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Proceedings of the Second meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in January 1920.

The Second meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Senate Hall at Lahore on 8 and 9 January 1920. The following members of the Commission were present:

President

The Hon'ble Mr H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education.

Members

The Ven. Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M.A., D.D., B.LITT., Calcutta,
Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S. (Bihar),
Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., O.B.E.,
Mr H. Dodwell, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office,
Mr P. Dias, Keeper of Records, Bengal,
Mr R. H. Blaker, I.S.O., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India,
and Secretary of the Commission.

Professor B. K. Thakore, B.A., Professor of History, Deccan College, Poona,
was unavoidably absent.

Mr D. Dewar, I.C.S., Collector, Ghazipur, and Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S.,
Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall, attended as co-opted members.

Messrs N. V. Phadke, B.A., LL.B., and Mathu Lal, B.A., represented the Indore
State and R. K. Ranadive, M.A., the Baroda State.

It was considered at the first meeting of the Commission that some of its
future meetings should partake of a public character at which lectures might be
given or papers read and discussed on the subject of historical research or allied
matters. It was suggested that such meetings should be held at University centres
in India as by such means the Commission would get into touch with learned
societies and with individuals interested in research.

In order to develop this idea it was arranged in consultation with His Honour
the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who was keenly interested in the work of
the Commission, to hold the meeting at Lahore, where, moreover, the Punjab His-
torical Society was doing so much useful work. Arrangements were accordingly
made for the reading of several papers at the meeting and the Punjab Historical
Society, under the able supervision of Mr H. L. O. Garrett, brought together for
the inspection of the Commission and visitors an interesting collection of records
and manuscripts, pictures and drawings which he had procured on loan or gift
from the Indian States and private individuals in the Punjab. The resident
members of the Historical Society and the Senior Professors of the Lahore colleges
and other persons interested in research were invited to attend the sittings. The
members of the Commission inspected the Punjab Government Secretariat records.

His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab,
opened the meeting.

Speech of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

Speaking on behalf of those in the Punjab—mostly, I am afraid, amateurs,—who are interested in historical research, I wish to extend a very hearty welcome to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission is not yet a year old, and it is a great compliment to us in Lahore that we should be the first Provincial centre which it should visit. I am afraid that we cannot attribute this choice either to the state in which the historical records of our Government are kept, or to their antiquity. Our older records are in some confusion and we have at present a special officer, Mr H. Raynor Goulding, on duty for the purpose, among other things, of sorting out and putting together the records which we class as historical. I see that in the instructions issued last year by the Government of India there are certain directions given as to what should be done with documents of a date prior to 1702. These directions are, I am afraid only too easily complied with here, where we have nothing prior to the 19th century, and our friends from Madras and Bombay will be inclined to smile when we confess that we in the Punjab look on everything prior to 1860 as more or less historical.

From the point of view of the Commission, the fact that our older records extend over 50 or 60 years only, is not without its advantage. I have noticed a tendency on the part of gentlemen who deal with records to take an optimistic view regarding the length of human life, and few, if any of them, undertake work which can by any chance be completed in their lifetime. We, in the Punjab, took up seriously the question of our historical records for the first time some 15 years ago, and in laying before ourselves a programme for press-listing and calendaring our older records we took care not to fall into this error. The programme was quite a feasible one, and in the very capable hands of Mr Raynor Goulding it was being carried out with the greatest success. He applied himself to the work with the greatest zeal and assiduity, and was able to prepare the 10 large volumes of Press-lists and the eight volumes of reprinted Punjab Government Records which are being shown to you today. Unfortunately we met a lion in the path in the shape of the Finance department of the Government of India and the work had to be closed down. The decision to curtail the programme was from the historical point of view an unfortunate one. We have, I believe, some four volumes only of Press-lists to prepare, to complete our series of Press-lists, and for the records series we have a number of interesting documents connected with the Karnal, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies (1816-40), the North-Western Frontier Agency (1840-5), and the Lahore Residency (1846-9), which could easily be reprinted in continuation of those which have already been published. I hope that when the Commission have seen what we have done they will be able to sympathize with our desire to complete our programme and possibly to show their sympathy in a practical way in connection with the grant of money which is to be at their disposal.

I have been speaking of our English official records only, and I hope that when we build ourselves a new Secretariat we may have in it a little room where these and other historical records may be placed by themselves and made accessible to students. With the English official records should also be the vernacular records of the Sikh Durbar, and of the British Agencies, the former of which are already being catalogued for us by Lala Sita Ram Kohli, who will explain to you this afternoon what these documents contain. How far it may be possible for the States to add documents to that collection is a matter on which Sir Daya Kishan Kaul may

be able to make suggestions. It should also, I think, be possible to add to the collection a number of interesting documents received on gift or loan from private sources, or at any rate to compile for the use of students a note on the chief records of this character available in the hands of private persons scattered throughout the Province. If this is done, it may be possible also at some future date to carry out a scheme which has often appealed to me, of preparing a reprint of selected *sanads* and other official documents of Mughal and Sikh times something on the lines of Stubbs' *Select Charters*, a scheme which would, I am sure, if carried out, be much appreciated by historic students.

This, however, is looking some way ahead. In the meantime I hope you will allow me to draw attention to the programme which has been prepared for the next two days' work. Arrangements have been made by the kindness of the Commission itself and of the Punjab Historical Society to provide a series of short papers to be read here by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, Professor Thakore, and Mr Dodwell representing the Commission, and Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Chaudhuri Abdul Hamid, Lala Sita Ram Kohli and Sir Daya Kishan Kaul, of the Punjab Historical Society. Mr Garrett has also been good enough to put together for the information of the Commission a small collection of documents of interest about which he will address you shortly. And we hope with the help of Mr Raynor Goulding and Lala Sita Ram Kohli to let you see what we have in our Secretariat in the shape of English and vernacular records of historical importance. We hope that the Commission will be able to come to our aid with advice and suggestions, and we trust that their stay among us may be pleasant to themselves and profitable to the cause of good learning.

Speech of the Hon'ble Mr H. Sharp, the President.

Your Honour, ladies and gentlemen,

I must thank you for receiving us here in Lahore. The original intention was that the Records Commission should meet twice a year at Delhi. But it was thought that it would be a good plan to hold meetings occasionally at different centres in India where the Commission would find a congenial environment and get into touch with learned societies and those interested in research. We thought that we would first come to Lahore. For the Punjab Government has already taken an interest in this matter and asked for assistance in the keeping of its records and, still more important, we have here a Historical Society which is doing admirable work. I thought it would be a good plan to ask the members of the Society to come to our meetings. I am glad to find them here and I feel rather as though they were in the place of host and we of guest. I must also again thank Your Honour for the alacrity with which you welcomed the suggestion that we should come here; and I should also like to thank those gentlemen who have made preparations for our meeting and have prepared a most interesting exhibition of records and manuscripts for inspection. I can assure you that it is the Commission that feels honoured.

The Commission, I should explain, was created in connection with certain changes in respect of the listing, calendaring and printing of documents which after perusing the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Records of England and Wales and after consulting the Secretary of State the Government of India put forward in a Resolution in March last. The duties of the Commission

are to enquire and to recommend regarding the treatment of archives for purposes of historical study, to frame plans for the cataloguing, calendaring and printing of certain classes of documents and especially to work out a pre-arranged system for calendaring, to suggest grants for the encouragement of research and publication and means for throwing documents open to the public, to assist the training of Indian students from the Universities in methods of historical research, and to select competent editors and assistants for publication. In fine, the intention of the Commission is to stimulate historical research by bringing documents within easier reach of the student.

The Commission is, as Your Honour has reminded us, a young body. This is only its second meeting. It has not had time to do very much as yet. The proceedings of our first meeting have probably been seen by many here. We went through certain rules for encouraging students to consult the records of the Government of India and I hope that those rules may soon be brought into operation. We invited Records offices to send in a short annual report in a form laid down. We circulated some hints for the preparation of handbooks descriptive of records. We have given advice regarding certain records about which the Commission had been consulted. Two of our members have been considering the methods whereby officers in charge of records may best encourage research. Finally, though this is not perhaps altogether a matter for the Commission, its members approved a scheme which I had drawn up for publishing certain educational records. I have been at work on this task for a long time and I am glad to say that the first volume is now well on its way through the press.

Our last, which was also our first, meeting was held so to speak *in camera* and it was borne in upon me at the time that if the work of the Commission was to get known and if it was to find out what was really wanted in the provinces, it ought not only to hold its meetings at different places, but also to hold some of them publicly, encouraging the reading of papers, the giving of lectures and the inspection of manuscripts. At present the Commission is hardly known. I have heard even the name misreported. We have come here having fixed upon Lahore as a favourable centre to begin advertising ourselves, and we feel sure that we shall here meet with people who have been considering the question of research and who will be able to tell us the lines along which our labours may bear the best fruit.

Now as regards the Punjab, Your Honour has described what has been done and how a lion stood in the path to stop your endeavours. One of the things that this Commission has to consider is assisting honest and deserving folk to circumvent the lion. I can as yet say nothing for certain, but I hope we may be able to accomplish something. Unfortunately the lion has recently acquired a new and terrifying roar owing to the changed financial conditions under the Reforms Scheme.

Well, gentlemen, I have done. I understand that Mr. Garrett, who has been busy in putting together the interesting collection to which I have alluded, is going to tell us a few things about it. You will be sorry to learn that Professor Thakore is unable to leave Bombay. This, however, will leave us more leisure to inspect the collection.

In conclusion, I thank you all again for the cordial welcome you have extended to us.

Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, Professor of History, Government College, Lahore, then described the various exhibits which he had collected. He alluded to the large number of private records on view and gave instances of recent discoveries which might be utilized.

Principal exhibits—

(a) Government

Press-lists and Records (English).

Sikh Period (Persian). Specimens and Part I of Catalogue completed.

(b) Libraries

Selections lent by the Patiala Durbar.

" " Kapurthala Durbar.

" " from the Public Library, Lahore.

" " University Library, Lahore (Azad Collection).

" " Delhi Library (Maulvi Zafar Hasan)—Books, *farmans* and manuscripts.

(c) Private exhibits

Pictures and Calligraphy (Mr. Bowring, Rai Sahib Wazir Chand and others).

Tarikh-i-Khalsa (Raja Narendra Nath).

The Bowring Collection—Ancient grants of land on copper (Vijayanagar, 85 A. D.) and palm leaves (Mysore, 1650 A. D.), *farmans*, seals, *khairats* and holograph letters (Clive, Dalhousie, Keshab Chandra Sen, Ram Mohan Ray, etc.).

Mr. Garrett having detailed a rough list of the exhibits stated that the exhibition would be open to inspection by all members of the Commission during their session, and invited them to attend. The exhibition was subsequently visited by all the members of the Commission and the Punjab Historical Society who were present.

The following papers were then read and discussion was invited.

Paper by Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

THE MISSING LINKS IN THE HISTORY OF MUGHAL INDIA FROM 1658 TO 1761.

From Akbar to Bahadur Shah I, for a period of over 150 years, we possess Persian official histories of the Mughal emperors. These were compiled by order; from the despatches, news-letters, treaties, orders and revenue returns preserved in the State archives of Delhi. Their value lies in their wealth of topographical information, dates and names of persons, their accuracy and minuteness of detail.

No doubt, they are wanting in literary charm, as the subject-matter is arranged merely in chronological order, with often a dry succession of names or events, like a Government Gazette and Police report fused into one. But they have a great value for the historian. Though written for the Emperor's eyes and revised by him or his *wazir* before publication, these Court annals do not suppress any defeat suffered by the imperial arms or any natural calamity affecting any part of

the empire. True, they often give the Emperor credit for achievements really done by his servants; but that is the way with all official histories. The French *Moniteur* ascribed the downfall of Prussia to the victory of Jena won by Napoleon, while it almost suppressed the far more important and glorious victory gained on the same day by his general at Auerstädt.

The very minuteness of these Mughal official histories is a great advantage, as any mistake of date or name is very easily detected by its inconsistency with what goes before and after. We can here trace the campaigns and royal progresses stage by stage, day by day. This series of great histories begins with the *Akbar Namah* of Abul Fazl and ends with the *Bahadur Shah Namah* of Nimat Khan, surnamed Danishmand Khan.

Unfortunately the whole of this period of 153 years (1556-1709) is not treated in the same detail. The history of the last 40 years of Aurangzeb's reign has been compressed into a single small volume, so that the events of each year are told at only one-tenth of the length at which they have been described in the annals of the other Emperors or of Aurangzeb's first ten years.

But a modern historian cannot be satisfied with these Court chronicles, which are, after all, compilations. He wishes to go to their very source, to the raw materials out of which they have been constructed. Such primary sources are of three classes:—

- (1) Epistles, such as despatches addressed to the Emperor (officially called *arzdash*, or, when recording a victory, *fath-namah*), the Emperor's letters (called *farman*, *shuqqa*, or *manshur*), letters written by the *wazir* or the secretary by the order of the Emperor (called *hasb-ul-hukm*), letters from the princes of the blood to all persons lower than the Emperor (called *nishan*), correspondence between officers (called *ruqqat* or *insha*), and news-letters from the professional reporters (called *waqāi*). These last have totally disappeared.
- (2) Revenue returns and other statistical information, especially those collected in volumes called *dastur-ul-amal* (and occasionally *zawabit*), which are a curious mixture of the modern Revenue Officers' Manual, Civil Service Regulations, Civil Account Code and the Moral and Material Progress Report.
- (3) Court bulletins, styled *akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mualla*. These were daily written by the vakils or Court agents of the provincial governors, absent princes of the blood, and vassal kings, and sent off to them. Usually each day's occurrences at Court were jotted down very briefly on a slip of paper, about 10 inches by 4. Here we learn the exact hour and minute when the Emperor held a public darbar (or suspended it), the names of those who had audience of him and the presents they made, the new official appointments, promotions, bounties and gifts, the contents of despatches received from the provinces and the field armies (when they were openly read out) and the Emperor's replies to them, the marches and shikar of the imperial camp, reports of the battles and sieges in which he might have been engaged at the time, and every interesting action or speech on his part or occurrence at his Court.

From this third source we get astonishingly life-like touches and sidelights on men and manners. For example, we are told how on hearing reports about

Shivaji's raids Aurangzeb remained silent, how on another similar occasion he remarked that Shivaji's victims were too many to be compensated from the imperial exchequer, how when a despatch from a province, evidently containing evil news, was handed to him by the *wazir*, he read it in silence and put it into his own pocket, how at the siege of Vishalgarh in 1702, when a letter begging terms came from the Maratha commandant of the fort, Aurangzeb tore it up in anger.

The India Office Library and the British Museum have such *akhbarat* for the second half of the 18th century, but they are of little importance, as we have more valuable and copious information on this comparatively modern period from other sources. For the 17th century the only Court news-letters that are known to exist are those of Aurangzeb's reign, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. They were sent there by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, most likely from Jaipur or some other Rajput capital.

Unfortunately, these have survived in a very incomplete form. For 23 years not a single sheet has been preserved, eight years have less than 10 sheets each, 11 years have between 18 and 70, one year has 101, and only seven years have more than 200 sheets each. Thus, the *akhbarat* deserts us exactly where we need its light most, namely during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th decades of Aurangzeb's reign, while for the 1st and 5th decades we have a cloud of witnesses, such as a very long official history of the first ten years, four large collections of letters by his secretaries, many letters from his nobles, and private histories by contemporaries.

It will be the highest service to the historian of India in the 17th century if a thorough search is made among the archives of the Rajput States and all the *akhbarat* that may be discovered are brought out for the inspection of scholars, for then the history of Aurangzeb will have to be re-written.

I have come across very few historical letters in Persian for these three decades of Aurangzeb's reign, while I have secured thousands for the ten years before and ten years after. The missing materials can be discovered only by the combined search of many men at many places.

The detailed official annals of the Mughal emperors end with the second year of Bahadur Shah I's reign, 1709. Thereafter we have many personal memoirs, brief summaries of the events of each reign and a few unimportant, often trivial, letter-books. All these are wanting in the detailed information, dates and names of places and persons, and the minute, if prolix and tiresome, accuracy of the older Court annals. From 1712, the Mughal empire was bankrupt and practically dissolved, though the fact was concealed from the public till Nadir Shah shook this house of cards down in 1739. Hence no long official history was compiled, no despatches and returns regularly sent to the Court and no State archives carefully maintained. Of such historical works as were composed in the first half of the 18th century in Persian, hardly one has been lost. Hence there is no field for search here, except as regards letters.

But at this very time a new element entered the stage of North Indian politics. These were the Marathas, who came first as allies of the Emperor and then as his enemies. Their power was then in the ascendant and, therefore, their records were just the thing to supply the gap in our knowledge of North Indian history from 1718 to 1760 left by the decadence, poverty and literary sterility of the imperial Court. In many respects the Maratha despatches from Northern India are even more valuable for Mughal history than the despatches of the Venetian ambassador for the history of Tudor England.

But here, again, we have lost the precious materials exactly where we need them most, viz. from 1718 to 1760. The Marathi despatches from the generals and envoys at Delhi are copious after 1760. The letters of the Maratha ambassadors at Delhi published by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis run from 1780 to 1792; while the despatches from Holkar's court to Poona cover the period 1779-1794. The vast mass of historical letters of the Patwardhan family of the South Maratha country, published by a schoolmaster named Vasudev Vaman Khare, with an industry, accuracy and devotion beyond all praise, runs from 1761 to 1803; but only two of these letters are earlier than 1750. The little success that has attended the long and extensive search already made by the band of devoted Maratha scholars leaves us little ground for hoping that any copious Marathi records bearing on Delhi affairs between 1718 and 1760 have been preserved anywhere in India.

It is yet another misfortune of the student of modern Indian history that the Maratha ruling house of Nagpur either cared little for history or their records were destroyed during the war of 1817. The Poona branch of the Maratha power had greater literary spirit and has left a vast mass of written records, but usually of a date later than 1760. Of the numerous campaigns of the Nagpur Marathas in Bengal and Orissa we have no contemporary record in Marathi, while the Persian accounts are very brief and lacking in dates, and the English Factory Records almost silent. I am not sanguine of this gap being ever filled up by any new discovery.

I have dwelt at length on these missing links in the history of India from 1658 to 1761 in the hope that those whom this paper may reach may know what to look out for particularly if they come across any collections of old State papers or manuscripts in Persian, Hindi or Marathi.

Paper by Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.

TWO RECENTLY DISCOVERED LETTERS, ONE FROM THE SHAH OF PERSIA TO AURANGZEB AND THE OTHER, THE LATTER'S REPLY.

The letters which form the subject of this paper were discovered written on the margin of a small manuscript entitled "Wasīat Nāma-i-Amir Timūr of Gorgān". The manuscript is stated to have been transcribed at Lucknow on the 9th of the month of *Rabī' I*, the year 1225 A. H. (1810-11 A. D.). It was picked up by me recently in the bazaar at Delhi. The letters are quite new, one of them until now was not known of, and I take this opportunity of publishing them.

There are two letters one from *Shāh Sulaimān Safavī* of Persia¹ to Aurangzeb, and the other, Aurangzeb's reply. They are couched in strong terms, containing many taunts and cutting remarks. The *Shāh* of Persia criticises Aurangzeb for misgovernment, calls him incapable of ruling and suppressing rebellion, and accuses him of religious bigotry and unnatural treatment towards his father and

¹ *Shāh Sulaimān* was the eldest son of *Shāh Abbās II*. He succeeded as king of Persia at the age of 20 in the year 1077 A. H. (1667 A. D.). He was a weak ruler, and his reign which lasted until the year 1105 A. H. (1694 A. D.), is unmarked by any event of consequence. *Malcolm's History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 582-24; *Sykes' History of Persia*, Vol. II, pp. 301-2).

brothers. Aurangzeb in reply speaks of his exertions for the advancement of Islām and of his benevolence towards his subjects. He also attempts to justify his action in waging war against his brothers and ascending the throne in the lifetime of his father who, he says, abdicated in his favour.

These incidents have been related in detail by almost all the historians of Aurangzeb, who in discussing his policy and character have expressed opinions favourable to him or the reverse. It is, however, not intended to enter upon this controversy here. The chief point of interest in these letters is, that we find Aurangzeb accused by a brother-monarch and defending himself against the accusations. Aurangzeb characterizes the charges brought against him as the fabrications of ignorant people, who have given publicity to false reports against him, and he declares it impracticable to refute them and to clear his position.

