

Journal of the Indian History

THE ARMY OF RANJIT SINGH

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The Khalsa army before Ranjit Singh

Before proceeding to give an account of the organization of Ranjit Singh's forces, it seems necessary to introduce a brief notice of the nature and character of the army in the earlier days of the rise of the *Khalsa*.

The process which led to the transformation of the Sikhs from a sect of peaceful devotees to a militant community is in itself full of historical interest.* But as the scope of the present paper does not permit any elaborate treatment or discussion of this change, we shall only confine ourselves to its bare outline, which will form a fit introduction to the subject.

The Life and Work of Nanak, 1469—1538

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born in 1469 A.D. and died in 1538 at the advanced age of seventy. Nanak spent about a quarter of a century in travelling and itinerary preaching through the whole length and breadth of India. He is also believed to have visited some places outside India, such as Mecca, Medina, and Persia. Eventually Nanak settled at Kartarpur—a village founded by himself. Here he built a *dharmāsala* (Sikh chapel) and continued, to the end of his life, to teach the crowds of people who now flocked to him from various parts of the Punjab.

Nanak's mission of life was the purification of Hindu religion and the reformation of Hindu society. The society was mostly priest-ridden, and the popular Hindu religion in the days of Nanak was confined to the observance of mere formalities, rituals, and ceremonials. He asserted most emphatically that the *Brahmins* and the *Malahs*, who followed religion as a profession, were not the true guides to truth, that they were like blind men leading the blind, and that salvation lay only in devoting oneself to the service of God.

Nanak further declared that truth was greater than all pilgrimages and that the love of God was better than all religious rites and ceremonies. In fact, he taught the people that the only way to salvation lay through *bhakti*, or devotion to God, combined with good actions.

* This process is described in some detail by Dr. G. C. Narang in his well-known treatise, "Transformation of Sikhism", published 1912 A.D., to which I am largely indebted for this portion of my article.



Progress of Nanak's mission and the founding of the Sikh Church, 1538—1607

Fortunately for the mission of Nanak, his successors were all very intelligent men and possessed great organising ability, energy, and devotion. In seventy years after his death, we find that, under the careful guidance of these successors, the movement had assumed a definite shape; and that his little following had grown into a power and a strong factor in society. Whether the measures taken by the successors of Nanak were designed for a particular end in view is difficult to say; but the result which they eventually produced seems natural.

Guru Angad, who succeeded Nanak, is said to have invented the *Gurmukhi* characters, which subsequently became a common script of the Sikhs and in which all their sacred and secular literature is now written. He also compiled with the help of Bhai Bala, a life-long companion of Nanak, the memoirs and teachings of his *guru* in a book-form. Those who had accepted the mission of Nanak now naturally looked upon the script and the memoirs as something which they could call their own. These measures of Angad were therefore calculated to give a sort of individuality to the mission of Nanak.

Angad was succeeded by Amar Das in 1552 A.D. The most important work done by this Amar Das, which subsequently went a long way in strengthening the foundations of the Sikh Church, was his instituting the system of the diocesan *gaddis* or *manjas*.* Since the number of the Sikhs was increasing and the work of preaching could not be carried on properly from one place, Amar Das, taking for his basis the administrative divisions of the country, divided the area permeated by Sikhism into twenty-two districts and appointed one influential and pious Sikh in each to act as the Vicegerent of the Guru and carry on the pastoral work in his diocese. This step of Guru Amar Das has the same importance in the history of the Sikh Church as the system of the diocesan bishoprics, introduced in the seventh century by Theodore of Tarsus, in the English Church.

Amar Das bestowed his pontifical succession upon his son-in-law, Ram Das, who laid the foundations of Amritsar—the chief place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs at the present time. The official

* *Manja* is a kind of bedstead used in India. It was a substitute for the diocesan *gaddi* which the Guru's Vicegerents occupied.

patronage of the tolerant Emperor Akbar, enjoyed by Amar Das and Ram Das, considerably contributed to the prestige and influence of the Gurus. It made the Sikh cause popular with the higher classes of society as well as with the peasantry of the Punjab.*

In the time of Arjan Dev, the son and successor of Ram Das, the Sikh movement takes a more definite shape. The results or the consequences of the measures adopted by the previous Gurus for the advancement of Nanak's mission, could not be clearly perceived. The efforts of Arjan Dev, however, were more pronounced. They may be taken as a sign-post pointing the direction which Sikhism might take for its future development. The institution of the diocesan *gaddis*, founded by Amar Das, was turned to better advantage by Arjan Dev. The customary offerings which his followers used to make, were reduced to a systematic tax by the fifth Guru, and the incumbents of the diocesan *gaddis* were required to collect and send the proceeds annually to the Guru's treasury on the day of the *Bisakhi* festival. He thus placed the finances of the church on a sounder and a less precarious basis. Arjan Dev further induced many of his followers to deal in horses, a lucrative trade and one calculated to encourage the spirit of adventure and develop a taste for riding, so that the Sikhs subsequently became the finest horsemen in Northern India. The next step taken by Arjan Dev was not less important. "Like the great founders of other religions", says the author of the *Panth-Parkash*, "Guru Arjan Dev realised the necessity of placing some sort of sacred book in the hands of his followers in order to secure permanency for the mission of Nanak". He accordingly compiled the *Granth Sahib*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, which contained the various writings of his predecessors as well as his own. In the estimation of the Sikhs, this compilation at once occupied a position equal to that of the Bible, the Quran, and the Vedas. Simultaneously with the compilation of the *Granth*, Guru Arjan Dev also gave the Sikhs a Mecca, or a Haridwar, in Amritsar, whither he now transferred his own seat and where he built the temple of Har Mandir.

* Akbar was encamped in Lahore for about a year with a large army. As a consequence the prices had considerably risen. The harvest time was at hand when Akbar was prepared to leave the province. The Guru saw that the prices would suddenly fall and the peasantry, whom the scarcity of the year had driven into debt, would be completely ruined. The Guru asked Akbar to remit the whole land-tax for the year: Akbar consented, and the impending catastrophe was prevented. This greatly increased the popularity of the Guru.

The elements necessary for a theocratic state were now almost complete. The Sikhs had their sacred literature and a religious code in the Granth, their holy city in Amritsar, and a chief in the person of their Guru whom they now began to address as Sachha-Padsha, or "the True King". The finances of the Church had become regular and more systematic. This fact was shrewdly noticed by the almost contemporary writer, Mohsan Fani,* who says that the Sikhs had already become accustomed to a form of self-government within the empire. The power and prestige of the Guru had increased and he was now becoming an important factor in the political life of the country. His alliance was sought by the Diwan or Finance minister of Lahore, who desired to give his daughter in marriage to the son of the Guru. Again the rebel prince Khurro, when he reached the Punjab, resorted for help to the Guru, who is believed to have advanced a considerable sum of money to the prince and prayed for his success. As a result of this, Guru Arjan Dev was arraigned of treason and fined by the order of Emperor Jehangir.

As will be gathered from the above outline, already a fairly secular turn had been given to the ambition of the Sikhs, and the death of their Guru now served, as it were, as a signal blast to rally the physical forces of the theocracy round the person of his youthful son, Hargobind. Hargobind seems to have been brought up by his father from his very childhood for a different sphere of life from his predecessors on the *gaddi*. Immediately on ascending the *gaddi* he made certain significant innovations in the character of Guruship. Fond of riding, tent-pegging, and hunting, he introduced and encouraged the use of flesh in the diet of his followers. He also made it obligatory that their presents for the Guru should consist of horses, arms, and other equipments of war. He further threw up a mud fort in Amritsar. With Hargobind the mode of living of the Guru also underwent a change. To the symbols of asceticism he added the paraphernalia of royalty, i.e., the sword, the umbrella, and the crest. To complete this transformation, as it were, Hargobind introduced a regular political terminology. He was addressed as *Sachcha Padsha* (the True King), his assembly came to be termed as *darbar*, and the temple (or its precincts where these assemblies were held) was called the *darbar sahib* or

*Mohsan Fani was contemporary and friend of Guru Hargobind, son of Arjan Dev. He wrote his well-known work, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, in the times of Hargobind.

the audience-hall. The *chabutra* or terrace from which the Guru used to dispense justice and which was specially built for the purpose (since he had forbidden his followers to carry their civil or criminal suits to Moghal courts), was known as *Akal takht* or the imperishable throne. Besides these changes he also addressed himself to the task of raising a little army of his own as a measure of self-defence. He exhorted his followers to bear arms and be always prepared to fight the enemies of their religion. These formed his reserves and came to fight under his flag whenever he summoned them. He further took into his service several adventurers and dare-devils, both Hindus and Pathans.

Origin of the Khalsa army under Hargobind, 1607--1644

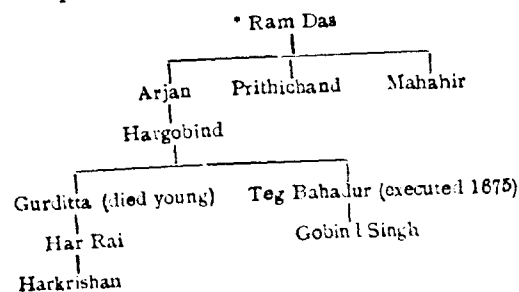
Mohsan Fani, a contemporary of Hargobind, estimates the strength of the force in the Guru's service at 300 horsemen and 60 artillerymen together with a stable of 800 horses. To this humble beginning, then, may be traced the origin of the Khalsa army, which at the close of the eighteenth century could muster 70,000 cavalry and had, after experiencing various reverses of fortune, ultimately succeeded in overwhelming the whole of the Punjab.

Although Hargobind had ascended the *gaddi* as a sworn enemy of the Muslim Government, yet we find that for some time he was not only unmolested but was a favourite friend and follower of Jehangir. The emperor granted him an allowance of Rs. 500 per diem for the maintenance of a feudal army comprising 7 guns, 500 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry, with powers to act as Supervisor-General over the Punjab affairs. Subsequently, however, circumstances drove Hargobind to take up arms against the Muhamadan officials of the Province. In his military career Hargobind was engaged in three battles with the Provincial troops of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and all of these three he won. Eventually, however, he retired from the field, and, not thinking it safe to live any longer in the plains, he took shelter in the hills, where he passed his remaining days in perfect peace till he died in 1644 A.D.

Hargobind was the first Guru who entered upon a military career. "After his time", says Cunningham, "the Sikhs were in little danger of relapsing into the limited merit or utility of monks and mendicants".

The Sikhs under Gobind Singh, 1675—1707

The peaceful times of Gurus Har Rai, Har Kishan, and Teg-Bahadur, who succeeded Hargobind in turn, in no way encouraged the growth of military spirit infused by him in his followers. The small army which he had raised and which contained some adventurous spirits, perhaps, was also soon dispersed. But the success which attended the arms of the Sikhs in the three battles they had fought under Hargobind, made them realize their own power and perhaps held out some high hopes of their future greatness. The next great advance which the Sikhs made in their military career, was under Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last in the line of apostolic successors of the great Nanak. Like his grandfather Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh ascended the *gaddi* as an injured son and an implacable foe of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who had executed his father, Teg Bahadur.* Gobind was resolved to avenge the wrongs done to his father and his nation. He consequently addressed himself to prepare his men for the mighty task, and we find that under this inspired leader Sikhism assumes quite a new aspect. By introducing several religious and social reforms, as well as by the adoption of distinctive symbols and devices, Gobind Singh awakened in his followers a new sense of definite purpose and destiny in the life of the nation. He enjoined upon them the worship of *Shakti* or Goddess of force, and made it obligatory upon all Sikhs to keep steel round their person in one shape or another. He diverted their attention from the plough to the sword. Gobind Singh gave to the community the general name of *Khalsa*, i.e., the chosen or *elect* of God, and impressed upon their mind the idea that they were born to conquer. † In a word, the result of Gobind Singh's teachings was



† The mode of salutation of the Sikhs, introduced by Gobind Singh, was to be, and still is, *Wahe guru ji Ka Khalsa, Wahe guru ji hi jai*. (The Lord's is the *Khalsa*, the Lord's be the victory.)

that the spirit of devotion and sacrifice became deeper and the votaries of the faith now fought with the spirit of crusaders against their opponents.

Hargobind had fought three battles, whereas Gobind Singh's military career extended over nearly thirteen years. During this time he constantly employed his men in war, now against the hill chiefs, and now against the troops of the Imperial Viceroys. The Sikhs, accordingly, were now better acquainted with the art of war and also became more expert in the use of arms. They are said to have even used guns during the siege of Chanderpur and to have successfully returned the enemy's fire from the walls of the fortress where they had mounted their own guns.

Gobind Singh organised his men into troops and bands, and supplemented them by engaging the services of professional soldiers of which there was no dearth in those days.* The greatest number which Gobind Singh is said to have engaged in a single battle was about 8,000 men, horse and foot.

The Khalsa under Banda Bahadur, 1708—1716 A.D.

Banda Bahadur, who was appointed as the temporal leader of the Sikhs after Gobind Singh,† led them to greater enterprises and more dangerous contests. The Sikhs were now engaged by Banda against the more disciplined troops of the emperor, and also gained victory over some of them. Under Banda the Sikhs were open rebels against the Government. They took possession of the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

However the Imperial troops were too much for the undisciplined Sikhs and their leader was eventually captured and executed with hundreds of his followers in 1716 A.D.

Banda's troops consisted of three classes of men. The first class comprised the true and loyal Sikhs who fought for the sake of their faith. The second class consisted of mercenaries who had been recruited and sent to Banda, and were secretly paid for their

* The Guru employed about 500 Pathans who formed a part of his cavalry.

† Gobind Singh was stabbed by his two Pathan protégés, whose father he had killed. Gobind Singh put an end to the apostolic succession and appointed one Banda Bairagi to carry on his work as a temporal leader. Banda was originally a Rajput of the Dogra tribe. While quite a youth, Banda had renounced the world and become a *Sadhu*; he left the Punjab and settled on the banks of the Godavari. The Guru, while travelling in the Deccan, met him there and appealed to him by his Rajput descent to carry on the work of national liberation, and appointed him as his successor.

up-keep and maintenance by such chieftains as did not openly like to run the risk of losing court favour and their possessions. The third class was entirely composed of the irregulars who were attracted by the love of booty and plunder.

The result of twenty years' constant fighting (1696—1716 A.D.) under Gobind Singh and Banda now stood the Sikhs in good stead when the execution of the latter left them without a common recognised leader. The simple, untrained peasant of Guru Hargobind had now become a regular, well-equipped soldier of the Khalsa, adept in the use of arms and trained in the methods of guerilla warfare. The Khalsa had further tasted the sweets of victory and acquired a love for plunder.*

*Temporary suppression and re-assertion of the Khalsa,
1716—1738 A.D.*

Although after the execution of Banda the Sikhs were mercilessly persecuted by the Government of the day, yet the rising spirit of the Khalsa was not totally crushed. The more honest from amongst their ranks fled to the jungles, hills, and deserts of Rajputana and Bikanir, where they nursed their grief and lay in waiting for a favourable opportunity. This opportunity offered itself when the invasions of Nadir Shah threw the Punjab into confusion. Taking full advantage of this anarchical state of the Province, the Sikhs swooped down from their hill-recesses and began to plunder the towns and cities. Such a state is always tempting to the bold and the courageous, and the ranks of the Khalsa (whose name had now become synonymous with a highway robber) began to swell. The invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali made the political condition of the Province even worse. And the Sikhs were not slow to turn this confusion to their best advantage. They now formed themselves into bands of tens and twenties under the leadership of a more daring chief and began to harass the authorities, and thus further developed the methods of guerilla warfare for which they subsequently became so famous.

The founding of the Dal Khalsa or national army, 1748 A.D.

The idea of a united Khalsa army, which was created by Gobind Singh and was fostered in the community in the days of Banda Bahadur, became very much weakened during the time of

* The spiritual sanction for plunder was indirectly given by Gobind Singh himself: Robbing the Robber, he had declared, was no sin.

their temporary suppression. There was now no recognised leader amongst the Sikhs. The leaders of the small bands into which they had now resolved themselves, though they often joined their forces in a common cause, were mainly guided by their personal ambition. This state of affairs continued for some time, till, in 1748 A.D., these various groups recognised Jassa Singh Kalal as a common leader of the theocracy and a collective name of *Dal Khalsa* was given to the entire body of the fighting Sikhs. The *dal* thus became a standing national army with its various divisions commanded by their respective leaders.

*The Khalsa becomes a dominant Power in the Punjab,
1738—1768 A.D.*

As already remarked, the Punjab for full thirty years from 1738 to 1768 A.D., was in the throes of anarchy and confusion. The authority of the Emperor at Delhi had ceased to extend, nor was the province effectually managed by its new rulers of Kabul. This neglect or inability of the authorities enabled the Sikh bands or associations to prosper, and the most successful leaders purchased horses with the proceeds of their spoils and mounted and armed their followers. They gradually settled in plains near Amritsar and also managed to throw up a couple of fortresses in the neighbourhood. Since all these leaders owned a fervent allegiance to the Khalsa, each felt a general readiness to assist his neighbour's scheme of conquest, prompted partly by the desire of the good of the Khalsa and partly by the desire of a legitimate share in the spoils. It was no long time before one leader or another had spread Sikh dominion over the greater part of the country. By these means nearly the whole of the central Punjab became subject to the Khalsa domination, and, before the century closed, twelve of the most important leaders had established themselves as masters of important principalities.

Constitution and character of the Dal Khalsa

The *dal* may be said to have had a family likeness to the other institutions of the Khalsa community. It was very democratic in its constitution. Every Sikh who had acquired some proficiency in the use of arms could get himself enrolled in the national army and fight under the banner of some chief. He was further at liberty to give up the profession of arms, if he so chose to do, or transfer his service from one chief to another.

Composed, as it was, of the forces of various chiefs stationed in their respective territories, the *dal* gathered together at least once in a year, when the chiefs assembled at Amritsar on the occasion of Dassehra festival, to undertake joint military expeditions. It was also summoned on special occasions by the *Akalis* or the warrior priests in charge of the temple at Amritsar, when any common danger threatened their religion.

The generals who were to lead the several divisions of this national army, were chosen for the occasion and the expeditions to be undertaken were planned. But as soon as the purpose for which it was gathered was achieved, the army automatically dissolved.

Mode of payment

The spoils of the conquest were brought into a common national fund, and the confederate chiefs partitioned their joint conquests equally among themselves and divided their shares in the same manner amongst their own leaders of small bands, who again in their turn sub-divided their shares amongst their own dependants agreeably to the general custom of sub-infeudation.

The Standing Armies of Individual Chiefs, 1768—1800 A.D.

The *dal* or the national army, with a constitution as described above, could not endure for a long time. The very principles on which it was organised precluded cohesion and permanence. Accordingly, when the common danger which threatened their religion had disappeared with the collapse of the Abdali Monarchy, the spirit of co-operation which was responsible for the early rise of the *Dal Khalsa*, began to vanish, and the meetings of the national force became less frequent. On the other hand the restless spirit of the militant *Khalsa* now asserted itself in another direction. Having no common enemy to fight, the various chiefs who were now established in their respective territories, were soon engaged in mutual jealousy and strife. It became imperative, therefore, for the chiefs to strengthen their individual resources and keep their own standing armies. This change of policy, it may be remarked, brought about an important though silent change in the general constitution of the *Khalsa*. The democratic *Khalsa* was changing into a community of feudal chiefs and was silently paving the way for monarchy, which the great Ranjit established at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

The chiefs now became more assiduous in their attention to the wants and wishes of their followers, for it was only by such means that they could retain their services. In order, therefore, to attach his followers to his person, and strengthen their feelings of loyalty and allegiance, the chief divided the portion of the conquered lands amongst his followers--thus insensibly introducing or strengthening the principle of feudalism in the Sikh theocracy.

The Khalsa as professional soldiers

Side by side with these, another important change, though not clearly perceived at the time, was going on. In the early days of its rise, the entire *Khalsa* was a camp of fighting men, and, as already remarked, any Sikh who possessed adequate proficiency in the use of arms could, and did, become a member of the national army, and claimed his share of the spoils of conquest. But later on, when the various chiefs had established their power and a greater sense of security had prevailed in the country, a large number of these men took to ploughing and other peaceful occupations. The fighting men became a class by themselves, or, in other words, the militant *Khalsa* was transformed into a class of professional soldiers.

It will thus be seen from what has been described above, that there were several stages in this evolutionary process. In the first stage of his military career, the follower of Guru Nanak first rallies round the person of his spiritual leader (Hargobind) in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, and provides himself with arms by selling his own little belongings in order to carry on a crusade against the opponents of his religion. In the second stage we find the persecuted *Khalsa* (under Govind Singh) undertaking war in a spirit of revenge, though not wholly unmixed with the love of plunder. Later on he is seen fighting under the banner of a chieftain of his own choice and claiming a share in the spoils of war. Lastly we see that he has adopted fighting as a profession or a means of livelihood.

So far then as regards the origin and the development of the *Khalsa* army. Now as to the strength and the mode of fighting followed by the Sikhs.

The strength of the *Khalsa* army at the close of the eighteenth century has been variously estimated. Forster, who came to India in 1783 A.D., puts it between 200,000 and 300,000 men

Brown's estimates are 73,000 horsemen and 25,000 foot, whereas George Thomas gives the number as 60,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry. Prinsep in his 'Origin of the Sikh Power' gives the following list of men which the various chiefs could bring in at the time of war:—

(1) The Bhangi <i>Misl</i> * ...	10,000 horse.
(2) The Ramgarhia <i>Misl</i> ...	3,000 „
(3) The Kanhaya <i>Misl</i> ...	8,000 „
(4) The Nakkai <i>Misl</i> ...	2,000 „
(5) The Ahluwalia <i>Misl</i> ...	3,000 „
(6) The Daliwal <i>Misl</i> ...	7,500 „
(7) The Nishanwala <i>Misl</i> ...	12,000 „
(8) The Singhpuria <i>Misl</i> ...	2,500 „
(9) The Karor Singhia <i>Misl</i> ...	1,200 „
(10) The Shahid <i>Misl</i> ...	2,000 „
(11) The Phulkian <i>Misl</i> ...	5,000 „
(12) The Sukarchakya <i>Misl</i> ...	2,500 „
Total ...	58,700 „

The Khalsa army essentially cavalry

The military force of the various chiefs of the Khalsa commonwealth was composed essentially of cavalry, † for though some artillery was also maintained, it was far from being properly managed. The infantry, which was held in low estimation, usually garrisoned the forts besides being employed on other minor duties.

Sikh weapons and their mode of fighting

When equipped for the field, the Sikhs generally carried sword, spear, and musket. Later on they had also adopted the matchlock. Mr. Forster noticed this peculiarity in 1783 A.D. and the advantage it gave in desultory warfare. "The predilection of the Sikh," says Mr. Forster, "for the matchlock and musket and the constant use they make of it cause a difference in their manner of

* *Misl* is an Arabic word meaning 'an equal'. It signified an association of equals and was used to denote the chiefship. There were twelve important Sikh chiefships in the Punjab at the close of the eighteenth century.

† When the Sikhs fell on the rear of Nadir's army, which was returning home laden with the spoils of Delhi, the imperious Nadir is reported to have said, "Whence come these long-haired barbarians who dare molest me. Destroy them and their homes." "Their homes are the saddles on their horses," was the reply.

attack from that of any other Indian cavalry. A party of 40 to 50 men advance in a quick pace to the distance of a carbine shot from the enemy and then their pieces are discharged; when, speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation that on receiving a stroke of the hand they stop from a full career." *

There is another description of the mode of fighting followed by the Sikhs, by an eye-witness, George Thomas, which may be quoted in full. "After performing the requisite duties of their religion by ablution and prayer they (the Sikhs) comb their hair and beard with peculiar care. Then mounting their horses ride forth towards the enemy with whom they engage in a continued skirmish, advancing and retreating until man and horse become equally fatigued. They then draw off to some distance from the enemy and meeting with a cultivated ground, they permit their horses to graze of their own accord, while they parch a little grain for themselves, and after satisfying nature by this frugal repast, if the enemy be near, they renew the skirmishing; should he have retreated, they provide forage for their cattle and endeavour to procure a meal for themselves. Seldom indulging in the comforts of a tent, whilst in the enemy's country, the repast of a Sikh cannot be supposed to be either sumptuous or elegant. Seated on the ground with a mat spread before them, a Brahmin, appointed for the purpose, serves out a portion of food to each individual, the cakes of flour which they eat during the meal serving them in the room of dishes and plates. Accustomed from their earliest infancy to a life of hardship and difficulty, the Sikhs despise the comforts of a tent. In lieu of this, each horseman is furnished with two blankets, one for himself and the other for his horse. These blankets, which are placed beneath the saddle with a grain-bag and heel-ropes, comprise in time of war the whole baggage of a Sikh. Their cooking utensils are carried on *tutfoes* or ponies. Considering this mode of life and the extraordinary rapidity of their movements, it cannot be a matter of wonder if they perform marches which to those who are only accustomed to European warfare must appear almost incredible." †

* Page 332, Vol. I, Forster's Travels.

† Memoirs of George Thomas by Franklin. Calcutta edition, 1803: pp. 71—78.

Dress and uniform

In the early days the Sikhs had no decent uniforms. The common trooper was clad in turban and a shirt and a pair of knickerbockers with tight-fitting slippers. The chiefs probably wore chain armour together with a steel helmet, breast-plates, and back-plates, wrist-guards, and grieves; the specimens of some of these articles are still to be seen in the armoury section of the Lahore fort.

Drill and discipline

There was no training in combined movements nor any drill for individual soldiers, as such, till they were disciplined by Ranjit Singh with the help of his French and other European officers. Their exercises consisted of feats connected with horsemanship—such as tent-pegging, shooting, and archery. The place of discipline was supplied by enthusiasm and courage. Every one knew that he had to conquer or to die. Nor was there any such system as of organising the troops into battalions or regiments. The only divisions known were those created by reason of each chief's (*misldar*, *sardar*, or *sarkanda*) having his own following of troops. The following of a *sardar* comprised men who were usually the members of the same clan or of the same district as their leader, and as a rule they fought under his immediate command. However, at the time of a big expedition the supreme command was given to one chief, who was elected by other chiefs for the task, and the remaining chiefs took instructions from him and commanded their respective contingents, much of course being left to the discretion of the subordinate leaders themselves.

II

The changes introduced by Ranjit Singh

In the previous section we brought our narrative of the Khalsa army down to the close of the eighteenth century, giving the history of its gradual development and a short sketch of the constitution of the *dal* or the great national army, together with a brief notice of its strength, the principal arms, and their use in warfare. We now propose to deal with the changes that were subsequently introduced into the military organization of the Khalsa.

As the nineteenth century advanced and Ranjit Singh—originally one of the members of the Sikh confederacy—grew more powerful and established a Sikh monarchy, the whole outlook of the Khalsa army was changed.

Infantry and artillery the mainstay of the Sikh army

The Sikh army under Ranjit Singh presents an entirely new picture. The change, as will be noticed in the subsequent pages, is clearly perceived in three important directions—namely, the organization, the equipment, and the mode of fighting of the army. The first and foremost difference that strikes one, on a comparison of the Khalsa army in the eighteenth century with the Sikh army under Ranjit Singh, is in the composition of the army service. The two branches of the army, namely the infantry and the artillery, which were despised and even ignored in the eighteenth century, now came to be regarded as the mainstay of the military strength of the State. And, as may be seen from the table given on page 218, these two branches show a considerable rise in their strength. This change in the composition of the army service was the outcome of the general change of opinion that the country had undergone regarding the military tactics and the efficiency of various arms. The steady fire from the gun and the musket was believed to be more conducive to success than the irregular attacks of cavalry and the guerilla mode of warfare hitherto followed by the Sikhs. Again, the maintenance of a standing National Army, regularly paid from the treasury, rather than the feudal levies of the chiefs, became the recognised policy of the Sikh monarchy under Ranjit Singh. The change was indeed radical and it looks as if the whole of the old material was thrown into a melting pot and cast into a new shape.

Eighteenth century, and a general change in the military tactics

But if we look into the causes of this change a little more minutely, it would appear less sudden than is sometimes supposed. It was rather the result or, possibly, a part of the general change that was taking place in the military outlook of the country as a whole. The use of artillery and the employment of large masses of disciplined infantry by the Europeans in India had rendered the old tactics of war ineffectual. In their wars with the Indian princes about the middle of the eighteenth century the French

and the English had demonstrated the superiority of these arms and had amply shown that the cavalry could not long hold out against the steady fire of the gunner and the musketeer. Accordingly, some of the Indian potentates, like Haider Ali, his son, the famous Tipu, Madhaji Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar of the Mahratta confederacy, had already partially re-formed their respective armies on the European model with the help of the adventurers who had found their way into India through the French and English East India Companies. But in the Punjab the old system had persisted. The country was more or less under the sway of the confederate Khalsa, whose every member was supposed to be a horseman. Thus no great general change was possible. It was at the beginning of the nineteenth century when Ranjit Singh came to power that he perceived the danger of adhering to the traditional methods of warfare. With other Indian princes he shared the belief that no Indian State could hold out against a European nation with purely indigenous weapons, tactics, and methods of warfare. Immediately after consolidating his power a little, therefore, he took in hand the remodelling of his forces and applied himself to the task with far greater earnestness than the rulers of Mysore or the Mahratta chiefs had done before him, and at last he succeeded, though not without some difficulty, in making his people give up their customary order of battle. By degrees the infantry and the artillery came to be liked in the Punjab, and Ranjit Singh lived to see them regarded as the principal arms of his military service.

III

Different branches of Army Service

According to modern classification Ranjit Singh's army comprised all the three branches of the army service, *i.e.*, Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry. But if we follow the records of the Maharaja's Government, our classification will be a little different. The records classify the army in the following three main divisions, namely, *fauj-i-ain*, *fauj-i-sowari*, and *fauj-i-qilajat*.

The first division or *Fauj-i-ain*, also known as *Fauj-qawaid-dan*, comprised the forces trained in the European methods of drill. It consisted of all the three branches of the service, *i.e.*, infantry, artillery, and cavalry. But the last formed relatively a very small portion of this trained force. The main body of the Sikh cavalry, with the exception of a few regiments of Lancers and Dragoons

trained by General Allard, was still organised on the old model. For all practical purposes, therefore, the *Fauj-i-ain* may be said to have comprised only Infantry and Artillery. This designation distinguished it from the rest of the Sikh army, which was organised on the old system and was known by the general term *Fauj-begawaid* (without drill) or *ghair-ain* (without regulations). For the sake of convenience we will denote this section of the army, *Fauj-i-ain*, as Regular Army, in these pages.

The second division or *Fauj-i-sowari* comprised principally the cavalry organised on the old feudal system of the Khalsa Army, though now modified to a great degree by Ranjit Singh. A little artillery, consisting of *Zamburas* or swivel-guns, that was attached to each *derah* or camp of cavalry, formed only an inconsiderable portion of this irregular force.

The third division or *Fauj-i-qilajat* comprised both regular and irregular troops of infantry, cavalry, and artillery garrisoning the forts, as well as those small bodies of men posted as guards at different places all over the province.

In addition to the above three classes, there was still another class of troops, known as the *Jagirdari fauj*, which comprised the contingents of the military fief-holders.

The organization and administration of these classes of troops were different: and the rules concerning their discipline and the mode of disbursement of their salaries were also different. For obvious reasons I have retained the original divisions as found in the records, and I propose accordingly to deal with each class separately in the following pages.

IV

Regular Army: Infantry—its organization and strength

The *fauj-i-ain* or the regular army of Ranjit Singh, as already remarked in these pages, consisted principally of infantry and artillery. The entire cavalry, excepting a few regiments of Dragoons and Lancers trained by General Allard, was essentially composed of the *ghorcharahs* or irregular horse. The *fauj-i-ain* was altogether Ranjit Singh's own creation.

History of infantry

The infantry, in fact, never became popular in India. With the great Moghals themselves, the foot-soldier was held in low

esteem, and little or no consideration was shown to him. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, its author, Abdul Fazl, gives a description of Akbar's infantry; he includes such menial services as the door-keepers, the gladiators, the palki-bearers, the palace-guards, the letter-carriers, and so forth. Similarly with the Sikhs who succeeded the Moghals and the Afghans as sovereign power in the Punjab, infantry was not held in much estimation and was chiefly utilized in garrisoning the forts. But as explained in the previous section of this article, the prevailing views about military tactics and the usefulness of different arms in time of war were undergoing a thorough change since the advent of the European nations in India. And Ranjit Singh in common with other Indian princes shared this view and applied himself to the task of raising battalions of disciplined infantry.

*Superiority of disciplined infantry impressed
on the mind of Ranjit Singh*

The first occasion perhaps on which Ranjit Singh saw an army trained in the European system of drill, which must have made some impression on his mind, was when George Thomas with a well-disciplined army of 5,000 men and 60 guns defeated the combined armies of the Sikh chiefs in 1800 A.D. Again in 1805, Ranjit Singh had occasion to see personally a force drilled in European fashion. He mentioned to the traveller Moorcraft that he went *incognito* to see the order of Lord Lake's army, which had come to the Punjab in pursuit of Holkar, and was encamped on the other side of the Sutlej. Jaswant Rao Holkar, who came to Amritsar to seek the help of Ranjit Singh, also paraded before him the few battalions he had in his train, and impressed upon him the necessity of disciplining his infantry on the European model.*

This impression was further deepened in 1809 when a small escort of Charles Metcalfe's Hindustani troops repelled the sudden onset of Ranjit Singh's enraged Akalis. He admired and praised the discipline of Metcalfe's troops, and his belief in the

* Munshi Sohan Lal in his diary of Ranjit Singh, page 59, daftar ii, has the following:

بعد از آن پولکرها به راه سرگود و لا از درشن در بار مذهب سعادت جاردانی هامل
ساخت و اکثری قدر پس در خلوت بهما نیدند بعضی مقدمات مشغول بودند -
و اکثری قراعه پلاش و سواران خود مشاهده گزیدند و بنابر نگاه داشتن
پلاش افواج ملازمی می فهمیدند *

superiority of European tactics became more firm. These lessons were not without their effect on a receptive mind like that of Ranjit Singh. Accordingly, early in his reign, he set himself in right earnest to the task and took in hand the remodelling of his troops.

*The motives which guided Ranjit Singh in raising
disciplined troops*

The motive which led Ranjit Singh to make this bold departure from a time-honoured practice in the teeth of the stoutest opposition of his old Sikh chiefs, was probably twofold. In the first place, he believed that by adopting for his own purpose the European methods in lieu of the indigenous practices he could produce a military machine more effective than any then known in India, except perhaps that of the British. Secondly, he probably thought he could in this way quickly provide himself with the necessary military equipment against any future hour of struggle with the British, who had by 1809 A.D. become his close neighbours on the other side of the Sutlej. That the latter idea was present in Ranjit Singh's mind may be concluded from the fact that the Maharaja began to pay greater attention to his regular army after the year 1819, *i.e.*, even when he had conquered and annexed nearly the whole of the Punjab, including the provinces of Multan and Kashmir, and had only cause to fear the British power.

The subsequent events of his reign proved that Ranjit Singh was right in both of his views. He knew the material on which he had to work. The Sikhs were better adapted to learn and to assimilate European methods of fighting than any other Indian class or community. In the beginning he invited deserters from the British East India Company's army to train his men, and later on gave employment to some able European officers like Ventura, Avitabile, Allard, Court, and others, who considerably raised the efficiency of his troops; and the result, as was subsequently shown, was that the Sikh army became almost invincible as compared with the Afghans and other Indian troops, and was also the hardest to overcome that the British forces had ever faced in India.

Ranjit Singh raises disciplined battalions

The earliest mention of Ranjit Singh's regular infantry-battalions that is to be found, is in Sayyad Mohommed Latif's

History of the Punjab, where the author says that the new battalions known as *Palatan* * *Najib*, together with the *topkhana khas* (special artillery), formed part of the force sent against Ahmadkhan of Jhang in 1803. On page 59, Vol. ii of Ranjit Singh's Diary, Munshi Sohan Lal, the court historian of the Maharaja, writes that Jaswant Rao Holkar paraded his troops before the Maharaja and advised him to keep in his service a few battalions of the disciplined infantry. Again, the descriptive rolls of Ranjit Singh's troops, some of which are preserved in the archives of the Punjab Secretariat, show that he had raised at least three such battalions by the Sambat year 1864 (1807 A.D.). This fact is further corroborated by the correspondence of Charles Metcalfe, who came to Ranjit Singh's Court as plenipotentiary of the English in 1808 and saw five battalions in the service of the Raja.

The pay-rolls of Ranjit Singh's troops (in the Punjab Secretariat) commence from Poh 1867 (January, 1811 A.D.), and the strength of the disciplined infantry borne on these rolls is 2,500 men. They were organised into six battalions.

Thus, in the absence of any direct evidence from the records of his Government, although it is difficult to ascertain the exact date when Ranjit Singh raised his first battalion of regular infantry, it may still be safely inferred that a humble beginning in this direction had been made very early in his reign by the Maharaja, probably about the year 1805 A.D.

Efforts of Ranjit Singh to make infantry service popular with his men

It has already been remarked that in the Indian military system the infantry was held in a subordinate position. In the Punjab particularly, where almost the entire force consisted of cavalry, the Sikh *Ghorcharahs* looked with contempt upon the foot-soldier, and the proud old chiefs of Ranjit Singh resented his attempts at an innovation of this kind.† But the Maharaja who had been very much impressed by the superiority of the European military

* Plural of *pattan* meaning a battalion.

† The Sikh chiefs of the old military school jeered at the measured steps of the infantry soldier and compared the drill to a *rays* or dance of a professional singing girl.

system, was not the man to be turned from his purpose. He adopted several means to make the service popular, and at last perseverance, combined with his usual tact, soon enabled him to conquer the prejudices of his people. He began to show special favours to this newly created branch of the army. He used to attend its parades in person, and, as a mark of his pleasure, he would not infrequently distribute gifts of money and clothes to the men with his own hands.

For his co-religionists who joined these ranks, the conditions of service were made specially attractive. The Khalsa soldier was used to a sort of payment either in *jagir* or in a lump sum at the time of the harvest, and both these systems naturally tended to make him regard himself as a partner rather than servant of the chief under whom he served. On the other hand, the system of monthly salaries suggested to his mind an idea of subordination. He, therefore, naturally abhorred the very idea of *tankhwah* or payment at a fixed monthly rate along with the other Hindustani and Poorbiya soldiers. Ranjit Singh therefore, in the case of the Sikhs, continued the old method of paying them either by an assignment of revenue-free lands, to the extent of one well which ordinarily brought an annual revenue of Rs. 100, or by an assignment of revenue in a lump sum twice in the year. They accordingly began to like the service in course of time and, as appears from the pay-rolls, enlisted themselves in large numbers. But the nobility or the upper strata of the Sikh community still seem to have adhered to the old views and would not condescend to serve in the ranks of infantry. As late as 1828, and even later, we find Ranjit Singh persuading the sons of his chiefs to learn the drill of the French by offering them big *jagirs* and stipends.* Thus by the inducement of good pay, by personal attention to their drill and equipment, and by himself wearing the strange dress, and going through the formal exercises,† Ranjit Singh

* Munshi Sohan Lal on page 337, Vol. ii of his Diary of Ranjit Singh, says:—

سرکار عالی درین روز با نیران سرکردگان عالی شان را طمع توقع عطا فی جاگیر و بومیه معقول بنظم ظهور آرد و قد عن بلیغ نسیان فرمودند کہ در ایشان فرانسویان در آمده قواعد بلتن یاد موزند - کہ یادا فی چنین جاگیر سیر حامل و بومیه مدیت خواهد شد •

† Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, new edition (Garrett), page 173.

made the service popular with his countrymen, and before he died he had the satisfaction of finding that the new service had become popular with his kinsmen.

An examination of the pay-rolls up to the Sambat year 1870 (1813 A.D.) shows that the bulk of the regulars consisted of Hindustanis, Gurkhas, and Afghans, whereas those of the Sambat year 1875 (1818 A.D.) and onwards reveal that the Punjabee element was becoming more predominant in all the branches of the regular army. The ranks were indiscriminately filled with Sikhs, Hindus, Muhommedans, and the Rajputs, some regiments being formed chiefly of Sikhs, while three were almost purely Muhammedan. When we cast a glance at the list of Ranjit Singh's generals, we find that the same spirit of cosmopolitanism was carried into officering the army. Europeans or Indians, Hindus or Muslims, Sikhs or Rajputs, all were employed, provided they knew their trade. William Osborne, speaking of Sikh infantry in 1838 A.D., makes the following observations :

"They are tall, rather slight, but very manly-looking men, with great length of limb, and broad, open chests, are excellent marchers, both as regards speed and bottom, for they are capable of making very long marches, not only on emergencies but have done so with cheerfulness and alacrity for days together. They are hardy far beyond the generality of natives, and seem a merry, light-hearted race of people."

As the battalions of the new regular army were organised and drilled mostly by the ex-naiks and other subordinate officers formerly employed under Sindhia or the British East India Company, we find from the rolls of the earlier years that the strength of a company or the lower units of a battalion varied with the capacity of the instructor, and a battalion was sometimes divided into as many as 9, 10, or 11 companies. But gradually, as more efficient officers were employed, the organisation underwent considerable improvement as is revealed from the following tabular forms (compiled from the pay-rolls giving the the constitution of an infantry battalion at two different periods).

Constitution of a battalion in Sambat 1868 (1811 A.D.)

Strength	Number of companies in a battalion	Regimental Staff	Company officers
400 to 600 including gunners.	8 to 11 Average strength, 30—40 men.	1. Commandant. 1 2. Adjutant ... 1 3. Mahzor * ... 1 4. Hakim (Surgeon) ... 1 5. Writers ... 1 6. Accountant ... 1 7. Naqib ... 1	1. Subedar or sometimes Jamadar . 1 2. Havildars . 2 3. Naik ... 2 4. Tamburchi. 1

* This is probably a corrupted form of the French *Majeur*.

Constitution of a battalion in Sambat 1885 (1828 A.D.)

Strength	Number of companies in a battalion	Regimental Officer	Company officers
800-900, gunners not included, as artillery was organised into a separate corps.	8. Average strength 100 men.	1. Commandant. 1 2. Adjutant ... 1 3. Major ... 1 4. Writer ... 1 5. Accountant ... 1 6. Granthi ... 1	1. Subedar.... 1 2. Jamadar... 2 3. Sarjan (Sergeant) 1 4. Havildar ... 4 5. Naik ... 3-4 6. Phuriya† ... 1 7. Bugler ... 1 8. Trumpeter. 1

† The original reads *ਫੂਰੀਆ*, and is, I think, the Panjabi form of the French *fourier* which means a quarter-master sergeant.

