill as an inset to his "Geological Map of the Southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad" (1846). In order to draw this plan Sherwill probably devoted even more time to an examination of the interior. Buchanan's measurements do not tally with the dimensions shown on this plan, possibly because he lost his correct bearings in the winding passages, and also perhaps because Sherwill does not show the full length of the passages running east, leaving off where the roof became very low.

[P.S.—Since this note was first printed in the J. B. O. R. S. I have found a rough plan of the caves drawn by Buchanan in a separate volume of illustrations and plans preserved at the India Office.]

(1) *Pātāla* (पाताल), the under-world; one of the seven hells. *Gāṅgā*, the Ganges river, then applied to any river (generally to such as are regarded as sacred). *Pātālgāṅgā* is a common name for a stream, or gutter, that flows underground or issues from beneath the ground.

(2) This is evidently the "Hall" of Sherwill's plan. The name seems to be intended for *Pulastī chaurā*, i.e., a platform on which a plant of the Sacred Basil (*Ocimum sanctum*) is grown. This plant, however, is regarded as sacred to Viṣṇu, while these caves are an ancient seat of Śiva worship.

prevent the smell of these vile animals from being overpowering. I was quite disappointed in the images. What are called such are stalactites, both hanging from the roof and standing ⁽¹⁾ on the floor, and constantly dripping with water. Wherever a drop happens, a stalactite forms adhering to the rock and at first assuming the appearance of a Lycoperdon.⁽²⁾ This afterwards rises more in height than it expands in width, and the head being rounded it has a strong resemblance to the Phallus of a Siva Linga; but the stalactite called by that name and the chief object of worship,⁽³⁾ besides one principal head, is surrounded by several smaller adhering to the mass, which is about 4½ feet high and formed by several drops. The greatest mass ⁽⁴⁾ of the stalactites are in the crooked gallery from whence the narrow passage leads into the interior. There are there several similar to the Mahadeva which are called the five sons of Pandu, and from the roof above them are suspended many flags like the ears of an elephant but much larger. I was for some time in great difficulty to procure a specimen, as I found that breaking any thing in the cave would be considered as a gross impiety and give offence, but I luckily met with an incipient stalactite like a large mushroom adhering to a small detached stone that had fallen from the roof, and I immediately pocketed this without saying a word. A man who was with me as a guide gave me a piece of spar, which he called Silajit,⁽⁵⁾ and found it adhering to a rock at Buduya⁽⁶⁾ above Koriyari. The stalactites are probably similar.

16th January.—It rained heavily at night and in the morning, so that I returned to Korma leaving my tents behind, but they followed at night.

17th January.—I went rather more than 12 miles to Kujura ⁽⁷⁾ but by a circuitous route, especially to

(1) The incrustations on the ground are called stalagmites; those hanging from above, stalactites.

(2) A botanical term for the "puff-ball" (a genus of fungi).

(3) Sherwill's "Very fanciful Stalagmite".

(4) Shown on Sherwill's plan.

(5) Silajit (सिलजित्) is the better spelling. See V. H. Jackson's notes in J. B. O. R. S., III, 306, 317-18, and VIII, 285-87.

(6) Budhya.

(7) Khajur.

Savor,⁽¹⁾ the first village in the Mohaniya Thanah, the boundary being the Durgauti. To this I went first south and then east, in all about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, although the direct road is called only $1\frac{1}{2}$ coses. The banks of the Durgauti here as well as higher up are very much broken by the water running from the fields into a channel deeply sunk in clay. The channel is somewhat gravelly and contains a good deal of water about knee-deep, almost stagnant and rather dirty. At Savor I was joined by Drup Dial,⁽²⁾ a fat young Rajput of the Raj Kuwar tribe, who is the owner and had accompanied me to Sheregurh. He is in the female line a near relation to Jai Prakas,⁽³⁾ and like him is a very obliging person. His house is built on the rugged bank of the Durgauti and is very large, but constructed of mud with a tiled roof, and consists of several square pavilions joined by lower buildings. From thence to a small detached hill⁽⁴⁾ is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles west. This hill is about a mile long, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from it is another.⁽⁵⁾ The space between them is cultivated. Along this second hill I proceeded about a mile a little beyond Kujura.

18th January.—I went 8 miles, called 3 coses, to a place called Gurwat,⁽⁶⁾ where it was said that I should find one solitary house of Cherus, the utmost boundary of cultivation towards the long woody recesses among the hills towards the south and west. The country through which I passed was extremely beautiful, being well occupied and several of the villages had mud castles, while the hills were very grand. Under the hill at Kajura is a very considerable space covered with soda, collected by the washermen. This

(1) *Savar*. "South" and "east" in the manuscript should read "north" and "west".

(2) Perhaps Durūpa Dayāl, or Dhruva Dayāl. The local tradition is that a younger son of Bhagavān Simha, the eponymous founder of Bhagavānpur, settled at Sawār, just as other branches settled at Rāṅgarh and Jaitpur. The family, who still reside there, are really Sakarwār Rājputs.

(3) i.e., Mahārāja Jaya Prakās Simha of Dumraon.

(4) The Nauhattā hill.

(5) The hill to the south of Sopbarā.

(6) Garhvāt, not marked on the S.S. From a sketch among Buchanan's manuscripts, I find that the site visited by him lay about 2½ miles south by west from Bhagavānpur, to the east of the Kathān Nadi, just above the junction of this river (which flows down Makri Khoh) with the Jawārh Nadi (which comes from Jawārh Khoh) to form the Suarā Nadi, as the united stream is called thereafter. The names on the Survey maps of this locality are misleading.

north-western corner of the hill extends about two miles beyond Kajura. I crossed its angle and proceeded about two miles to its south-western corner, which is very abrupt like the other hills in the vicinity, and consists of the same rock. From thence to Rupa⁽¹⁾ on the bank of a fine little river⁽²⁾ like the Durgauti is about 4 miles. I found that the Cheru family had for some time been gone, but the cultivation extends farther, how much I cannot say, the natives being very jealous of discovering the improvements that have been made in the vicinity. At Gurwat ⁽³⁾ have been many buildings of brick, now quite levelled with the ground, but the surface is covered with fragments for a considerable space, and the Cheru probably was living on the ruins of his ancestors' palaces. On a little eminence overhanging the river have been collected some fragments of images called Hanuman, and said to have been broken by Aurungzeb. He was a very likely person to have done so, but I suspect they were injured long before his time and they entirely resemble those found about the other works of the Cheru. I could trace three of them to have been certainly Ganesa, Hurgauri as usual leaning on a bull

(1) Not traceable on the maps

(2) **Sura N.** (i.e., Suarā) But see Note (6) on previous page

(3) The present Subdivisional Officer of Bhabhuā (Mr S C Chakravarti) has supplied me with the following interesting note of the legend connected with this old site—

“Garhwat गढ़वट is stated to have been a big fort, about a mile off from Mohanpur Tori and about two miles off from Bhagwanpur towards the south. It is said to have been surrounded by a high earthen wall, popularly called *murcha* (मुर्चा), the remains of which still exist, and are shown to all who care to enquire about it. From these remnants of the wall, it appears that it extended in a south-easterly direction, and was about two miles in length and more than a mile in breadth. Big bricks of more than one cubit in length and one-half a cubit in breadth, of the type of which the old Hindu temple of Mundeswari was built, were found extensively in this area, and they have been dug up by the people of the neighbouring villages, and used in building houses and in masonry work in the wells. Even now they are to be found. Small silver coins and bits of gold are stated to have been found in this area by many; and, in the rains, even now bits of gold are turned over by the plough. It is said that, about 27 or 28 years ago, some people came from Benares, on the ostensible plea of taking a timber lease in Mokari Khoh, and camped on a *tilla* within this area of Garhwat, and stayed there for four or five days, carrying on negotiations with the proprietors, but that on the next morning no trace was found of them. It was found that the *tilla* the camped on was dug up to a depth of about four feet, and some small silver coins, 20 or 25 in number, were found strewn all around. People believe that hidden treasure was removed by them.

and lion, and Narayan riding on Garuda. A head also I think probably belonged to one of the images usually called Vasudeva, but of this I am not certain as I judge from the form of the crown alone. No one

"The traditions with regard to this place are that it was a fort just at the entrance of Mokari Khoh, belonging to a powerful aboriginal tribe, the last chief of which was named Bagha Mal, and who resided at this fort of Garhwat, and whose people resided in the Mokari Khoh and other Khohs all around. This Bagha Mal had amassed a hoard of riches by looting expeditions all around. While Lachmi Mal, one of the ancestors of Salivahan (ancestor of the Raja of Bhagwanpur), was reigning at Chausa, this Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal raided Chausa and brought away much riches, defeating Lachmi Mal and his people. While returning, this Bagha Mal is said to have brought away a fine Brahman boy, the son of Bishwa Nath Pandey (an ancestor of Harsu Pandit), the Purohit of Lachmi Mal. The date of *gaura* of this boy had been fixed when he was taken away. The Pandit gave *dharna* to the Raja; and the latter (Lachmi) promised to restore the boy to the father should he (the pandit) give him trace of the boy. Thereupon the father made enquiries at Garhwat, and came to know that the boy had been brought and given in sacrifice to Mundeswar Nath. What is popularly known as the Mundeswari temple at Ramgarh is not the temple of the goddess Kali but of Mundeswar Nath (Siva).

"The Brahman reported this fact to Raja Lachmi Mal, who was incited by the Brahman to promise to kill Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal. Raja Lachmi Mal thereupon went out with a force and killed Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal, and took possession of the fort and of the country. Lachmi Mal is said to have established a Tahsil Kachahri at Chainpur (the beginning of the fort at Chainpur), and to have commenced to collect rent there. It is stated that a hoard of riches was seized by Lachmi Mal who kept the same buried in Chainpur.

"The following is the genealogical table of Lachmi Mal and his sons :

Lachmi Mal.
Bandar Sah,
Chitarsen,
Salivahan,

"Chainpur became famous as the seat of Raja Salivahan; and Harsu Pandit was his priest.

"It is stated that Lachmi Mal, after killing Bagha Mal, adorned his forehead with a drop of Bagha Mal's blood, and then sat on the throne of Garhwat; and that to this day the Rajas of Bhagwanpur observe this custom at the time of installation, but that instead of blood, *rakta chandan* is used, and that a descendant of Bagha Mal, the present Raja of Sonpur, comes and gives this *tilak* at the time of installation. This is said to be a fact.

"The tradition further goes that when Bakhtyar Shah, a general of Sher Shah, took possession of the Chainpur fort of Salivahan, he seized the hoard of riches there which had been brought from Garhwat, and that Sher Shah did not want to appropriate this money to his own use, but by his order the *rauzas* at Sasaram and at Chainpur were built with this money.

"I might here note that the local Musahars, and other low caste people of Bhagwanpur and neighbouring villages traditionally couple the name of a Teli with Bandar Sah, when speaking of Garhwat fort. They pronounce the name of Bandar Sah as Raja Bahar. It goes as follows.

बन्धुपा तेही राजा बनार ; बाबू गो कोइयु चले ।

गली गली तेक नाखी नाखी फीरे—

"This Lakhsa Teli is said to have been a very rich man, who used to run numberless oil pressing *kolkus*, and whose oil used to flow through *pakhi nalis* (dumies) from house to house in the fort"—

has the slightest resemblance to Hanuman. The Raj Kuwar Rajputs to whom the country lately belonged allege that at their arrival the Cherus held the country. Two Raj Kuwars entered into the service of the Cheru chief, and soon after betrayed him to the Muhammedan king of Dilli and obtained his lands. It is probable that some petty chief of this nation may have continued to possess lands in the vicinity of the hills until so late a period, and Gurwat was very judiciously chosen for the residence of such a person, as it not only is in a very rich country but has behind it recesses in the mountains that are capable of being defended by a small number against a great force, and even in case of defeat a secure retreat over the mountains. The old tanks at Kujura are also attributed to the Cheru. The buildings at Gurwat are said to have been built by Rajah Mund,⁽¹⁾ a Cheru, and may extend $\frac{1}{2}$ coses east and west and $\frac{1}{4}$ cose north and south. The whole cavity [was] formerly called Mukeri Kho,⁽²⁾ but now only the east arm goes by that name, and the west is called Mewan⁽³⁾ from a ghat of that name, which is said to be the easiest ascent in the whole hills. In the Mukeri Kho is another ghat called Khatiya⁽⁴⁾ and between the two is a third. All the three lead to Vijiagur⁽⁵⁾ 20 coses distant. The road seems much frequented. Ramajai tells me that by the way he saw several images, one of which was a Bouddha sitting in the usual posture. The Chainpur

(1) Passages in the *purāṇas* as also legend associate the name Muṇḍa with a great leader or general of the *dāityas* (sometimes *asuras*) who with Chanda, sometimes called his "brother", lived among the Vindhya and evidently gave serious trouble to the Aryan incomers, as they were considered important enough to have to be slain by Durgā in the guise of Vindhya-vāsini. From this feat was derived the form of the goddess known as Chāmuṇḍa (a contraction of Chanda-Muṇḍa).

The goddess Chāṇḍī, so familiar in Bihar, is probably only another form of the same name (Chāmuṇḍa devi). According to the *Vāmana purāṇa* Chanda and Muṇḍa were the generals of Mahiṣāsura. Another text describes them as the generals of the (*asura*) kings Sumbha and Niśumbha. It is significant that the people regarded Muṇḍa as a Chero, showing that they considered the races to be connected.

(2) Makri Khoh.

(3) Not named on the S. S., but the ascent referred to is the road up to Karar, a village on the plateau to the east of the Jawārh Khoh, which is still the main route over the plateau to Adhaurā, and thence across to Bhotā.

(4) Neither this nor the third ghāt is named on the S. S.

(5) Bijagarh.

family came 52 generations ago from Sikuri Fattahpur⁽¹⁾ in the west and are Sukurwar Rajputs. Rajkuwar is a mere title of the family.⁽²⁾

19th January.—I went to Chayenpur⁽³⁾ 12 miles, called 3 coses. The ruins of the town of Gurwat extend from the river to the rampart about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile. The rampart is very thick and seems to extend from hill to hill. The ditch [is] much obliterated by cultivation. About $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Gurwat I came to Turi,⁽⁴⁾ opposite to a detached hill, and passed through it and some part of Bagwanpur⁽⁵⁾ for about half a mile, when I came to the fort of that name which extends almost half a mile and has been a square surrounded by a mud rampart with a round bastion at each corner. Within was a small castle of brick surrounded by a moat, the former abode of the Rajahs of Chayenpur, now totally ruined. Bhagwanpur is still a very good and neat village, the merchants' houses being whitened with Khori.⁽⁶⁾ One of them has a small garden and temple in the vicinity. From thence crossing the Khatan⁽⁷⁾ which passes Gurwat and resembles the Durgauti at Savor, and passing a village called Mozayi⁽⁸⁾ I went west to the end of a low hill that bends west from the hill of Turi for about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Bagwanpur. I there passed between it and a

(1) Fathpur Sikri, 24 miles from Agra. Fathpur (place of victory) is of course a Muhammadan addition; the original name was Sikri, or more correctly Sikhari (from शिखर, a peak or crest). The name of the clan—Sakarwār is probably derived from this place, thus—Sikhari-wāla becomes Sikharwār, and then Sakarwār. But a chronicle of the family in my possession states that before coming to Sikri they held sway in the Tak-sailā rājya (i.e., kingdom of Taxila) for many generations.

(2) See page 118, Note (2).

(3) Chainpur. The spelling, and indeed modern pronunciation, of the name is misleading. It is possibly a corruption of Chandapur, the town of Chāṇḍa [see note (1), page 121]. This receives some support from the fact that the old name of the pargana, now known as the Chainpur pargana, was Chaund; and this is the name in Todar Mal's rent-roll, though it has been mistakenly transliterated as Jiwand, owing to confusion between *j* and *ch* in the Persian character (چ, ج) can be read either as Chaund or Jiwand when no dots are marked). It is also, I think, possible that we have here a trace of ancient Chero rule. The old name may also be traced in Chāṇḍ, a large village nine miles north-west of Chainpur, and in other site names.

(4) Turi.

(5) Bhagwanpur. The family had left Bhagavānpur at that time for reasons that need not be noted here; but they have gone back, and the present representative of the family lives there now.

(6) Khari, chalk, or as here, whitewash.

(7) The Kathan (कठान) Nadi. See Note (6) on p. 118.

(8) Mozhai.

small hummock and found a quarry of limestone. It is a little way up the hill, with very little earth above it, and consists of thin horizontal plates covered with an ash-coloured crust, and when the plates are an inch or more thick they resemble flint, but when thin they have been entirely converted into the ash-coloured substance that encrusts the thicker ones. It has been wrought to very little extent. This low hill is tolerably smooth, and I saw no rock upon it. East from the lime the detached masses on the surface were reddish plates of limestone containing little veins of white spar. It is considered as useless by the natives. Higher up the hill than the limestone the detached masses, some very large, are a whitish granular stone such as the great mass of these hills usually consists of.

From this quarry I went south⁽¹⁾ more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile to Suraiya,⁽²⁾ and from thence went east about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile through a narrow pass between the two hills. This pass is an entrance into the valley in which Gurhat⁽³⁾ is situated, and has been fortified with a double rampart of stone, although the hill above the village of Muzayi is neither high nor abrupt, but being covered with a thicket of stunted and prickly trees it would be inaccessible to cavalry. In this passage on the same hill with the limestone is a mine of Khorī, very white and although hard readily crumbling to a powder in water, so that it is used for a whitewash. It effervesces strongly with acids, and is a stone marl full of fissures. It contains many masses of the limestone not yet changed into marl. In the passage between the hills and below the Khorī the bare rock appears in thin parallel plates exactly like the limestones, and in fact it effervesces readily with it, but is considered by the natives as useless, probably from never having tried it. In some places the plates were vertical but in general horizontal, a diversity of appearance probably owing [to] the waves such as in the limestone at Gupti Banaras. Higher up the hill than the Khorī is the usual granular stone of these hills in detached masses: but among these I found

(1) Should be "south-west".

(2) Saraiya. The hills are not accurately delineated on the S.S.

(3) Garhvat (the Garohat) of the *Statistical Account and Gazetteers*.

some masses of a very singular Breccia containing Gheru,⁽¹⁾ or indurated reddle, and fat quartz, two substances scarcely to be seen in these hills. From the ghat I went east about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile along the head of a fine little valley opening towards Gurhat⁽²⁾ at its south end, and shut up by the hill of Mozayi on the north. It belongs to this village, on which account the quarries on the west face of the hill opposite to Bhagwanpur are called the quarries of Muzayi, and are wrought by Ghor⁽³⁾ who live there. The finest is farther south and a considerable way up the hill. It is an indurated potstone in fine horizontal strata, and may be wrought to any extent without any expense in clearing. It is said that Ahiliya Bai⁽⁴⁾ took from thence the stones to build a bridge over the Karamnasa, but at present Lingas seem to be the only article in demand. To look at the rock from a distance one would judge it to be of exactly the same nature with that most usual in these hills, and it seems to be in a state of transition from that to the gentle slate of which the Kasis is made. It is just above the slope, and forms the lower part of the abrupt precipice. A little farther north and higher up is a quarry where the common granular stone is of an excellent quality for millstones, mortars and other such implements, especially the mortars of sugar mills⁽⁵⁾ which are very fine. As usual it is of two colours, reddish and whitish.

Having returned to Suraiya, I went east ⁶ about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile across the mouth of a very beautiful valley in which is Ramgar,⁽⁷⁾ a pretty village, where the Rajkuwars have some good houses. This hill is of the usual form and nearly a mile wide. Having skirted it for about a mile I entered on the great plain and passed over it for about 5 miles to my tents on the west side of Chayenpur. The country exceedingly fertile,

(1) *Geru*, red ochre; ruddle (or reddle).

(2) See page 123, Note (3).

(3) See page 43 above, Note (1).

(4) Ahalya Bai was the wife of Malhar Rao Holkar. See Malcola, *Memoir of Central India*, I, 157 f., for some account of this good woman.

(5) Before the invention of the Bihiya iron-roller sugar mill by Mr. James Mylne, these large stone mortars were used all over the southern part of the district, and specimens may still be seen lying about.

(6) Should read "west".

(7) Ramgarh.

fully occupied and populous. About 2 miles east from Chayenpur I had at some distance on my right a very considerable Muhammedan monument.

20th January.—This monument I went to visit, and found it about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from my tents. It is said to be that of a Mauli Khan, a Patan, but nothing is known of him except that he communicated his name to an adjacent village⁽¹⁾ which now belongs to a Hindu family, and they say has done so for 4 or 5 generations. The tomb is built of stone and is square, 27 feet 10 inches on the outside, surmounted by a dome. It is light and airy, having a wide door on 3 sides with a niche for prayer, on which are engraved some pious sentences. It contains 4 graves of clay, but these seem to have been very recently constructed, the original ones no doubt of brick or stone having gone to decay. Who has done this pious deed I know not, as there is no Muzawur⁽²⁾ nor any establishment. Some Fakir has probably intended to make it his abode, as I see a place for boiling his pot has been formed in a corner. The tomb is quite entire, and is surrounded by a stone wall in tolerable condition, no trees having as yet taken root on the walls. It would be rather a neat place, although very heavy, were not the masonry as usual very bad, and the stones are of different colours mixed without the least attention to symmetry. Among the greatest defects of the masonry in these buildings is the structure of the arches in which the stones, besides want of similarity in size, are not placed with their ends up and down so as to wedge one another, so that they have very little strength, and are perhaps very little better than another kind of door and window very common in these buildings, and often very much ornamented. From Mauli I returned to my tents, and went about half a mile west to a much larger monument, the tomb of Ahtiyar⁽³⁾ Khan, whose eldest son

(1) *Mahula.*

Buchanan must have been pressed for time on the 19th January, as he could not "conveniently", as he tells us in the Report, visit the Mundesvari temple on top of the small hill opposite Rāngarh, one of the very oldest buildings standing in the district; but he sent a painter "who drew the most remarkable part". See Martin's *E. I.*, 1, 456-457, and Plate V; also *A. S. Ben. Cir.*, 1901-2, page 20, and *I. A.*, 1920, page 21.