The letter from *Shāh Sulaimān* of Persia runs as follows:—

ستایش و آفرین جهان آفرین را که از یک سخن کن نه فلک را به انجمن
انجم بچرخ آورده و هفت طبق زمین را باینهمه وقار و تمکین بر رز آب ساکن گردانیده
و از قطره آب صورت انسانرا که اشرف مخلوقات است از نهانخانه بطون بشهرستان ظاهر
جلوه گر ساخته و بمحض عنایت بیغایت خلعت فاخره خلافت را در بر سعادت
پرور ما پوشانیده زمام التیام و انتظام طبقات انام بدست اختیار و قبضه اقتدار ما سپرده
پس انصاف آنست که ما فیض قدر این عنایت خاص دانسته بمصدق احسن کما
أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ با خلق خدا به اخلاص سلوک نمائیم و هرگاه ستمرسیدگی و
شکستگی احوال مغلوبان و مظلومان ظاهر شود تعقل و تغافل را بر کنار نهاده بمومت
و پرداخت قلوب دردمندان شرایط مساعی بتقدیم رسانیم درین ایام از تقریر صادر و
وارد بظهور پیوسته که در ممالک هندوستان اکثر جا مفسدان سرکش آن سلیمان رش
و ناتوان و بی سر انجام پنداشته غبار آشوب بلند ساخته اند و بعضی از ممالک را در
تصرف آورده متوطنین و مترددین آن ولایت را تصدیقه میدهند سرکرده آنها سیوا نام
کافریمت که هیچ کس شناسایی نام و نشان او ندیده الحال بی سرانجامی سامی باعث
سر انجام آن گداز شده خروج نموده اکثر قلعهجات کوه شکوه بتصرف خود آورده سپاه آن
سلطنت پناه را بزیغ تیغ بدیدرغ کشیده بسیاری را اسیر نموده ملک را تاراج کرده دعوای
همسری بآن والا ندو مان دارد و آن خلافت مآب پدر گیري را عالمگیری نام نهاده از
کشتن برادران که وارث ملک بودند خاطر جمع کرده سر رشته قدر دانی و جهانبانی و داد

و دهش را از دست داده بصحبت جماعتی که افسون خوانی و رسوسه شیطانی را شیوه حق دانی می پندارند مشغول اند لهذا در هر کار فرد دعا باخته بعیله و فریب بازی برده اند الحال که معرکه مردانگی پیش آمد ششدر و مضطرب گشته تنبیه مفسدان و ضبط هندوستان از احاطه مقدر ایشان بیرون است از آنجا که بعنایت الهی و امداد الهی معصومین نوازش در ماندگان شیوه درد مان ماست اعانت ان سلطنت پناه منظور است چنانچه از امداد جد ما همایون بادشاه بازیر هندوستان مسلط شده بودند و نذر محمد خان رالی توران چراغ دولت خود را از فرغ کوکب بخت ما باز روشن ساخته درینولا که آن وارث تخت همایون را در ماندگی روز آورده همت و غیرت سلطنت چنان اقتضا میکند که ما خود بنفس نفیس باسپاه ظفر پناه بیداری آنوارت سروری متوجه شویم و بملاقات یکدیگر که از روی دیرینه است محظوظ گردیم و آن اشرار غریب آزار را بشمشیر ذوالفقار کردار سزاده رعایا را از مفسدان نجات بخشیده دعا گوئ خود گردانیم الله تعالی از ناهمواری روزگار در امان داران والسلام

TRANSLATION

"Praise and glory to the creator of the world, who by uttering the one word 'Kun' (let it be) set in revolution the nine heavens studded with clusters of stars, settled the seven layers of the earth with great massiveness and solidity on the surface of water, and brought into existence human beings, the best of the creation, from a drop of water, and who merely with his simple boundless kindness conferred upon us the honoured robe of royalty and entrusted us with the government and administration of the world. The demand of justice, therefore, is that we too, taking into consideration this special favour, treat people with sympathy according to (the Qurānic verse)¹ "Do good as God has done good to you," and whenever the distress and misery of the injured and oppressed is known, we should, abandoning excuses and negligence, make every possible effort to soothe and appease the afflicted hearts. Recently we have learnt from comers and goers (travellers) that at many places in Hindustān refractory and seditious people, considering that Solomon-like monarch (Aurangzeb) to be impotent and resourceless, have raised the dust of disturbance, and having taken possession of some parts of the country are giving trouble to the inhabitants and travellers of that kingdom. The chief of them is the infidel (Kāfir) Sīvā,² who lived in such obscurity that none knew of his name. Now the lack of power of that exalted personage (Aurangzeb) has given resource to that unknown person, who having sallied forth has captured many mountain-like forts, put to sword or taken prisoner many soldiers of that protector of empire, devastated the country and asserted a claim of equality with that prince

¹ Sūra 28, verse 77.

² Shīvaji, the founder of the Maratha power in the Deccan.

of illustrious lineage.¹ But that monarch calls *pidargīrī* (imprisoning his father)² by the name of '*ālamgīrī* (world-conquering), and setting his mind at rest by killing his brothers,³ the rightful heirs to the kingdom, gives up the royal practices of appreciation and charity, and keeps himself busy in the company of people who consider incantation and satanic magic to be the knowledge of God.⁴ Thus he always played with false dice and won the game by treachery and fraud, but now when a battle requiring prowess is to be encountered, he has been so perplexed and distracted that it is beyond his power to suppress lawless men and to rule over India. Whereas, by the kindness of God and the favour of the sinless Imāms,⁵ it is the practice of our house to protect the helpless, we now desire to assist that Protector of Empire in the same manner as by the help of our ancestors Humāyūn was reinstated on the throne of Hindustān,⁶ and Nazr Muḥammad Khān,⁷

¹ This probably refers to Shīvajī's assuming the title of *rāja*, which was acknowledged by Aurangzeb in the year 1668. The Maratha chief, however, agreed to be treated as a vassal of the Mughal Emperor, and he sent his son Sambhūji to stay at Aurangābād in the court of the Viceroy of the Deccan. (*History of Shīvajī* by J. N. Sarkar, *Modern Review* for April 1919, Vol. XXX, No. 4, page 491.)

² This is an allusion to the deposition and imprisonment of his father Shāhjahān by Aurangzeb. Shāh Sulaimān sarcastically remarks that Aurangzeb took the title of 'Alamgir (the conqueror of the world) though the only person he had conquered was his father.

³ The emperor Shāhjahān fell ill in Delhi and was unable to attend to the affairs of state. Dārā Shikoh, the eldest of his sons, took the government into his own hands and prevented any information leaking out with regard to affairs at the capital. This gave rise to great disturbances in the country. Murād Baksh, the youngest son of the emperor, who was governor of Gujarāt, assumed the title of king and marched towards the capital. Shāh Shujā', the second son, followed the same course in Bengal and advanced to Benares. Aurangzeb who was in the Deccan also marched with an army to the capital. Dārā Shikoh took Shāhjahān to Agra and sent Rājā Jai Singh with his son Sulaimān Shikoh against Shāh Shujā'. Rājā Jaswant Singh was despatched with a large army to Mālwa to prevent Aurangzeb's advance from the Deccan. Shāh Shujā' was defeated, but Aurangzeb contrived to join forces with Murād Baksh, and defeating Jaswant Singh proceeded to Agra. Dārā Shikoh, much against the will of Shāhjahān, made preparations for another battle and met Aurangzeb at Samugarh near Agra. He was totally defeated and was obliged to fly for his life to Delhi. Aurangzeb continued his march to Agra, and imprisoned Shāhjahān who still favoured the cause of Dārā Shikoh. In the meantime Aurangzeb had got rid of Murād Baksh, who had shown signs of defection, by sending him as a prisoner to the fort of Gawāliar, where he was subsequently beheaded. Dārā Shikoh was pursued and at last captured and put to death at Delhi. Shāh Shujā' after his defeat by Jai Singh marched again in 1069 A. H. (1659 A. D.) with a powerful army to Agra, and was defeated by Aurangzeb at Khajwa near Ilāhābād. He was obliged to seek refuge in Arākan, where it is related he was put in a boat with all his family and sunk in the river by the *rāja* of that country in the year 1071 A. H. (1660 A. D.).

⁴ It may be noted that the satirical remarks of the Shāh of Persia about the religious views of Aurangzeb and his courtiers were mainly due to the reason that they professed different faiths: the Shāh of Persia being a Shī'a while Aurangzeb was a Sunnī.

⁵ The twelve Imāms according to the Shī'a faith.

⁶ The expulsion of the emperor Humāyūn by Sher Shāh, and the ultimate recovery of his lost kingdom from the descendants of the latter with the help of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, is a well-known historical fact and needs no comment here.

⁷ Nazr Muḥammad Khān, a ruler of the Uzbeqs, had been driven out of Balkh by Shāhjahān partly by force of arms and partly by intrigue. He sought aid and pro-

بحال سرداگران و معابران و اهل حرفه میرسید بکلم معاف فرمودیم اکنون جماعت مذکور آسوده خاطر بوده زبان خود را بدعای دولت سرگرم میدارند و از برکت این نیت هر اراده که مکنون خاطر بوده بوجه احسن جلوه ظهور نمود و هر کس جانب دولت خدا داد ما بد دید نقش هستی از صفحہ روزگار زود زایل گردید شاهد حال این معنی حرکت پدر شماس که قدر عافیت ندانسته گامی چند برداشته بود که خار ناکامی در پای او شکست و از عمر و جوانی بے بهره رفت احسانهای حضرت صاحبقرانی درباره بزرگان شما بر پیشطاق روزگار ثبت است راه ناشکری رفتن در راه خود چاه کفایت است چون نتایج حسن نیت را پایان نیست اکنون بمطلب گرانیده میشود مکتوب مرسله که نگاشته دبیران تذک حوصله و منشیان کم ظرف بود ورود نمود همانوقت بخاطر رسیده بود که چندی از پردهای را بر باد پایان اندیشه رفتار مصرع کردار که از سرعت سیر چون آفتاب در نیمروز بشام میرسند سوار کرده با جمعی از تیر اندازان که پیوسته پیغام قضا در ترکش شان آرام گزین و بیک اجل در خانه کمان آنها گوشه نشین است بسوی آن والا دودمان رخصت فرمائیم تا جواب مکتوب بد استلوب بزبان شمشیر نیز خوریز ادا نمایند اما رعایت خاندان نبوی و مررت موروثی و ترجیحات صاحبقرانی نگذاشت که بمحض لغزش زبانی که نتیجه خورن سالی و نادانی است یکبار سر رشته روابط قدیم گسیخته شود لهذا در جواب نامه فهرستی از دفاتر احوال خود قلمی میشود اینکه از کشتن برادران و بیدخلی اعلیٰ حضرت مغفرت مرتبت رقم پذیر ساخته بودند بر همگان ظاهر و باهر است که دارا شکوه پاس دین مبین نکرده آراة بادیه گمراهی بود و همیشه کمر عداوت با اهل اسلام و امرای عظام بتخصیص ما برادران حقیقی بسته میداشت و همچنین شجاع از غرور در حضور پدر هوس تخت نشینی کرده بقصد برادران لشکر کشی نموده مراد بخش از باده غفلت مدحوش بوده هنگامه ظلم و بیداد گرم میداشت ما بترقیات ربانی بچندین جنگ و جدل که کارنامه از لوازم تواند بود هر متعدی را بمقتضای شریعت غرا سزای راجبی دادیم و اعلیٰ حضرت از مهر پدیری روا کردار ناهموار آنها بوده اخرا لامر از مشاهده حال نکبت مآل آنها نازک سلطنت شده اورنگ سلطنت را که بعنای الهی از روز ازل بزم نامی ما زینت یافته بود ما را خلف

the ruler of Tūrān, rekindled the lamp of his wealth with the light of the star of our good fortune (recovered his kingdom by our assistance). Now that that heir to the throne of Humāyūn (it also means heir to the auspicious throne) is in distress, it is the royal resolve and desire and a sense of honour that we proceed in person with our victorious army to the help of that heir of sovereignty, enjoy mutually the pleasure of the society of each other, which is our long cherished desire, and punishing the wicked oppressors of helpless strangers with our *zulfīqār*-like sword, relieve the people from evil-doers and make them pray for us. May the great God protect you against misfortunes! Farewell!

The letter from Aurangzeb written in reply to the above is as follows:—

سبحان الله صاحب قدرتی که جمیع ذرات هستی و موجودات بلند ریستی
پرتو آفتاب عالمتاب اوست و نقش و نگار صفحہ روزگار امواج دریای بی کدار
صفات ارس - بیت

خود از درون و برین جلوه کرد و من بمیان
چو سایه محو شدم کز نور سو چراغ آمد

اما از آنجا که کارخانه حکمت بمصلحت متضمن است حجاب وسایط و اسباب
بر چشم عالمیان انداخته خود را از نظر ظاهر بیدان محجوب ساخته است و برگزیدگان
خود را در خلوتسرای خود راه داده دیده دل ایشانرا از جمال خود روشن میسازد
و صفحہ خاطر عاطر آنرا از التفات بسوی اغیار پاک گرداند تا از سخنان رد و قبول
و آفرین و نفرین عوام کالنام که دیده خرد از نور تحقیق بی نصیب است مستغنی
دی بی پرا میسازد - مصرع - چراغ مهر را غم نیست از باد

الحمد لله که از آغاز صبح شعور تا این ایام که غایت ارتفاع آفتاب رشد است
در باطن حق مواطن ما غیر از حق شناسی و رعایت ادب اسلام و هدم بنیان کفر و
ظلام دیگر نگذشته و مدام از لذات نفسانی احتراز داشته بادشاهی را پاسبانی خلایق که
امانت خالق اند دانستیم و بمقتضای رعیت پروری و عدالت گستری محصول مبلغی
که مقدار آن از اندازه شمار بیرون است و از قدیم الایام در ممالک محروسه بصیغه زکات
و راهداری و نگاهبانی و غیره که در سرکار مواخذ می شد و باین علت تکلیفات کلی

tection from Shah 'Abbas of Persia, and was treated with great generosity and honour. A large force was ordered from Khurasan to support him, and he recovered his possessions without fighting. (Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 581; see also Sykes' *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 300.)

¹ *Zulfīqār* was the name of the famous two-edged sword of 'Ali.

الصديق دانسته بخشيدند خدا شاهد حال اين معني است و كفى بالله شهيدا اينهمه
معنى برای رضای خدا و هدم بنای جفا کردیم اگر مترسمان روزگار که دیده ظاهر و باطن
آنها از فرغ خرد دور است سخنان بے اصل شهرت دهند چه توان کرد -

بعدتر توبه توان رستن از عذاب خدا * و ايک مے نتوان از زبان مردم رست
و ايلکه از شورش سيوا قلمی بود عجب است که اين قسم مقدمات در مجلس
آن خجسته خاندان مذکور ميشود قطع نظر از آنکه ايشان از مغرب سن و خوردسالي
که موسم بادانی است بهره از دانش و پيدش نداشته باشند در آنروايت قحط دانشندان
واقع است و پيش ايشان کسی نیست که نظر بر حالت و منزلت داشته بسخن
معقول پردازد هرگاه لشکر ايران و توران را يارای آن نباشد که با افواج بحر امواج دم
مسارعت تواند زد سيوا و سواي او داخل کدام حساب است و اگر دندان موش پيشه
در سوراخ بيابان و کوهستان جای گرفته پيش گرفته باشند چه عجب - بيت
گرچه مگس زرز در بازار نمود * طعمه سيمرغ نخواهد ربود
لايق آنست که در آغاز انجام هر کار لوازم هوشیاری و دور اندیشی بظهور آورند
در خاطر دریا مقاطر ميرسد که شور بختان فرنگ که باعث آزار رهنوردان ايران ميشوند
کشتی سکونت آن گروه را در کرداب هلاکت اندازیم و بر تو روايت ظفر طراز بر ساحت
آنديار انداخته بملاقات يکديگر خوشترقت گشته مترجمه مقصود شريم هميشه درخور نيت
کامياب باشند -

TRANSLATION

"Praise be to God who is so omnipotent that all the particles of existence and all created things above and below are the reflection of His person which illuminates the world like the Sun, and all the ornaments of the universe are an indication of His attributes which are as numberless as the waves of the boundless ocean. Verse:—

'He himself shone from within and without and I was lost like shade between two lights.'

Whereas the Divine wisdom is imbued with virtue, He (God) has made people of the world attribute every event to a cause of nature and has concealed Himself from the sight of the superficial observers, but, giving His chosen people access to his privacy, illuminates their inward eye with His light and makes their benevolent hearts forgetful of love for others, so that they become regardless of

and indifferent to the opinions, approbation and disapprobation of the common populace, whose eye of wisdom is devoid of the light of truth. Hemistich:—

'The lamp of the Sun has no fear against wind.'

Praise be to God that from the beginning of the age of discretion until now, when the sun of wisdom has reached its zenith, nothing has passed in our truthful heart except justice, concession to Muslims, and suppression of infidelity. We however abstained from the luxuries of life, considered kingship as the guardianship of the people, who are confided by God to our charge, and with a view to cherishing our subjects and administering justice, we have abolished altogether such taxes as the *zakāt* (alms or a poor rate), *rāhdārī* (toll) and *nigāhbānī* (watching dues), etc., which, while bringing a very considerable sum of money to the imperial treasury, caused a great deal of trouble to merchants, travellers and artisans. Now these people enjoy peace of mind and are busy in prayers for our wealth. From the blessing of this good intention every object we had in view was accomplished to our entire satisfaction, and whosoever looked with malice at our God-bestowed kingdom the mark of his existence was soon effaced from the page of Time.

An evidence of this is the case of your father who, not knowing the value of safety, advanced to our dominions with the result that the thorn of disappointment pierced his foot and he suffered an untimely death. The favours shown by *Ṣāhibqirān* to your ancestors² are written in bold letters on the record of Time, and by the adoption of an ungrateful attitude you dig out a well in your own way. As the rewards of good intentions have no end, let us turn to our real subject. The letter you sent us written by mean and base secretaries, arrived. At the very moment it was received our first intention was to send some of the brave soldiers mounted on horses, which run as quickly as thoughts or winds, and with their swift speed can reach Syria like the sun in half the day, to that prince of the illustrious house together with a force of archers, who ever have death warrants in their quivers and the angels of death hidden in the curved parts of their bows, so that they should give a reply to that impertinent letter with the sharp and bloodshedding sword. But the regard for the descendants of the Prophet,³ the hereditary generosity and the favours of *Ṣāhibqirān* (shown to your house) did not permit us to sever the old relations at once simply on account of impropriety of language, which was due to young age and inexperience. Hence in reply to that letter a summary of our long narrative is written below. As regards the murder of brothers and the dethronement of His late Majesty referred to in your letter, it is known to everybody that *Dārā Shikoh* had no regard for the true faith, but

¹ For full information about the remission of taxes by Aurangzeb reference may be made to *Muntakhabul-Lubāb*, Vol. II, pp. 87-8, which in giving a long list of remissions records that nearly eighty imposts were abolished by this emperor. (See also Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 246-49.)

² This probably refers to the event related by Malcolm (Vol. I, pp. 496-7) on the authority of *Zubdatu-t-Tawārikh*. The great *Timūr*, when he conquered Persia did not molest the ancestors of the *Safvi* emperors, who had a reputation for sanctity, but it is stated that he went to see *Ṣadrud-Dīn*, the chief of the family, and enquired what favour he could confer upon him. The saint required that he would release the prisoners he had brought from Turkey. The request was duly complied with by the conqueror.

³ The *Safvi* emperors traced their descent from the seventh *Imām*, *Muṣṣ Kāsim*, of the family of *Husain*, the grandson of the Prophet *Muḥammad*. (*The Muhammadan Dynasties* by Lane-Poole, p. 255; *History of Persia* by Malcolm, Vol. I, p. 495).

wandered in the wilderness of apostasy and invariably showed animosity to Muslims and nobles of the court especially to us, his real brothers.¹ In the same manner Shujā' had the presumption to aspire to the throne in the presence of his father,² and marched with an army with the intention of killing his brothers. Murād Bakshah, intoxicated with wine, led an oppressive and tyrannical life. We, with the help of God, waged such a war that it might pass as the deed of prowess of a resolute person,³ and inflicted just punishment, according to the illuminated law, on every wicked wretch. And His Majesty who on account of paternal affection overlooked their (his sons') misdeeds, at last, observing their evil conduct, retired from kingship and considering that we were a dutiful son, conferred upon us the throne,⁴ which, with the grace of God, was adorned from eternity with our exalted name. God is a witness of this, 'and the testimony of God is enough'.⁵ We performed all this for the pleasure of God and abolition of oppression. If gossiping people of the world, whose inward and outward eyes are devoid of the light of wisdom, give publicity to false rumours, what can one do? Verse :—

'It is possible to be absolved from the punishment of God by repentance, but one cannot escape from the criticisms of people.'

Regarding what was written about the rebellion of Siva, it is very strange that such stories should be related in the court of that representative of an auspicious house. Leaving out of consideration that you, on account of tender age and childhood, which is a period of ignorance, may not have knowledge and wisdom, there is also a scarcity of wise men in that country and you have none with you, who should, bearing in view the real state of affairs, speak out proper things. When the army of Irān and Tūrān cannot stand against our innumerable, force, how can Siva or any other man be taken into account? And there is no strange thing if highwaymen, concealing themselves like rats in holes in the deserts and hills, carry out robberies. Verse :—

'Although a fly should bring into use the strength of both its wings, it could not snatch away food from a griffin.'

It is becoming on your part that you should adopt necessary prudence and precaution at the beginning and end of every work. We have it in our

¹ Muhammad Kāzīm gives a detailed account of the heresy of Ibrā Shikoh '*Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 34-5). The prince was ordered to be put to death under the legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. (*Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol. II, p. 87; see also Elliot, pp. 179 and 246).

² On hearing the news of the illness of Shāhjahān, both Shāh Shujā' and Murād Bakshah took their seats upon the throne (the former in Bengal and the other in Gujarāt), had the *Khutba* read and coins struck in their names and assumed all the prerogatives of king (*Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 28-9).

³ See above.

⁴ The fact that Shāhjahān forgave Aurangzeb for his offences and probably made formal bestowal of the throne upon him, is also inferred from a letter of Aurangzeb, which he wrote to his father, thanking him for his pardon and expressing the hope, that in future nothing would be done against his (Shāhjahān's) will and pleasure. The letter is copied in *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb*, Vol. II, pp. 104-7. (See also Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 251-3.)

⁵ A Qur'anic expression.

comprehensive mind to throw into the gulf of destruction the ship in which the unfortunate Franks live, who are the cause of distress to the travellers of Irān,¹ and carrying our standards to that country have the pleasure of meeting one another and attending to our object. May you ever be successful according to your intentions!"

Professor J. N. Sarkar quotes the letter of Shāh Sulaimān in the third volume of his valuable work, the *History of Aurangzeb* (pp. 126-7) but he ascribes it to Shāh 'Abbās II. He says that it was entrusted to Tarbiyat Khān who was sent by Aurangzeb on a return embassy to Persia, and who reached Agra with it in 1666. In my manuscript the letter is written under the following heading :—

نامه شاه سلیمان بادشاه ایران که بعالمگیر اورنگ زیب فرمانروای هندوستان نوشته -

"Letter of Shāh Sulaimān, the king of Persia, which he wrote to Aurangzeb, the ruler of India."