From a comparison of the tables it appears that the strength of the combatants in a battalion was increased and the number of the companies in each battalion had become fixed and uniform. In the regimental staff, however, there was no substantial change except that the posts of a *Hakim* and *Naqib* disappear. What arrangements regarding medical assistance were made in place of the *Hakim* is not clear from the records. The increase in the number of company officers was probably due to the fact that the strength of a battalion was now almost doubled. This shows that the system was now carried to a fair degree of precision and completeness. Two new offices of a Sergeant and a *Fourier* were now added, due probably to French influence.

On page 276, Vol. iii of his diary, Sohan Lal mentions that in Sambat 1892 (1835 A.D.) the Maharaja received a book in English containing an account of the British military system from Captain W. Wade, and ordered Sohan Lal to translate it with the assistance of General Ventura and Mr. Foulkes. How far this book was responsible for the further changes in the organisation of the army, we have no means of knowing. All we can say is that within a couple of years Ranjit Singh carried out more or less thoroughly the system of forming battalions into brigades. Among other causes which led to this development may have been Ranjit Singh's constant association with British officers and the parades and military reviews which often formed part of the festivities on the occasions of ceremonial exchange of visits between the representatives of the two neighbouring powers. It is also a noteworthy fact that Ranjit Singh's favourite topics of conversation with his distinguished guests related to matters of military interest. In Sambat 1893 (1836 A.D.) the Maharaja conferred the rank of "General" * on the following eight men, namely:—

1. Sardar Ram Singh
2. Sardar Gujar Singh
3. Ventura Sahib
4. Sardar Tej Singh
5. Sardar Ajit Singh

* In this connection we read of an interesting incident in Sohan Lal's diary. The rank of general having been conferred upon these men, Ventura remarked that they were all his pupils, so to say, but had now been made his equals by the Maharaja. The Maharaja smiled and said that he would be called the chief general.

و نذرره التماس ساخت که نیا مدد هما را رسا و می باشد - و در القاب برابر است - فرمودند که جنرال اعظم خطاب داده شد .

6. Court Sahib
7. Misra Sukh Raj
8. Mian Udham Singh

and placed each of them in charge of a brigade, which contained a fixed proportion of the three arms, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, with the necessary services for the supply of ammunition and forage. In general, the brigade was composed of four battalions of infantry, one battery of eight to ten horse-guns, and a small force, varying from a *risalah* to a regiment, of cavalry, with a company of *beldars* (Sappers and Miners).

As in the modern system in the infantry, a battalion was the administrative and manœuvring unit, which, as has already been said, contained about 900 men and was commanded by an officer of the rank of a commandant called *Kumedan*. Next to *Kumedan* were the adjutant and the major who assisted him in his duties. To each battalion was attached a *Munshi* (clerk), whose business was to call and check the rolls; a *Mutassadi* or accountant who kept the regimental accounts; and a *Granthi* or a reciter of the Sikh scriptures. The Granth was kept generally near the regimental flag.

In a battalion there were eight companies of the nominal strength of about 100 each. They were placed under the charge of *Subadars* and each *Subadar* was assisted by two *Jamadars*. A company was divided into four sections, each of which was controlled by a *Havaldar* with one *Naik* to assist him. The *Fourier* and the *Sergeant* do not appear to have been assigned any section of a command, and their chief duty seems to have consisted in assisting the Company Commander in his administrative functions.

Each battalion was supplied with a number of camp followers, known as *amla*. It usually consisted of *Khalasi*—*Sagga* (water-carrier)—*Sarban* (camel-driver)—*Gharyali*—*Jhanda bardar* (flag-bearer)—*Beldar* (spadesmen)—*Mistri* (smiths)—*Najjar* (masons) and *Langri* (cooks). Light tents and beasts of burden were allowed in a fixed proportion to each battalion; ordinarily the number of tents allowed to a battalion of infantry was as follows:—

- (1) One for each regimental officer, i.e., commandant, adjutant, or major.
- (2) One for each *Subadar*, and
- (3) One for 2 *Jamadars*.

The rank and file were allowed one for seven men. In addition to the above numbers, two tents were allowed for magazine and *Mistri khana* (armourer's shop), and one for the *Pesrh guard* (Quarterguard?). Beasts of burden for each battalion were authorised as follows:—

- (a) 2 Camels for the Commandant.
- (b) 1 Camel „ „ Adjutant.
- (c) 8 Camels „ „ Major.
- (d) 4 „ „ each company 100 strong.
- (e) 2 „ „ munshis and their records.
- (f) 1 Camel „ *Mistri khana*.

Bullocks, he-buffaloes, and mules were mostly employed as draught animals for guns and carts, as well as to carry loads.

There does not seem to have been a fixed scale of salaries according to which men in various grades of service were paid, nor did any hard and fast regulations exist governing their promotions from a subordinate to a higher rank. However in bundle No. A. 16 of the Sikh records we find a sheet of paper containing the *āin* or rule for the starting salaries of several grades of officers in a battalion newly raised in Sambat year 1894 (1837 A.D.). The table on the opposite page gives the scale of salaries, starting as well as maximum. The maximum salaries have been arrived at by a careful examination of the pay-rolls for a period extending over nearly twenty years.

The scale given in the table, it should be noted, is that which more or less was followed during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh, for after his death the army became the most powerful factor in the state, and consequently forced the successive rulers to increase their pay.

The pay-rolls of the regular army of the Sikhs from Sambat year 1868 (1831 A.D.) to 1906 (1849) are preserved intact in the archives of the Punjab Secretariat. They contain the details of names and the rates of monthly emoluments noted against each man.

In view of the importance of the subject, I give in the table on the following page the total strength and expenditure of Ranjit Singh's regular army from 1811 to 1846.

Rank			Starting pay per month	Maximum pay per month
			Rs.	Rs.
1.	General		400	460
2.	Colonel		300	350
3.	Commandant		60	150
4.	Adjutant		30	60
5.	Major		21	25
6.	Subadar		20	30
7.	Jamadar		15	22
8.	Havaldar		13	15
9.	Naik		10	12
10.	Sergeant		8	12
11.	Fourier		7½	10
12.	Sepoy		7	8½
<i>Amla.</i>				
1.	Khalasi		4	...
2.	Saqqā		4	...
3.	Gharyali		4	...
4.	Sarban		4	5
5.	Jhanda bardar		4	5
6.	Beldar		5	6
7.	Mistri		6	7
8.	Langri		4	...

Table showing the strength and monthly salary expenditure of the regular army

Year	Infantry		Cavalry		Artillery		Total Strength	Total Monthly Salary
	Strength	Monthly Salary	Strength	Monthly Salary	Strength	Monthly Salary		
Sambat.								
1868 (1811 A.D.)	2,852	—	1,209	—	—	—	4,061	32,173
1876 (1819 A.D.)	7,748	60,172	750	11,723	834	5,840	9,332	77,735
1880 (1823 A.D.)	11,681	84,164	1,656	41,609	1,688	12,270	15,025	1,38,043
1885 (1828 A.D.)	15,825	1,16,284	4,345	1,03,970	3,778	28,390	23,948	2,48,644
1890 (1833 A.D.)	20,577	1,67,962	3,914	86,544	8,162	25,089	32,653	2,79,595
1895 (1838 A.D.)	26,617	2,27,660	4,090	90,375	4,535	32,906	35,242	3,50,941
1900 (1843 A.D.)	37,791	4,83,056	5,381	1,61,660	8,280	82,793	51,452	7,27,509
1902 (1845 A.D.)	53,962	5,70,205	6,235	1,95,925	10,524	96,577	70,721	8,62,707

The strength of the army given in the preceding table shows both a normal and abnormal rise which suggests certain reflections. This rise, it may be remarked, was due partly to the extension of Ranjit Singh's territories and partly to the change that the Anglo-Sikh relations underwent.

In the year Sambat 1868 (1811 A.D.) Ranjit Singh was master only of the central Punjab, whereas in Sambat 1878 (1821 A.D.) he had conquered and annexed Kashmir, Multan, and the Derajat divisions in the south-west, which added considerably to his territory and revenues. He now reigned supreme in the Punjab. The Sikh chiefs or their descendants, whom he had divested of their power and possessions, were reconciled to their fate and were now leading the armies of their liege lord. The Muhammadan chiefs of Jhang, Kasur, Multan, and Mankera were either enjoying *Jagirs* or were otherwise attached to Ranjit Singh's court as political pensioners.

In 1833 A.D. Ranjit Singh brought Peshawar under his direct control and management. Peshawar was conquered in 1823 A.D.; but as the direct management of the country by the Sikhs was not then possible, Ranjit Singh contented himself by accepting a nominal and precarious tribute, thus establishing his nominal supremacy over the country beyond Indus. In 1833 A.D., when Shah Shujah, the ex-King of Kabul, was thinking of retaking his throne, Ranjit Singh, who had now considerably increased his military resources, apprehensive of his designs, seized Peshawar and brought it under his direct management, before the tributaries should transfer their allegiance to Kabul.

The retention of this province as an integral part of his kingdom cost Ranjit Singh a good deal of his resources. About eight battalions of infantry and a battery of 10 to 15 horse-guns were quartered in Peshawar all the year round and the cost of their maintenance was almost equal to the revenues of the province.* The rise in the strength of the army between the years 1831 and 1835 A.D. may be partly attributed to the necessity of maintaining this turbulent province.

* The annual cost of maintenance of this division, amounting to eight lacs of rupees, was almost equal to the revenues of the province (page 40, Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records, Vol. I).

Early in 1840 A.D. Prince Nau Nihal Singh further extended the Khalsa territory and increased his revenues,* by annexing the hill States of Mandi and Kulu.

The treaty of 1809 A.D. had brought the English to the close neighbourhood of Ranjit Singh in the plains on the left bank of the river Sutlej. The Gurkha war of 1814 A.D. had further made them neighbours in the hills. Moreover, the closer proximity of Ranjit Singh's dominions to British territory imposed on him fresh obligations and responsibilities. The relations between the two powers were amicable, and there was a frequent exchange of presents and peaceful and diplomatic missions and interviews between the Maharaja and the Governor-General of India. But in states so closely situated, with political ideals so entirely different as those of the British and the Khalsa, complications were not unlikely to arise sooner or later. And the fact that Ranjit Singh devoted special attention to raising the efficiency of his army by employing European officers on very high salaries subsequently to his having reduced the whole of the Punjab, shows that his mind was not quite at ease. Indeed, some complications did arise during his own lifetime, and had it not been for his usual tactfulness and his cautious diplomacy, inspired, possibly, by a sense of inferiority of his strength, an open rupture might have taken place.

The first series of these complications arose in 1826, when Ranjit Singh claimed supremacy over Chamkaur, Makhawal, Anandpur, Wadhni, and Ferozepur. His claims were admitted but the British did not part with Ferozepur, as the fortress commanded a strong position. Ranjit Singh yielded, but naturally disliked the loss of Ferozepur.

Then came the question of the opening of the Indus to navigation in 1831. Ranjit Singh had his own designs on Sindh and Shikarpur, which he had to relinquish by the treaty of navigation in 1832. In his conversation with Captain Wade he gave a plain hint by saying that the commercial measures of the

* On page 445, daftar III of Sohan Lal, we come across a reference to Ranjit Singh's having enquired from his Finance Minister, Dina Nath, about the total revenue income from Peshawar (which was Rs. 8,35,000) and having remarked that out of this revenue 8 battalions of infantry could be raised.

British had abridged his political power. The relations thus became strained and each naturally grew suspicious of the other.

Next came the Mazari question in 1833, which gave Ranjit Singh an opportunity to conquer Sindh. But as the British had their own eye on Sindh, they intervened and Ranjit Singh had to resign for ever all hopes of conquering Sindh.

In the early forties the situation grew even more complicated. Shah Shujah was restored to the throne of Kabul with the aid of the British army. On its way to Afghanistan in 1839, the British army under Sir John Keane threatened Haidrabad on the lower Indus, and Cotton obtained the cession of the island fort of Bhakhar; and the "valley was filled with armed men and virtually made a British Province". In 1842 the British declared a war with Sindh, and early next year it became a part of British India. Thus the kingdom of the Sikhs was in a way encircled by the territory either in the actual possession of the English themselves or their political allies. These circumstances had no small influence in moulding the military policy of Ranjit Singh and his successors.

Efficiency of the army

The *fauj-i-Ain* was one of the few departments of state which claimed Ranjit Singh's greatest attention and in consequence was very well organised. Ranjit Singh's greatest concern, as appears from the account of his conversation reproduced in their Journals by the European visitors at his court, was to raise the efficiency of his regular army and to bring his regulars up to the level of the Company's troops. He was unremitting in his care to keep this army in a most efficient state of equipment and training. Be it said to the credit of the Sikhs also that they soon mastered the complicated manœuvres of a European army and all the tactics of European warfare. Between the years 1842 and 1845 A.D., when almost all the European officers had left the service (some having resigned, while others were discharged), the Sikh or other Indian officers maintained the discipline and efficiency of the Khalsa army. And in 1845-46, when this efficiency was put to a severe test in a war with the British, the Sikhs were found equal to the

occasion. We cannot do better than quote the exact words of Cunningham, who had undoubtedly a great opportunity of judging their capacity at the time. "The guns of the Sikhs," says he, "were served with rapidity and precision, and the foot soldiers stood between and behind their batteries, firm in their order and active with their musket. The resistance met by the English on this occasion was wholly unexpected, and it was at Ferozshah for the first time that the Indian and the British soldiers of the English armies met an equal antagonist with their own weapons—even ranks and the fire of artillery."

Sir G. Gough in his despatch on the Anglo-Sikh war makes the following observations. "Never did a native army, having so relatively slight an advantage in numbers, fight a battle with the British in which the issue was so doubtful as at Ferozshah; and if the victory was decisive, opinion remains divided as to what the result might have been if the Sikh troops had found commanders with sufficient capacity to give their qualities full opportunity."

Thus the value of discipline and the European methods of fighting, introduced among his men by the sagacious Ranjit, had borne their fruit, and if the Sikhs lost the day at Ferozshah, it was not for any lack of courage or skill on their part.

SITA RAM KOHLI, M.A.

AUTHOR'S FOOTNOTE.—I propose to continue the present study of the administration and development of the Khalsa Army under Ranjit Singh in a series of five or six papers. In the next paper I shall discuss the development and administration of artillery and cavalry.

۱۰۹۲
 در شهر مازندران
 در روز دوشنبه
 در ماه رجب
 در سال ۱۰۹۲
 در شهر مازندران
 در روز دوشنبه
 در ماه رجب
 در سال ۱۰۹۲
 در شهر مازندران
 در روز دوشنبه
 در ماه رجب
 در سال ۱۰۹۲

Specimen Pay Rolls

(Reproduced from Catalogue of Khalsa Darbar Records, compiled by the writer of the preceding article, and published by the Punjab Government, by whose courtesy the facsimile copies of specimen pay rolls are here reproduced.)

In the originals, the pay rolls of battalion Dewa Singh cover 21 folios, but the facsimile copy of only first three have been made with a view to enable the reader to form an idea of what they are like.

The details of names and expenditure of the remaining 7 companies and the establishment, though given in the originals in a manner similar to the one exhibited by those in the first company, have been omitted here and only the total number is given in each case.

In the facsimile, figures in the margin in each of the horizontal columns represent the total—the upper one crossed at the end by a thin line denotes the total number of men, and the lower one, without any such distinguishing mark, represents the total monthly salaries of the men. The figures in the middle of each column represent the total amount paid for the period covered by the pay sheets. Of the two figures given under each name in the columns on pages 2 and 3 in the facsimile, the upper one denotes the rate of his monthly salary and the lower one the total payment made to the man.

On the left margin page 1 (facsimile) is a note to the effect that the battalion was given privilege leave on 2 Sanwan 1893 (14th August 1836), the officers' date of leave expiring on 15th Bhadon 1893 (25th September 1836), and that of the privates 1st Asuj 1893 (11th October 1836). There will also be found short notes on the succeeding pages, both across the margin and below several names. The former show any variations in the strength of the company as compared with the rolls of the immediately preceding months caused by death, desertion, or transfer from or to the battalion, while the latter relate to some particulars about the individual himself.

Specimen of Barawurd or Pay Rolls

Disbursement of salaries to Battalion Dewa Singh, Commandant, for the months of Bisakh—Sánwan 1893 (April—July 1836 A.D.)

	Total number of men paid.	Monthly salary.	Total payment for 4 months.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
GRAND TOTAL (SALARIES AND MISCELLANEOUS)	831	7,549 4 0	30,158 8 0
Salaries (Combatant and 'Amla)	817	7,402 4 0	29,629 0 0
COMBATANTS (STAFF AND TROOPS)	739	6,988 0 0	27,952 0 0
Staff	7	448 0 0	1,792 0 0
1. Rām Singh, Colonel	225	0 0 0	900 0 0
2. Dewa Singh, Commandant	61	8 0 0	246 0 0
3. Nanhe Khan, Adjutant	47	8 0 0	190 0 0
4. Shiv Singh, <i>Mahzor</i> (Major)	26	0 0 0	104 0 0
5. Balwant Rāi, Mutasaddi (Accountant)	30	0 0 0	120 0 0
6. Vidya Dhar, Mutasaddi * (Accountant)	45	0 0 0	180 0 0
7. Rai Singh, Granthi	13	0 0 0	52 0 0
TROOPS	732	6,540 0 0	26,160 0 0
COMPANY NO. 1.			
Officers.			
1. Dharm Singh, son of Dewa Singh, Subadār	32	0 0 0	128 0 0
2. 'Atar Singh, son of Dharm Singh, Jam'dār	27	0 0 0	108 0 0
3. Buddh Singh, son of Ganda Singh, Jam'dār	18	0 0 0	72 0 0
4. Hira Singh, son of Darbāri Singh, Sergeant	12	0 0 0	48 0 0
5. 'Atar Singh, son of Jodh Singh, Hawāldār	14	0 0 0	56 0 0
6. Sukha Singh, son of Anokh Singh, Hawāldār	14	0 0 0	56 0 0
7. Sujān Singh, son of Gajpat Singh, Hawāldār	14	0 0 0	56 0 0
8. Gurmukh Singh, son of Mohr Singh, Hawāldār	12	8 0 0	50 0 0
9. Sardul Singh, son of Mohr Singh, Phuriya (Fourrier)	8	8 0 0	34 0 0
10. Dhannu Singh, son of Mehr Singh, Nāik	12	0 0 0	48 0 0
11. Qandhāra Singh, son of Milkha Singh, Nāik	12	0 0 0	48 0 0
12. Bāgh Singh, son of Milkha Singh, Nāik	9	0 0 0	36 0 0
13. Chatar Singh, son of Mehr Singh, Nāik	8	8 0 0	34 0 0
14. Waryām Singh, son of Gujar Singh, Nāik	8	0 0 0	32 0 0
15. Nī'amat 'Ali, son of Sher 'Ali, Tambar Mahzor (Drum-Major)	16	0 0 0	64 0 0
16. Ism'ail, son of Wali Muhammad, Baneri Nawaz	8	0 0 0	32 0 0

* Of the two Mutasaddis one was *Munshi* or clerk who was attached to the Adjutant's office. In the pay rolls the two words are indiscriminately used for each other.

SPECIMEN OF BARAWURD OR PAY ROLLS—continued.

	Total number of men paid.	Monthly salary.	Total payment for 4 months.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Company No. 1 (officers and troops)	84	764 8 0	3,058 0 0
Company No. 2	90	815 0 0	3,260 0 0
Company No. 3	93	833 8 0	3,364 0 0
Company No. 4	88	768 0 0	3,072 0 0
Company No. 5	98	834 0 0	3,416 0 0
Company No. 6	79	714 0 0	2,856 0 0
Company No. 7	95	843 0 0	2,372 0 0
Company No. 8	105	948 0 0	3,792 0 0
'AMLA (FOLLOWERS)	78	414 4 0	1,657 0 0
1. Gharyāli (the man who strikes the hours on a gong)	3	1 0 0	64 0 0
2. Jhanda bardar* (flag-bearer)	4	21 0 0	84 0 0
3. Khalāsi (tent-pitcher)	8	41 12 0	167 0 0
4. Mistri (artificer)	8	66 12 0	267 0 0
5. Saqqa (water-carrier)	15	76 4 0	305 0 0
6. Sārbān (camel-driver)	18	90 8 0	362 0 0
7. Lāngri (cook)	15	61 0 0	244 0 0
8. Beldār (spade man)	6	35 0 0	140 0 0
9. Harkārah (courier)	1	6 0 0	24 0 0
MISCELLANEOUS	14	147 0 0	549 8 0
† Contingencies	..	25 0 0	100 0 0
‡ Sundries	14	122 0 0	449 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	831	7,549 4 0	30,158 8 0

* In a battalion the average number of these men was one for a double company.

† Contingencies (*muqarrari*) include fixed charges such as *kāghaz*, *raushnāi* (stationery), *murammat tambūr* (repairs of drums), etc.

‡ Sundries include charges such as payments made to new men taken on the strength of the battalion which are not otherwise incorporated in the pay sheets.

Jesuit Annual Letter from Mogor

(May 1648—August 1649)

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY THE REV. L. DE VOS, S.J.,

AND

EDITED BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

The document, now for the first time translated from the Latin, is one of many unpublished papers about Mogor which are in the possession of the Society of Jesus in Europe. A photograph of it, sent me, shows that it is an original emanating from Mogor. The writing is the same as in two other documents which, in my collection (now in Darjiling), are numbered 16 and 17, and a note, which I made when I copied those two papers (Nos. 16 and 17) and the present one, declares that the writing is that of Fr. Antonio Ceschi di Santa Croce, S.J. On the other hand, a note which I published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI (New series), November 1910, p. 533, states that Fr. Henry Uvens (*alias* Busi) wrote three times the Annual Letter at the beginning of his stay in Mogor. Now we know that Fathers Botelho, Ceschi, and Uvens came to Mogor together at the end of 1647 or in the beginning of 1648, since Fr. Alexander de Rhodes, who was at Surat from September 30th, 1647 to February 3rd 1648, met them at Surat on their way to Agra. In my article on *Fr. Henry Uvens, alias Henry Busi, S.J.* (Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1917, p. 408) I stated also that Fr. Uvens wrote the Annual Letter of Mogor for 1648 and 1649. Not having at present at hand the means of reconciling these apparently conflicting statements, I leave them in suspense.

The only change we have introduced in the English translation is a larger number of paragraphs, to which we have prefixed numbers corresponding to the numbers in the following summary.

SUMMARY

1. Shah Jahan averse to the Fathers; the Nobles friendly, except in religious matters; the Fathers several times accused before the Governor of Agra.
2. Religious discussions before Dara Shukoh attended with good results.

3. Paolo Zaman, a young Persian, consulted in a religious discussion before Shah Jahan (1649).

4. Paolo Zaman's previous career; he bids fair to be a second Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain.

Labours of the Fathers among the Hindus :—

5. A Hindu Raja asks the Fathers to explain a Portuguese book; they go to his court; description of his priest; the book, instead of being one on alchemy, turns out to be a devotional treatise.

6. The case of a Brahman astrologer who used the Office of the Blessed Virgin for his predictions.

7. A Hindu teacher under instruction.

8. Another pretends that Christ is mentioned in the Hindu books.

9. Number of converted Hindus; the daughter of a Muhammadan noble baptised at the hour of death.

Labours of the Fathers among apostates and Christian captives :—

10. Liberation of a Pole, the slave of one of the chief nobles at Agra.

11. Liberation of another European who had gone to Mecca with his master.

Labours of the Fathers among the Christians :—

12. Their fervour and increasing numbers.

13. Hindu and Muhammadan rites abolished among them.

Cases of constancy among the Christians :—

14. A Christian girl forcibly married to a Muhammadan Governor is everywhere accompanied by her mother, who boldly professes her religion.

15. A Christian lady, once in affluence, refuses tempting offers and is helped by this girl's mother.

16. A woman, formerly a Muhammadan, and separated from a wicked Christian husband, resists her mother's solicitations and retires to Lahore.

17. Freedom of a Christian widow accused before the Governor (of Agra?).

18. Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain's profession of the faith before Shah Jahan. He is reinstated as Governor of Sambhar.

19. On the occasion of the completion of the new city of Shah jahanabad (Delhi), he turns his poem to the glory of God; Shah Jahan indignant substitutes his own name for that of God.

20. A relative of the Mirza, an aged Armenian, professes the faith before the Prime Minister (Mir Jumla?).

Cases of exorcisms :—

21. In a place away from Agra, a Christian husband exorcises his wife.

22. In the same place, a Christian revenue-officer exorcises his house, which was haunted.

23. At Agra, a Christian family occupies a haunted house and receives no harm.

The faith of non-Christians rewarded :—

24. A Muhammadan woman in childbirth commends herself with good results to the prayers of a Christian neighbour.

25. Another obtains her son's recovery by the same means.

26. Another obtains an easy delivery by using water of St. Ignatius.

The faith of the Christians rewarded :—

27. The Gospel of St. John read over the sick.

Some notable conversions :—

28. The conversion of three public fornicators.

29. Some soldiers in the King's *lashkar* at Lahore brought back to a Christian life by Fr. Anthony Botelho.

The Christians of Sambhar :—

30. Fr. Anthony Morando builds a church at Sambhar, the Mirza's residence.

Cases of divine punishments :—

31. A renegade whipped to death.

32. Shah Jahan indignant at an Indian convert, who, pretending to be a Portuguese, expressed himself willing to apostatise.

33. A young neophyte becomes possessed after performing pagan rites.

34. The trials of an Agra couple who married against the Fathers' wishes.

35. An English gentleman expels from his service a Muhammadan boy who had blasphemed against the Blessed Virgin, and how he re-entered his master's service.

A dead body found incorrupt :—

36. The body of Fr. Joseph de Castro (died 15th December 1646) is found incorrupt at Lahore and is brought to Agra by Fr. Christopher da Costa, where it is interred in Martyr's Chapel, in Padres Santos' Cemetery.

Conclusion :—

37. The Mogor Mission is itself a perpetual miracle.

* * *

Arduous as the work must have been for one now an octogenarian, the English translation made by Fr. L. De Vos, S.J., 5 or 6 years ago, will be found quite faithful.

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, DARJILING,
10th May 1919.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Annual letter of the Agra College and of the Mogor Mission, collected for part of the year 1648 and part of the year 1649.

1. All this time, four Fathers put forth all their energies in the hard work of this Mission.¹ The Sarracen King,² in whose capital we dwell, with that utmost dislike which he showed us in the past, now blocked almost every opening to the spread of the Catholic Religion. The Governors of the towns and the Royal officers, whilst holding the Fathers in the greatest respect for the beauty of their exemplary life, in the matter however of Religion waiving all the rules of friendship, do not spare us in the least; they rush on us like lions; they threaten us with every evil. Within the period in question, more than once we were accused before the Governor of Agra of bringing back to the path of salvation Christians who had shamelessly fallen into Saracenism, and on another occasion of admitting infidels to Baptism. We were in dread of an impending persecution on that account; but the Mother of God, on whose protection for years already this Mission strongly relies, frustrated in a divine manner all the efforts of the enemy, and made it so that the King's officers, like passing it off, left the accusation in peace. In the midst of so many anxieties no one would fail to see what difficulties it costs to spread the Gospel. Yet, amid all these contradictions and in that darkness of errors, we do not allow the light of the Gospel to remain hidden under the bushel but, with prudence for our rule, we eagerly impart its brightness to as many as we can.

2. Several times this year an occasion has offered to explain before the Prince, heir to the Kingdom,³ and other noblemen of the realm the mysteries of our most holy Faith, a thing in which

¹ The names of the four Fathers are: Anthony Botelho (senior), Visitor and Superior (which means, also, that he was Rector of the Agra College); Francisco Morando, *Procurator*; Anthony Ceschi (di Santa Croce) of Trent; Henry Busi (Bou Buys) of Nymegen, whose real name was Henry Uwens. Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 191 p. 532, and my article on *Fr. Henry Uwens, alias Henry Busi, S.J.*, in *The Examiner*, Bombay, Oct. 13 and 20, 1917.

² Shah Jahan.

³ Dara Shukoh.

by the help of God we were so far successful that our Christian Religion excited their veneration, that the Fathers rose in reputation, and that they gained the goodwill of the Nobles.

3. Nor do we mean to exclude the King himself from this happy disposition of his Grandees. The following happened this very year. One day the King was seated with his courtiers. The conversation turned on the Incarnation of the Word; the King asked of the principal dignitary of the Court how the Christians explained that mystery of theirs. He submitted that he indeed did not know, but that there was in the royal service a young Persian very well up in matters Christian, who, he had no doubt whatever, would give the most satisfactory explanation of the question. The King gave order to send for the youth, who, sufficiently well versed as he was in theology, gave the proper explanation; thus the light of Christ shone on the King himself. How fortunate it would have been for him, had he not closed his eyes to the true light!

4. Now the mention of that auspicious incident demands altogether that our readers should know something about that young Persian; and, as it redounds to the glory of the Christian name, I shall readily comply. Two years ago, he came to the Court of Mogor from Persia, where, when still a child, he was baptized by the Carmelite Fathers. For many years he devoted himself to the liberal arts and sciences, and, being endowed with an acute mind and an excellent disposition, he made no ordinary progress in Rhetoric, Philosophy, Mathematics, and Theology; and he acquired a wonderful knowledge of several European languages. He is at present with us in the service of the King and lives among the officials of minor grade; he is a great friend of the Fathers and professes the Christian Religion, though not openly, for good reasons. This present year he received fresh honours and titles from the King; hence we entertain great hopes that one day, after Mirza Zulkarnen, Paul Zaman too (as he is called) will grow to be another most firm pillar of this Mission.¹

5. The Fathers devote their labour with greater utility and less danger to the conversion of the idolaters to the Faith, and I shall first mention some Pagans conspicuous in authority and highly respectable, who, although they have not embraced the Faith, have

¹ He is the painter, some of whose paintings will be found reproduced in V. A. Smith's *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 466, 467. See on him Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 17.

under our instruction candidly admitted either the falseness of their sect or the truth of our Religion. I shall begin with the chief of the Pagans. There came to us one day the principal officer of the court of a petty King, who, after presenting some gifts in the name of his master, notified the latter's most earnest wish to visit us; that he had in his possession a small Portuguese book which he wanted the Fathers to explain to him. After thanking him for his presents, we, considering the rules of etiquette and the dignity of the King, did not allow him to come to us, but we fixed a day when we should visit him first. The day came; we were at his Court, and he received us with extreme kindness and honour. We sat down near him in the hall; meanwhile, as we were exchanging civilities in conversation, behold! of a sudden a large crowd out of curiosity assembled and surrounded us. The priest of the idols was there too, who sat down with us near the king. What a big horrid monster he looked! On his head he wore a tattered fillet, with a variety of feathers stuck in it and surmounted by a thousand baubles; his face painted over in various colours exhibited a thousand metamorphoses; he had part of his body covered by a small cloak consisting of a thousand rags and hanging down to the knees. The rest of the body sprinkled with ashes was a horrible sight. A string of prayer-beads like our rosary encircled his neck, from which it spread in a long file in front, on the back, and on the shoulders. So then the book was brought, which the petty King produced from a precious box wrapped in a quantity of silk. The Pagan thought that he held a treasure in that book: for the one who had given it him pretended it to be a treatise on Alchemy; but the Father found it quite different. It was a daily exercise of divers prayers and meditations, which taught how to spend the parts of the day in a pious and Christian manner. Thereupon, the Father, condensing the matter which in Portuguese was given more at length, explained it in a loud voice in the Indian vernacular to the King. The King greatly admired the holiness of our Religion, and turning now and then to his priest he was heard to say, as he listened: "What do you say to that?" Again he said: "You do not teach such holy things," and at times: "Behold the holiness of the Christian Religion." When the booklet was finished, though the petty King had conceived great esteem for the Christian Religion, he was however less pleased with being frustrated in his hope of learning

Alchemy. He dismissed the Fathers with the utmost benevolence and honour. No doubt, it was a golden little book, which promised great treasures to the King, if he abided by its precepts; but he rendered himself unworthy of the heavenly treasure of the Gospel, when, seeing the better course and approving of it, he followed the worse one.

6. And since we spoke of the fraud of the little book, it will not come amiss to relate another case of the kind, in order to show how easily the teachers of the Indians circumvent their followers with their tricks. There is among them a caste, whom they called Brahmans, and who foretell the vicissitudes of the times, sicknesses, and a thousand other things of the sort. Months ago, a Portuguese out of mockery asked one of them to tell him about—I do not know what—future event. The Brahman at once produced a book, and, standing somewhat apart, began to read. The Portuguese cast his eyes on the book and recognised the Roman characters; he rushed on the impostor and snatched the book out of his hands. What more? It was the Office of the Blessed Virgin, which had got into those impious hands, I do not know how; and, because its characters were unknown to the pagans, the arch-deceiver boasted of their being brimful of mysteries and revealed to him alone. As the Portuguese rushed on him with such violence, he threw himself at his feet and cried: "Spare me; do not betray me. I use these tricks for the sake of my stomach, to provide against hunger."

7. There came to us another apostle of Pagan superstition, who candidly confessed that he had spent almost all his life in visiting idols and had carefully studied most of the Eastern ones; yet he had found them but mute gods of stone, whereas the wisdom of the teachers of the Christian Religion (so he called our Fathers) shone forth with great fame; and he wished us, he said, to teach him the way of salvation. He was instructed, but he has not yielded entirely to the truth, though he proclaims that in the Christian Faith alone salvation can be found.

8. Once one of the Fathers met a man of the same stamp, who, whilst he was thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of idolatry, revealed to him a very remarkable fact, namely, that much may be found in their most ancient and most secret books concerning the advent of Christ, and chiefly that it is inculcated in them that without Christ there can be no salvation; he himself, however,

and his fellow-teachers of the idolaters kept this very secret among themselves; for they knew that, if they brought the truth to light, all the idol-worshippers would easily believe in Christ. This is what he said;¹ however, he has not yet come out of his darkness, because, in truth, "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy."²

9. Although these two have failed to enter the service of the true God, there were some of their followers whom, as a consolation in our labours, we gained for Christ from May 1648 till August 1649, the time at which I write. We baptized forty-one pagans; besides these, there are many Catechumens, whom we shall enter into our statistics next year. Those who are aware of the immense difficulties of this Mission will not think lightly of the number. Among those to whom Baptism was conferred, several infant children of pagan parents insured the Fathers' gain by being enrolled in heaven after Baptism, and some others who, at the point of death, were laved in the sacred Font, obtained the same happiness. On the list of the little ones the daughter of a Saracen Nobleman stands first; she was baptized . . .³ by a pious Christian woman who was present at her death. Of the number mentioned above, the rest, adults, were not baptized until by a good long experience they had guaranteed their heavenly vocation.

10. To that list of candidates of the Faith may be added some Apostates who by the help of the Fathers returned in tears and moaning to the bosom of the Church; captives also, who were detained under the sad servitude of the Moors, to the number of twelve or more, if I am not mistaken, were reclaimed this year: we redeemed some of them by means of money; and others, whom the masters refused to sell, we saved from their tyranny by stratagem.

Among these must be counted a young Pole who, captured in his youth by the Turks, sold and re-sold, had to the age of thirty years led the miserable life of a slave. We found him here in Agra with a courtier of the King, a man of the highest nobility; and, though living in the midst of a depraved nation, he had never abandoned the Christian Religion, but had held to it tooth

¹ It was not the first time nor the last that similar things were said to our Missionaries in different parts of India; and we need not add that such books have not yet been produced.

² Rom. ix. 16.

³ One word omitted.

and nail with holy pertinacity. That accounts for his experiencing the singular Providence of God, for he met a pious Armenian ready to give him a thousand crowns to enable him to return to Poland. Therefore, as his master would not sell him, we hid him for a time, and at last, when the opportunity offered itself, we sent him back to Europe this very year under the best custody, and thus we gave him not only bodily but also spiritual freedom.

11. We also found another European captive who, after many vicissitudes of life, was brought to Agra, certainly for his good: for he found back here the freedom of which he had deplored the loss during so many years¹

Let this suffice about those whom by God's favour we have brought this year out of the darkness of infidelity or the tyranny of the Moors.

12. Furthermore the fervor of the Christians is so great and the faith of Christ so deeply rooted in their hearts that, although they labour under a great many disadvantages in their dealings with the Saracens, they are however unshakable, whether assailed by their proud insults, enticed by their blandishments, or terrified by their threats. The Mahumetans hate them as if they were the loathsome rabble of the universe, and for no other reason than that they are Christians. No doubt, it is like a miracle to see such a small number of Christians, like a tiny fire in the midst of the blasts of the North wind, not only challenging extinction, but steadily increasing. For the more violent the storm of Mahumetan aversion grows, the more fervently do the followers of Christ pursue the Christian practices, faithfully keeping the fasts, frequenting with profit the Sacraments of Confession and of the Eucharist, so much so that hardly one would dare to approach the Holy Table without first going to those whom he may have offended and receiving their pardon. That most praiseworthy practice is in force among them. You will find many who keep their conscience clear of mortal sin for a whole year.

13. Up to this year some rites had prevailed among them which savoured of paganism or Saracenism; the Fathers in a public sermon very strongly insisted on their being abolished. Soon the submission of the Christians to their teachers shone forth: for, in spite of the great difficulty to eradicate such inveterate customs,

¹A passage is omitted here on account of the language used. This man said, among other things, that he had been taken to Mecca with his master.

yet from that time they made away with them entirely, and those who hold authority over others took by their excellent example the lead in carrying out the orders.

14. Nothing, however, commends better the virtue of our clients than their strong constancy in the Faith when the occasion presents itself. I shall choose some cases out of many. One of the peers of the Kingdom, a Saracen, was ruling over a Province. There he fell madly in love with the daughter of a Christian widow, took her away, by force, and having married her, forced her to profess the Mahumetan religion. The mother accompanied her everywhere, but could never be induced to abandon Christ. She, the only one among two hundred Mahumetan women, worships Christ and daily performs her Christian prayers to the Lord Christ and to His most Holy Mother. The existence of such a precious lily among the thorns was entirely unknown to us, when this year, on an occasion which I shall mention below, its fragrance revealed it to us.¹

15. A distinguished Christian matron, who, in days gone by, when she enjoyed ample riches, would have at her beck, as many as twenty female servants or more, this year through a turn of the fickle wheel of fortune was thrown into a gulf of miseries, even so far as to undergo great privations. She too can be shown for an example of constancy. For, as she belonged to the nobility, she was known to the Moors, and there were not a few to coax her into Sarracenism with a ready offer of money; but, having learned to place eternal life above temporal goods, she chose to bear poverty rather than be in comfort at the cost of iniquity. Meanwhile, God who feeds the birds did not forget this disciple of His faith. The person about whom I spoke and who, I said, was staying with her daughter at the court of the said Nobleman, arrived just then in the nick of time in Agra, and by God's providence came to hear of the miserable condition of that woman. What more? She ordered 500 crowns to be given to her for her support. Afterwards, when she found that our Fathers were residing in Agra, she ordered an alms

¹ We are looking out for similar instances to see whether there is any truth in the traditions preserved by a family in the North of India which claims to be descended from the Indian Bourbons. According to that tradition, a Portuguese girl, Mary, married Mir Jumrah, and the first Bourbon married her sister Juliana. This would bring down the story of the Bourbons from Akbar's time to Shah Jahan's; but too many clues are still wanting to decide which version of the story can be adopted. See my notes on *The family of Lady Juliana da Costa (1668-1792)* in *Journ. of the Punjab Histor. Soc.*, Vol. II, No. 1 (1917).

to be sent to our Church and to tell the Fathers that, although she was forcibly detained among the Moors, she nevertheless constantly worshipped Christ and that she had made a vow to our Lord Christ to offer Him a golden statue if she obtained her wish. This was most welcome news for us to hear; and, since we are debarred by the custom of the kingdom from having any converse with her, we sent her a letter full of congratulations to exhort her to persevere.

16. There is another woman, a Neophyte, who three years ago, if I am not mistaken, having denied Mahumet, had entered the fold of Christ. Belonging to a respectable family, she was married by the Fathers to a Christian youth. That young man, unbridled in his vices, started molesting his wife in every way; she bore it all in patience; but, when by the worst of guilts, in violation of the matrimonial pledge, he brought in another wife, she found that the best for her to do was to run away. She went therefore to another town, entirely destitute of help. Here a most bitter struggle, on account of the faith she had embraced, awaited her; for her mother, who is a Saracen and was always averse to her daughter from the day of her Baptism, followed her, stayed under the same roof with her, and left no stone unturned to bring her back to her former sect; she tried every effort which seemed to be conducive to her perversion. To be sure, unless that girl's heart had taken deep roots in Christ, the sole afflictions which assailed her might have snatched Christ from it; but because God's grace made her like adamant against the evil one, to this day she remains unhurt and unshaken, and this very year, when Father Rector went to Lahor, of her own accord she came to him to make her confession. To these two cases of constancy let me add a third one and leave out the others.

17. A Christian widow was accused before the Governor of having attempted to gain her Mahumetan slave to the faith of Christ by violence. When summoned to the court, she cleared herself before the Judge of the imputation, admitting that she had instructed her slave in the faith of Christ, but had never used any pressure to make her embrace it. Then the Governor asked the widow, "And you, what were you before?" "I am of pagan origin," she replied; "but when I was grown up, it fell to my happy lot to embrace the most holy religion of the Christians." At this he said: "If it entered into your mind to change your religion, why did you choose the Christian laws by preference to the laws

of Mahumet?" "Because," she answered, "I had found that the precepts of Christ alone point out the true path of salvation." There happened to be among those sitting near the judge a Saracen teacher, whom they call Cazi. Annoyed at the woman's daring profession of her Faith, he tried to persuade the Governor to order there and then the woman to be thrown from the highest tower close by, as guilty (so he said) of an offence against the Divine Majesty. The woman, far from being daunted at this, was overjoyed, as if invited to her reward. The Governor, therefore, thought better of it and sent her away free, lest by arguing further with her he might have been worsted still more.