(2) *Muzawur* (موزور), here meaning the caretaker.

(3) *Bakhtyar Khān.* See *Gazetteer*, under Chainpur. The monument is now preserved under the Act of 1904.

Futeh Khan married a daughter of Shere Shah. The tomb entirely resembles that of Husan Khan at Sasaram, but is in somewhat better condition. It has not been defiled or profaned, and only a few trees have been permitted to take root on it. These have been occasionally stunted by the branches having been cut, but the roots have never been removed and are now tearing one corner of the wall to pieces. It is surrounded by a wall of stone, at each corner of which is a square chamber surmounted by a dome, very clumsy. The gate from the east is large and would be rather handsome were it not disfigured by a want of symmetry both in materials and masonry. The area contains a number of very fine trees and palms which give the whole a very grand air, especially as a hill overhangs it to the west and between the tomb and hill there is a fine little river,⁽¹⁾ so that the situation is most judicious. It differs in nothing from the tomb of Husein⁽²⁾ except that the dome is surmounted by a Gumji and that there are no traces of plaster on the outer wall. The paint remains quite entire on the roofs of some of the little domes that cover the gallery, and is in a very miserable style. The wall all around the niche for prayer at least has been plastered and covered with pious sentences in black. Perhaps these may have extended all round the inside of the dome, which towards the upper terrace has 8 windows with 8 niches between them. There are 7 doors towards the gallery which surrounds the building on the lower stage. The inside of the dome is an octagon, the shorter diameters of which are 53 feet. The wall is 12 feet thick, the gallery 9 feet wide, and the buttresses supporting the 3 arches in each front of the gallery 6 feet 6 from inside to out. The dome contains 25 graves, 12 of which have been destroyed by the water dropping through the roof. The chief's is still entire, and is distinguished by a small pillar at the head. There are, besides the graves of 4 full grown males, 3 women, 5 male children and one female, all probably brothers, wives, and children of the family. It is not known where Futeh Khan was buried nor what became of him, although there is no doubt that he and his children

(1) Mathura N.

(2) i.e., the tomb of Husan Khan Sur at Sasaram.

suffered in the wreck of his kinsman's family. A younger brother, Daud Khan, resided here, and at the time of the Mogols' success was erecting several buildings. His tomb is a little north from that of his father, and is much smaller. It is square on the outside and an octagon within, and would no doubt have been covered with a dome, but that had not been commenced when he met his fate. The Mogols however permitted his body to be buried within. South-east from his monument Ektiyar Khan dug a pretty considerable tank, and the fabulous inclination of the natives induces the Muzawur to say that finding the place without water he dug this for the workmen, just as if a river did not run close by the wall. This Muzawar has 80 begahs⁽¹⁾ of rich land and 5 annas a day in order to take care of the buildings under his charge, but he considers himself as little if at all interested about the tombs of these nobles from whom his ancestor no doubt received the endowment. His attention is, he says, entirely due to the abode (Koti) of the blessed Osman Shah, a Pir who was buried at the place long before Shere Shah, and who was contemporary with the great saint of Baraich⁽²⁾ and a worthy of the same stamp descended from the prophet. The holy man's grave is very simple, placed without any cover at the south-west corner of an elevated terrace on the west side of the river. This terrace is surrounded by a wall. At the north-west corner under a similar grave is buried a Huseyn Khan, sister's son of Ektiyar, who constructed the terrace with an adjacent place for prayer. Many of his wives, children and other kindred are buried on the terrace, in which are 3 Gumjis, one pretty large and another double.

On the top of the small hill which overhangs this monument Daud Khan at the time of his family's overthrow was building a Baradwari, or hall with 12 doors. The walls have been erected some way. The building is a square of 18 feet 6 inches square, with 3 doors in each side, and would no doubt have been surrounded by a gallery with a small room at each corner.

(1) *Migha*.

(2) *Bahrāich*, in the U. P.

The hill supplies excellent materials for building. The rock on the top is considered as useless, and consists of a granular substance with some small rounded concretions, an appearance which the stone of these hills in many parts assumes. On the lower part of the hill are cut stones for building and for making mortars and hand mills. They resemble those of Muzayi, being partly reddish, partly dark ash.

The Zemindar of Chayenpur, a Patan, pretended to be sick and sent his son and an agent to see me. The son, a good looking lad, was quiet, but the Dewan pretended to be stupid and knew nothing; he said that the place contained 250 houses, but this seems much underrated. The agent states the Patans at 55 houses of which 11 only really so⁽¹⁾, while a neighbouring zemindar of that tribe assured me that there were at least 100. It is much neater than most towns in Behar, and the villages all around look well at a distance, being high and having in general a mud castle in tolerable repair. Chayenpur was long the residence of the Rajputs who owned the adjacent country, and who probably retained Saseram and Chainpur until the Patans took all the former and part of the latter from them, and it was then probably that they deserted Chainpur and built the castle at Bagwanpur suitable to their reduced estate. Their castle⁽²⁾ at Chayenpur has been pretty considerable, as would seem from the ruins. It has been surrounded by a ditch and rampart of stone, with battlements and a round bastion at each corner. In the middle of the north and south faces are gates. That to the north is a large building, the walls of which are still pretty entire. In the middle of the east and west curtains have been semicircular bastions. The space within has been filled with buildings, partly brick, partly stone, with several very large wells lined with stone reservoirs for water works and other comforts becoming a family of rank. A Muslim saint and the ghost of an enraged Brahman have taken up their abode among the ruins. Ramajai

(1) The sentence is reproduced as it stands in the manuscript. Perhaps it should read:—"The Pathans had 55 houses, of which 11 only remain."

(2) This fort was probably constructed by the Muhammadan rulers on the site of a much older fort. The late Dr T. Bloch regarded it as "evidently a building of the time of Sher Shah or Akbar, as seen from the style of its principal gate".

has possession of the story concerning the latter, which seems to be of recent fabrication.⁽¹⁾ The Pujaris who are making a good thing of the ghost have lately been disturbed by a stout, savage young Brahman who pretends to be descended from the person whose ghost is the source of profit in which he wishes to share. He is nearly naked, painted red white and yellow like an American Indian, and the most violent fellow, in talk at least, that I have ever seen. The Pujari pretends that all the persons pretending to be descended of the old Rajahs are mere pretenders as the ghost killed the whole males at least. There is however reason to suspect that even the present owner is a descendant and although he calls himself a Patan, as being here the strong party, that his ancestor saved his estate by becoming a convert and was by birth a Rajput, not that he was the head of the family but was a Rajkumar who obtained a grant of the village on becoming a Moslem.⁽²⁾

A stone well in Chayenpur is said to have been constructed by a Dhari⁽³⁾ of some king, probably Selim Shah. There are in the vicinity many tanks and some ruinous stone mosques with many funeral monuments, pretty large but of less note than those described, so that the place has been once more considerable than at present, although there is less appearance of decay and misery about it than usual. Every monument of the Hindu worship seems to have been carefully eradicated, and no doubt while the Rajah resided in the castle there were near several large temples. This induced me to conclude that the story of the Brahman is quite modern, probably contrived since the British government gave the Hindus protection. During the Moslem power⁽⁴⁾ a Brahma devata would not have been permitted to thrust his nose close to the tomb of a saint.

(1) The story of Harṣu Pāṇḍeya is about 500 years old (See W. Crooke, *Folk-lore of N. I.*, I, 191-2, and *A. S. I.* XVII, 160 f.). As Crooke says, he is now worshipped as a "Brahm". I have more than once heard *pāṇḍu*-bearers in the Bhabhuā Subdivision calling out in their illiterate speech *हरहु करहु को जय* ! upon reaching a change station.

(2) Cf. the cases of the Dumraih, Biur and Sarewā families, (originally Hindu).

(3) A wet-nurse.

(4) But tradition makes Harṣu the earlier.

21st January.—I went between 13 and 14 miles to Mohaniya.⁽¹⁾ There was in most places not even the vestige of a path, but I went very circuitously from ahar to ahar. The country very beautiful, even the rice fields being green with Kesari,⁽²⁾ and I think the huts better than in any part I have yet seen. The villages stand high and mostly have mud castles as in Behar. The plantations no more than necessary to adorn the country which is finely scattered with clumps.

About 5 miles from Chayenpur, at a village called Jummuya⁽³⁾ I was shown the ruins of the house of Hursu Pangre, the Brahman whose ghost is troublesome at Chayenpur. It is vastly more ruinous than that of the Rajah, and indeed consists of a mere heap, probably containing bricks, but it has evidently been surrounded by a rampart with a bastion at each corner,⁽⁴⁾ not so large as that of the Rajah but still pretty considerable. On its west side are a good many stones, partly plain, partly carved, and now used as seats by the people of the village when they assemble to talk. Whether these were taken from the house or from a temple to the west of it I cannot say. The latter however is the most probable, as what is called the house seems merely one of the mud gurries⁽⁵⁾ usual in the country. On its centre is a Soti Chaungr,⁽⁶⁾ said to be that of a daughter of Hursu Pangre who the people say was Puruhit to Raja Sarbangs.⁽⁷⁾ The temple is now reduced to a square elevation of bricks and stones, and has probably been a building of the Cherus. Many of the stones are carved and have contained images, but they are so much defaced that only one can be traced with tolerable accuracy. It represents Maha Vira or Hannuman. It would appear that on the centre

(1) Mohaniya. Buchanan's is the better spelling.

(2) Khisari, generally pronounced khesari in Shikharad, *Lathyrus sativus*. Buchanan refers to broadcasted () khisari.

(3) Jamuawan. According to the legendary history of the Bhagawan-pur family, Raja Salivahana Simha established this village, and made a grant of it to Harshu Pandeya in performance of a vow.

(4) The same chronicle says that Salivahana built a fort there.

(5) Garhi, a small fort.

(6) Soti Chaurd, the place where a woman performed the soti rite.

(7) Salivahana.

of the heap a small Mundur⁽¹⁾ had been erected of various stones taken from the former building, and it is said that this contained a Siva Linga which is now in the centre of a Pipal tree of great size that took root on this small building and ruined it. This is very probable, and the Siva was probably placed there by the Rajah's Purohits. Four miles farther on I passed the Sura, a river in a deep channel of clay containing calcarous nodules. It may be 20 yards wide, and contains much stagnant water in pools with fine little streams between. Not quite 3 miles farther on I passed the Durgauti, in a similar channel, but so far as I see free from nodules. There is more water, and that much clearer. It flows in one very gentle shallow stream about 20 feet wide and one [foot] deep on a bed of sand. From thence to Mohaniya is not quite 3 miles.

Near Jummuya I crossed the line of road from the west to Baidyonath. Although it is a mere path, so far as I could see there was a line of pilgrims going and coming with water in small companies of 4 or 5 persons. I counted 48 in the space of 50 or 60 yards, and in both directions they seemed to be everywhere equally thick.⁽²⁾

At Mohaniya is the military road⁽³⁾ from Calcutta to Banaras, and the crowd of pilgrims passing thence to Banaras was still greater, owing to an eclipse which will happen in a few days.

24th January.—Having heard that at Eklaspur,⁽⁴⁾ said to be 4 coses distant, there was a temple of Mahadeva with many old images round it, I went

(1) *Mundur*, a Hindu temple.

(2) See also above, page 106. One of the very busiest seasons for Hindu pilgrims occurs about the middle of January. The full moon day of the Hindi month of Māgh (*Māghasirga pūrṇamāsā*) is a day on which one of the most frequented religious fairs is held at many famous sites, e.g., the *Kumbha melā*. Again the *Makara saṃkrānti*, when the sun enters Capricorn (the *uttarāyanā*), about the 12th or 13th January, is another festival widely observed in Northern India.

(3) The "New Military Road" constructed under the orders of Warren Hastings, and commenced in 1781. From Benares to Sherghāti it followed the line now taken by the Grand Trunk Road; between Sherghāti and Calcutta it took a more southerly route than the present Grand Trunk Road.

(4) *Ikhlaspur*, probably named after Ikhlas Khān, who as commandant of the fortress of Rohtāgarh in the reign of Shāh Jahān, held that Chāinpur pargana as part of the *jāgir* attached to the post.

there, but found the distance about 8 miles and that the temple and images were quite modern, having been built about 30 years ago by Vaikhant Giri,⁽¹⁾ a Goswain. It is on the side of a tank filled with water and dug by the same person. The temple consists of two small halls only separated by a wall, and each having before it a small porch, all very rude and mean in their structure and pretty dark. In one are two Mahadevas and in the other only one. In the walls both around the images and of the porches have been as usual built slabs of stone on which figures are carved in relief. Most of them represent persons of the order of Gosaigins, variously employed; but some represent deities. All are vastly more rude than the old images, the arts being retrograde. I went first about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile along the Calcutta road, which is just such as all the roads should be made. In fair weather it is practicable for carriages, and bullocks may go on it through most of the year, drains on each side carrying off the water so that a day or two dry weather makes it firm enough for cattle. Turning south from thence I came to the Durgauti about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the turn. It is here a fine clear stream in a deep channel, and contains a good deal of water entirely neglected for irrigation, although with dams it might in the dry season be turned into canals for that purpose. Of course they would be annually swept away by the rains. I went from thence rather more than 4 miles to the Kukurni,⁽²⁾ a river that destroys a good deal of its banks. It contains much dirty stagnant water, having been dammed across, not for the purpose of irrigation to which it might be readily applied, but apparently to preserve fish and a bathing place for the buffaloes. From thence to Eklaspur is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The country is rather bare, but enough of Mangoes for use. The villages good as in other parts of Chayenpur.

26th January.—I went rather more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, called 6 coses, to Kandihara.⁽³⁾ The first $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile was along the Calcutta road in the Mohaniya

(1) Vaikhant Giri, a *gudh*: *giri* is one of the ten sub-orders. See page 87, Note (1).

(2) Kukurni N.

(3) Kandehra.

division. Mohaniya is a small but neat village consisting chiefly of lodgings kept by Betiyarings,⁽¹⁾ with some shops for the accommodation of pilgrims, the number of whom is exceeding great. The people are great extortioners. A battalion of seapoys marched through the place while I was there, but did not halt at it. Provisions however for the day on which it marched were raised 25 per cent., because several of the shopkeepers were sent to supply the camp. An equal number of pilgrims would have made no rise. The people complain much of the soldiers, but while they attempt such extortion it is not to be wondered that the seapoys take every private opportunity of retaliation. I then went through the fields from village to village for the remainder of the way. About 9 miles from Mohaniya I crossed the Kudra, a pretty large channel deep sunk in clay, but having a sandy bottom. The stream was about knee deep, perhaps 15 yards wide and pretty rapid. The water perfectly clear. The country rather naked. Villages numerous, rather poorer than those near Chayenpur, and most of the mud castles have gone to ruin. The women all in Chayenpur pergunah so far as I have seen are not near so strictly confined as in other parts of the district, and come out to look as we pass. I see today some Soti Chaungrs,⁽²⁾ but not near so frequent as towards the north-east.

27th January.—I went 13½ miles to Barahari⁽³⁾ through a country very much resembling that seen yesterday, and the people and houses nearly the same. The boundary of Saseram pergunah and Barooung⁽⁴⁾ division is about ¼ of a mile east from Kandihari. About 1½ mile from Barahari I crossed the Chandrawati,⁽⁵⁾ a small channel which springs in the fields near, but contains a good deal of water, nearly stagnant, which is quite neglected, although the people form wells close to it for irrigation and its

(1) *Bhathiyārin*, a woman who follows the profession of inn-keeper.

(2) See page 130, Note (5).

(3) Barahri.

(4) Barawan..

(5) Dharmavati, which starts from near Chandrabhānpur village in the Kargahar thāna.

channel is not deep. Proper dams and canals would render it highly valuable.

28th January.—I went about $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Bohuyara.⁽¹⁾ The boundary of Sasaram and Bojpur is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Barahari. From thence the country continues rather bare for about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, when the plantations become waste, the soil more free and the land much neglected. Among the long grass observed a herd of antilopes; the guide called the males Kulsar, the females Guriya.⁽²⁾

29th January.—I went about $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Latan.⁽³⁾ From Bohuyara to the Boundary of Bilaungti⁽⁴⁾ is almost $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Bohuyara a wretched place belonging to the old Kanongo who lives at Suryapura, where I took the account of Thanah Korunj,⁽⁵⁾ and who seems to be a very bad manager of land although his affairs are flourishing. I passed by old quarters near his house about 3 miles from Bohuyara. The people on his estate and that of Baboo Sahebzoda⁽⁶⁾ have given up much of their rice lands, while on the estate of Ali Huseyn Khan, between the two, the rice fields are now covered with Kesari and flax growing among the stubble. The nullah east from Suryapura contains a good deal of dirty water stagnating in pools.

30th January.—I went rather more than 9 miles to Jogodespur.⁽⁷⁾ The villages evidently more miserable than towards the south-west and the women more confined. At one wretched village in the forest I saw not less than 7 Šoti Chaungrs in a row. The forest commences about 4 miles from Latan and continues with little interruption close to Jogodespur. About

(1) Bahuara.

(2) *Kolsā*, black, "like charcoal"; *guriyā*, fair (fr. मोरा , white, fair).

(3) *Lanthan*, about 5 miles west of Piro,—"the place of lac". This part was formerly covered with forest, and probably abounded in *palāśa* trees, from which lac is collected.

(4) *Selauthi*.

(5) *Karanj*, the Karangia of the Report and Map, 8 miles west of Surajpura. Now a small and unimportant village. Even in Buchanan's time it was small market place with only 70 houses, but gave its name to a police "Division".

(6) *Sahibzāda* Singh, the father of the famous Kuar Singh.

(7) *Jagdispur*.

half a mile from Latan at a village called Petero⁽¹⁾ is a heap of bricks called a temple (Dihora)⁽²⁾ and attributed to the Cheros. On the summit are lying many fragments of images so broken that only one, a Ganesa, can be ascertained. The temple to judge from the ruin has probably been solid.

4th February.—Jogodespur is a pretty large town, but very poor. I did not see the Baboo, he having been lately hurt by the bursting of a fowling piece. His son ⁽³⁾ was very attentive, a thin lad, rather well looked but apparently poor, although he had a good horse. The family residence is a large castle,⁽⁴⁾ mostly of mud, but some small part of it brick. I this day went almost 16 miles to a little beyond Koyat,⁽⁵⁾ no road. I passed the forest about 6½ miles from Jogodespur, but not on the Baboo's estate. It here belongs to the Rajah and extends about a mile in width. It is stunted and consists of thin scattered trees among long grass.⁽⁶⁾ The villages from the forest are much more comfortable than those between it and Jogodespur. Koyat has a very large mud castle.

5th February.—I went about 11 miles to Karunj. The country well planted but very poorly cultivated. Some of the villages deserted.

6th February.—Karunj is a poor place, the Daroga not there, and he seldom is so. I went rather more than 11 miles to Kochus.⁽⁷⁾ The first 10 miles through Thanah Karunj. Great part long deserted, many villages entirely so, most in part. After the first half of the way on entering Donawar ⁽⁸⁾ the

(1) Pitro.

(2) This probably represents *dihura* (दिहुरा), a word sometimes used for a temple.

(3) This young man seems to have been none other than Kuar Singh, whose name became a household word 45 years later.

(4) Blown up by Vincent Eyre in August, 1857.

(5) Keath, where the famous Nawāb Saiyid Nūr-ul-hasan Khān Bilgrāmi settled towards the end of his interesting career, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and where his descendants still live.

(6) A few acres of the original *jangal*, as it stood before the clearing lease was given to Mr. Burrows (see *Gazetteer*, 1924 edition, page 171) were carefully preserved by the side of the Bihyā House, and corresponded exactly with Buchanan's description here. The Bābū and the Rājā are the heads of the Jagadīspur and Dūmrāon families, respectively.

(7) Kochas.

(8) i.e., Danwār pargana.

devastation not so great. All the villages have small mud castles Pergunnah Sasaram in better condition. No road. Kochus is a large village belonging to a Moslem family who have made a fortune in the service of the Ujayinis.

7th February.—I went about 9 miles to Bornna⁽¹⁾ in the Ramgur ⁽²⁾ division, the boundary being about 5 miles from Kochus. The villages pretty decent. I saw 4 antilopes by the way. The road most of the way lay near a small winding river ⁽³⁾ in a channel of clay. It contains a good deal of water in pools, nearly stagnant.