This letter is not dated nor is there any other evidence to indicate with any amount of certainty as to whether its author was Shāh 'Abbās II or Shāh Sulaimān. In Aurangzeb's reply there are however several points, which tend to show that it was written by Shāh Sulaimān, and I relate them as follows:—

(1) Aurangzeb repeatedly addresses the king of Persia as an inexperienced child and of tender age (خورد سال نادان مغربی). Now Shāh 'Abbās, who ascended the throne at the age of 10 in the year 1642, was 34 years old in the year 1666, when he is supposed by Professor Sarkar to have written the letter. He had already been on the throne for some 16 years, when Aurangzeb was crowned king of India, and it was in his reign that Qandhār, which had been treacherously made over to Shāhjahān by its Persian Governor 'Ali Mardān Khān, was recovered by the Persians, the Shah who was not more than 17 years old is known to have been in command at the siege. Various attempts were made by the Mughal forces to retake the city, and at least twice Aurangzeb himself was entrusted with their command, but all these attempts without any exception failed. Reference to this is said to have been made by Shāh 'Abbās II in the letter he sent to Aurangzeb through his Ambassador Budāq Beg congratulating him on his accession to the throne.² Shāh 'Abbās is also known to have intrigued with Murād Bakshah, Shāh Shujā' and Dārā Shikoh during the war of succession, and copies of his letters to these princes are preserved in *Inshāi Tāhir Wahid*. Under these circumstances it cannot be expected that Aurangzeb could in propriety address him with such epithets as child and inexperienced.

Shāh 'Abbās II died on 12 December 1666, and was succeeded by his son Shāh Sulaimān, who in all probability wrote the letter in question soon after ascending the throne. Shāh Sulaimān was some 20 years old on his accession and he could be justly addressed by Aurangzeb in such patronizing terms.

(2) Aurangzeb self-exultantly speaks of the favours of God conferred upon him, and says "whoever cast an eye on his God-bestowed kingdom the mark of his life was soon effaced from the page of Time (i.e. he died)". As an instance of this he points out the case of the father of his addressee, the Shāh of Persia, who he says, "made an advance towards his dominions when the thorn of disappoint-

¹ This probably refers to the capture of the island of Kishmah in the Persian Gulf by the Dutch (Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 587), but there is no historical evidence of the fact that Aurangzeb ever conceived a plan of invading Persia.

² *History of Aurangzeb* by J. N. Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 123.

ment pierced his foot and he suffered an untimely death". The only Persian emperor who threatened to invade the territories of Aurangzeb¹ and died in the prime of his youth (at the age of 34 years) was none other than Shah 'Abbas II, the father of Shah Sulaiman. The disease which caused the death of Shah 'Abbas is said to have been so painful that he died with the conviction that he was poisoned.² The father of Shah 'Abbas II (Shah Safi) also died at the age of 34, but it is not known that he ever intended to invade India, and his death occurred in the year 1641, long before Aurangzeb ascended the throne.

(3) The Shah of Persia in his letter refers to the rebellion of Shivaji, and says that he captured many of the strong forts of Aurangzeb, put to the sword or imprisoned a large number of his soldiers, plundered his country and raised his head as one equal to him. Shivaji was successfully attacked in the year 1665 by the Mughal general Raja Jai Singh, who took nearly all his forts and compelled him to come to terms with Aurangzeb. We find him a vassal of the Mughal Emperor fighting for him against Bijapur from 1665-1666, when he set out to make obeisance at the Royal court. Shah 'Abbas II of Persia writing this letter in the year 1666, as supposed by Professor Sarkar, could not make a reference to the rebellion of Shivaji and the inability of the emperor Aurangzeb to suppress it, when the Maratha chief had been completely overcome and was serving in the Mughal army. Naturally the events mentioned in the letter refer to Shivaji's incursions after his escape from the Mughal imprisonment.

(4) At the end of his letter, Aurangzeb makes a reference to the troubles caused to the Persian travellers by the Europeans. We do not find any of the European nations making an encroachment upon Persia during the reign of Shah 'Abbas II, whereas in the reign of Sulaiman the Dutch seized one of the principal islands Kishma in the Persian Gulf, and the disturbance in Persia by the Europeans apparently refers to this event.

Discussion.—Professor Jadunath Sarkar held that the first letter was more probably written by Shah Abbas II of Persia than by his successor Shah Sulaiman. If one MS. ascribes it to the latter, another MS. ascribes it to the former. Its contents agree remarkably with those of Shah Abbas's letter to Aurangzeb, of which a summary, based upon Court gossip, is given by Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, ii. 52). Moreover, the writer of the letter threatens to invade India, and we know from contemporary Mughal histories that it was only Shah Abbas II who menaced Aurangzeb in this way and actually advanced with a vast army towards the Indian frontier when he was suddenly cut off by quinsy,—while no threat against India was ever uttered by Sulaiman, who was too impotent and worthless a ruler to have ventured on such a course.

Professor Sarkar also doubted whether the second letter was ever really delivered to the Persian King, as the courier of such a message was sure to forfeit his life. Manucci tells us that a similar letter written by Aurangzeb late in his reign to Shah Sulaiman was withheld by the prudent advice of his *wazir*, Asad Khan (*Storia do Mogor*, ii. 279). These letters, as well as the acrimonious correspondence between Aurangzeb and his rebel son Muhammad Akbar, represent a class of Persian epistolary composition which students in those days were taught as exercises in rhetoric; they were, in all probability, never actually used in diplomatic intercourse, being too full of taunts and retorts.

¹ *History of Aurangzeb* by J. N. Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 128.

² *Malcolm*, Vol. I, p. 582.

Paper by Chaudhuri Abdul Hamid, Professor, Government College, Lahore.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 'TARIKH-I-MUZAFFARI.'

To a student of Indian History, it is a rare chance indeed to find an original and reliable work, which would throw light on the events following the death of Aurangzeb. The period from 1707 onwards is full of wars of succession, domestic intrigues and factions of almost daily occurrence, revolts and struggles for mastery between various claimants to power, the dreaded advance of the Maratha, the growth of the Khalsa, the visitation of Nadir, the repeated excursions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and the slow but sure development of the power of the East India Company. The Emperor though nominally the supreme head of the Church and the State is gradually dwindling into the mere shadow of a great name. Treason is rife and depositions and assassinations are the order of the day. The ever increasing danger of being drawn into the turmoil of faction and strife renders it almost impossible for a writer to record the rapidly occurring events of those troublous times in a comprehensive manner and one sadly misses historians of the type of Khafi Khan, Muhammad Salih, Abul Fazl, Badauni and Nizam-ud-Din Badakhshi. In the midst of all this it is rather a pleasure to come across the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, one of the most accurate histories of the period, written by an Indian.

The book consists of two volumes—the first ending with the death of Alamgir II in 1759 and the second starting with the accession of Shah Alam II and bringing the story down to the year 1809.

The author Muhammad Ali Khan belongs to a distinguished Ansari family of Panipat, who traced their origin to Khawaja Abdullah of Hirat, a descendant of the Prophet's well-known companion, Abu Ayyub Ansari, who lies buried at Constantinople. The family is without question an illustrious one as is evident from the fact of its members having held the most important offices in the state for several generations. Muhammad Ali's great-grandfather Abdur Razzaq held a very high command under Aurangzeb. His grand-uncle was the Viceroy of Kabul and Kashmir while his grandfather Lutfullah Khan was appointed a tutor to Prince Jahan Shah, son of Bahadur Shah and father of Muhammad Shah and ultimately rose to the dignified positions of *Qiladar* of Delhi and *Diwan* to three successive emperors. He held the rank of *haft hazari* and was during Muhammad Shah's reign the Governor of Multan and Kabul. He left five sons behind him, the eldest Inayat Khan was a *Bakhshi* and *Naib Khansaman* and was granted *jagirs* by the Emperor in the Shahjahanabad and Benares provinces. The latter *jagir* was subsequently seized by Ali Vardi Khan, who however released one hundred villages in Bihar in favour of his son Izzat Khan, the ancestor of the present Nawabs of Panipat, who still hold their Bihar *jagir*. Another son, Shakir Khan, was the writer of a book called *Tarikh-i-Shakirkhani* which deals with the reign of Muhammad Shah and a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum. The second son, Hidayatullah Khan Fazil, was the father of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*.

The author being the youngest son of his father was left to his own resources at an early age and undertook the compilation of this work with a view to secure the patronage of Muin-ud-Daulah, Mubarez-ul-Mulk, Khan Khanan Sayyad Muhammad Riza Khan Bahadur Muzaffarjani, the *Naib Nazim* of Bengal up to 1772, and the fact that Muhammad Ali Khan became the *Darogha* of the *Faujdar*

Adalat of Tirhut and Hajipur shows that he was not quite unsuccessful in his attempt. His appointment brought him into frequent intercourse with the European officers of his time and afforded him the peace and security of mind necessary for a work of this kind; and though at first, he stopped with the death of Alamgir II, its continuation up to 1809 A.D. (1225 A.H.) more or less appears to be due to the influence of his European friends.

The book starts with the usual *hamd, na't, manqibat* and an explanation of the author's object in writing the book. The first volume begins with an account of Alanqawa, the ancestress of the Mughals. It is rather surprising to find the notion of the Immaculate Conception being known to the barbarous Mughals. He then gives a brief narrative of the sovereigns of Delhi up to the death of Aurangzeb as an appropriate introduction to a detailed description of the reign of his various successors. The wars of succession between the various sons of Alamgir, the success of Bahadur Shah and events of his reign are given in their chronological order. The growth and development of Sikhism are also noticed. We are told of the Emperor's attempt at Lahore to introduce the Shia formula of faith in the *khutba* and its abandonment owing to the opposition of the Sunni ulema. A reference is made to the Emperor's falling a victim to a fit of melancholia which manifested itself in an order for the extirpation of dogs from the city of Lahore, where the Emperor was then residing. The Emperor's death and the subsequent struggle for the throne is next alluded to. Then follows a description of the reign of Jahandar Shah. We next hear of Farrukhsiyar's march from Patna against Jahandar Shah to contest the throne and avenge his father's death. Jahandar is captured and killed. Zulfikar Khan and his father Asad Khan are imprisoned and we find that the execution of the former was due more to the machinations of his enemies than to the Emperor's own desire for revenge. The reign of Farrukhsiyar is next dealt with and then follow the story of the war with Ajit Singh and his ultimate submission, Husain Ali Khan's march towards the Deccan and the death of Daud Khan Panni in the field of battle. The Sikh campaign is next mentioned and an account is given of Banda's capture and execution. The various events that led to the deposition and murder of Farrukhsiyar are next described in detail. There is a brief notice of the short-lived reign of Rafi-ud-Daulah and Rafi-ud-Darajat. We are next told of the futile attempt to subvert the power of the Sayyad brothers by installing Nikosiyar, son of Akbar, on the imperial throne, who was once more consigned to prison on the accession of Muhammad Shah. The Sayyads now settle the affairs of the empire and excite the jealousy of a great many nobles of the Court, the most prominent of them being Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khan. The destruction of Husain Khan, the rebellious chief of Kasur, is then referred to. The civil war between the Nizam and the Sayyads, the victory of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the assassination of Husain Ali, the consequent rebellion of Abdullah Khan, the elevation of another phantom king Ibrahim, the usual resort to arms, the defeat of Abdullah Khan, his capture and death are then described in full and we find Muhammad Shah once more the undisputed master of the empire, who starts rewarding his own supporters. It is surprising to discover Muhammad Shah trying to reintroduce Jahangir's idea of the "Chain and Bell" of justice. Ajit Singh is next dealt with and is compelled to submit to the imperial authority.

From the third year of the reign up to the 31st the various events are detailed year by year and the account of the 21st year includes the narrative of Nadir Shah's rise to power in Persia, his success against the Afghan invaders of his country,

his assumption of the royal title and his invasion of India with its well-known incidents, such as the interview between Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah, the latter's entry into the capital, his notorious massacre and his subsequent return with a rich booty. In this connection we also hear of Baji Rao's attempt to take advantage of the confusion prevailing at the time and to encroach upon the imperial lands in the Deccan, though Nasir Jang succeeded in persuading him to abandon his design. The story of the 22nd year of the reign is supplemented by a brief account of Ali Vardi Khan's rise to power.

Two curious treatises by Shah Muhammad Wafa are copied out in the book, one in praise of Ali Vardi Khan and the other describing the death of Haibat Jang, the son-in-law of Ali Vardi and father of Siraj-ud-Daulah. Haibat Jang's successful expedition against the *Nasb Nazim* of Bihar, who had revolted against Ali Vardi Khan is next dilated upon. The story of Muhammad Shah's reign ends with the expedition against Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla by the Emperor in person and the submission of that chief, the assassination of Amir Khan, the civil war between the sons of Zakariya Khan, Governor of Lahore, in the 25th and 26th years of the reign, and the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, his defeat at the hands of Prince Ahmad, of the death of Muhammad Shah with a detailed account of his provincial revenues.

The succession of Ahmad Shah, the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the war between the Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad and Saadullah Khan Rohilla, Zulfikar Jang's departure for Ajmer and his unsuccessful return and disgrace, struggle between Qutb-ud-Din Khan of Muradabad and the Rohilla Chiefs Rahmat Khan and Dunde Khan and the death of the former, the unsuccessful revolt of Siraj-ud-Daulah against his grandfather in Bihar, and his consequent submission, the death of Raja Newal Rai, *Naib* of Safdar Jang, at the hands of the Bangash Chief Ahmad Khan, Safdar Jang's advance and defeat, assassination of Nawab Bahadur Jawaid Khan at the instigation of Safdar Jang, Ghazi-ud-Din II's expedition against the Jats, the deposition of the Emperor and his subsequent loss of sight bring the sad story to an end. The sad tale of Ahmad Shah's reign is followed by a brief narrative of some notable poets of India, the elevation of Alamgir II, death of Safdar Jang, succession of Shuja-ud-Daulah, the death of the Governor of Etawah at the hands of the Marathas, Ghazi-ud-Din Khan's advance upon Lahore, death of Ali Vardi Khan, Siraj-ud-Daulah's accession, the quarrel with the English and his capture of Calcutta, Ahmad Shah's invasion and sack of Delhi and the 3rd battle of Panipat along with a poem concerning the same and a brief notice of the contemporary sovereigns of Kabul, Samarkand, Persia, Turkey and the Sherif of Mecca bring the first volume to a close.

The second volume is mainly taken up with the growth and expansion of the British power in India. It opens with Emperor Shah Alam II's attempt upon Bengal, his failure owing to English opposition, the death of Miran, the deposition of Mir Jafar, the elevation of Mir Qasim and his confirmation by the Emperor while at Patna, the Emperor's return to Allahabad, Mir Qasim's troubles and difficulties with the Bengal Council, and the ultimate outbreak of hostilities, resulting in the massacre of Patna, the restoration of Mir Jafar and the defeat and flight of Mir Qasim after a protracted struggle which necessitates his taking refuge with Shuja-ud-Daulah. The Emperor is then approached, Mir Qasim undertakes a campaign in the Bundela country after which the Emperor, Shuja-ud-Daulah and Mir Qasim once more appear in Bengal. We next hear of the battle of Buxar, the treason of Sombre Reinhardt—the German merce-

nary of Mir Qasim— and the disgrace and imprisonment of Mir Qasim by order of Shuja-ud-Daulah, the capture of the fort of Rohtas by Captain Goddard, the death of Mir Jafar, the installation of Najm-ud-Daulah and the appointment of Muhammad Riza Khan, patron of the author, as *Naib Nazim*, the return of Lord Clive, the interview with the Emperor and the treaty of Buxar, dealings of the English with Shuja-ud-Daulah and Lord Clive's final return to England. An account is given of the Maratha wars with the Nizam and their campaigns in Hindustan, their relations with the Jats of Bharatpur, their capture of Delhi owing to the death of Najib-ud-Daulah, their invitation to the Emperor and his consequent return to Delhi, after defeating Zabita Khan. The administration of Warren Hastings, his relations with Shuja-ud-Daulah and with his own Council, the Rohilla war, the Maratha and Mysore Wars, and his relations with Chet Singh of Benares, are next commented upon in detail. The attempts of Zulfikar-ud-Daulah Mirza Najaf Khan to maintain the dwindling imperial territories against the encroachments of the Marathas, the Jats of Bharatpur and the Sikhs together with a detailed account of the transactions of Oudh under Asaf-ud-Daulah, are next described. The sad tale of Shah Alam's misfortunes after the death of Zulfikar-ud-Daulah Mirza Najaf Khan, the struggle for mastery between various nobles of the Court, the defeat of Mahadji Sindhia at the hands of the Rajputs, the flight of the heir-apparent Mirza Jawan Bakht to Benares and the notorious atrocities of the traitorous Ghulam Qadir, are next presented to us in their touching details.

The rise of Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan and their wars with the English are traced in detail right up to the fall of Seringapatam. Sir John Shore's administration, his relations with Oudh, the death of Asaf-ud-Daulah, the succession and deposition of Wazir Ali Khan, and the murder of Mr Cherry are next described. There is also a passing reference to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Wellesley's war with the Marathas, the surrender of Perron, the capture of Delhi and the siege of Bharatpur are briefly alluded to. The Lama of Tibet and the Gurkha kings of Nepal are also not forgotten, and we are told of an unsuccessful attempt of Mir Qasim against Nepal. The book concludes with the death of Shah Alam, the accession of Akbar Shah II and the detention of his son Mirza Jahangir in the fort of Allahabad. A list of the *Nawab Wazirs* of Oudh, *Nawab Nazims* of Bengal, Governors-General and the British Residents at the Court of Delhi up to 1809 is appended.

The book seems to have been widely known to various writers of Indian history. It is mainly depended upon by Mr Keene in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and is largely drawn upon by Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin*. Mr Irvine includes it in his list of authorities in dealing with the later Mughals in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1903) and Sir Henry Elliot includes extracts therefrom in his famous *History of India as told by its own historians*.

There are many manuscripts of the book to be found. There is one in the Imperial Library at Berlin, another in the British Museum, London, and still another in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Mr Irvine mentions one which belonged to him, Sir Henry Elliot mentions a copy of it being in his possession which however did not go beyond 1797, the author's family copy at Panipat, which was the original of the copy now in possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has migrated to Delhi and is now in possession of Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Department, and there is one copy or more to be found in the Asafiah Library at Hyderabad. I have found

another copy in possession of the Bahawalpur Durbar written in 1244 A.H., about 1828 A.D., which goes up to 1809. K. B. Pirzada Muhammad Husain, M.A., possesses another copy which goes up to 1797 and was written in 1832 A.D. I have had an opportunity of comparing the last two but it is rather sad to find that the two do not agree in all particulars. The two *Risalas* of Shah Muhammad Wafa, the poems about various events given here and there in the Bahawalpur MS. are missing in the other, whereas an account of Siraj-ud-Daulah, certain details about Alamgir II and a brief notice of the literary stars of India are not to be found in the Bahawalpur MS. It would require a good deal of labour and time to edit the work but it cannot be doubted that the publication of the work would be a valuable addition to the historical works of this country.

Discussion.—Professor Jadunath Sarkar remarked that we possess three nearly contemporary and fairly long histories of the Delhi empire during the second half of the 18th century, viz., the *Siyar-ul-mutakhhirin*, the *Ibratnamah* of Fakir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi, and the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*. Of these the second is the longest, most accurate, and (in his opinion) best, as the author lived at or near the Court of Delhi, while the writers of the other two works lived in Bengal and Behar and had no access to the Imperial Court records and other original sources of information. For the period before 1760 (covered by the 1st volume of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*), this book is a mere compilation from earlier works and therefore cannot claim to be considered as a *primary* authority. The second volume (covering the years 1760-1809) was composed later than the *Ibratnamah* and is much inferior to the latter. In short, the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, in most parts, is neither an eye witness's report nor a summary of State papers.

Archdeacon Firminger suggested that the relative value of the three histories should be tested by publishing parallel translations of the accounts of any particular incident (such as the battle of Buxar) given by all of them. Professor Rushbrook Williams remarked that before printing the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* it was necessary to decide the question of its earliest and most authentic text, as the extant MSS. of it differ greatly from one another.

Chaudhuri Abdul Hamid maintained that the author of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* belonged to a family of historians and high officers of the Mughal Court, and as such he presumably had access to State papers.

Paper by Lala Sita Ram Kohli.

"THE RECORDS OF THE SIKH GOVERNMENT" IN THE PUNJAB SECRETARIAT.

It is now exactly seventy years since the Sikhs lost their rule over the Punjab. The history of the rise, expansion and to some extent, the fall of the Sikh power was narrated at the time by several writers, e.g., Prinsep, Cunningham, MacGregor and others. The only other sources which have been largely drawn upon by students and later writers on the subject, are the accounts of their journeys published by several European travellers and visitors at the Court of Ranjit Singh—the Great Maharaja of the Sikhs. The Persian works especially of the two contemporary Indian authors, Munshi Sohan Lal and Diwan Amar Nath, are not widely read, chiefly because of their inaccessibility.

Some of the above-mentioned works are indeed very valuable so far as the political history of the Sikhs is concerned, but almost all of them are silent about the Sikh system of government. The works of Prinsep and Cunningham are almost entirely devoted to the rise and expansion of the Khalsa power and contain only a passing reference to Ranjit Singh's method of administration. Sir Lepel Griffin in his *Life of Ranjit Singh* is comparatively more elaborate on this point, but his account too, is fragmentary and meagre.

The accounts of the travellers abound in details of their journey and the places they visited. The incidental notices of the mode of the Sikh government in their works when examined in the light of the original records now with us, appear to be somewhat exaggerated and inaccurate. The works of the Indian authors alluded to, partake more of the nature of chronicles setting down every day incidents that took place at Court rather than systematic histories of the period. In fact, there is no history of the Sikhs which is not wanting in this respect. Cunningham and Prinsep who were both contemporary writers and must have had ample opportunities of observing the methods of administration, apparently did not attach much importance to the subject. We infer this from the fact that they do not deal with it in their works. On the other hand later writers like Muhammad Latif and others had no sufficient materials before them for the purpose even if they had possessed the desire to describe the Sikh system of government. Now, thanks to the Punjab Government, the entire original records of the Sikh Government, that were lying unnoticed in the archives of the Punjab Secretariat for so long a time, have been brought to light. The future student of Punjab history will now find immense new and useful material to employ his time and might be able to contribute a few chapters to the already existing volumes on Sikh history especially in the direction just pointed out. These records consist of official papers dealing with the ministerial details of the several departments of the Sikh Government and, on a careful examination, are sure to reveal much useful information regarding the system of administration as it existed immediately before the advent of the British.