18. The heroic liberty of that woman in professing the Faith opened the way or a large field for me to show¹ how glorious our disciples consider it not to hide the cross of Christ in the presence of the King and of his Magnates, but to wear it on their forehead as a royal diadem, without in any way being ashamed of the Gospel.² On the list of those Heroes, as well as in all the religious functions of the Christians, our Mirza Zulcarnen took the lead. He stood with his fellow-officers of the realm in the presence of the King in the City of Delhi. I know not on what occasion the King asked him if he believed that, after the advent of Christ, any other lawgiver had been sent by God; he boldly answered that in the Old Law Prophets had been sent by God; last of all, the Lord Christ, the Prophet of Prophets, had come; therefore he did not admit of any Prophet after Christ. All those present were fully convinced that such a bold answer could not be expiated except by the loss of Mirza's head; but the King, as if busy with something else, diverted the conversation. Some months later the same King restored Mirza to his favours, from which he had found himself excluded for many years past, and he ordered a daily revenue of a hundred crowns to be assigned to him; finally, he sent him to rule the Sambhar Province.

19. About that same period, our Mirza obtained a noble victory over the flattering of Kings; and, though this concerns the profession of the faith, yet, since we are speaking of Mirza, I thought it ought to come in with the former account by means of

¹ The meaning must be that the story of that heroic woman prepares the way for another about Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain's constancy.

² The Armenian Christians, and probably many others as well, wore the sign of the cross branded or tattooed on their foreheads.

a small digression. The King at great expense had built a most magnificent city to which he gave the name of Ganabad;¹ in praise therefore of the vast city he had founded, the King asked Mirza, by far the best poet of these Regions, to write a suitable piece of poetry. Mirza summoned up all the power of his talent; he wrote in verse that was perfect; but in it he sang, not the praises of the King, but the power of God alone. Mirza's only object was to show to the King that the glory of the city and its perfection was attributable to God alone. The King who, in his greed for flattery, expected his own praises, indignantly rejected the panegyric. Afterwards, he substituted his name where that of God came in, so that what was said to God's praise would be attributed to him. In this you see how Mirza's intrepid piety came into conflict with the intolerable arrogance of the King.²

20. To go back to our subject. There was a man very high in authority and a blood relation of Mirza who, if not in the presence of the King, at least before the chief officers of the realm professed the faith in a manner that surpasses all praise. Once, courtiers of the highest rank were gathered before the Prime Minister, a man who, second to the King, wielded a power almost equal to that of the King. Present among them was a venerable old man, our Armenian above-mentioned, who was to give an account of the King's revenues which he had administered. The others who were seated in the semi-circle began to discuss him among themselves in a subdued voice, as usual, and a good deal too, for they were many. One of them, as if he wished to cast a slur on him, said: "What are you inquiring about? Why do you trouble? He is a Christian." The good old man, apparently unconcerned, heard every word; at first he did not mind their silly talk; but, when he understood that the Christian Religion was cast at him as a shame, he summoned all his courage, and without further waiting, "I wonder," he said, "that I was so little known to you, when I got these grey hairs living in your midst. Do not throw in my face the Religion I profess, as if it were an ignominy. I am a Christian," he said, "nor am I ashamed of it. I shall proudly profess it till my last breath."

¹ Shahjahanabad, or Delhi, completed in 1648.

² On the Mirza see my *Mirza Zu'l-Qarnain, a Christian Grandee of three Great Moghuls*, in *Memoria of the A. S. B.*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 115-194. The first part of the story occurs also in *The Spiritual Letters of Fr. Antonio Cavigli de Santa Croce in The Examiner*, Bombay, August 18, 1917. The Mirza was a famous Hindi poet.

21. This sincere faith on the part of the Christians accounts for the God of all Bounty and Majesty protecting them in a divine manner by his singular Providence against the snares of mankind. That was ever the case. Let us relate here what belongs to the present year.

The devil had taken possession of the body of a woman, one of our neophytes, and already for many days was torturing her. The husband of the energumen, also a Christian, was a pious man. As the case had occurred at a place away from Agra, where there was not a single Father, he himself, animated with confidence in God, tried to expel the evil spirit. He asked why he had taken possession of the woman. "To kill her," he said; "but that Lady (meaning the Mother of God) to whom she daily offers her bead-prayers weakens all my strength. It is she, she who renders all my efforts useless." On another occasion, when the same question was urged on the spirit, he answered: "I planned many evils against that woman, but the Christian Religion which she embraced stops my harming her." Afterwards, as in a rage, he exclaimed: "Ah! what a force the faith of Christ brings to bear on me." At last, placing the Gospel, which he happened to keep in the house, on the head of the energumen, the husband said: "Begone, accursed, damned one, in the name of Christ whose power you confess not to be able to resist." At that moment the spirit groaning and raging departed. The pious woman did not fail in gratitude to God for this favour. Shortly after, she returned to Agra where she was attacked with a severe sickness. She was advised to send for an idolatrous priest who by means of his diabolical ceremonies would rid her of her sickness, and thus she would be soon restored to health. She got very angry at that impious advice. "Begone," she said, "I shall die; but break my pledge to God and to the Christian Religion I will not." At that very same hour, she ordered the Father to be called in order to make a good confession; for she said that the Sacrament of Penance well received was the proper remedy for all her ills and her consolation. The event answered her expectation. At once after confession she began to improve and she gradually recovered her former strength.

22. In the same locality where the devil had afflicted the neophyte woman and taken possession of her, another Christian of

no low standing, who was collector of the royal revenues,¹ had taken a house to live in with his family. From the very outset the devil began to cause disagreeable scares; and amongst other things which I omit, he disturbed every night's rest by a continuous pelting of stones. There was a tree close to the house consecrated to idols. On it, in the day time, the devil appeared to a Christian maid-servant under a frightful form, and he ordered her to leave the house which he said was his own. The terrified servant made the sign of the Cross, and immediately the spirit disappeared. There was another female servant in the house, a Sarracen, and two Christian lads who were in the service of the family. Now, the devil took possession of the body of the Sarracen woman and confessed that he had done his utmost to enter the two boys, but was forbidden to harm them, because they were Christians. He was ordered by the master of the house to leave the servant girl free: he refused; he pointed with his finger to some part of the house where, he maintained, the former tenants had all along offered up sacrifices and perfumes to him; and, turning to the head of the family, he added: "If you do as the former inmates, I shall quit the place; if not, be warned that I will not quit it: it was mine all the time, and I remain in it as in my own; therefore, either do my bidding or prepare for a hard bitter struggle; and, when at last you are tired of it, I shall drive you shamefully and against your wish out of my property." The father of the family did not spare the impostor a volley of abuses in answering such an absurd request. After this, the devil still continued by way of revenge to molest the Mahumetan female servant whom he had entered; at last she was left alone, but the trouble of the stone-throwing and of other such delusions never stopped; for eight months the stubborn strife lasted. The tenant all this time, in spite of many urging him to leave the house, never left it, as he thought it unbecoming the Christian name to yield to the evil spirit. Eight months later, a copy of the Holy Gospel, which not long before he had ordered for his pious use in another town, reached him.² So then, on receiving it, the thought struck him that at last by this remedy he would break the devil's stubbornness. I mean by reading the sacred words as he was going round the house. He caught the idea, and, to begin with, he entirely

¹ The allusion seems to be to Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain at Sambhar.

² Probably a copy of the Persian translation of the New Testament made by Father Jerome Xavier on older existing translations.

demolished the shrine which the enemy of mankind had shown him; after that, he went all round the house reciting some part in each place. Wonderful to say, from that hour the fierce tyrant was for ever banished; you would not call them mere words, but as many cannon-balls by which the strength of the devil was paralyzed and yielded before the power of Christ.

23. What I am about to relate will still better confirm God's protection on his adorers. There was a dwelling here in Agra without any tenants for several years, as there was a standing rumour that the family spirits held it. Previously two Mahumetans stayed in it one after the other; but their daring unfortunately cost them the loss of their life: that is why afterwards no one would rashly run the too evident risk. However, some two years ago, one of our Christian students began to live with his family in this house. The neighbours came immediately, warned, frightened, dissuaded him. "Beware," they said; "all those that occupied the house left it only to be carried out in their coffins. There are seven most wicked spirits haunting it, who destroy everything." Those neighbours plied the man with their arguments, but he smiled at it all. "Go away, my friends," he said. "Strike those terrors into God's unbelievers and remember that the devil has little or no power against the followers of Christ." What else? To this time, when I write, he has dwelt in that house with his whole family, without experiencing the slightest molestation. But lest this might appear as purely accidental and not look as a special case of the divine protection over the disciples of Christ, the hellish tyranny spared only the Christians who were in the house, whereas it caused such cruel scares to two Mahumetan men-servants and molested them so badly that for several months they were laid up with a serious sickness. That event created great amazement and was the talk of the whole neighbourhood.

24. In such a state of affairs what wonder is there that the infidels themselves resort after that to the piety of the Christians in order to find a remedy to their miseries; for the divine mercy "which raineth upon the just and the unjust,"¹ sweetly arranges that the plenitude of graces should flow on them from the Christian fountain.

¹ Matth., v. 45.

A Sarracen woman, having already for some days been in the most painful throes of childbirth, asked a Christian, her neighbour, to recite the Christian prayers over her, saying that she knew their great efficacy. She recited the Our Father and Hail Mary with the happy result that she was relieved of her pains; she had a happy delivery.

25. About the same time, another woman of the same sect was in great lamentation over her son who was well-nigh dying. Hearing casually about the case of her other neighbour, she calls the same Christian and asks for the same prayers on behalf of her son with the same efficacious result: for after that the child, of whom they had despaired, recovered little by little his health.

26. Let us close this string of examples with the story of a third woman of the same faith as the others, but very well disposed towards the Christian religion for a long time already. When near her confinement, she sent a bottle and asked the Fathers for some holy water of St. Ignatius, which we are in the habit of giving to women in childbirth. She said she believed in the great efficacy of sacred things among Christians. We dared not refuse such a pious petition. The holy remedy was sent; the confinement was a complete success, and to show her gratitude to St. Ignatius she sent an alms to the Fathers.

27. More conspicuous still among the Christians is their regard for and confidence in the divine prayers and principally in the recitation of the Gospel. They often bring their children to the Fathers to read the Gospel over them. The sick, whether children or adults, ask the same in the beginning of their sickness, and there exists among them the most praiseworthy custom, when they come in for bodily infirmities, of calling the Fathers at once to hear their confession and have the Gospel read over them, so as to have strength and protection against the violence of their coming troubles. Months ago, a neophyte woman was undergoing terrific illusions from the devil; a Father was called; he heard her confession, read after that St. John's Gospel, and from that time the devil ceased to molest her.

28. Now, as the enemy of mankind does not allow the good seed to grow without the cockle, among so many fervent Christians bad ones are not wanting. This year, some of these by the efforts of the Fathers and by God's grace came out of the mire of their vices. There were three public fornicators who greatly disgraced

in this Mission the good name of the others. One had already spent almost twenty years in this filthy condition and had grown to a miserable old age; the second had lived fifteen years in that inveterate condition; the third and last one, four years. This man yielded more easily; for his concubine, a pagan, was on a level with him for birth and condition, and at her own request she was baptized and married to the man with whom she had led an irregular life. The other two gave hardly any hope of conversion; the women were servants, in every way different in condition, class and culture; and, though baptized in former days, they were Christians only in name. Such an array of difficulties stood in the way of the marriage; on the other hand, the separation was hardly possible, for they had sons and daughters. I forgot to say with what tiresome solicitude the former Fathers had gone to work in order to save them from the jaws of hell; but lustful love is as blind as it is deaf, and they had tried in vain. These parties were better off than the rest in wealth, and higher in authority, so that in consequence they had cast deeper roots in impiety. People already looked on them as lost; but the judgments of God and those of men run in different grooves. At last, this year, we gathered the harvest of what the former Fathers had sown in their hearts by their constant admonitions; for the guilty men were lawfully joined in the matrimonial bond with their servants, and there was thus great joy in heaven, an excellent example to other sinners, and a triumph for themselves.

29. To these many more must be added who, whilst they were not so badly bitten as the preceding ones by the contagion of a vile life, yet were miserably crushed under the weight of other sins for a long period of years, without ever lifting up their eyes to heaven. These belonged to the King's army. One had been twenty-eight years under his infirmity, another twenty-five, another eighteen; another nineteen; some had kept away for eight years from the salutary Sacraments of the Church. Our Father Rector took upon himself the task of instructing these and other men who are in the King's service. So, he went in all haste on the wings of his ardent zeal to the court of Lahor, where the King resided; and he won them all over by his pious exhortations; so that, casting off the fetters of their sins by making a wholesome confession, they gained a glorious victory over Satan. There also he washed at the sacred Font three adults snatched from heathen darkness.

30. Sambhar is a place a hundred leagues distant from Agra. Our brother Mirza Zulcarnen was appointed in the King's name to rule over it. Father Francis Morando, who is Mirza's chaplain, fixed his residence there and zealously instructs the Christians of the locality. He also brought ten heathens into the Catholic Church. His arguments got the better of an idolatrous Teacher of the Indians, so much so that he earnestly desires to be admitted into the fold of Christ; and, though that intention has not yet been carried out, we nevertheless hope that it will be some day; for he is learning the Christian prayers with great alacrity. In that place the same Father has erected this very year a Church to Almighty God, suitable enough considering place and circumstances; so that in truth the Roman and Apostolic faith stands triumphant among the numberless hosts of its fiercest enemies.

31. There still remains for me to add something about the vengeance which the God of all goodness and majesty most justly wreaked on some apostates or scoffers of the Christian faith; for in the same way as God rewards with a flow of heavenly gifts the fidelity of the just, He curbs, by his condign punishments, the ingratitude of the wicked.

Quite lately, a villain, who some years ago from greed for money had abandoned the faith to become a follower of Mahumet, was placed before the Magistrate for I know not what crime, and he was so severely lashed that after a few days he died a most miserable death.

32. There was another one, by birth an Indian and a slave by rank, a fellow of the lowest sort, yet a Christian. This one had fostered great hopes in his mind that he would be raised to high honours, if before the King of Mogor he renounced the Christian Religion for that of Mahumet. What else? He pretended he was a Portuguese; and, availing himself of a suitable opportunity, he appears before the King and discloses his intention. "I am a Christian," he said; "but the profession of Sarracenism has attracted me." The King, staring at the man, asked about him from those present if he were a real Portuguese. "We do not know him," they answered. "Well then," said the King turning to him, "I know and I have found as a fact that the Portuguese can hardly be brought even under the severest torments to give up their religion. You, without any one to put you up to it, of your own accord and spontaneously, you offer to renounce

your religion! Then you are not a Portuguese." This was the answer of the King, who dismissed the villain shorn of the true faith and without the rewards he had hoped for.

33. A young neophyte had come on a visit to his relations who were still in the darkness of their heathenism. Whilst with them, for fear of incurring their displeasure, he readily consented to join them in making offerings to the idol that was kept in the house. Hardly had the unfortunate youth committed his crime when the devil entered his body. On being brought home, he became furious, and molested and greatly terrified the inmates of the house. The Father was sent for; the energumens fell at his feet, making desperate efforts, because prevented by the devil. At last he duly confessed his sin, and the wild beast unwillingly left the body which it had usurped.

34. A young man had come to an agreement with a woman to marry; but the Fathers for various reasons dissuaded the marriage. They, however, on seeing that they were losing time and trouble in asking, became so wicked that they resolved to apostatize. When the Father who then resided in Agra heard of this, he would not let them run the danger of perversion; much against his wish, he did for them what was strictly allowable, though accompanied with much inconvenience, and he celebrated their marriage before the Church. The God of Justice is the avenger of evil. How severely He comes down on those who do not yield to the advice of their spiritual directors, was very clearly shown. A month after the marriage ceremony, the husband became mad and started giving such a deal of trouble to the people of the house and above all to the mother and the brother of the girl, who with every resource in their power had clamoured for that marriage, that a thousand times a day they blamed themselves for their disobedience. It did not end there. After another two months, the wife herself, struck with paralysis, offered a pitiful spectacle. Not long after, died the only and most beloved son of the woman's brother, who was the instigator of all this wickedness. Lastly, the wife, after spending in a penitent manner six consecutive months in the most severe paralytic pains, repented and departed this life, closing by her death a most fatal tragedy; for after her demise the husband, now doing better, but greatly ashamed of himself, went elsewhere, having learned thoroughly the lesson of compliance with the Father's advice.

35. What follows is more cheerful and well worthy of notice. A European, of English nationality, and a Heretic in religion, had among his servants two young boys, the one a Catholic lad of our school, the other a Sarracen. One day, as will happen, there arose a dispute between the youngsters, more violent than usual and a long one. At last the Sarracen, as he saw himself worsted by the scornful self-possession of the Christian, thought that the best he could do to take his revenge was to hurl the most wicked and blasphemous utterances against the Blessed Virgin; for he knew that blasphemies of the kind, when he came to hear of them, would cut the Christian boy to the quick; and he was not mistaken. The lad, a client of Mary, was struck dumb with heart's grief; then, recovering himself and addressing him, "Wretch!" he said, "you will rue this, and when to-day you are turned out of the house, remember it only as the Virgin's vindication." Meanwhile, the rumour of the altercation had reached the gentleman, who, unaware of the insults addressed to the Mother of God, decided immediately the case of the two lads, namely, that the Sarracen boy be dismissed on the spot. There and then, a number came to intercede for him, but all in vain; finally, on the third day, if I remember rightly, when the infidel lad saw that all intercession failed, he acknowledged his guilt in having insulted the majesty of the Virgin; he goes therefore to the Christian boy, throws himself at his feet, candidly confesses that he has richly deserved the punishment for his blasphemous tongue, earnestly begs of him to appease her anger, and "In order," he said, "that my request may be more readily granted, take this money and divide it among your poor, so that by their prayers they may reconcile me with the heavenly Queen." The Christian boy was greatly pleased to hear this, and he told his companion to be of good cheer, but that he ought to understand, however, how dangerous it is to mock what the Christians hold sacred. After that he gave the money to the poor Christians. What more? At dawn, on the following day, the English gentleman, without any one interceding and of his own accord, called back the Sarracen lad.

36. Like a crowning to all this, let me relate something remarkable and wonderful. This same year 1648, when Father Christopher da Costa was about to return from Lahor to Agra, in the month of February, he resolved to bring with him the bones of Father Joseph de Castro, who had died in that place, to the Agra

cemetery, where our other Fathers rest. As he had given orders to dig them up, the wooden coffin in which the remains had been enclosed was found to have almost entirely mouldered away, whereas the body of Father Joseph, of our Society, together with the vestments, appeared as intact as it was on the day of the funeral, with the exception of a few details of no great importance; the flesh was like fresh; the beard, the hair and the habit itself in which he was clothed were found intact. It looked wonderful: for, besides being a corpulent man, Father Joseph had been buried more than a year before. So then, Father Christopher, having placed the body in a new coffin and keeping it all along by his side in the carriage in which he himself travelled for nearly a month's journey, brought it all the way to Agra, and yet he was never troubled with any offensive smell. Finally it was buried at Agra with great honour in the burial-ground of our defunct Fathers.¹

37. Enough for this year's report. Who wants more startling news, let him reflect that the Mission is an everyday miracle and a standing wonder; for it is surprising that, although the mighty King of Mogor is so very averse to the Fathers and the Christians, yet he tolerates them in his kingdom and capital; it is wonderful that, whilst the King's officers and the Governors know full well of the frequent conversions made by the Fathers, in spite of royal orders and proclamations, yet they dissemble; it is miraculous that the old Christians go on persevering among the calumnies, the insults and persecutions of the Mahumetans; for in the proud eyes of the Mahumetans they are looked upon as if they were like the dirt and the cesspool of the world. They want them far away from their company and service, as if they were impure, for the simple reason that they are Christians. The wonder is the more surprising in that our disciples live in great poverty; for the Sarracens, who lord it here, mostly refuse to help them unless they march under the banners of Mahumet. Our Christians therefore see all the time the infidels living in comfort, whereas they themselves on account of the faith which they profess groan under a most heavy burden of labour and misery! On the other hand, they are enticed by the licence of greater liberties in life. Notwithstanding all this, with the exception of one or another Judas, they adhere faithfully

¹ For a note on a duplicate inscription to his memory at Agra, cf. my *Mirza Zu-i-Qarnain* in *Memoirs J. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 185.

to Christ; even new ones enter the fold. He who with an un-biassed mind ponders over all this will wonder that there are so many Christians here, that the number of conversions is so great. The Fathers' stay will not appear to him idle and inactive, but laborious and fruitful, and this is our only desire, our only wish: that by these letters the mind of the reader be led to God's glorification, towards which, for a relief in our labours and for our solid foundation in piety, whatever strength there is in us will be rightly directed. Praise be to God and to the divine Mother!

REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Additional Notes

1. P. 232, Para 6.—I recollect having read a similar story in other European accounts, perhaps in Bernier.

2. P. 233, Para. 9.—The Saracen nobleman, whose daughter was baptised by a Christian woman (who must have been in his service, unless she was only a lady doctor), may have been Mir Jumlah, and the child may have had a Christian mother. See note below.

3. P. 235, Para. 14, note 1 contd.—Father Navarette, the Dominican, says about the Christians of San Thomé, Mylapore, Madras (about 1668): 'What follows is worse; many told me, (would to God it were a lie, and I had not heard it) that catholick men were pimps to catholick women with Mahometans and Gentiles. F. de Angelis will do well to note this: A beautiful and honest maid was forced out of her father's house, and delivered to a Mahometan. The King of Golconda has a concubine to this day, the daughter of a Portuguese.' Cf. Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 3rd Edn., Vol. I (London, 1744), p. 278, col. 1. Have we not here a reference to a Portuguese girl, one Mary, married to Mir Jumlah? See note above. This would not yet dispose of the story of Akbar's Christian wife.

4. P. 235, Para. 15.—The distinguished Christian matron, a noble lady, who had become impoverished, was perhaps Lucretia Tavares, who died in 1660 and is buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. Cf. my *The family of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa* in *Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc.*, Vol. VII. No. 1, p. 6.

5. P. 238, Para. 30.—The blood relation of Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain, administrator of Shah Jahan's revenues, appears to be his uncle, Janibeg, who in 1645 was Captain of the Christians of Sambhar, on a salary of Rs. 50,000 a year. Cf. my *Mirza Zu-l-Qarnain* in *Mcm. A.S.B.*, Vol. V (1916), p. 146.

Sources for the History of Vijayanagar

On the eve of Alau-d-din Khilji's dashing raid into the Deccan in A.D. 1294, there existed several independent Hindu dynasties¹ ruling over the territories south of the Vindhya. But within the four decades following that memorable event the political outlook of those lands was immensely changed. Alau-d-din's success in the south emboldened others to follow in his footsteps, and the whole of Southern India lay at the mercy of the rapacious invaders. The Hindu kingdoms had been weakened by their frequent internecine wars and consequently they could not withstand the sudden onrush of the Mohammadans, amongst whose armies there was an insatiable desire for plunder and a great religious zeal to subdue the 'unbelievers'. Each kingdom was separately overthrown and plundered² by the followers of Islam, and all the southern lands were convulsed by their aggression. The stories³ of the immense spoils carried away by the invaders may give an idea of the dire calamity that had overtaken this part of the country at the dawn of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. An indication of the utter helplessness of the Hindus is to be found in the native accounts⁴ of the vicissitudes of the tutelary God of Srirangam on the sack of that place by the Mohammadans. Indeed, the Hindus were reduced to a very miserable plight, and it was the opportune foundation of the Vijayanagar⁵ Empire that rescued them from the reign of terror. From the time of its foundation about A.D. 1336, Vijayanagar became the rallying point of the Hindus of South India, and it afforded necessary protection to their life, religion, and property, till its break-up in A.D. 1565.

Hence a study of the origin, growth, and development of this Empire—an Empire which could hold its own against the Mohammadans for more than two centuries, which has been declared by a succession of contemporary

¹ See V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India', Chaps. XV and XVI. R. Sewell's 'Lists of Antiquities, Madras', Vol. II; and J. F. Fleet's 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts'.

² See Prof. S. K. Aiyangar: *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 74—137.

³ Col. Dow in his translation of Ferishta estimates the amount taken away by Malik Kafur alone as one hundred millions sterling! See also Elliot's *Hist. of India*, iii, 49.

⁴ Anantaraya's *Prapannamrtam*, Kesavacharya's *Suktimuktavali* (see extracts given in Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar history*); Koyilolugu (1818); and Guruparamparas of the Sri-Vaishnavas of South India.

⁵ Bianga or Narasinga of the Portuguese writers; Bizenegalia of Conti, and Bijanagur of the Mohammadan writers.

travellers to have been marvellous for its extent and prosperity, which had great influence on the fortunes of the Portuguese power in India, which has left permanent marks on the orthodoxy of the southern Hindus even to this day, and whose great literary and archaeological monuments are to be found scattered all over Southern India—cannot but be interesting to a student of history. But unfortunately there does not exist a single comprehensive work dealing with the subject.

Great credit is due to Mr. R. Sewell for his attempt to write the first systematic history of Vijayanagar and for directing the attention of scholars towards that nearly 'Forgotten Empire'. Yet gratitude for his work should not make us oblivious of its shortcomings, of which no one was more conscious than the author himself. Indeed, owing to its being the first work of its kind, his account is mainly confined to political events, while matters such as revenue and judicial administration, industrial and commercial development, literature and art, are meagrely treated. Since his publication the archaeologists and antiquarians have succeeded in bringing a mass of material to light which is of great help in clearing the doubts and difficulties even in his political history. In this paper an attempt will be made to take stock of the data available for the construction of a critical and exhaustive history of the Empire.

The historian's task is rendered very difficult by the paucity of state papers, which is largely due to the destruction of the record rooms¹ along with the imperial city after the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565. Moreover the rapid decay of the Empire following the decisive victory of the Mohammadans deprived the documents in the possession of the provincial governors of their value for all practical purposes, and so very few cared for their preservation. On the other hand the Empire did not produce a single historian who could transmit to posterity an authentic and critical account of the social and political condition of the times. Al Biruni² said of the Hindus of the eleventh century that they 'do not pay much attention to the historical order of things' and this description is also generally applicable, with very few exceptions, to those of the later times as well.

However, the difficulties arising from the destruction of the official records and the scarcity of contemporary native authorities on the subject have been greatly neutralised by the epigraphical and other sources. Broadly speaking, the materials available for the construction of an exhaustive history of the Empire can be grouped into five classes, viz.,—

1. Archaeological (monuments, coins, and inscriptions)
2. Literary

¹ For the existence of such rooms see Abd-er-Razzak in R. H. Major's 'India in the Fifteenth century', Hakluyt Ed., p. 25.

² Sachau's Translation, Vol. ii, p. 6.

3. Notices by foreigners
4. Later Indian and European works
5. Miscellaneous.

Monuments in the shape of buildings, temples, and structures of various kinds are to be found all over Southern India, and they throw a considerable light upon religion, art, and civilization under the Vijayanagar Empire. But unfortunately they have not received due attention from the archaeologists until very recent times. Except a few published plans and details, we have no scientific work on the subject. Messrs. Fergusson, Taylor, Rea, Smith, and Havell have given¹ descriptions of certain monuments of the period under consideration; but they are too meagre to afford an insight into the feelings and art of the times. They only serve to attract the attention of scholars and indicate a field for further researches. The ruins of Vijayanagar are treated at some length in the Madras Christian College Magazine for December 1886, and in Mr. A. H. Longhurst's 'Hampi Ruins' (1917). They contain a short sketch of the history of the Empire, and a detailed account of the religious buildings, palatial structures, and fortifications of the imperial city. Mr. Longhurst's book is well written, and contains sixty-nine illustrations. But these monographs are limited in scope and do not treat of the architecture and sculpture of the whole of the Empire. A synthetic view, surveying the entire subject matter, will be more useful than booklets on a few buildings, and this is still a desideratum.

But in India, specially in the south, architecture and religion were inseparably intertwined, the latter forming the basis of the former. Hence, in order to understand the significance of the monuments of the Vijayanagar period, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the principles of Dravidian architecture, and the religious currents of the times. In this connection Prof. G. Jouveau Dubreuil's 'Evolution of Dravidian Architecture' and Mr. L. D. Barnett's 'Hinduism' may be studied with advantage.

The coins of the dynasty of Vijayanagar, beginning with those of Bukka, the first king, constitute a long series in gold and copper. But they present greater difficulties to the scholar and offer less reward for his labours than those of the contemporary Mohammadan rulers. Their devices are crude

¹ See 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture'. By James Fergusson. Edited by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers (1910), Vol. I, pp. 398—417; Messrs. Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson: Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore (1866); Mr. Rea: Stone-carving and inlaying in Southern India (1906); Mr. V. A. Smith: A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon (1911); Mr. E. B. Havell: Indian Architecture (1913).

See also R. Sewell: List of Antiquities, Madras, Vol. I; and Vishnu Baghunath Nattu: A monograph on the Empire of Vijayanagar with a guide to Hampi (Belgaum, 1900).

and indistinct, while the dates are always lacking. Still they are of immense value inasmuch as they throw a flood of light on the religious beliefs and personal tastes of their authors, and enable us to understand the currency of those days. The identification of these coins, and the study of the emblems and figures on them, have been greatly facilitated by the works¹ of Major Moor and Captain Tufnell. Every year a few coins are discovered, and a large number of those already collected has been diligently catalogued from time to time by various scholars². The best account of Vijayanagar coins is that given by Dr. E. Hultzsch, who has attempted to present in one view³ all the available information on the subject as gathered from a number of cabinets and numismatic publications. In the whole lot of the recorded coins of the period it is noteworthy that there is only one silver issue,⁴ the rest being those of gold and copper. They bear figures possessing Saiva and Vaishnavite emblems, which indicate the faith of the ruler who issued them. The standard coins, known as Varaha, Pon, Gadyana, Honnu, or Pagoda, weigh approximately fifty-two grains, and the small coins, the fanams or the hanas, are each a tenth or twelfth of a pagoda. Abd-er-raz-zak⁵, the Persian ambassador, who stayed at Vijayanagar in A.D. 1443, has given the names of the coins current in the Empire, and we have also some references to certain coins in a few contemporary inscriptions.⁶ But it is to be regretted that none of the numismatic writers has tried to identify them, specially the minor ones, with those published in their catalogues, as such an identification would have been of some help in determining the economic condition of the people at that time.

But of all the archaeological sources the Epigraphical records are the most important, because it is largely with their help that definite dates

¹ Major Edward Moor: *Plates illustrating the Hindu Pantheon*, 1861. Capt. R. H. C. Tufnell: *Hints to coin-collectors in Southern India*, 1888.

² H. H. Wilson: *Description of select coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society; Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII, 1832. H. P. Hawkes: *A brief sketch of the gold, silver, and copper coinage of Mysore*, 1856. W. Marsden: *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II, 1825. G. Bidie: *The pagoda or Varaha Coins, etc.*; *Jr. As. Soc. of Bengal L.I.*, Pt. II, 1883. Sir Walter Elliot: *Coins of Southern India*, 1886. E. Thurston: *Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum*, 1890. T. M. Rangachari: *Some Unedited Coins, etc.*; *Ind. Antiq.* XXIII, 1894. Chas. J. Rodgers: *Cat. of the coins of the Indian Museum*, Part III, Cal., 1895. R. Sewell: *Some doubtful coins of Southern India*, *Ind. Antiq.* XXXII, 1903. V. A. Smith: *Cat. of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1906.

³ Dr. E. Hultzsch: *The coins of the Kings of Vijayanagar*; *Ind. Antiq.*, XX (1891). See also Vols. XXI and XXV.

⁴ See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XXV, p. 313.

⁵ See R. H. Major's *'India in the Fifteenth Century'*. Hak. edition, 1857, p. 26.

⁶ See *Ep. Carnatica*, V, Belūr, 75; VIII, T.L. 136 and 137. Dr. Hultzsch: *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, No. 53, pp. 80—2. *Ep. Indica*, VI, pp. 230—9 and VIII, p. 130, note 1.

and identifications can be established with any amount of certainty in the absence of professed historical works. Fortunately the south of India is peculiarly rich in inscriptions of almost all kinds, both stone and copper. The records on copper plates are known as 'Tamra-Sasana' and are generally of a donative character. They record gifts of real property or exemptions from duties and taxes. The inscriptions on stone are called 'Sila-lekha' and are either dedicatory or commemorative. Most of these epigraphical records have come down to us not through any deliberate attempt on the part of the Hindus to write history, but through their religious character and their desire to make charitable gifts in order to earn a name among their contemporaries and to get a reward in heaven. Indeed the love of pilgrimage and donations to shrines were the dominant features of the South Indian Hindus. A Hindu king without resort to the panegyric of Brahmins and the reputation of a donor to temples and priests was hardly to be found in that age. These records often contain accounts, although not free from exaggeration, of the achievements of the rulers or viceroys of Vijayanagar, and furnish a lot of indirect information regarding the political, economic, and religious condition of the Empire. It is a matter of great satisfaction that a large number of them have already been made available¹ to the historian in various Epigraphical works and Research Journals. Of these, the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Nellore Inscriptions*, and *Madras Epigraphical collections* are particularly valuable. But the published records bearing

¹ See Mackenzie MSS. deposited in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library of Madras. Well-bound copies of a major portion of these documents are also available in this library. *Vide* (1) Mackenzie MSS., restored by Rev. W. Taylor, in 5 Vols., (2) Taylor's list of Mackenzie inscriptions in the Ceded Districts, Southern Dts., Mysore, Kanara, etc., in 2 Vols., (3) Local Records in 62 volumes, transcribed from the Mackenzie MSS. by C. P. Brown. These Manuscripts contain copies of certain inscriptions which have since disappeared.

Telugu Inscriptions or Elliot collections in 2 Vols. They are also kept in the Government Orient. MSS. Library of Madras. See Vol. 1, pp. 250-53, 350-79, and passim, *Asiatic Researches*.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1841 up to date. *Indian Antiquary from 1872 up to date*. Lewis Rice: *Mysore Inscriptions*, 1879. R. Sewell: *Lists of Antiquities*, Madras, Vol. II, 1884. Lewis Rice: *Epigraphia Carnatica in 12 Vols.* (1886-1904). Dr. E. Hultzsch: *South Indian Inscriptions*, in 3 Vols. (1890-1903). *Epigraphia Indica*, started in 1892 and still published as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*. Fleet and Burgess: *Pali, Sanskrit, and old Kanarese inscriptions*.

Madras Epigraphical Collections and Annual Reports from 1887 up to date.

Nellore Inscriptions by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty in three Parts, 1905.

The Prachina-Lekha-Mala or a collection of ancient historical records in Sanskrit, 3 Vols., edited by Pandit Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, *Mysore Archaeological and Epigraphical Reports*.

on the period are found scattered in different volumes so that an enormous amount of time is wasted in collecting necessary materials from them. Their publication according to some definite plan would have greatly facilitated the historians' task. Prof. V. Rangacharya of Madras has done a great service by compiling a list of a large number of inscriptions of the Madras Presidency hitherto published in various epigraphical reports, and presenting them in a topographical order. Along with the summaries of the inscriptions he has pointed out their significance and has given important references. The third volume of his compilation contains a dynastic list and a glossary which add to the utility of his work. The topographical arrangement is of immense help in determining the extent of the sovereignty of a particular ruler and in writing local histories. A similar publication in chronological order and in dynastic volumes for the whole of South India would be immensely useful and is greatly needed.

However, a critical study of the epigraphical publications even in their present form, although involving some trouble and loss of time, yields important results. But care should be taken to discriminate between spurious¹ and genuine records, especially with regard to the copperplate grants, because they are more likely to have been fabricated for establishing false claims. The forged records can be easily detected by their palæographic² and chronological anachronisms. In this connection Dr. Fleet's interesting article³ in the thirtieth volume of the *Indian Antiquary* is very instructive.

Special attention should also be paid to the determination of exact European equivalents of the Hindu dates in the inscriptions because some of the works on Epigraphy are very defective in this respect. Indeed, the *Epigraphia Carnatica* practically omits such details in the English versions of the inscriptions, while other epigraphical publications condemn certain dates as 'irregular'.⁴ Mr. Sewell's remarks⁵ on this point are very pertinent and should always be borne in mind when studying the epigraphical records of South India. He says, 'As regards Southern India especially from which proceeds a large proportion of historical inscriptions, every date at present condemned as irregular should certainly be tested by the *Arya Siddhanta*, the authority most generally used in that part of the country.'

¹ Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu says that the forgeries of the Vijayanagar series are probably as plentiful as the genuine grants. See *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XXVII, p. 277.

² See A. C. Burnell: *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, 1878.

³ J. F. Fleet, P.H.D.: 'Spurious Indian Records' in *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XXX, pp. 201-23.

⁴ See Madras Epigraphical collections and Prof. F. Kielhorn's 'List of Inscriptions of S. India' in the *Ep. Indica*, Vol. VII, Appendix.

⁵ See *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XV (1919), p. 160.

But it is believed that these records have, as a rule, only been verified by the *Surya Siddhanta*.⁷ Sometimes the alleged irregularity arises from the practice of citing a year preceding or following that which is actually intended. This can be easily detected by verifying the details of the date with the year in which they fit in. However, the conversion of the Hindu dates into those of the Christian era has been facilitated by the tables and special expositions of various chronologists⁸.

The historical data derived from the study of the published epigraphical records are of various kinds: a few specific examples of them may be noted here. A record,⁹ dated the 7th September 1358, depicts the miserable condition of the Hindus under the Mohammadan invaders, and relates how the Vijayanagar princes came to their rescue. The numerous inscriptions, making endowments to Brahmans and temples, and recording¹⁰ the frequent occurrence of 'sati', point to the active revival of the Brahminical supremacy under the Vijayanagar Empire. Indeed, it would have been more appropriate to call this newly grown state, instead of its northern rival, by the name of the Brahmani kingdom. Again, it is on the evidence of the inscriptions that the dates of the successive princes who had occupied the Vijayanagar throne, have been settled or confirmed by various authors.¹¹ Mr. Krishna Sastri has admirably utilised these inscriptions in compiling¹² an account of the achievements of the Vijayanagar sovereigns, and in identifying their viceroys and ministers in charge of the different parts of the Empire. Had he discussed the principles upon which the provinces were organised, his work would have been more valuable. However, this much is clear from the epigraphical records that necessary provision was made¹³.

⁷ Prof. Hermann Jacobi: *Methods and tables for verifying Hindu dates, Tithis, etc.* See *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. I and II, Prof. F. Kielhorn: *On the dates of Saka era in Inscriptions.* See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vols. XXIII to XXVI.

⁸ Dr. Schram: *Tables for conversion of Hindu dates.* See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

⁹ Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit: *Indian Calendar*, 1896. Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai: *Indian Chronology*, 1911. C. P. Brown: *Carnatic Chronology*.

¹⁰ A. Venkata Subbiah: *Some Saka dates in Inscriptions*, 1918.

¹¹ See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1916, Sec. 33.

¹² See *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. III, Md. 103; Vol. VII, S. K. 37, 239; Vol. VIII, Sb. 24, 25, 107, etc.

¹³ R. Sewell: *The Kings of Vijayanagar, A.D. 1486-1509*; see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1915, pp. 383-95.

Prof. Kielhorn: *List of Vijayanagar Kings*; see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, Appendix II.

Miss Duff: *Chronology of India*, 1899.

Prof. S. K. Aiyangar: *A little-known chapter of Vijayanagar History, A.D. 1450-1509*; see *Mythic Journal*, Vol. VI.

¹⁴ See *Archæological Survey of India Annual Reports* for 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1911-12.

¹⁵ See *Mad. Ep. Col. Nos.* 57 of 1901; 567 of 1904; 139 and 141 of 1910; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 111 ff.; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, S. K. 313, etc.

for the administration of the newly conquered territories as soon as they were brought under the Empire, and in certain provinces the Governors held their posts for a limited period of time¹. Occasionally the relatives² of the sovereign were put in charge of important divisions, and the viceroys were transferred³ from place to place. For administrative purposes the Empire was parcelled out into a number of provinces, districts, and other minor sub-divisions,⁴ while the central government was represented in the villages by Karnams⁵ or accountants. Oppression on the part of the subordinate officials was severely condemned and the sufferers were compensated⁶. Of judicial procedure there is very little sign in the inscriptions. But there are certain records from which we can infer that a large number of disputes were settled locally by means of arbitration⁷, and that in extraordinary cases the king himself acted as the judge⁸.

As regards the financial resources of the Empire the epigraphical records furnish a mine of information. It is from them that we learn that, in addition to the land revenue⁹, the state derived a large income from the inland duties¹⁰ levied upon cotton and silk goods, glass, gold, betel-leaves, areca nuts, eggs, cows, buffaloes, goats and other live-stock, and all kinds of grains. A certain amount of money was charged on the means of transportation¹¹, such as porters, carts, boats, bullocks, horses, and asses. Tolls¹² were imposed upon water-sheds, salt-beds, grazing-grounds, forests, markets, and roads leading to centres of pilgrimage. Houses, looms, oil and sugarcane mills, potters, bakers, barbers and certain other classes were also

¹ *E.g.*, in Barakuru-Rajya (see Madras Ep. Col. 139 of 1910; 117, 129, etc. of 1901) and in Araga or Male Rajya (see Ep. Carn. Vol. VI, Ep. 6, 30, 31, etc.).

² See Ep. Carn. Vol. VIII, Sb. 375; Vol. IX, Ba. 59; Nellore Ins. part II, p. 789, No. 28; Kanigiri No. 4; Mad. Ep. Col. 404 of 1904, etc.

³ See Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 327; Ep. Carn. Vol. IV, Intro. p. 25, and Vol. VIII, Tl. 20, 30, etc.; Mad. Ep. Col. 340 of 1892.

⁴ See Mad. Ep. Col. 132 of 1901; 404 of 1904; 241 of 1906; 63 of 1908; 352 of 1912. Nel. Ins. C. P. No. 10, Darsi No. 53, etc.

⁵ Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 117, No. 9; p. 333, No. 93; p. 100, No. 15; Mad. Ep. Col. 492, of 1906, 412 of 1911, 138 of 1913; Nel. Ins. pp. 1243-9, No. 55.

⁶ Mad. Ep. Col. 23 of 1905, 376 of 1913, 226 of 1912, 146 of 1903, 180 of 1912.

⁷ Mad. Ep. Col. 195, 196 of 1912, 405 of 1911; Mad. Ep. Rep. 1913, p. 118.

⁸ Ep. Carn. Vol. II, S. B. 136, Vol. IX, Ma. 18; South Ind. Ins. Vol. I, pp. 82-84, No. 56; Mad. Ep. Col. 49 of 1887, 449 of 1913.

⁹ Ep. Carn. Vol. III, Mi. 95; Mad. Ep. Col. 324 of 1911, 324 of 1912, 30 of 1913.

¹⁰ Ep. Carn. Vol. III, Mi. 95, Nj. 118, Vol. V, Bl. 75, Vol. IV, Kr. 21 and 22; Nel. Ins. pp. 1121-4—O 132; Mad. Ep. Col. 221, 293 of 1910, 321 of 1911, and 221 of 1912.