8th February.—Bornna is a good village like most of those in the Pergannah of Chainpur. From thence to Ramgur ⁽²⁾ is about 9 miles. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Bornna I crossed the Guriya,⁽⁴⁾ a channel in clay filled with stagnant water and more considerable than that on the east side of the village which has no name. About three miles from Bornna at a village called Upari is a ruined temple now forming a heap of bricks. It is supposed to have belonged to the Cherus. On the heap are two Lingas, one of which contains a short inscription and seems to have been part of a pillar, the top of which has been rounded into somewhat of the phallus form. Whether these have been dug from the ruins or are modern images placed upon it, I cannot say. Rather less than three miles from thence I crossed the Kudra, a pretty little clear stream in a deep channel of clay. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Ramgur I crossed the Durgauti, a stream similar to the Kudra but larger. The water knee deep and about 20 yards wide.

11th February.—I went rather more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Darauli, a village north-east from the Thanah⁽⁵⁾, where it was reported that there were some old images. Rather more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Thanah I crossed

(1) *Bornna*, 9 miles south of Manoharpur.

(2) *Ramgurh*.

(3) A tributary of the Goria Nadi.

(4) *Goria N.*

(5) i.e., from Rāmgarh, from which Darauli lies four and a half miles east-north-east.

the Durgauti a little below the junction of the Kudra. It has a good deal of water and is more rapid than any stream I have seen on the Gangetic plains, so that the declivity of the country must be considerable.

At Darauli is a large old tank which is estimated by the people to be about 250 katahs of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long⁽¹⁾ from east to west, but is not near so wide. It is said to be the work of the Siyurs⁽²⁾ who governed the country in the Tretaiya Yug,⁽³⁾ long before the arrival of the Kols; but nothing is known of where they lived, nor are there in the vicinity the traces of any considerable building. At the west end of the great tank is a smaller one, said to be much more modern and has that appearance. It is said to have been dug by a Moslem chief (Munsubdar),⁽⁴⁾ who came from Dilli and broke the images of the Siyur. And in fact several of them, although not all, have been broken to pieces, and all have suffered much from time. Near the south-west corner of the great tank under a tree is a small Ganesa, pretty entire. A little south from thence on a square terrace of mud, probably quite modern, is placed a Siva Linga. At 3 corners of the terrace are 3 small obelisks of stone, very curious and much carved. On the 4 sides of each pedestal are an equal number of images, one a linga, another a Ganesa, a third and fourth a large male

(1) Buchanan seems to have thought that the *katthā* was a lineal measure: it is a superficial measure, used in respect of land. Land measures vary according with the length of the measuring rod (*laggi*) used; hence the specification of "three and half cubits", which refers to the length of the *laggi*. A square of which each side is the length of a *laggi* is called a *dhūr*, 20 *dhūrs* = 1 *katthā*; 20 *katthās* = 1 *bighā*.

(2) These people do not appear to have been satisfactorily identified yet. The name is variously spelt in the *Gazetteers* and other literature as Sawara, Savara, Saura, Savar, Sivira, Surr, Seori, etc. They have been identified with the Sabaræ of Ptolemy and with the Suari of Pliny. It seems to me that two distinct tribes or races have been mixed up in many of the references to these people. In Sanskrit we find two names, *Sabara* and *Sauvira*. The former are no doubt the Sabaræ of Ptolemy and the modern Savaras or Sawaras found in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency and the adjoining tracts of Orissa and Chotā Nāgpur. It may be that the Suyir or Siyur of Buchanan and the Seori of Sherring, however, are of different origin, and came in from the west or south-west as we find traces of them in the Benares and Allahabad divisions.

(3) *Treta yuga* (the second age). The words "long before the arrival of the Kols" conflict with the tradition recorded by Buchanan elsewhere (e.g., page 139 below) that the Siyurs expelled the Cheros.

(4) *Munsabdar*, (from منسوب, a post or office of dignity), an official, generally required to provide a certain number of horses.

standing between two smaller ones. The Siva and Ganesa on all the three obelisks are nearly similar, but there are some differences in the other 6 figures. One of them has four arms, all the others only two. In some the attendants are kneeling, in others standing. On the east side of the mound is a slab containing 3 figures sitting, one evidently a female and the others may have been intended for such, but they are defaced.

South from thence some little way is a small heap of bricks with a good many images and stones; and it is probable that the others have been taken from this place in modern times, as there is not the smallest trace of building where they now stand. There are two pretty large images, one broken through the middle, the other much defaced. The former has 4 arms and resembles a good deal the Vasudevas of Behar, but he has no attendants. The other is evidently Varaha.⁽¹⁾ Two smaller images represent males standing with attendants but [with] only two arms, as on the obelisks. There is on the bottom of a long slab the representation of a male and female, both two-armed with each an arm round the other's neck. Above them is a figure of the human hand between the sun and moon, the idolatrous representation of Allah used by the Moslems of the south of India, and probably carved by the zealous chief who broke the images in order to show the triumph of his faith. On a long slab are 5 figures, some certainly and all probably females. With the three at the other place they perhaps formed what is called the Asta Sakti,⁽²⁾ but they are so much defaced that I cannot be certain. Among other fragments may be traced the door, very rude as indeed are all the carvings. Each side has as usual a human figure on the base. The lintel in place of a Ganesa has on its middle a short inscription not totally defaced.

From thence I returned by the way of Sadullahpur⁽³⁾, the chief place where the saline wells of the

(1) The boar incarnation of Viṣṇu.

(2) *Aṣṭa śakti*, "the eight energies", also called *aṣṭa mātṛi*, though sometimes seven and sometimes nine are enumerated: the female energies of the gods. I cannot find that the "short inscriptions" referred to further on has been deciphered or published.

(3) Two and a half miles from Rāmagarh.

neighbourhood are found. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east from Ramgarh, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile from the Kudra where I crossed that river on the 8th. Sesaunda⁽¹⁾ [is] another of the places I passed on my way to Darauli, a little beyond the Durgauti. These places have nothing peculiar in their appearance, and close to them is a rich soil, highly cultivated.

12th February.—I went north about half a mile to see a well which I had dug in a spot on which the soda effloresced. The soil is a very poor clay called Usari.⁽²⁾ It produces only short herbage or a few stunted bushes, and trees do not thrive on it. It has a yellowish colour owing to ochre of iron, and contains much sand, but the clods when dry are very hard. It is on such land here that the soda usually effloresces, but there is much such where no soda appears. It is a very poor soil, but when watered all kinds of grain will grow on it. The well was dug in a spot covered with the efflorescence, and was 14 feet deep before water was found. The quantity of sand increased and of ochre diminished more and more as the people sunk lower down, but even at the bottom the clods adhered pretty strongly when dry, but they were of a very pale ash colour. The water is sweet to the taste, and does not effervesce with acids.

13th February.—I went to Sawut,⁽³⁾ leaving the direct road a little to my left to visit an old temple at Baidyonath,⁽⁴⁾ which is also attributed to the Suyirs. Baidyonath is about 6 miles from Ramgarh, and is a small village belonging to the Marwar⁽⁵⁾ Rajputs. They say that they have been here for 22 or 25 generations and drove out the Siyurs, who were an impure tribe and had in their turn expelled the Cheros. The

(1) Sisaunra.

(2) i.e., *ūsar*, saline or brackish earth.

(3) *Sawath*, the Sant of the old military reports and the *Sangyot* of Buchanan's map and report. Until after the battle of Buxar this was regarded as the last camping ground on the old route to the north-west (which passed through Patnā, Naubatpur, Dāūdagar and Sāsārām) on the frontier of the Company's territory. Beyond the Karmanāsā lay the sphere of influence of the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh.

(4) *Baljnath*, five and half miles west of Rāmgarh. For illustrations of the remains found by Buchanan here, see Martin's *N. I.*, I, 463, 469.

(5) There are many Rājput clans in Mārwar; what particular clan Buchanan refers to is not clear.

temple contains a Linga, but is evidently quite modern and is a small cubical chamber without a spire, built of various fragments of an old one which probably consisted chiefly if not entirely of stone, but has not been large. It has occupied a square space on the east side of an old water course which runs north and south and now forms a marsh, but I suspect is the old channel of the Durgauti, and that from Baidyonath it has formerly passed by Ramgur and covered the lands north from that with sand. This marsh is now called a Khund or pool. On the square space are a great many stones very much carved on, containing a vast number and variety of figures better executed than those at Darauli but somewhat in the same style, especially a number of obelisks, although even these differ a good deal from those of that place, and I have seen very few of the figures anywhere else. Most of them indeed do not seem to represent deities but women, musicians, animals, etc., intended merely as ornaments. In the same style with the obelisks are some long stones carved only on one side, which probably have been built into the walls as ornaments. There are besides numerous columns, pedestals, cornices, capitals, etc., etc. The most remarkable circumstances in their style is that the foliages in many parts are not in relief, but are cut deep like a seal upon a level surface, which has a very bad and poor effect. The most remarkable stones are two long ones placed erect at each side of the door of the present temple, which faces the east. They are carved on one side only and probably have formed the sides of the niche in which the image formerly worshipped has been contained, as they are carved in the same style with the throne which still remains in its place behind the present temple, and has probably occupied the whole end of a small shrine that has been supported by four columns, the pedestals of which remain in their places. Near is lying another long stone which probably passed between the two others now erected before the present temple, and formed the niche over the throne. This contains one figure seated in the middle and one at each end, with the 9 planets in the two intervening spaces. The throne is chiefly occupied by musicians. From the size and appearance of the throne it could not

Have been intended for the present object of worship, which however probably belonged to the ruin as several other Lingas, partly entire, partly broken, are to be found in the place. I see no image however that can be taken for that formerly worshipped, which has probably been destroyed by the zeal of some following sect. The figures have less connection with the usual Hindu mythology than any I have ever seen. The Pandit sent to examine it says that all the people attribute the building to a Modun Pal,⁽¹⁾ who was a Siyur Raja. He also discovered an inscription which attributes the building to Mokuradwaj a Yogi. It must be observed that Mokuradwaj and Modun Pal have the same meaning.⁽²⁾ The inscription is dated 700, but of what era is not mentioned. No title indicates the builder to have been a Raja.

From Baidyonath to the Durgauti is not quite 4½ miles. The Durgauti is here much similar to what it is near Ramgur. The banks, where not perfectly perpendicular, cultivated to the water. From thence to Sawut about 1½ mile.

18th February.—I went about 11 miles to Amayu⁽³⁾ through a fully occupied country, with few plantations. The villages better than in the North, with many mud castles. Sawut is a very poor place. The number of passengers going and coming from Baidyonath with Kauri⁽⁴⁾ is quite astonishing, certainly not less than 5,000 a day. Few persons of rank, a good many women. A little way south from Sawut crossed a small dry channel. About a mile from

(1) Madanapāla was one of the last kings (beginning of twelfth century) of the Pāla dynasty; but it seems doubtful whether he held sway over western Shāhābād. See also A. S. I., XIX, 27-48, and App. J, page 190.

(2) *Makara*, generally translated as "crocodile", and *dhvaja*, a standard. *Makaradhvaja* is an epithet of Kāma, the god of love, who is also known as Madana. Buchanan seems to have confounded this title with the name Madanapāla. As for Makaradhvaja Yogi, see A. S. I., XIII, page 8, where Cunningham notes "The same date of this ubiquitous jogi has been found in eight different places, from the banks of the Ghaghra to the Ven-Ganga."

(3) Amawan, four and a half miles south-east of Chānd.

(4) Kāṁvar (कांवर, also कावर and कावड़) means a bamboo lath carried across the shoulder, with slings hanging from each end, in which pitchers are hung. The term *kānvāri* is applied to a pilgrim who carries Ganges water in this way. These pilgrims were following the then "New Military Road" route.

Sawut crossed the Durgauti, much like where I saw it last. Where I crossed it is joined by a small channel named the Kohira,⁽¹⁾ which contains a little dirty stagnant water, and was left to my right. About 1½ mile farther I crossed another small nullah towards my left. In some places it contained stagnant dirty pools of water, in others it is dry. About 8 miles from Sawut, at a large village named Kordihi,⁽²⁾ I found some old images or rather carvings on stone placed under a tree. They are somewhat in the style of those at Baidyonath, and are said to represent Ganesa, but have no sort of resemblance to that idol. The people would not mention the traditions which they have concerning them. About 2½ miles from Amayu is the village called Mosay,⁽³⁾ which looks well at a distance as it contains a very large house of brick, the property of the Kazi, and stands high above the best reservoir I have seen in the district. Near this are two pretty considerable funeral monuments constructed of stone, and probably belonging to the Kazi's family. Amayu is the residence of a Moslem brother of the Khan of Kochus. His house is the best mud castle that I have seen, and looks well at a distance but will not bear a close examination. Every thing round however bespeaks the family being in easy circumstances. His people were very civil, which is rather unusual here, the rustic sulkiness of the west beginning to show itself in every part of Chainpur Perganah.

19th February.—I went to Mer.⁽⁴⁾ About 1½ mile at a good village named Tiwayi⁽⁵⁾ I saw an image called Ramehandra. It is about the human size, and represents a male quite detached and with two arms. From the curliness of the hair and long ears I have no doubt of its being a Buddha. The feet are broken off, and near it are some broken stones carved much in the style of those at Baidyonath. The people here were brutally sulky. At the outside of the village I met

(1) Kohira N.

(2) Karhi.

(3) Madain. To judge from the Survey sheet, the reservoir is not remarkable for size (about 150 by 490 yards).

(4) Merh, about four miles west of Chainpur. For illustrations of some of the carvings described by Buchanan, see Martin's *E. I.*, I, 467.

(5) Thwal, some two and three quarter miles north of Merh.

some of the chief men standing. On being asked where the image was, they denied that any such thing was to be found in the village, nor would they move to show the road so as to be able to pass through without injury. Of course, as I warned them, I met with narrow passages in which the roofs suffered from the elephant. Rather less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile farther I came to Sawul gur,⁽¹⁾ the ruin of a small stone fort, or rather castle, situated at the east end of a narrow rocky hill. It has more the appearance of an European castle than any thing I have seen in the country, only it wants windows. It seems to have been well built.

The hill is entirely similar to those common in the district, and the stone is wrought for mills, mortars, etc. It resembles the others applied to the same purpose, and is of the red kind. Immediately beyond the hill I crossed a small channel containing stagnant pools of water. It is called Gohuya.⁽²⁾ From thence to Mer is not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Mer is a pretty large village containing some good tiled houses and beautifully situated at the east end of a fine valley, very picturesque and well cultivated. The Pandit could obtain no tradition concerning the image called Ram Chandra,⁽³⁾ but is of opinion that it certainly is a Buddha. He went to Modurna,⁽⁴⁾ where there is a tiled house in which are several small broken images, one of which called Chondi.⁽⁵⁾

(1) This seems to be the Syamalgar of the Report (see Martin's *E. I.*, Vol. I, page 469). It is not marked on the maps, but the position is clear from Buchanan's description, viz., on the eastern extremity of the hill close to Saraiya village. The real name is सावलगढ़.

(2) Gahuwan M.

(3) This is the image referred to above as having been seen by Buchanan at Tiwai. There is a drawing of it (No. 24) among the manuscripts at the India Office, which has not been reproduced in Martin's *E. I.* From the sketch the image would clearly appear to be Buddhist (it might possibly be Jaina). It is a standing (erect) figure, with the distinctive curly hair done up in the *ushnisha* style, with top-knot, long ears and no drapery except a loin-cloth. There are certain peculiarities which may of course be due to the inaccuracy of the draughtsman. As Buchanan describes the figure as being "about the human size", it is not likely to have been carried there from elsewhere. Further inquiry about this image seems desirable, as no Buddhist sculptures of such dimensions appear to have been discovered in this remote part of the district.

(4) Modurna.

(5) Chappi. See page 121, Note (1).

Bul Kandi Singha of the Khaindi⁽¹⁾ family says that his ancestors, Porihar⁽²⁾ Rajputs, came from Bundela and entered into the service of a Bhor Raja who lived at Siyur, close by the hills. Two men Dumundeo and Baduldeo came. Soon after the Bhor sent them to Chayenpur, to the Hakim, and killed their families. On this the Rajputs applied to the Hakim at Chainpur, and having cured his son procured his assistance and destroyed the Bhor and took their lands. Some of the Bhor remain, they are impure. In Aughtgama⁽³⁾ are a few houses of Cherus, but most of the people are Khairwars. The Poriars deny the former superiority of the Sukurwars. They say the Hakim at Chayenpur was a Moslem. He says that the Khairwars and Cherus eat fowls, swine and beef, but this they deny, owing probably to fear. The Bellounji⁽⁴⁾ Rajah he considers as a Khairwar. Once in three years there is an annual sacrifice in which a cow, sow and fowl are sacrificed. There are some Suryabangsis in Mirzapur acknowledged as true Rajputs, and some Nagbangsis here also acknowledged as such, although it is probable that they are originally Khairwars and Cherus. I find that every one except themselves consider the Poriars as Bhor⁽⁵⁾, and this is no doubt the case, but they have separated from those who live impure.

The temple at Mer is a very curious building. What is called a Chabutar, or elevated platform, seems to me the foundation of a small temple of a square form, with a small projection towards the north. The foundations alone remain to the height of about 4 feet, and the space within is filled up with ruins, while many stones are scattered about. It would seem that the whole outside of the building has been richly adorned with small images of men, beasts and gods, and

(1) Khaindi. The Siyur mentioned is about 2½ mi. SE.

(2) Porihar, one of the four Agnikula clans, who were supreme in Bundelkhand before the Chandels ousted them in the first half of the ninth century, when they appear to have moved north and east, having many conflicts with the Bhars.

(3) The name is indistinct in the Manuscript. It may be intended for Awankhara (but see also above, page 85), a village two and half miles south-east of Amawan.

(4) See page 75 above, and Appendix G.

(5) This is very interesting, but not in the way Buchanan interpreted it.

with numerous foliages and mouldings. The style of carving is pretty much the same as at Baidyonath, and some people attribute this also to the Suyir. Vast pains have been taken to destroy the images, and those that remain are merely ornamental, few of them so entire as to leave room for conjecturing what they were. One is a Ganesa with 16 arms. Another is a Linga supported by a fish and surrounded by three nymphs. The niche for containing the image, like that at Baidyonath, has been thrown out from the temple. The image which was the object of worship seems to have been thrown into a tank at some distance. It was covered with earth, but on digging it out it resembles what was called Kuber in Behar, and is about the natural size.

20th February.—I went to Tallah⁽¹⁾ in order to have a view of where the Karamnasa comes from the hills. I went first rather more than three miles to Ghati⁽²⁾ along a beautiful well cultivated valley and leaving to my right Khaundi,⁽³⁾ the residence of the chief Bhor family. It is a large, mud-walled house, thatched. Mungul Singha, the chief, and his uncle with many kinsmen visited me yesterday. They are very civil persons, and abstain from a division of their property, and the younger branches are proud of their chief and serve him with the attachment of a highland clan. They spoke with indignation of one of them who had applied for a division.

At Ghati, which is a narrow rocky passage in the northern range of hills, the family has built a small neat temple of stone, but there has [*sic.*] been at the place some old buildings very much carved. After passing the ghat I entered the great plain, having however north from me three hills, and saw the house of Kirpa Singha another Bhor Rajah before me⁽⁴⁾. It is a large mud-walled house, roofed with tile, and seems uncommonly neat. About two miles from Ghati I entered a level passage between two hills in the same

(1) *Tala*, in Mirzapur district, two and half miles from the Shāhabād boundary.

(2) *Ghati*, i.e., Ghāṭī, the place at the ghāt through the hills.

(3) *Koindi*.

(4) The village name is not given, but from a little sketch map among the manuscripts, it must have been at or near the village marked *Songar* on the Survey sheet.

range. This passage is wide, and in some places cultivated. An old reservoir in it has been lined with hewn stone. The hills may be half a mile wide, and on that towards the right on a low part projecting towards the south-east is a small ruin of stone called Ramgar.⁽¹⁾ From thence I went about a cose along the plain through a very thick wood of thorny trees to Tallah ghat, the boundary of Behar. The passage between the hills is low, narrow and stony, and there has been a wall and gate at the boundary. From thence to Tallah village was about two miles through a similar wood, with broken swelling land in a valley widening towards the west.

21st February.—I went up the banks of the Karmanasa⁽²⁾ in order to see Chanpathar,⁽³⁾ or the precipice over which it falls into a very narrow, deep glen. The course about south-east, distance 6 miles. I went first about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile to the bottom of the hill, and after a short rocky ascent, not very steep, came to an old wall by which the ascent has at one time been defended, but my guides had no tradition by whom built. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from the tents, I came to the bank of the Karamnasa where it forms the boundary between Benares and Behar. It may be sunk 150 feet below the rock on which we stood, and contains much water, nearly stagnant, and which when viewed from above appears quite green. The glen is very narrow and its sides quite perpendicular, but in the

(1) Ramgarh, the fourth place of this name visited by Buchanan.

(2) Karmanāsa, from *karma*, work or deed, and *nāsa*, destruction; pronounced Karamnāsā in the vernacular. Many legends centre round this little river, which from the earliest historical times has been regarded as impure by Hindūs. Bābur, in his own memoirs under the date 1st April, 1526, writes: "The army had dismounted on the bank of the Karamnasa river, about the water of which Hindūs are understood to be extremely scrupulous. They do not cross it, but go past its mouth by boat along the Gang. They firmly believe that if its water touch a person, the merit of his works is destroyed . . ." (A. S. Beveridge, *The Memoirs of Babur*, II, 659-660).