It is neither practicable nor suitable to the size of a paper like the present one to deal at any length with the amount of information contained in these papers. The utmost that can be attempted here, is to give a brief analysis of the papers and to indicate the nature of information available therefrom. However, before we proceed to give the analysis of these papers or indicate the lines on which future investigations should be made, it seems necessary to say a few words regarding the method of keeping official records in the Sikh times. The Sikhs followed the Mughal system of keeping official records in loose sheets instead of in bound books. "This custom," says Blochmann, "is still in use in Persia and suits the Eastern countries, the hot and damp climate of which soon destroys the binding of books." Papers relating to several departments for one official year were arranged in a bundle, the two ends of which were protected by beautifully painted wooden case boards of Kashmir make and the whole tied tightly with cotton strings. Some of the bundles are as much as three feet in length, and contain as many as 3,000 sheets. The paper used is of the kind commonly known as *Kashmiri* or *Sialkoti* paper, and as a rule the sheets measure 5" x 7½". The language is Persian, and the writing a running *shikasta* by no means easy to decipher without practice. Though some of the papers are as much as a century old, they are for the most part well preserved.

Method of keeping official records of the Sikh Government.

The 129 such bundles that comprise this record may be grouped under the following three main heads in reference to their subject matter namely:—

- (i) *Daftar-i-Māl* or that relating to revenues in general.
- (ii) *Daftar-i-Fauj* or that relating to the army.
- (iii) *Daftar-i-Toshakhāna* or that relating to the accounts of the royal wardrobe.

Under head (iv) may be grouped the 15 manuscript volumes headed as *Nuqūl-i-parwānājāt* or copies of the official orders issued to various Government officials.

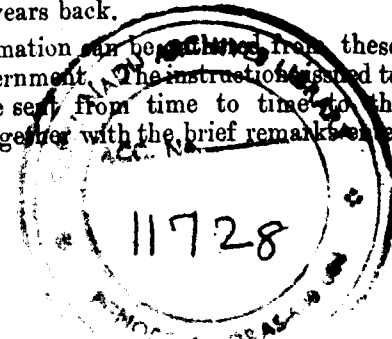
The papers arranged under the first three groups contain mostly items of accounts. It is only here and there that one comes across an order from the Government or some instructions issued to officials or a report submitted by some Government officer, that are in narrative form. The fourth and last section, as its heading shows, contains a sort of narrative account.

I propose to take up each group in order and to deal with the papers arranged under it. The papers arranged in the first group of bundles called *daftar-i-māl* will be found to be divided into 4 sections namely:—

- (i) the *māliyāt* or revenue receipts,
- (ii) the *minzālīk* or the expenditure or disbursement section,
- (iii) the *roznāmeh* or the day book account and,
- (iv) the *awārcha* or the ledger account.

The *māliyāt* section deals with the accounts of revenue receipts. It is further divided into two subheads namely (a) *jāmā kharch ta'luqāt* and (b) *jama kharch adirāt*. The *ta'luqāt* section comprises entries referring to the revenues derived exclusively from land, while the *adirāt* covers every other source of income. The revenue, under the *adir* branch, it seems, was dealt with by separate offices and their branches. There are sections which deal with tributes and presents (*nazrāna*), escheats (*zabt*), excise (*ābkārī*) customs and transit duties (*chaukiyāt*) and various other *rusūms* or fees. The revenue rolls are preserved for thirty-eight years of the Khalsa rule from 1812 to 1850. Although they are mere items of accounts, yet, on a closer examination, will be found to contain an amount of information which will be useful for a history of the period. In the first place, they enable us to prepare the annual budgets of the Government of the Sikhs and also supply sufficient material for a thorough study of the financial system of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. The second important subject on which these papers throw a good deal of light is the study of the system of land revenue of the Sikh Government. An examination of the annual revenue receipts for successive years would show the different stages in the development of this system, whereas the various *dastūr-ul-amāl* and the instructions issued to the collectors will help us in understanding the administration and the working of the revenue machinery. A few leading features of this system were discussed by me in a paper read before the Punjab Historical Society some two years back.

The next point on which some information can be gathered from these papers is the judicial system of the Khalsa Government. The instructions issued to various *kārdārs* or district officers as well as those sent from time to time to the *panch* or the elders of the towns and villages together with the brief remarks entered with



the items of receipts under the head of *'adālat* and *furū'* in the revenue papers supply data—though not very comprehensive and clear—which enable us to form an idea as to how justice was administered during the Sikh régime. These are some of the leading points on which the *malīyāt* section of the revenue papers can yield information and I believe labour spent in the investigation of these points will not be wasted. As the modern method of keeping revenue accounts differs widely from that followed under the Sikh Government, a brief description of the manner in which these accounts are exhibited in the records may not be out of place here. Instead of using vertical columns to show the various sources of receipts, the Sikhs used horizontal columns if we may so call them, and each column opened with the total figure whose details were given below. The opening figure given on the top of the first page represents the total demand for the year. The first column headed as *باقیا حساب گذشتہ* *baqāya hisāb-i-guzashta* contains the balance for the last year and the second headed as *hāl* gives the amount demanded for the current year and both added together should correspond to the opening total. The figure in the third column headed as *asl* represents the total of the revenue proper which when added to the figures in the last column of *izāfa* or additional imposts will agree with the total shown in the second column containing the demand for the current year. Column number 4 contains the total receipts from the district which are made up of receipts from the *khālā* or crown lands and those from the *jāgirs* or assignments. This figure is sometimes in excess of the amount shown as current demand and therefore perplexing to the reader. The two following columns contain details of revenues from the crown lands and the assignments respectively, showing in sub-columns the receipts purely from land (as *malīyāt*) and the *furū'* or income from other minor sources of taxation such as fines and the professional taxes. The last or the closing column is headed as *izāfa* and contains details of additional imposts levied and collected along with the land revenue. The *minzālik* or the disbursement section of the revenue papers will be found to be sub-divided into as many heads as there were principal spending departments of the Government. They were namely (i) the *itba'* which contains accounts of the purchases including the military and other stores, (ii) the *tahwīlāt* which was concerned with the debits and credits entered on account of the *tahwīldārs* or cash keepers employed at court. The *tahwīldār* was a general term applied to any man with whom the Government money was deposited or through whom it was expended. This section, therefore, comprises accounts of a multifarious nature such as accounts of cash in the central treasury, accounts of the *toshakhāna bahla* or King's privy purse, accounts of military expenditure, rendered through several pay-masters, accounts of cloth merchants and jewellers, etc., (iii) was the *kil'ajāt* or *zakhirajāt* which dealt with the accounts of provisions and stores stocked in various forts in the country—the principal forts being those of Kangra, Govindgarh (Amritsar), Lahore, and Attock, (iv) the *māwajab* which was concerned with the pay of the army, the civil establishment attached to the Court and other menial appointments, (v) *tanjihāt*, comprises the following sub-heads of account namely expenditure of the harem, presents and *khil'ats*, and the *ziāfat* or entertainment of the royal guests, the *madad kharch* or aids in relief which also included pensions to political prisoners, *rātib* or food and forage for the horses, cows, elephants, and other animals of the royal stable, (vi) *jāgīrāt*, which showed the new *jāgirs* granted each year in lieu of services, military or civil.

Next to *minzālik* is the *roznāmcha* section. This department was responsible for keeping accounts of the daily expenditure under various heads. As

soon as a payment was made, the treasurer entered it in his day book account, and the entries accordingly are not made in any definite order.

Last in the order of papers kept in the bundles of *daftar-i-māl* will be found papers headed as *awārcha* or ledger. These papers bring in one place all the items for the year, relating to a particular head of account.

So far, then, with the papers headed as *daftar-i-māl*.

We now proceed to examine the papers arranged under the head *daftar-i-fauj*. Like the *daftar-i-māl*, the department regarding the army had also its branches. The records relating to this department may be classified under three sub-heads namely (i) the *bardwurd* papers, (ii) the *jama kharch* papers and (iii) the *chikra* papers. The *bardwurd* papers are the detailed pay rolls and lists of the establishments attached to each regiment of the army. They show in successive horizontal columns, names of officers and men, their rank, the rate of monthly salary, and the total amount paid for the period under consideration. They further show the number of combatants and non-combatants in each regiment as well as the amount paid on account of salary and other miscellaneous expenditure including contingency, charitable pensions, etc. A specimen of these will be seen among the exhibits in the next room. The pay rolls like the rent rolls are preserved intact for 38 years of the Khalsa rule. They help a good deal in the study of the organization and administration of the Maharaja's army. An examination of these rolls for successive years, will show when and why Ranjit Singh introduced the European methods of drill into his armies, and having once introduced these methods, how anxious he was to bring his regulars to an equal level of efficiency with the troops of the East India Company and what sustained efforts the Maharaja made to attain that end; how liberally he spent money in employing a number of European officers to train his men and, as a result of all these efforts, how gradually the organization of his army improved and how the standard of discipline and efficiency of his troops was ultimately raised, so much so that the resistance which the Sikhs offered to the English during the first and the second Sikh wars was quite beyond the expectations of the British troops.

The second important point that is revealed by the study of these rolls is the success which attended Ranjit Singh's efforts to train his own countrymen to command and lead his troops taught in the European methods of warfare. The pay rolls of the earlier years show that the posts of Company Commanders as well as those of regimental officers were held by non-Punjabis, whereas in the pay-sheets of later years one finds that almost all the posts of trust in the army were mostly occupied by the Punjabis whether the commands of individual battalions or those of full brigades were given over to the Sikhs, Hindus, Muhammadans and Rajputs. The rapidity and precision with which the guns of the Sikhs were served during the first and the second Sikh wars and the way in which the foot soldiers stood between and behind their batteries, firm in their order and active with their muskets, afford no mean proof of the capacity of these officers and show how they mastered the complicated manœuvres of European warfare. Lastly since the pay rolls of the entire army are preserved for 38 years from 1812 to 1850, we can work out the strength and salary expenditure of the army for each successive year of the Khalsa rule and can also find out what proportion of the total revenues of the State was spent in maintaining this force.

Next in order, come the *Jama kharch* papers. They are returns or statements prepared in connection with the disbursement of salaries to the troops. These papers are of two kinds—one of which appears to have been only for tem-

porary use and partakes more of the nature of a *rozānwāka* or day book account, while the other was meant to be a permanent office record, and was compiled mostly from the papers of the first kind. These papers are important inasmuch as they enable us to study a particular branch of the army administration. An examination of the papers will furnish information under the following heads:—namely, the rate of monthly emoluments of the various grades of military service, the nature of the salaries and the time of payment, the arrangements for disbursements and the mode of remittance of money from the central treasury. These papers show firstly that the system of payment was not always one of cash monthly payments. The men were remunerated in one or other of the following ways, *viz.*, by an assignment of land revenue, otherwise known as the *jāgirdāri* system, or by payment of a lump sum at harvest time twice a year known as the *faslānādāri* system or with a cash salary paid at a fixed monthly rate known as the *mahādāri* system. Moreover, we learn how long the three systems of payments were co-existing, and when and why the second or the *faslānādāri* system gradually disappeared and the third or cash payment became more general in the latter part of Ranjit Singh's reign. Secondly, that the modern practice of distributing the salaries at the end of each month was never in vogue under the Sikh Government. The practice followed was that of paying the combined salaries for several months and that too usually, five months after the due date. Thirdly, that the agencies for actual disbursement to the different branches of the army were different. They also show the manner in which the money for disbursement was remitted from the central treasury—how the officers in charge of payment submitted a *takdama* or estimate based on the approximate strength of the various units and how on the receipt of these estimates he was provided with funds partly by means of cash remittance from the central treasury and partly by letters of authority or *tankhūāh parwānās* drawn on *tahwīldārs* and *kārdārs*. Lastly, these papers enable us to work out the rate of monthly emoluments for the various grades of military service and the amount of periodical deductions or *kasrāt* made from the pay of each man.

The third group of papers arranged under the military head consists of the *Chikra* or the descriptive rolls. A specimen of these rolls will be found among the exhibits in the next room. They contain the following particulars: name of the man, his father's name, his place of origin, his caste, followed by various details of personal appearance and marks of identification. In case of a *sowar* or trooper a brief description of his horse is also noted. In addition to the above particulars there is also shown the date of appointment and the starting pay of the man followed by any variations therein. The date of transfer to any other regiment or of removal, whether by death or desertion or dismissal, is also invariably noted.

The various entries made in the rolls of the troopers, throw a sidelight on the administration of this branch of the service. They reveal how the practice of branding the horses and camels of the army was rigorously enforced under the Sikh Government and how frequently the inspection of cavalry horses was made by the Adjutant assisted by a *darogha* and a *salotri* or veterinary doctor, to see whether they were fit for service.

An abstract of each inspection report was entered in the rolls giving date, month and the year. We find from these reports that when a horse was rejected as being unfit for service, the entry *nākū nākū* was usually made on the roll and the allowance of the trooper was curtailed till he produced a good horse.

If the details noted in the descriptive rolls are studied very carefully it is hoped that they would supply information on the following points:—

Firstly, whether all classes were admitted to the army or whether the service was restricted to any particular class.

Secondly, whether there were any broad principles which governed promotion to the higher ranks.

Thirdly, whether there was any definite age limit for entering service or for compulsory retirement, or whether so long as a man was physically fit for duty he continued to serve on his post.

Fourthly, whether to fill the vacancies in the ranks the members of the family of the retiring soldier were given preference to others.

Fifthly, whether any compensation was granted to the members of those who died on active service, or whether any allowance was given to those who were seriously wounded and rendered permanently unfit for service.

This, then, is a brief outline of the main facts which an examination of the military papers reveals.

The third section of the Khalsa Durbar records consists of papers relating to the accounts of the *tashakhāna* or the royal wardrobe. These accounts mostly contain details of the *khil'ats* conferred on various men on various occasions. A minute examination might enable us, though indirectly, to determine the position of the several grantees in the durbar of the Maharaja, since the number of *khil'ats* conferred upon a man must have varied with his position at Court. Beyond this I do not think these papers contain much that would be worth the labour which a deciphering of these accounts entails.

The fourth or the last section of the records comprises the *Nuqul-i-parwānajat* or the office order books. As pointed out in the beginning of this paper, it is only this portion of the Sikh records that presents any narrative account worth the name. These books contain duplicate copies of letters on various subjects issued to various Government officers. The letters, it seems, were copied in these books as soon as they were issued, since they show no order of arrangement or classification in respect of the subject they relate to. They defy all attempts at classification, analysis, or description without a thorough examination of all these books. But from what little I have yet seen of these papers I think it can be safely remarked that for a right understanding of the working of the several departments of the Government, the value of them is incalculable. A typical letter may here be reproduced in order to give an idea of the nature and amount of information which these letters convey.

بقام نواب خان مامورہ تلونڈی - چون کنہیا نامی کہتری بعرض رسانیده کہ
چون مبلغ از مرزا بافندہ بایست داد و ستد گرفتہ دارم - لہذا ارشاد صادر است کہ شما
ایمغنی را اثبات و تحقیق سازند - اگر مشار الیہ ازری گرامان و تمسک خود چیزی
دادنی دارد - ازری واجبی بموجب قسط ما بتدریج بشیط آبادی از بافندہ مذکور حوالہ
معز الیہ کنائیدہ دهند - ہر چہ بہ کہتری مذکور وصول شود چہارم آن در حضور رسانند -

۲۰ پوس سنہ ۱۸۹۴

This letter is dated 20th *Pus, Sambat* 1894, and is addressed to one Nawab Khan, *kārdār* of Talwandi. It will be seen that this short letter of six lines is otherwise full of information. In the first place it shows that the procedure adopted in case of ordinary civil suits relating to claims of debts and disputed accounts was that the claim was instituted in the court of the *kārdār* but even if the application to that effect was made directly to the Maharaja's Court the practice was that such cases were referred for decision to the local officers. It was probably because the officer on the spot could have better chances of giving a right decision in favour of the party whose cause was just. Secondly it shows that the investigation was made by examining witnesses and the original documents or bonds.—(از روی گرامان و تمسک) Thirdly that in the awarding and execution of a decree and recovery of the debt, the court which acted as an agent for the execution, had to take into consideration the means of livelihood of the judgment debtor and to see that the decretal amount was to be payable by easy and reasonable instalments.—(از روی)

راجبی بموجب قسط ما بتدریج بشرط آبادی از بافنده مذکور و غیره. That the execution of the decree may not be ruinous to the judgment debtor was to be the principal consideration with the court. This may also be gathered from another case where the provision to this effect is more distinctly laid down. It says that the bullocks, fodder, and implements will not be liable to attachment in the execution of a decree.

The last point established by this case and which is also corroborated by various *dastur-ul-amals* is that the court charged as commission for its trouble 25 per cent of the amount recovered—مرجه به کهری مذکور وصول شد چهارم آنها بحضر رسالتند. Like the revenue and the army rolls the office orders are not preserved for the entire period of the Khalsa rule. With a few breaks here and there, they cover a period of about ten years from *Sambat* 1892 to 1901 (1835-1845 A. D.) and are contained in fifteen leather bound volumes, two of which will be seen among the exhibits in the next room. These books, as will be seen there, show a deplorable state of decay which justifies the remark of Mr Blochmann that "the hot and damp climate of the Eastern countries soon destroys the binding of books". The paper is eaten up by worms from one end to the other.

So much about these papers and the lines on which the work should be conducted. Now a few words regarding the work done in connection with these records under the orders of the Punjab Government. The Sikh records came into the hands of the British Government on the transfer of the administration of the Punjab in 1849 and were safely deposited in the archives of the Civil Secretariat. Here they remained untouched for wellnigh seventy years till Sir Michael O'Dwyer directed this rich mine of historical material to be explored. Accordingly the work of arrangement and classification of these papers was taken in hand and the result is embodied in a volume now issued by the Punjab Government, a copy of which will be found among the exhibits. It is expected that two other similar volumes will be published later on.

The volume now issued contains a summary catalogue of sixty-six bundles comprising about one and a half lakhs of papers pertaining to *Daftar-i-Fanj* or the Military department. It contains 152 pages of royal octavo size and is divided into four parts—*vis.*, Part I relating to the pay rolls of the regular army; Part II relating to the

pay rolls of the irregular cavalry; Part III relating to the *jama kharch* accounts; and Part IV relating to the descriptive rolls.

Each part contains a summary catalogue of the various bundles grouped under that particular head.

The papers contained in each bundle have been arranged and catalogued in a serial order, the date of the rolls for each separate unit as well as the total number of folios comprised within each set being also stated. With a view to indicating clearly the growth of the army, the total strength¹ together with the monthly expenditure on the pay of each of the three arms—infantry, cavalry and artillery—have been given at five-year intervals; although further details of pay and strength of individual units are shown only at ten-year intervals. Here and there explanatory notes have also been added.

Again, each of the four parts into which the volume is divided has been prefaced with a concise narrative of the main facts which an examination of the papers reveals. In this manner it has been found possible, within the compass of not more than 25 pages, to present a more or less clear picture of the organization of the Khalsa army, its growth and the administration of its chief branches as well as of the system of maintaining military records of the different kinds. Specimens of certain original documents, one of which has been reproduced as an appendix and the other in the body of the book on page 207, will indicate the kind and character of the entries on the basis of which the prefatory notes have been compiled. The papers relating to the *Daftar-i-Māl* are now in hand and a similar catalogue is now in course of preparation.

Paper by Diwan Bahadur Sir Daya Kishan Kaul, K.B.E., C.I.E.,
Chief Secretary, Patiala.

CARE AND PRESERVATION OF OLD RECORDS IN NORTHERN INDIA STATES.

When I was asked last month to read a paper before this Commission on the care and preservation of old records in the Northern India States, I felt a good deal of diffidence. Not only is the subject of vast magnitude, but the comparatively large number of the principalities which it might conceivably cover and the variety of conditions that prevail among them make it wellnigh impossible, with my limited knowledge, to attempt anything like a correct and useful exposition in the brief space of half an hour. I had to choose between indulging in vague generalisation and giving my hearers, on the other hand, a tangible idea of the manner in which the records of the past have been handed down to us with all their interesting stories of the methods of government—or misgovernment—of a select number of States and the nature of the political relations which subsisted between these States and the neighbouring Powers and principalities. I have selected the latter course, and in the following remarks shall confine myself to the principal Punjab States, more especially to the Kashmir and Patiala States, both of whom I have served in different capacities and where, without making a special study of the subject, I have had opportunities of familiarising myself with this engrossing theme. I take it, however, that what applies to Kashmir and Patiala would also apply to the other principal Pun-

¹ In connection with the working out of the figures given at pages 5, 8, 14, 22, 31, 44, 70, 86, it seems necessary to point out that wherever the pay rolls of certain units (especially of cavalry) could not be traced among the papers relating to a particular period, the strength of the units in question was taken from the rolls of the preceding year.

jab States of the same category, most of whom were more or less contemporaneous in their origin and rise and have followed somewhat similar lines of political evolution and progress towards the type of a modern well regulated State that insists so much on the preservation of the links which bind the past to the present and likes to see a continuity running through its life "from precedent to precedent" as one age succeeds another.

For the sake of convenience the subject may be dealt with under six periods, beginning with the time when the Mughal empire was still something more than the shadow of a great name. But very few records, if any, refer to this early period. There is, however, one very important record, belonging to this period, in the possession of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. It is a *hukmnama* from Sri Guru Govind Singhji to the ancestor of the Ruling family of Patiala, in which the tenth *Guru* has given the House the honour and privilege of being considered as his own. The actual words are *تیرا گھر میرا ہے*. This document is most jealously guarded and is preserved in a casket in one of the safest rooms in the city fort called *Burj Baba Ala Singh*.