¹¹ Mad. Ep. Col. 18, 19 of 1915; Ins. Ced. Dts., p. 409, No. 24; Nel. Ins. O 132, pp. 1121-4; Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Bl. 75.

¹² Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 230-9; Mad. Ep. Col. 242 of 1882; 651 of 1905, 251 of 1909; Taylor's list of Mackenzie Ins. in Mysore, Kanara, etc., p. 61, Nos. 400 and 409.

subjected to taxation¹. On the occasion of marriages² the state realized a fee from both the parties of all classes and creeds. Besides the above-mentioned taxes, the inscriptions³ refer to certain others which stand in need of interpretation. Remissions of taxes were sometimes granted, either generally or in special localities⁴. In the sixteenth century the taxes on marriages and those on barbers were given up⁵.

The epigraphical records also mention the rates⁶ of some of these taxes, and supply much valuable information regarding finance and currency⁷, fiscal policy⁸ and public works⁹, and political and religious currents of the times. There are also references to famines¹⁰ and other economic factors. But it is needless to deal with them here, as the aim of this article is only to point out the materials for an exhaustive history of the Empire of Vijayanagar, and to suggest the lines on which they may be utilised.

Varied as are the historical data in the inscriptions, yet by themselves they are inadequate for writing a systematic history. Contemporary or nearly contemporary literature supplements them admirably, and contains historical material which cannot be found elsewhere. It is mainly from this that we learn that the imperial family and the subordinate chieftains alike were patrons of literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu. It also throws considerable light on the achievements of individual sovereigns and provincial governors, and can be used as a check on the one-sided accounts of the later Mohammadan authors. Indeed, with proper precautions against the panegyrics of the court-poets, the literary works of the time may be made to yield important historical materials.

But unfortunately most of these literary compositions are still unpublished and are to be found in the collections of various public and private libraries¹¹. During the early days of the nineteenth century Colonel Colin Mackenzie had collected a few of them, but he died before he could arrange

¹ Ep. Carn. Vol. III, Mi. 95, Nj. 118; Vol. IV, Kr. 21, 22; Vol. XI, H. K. 110; Vol. XII, Tp. 126. Mad. Ep. Col. 364 of 1908; 116 of 1910; 272 of 1912, etc.

² Ep. Carn. Vol. X, Gd. 17; Vol. XII, Mi. 64; Vol. XI, HK 111, Dg. 107. Mad. Ep. Col. 387 of 1904, 217 of 1913. Ins. Ced. Dts. p. 76 No. 69, p. 80 No. 83.

³ Mad. Ep. Col. 511 of 1905, 324 of 1911, 226 of 1912, 30, 376 etc. of 1913.

⁴ *Ibid.* 198 of 1904, 89 of 1908; Ep. Carn. X, Gd. 17.

⁵ Ep. Carn. Vol. XI, HK 110, 111; Vol. XII, Mi. 64, Tp. 126. Mad. Ep. Col. 387 of 1909, etc.

⁶ Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 230-9. Mad. Ep. Col. 241 of 1892, 364 of 1908, etc.

⁷ South Ind. Ins. Vol. I, No. 55, pp. 80-2; Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Bl. 75.

⁸ Mad. Ep. Col. 422 of 1912 and Ep. Rep. 1913, pp. 118-9.

⁹ Ep. Carn. Vol. XI, Dg. 23, 29; Vol. X, Gd. 6, Bg. 10; Vol. III, Mi. 21, 22. Mad. Ep. Co. 574 of 1902, 18 of 1904, 69 of 1907, etc.

¹⁰ Mad. Ep. Col. 239 of 1905. Ep. Carn. Vol. IV, Ch. 108.

¹¹ Specially of South India.

and publish his collections in any systematic form. Besides notices of some of the literary compositions of the Vijayanagar period, his manuscripts contain other historical and geographical materials invaluable for the student of Vijayanagar history. The catalogues and analysis of his records prepared by Wilson, Taylor, and other scholars¹ are very useful in selecting necessary materials from among his voluminous collections. It is from his manuscripts that Mr. Rice has extracted some particulars² about the system of government in the latter days of the Vijayanagar Empire. But the 'Mackenzie collections' do not include a number of literary works, which have been located, and noticed in various catalogues and search-reports³. References to, and quotations from, a few of such literary compositions are also to be found in the writings of G. Sriramamurti and others⁴. A direct and most useful work on the subject is that of Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who in his 'Sources of Vijayanagar History'⁵ has given select passages from both Telugu and Sanskrit literature bearing on the period under our consideration. Most of the extracts are taken from manuscripts and published works now out of print, and each of them is provided with a summary in English of the historical facts to be found in them. Their salient features are pointed out in a general introduction to the collection, and genealogical tables of the four successive dynasties⁶ that ruled over the Empire, are also given. Indeed the literary sources are presented in this book in a nutshell, and they can be used by those students also who are not acquainted with Telugu or Sanskrit.

The literary evidence can be used in settling certain disputed points in the history of Vijayanagar and in elucidating historical facts, hitherto a

¹ H. H. Wilson: Cat. of Mackenzie Collections (Orient. MSS.) 2 Vols. 1828. Rev. W. Taylor: (1) Exam. and Analysis of the Mack. MSS. deposited in the Madras College Library; (2) Analytical Reports of the Mack. Records published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1838 and following years; (3) Cat. Rais. of Orient. MSS. Vol. III, 1862. G. Oppert: Index to 62 Vols. of Mack. Col. deposited in the Government Orient. MSS. Library of Madras. See *supra* note 1 on page 253.

² See Lewis Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 578-88.

³ A. C. Burnell: Catalogue of Tanjore Library.

Lewis Rice: Cat. of Sans. MSS. in Mysore and Coorg, 1884.

Prof. Eggling: Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the India Office Library.

E. Hultzsch: Report on Sans. MSS. in South India, 1885-96.

Seshagiri Shastri: Reports on a search for Sans. and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, etc.

⁴ Kavali Venkataramaswamy: Biographies of Dekkan Poets, 1829.

Gurujada Sriramamurti Pantulu: Kavijivitamulu (in Telugu), 1896.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu: Andhra-Kavula Charitra (in Telugu) or the lives of Telugu Poets, 1917.

⁵ Collected by Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati and edited by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar. 'Literary Sources of Vijayanagar History' would have been an appropriate title for the work.

⁶ The Sangama (Circa A.D. 1336-1487); the Saluva (Circa A.D. 1487-1502); the Tuluva (Circa A.D. 1502-1567); and the Aravidu (Circa A.D. 1567-1688).

sealed book to scholars. A few specific examples of the materials contained in some of the important works may give an idea of their utility in constructing an exhaustive history of the Empire. A large number of literary compositions give invariably a genealogy of the author, and sometimes that of his patron also. The names of the sovereigns given in the introductions and colophons may of course be accepted as reliable. But the descriptive portions, being full of panegyrics, should be critically examined before accepting them for historical purposes. The poetical works, such as the Kamparāyacharitam¹, Jaimini Bhāratam, Saluvabhyudayam, etc.² reveal the political and religious condition of South India during the early days of the Empire. They also indicate the miserable plight of the Hindus under the Mohammadan invaders, and the process by which the latter were expelled from the south. The introduction to Sayana's Taittiriya Samhita Bhāshya³ settles the much disputed question regarding the relationship between Mādhavacharya and Sāyana, and shows that they were two uterine brothers and not identical personages, as held by Mr. A. C. Burnell⁴. It is mainly on literary evidence that Mr. Narasimhachar⁵ has refuted Mr. A. C. Burnell's theory, and has identified this Mādhavacharya with Vidyanarya of Sringeri. Again, the Haravilasam of Sri-nāth, who enjoyed the patronage of Devaraya II, gives an insight into the over-sea trade of Vijayanagar. The activities of the enemies of the Empire after the death of Devaraya II are noticed in the Gangadāsa-pratupavilāsam of Gangadhara. Cantos 123 to 125 of Anantacharya's Prapannamrtam, read in the light of Sri-sailam Plates, clearly prove the usurpation of the throne by Virupāksha⁶. By far the most important work is Saluvabhyudayam, a historical poem describing the exploits of Saluva Narasimha and his ancestors. When every allowance is made for the exaggeration natural to the court-poet, the poem contains passages indicative of the 'circumstances that led to Saluva Narasimha's usurpation'. There are a number of similar works dealing with the members of the Imperial family and subordinate chieftains, the most important of which are the Varāhaparanam⁷, Rāyavachakam,⁸ Krishnarayavijayam⁹, Achutarāyābhyudayam¹⁰, Nara-jati-vijayam¹¹,

¹ By Gangadevi: edited by V. Srinivas Sastri (Trivandrum, 1916).

² See Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's 'Sources', pp. 23-45, and the Koyilolugu, 1818.

³ Anandasram edition, Vol. I, p. 2.

⁴ See Intro. to Sayana's Vamābrahman, edited by A. C. Burnell, 1873.

⁵ See Ind. Antiq., Vol. XLV (1916), and Mythic Journal, Vol. VII (1916), pp. 318-20.

⁶ See Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's article in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. (1917), pp. 255-65.

⁷ See Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's 'Sources', pp. 87-90.

⁸ Published in the Journal of the Telugu Academy, Madras, Vol. III.

⁹ By Kumara Dhurjati (in Telugu). The book is published.

¹⁰ By Rajanath Dindima (in Sanskrit). Published by Sri Vanivilas Press (1907).

¹¹ Or Ramarajiyamu by Venkayya (in Telugu), edited by Dr. Oppert.

Vasucharitram, and Chikkadevaraya-vamsavall¹. Their contents cannot be discussed here for want of space, and so the students are requested to refer to the extracts given in the Mackenzie MSS., Aiyangar's Sources, and other compilations mentioned above. There are also a few literary compositions² written in a prophetic style which profess to contain some facts regarding the history of the Empire. They may be utilised for what they are worth in the light of other sources of information. One of them, called Sarvagu Kalagnan³, refers to a famine in South India in A.D. 1539-40, and this is confirmed by an inscription (ch. 108) published in the fourth volume of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

Though the Epigraphical and literary sources furnish a mine of information regarding the Empire of Vijayanagar, yet they omit several details as a matter of course. For a knowledge of these we are indebted to the notices of contemporary or nearly contemporary travellers⁴. They, as foreigners, had very little stake in the country and so their narratives may be taken as fairly impartial. Their accounts are of undoubted value in so far as they speak with personal knowledge. Still they should not be implicitly trusted: some allowance should be made for their limited time and opportunities for observation⁵, and their evidence must be rejected whenever it is in conflict with more authoritative information⁶.

¹ See extracts 66 and 92 in Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's 'Sources'.

² Jangama Kalajnyana (Telugu); Chenna Basava Kalajnyana (Hala Kanara); Yama Basava Kalajnyana (H. K.); Siddharamaya Kalajnyana (H. K.); Vidyaranya Kalajnyana. See H. H. Wilson's catalogue of Mackenzie collections, 1828, Vol. I, p. 303; Vol. II, pp. 13, 15, 29 and 30. Also Rajakalanirnaya (in Sans.). See 'A Deser. Cat. of the Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Orient. MSS. Library, Madras', XXI, No. 12772.

³ See Rev. W. Taylor: Cat. Rais. of Orient. MSS. Vol. II, p. 683.

⁴ Marco Polo (A.D. 1292-94 on the Indian Seaboard) a Venetian. By Sir Henry Yule, 3rd ed. 1903. Ibn Batuta (1333-42). For the complete text and its French translation, see Deprimy and Sanguinetti's edition. For extracts from his account in English, see Prof. Lee's translation (1829) and Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India, Vol. III.

Nicolo deconti (1420-40); Abd-er-Razzak (1441-43); Athanasius Nikitin (1470); Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano (Circa 1497-99). For the English versions of their accounts, see R. H. Major's India in the Fifteenth century, Hakluyt Edition, 1858.

Vartbema (1503-8). Translated by John Winter Jones. Hakluyt ed., 1863.

Duarte Barbosa (1514). See Hakluyt edition, 1865, and Mr. Longworth Dames' translation, 1918.

Domingo Paes (about A.D. 1520); Fernao Nuniz (Circa 1536); Manuel Barrados (A.D. 1614). For their narratives, see R. Sewall's 'Forgotten Empire', 1900, pp. 222-395.

Caesar Frederick (1567). See Hakluyt edition.

Castanheda (1529). See N. Litchfield's English trans., 1852. And a few later travellers of minor importance.

⁵ It is owing to this that Conti was led to include the female servants of the palace among the King's wives. See R. H. Major's 'India in the 15th cent.' II, p. 6.

⁶ According to Nuniz (see Forg. Emp. p. 319 ff.), Prince Virabhadra committed suicide. But it is not a fact. See Ep. Carn. Vol. XI, Pg. 167, and 'Parijatapaharanam' in Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's 'Sources', p. 140.

The accounts of the various travellers bearing on our period are now published¹ and are available to the English-reading public. They furnish invaluable materials for the history of the Empire. Marco Polo's description of the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, though written a few decades earlier, contains much geographical and economic information. Ibn Batuta's narrative gives an insight into the disorganised condition of India under the rule of Muhammad Tughlaq which facilitated the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire. Nearly every traveller has borne testimony to the magnificence of the Imperial City and the immensity of its population. Abdur Razzak, Paes, and Nuniz have given details² of revenue and judicial administration, and provincial organisation, which are not found elsewhere. As regards political history, apart from the few events in which the travellers took part or which they personally witnessed, their reports merely reproduced³ the traditions current among the populace, and hence needs critical examination. Fortunately we have contemporary notices of the political events and other activities of the reign of Krishnadevaraya in the writings of Paes, Nuniz, and Afonso Dalbuquerque⁴. They have given a graphic description of the Empire when it was at the zenith of its power and glory. Their accounts of the foreign relations of Krishnadevaraya are extremely valuable, because they help us in testing the reliability of the one-sided versions of the later Mohammadan historians.

But the foregoing authorities have very little to say⁵ regarding the early foreign relations of the Vijayanagar Empire. For this we have to depend upon Mohammadan authors. Although the dates and names given by them are sometimes inaccurate and their descriptions tinged with partisanship, they are of great help in filling up several gaps. It is true, they did not, of design, write the history of Vijayanagar, and such references as they made were only incidental in the history of the particular Mohammadan state or states which they undertook to write. But owing to the bitter and constant struggles between the Hindu and Muslim states of those days, they could not separate the history of the one from the other and, consequently, have given many facts regarding Vijayanagar which are not to

¹ See note 4, p. 260; also H. M. Elliot: History of India, Vols. III and IV; E. F. Oaten: European Travellers in India, 1909; G. Rawlinson: Intercourse between India and the Western World, 1916; John Hay: De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis. Antwerp, 1605, pp. 733-780; and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XV, Pt. II.

² See 'Forg. Emp.', pp. 380-90, and passim; 'India in the 15th Cent'. Hakluyt ed. I, p. 30.

³ Vide earlier portions of the account given by Nuniz.

⁴ See Commentaries of Afonso Dalbuquerque. Hakluyt edition. Vol. II, pp. 74, 77, 138-9; Vol. III, pp. 35-39, 243-7; Vol. IV, pp. 117-128.

⁵ The epigraphical and literary sources record a series of Hindu victories, and that too in general terms.

be found in inscriptions or literature. These facts are contained in the writings of Barni, Shirazi, Firishta, Aziz-ullah, and other historians¹. Barni gives a picture of the circumstances under which the southern territories were lost by the Mohammadans and recovered by the Hindus. He also hints that the founder of the Vijayanagar Empire was one of the relatives of the ruler of Warangal². Shirazi furnishes some details about the battle of Talikota and other events of the times. By far the most important works are those of Firishta and 'Alibin Aziz-ulla, who wrote about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Both of them describe the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom and its wars with the Hindu sovereigns of Warangal and Vijayanagar. In some respects the account of the latter seems to be more consonant with facts³. It is unfortunate that we have no critical edition of Firishta's history. A new scholarly translation, adequately annotated and indexed, is much to be desired.

In determining the relation of Vijayanagar with the Portuguese settlements on the south-western coast of India, the Mohammadan authorities do not help us much. In this respect the summaries compiled by the medieval and later historians⁴ of the Portuguese power in India prove very useful. Like Mohammadan histories, they contain only incidental remarks; yet in the absence of better works they are indispensable. They reveal to us the importance of the horse-trade in South Indian politics, and show how the Hindu and Mohammadan monarchs of South India tried to secure from the Portuguese a monopoly in it. From these works we also learn that the King of Portugal was never well disposed towards his hereditary enemies, the 'Moors', and that the Portuguese power in India was dependent to a great degree upon the extensive trade and commerce of the Hindu Empire.

Some of the materials mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs have been admirably utilised, with very few exceptions, by a number of modern Indian

¹ Zia-ud-din Barni: *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 237—49, 257—62 and *passim*. Rafi-ud-din Shirazi: *Tazkarat-ul-mulk*. Muhammad Qasim Firishta: 'History of Dekkan', trans. by J. Scott, 2 Vols., 1794; 'History of the Mohammadan power in India', translated by A. Briggs, 4 Vols., 1829, Calcutta, 1908. See Vol. II, pp. 283—556. Vol. III, pp. 347—371 and *passim*; 'History of Hindustan', trans. by A. Dow, 3 Vols. Ali bin 'Aziz-ullah: *Burhan-i-Maasir*. Translated by Major King in the *Ind. Antiq.* for 1899. See also 'Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi' and the 'Bahman Nama'.

² See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 245—6.

³ Compare the genealogies of the Bahmani Kings given by the two authors.

⁴ M. de Faria Y. Sousa: *Asia Portuguesa*, translated by J. Stevens, 1695. See Vol. I, p. 415, and *passim*; J. de Barros and D. de Couto: *Decadas da Asia*, 24 Vols. 1552—1616 (I have not seen them); Correa: *Landas da India*. Stanley's trans. Hakluyt edition, Vol. II, p. 581, and *passim*; F. C. Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, 2 Vols. 1894. See Vol. I, pp. 185, 193, 211—12 and *passim*; R. S. Whiteway: *The rise of Portuguese power in India*, 1899. See pp. 26—29, 279—89 and *passim*.

and European scholars in preparing their books and monographs on Vijayanagar history and allied topics¹. The utility of such works cannot be discussed here for want of space. Suffice it to say that among them the writings of Messrs. Sewell, Sastri, Ayyangar, and Row are the most important and furnish a basis upon which a regular history of the Empire may be constructed. Besides the above-mentioned sources, there are a few miscellaneous works² which throw a sidelight on our period and may be used as books of reference. The most useful of these are the 'Buchanan travels' and the various district gazetteers and manuals which contain much information about the geography, antiquities, and productions of certain tracts of the country once under the Vijayanagar Empire.

¹ See Kongudesarajakal (in Tamil). According to Dr. A. C. Burnell (*South Ind. Paleo.* 2nd ed., p. 33, note 1) it is 'a very recent compilation and most clumsily put together'. Trans. by Rev. W. Taylor in the *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. XIV. Karnatak Rajakal Savistar Charitra (in Tamil). (It is not free from anachronisms and errors). See Rev. W. Taylor: *Cat. Rais. of Orient. MSS.*, Vol. III, pp. 34—41.

David Lopes: *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, 1897.

Mark Wilkes: *History of Mysore*, 1810. 2nd ed. 1869, Vol. I, pp. 1—23 and *passim*.

Lewis Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, 1877, Vol. I, pp. 341—57, 578—88.

G. R. Subramaniam Pantulu: *Augustan Age of Telugu literature*. See *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XXVII (1898), pp. 244 ff.

R. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, 1900.

B. Suryanarayan Row: *History of Vijayanagar—the never to be forgotten Empire*, 1905. (Only Part I, dealing up to A.D. 1478, is published). This work has missed the double usurpation which took place between A.D. 1486 and 1506. See pp. 20, 21. The arguments adduced in favour of the identity of Bukka II with Devaraya I (see pp. 238—48) are not convincing. See Rangacharya's *Inscr. of the Mad. Pres. Cd.* 9A, 11; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V, Hn. 18, Vol. VI, Kp. 25; Extracts 16 and 26 in Prof. S. K. Ayyangar's 'Sources'.

A. Krishna Sastri: *Vijayanagar dynasties—their viceroys and rulers*—See *Arch. Survey of India*, 1907—8, 1908—9, 1911—12.

C. R. Krishnamachari: *The religion of the Vijayanagar house*. See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XLIV (1915), pp. 219—225.

Prof. S. K. Ayyangar: (1) *Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar*; (2) *Virupaksha II*. See Bhandarkar commemoration volume, 1917, pp. 255—64; (3) 'A little-known chapter of Vijayanagar History (A.D. 1450—1509)'.

Chilkuri Virabhadra Rao: *Krishnaraya Charitram* (in Telugu), Manjivani Press, Ellore.

² F. Buchanan: *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, 3 Vols. 1897. See specially Vol. I, pp. 77—80, 236—62, Vol. III, pp. 110—24 and *passim*. Colonel Mackenzie: *View of the principal political events that occurred in the Carnatic (A.D. 1564 to 1687)*. See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1844, p. 421, ff.

Mrs. L. Fletcher: *Ibn Batuta in Southern India*. See the *Mad. Jour. of Lit. and Science* for 1884—89, pp. 37—59.

V. V. S. Avadhani: *The History of Sri Vidyanarya* (in Telugu), 1900.

The authorities noticed in this paper are the chief sources of information at present available; time may bring some more materials to light. A perusal of this article would, it is hoped, facilitate the task of the historian who would undertake to write an exhaustive history of the Empire.

Yule and Burnell: *Hobson-Jobson* (a glossary of colloquial words and phrases). Edited by W. Crooke, 1903.

Prof. E. Hultzsch: The coinage of the Sultanate of Madura. See *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1909, pp. 667—83.

V. Venkayya: *Ancient Hist. of Nellore District*. See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 93—96 and *passim*.

Haig: *Landmarks of the Deccan*.

V. Rangachari: The history of the Naik Kingdom of Madura. See *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XLIII (1914), pp. 1—17 and *passim*.

Hari Sarvottam Rao: *The neglected Emperor-poet*. 1912.

Chilkuri Virabhadra Rao: *Andhrula Charitramu*, Vol. III (in Telugu, 1916), pp. 311—416.

V. Rangachari: The life and times of Sri Vedanta Desika—See the *Jour. of the Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV (1917), pp. 277 ff.

Bretscheider: *Medieval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 211, or the *Ind. Antiq.* for 1916, p. 144 (Bukka's embassy to China).

W. H. Moreland: *India at the death of Akbar*, 1920. See pp. 11, 14—19 and *passim*.

Rev. R. Caldwell: *History of Tinnevely*, 1881, pp. 42—56, 69—71.

J. Kelsall: *Ballary District Manual*, pp. 104—19 and *passim*.

L. Moore: *Trichinopoly District Manual*, pp. 123—28.

A. F. Cox: *North Arcot Manual*, Vol. I, p. 40—3 and *passim*.

H. A. Stuart: *South Canara Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 54—56, 64—70 and *passim*.

H. Le Fanu: *Salem Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 42—50 and *passim*.

Manuals of other districts of South India may also be consulted.

Mughal Government

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR*

(Continued from last issue)

The absence of Lawyers

Throughout the judicial procedure advocates are conspicuous by their absence. As a result, Indian law, Hindu as well as Muslim, was deprived of the services of a class of trained lawyers like those who harmonized and systematized Roman law and raised it to the dignity of a science, and many of whom 'filled the most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom'. It was through her great Roman jurisconsults that Rome bequeathed her greatest gift to posterity. But the power of the legal profession has never been an unmixed blessing. Gibbon has well described the corruption which overtook the members of the noble calling in ancient Rome and which is as clearly visible to every one who has had anything to do with modern courts of justice. ' . . . They interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same pernicious habits might still adhere to their characters in the public administration of the State . . . In the decline of Roman jurisprudence, the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the patricians, was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians, who, with cunning rather than with skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors, by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truths, and with arguments to colour the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates, who filled the forum with their turgid and loquacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment; from which, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.'

* This forms the concluding portion of the fourth chapter of the writer's forthcoming book, *The History of Jehangir*.

While, then, the historian of Mughal India may regret the absence of scholars who devoted themselves to the noble study of human relationships, he need hardly shed any tears at the non-existence of a class which sells its genius and integrity for a mess of pottage and which is parasitic to society as a whole.

News-recorders and spies

Over the vast hierarchy of executive, judicial, and fiscal officers, the emperor watched through the numberless eyes of news-recorders and secret spies. Espionage has a bad odour about it, but few Governments, specially in times of danger—and mediæval States always had some danger from some quarter to apprehend—have been able to dispense with it. The Hindu lawgivers recognize the fact by recommending an extensive staff of secret service men. As early as the thirteenth century, Ala-ud-din Khilji had raised or degraded espionage to a science and a fine art. The Mughals adopted and modified the system. They maintained two classes of agents—one open, called *Waqiahnawis* or news-recorders; the other, secret. The latter generally busied themselves with Government servants, while the former transmitted news of every conceivable description. If their documents had escaped the ravages of time, it would have been possible to write the history of mediæval India with a degree of fulness such as the annals of no country and no age could have matched. From the extracts and summaries preserved by Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and others, it is clear that they sent periodical reports of all that they saw and heard. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the intelligence department that Hawkins, as he proceeded to complain of his ill-treatment at Surat, was surprised to learn that the Emperor Jahangir had already received a detailed report of the matter and taken the first steps towards justice.¹

Imperial tours

The Imperial tours completed the system of local control.

Regulations of the year 1612

Nevertheless, the distant local officers occasionally exceeded their powers and trenched on the royal prerogatives. In 1612 Jahangir issued a set of ordinances prohibiting the border officers from exacting prostration or guard-duty from their subordinates; from appearing in *jharokha*, conferring titles, beating drums on march, taking the royal attendants on foot during their progresses; from putting seals on their communications to royal officers;

¹ The Hawkins' Voyages, pp. 400-1.

from forcible circumcision and from inflicting the penalties of blinding and cutting off ears and noses. They were likewise forbidden to hold elephant-fights or to place reins or goads on horses or elephants when presenting them to their subordinates.¹

Punishment of tyrannical Governors

Governors who appeared from the reports of news-recorders or from any secret reports to be abusing their power and authority, were promptly recalled, censured, disgraced, or severely punished. There must have been a great deal of oppression which never reached the ear of the emperor, but neither Akbar nor Jahangir ever countenanced the least oppression of their subjects and always took prompt measures to terminate and punish any rapacious or cruel course of conduct on the part of their officers. Said Khan, when appointed Governor of the Punjab by Jahangir immediately after his accession, was plainly warned that if his notorious eunuchs tyrannized over the people, 'my justice would not put up with oppression from any one, and that in the scales of equity neither smallness nor greatness was regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he would receive punishment without favour.'² The emperor's favourite, Muqarrab Khan, was punished with the reduction of his mansab by half for an individual act of cruelty.³

Mirza Rustam, governor of Thatta, who embarked on a course of tyranny over the people, was promptly recalled, disgraced, and handed over to Anir Rai Singh Dalan, the great gaoler of State prisoners, to be punished in an exemplary way, after an investigation into his case. Some time after, however, the Mirza repented and apologized and was pardoned—after undergoing a thorough humiliation.⁴ Chin Qulich Khan, the tyrant of Jawnpore, was likewise recalled and would have been suitably punished if he had not died on the way.⁵ An inquiry was instituted into the case of Raja Kalyan, of whom certain unpleasant stories had been heard, but his innocence was clearly proved and he was acquitted.⁶ Abdullah

¹ Jahangir (R and B) I. 205, (E and D) VI. 325.

Iqbalnama, 59. K.K. I. 272.

Madsir-i-Jahangiri (Khuda Bakhsh MS) pp. 78 (b) and 79 (a).

² Jahangir (R and B) I. 13. M.U. II. 405, which has it that Said Khan gave a bond that if his servants oppressed the people, he would lose his head. Blochmann, p. 331.

³ Jahangir (R and B) I. 172.

⁴ Jahangir (R and B) I. 262, 263, 265.

⁵ Jahangir (R and B) 301 2. M.U. 111—351.

⁶ Jahangir (R and B) I. 389-390.

Khan Firoz Jang, governor of Gujerat, one of the valiant soldiers of the empire, a favourite of the powerful Shah Jahan, was recalled, and had to undergo the uttermost humiliation and to seek the good offices of his patron, to secure pardon¹. Shah Jahan himself, when at the height of his influence, received a most severe reprimand, which made the whole court tremble, for allowing his subordinate, the governor of Surat, to oppress English traders². Numerous similar instances occurred. 'If,' wrote Hawkins, 'complaints of injustice which they (the local governors) do, be made to the King, it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands³. Justice, indeed, was one of the strong points of Jahangir. He sentenced an influential man, accused of murder, to death. 'God forbid,' he writes, 'that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amirs'⁴.

Mansabdars or Civil and Military Service

Such was the Mughal administrative and judicial machinery and such was its practical working during the reign of Jahangir. The higher ranks of the hierarchy were graded into a combined civil and military service, and were called mansabdars or holders of rank. Every mansabdar was required to equip and furnish a stated number of foot and horse, and to maintain a prescribed establishment. The grading went by the number which a mansabdar was supposed to maintain, though it was several times the actual figure. The more favoured officers were required to maintain special contingents for the State and were liberally remunerated for them. The salaries were disbursed according to the nominal number and left annual margins of lakhs upon lakhs to the higher officers. It is, however, only fair to recognize that the pay was given only for some months in the year, that part of it was expended on establishments and that part returned to the original source through presents and escheats. During the reign of Akbar the highest rank for princes of the blood was 12,000, and for others, at first, 5,000 and then 7,000⁵. During the reign of Jahangir, Prince Khurram was promoted to 30,000 zat (personal) and 20,000 suwar (horse-contingent), and when he broke into revolt, Prince Parvez was raised over him to the rank of 40,000 zat and 30,000 suwar.

¹ Jahangir (R and B) I. 421.

² Roe, 116-7.

³ The Hawkins' Voyages, Purchas, III. 43

⁴ Jahangir (R and B) II. 211.

⁵ Raja Man Singh, Mirza Shah Rukh and Aziz Kokah the Khan Azam, were the three personages who attained to 7,000

Itimad-ud-daulah attained to 9,000 zat and suwar, while the rank of 7,000 was held by several personages, and that of 5,000 by even more officers during Jahangir's reign. But as the mansabs rose in splendour, they declined in real dignity and influence and most probably in pay as well. During the reign of Akbar the mansabdars numbered about 1,500, but the total was nearly doubled in Jahangir's time.

*Titles : supposed to denote qualities ; as in the Roman Empire ;
the highest dignities*

The title of Khan was claimed by nearly all high officers, and, in the case of the more favoured ones, was affixed to a surname which was supposed to indicate the peculiar excellence of its bearer. There were 'lords' of 'exercise', 'truthfulness', 'Lord Driver', 'Lord Gentleman', 'Pillars of State', 'honesty', 'highness', etc. More than one messenger found his name changed into the 'Lord of good news' as the price of his celerity and the quality of his burden. The form of the titles corresponds with startling exactness to the surnames bestowed by Constantine and his successors. What Gibbon says of the Roman Empire is literally true of the Mughal dominion. 'The principal officers of the empire were saluted even by the emperor himself, with the deceitful titles of "Your sincerity, your gravity, your excellency, your eminence, your sublime and wonderful magnitude, your illustrious and magnificent highness".' As a rule, the Mughal emperors did not bestow the same title on two living personages, and left a recipient to contemplate, with joy and pride, the undisturbed monopoly of his dignity. Three titled heads towered high above all worthies—the Khan Azam, 'the greatest lord,' the Khan Khana, 'the lord of lords,' and the Amir-ul-umara, 'the noble of nobles'.¹

¹ Badauni (Lowe) II. 193-4 ; Ain, I. 236-9, Irvine 1-11.

From the list of mansabdars and their ranks and promotions, which I have compiled from the Persian authorities, I conclude that an officer of 5,000 in Jahangir's reign commanded far less prestige, and often wielded far less authority, than a corresponding mansabdar in Akbar's reign.

On the Mansabdari system, see Ain, I. 237-245 (Blochmann) 535-6.

Terry. p 390-1.

Bernier (ed. Constable), 21-214.

Irvine's Army of the Indian Mughals.

J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 448.

The contemporary Hawkins's account of the system and the list of the highest mansabdars, though prepared from personal observation and enquiries about 1609, are

H H

The Army

The contingents which each mansabdar furnished constituted something between a feudal levy and a militia. On the outbreak of a war or revolt they were summoned to join in all haste the imperial standard and to group themselves round the nucleus supplied by the royal regiments. These had more than a slight tincture of soldiership, and were equipped with muskets, etc., though they were strangers to the discipline which marked the followers of Turenne, Conde, or Luxembourg in the seventeenth century. On this point the Mughals presented a woeful contrast to the Roman soldiers, whose manœuvres in peace were performed with arms double the weight of those required in real action, and whose field of exercise differed from the field of battle only in the effusion of blood. The rude parks of artillery, the elephants, camels, and noble horses, and a variety of muskets made the whole difference between a Mughal army and an armed rabble.

No navy

Nothing can be said about the navy, for, unfortunately, the Mughals did not maintain one for fighting purposes. The nawwaras, or fleets of boats maintained in Bengal, hardly deserve the name of a navy. Naval impotence and military inefficiency formed the weakest point in the Mughal system.

Commissariat

The commissariat service was provided by the employment of tribes of Banjaras who transported various commodities on their thousands of bullocks from province to province.

both inaccurate and defective, but his general classification of the holders, in the light of his English experience, is extremely interesting. He makes the holders of

9,000	correspond to	Dukes
5,000	" "	Marquises
3,000	" "	Earls
2,000	" "	Viscounts
1,000	" "	Barons
400	" "	Knights
100	" "	Squires
50	" "	Gentlemen
20	" "	Yeomen

The Hawkins' Voyages, 419-20, Purchas, III. 29-30.

Hawkins puts the total number of mansabdars at 3,000.

Terry's account of titles (Voyage, p. 396) is very confused.

Blochmann (335-7), in his comparison of the numbers of mansabdars in the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jahan, has relied on De Laet's estimate for the second reign, but De Laet underestimates the number.

Encampment

Like a Roman camp, a Mughal camp was laid out exactly in the form of a city with the emperor's or the general's quarters towering aloft in the centre.¹

Finances : Crown lands

The expenses of the army, the stupendous salaries of the officers, the wasteful expenditure of the court, the liberal patronage of art and literature, the cost of secretariat establishments, public works, and all else were defrayed from a revenue greater than that of any country in the world. The Crown lands supplied a great sum; the customs and mines brought in something; tributes, presents, and escheats yielded more; but by far the most important head of receipt was the land revenue.

The land revenue system ; no Zamindari system

Akbar's revenue reforms have deservedly received the highest encomium, but their nature seems to have been greatly misunderstood. Bengal, Kabul, the Deccan, and some isolated tracts were left under big landowners who paid fixed amounts. The rest of the empire was carefully surveyed; the land was divided, on the basis of fertility, into four classes—Poraj, Polach, Chachar, and Banjar; one-third of the produce was budgeted as the average State demand, and where the produce was not paid for in kind, it was commuted into money on the average of the previous ten years' rates. There was no ten-yearly survey settlement as most writers have supposed. The chief merit of the system lies in its certainty and in the absence of zamindars. The villages sometimes refused to pay and force had to be employed.

Revenue officers

The revenue administration was presided over by the Imperial and provincial diwans, while the lower grades were formed by the collector (Malguzar), accountant (Bitikchi), sub-division collector (Karori), and the Patawari or village accountant.²

¹ Ain I.

Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*.

² Ain (II). Jarrett 88, 96, 115, 182.

Badauni (Lowe), II. 192-3.

Thomas's *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*.

Moreland and Yusuf Ali, *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp. 1-42.

V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 138-141, 309-79.

Jahangir did nothing more than maintain the system of Akbar. We read, indeed, that shortly after his accession he appointed Wazir Khan Diwan of Bengal and charged him to settle the revenues of that region.¹ But nothing further is recorded of the mission.

Concessions

To encourage agriculture and, particularly, the reclamation of waste, large concessions were granted on barren and on less fertile land. Remissions of revenue were made with a liberal hand in times of scarcity or famine.

Famine Relief

Thanks to the difficulties of transport, mediæval famines were restricted in area but intense in suffering. Indian historians and foreign travellers alike paint a ghastly picture of the hunger and mortality that raged wild over the stricken region. The State did something to relieve the misery. Besides remissions of revenue, it distributed large sums of money, opened relief works, encouraged recruitment to the army, and established free soup-kitchens and alms-houses.²

Protected princes

Such were the principles and institutions of the Mughal government. Not the least service which they rendered to the country was the influence they exercised on the protected States. For then, as to-day, the supreme Indian Government stood suzerain to the Rajput princes and to petty chiefs scattered all over the country. Those of them who survive, still preserve the administrative jargon of the Mughal days. In the seventeenth century, as to-day, the protected States retained internal autonomy; some of them paid tribute; all of them surrendered foreign affairs to the direction of the suzerain power.

Mughal foreign policy: Transoxiana: Persia: Europe: The Portuguese: Tibet

The main lines of Mughal foreign policy were determined by a few simple geographical facts and a few simple historical associations. The ancestral patrimony of Transoxiana appealed strongly and uniformly to

¹ Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 22.

² Shaikh Nur-ul-Haq, *Zublat-ut-Tawarikh* (E. and D.), VI. p. 193.

Abdul Hamid Lahori.

Padshahnama (E. and D.), VII. 24-5.

Babur and Humayun as their real home and cost them many a bloody expedition and many a terrible disaster. Akbar and Jahangir entertained some thoughts of annexing the region, but wisely gave up the chimerical idea. Flushed with glory and prosperity, Shah Jahan could not resist the temptation and wasted thousands of lives and millions of rupees in the vain attempt.¹ During the reign of Jahangir, the sphere of Mughal diplomacy was confined to the regions south of the Oxus. The emperor was sincerely anxious to maintain friendly relations with the contiguous kingdom of Persia, but he was determined to retain Qandahar, which formed a bone of contention between the two mighty neighbours for a century and a half. Further west, Jahangir once thought of sending sumptuous embassies to the courts of the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome.² He offered a hearty welcome to the English emissaries, William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, but could not bring himself to consent to a commercial treaty with England. Nearer home, Jahangir followed his father in encouraging and protecting Portuguese Jesuit missions from Goa, in resisting Portuguese aggression on the western coast, and in proposing to drive the foreigners into the sea.³ During the reign of Shah Jahan Portuguese piracy and fiendish atrocities on the Arrakan shore actually kindled hostilities.⁴ Unlike Shah Jahan, Jahangir had little dealing with Tibet, and neither had need to care at all of the Far East.

¹ Babur's Memoirs. Erskine's History of India under Babur and Humayun.

Shrine and Ross's Heart of Asia.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Elias and Ross.

Ain I.

Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 89.

Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, II. 482, 627, 637. (R. and D.), VII. 70-72.

Inayat Khan's *Shah Jahanama* (E. and D.), VII. 76-85.

Sir Thomas Holdich's *Gates of India*, ch. XII-XIV (pp. 411-61).

Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb I.* ch. V-VI, pp. 83-114.

For the popular interest excited by Transoxiana warfare, see *English Factories in India*, 1646-59, pp. 51-2, 140.

Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 185.

² Du Jarric, ch. XXII.

³ Jahangir (R. and B.), I. 215, 255, 274. Du Jarric, ch. XXII. Gladwin, 28.

Foster's Introduction to Sir T. Poe's Embassy, pp. x-xii.

Hosten's List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor (1580-1803). J.A.S.B., 1910. pp. 527-42.

⁴ Abdul Hamid, I. 434. (E. and D.), VII. 31-35, 42.

K.K., I. 468. (E. and D.), VII. 211-12.

Bernier (ed. Constable) 174-82. Manucci (ed. Irvine), I. 181-2, 185.

Hosten's *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. X 1915, pp. 43-5, 51, 81, 89-91, 94, 99. *English Factories in India*, 1624-29, pp. 154, 326-9, 335, 361.

Kangara : Mewar : The Deccan

The busiest scenes of seventeenth century Mughal diplomacy and warfare lay within the borders of India itself. Kangara, the impregnable stronghold in the Lower Himalayas, which had defied the arms of a long succession of Delhi sovereigns, was starved into surrender in 1621.¹ Mewar, the sole remnant of Rajput independence, which had withstood the mightiest efforts of Akbar, was brought to its knees in 1614.²

On the Deccan border Jahangir continued persistently, though unsuccessfully, the policy handed down through Akbar and Alauddin Khilji, Harshavardhan and Vikramaditya, from the Mauryan emperors of the fourth and third centuries before Christ. If the Vindhya had resembled the Eastern-Ghats, India might have developed into one strong united nation. If they had resembled the Himalayas, the country might have been effectually partitioned into two nations, each homogeneous within itself. As it was, they divided the north from the south, and yet, before the invention of modern facilities of communication, encouraged either to domineer over the other. In the effort, the Mughals and Marathas alike exhausted and wasted themselves.

The debt of the Mughals to their predecessors : Sher Shah : The early Pathans : The Hindus

It is clear that in the domain of foreign policy within the borders of India, the Mughals only developed the plans of their predecessors. In the sphere of domestic policy, the debt of the Mughals to their predecessors is less apparent but not less real. It is universally recognized that Akbar followed the lines that had been pursued by Sher Shah. Now Sher Shah was a sagacious ruler and wise statesman, but he had not much of the originality that has been ascribed to him. He only built on the foundations laid by his predecessors. A close study of Ziauddin Barni and Shams-i-Siraj, to name only two of the numerous Pathan historians, will reveal to any one not only the germs but the undeveloped forms of the institutions which are associated with Mughal rule. The 'Pathans', in their turn, had largely adopted the ways and methods of their Hindu predecessors.

The debt of the British Government to the Mughals : Conclusion.

So the stream of institutional life and development flowed from immemorial antiquity on to the eighteenth century when it received fresh

¹ See ch. xiii of the History of Jahangir.

² See ch. x of the History of Jahangir.

waters from the West without, however, changing its essential character. The administration under which we live to-day is a development of the institutions of Mughal days, though the introduction of representative institutions, the first instalment of responsible government, the growth and organization of public opinion, above all, the awakening of the mass consciousness, promise to mark a decisively new era.

BENI PRASAD.