(3) Chhanpatthar, which may mean "the hidden (𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰) rock" fall, but I think the name has more probably been derived from the sound the water makes(𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰), *chhan* being applied to a "ringing" noise. In his Report (MS Vol. I, page 30) Buchanan, when describing the water-fall, writes of the "whole rock named Chhan or the strainer". There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the height of the fall. The *Statistical Account* of 1877 and the *Gazetteer* of 1906 agree with Buchanan. On the N. S. 350 feet is marked; while the *Gazetteer* of 1924 says "three hundred feet of which the lower portion, one hundred feet high, is perpendicular".

bottom we saw a good many buffaloes feeding. No bamboos, but a good many large trees in the glen, on the hills many small trees scattered at considerable distances, chiefly Gulgul, a Sterculia and a Sale.⁽¹⁾ The two last look at a distance as if they had no bark, as in many places is usual with the Lagerstroemia parviflora.⁽²⁾ The whole ascent is very gradual, and this is the only place on the hills, so far as I have seen, that there is easy access to the tableland. The country above is however very hilly and rugged, but a road could be made with very little trouble everywhere, except at two watercourses, the descents into which are very steep. There is no village near, but at two places are bathans from Chainpur, one the whole year and another in the rainy season. Round these is some ground of a tolerable soil, but in general there is very little soil on the rocks, and no traces of verdure on the grass, which is short and quite withered. The larger watercourse named Mursi⁽³⁾ is about four miles from Tallah, and is very deep sunk in the rock, while its sides are in most places perfectly perpendicular. It contains water in several stagnant pools. At Chhanpathar the Karamnasa falls over a rock perhaps 100 feet high and 300 feet wide, but the stream at present is very inconsiderable, but in the rains it must be very grand, as where we stood owing to a bend in the river there is a full view of the whole from the opposite side of the pool that receives the water, and which is large and deep. The water appears here also quite green, but in fact is very clear as we could see the rocks to a great depth. A family of otters were playing in it. The glen for some way below is filled from side to side by the channel, so that no one can approach the pool from below. The stone so far as I went seems to be entirely similar to that of Rhotas. I suspect that the lower strata at the fall are of lime, and

(1) The Gulgul, more properly spelt *galgal* (from the softness of its wood) is the *Ochlospermum Gossypium*, as it furnishes a kind of kapok. *Sterculia*—possibly *urens*, which is often found in these hills with the next named tree. *Salé* (vulg. *salayā*) is the *Boswellia serrata*, a very conspicuous tree on the hill side from its colouring, and a tree that has given its name to many gites.

(2) The *sida* of the local vernacular, a valuable timber tree, much used for poles and rafters in house-building, etc.

(3) Apparently the Lusi N. of the S. S.

I know that lime was dug from the side of the glen about two miles above Tallah, to which length the passage is accessible. On sending to this place, my people brought two kinds of limestone, one a congeries of white irregular crystals, said to be a mass like a tent, the other like the Asar hur,⁽¹⁾ said to be in 4 or 5 heaps of a similar size. Both are near the river at a little distance from the rocky walls of the glen.

22nd February.—I returned to Ramgar, and proceeded north from thence to Barari⁽²⁾ about a coss. Ramgar, built by the Bhors, has been a strange kind of fortified house, or rather assemblage of houses rising one above the other along the ridge of the hill. The lowest seems to have been that chiefly intended for defence, and is a square placed on a terrace with a double row of loop-holes. It seems doubtful whether it has been roofed, nor is there any subdivision into chambers. The wall is about 8 feet high. The other buildings are subdivided, and have no doubt been dwelling houses, but are very ruinous and the roof quite gone. Although clay has been used for mortar they are neater masonry than usual, the rows of stone being pretty regular. Except for some mouldings, small stones have been selected. Under a tree near it is an image very like that most common⁽³⁾ at Keoya Dol in the Burabar hills.

The people here say that the low Bhors eat pork of swine, but the Rajah and Babus wear the thread and live pure. They marry with the Suryabongsis of Mirzapur, who are also Bhor, and that is probably the original seat of the tribe. There are 3 branches of the Rajah's family under 3 Babus, who separated 14 or 15 generations ago. They did not appear when the settlement was made, and it was given to Adil Ali Khan, who has let the land to the old proprietors. His lease is near expired.

Nindawr⁽⁴⁾ is said to have been the residence of Nindu Raja.

(1) Thus written in the Manuscript; meant, it seems, for *asurāḥ* ("Asuras' bones"). See the Bhāgalpur Report (Martin's *E. I.*, II, 184).

(2) Bharari.

(3) Evidently Mahāśuramārdinī. Kaṇwā Dol is in the Gayā district.

(4) Nindaur (= Nindu-pura).

23rd February.—I went to visit it. The distance from Barari is almost 3 miles, yet the old fort from thence is very distinguishable. I conjecture the perpendicular height to be 40 or 50 feet. It consists of a mass of rude stones, brick and earth, very irregular in height and shape, extending 780 feet from east to west and 1080 from north to south, and composed of 5 irregular masses. All the stones are rude and the bricks broken. There is no appearance of a ditch. The village of Nindaur is at its north end. East from it about 200 feet is a pretty considerable elevation of brick, stone and mud at the south side of Patna (1) village. The south side of it is called Chamartuli, (2) or quarter of shoemakers. On its north end two brother zemindars made two castles, now in ruins. North-east from the old town is a tank called Patna tank, and south from it is another called Nachaniya Vir. At the village of Patna a Linga has been placed under a tree and surrounded by a wall, within which have been collected some broken images much in the style of those at Baidyonath and others attributed to the Siyur. In particular many fragments of the stones divided into compartments, each containing a figure. One small stone contains 3 females with large ruffs. (3) The largest image is called Mahavira, but its face is quite human and there is no vestige of tail. At the south-west corner of the fort on the south side of Serampur (4) village is a pretty considerable elevation called Baguwan (5) or place of recreation. Under a tree are a good many stones, quite rude but they serve the people as seats. One is a fragment of the usual quadrangular stones divided into compartments. West from thence are 2 tanks now almost obliterated and called Judara and Sidhayi. From their position they would appear to have been dug by the Moslems. North from Serampur is a considerable elevation of

(1) A small village now, but the whole site around must have been a very important one in ancient times, judging from the remains and the number of tanks and reservoirs about.

(2) Chamartoli.

(3) See Martin's *N. I.*, I, 467, Plate IX. The head-dress seems to resemble that found depicted on figures attributed to the Bhars in the U. P.

(4) Shiwrampur.

(5) In the Report "place of refreshment"; no doubt so interpreted to Buchanan!

brick, stones and earth which seems to have been an appendage of Nindaur. West from thence are the monuments of several Moslems, one of whom was a saint. They are petty buildings of stone.

From thence I came back about a mile to Pateswor ⁽¹⁾ hill, on a small detached projection from which Ragonath Singha, chief of the Bhor, built a considerable fort. The projection is long, narrow and level on the top. The outer fort at the east end was merely surrounded by a wall. The inner, separated from thence by a ditch, was strengthened by round bastions with loop-holes, and was divided into 2 courts. The accommodations very miserable, and no windows. A Moslem servant who was murdered by one of the Bhor is considered as a martyr by the Moslems, to whom the place now belongs. A grave is built on one of the bastions, and a Mazawur has an endowment. The Moslems acquired the estate by purchase. The stones are not cut with the chisel, but the masses are naturally fit for building, splitting into masses 4 or 5 inches thick and breaking easily into square fragments, so that the masonry looks neater than in the buildings at Saseram that are cut with the chisel. The strata perfectly horizontal. The same is the case on the main hill of Pateswor, but the stone there in different places assumes very different appearances; of 4 remarkable I have brought specimens. The village of Pateswor stands between the fort and hill, and is large and thriving. Under a tree have been collected many carved fragments such as are usual in the works of the Siyur. At a little distance east from thence was found some time ago a pretty large image most exceedingly rude. It evidently represents Mahavira. It was immersed in the mud of a tank, and a pious Hindu merchant hired some people to place it on a platform of earth, but after taking it from the tank the workmen contented themselves by placing it on

(1) **Patesar.** In the volume of Drawings among the Buchanan Manuscripts in the India Office Library there is a sketch (No. 32) of the plan of the fort referred to here, and on the back, in Buchanan's handwriting, is "Plan of Raguvirgar". On the Survey sheet there is a place called Raghubir Garh some four and a half miles to the south-east of Pateswar. In the Report also Buchanan calls the fort at Pateswar "Raghuvirgar". Here, it will be noticed, he says it was built by Ragonath (i.e., Raghunath) Singh.

the ground and raising a heap of earth round it, by which one half is buried. A flag is hoisted near, and the projecting part of the image is well bedaubed with oil and red lead. The low caste here consider the Siyur as Suryabangsis, and traditions are often preserved by them with more purity than among the learned.

24th February.—I went to Chakayi⁽¹⁾ in the Mirzapur district. The boundary is at a small ridge of hills, close to the north end of which I passed about 2½ miles from Barari. This hill is of the structure usual in this district. The strata thin and quite horizontal. The stone fine-grained and exceedingly tough, almost like hornblende, although it has nothing of that in its appearance, and is a mealy hornstone. The fracture of large masses conchoidal, but in small fragments this is scarcely observable. The part of Mirzapur through which I passed to-day is the private estate of the Banaras Rajah. What is cultivated is in good condition, the Ahars being in good repair, but a great deal is covered with forests. The villages look well, most of them having a mud castle with a neat tiled roof, which has a good effect. The country very beautiful. The fine cultivation intermixed with forest, and, besides the ridge of hills to the south, several small hummocks scattered through the plain have a very fine effect, especially at Chakayi, where a hunting seat of the Rajah's adds much to the prospect. It is a small park or paddock containing 5 or 6 acres, surrounded by a good wall with a cupola at each corner. Within this is a Baradwari small temple covered with one dome, and some other buildings, all in a bad style, but any thing to relieve the eye from the perpetuity of mud-walled hovels is a great relief. Chakayi is a small town where a good deal of sugar (China)⁽²⁾ is made. The Daroga very attentive, although he had no instructions to be so. The western end of the town is not quite 2 miles from the Karamnasa, which is about 5 miles from the boundary. On the whole Chakayi is about 9¾ miles from Borari. The Karamnasa is about 150 yards wide, a deep sandy

(1) Chakia, in Mirzapur District.

(2) Chiai ("of China"), soft sugar, unrefined.

channel with a little clear water and scarcely perceptible stream. At a little distance east from its bank, at a village called Mangraur,⁽¹⁾ are some heaps containing bricks and stones. Among these I observed 2 fragments of the four-sided columns divided into compartments that are usual in the ruins attributed to the Suyir. The Rajah's Tahsildar also very attentive. This Perganah forms part of the Altagma.⁽²⁾

25th February.—I went to Bahuli⁽³⁾ by a very bad road or rather none at all. It is probable that I was misled by the ignorance of my guide, as the distance was said to be only 5 coses, and the distance I went is at least 12 miles. The road was near a chain of little hills, the greatest interval between which is near Bahuli, the two hills near which it stands being removed at a considerable distance from those to the east. These little hills, although naked, give a fine appearance to the intervening plains and to the flat country towards the Ganges, which is fully cultivated and abundantly planted, although not choked with trees. The Ahars in good repair; much sugar, although in general the soil is rather poor. The huts very bad.

The hills of the same structure as towards the east. The stone in some places wrought for mortars, sugar mills, &c.

* The first river I am told is the Chandra prabha.

About 1½ mile from Chakayi I crossed a channel* called the Durgauti. It is similar to the Karamnasa, but rather smaller, and its water is stagnant.⁽⁴⁾ About 5½ miles farther, at a considerable village named Serwa⁽⁵⁾ close under the hills, I saw a large ruin of stone which has been a large house composed as usual of many detached buildings. The walls still standing. Many smaller buildings, evidently Muhammedan, scattered to a distance, and one on the top

(1) Mangraur gave its name to a *mahāl*—then in *sarkār* Rohtās—in Todar Mal's rent-roll.

(2) Altamghā (التمغا), a word of Turki origin, derived from *āl*, red, and *tamghā*, stamp or seal; the royal seal, and then a grant of land made under the royal seal. In the dialect *tamghā* is pronounced *tagma*.

(3) Bhuli.

(4) Chandraprabha N.

(5) Sarawa.

of the hill. This is said by the people to have been the chief seat of the Ghurwar⁽¹⁾ Rajputs, who had held the country for 14 generations when they were turned out by Rajah Bulwunt.⁽²⁾ Some of them still remain in the country, but they are poor. Before them the country belonged to the Suyir, and I suspect that Mangraur was a seat of theirs, not of the Ghurwars as I was yesterday informed; because the style in which the fragments of carved stones that I saw is quite that of the Suyir, and because the ruins appear to be of great antiquity, having lost all symmetry. A few images at or near Serwa are quite in a different style, and seem to be quite recent. In the hill above Serwa is a cave in which it is said that a Fakir lived. The rock adjacent is still covered with lime, but the Fakir has gone since the Hindus have obtained possession of the country. The cave seems to have had a door and windows. Rather more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Serwa I crossed a river called the Gurrey.⁽³⁾ Its channel is not so wide as even that of the Durgauti, but it contains more water, is filled from side to side and in some places is scarcely fordable; but this seems to be owing to dams, for the water is nearly stagnant. Some canals are taken from it for watering the fields. Bahuli is a small town and Thanah situated between two branches of a rocky hill, near which as I have said is another towards the west. On its east side is a small lake or reservoir, which even now has 4 or 5 acres of water, and in the rainy season may have twice as much. On its side are the ruins of a small stone fort on which several houses have been built. By the side of the lake I observed some carved stones in the style of the Suyir. The fort is called Saktisgurh,⁽⁴⁾ and also belonged to the Ghurwar Rajputs. On examining the east of the hill I found a small modern temple of rough stone, but it contained an old image of Mahavira, and many carved stones [lie] scattered round. The carvings are less injured here than I

(1) *Gahadavala*, the Gaharwār of Sherring (I, 175-7).

(2) Balwant Singh, son of Mansā Rām, and father of Chait Singh.

(3) Garal N.

(4) Saktisgurh.

have any where else observed in the works attributed to the Suyir. The Hanuman entirely resembles that at Patana,⁽¹⁾ and the other carved stones are chiefly the little four-sided equilateral obelisk and other smaller four-sided stones shaped much like bricks, but much larger. Several of the figures are indecent, which I have not observed in the works of the Cheros, the Linga excepted. The people here know nothing of the Cheros, but say that the Suyir possessed the whole country as far at least as Banaras and Chandalgur,⁽²⁾ and long preceded Raja Banar from whom the former derives its name. After the Suyir, who were an impure tribe, came the Ghurwars, pure Rajputs. The 14th Rajah having had no children, applied to the Moslem saint at Chandalgur, from whom he obtained two sons, and was converted to the faith, but many branches of the tribe continue Hindus, among whom is a Raja Vikramajit, still a considerable landholder in the western part of this district of Mirzapur. The 26th Rajah was expelled by the father of Bulwunt, the first Brahman⁽³⁾ Rajah of the Banaras family. The Moslem Gurwars⁽⁴⁾ had built several mosques both here and at Serwa, and near both are numerous burial places of stones in the Moslem fashion, that is terraces supported by a stone wall neatly cut and sometimes surrounded by a wall. The graves are on the terrace, each covered by a stone or small tomb of bricks, from the shape of which you may judge of the sex of the corpse, and where the person has not been a saint, of its size, that is the grave stone of a child is always small, and of an adult about the natural size.⁽⁵⁾ The ridge of the grave stone of a male is rounded; while that of a female is flat with a hollow in the middle.

26th February.—I went to Chandalgur, vulgo Chunar; about 6 coses through a very rich and beautiful country. After passing the hill by a difficult ghat, which might have been entirely avoided by going along its bottom, I found a tolerable road.

(1) See page 149 above, and Martin's *B. I.*, I, 467, and Plate IX.

(2) i.e., Chunar. The derivation of Benares given here is fanciful.

(3) Manā Rām, a Bhumiār Brāhmaṇ, or Bābham.

(4) i.e., converted Gaharwars.

(5) Cf. the "Qanoon-e-Islam" of Jafar Sharif (1832 ed.), page 419.

NOTE.

The following pages (covering 18 pages of the manuscript) form a supplement to the Journal.

They contain a record in tabular form of Buchanan's marches from one halting place to another, showing the proportion of each type of country traversed, with interesting observations on the crops, soils, methods of irrigation, cattle, etc.

The figures in this statement represent the time taken (shown in number of minutes) in travelling over each type of country specified. For a full explanation of the system followed by Buchanan, see Mr. V. H. Jackson's Introduction to the Patna-Gaya Journal (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. VIII, pp 164-6).

APPENDIX I.

Date.	Place.	Eleva.	Hills.	Low		High.		Observations.
				Occupied.	Waste.	Waste.	Occupied.	
Nov. 3rd ...	Koirwar Arrah.	...	...	...	...	128	4	The waste land mostly broken corners. The great crop on the ground Arrah and Kodo, a little Arinda(1) and Janera and Indigo, one field of Bajree (2). Much wheat or barley not watered, very little irrigation. No rice.
Nov. 6th	To Mosar ...	1	..	.	...	78	3	Some rice Much less Arrah and Kodo, some Janera more Indigo. Some But and mustard and pop(p)y. Much wheat and barley. A good deal of irrigation. The wells not deep. Cattle very small and poor Some Buffaloes.
Nov. 11th	From Arrah to Boundary.	.	...	...	...	44	3	Near Arrah much irrigation from wells, further on land poor, trees stunted some rice which has suffered much owing to the want of Ahars. Soil better, a stiff clay. Great crop rice but much has failed owing to too few Ahars, where there has been pains on these the crop good Few wells. Many buffaloes. The water Ahars Of the waste, 4 broken corners, 20 bushes, 6 long grass tolerably green, 11 deserted fields.
	Boundary to Pownah	2	.	...	.	74	41	
Nov. 12th	Pownah to Ekwar.	1	...	..	..	75	54½	The great crop rice, 13 parts totally lost except perhaps some seedling land which could not be distinguished. Of the remainder a great deal very poor. Where there is water it is very good but there are few Ahars. The rubbi all watered. I saw no Koyeri(3) land. Of the waste land 4 broken corners evidently deserted 16 of which 10 rice 6 rubbi land 1 part a marsh covered with Uri(4) rice. Waste high bare land 7, low covered with long coarse grass tolerably green 23; among this are thinly scattered Palas trees. The soil excellent. Not nearly stocked with cattle but a good many buffaloes. 14 Palas woods. I suspect this waste land was formerly cultivated as in the middle

(1) Castor oil plant, *ricinus communis*.(2) *Bajra*, a species of millet, *Pennisetum typhodeum*.(3) This is probably meant for Koiri. The Koiris of Shāhābād are reputed to be very skilful cultivators. Koirā is a term sometimes applied in this district to land near the village which is well manured and intensely cultivated, frequently held by Koiris, generally known as *goehā*, or *goehā* in South Bihār.(4) The word *uri* is not, as far as I remember, used in Shāhābād. It is applied, to the "wild" rice, and is commonly used in the eastern districts, whence Buchanan doubtless acquired it. Cf. the Sans. *urī*

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Occupied.	Waste.	Fallow.	Observations.
	Pownah to Ekwar- conid.	1		86	75		of it there is a large Ahar. Many plantations of Mango and Mohuyal, no palms. A few bamboos. A great part of the country said to be overflowed.
Nov. 15th	Ekwar to Deo B-ranaruk.	1		86	75		By far the greater part of the occupied land is transplanted winter rice on low land which has suffered much from the want of tanks and Ahars although there are some of both. There is some But(1) both on this low land and on what is higher. The high land is much neglected, many plantations Mango and Mohuyal. The chief crop seems summer rice, a good deal of pease, some wheat, barley or mustard, 2 plots sugar cane. These watered but this is much neglected. Of the waste, 5 parts broken corners, 4 clear on which there are no traces of cultivation, 7 bushes, 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ deserted, partly perhaps fallow, the three last on high ground, 3 parts are long grass which with broken corners is all that is absolutely waste. Many cattle, oxen and buffalos, 2 herds of sheep. No pasture in the rains they must be well off. At present wretched. The bag(2) more common than the lata (3). Soil ash colour, in general clay
Nov. 17th	From Ekwar to boundary.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		94	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	Country much as yesterday, less high land. The rubbi not watered. Of the waste, 6 parts broken corners, 26 deserted, 5 bushes, high poor land Palas stunted woods, fine soil, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$. It seems to be fast reclaiming for rubbi, long grass with a few stunted trees, fit for rice, 8 parts
	Boundary to Lalganj.	...		6	2	...	The waste bushes on sp. high land, very few reaser voirs, the rice crop of course bad. Water lying in pools from last rain 8 or 10 days ago. The soil therefore retentive. Many cows and buffaloes, both poor.
Nov. 18th	Lalganj to Bilangti.	.	.	103	108	...	The number of cattle exceedingly great, many of the cows young. A good many buffaloes and sheep

(1) Būhī, or chāmī, "gram" or chick-pea.

(2) i.e., moṭ, a leathern water-bag, worked by oxen.