The Punjab States attained their political individuality at a later stage, and the first documents, therefore, refer to the days of the fall of the Mughal empire, which synchronised with the appearance of little independent kingdoms all over the face of the country. At that time the sword was too useful and indispensable a weapon to be laid aside in favour of the pen, and the only occasions on which the warlike founders of these newly arisen States condescended to this gentle way of bespeaking their minds were when they tried to coax the Emperor at Delhi or the Shah at Kabul to grant them a title or a *sanad* to make assurance doubly sure and give their pillage and plunder an air of legality, provided of course they could avail themselves of the services of a *munshi* who knew Persian, could write a good hand, and could tolerably imitate the high-flown language which must be used in dealing with such mighty, though gullible personalities. In Patiala only six documents exist which date back to the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali. They are written in the conventional Persian on the so-called *Sialkoti* paper, bear seals but no signatures, while each document, which consists of a sheet, is wrapped up in the original narrow envelope bearing the address only. They have been kept just as they were received, and there is absolutely no indication as to whether they were replied to or entered on a register: one is ignorant even of the exact date on which they first came to hand.

During the third period which ended with the treaty of Amritsar in 1809, the scribe was in greater demand, but the records continued to be meagre and to be mainly concerned with political affairs. Most of the States now possessed a *diwan* and a *mir munshi*, but the former officer was at this time all-powerful and practically held sole charge of the State papers which were tied up into separate bundles or *bastas* in a most arbitrary fashion and deposited in wooden boxes, sometimes covered with leather, which were then stowed away into a seemingly safe place which not infrequently happened to be the zenana apartments of the palace. But the most usual repository for these precious documents used to be the minister's own private house, and that functionary could keep, extract, or destroy, at his own sweet will, without running the risk of being detected amid the general illiteracy which prevailed at the time and which his royal master presumably shared. If the minister died or fell into disgrace, his family as a rule kept the papers by way of an heirloom and thus retained to themselves the handle to solve intricate questions of foreign and political importance or questions of ceremonials and usages whenever the Prince

felt at sea with regard to them. In this connection I would like to refer to the difficulty which is being experienced by the State Historian of the Patiala State, who is compelled to approach the none-too-willing descendants of the once powerful *diwans*, *wazirs* or *mir munshis* for manuscripts of historical importance. It is touching to observe the tenacity with which such people cling to these papers which, according to most of them, are the legitimate perquisites of the family. In one particular case, I remember a man asserting that the few documents he possessed—which by the way were not at all very important—were worth lakhs and that in lending them to the State Historian he was rendering us a service which entitled him at least to the same status as his forefathers had enjoyed. But the minister, though free to deal with the papers as he pleased—a privilege which he was very liable to abuse in order to keep all the threads of government in his own hand and reduce his master to a mere nonentity—often bestowed elaborate care on a particularly precious charge, and one comes across very important papers of the period encased in wooden cylinders, consisting of two scooped out halves of a portion of a branch of the *neem* tree, fastened together by means of a length of stout silk cord. There was plenty of time to attend to such details for, as I have said, there were comparatively few records to be taken care of, most of the normal work of the State being carried on verbally. The *diwan* avoided what is perhaps the greatest worry of the present day finance minister, by depositing land revenue with respectable *sarrāfs* or *sāhukārs* of the capital, who probably kept more or less hieroglyphical accounts of the receipts and expenditure for the purposes of the State and would have felt scandalised had anything more legible or explicit been demanded from them by anybody.

The fourth period covering the half-century preceding the Mutiny, shows an increase in the volume of records of a non-political character. Thanks to the alliance with the Hon'ble East India Company, which extended and deepened as time went on, many of the Punjab Princes were freed from the fear of external aggression, and found time to place the internal affairs of their States on a more regular basis. They carried on most of the work verbally, but kept two registers or *bahis* known as the *bahi zar naqd* and *bahi kach batāi*, showing the amount of revenue received in cash and that received in kind respectively. The *thanadars*, who were appointed at the same time to deal with civil and criminal cases in their respective jurisdictions, kept no record of the evidence and delivered their sentences by word of mouth, only making use of pen and ink in entering certain fees which they recovered in civil cases in a quasi-private register known as *bahi thanadari*. Towards the latter part of this period, the practice of depositing State money with *sāhukārs* was also abolished and officers popularly known as *karoris* were appointed and placed in charge of the State revenues. Many of the States now possessed several well-defined departments under separate officials who carried on their work no longer at their own houses but in public offices situated frequently in the out-houses of their master's palace. The political records, which still retained their importance, were kept in the archives of the Foreign office or *Munshikhana*, though documents were still not infrequently kept at the house of the officer concerned while those considered specially important remained in the palace and in the custody of the rulers themselves.

In some States the Military office or *Bakhshikhana* was made responsible, in addition to its own proper duties, for the custody of all papers relating to the appointment, transfer and dismissal of the various employees of the State. Grants of land had always been made in writing, but the original document

which was invariably a small piece of stout paper, known as a *sanad patta*, was given away to the grantee. No duplicate copy of it being ever kept, there was no record available to show the nature and value of the grants that had been made. The deficiency was to a great extent remedied by the Revenue office, or the *Diwani* as it was called, which carried out investigations and prepared certain compendia furnishing adequate information regarding the villages where the grants were situate, their value, and the name and parentage of the grantee. While these compendia do not give dates of the orders making the grants, they form the earliest authentic "Record of Rights" in respect of *muafis* and grants of land. The *Diwani* also held charge of the minor departments like the *Toshkhānd*, *Modikhānd*, etc., which had by now come into existence.

The head of the Judicial office was known as the *Adālati*. The *thanadars* and *kotwals* were under him, although his powers had in no way been specifically defined from those of his subordinates. A rudimentary sort of file was made out in respect of the civil and criminal cases, but the judgments were still only occasionally recorded, and the execution of judgments continued to be a purely verbal process. In some States, a new office, styled the *Deorhi*, had in the meantime been created. Its proper function was to attend to matters of ceremonies, charities, etc., and it daily reproduced on a separate leaf of paper the various verbal orders passed by the ruler, noting down at the same time the mode in which these orders were carried out. At the end of six months these separate leaves of papers would be bound into a register, called the *roznamcha*. Towards the end of this period, Persian was replaced in many departments by the vernacular, and the change enabled a large majority of the officers to transact all important business in writing, disposing of minor cases on their own responsibility and obtaining the sanction of the ruler for such as were considered of any special importance. In the Judicial department, there was a distinct improvement in procedure. Court fees began to be levied. Those seeking redress of any kind had to put in a written petition addressed to the ruler, and necessary orders were recorded on these petitions after they had been submitted to the Chief and otherwise duly inquired into. These orders were given effect to by means of *parwāns* addressed to the *thanadars* and *tahsildars* of the *pargands* concerned, the copies of the *parwāns* thus issued, being kept in a register maintained for the purpose. The arrangements for keeping State accounts were also considerably modified. Two officers known as *Daftari Jama* and *Daftari Kharch* were appointed respectively to keep separate accounts of receipts and expenditure of revenue, and these officers called for six-monthly *jamabandis* from *pargands* as well as daily reports and monthly statements of accounts from the *rakamjats* and compiled from these their accounts of receipts and expenditure.

Before this period came to a close, the public offices had been placed on an improved footing, record rooms had been established, and keepers appointed to look after the records and place them in proper order. These officers, however, seem to have taken a very perverse view of their duties. They acted very much like the dragon guarding a treasure in the old story, extremely jealous of their charge, but supremely unmindful of the desirability of looking into what they had precisely got or of arranging it according to a rational plan to serve a useful purpose. Most of you, gentlemen, will be familiar with the saying *میں ہی ہمارے بچہ* *mīn hī hamare baste men hai* which has by usage become notorious. The methods adopted for the preservation of old records by many States during this period may be illustrated by a specific reference to what happened in this connection in Patiala. During the reign

of Maharaja Karam Singh (1813-1846), copies were kept of all papers received or issued, but these copies bore neither date nor the name of the copyist and were frequently merely the original and by no means very clean drafts of the letters issued by various departments. The correspondence was never entered in a register, and it is seldom one comes across the date of receipt of a particular paper or a brief indication as to its contents noted down on the original envelope by an overzealous and too conscientious *muharrir* or *munshi*. The various papers accumulated in the record room in the order of their arrival. After a certain interval, the keeper finding the heap growing too big would bestir himself, secure 30 or 40 papers together by means of a piece of thread, tie up 10 or 12 bundles of this type in a piece of coarsely woven cloth, and paste a slip of paper on to this dubious looking package giving just the slightest possible hint as to its probable contents. These bales of records were then left very much to themselves to offer whatever resistance they could muster to the nuisance of damp and dust, and the attacks of white-ants—unless of course an unexpected order from the Prince or his minister for the production of a certain paper again disturbed their rest, calling them forth into the light of the day. And once a paper was removed, there was no means of finding out that it had been removed and therefore very little likelihood of its ever returning to its old place. The only arrangement observed, unconsciously of course, was chronological, but that too was of the roughest sort. The History department which has been instituted in Patiala to prepare an authentic history of the State, based chiefly on old records, is finding its work extremely troublesome owing to the necessity of reading through all the papers in a so-called file to arrive at a comparative estimate of its value and the manner in which all sorts of documents have been jumbled together, it being by no means uncommon to come across a paper of the utmost historical interest tacked on to a report from a *thanadar* containing particulars of the theft of a milch cow or the abduction of a *chamar* girl from within the territorial limits of his *pargana*.

The fifth period in the history of records to which I now pass on, was ushered in by the Mutiny and may be said to have lasted till a very short while ago. The new relations into which the Ruling Princes entered with the Crown and the tremendous civic activities which followed in the wake of the newly constituted Government of India and their handling questions of imperial importance influenced more or less profoundly among other things, the progress and growth of records in the Indian States. The various imperial *sanads* by way of treaties, conferring territorial rewards and valuable privileges on these Princes and ensuring to them their internal independence, considerably enriched the archives of many a ruling State, while the increased facilities of intercourse with British India made it possible to introduce a better and more intelligible system of arranging and preserving old records. The progress, however, was exceptionally slow. Even in Patiala, under the enlightened régime of Maharaja Narinder Singh, little was effected in this direction, thanks chiefly to the supineness of *ahlkars* nurtured amidst the old-world traditions of 'letting sleeping dogs lie'. The Maharaja had ordered all old records, which had hitherto been in the custody of the *Diwan*, to be taken out, sorted and properly arranged by two officers, specially appointed for the task, but what was actually done was the removal of the records from one underground chamber to another equally dark and cheerless room beneath the new *Diwankhāna* where they lay in even greater confusion than before, and matters were only superficially improved when those officers, taken to task

for their carelessness, selected 20 or 30 papers at random, passed a piece of thread through them, and covered the whole up with a list giving such illuminating particulars, as 'arzis and parwāns', 'letter from a Sahib (unknown), dealing with miscellaneous subjects', etc. A step in the right direction was taken in 1861 when the State territories were constituted into *zillas* and records began to be kept in *muhafizkhānās* both in the central and the mofussil offices, but this did not affect the position of the old records whose custody had now been definitely transferred from the *Diwan* to the *Mir Munshi*.

Meanwhile in Patiala, as elsewhere, the volume of records, especially those of a domestic character, continued to grow rapidly. The States enacted civil and criminal laws for themselves and got up due agencies to give effect to such laws. The Military, the Revenue, and the Judicial departments, which now maintained regular offices, commenced giving written orders in respect of their departmental work; and though the Maharaja's orders in the *Deorhi* department continued to be verbal, they were confirmed by the ruler from day to day by affixing his signature on them. In minor departments this work of attesting orders was carried out by some responsible officer of the State—usually the *Diwan* or the *Wazir*. The general get-up of the records closely resembled that of the preceding period, but filing became more systematic. During the 'eighties fresh conventions and agreements were drawn up between the Government of India and the Indian States. Agreements for the construction of telegraphs, railways and canals within the State territories as well as commercial treaties ushered in a new era. Relations of States *inter se* also developed rapidly and friendly correspondence on occasions of joy and grief, and matters of common interest became more and more frequent. Settlements of land were effected and elaborate records of revenue compiled. The Judiciary likewise improved its procedure. Statements of parties came to be recorded and depositions of witnesses to be regarded as necessary for the decision of a case, while recognition was accorded to the appellate jurisdiction of courts and due importance attached to the formal execution of decrees.

The last decade of the century brought about a rough systematization of the records. The files became more orderly and were registered before being consigned to the record room which had by now come into existence. The mode of re-ordering files differed in different cases. Some were recorded according to the department to which they belonged, others were recorded annually, and still others alphabetically, arranged according to the names of the villages. They were tied up in *bastas* and without any attempt being made at sorting them were deposited on the recordshelves.

I now come to the sixth and the last period. The present-day arrangements for the care and preservation of old records show very little improvement on those that prevailed considerably more than half a century ago. They ignore the fact that apart from ideas of utility, an intelligent mode of arrangement and classification is quite as important for the safety and continued existence of these precious manuscripts as the provision of underground repositories, studded doors, locks, and sentinels. In *Kashmir*, for instance, the records are divided into two classes which are treated entirely differently. One is known as the *toshakhana sanadat*, and the other, up till ten years ago, was called *daftar-i-diwani*. I am not aware if they have since converted it into a general Records office after the type prevailing in British India. The *toshakhana sanadat* is confined only to the care of *sanads*, treaties, and other documents concerned with the foreign relations of the State while the

daftar-i-diwani preserves only those papers which are concerned with internal administration. In the *toshakhana sanadat* the records are kept in *tablaas*, strong wooden or papier-mâché boards, or in *bastas* or tin pipes. In each case, the cover bears the number of the register which gives a complete list of papers contained therein, and a chit of paper pasted on the outside of the cover affords a clue to the contents of the file. There is, however, no chronological or alphabetical order of arrangement. The *toshakhana* is made into a strong room and has its outer door under no less than three locks, the keys of which are possessed by His Highness the Maharaja, the General Commanding the State Army, and the *Khazanchi* of the *Toshakhana*, respectively. The room cannot, therefore, be opened unless all those controlling authorities come together. Any record that requires reference is only looked up in the presence of the three custodians and then deposited carefully in its old place. No paper is allowed to be removed from this room.

In Patiala *ahlkars* were less careful. The State records were not left in peace in the asylum assigned to them by Maharaja Narindar Singh, and were transferred during the time of his successor to the record office of the *Munshikhana*, suffering considerably from the rough handling to which they were subjected during the process of removal. But worse fortune awaited them on their arrival in this new home. The *Munshikhana* in an excess of paternal zeal ordered a grand rearrangement of the whole, and the misguided energy of the officers who were appointed to the task soon brought about a state of affairs which can only be described as disastrous. Several important papers disappeared altogether, while scores of letters were rendered worthless by the removal and destruction of the original envelopes on which were inscribed the names of the sender and the addressee and the dates of despatch and receipt according to the custom prevalent in the 18th century. This confusion lasted down to the present day. In overhauling these records, which task I undertook soon after joining the State some three years ago, I experienced the greatest difficulty. Some of the important cases to which reference had been made from time to time were threaded together, and given a blank page on the top to show the subject. Others were placed in *bastas* with labels pasted on, while there were quite a cartload of unsorted papers lying in baskets, gunny bags, or heaped together in the corner of a room exposed to the combined attacks of rats and white-ants. I may add that I have come across some very important papers in these stray neglected heaps.

I have had no opportunities so far of looking up records other than those of a foreign and political nature, which are preserved elsewhere in Patiala. Yet they must be only a very little less interesting than those I have come across in the record room of the old Foreign office. The *Sadar Mal*, no doubt, possesses papers which would furnish valuable particulars concerning the old methods of levying and regulating revenue; the *Bakhshikhana* ought to prove a storehouse of information on a variety of subjects, for as I have said its functions were not confined in the past to the upkeep of the State army; the *Deorhi Mualla*, again, has a complete record of the ceremonials of the *baratwaras* and *rusum*, or the courtesies traditionally observed in dealings with the British Government and other Indian States as also of the daily activities and pre-occupations of the successive Maharajas of Patiala, which, by the by, forms a perfect and correct record in itself.

The care and preservation of old records in the Indian States possesses two distinct aspects. The physical aspect of the thing relates to such precautions as the provision of suitable record rooms and protection adopted against the encroach-

ments of damp and dust and the attacks of white-ants and rats. The efforts made in this direction have hitherto been of a more or less primitive kind; but it is conceivable that the growing age of the old records will necessitate before long the employment of a much more scientific agency than that provided by a guarded closet, a number of ordinary shelves, and a few ill-paid and discontented keepers. The second aspect is concerned with the complete overhauling of the old records and their rearrangement according to a well thought-out plan, to make them more accessible and useful and hence less likely to be lost sight of in a mass of unassorted papers, some of them of very questionable value. It is this aspect which has been almost wholly ignored hitherto in most of the Punjab States, but which as I have already remarked is quite as important as the first. The difficulties in the way of attempting this rearrangement are colossal and I have had a personal experience of them in the States where I have served. It requires a staff of trained workers, persons acquainted with the normal life of a medieval Indian principality, well versed in oriental languages, and familiar with the tricks and idiosyncrasies of ancient scribes. Even then it will mean years of patient study and research and a considerable exercise of the imaginative faculty before chaos can be reduced into order. But the work is well worth all this trouble and worry. And I am glad to be able to tell you that already a beginning has been made in some of the States, notably in Patiala. These first efforts have been appropriately confined to the so-called central records dealing with political and other important matters preserved in the principal secretariats; but as soon as an appreciable advance has been made in this direction, we shall pass on to the records lying in comparative neglect in the district offices, which doubtless contain valuable information about many points of local history and administration that have remained more or less obscure till today.

And now, gentlemen, I must apologize for taxing your time with what I feel is but a meagre treatment of this interesting subject. I wish I could find more time to devote to this fruitful study, but my multifarious duties have, I regret, prevented me from doing justice to it. Before I conclude, however, I must thank His Honour and the Commission for having given me an opportunity, while placing a hastily prepared note before them, to study what is being done in this direction in other places. The Exhibition which has been so well arranged in the rooms of this building has given me valuable suggestions as to where to find more material and how to employ it usefully and put it on a scientific basis.

The collection shows how the records preserved in some of the old families like my friend Diwan Kishan Kishore's, can be made use of and their interest in this work augmented, as also of private individuals devoted to this work like Rai Sahib Wazir Chand who could become more useful when they form a part of a well organised machinery guided by the Government. I am sure the centres which the Commission proposes to form will become very popular; and I trust the first experiment made at Lahore will prove fruitful and lead to the awakening of interest in this work among individuals and private organizations.

So far as literature goes, the historical places of which there are so many within and round about the Phulkian States, will, I am sure, furnish plenty of useful material. With what I have been able to see here, I hope, it will be possible for me to take steps to awaken interest in this work among the people of the Phulkian States and to regulate it for the purposes of the Historical Records Commission.

Discussion.—Bhagat Ishwar Das, Advocate of Lahore, observed that if records earlier than the Muhammadan period were examined a number of manuscripts would be forthcoming which would throw light on contemporary history and the social customs of the time. He thought that each community would take an interest in the search for records relating to its history. He also inquired whether questions relating to the social systems would form a subject of investigation by the Commission.

The President sympathised with the object which the speaker had in view but thought that such questions were outside the scope of the Commission's work and should be left to the Punjab Historical Society or other local institutions to investigate.

Paper by Mr H. Dodwell, Curator, Madras Record Office.

CONSTRUCTION AND ORGANIZATION OF RECORD ROOMS IN INDIA.

I. Structure.

Record rooms are constructed in order to protect records from fire, damp, insects and heat. They should also secure the maximum economy of space. As regards protection from fire, the obvious necessity is to avoid the use of combustible materials and to erect the building at a safe distance from others. The supports should preferably be of iron rather than timber. The roofs are better terraced than made of wooden beams and tiles. Nor should it be thought that automatic fire-extinguishing apparatus can make amends for using inflammable material in the building itself; for in the event of fire, the extinguishing apparatus ensures that a large quantity of records will be much damaged by water. Where electric light is installed, the wires should not be led along wooden beams, if it can be helped.

To provide security from damp, the precautions are equally obvious. The foundations should be solid and well-laid; the floor-level should be above that of the surrounding ground; and the roof should be flat, not broken into different levels for the sake of appearance, as the latter is very difficult to keep in repair.

Insects such as white-ants cannot probably be completely excluded from a building in a locality where they are common. But every possible precaution should be taken to exclude them, and the pointing of the floor (when laid of stone) should be regularly attended to. In this connection I may also mention the danger of rats and squirrels. It is well to fit the windows with small meshed netting and to see that the doors of the record rooms fit closely.

The danger most likely to be overlooked by designers of record rooms is that of heat. Nothing seems so destructive of paper as the extreme dry heat of the Indian hot weather. The designer should therefore endeavour to secure that the building should be as cool as possible. It should, if practicable, present a blank wall without, or practically without, windows, in the direction from which the hot winds blow. The windows should not be numerous, because they let in an enormous quantity of heat.

In this connection I may remark that the investigation now proceeding into the causes of decay in paper in India may be expected to furnish some very valuable suggestions regarding the maintenance of a fixed degree of temperature and moisture in rooms where books or records are stored. The possibility of achieving

this has, I understand, been demonstrated by the munition factories in Bengal; and if the cost is not prohibitive, their practice should be followed in at least the larger Records offices. This possibility emphasizes the need of restricting, as far as possible, the door and window space in record rooms; because buildings in which an even degree of moisture and heat is to be maintained must be capable of being hermetically closed.

Finally from the structural point of view, the need of economising space should be kept in view. The several record rooms into which a Records office may be divided should be spacious and lofty. Small rooms always connote waste of space. It will usually be found advantageous not to construct the record rooms in two or more stories, but to have them open from the floor to the roof of the building. The plan should provide for the possible need of extension.

II. Fitting.

Record racks should not be built into the walls of a building; because this renders it almost impossible to guard the records from white-ants, and difficult to protect them from damp. Racks are preferably made of iron, and so erected as to be in contact with the building only where the supports rest upon the floor. If these supports are well fixed and cemented into solid stone, and moreover fitted with cups at the base which may be filled with water and kerosine it will be impossible for white-ants to attack the records without their leaving traces which only very careless attenders would not notice at once.

The racks themselves can usually be erected with the greatest saving of space parallel with the shorter sides of the record room.

The racks themselves should be adjusted both in the breadth and height of the shelves so as to accommodate exactly the records to be lodged in them. Where they are to receive bound volumes, the lateral distance from one support to the next should not be too great, because the combined weight of, say, 10 feet of large folios is very great, and makes it difficult to take out or restore volumes without damage.