Sources for the History of Seventeenth Century British India in the India Office and the Public Record Office

The records of the East India Company are to be found mainly in the Record Department of the India Office. The British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries contain documents of primary importance, but their utility consists less in their illumination of the internal causes that transformed the complex personality of the Company, than in their worth as an index to the varied opinions and far-reaching problems which they raised in England. They limit our horizon to the effects of the East India Trade on English national life. They show the effects on the English weavers; they reflect the opinions of the champions of the Mercantile system; and they embody the principles to which the defenders of the East India Trade tenaciously clung and whose logical consequences they fearlessly deduced. Hence their function is a subordinate one. We can derive first-hand information about the East India Company, its internal organisation, its methods of administration, the leading principles of its policy, and the fundamental bases of its commercial growth and territorial sovereignty, from the Records in the India Office alone. As Mr. Foster has pointed out, the distance separating the Company from its servants in the East, and the vigilant care which it exercised over the actions of its factors, involved lengthy correspondences; proposals were largely made in written minutes, which often, in controversial questions, provoked equally argumentative minutes of dissent, and these were entered at full length upon the records of the Council's Meeting, transcripts of which were regularly sent home. In early days, these were accompanied by separate volumes containing copies of all letters received or sent. The Court kept careful records of the proceedings of the Court of Directors and of the various committees into which it divided itself. In the early days the Company paid no heed to the value of its records for historical purposes, and no attempt was made to establish a Record Department at the East India House. Confusion reigned supreme, and frequent references to the "disorderly state" of the papers are to be found in the Court Minutes. The stages through which the Record Department passed, and the various improvements which the successive Registrars introduced need not be detailed here. The chief aim of the Company was profit, and every document that was likely to be of practical value was preserved with sedulous care. Hence documents of great historical

importance were ignored, and little or no attention was paid to their value as sources of accurate information. The history of the East India Company remained shrouded in a veil of mystery. Imagination supplied what understanding failed to grasp; and gorgeous imagery, fervid eloquence, and patriotic fervour took the place of keen psychological insight and the laborious and methodical study which modern historical research demands. The English historians remained strangely ignorant of the rich store of material at the East India House, and Macaulay could write a glowing account of the history of the East India Company without consulting its Minutes, or studying the despatches of its factors in the East. S. R. Gardiner's method was more scientific. The ideal which he set before himself was realised, it is true; but it was the fulfilment of a pious wish rather than an active and energetic development of his original aim into a many-sided and comprehensive accuracy. He did not consult many of the documents in the Record Department, and, though some references are made to reliable authorities in his foot-notes, a correct diagnosis of the symptoms and effective remedies for the cure were rendered impossible by the fact that his attention was concentrated upon the papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. Lecky's references to the Anglo-French rivalry in India, and the discursive way in which he treated many important matters, could hardly qualify him for the task he had set before himself. This ignorance of the Records is excusable, as the sources themselves were neither properly arranged nor logically classified. Absence of a clear principle was the dominant feature, and lack in the arrangement of records the leading characteristic of the period. Thomas Wilks, Robert Orme, and John Bruce had utilised some of the material while the last two had published valuable works on the early history of the East India Company; but they remained a sealed book to the uninitiated, and very few persons outside the charmed circle and the bracing atmosphere of the Record Office knew or cared much about them. The growth of interest in the history of Records of the Company is traceable to the enthusiasm, the energy, and the unflagging industry of Sir Henry Waterfield and his able assistants. Under his superintendence various improvements were made in the Record Rooms; the unbound Records were examined, and valuable lists were drawn up; the seventeenth century documents were arranged and a firm foundation laid for the classification and cataloguing of the Factory Series. Sir George Birdwood's "Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records of the East India Office," initiated the movement for the study of the Company's records. The arrangement was confessedly a provisional one, and subsequent inquirers have found reasons to disagree with him on many points. But it was inspired by genuine enthusiasm; it vivified our knowledge of the

seventeenth century, and it brought into a sharp contrast the ignorance and self-complacency with which the priceless treasures of the Record Department had hitherto been regarded by the historians.* The movement which Sir George Birdwood started, received a great stimulus from the efficient hands of Mr. Danvers. His Reports on the Records in the India Office, transcripts from the Portuguese and Dutch archives, and compilation and printing of the lists of Marine and Factory Records, were the product of sustained and unremitting energy. Another important result must be noticed here. In 1886 the first volume of the Court Minutes of the East India Company was published at the cost of Mr. Henry Stevens, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood. In 1896 the first volume appeared of a verbatim edition of the early portion of the original correspondence, under the title "Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East". The first two volumes of the series brought to light many important documents; they supplied graphic accounts of the difficulties of the early adventurers; and described the quaint customs, strange sights, marvellous events, and gruesome ceremonies, in the simply, pithy language characteristic of the age.

The sixth volume of the series appeared in 1902. The rate of progress was necessarily slow, as documents multiplied and the Company's trade expanded. The original design would, if persisted in, have involved a very large expenditure, and for this neither the public nor the India Office was prepared. The public regarded the trivial details concerning the mean and low transactions of the buccaneers with the 'savages' as fit for the study of the Dryasdusts; the historian looked down upon the "mess of gossip and half-truths" from his Olympian heights; while the classical economist, with his ready-made theories, strange *a priori* reasonings, and violent deductive arguments—demoralising, as it were, the whole army of Mun and his ilk, in a moment—turned away with disgust.

A few daring innovators utilised it, to be sure. Dr. Cunningham ventured to refer to it; Professor Scott went further, and based some of his most effective accounts of the East India Company on the documents contained in the new series. The old arrangement could not, it was clear, be carried out. Money, time, interest—these were the determining factors, and Mr. William Foster very wisely resolved to modify the original scheme. The later volumes of the series contained abstracts of the most important documents, and the student was not absolved from the duty of consulting the original, and filling in the gaps which the nature of the plan rendered inevitable. Yet the abstracts of the documents are so skilfully made that it is safe to say that very few material particulars relating to the history of Company have been left out. Thoroughness is achieved by the

inclusion of important documents from the Public Record Office and the British Museum Library.

The first volume of the new series appeared in 1902, under the title of the "English Factories in India". A companion series of the Calendars of the Court Minutes and other papers was also commenced, the text being compiled by Miss Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, the accomplished daughter of the well-known archivist, William Noel Sainsbury.

Each of these series contains a mine of information, and the historian, the economist, the merchant, and the statesman may read it with profit and interest. For the documents are not a mere record of the petty dealings and trivial transactions of the Directors. They deal with a period which possesses a fascinating interest for the student, and whose well-rounded unity—due partly to the elemental passions and ceaseless energy which the Civil war produced—has found a warm admirer in Samuel Rawson Gardiner. In them are to be found the negotiations of the King, the Parliament, and the Protector, and to them we turn for the vivid detail; happy, personal touch; shrewd, merchantile saws, and naive accounts, which are so sadly lacking in the theological pamphlets and Republican manifestoes of the period.

Perhaps the age lacked humour, as it certainly lacked grace. Probably the energies of the two parties were concentrated into one channel, and men's minds were in no mood for company-promotion or commercial aggrandisement. These were details that could be settled after the ideals had been realised. It was a serious age, which eschewed unholy gain and carnal pleasures. The Company may protest, the Directors may trim their sails to suit the wind, but the victors—whether Royalists or Roundheads, Republicans or Cromwellians—looked at its petitions, memorials, manifestoes, pamphlets, and pleadings from the point of their own doctrines.

Mr. Foster's illuminating analyses of the condition of the Company's finances during that stormy period first brought into prominence the shady dealings of Charles I. In a series of luminous arguments, the tortuous course of the Company's dealings with Charles I is unravelled; while Courten's Association, the doings of his associates, Charles' policy towards the courtier whose support of the Association proved a source of constant anxiety to the Company, and his evasive replies and prevarications, are laid bare.

The volumes throw fresh light on some of the most unlovely features of the unhappy monarch, and supply abundant material for the construction of an objective history of some very important aspects of his reign.

The effect of the Civil war is perceptible in the sombre reflections, exhausted treasury, and bankrupt finances of the Company. Mr. Foster's Introductions bring out the leading features of the ominous ten years that

intervened, with matchless accuracy. It is a dry account of a dry subject by the highest authority, and his gloomy narrative of the futile efforts of the Directors, significant remarks on the disturbances within and without that venerable institution, and grave calculations of the losses sustained by the close-fisted shareholders, lose none of their effects by the summary way in which cantankerous individuals are dealt with. Smethwick is dealt with in more than one volume, and his crazy petitions and unwelcome appearance are told in a vein of light humour.

The last two volumes of the Court Minutes contain abstracts of documents relating to the momentous years 1651-9. Both of them are important to students of the period. They do not announce any startling discovery. Cromwell's charter to the East India Company, for which Sir William Hunter instituted an elaborate search, has remained hidden to the present day, and Mr. Foster can only refer to the earlier attempts to trace that precious document. Nor is there a revolutionary change in our conception of Cromwell's policy towards the Company. He was, as he told the Company, too busy with State affairs, to be bothered by the complaints of private individuals. Though the details supplied do not lead to any radical modification in our view of Cromwell's policy, the amount of information on the economic policy of the period is so important, the various measures proposed under the Protectorate so original, that the student not only of the Protectorate, but also of the Restoration, will not regard his task complete until he has devoted a fair amount of his time in the India Office Record Department.

The economic history of the Protectorate still needs a trained historian, who will organise the copious documents in the various archives. Something has already been done. Professor Andrew's example has been followed by others, and the works of Kaye, Beer, and others have filled in many gaps in Gardiner's account. Professor Firth's two volumes on the later phase of the Protectorate are the clearest expression of that combination of erudition and culture which is so sadly lacking in many a German monograph on that mysterious personality; and we can collect together much valuable information scattered through the pages of pamphlets, state documents, and memoirs.

But nowhere else do we find such an organised body of relevant data as in Mr. Foster's last two volumes of Court Minutes. In them is detailed the progress of the Company's negotiations with the Dutch, its attempts to secure a liberal Charter, and its enunciation of a distinctive economic policy, aiming at the establishment of commercial supremacy and advocating vigorous measures against commercial rivals.

There are many references to Thompson, and the conflict between the two parties is recorded in some of the most interesting abstracts of these valuable documents.

Mr. Foster has brought to light many important facts relating to the finances of the Company, while his account of its negotiations with the Protector is of interest both to the student of Economics and of History.

The other series, *English Factories in India*, is too well known to students of Indian History to need mention here. The Moghul rulers riveted the gaze of many a careful observer from Europe, and their character has been analyzed by adventurers from Persia and Turkey no less than by travellers from Italy and France: yet in none of the accounts is the picture of that versatile dynasty so well drawn to life as in the shrewd comments, calm observations, and pungent criticisms of the homely factors. Perhaps the objectivity of their observations was the result of their closer contact with reality. It is, moreover, possible that the method of the "globe trotter" was distasteful to a body of men whose closer contact with men, intimate knowledge of the country, and comparative freedom from various dangers, made them extremely cautious in drawing conclusions from insufficient data.

The information they supply is not very great, it is true; and their disjointed accounts of many notable events can never take the place of the standard histories of that masterful race. But their wider horizon, independent position and freedom from partisan rancour, place them above the level of Court Chronicles and mendacious Memoirs. The student of Moghul history can pick up some precious gems from the prosaic details of the sale of pepper, and the dull accounts of a stagnant industry.

The last volume of Mr. Foster's *English Factories in India* deals with the years 1655-1660; and the improvement effected in the arrangement will, we are convinced, make this volume popular with the students.

In this volume, only those passages which seemed to merit preservation have been reproduced, while unimportant documents and lengthy correspondence are summarised in a narrative which connects the two. This, it must be admitted, is an admirable plan, and if the succeeding volumes exhibit the same clear outlook and accurate information which this and the earlier volumes of the series possess, there is no reason why they should not displace the imaginative accounts served up by the skilful brains of Macaulay and a host of lesser luminaries.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of Mr. Foster's contribution to the economic history of British India. Probably no other person combines mastery of detail with a firm grasp of principles in so eminent a degree; certainly in no other person are imagination and thorough mastery of

documents so happily blended. The dazzling panorama of Indian history, unfolded in these pages, makes one realise the immensity of the task which more than thirty years of unremitting energy and tireless activity have accomplished. Every page of these finely printed and carefully edited volumes is important to the student of Indian history, as all the documents transcribed and abstracted deal with the leading events in a stormy period of the Company's story.

The importance of the publication of the early Records of the Company, and the deep influence they have exercised on our conception of the place of documents in the construction of Indian History, can hardly be exaggerated. Vague generalisation, puerile hypotheses, and crude statements have given way to the scientific analysis of the sources, and the way is prepared for the application of the principles of historical research to the complex problems of Indian History.

The conception of history as a record of continuous development is totally opposed to what may be styled the cataclysmic view of history. But the historian cannot ignore the vexed question of determinism, for his definition of "progress" will have to take into account the discordant elements which the view of Max Nordau and others reveal. We are on the horns of a dilemma. The historian must exhibit the development of a theory, an institution, or a custom according to definite principles. But the employment of biological analogies in history is not without its dangers, and we cannot regard the theory of evolution as the universal umpire. Will plays an important part in the life of humanity, and a historian who neglects this factor exposes himself to serious mistakes. His whole science is built upon the assumption that Will is the dominant factor in life's struggles; and his gaze is fixed on the changes wrought by the all-pervading influence of that power. Some of Carlyle's Heroes may turn out to be lackeys, but we cannot ignore the influence which their personality exercised on the people. And personality is nothing else but embodied Will. It expresses itself through the organised knowledge of which the latter is only one of the several constituents. Herbart's attempt to derive Will from knowledge failed, as he ignored its essentially primitive nature.

But the recognition of the importance of the Will in the conduct of administration does not free the historian from his perplexities. Difficulties seem to thicken fast, and the beginner is lost in a maze of perplexities. If the idea of progress be cast aside, if we adopt Max Nordau's advice, throw all our theories of progress to the winds, and admit that mysterious power, the Will, within the sacred portals, will not confusion be worse confounded? Shall we not place ourselves at the mercy of the whims and fancies of individuals?

The vagaries of Wills are notorious, and the problem of investigation is complicated still further by that mysterious force, "the unconscious desire". In that case history would not be entitled to the dignity of a science, and no principles could be formulated; as the endless variety and innumerable changes which the Will of a single individual exhibits would render the task of a historian absolutely impossible. The modern historians are chary of discussing this problem, and though Mr. Allen has boldly declared that a historian must regard determinism as true, there is a significant silence in the rank and file of historians. All of them actually take determination for granted; and it must be acknowledged that history cannot attain the dignity of a science unless determinism is regarded as universally and unconditionally true.

The India Office Library has a priceless collection of manuscripts, and the value of the aid rendered by Orme and Mackenzie MSS. can hardly be exaggerated. They throw vivid light on some of the obscure problems of Indian History, while the fresh standpoint from which they treat the subject, and the conception they develop of the leading movements of the period, are as striking as they are novel.

From our present standpoint, however, the value of the materials in the India Office Library lies in the fact that they throw light on the effects of the East India Trade on England. The collection of pamphlets, broadsides, etc., in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries is not exhaustive. Many an important document is missing, and we search in vain for a clue that will lead us safely out of a maze of perplexities and confusion. The India Office Library contains many a pamphlet on the history of the Company during the seventeenth century. In Volume 83 there is an interesting collection of papers relating to the East India Trade while Volume 268 contains "discourse concerning the East India Trade". The discourse is important, as the views of the writer are expressed in moderate language, and the logical acumen and breadth of grasp distinguish it from many of the ephemeral productions of the period. Volumes 377 and 284 are also interesting. The former contains many tracts dealing with the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East India Islands; while the latter supplies us with accurate information on many of the causes of the controversy. Vols. 432, 485 are important. The former contains a most useful collection of pamphlets on the Amboyna Massacre. The pamphlets on the subject in the British Museum Library are, no doubt, useful, but their value consists mainly in their description of the treatment to which the Company's subjects were subjected in the East India Islands.

The pamphlets are by no means the only source of information. The Library contains a number of books published in India, and no history of

British India would be complete without them. They supply information of great value, they supplement our knowledge of Indian political and economic institutions, and they enable us to reconstruct the history of British India in the seventeenth century.

While the value of the India Office Library lies in the unique collection of tracts on the East India Company, the value of the India Office Record Department consists in the priceless collection of its documents. As Grant Duff remarked in his "History of the Mahrattas", "The records of the East India Company's Governments in India are probably the best historical materials in the world." Grant Duff wrote this in 1826, and it is possible that his views would have undergone modification, if he had lived to see the destruction of some of the records to which he attached so much importance. In 1860, the Secretary of State gave directions that all useless records should be got rid of, and a committee was appointed for the purpose. On the recommendation of the committee, orders were issued for the destruction of an enormous quantity of books and papers, amounting altogether to upwards of 200 tons, which were sold as waste paper and realised £3,095-16s. The destruction of this enormous mass of Records was to a great extent due to the circumstance that duplicate copies of most of the documents existed, the one being in Leadenhall Street, and the other in Cannon Row. In 1867, on the removal from Victoria Street to the present Office, a further destruction of books and papers took place, also on an extensive scale; and in 1877 and the following years, selections were made by the Department responsible for the custody of the Records of papers, books, and documents, which it was considered might be safely destroyed. It is clear that, in order to be rid of only useless Records, those destroyed, especially in the earlier years of destruction, had not been sufficiently examined before being condemned, and thus documents of historical interest shared the fate of others which had ceased to possess any sufficient value to justify their preservation.

The sources in the Record Department may be divided into two classes—1. Sources that supply us information about the activities of the Company in England, and 2. Sources that detail the movements, and record the progress of the Company's factors in India.

The first category includes (a) the Court Minutes of the East India Company, (b) the Manuscript Letter Books, (c) Parchment Records and Charters, (d) and the Home Miscellaneous Series.

1. *The Court Minute Books.*

These are our principal authorities on the history of the organisation and finances of the East India Company during the seventeenth century. The Governing body of the Company consisted

of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and 24 "Committees"; and their proceedings, together with those of the General Courts, to which all members of the Company were summoned, are recorded in the Court Minutes. They deal with every aspect of the Company's policy, and furnish us with accurate information concerning the East India Trade. The Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East is revealed in a series of vigorous resolutions, while the characteristically vacillating policy which Charles I followed, and to which the Company attributed its decline, is evident from the outspoken language and strongly worded resolutions which even such a loyal Company was forced to employ. The scene changes for a time, and the Company beseeches Cromwell for protection against the Dutch.

The fall of the Protectorate and the restoration of Charles II produced far-reaching effects on the policy of the Company. The identification of the Company's interests with those of the Crown, and the enforcement of its demands against the Dutch by the King, are borne in upon us by the study of the Court Books of the period. We know the nature of gifts the Company gave to Charles, while the various sums lent by the Company to the King are detailed with characteristic precision. The ebb and flow of party politics and the startling changes which the Revolution of 1689 produced, are faithfully reflected in the records of the Company's conflict. There was a lull after 1693; but the storm burst forth again, and the maze of petitions, resolutions, proposals, and rejoinders render the task of the historian extremely difficult. We have the records, it is true; but these records do not always contain all the truth, and we have to supplement our information by other sources, if we are to arrive at sound conclusions. The opponents of the old Company accused it of falsifying its accounts, and the "Inquiry into the corrupt practices and bribery", brought out certain very curious features of the Company's methods of keeping its accounts. Its figures were disputed; the fortresses in India were held to be of little value; and a grave suspicion was cast on the means which its Directors had employed to dispose of their goods. The Court Minutes are not always safe guides, for they contain merely short records of the meetings of the Committee, and the General Meeting of Adventurers. We are not likely to find there a clear enunciation of a well-conceived principle, nor do we go to them for the analysis of many of the causes that influenced the Directors' policy during the reigns of William and Mary. Many of them were a part of the general movement that guided the economic policy of England during the period, and no valid conclusions are possible if our horizon is limited to Leadenhall Street. Hence the Court Minutes of the Company are not the sole authorities for its history. They supply us with priceless information on the internal organisation of the

institution, and its mechanism is explained to us in a series of clear and concise sentences; while the growth of its trade in the East, and the sale of its goods in England are detailed in the numerous reports of the Meetings of its Directors.

We do not get accurate information with regard to the policy the Company pursued during the last ten years of William's reign. It was charged with falsifying its accounts, and there is sufficient evidence to believe that the value of the Company's possessions in 1698 was considerably less than the amount at which the Company placed it. Its numerous petitions to Parliament, the variations which its accounts exhibited, and its failure to reply to the charges hurled by its opponents, lead us to doubt the honesty of its methods. There is no reason to believe that its accounts were falsified; nor are we justified in charging its Directors with stock-jobbing. That Sir Joshua Childe practised it and derived benefit thereby, is certain, but we have no evidence to prove the participation of other Directors in these transactions. It must be said, on the other hand, that some of the Company's practices rendered it liable to suspicion and that the Minute Books cannot give any clue to the confusion and disorder in which its affairs seem to have been involved during the year 1698. Professor Scott has attempted to reconstruct the history of the Company's finances during the period, but it cannot be said that the attempt is successful. We must calculate the amount of debt which the Company owed in India, and must go to other sources for an accurate and impartial account of its policy.

True, the Minute Books are our starting-point, and we must turn to them for the vivid, though accurate, record of the Company's investments in the East. The controversy over the bullion, the Bombay quarrel, the Dutch negotiations, the Company's support of Charles II, are all depicted in the dull, prosaic way the Directors loved so well. There are moments of storm and stress, and we can catch the Directors indulging in emotional appeals at odd intervals. The references to Charles II are pitched in a high key, and they respond to his frequent appeals for money by a generosity undreamt of by their close-fisted predecessors of the earlier reign. The early Court Minutes down to 1634 have been summarised by Mr. William Noel Sainsbury in the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*. The five volumes edited by this able archivist show characteristic thoroughness, a real grasp of the enormous documents on the subject, and an almost intuitive feeling for analysing the motives of the leading antagonists who waged a ceaseless warfare for over a decade. Mr. Sainsbury's arrangement of the multifarious material is no less admirable than his clear and lucid exposition of the fundamental causes of the

growth of the East India Trade. He provides a gorgeous feast for the scholar, and one can pick up many a tasty morsel in this bountiful repast. It appeals alike to the student of literature, and to the historical scholar; to the economist it presents a wondrous vista of the numerous economic forces ceaselessly shaping the administrative mechanism of that ponderous mass—the State.

With the exception of Volume 2A and the opening portion of Volume 3, the Court Minutes were summarised down to 1630 by Mr. W. N. Sainsbury. Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., has continued the work, so ably begun by Sainsbury, and his latest volume in the series, entitled Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, brings it down to '59.

Some idea of the wealth contained in this priceless collection may be formed by the fact that the first twelve volumes of the Minutes, preserved in the Record Department, deal with about thirty years of the Company's history; while the next twelve volumes bring its story down to April 14, 1665. Volumes 25—40 deal with the years 1665—1709. There are besides several odd volumes; Volume 37, for instance, contains a very interesting account of the new Company; while Volume 39A deals with the period 21st July 1704—8th January 1708. The New Company is, of course, referred to in many pages of the Old Company's Minutes. Volumes 41 and 42 contain the proceedings of the Court of Managers, from July 31, 1703 to April 23, 1708.

There is a separate series, containing duplicates of the Minutes of the Court of Managers from 31st July 1702 to March 19, 1708. Part of Volume 43 contains the proceedings of the Court of Managers during the period May 1, 1708 to March 18, 1709. The complicated transactions relating to the Union of the two Companies may be studied in a curious volume numbered 43. It deals with the period 1706—1708, and brings out the difficulties which the leading men of both the Companies had to surmount. The task seemed hopeless at first; for the aggressive conduct of many of the experienced men who piloted it, combined with the devious devices which some members of the old Company adopted, rendered compromise hopeless. These volumes contain many important documents, and though Professor W. R. Scott has gleaned very useful information, it can hardly be said that the mine is exhausted. Their importance lies in the light they throw on the policy and character of Godolphin. To that much-maligned statesman must be ascribed the credit of staving off commercial ruin, and without his persuasion and tact it would have been impossible to bring the irreconcilables together.

The later history of the Company is chronicled in the 117 volumes of its Court Minutes, dealing with the years 1710—1858. These lack the

finish of the earlier volumes, for the political history of the Company—the extension of its territory, the policy of its servants in the East, and the establishment of its sovereignty in some of the most fertile provinces of India—is more interesting, the stage on which the vast drama of its adventurous employees is played more exciting, than the narrow, parochial views and gross, mercantile calculations of the hard-headed Directors. The business of investments proceeded apace, and even a born autocrat like Wellesley could not ignore the commands of the cheese-mongers of Leadenhall street. It is amusing to find him busy with plans for the growth of the Company's investments; and interesting to note the emphasis he placed on the profits that accrued to the Company through the extension of its territories. If the Directors saw no profit in reckless adventures and remonstrated with their noble servant, he could point to the actual increase in their investments and try to show the profits that would be derived by the Directors. On the whole, the interest of these volumes lies rather in the information they afford with regard to the profit and loss sustained by the shareholders, than in the meagre details, scrappy information, and crabbed statements about the growth of its dominion, doled out by the irritating entries and the perplexed indices to these volumes. The financial history of the Company during the eighteenth century is a blank to the student, though we would fain have details of its transactions with the early ministries of George III's reign. Details of Lord North's dealings with the Company will throw a searching light on some of the vexed problems of English constitutional history; while a minute search for the documents relating to the policy of the Company after Wellesley's departure may result in a reorientation of our views. The Directors have been harshly treated by nearly every historian of India, as the glamour of Wellesley's conquests has dimmed the perception of the obstacles by which the Company was surrounded. These volumes will go far towards rehabilitating its administration, and vindicating it against the charges brought against their cheese-paring policy. Their main justification lay in the fact that they were ultimately responsible to the shareholders for "fat" dividends.

Besides the complete collection of Minutes, there are a few odd volumes that will be found interesting by the student. There is a broken series entitled *Court Minutes, Rough Notes*, containing copies and extracts. They are useful, as they contain some documents from volume missing in the general series. Another series is entitled *Appendix to Court Minutes*, and contains copies of Dissents from the resolutions of the Court of Directors. It is, however, useless for our period, as the ten

volumes contain Dissents from the resolutions of the Court of Directors during the years 1807—1858.

The volumes dealing with the critical period 1660—1700 are of much greater importance to the general student. The earlier volumes repel even the earnest inquirer by the trivial details and petty transactions in which the limited capacity of the Directors and parochial outlook of the shareholders found expression. This is especially the case with regard to the volumes dealing with the years 1640—1650. To students of the East India Company they will ever remain a source of pleasure, as in them are portrayed the early difficulties which the Directors encountered, and the heroic remedies to which they made frequent resort. To the general reader, the wealth of dull statistics and duller reports is as disagreeable as the copious records of the vacillating moods of Charles I.

A new era dawned upon the Company with the beginning of the year 1660. The dream of commercial supremacy, of naval dominance, and of smiling prosperity in the East, floated peacefully before the puzzled minds of the Directors; and that dream was partly realized in succeeding years, and its atmosphere reproduced even in the prosaic accounts of its proceedings.

The Minutes dealing with the period 1689—1700 possess even greater interest. They deal with the prolonged duel between the Old and New Companies, and trace the course of the Company's investments in a manner that is in contrast with the frankness and simplicity of the earlier volumes. Perhaps the position of the Company rendered it necessary to cover its transactions in a veil of impenetrable secrecy, or the determined attacks of its opponents, combined with the vigorous retorts of Sir Joshua Childé, made it impossible for the Directors to disclose the real state of the Company's affairs. For these proceedings, for the specific charges brought against the most influential no less than the most capable of its servants, we must go to other sources. We must ransack the Journal of the House of Commons, glean information from several volumes in the Historical MSS. Commission, and consult the pamphlets in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Public Record Office. This is essential if we are to arrive at a sound conclusion.

The Minute Books tell us much,—they would have told us more, if the Company had not stood absolutely alone. Hence the later volumes of the Minutes, the volumes dealing with the Revolution and its aftermath, must be constantly compared and carefully scrutinized. The "Inquiry into Bribery and Corrupt Practices" finds no place in its Minutes, the losses sustained by its Directors in their war with Aurangzeb, and the real nature of the *phirmaund* which the Emperor granted, are not

explained in the Minutes, and our suspicion is not lessened by their ominous silence on many of the most important matters in which the Company took part. These are some of the points in which the Minutes are deficient.

II. *The Manuscript Letter Books.*

These volumes contain copies of Letters written by the Company to their various settlements in the East, to their Agents in Spain, and also certain home correspondence. The first volume contains chiefly the letters of the United Joint Stock and is not of great historical interest. The volumes dealing with the reign of Charles II are of primary importance for the history of the Indian manufactures in England. We can trace the growth of the East India Trade in the despatches of the Directors, as every important despatch to their factors in the East is followed by a List of Indian goods required in England; while the quantity and quality of goods are detailed with preciseness and accuracy that are truly remarkable. The growth of the East India Trade is traced in the Manuscript Books Nos. 3 to 5, and the Directors' Lists show signs of rapid growth. There are frequent demands for the Bengal Silk goods, and many a despatch from the Company's factor ends with the characteristic instruction, "Send us as many Bengal Silk goods as you can." The Directors direct the sources from which goods are obtained, and suggest various proposals for improving the productions of Indian manufactures; they send many English artisans to India; and frame beneficial regulations for the treatment of their Indian subjects. The Manuscripts Letter Books Nos. 6—7 strike a different note. They contain the germs of the new policy in the East, and Sir Joshua Childe's vigorous personality is revealed in the clear phrases, pithy sentences, piquant anecdotes and the shrewd maxims of commerce. A comparison of these despatches with his letters in the Bodleian Library shows clearly that they were inspired mainly by Childe, and that the general principles and the broad lines of policy which he inculcated upon the Company's Agents in the East, had been expounded by him in his "New Discourse of Trade".

Many of his favourite expressions reappear in his letters, and the principles of administration expounded in his published work are defended in a series of striking despatches. The reduction of interest, religious toleration, the institution of Merchants' Council, the reform of Poor Laws—these were some of the reforms upon which Childe had set his heart, and upon these he insisted in his despatches to the Company's factors.

Volumes 8—10 launch us into the arena of party politics. The Directors increase their vigilance, frame new laws, and suggest various proposals for the defeat of their enemies. Their description of the Parliamentary

struggle, the vigour and persistence with which they pursue the Interlopers in the East, and the constant scoldings, frequent complaints and criticisms of some of their servants, serve to make these records instructive as well as interesting. The Letter Books also contain despatches to St. Helena, and the Company's policy towards the Island is outlined in the Manuscripts Letter Books, Nos. 6 and 7. The importance of these records lies mainly in the fact that they contain the best exposition of Childe's policy in the East.

The War with the Great Moghul is treated in a number of despatches and the instructions, Commissions, and Reports of the Secret Committee are reproduced in full. For a thorough understanding of the causes that produced that conflict, recourse must be had to a number of pamphlets in the British Museum Library and the Public Record Office. The Letter Books should be compared with the pamphlets which the Company's opponents poured forth in quick succession.

Every Letter Book contains invaluable information as regards the policy and finances of the Company. They are, in my opinion, of much greater importance than the Minute Books, for while the latter deal only with the routine and financial condition of the Company, the former enable us to reconstruct the trade to the Indies with accuracy, and to study the incessant changes which the Company's difficult position in the reign of William brought about. A comparison of the despatches penned by Childe with regard to the attacks in Parliament, and the Minutes of the same date, will make this point clearer still. In the former, the President is informed of the ebb and flow of the parliamentary struggle without reserve, and Childe traces the steps through which this opposition passed in the direct, forcible way characteristic of that dominant personality. The Directors' grief over the miserable result of their fruitless struggle, their harsh, even cruel, measures against the Interlopers, their confession of the losses sustained by the Company, their heroic remedies to stave off the inevitable inquiry by Parliament, and their futile efforts to enlist support on their side, are all laid bare. The Minutes, on the other hand, pursue their usual course, referring mysteriously to the money advanced to unknown individuals, ignoring the losses sustained by the Company, and passing over many of the matters which touched the pockets of the Directors, and extorted frequent bursts of impotent rage against their doughty rivals.

The earlier volumes of the series do not possess much importance. The first volume contains mainly the letters of the United Joint Stock, and deals with the years 1626—1660. There are besides two letters of February 18, 1669.

The next two volumes deal mainly with the trade of the Company. The arrangement of the despatches is faulty; the instructions to the factors; though marked by the worldly wisdom and mercantile shrewdness of the later despatches, are vague and brief. Volumes 6 and 7 are more useful, as they deal partly with the later phase of Charles II's policy towards the Company. It is, however, to volumes 8, 9, and 10 of the Letter Books that the student turns for a full and impartial account of the changes through which the Company passed. Its campaign against Aurangzeb, the Interlopers, the Parliamentary opponents, and the bullionists is vividly described; the new policy which Childe formulated is analysed in clear and crisp language; while the unusual expansion of the East India Trade during the last ten years of the seventeenth century is brought out in a series of significant lists at the end of each despatch to the Presidents of the respective Presidencies.

III. *Original Correspondence.*

This is a very voluminous series containing over 71 volumes, and dealing with the work of its factors in the East. Down to the end of 1660; it has been printed in Mr. William Foster's volumes, mentioned above. The first six volumes contained full texts of the letters; the succeeding volumes, under the new title, *English Factories in India*, contain abstracts of the letters.

IV. *Home Miscellaneous.*

This is a most useful series, and contains some very important documents on the early history of the Company. The series of transcripts from records relating to Bombay, 1662—98, is especially noteworthy. The Public Record Office contains very voluminous material relating to the early history of Bombay, and these transcripts fill many gaps in our knowledge of its eventful history. Some of the documents are of primary importance. There are voluminous data for the administration of Warren Hastings and his impeachment; Madras, Arcot, Tanjore, and Mysore claim altogether eighty-six volumes; while letters to Lord Wellesley from the Governors of Madras and Bombay, 1799—1805, documents on the Nepalese War, and the First Burmese War, compose twenty-two, thirteen, and twenty volumes respectively. The miserable history of the shady transactions that led ultimately to the annexation of the Carnatic is preserved in a voluminous mass of wearisome data. From our point of view the most important portion of the series is the section dealing with the financial history of the Company in the seventeenth century. There are some very valuable data on the finances of the Company, and though good use has been made by some investiga-

tors, the mine is inexhaustible, and the student may still consult the series with profit.

V. *Journals and Logs.*

Another important source of our information must be mentioned here. This consists in the noble collection of the Journals and Logs, kept by the commanders and principal officers of the Company's ships. The logs contain lists of the officers and crew, and of passengers on board, and are penned in the direct forcible manner of the early navigators. The Bodleian Library contains some very fine collections of these journals. Mention should be made here of an exceptionally clear account of Grantham's voyage. It is beautifully written and carefully arranged. There are, moreover, some very interesting journals in the British Museum, and the India Office Record Department contains an almost complete series of journals from 1605 to 1705.

In this connection, mention may be made of the List of Marine Records. This is truly a storehouse of useful information, and contains as complete a collection of data on the subject as exists anywhere else. Some of them are worth reprinting at the present time, and we can only wish that some generous benefactor would give the necessary funds for the purpose. It is hardly possible to give a full account of this voluminous material, nor is it necessary to go through all of it. The List of Marine Records gives all the information needed by the inquirer. Reference may, however, be made to some documents deserving the special notice of the student. There is a most interesting volume, entitled "An Historical Sketch of Company's shipping concerns and other papers, 1600—1796". This is particularly valuable to the student of seventeenth century shipping. Other important volumes are:—Copies of letters from Sir Thomas Roe to Captain Pepwell, 1617; Abstracts of ships' journals, 1610—23; Accounts kept in the sixth voyage; Accounts of Richard Cocks in the Eighth voyage, 1611—13; Letter Book of Captain Bass of the *LONDON*, 1672—4; Letters and consultations in the voyage of the *LOYAL ADVENTURE* to the Philippines and China, 1684—86; Letter Book of Captain Reddall of the *SAMUEL AND ANNA*, 1702—5; Letter book of Captain Lambert of the *EDWARD AND DUDLEY*, 1703—4; and, finally, Account of the *LOYAL COOK*, 1708.

VI. *Charters, etc.* These may be divided into—

(a) Parchment Records. These are mostly single documents, consisting of *phirmands*, grants, and other formal documents. The collection can hardly be said to be exhaustive, as many papers of little or no value whatever are sandwiched in; and it is sometimes difficult to trace an

important *ghirmand* in the collection. The List of General Records is, however, very carefully compiled, and no serious student need experience a difficulty in locating them.

(b) Charters. This is a collection, in 23 volumes, of Charters and statutes relating to the East India Company, including papers relating to negotiations for the renewal of its privileges. This is, on the whole, a more useful guide to the beginner, than the Parchment records. Shaw has reprinted the most important documents, in his Charters granted to the East India Company.

VII. We now come to the documents on the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. The collection on all the three Presidencies is so voluminous that only a brief account will be attempted here.

Each of the Presidencies possesses, moreover, duplicates of some of them, and Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta Record Offices have already published a valuable series of Press Lists, etc. It is therefore unnecessary to mention the documents, or copies of documents, preserved in the Provincial Record Offices.

Bengal.—The first regular English settlement in Bengal was established in 1633, when factories were founded at Hariharpore, Balasore. The Company's attempt to start factories at Agra and Patna was not attended with success, and it was not till about the middle of the seventeenth century that it gained a permanent footing in the province.

The Factory series contains a priceless collection of documents for the study of the history of early English factories in Bengal. The diary and consultations of English factories at Balasore, Hugli, Cassimbazar, Dacca, Malda, Patna, and Calcutta are of primary importance for the construction of the history of our period, while some of the volumes in the Miscellaneous Section of the Factory Records contain important extracts from the letters of the Company's factors in Bengal. From the beginning of 1704, there is a regular succession of records of the Company's proceedings, and Dr. C. R. Wilson has utilised a useful series of extracts for his early annals of English Bengal.

The seventeenth century was the period of the establishment of factories in the East, and may, on that account, be considered the "Factory period" of the East India Company. The first factory established by the Company was at Bantam, and they soon spread their operations over the neighbouring islands. The Indian Peninsula was not neglected, and a number of settlements were established in Bengal. The first regular English settlements in Bengal were made in 1633, when factories were commenced in Hariharpore (near Calcutta) and Balasore. Early in 1651, a factory was started in Hugli, and some seven years later English mer-

chants established themselves at Cassimbazaar and Patna, and factories were established at Dacca in 1668, and Malda in 1676; Job Charnock's attempt to found a new factory at Sutanati (Calcutta) was not attended with success, as the Moghuls were too powerful in Bengal; and it was not till 1690 that the English head-quarters were fixed at that place. Many letters to and from the Bengal Factories during the seventeenth century are to be found in the Original Correspondence Series and the Letter Books: some of them have recently been printed at Madras. But the India Office Record Department contains a unique collection of Factory Records, and from the Diaries and Consultations of the Company's factories at Balasore, Hugli, Cassimbazaar, Malda, Patna, and Calcutta the student may glean an account of the progress of the Company's trade in Bengal. The history of the Indian silk manufactures can be studied, and the growth of different kinds of Indian manufactures traced, in these records of commercial, administrative, and political activity.

The Records of the Bombay Presidency.—The first English vessel to reach an Indian port anchored off Surat in August 1608; and from 1613 onwards the list of English chiefs at that place, termed first Agents, then Presidents, is continuous, until the transfer of the Company's head-quarters to Bombay. From Surat, factories were quickly planted at Agra, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, and Broach, while others were founded at various ports down the Western Coast of India, as well as in Sind, Persia, and the Arabian Sea. Bombay was ceded to the English Crown in 1661 and handed over to the East India Company in 1668. The Record Office contains an invaluable collection of documents on the most important factories in the Bombay Presidency. The consultations of the Governor and Council at Surat and Bombay, and copies of letters sent from Bombay and Surat, are important. There are several gaps in the records, though some of the missing documents can be found in the Original Correspondence and Home Miscellaneous Series. The Rajapur Factory assumed some importance during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the study of the copies of letters sent from the factory throws light on the history of the Moghul Empire. The Miscellaneous collection in the Factory Records should be consulted, for it contains valuable documents on the New Company, its factories in Persia and Gambiaroone, correspondence of Sir John Goldborough, and the Letter Books of Sir William Norris, Ambassador to Aurangzeb.

Madras.—The earliest British factories established in the Madras Presidency were merely trading stations along the coast, or a short distance inland. Masulipatam and Petapoli (now Nizampatam) were the earliest British factories in the Madras Presidency. Early in 1626 a

settlement was made at Armagon (now Durgayarapatnam), and from this station the factors moved in 1640 to the village of Madrasapatam. Here on a strip of ground rented from a representative of the old Vijayanagar Dynasty, was erected Fort St. George, which became the head-quarters of the Agency. Other factories were established during the seventeenth century, and Madras was created a Presidency in 1684. The documents in the English factories in Madras are very voluminous, and the historian has a rich collection of diaries, consultations, copies of letters sent to England, copies of letters received, and transcripts from, and translations of, the Portuguese and Dutch Records, for the construction of his history. Some of the consultations have been published by the Madras Government while our William Foster's invaluable *English Factories in India* contains the earlier documents.

THE DOCUMENTS OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

The Public Record Office.—The materials in the India Office Record Department are so extensive that the student is overwhelmed with the extent of its range. How is it possible to consult all, compare them, and then organise them in an appropriate form—appropriate, of course, to the nature of the subject the scholar is investigating? Herein lies his safety. He must mark out a definite line of action, assign the boundaries of his province, and cling tenaciously to his choice. Unless he does so—and the writer has often come across people who go on deciding year after year, whose scope is expanded with the increase of material, but whose power of discrimination is completely enfeebled by the immensity of their task—his studies will come to nought. Differentiation of functions is the soul of progress, and Division of Labour, the foundation of economic growth and the law obtains not only in the domain of commerce, but also in the domain of historical scholarship. For the economic structure of modern historical research could be built up only after numerous difficulties had been encountered, and an enormous mass of rubbish cleared out of the way. We have numerous examples of heroic endeavours buffeted against the cruel rocks of forged documents, mendacious statements, unconscious misstatements, and historical illusions. Clearance of the debris, analysis of the existing theories, examination of current prejudices, exposure of the absurdities of the so-called “facts” of history—these are the preliminary tasks upon which the beginner is engaged. The seemingly vast field of investigation is constantly torn up by two diametrically opposite tendencies. There is the tendency to widen the scope of investigation, to bring in the outlying provinces within one's jurisdiction, and make the whole history of a race, a continent, or a country

the subject of one's inquiries. The other tendency lays emphasis on the perfection of technique, the scrutiny of the data, and the elaboration of the apparatus, for a thorough, internal examination of the material. The one is exemplified in the work of Leopold Von Ranke; while the other finds apt illustration in the polished work of Fustel de Coulanges. The student's choice will be determined, no doubt, by various factors. Quantity and quality of data will continue to play a predominant part; and it is as true today as it was about a hundred years ago, when History freed itself from the shackles of Literature and the Classics, that the supply of trained historians is determined by the supply of material. This is a truism, but it requires special emphasis at the present day, when universal historians are multiplying at a truly amazing pace. The historical scholar in Germany, France, England, America, and Austria, rarely attempts an original work on the general history of his country. Ranke, no doubt, attempted it, but the veteran received only this left handed compliment from Mommsen, “You are the first of the universal historians; you are probably the last.”