(3) i.e., laṭhā, the pole or lever at the end of which an iron bucket is hung, used for raising water, worked by men.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Occupied.	Waste.	Fallow.	Observations.
	Lalganj to Bikanngti - conold	...	...	...	...	...	South from the Biya (1) jungle the country much deserted and much of the rice both summer and winter has entirely failed. The people seem to be taking entirely to a pastoral life, some villages deserted some entirely without cultivation. Little rubbish, and little of that watered. In the jungle 4 miles and its skirts there are many spots of cultivation, mostly Sirao(2). I suppose after Maize. North from the jungle 48 minutes all cultivated except a few broken corners, great crop But, some with barley among it, next Arahar(3) with Kodo. No rice. Of the waste, 64 broken corners, 5 deserted plantations, 51 deserted fields, 44 woods and 1 long grass.
Nov. 23rd	Belannuti to boundary.			64	15		The country overwhelmed with plantations, among which some bamboos. The waste consists of 64 parts of stunted trees, 84 parts broken corners, 6 parts deserted fields. Much rice.
	Boundary to Barepur.			50	5	...	Plantations numerous. Little rice, much arahar(3), Wheat and Chana(4). Few cattle; I presume they are sent to the jungles 74 parts of the waste broken corners, 10 clear land on one place Berh(5). 24 bushes. Not much rice. The great crop pease or mosur(6) mixed with Barley or wheat. Some poppy and irrigation from wells. Too many trees, a few palms. A good many cattle.
Nov 24th	Barepur to Dumseong.	..		110	20		
Nov. 24th	Dumseong to Nalgauggar.	14		68	854	...	All the country high and rather swelling. Scarcely any rice. Much But, some Arahar, some barley or wheat not watered. The watering confined to the immediate vicinity of villages. Of the waste, 44 broken corners, 8 deserted, of which 5 are plantations, 3 fields, 38 bushes, 35 stunted woods mostly Palas. Many cattle, both cows and buffaloes. No palms nor bamboos, many Mohuyas.

(1) Bihiyā. The old "forest" was generally called either the Bihiyā or the Jagadispur forest.

(2) i.e., sarsoṅ, mustard or rape, *Brassica campestris*.

(3) i.e., arhar (vulgo rahar), the Pigeon-pea, *Cajanus indicus*.

(4) The same as būṅ, chick-pea.

(5) Reṅḍi or reṅḍi, the "Arinda of page 156 above, q. v.

(6) Masur or masuri, the Indian lentil, *Lens culcitra*.

Date.	Place.	Water.	Waste.	Fallow.	Crumpled	-	-	Observations.
Nov. 30th	Nowanagar to Boundary.	2	21½	...	23½	...	...	Mostly high land. The little rice that was has chiefly failed. Even the winter crops very poor. Aharar and Th(1) the most common. The waste consists of 15 parts bushes, 5 deserted fields and 1½ broken corners. Vast numbers of cattle on which the people seem chiefly to subsist. Many hedges as usual.
	Boundary to Suryapur.	2	13	...	60	...	...	Much rice, but it has almost entirely failed. The Ahars having gone to decay. Much land near the villages watered from wells by the bag, on which chiefly the people seem to subsist. In the fields far from the villages the great crops. But and Aharar mixed with Kodo. The former good, the latter bad. The water is Ahars, the bottoms although dry not cultivated. The waste long grass. A good many cattle. In both divisions many new plantations forming, although the extent is superfluous and other cultivation neglected. Many hedges.
Dec. 1st	Suryapur to Do. (2).	2	105	...	92	...	...	Near Suryapura the rice has in general failed and even a good deal of the Chana. One rain more would have saved the whole, or the Ahars in repair(3). Near Deo I passed 2 very large Ahars which contained more water than is wanted and the crops of rice are good. The principal support of the people will be the land watered from wells by the Moth(4), but the people say that they have not cattle in general for extending that cultivation. The wells not deep. The exertion near Deo seems to be owing to many of the people there being zemindar Brahmans. Much Sirsoo and Chana, little Aharar, much rice and wheat, some palms near Deo. Many plantations. Many cattle, 2 herds sheep, 1 of goats which I have seen nowhere else. Of the waste, 3½ parts broken corners, 9½ deserted, 10½ clear poor soil, 8½ long grass fit for rice, 40 covered with

(1) Sesamum, *Sesatum indicum*.

(2) A slip for Deo (Mārkaṇḍeya).

(3) i.e., or had the Ahars been kept in repair.

(4) See page 157, Note (3).

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Ellis.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Suryapur to Deo.—conoid.	...	...	...	...	...	...	6 Jujub(1) bushes, fit for rubbl, rather poor. The whole channel of the Ka(2) cultivated.
Dec. 3rd ...	From Suryapur to Devasthan.	3	...	77	...	41	...	The greater part of the country a stiff light coloured clay fit for rice, but some light and very sandy. This no worse cultivated than the others, being watered from wells for wheat. The great crops Rice, But and wheat. Much of the former has failed owing to the want of water. The Ahars in some places not repaired, in others being entirely wanting. The waste: broken corners 2½ parts, clear land in sandy soil 3½, deserted lately 4½, long harsh grass 47½, woods 19. Cattle not so numerous as hitherto, but still many both cows and buffaloes. No hedges. Many plantations, some deserted.
Dec. 5th ...	From Suryapur to boundary.	1	...	30	...	79	...	Not so much of the crop lost owing to a fine Ahar which waters a great extent and even now sends out a large stream which has not been applied to the rice as superfluous, although the crop is stunted, much wheat watered. The waste consists of 5 broken corners, 2½ deserted near Suryapur, 14½ clear land and 1 bushes.
	From Boundary to Noka.	...	...	52	...	57	...	Not so well watered, but little of the rice absolutely lost although the whole is very poor. Much Masuri and But. The waste consists of 24 broken corners, 4 clear, 4 deserted, 25½ long grass, 5 bushes. Many cattle and buffaloes, both very small. The Moth used even when the water is very near the surface, and the beasts of no weight.
Dec. 6th ...	Noka to Baraong.	...	2	44½	...	40½	...	Crops as yesterday. The waste consists of 2½ broken corners, 18 deserted, 2 of poor clear land, 11 of bushes a light sandy soil, 11 of long grass, a very stiff clay. Among both this and the deserted I see some small plots cultivated with Masuri and linseed mixed and very thriving without

(1) The Indian Jujube, *Zizyphus Jujuba*, vernacular bet or ber.

(2) The Kāo river.

Date.	Place.	River.	Hills.	White.	Fallow.	Occupied.	Observations.
	Noka to Baraong —concl'd.	...	..	...	..	9...	watering, and it can be only indolence that has prevented the whole of these from having been cultivated. Cattle as usual
Dec. 8th ...	Baraong to Bamini.	..	2	16	..	28½	The waste 1½ broken corners, 2 deserted or fallow, 7 clear poor land, 1½ grass in stiff clay, 3 bushes in sandy soil. Beyond Bamini so far as I could see the country seems well occupied and is green with rubbi. To the hills rice is the great crop, but some rubbi.
	Baraong to Jakini.	..	...	1	...	14	Crops mostly rice. The waste merely broken corners. So far as I saw there is much cultivation in this direction.
Dec. 11th	Baraong to boundary	..	...	12	..	13	The waste, 1 part broken corners, 8 long grass and 3 bushes Crops mostly rice
	Boundary to Sahasram	..	...	29	...	52	The chief crop rice but much rubbi, some of it not watered The waste, 8½ broken corners, clear poor land, 12 deserted or fallow, long grass 6½, bushes chiefly palas on rich land 3. Many palmiras(1) at Sahasram.
Dec. 12th	Sahasram to boundary	..	7	49	..	59	Crops mostly rubbi The waste land, broken corners 15½, uneven ground near the hills 15½, and bushes or stunted woods 29½
	Boundary to Tilhantha	1	..	56	..	41	The greatest crop rice, but perhaps 1/5 part of what I have stated as occupied consists of useless plantations near the town. Many palmiras and some dates among the plantations. The waste consists of 2½ broken corners, 1 deserted rice field immediately contiguous to a tank full of water, and 32½ stunted woods, among which many large Mohuyas have been allowed to grow up. Cattle not very numerous.
Dec. 14th	From Tilhantha to Ramgar and Kotule- devi and back	...	8	146	...	61	About ¼ of the occupied land consists of plantations near the Son, where the soil is poor but capable enough of producing rubbi if watered The soil midway between the hills and river very rich. The rubbi the best I have seen in the

(1) *Borassus flabellifer*, the Palmyra, or "Toddy" palm.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	—	Waste.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	From Tihanthu to Bangar and Kotula-devi and back, —conoid.	...	...	...	...	...	...	district, a good deal watered, partly wheat partly mustard. What is not watered Arahara and kulthi(1). Not much rice. All very fit for cultivation. The cattle in tolerable condition, not very numerous
Dec. 16th	From Tihanthu to Balmunya.	...	...	...	40	20	...	Country as yesterday, still more plantations. Of the waste, 22 woods, 11 bushes, 4 deserted.
Dec. 17th	From Tihanthu to Kasima.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Watch stopt. About 5 ahas cultivated, very little rice, much watered land with wheat and mustard. What is not watered produces chiefly Arahara and Kulthi. The soil sandy. Crops where watered very good. The waste all thorny bushes.
Dec. 18th	From Kasimajama to Majgawa.	1	5	...	45	50	...	The crops mostly rubbi and watered look very well. The waste, except 3 of broken corners, consists of stunted woods or high bushes. The soil good the whole way from the hills to the river.
Dec. 21st	Majgawa to Nahatta.	...	14	...	75	60	...	The crops good rice and rubbi, nearly equal; many small Ahars; much irrigation. The waste land all of a good soil, 3/4 broken corners, 7/8 clear, 6/8 woods more or less stunted. The hills are some small ones that skirt the Son, very rocky but not steep; 5 parts clear, 8 parts covered with stunted trees
Dec. 26th	Nahatta Porcha.	10	...	...	85	30	...	Crops mostly rice and such as grow in the rainy season. Ahars too few, but in good order. The soil everywhere good. The waste consists of broken corners 2, deserted or fallow 6, clear 4, grass 7, bushes 3, woods more or less stunted 68. Many cattle, the buffaloes in excellent order.
Dec. 29th	Porcha to Jadunathpar.	...	...	...	103	42	...	Less rice, more rubbi, but none of it watered. Three months' rain required for all crops, rain in winter destroys where(2). The waste land consists of 2/3 broken corners, clear 4, deserted plantation 1, bushes 3/4, of which 5 on good land, 4 on rocks. 66 parts wood, of

(1) *Dolichos bifarus*, the Horse-gram, a leguminous pulse.

(2) We should probably read "wheat".

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Occupied.	Observations.	
	Porecha to Jadanathpur — comela.	...	...	...	...	which 27½ are on little hills and 58½ on level, but 12½ of these are thin as if sprung up on deserted fields. Many cattle. I presume the people live chiefly by their milk.	
Dec. 26th	Surki (1) to Lora	...	32	...	88	15	Perhaps equal quantities of rice and high ground cultivated. The rice in narrow winding valleys well supplied with water from springs and torrents, water still remaining in many parts. The high land in the vicinity of the villages mostly occupied with wheat or barley not watered nor very poor; some arabar. The whole perhaps gives a summer crop. A little ricinus(2) No mustard. I see some spots which have been cultivated with the plough after long fallows and sown in the rainy season, but the quantity altogether trifling. I passed through 8 little valleys fit for rice but entirely neglected and 7 partly occupied including Kerki(3) and Lora, but even there the quantity might be much extended by reservoirs. Of the waste land, 22 parts are lawns with scattered Mango, Mohuya and Bot trees round the villages, 14 are open grass with a few spontaneous trees, and 84 are stunted woods. On the whole from what I saw 3 anas may be too steep for the plough, generally rock; 1 ana may be channels of torrents and rocks generally near their banks, and 12 anas may have a good soil mostly yellowish, in a few places red, 1 ana perhaps might be rendered fit for rice and the crops pretty certain. I saw about 30 buffaloes and cattle in full proportion to the extent of cultivation both in excellent condition.
Dec. 31st	From Khet-hangs to Korhur.	...	90	...	150	6	On the whole 8 anas too steep for the plough, 2 anas rocky and barren, 6 anas of a good soil; of the waste, 106 stunted woods, 8 thin woods, 3½ scattered trees or lawns, mostly on a good soil cultivated after occasional fallows. A good

(1) Sanraki, which Buchanan spells in a variety of ways.

(2) *Ricinus communis*, the castor oil plant.

(3) Possibly Surki (Sanraki), there being no such place as Kerki.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	Observations.
	From Khet-hangs to Korbur-soneld.	...	...	...	...	...	deal of deserted rice land among this. Much new rice land might be made by the rivers.
Jany. 1st	From Korbur to Kariyari-ghat.	...	85	...	28	12	On the whole 7 part(s) may be hilly, 15 parts more rocky or barren, 83 parts good. Of this 15 areas cultivated, of which 1 part may be rice, 1 rubbi, 1 cleared spots in the woods. Of the waste, 56 are woods, 14 scattered trees in lawns near the villages, 1 broken corners. A full proportion of cattle.
		..	...	100	...	1	A fine valley almost totally neglected. Of the waste, 96 parts woods mostly bamboos, 6 bushes, 8 clear, formerly occupied.
Jany. 11th	Saseram to Alempur.	2 1/2	...	39	...	127 1/2	The great crop rice. A good deal has failed, but not so much as usual in this country owing to the Ahars being rather better, and what has failed or is waste is entirely owing to the neglect of these, only 2 had any water. A good deal of Kesari(1) and pease even among the stubble, which might have been the case every where else. Even the inside of the tanks in most places cultivated. Much rubbi watered, no sugar, much cotton. Of the waste, 7 1/2 broken corners, 15 deserted rice fields, 16 1/2 clear. Few plantations, many buffaloes. Near Saseram and Alempur cultivation very fine. About 2 miles from Saseram the neglect begins and continues rather less than 4 miles.
Jany. 12th	Alempur to Kurma.	...	...	26 1/2	...	12	Much as yesterday, 2 tanks have this year been repaired. Less rubbi and a great deal of it not watered. Except Chana this is very poor. Where watered by the Koiri very rich; a good deal of anise (2) among this both yesterday and to-day. Of the waste, 5 1/2 broken corners and 18 deserted or fallow owing to want of water, 4 bushes, 1 stunted woods, very few plantations.
Jany. 13th	Kurma to Shergur.	...	...	31	...	18 1/2	All the cultivation rubbi: not watered. Crops poor, wheat, barley, But, Kuli.

(1) Kesari, the "Chickling-vetch", *Lathyrus sativus*.(2) Sami, *Pimpinella anisum*.

Date.	Place.	River.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	Observations.
	Kurma to Shergur— cencid.						The waste 1 broken corners, 1 deserted, 4 bushes, 25 stunted woods. The soil everywhere good, but some broken by torrents
Jan. 17th	Kurma boundary.	1	..	10½		68½	The waste 8½ broken, 11½ bushes, mostly broken land near the Durgauti and unfit for cultivation 4½ deserted, partly village partly rice, both clear.
	Boundary to Kujura.	---	1	33	---	69	The waste 4½ broken corners, 3 deserted rice fields, 16 clear, chiefly poor land near the hills, 10½ bushes mostly near the hills. In both divisions the country nearly the same. Much rubbi, especially Chana, very little watered and the crops poor. The rice has been in general very poor, most of the Ahars having been neglected, but some are repaired this year. No Kesari except at Kujura, where some old tanks give a supply of water. They are now almost choked. A few palmiras among the trees, many of which are scattered through the fields and are not formed into clumps.
Jan. 18th	Kujura Gurwat.	6½		25½	..	89	Much Rubbi, little or none watered. Near Rupa much Aharar on land apparently newly reclaimed and rather swelling; crop good, finely fitted for Maize. A good deal of the rice has Kesari among the stubble. Many Ahars, but none very large. 2 fields of sugar near Kujura, the only ones I have seen in the district(1). Oxen very small, many buffaloes: a large herd of sheep.
Jan. 19th	Gurwat to Chayenpur.	16	3	62	---	133	For about 2 thirds of the way was among the hills or along, their skirts. The whole of the waste, except 2 of the broken corners, is in this space and consists of broken corners 9, clear 16, some of it broken banks of rivers, 20 bushes, some of it the same, wood 7. All to my right appeared a fully occupied country, and the villages large, numerous and better than usual, especially Bagwanpur and Rampur(2), which I saw at a little to my left. The whole crop there rubbi.

(1) But see under dates Nov. 15th, and Jan. 18th, etc., and the Crop appendix to the Report (Martin's *E. I.*, Vol. I, App. (49). Still it is remarkable how small an area was under sugarcane in Buchanan's time.

(2) Ramgadh.

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	Observations.
	Gurwat to Chayenpur— conoid.	...	...	...	...	...	very good without watering and much of the land seems to be newly taken in; much arhar and Chana. The last third of the way on the plain as fully occupied as possible. Mostly rice. More than a half has had a full supply of water and produces linseed and kesari among the stubble. The Ahars far from equal to those in Behar, and in some parts wretched. There much of the crop has failed. The inside of the Ahars and vicinity of villages, Rubbi not watered, not so good as near the hills; some sugar, two mills with stone mortars, cane very poor. Plantations moderate, many palmras round Chayenpur.
Jan'y. 20th	From Manli Osman Koti through Chayenpur.	...	...	3½	..	50½	The waste land mere broken corners. Many of the Ahars good. Villages better than usual; some sugar cane. Most of the rice has linseed or Kesari among the stubble.
Jan'y. 21st	Chayenpur to Mohaniya	1½	...	19½	...	180	Except at Mohaniya, where owing to the neglect of Ahars 8 are deserted, the country is everywhere cultivated as much as possible. Much rubbi not watered, and much of it good, especially pease. By far the greater part of the rice has Kesari among it. Many Ahars and tanks still retain water. Many repairing and new making. At 8 villages much sugar cane. A little watered near villages. Tobacco, vegetables and poppy the most valuable crops. Few plantations, but enough to satisfy the eye. Villages numerous, better than usual in this district. Fully as many cattle, cows, buffaloes, sheep and swine as where there is much waste.
Jan'y. 26th	Mohaniya to Ekilapuz.	5	...	44	...	73	Irrigation much neglected. Most of the tanks in decay; very little of the rice therefore has kesari, and a great deal has failed. Very little of the rubbi near the villages watered from wells. The crops however tolerable, wheat, barley, Musuri, flax and Chana chiefly. The rivers neglected, see Journal. Many of the inside of the tanks waste. A

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Mohaniya to Ekhaspur— conoid.	...	...	...	...	...	...	good deal of sugar watered from wells in 2 or 3 villages the Ahars good, and there the rice has kesari. The soil very tenacious of water; several small tanks quite full of water which seems to be neglected. The whole quite clear
Jan. 26th	Mohaniya to boundary.	...	...	2½	...	22½	...	Country more fully occupied than on the 24th, but in other respects little different. Few plantations. Few or no palms; a few bamboos
	Boundary to Kandihara.	2	...	28	...	135	...	
Jan. 27th	Kandihara to Barahari except 4 in Barahang.	...	...	72	...	130	...	Country less fully occupied than yesterday, in other respects much the same. On the 3 last days there has been much cotton mixed with the pulse, and the same has probably been the case before until (<i>sic</i>) I only discovered it to-day: the people busy digging wells for watering it. Of the waste, 8 are broken corners, 20½ have not been cultivated for some years and are covered with long parched grass, 43½ are covered with short grass, partly rice land deserted, partly high fields that seem to be occasionally cultivated with Chana. The same was the case on the two last days. The cattle allowed to eat the straw as they please on the thrashing floor
Jan. 28th	Kandihara to boundary of Karnaj.	...	...	16	...	25	...	For 154 the country much as yesterday, but no sugar.
	Boundary to Bahuyara.	1	...	67½	...	83½	...	The soil is as yesterday a stiff clay. In many villages where the reservoirs have been neglected the people have given up rice and have sown both sides with rubbish which is seldom watered. The waste land is clear, and may be ½ of what has no ahars. In others where the reservoirs are good the rice gives kesari, and there is no waste but broken corners, the inside of the tanks and vicinity of villages being occupied by rubbish, while the intermediate spaces give rice. Much cotton. The wells for watering it last only one year, and are lined with a grass rope. There are few plantations, in the remaining 40 parts the plantations increase and the soil is light. The tanks have been mostly neglected, and most of the country is covered with long grass. The rubbish

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Boundary to Bahnyara— covid.	..	...	.	.		..	all watered, but its quantity very inconsiderable. On the whole the waste consists of 5 broken corners, 4 deserted rice land, 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ clear, mostly in the west part, 51 long grass, mostly towards the east.
Jany. 29th	Bohuyara to boundary of Karonj and Bilaungti boundary to Latan.	...	..	65	...	91	...	Wherever the tanks are in good order the country is well cultivated and the rice produces kesari, but in most parts the ahars have been neglected and much is waste, while the rice land as far as the tenants' strength goes is turned into rubbi. All the rubbi, except Chana, watered. The soil very hard and apparently clay, but it is called mixed. Some say that rice and rubbi alternately do best. The waste land, broken 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, deserted rice fields 15 $\frac{1}{2}$, clear or perhaps fallow rubbi land 22, long grass which is rice land long deserted 17, bushes which is rubbi land long deserted 5. All Huseyn Khan's estate in good condition Baboo Sahebzadah's very bad.
Jany. 30th	Latan to Jogodespur.	.	.	78	...	62	...	No Chitni(1): most of the rice crop seems to have failed. All the rubbi watered, crop good. Many cattle. Some palmiras. The waste is. broken 4, clear 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, deserted 2, long grass 17, bushes 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, woods 47. Far from wishing to diminish these the whole lands of a village that was intermixed have been planted with Mangos, and in a few years will be a wood, for Mangoes and Mohuya are thick scattered through the forest which has many small villages intermixed.
Feb. 4th	Jogodespur to boundary of Dumreong. Boundary of Dumreong to that of Karongj passing a corner of Ekwarl in which the wood is boundary of Kasong to Royat.	2	.	18	..	42	..	Waste. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ broken, 13 long grass, chiefly the inside of reservoirs, one of which has been just repaired. The village to which it belonged half fallen. No chitni(1). The waste, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ broken, 2 deserted, 14 clear, 15 grass, bushes 5, wood 17 $\frac{1}{2}$. A little Chitni(1) in some places. Many cattle; a few palms; many plantations.
		...	...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	As above.