Where loose papers are kept in bundles, particular care should be taken regarding the material in which they are tied up. It is not advisable to use mill-boards, both because these are apt to bend, and because they offer no protection against book-worm. The best boards are made of some bitter wood, such as teak, which insects will not attack.

Another very convenient receptacle for loose papers is the "carton" or large box made of stout cardboard. Its advantage is that it does not subject old or brittle papers to that pressure which is unavoidable when papers are tied in bundles between boards.

Another advantage which the "carton" offers is that it can be made of just the size necessary to take old papers without folding. So far as possible all papers should be kept flat and unfolded. In this connection Record-Keepers in India cannot do better than consult the Imperial Record Office, where a very elaborate system of flattening and mending has been established.

Rebinding volumes should only be done with great precaution. It will often be found that a volume of which the binding has decayed consists of brittle paper. If this is to be rebound, each sheet must be mounted on guards, and the guards stitched. It is fatal to rebind brittle paper by stitching the old paper itself.

Discussion.—Mr R. K. Ranadive, the Baroda representative, described the Baroda record rooms which had already been constructed generally on the lines now recommended by Mr Dodwell.

The President in closing the proceedings thanked all present for the keen interest shown by them Commission's work.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting.

On 9 January the Members of the Commission after inspecting the records in the Punjab Secretariat held their meeting. The following is a brief account of the same and the resolutions passed at it.

I. Punjab Records.

(i) *Records in the English Office.* (a) The Commission would support the completion of the press-lists and continuous narratives, but strongly feel that, before this is done, a catalogue of all the available records should be framed in order to ensure that all papers were dealt with.

(b) The distribution of historical records is to be deprecated. In the case of Lahore, records referring to the North-West Frontier Province have been handed over to that administration. It is recommended that there should be no further sub-division and that the records sent to Peshawar, at least up to 1880, might, if possible, be brought back to Lahore and replaced in their original series, copies of papers required being supplied.

(ii) *Current Records office.* The records are tied in cardboard backs and are kept in wooden cupboards against the wall. This method of storing the records lays them open to danger from insects, damp and fire.

(iii) *Persian Records office.* The Commission are very glad to see the admirable beginning which has been made by Mr. Sita Ram Kohli in dealing with the records of the reign of Ranjit Singh. There are 15 volumes of manuscript orders. It was thought that the majority of these could be preserved by proper treatment, but that wherever a volume is so decayed that it could not conveniently or safely be handled by a student, it would be well to have it copied. As the originals may be of considerable value, no pains should be spared to preserve them.

(iv) It is strongly recommended that as funds become available metal racks should be substituted for those now used.

The Commission would also be glad to see the work continued so as to provide for the arrangement and cataloguing of those manuscripts which deal with Agencies and States and which are now lying in cupboards tied up in bundles.

II. Question of printing the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors instead of calendaring them.

Mr Blaker's notes¹ regarding the printing of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors were considered. Mr Dodwell stated that he was at work on the calendaring of the General Letters to and from Madras, that one volume was already in press and another volume nearing completion, each volume dealing with 10 years and these two covering from 1745 to 1764.

The general feeling of the Commission was that calendaring should be preferred to printing, that the calendaring must be well done and that this is a work of extreme urgency. At the same time, although this should in no sense delay the work of calendaring, it would be well to recopy any volume of valuable documents which is obviously falling into decay. This recommendation refers to the General Letters of which copies exist in the India Office. It should not be taken as apply-

¹ See Appendix A.

to any kind of documents of which only one copy exists and where printing would be desirable. It was also suggested that the calendaring should begin from July 1757 as previous General Letters are largely covered by S. C. Hall's *Bengal 1756-57* and the *Old Fort William* of C. R. Wilson. This, however, should not be taken as meaning that the General Letters prior to that date should not be calendared subsequently, the calendaring of the Letters from July 1757 being more urgent.

Resolution.—Calendaring is to be preferred to printing, only those decaying documents being printed of which no other copy exists. Decaying documents of which copies exist in the India Office should only be typed, additional staff being provided if necessary. The General Letters from July 1757 should be calendared, the Letters prior to that date being calendared subsequently.

III. Proposal to deposit certain important original Minutes of Viceroys at the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta.

The Commission considered the proposal made by Rai B. A. Gupte Bahadur, curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, the following resolution was passed.

Resolution.—That provided certified copies exist for record purposes there could be no objection to original documents of historical interest being placed in the Victoria Memorial Hall where they can be seen by the public.

IV. General programme of work for the various Records offices, etc.

Resolution.—As regards the general programme for calendaring, it was decided that it is impossible to give general directions. But it is advisable that before any local authority undertakes any work of calendaring, the proposal should be placed before the Commission for their opinion.

V. Treatment of Madras Records, 1702-1740.

Mr Dodwell proposed to print the Madras General Letters from 1702 to 1739. The Commission considered that in view of the fact that these have already been typed and that it would be impossible for him to carry on the work of calendaring that series as well as the series from 1745 onwards, the circumstances are sufficiently exceptional to justify a departure from the rule, laid down by the Government of India in its resolution of 21 March 1919, that, save by private effort, papers subsequent to 1702 should not be printed. The Commission have also felt that the 1702 rule may reasonably be relaxed in cases of important documents up to 1740, since records up to that date are not voluminous and since a previous decision had been given against the calendaring in India of documents prior to 1740.

Resolution.—As proposed by Mr Dodwell, the Madras General Letters from 1702 to 1739 should be printed instead of being calendared.

VI. Progress made in the investigation into the composition of the Old Coast Army.

Mr Dodwell presented a note prepared by him on the Old Coast Army of Madras and suggested that General Sir Alfred Bingley be consulted as regards its publication. The Commission agreed to this reference being made.

VII. Methods by which Officers in charge of Records may best encourage research.

As arranged at the first Meeting of the Commission Professors Jadunath Sarkar and B. K. Thakore submitted a joint note on the subject, which is printed as Appendix B.

In presenting the note Professor Sarkar urged that the great thing was to make the records better known. The Commission considered that it would be well if it were clearly understood that only those records can be consulted which can be handled without fear of injury. On this understanding the Commission resolved:—

- Resolution.**—(a) The joint note might be circulated for the information of the Universities.
- (b) It might be brought to the notice of the Universities that, where any degree can be taken by thesis, the records might be used by students of history.
- (c) The best plan would be for the Professors of History and Economics to get into touch with the Records office and guide their students.

VIII. Publication of a collection of papers by Lieut.-Col. Tod relating to the Pindaris discovered in the Central Provinces Records office.

As recommended by the Commission at its first meeting the manuscripts were referred to Professor Jadunath Sarkar for his opinion. He submitted a report which is printed as Appendix C.

The Commission adopted the report and decided to pass it on to the Central Provinces Administration.

IX. Grant for the work of the Commission.

The Commission decided that each question involving expenditure which might be placed before it should be considered on its merits, and if deserving, commended to the authority on whom the financial responsibility would naturally rest.

X. Place and date of the next meeting of the Commission.

It was decided that the next meeting should be held in Simla at the end of May or beginning of June 1920.

In addition to the matters described above, the Commission considered a letter, addressed to the Secretary to the Commission, regarding the desirability of translating into English the Maratha historical records published by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis in the *Itihasa Sangraha*, a Journal dealing with old papers relating to Maratha history. The Commission on hearing of the nature

of the papers were of opinion that they are not of sufficient historical or economic importance to merit translation, some of the more valuable papers having already been utilised by authors.

It was decided that the Government of Bombay, who asked to be favoured with the views of the Indian Historical Records Commission in the matter, should be informed accordingly by the Secretary.

The Commission also considered that its members should in future receive gratis the publications of the Records offices and recommend that such might most conveniently be sent to the head-quarters of the Commission, and thence be distributed.

The books, etc., intended for the representatives of Indian States should be sent by the Secretary to the Commission to the Chief Minister of the Durbar.

The representatives of the Indore and Baroda Durbars submitted brief memoranda on the subject of the condition of the historical records in their States. These reports were appreciated by the Commission and they have been printed as Appendixes D and E.

See item VI pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I of the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. At the first meeting of the Commission held in Simla in June 1919 they considered and accepted certain **Rules regulating the access of the Public to the Records of the Govt of India** and resolved that they should be introduced in the Imperial Record Department when the Govt of India had approved them. This they have recently done and in requesting that the rules may now be brought into force in the Imperial Record Department, have directed that they should be brought to the notice of persons and institutions interested in historical researches, etc. This has been done but the opportunity is also taken of publishing the rules in question in this Volume of the proceedings of the Commission. They will be found printed as Appendix G.

¹ This has since been done.



APPENDIX A.

Question of Printing the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors instead of Calendaring them.

Paragraph 5 of the Government of India, Department of Education, Resolution No 77, dated 21 March 1919, constituting an Indian Historical Records Commission deals with the question of calendaring certain records of the Government for the benefit of the general public and of students who are unable to visit the Records offices. The precise fields to be selected for this purpose would be determined by the Commission, but it was stated that as at present advised the Government of India would confine the preparation of calendars to the despatches passing between the Indian and the Home Government, certain series of vernacular records and a few selected series of English records. It is with special reference to the "preparation of calendars of the despatches passing between the Indian and the Home Government" that I wish to raise an objection. The term "despatches" has been in use only since the East India Company's Government was taken over by the Secretary of State for India in Council in 1858 and I understand that the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors are intended.

2. In April 1861 the first Record Commission was appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of superintending in Calcutta the destruction of useless public records and the collection and arrangement of those that were valuable. In June 1861 the Commission submitted certain proposals for carrying out the objects of its appointment. Among these were the preparation of a general calendar of the principal contents of all valuable papers and the General Letters to and from Court were mentioned.

3. It may be mentioned here that the pre-Mutiny records mainly consist of—
Original Consultations, that is, all original documents—consultations, minutes letters, petitions and resolutions, which are kept in bundles.

Proceedings. These are large volumes which contain copies of all the correspondence that was submitted to the Board at each meeting and the orders which they passed—ordinarily they are to be found also in the *Original Consultations*.

General Letters to and from Home. These give a summary or *précis* of the year's proceedings under the various heads. The letters to Court are practically "Calendars" of the Proceedings volumes.

Important matters were dealt with in what were called "Separate Letters."

4. Mr. Talboys Wheeler, an officer of the Educational department, who had a vast knowledge of Government records, was asked to write a memorandum on these proposals of the Commission. He submitted a memorandum in December 1862 and in this he strongly vetoed the idea of calendaring these General Letters. He says, "The historical and literary value of these General Letters has been very much overlooked and does not appear to have attracted the attention of the Commission. Those from the Directors were mostly penned by that class of experienced and practical men of high intellectual powers, who attained their position by sheer force of genius, but who, until a comparatively recent period, were more

anxious to secure private fortunes than to acquire literary or political fame. On the other hand, each General Letter sent Home formed a lucid summary or *précis* of the year's proceedings under appropriate headings. In fact the 'To England' letters might be called 'Calendars' of the Proceedings volumes, only that they are infinitely superior to anything that could be drawn up in the shape of Calendars nowadays—being written, under the immediate eye of the President of Council, with the utmost brevity and clearness, and with an intimate and exhaustive

* "I may add that these peculiar qualifications of conciseness and exhaustiveness were insisted upon at every period in the history of the late Company. I have found exhortations to this effect in several General Letters of the seventeenth century; and in a General Letter of 1830 I have noticed that the Directors are still urging the importance of the same attention to clearness and brevity."

knowledge on the part of the writer of the whole of the subject-matter of the proceedings of the year in question, as well as of previous years.* At the same time the 'From England' letters embodied the views of the shrewdest men in England upon the transactions of the year; and frequently combined a purity of language, and vigour of thought and expression, which are almost without a parallel in English prose literature." Again, after quoting from what Macaulay says about the penmanship of Indian Administrators, Mr Wheeler says "Supported by this authoritative judgment I beg to protest, as warmly as is consistent with propriety, against calendaring or abridging the Minutes of such men as Warren Hastings or Philip Francis, as I would against calendaring the Speeches of Fox or Sheridan, or calendaring the Minutes of the Marquis of Dalhousie or Earl Canning. Selection may be necessary should the public call for a further publication, but to calendar such samples of rhetoric as are described by Lord Macaulay might be compared to a separate publication of the 'arguments' to Milton's 'Paradise Lost' as an exposition of the poem." He, therefore, vigorously suggests the printing of the General Letters and opposes calendaring either these or the proceedings. The then President of the Record Commission, the Hon'ble Mr Seton-Karr, and the Members had no objection to the plan of publishing the General Letters as suggested by Mr Wheeler.

5. On 3 October 1865, the Home Department issued a resolution on the work of the Commission and in paragraph 10 they accepted the suggestion of printing the General Letters commencing with those of the Foreign Department, but they called on the Commission to state the number of volumes, etc. This resolution was sent to the Secretary of State under cover of Despatch No. 78 (Public), dated 12 October 1865, and in reply the Secretary of State remarked "that the plan of printing the General Letters appears in itself preferable to that of recasting and printing the indexes of proceedings."

6. But action seems to have been stayed here for some time, and it was not till December 1872 when another despatch on the subject went Home.

7. The operations of the Record Committee were reviewed in an office *précis*, dated 26 January 1871, and Mr Hume, then Secretary in the Home Department, noted, "Year by year the records are decaying; and unless some measures be adopted, it will, before very long, be found that like the defunct Commission, the subjects of their investigations have dissolved themselves." He suggested the destruction of all useless records and the printing up of all manuscript ones which were to be retained. Printing should go on steadily and in the course of 2 or 3 years all the records prior to 1800 would be disposed of. He added that there would be no attempt at literary work as formerly, no notes, no illustrations, simply the records, which would thus be preserved and be rendered available to students of

history. The work would cost a few thousand rupees "and it would be *done*, while more ambitious schemes seem doomed to failure." The matter was then referred to Dr Hunter, who was familiar with Government records. In dealing with Dr Hunter's report of 17 November 1871 on the reference made to him Mr E. C. Bayley, then Secretary in the Home Department, wrote in his note dated 19 December 1871:—"The actual question as to what to print was some time ago solved, and I never understood why the solution was abandoned, by the proposal to print what are called the 'General Letters' in each Department." He believed that no other country had anything of the sort on its records as they consisted of a summary of events of all business in fact done by each Government, prepared for the Court of Directors. "Here then is a body of history ready made, and capable of elaboration, whenever necessary, by the simple process of adding in notes or appendices to any original documents of interest." He thought that a few subjects of no general interest might be omitted from these letters before printing them. He strongly advocated publishing the "General Letters," say beginning with those of the Foreign Department. As Dr Hunter was going on leave at the time he suggested that he might inquire in England as to the records which may best be published there, and the Hon'ble Mr B. H. Ellis of the Home Department in his note of 22 January 1872 accepted the offer and said, "I would especially put to him the question regarding the 'General Letters' which Mr Bayley desires to publish. Surely these must all be on record in England, and could be more economically produced there." Apparently no such communication was made to Dr Hunter as he wrote from Edinburgh, dated 3 April 1872, inquiring whether any orders had been passed on his report. In laying this reminder from Dr Hunter before the Hon'ble Mr Ellis, Mr Bayley again pressed for the printing of the General Letters and he remarked, "I think the records should be published, but not cooked up in literary fashion. If it is important to have evidence before the public at all, it should be the naked and unreserved contemporaneous evidence of the actors themselves. Such evidence was embodied in the General Letters with remarkable fullness and perspicuity."

8. He further considered that "No sort of literary ability is required to edit them. All that is wanted is to have them looked over by some man with sufficient literary taste and knowledge of Indian History, to judge what parts are totally devoid of historical value, and may be omitted, and what parts require to be illustrated by the addition of the more important documents in full length."

9. After consulting the Finance Department the matter was allowed to drop, the estimated cost of £40,000 or £50,000 being prohibitive, that Department remarking "Who would read them? What would you do with such a mass of matter?" Dr Hunter was informed accordingly in August 1872.

10. Soon after the matter was revived by the consideration of a question from the Government of Bombay for sanction to a scheme for the preservation of its old records. They proposed the appointment of an Indian Educational Service officer to make selections and publish them. Mr Hume, who was then Secretary in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, wrote: "We do not want a literary work on the records; we want only such portions of the records themselves as are of permanent interest." Mr Bayley, who was then a Member of the Executive Council, was not in favour of the Bombay proposal and said in his note of 26 July 1872 that nothing but the adoption of a systematic plan of publication will be of any real use and he urged his former proposal of publishing the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors and as regards expenditure

on this item he wrote :—" But it seems to me that even in a financial point of view, *some* expense would be expedient, and as it is a matter of no *very* pressing importance, this expense might be spread over a long series of years, might even be suspended in years of financial pressure, and renewed when that pressure was passed." "These letters," he considered, "would serve as a body of historical information such as is open to the public as to the history, I believe, of no other country; and the more accessible it becomes to the public, the greater, I believe, will be the reputation of England for the justice and temperate wisdom of her dealings with India." On these notes His Excellency the Viceroy ordered in October 1872: "We must write Home, in the first place, to find out what has been done, and is doing, there." A lengthy despatch was issued to the Secretary of State on 13 December 1872, no 95 (Public), recapitulating what had been done, since April 1861, in the matter of preserving in an accessible and convenient shape such records of the Government of India as are of interest and importance.

Paragraph 21 of the despatch says, "We are of opinion that the publication of old records is a matter of political importance, and would do much to prevent misconception of the policy and motives of Indian Governments."

In paragraph 22 it was emphatically stated that there should be a systematic publication of records themselves in one continuous series, rather than the publication, as proposed by Mr Hunter, of a series of "Selections" from old records. Objections were pointed out to the preparation of "Selections," the main one being that of making public a certain number of isolated facts, which, so put forward, are as likely as not to be misinterpreted or misrepresented.

In paragraph 23 the Government pressed for the publication of the "General Letters," those to the Court consisting of a summary of events, of all business in fact transacted by each Government in India and those from the Court containing commentaries on such proceedings. It was added that these letters require only illustration by appendices or occasional special volumes of minutes, or selected papers, and excision of routine and uninteresting or merely personal matters to be ready as they stand for the Press. Once completed they would embody admirable material for the future historian of India.

In paragraph 25 inquiry was made as to whether the work could not be done more easily and more economically at Home under the supervision of an efficient officer of the India Office or partly at Home and partly in India. A complete list was asked for of all the volumes of "General Letters," not only of those relating to the correspondence with the Government of India, in the Record department of the India Office in London, with an approximate estimate of the cost of printing them in England. The Secretary of State replied to this despatch in his no 46 (Public), dated 24 April 1873, and his reply was based on entirely wrong data, his

*General Letters	
To India	523 volumes.
From "	591 "
"Collection" volumes ..	2,703
Total	3,817 or about
3,544 volumes.	

estimate of the number of volumes* was wrong and therefore the cost of printing them at £280,000 was wrong also. We did not ask him to print the "Collections" that is, the "Proceedings" volumes which contain copies of all the correspondence submitted to the Board at each meeting, minutes recorded and orders passed, and therefore by including these his estimate of cost is wrong. On these figures given by His Lordship he came to the conclusion "it is obvious that if any publication is to be undertaken, it must be by careful selection" and he desired to

be furnished with a further expression of the views of the Government of India on the general subject. It appears that Mr Talboys Wheeler, who was employed in the Home Department, was called upon to report further in connection with this scheme for printing the "General Letters" and in January 1878 he submitted this report. In it, while he draws attention to the Secretary of State's error of calculation pointed out above, he has changed front in regard to the printing of the "General Letters" among the records of the Home Department and he writes, "On the whole I may say that whilst I found much that might be deemed worthy of abridgment, I found nothing which would warrant my submitting any plan for a systematic reprint of extracts from the records of the Home Department that would be likely to prove of the slightest practical utility to the Government of India, or of interest to the public at large." He realised the fact after very thoroughly examining the records "that the Home Office records of the Eighteenth Century were of no value whatever." As regards the "General Letters" in the Foreign Office he was still of opinion that they possessed a permanent value. The Government of India sent this report to the Secretary of State in April 1878 together

with a copy of a work* compiled by him in connection with his examination of the Home Department records. They added, "Mr Wheeler has laboured assiduously at the task which he undertook, and he has shewn that no valuable results are to be hoped for from any larger expenditure on the further publication of these records."

11. The matter was taken up 10 years later by Mr A. P. MacDonnell, then Home Secretary, and the Secretary of State was addressed again in despatch no 9, dated 14 February 1888. The Government of India were apparently not satisfied with Mr. Wheeler's report and they thought his failure to find any valuable or interesting documents was in a great measure due to his want of district experience; they considered that the records referred to by him covered a period of British rule in India peculiarly interesting as regards the development of the administration and were convinced that no further time should be lost without a serious effort being made to ascertain what the Home Department records contain of value and interest. Some of the volumes have not escaped the ravages of time, the ink was fading and the volumes were decaying and it was again insisted that such original documents should be printed. Sanction was asked to place a Bengal civilian on special duty to examine the records with a view to this being done.

12. At this stage a general system of press-listing and calendaring the records was suggested by the Secretary of State in his despatch no 30-Public (Records), dated 31 May 1888. The calendaring was to be done by competent men in England and the *précis* of which the calendar was to consist would obviate the expense of publishing the original documents which it was the intention of the Government of India to do. By the aid of the press-lists copies of those documents which are among the records of the Government of India, but missing from the India Office List, would be sent home for inclusion in its press-lists, and would be calendared subsequently and preserved in the India Office record rooms. These views were accordingly communicated to the Secretary of State in Government of India despatch no 43, dated 4 August 1888.

13. In his note of 6 July 1888 in connection with the Secretary of State's despatch, the Home Secretary (Mr A. P. MacDonnell) remarked that if copies of all original documents exist in the India Office and in Calcutta, the Government

need do no more in its own interests or in the interests of historical research, than place in the hands of the public an index which will at the same time be a summary of the contents of the documents referred to, but he observed that the effectiveness of the procedure would depend greatly on the care with which the original documents are preserved, in fact, he then thought that those which were suffering badly from decay should probably be printed at once.