Research in Indian History is going through the same stage. It is impossible for a person to be proficient alike in Ancient and in Modern Indian History; while the qualifications required for the investigation of the Moghul period are different from those demanded by the Modern period. We may go further, and assert that a thorough knowledge of seventeenth century British Indian History is not by any means essential to the understanding of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. For the one, a close, careful, patient, and laborious search for trade statistics; an almost instinctive feeling for the relevant data, and a complete, thorough, and exhaustive knowledge of comparatively recent documents are essential; for the other, complete familiarity with the vernaculars, and sound, solid, systematic knowledge of English and Persian are no less desirable. This process will be greatly accelerated by the increase in the opportunities placed at the disposal of the student, and the time is not far distant when the person who pretends to embody the results of his researches in all the periods of Indian History will be as extinct as the dodo.

This applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the seventeenth century equally well. The Record Department of the India Office is estimated to contain forty-eight thousand volumes. We may safely place the number of records dealing with the seventeenth century at six thousand volumes. It is clear that the investigation, to be successful, must be based upon the law of Division of Labour; that the student must master all the relevant data, on some clearly recognized, and logically classified, division of his period;

and, most important of all, he must consult not only the India Office Record Department, but also the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Public Record Office. I have already discussed the sources in the two libraries in my first article.

So far as the English East India Company is concerned, the grievances of individuals were not backed by the powerful support and effective reprisals which distinguished the policy of the Dutch East India Company. These grievances are not voiced by the Company at first, as the causes are purely local, and the number affected comparatively small. But the accumulation of these wrongs, and the clear perception by the English East India Company that the struggle between the two companies was essentially a struggle between the two nations, made a united representation of its complaints absolutely necessary. The organisation of individuals into a powerful corporation, and grant of extensive powers to its Directors, would have rendered united action, based on principles of which all parties were conscious, inevitable. Commercial causes were dependent on political power, and a country which could exercise the latter was naturally desirous of extending its commerce and planting its colonies. The seventeenth century is important mainly from this point of view. If the modern state is the creation of the Reformation, the modern economic institutions and economic theories are the product of what may be called the economic movement in the seventeenth century. That movement had for its object the development of the country's resources through the central organ; it emphasized the need of power; and showed or, at any rate, tried to show, that that economic supremacy could be achieved solely through political supremacy, and that "plenty" could be attained only by "power".

The connection of Politics with Economics was intimate, as the mercantilism of the seventeenth century was a special instrument employed in the interest of a permanent policy which was exclusively national.

We have here the distinguishing features of the seventeenth century economic thought. The ideals set up are not by any means lofty, and the various devices which it proposed are characterised by a harshness that reminds one of the Draconian Code. The history of the East India Company in the seventeenth century would be inexplicable to us unless we pay regard to the main causes that affected its development in the East. The establishment of its factories has been rightly regarded as preparing the way for the organisation of its trade, and the concentration of its resources on the Indian Peninsula. The Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East India Islands, however, remained a most disturbing element throughout the century, and reacted upon the Anglo-

Dutch relations in Europe. The conflict in the two continents was commercial rather than political, as, though the various phases through which it passed present various features and are difficult of analysis at times, we are justified in regarding it as an economic struggle at the bottom. In this struggle a definite idea of the relations of the state to the individual, or a body of individuals, was of paramount importance, as that modified the conception of economic policy. There was a need for the demarcation of spheres of state action, as the inchoate theories of the period confused the primary duties of the executive with its secondary duties, or, rather, the subsidiary duties.

This vagueness rendered the task of the Commissioners extremely difficult. The question of sovereignty bulks large in all the negotiations with the Dutch, and the *réglement* of trade which the latter promised from time to time, but which they never conceded, is the subject of long despatches, tedious letters, violent petitions, and coarse pamphlets. The course of negotiations with the Dutch in 1613, 1615, 1619, and subsequent dates shows clearly that a vital principle was involved. We wade through a maze of petitions and despatches, go through the arguments employed on both sides, analyse the various causes, and then find that the real cause has eluded us after all, and that the petty details, the sordid accounts, and the unsavoury particulars are only the excrements. The one broad general idea that emerges from this confused heap of materials is but a development of a theory that had been adopted by both the parties, and an elaboration of a plan that had been tentatively put forward in 1619. Sovereignty here, as elsewhere, is the crux of the question, and neither party was competent to discuss its limitations or point out its leading features. We have consequently the gap that separates the follower of Grotius from the disciple of Selden.

A company that could rely upon its support on all occasions and carry out its policy through the help of a succession of shrewd and experienced rulers, was in a much stronger position than a body that lacked capital, and, what is of much more importance, the support of the Crown. This contrast between the two bodies is made clear to us by the history of its negotiations with the Dutch, from 1613 to 1660. The questions of sovereignty and freedom of trade recur with monotonous frequency. The Company's Court Minutes furnish us with valuable details of these transactions, and even a cursory study excites in us something of the passion which the Dutch Company's factors poured out in their letters to the Directors. They are valuable, moreover, for the light they throw on the causes of the rivalry. But they do not supply us with first-hand information about the negotiations which took such a fitful course, and

revealed a divergence of interest, an incompatibility of temperaments, and a failure to understand the essential point at issue, that are truly remarkable. Progress is made, to be sure; but it is extremely slow, and there is no existence of a strong feeling of justice, or the evolution of the idea of compromise. James I and Charles I flit through the stage with an almost imperceptible effect; and the pacific policy of the one, no less than the lack of policy of the other, leave their mark on the Company's Minutes, the letters of its Directors to their Agents in the East, and the pamphlet literature of the day. The reign of Charles I is one of unrelieved gloom; and no ray of light enters the dark recesses of the King's policy towards the East India Company. Its trade declined; its factories were left without protection; and its commercial rivals possessed the islands on which it had expended a considerable amount.

All this and more may be read in the documents of the period. For this, the Company's Records in the India Office Library and Record Department will help us. But if we desire an account of the actual course of negotiations, if our object is a thorough knowledge of those complicated negotiations, if we aim at a mastery of the principal data for the history of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations relating to the East Indies, and if, finally, we require information concerning the effects of the Company's representations to the King on the actual course of his policy towards Holland, then we must turn to the Public Record Office. The documents in that archive are of varying worth. There is no completeness, as there is no unity. We get scraps of information about the Company's factories, its servants, the methods of its administration, the nature of its grievances, the progress of its trade, and the condition of its finances. The bulk of the material deals however with the Company's negotiations with the Dutch, the petitions of the Directors to the Privy Council, and with the Bombay question. This applies specially to Volumes 8-16, in the Colonial Office 77. Volumes 1-7 have been calendared by Mr. Noel Sainsbury and Miss Sainsbury. The Calendars of State Papers of the East Indies, which Mr. Sainsbury edited with a learned introduction, is by far the best complete account of the history of the Company up to the year 1635. Every piece of information seems to have been utilised, and frequent recourse was had to the records in the British Museum Library and the India Office Record Department. The most important letters in the Original Correspondence series in the Record Department were consulted; the rare pamphlets in the British Museum were analysed; successful attempts were made to coordinate the scattered material in the various archives, and patient, laborious, and fruitful search was made for rare manuscripts, for scarce pamphlets, for historical relics, and for curious

information. But Mr. Sainsbury did not content himself with documents in the Colonial Office. He investigated the negotiations with the Dutch, unearthed the projects of the earliest adventurers, wrote a learned introduction to each volume, and pointed out the connection between the quarrels in the East and those in the West. The Holland Correspondence, containing information of the highest importance to the understanding of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations, was studied with loving interest; the relevant papers in the Domestic Series were consulted; even the Entry Books were not ignored; while a successful attempt was made to grapple with the uncouth expressions, the strange names, and the unfamiliar products of the East. In these volumes are detailed the course of the Company's negotiations with the Dutch, the most important letters of its servants, and the progress of the Company's trade in the East. Whether they are regarded chiefly from the point of organised research, or considered mainly as a collection of all the important sources for the history of the Company up to 1635, they will rank as one of the most accurate and best planned of all the publications of the Record Office.

There are, however, some drawbacks to the excellence of this series. The abstracts of some of the original documents are too short, and a student whose attention is concentrated mainly upon the meagre summaries, is likely to get a wrong impression of some of the important documents. Original documents must be consulted on all important documents, as the Calendars cannot supply us the wealth of detail, the force of an argument, or the massiveness and solidity which only contact with the original documents can create. Every document is the product of a chain of thought, revealing the interplay of emotion, knowledge, and intellect, and expressing in writing the result of the action and reaction of intellect and feeling. The two combine so intimately, the result of this combination is so complex, and the task of a historian who tries to disentangle the various threads, and weave the chaotic material into a coherent whole, so difficult, that historical synthesis is impossible without the patient labour, the careful attention, and the industrious analysis that are produced by the study of the original records alone.

Mr. Foster's work on this period has already been mentioned. The thirty volumes of the Company's records which he has published are the best testimony to the ability, the energy and the enthusiasm of the writer. Every page displays a perfection of technique, and a mastery of material, that are surpassed only by some of the German historians of the later half of the nineteenth century. What Mr. Hubert Hall has done for the mediæval records of England, Mr. William Foster has accomplished for the seventeenth century records of the East India Company. The last volume of the

Court Minutes brings the history of the East India Company down to 1659, and includes a portion of Volume VIII in the C. O. 77.

The volumes that cover the remainder of our period are nine in number, and though some of them have been consulted by earlier writers before, it is safe to say that the connection between the various elements of the King's policy may still be studied by the future historian with profit. Perhaps some day we may see the publication of this store-house of valuable knowledge.

Volume 8 contains the most important sources for the history of the constitution and functions of the Council and Committee of Trade and Plantations. Foreign policy under Charles II became the most important means whereby the commercial privileges of the English merchant were exercised, as it embodied the demands of the English merchants for the energetic assertion of their rights, and the prompt redress of their grievances. The question of Polaroon—a question that vexed the treaty-makers of 1665—drags on its slow course, and the King's answer to the Company's demand for redress, the decisions of the Council for Trade and Plantations, the charges and counter-charges of the States-General, and many other matters of interest are contained in this invaluable document. The most important subjects it deals with are the Report of the Council of Trade, the petitions of the East India Company, the account of the East India Trade, the permission to export coin, and the negotiations with the States-General. The Report of the Council is dated January 1661, and is very comprehensive. The various petitions of the Company were examined by the Council with great care, and the King's Judges went through them with a thoroughness that characterised the actions of the Council and the Committee. The Council did not enunciate any new principles, and though there are constant references to a mysterious "Law of Nature", and a still more mysterious "Common right", these academic discussions did not affect their attitude towards the Company. "Laws of Nature and Nations" were alright in themselves, and effective use is made of them on several occasions; but the members of the Council were eminently practical men, and disliked the idea of the materialisation of their theories in practice. Hence they contented themselves with demanding that which the Company had always desired, but which it never attained. They were to be allowed to trade in any island or with any native they pleased; their ships were not to be seized, nor was the property of their allies to be liable to confiscation. Moreover, their demands for damages were to be adjusted, and compensation paid for the losses they had sustained in the East India Islands. Viewed broadly, the Report of the Council expressed in a different form the

theory which the Company championed with persistence. Freedom of Trade had been insisted upon by them in practically all important negotiations with the Dutch, and though the latter had refused to concede the point, hopes were entertained that the accession of Charles II would lead to the establishment of the principle. The Report of the Directors is the clearest expression of the desires and feelings which animated the Company, and which influenced their dealings with the Dutch throughout the reign of Charles II.

Volume 9 covers only about two years of Charles II's reign. But its importance is to be measured by the activity and success of the Company's policy, rather than by the short span of time which it covers. In it are a number of despairing letters from Abraham Shipman, and despatches and letters from Sir George Downing, Mr. Cooke, of Bombay fame, Cary, Oxinden and others. The volume contains a most interesting collection of letters on Bombay, and the history of that important port is detailed in a series of petitions, letters, journals, and diaries. The Portuguese Ambassador is requested to furnish an explanation, and his reply and the Company's rejoinder are duly discussed. There are a few letters from the Portuguese King to his Ambassador; and though the information they supply about their policy is slight in comparison with the wealth of detail which Mr. Danvers furnished in his transcripts and translations from Portuguese archives, we may still consult them with advantage and profit.

Of the numerous accounts of the East India Trade, that numbered 118 is by far the most important. The writer describes the chief ports in India, refers to Akbar and Aurangzebe, traces the decline of the Portuguese power in India, and points the causes of the success of the Dutch East India Company. The goods manufactured in different parts are mentioned, while the Company's methods of administration are contrasted with those of the Dutch. His analysis of commercial phenomena is very acute, while his knowledge, the thoroughness with which he investigates the problem, and his first-hand experience render this essay one of the most important productions of the early years of Charles' reign. Other narratives appeared, as we know; but this was a pioneer work, and its example was followed by other writers. The volume contains a mass of material on the history of Bombay, and the future historian of that glorious harbour will not rest content with the local records, but will ransack the Record Office to make his work complete. There are a number of letters from Oxinden, Foxcroft, Cary, and Cooke. Fort St. George too has its share, and there are interesting accounts of what happened in Fort St. George since the time of the disaster, as is attested by, among others, Edward

Winter. (See Folios 284, 285, 290, 292.) These are followed by numerous letters, remonstrances, and protests from Sir Edward Winter. The whole volume is indispensable for the history of Bombay and Fort St George.

Volumes 10 and 11 deal with the same theme. The prolific pen of Cary is busy with descriptions of Bombay, and the maxims of state policy are tempered by the practical sense, the shrewdness, and the unconscious humour that renders his naive statement interesting. The local gossip, endless detail, and effusive politeness of Cary form a striking contrast to the solid advice, the prudent remarks, and the polished style of Sir George Oxinden. They enable us to trace the early history of Bombay, throw a flood of light on the development of the Company's trade in the East, and give us a glimpse into the numerous improvements and reforms which a succession of able Governors inaugurated there.

In connection with Bombay, the report of the Committee of Charles to inquire into the resources of Bombay is important. Folio 37 contains the information upon which the report was mainly based. The letters of Sir George Lucas in volume 10, show clearly enough that the King's troops were in a sorry plight, and the cost of keeping Bombay would have entailed expenses which he was totally unable to defray. A letter in volume 10, written in 1666, dealt with Aurangzebe's war with Seevajee. The writer's information is based, apparently, upon reliable authority. We have the charges and counter-charges in which some of the correspondents seem to have taken a special delight. Sir George Lucas carried on a long struggle with the irrepressible Cooke in 1667, and the Company was obliged to draft a strong petition to Charles, charging him with serious crimes. Sir Edward Winter is the subject of a long debate, and the Council decided, on March 20, 1667, "that Sir Edward Winter be dismissed".

Folios 104—180, in volume 10, contain letters, petitions and protests of Cooke and Winter. Folio 226 is important, as it contains the resolution of the Committee on Bombay.

Volume II contains many notable features. In it we can trace the origin of that dispute with the Portuguese which occupied the attention of the Company for years, led to lengthy correspondence, and embittered the relations of the two nations for a comparatively long period. The volume starts with a number of letters from Aungier. We then reach the stage at which inquiries into the rights of the two nations in Bombay began. The Attorney-General leads off the attack (Folio 40); and the Company follow suit. The negotiations drag on their slow course through a long span of time. There are many petitions from the Company, in which their right to the customs is asserted in no uncertain terms, and the Portuguese' claim is shown to be totally groundless.

It petitioned the King, on April 3, 1668 (Folio 76, Volume II), for such an agreement for settling "the Trade in the Indies as may be suitable to the weight and importance of such an affair where the honour of His Majesty is so highly concerned". This is followed by proposals for amending the "Treaty Marine". These proposals were the basis of negotiations into which Charles entered with the Dutch Commissioners. Folios 77, 85, 136, 137, 168, throw an interesting light on the position of the Company.

The petitions should be supplemented by Entry Book No. 65, in the Public Record Office Catalogue 19. It shows that the East India Trade was one of the most important causes of the Third Dutch War, that Charles spared no pains to get satisfaction from the Dutch, and that the proposals of the East India Company were based mainly upon the arguments of which an effective use had been made in 1619. The student should compare the proposals of 1619, with those of 1661-1668, and 1674. The negotiations lasted a comparatively long time, and Downing took a prominent part in the settlement of the disputes. No historian has utilised this valuable document, and though Ranke furnished an instructive account of the foreign policy of Charles II, there is no reason to suppose that he grasped the importance of the East India Trade under Charles II.

The letters from Bantam and other places supply interesting details and furnish excellent parallels. Volume 12 deals with the years 1671 and 1673. The Bombay business is again the subject of petitions and letters, and the Company's measures for the improvement of the city are discussed at length. The Portuguese, too, furnish plenty of material for correspondence, and the case of one, Perez, a Portuguese subject, occupies the attention of many a Councillor, and taxes the patience of many a Director. Other factories, too, contributed their quota, and the letters from Fort St. George supply us with a graphic picture of the local notabilities and their work.

There is another petition on that perennial source of mischief—the Anglo-Dutch rivalry. The petitions of Thomas Kynaston pray the King to represent his claims to the Dutch Government; the letters on Tanna occupy a prominent place; and the Portuguese Viceroy's vigorous protest is followed by the crushing reply of the vigilant Directors (Folios 42, 43, Volume 2). The two should be carefully compared, as the judges themselves were unable to devise an effective measure for the relief of either party. Folios Nos. 54, 97, and 100 show that the essential causes of the dispute were still operative, and no effectual remedy had been suggested for the cure of that incurable disease. It is likely enough that the total

defeat of the Dutch would have solved the problem, and the East India Company would have been restored to many of the rights of which it had been unjustly deprived. But both the wars in which Charles was engaged proved indecisive, and the Company saw the failure of its long cherished plans. Folios Nos. 97, 100, 103, 134, 271, and 273 show the effects of the failure of its policy on the Company's petitions.

Volume 13 possesses greater interest. The tortuous course of the negotiations with the Portuguese concerning Bombay is described for us in numerous petitions from the Company. There are elaborate reports by the Lords of Trade and Plantations; and the history of Bombay, the claim of the Portuguese to Tanna and Carinjah, the right of the Company to jurisdiction over the Portuguese subjects, are discussed at wearisome length. The volume contains a most interesting account of Seevajee, and describes his adventurous career and daring exploits, with clearness and sympathy. Another important feature is the information it supplies about the Moghul Empire. There is a most interesting account of Golconda; and the character of Aurangzebe is painted in sombre colours. We get fuller details of Bantam, and an accurate analysis of the causes that led ultimately to the establishment of the Dutch in that part.

The Company's petitions to Charles refer to the insolence of the Portuguese, the difficulties experienced by its factors in the administration of Bombay, and the reforms introduced by Oxinden. Folios 47, 73, 90, 125, 135, 143, 168-174, 183-193, and 196-206 are important, as they deal with the entanglements in which the Company was involved, and the measures which the Lords of Trade and Plantations advocated. They should be compared with documents in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

Volume 14 covers a much longer period, as the years 1678-1686 did not witness any remarkable change in the policy of the King. His support of the Company rarely wavered, and his help was rarely asked in vain. The suppression of the English factory in Bantam, the establishment of the Dutch supremacy in that place, the treatment of the English factors in the Islands allied with the Dutch—these were some among many of the subjects which Charles II was called upon to deal with. Chardin's account of his negotiations with the Dutch, the pathetic letters of the old Sultan of Bantam, and the vigorous representations made by Charles against the treatment meted out to the English merchants at Bantam, are all revealed to us in a series of forcible despatches. This volume contains many letters from the King of Bantam, and the Attorney-General's report on the petition of the East India Company concerning the Interlopers. This should be compared with some of the manuscripts and pamphlets in the British Museum. The student should study Pollexfen's defence of the Interlopers. note the

statutes cited, and then read the charge of judge Jeffrey to the Jury. There are several letters of Childe, and Folios 61, 65, 75, 117 should be compared with his despatches in the Manuscripts Letter Book No. 8 and letters in the Rawlinson Manuscripts, Bodleian Library. A more striking document is the vigorous despatch of Charles to the States-General. In this he refers to the expulsion of English factors from their factories, demands redress of their grievances, and insists on speedy satisfaction. "This affair touches us so extremely in honour and interest that we cannot admit of any delay, and therefore have commanded the bearer not to stay above 14 days, after his first arrival at the Hague." The wily Sunderland supported the King in his policy, and urged a vigorous backing of the Company's demands. Gilbert Burnet informs us that Charles would have declared war against the Dutch if he had lived longer. There is evidence to believe that the Company had urged such a measure, and that Charles was not averse to that policy. Chardin's account of his negotiations with the Dutch should be compared with the petitions of the Company to Charles. The Dutch followed their customary policy. They raised technical objections, gave vague promises, and blamed their factors for harsh treatment of the English factors. The last important document in the series deals with the grievances of the planters of St. Helena. Their petition to James (Folio 180) should be compared with the defence of the Company in the Manuscripts Letter Book. Childe's policy has been the subject of ignorant criticism by some writers, but the portions of his despatches dealing with his measures for the improvement of the island ought to be taken into account, as they show that he genuinely aimed at the alleviation of the lot of its inhabitants, and that several useful measures were devised and carried into effect.

The last volume, dealing with the seventeenth century, covers the years 1689-1725. Nothing is more striking than a comparison of the documents contained in this volume, with the rich store of information in the preceding volumes. The closely reasoned, strongly worded, and elaborate reports of the Lords of Trade and Plantations are missing, and their place is taken by a series of pamphlets, broadsides, newsletters, etc. The majority of the documents deal with the grievances of the various sections of the community, and contain the case of the Weavers, the mercantilists, and other opponents of the Company with a rancour and bitterness that are paralleled only by the Sacheverell trial, and the controversy over the Schism Act. The forces were well marshalled by both sides, and the ingenuity, shrewdness and cunning of Sir Josiah Childe are matched by the dexterous expedients, skilful devices, and clever tactics which the experienced leaders of the New Company employed. The Old Company's case is

put forth with ability and insight. The importance of the East India Trade is brought home by a luminous account which pointed out the dangers that threatened its existence in the East, and expressed in glowing colours the lofty mission which it was established to fulfil.

The volume contains a bundle of papers on the petition of John and William Temple concerning the seizing of the *BRISTOL*. The opinion of Nathaniel Fench concerning the seizure should be compared with the decision of Judge Jeffreys.

Papillon's agitation against the Company, George White's pamphlets, containing many false statements and depicting the Company's factories in sombre colours, jostle with the resolutions of Parliament, the accounts of the New Company and the daring enterprises of the Interlopers. The scene changed with remarkable suddenness. The Company's enemies gained complete ascendancy in Parliament, and its efforts to protect its factors from the attacks of Interlopers were frustrated by the machinations of its enemies. This bundle contains some violent pamphlets by George White, attacking the Company in no measured terms and misrepresenting every action of its Directors. The student should study it with the object of getting the view of the most violent, though not the most representative, of its adversaries.

Folio 3, headed "A short account of the precise state of the East India Company's stock", should be compared with some of the pamphlets in the British Museum with Press Mark 816, M. 11. The Bodleian Library also contains valuable manuscripts and pamphlets on the stock and debt of the Company during the years 1689—1700. Professor Scott has tried to reconstruct the history of the Company's finances during the period. He seems to have relied mainly upon the Minute Books. But the Minute Books are not always safe guides, and though they tell the truth, they do not always tell the whole truth. The documents in the British Museum, Public Record Office, and the Bodleian Library should be compared with the Company's Minutes. The following data in the Record Office Volume 16 are important

(1) "An account of the trade to the East Indies" by George White. White's account is vitiated by his insane hatred of the Company's Directors, and no reliance can be placed upon his description of its possessions in India. But some of his pamphlets contain a germ of truth, and should be consulted by the historian."

(2) "A list of adventurers in the East India Company."

(3) "A letter to a friend concerning the East India Company."

(4) "The answers of the East India Company to certain heads of complaint exhibited against them by the petitioners against the said Company. There are duplicates of the other pamphlets in the British Museum."

These are our principal data in the Public Record Office, and upon them depends our knowledge of the Company's negotiations with the Dutch. For a clear understanding of political principles, and a true insight into the diplomatic transactions and commercial policy of the period, we must turn to these monuments of the Company's progress.

There are however a few other avenues, and we can, if we wish, glean many a gem from the Foreign State Papers, Holland. Thus volume 164 of the General Series, Holland and Flanders, contains a useful collection of letters on the Company's trade, and shows the influence of the new policy on the Dutch. There are reports of the Council on the losses sustained by Englishmen, discussion of the projected treaty and vigorous letters from Sir George Downing. They describe the results of his interview with the Commissioners, trace the history of the negotiations, and suggest helpful proposals. In volume 166, of the same series, a number of letters from Sir George Downing deal with the case of Sir Paul Pindar, criticise the Dutch policy, trace the course of the negotiations over *BONA ADVENTURA* and *BONA ESPERANZA*, and stress the importance of the fisheries. Volume 167 also contains a few letters on the East India Company. An extract from one of Downing's letters will bring vividly before us the history of the Company's negotiations. It is dated September 4, 1663, and deals with Cochin. "The Portuguese Resident," said Downing, "hath this week given one more memorial concerning Cochin, but the East India Company do not need to be frightened out of their places with paper weapons". This volume contains further details of negotiations. The dispute over the ships *BONA ADVENTURA* and *BONA ESPERANZA*, and the lengthy correspondence which this quarrel entailed, the heated discussions which it aroused are to be found not only in this series, but also in the Court Minutes of the Company. All these volumes are important, as they yield valuable information and supplement the meagre accounts derived from the East Indies Series. There is a gap after 1665, and comparatively little is said about the East Indies. But the declaration of War against the Dutch leads to the repetition of petitions by the Company, and the quarrel over freedom of Trade and redress of old grievances is fought over again. Hence volumes 196 and 197 and others dealing with the period of the Anglo-Dutch rivalry possess unusual interest, as in them may be traced the effects of the policy inaugurated by the Restoration Monarchy. There is a change in the spirit no less than in the form of its demands. The Company's petitions are worded in a different tone, and the King's Ministers regard the East India Trade as a national concern rather than a private affair. Volumes 196-197 show the profound effects of this change

Another important source is the Foreign Entry Books. They comprise series of official letters, Books and Registers, by no means complete, and very often overlapping in date, kept by the clerks of the Northern and Southern Departments. They contain copies or extracts of out-going letters, and may be usefully consulted as complementary to the Original Correspondence Series. Two volumes of Entry Books may be mentioned.

C. O. 77, Volume 49. The volume contains charters, grants, and petitions of the East India Company, and furnishes exceedingly valuable information on the procedure of the Council and Committee for Trade and Plantations. The other Entry Book contains a journal of the proceedings of the Commissioners for Peace in 1674.

It is a very elaborate document, containing a full account of the negotiations and official copies of the Company's petitions. The divergence of interest which the study of these negotiations reveals, and the discussion of the principles which the English Companies advocated, are apparent from the perusal of these records.

Another source of information may be mentioned here. The Public Record Office has a series of Newsletters, containing copies of foreign gazettes, and news-sheets, forwarded by the English agents abroad. They are particularly numerous for the reigns of Charles II and James II, owing to the activity of Sir Joseph Williamson. Volume 47 of Newspapers, Holland, may be consulted with profit. It contains interesting information about Amsterdam, and a few hints may be picked up from the tedious letters and sorry translations of Dutch newspapers. There is abundance of gossip, as there is plenty of conjecture. Hypotheses abound, and plausible theories take the place of recorded facts. Hence considerable caution should be exercised in the study of this type of sources, and all the important letters should be carefully analysed. We may, of course, use them with profit, and supplement our meagre information by the study of some, if not all of the Newsletters in the series. The Board of Trade (Commercial) papers included in C. O. 388 and 389 will also help us. Some of the petitions may be read and a few reports compared.

These are the sources in the Public Record Office. They are our principal authorities for the history of the Anglo-Dutch negotiations in the seventeenth century. Some light is thrown on the history of the Company's factories in the East, and some useful information is supplied on the growth of its influence during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

For the history of the Company's negotiations with the Dutch, the growth of its influence on the foreign policy of England, and the valuable

services rendered by the Committee and Council for Trade and Plantations, the documents in the Public Record Office are indispensable to the student. No research on the foreign policy of England in seventeenth century will be complete unless the data in the Public Record Office dealing with the East India Company are carefully studied. The task of the student of seventeenth century British Indian History will consist in the collection of material in the four great archives in England, the careful analysis of these data, their logical classification and comparison, and their organisation. The last stage is synthesis, and our aim is the enunciation of a theory, summing up, as briefly as possible, our conclusions on the data arranged according to the process described above. We may go further, and regard our theory merely as a link in the vast chain of theories that are ultimately fused into the Theory of Progress. This is a very lofty ideal, and we shall be able to realize it only when every aspect of man's activity in the past—political, religious, economic, intellectual, and æsthetic—has been scientifically investigated. For this, I am afraid, the time is not yet ripe; and we must be content, for the present, with a careful and complete analysis of the data at our disposal.

S. A. KHAN.

Permanent Settlement in the Upper Provinces.

The Company got the Diwani rights in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1765. During the following quarter of a century, Bengal witnessed a series of experiments in land management.¹ Supervisors, Collectors, Provincial Councils, and the Committee of revenue, each had their day. Zemindars, farmers, long lease-holders, and ultimately short lease-holders, had all been tried and found unsatisfactory. The revenues of the Soubah did not show any signs of complete realization. Indeed, the increase in assessment had been unprecedented. Bengal, which had been assessed at Rs. 1,06,93,152 by Todar Mal, at Rs. 1,41,16,111 to the death of Mohammad Shah (1748), was asked to pay Rs. 2,92,43,202 in 1765, which was reduced by 1784 to Rs. 2,54,57,638.² The increase in Moghul days from Akbar to Mohammad Shah had been slight indeed. As Shore says, "It is necessary to remark that these imposts (levied by Jaffer, Shuja, etc.) were founded upon principles unknown to the Moghul constitution; and that the Toomar Jumma.... was rated at Rs. 1,42,45,561. To this amount it had risen in a period of 146 years.³...."

But the increase after 1728 had been rapid indeed. The old method of *hust-a-hood* investigation had been given up in favour of the speedier levy by *abwabs*, and the accounts were, consequently, rendered less trustworthy, and the jumma less reliable. No wonder balances accrued largely. Moreover, all these changes crowding one upon another completely shook the people's confidence. No one likes constant changes, and least of all the conservative landed classes of India. They must have watched them with increasing bewilderment and lack of confidence in the new western rulers who knew little of Indian customs and conventions.

Rural Bengal, moreover, witnessed a revolution during the famine of 1769-70, when a great proportion of its population perished. Land became abundant, and labour scarce.⁴ The landlords, if the zemindars may

¹ Fifth Report (1812), Bengal MSS. Records, etc.

² Grant's Analysis, Shore's Minute of June 18, 1789, Appendix I. (Eighth Report, Appendix.)

³ Shore's Minute of June 10, 1789, para. 25. (Fifth Report, Bengal Appendix, Ed. Firminger, Vol. II.)

⁴ Hunter's Bengal MSS. Records, Minutes of Philip Francis (177). In Birbhum Zemindari for example, in 1776, the entries in deserted column exceeded one half of the whole tillage, four acres lying waste for every seven. Hunter, para. 51, Introduction.

be so called, were entirely at the mercy of the cultivators, who would fly from one Zemindari to another, to secure the favourable rates of non-resident cultivators. The cycle of changes did not leave the Zemindar class entirely satisfied. We need not discuss the vexed question of proprietorship of the soil. If that term means a complete and exclusive right to land, we may at once say that there was no such class in India. It may be even doubted whether there is any such class even now. There are at least three persons who have concurrent rights in land in India—the State, the Zemindar, and the *raiyat*. At least, this was so in Bengal, where "the proportion paid by the cultivators of the soil may be reckoned at a half, or it may be nearer, perhaps, to three-fifths of the gross produce. Taking this at 100 parts, the claims of the Government may be estimated at 45. The Zemindars and under-renters may be supposed to have 15, and 40 remains with the cultivators of the soil".¹ Thus the State had a large share of the cultivators' earnings.

The changes, as we have said, did not very much respect the Zemindars' rights. They made themselves heard in England, and Pitt's India Act of 1784 directed the Company to take steps "for settling and establishing upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the Laws and Constitution of India, the permanent rules by which their respective tributes, rents, and services shall be in future rendered and paid."

The following year the Directors wrote about it to the Bengal Government, and the outcome of it all was the Permanent Settlement of the province.

This measure of Lord Cornwallis has been very adversely criticized of late, but it is interesting to note what Lord Wellesley wrote about it in his despatch of March 5, 1800.² "My judgment and experience coincide entirely with your opinion, that the system adopted by Lord Cornwallis has proved, and must continue to prove, a fruitful source of happiness, wealth, industry, and population to this flourishing country." His Lordship, however, thought that the system "has not been carried into execution with cordiality, zeal, and energy proportioned to its merits...."

The aims and the results of this great measure have been amply discussed. It is believed that the Government lost a great deal, that the Zemindars gained enormously, and that the raiyats suffered hardships and miseries.

Yet what was the condition of Bengal in those days? Land was not a very prosperous concern. The resident-cultivators may be said to be the proprietors of the soil, if that term can in any sense be applied to

¹ Shore's Minute of Dec. 8, 1789, delivered Dec. 21. (Fifth Report, Ed. Firminger Vol. II.)

² Despatches of the Marquis Wellesley (Montgomery Martin) Vol. II, p. 231.

land-holding in Hindustan. They had their village community and the panchayat, and they were the 'maliks' and the 'bhadra log'¹ of the community. In most respects their condition was similar to that of the village communities in the Agra provinces. On the other hand, the Zemindars were either hereditary rajas and chiefs, as in Bishanpur, or a part of the Moghul machinery, collecting land-revenue, keeping a fraction of it for themselves, and depositing the rest in the State treasury. In fact the Moghul assessment fell directly on the cultivators. Neither the first nor the second class of Zemindars can be called proprietors of the soil.

It may be contended that the State was the proprietor, and there is no doubt that the right was claimed, but, if it were admitted, there would be really no private property in land. The resident-cultivators, therefore, seem to us to be the land-owners in rural Bengal. Though much attention has been paid to the decline of this class as occupancy tenants, no one ever thinks of them as the real owners of the soil, as persons with whom the permanent settlement ought to have been concluded. The Government thought of defending the interests of these people by making pattas obligatory, but for various reasons, not the least important of which were that they held more lands than they really paid for,² and that they thought their rights would be thereby weakened,³ the 'pattas' failed. Even if they had been accepted, it may very well be contended that they would not have proved very beneficial. The resident-cultivator who had been designated 'malik' and had held lands from very old times at a fixed rate, was now made an 'assamee', a lease-holder for ten years, and liable to pay more, even when the Government demanded only a fixed sum.

As we have already said, these were the people who formed the managing body of the village and with whom the Moghul assessment was concluded. It was yet too early for the British to discover proprietorship in these communities.

So far, therefore, as this class was concerned, there was a definite fall in status, even in the scheme of the permanent settlement. It is not pertinent to reply that the Government thought to secure their rights by the pattas. The right of landlords to enhance rents had not been questioned. What the pattas defended was a tenant right, whilst these people originally had a 'malik' or ownership right. It is submitted that the permanent settlement ought to have been concluded with these persons. This was

¹ Hunter p. 60, Int.

² Hunter p. 61, Int.; also p. 125.

³ Zemindari Settlement of Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 16.

not done, however; they were thrown into the background, and the Zemindars stepped into their place.

The other class that was affected was the Zemindars. We have already noticed that the letting value of land had decreased and that it was not a prosperous concern. We have also noted the continued increase in assessment during the quarter of the century preceding the Diwani. These evils were sufficiently ruinous, but to these evils another was superadded. The governments of the nawabs had been flexible enough to adjust themselves to circumstances. They realised the revenues according to the income. The heavy assessments of Kasim Ali Khan left large balances outstanding,¹ but very few sales took place.

In place of this flexible system the unbending rigidity of the new system came in. The Zemindars had their ten per cent of the rental. They must pay the nine-tenths to the Government in monthly instalments, and regularly too, else their lands must be sold for default.

The permanent settlement was brought in, to do away with these balances; but the old rajas and zemindars did not fit easily in the new system. However, with the lapse of time, the burden decreased, and money began to flow in more regularly to the treasury. Many of the old land-owning houses in Bengal perished ere this came about, but it may very well be maintained that many more would have been irretrievably ruined, if a temporary-settlement system with the rigour of the sale laws had been in force!

To the Zemindars, therefore, the permanent settlement was on the whole beneficial.

As for the State, it, of course, lost a portion of the landlord's rental in Bengal, but, as we have seen, there was no idea of the immense increase in rental now calculated to be swallowed by the Bengal Zemindars' bags. Increase was expected, but not such a tremendous increase. It was thought to accrue only from cultivating the waste lands.

In fact the Government were sorely afraid of balances, as their income was not stable, and they shifted all this burden of instability to the Zemindar and his property. So far was land from being profitable that its price did not exceed the crop standing upon it, and the Government had no wish to keep such a losing concern. This aspect of the Permanent Settlement is very often forgotten by those who now look hungrily towards the Bengal Zemindars' huge rentals.

Pitt's India Act, noticed above, asked for the establishment of 'permanent rules', and the following year the Directors wrote to India

¹ Shore's Minute of June 18, 1789, Appendices 5 and 6. (Fifth Report, Bengal Appendices, Ed. Firminger, Vol. II.)

suggesting the adoption of 'a final system'. This has been urged by Hunter and others as a proof that the permanent settlement of Bengal was already in contemplation before Lord Cornwallis arrived. It is no mere wrangling with words to say that 'permanent rules' and 'final system' do not necessarily mean a settlement of the land tax in perpetuity. The system now adopted in the temporarily settled districts can be called as much a 'final system' as the permanent settlement of Bengal.

Indeed Henry Dundas (Lord Melville) had to carry through the whole measure in the Board of Control, and he and Pitt shut themselves up for ten days at Wimbledon before the permanent settlement could be sanctioned¹. It was, therefore, not necessarily a permanent fixation of the land revenue that was asked for in 1784. It was a 'final system'.

The responsibility of recommending a 'permanent settlement' of the land tax as a final system, therefore, rests entirely with the Indian Government. Shore, indeed, was first in favour of a trial,² but Lord Cornwallis was too enthusiastic.³ His minutes on the subject disclose the genuineness of his sympathy for the measure, and the doubts he entertained as to the future of his proposals were confined only to the contingency that they might not be carried out by the next Government. Shore, who protested against Cornwallis's precipitance, did so only on the ground of lack of experience. His reasoning was obvious enough. If experience confirms the utility of the measure, let it be made permanent. If it is found wanting, let it go. There is no objection taken to the settlement being declared permanent on the ground of a future increase in rental.

Now, when the Government of India have found a substitute for the permanent settlement after many trials, it may be easy to say that the alternative system could have been adopted with as great a success in Bengal. It was not so easy then. Revisions and renewed settlements had been tried in the days of Hastings. Five years' leases, followed by annual lettings of land, had failed, and, in spite of the orders of the Court of Directors and the Bengal Government, the Board of Revenue did accept five years' lease.⁴ "Indeed, in 1783, a tender had been accepted from the Zemindar of Dinajpur⁵ to hold his estate at a fixed and perpetual settlement."⁶

¹ Dundas to Cornwallis, 17th Sept. 1792. *Life of Charles Grant* p. 169.

² Shore's Minute of Sept. 18, 1789. (Fifth Report, Appendices.)

³ Lord Cornwallis's Minute, Sept. 18, 1789. (Fifth Report. Ed. Firminger Vol. II.)

⁴ Letter, July 1, 1784, Government of Bengal to the Board. (Hunter's Bengal MSS. Records, Letter No. 722).

⁵ Petition accepted on Dec. 4, 1783. (Hunter's Bengal MSS. Records, No. 571.)

⁶ Hunter, p. 20, Int.

Thus, after trying various measures, the Board of Revenue, the most experienced body in the Government, had gone so far as to settle one Zemindari at least in perpetuity—and this in spite of the orders of the Directors and the local Government, directing only annual settlements.

Under the circumstances, therefore, the permanent settlement was the only suitable system, and this fitted in well with the orders recommending a 'final system'.

To sum up, then, the permanent settlement was the only system which could be adopted in those days. It did ensure a regular payment of the state revenues, it ultimately created a rich landlord class, and even the raiyats, though they definitely suffered in status, were not entirely the losers. "The truth is, that many of the Bengal landholders had never pushed their claims to extremities."¹ This is proved by the fact that when the Tenancy Law of 1859 came into operation, the majority of the cultivators were found to have occupancy rights.

In the then condition of Bengal, as we have already noted, the raiyat was practically the master, and little legislation for his protection was needed.

The Decennial settlement was declared permanent in the year 1793, but the whole of Bengal was not settled till some time later. The ills of the Northern Circars and the 'Jaghir' in Madras were similarly treated.² It was not surprising, then, that the first idea in land management which occurred to the English rulers of the 'Ceded' and 'Conquered' provinces (now the Agra province) was that of a permanent settlement.

The ceded provinces were annexed in 1801. On July 11, 1802, a proclamation was issued, afterwards incorporated into Regulation XXV of 1803,³ announcing the following plan of land-settlement:—

1. A triennial settlement from 1802 to 1805.
2. Do. 1805 to 1808.
3. A quinquennial settlement from 1808 to 1812.

After this a permanent settlement was to be concluded "with the same person (if willing to engage, and if no others with a better claim should come forward) for such lands as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government should deem fair and equitable".⁴

¹ Hunter, p. 138, Int.

² Fifth Report.

³ Fifth Report. Ed. Firminger, Vol. 1, p. 91. *Holt Mackenzie's Memo. of 1816* (July 1), published in *Selections from Rev. Records. N. W. P.* (1818—20).

⁴ Reg. XXV of 1803, Fifth Report. *Holt Mackenzie's Memo. of July 1, 1819.*

A similar course was prescribed by Regulation IX of 1805 for the conquered provinces.¹

Thus the boon of a permanent settlement, the result of many years' experiments in Bengal, was to be extended to these provinces, as soon as the state of cultivation and the jumma permitted.