(1) Broadcast. *Chitni* means "scattered", or sown broadcast.

Date.	Place.		Water.	Hill.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
Feb. 5th	Koyat Karonj.	to	1	—	68	—	97½	—	All the rubbi watered from wells except that in ahars. The waste consists of broken corners 6, deserted 4, clear 17, long grass 23, small bushes on poor sand land 18, very little chitni. The waste land has been evidently all once cultivated and the traces of the ahars remain. Plantations numerous all the way. Several ahars repairing this year. All the rubbi except in ahars watered. A few bamboos.
Feb. 6th	Karonj boundary of Baraung.	to	1	—	78	—	78	—	For about the first 5 miles most of the rubbi watered, the soil being looser. Beyond that, except near villages, much rubbi not watered but very poor, the soil stiffer and plantations fewer. The devastation old, but the plantations and sites of villages remain. Many villages entirely gone, in most some houses deserted. Most of the Ahars cultivated in the ditch Dunawar(1) better than the Perganah nearest Karonj, some tanks being in good repair and having Chitni among the stubble. The waste broken 4½, clear chiefly in Dhunawar(1) 26, grass 47½.
	Boundary Kochus.	to	—	—	7	—	13	—	The tanks in good repair, but some new ones wanted. The waste broken corners and long grass. Most of the rice has Chitni.
Feb. 7th	Kochus to boundary & to Barua.	to	2	—	32	—	49	—	Country in both rather bare. The land at a distance from the villages neglected. Most of the rice chitni. Close to the villages the rubbi watered and the crops very rich, some poppy, much cotton, no sugar. At a little distance from the villages the rubbi not watered, very poor. One coconut palm in fruit but small. The waste, broken 5½, Clear 32, long grass 5. The water of the nullah which runs most of the way much, although not entirely, neglected. A good deal of the waste apparently owing to its banks, which are rather broken.
Feb. 8th	Barua Samgur.	to	4	—	27½	—	101½	—	Irrigation much neglected. Little or no use made of the 3 rivers. Not one

(1) Danwar (pargana).

Date.	Place.	River.	Hills.	Waste.	Paddy.	Occupied.	—	Observations.	
	Botma to Ramgur—canal.	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 Pain(1). Not one good Ahar, yet so retentive of moisture is the soil that much of the rice stubble has Chitni. The rubbi only near villages watered. Few plantations. A good deal of poppy; a little sugar; much cotton. The waste, broken 6½, deserted land formerly watered by wells 2½, clear 13½, bushes 5.	
Feb. 11th	Ramgur Darauli.	to	1	...	21½	...	63½	...	Near Ramgur some very poor land; although ploughed, some of it I believe has not been sown. Farther on the soil good, and where watered the rubbi is excellent, a good deal Chitni. Tobacco fine, 5 sugar mills in one yard, a good deal of Sukurkund(2) in this vicinity. Waste, 4 broken corners, clear 5, grass 5½, stunted woods 7, mostly Palas.
Feb. 13th	Ramgur boundary of Sawnt.	to	2	...	44½	...	94½	...	Irrigation much neglected. Few Ahars and these either small or ruinous. Much of the rice has failed. No Chitni! A good deal of watering from wells about the villages, crops very rich, except the sugar which is poor, but there is a considerable extent. A good deal of poppy. Tobacco uncommonly fine. Waste, 19 poor clear land and deserted rice fields, 9½ palas bushes also rice fields that have been long deserted; soda(3), 1, broken corners 9.
	Boundary Sawnt.	to	2	...	2	...	35	...	
Feb. 15th	Sawnt Amaya.	to	3	...	15	...	148	...	Few reservoirs, especially near Sawnt where the crops are almost entirely rubbi. Farther on, some reservoirs in good condition with rice fields producing chitni. Rubbi rather poor, little watered from wells. The waste is 9 broken corners, 5 deserted, I am told in consequence of disputes for the property, 1 bushes. A few palms and bamboos in the plantations.
Feb. 16th	Amaya to Mer	...	1	...	6½	...	54½	...	Many reservoirs, but not good. Only some of the rice has Chitni, but little would appear to have failed. Little watering from wells. The waste, 3½ broken corners, 3 bushes. The cattle very poor.

(1) A pain (पैन) is an artificial water channel, or canal, made for irrigation.

(2) Sakargand, the Sweet Potato, *Ipomoea Batatas*.

(3) i.e., red, or soil impregnated with impure carbonate of soda.

Date.	Place.	River.	Hill.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
Feb. 20th	From Mer to boundary.	...	23	34	...	68½	...	From Mer to Ghati the great cultivation rice, with <i>ahars</i> in good repair; no waste but broken corners. From Ghati to Ramgar no waste but a little poor clear land. All rubbish not watered, crops rather poor. From Ramgar to the boundary all woods, part plain, part hill. The waste is broken 1, clear 4½, long grass 2, woods 22½, besides hills.
Feb. 22nd	Ramgar road to Barari.	...	...	1	...	17	...	All rubbish. Scattered trees very fine. Much sugar. One half rubbish, mostly wheat and barley in the Tals(1) or Reservoirs which are very large; crop poor, not watered. One half rice. Little Chital, but the crop has been good. Many buffaloes.
Feb. 23rd	Barari to Semampur.	...	...	2½	...	40½	...	
Feb. 24th	Barari to boundary.	1	...	24	...	38½	...	The waste merely broken corners.

(1) In Shāhābād the word *tāl* is applied to low land at a distance from the village site, usually subject to inundation during the rainy season, and generally cultivated with winter or *rabi* crops. Here, however, Buchanan evidently means *ahars*.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF STONES PROCURED IN SHAHABAD.

(Manuscript, Volume 3, Pages 195-6.)

1. Stone of Jabra pahar, 6th December 1812.
2. Stone from the quarry at the pass between Sahasaram and Tilautha, 12th December 1812.
3. Stone from the detached hill towards Tilautha, 12th December 1812.
4. Calcareous breccia from Kotula Devi, 14th December 1812.
5. Silicious hornstone of Totala Devi, Idem.
6. Imperfect limestone of Totala Devi, same date.
7. Limestone of Kotula Devi, same day.
8. Destroyed limestone of same place and time
9. Rotten stone from the quarry of Khari near Balmanuya, 15th December 1812.
10. Limestone from the same mine.
11. Substance called Chanra from the same.
12. Khari from the same.
13. Stone from under the Khari from the same.
14. Milstone, 15th December 1812.
- 15. Stone too hard for milstone, 15th December 1812.
16. Thin hornstone flags or slate from the ascent to the quarry, same date.
17. Pyrites of Amjhor, 17th December 1812.
18. Reddish fragments of rock from do. do.
19. Whitish do. do. do.
20. Black do. do. do.

21. Central ore of Kasis like gentle slate do. do.
22. Ore of Kasis from the upper end of the mine do. do.
23. Ore of Kasis from the lower end of the mine do. do.
24. Flowers of Kasis from Amjhora, 17th December 1812
25. Rock from the summit of Murli, 18th December 1812.
Calcareous.
26. Breccia of Murli, same date.
27. Limestone of Murli, same date.
28. Stone from the north end of Murli at the bottom, same date. Lime.
29. Stone from the east side of Murli at the bottom, same date. Lime.
30. Stones of which Rotas is built, 23rd December 1812.
31. Rock of Jadunathpur, 27th December.
32. Yellow efflorescence from the ore of Kasis at the Kori-yari mine, 1st January, put into a bottle
33. Whitish efflorescence from do. same date, put into a bottle.
34. Ore of Kasis like gentle slate do. do.
35. Pyritical ore of Kasis, do. do.
36. Rock above the mine, hornstone passing into horn-blende, do. do.
37. Pebbles from the Son at Jadunathpur, 28th December.
38. Rock of Dhuya Khund altered and unaltered, 8th January 1813
39. Stone of Gupti Banaras. Lime, 15th January.
40. Touchstone of Chrystal of do. do.
41. Stalactites of do. do.
42. Spar from Buduya do.
43. Limestone of Suraiya, 19th January.
44. Reddish do. do.

45. Granular whitish stone above the limestone of Suraiya, 19th January.

46. Stone marl called Khari, same place and date.

47. Stones mixed with the above marl, do. do.

48. Limestone from Suraiya ghat, considered useful?

49. Granular stone from the above, do.

50. Breccia intermixed with the same, do.

51. Potstone of Musayi, 19th January 1813.

52. Milstone of do. do.

53. Stone from the top of the hill above Osman Koti, 20th January 1813.

54. Stone of Osman Koti for building, etc. do.

55. Saline water as from the wells of Sadullahpur, 11th February 1813.

56. Karail soil of Sadullahpur, do.

57. Ujarki do. do. do.

58. Lalki do. do. do.

59. Asorhur limestone of the Karamnasa, 21st February 1813.

60. Crystallized limestone of do.

61. Stone of Pateswar Koti, 23rd February 1813.

62. 4 stones of Pateswar hill, 23rd February 1813.

63. Stone of the hill forming the boundary between Bihar and Banaras, 24th February 1813.

APPENDIX A.

THE ARRAH HOUSE.

Since 1857 the name "Arrah House" has been associated with the little bungalow in which the gallant defence of eight days was made in that year.⁽¹⁾ The name "Arrah House" had previously been applied to a house near the "Judge Sāhib kā Tālāb" in the north central part of the town, in mauza Murshidpur, which had been built towards the end of the eighteenth century by William Augustus Brooke, the famous Revenue Chief of Patna (1781-7) and the first "Collector" of Shāhābād. From records in the possession of Chaudharī Karāmat Husain of Arrah, it appears that Brooke acquired an area of 42 bighas odd for building purposes in 1196, *Fasli*, (A.D. 1788), and constructed a residence, which he called Arrah House, with several outhouses. The property changed hands many times. It appears to have been occupied by John Lewis Chauvett, Judge and Magistrate of Shāhābād, who died on the 15th August, 1794, and was buried on the east of the tank. It seems later to have been in the possession of William Cowell, who was judge of Shāhābād for 12 years (May, 1802, to April, 1814). Cowell sold it to a Mr. John Paul Marcus of Calcutta in 1815. Marcus sold the property in 1845 in two lots, the major portion, with the house, being purchased by Chaudharī Bashārat 'Alī. The house continued to be let to officials, however, for many years; and it is believed for good reasons to have been the house that was occupied by William Tayler while district judge of Shāhābād for some five years, before he became Commissioner of Patnā (1855), and after him by Arthur Littledale, who was judge in 1857-8, and was one of the defenders of Boyle's bungalow. Subsequently, the judge having moved to the more open area in the vicinity of the maidan and collectorate buildings, the old residence was demolished by the proprietors, its place to be taken by shops, *golās* and a market; but some of the original outhouses are still standing. Chaudharī Karāmat Husain informs me that from some Persian documents in his possession it appears that Brooke's house stood upon a portion of the site of the old Qila', or fort, that had been constructed under the Muhammadan rulers.

(1) *Shahabad Gazetteer*, 1924, page 153.

APPENDIX B.

WILD CATTLE IN SHAHABAD.

The emperor Bābur in his memoirs relates that, among other animals, wild elephants and wild buffaloes used to roam over the Mirzapur hills in his time. Captain DeGloss refers (1766) more than once to rhinoceros. Peter Mundy (1632), when near Sāsarām, met two wild buffaloes that were being driven up country as a present for the emperor, Shāh Jahān. Buchanan in his Report tells us that in the woods of Jagdiśpur and Dumrāon there were some wild cattle "of the common breed; they resemble entirely in form and in variety of colours those bred about the villages of this district, but are more active and very shy". They were carefully preserved from injury by the Rājā of Dumrāon and his kinsman of Jagdiśpur; but many of their neighbours alleged that these "sacred herds" were committing wide devastation and causing lands to be deserted. He adds: "The origin of these herds is well known. When the Ujayani Rajputs incurred the displeasure of Kasem Aly, and for some years were compelled to abandon their habitations, some cattle were left in the woods without keepers, and on their owners' return had acquired the wild habits, which their offspring retains. Several calves have been caught; but it has been found impossible to rear them, their shyness and regret for the loss of liberty has always proved fatal." When I was acting as Collector of Shāhābād in 1894, Nawāb Saiyid Imdād Imām mentioned to me that during a shooting excursion in the north of the Bhojpur pargana he had seen wild cattle. In reply to a reference recently made to this gentleman, he writes: "They have now totally disappeared from the Jagdispur side on account of the clearance of the *jangal* after the mutiny. But I remember to have come across them three times while camping in the Dumraon *diara* lands. The first herd I saw must have numbered over forty. They looked superior in size and general condition to the ordinary domestic cattle. The bulls were much bigger and healthier looking than the breeding bulls that are imported into India for improving the Indian breeds." I believe that some of these "wild cattle" are still to be found in the northern *diārs*. When I was Sub-divisional Officer of Buxar in 1892-4 they were said to be found in the vicinity of Mahuar and Nainijor.* Mr. W. Johnston, who has recently held charge of the district, tells me that

he had heard of the existence of these wild cattle, but had not seen them himself. Qāsim 'Alī ravaged the possessions of the Ujains in 1762. It is quite possible that Buchanan's "well-known" explanation may be founded on fact; but, if so, it is curious that even young calves could never be tamed again. On the other hand, knowing of the vast area of forest and *jāngal* that once existed in this district (see Introduction, pp. xv—xviii), we might be led perhaps to speculate whether the origin of these wild cattle did not go further back than Qāsim 'Alī's time, were it not that we find no evidence of indigenous wild cattle in India, and that we have examples in other parts of the country of domestic cattle becoming wild, for instance, in Gorakhpur, Gonda (1), Bharatpur (2), etc.

(1) Mr F. J. R. Field, a retired officer of the Opium Department, who is intimately acquainted with animal life in India, tells me that he had known cases, in the Gonda district in which young calves captured from these wild herds had been tamed.

(2) For an interesting account of the devastation wrought by herds of these animals, see O'Dwyer, *India as I knew It*, 1925, pages 92-3.

APPENDIX C.

ROHTASGARH.

In the *Harivamśa purāṇa* it is stated that Rohita, the son of Hariścandra, had Rohitapura constructed with a view to the consummation of his dominion (1). The very name carries us back, according to the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas, sixty generations before the great Mahābhārata battle. According to the oldest tradition Rohita was worshipped for long centuries at Rohtāsan, the "seat of Rohita", where still stand the *chaurāsi sirhī*, or stairs of "eighty-four steps," that led up to the old temple of Rohita, long since destroyed, which crowned the highest point of the hill, overlooking the broad Son valley far below—a truly magnificent situation for a temple to the deified scion of the great "solar race".

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered in the vicinity of Rohtāsgarh (excluding of course the Aśoka inscription in the cave on the Chandan Pir hill near Sāsarām) preserve to us the name of an important local chief, Pratāpadhāvala Deva. It is possible that there was more than one chief with the title Pratāpadhāvala. The Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhāvala Deva appears to have been a semi-independent ruler under the suzerainty of the then Gahadavāla (vernac. Gaharwār) king of Kanauj. According to an inscription on the Tārachandī hill near Sāsarām he was called Jāpiliya, i.e., of Japila (the modern Japlā pargana). The earliest inscription of this ruler is one at the Tutrāhī waterfall, mentioned by Buchanan, which has been assigned to the year 1158 A.D.... A slightly damaged and undated inscription (2) at Phulwariyā on the Rohtās plateau tells us that Pratāpadhāvala's family were Khayaravālavamśa, which means of Kharwār race, a very significant piece of information. In a paper (3) read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1824 Buchanan mentions that he found, among other names, that of Pratāpadhāvala Deva engraved on a rock at Bandu ghāt, which is situated to the south of Rohtāsgarh, and also that the family which "yet possesses the principality of Bilonja", represented by Rājā Bhūpanātha in his time claimed descent from Pratāpadhāvala,

(1) राज्यसिद्धये

(2) See *Ep. Ind.* IV, 311.(3) *Transactions*, R.A.S., Vol. I, Part I, 204

chief of Japila. It appears then that Pratāpadhūvala was lord of Rohtās and the country around, including at least parganas Japlā and Belaunjā on the other side of the Son, in fact was probably chief of most of the territory which long afterwards was ordinarily assigned in fief to the governors of Rohtāsgarh, from which to maintain their troops and the dignity of their high office—the nucleus of Sarkār Rohtās of Toḍar Mal's rent-roll and of the early British administration.

The sandstone that caps the Kaimur plateau is prone, from its texture, to decay; this may partly account for the fact that no earlier inscription has yet been found at Rohtāsgarh. I once noticed some fine pieces of stone carving near the foot of the hill, to the south-east of Rohtāsan. It is possible that some of the oldest sculptures may have fallen over the cliff, or even been hurled down by iconoclastic hands, and that search and excavation along the edges of the slope may yet reveal some valuable material for the history of this ancient stronghold. From the year 1538, when Sher Khān snatched it from its Hīndū rājā, we find frequent mention of the fortress by the Muhammadan historians, a mere summary of which would exceed the scope of these notes.

APPENDIX 'D.

SHER SHAH'S RESIDENCE.

As a good deal of misconception⁽¹⁾ is liable to arise from the lax use of expressions like " Sher Shāh's ancestral home ", it is as well to note that Sher Shāh's " ancestral home " was not at Sāsarām. The ancestral home of the family lay amidst the ridges of the Takht-i-Sulaimān mountains in Afghānistān. Miān Ibrāhīm Sur, as Ni'amat-ullah calls him, the grandfather of Sher Shāh, wandered into the Panjāb in search of service late in life with his son Ḥasan. He was employed at Bajaurā, and then at Hisār Firūza, where Farīd, afterwards known as Sher Khān, was born. Later he settled at Narnol, and died there. Ḥasan lived at Narnol for a considerable time, until his patron Jamāl Khān, who had been appointed Governor of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodī, assigned him the pargana of Sāsarām as a fief, from which he was to furnish 500 horse. We do not know exactly when Ḥasan took up his residence at Sāsarām, but it is unlikely that he had been there more than twenty years before he died.

There still stands in the south-east central part of the town of Sāsarām the remains of what must once have been an imposing building. There is a very lofty archway or gateway, with remains on either side, from the structure of which it appears that the facade was originally 4 or 5 stories high. Buchanan gives a rough sketch of this facade as it existed in his time. The topmost portion has since fallen down, and some of the smaller arches have had to be filled in with masonry, as they were in a dangerous condition. On each flank of the main gateway there had apparently been a row of rooms, possibly intended for gatekeepers or outdoor servants, roofed with pillared arches. When I last visited the site some ten years ago these compartments were used as *golās* for the storage and sale of grain. According to one tradition still current among old residents this ruin is what is left of the residence, or " palace " of Sher Khān. By local Hindus it is often called the *naurattan* (i.e. *nava-ratna*), and by Muhammadans the *qila'* (fort) or *haveli Safdar Jang*. We know that a fort once existed at Sāsarām. Even in Buchanan's time considerable traces of the ramparts seem to have

(1) e.g., *J. R. A. S.*, Jan. 1923, where his residence has apparently been confounded with the mausoleum.

existed; but these have since been obliterated, and hidden by buildings, etc. Buchanan gives another sketch in the margin of his journal (Ms. p. 115) of the elevation of a building which no longer survives, but which may have formed part of the Qila' buildings in the same vicinity.

Thomas Twining writes⁽¹⁾ of alighting at "the pavilion of one of the ancient palaces, situated a little to the west," but it is not known where this pavilion stood. He adds "The palace, part of which I now occupied, as well as most of the old imperial buildings at Sasseram, was in the hands of the Khan" (meaning the *Sajjada-nushin*). This was between 1802 and 1803.

In December, 1829, Victor Jacquemont, the learned French traveller, passed through Sāsarām, and wrote in his journal: "The big gateway still standing in the south of the town, where it dominates like a tower all the surrounding houses, was no doubt that of the prince's residence; but there are no remains of walls to be seen. Some families of poor weavers nestle, with birds, in the ruins of the palace; the halls had been ornamented with arabesque decoration covered with fresco painting which the rain has not washed out. On some terraces formed of the debris of the higher parts of the edifice a layer of soil has collected, the possession of which is disputed by a multitude of wild plants ⁽²⁾." Some residents of the district, such as Khān Bahadur Saiyid Aulād Haidar Khān of Koāth, are of opinion that this ruin is the last surviving remnant of the residential buildings occupied by Sher Khan, which may have been erected in the time of his father Hasan Khān Sur.