14. The next step was the employment of Mr Forrest to examine and classify the old records of the Military and Foreign departments, and finally to retain his services permanently as Officer-in-charge of the old records of the Government of India in Calcutta. Subsequently a Central Record office was established and from time to time various officers have held charge of the post of Keeper of the Records.

15. One further point I need only refer to here and that is that in 1903, the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India undertook to begin calendaring the records of the Government of India and this question of calendaring was emphasized by the Government of India in its despatch no 313, dated 1 September 1904, in asking the Secretary of State to sanction the post of Assistant to the Officer-in-charge of the Records of the Government of India and to select and send out an officer for the appointment, mainly in connection with this work. It was suggested that the India Office should complete a series of calendars up to the year 1747-8 and that the Government of India should calendar its records which date from 1748-9. Paragraph 5 of this despatch shows what has been accomplished by the various officers placed on special duty, since the appointment of the Record Commission in 1861, in the matter of writing books, printing selections, compiling calendars and press-lists in connection with the weeding and arrangement of the pre-Mutiny records in the several departments of the Government of India. Since the date of this despatch (1904) it may be noted that the press-listing of the Public department records has been brought up to the year 1800 and the whole set of volumes is now placed on sale to the public. A revised index to this series is in manuscript and will be printed and issued for sale shortly. The Imperial Record department have also press-listed and published the Secret department records from 1763 to 1775 and press-lists for those of 1776-1790 will shortly be printed and published. An index to this series will be compiled when the press-list has been brought up to the year 1800. Press-lists, with indexes, of the records of the Select Committee for 1756-74,* and of the Secret department of Inspection

* This includes Mr. Hill's Abstract 1756-1782, for 1770-86 are also in print and for mentioned in paragraph 5 of the despatch referred to above, which has been re-done. Persian correspondence from 1759 to 1769 are also in print and for sale and a further volume for 1770-2 will be ready for publication shortly. Certain Persian documents relating to the Mutiny of 1857 are being press-listed, and a handbook to the records in this Central Record Department of the Government of India is in course of preparation.

16. No calendaring whatever has been done of the English correspondence and it will be observed, probably with astonishment, that up to date nothing has been done in the way of printing decaying manuscript records. We have, however, in hand the typing, with a view to printing, of 3 large folio volumes of the Public department records for the years 1757, 1762 and 1792 which are in a rapid state of disintegration. A portion of the type-written copy has been sent to Mr Foster of the India Office, who undertook to collate it with the records there and to fill in the lacunae. The whole will be printed when returned by the India Office. This

work of copying is naturally being done spasmodically in his spare time by a typist who has much typing to do in connection with the regular work of the office.

I would suggest that before the manuscript records reach this stage of deterioration we make a beginning to print them, and this can most usefully be done by commencing to print the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors, starting from the earliest date we have them, i.e., from 1748. We will thus have produced in print a calendar to the Proceedings volumes and at the same time have printed the ancient manuscripts themselves. The Public department papers of 1748 are now 171 years old! It is nearly 60 years since a Record Commission overhauled them and it is 30 years since some were reported on as beginning to show signs of decay. Although we have a large staff to air the rooms and dust the shelves and so on, you cannot open a folio volume without getting the strong pungent corroding odour of decaying or deteriorating papers. The paper is turning a speckled coppery brown colour, the ink is fading and where an ink line has been ruled the paper divides along that line having become brittle by corrosion and age. When the books are opened and handled even with the greatest care the paper crumbles away. It may be said that the manuscript copies of these papers at the India Office are in a better state of preservation, but we are not concerned with them. We are going to cater to an inquiring public here in India from the records of the Imperial and Provincial Governments. What cannot be got here may be applied for later to the India Office by the historiographer, but we must first make an effort to preserve the records in India for him, print decaying ones, provide him with press-lists and calendars and eventually with the actual documents themselves and, if we can give him the latter in print, so much the better. Whether records are printed or not, no one would wade through a mass of correspondence in search of information in regard to any matter without consulting an index, or catalogue, press-list, *catalogues raisonnés* or calendars, as these aids to the student in search of historical matter are termed. We have press-lists of the English correspondence for many years now ready and there is no reason why we should not in the course of a few years have a printed calendar for those documents at least up to 1800. The Calendar is already prepared in manuscript in the form of the General Letters and admittedly by the best scholars and writers, and all we have to do is to make a type-written copy of it and print it. I presume the printing work will be done by the Government Press and the funds of the Historical Records Commission will provide the salary of, say, 6 temporary typists, 2 of whom will read and correct the documents as typed. At least we should take a step forward and make, say, two working type-written copies of these General Letters, the question of printing them even being settled later. A combined decennial index to them as far as convenient may be made and another clerk or two would be required for this purpose. We could easily employ 8 clerks, on salaries ranging from 4 on 40, 2 on 60, and 2 on 75, on this work, as I find we have in our possession in all, i.e., up to the year 1858, 1,415 volumes of General Letters as detailed in the statement which follows:

List showing the volumes of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors

Departments	To COURT			FROM COURT			TOTAL	
	Com-mencing from (year)	Up to 1800 (number of volumes)	Up to 1858 (number of volumes)	Com-mencing from (year)	Up to 1800 (number of volumes)	Up to 1858 (number of volumes)	Up to 1800 (number of volumes)	Up to 1858 (number of volumes)
Home (Public)	1749	53	148	1755	47	145	100	293
" (Ecclesiastical)	1820	...	20	1855	..	5	...	25
" (Judicial)	1835	...	39	1835	...	22	...	61
" Education	1856	...	5	...	...	...	...	5
Public Works (Public, etc.)	1855	...	14	1855	...	7	...	21
Public Works (Railway)	1850	...	10	1852	..	11	...	21
Public Works (Elec. Tele.)	1856	...	9	1856	...	7	...	16
Foreign (Select Committee)	...	...	...	1756	1	1	1	1
Foreign (Secret)	1764	16	140	1778	2	55	18	195
" (Sec. and Sep.)	1789	2	3	...	...	...	2	3
" (Political)	1789	15	208	1785	4	108	19	311
" (Foreign)	1784	3	14	1792	1	3	4	17
Revenue and Agriculture	1832	...	16	1832	...	15	...	31
Army	1790	11	85	1780	17	182	28	267
" (Marine)	1838	...	19	1838	...	12	...	31
Law and Legislative	1796	1	33	1795	1	36	2	69
Separate Revenue	1795	3	31	1795	1	17	4	48
TOTAL	...	104	794	...	74	621	178	1,415

If printed, as far as I can estimate, an average of 10 manuscript volumes taken together would make up 1 printed volume of 500 pages, royal octavo size. If we print up to 1858 there will be about 142 such printed volumes. But if we stop in the first instance at the year 1800 there will only be 18 such volumes. Whatever we decide as regards printing I would strongly recommend that in order to preserve the information contained in these General Letters, the original manuscripts of which are advancing in age and fast decaying, two type-written copies should be made of every General Letter up to the year 1800 at least. Occasionally volumes of a later date may also be typed if they show signs of rapid decay. When the question of printing from one of these typed copies arises, it can then be decided what portions, if any, of the letters should be withheld from publication as was suggested by the Secretary of State in 1873, a good many years ago!

17. The Madras Records office is apparently calendaring or about to calendar the General Letters from 1748 to 1800—see item IX of the Proceedings of the 1st meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission. If it has not already advanced very far in accomplishing this end I would suggest that the calendaring of these papers be stopped and they be treated as recommended above.

The general instruction given in paragraph 6 (a) of the Government of India Resolution of 21 March 1919 as to the confining of the printing of the records to a date previous to 1702 is inapplicable to the records of the Imperial Government in Calcutta since their records date only from the year 1748. The climate of Calcutta is in itself not conducive to the preservation of records, damp and vermin are ever present as destructives and, as I have already shown above, many of our documents and volumes—even though they date from 1748—are in a bad state of decay and should be attended to shortly. The older records of the Foreign Office, I think, are even worse than those of the Public (Home) department. It seems abundantly clear that a beginning should be made in typing, and, if possible, printing our ancient archives, they must in any case first be typed as the manuscript volumes or collections cannot be sent to the Press.

I would therefore move that the Historical Records Commission

Resolve—that the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors of the East India Company be printed *in extenso* and not calendared. That, with a view to this being done, the documents, many of which are decaying, be typewritten as a whole at least up to the year 1800. That the funds of the Commission meet the cost of a certain number of clerks for this work and that Government sanction the provision of extra typewriters for these clerks. That the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, print the General Letters in due course.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT,
CALCUTTA,
26 September 1919.

R. H. BLAKER,
Keeper of the Records of the Govt of India
and
Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

I have raised the question of printing instead of calendaring the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors. My note of September last on the subject has been circulated by the President to the Members of the Historical Records Commission. I have just a little more to say to emphasize the importance of these General Letters.

These letters which for some time were written once or perhaps twice a year, were extremely long ones, very often consisting of anything between 50 and 150 paragraphs, each paragraph, especially in the case of the letters to England, bearing briefly yet fully and clearly on a different subject, the whole letter being a summary or calendar of the proceedings of the Company's directorate in India. They dealt with topics as they arose without observing any particular order. The letters from England expressed views and conveyed orders item by item on the year's transactions. In 1700 the Directors at Home in a letter of 20 November to Madras grouped their remarks under certain heads (*e.g.* Shipping, Investments, Company's servants) and ordered that the same arrangement should be observed in replying. In course of time letters dealing entirely with separate subjects had to be resorted to.

In regard to letters from Home Mr Foster, Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, has noted that they had to be approved by a Board of Control (established in 1784) before issue. The letter was first submitted as a "Previous Communication." This was examined by the Board and returned to the East India House with amendments or suggestions. It then became official as a "Draft" and after being considered by the appropriate Committee and by the Court was formally submitted to the Board. Sometimes fresh alterations were made or former amendments which had not been adopted by the Directors were insisted upon, but often the "Draft" went back unaltered with the Board's approval duly recorded (*Foster's Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 20).

There was a committee in India for revising General Letters about the year 1773 and in 1796 both the Public and the Foreign departments laid down rules for the preservation of General Letters. Again in 1830 the Court laid down rules regarding these letters which they characterized as most valuable since they contained "the most useful and pertinent suggestions within the shortest compass." Among other things these rules directed—

- (1) that subjects of importance were to be dealt with in short separate letters,
- (2) that letters should be endorsed, docketed, numbered, classed under different named heads, transmitted quarterly and despatched as soon as signed,
- (3) that Regulations and accounts should be sent early,
- (4) that numbers in the packet should be sent in duplicate and that two copies should be sent in the same conveyance, and
- (5) that letters from Court should be punctually acknowledged.

We want for Indian students a Source-book of British Indian History and there is no better Source-book than these General Letters combined with the fund of historical information contained in the Persian documents and the translations of them, where the originals do not exist, deposited in the Imperial Record Department. In my opinion there is no better way for the Historical Records Commission to spend its money than on the printing of these letters *in extenso*, and, if necessary,

on the calendaring of the Persian correspondence. The most useful bit of work being done for posterity by my Department is, in my opinion, the press-listing of the older records in English and the calendaring of the Persian documents referred to. Another volume of the calendar of these has just been completed. The three volumes now ready relate to the periods 1752-1767, 1767-1769 and 1770-72 and deal with letters which passed between some of the Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables and refer to affairs practically all over India, from Kashmir to Calcutta and down to Cape Comorin. These letters relate to historical events of the time, the invasion of Bihar by the Mughals and the Company's resistance, the *Diwani* of Bengal, the invasion of Oudh by the English, the attempt of the Marathas to deprive the English of their possessions in Bengal, their defeat and their renewed efforts to establish an Empire in India, the invasion of India by the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali, his harassment by the Sikhs and general resistance by the Mughals, Rohillas, Marathas, Jats and English and the Shah's defeat and return to Kandahar, his second invasion and defeat and return to his country and finally the gradual consolidation of the power of the East India Company.

We have a Source-book of Indian history in the archives of the Imperial Record Department and while the calendaring of the Persian correspondence continues I unhesitatingly recommend that this Commission support and pass the Resolution drafted in my note of 20 September last, now before the President and Members. An index would of course be compiled and bound up with each printed volume of the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors.

LAHORE,

R. H. BLAKER.

9 January 1920.

APPENDIX B.

A Note on the Methods by which Officers in charge of Records may best encourage research.

1. Nearly all the Indian Universities now insist on research, not only for the highest degrees (such as the Doctorate and the Premchand Raichand Studentship), but also in the M.A. and Honours examination, where an original thesis is accepted in lieu of one or two papers of answers to questions. In addition, several Universities (notably that of Calcutta) have made it a condition of the tenure of their chairs in History and Economics that the incumbents should produce original treatises in their respective subjects with reference to India. The Sadler Commission has also drawn attention to the desirability of our scholars utilising the manuscript records of the British and Hyderabad Governments and the Sikh and Maratha archives.

2. As our Records offices are situated in University centres, the most successful method of encouraging research would be to link the Records office with the local University, in such a way as to save time, direct research into the exact

channels, and prevent the overlapping of efforts. What isolated workers—both authors and University students and professors—want, are (i) detailed and exact information as to the topics on which the records in a particular Records office throw light; (ii) information as to whether any other scholar is already at work on the special fields they want to choose for themselves; and (iii) access to the Records office without great delay or tiresome formalities.

3. To ensure the first of the above points, it is necessary for the Commission (with the help of expert writers, if necessary), to issue from time to time press communiqués clearly indicating what unexplored topics are illustrated by a certain group of papers in a particular Records office, and how far the material on the subject is complete and how far it has to be supplemented from another Records office. We should tempt students to undertake research by giving them something like a chart (necessarily sketchy and, it may be, inaccurate in some minute details), of the branches on which they can work with success in a limited time. It is essential to indicate the *character* of the records as well as their *subject*. Hints may also be given as to how far co-ordination of effort is possible in a very large subject.

4. For example, one of the most important but hitherto neglected subjects is the economic history of India from the establishment of the English factories, studied with minute detail and accuracy and on the basis of the *primary* sources, so as to give our country something approaching Dr Cunningham's monumental work on the economic history of England. Mr W. Foster's reprint of the Factory Records has reached only 1659. But no exhaustive and original study has been made of the 18th century, though it embraces three very important and interesting economic subjects, *viz.*, (a) the East India Company as a manufacturer in India (Mr C. McMinn's subject); (b) India's foreign trade and shipping, and (c) the evolution of the Anglo-Indian revenue system (Mr Firminger's subject). Here is a vast field waiting for workers, and we believe that the workers will be forthcoming if we give them the requisite information.

5. The second point can be secured by publishing short *ad interim* statements of the work done by the members of the Commission and the scholars authorized to work in Records offices—these statements being exactly like the short informal but very useful surveys of the work of the Archaeological Department which Sir John Marshall used to contribute to the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain from year to year.

6. The time taken in disposing of any scholar's application for access to a Records office should be reduced as far as possible. This can be done by authorizing the Officer in charge of the local records to grant permission at his discretion on the recommendation of (a) the Vice-Chancellor of any University, (b) any University Professor of the local University, or (c) a member of the Records Commission. Where the officer considers the case doubtful, he should refer the application to Government.

JADUNATH SARKAR,
5 December 1919.

B. K. THAKORE,
Poona, 10 December 1919.

APPENDIX C.

Report on the Tod Manuscripts relating to the Pindaris and Rajputana.

By Jadunath Sarkar, I.E.S.

1. There are two manuscripts on the above subject composed by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod and copied by the clerks of his Residency. The first consists of 26 loose sheets of paper and includes the following two articles, *viz.* :—

(a) "Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Pindaris," 26½ pages, dated October 1811, with a continuation in 11 pages, dated 31 December 1813, which describes the movements of Sindhia after the unsuccessful siege of Bhopal (raised on 2 August 1813), and the doings of the Pindaris from August to December 1813, and

(b) "Outline of a plan for reducing the Pindarrahs," 13½ pages, dated 9 July 1815.

2. Each page consists of 34 lines of about 7 words each, and the whole manuscript contains about 12,000 words.

3. The second manuscript is a bound volume, containing several papers on the Pindaris (the substance of which has been reproduced in the two printed works on the Pindaris and the last Maratha War), sketches of some Maratha States, and what may be called the first draft of the descriptive and statistical chapters of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. These have no value for the student of history, though they are interesting as showing the growth of Tod's great work.

4. I recommend the publication of the first manuscript with an appendix containing copious extracts from the two printed works on the Pindaris, partly because the latter are now extremely scarce and partly because a modern student would be greatly helped if he can have the mass of information on the Pindaris in one place. If the *substance* of the valuable portions of the two printed works is given, the cost of printing will not be great.

CUTTACK,

JADUNATH SARKAR.

31 December 1919.

APPENDIX D.

Note by the Indore Representatives.

As representing the Indore State we beg to offer our thanks to the Indian Historical Records Commission for giving us an opportunity of attending their deliberations.

As far back as 1882 the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao seriously contemplated the compilation of a detailed history of the Holkar State, although some small attempts

had been made before in that direction. With that object in view he not only tried to investigate the State and private records then available but also approached the Bombay Government for such papers of the late Poona Government as may throw light on the history of the Holkar family and State. Much useful information was derived in this way through the courtesy of the Bombay Government. Unfortunately before the work of actual compilation could be commenced that Maharaja died and the subject was not pushed forward later on.

About 1904, the valuable State records, which were kept at Maheshwar, of Ahalya Bai's time, were inspected and removed to Indore for being made use of in connection with the State Gazetteer which was then in preparation. Copies of a portion of this record throwing light on her life and times were handed over to Colonel Luard and Mr B. Deo for bringing out her biography. This work is still under preparation.

Two or three years back the Holkar State took up the question of compiling a history on the lines which the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao had contemplated. But it was found that most of the records which had been brought over from Maheshwar as also other records and copies obtained from the Poona records were burnt or partially burnt owing to a fire which broke out in the old Palace. Nevertheless much valuable material is still available from

- (1) the half burnt State papers,
- (2) copies given to Colonel Luard,
- (3) records scattered in the various offices of the State,
- (4) records with the hereditary offices of the State and specially with the *Zamindars* and *Darkhastdars*.
- (5) other old families residing in the State,
- (6) the valuable publications of Messrs Rajwade, Khare, and Parasnis; the last of whom was given a handsome monetary assistance by the State for editing *Maheshwar Darbar che Batmipatras*.

We would particularly under the above head mention a chronicle of Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar's times written by *Bakhshi* Bhawani Shankar, constant attendant on the Maharaja in camp, and the accounts of various battles in Bharatpur and other places written by another camp-follower of that Maharaja.

To investigate, collate and systematize the information available, as above, a staff has been employed which has already collected a mass of documents bearing on the history of the Holkar State, and the work of copying and printing these is also being pushed forward. A scheme for the establishment of a Central Historical Association at Indore consisting of Professors and other learned people has been settled whereby it is hoped much useful work will be done to achieve the object aimed at.

We hope to learn much from the schemes which the present Commission has in view, and if our staff and the members of our Association are trained in the scientific methods through the courtesy of the Commission much time and labour would be saved and the work would be systematized.

Besides the State Agency individual efforts have also been made in the past, and are continuing still, for writing out histories dealing with specific periods of the Holkar State. Amongst these may be mentioned the publication issued by the Hindi and Marathi *Sahitya Samitis*, such as a biography of Maharani Ahalya Bai

in Marathi and a short general history of the Holkar State in Hindi. Mr Burway, who has already published lives of distinguished Maratha rulers and statesmen, has in preparation a life of the first Malhar Rao Holkar and of Maharaja Tukoji Rao; while the late Rao Bahadur V. K. Kimte has published a life of Rao Ramchandra Bhao, Prime Minister of Indore in the 'sixties. To encourage individual efforts of this nature the State has provided an annual grant of Rs 5,000, whereby deserving works in Marathi and Hindi are patronized.

We rely on the Commission to guide us in our work and give us all the facilities we may require in the training of our men and supplying us with such materials as they conveniently can. We are sure that the materials we have got or hope to collect would be valuable to all students of Maratha history.

LAHORE,

9 January 1920.

N. V. PHADKE, B.A., L.B.

MATHU LAL, B.A.

APPENDIX E.

Note by the Baroda Representative.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwar desires me cordially to thank the Commission for their kind invitation to the State to co-operate in the Commission's work. In response to this invitation His Highness' Government have appointed a Committee presided over by the State Commissioner of Education for carrying on in the State, work similar to that for which the Government of India have constituted the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Secretary of the Committee is to attend the meetings of the Commission as a representative from the State.

The said Committee recently held its first meeting to lay down the lines of action to be pursued in co-ordination with the work of the Indian Historical Records Commission. After taking into consideration the work hitherto done in the State in this connection, they advised His Highness' Government to carry on a thorough re-investigation into all the records of the State for papers of historical value and to prepare a catalogue thereof on the lines of the catalogue of the Orme Collection by Mr S. C. Hill. When this work is finished the Committee have an idea of securing copies of historical papers relating to Baroda from other sources and including them in the catalogue.

LAHORE,

Friday, 9 January 1920.

R. K. RANADIVE,

APPENDIX F.

Detailed Catalogue, prepared by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, of Historical Manuscripts, Pictures, etc., exhibited at Lahore before the Indian Historical Records Commission.

8 and 9 January 1920.

FROM THE PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT, LAHORE.

Pre-Mutiny and Mutiny Records.

1. Original Muster Rolls of Hodson's Horse.
2. Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858 as originally issued.
3. Suggested uniform for Afghan Regiments to be raised during the Mutiny.
4. File of daily telegrams sent from Delhi to Lahore during the Siege.
5. Proposal for a school for military school masters at Sanawar, 1857.
6. Complete set of press-lists, Vols. I-X and Supplementary Vol.
7. Complete set of printed Punjab records, Vols. 1 to 8 in 10 Parts.

Sikh Records, Persian Secretariat.

8. Specimens of Revenue papers.
9. Specimens of Army papers (Pay Rolls).
10. Press copy book of office records.
11. Press copy book of official orders.

FROM RAI SAHIB WAZIR CHAND.