The Court of Directors in their letters, dated the 14th of September, 1803 and 28th August, 1804, recommended temporary settlements till accurate information was obtained, and hoped that the ten years they had sanctioned was sufficient time for the purpose.

Reg. X of 1807, however, declared that the jumma, which might be assessed in the last year of the settlement then ensuing, might remain permanent if granted by the Honourable Court.

The Government of India evidently thought a permanent settlement a natural state of affairs and the consent of the Directors seems to have been taken for granted. They apprised the Directors of the fact in their despatches dated July 31, 1807, and September 15, 1808, and appointed a commission to effect the settlement of the provinces.

The Commissioners, Messrs. R. W. Cox and Henry St. George Tucker, issued a circular,² dated Sheorajpur, the 7th September, 1807, to all collectors asking for information regarding their districts. "... the Governor General-in-Council," they wrote, "in enacting Reg. X of 1807, has evidently had in view to extend to the ceded and conquered territory the benefits which have already been realized in Bengal from the practical operation of those principles. The permanent settlement concluded in the Bengal provinces has notoriously been attended with the happiest success, and the flourishing state of those provinces must, we think, be ascribed in an eminent degree to that wise and salutary measure."³ They considered it to be a point established, "that it is desirable to extend to the ceded and conquered territory the benefit of a permanent settlement whenever circumstances may admit of it." "The bias of our minds is," they confess, "in favour of a permanent settlement, from having witnessed the admirable effects of such a settlement in Bengal." They were prepared, however, to take local circumstances into consideration.

The replies of the various collectors to this circular are interesting. Most of them are against a permanent settlement.⁴ They plead the undevel-

¹ Reg. IX of 1803. Fifth Report, etc.

² Circular (D) published in Selections from Revenue Records, N. W. P. (1813).

³ Para. 2 of the Circular 24, Circular para. 5. 25 c. para. 9.

⁴ Collectors of Saharanpore, Furrakhabad, etc. (Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P., published in 1873.)

oped state of the country as an excuse. The vast waste lands, which were used as an argument in favour of a permanent settlement in Bengal by Lord Cornwallis, were now used against that very same measure in the Upper Provinces. The collectors, evidently, were not in favour of allowing as large a margin of profit to the Zemindar in the Upper Provinces, as had been done in the lower.

The Collector of Agra, however, declared his district 'fit for the measure'.¹ The Collector of Etawah recommended leases of ten to fifteen years, to obviate the defects of both kinds of settlements² then in vogue, and he may be said to be, in a way, the founder of the new policy.

The Directors too were not in a hurry³ about the measure; and in their despatch of February 1, 1811, regarding Cuttack, they declared that they would not make any settlement permanent unless the whole proceedings regarding that place were laid before them. The position, therefore, became rather difficult. Instead of all the estates being supposed fit for the measure after the lapse of ten years, the Government would have to select some estates and offer them as fit. They were not to select the exceptions as unfit, and the rest as fit. They were to put up every one of those they thought fit, and get them declared permanent.

The settlements of Saharanpur, Cawnpore, and Gorukhpore were put up for sanction in February⁴, 1811, but the Directors refused it,⁵ and ordered that the Upper Provinces be administered by leases not exceeding five years.⁶

The position in 1811-12, when the time for renewed settlements came round, was curious. The zemindari estates were supposed to have been permanently assessed, and only estates held in farm were re-settled. Zemindari estates were re-settled according to Regs. IX and X of 1812, and in some the settlements were even extended by Reg. XVI of 1816 and Reg. IX of 1818.

Meanwhile, the Government of India rescinded Regulation X of 1807, and went back to their old policy by Regs. IX and X of 1812. Estates in a sufficient state of cultivation were to be settled permanently. The Board

¹ Letter, dated September 29, 1807, published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (published in 1873).

² Letter, dated October 28, 1807, published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (published in 1873).

³ H. Mackenzie's Memorandum of July 1, 1819, para. 14, referring to Despatch of Feb. 27, 1810. The Memorandum is published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

⁴ Mackenzie's Memorandum, para. 17.

⁵ Mackenzie's Memorandum, para. 18.

⁶ Mackenzie's Memorandum, para. 18, published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

were asked to ascertain what estates were fit for the measure, and in such cases to revise the Jumma, so as to leave the proprietors a margin of 10 per cent.¹ Estates having two-thirds of the cultivable lands in actual cultivation were supposed to be fit for the measure.²

Cawnpore was the first district to come under the revised settlement, and many estates were found to be fit; but the Board expressed considerable doubts as to the accuracy of the accounts, and the settlement was considered temporary by the Government. The Directors agreed,³ and advised that the settlements "be not declared permanent till the resources of the country are better ascertained and individual rights established." Bareilly and Shahjahanpur fared similarly.⁴

When the settlement of Farrukhabad was reported, the Government of Bengal wrote on September 6, 1815. "In your present report you recommend that the settlements formed of the District Firruckabad be rendered permanent under the provisions contained in Reg. IX of 1812. It appears, however, that more precise information is required. By 'precise information' the Vice-President in Council alludes principally to the proportion which the cultivated part of the different estates may bear to the uncultivated. But exclusively of that object, there are various other points which appear to require elucidation, such as the proportion of the gross produce which the ryots should pay, whether in kind or money, to the Zemindars; a clear definition of the sources from which the latter are, and are not, entitled to draw rent from the peasantry; and an accurate and well-ascertained boundary of the different zemindaries."

Here, then, is the germ of the famous Regulation VII of 1822. But it was no easy task. The Commissioners were less strict. In their report, dated Firruckabad, the 27th October, 1818, Messrs. Colebrooke and Trant, the Commissioners, suggest a cursory survey and recommend "that all villages, in which the Collector shall, on such cursory survey, be of opinion that the reclaimable land not in cultivation does not bear a greater proportion than one-fourth to the cultivated land, be declared permanently assessed." They thought that actual measurement would take a long time, as shown by Lt. Gerard's report on the survey of village Pooth Khas. They also wrote, "but at the same time we take the liberty of again expressing our conviction, both individually and collectively, that no

¹ Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum of July 1, 1819. Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

² Government Proceedings, Sept. 28, 1812; Mackenzie's Memorandum of 1819.

³ Mackenzie's Memorandum of July 1, 1819, para. 32.

⁴ Proceedings, Nov. 18, 1814; Mackenzie's Memorandum of July 1, 1819, N. W. P. Revenue Records Selections, 1818-20.

measure short of a general permanency to the settlements of the whole provinces will meet the expectations of the landholders founded on what they consider a solemn promise of Government."

The Government could not, however, realise the hopes which had been aroused by their proclamations. Estates constantly came up to the required standard but one obstacle or another was forthcoming to delay the measure. The Marquis of Hastings was cautious. The 'natives', he thought, were not anxious for the measure;¹ although we read of the junior member of the Board of Commissioners in the Upper Provinces being reproached by the Rohilkhand landholders² for breach of faith, inasmuch as the settlement he had concluded with them, holding out hopes of permanency, was never declared permanent. His Lordship also wanted to ascertain first the persons who were bound to pay the Jumma to the Government,³ although, as Sir Edward Colebrooke pointed out, the two questions were quite distinct.⁴

The proposals of the Government of India culminated in their despatch of September 16, 1820. "It is then our unanimous opinion," they wrote, "that the system of a permanent settlement of the Land Revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed jumma or of an assessment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the ceded and conquered provinces, as soon as it may be practicable fully to ascertain and accurately to record the value and capabilities of the individual *mahals* to be assessed, and the rights and privileges of the various classes having an interest in the land, and to frame such provisions... as shall appear necessary⁵..."

"It is, therefore, our anxious desire that the settlement should be made deliberately, village by village, and that there should be, united with the revision of the assessment and the investigation of the extent and produce of the lands, the object of ascertaining and recording the fullest possible information in regard to tenures, and the rights, interests, and privileges of the various classes."⁶

The Government of India also recommended a lengthening of the term of the leases to ten or fifteen years.

¹ Minute, dated Dec. 31, 1819, published in Selections from Rev. Records, 1818-20.

² Report of Commissions, Oct. 27, 1818 (para. 15), published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

³ Minute of Dec. 31, 1819, published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

⁴ Minute of July 12, 1820, published in Selections from Rev. Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

⁵ Para. 7 of the Despatch. It is published in Selections from Records, N. W. P. (1818-20).

⁶ Para. 8.

To bring this settlement about, Regulation VII of 1822 was passed. Its failure led to Regulation IX of 1833. The poverty and distress of the agricultural classes were extreme, and the margin of profit to be left to the Zemindar had to be constantly raised. Instead of having 90 per cent of the rental, the Government climbed down to 50 per cent. by the Saharunpore rules (1855).

The permanent settlement was to all intents and purposes dead and buried. We catch, perhaps, the last glimpses in Bird's Settlement Report of these provinces. He describes some districts as fit for a permanent settlement.

The question, however, was discussed anew after the Mutiny. The great revolt had swept over the plains of the North West Provinces with terrible force. The districts that came round for re-settlement, Saharunpore, Muzufarnagar, Bulundshahr, and Gorakhpur, had all suffered in those dark days, and the spirits of the people were low.¹ Famine broke out in 1860-1, and cholera followed. Arrears of land revenue accumulated, and public opinion was moulded by the gloomy surroundings.

Col. Baird Smith, in his report on the famine, compared the calamity with that of 1837-8, and argued that the greater power of resistance shown by the people was due to the longer leases of land. He thought that this power would be considerably enhanced if the demand were fixed in perpetuity.

The report excited much lively interest. The Board of Revenue, in 1859-60, said, "upon the whole, it is not expected that the land revenue of these provinces will materially vary from its present amount"; and revisions were costly.

Lord Canning's Government, therefore, proposed a sale in fee simple of waste lands, and a measure for the redemption of land revenue. "His Excellency in Council saw no reason to doubt that, so far as either measure might take effect, it would be in every way beneficial."²

The Secretary of State would not agree to a general redemption of the land revenue. "Her Majesty's Government, however," he wrote, "have resolved to sanction a permanent settlement of the land revenue throughout India."³ It was, however, to be introduced in districts 'in which no considerable increase is to be expected', and where the 'equitable apportionment' of the land revenue 'has already been, or may hereafter be, ascer-

¹ Colvin's Memorandum on the Revision of Land Revenue Settlements in N. W. P.

² Oct 18th. Auckland Colvin's Memorandum on the Revision of Land Revenue Settlements in N. W. P., p. 64.

³ Despatch No. 14, Rev., 9th July, 1862, published in Permanent Settlement, N. W. P., 1869.

tained' to the Viceroy's satisfaction. Sub-tenancies and other subordinate rights also were to be secured, and there was to be no repetition of the Bengal errors.

After much discussion, the Government of India issued their final instructions to the North West Provinces Government.¹ They informed the Provincial Government that the measure had been decided upon by Her Majesty's Government, that it was applicable to most of the districts in the North West Provinces, and that, excepting the backward areas, the settlement was to be concluded. Even in such areas estates might be selected. The test was that 80 per cent. of the cultivable area be cultivated. The existing settlement was to be revised and equalized by the collectors, if possible, and supervised by the Board of Revenue. Estates which were not permanently assessed at once should have two jummas—initial and maximum—the latter not exceeding the former by more than 25 to 50 per cent. If the proprietors engaged for the maximum, they did so in perpetuity; otherwise the settlement was to be made for 30 years at the initial jumma. The settlement officer was also to record the jumma which he thought should be permanently leviable, together with his reasons. As for lands coming under irrigation after the permanent settlement, revised rates might be levied by the canal department.

These instructions were forwarded to the various settlement officers by the Local Board of Revenue.² Her Majesty's Secretary of State, however, did not quite agree with the Viceroy.³ Sir Charles Wood divided the districts into three divisions—those in which agriculture was backward, those that were fairly cultivated, and those that were mixed. As for the first and second, there could be no discussion. The measure was inapplicable to the one, and suitable to the other. As for the third class, only those estates, in which the full jumma calculated upon 80 per cent. of the cultivable area came up to 60 per cent. of the assets, were to be declared permanently assessed, and no promise extended to the others.

These instructions were, in their turn, communicated to the settlement officers. It seemed, however, that there would be no end to discussion. The vexed question of canal irrigation elicited another series of lengthy minutes culminating in Lord Northcote's despatch of March 23, 1867, when

¹ 8th June, 1864: Despatch published in "Permanent Settlement, N. W. P. 1869".

² Letter, Aug. 1, 1864, published in Permanent Settlement, N. W. P., 1869.

³ No. 11 Rev., 24 March, 1865, published in "Papers regarding the Permanent Settlement, N. W. P., 1869".

His Lordship added one more condition precedent to a permanent settlement. "No permanent settlement," wrote His Lordship, "shall be concluded for any estate to which canal irrigation is, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, likely to be extended within the next twenty years, and the existing assets of which would thereby be increased in the proportion of 20 per cent."

Work was begun on these lines, but Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces, was not satisfied with the zeal of the settlement officers. In his minute¹ he had to remind them that the permanent settlement was "no longer a matter of individual opinion, the merits and expediency of which are open to question, or to discussion in official reports." He notices that "the officers are imposing their own conditions." "The two points," writes he, "on which I have found the practice in danger are, expected improvement from wells, and expected rise of rent." He finally refreshes their memory by adding, "settlement officers are therefore not to decline a permanent settlement to an estate that is otherwise up to the standard, simply because it is backward in the matter of wells or other requisites of high agriculture." The minute was written after Sir William's tour of the provinces, and it throws a flood of light upon the general situation. The officers seemed loth to leave any loophole for improvement by the landlords, and discussed the validity and the utility of the measure, as it would appear, according to their own will.

The measure, however, was not successful. In February, 1869 a new difficulty occurred in Pargana Baghput, Zilah Meerut, where the standard of rent was found to be abnormally low. The conditions imposed by the Secretary of State were satisfied, but they were now thought to be insufficient and His Honour asked for instructions. In the same year,² Bulundshahr also created a difficulty. There was a very rapid rise in rents, and His Honour definitely proposed a third condition to the two already required, before a permanent settlement. "I think, therefore," wrote His Honour, "that a third condition is thus shown to be quite necessary—namely, evidence that the standard of rent prevalent, or the estimate of 'net produce', on which the assessments are based, is adequate or is not below the level of rent throughout the country at large."³ The result was that a further enquiry was set on foot regarding the state of rental assets in different districts.⁴

¹ Minute, June 6, 1868, published in "Permanent Settlement N. W. P., 1869".

² Sec. N. W. P. Government to Sec. Government of India March 2, 1874 published in "Permanent and Temporary Settlements N. W. P.": also Report on Administration N. W. P. (1871-2).

³ Minute of Dec. 22, 1869, Sec. N. W. P. Government to Sec. Government of India, March 2, 1874, published in "Permanent and Temporary Settlements N. W. P."

⁴ Report on Administration N. W. P. (1871-2), p. 23.

The minute came before His Excellency the Viceroy on January 12, 1870, and he, as a consequence, requested His Honour to reconsider the question of a permanent settlement in these provinces.

Lord Mayo's Government advised the Duke of Argyll that the then conditions of a permanent settlement would cause most serious and certain injury to the future interest¹ of the public²; and two months later the Secretary of State communicated to the Government of India the decision of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Finance, suspending further proceedings regarding the extension of a permanent settlement in the North West Provinces and ordering that Her Majesty's Government be placed in a position to form a judgment, as soon as the Government of India had fully weighed the additional evidence which was to be furnished by the Lieutenant-Governor of those provinces.

Sir William Muir asked for the opinion of the Board; and they, of their experienced officers. Mr. Inglis, the senior member, was in favour of a permanent settlement,³ while the junior member simply condemned the grain share suggested by Lord Mayo and Sir John Strachey.

Sir William Muir, however, suggested an all-round rateable increase, after intervals.⁴ The papers came before Lord Northbrook, who referred them to the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Strachey. Sir John was against fettering the future finances of the country, and himself now doubted the success of the grain share.⁵ The papers again came up in 1876, and by that time the depreciation of silver afforded sufficient proof of the danger of a fixed money assessment.

They were now referred to Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, Member in charge of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce. He returned them in 1879, when they were deposited without orders.

This may be said to be the end of project of the permanent settlement in these provinces; but the question was hydra-headed, and the Government of the Marquis of Ripon had once more to discuss the revision of assessments.⁶

¹ Government of India Despatch No. 17, Oct. 17, 1882, para. 17, published in Selections from Government Records N. W. P. and Oudh, 1881-8.

² Government of India Despatch of Oct. 17, 1882, para. 18.

³ Minutes, Dec. 26, 1872, published in Permanent and Temporary Settlements N. W. P., 1872.

⁴ March 2, 1874, No. 659A, published in Permanent and Temporary Settlement N. W. P., 1872.

⁵ No. 2372A, Oct. 6, 1874. Government of India Despatch of Oct. 17, 1882, noted above, para. 18.

⁶ No. 17, dated Oct. 17, 1882. Revenue and Agriculture Dept., published in Government Records N. W. P. and Oudh, 1881-8.

They put forward new proposals, restricting the raising of Government demand to three definite sources—increase in the area of cultivation, rise in prices, and improvements effected at Government expense. This may be said to have been the report asked for by the Select Committee of the Commons, and the Earl of Kimberly, before discussing these new proposals, wrote, "These principles involve, in the first place, the final abandonment of the policy of a permanent settlement of the land revenue in cash."¹ His Lordship, for various reasons, concurred in the abandonment of the policy. He thought that the difficulties in practice were found to be numerous, while the increase in revenue had been enormous and could not be sacrificed. Moreover, it could not be easily replaced. Even the agricultural classes in the permanently settled parts were not better off than those in the temporarily settled parts; and last of all, the settlement might not be advantageous even to the landlords. "For these reasons," wrote the Earl, "I concur with your Excellency's Government that the policy laid down in 1862 should now be formally abandoned."²

The Government of India finally communicated to the Local Government the decision of the Secretary of State. "It is sufficient for present purposes to announce," they wrote, "that Her Majesty's Secretary of State has now definitely agreed with the Government of India in rejecting the policy of a permanent settlement, pure and simple."³

This was the last of the heroic experimentation. Proposed and carried out by one benevolent Marquis, the permanent settlement was finally abandoned by another. During its career of about a century it underwent several changes, being taken up when land was a losing concern, when arrears accumulated, and when the spirits of the people and the Government were low, to be gradually modified and finally forgotten as the spirits became more buoyant and the income easier. It seems to have been considered a sure remedy for all ills. Gradually the charm faded away, but a limit, nevertheless, had to be placed to the uncertain demands of the State. How far have the Indian Government succeeded in doing it, is beyond our present purposes to discuss. Suffice it to say, that the same causes which lay at the root of the measure, associated closely with the name of Cornwallis, have more recently worked to limit the State demands in other parts of India. The Permanent Settlement may be dead in name, but the spirit survives. The same despatches which deal it a death-blow, contain measures for limiting the State demands.

VESHESHWAR DAYAL DANTAZAGI.

¹ No. 24 Rev., 22nd March, 1883, para. 2, published in Government Records N. W. P. and Oudh, 1881-6.

² Para. 9.

³ No. 525 R, 9th May, 1883, para. 4, published in Government Records N. W. P. and Oudh, 1881-6.

Maham Anagah and Akber

Of the three most noteworthy women of the reign of Akber, Maham Anagah was not the least remarkable. Her name occurs frequently, not only in connection with the plot which brought about the fall of Bairam Khan, the Khani Khanan, but also in shaping the events which followed that revolution. The German scholar, Count Noer, published in 1880-81 his well-known work, which was translated by A. S. Beveridge in 1890 with notes and a few corrections. He says that the expulsion of Pir Muhammad Nasir-ul-mulk brought such a crisis that "Maham Anagah, who had long intrigued in secret against the Regent, now felt herself in a position to carry her schemes against him into action."¹ She was so eminently successful in her designs that "Bairam's property was seized by her, but such spoils did not satisfy her domineering and intriguing nature", and she pushed on her advantages so dexterously that "traces of her ascendancy were soon perceptible not only in the tutelage of the Emperor, but in every department of Civil and Military administration."²

The late lamented scholar Dr. Vincent Smith, writing 37 years afterwards, not only endorsed the above guarded statement of the Count, but went still further by emphatically asserting that "Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan only to bring himself under the monstrous regiment of unscrupulous women."³ By way of explanation he further added that "Akbar, who was still little more than a boy, continued to occupy himself with field-sports and elephant-fights, *apparently* taking no interest in the business of the Government, which he allowed Maham Anagah to control."⁴ In fact he was so sure of his ground that he thought it worth while to label the period, extending from March 1560 to March 1564, as that of the "Petticoat Government".

It is therefore clear that according to these two great authorities, Maham was an intriguing and ambitious lady, who by her dexterous diplomacy, resourcefulness, and domineering personality kept Akber as her willing tool, which she used most effectively against her enemies for furthering her own object. But it is by no means clear from their writings what sort of influence she exercised upon Akber, and how a young man of 17 years should have allowed himself to be used as a puppet by a nurse whose

¹ Akber, Vol. I, p. 82.

² Op. cit. 89, 90.

³ Akber the Great Moghal, Oxford, 1917, p. 48.

⁴ Op. cit. 49.

sole motive for action was self-interest. Thus the question of the nature and extent of her influence and the submission or tutelage of Akber has been left open for discussion. It is not impossible that a careful inquiry into these questions may lead to conclusions different from theirs.

Whatever these learned scholars may have thought, any one familiar with the original Persian authorities will recognize that they are by no means agreed with regard to the extent and nature of the influence which Maham Anagah exerted in bringing about such a successful *coup*. This is not all; the differences in matters of details are so striking, and the view-points of the contemporary, and even later, writers so very divergent, that a serious student of history can hardly afford to pass over the subject lightly. In fact, this revolution is one of the most interesting problems of the reign of Akber, though it has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. Whatever be the differences among the Persian authorities, the fact that stands out most clearly is, that none of them goes so far as the modern scholars have gone; and, except in connection with Adham Khan, her son, almost all of them ignore Maham after the commencement of operations against Bairam.

The authorities available to us can be clearly divided into two groups those in sympathy with Bairam Khan, a fascinating character, whose tragic end heightened his glory, and those opposed to his policy. Abul Fazl is the most original and remarkable representative of the latter type, while Nizamuddin, who for long had served under Bairam's son, belongs to the former. Other writers, such as Badaoni, Nurul Haqq, Shaik Allahdai Sarhindi, Abdul Baqi Nahwandi Mutamad Khan, and Abul Qasim Ferishta, followed the versions of either Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin. But none of these writers was intimately connected with the actual events. Arif Muhammad Qandhari is the only man whose fate was bound up with the fortunes of Bairam Khan, and who accompanied his patron to Gujarat, where he was killed. His work is so meagre and his information so one-sided that one does not find as much as one would expect. It is useless to go further than the original authorities, except in a few cases, such as Khafi Khan, who tried to go into fuller details than any other later writer, and Sujan Rai, who was a good compiler in spite of his piratical propensities.

There is yet another difficulty. The intrigue against Bairam and the details of the plan were conceived and discussed with the utmost secrecy by a limited number of men; hence the outside public was not in full possession of the actual facts, but relied largely on hearsay, gossip, rumours, and personal impressions. Abul Fazl is the only man who was in possession of better sources and could verify his account satis-

factorily, but his sympathies are so pronounced that one has to take his statements with a large amount of caution. The charge which has been brought against Akber, i.e., of being misled by a gang of sordid conspirators, has been flung by others in the face of even Bairam Khan.¹ The only difference between the two cases is that Akber was young, while Bairam had seen a good deal of the world.

In order to make the discussion intelligible, a brief recapitulation of the leading events, stripped of all opinions and colour, is essential. It was on the 14th February, 1556, that Akber came to the throne at Kalanur, where the army led by Bairam Khan against Sikandur Sur was encamped. Bairam had served Humayun faithfully, and had won the confidence of the Emperor to such an extent that he was appointed a guardian to Akber and the leader of the campaign against the Afghans of the Punjab. At the time of his accession, the age of Akber, according to a meticulous calculation, was 13 years, 2 months, and 21 days. Bairam was the master of the situation and was declared the *Vakil-as-Sultanat* without any serious opposition. He continued to hold this office for four years, one and a half months, during which he ruled with a vigour that was distasteful to Akber and some of the powerful nobles of the State. This discontent led to a conspiracy against the all-powerful Bairam which reached its climax when Akber declared openly, about the last days of March, 1560, or just at the beginning of April, his intention of assuming the sovereign power not only in theory, but also in fact. Only a week before, Akber was living with Bairam at Agra; but on the 19th March, 1560, he left Agra, for hunting, towards Delhi. Crossing the Jamuna he halted and took with him Abul Qasim, son of Kauram.² On his way, at Sikandra Rao, in the District of Aligarh, the secret was divulged to Muhammad Baqi Baqlani, father-in-law of Adham Khan, the younger son of Maham;³ but Akber did not stay there and pushed on to Khurja⁴, where he was met by Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, with the intention of visiting his mother, who was reported to have been ill.⁵ From there he pushed on straight to Delhi where he arrived on the 27th of March.

It will be convenient to pause here and examine the above facts. The first question which naturally arises is, whether Akber was aware of the plot, and had taken any part in forming it, or whether Maham alone had conceived it. Along with this it may also be questioned whether Akber left Agra for

¹ A. N. Bib. Ind. II. 91 and 92; even Badaoni, II. 39; also Arif Quandhari, 87; Maasiri Rahimi, p. 669.

² A. N.; M. R. p. 667. ³ M. R. Loc. cit. ⁴ A. N. Op. cit. 94.

⁵ A. F. and Baqi do not say that Maham brought this information, rather they presume that Akber knew it and made it a motive for his going to Delhi.

hunting alone, and was on his way persuaded to go to Delhi on the pretext of his mother's illness by some one else, while on his part he was quite ignorant of the real situation. Nizamuddin and his copyist, Badoni, lead us to think that Akber was undoubtedly anxious to get greater control in the Government, particularly in distributing favours to his immediate satellites, but he was absolutely ignorant of the plot as well as of his mother's illness, and that it was not until after his arrival at Sikandra Rao that he made up his mind to go to Delhi, not for any political motive, but only to see his mother; and finally that on his arrival at Delhi he was informed of the whole plot.¹ But Abul Fazl tells us that, several days before the departure of Akber, and some time after the dismissal of Pir Muhammad Khan, the plan for subverting the authority of Bairam Khan was discussed and formed at Biana, where Akber had gone for hunting, by Adham Khan, Sharfuddin Hussain, and some other courtiers. These men had their own grievances, but they had received some hints of the intentions of Akber, who, being displeased with Bairam for executing the king's own driver, had communicated to them his "closely-hidden-secret". I should like to quote from the text:

"پیش از آنکه در بار سر بسته خود را در میان اخلاص پیش-پای بجهت در میان آورده بغاظر خرد دان رسانیدند که نقیض چند از جمال جهان آرا برداشته فکر اورنگ آرائی فرستادیم"

"Before this....he disclosed to the sincere and loyal...his hidden secret, and expressed his keen desire to throw off some of the veils of his world-adorning beauty, and consider measures to assume sovereignty".²

Abdul Baqi Nahwandi follows Abul Fazl, but puts the matter in more simple and straightforward language.

"آخر الامر اهل فساد چنین نمودند که بادشاه باصحاب انکه و شرف الدین حسین مرزا و آدم خان در میان آور دند که میخواستیم که خلیفان و خوشامد گویان ایشان را سزای میدهم"³

"At last the strife-mongers so engineered the affairs that the Emperor told Maham Anagah, Sharafuddin Hussain Mirza, and Adam Khan, that he wished to punish Khani Khana and his flatterers."

There is no reason to doubt the statement of these writers, and although Abdul Baqi followed the version of Abul Fazl, he considerably modified it, to bring it in line with the main object of his work, which was to please Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan. No other writer gives the above piece of information, but their silence can be attributed either to their desire for brevity or to their ignorance of the details of the plot, and on no account can it be construed as a rejection of the statement of the authors of *Akber Nama* and *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

¹ Badaoni Bib. Ind. II. 36. ² Bib. Ind. A. N. II. p. 92. Bib. Ind. p. 667

Then we pass on to the second point, viz., whether Akber knew of the plot before leaving Agra or not. The evidence on this point is more satisfactory.¹ I quote Arif Mohammed Qandhari, who was an eyewitness of the events which led to the ruin of Bairam Khan, his patron. The value of Arif's work lies mainly in the fact that he wrote his work before the compilation of *Akber Nama* and other well-known Persian works on the reign of Akber.

"بنا بر آن حضرت خلیفان اکبر بنده پرور فرصت غنیمت شمرده باچند از خدام از دارالخلافه آگره بطریق شکار سوار گشته متوجه دہلی شدند"²

"At this the Emperor Akber considering a fine opportunity... started towards Delhi from Agra with a few selected ones, with the pretext of hunting."

This view is confirmed by, Abul Fazl,³ and Abdul Baqi makes the point more clear when he says,

"چون بقین خلیفانان شد کہ شکار حضرت شاہنشاہی از رعایا بردارید گشت کہ او دارند لوازم فرستائی و نیا مددی پیغام داد and also "در بنوا کہ خود بنفس نقیض بکار و بار جهانگیری متوجه شده ام"⁴

"When Khani Khana was convinced that the hunting expedition of the Emperor was due to the grievances he had against him... he sent messages of supplication and humility."

"This time I have of my own will given attention to the affairs of Government."

The later writers such as Sujana Rai⁵ and Khafi Khan,⁶ take this view, though in other details they differ from Abul Fazl.

Besides the authorities quoted above, there is one other strong consideration which should be noticed here. Why did Akber purposely call Abul Qasim, son of Kamran, to accompany him in the hunting expedition? The explanations given by Abul Fazl and Abdul Baqi⁷ are different, but they support the hypothesis that this move was not accidental but deliberate, adopted to disarm Bairam Khan by depriving him of an effective trump card, which could be played against the Emperor. Then again, both the above writers state that the secret was first disclosed to Muhammad Baqi Baqlani, who refused to visit Akber and is said to have

¹ Note that Arif does not bring in the name of Maham at all in connection with these events.

² Hist. Dept. Ms. p. 88—Op. cit. Qandhari is most logical and positive throughout.

³ A. N. Op. cit. p. 94, and Maasir R. p. 667.

⁴ M. R. 668: the substance of Akber's letter at p. 671.

⁵ Khulasat at Tawarikh—M. Zafar H. edition, Delhi, p. 343.

⁶ Bib. Ind. part I, 145.

secretly communicated the information to Bairam, who, either snug in his sense of loyalty or too confident of his prestige and influence, regarded it as an "old idle tale". Why did this officer refuse to pay respect to Akber? and why did he not communicate the information to him? The answer is simple. He was afraid of the Khani Khana, and probably believed that the Emperor was a party to the plot against Bairam. If he had felt that the Emperor was being dangerously led astray by the intriguers, he would in all likelihood have taken an opportunity of telling him whither he was being led; and his desire to please the Khani Khana would have been realised by dissuading the Emperor from proceeding further. Lastly, the flawless execution of the plan seems to indicate that every detail was well conceived, and that the Emperor allowed himself readily and consciously to fall in with every proposal.

Before proceeding further it will be proper to point out that the arguments based on Akber's love for out-door sports and hunting, as also on the tenderness of his age, are hardly convincing. For he was at this time over 17 years, an age at which boys in the East develop all the leading characteristics of manhood. The case of Akber was not unique for that age; for Babur, his grandfather, Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek conqueror, Shah Ismail Safvi, and even Shah Tahmasp began to take an active, intelligent, and keen interest in politics at an even earlier age than Akber. Then his love for field-sports does not in any way indicate indifference to affairs which not only compromised his prestige but touched his pocket.¹ On the other hand, hunting offered a fine pretext for doing things by surprise, and it is well known that it was hunting expeditions which subdued, only a few years after the fall of Bairam, powerful nobles like Adham Khan, the Governor of Malwa, and Ali Quli Khan, the Governor of Kara.

Let us now consider what happened at Delhi. Arriving at Delhi, Akber issued a general firman to all officers informing them of his decision and calling on them to come to Delhi and pay homage to him. Efforts at negotiations between the Emperor and his supporters on the one hand, and Bairam and his followers on the other, failed. It was not long before it became clear that a large number of nobles favoured his cause and that he was in a position to offer a challenge, if necessary, to Bairam's pretensions. Bairam also left Agra, and by way of Alwar and Nagore went to Bikanir, where he stopped for some time: thence he went towards the Punjab to try his luck or to punish the evil councillors. There he fought a battle with Shamsuddin Atka, was defeated, and fled into the Siwalik mountains. Another engagement with the Royalists took place, and before arriving at

¹ Badaoni II, 35-36, A. N. II, p. 94.

any decisive result Bairam surrendered himself. Akber received him well, at his own wish gave him permission to go to Mecca, and provided him with a handsome amount for the purpose.

In connection with these facts several questions present themselves. Who was carrying on the negotiation? Had Akber any hand in the matter or was he a puppet in the hands of others? Who were the men at this time exercising real power? What were their objects? and how far did they succeed in them? Who directed the operations against Bairam? and, after his surrender, who was responsible for the treatment meted out to him? To what extent did Maham and Akber control these affairs?

The attitude adopted by Count Noer and Smith suggests that Akber acted at this time as a puppet and a passive tool in the hands of Maham, who was the real master of the situation. Maham is represented to have been a very ambitious and strong minded lady, whose chief object in taking such an active part in the troubled politics of the time was to advance the interests of her second son, Adham Khan. It was she who forced war on Bairam, to compass his ruin and open the way for her son and probably other relatives, by closing the doors once for all against the formidable Khani Khanan. This opinion should be kept before us in scanning the details of events and motives, with a view to examining its soundness.

It is obvious that Akber found himself even after leaving Agra by no means in an easy situation. Bairam Khan was a man of tremendous energy and resources; his influence was great, and his experience of public affairs was deep and wide. The supporters of Akber were yet unknown, for it was not quite clear what attitude would be taken by the leading nobles in the coming conflict. Indeed he could place no reliance on any one except his immediate followers, who had taken an active part in forming and executing the plot. These were the relatives of Maham Anagah, who was instrumental at this time in keeping them together. Sharafuddin Husain Mirza was the only man of any consequence who did not belong to Maham's group, and he was admittedly an eccentric and a designing fellow. It is obvious that the circumstances demanded great caution on the part of the Emperor, who must have heard of the misfortunes which befell his father and grandfather on account of the turbulent and self-seeking nobles. He could not, in his own interest, shake these men off, so long, at least, as he was not sure of the attitude of other nobles; nor had they done anything so far which was calculated to undermine his interests.

The first test was the general *Farman*, which found an encouraging response, and within a short time brought Qiyahan Gung, the Governor of Biyana, and Shamsuddin Mohammad Atka, the leader of the Atka Clan,

which ruled in the Punjab. The office of Vikalat could not remain vacant, especially under the present circumstances, and it was placed in the joint control of Shahabuddin and Maham Anagah¹, the first workers in the new direction, and by no means worthless or incapable. From the beginning it was clear that this was only a stop-gap arrangement, for the promise of bestowing Vikalat was held out to Munaim Khan of Kabul as well;² and when Shamsuddin Atka, the Governor of Bhera-came, he was given the standard, drum, and *tuman togh* of Bairam Khan.³ It is clear, therefore, that the arrangement was made in the absence of a better man, and this presumption finds strong confirmation from the fact that Bahadur Khan, the famous brother of the famous Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, was honoured with the title of Vikalat⁴ soon after his arrival at Delhi. This policy seemed best for the time being, for not only did it determine the attitude of the Shaibani leaders who were powerful, but it also brought at the head a man who, though not a master of diplomacy, was certainly one of the ablest and best military officers of the day. If Maham Anagah and Shahabuddin had been bent on feathering their own nests, irrespective of any other consideration, they would have insisted either on holding the office themselves or conferred it on Adham Khan, who had also distinguished himself as a good soldier at Mankot against the restless and turbulent Bhadauriya Rajputs. But history records no such opposition. On the other hand Abul Fuzl suggests that Maham herself offered this suggestion. Bahadur, however, conspired with Sultan Husain Jalair and Qiya Khan Gung to kill Shahabuddin Ahmad Khwaja Jahan: hence he was probably sent to Etawa.⁵

There are only two explanations possible; first, that in their anxiety to enlist many supporters, they accepted the appointment of Bahadur, and they had to put up with the new arrangement, as they had no other alternative before them. Anyhow there can be no doubt that the office of vakil at least nominally passed out of their hands, although, by making the best of their situation, they, or at least Maham, managed to enjoy the unabated confidence of the Emperor.

The next question is connected with the correspondence between the Emperor and Bairam Khan. Arif Mohammad Qandhari gives the purport of the first notes exchanged between them. Bairam readily offered apology⁶ for his previous conduct and requested a fresh chance to exhibit his loyalty and devotion. The Emperor sent the following reply which is worth quoting.

¹ A. N. Op. cit. p. 96, and Maasir Rahimi, p. 668.

² A. N. Op. cit. p. 95, Khulasat, p. 343.

³ A. N. Op. cit. p. 99.

⁴ M. R., 670.

⁵ M. R. Loc. cit.

⁶ Arif Q. Op. cit. 88.

"خاک بابای سلام عطا فرست فرجام و بیدام شغقت انتظام بخواند و بداند که قبیل ازین جهت امور و احوال بدارالملک دہلی نزل اجل فرمودیم - چون میشنیدیم کہ شما متوجہ ملازمت میشوید کسوک بیگ را روان فرمودیم کہ چون ما را از شما فی الجملہ رنجش و آزار شدہ کہ بخاطر افسردہ قرار نمی یابد کہ شما درین وقت بملازمت توانید آمد بحال خود بتجدید و مہمانی کہ باشد انتظام دهید و اگر ضرورت باشد ما بدولت و اقبال در آگرہ نزل اجل فرمائیم - شما پیشتر رفتہ بکوالیار و آنحدود متوجہ شوید کہ ہر گاہ شما را طلبیم بملازمت آئید - وجہ تسلی خاطر شما نوشتہ بودم کہ ہر چند میان پدر و ہرید آزار شون اما بآزار صمکن نیست - و چون شما خاک بابای ملائکہ ہمی نسبت سرعی ست و باوجود این رنجش و آزار و امور نامناسب دہموار ہنوز خاطر شمارا غمزہ میداریم و بشما عنایت و شفقت داریم - شمارا بہمان دستور خاک بابا می خوانیم و میدانیم - و چنان میدانیم کہ چون حالا ملائکہ ما و شما در عقدہ "اخیر و تصویق ست بنوعی کہ عرصہ داشت فرستادہ التماس رخصت طواف حرمین الشریفین نمودہ بودید بدن نیت عالم و جازم کشتہ متوجہ شوید و کس فرستید کہ وجوہ نذری کہ نمودہ بودید نقد ساختہ در سر ہندو لاہور گذاشتہ آمد ہار کردہ بالخان رسانند"

The following is a free translation of the above passage¹ :—

"Khan Baba, accept my kind compliments and loving message. Be it known to you that it is not long since for certain affairs I came and stayed at Delhi. On hearing that you intended to come to my presence I sent Tarsoo Muhammad, for I could not understand how, in spite of the grievance which I had against you and the trouble you gave me, you could come to me. (I had asked you to) stay where you were and look after the State affairs. If my presence was necessary, I could come to Agra (provided) you first moved toward Gwalior and appeared in our presence when summoned. For your satisfaction I wrote that no amount of troubles could break the relations between father and son; and, as you were my Khani Baba, that held good (in our case). In spite of all grievance which I had and the injuries and improprieties which I suffered from you, I had a great regard for you and was always kind and affectionate towards you, and always used to regard you and call you Khan Baba. Now I realize that for the present 'our meeting is in the knot of delay': you had better make up your mind to go to the sacred shrines, for which you sought permission in your petition, and send somebody to collect and convey to you the fine presents which you had got ready but left at Sarhind and Lahore."²

This note is highly diplomatic, for while it is firm and definite in tone, it is couched in most polite language and offers no unreasonable terms of reconciliation to Bairam. There is not the slightest touch of revenge, haste, indecision, or confusion in it. A vein of sobriety and firmness characterises the note, which one could have suspected was inspired by Akber, even

¹ Op. cit. 89-90.

² A. N. II 98-99.

if Abul Fazl had not settled the matter unconsciously. He informs us that, being afraid of Bairam Khan, especially because he had announced his intention of going to Delhi to offer apologies and seek pardon, they advised Akber to go to Lahore, and thence, if necessary, to retreat to Kabul, but in no case to risk a military action with Bairam, because their resources were quite inadequate. There was a party of those who advised a bold stand and disapproved of the policy of weak retreat. There was obviously no Bairam to decide now, and the matter rested with the Emperor. Abul Fazl adds :—

“و بعد از سر گذشت بسیار آن شیر بیخشم دولت و اقبال پای و قهر را استهکام داده قرار بر نبرد و کارزار دادند.”

“After a good deal of discussion that lion of the forest of fortune and prestige . . . strengthened the foot of dignity and resolved on war.”

It is therefore clear that his line of action was decided upon by Akber after full consideration, and now it is not difficult to surmise the inspirer of the above note to Bairam Khan, which has a personal rather than an official touch.

The negotiations were almost fruitless and Bairam Khan left Agra, apparently yielding every point till he reached Bikanir. Here, for one reason or other, he decided to move towards the Punjab. This change of policy filled the Royalists with consternation, and a Council was called to discuss further measures. Again, a similar difference of opinion became visible. Every one realized that the putting down of Bairam was an extremely hard task, and that his avowed object was to punish the vakils of Akber. The die had been cast, but who was prepared to bell the cat? It seems that Maham Anagah's son and Shahabuddin both slunk back; while Bahadur Khan, who found his situation unenviable, felt no enthusiasm and was even secretly hostile to such drastic measures. A suggestion came from “the pillars of the Empire”, that there were “no chances of success if the Emperor himself did not go in person”. What were the possible reasons for this suggestion it is useless to guess, but the fact is clear that Shamsuddin Atka Khan was the only great noble who undertook to conduct an expedition against Bairam, and that the Emperor promised to follow him. Neither Shahabuddin Adham nor Bahadur went to battle, and thus the brunt of attack fell on the Atka Clan.