The style of architecture, so far as can be judged from the remnant still standing, renders it, in my opinion, extremely improbable that this building dates from any such early period. To another name constantly applied locally to this ruin, viz. *Safdar Jang ki haveli* (or *Safdar Jang kā qila'*), sufficient importance has not hitherto been attached, probably because the people have no recollection of any great man of this name having lived there⁽³⁾. Moreover, what appears to be the older tradition, as Buchanan records it (p. 34 of Journal), associates the residence of Sher Khān with a mound to the north of the town, by the side of the Arrah-Sasaram road, near Kurāich.

(1) *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, pages 494-5.

(2) Translated from the original French. *Journal*, Vol. I, pages 320-1.

(3) A reference supplied by the Subdivisional Officer points to Saīdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, who came into Bihar in 1742 to assist 'Alivardī Khān against the Marāṭhās.

M. Saiyid Nazir-ud-din, the present Subdivisional Officer, informs me that traces of painting and enamelling are still visible.

APPENDIX E.

SHER SHAH'S MAUSOLEUM.

The earliest drawing that we have of Sher Shāh's mausoleum at Sāsarām is the sketch made in 1632 by Peter Mundy, a reproduction of which will be found in Volume II, page 130, of the Hakluyt Society's edition of his travels. This drawing is of extreme interest. It shows the stone-built bridge or causeway leading from the northern bank of the tank to the tomb as standing entire (ten arches shown). From this drawing it also appears that there were kiosks on each side of the steps leading down to the water, besides a kiosk at each corner of the tank; that a battlemented wall ran right round the tank at the top of the steps; and that on the level between this wall and the spoil banks at least a single (possibly a double) row of ornamental trees, shown by Mundy as about the height of the kiosks, had been planted in a continuous line round the tank. The sketch shows only the eastern end of the southern spoil bank, but this is shown as covered with trees or shrubs. We see, therefore, that originally the surroundings had been carefully laid out with trees and shrubs, and the "shady walks" which Buchanan so missed, had been provided. Mundy's short description of the tank and tomb is perhaps worth quoting:—

"Here is a very faire Tancke, with a goodly Sepulcher in the midst of it, with a bridge to goe to it, all of hewen stone. It is without question the formalist and largest Copula in all India, or that I ever saw elsewhere, although the Mosques att Constantinople have those that are verie spacious. This within the Arch conteyneth above 32 of my ordinarie stepps, and (as I finde by triall that 4 make 3 yards att least) is 24 yards and maketh 72 feete; soe much is it from side to side, a wonderfull breadth.

"Moreover, if a man doth hollow alowde, the sound will remaine here half a minute, or while a Temperate man's pulse may beat 30 stroaks, with a quavering, shakeinge or trembling, like unto the sound of some Bells."

Buchanan does not specifically give the diameter of the inner hall, though it can be calculated from the plan and the measurements recorded. Mundy's general accuracy of observation is well known. Here his figures are corroborated by Sir A. Cunningham's measurements, viz., 71 feet 5-7 inches.

The next account we have is that of Tavernier, who visited Sāsarām in December, 1665. He confounds Sher Shāh with

his son, Islām Shāh, and describes the tomb as a " mosque ", but he adds : " There is a fine stone bridge to cross into the island."

For at least 120 years after Sher Shāh's burial, therefore, the causeway was intact. It is most likely that it was deliberately broken or blown up : but when this happened no record hitherto published discloses. William Hodges, R.A., who travelled in India between 1780 and 1783, drew a very fine view of Sher Shāh's tomb. The artists Thomas and (his nephew) William Daniell visited Sāsarām in 1789 or 1790. Both of them drew views of Sher Shāh's tomb. Thomas exhibited a painting of the " Mausoleum of Sher Shah " at the Royal Academy in 1810 ; and in the first volume of Caunter's *Oriental Annual*, published in 1834, there is an engraving by Havell of the " Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah drawn by Wm. Daniell ". Before Hodges and the Daniells drew their pictures the causeway had been broken down ; only some ruins of intermediate piers were left : but the topmost cupola on the summit of the dome was still standing. Commander Robert Elliot, who must have visited Sāsarām between 1823 and 1824, also drew a beautiful sketch of this tomb, an engraving of which was published in Volume II of his *Views in India, &c.* By that time the crowning cupola had fallen, and only the plinth thereof was left, and one tottering pillar. Both Mundy's sketch and the Daniells' views show that it had been a cupola of design similar to those on the lower stages, which still remain as originally built, and not a pinnacle as constructed when the restoration of the monument was carried out by the then Bengal Government in 1882. In reference to this change the late Dr. T. Bloch wrote : " Why this was done I am not able to understand. It can hardly be called a restoration, and such an example should never be followed in carrying out a work of this kind "(1). When the Daniells drew their pictures the tomb seems to have been practically intact ; fig trees had done little injury. Within a quarter of a century later this destructive tree appears from Buchanan's account, however, to have wrought much damage ; and Elliott's view shows that ten years after Buchanan's time fig trees had taken root all round the structure.

(1) *A.S.I., Ben Cir.*, 1901-2, page 21.

APPENDIX F.

• SHERGARH.

Buchanan's account of Shergarh and its remains is the most complete that has been published. In the A.S.I., Bengal Circle, Report for 1901-2, the late Dr. Bloch gave a brief description of the remains on the top of the little plateau. He refers to the absence of any complete and accurate account of the existing buildings, and adds: "My notes, which I took on the spot, will enable me to add considerably to the meagre account in the List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal." Possibly these notes are yet extant.

At the beginning of 1833 Lieutenants Waugh⁽¹⁾ and Renny of the Trigonometrical Survey paid a visit to Shergarh. In the course of a note recorded by them they refer to a temple dedicated to Siva, as standing on the right hand side of the entrance to the fort, at the top of the steps, and forming a part of the fortification. They remarked that the doorway of the temple was of Hindū style, and the flat roof was supported by similar pillars. They also formed the opinion that, although the fortress was supposed to have been built by Sher Khān, the style of the buildings would infer an older and a Hindū origin. They noticed some traces of gay painting on the walls of the palace, and on the hills about eight miles south of the fort they saw a ruined wall, neatly built of sandstone and mortar, which was said to have enclosed a large tract of country. As no other visitor seems to have suggested that an old Hindū temple formed part of the fortifications near the main gate, the point called for some inquiry. The present Subdivisional Officer of Bhabhuā (S. C. Chakravartti) informs me that after careful examination he has been unable to trace any such temple to Siva, but to the south-east of the palace buildings there is an upright stone worshipped by the local folk as a Siva *linga*, and in a niche "in the middle of the main set of subterranean rooms" there are small paintings in a state of fair preservation, in the form of small squares, of precisely the same character as the marks made by Hindūs where the household god is kept, and on which the *homa* sacrifice, etc., is performed. These may be some of the paintings seen by Lieutenants Waugh and Renny. The Subdivisional Officer adds that a local tradition is still current that a

(1) Afterwards Surveyor-General of India (Sir Andrew Scott Waugh).

Hindū rājā used to reside in these buildings and the palace was originally constructed by him, and that Sher Khān only repaired and strengthened it. He also states that he has been assured by gentlemen of the neighbourhood that the remains of stone-built walls still exist on the hills to the south, being all that is left of a rampart that is supposed to have extended from Shergarh to Rohtāsgarh in the old days.⁽¹⁾ The Subdivisional Officer further quotes an interesting legend related to him by a Kharwār family of Karamchat, of a Hindū rājā who ruled over this part of the country and had 700 rānis. Some ruins below Shergarh, to the north, which seemed to him to be of older date than the buildings on the hills, were described as the *gausālā* where the rājā kept a great number of cattle. There is also a local tradition that the Cheros had a stronghold here, at the site still known as Rājandih (but there is no village there now).

It is possible that a fortress existed at Shergarh long before Sher Khān's time, as in the case of Rohtāsgarh. Indeed it may have been one of the strongholds of the now legendary chiefs Bagha Mal and Deva Mal, who are supposed to have been finally defeated by Rājā Lakṣmī Sāh, the reputed great grandfather of Rājā Śālivāhana of Bhagavānpur. Local tradition makes Śālivāhana to have been reigning at Champur in the time of Sher Khān. According to the account given by the late Mr. W. Crooke in his *Folk Lore of Northern India* (Volume I, page 191), however, he must have lived a century earlier. The tower-like peak opposite Shergarh, on the other side of the Durgāvati, is still called "Rājā Deo (= Deva) Kā Pind." There are many legends associated with these hills and *khohs* that call for further study.

(1) Cf also the reference made by Buchanan to a wall of hewn stone at Kotā Ghāt, near Dhūān Kunḍ (*supra*, page 103).

APPENDIX G.

BELAUNJA.

It is not clear what Buchanan intended by the words " no such name being known ". He himself refers to the " principality of Bilonja " in the paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in December, 1824⁽¹⁾. The name is an old one, though it does not appear as a separate mahāl in Ṭoḍar Mal's rent-roll, being therein included in a mahāl hitherto transliterated as " Jidar " or " Hajdar " ⁽²⁾. In the Persian inscription of 1638 A.D. over the gate of the tomb at the foot of Rohtāsgarh, Belaunjā is mentioned as one of the parganas in jāgīr to Ikhlās Khān, the then governor of the fortress. In Muhammad Rīzā Khān's rent-roll of 1765-6 it was shown as one of the seven parganas included in Sarkār Rohtās. In the Supplement to Grant's analysis it is described thus :—

" One pergunnah Palouncha, to Rajah Menrajesing Kheterwar, and in Jageer to Hedayet Ali Khan. "

Under the date 21st December 1766, Captain L. F. DeGloss, of the Bengal Engineers, who was deputed by Clive to make a survey in South Bihar, writes in his journal : " at 6 P.M. came to Hughly Village belonging to the Rajah Bismatting who had deserted the hills relating he was chief of the two Perganahs Chupellah and Belongeah [i.e. Japlā and Belaunjā] but is possessions [sic.] was taken from him by Rajah Chamell [i.e. Shāh Mal].....".

In Rennell's large scale " Map of the South-west Part of Bahar " published in 1773, pargana " Japellah " is marked as lying within Sarkār Rohtās, but Belaunjā is not shown. Instead, a pargana " Manjeong " is shown to the south of the Son and west of the Koel, where Belaunjā lies. On plate IX (published in 1779) of his *Bengal Atlas* " Bittounja " (evidently meant for " Billounja ") is shown as the name of a pargana to the south-west of the area marked " Manjeong " on the 1773 sheet, but beyond the limits of both the Rohtās and

(1) *Transactions, R. A. S.*, Vol. I, Part II, page 204.

(2) In Blochmann and Jarrett's translation the name is given as Jidar. Haidar is Beames' emendation (J.A.S.B., 1885). Beames corrected many of the mistakes in names occurring in the original translation, but others escaped his notice from want of local knowledge. Jidar and Haidar are both wrong: the name should be Japlā; just as Kōtrā should read Kutumbā. Readers acquainted with the methods of copyists dealing with Persian manuscript will readily understand how these mistakes were made: it is a question of dots combined with malformation of letters.

Palāmau Sarkār. Belaunjā was included in Sarkār Rohtās under the Mughal administration; and it was evidently in that sarkār in 1765 and 1766. Later it became merged with Palāmau in the huge district of Rāmgarh, in which it lay in Buchanan's time. When the unwieldy Rāmgarh district was divided up after the Kol rebellion of 1831-2, it was included with Japlā in the old Bihār district, and it formed part of Bihār when Captain Sherwill carried out the revenue survey of that district in 1841-4. When the separate district of Gayā was created in 1865, Belaunjā with Japlā were retained in it; but in 1871 they were transferred to the then district of Lohardagā. Some 21 years later, when Lohardagā was split up into two districts (Rānchī and Palāmau), Japlā and Belaunjā became part of Palāmau.

APPENDIX •H.

GUPTESVAR.

An account of the legendary history of the worship associated with the Guptesvar caves will be found in an article on the Primitive Races of Shahabad in the *Calcutta Review* of 1879 (Volume LXIX, page 348 f.). It is suggested therein that the story would seem to point to Siva as representing "some deity of the aborigines whom the Aryan found it to his advantage to identify with the Rudra of the Hindu pantheon". "The Brahman," the writer continues, "has not yet succeeded, as elsewhere, in wresting the shrine from the hand of the aborigines: the priest is a Kharwar." Of Rām Saran Kharwār, a descendant of the old chief Siva Singh(1), he writes: "Ram Saran still owns the shrine. Although swayed by the influence of conquest, he affixes Sinha to his name and puts on the sacred thread..... he still however calls himself a Kharwar Rajput."

I am informed that a Kharwār still officiates as *pūjāri*.

(1) This may be "Rajah Siva Singha, an old man, chief of the Koresan Kharwars" who came to Buchanan's camp at Domuñhāni on the 14th January 1813 (Journal, p. 114).

APPENDIX J.

GAHARWARS; KHARWARS AND CHEROS.

The Gaharwārs are one of the most interesting of the old races of north central India. In old inscriptions the name is spelt Gahaḍavāla, which the late Dr. Hoernle connected with the Sanskrit root *gah*, to be dense or thick, as meaning " dwellers in caves or deep jungle ". I would prefer to associate the name if possible with the vernacular word *garh*, meaning a fortress or castle. The title *Garhvāla* would then mean the people of the fortresses. The earliest glimpses that we get of this race or tribe indicates that they occupied the hill country of the northern Vindhya and the western Kaimur range, pre-eminently the country of *garhs* or hill fortresses. All the celebrated hill fortresses of this area are known in the Hindi vernaculars as *garh*. Many readers will call to mind the numerous references in the ancient Sanskrit texts to the castles or fortified cities of the enemies against whom the " Aryan " invaders had to contend, the allusion in many cases probably being to the hill fortresses of the indigenous peoples. Vincent Smith (1) tells us that traditions in that old site Māhobā and its neighbourhood unanimously declare that a Gaharwār dominion preceded at some undefined date the famous Chandel dynasty. In fact the sway of the Gaharwārs in those parts of Bundelkhand, the ancient Jejakabhukti, preceded the rule of the Parihārs, who in their turn were overthrown by the Chandels in the first half of the ninth century A.D. Smith also tells us that some of the most charming artificial lakes in that country are still attributed to the Gaharwārs. The Bundelas, who have given their name to the tract, are held to be derived from the Gaharwārs, who appear, if not then at all events later on, to have occupied a large area to the east and north-east along the Kaimur and its outlying spurs, in fact most of the ancient Karūṣa deśa. It was a Gaharwār chief; by name Candradeva, who about 1090 A.D. conquered Kanauj and founded the famous Gahaḍavāla dynasty thereof, which, as we have seen elsewhere, (2) exercised suzerainty over the Khayaravāla Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhāvala who ruled in South Shāhābād in the latter part of the succeeding century. Indeed we know that Candradeva's grandson, Govindacandra, overran the whole of South Bihār as far as Monghyr, as the Maner

(1) J. A. S. B., 1881, Part 1, page 11.

(2) See Appendix C.

(1124 A.D.) and Monghyr (1146 A.D.) grants disclose. It was possibly the effect of this, or of a previous, invasion that compelled Pratāpādihāvala to submit to the overlordship of the Kanauj kings. But the connexion between the Khayaravāla chiefs of Rohtāsgarh and the Gahāḍavāla kings of Kanauj may have been even closer than this. Candradeva's son was named Madanapāla. Hitherto the Madanapāla whose inscription has been found at Baidyanāth near the Karmanāsā in the north of the Bhabhuā subdivision has been regarded as the Pāla king of Bengal of that name; but I have failed to find any reliable evidence that this Pāla king held sway over western Shāhābād, and it may yet be found that the Madanapāla of the Baidyanāth inscription was no other than the Gahāḍavāla king, the father of Govindacandra. Govindacandra's grandson was the still more celebrated Jayaccandra, better known as Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj, whose daughter was abducted by the famous Chauhān Prithī Rājā (Rai Pithora) of Delhi. Now one of the godlings of the Kharwārs is Rājā Lākhan, who is stated by the late Mr. W. Crooke to have been the son of Jayaccandra of Kanauj⁽³⁾, and who for some reason or other has become deified by the tribe. Though such deification of former great chiefs of the clan is by no means confined to the Kharwārs, it may be noted here that the practice is exemplified by the deification of Rohita, the *Sūryavamśī* eponymous founder of Rohtāsgarh, to whose race, if not family, chiefs who assert descent from the Khayaravālavamśī Pratāpādihāvala claim also to belong. At least such appears to have been the claim in Buchanan's day. It would be interesting to know whether any persons who still profess to be descended from the same family as Pratāpādihāvala maintain the tradition that they come of Rohita's race.

The Kharwārs of Chutiā Nāgpur, according to Risley (*T. & C. of Bengal*) claim Rohtāsgarh as their original seat. This probably means that before moving eastwards into Chutiā Nāgpur they occupied the Rohtās plateau, as the general tradition among the Kaimur Kharwārs appears to be that they came from still further west.

We do not know the stock to which the rājā dispossessed by Sher Khān belonged, but he was probably what the Muhammadans of that period called a "Cheroh": and there is reason to think that the Kharwārs were included under this name. W. Crooke tells us⁽⁴⁾ that the son of the king of Rohtāsgarh was

(3) *Note on South Mirzapur*, by Crooke and Dampier, pages 24-5. He seems, however, really to have been the son of Raitchān, and so nephew and heir, and possibly adopted son, of Jayaccandra.

(4) *Tribes and Castes, N. W. P. & O.*, II, 372.

granted by Sher Shāh the pargana of Kerā Mangraur now in the Mirzapur district, and he became a Muhammadan. The younger son fled to Kantit in the same district, and with the aid of a Brahman of Dhamraha near Bijaypur, "overcame the Bhar Raja of that place, and founded the family of the Gaharwar rajas of Kantit and Bijaypur. All the Gaharwars trace their lineage to Benares or Bijaypur." Sherring writes⁽⁵⁾ that the Gaharwars who settled in Kantit were under the leadership of Gadan Deo, "whom some have supposed to be Manik Chand, brother of Jai Chand, the Rathor king" (i.e. Jayacandra, the Gaharwar ruler of Kanauj). He adds that the rājā of Manda, who was related to the Gaharwar rājā of Vijayapur "is said to be descended in a direct line from Jai Chand". All the Gaharwars in the Benares Division seem to have claimed descent from the same family of *suryavamśi* Gaharwars which settled at Kantit and Bijayapur, and which according to Crooke's story quoted above, was founded by a son of the chief of Rohtāsgarh. It is perhaps also a significant fact that, according to Tod, who calls them "Gherwal" Rajputs, the Gaharwars are scarcely known in Rajputana, and are not permitted to intermarry with any of the clans there.

The connexion with the Singraulī family referred to by Buchanan is also of much interest. This old family was once of great consequence in the hilly regions to the south of the Son and west of Palāmau, a *terra incognita* to us up to the end of the 18th century. The well-known Ajit Singh who ruled from 1190 to 1234, *Fasli*, or from about 1782 to 1826 A.D. married a Gaharwar girl, as did also his son Udwant Singh; yet Crooke,⁽⁶⁾ who had first-hand knowledge of the locality, says the family is "undoubtedly of Kharwar descent". Crooke also adds that the rājā in his time claimed to be a Benbans (i.e. Venavamśi) Kshatriya. (Cf. Buchanan's reference to the Benbans.)

It must also be remembered that there is considerable evidence of connexion between the Gaharwars and the Bhars, whom Buchanan, like many subsequent writers, treated as distinct. Mr. R. V. Russell, in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, after reviewing the available evidence, comes to the conclusion that the Gaharwars "were probably derived from the Bhars".

(5) *Tribes and Castes*, I, 175.

(6) *Note on the Country South of the River Son, in the Mirzapur District*, 1894, pages 23 and 58. Another Ajit Singh must have been of earlier date, as I find his names over a wide extent of country on W. Whitechurch's map engraved in 1776; and he was known to Rennell before 1782.

The Kharwārs are one of the few tribes in South Bihār among whom we find a survival up to the present day of tribal organisation and of the effective exercise of power by tribal chiefs. In Buchanan's time the organization seems to have retained more of its old vigour. He frequently refers to the "Rajahs" and the "Chaudhuris," and to the "Taluk" into which the Kharwār villages were divided. The "Rajah" of Sanraki was attended by one of his Chaudharis when he came to meet Buchanan. "Rajah" Toral Mal had jurisdiction over the Tilothu hills, we are told, with seven Chaudharis and "Rajah" Siva Singh over the Sāsarām hills with one Chaudhari; while in another area there were four independent Chaudharis. The Kharwārs in these hills still recognize the prestige and authority of the descendants of their old rājās, and acknowledge their prerogatives by various formalities. Though now bereft of his territorial sway, the Kharwār chief still retains the respectful title of "Rājā." The Chaudhari is a local headman whose office is also hereditary. For the decision of internal disputes the Kharwārs still have a regular gradation of courts, the final appeal lying to the "Rājā" from the Chaudharis.(7)

In south Shāhābād I have often heard the Kharwārs and Cheros linked together by the rural Hindū inhabitants. For instance, in reply to questions as to very old remains of which no historical record survived, I have frequently been met by the answer—"Kharwār-Cherūān ke bā," i.e. "it is of the Kharwārs and Cheros." Not so across the Son to the east, in the south of ancient Magadha, where the reply in similar circumstances was almost invariably that it dated from the time of the "Kolrajiā", i.e. from the time of the dominion of the Kols. This is noted as a further indication of the racial and linguistic difference between the people on either side of the Son. The name Kharwār is hardly ever heard on the lips of the rural folk in the Gayā district. Of the Cheros there are traditions in many places, but it always struck me that they were mostly confined to the area in the west and north-west of the district and the west of the Patnā district, which tracts, it may be noted, lay on the left bank of the Son in olden times, when that river after passing Bārun and Dihri, followed an even more easterly course than has usually been supposed(8).