12. Book of Sermons—as preached by the Puritan divines before the House of Commons in the year 1641.
13. Dalā'ilul-Khayrāt—Religious formulæ of the Sufis.
14. Shīr-o-Shakar :—
Author :—Dayā Rām Brahman.
Contents :—An account of the Sikhs from the reign of Shah Alam II and Ranjit Singh.
15. Gulistān (abridged) :—
Author :—Sa'di.
Contents :—Didactic stories.

16. Diwān-i-Shāhī.
Author :—Amīr Shāhī (969 A.H.).
Contents :—A Diwān of Ghazals with Qat'as and Rubā'is at the end.
17. Bhagwat Gītā :—(Illustrated)
A religious book of the Hindus, supposed to be a composition of Sri Krishna.
18. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh :—
Author :—Sujān Rāi Khatri of Batala.
Contents :—A general history of India from the earliest times to the 10th year of Alamgir's reign.
19. Shamsheer Khānī (Illustrated) :—
Author :—Shamsheer Khān.
Contents :—A prose abridgment of the Shāh Nāma, written at the suggestion of Dārā Shikoh.
20. Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī :—
Author :—Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān.
Contents :—A history of the reign of Alamgir, completed in 1122 A.H.
21. Buzurjmīhr Nāma :—
Author :—Unknown.
Contents :—Buzurjmīhr's counsels to Anushirwān of Persia.
22. Rāgmālā :—(Illustrated)
Author :—Unknown.
Contents :—A description of Indian and Persian music with paintings.
23. Diwān-i-Qāzī Muḥammad Rīzā Shirāzi :—
Author :—Qāzī Muḥammad Rīzā.
Contents :—Diwān of Ghazals in praise of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlāni, the great Sufi saint.
24. Zafar Nāma-i-Taimūrī :—
Author :—Sharfuddīn 'Alī Yazdī.
Contents :—An account of the life of Timur.
25. Bostān :—
Author :—Sa'di.
Contents :—Didactic poems.
26. Nigār Nāma :—
Author :—Lāl Chand alias Malikzāda.
Contents :—A collection of letters and specimens of official documents.
27. Akbar Nāma :—
Author :—Abul Faḡl.
Contents :—An account of the reign and institutes of Akbar.

28. Ramayana :—(Hindi) Illustrated.
Author :—Valmiki.
Contents :—An epic poem dealing with the life of Rama.
29. Hitopadesha :—(Urdu) Illustrated.
Author :—Translated by Mir Amman.
Contents :—Didactic stories.
30. Zafar Nāma-i-Akbari.
Author :—Dīwān Amar Nāth.
Contents :—History of Ranjit Singh and his successors.
31. Bhagwat Gita (See No. 17).
32. Jahāngīr Nāma.
Author :—Jahāngīr.
Contents :—His memoirs.
33. Tuhfat-ul Mulūk :—(Calligraphy).
Author :—Unknown.
Contents :—Counsels to sovereigns.
34. Taimūr Nāma :—
Author :—Hātifi.
Contents :—History of Timur in verse.
35. Album (Muhammadan saints, etc.).
36. Historical selections about Jahangir and Shah Jahan
Author :—Unknown.
37. Mahabharata :—
Translator :—Faizī, 'Abdul Qādir, etc.
Contents :—An epic about the wars of the Kurus and Pandavas.
38. Shāh Nāma :—
Author :—Firdausi.
Contents :—An epic about the Persian monarchs.
39. The Qurān (Holy book of the Moslems).
40. Dasham Skandha :—Illustrated.
A portion of the Bhagwat Gita (See No. 17).
41. Āin-i-Viceroy.
Author :—Salāmi.
Contents :—An account of the viceroys in Urdu verse.
42. Qurān—14th chapter, alleged to be written by Aurangzeb (a forgery).
43. A genealogical table of the Prophet Muhammad.
44. Dīwān-i-Wāqif.
Author :—Nūr-ul 'Ain Wāqif (1200 A.H.).
Contents :—Dīwān of Ghazals with a few Qatā's.

45. } Hamāyils.—The Qurān in pocket size.
46. }
47. Album—Mughal emperors and empresses.
48. }
49. } Hamāyils.—The Qurān in pocket size.
50. }
51. }

FROM LALA KANWAR SAIN.

52. The Qurān.
53. Nafhatul Uns :—
Author :—Jāmī.
Contents :—Biographies of celebrated Sufis and saints.

FROM LALA SOMER NATH (Government College).

54. Tārīkh-i-Khālīṣa (Illustrated).
See Zafar Nāma-i-Akbari, No. 30.

FROM THE PATIALA DURBAR.

55. Sikandar Nāma :—
Author :—Nizāmī Ganjawi.
Contents :—An epic dealing with the exploits of Alexander the Great.
56. Ekadashi Mahatma.—A religious scripture of the Hindus.
57. Bhagwat Puran :—A religious scripture of the Hindus.
58. Bhagwat Gita (See No. 17).
59. Āin-i-Akbari.
Author :—Abul Fazl.
Contents :—An account of the administration of Akbar.
60. Haqīqat Rāi (Illustrated).
Author :—Unknown.
Contents :—A description of the martyrdom of Haqīqat Rāi.
61. }
62. } Albums.
63. }

FROM THE KAPURTHALA DURBAR.

64. }
65. } Shāh Nāma, illustrated, in 3 Vols. (See No. 38).
66. }
67. Sikandar Nāma (See No. 55).
68-71. (Transferred as entries 8-11 on p. xvi ante.)

72. Akbar Nāma (See No. 27).
 73. Tuhfat-ul-Hind.
 Author :— Bhola Nath Khatri.
 Contents :—Geographical account and revenue returns of the Mughal provinces of India.
 74. Tafsīr-i-Husainī
 Author :—Mulla Husain Wāiz Kāshifī.
 Contents :—A commentary of the Qurān.
 75. Tafsīr-i-Kabīr :—
 Author :—Fakhruddīn Rāzī.
 Contents :—A commentary of the Qurān.
 76. Khamsa-i-Nizāmī. (Calligraphy.)
 Author :—Nizāmī Ganjawi.
 Contents :—The following five magnavīs :—
 a. Makhzan-ul-Asrār.
 b. Sikandar Nāma.
 c. Khusrō-wa-Shīrīn.
 d. Lailā-wa-Majnūn.
 e. Haft Paikar.
 77. Tuhfat-ul-Haramain :—
 Author :—Muhiy-ud-Din.
 Contents :—A description of the Holy places of Islam in Arabia.
 78. Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr.
 Author :—Narayan Kaul.
 Contents :—History of Kashmir up to 1262 A.H.
 79. Diwān-i-Kamāl. (Calligraphy.)
 Author :—Shaikh Kamāl Khujandī.
 Contents :—Ghazals.
 80. Inshā Nāma-i-Nāmī.
 Author :—Ghayās-ud-din *alias* Khwāja Mīr.
 Contents :—Epistles.
 81. Khamsa-i-Nizāmī (See No. 76).
 82. Sadd-i-Sikandari.
 Author :—‘Abdullah Khān.
 Contents :—History of the Mughals in Persia and Transoxiana.
 83. Nizām-ut-Tawārīkh.
 Author :—Qāzi Abū Saīd ‘Abdullah Baizāwī.
 Contents :—History of Arabia and Persia up to 674 A.H.

84. Tagkira-i-Shu‘rā-i-Urdu.
 Author :—Mir Abul Qāsim Qudrat-ullah Qadri.
 Contents :—Lives of Urdu poets.
 85. Chahār-Gulzār-i-Shujā‘ī.
 Author :—Harcharan Das.
 Contents :—History of India from the earliest times up to the reign of Shah Alam II.
 86. Tārīkh-i-Sindh.
 Author :—Mīr Muḥammad M‘aṣūm Bhakri.
 Contents :—History of Sindh from the Muslim conquest up to Akbar’s reign.
 87. Chāch Nāma.
 Author :—‘Alī bin Hamid Kūfī.
 Contents :—History of Chach, the raja of Alor, and conquest of Sindh by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Saqafi. Written 630 A.H.
 88. Anjuman-i-Khāqān :—
 Author :—Muḥammad Fāzil Khān.
 Contents :—Memoirs of Fateh Ali Qachar of Persia. Written 1234 A.H.
 89. Tārīkh-i-Bahāwal Khān.
 Author :—Wadera Jan Muḥammad Khān.
 Contents :—Life of Bahāwal Khān, Nawab of Bahawalpur (1186-1224 A.H.).
 90. Tārīkh-i-Kashmir
 Author :—Narayan Kaul (See No. 78).
 91. Tārīkh-i-Panjāb.
 Author :—Ghulām Muhiy-ud-din Bûtē Shah.
 Contents :—History of the Punjab from the earliest times to 1840 A.D.
 92. Waqā‘i Humāyūn.
 Author :—Jauhar Āftābchī.
 Contents :—Memoirs of Humāyūn, the second Great Mughal.
 93. Amīr Nāma.
 Author :—Basawan Lāl Shaidā Bilgrami.
 Contents :—A short history of Amīr Khān, founder of the Tonk State.
 94. History of Delhi.
 Author :—Unknown.
 Contents :—History of Delhi up to 1080 A.H.
 95. History of Ranjīt Singh.
 Author :—Unknown.
 Contents :—Chronological account of the reign of Ranjīt Singh (incomplete). Seems to have been written at the order of the Maharaja.

96. *Nuzhatul Arwāh*. (Calligraphy.)
 Author :—Ruknuddīn Amīr Husain Ibn Alam.
 Contents :—Doctrines of Sufism.
97. *Jahānkushā-i-Nādirī*.
 Author :—Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī.
 Contents :—History of Nadir Shah and his exploits.
98. *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrez* (Calligraphy and illustration.)
 Author :—Shams-i-Tabrez.
 Contents :—Ghazals.
99. *Miraat-i-Āftābnumāi*.
 Author :—Shāh Nawāz Khān.
 Contents :—An anthology—containing history from the creation up to the reign of Shah Alam II. (Specially valuable as a history of Shah Alam II.)
100. *Nashtar-i-Sakhun*.
 Author :—Unknown.
 Contents :—Biographical note on Persian poets up to 1200 A.H. (Incomplete).
101. *Āin-i-Akbarī* (See No. 59).
102. (See No. 59.)

FROM LALA SOMER NATH (GOVT COLLEGE).

103. *Ibrat Nāma*.
 Author :—Alī Ibrāhīm Khān.
 Contents :—History of the Marathas from their origin to 1199 A.H.
104. *Waqāi Alamgīrī*.
 Author :—Aqil Khan Rāzī.
 Contents :—Account of the early years of the reign of Aurangzeb.
105. *Ālamgīr Nāma*.
 Author :—Mirza Muḥammad Kāzīm Shirāzī.
 Contents :—History of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign.

FROM MAULAVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A.

106. *Amīr Nāma* (See No. 93).
107. *Nasratāin or Waqā-i-Holkar*.
 Author :—Mohan Singh.
 Contents :—A short history of the Holkar family.
108. *Bahār-i-Sakhun*.
 Author :—Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambu, Shaikh.
 Contents :—Collection of the letters of Aurangzeb, etc.

109. *Shash Naṣr-i-Kangra*.
 Author :—Mirzā Kamāl Ṭabāṭabāʾī.
 Contents :—A history of the six sacks of the fort of Kangra in Muhammadan times.
110. *Wāqīāt Alamgīrī* (See No. 104).
111. *Wāqīāt Humāyūn* (See No. 92).
112. *Ādāb-i-Alamgīrī*.
 Author :—Compiled by Abul Aḥrar and Qābil Khān.
 Contents :—A collection of the letters of Aurangzeb, written by his Secretary Qābil Khān.
113. *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh*.
 Author :—Bindrāban.
 Contents :—A general history of India, up to the reign of Aurangzeb.
- 114 and 118. *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, Parts 1 and 2.
 Author :—Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn.
 Contents :—A court history of the first ten years of the reign of Shah Jahan.
- 115 and 116. *Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf*.
 Author :—Abdullah Ibn Faḥlullāh (699 A.H.).
 Contents :—An early history of the Mongols.
117. *Inshā-i-Ḥamīduddīn*.
 Author :—Ḥamīduddīn.
 Contents :—Collection of letters written by Ḥamīduddīn generally to Nauras Bānū Begam and Dilras Bānū Begam from the camp of Aurangzeb.
118. (See 114.)
119. *Chahār Chaman-i-Brahman*.
 Author :—Chandar Bhān.
 Contents :—The book deals with the topography and statistics of the Mughal empire under Shah Jahan.
120. *Bisāṭ-ul-Ghanāim*.
 Author :—Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq.
 Contents :—History of the Marathas from the rise of Shivaji to the battle of Panipat.
121. *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (See No. 18).
122. *Dastūr al Amal Āgāhī*.
 Author :—Collected at the request of Raja Abhamal by one of his companions.
 Contents :—Collection of the letters of Aurangzeb to his father, sons, officials and servants, including his *Wasiyat Nāma* (last will).

123. *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shahi* (also known as *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi*).

Author :—Abbās Khan ibn 'Alī Shirwani.

Contents :—History of Sher Shah's reign.

Specimens of hand-writing, *Sanads*, *Farman*s, etc.

- 124. Dara Shikoh's writing.
- 125. Shah Shuja's writing.
- 126. Imad's writing.
- 127. Abdur Rashid's writing.
- 128. Sayyad Ali-ul Husain's writing.
- 129. Abdur Rahim's writing.
- 130. Muhammad Aqil's writing.
- 131. Muhammad Amir's writing.
- 132. Twenty-seven leaves written by Shah Mahmud of Naishapur.
- 133. A Pass from Sir Edward Colebrooke.
- 134. A *Sanad* of Alamgir II.
- 135. A *Sanad* of Muhammad Shah.
- 136. A Warrant.
- 137. A *Sanad* dated 1175 A.H.
- 138. A Sale deed dated 1175 A.H.
- 139. A *Sanad* of Muhammad Shah.
- 140. Chak Nama, dated 1068 A.H.

FROM NAZR MUHAMMAD TUR.

- 141. *Sanad* of Shah Jahan.
- 142. „ Alamgir.
- 143. „ Shah Jahan.
- 144. „ Alamgir.
- 145. „ Shah Jahan.
- 146. *Farman* of Shah Jahan.
- 147. *Sanad* of Muhammad Shah.
- 148. „ Alamgir.
- 149. „ „

Pictures.

FROM DIWAN KISHAN KISHORE.

- 150. Mirza Jahangir.
- 151. Nadir Shah.
- 152. Guru Govind Singh.

- 153. Guru Harkrishan.
- 154. Raja Dhyān Singh.
- 155. Raja Gulab Singh.
- 156. Jamadar Khushhal Singh.
- 157. Raja Suchet Singh.
- 158. Raja Hira Singh.
- 159. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
- 160. Diwan Devi Dyal.
- 161. An English Lady.
- 162. An English Gentleman.
- 163. Sir Henry Fane.
- 164. Hindu Gods.
- 165. Mahabharata.
- 166. Zenana Dogra Dress.
- 167. Raja Dina Nath.
- 168. Raja Gulab Singh.
- 169. Brij Lal Misr and others.
- 170. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
- 171. Jowala Mukhi.
- 172. Khusrō Shirin.

FROM RAI SAHIB WAZIR CHAND.

- 173. Haidar Ali.
- 174. Shahzada Khurram.
- 175. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.
- 176. Jahangir.
- 177. Aurangzeb.
- 178. Scene of Sultan Ghorī's invasion.
- 179. Unknown.
- 180. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula.
- 181. Dara Shikoh and Baba Lal.
- 182. Muhammad Sharif, grandfather of Nur Jahan.
- 183. Shahzada Kamran.
- 184. Shah Jahan.
- 185. Guru Ram Das.
- 186. Guru Govind Singh.
- 187. A Sikh Prince.
- 188. Guru Nanak (early age).
- 189. Raja Dalip Singh.
- 190. Guru Har Rai.

191. Guru Ram Das.
192. Guru Angad.
193. Guru Arjan.
194. " "
195. Guru Amar Das.
196. Guru Tegh Bahadur.
197. Guru Nanak.
198. Guru Govind Singh.
199. Guru Hargobind.
200. An unknown picture.
201. " " "
202. Guru Har Rai.
203. Prithi Raj.
204. Guru Tegh Bahadur.
205. Guru Hargobind.
206. Guru Har Kishan.
207. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
208. Guru Govind Singh's sons.
209. Rana Partab.
210. Tan Sen.
211. Chandar Chaltar.
212. Nur Jahan.
213. Specimens of Calligraphy (four).
214. Court of Ranjit Singh (framed picture).

FROM THE BOWRING COLLECTION.

215. Grants of land, Vijaynagar, about 550 A.D.
216. Letter from the Shah of Persia to Lord Hardinge.
217. Grants of land, Mysore, 1650.

FROM THE LAHORE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

218. Zubdat-ut-Tawârikh.
Author:—Nur-ul-Haqq-Haqqi.
Contents:—General History of India from Shahabuddin Ghorî to the accession of Jahangir 1014 A.H., being a revised and enlarged edition of *Târikh-i-Haqqi* by Abdul Haqq, father of Nur-ul-Haqq.
219. Chahâr Chaman.
Author:—Daulat Rai Saksena.
Contents:—General history of India up to 1225.

220. *Adâb-i-Âlamgîrî* (See No 112).
221. *Tuhfa-i-Akbar Shahi* (See No. 123).
222. *Iqbâl Nama-i-'Âlamgîrî*.
Author:—Unknown.
Contents:—An account of the reign of Aurangzeb.
223. *Târikh-i-Sikhhân*.
Author:—The Munshi of David Ochterlony.
Contents:—A brief account of the Pandavas and Kurus and the history of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak up to Ranjit Singh's interview with Zaman Shah of Kabul (1811).
224. *Târikh-i-Sikhhân*.
Author:—Swarup Lal.
Contents:—A history in Urdu of the Sikh Misl and other Rajput States in the Punjab in the Sikh time at the time of the Annexation.
225. *Târikh-i-Sikhhân* (Urdu).
Author:—Atar Singh, Chief of Badhaur.
Contents:—History of the descendants of Phûl (Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jindh, etc.).
226. *Târikh-i-Irâdat Khân*.
Author:—Mubârak-ullah Wâzih entitled *Irâdat Khân*.
Contents:—A history of Farrukh Siyar and an account of his reign.
227. *'Ibrat Maqâl*.
Author:—Âbdul Karîm Kashmiri.
Contents:—A continuation of the '*Ibrat Nâma*' by Muhammad Qâsim bringing it to 1198 A.H. with a special account of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali.
228. *'Ibrat Nâma*.
Author:—Sayyad Muhammad Qâsim '*Ibrat*'.
Contents:—History of the empire of Delhi to the fall of the Sayyad brothers.
229. *Târikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* (also called *Nâdirat-uz-Zamâni*).
Author:—Khushhal Chand Khatri.
Contents:—General history written with special reference to India with a record of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1181-1161 A.H.).
230. *Tuzak-i-Taimûri*.
Author:—Alleged to be an autobiography, translated into Persian by Al-Husaini.
Contents:—Autobiography of Tamerlane.
231. *Târikh-i-Sindh* (See No. 86).

232. *Tāẓkh-i-Shujāi*.

Author :—Muhammad Māsūm (a servant of Shah Shuja).

Contents :—History of Shah Shuja up to his disappearance in Arakan.

233. *Shāh Jahān Nāma*.

Author :—Mullā Zāhid.

Contents :—An abridgment of the *Shāh Jahān Nāma* by Abdul Hamid Lahori.

FROM THE BOWRING COLLECTION.

234. Religious Exhortations to the Maulvis of Peshawar by the Akhund of Swāt.

A picture of Akbar and Miriam after an original drawing by Hashim, Court painter of Shah Jahan.

Original drawing by Hashim.

Two cases of selections from Mr. Bowring's Collection were also shown. This collection consists of three large volumes filled with letters, *farmans*, seals, *kharitas*, etc., and needs careful arrangement and revision. There are, among other things, letters from every Governor-General, Commander-in-Chief and Secretary of State and a detailed genealogical table of every ruling family in India. The whole collection is a very valuable one.

APPENDIX G.

Rules regulating the access of the public to the Records of the Government of India.

Note.—These rules are applicable only to cases where documents are required for *bond fide* historical research.

1. The Record Office is open daily (excepting Sundays, the Christmas and Easter holidays, the October Pujahs and certain other festivals and holidays), the hours of admission being 10-30 A.M.—4-30 P.M., on Saturdays 10-30 A.M.—2 P.M.

2. Persons wishing to examine the records of the Government of India should apply in writing to the Keeper of the Records (3, Government Place West, Calcutta), stating their office, profession, titles or other qualifications, and the object with which they wish to examine them.

3. All applications should be disposed of by the Keeper of the Records in accordance with the rules drawn up from time to time by the Departments to which the records belong. In the case of records belonging to the Army, Foreign and Political and Legislative Departments the Keeper is required to make a reference to those Departments.

4. Government reserves to itself the right to refuse or to modify any application.

5. Inspection is allowed only in the Record Office itself.

6. Permission must be obtained to take copies and extracts and to make use of information gained from the records. (Typed copies can be supplied by the Record Department at the rate of 1 anna for 50 words.)

7. Any person who uses the records for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records is required to deposit one copy of his work as soon as published, in the Record Department.

8. Persons not wishing or being unable themselves to examine the records, should apply to the Keeper of the Records who will, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken, at the cost of the applicant, either by the Assistants of the Imperial Record Department or by some other reliable person.

9. A separate slip shall be clearly written and signed by every person for each paper or volume he requires before any record can be produced. The slip is returned to him when he again hands over the record.

10. No person may have more than five 'original consultations' or two volumes out at a time.

11. Big folio volumes are to be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.

12. No person may lean on any of the documents, or put one on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

13. No sort of mark, pen, pencil or otherwise, may be made on any record. Tracing is not permitted.

By order,

R. H. BLAKER.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT,
Calcutta, 11 May 1920.

*Keeper of the Records of the
Government of India.*



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Abbreviations :—Dept = Department ; Gov. = Governor ; Govt = Government ; I. H. R. C. = Indian Historical Records Commission ; F. R. D. = Imperial Record Department ; Secy = Secretary ; Supdt = Superintendent.

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