C. E. A. W. O.

(7) For an account of their organization, see O'Malley's Report on the Census of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1911, Part I, page 459.

(8) See in this connexion Note (6) on page 1 of Journal.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

c. stands for caste.

h. ,, ,, hill.

n. ,, ,, *nadi* (stream).

p. ,, ,, people.

r. ,, ,, river.

NOTE 1.—The numbers within brackets refer to the foot-notes.

NOTE 2.—The numerous references to the names of images have not been indexed.

INDEX

TO

NAMES OF PLACES AND PERSONS.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
A		Baijnath	131, 139-42, 144, 149, 180.
Achela (n.)	88	Bajaura (Panjab)	180
Adil Ali Khan	148	Bakhtyar Khan	125(3), 127
— Shah	99, 100, 112	Bakri	8
Adhaura	80	Bakwa (n)	45
Agariya (c)	82(9)	Balmuniya (h.)	41, 162, 172
Ahalya Bai	124	Balwant Singh (Raja of Benares).	153-4
Aina Mahal	71	Bamani	31, 161
Ajit Singh	76, 83, 191.	Ban Asur	3—6
Akbarpur	48, 90, 91, 115.	Banar (Raja)	154
Aktiyar Khan. <i>See</i> Bakhtyar Khan.		Banas (n)	3, 10, 13
Alamgir (= Aurangzeb)	53	Bandu	75-6, 78, 83, 178.
Alampur	106, 164	Bankapura	8
Alawal Khan	102	Barabar (h)	148
Ali Husain Khan	102	Barahri	133-4
— Ganhar	52	Barand Kota (n.)	79
— Vardi Khan	181	Baraon	30, 13
(Subadar).		Barawan	31, 33, 133, 160-1, 169
Amawan	141-2, 170	Barcar. <i>See</i> Banas.	
Amdirā (? Ramdihra)	43	Barha (n.)	86
Amjhar	44-5, 172-3	Barhampur	15-16, 158
Amra. <i>See</i> Amdirā.		Barua (n)	91
Arna (wild buffalo)	81	Baruna	136, 169-70
Arrah	5, 7, 8, 156, 175.	Behea (Bhūya)	14, 15
Asta sakti	27(2), 138	Belaunja	75, 77, 82, 144, 178-9, 186-7.
Athganvan	86	Belauthi	13—16, 134, 157-8, 168
Aurangzeb	119	Belwai	40(5)
Aughtgama (?)	144	Benares	81, 85, 106, 131, 146, 151, 154.
Ava	26, 75		
B		Ben Bungsi. <i>See</i> Venavamsi.	100
Babur	176	Bengal	50
Badna (n.)	77	Ben (Raja) — Vena	25
Bagha Mal	185	Betiya	80
Bagreshwar. <i>See</i> Buxar.		Bhains Asur (=Mahisa- sura).	35
Bahera	86		
Bahraich	127	Bhagalpur	
Bahuli. <i>See</i> Bhuli.			
Bahnara	134, 168		
Baidyanath. <i>See</i> Baij- nath.			

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Bhagavanpur	122, 124, 128, 185.	Chathans	85-7, 163-4
Bhairava	4, 27(1)	Chaudhari Karamat	175
Bhaluni	26(2)	Husain.	
Bhar (p)	19, 43, 144-5, 148, 150, 191.	Chauhaq (Rajputs)	77, 82
Bharari	148-9, 151-2, 171	Chausa (pargana) . .	viii
Bharkunria	36(2)	Chauvett, J. L. . . .	175
Bhitribandh	113	Chero (p.)	1, 4, 6, 10, 15, 18, 22, 36, 76-7, 81-2, 87, 118-19, 121, 130, 135-6, 139, 144, 154, 185, 189-90, 192.
Bhoj, Raja	18	Chhanpatthar (water-fall)	14
Bhojpur	17-18, 20, 28-9, 82, 134.	Chher (n)	50(4)
— (in Doab U.P.)	17	Chintaman	15
Bhuili	152-3	Chitra (deer)	iv, v, 154
Bhupanatha, Raja . .	75, 77, 80, 82, 86, 178	Chunar	87-8
Bihar (old District) .	2, 33, 35, 40, 46, 100, 106, 128, 130, 138, 144, 187	Chunda	50 (4)
Bihar (Province) . .	46	Churaman	vi, 175
Bijaigarh See Vijaya-garh.		Cowell, W.	1
Bishunpura	91	Crawford, D. G., Lt-Col, I.M.S.	
Bloch, Dr. T	128(2), 183-4	Cunningham, Sir A . .	182
Bohoriya (n.)	79	Cyavana (Rishi) . . .	82
Brooke, W. A., . . .	vi, 175		
Budaya (Budhua ?) .	117, 173	D	
Bundelkhand	189	Dadupanthi	26
Burdi (? Bardih) . .	83	Daitya	33
Burn (Varuna ?), Raja	10	Danava	3, 33
Buxar	2, 7, 17, 52	Daniell, Thomas . . .	51(4), 183
		—, William	47(2), 183
C		Danwar pargana . . .	135, 169
Calcutta	131-2	Daranagar	75(5), 76
Carter, Joshua	vi	Darauli	136-7, 139-40, 170.
—, Phillip	vi		
Cattle, wild	21, 176-7	Darya Das	24-5
Chainpur	80, 121-2, 124-5, 128, 133, 136, 142, 144, 147, 165-6, 151-2	Daryapanthi	24
Chakia	151-2	Dasnami (Sannyasi) . .	87
Chakravarti, S. C. . .	119(3), 184	Daud Khan	127
Chamartoli	149	Daudnagar	24
Chandagarh.	See	Dehora (a temple) . .	135
Chunar.		Deruya (in Palamau) .	82
Chandrabab	50-1, 76-8, 80.	Deva Mal	185
Chandradeys (Gahar-war).	189-90	Deo Barunarak	9, 10, 13, 157.
Chandraprabha (n.) .	152	— Markandeya	22, 24, 169
Chandravati (n.) . . .	133	Devasthan	26(2), 160
Chamunda	12(4)	Dhangar (c)	55-6, 82
Chapsa	25	Dhara (= Dharanagar) .	18(1), 20
		Dharanagar. See Dhara	
		Dharkandha	24-5
		Dhar'kh- Ste Dharu . .	
		Dharmavati (n.) (. .	133
		Dharu Khoh	113

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Dhoba (n.)	42	Gohnya. <i>See</i> Gahuwan.	
Dhuan Kund (waterfall)	42, 103, 105, 173	Gonaila	31
Dilli (= Delhi)	100, 121, 137, 24(4)	Goptha (n)	115
Dinara	112-14	Gor. <i>See</i> Ghor.	
Domunhani	75	Gotti (?)	41
Deriswara (? Dvaresvara).	118	Govindascandra (Gaharwar).	189
Drup Dial (of Sawar)	87	Grant, James	186
Dugha	15-16, 20, 158, 168	Gulariya Khoh	55, 91
Dumraon	25	Guna Das	25
Dungsi (?) near Betiya)	87, 106, 108, 110-11, 113	Guptesvar (caves)	112, 114, 123, 173, 188
Durgavati (r.)	—15, 118-19, 122, 131-2, 136-7, 139—42, 152 3	Guraila	36(2)
Dusadh (c)	85	Gurhatti (n)	16
Dusiyari (n)	79		
E		H	
Ektiyar (Khan) <i>See</i> Bakhtyar.		Habash (Hawas) Khan	51
Ekwarī	9, 10, 13, 156-7, 168	Haihayavamsi	81
Elhott, Capt Robert	97(2), 183	Harsu Pandeya	129(1), 130
		Hasan Khan Sur	100, 126, 180-1
F		Hathni	31-2
Fath Khan	126	Hathipol (gateway)	51, 57
Fathpur Sikri	122	Hisar Firuza	180
G		Hodges, W,	183
Gaharwar (p)	83, 153-4, 178, 189 90	Humayun	100, 112
Gahuwan (n)	143	Husain Khan	127
Gaighat	42	Husainabad	76
Ganges	2, 17, 20, 29, 111, 152		
Garai (n.)	153	I	
Garhvat	118-19, 121—4, 165-6	Ibrahim Sur	180
Garhwa (in Palamau)	76	Ikhlaspur	131-2, 166-7
Gaur, Raja	50	Imdad Imam, Nawab Saiyid.	176
— (bison)	40, 81	Iraqi	44
Gaya	106	Islam Shah	98-101, 111, 129, 183
Geru	39		
Ghanti	145	J	
Ghor (c)	42, 77, 124	Jabra	30-1, 172
Gimela <i>See</i> Gonaila.		Jackson, V H	vi, 117(5), 155
Gloss, Capt. De	53(1), 77(6), 176, 186	Jacquemont, V.	78 9, 83, 162-3, 173.
Goala (c.)	21	Jadunathpur	32
Goddard, Capt.	52, 71	Jagadamba	15, 113, 134-5, 168
—, Mrs.	58	Jagadispur	79
		Jagrewa (n.)	111
		Jahanabad	5, 6
		Jain	52
		— (Tirthankara)	32, 161
		Jakhani	180
		Jamal Khan	130-1
		Jamunawan	75(5), 178-9, 186-7.
		Japla	

Place		Place	
Jarasandh	54	Khethangs. See Chathans.	
Jayaccandra	35, 190	Kikat	20
Jaya Prakas Simha 16, 30, 118		Kirpa Singh (Bhar Raja).	145
(Raja of Dmraon).		Koath	135, 168-9
Jhankh (male deer)	80	Kochas	135-6, 169
Johnson, Ensign	53(1)	Kochla (n.), & Barua Nadi.	81
Jumsot (n.), = Koel	113	Koel (r)	77, 83
K		Koilwar	1, 156
Kachbuhar (n.)	37	Koindi	144-5
Kadhar (Khoh)	115	Kol (p.)	137, 192
Kaimur (Hills)	179, 189	Kol Lohar (= Agariya)	82
Kalidasa	19	Koras	87, 163-4
Kamaiya (near Laheta, Monghyr district).	30	Kordar. See Kadhar.	
Kamiya	78(4)	Kordihi. See Karji.	
Kanauj (Kingdom)	189-90	Koreah	80, 85, 114
Kanaujya (Brahman)	15, 78-9	Koruh. See Koreah.	
Kandehra	132, 167	Kota Ghat	103
Kantit	191	Kotula (= Totala)	43, 48
Kao (r.)	17(1), 24, 36	Kudra (r.)	34-5, 103, 106, 133, 136-7, 139
Karamchat	185	Kuhira (n.)	142
Karanj	134-5, 168-9	Kukurnahia (n)	132
Karji	142	Kulhutta (r)	87
Karma	106, 112, 117, 164-5.	Kulsar (deer)	15
Karmanasa (r.)	86-7, 124, 145-7, 174.	Kumur Dir Saha	13
Karnasiya (n)	86	Kunvar (Kuar) Singh	135(3)
Karusa (dela)	1(6), 189	Kuraich	34(1), 181
Kasiawan	44, 162	Kusmi	31
Kasim Ali. See Qasim Ali.		L	
Kasis (sulphate of iron) 44, 89-91, 124, 173.		Laheta (Monghyr district).	30
Kasisiya Ko (= Khoh)	88	Lahthan	134-5, 168
Kathan (n.)	122	Lakhan, Raja	190
Kathautiya	51, 54-5, 78, 80, 89, 91.	Laksm Sah, Raja	185
Kauriari	55, 88-91, 117, 164, 173	Lal darwaza	57
Kauwa' dol (h.)	148	Lalganj	13-14, 157-8
Kera	85	Law, Thomas	vi
— Mangraur	191	Littledale, A.	175
Ketu	11	Lohardaga	187
Khairagarh	83	Lohra	85 6, 88, 163
Khajura	117-19, 121, 165	Luka	88
Khari (chalk)	30-41	Lusin (n.)	147(2)
Kharwar (p.)	40, 56, 76-7, 80, 82, 85-7, 89, 91, 114, 144, 178, 188-92	M	
Khatiya Ghat	121	Madanapala, Raja	141, 190
		Madurna	143
		Magadha	1, 20
		Mahal Sarai	49-51, 54, 57
		Mahamai	4
		Mahiasuramardani	38
		Mahoba	189
		Mahuar	176
		Mah'la	125, 166
		Mikar (n.)	13

	PAGE		PAGE
Majhigawan	47, 74, 76,	Nindur Raja	148
	162	Nisar Ali	52
Makradhvaja (Yogi) . .	141	Nokha	28-32, 160
Makri Khoh	121	Nullar (n). See Maiar.	
Mangal Singh (Bhar chief).	145	Nunona (n.)	77
Mangraur	152-3		
Manjeewan	76, 186	O	
Man Singh (Subadar) .	51—3, 56,	Osman Koti	127, 174
	63, 110	(= Usman) Shah . .	127
Marara Ghat	54		
Maratha (P.).	48, 77	P	
Marcus, J. P.	41, 175		
Masahi	122—4, 128,		
	131, 174		
Masar	2, 3, 156	Pahari	31
Masoim	142	Paiik	82
Mauli Khan	125	Paisachhi (= Pisaca)	33
Mecca	94	Palamau	76-7, 80—2, 187
Merh	142, 144,		
	170-1	Palmar. See Panwari	
Mewar Ghat	121	Panch Mahal	49, 51
Mirzapur	83, 144,	Panwari	10
	148, 151.	Parchha	77-8, 83, 162-3
Mohanee (Mohaniya) .	118, 130,		
	132-3.	Parhaiya (c)	82
	166-7.	Parihar (Rajputs) . .	144, 189
Monghyr	30	Patalganga	116
Morabba See Morwe . .		Patesar	150, 174
Morwe	76	Patna (city)	1, 43
Munda, Raja	121	—— (village)	149, 154
Mundesvari temple . .	125(1),	Pattiall (in Doah, U. P.).	17
Mundy, Peter	92(2), 93(1),	Pauna	8, 156
	176, 182-3.	Phul Chand (Chero Raja).	22-3
Murl Pahari (h)	47-8, 173	Phul Mahal	66
Mursi (n.) (= Lusini?)	147	Phulwari	70-1
Muskett, Lieut.	53(1)	Pindari	48(1)
Mylnne, James	xviii, 124	Pinsia (n)	79
Mysore	ii, 20, 84	Pitro	135
		Pocya (c), (= Par-haiya?).	= 77
N		Pomar. See Pamara.	
Nagavamsi	15, 81-2,	Frain, Sir David . . .	i
	144	Pramara (Rajputa) . .	• 18, 21
Nagin (n.)	2	Pratapa Rudra (Raja of Bhojpur).	19
Naggpur	15, 80—2	Pratapadhwala (Maha-nayaka).	35(2), 38(4), 55(5), 178, 189-90
Nainijor	176		
Nanakshahi	104	Prithi Raja	190
Narada (Rishi)	4	Purohangs (?)	87
Narayan Mal	19		
Narnoi (in Panjab) . .	180		
Naubat Rai	52		
Nauhatta	74-5, 77,		
	162		
Navagraha	4		
Navaratna	17		
Navanagar	20, 31,	Q	
	158-9		
Neurus	87	Qasim Ali Khan, xviii,	11,
Nimsagar	8	(Sabdar)	25, 29—31, 52, 66,
Nindeaur	148—50		176-7

	Page.		Page.
R		S	
Raghnath Singh (Bhar chief).	160	Sahar	9
Rahu	11	Sahibzada Singh (of Jagdispur).	134
Rajandih	185	Saina	42(1)
Rajghat	48, 84	Sakadvip	27
Rajkumar (Rajputs)	118, 121, 123-4, 129	Sakadvipi	10, 16, 79, 86
Rajwar (c.)	80, 85	Sakarwar (Rajputs)	122, 144
Rakhsel (Rajputs)	76	Saktesgarh	153
Ramdihra	43(2)	Salivahana, Raja	130, 185
Ramgarh (Ranchi district).	76, 89, 187	Samru (= Walter Reinhardt).	29
Ramgarh (near Bhaganpur).	124	Sanbar (deer)	20, 40
Ramgarh (N. of Mohaniya).	136, 139-41, 148, 169, 70	Sang-i-Musa	46
Ramgarh (S. W. of Chainpur).	146, 148, 171	Sanna (n) (= Nagin)	1
Ramgur (?)	36, 161-2	Sanrak	83-6, 88, 163
Rampur	36(3)	Saraiya	43(5), 123 4, 173 4
Ranadih	88	Sarbanga See Salt-vahana.	
Rang Mahal (Rohtasgarh).	63	Sarewa	152-3
Rang Mahal (Sasaram)	105	Sarguja	76-7
Ranka	76	Sarodag	86
Ratanpur	44	Sasaram	21, 33-4, 36, 38, 42, 51, 80, 91-2, 105-6, 112, 128, 133-4, 136, 161, 164, 172, 180, 182-3.
Rawat varga (c)	82	Sawalgarh	143
Rennell, James	iii, v, xi, xiv, xv, 75, 105	Sawar	118, 122
Renny, Lieut.	184	Sawara See Sahar.	
Rikini Das	24	Sawath	139, 141-2, 170
Riza Khan, Muhammad	186	Scotland	35
Rohita (eponymous founder of Rohtasgarh).	50, 53, 55-6, 75, 78, 80, 178	Selim See Islam	
Rohtas (Sarkar)	vi, viii, ix, 32(3), 179, 186	Selimpur	100
Rokhtasan	53, 78, 178-9	Shah Mal	52, 186
Rohtasgarh	20, 32, 47-8, 50, 75-7, 80, 84, 88-9, 91, 110-11, 147, 173, 178-9, 185 5, 190-1	Shergarh	107, 112-13, 118, 164-5, 184-5.
Roshan Shahid	61	Sherpur	1
Rudra Sahi (Raja of Bhojpur).	17	Sher Shah	33, 34, 50-1, 77, 92, 98-100, 102-3, 111-12, 126-7, 180-5, 190-1
Runadost (?) Khan	99	Sherwill, Lient. W. S.	xii, xiii, 187
Rupa	119	Shiwrampur (= Sivarampur).	149-50, 171
Sadulpur	136, 174	Sikuri. See Fathpur.	117
Sadar Jang (Subadar of Oadh).	181	Silajit	76-7, 86, 191
		Singrauli	139
		Sikaura	104
		Sitakund (near Bhuan Kund).	

Place	Page
Siva Singh (Kharwar 80, 114, 188 Raja).	Totals (<i>devasthan</i>) . . 43, 48, 161-2
Siyur (p.) 137-9, 141, 145, 149-50.	Travers, W. xviii
— (village) 151-4	Tufa 39
Son (r) 1, 22, 29, 43, 47-8, 75-9, 83, 91, 178-9.	Turson 15, 21
	Turkan 80, 85
	Tutrahi (waterfall) . 35(2), 37(3), 43(3), 178.
	Twining, Thomas . . . vi, 181
Sonpura 76-7	U
Sorha 86	Udrahi (n) 106
Sorkey, etc. See San-raki	Udua Nala (battle of) . 52
Srinagar 77	Udvant Singh (Raja of Singrauli) 76
Stirlingshire 46	Ujain (Rajputs) . . . 13, 18, 29, 30, 33, 136
Suara (n) 119, 131	— (town) 18, 20
Surai (?) 42	Upari 136
Surajpura 21, 24, 28-9, 134, 159-60	
Surandha 1	V
Suryavamsi 75, 86, 144, 148, 151, 190-1	Vaikuntha Giri 132
Suyir See Siyur.	Vakra (Asura) 8
	Vakula See Vakra.
	Venavamsi (race) 76
T	Vikramajit (Raja in Mirzapur dist.) 154
Takht-i-Padshah 68	Vikramajit (of Ujain) 18
Takht-i-Sulaiman 180	Vijayagarh 80-1, 85, 121
Tala 145-8	Vijayapur (near Mirzapur) 191
Tarachandi 34(5)	Vishnupad (temple at Gaya) 52
Tavernier, J. B. 182	Vishnupur (Bishunpura) 91
Taylor, W. 175	
Teka Das 25	W
Telpa (Saran Dist) 25	Wagh, Sir A S 184
Tieffenthaler, Fr. v, 47	Wellesley, Marquess of ii
Tilothu 34, 36, 40, 43, 48, 80, 85, 91, 103, 161-2, 172	Wood, General Sir G. 101
Timur 17-18, 112	
Titahi (n) 79	Y
Tiwai 142	Yogodespur See Jagadispur.
Todar Mal viii, 179, 186	
Toral Mal (Kharwar Chaudhari) 80, 87	Z
Tori (Palamau dist) 82	Zogel (?), Mr
Tori (Shahabad dist.) 122	