This decision and the appointment of Atka Khan were not liked by the Maham party, which put every obstacle in the way by delaying necessary supplies and by misrepresenting his conduct to the Emperor. Aziz Koka the son of Atka Khan, who was in the company of the Emperor, reported

¹ Op. cit. 97.

the real state of affairs thus: “Father, men's words have killed us. Whatever is your fate will happen. By all means act quickly and dispose of the affairs of Bairam.”¹ Maham and others were anxious to bring discredit on Atka Khan, and devise all means for his failure, for if he succeeded against Bairam, his influence was sure to increase immensely at the cost of their own. But Atka Khan made representations which probably induced Akber to start from Delhi on the 12th August, 1560. It may be asked here why was the leadership of the expedition given to Atka Khan, if the Maham party was so jealous of him? Was it done against their wishes? If not, was it done to bring discredit on Atka Khan, who was a formidable rival for power, thus to seal his doom? If so, why was Akber allowed to march at his back with a large army, and did the Maham party not realise that the defeat of Atka Khan was bound to increase the presumption, prestige, and power of Bairam Khan, who was far more dangerous than the Atka Khan? The answer which seems most satisfactory, is that Atka Khan's appointment and the King's march to support him were against the wishes of the Maham party, which refused to take part seriously in the coming struggle, and left them to their own fate. But this they had not the courage to declare openly: hence somehow they managed to keep up a show of loyalty, while really their policy was double-edged, and difficult to understand.

Atka Khan was lucky enough to score his first success at Gūnācūr, but probably on account of his insufficient resources² he failed to catch the tiger, who took shelter in the mountain defiles. Akber received the news at Sirhind, where arrived Munaim Khan from Kabul and, a few days after, Atka Khan. The arrival of Munaim Khan must have disappointed Atka Khan, and placed Akber in an awkward situation; for he had been specially invited to take charge of the Vikalat of the Empire. Any disappointment by Munaim Khan would have at once been construed as a deceitful bluff and might have possibly obliged him to return to Kabul, if not to throw himself into the arms of Bairam. Akber therefore conferred on him the office of Vikalat, but he took every care to soothe the feelings of Atka Khan, who was now honoured with the title of Azam Khan and was presented with the robes of honour which had been bestowed on Bairam Khan. But this was not all. Leaving the army in charge of Munaim Khan, Akber went to Lahore, where he stayed for some time as a guest of Azam Khan, and “exalted him by royal favours and made over the choicest part of the Punjab to him and his brethren”.³ These acts of kindness could have hardly been approved of by Adham Khan and Shahabuddin Khan, and could not

¹ A. N. Op. cit. 120.

² A. N. Op. cit. p. 112.

³ Beveridge A. N. II, 177.

have been inspired by Maham, who, as has been pointed out, exerted in vain her best influence to turn Akber's mind against him. The appointment of Munaim Khan to the highest office was an act of policy which was calculated to give some sort of satisfaction to Maham and others, and to facilitate negotiations with Bairam, who, so far, had no apparent grievances against him. Indeed, it so happened that Bairam offered to submit if Munaim could give him assurance of a safe conduct to the Emperor.¹

Bairam surrendered, and was brought before Akber who received him graciously and with remarkable courtesy. All authorities are agreed on this point, but no one says to what extent this generous policy was due to Maham and others. If it is true that they were his deadliest enemies and strained every nerve to encompass his utter ruin and destruction, they would never have suggested the course of action adopted by Akber, for Bairam at large would have remained a standing danger to their cherished hopes. For this policy Dr. Smith has given grudging yet unequivocal credit to Akber.² This event took place in October, 1560, within six months after Akber's arrival at Delhi.

So far we have been discussing the events which began with Akber's departure from Agra and ended with the submission of Bairam Khan. Let us now consider, in the light of the present inquiry, the events which followed later.

After finishing the affair of Bairam Khan, Akber returned to Delhi, and, after staying there for a few weeks, left for Agra, where he arrived on the 31st December, 1560, with Munaim Khan, his Vakil. Here Munaim Khan rose in influence and power, which formed a contrast to the waning influence of Maham and her party. It has been alleged that her object was to strengthen the influence, and advance the interest, of her son and relatives, but one fails to find in any authority any foundation for that charge. No titles, or jagirs, or high offices are recorded as having been bestowed on them about this period, except that the prospective governorship of a part of the yet unconquered province of Malwa, a matter to which we shall refer further, was probably intended for Adham Khan.

The rising influence of Munaim Khan is indicated by the political interest, which changes its centre of gravity for the time being, and shifts to the north-western frontier. More than this, hardly three months had passed, when Maham Anagah was given leave on the ostensible pretext³ of marrying her elder son, Baqi Muhammad Khan. This fact has not been duly noticed by historians, but it seems from the notice⁴ of Abul Fazl, who introduces this information in a curious fashion, that the leave was

¹ A. N. II, p. 117. Badaoni (II, p. 44) says that Numaim dashed upon him and took him prisoner—but does this not affect my argument.

² Op. cit. p. 48. ³ For Baqi's Scandal See. Bad. II. 61. ⁴ A. N. Op. cit. 132-33.

preparatory to retirement from high political life. As a recognition of her services, however, the command of the army, sent against Malwa about this time, was entrusted to Adham Khan. A large number of those nobles who had joined him at Delhi last year, were despatched on this expedition, including Pir Muhammad Khan, Qiya Khan Gang, and Abdulla Khan. The conquest of Malwa had been left unfinished by Bairam Khan, who had deputed Bahadur Khan for the task. These officers could not go unrewarded, and while they were thus given an opportunity to satisfy their thirst, the interest of the State was equally served.

After its conquest, Malwa was divided into four divisions—Sarangpoor, Mandoo and Ujjain, Handia, and Mandasore—which were placed under Adham Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan, Qiya Khan Gang, and Sadiq Khan respectively. It cannot therefore be urged that Adham Khan was made the sole governor over the entire province of Malwa, or that the royal favours were exclusively shown to him.

Though Adham Khan was victorious, and could, if he had wished, have made his future secure, yet, in his youth and cupidity, he not only showed utter recklessness, but also desired to misappropriate the booty he had gained in the war. He probably thought that her mother's influence with the Emperor, and her good relations with Munaim Khan, the Vakil, could effectively shield him from any danger. But the Emperor, "without informing the great officers and eyes of the state", made a rapid march of 16 days from Agra, and surprised Adham Khan on the 13th May, 1561, before Maham's message could reach her son. Maham realized the possibility of serious developments, and so she also hastened thither, and arrived there in time to avert the ruin of her hopes. Adham Khan was saved from the dire consequences of his misbehaviour because of the intercession of his mother and because a more serious danger threatened Akber in the East, where Ali Quli the Khani Zaman was advancing similar claims. The Emperor returned to Agra on the 4th of June.

It has been admitted by historians that at this period Akber showed a keen desire to know the actual condition of his people, and besides gathering information from fakirs and ascetics, he roamed in the city at night in disguise⁵, to see things for himself.⁶

"و در آنوقت که دولت شاهنشاهی در دارالملک آموه بود در سر انجام ملک و تسخیر و استعمار و اصلاح و تدوین امور آن بوقت پیش بودند."

"At this time the camp of the Emperor was at Agra and he was engaged with the affairs of the Government (organizing expeditions for the conquests of countries and the destruction of the strife-mongering ruffians."

⁵ A. N. Bev. tr. II.

⁶ M. R. 690.

⁷ M. R. Loc. cit. Also see pp. 697-98.

Dr. Smith admits that "in the first half of 1561 Akber had begun to take some personal share in public business," but he is not prepared to go further, simply because Akber was still fond of field-sports, daring adventures, and hard exercise, and Abul Fazl still used the term "behind the veil" persistently. I leave it to the readers to judge the validity of these arguments for themselves but it may be relevant to point out that hunting remained a hobby with the Emperor for about 15 years after these events, though it was never allowed to interfere with his normal duties; nor did it delay any important state matter. As to the phrase, "behind the veil", it may be pointed out that this occurs even in the *Ain* in connexion with other events: as a matter of fact, it is a pet phrase with Abul Fazl who uses it in different fashions and contexts.

Let us return to the main argument. Akber had made up his mind to give a lesson to Ali Quli Khan who lived a scandalous and reckless life. On the 17th of July he left for Karra with Munaim Khan and other important nobles, and succeeded in receiving, without any opposition, homage from the two brothers. After staying at Karra for 20 days, he returned to Agra, where he arrived on August 29th.

But the most decisive argument is the appointment of Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan to the office of Vikalat in November 1561. It has been pointed out that Akber had tried to soothe the feelings of Azam Khan at Sirhind and had even entertained a strong representation from him requesting the Emperor to confer the Vikalat on him. This indicated a definite plan in the mind of Akber, which he now executed, in spite of the serious opposition of Munaim Khan, Shahabaddin, and Maham Anagah.¹ This act gave a death-blow to their pretensions, and is the strongest proof of his independence of mind at this time.

This appointment was soon followed by the recall of Adham Khan from Malwa, which was now transferred to Pir Muhammad Khan. It was now evident to Maham and her party that they had lost all influence over the Emperor, and now they began to use every means at their command to poison his mind² against Atka Khan, whom they foolishly supposed to be the chief cause of the change. He was blamed, just as Maham was blamed by Bairam and his party, for seducing the simple-minded Emperor. Such blame cannot be entertained at its face value for the simple reason that it is very common in Indian history. Badaoni blamed Abul Fazl, Faizi, and Birbal, for seducing Akber later on; Abul Fazl and others blamed Sharif and other courtiers of Salim for seducing him; and other instances can be easily multiplied. It is therefore always necessary not to accept such charges, but to examine each on its own merit.

¹ M. R. 693.

² Khafi Khan Op. cit. 162.

The trio, failing in all their endeavours, became desperate and succeeded in having the Azim Khan murdered. The plan for murdering him seems to have been carefully laid, for Abul Fazl suspects that some royal attendants were also implicated in the matter. But all the plans were frustrated when Akber unceremoniously ordered Adham Khan, the assassin, to be thrown down the ramparts of the fort. This quick and decisive action on the part of the Emperor is surely worthy of a great man, for not only did it extinguish the blazing feeling of revenge of the Atka Clan, led by Yusuf Khan, who were thirsty for the blood of the conspirators, but it also destroyed the presumptuous and over-complacent supporters of Akber. Maham Anagah died within 40 days of the incident, and Shahabuddin and Munaim Khan were tamed once for all. The execution of Adham took place on the 16th of May, 1562.

After the death of Adham Khan, Count Noer ceases to talk of the petticoat influences, but Dr. Smith, for no reason whatsoever, extends its period right up to the execution of Khwaja Muazzam, which happened in March, 1564. This was an isolated event and had little to do with the nature of the government of the period. His statements are contradictory, and it is really surprising that a scholar of his eminence should have gone to that length without any substantial arguments. It is futile to enter into discussion about a hypothesis which has not been established at all either by evidence or arguments.

From the date when Akber left Agra up to the death of Adham Khan, only 26 months had elapsed. During this period great changes took place and important events happened. The rebellion of Bairam Khan was crushed; the affairs of the Punjab were to some extent organised, troops were despatched to support Mirza Suleman of Badakhshan against the Uzbeks, and to conquer Kashmir; the fertile province of Malwa was annexed to the empire; Ali Quli Khan was cowed down at least for the time being; an expedition was sent against the Raja of Panna, and Adham Khan was reprimanded and afterwards killed. During this period not less than 4 vakils held the office of Vakalat, which by itself indicates a fairly quick change of policy. But with every change the interests of Akber were served, and finally he emerged triumphant while the various parties were totally crushed.

We have considered the march of events from the beginning to the end and can now make an estimate of the nature and the extent of Maham Anagah's influence, and can also estimate the part that Akber played in these kaleidoscopic changes.

From the very beginning of his reign Akber resented the excessive control of Bairam Khan, and on several occasions gave expression to his feelings. But Bairam was a masterful man, and, while trying to

reconcile and please Akber in every possible way, kept a vigilant eye on the Atkas, who were, owing to their position, intimate with the Emperor. At first his suspicion fell on Shamsuddin Mohammad, but by taking oaths and offering submission he escaped the wrath of Bairam Khan. Maham Anagah was on the whole well disposed towards Bairam, till the latter's excesses became intolerable and the highly dangerous responsibility of governing the Bhadauria Rajputs devolved upon her son. Unlike Jiji Anka, the wife of Shamsuddin, Maham was an intelligent,¹ wise, courageous, and tactful lady and could keep a secret. She was loved and respected by Akber, on whom she had lavished her fond affections, and, to save whom, she had exposed her very life at Kabul. Akber was grateful to her and showed deep regard for her wishes and reposed confidence in her. When Akber's patience was sorely tried, he expressed his desire to get rid of Bairam, and she quickly responded to it.

But where was the support to come from? Munaim was far off at Kabul; the old Turki nobles were practically crowded out of India, while the Uzbek chiefs were attached to the interests of Bairam. The immediate followers of the Emperor were neither rich nor men of great consequence,² for it was the deliberate policy of Bairam Khan to keep these men in a state of poverty. There was another consideration with regard to the place where Akber could take shelter after his escape from Agra, to await for the development of affairs. The nearest places were Bidana, Gwalior, and Delhi. Bidana was too near Agra, and Gwalior was under the grip of Bairam, in spite of the fact that it was the centre of the Ghaus order, which was as sympathetic to Akber, as it was dissatisfied with Bairam. It was no use going further east, for no support could be expected in that quarter, while the experience of Humayun in Rajputana was far from encouraging. Delhi was the best place from all points of view, for from that place a retreat, in case of necessity, could be easily conducted, especially because the Atka Clan was in the Punjab, and there was a tolerably good fort.

Maham and Akber put their heads together, and happily at this time Delhi was held by Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, a relation of Maham. This fact increased the importance of Maham, for she very successfully and most secretly conducted the negotiations with Shahabuddin. Another factor which contributed to her importance was that the governor of Sikandra Rao (Aligarh), Baqi Khan, was also one of her relatives, and her influence over him could not be neglected. Of necessity, therefore, Akber had to rely on the relations of Maham and on her influence, but he had no cause to feel dissatisfied, because the relation between him and Maham were very cordial and he was in complete agreement with her plans.

¹ A. N. II, 100.

² Badaoni, II, 36.

Everything that followed later seems to have moved with surprising regularity, because both Maham and Akber knew what they were doing. At Delhi Shahabuddin proved a pliable tool in the hands of Maham. The Emperor seems to have been moving with great caution, as the time had not yet come when he could openly declare the part which he intended to play. But there was obviously no cause for anxiety, for Maham was working in perfect harmony with the Emperor, though the differences of opinion as to the future line of action compelled Akber to take a decisive action, and make a bold appeal to the nobles, who were impatient of Bairam's yoke. The appeal found a surprising response. But the foremost to leap on their saddles were the leaders of the clan of Atka Khan. The Emperor could now faintly see the actual strength of his position, and everything took place with his knowledge and consent. But the appointment of Atka Khan, the husband of Jiji Anagah, to the leadership of the advance against Bairam, brought first to light the jealousy of Maham. Up to this point, indeed, it is difficult to say whether Akber was acting as a tool of Maham or *vice versa*, but, in all probability, they were acting together against a common foe, and there was no question of either's being used as a tool. But the affair of Atka Khan showed to the Emperor that the successes of the plans and the importance of the part which Maham was playing had led her to make too high an estimate of herself, and had possibly generated a desire to keep power either herself or in concert with her relatives.

The seeds of suspicion on the one hand and discontent on the other were now for the first time sown. But the main part of the drama had begun only then, and her services were then as much necessary as a perfect union and co-operation among the royalists. Maham was not aggressive, and her affection for Akber, combined with a regard for her own interest, prevented her from abandoning Akber's cause.

From this point, nevertheless, differences began to arise between the two. If Munaim Khan had not arrived at a critical moment, Akber's attitude would certainly have become much more clear and pronounced.

The appointment of Munaim Khan must have compromised the power of Shahabuddin and Maham,¹ but as their relations with him were more cordial, and as he was neither offensive nor aggressive, it did not lead to any difficulty. But when six months later Shamsuddin was appointed Vakil, in the teeth of Maham's opposition, it became quite clear that the Emperor had triumphed. In the light of this discussion it is clear that in the later stages Akber was using Maham as his tool, and, within the course of a year and a half, she found that her influence had completely vanished. She had

¹ Note Badaoni's remark, *Op. cit.* 43.

to submit to the accomplished fact, and no other alternative was now left to her than to acquiesce in the wishes of the Emperor.

Babur spent several years in subduing Tambal and others, and Humayun, even after the conquest of Kabul, found it hard to deal satisfactorily with his nobles; how could it be possible for Akber to shake off the yoke of such an astute and powerful noble as Bairam Khan suddenly, without the help of others? It is indeed creditable for a man of his age and resources to have achieved the difficult object in such a short time, with comparative ease, and to have asserted so very quickly his supremacy over his friends and foes. It must have involved hard yet clear thinking on his part before he reached his goal. With due deference to the scholarship of Count Noer and Dr. Smith, we venture to think that a close scrutiny of the evidence suggests that it was Akber who used Maham as his chief instrument to conserve his resources and crush his enemies. As soon as he found her unwilling to co-operate further and determined to keep her influence and that of her relatives supreme, he set her aside and selected new weapons. Maham was really a sincere well-wisher of Akber, and did all that she possibly could to serve him. She was greatly misunderstood by her contemporaries (except probably Abul Fazl), who have not been able to prove any definite charge against her, except her love for her unworthy son; but that is a weakness which is common to her kind.

UNIVERSITY HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
ALLAHABAD.

RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI.

Search for Historical Manuscripts in Indian Libraries

The following reports contain investigations into the data for Indian History made by the Research Scholars and Staff of the Department of Modern Indian History, University of Allahabad. The main object of the organisation of these inquiries was accurate and more precise information in the subject in which each member of the Department has specialised. That this object has been gained, is clear from the discovery of the many rare printed books and mss. detailed in these reports. The historical scholar in India will deem himself exceptionally lucky if he can get all his data in one place. His difficulties are not lessened by the confused and disorganised condition in which many of the most precious of our national collections are kept; nor is his task lightened by the open contempt with which his piteous appeals for help are sometimes met. He has no private resources, few helpers, and fewer friends. He must wend his way circumspectly, if he is not to rouse the suspicions of the moody custodians, and indifferent owners, of historical documents. The Department has, however, overcome these obstacles, and the courtesy, kindness, patience, and tolerance with which its representatives have been received, testify alike to the growth of interest in scholarship, and to the existence of a keen and vigorous demand for unravelling the threads of India's story.

The thanks of the Department are due to His Highness the Maharajah of Benares, Nawab Sir Salar Jang, His Highness the Maharajah of Chhatarpur, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, Nawab Abdussalam Khan of Rampur, His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar, the Librarians of the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Imperial Library, the Oriental Library, Bankipore, the Connemara Library, Madras, Oriental MSS. Library, Madras; Lala Sri Ram Sahib, M.A., of 17, Alipore Road, Delhi; the Aligarh University; and the Punjab University; for the readiness, courtesy, and kindness with which they placed their treasures at our disposal.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.
March 2, 1922.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Report

THE LIBRARY OF LALA SRI RAM, M.A., at Delhi is, in its own way, a unique institution, and contains a rich collection of historical paintings, and fine specimens of calligraphy, which was cultivated as a branch of fine arts during the Mohamadan period. The paintings exhibit a pleasing variety, and are as useful for the students of the Moghal art as they are suggestive to the students of the Moghal manners and customs. It is not an easy task to make a selection from this collection which may suit men of all tastes, but the following are of more than common interest.

1. Darbar of Akber—15" × 18": beautiful and grand.
2. A fine portrait of Timur riding on a richly caparisoned horse.
3. Mirza Shah Rukh hunting a deer. This prince was the son of Bahadur Shah, the last King of Delhi.
4. Bhairavee Ragini with attendants.
5. Akber and his Christian wife wearing a cross. It is alleged to be a copy of the original, which has probably not yet been traced.
6. A bust of Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh.
7. Akber and Birbal.
8. An old portrait of Akber with a hawk perched on his hand.
9. Nur Jahan sitting on a chair.
10. Prince Salim girt with a sword.
11. A scene from Mahabharat.
12. A fine portrait of Begum Sumroo, dressed in male attire, with a hookah and a chobdar standing by.
13. Bahadur Shah II practising archery.
14. Nawab of Murshidabad dressed in Chapkan.
15. Muahmmad Ali Shah Qachar, King of Persia.
16. Jahangir seated on the throne (an ivory painting).
17. Mumtaz Mahal riding on horseback, followed by a few ladies.
18. Shah Jahan with a flower in his hand.
19. Nur Jahan strolling in the garden.
20. Navaratna (Nine Jewels of Akber), Akber in the centre: (i) Nawab Khani Khana, (ii) Abul Hasan, (iii) Mirza Kokultash, (iv) Abul Fazal, (v) Mulla Faizi, (vi) Birbal, (vii) Todarmal, (viii) Man Singh, (ix) Hakim Humam.
21. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism.
22. Rupmati and Bazbahadur.
23. Raja Madho Singh.
24. Sultan Tipu in youth.

There are several very artistically bound copies of the Qoran, written in an exquisitely beautiful hand on an amazingly superior paper. There is a small volume, styled *Risala Tuhfai Anwar*, which is verily a triumph of calligraphy.

Another remarkable feature of this library consists in an invaluable collection of works of Urdu poets, which were most probably laid under contribution by Lala Sahib for his well-known work, the *KHUM KHANI JAWAID*, which is a standard work in Urdu literature. With the exception of a few individual attempts, no systematic efforts have been made to write a history of the Urdu language, but, when that time comes, the value of this collection will be fully appreciated. This section contains as many as seven hundred diwans, a large number of which have not yet been published. There are 170 mss. of Urdu poetical works. It is said that this library contains almost twice as many mss. as are found in the library of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, and thus surpasses any other collection of the kind in Northern India. It is impossible to give the names of all the works here, but one can hardly refrain from mentioning a few rare works which will surely be noticed with pleasure by those interested in Urdu.

DIWANI FARANSOO.—The author of this Diwan Francoise Quense, son of Augustin, was attached to the court of the celebrated Begum Sumroo, the princess of Sardhana. He was a pupil of Kairat Khan, Dilsoz, and wrote graceful verse. A voluminous writer, he left behind "a camel-load" of works. This Diwan is very rare.

KULLIYAT IHSAN.—The author of this work, Abdur Rahman Khan, was a teacher of Shan Alam II, and was regarded as a great poet in his time. The present manuscript is in the handwriting of the Emperor's son.

DIWAN OF MIRZA MUIZUDDIN BAHADUR.—His poetic name was Sabit. He was a brother of Mirza Ahsan Bakht, and a pupil of Hafiz Abdur Rahaman, Ihsan. This is a rare work.

DIWAN MIRZA RAHIMUDDIN.—Known as Haya. The author was born at Delhi about 1807. His father's name was Mirza Karimuddin Rasa, and he was a pupil of Zauq. This work is very rare.

DIWAN ILAHI BAKSH KHAN MARUF.—He was one of the chief nobles at the Mughal court. He was a pupil of Miyan Kallu Naoir of Delhi. In his later life he practically renounced the world and devoted himself wholly to literature.

DIWAN MIR NIZAMUDDIN MAMNUN.—The Mir Sahib was a pupil of Mir Qamaruddin Minnat. He hailed from Panipat but lived for a long time at Delhi and Lucknow. Akber II was proud of him and honoured him with the title of Fakhrussuara. This work is also very rare.

DIWAN SHAH NASIR.—Shah Muhammad Nasiruddin of Delhi was one of the most celebrated poets of his age, and was popularly known as Miyan Kallu. He visited almost all the big cities of India, and was at Hyderabad (Deccan) when he died in 1842. His Diwan is extremely rare.

Besides the Urdu Diwans, there is a large collection of Persian Diwans many of which have not yet been published and some of which possess interest. There is a copy of Diwan Urfi written in 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) for Fathullah Khan Shirazi by a Persian calligraphist.

DIWAN SANI BILGRAMI dates from 1139 A.M. or the second quarter of the eighteenth century. There is a comparatively modern copy of the Diwan Qasim Tabrezi, a work as old as 757 A.H. or the fourteenth century; so also is the Diwan Haji Kamal Khiandi. Diwan-i-Ghani and Ma navi Mir Bakhshi belong to the eleventh century of the Muslim era, while Diwan-i-Ghausul alam, Diwani Barkat Ullah, Diwani Mazhar, Diwani Waqif, etc., belong to the next century.

Lala Sri Ram possesses a number of Persian MS. dictionaries including the *FARAANG-I-JAHANGIRI*, compiled by order of the Emperor Jahangir in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The library contains historical works the number of which, as compared with its poetry section, is comparatively small. The most interesting MSS. are the two diaries, one of the court of Shah Alam II, called *INTIKHABI AKHBAR RIYASAT SINDHIA*, and the other styled *ROZNAMCHA RESIDENCY WA QILAI MUBARAK DELHI*. The former is specially interesting and gives a vivid account of contemporary events, especially those connected with the Maharathas, who were then over-running not only Hindustan but the Punjab as well. After his departure from Allahabad, Shah Alam threw himself into the arms of Sindhia, only to find himself under a new tutelage. This state of things led to complex diplomacy, intrigues, and counter-intrigues, which are reflected in the entries of these diaries. Sindhia, Holkar, Peshwa, the Sikhs, the Afghan rulers, all appear in one connection or another. It is of course a diary, and naturally covers a large variety of topics, an idea of which can be had from a free translation of some of the entries.

1. "News of Maloji Holkar up to 1207 A.H.

It was written to Tara Sinha and other Sindh officers to create disturbances in the territory of Sindhia Bahadur, and a promise was given to settle their affairs with Holkar."

Letter of the Raja of Jaipur received and read. H.M. remarked that he ought to pay the money if he desired peace; or else, he would be involved in utter ruin.

After this, the letter of Ahalyabai was read, informing that . . . sent for the use of soldiers had been paid up, and other expenses would be forwarded later on.

The bag of Raja Bijay Sinha of Jodhpur received. It was written that he was quite willing to pay the required sum, and that no evasions would be practised. This was duly despatched to Holkar Bahadur."

2. "It came to be known from the Poona news that Patel Bahadur was not getting on well with the officials of Peshwaji, for, being too proud of his high position and conquests, he cared little for any one else, and would not pay a *dam* to anybody. For this reason his affairs received no attention. Apparently the Peshwa wanted to start for conquests with Mirza Jan Bahadur."

3. A communication from Maloji Malhar informing that the Sikh horsemen in that district were as usual tyrannizing over the poor and ravaging the country, was read.

4. "1207 Hijri, Shahjahanabad. News of Taimur Shah despatched by one Sahu, a resident at Kabul, in an enclosed Hindi letter, was read. It was written that, up to the time of the writing of the note, Murshidzada Mirza Ahsan Bakht was at Multan and Taimur Shah at Kabul. A petition of the Murshidzada came to Taimur Shah representing that he had been waiting long to settle his affairs with the help of His Majesty, in the hope that H.M. desired so to do. It should be done now, for the cold weather was drawing near and things would take a different turn. If a definite refusal came, he would give up all hopes, and would try to find out some other way. In reply to this note, Taimur Shah informed him that he should keep his mind at rest, for he was not neglecting his affairs, and that he should take it for certain that by the beginning of winter the troops would reach him.

The above note was presented by Shahji, who represented that Sindhia Bahadur was not negligent of the matter, for his wakil, Wajihuddin Khan, was with Taimur Shah, and the Maharathas would also co-operate."

5. "News from the camp of Sindhiaji Patel Bahadur from the 19th to 22nd. Camp 2 Karoh from this side of Poona.

Kishnaji, brother of Abha, the newswriter, came from Poona and gave an account of the conversation between the high officials of Peshwaji. Malet Saheb came, and after a talk on behalf of his masters went away. To-day the letters of Gopal Rao Baho and Jayaji Bakhshi and other high officials in Hindustan were read. It was written that Tukoji Holkar had settled(?) the affairs of Raja Jai Sinha, Kunwar Bakhtawar Sinha, etc., and that Maloji Holkar was determined to oppose. According to the request of Kunwar Bakhtawar Singh, Sindhia arrived in the district of Mewat with

camp of De Boigne Saheb. The Kunwar, conspiring with Maloji Holkar, refused to pay the money, and with some ulterior designs evaded answers to questions. The Sindhia was not prepared to fight with Holkar without His Majesty; hence action was deferred for orders.

A reply was given that H.M. would soon arrive in that district, when action would be decided upon according to circumstances. Where could the money go? Measures would be duly taken to realize it."

6. "A letter of Ramji Mal from Poona. It showed that Nana Farnavis had told Sindhia to arrange for the presents of money to Peshwaji and other officials and then to depart for Hindustan".

7. "Rampur—Nawab Faizullah Khan—15th. A bearer of the Government of Nawab Zabita Khan brought letters for Nawab Sahib and Begam Sadulla Khan and a letter of Namdar Khan Bakshi for Umar Khan. They were sent through Munshi Maoji Lal.

To-day the Nawab Sahib said to Salamat Sinha Kayastha in Pushto language that if the government of Katehar remained in his hands, as before, all that was due to his brother would be done. Every day some four or five horsemen and foot were being enrolled into service."

Communication from Moti Ram Fotadar, dated Patgaon the 15th, and from Lachman Das Sahu of Chandpur arrived, bringing the information that owing to good rains rice was widely sown. The officials had given the patt batai and great energy would be shown.

The other work of the same nature—"Diary of the Residency and the fort"—is very interesting, though it is not of equal value. It is a bulky register written in Shikast, which sometimes is difficult to decipher, and at places has been damaged by worms. It throws light on the life and activities of Bahadur Shah, the last Moghal ruler at Delhi. Besides the news, it contains numerous petitions made to the Delhi Magistrate. A few specimens translated below will clearly reveal how the sphere of the Imperial activities was circumscribed, and how petty affairs engaged his thoughts.

1. "14th June—Wednesday.

After enjoying the fresh air of the royal garden His Majesty returned. Gholam Muhammad Chobdar (mace-bearer) represented that according to orders he had enquired of the Qiladar about the bridge over the Jumuna for Nur-Mahal, but was told in reply that the matter rested entirely with the collector Bahadur."

Hakim Ahsan Ullah Khan.

"In the afternoon information was brought that the Mirza Jahan's condition had become worse; H.M. therefore ordered Hakim Ahsanullah Khan to treat him."

"A pony, belonging to somebody, strayed into the fort from the city side. The mufti of the Royal Court asked the Katwal of the city to make it over to the rightful claimant."

2. "9th July—Sunday. Nawab Zinat Mahal arrived with Mirza Jawan Bakht Bahadur and Mahboob Ali Khan from Karnal, and had a brief interview. An order was given to Mahboob Ali Khan that His Majesty intended to pay a visit to (the tomb of) the Khwajas, on the 15th of that month, and that therefore houses should be kept in proper order. This afternoon, contrary to his usual custom, His Majesty sat at the Samanburj, to enjoy the sight of the river."

"His Majesty told Hakim Ahsanullah Khan to treat the wife of Mirza Jahan Khusru, who was ill."

3. "11th July—Ali Khan Khwaja sara was sent with some presents to the crown prince, but he returned and represented that they did not allow him to enter the prince's palace. The Emperor was displeased at this and sent a note in his own writing. The prince came personally and represented that the Khwaja had spoken an utter lie. The truth of the matter was that when the Khwaja reached his house he was asleep; hence the servants objected to his entering. After some enquiries the King's displeasure subsided, and he was pleased to present the prince with a head-dress, etc. The Mirza presented a nazar of one Asharfi and departed."

"In the afternoon H.M. sat at the Jharokha, and fired a few shots, and in the evening, after returning from there, he tackled a fish which was graciously sent to Skinner Sahib."

These entries related to the years 1851-55, and show, at a glance, the importance of the serious, grave, and solemn details which absorbed the attention of His Imperial Majesty.

5. 5th February—Sunday.

"A note from the agent Bahadur, of serious importance, informing His Majesty, that Mirza Jahan Khusru objected to the removal of a broken cannon, on the ground that it had lain at his place for a long time. H.M. replied that greed was the motive of the prince; hence a hundred rupees have been sent to him.

Nawab Taj Mahal submitted that a room had been given to Pyar Ahmad Khan, the Mukhtar, but he went away putting his lock. As the goods of the office were in it, she prayed that orders be given to open it. The Mufti of the Court of Shamli informed to-day that a security was taken for the woman, Khatam, and she was released."

These are not the only valuable manuscripts in the library. The following works are also of interest, though they are not set ~~are~~ as the diaries above.

A very neat copy of the *KHULASAT-UL-TAWARIKH* of Subham Rai, the famous Mushi-ul-mulk of Batala. There is also another fragment of this work beginning from the reign of Bahadur. The latter was transcribed in 1185 Hij.

A very fine copy of *MIRAATI SIKANDARI*, which is one of the best histories of Gujrat. A portion of it has been translated by J. Bird, but it is not known if he had at his disposal such a fine manuscript as this.

There is an excellent old copy of *SHARF NAMAI HUMAYUN*, written in a beautiful hand and bearing the seal of Shah Alam of the year 1119 Hij. It gives an account of Humayun's struggle with his brothers.

There is an exceedingly rare and interesting collection of papers, entitled *SIRAJUL AKHBAR*, being the first volume of this famous newspaper. Besides a minute account of the Emperor's Court, it gives a variety of interesting news from England, Calcutta, Allahabad, Delhi, Agency, and Rohilkhand.

There is a fine and well preserved copy of *TARIKHI GHORI*, written on beautiful paper in perfect handwriting. It begins with the reign of Shahabuddin Ghorî, and gives an account of the Sultans of Delhi down to the time of the jovial Kaikubad, grandson of Balban. From the colophon at the end of the work it is clear that the work was written in 1022 Hij, by Abdulla Khan, who was in the service of Emperor Jahangir.

There is a copy of the *TAZKIRATUL WAQIAT* of Jaubar, who was the ewer-bearer of Humayun, and who has given a first hand account of some of the events of his reign. This work is known to all scholars; but manuscript copies of it, though not quite rare, are by no means common.

THE LIBRARY OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY at Lahore is a well organised and useful institution. Besides a very large collection of printed works, it has also a number of Persian manuscripts. This library cannot stand comparison, so far as the Persian works are concerned, with the collection of Lala Sri Ram, as it hardly possesses a work that is rare, but it has a few Persian histories which are worth mentioning here.

TARIKHI DAOODI.—This is a history of the Lodi and Sur Dynasties, written by Abdulla, valuable portions of which have been translated by Elliot and Mackenzie in the fourth volume of Elliot and Dowson's monumental work.

TARIKHI RASHIDI.—A history of the Moghals written by the versatile cousin of Baber, Mirza Haider. This work, though not rare in India, is not quite common. Messrs. Ney and Ross have very ably translated this work into English.

TAZKIRATUL WAQUATI JAUHAR.—This has been noticed above.

TARIKHI SINDU.—This is a well-known history of Sindh written about the year 1600 by Mir Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar. The work was literally translated by Capt. G. Malet, but was again partially retranslated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II.

SHAH FATH KANGRA.—This work is well known in India, and was printed at Calcutta in 1824 and again lithographed at Lucknow. The main object of the author, Sayyed Jalala Tabatabai, was to display his rhetorical skill as a master of style; hence he described in six fashions the expedition sent by Shah Jahan in the thirteenth year against Surajmal of Kot Kangra.

There are also copies of the following works: Iqbal Nama Jahagiri by Mutamad Khan, Tuzuk Taimuri, Zikr Salatini Taimuria, Amali Salah, Qawaidi Saltanati Shah Jahan, Qawaidi Saltanat Akber, Khulasatulansab of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Wazir Nama Amir Ali, Wazir Nama or history of Wazir Ali Khan, Ruqqati Abul Fazl, Waqiat Kashmir by Azam Shah and Tarikhi Kashmir by Narayn Kaul.

HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
ALLAHABAD, October 12th, 1921.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

Pandit Ram Prasad Tripathi's Report.

ALWAR.—The library of the H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar has been rightly described as "a noble monument of liberality and literary taste". It is essentially a Sanskrit library, though it contains a comparatively large collection of Persian manuscripts. There is a very fine copy, bearing the seal of Humayun, of Zain Khan's Persian rendering of the *WAQIATI BABRI* which has excited an interesting controversy, and created grave doubts on the originality of the translation of that work by Abdul Rahim Khani Khanan. Zain Khan was a sadr in the reign of Baber, and wrote in an ornate and rhetorical style. Next in importance is a copy of the *SHARF NAMAI SHAHI*, the only reliable work on Abdulla Khan Uzbek of Turan, the most formidable rival of Akber the Great, by one of his contemporaries, Hafiz Tanish, who was one of the retainers of the great Khan; copies of this work are not very rare in Europe, but I do not remember to have come across it elsewhere in India. *THE TARIKHI MUZAFFARI*, though not older than 120 years, is a big and valuable history of India, especially for the later Mughals, written in 1800 by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari, a darogha of Faujdari Adalat of Tirhut. The work was used by H. G. Keene, who described it as "usually an accurate authority". *HAFT AQLIM* is a well-known work of Amin Ahmad Razi, who was a cousin of Ghayas Beg, the father of Nurjahan. It is a kind of Biographical Encyclopædia of great value. Copies of this work are common in India,

but most of them are either corrupt, or incomplete, or badly written. The present MS. is a good one, and as such it is noteworthy. *NADIR NAMA* by Muhammad Mehdi, who was the private secretary to Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror, and was present at the time of his interview with Muhammad Shah. This work was published both at Bombay and Tehran, and was used by Sir W. Jones for his "Nadir Shah". *MIRAATI AFTAB NAMA* is a general history of respectable dimensions from the beginning of the creation, and was compiled by Shah Nawaz Khan, the Prime Minister of Akber II, about the year 1803. *TARIKHI SHAH JAHANI* is an account of the first ten years of the reign of Shah Jahan, written by the Emperor's own order. It was completed in the 20th year of his reign, and formed the model for other histories of Shah Jahan.

HYDERABAD.—There are two fine libraries in this city, the one is known as the Asafia Library, or the State Library, while the other is a private library of the famous statesman, Sir Salar Jang. Hyderabad is rich in MSS., and, even without taking into account other small private collections, these two libraries alone, so far as the Persian and Arabic manuscripts are concerned, leave Calcutta and Patna behind, and offer a richer treasure than is available even at Rampur. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Beveridge did not stay long at Hyderabad.

THE ASAFIA LIBRARY.—The library contains fine collections on Moslem Law, Theosophy, Literature, and History. The following manuscripts were noted by me:—*TAJULMAASIR* gives an account of Muhammad Ghorî and the Slave Kings of Delhi, and was compiled by Nizamuddin Naishapuri about the year 1217 A.D. *TARIKHI WASSAF.*—This is a tolerably authentic account of the Mughal Empire in Persia, with brief notices, interspersed here and there, of India and the Sultans of Delhi. The work was compiled about 721 by Abdullah, who wrote under the patronage of that talented Vazier, Rashiduddin. The present copy is not a good manuscript. *MARFAT TAWARIKHI WAL ANSAB* by Abu Sulaiman. *TABQATI SHAHJAHANI* gives biographical notices of saints, poets, philosophers, and eminent men, who flourished during the long period from Taimur to Shah Jahan. This work was compiled by Muhammad Sadiq, not the author of the History of Shah Jahan, but a learned disciple of the famous scholar, Shaikh Abdul Haq. *SHAHI JAHAN NAMA*—This work is attributed to Fazil Khan, but it might be only a revised version of the work of Muhammad Varis. *TARIKHI GUJRAT* was written by Shah Abu Turab Wali, a trusted friend and adviser of Etmad Khan of Gujrat, who brought a stone from Mecca bearing the footprints of Muhammad. This work has been published for the first time by Sir D. Ross. *TARIKHI ADILSHAHI* is a biographical

history of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II and comes down to the invasion of Jaya Sinha. Its author, Qazi Nurullah, was an accomplished man of letters and a close companion of Ali Adil Shah. *TARIKHI QADRI* is a history of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom of Golkunda, and was compiled by Qadar Khan. *BASATUL GHANAIM* is a history of the Maharathas to the battle of Panipat, and was composed, at the request of Sir John Malcolm, in 1799 by Lachmi Narayan.

THE LIBRARY OF SIR SALAR JANG, unlike the Asafia Library, is not easy of access. Indeed, I had been told that it was simply impossible to consult it, but a set of lucky circumstances, combined with the kindness and generosity of the present Nawab Saheb, enabled me not only to see it but to work there. The library is really a splendid one, for most of the manuscripts lodged here are old and good, a feature in which it surpasses almost all the libraries I have seen, except probably the Oriental Library at Bankipore. I understand the Nawab Saheb has no intention of publishing a catalogue for the present, because the addition of a very large number of manuscripts has not been catalogued at all. As almost the whole time at my disposal was spent in collating the manuscripts of Tajulmaasir, of which this library possesses an extremely fine and old copy, I could only take note of some of the striking works, a list of which may prove helpful to some inquirers.

MIRAT SIKANDRI is a history of Gujrat compiled in 1020 A.H. from good sources by Sikander, who was a favourite companion of Jahangir and was a member of the Government of Khani Azam Aziz Koka. *MIRATI AHMADI* is also a history of Gujrat, more exhaustive than the former. Its author is Ali Ahmad Khan Bahadur, who was a Diwan of Gujrat in the reign of Muhammad Shah, and thus had full access to the records of the provincial Government. James Bird translated for the O.T.F. only one-sixth of this work which comes to the reign of Akber. *LUBBUT TAWARIKHI HIND* is a general history of India down to the time of Aurangzeb. It was composed from Ferishta and other well-known works, in the year 1106, by Rai Bindraban. *MUZAFFAR NAMA* by Munshi Karam Ali Khan is a history of the Nazims of Bengal from Ali Wardi Khan down to the arrest of Muhammad Raza Khan in 1186.

There are also manuscripts of the following works. *Tarikh Nama Ahwal Taimur Gorgan* by Mir Sayyed Sharif bin Sayyed Husaini (1045 A.H.); *Alam gir Nama* by Mohammad Qazim, the royal munshi of Aurangzeb (1140 A.H.); *Asrari Ahmadi* by Ahmad bin Tajuddin; *Tarikh Alamgiri*, two volumes of the letters of Aurangzeb; *Miratul Muluk* by Har Bhagwan; *Mirat Sadiq* of Ahwal Muhammad Shah; *Khulasatul Akhbar* of Ghayasuddin Khwandmir, who was in the service of Baber

and Humayun; Shah Jahan Nama by Fazil Khan; Lubbut Twarikhi by Amil Nasiruddin Yahya al Husaini; Ahwal Qutb Shahiya .by Husain Ali Hasni Yazdi; Dabistanul Mazahib; Tarikhi Muzaffari of Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari; Taimuri Nama by Abu Tabib Ali Husaini.

CALCUTTA.—For a general study of Islamic history Calcutta is hardly inferior to Hyderabad or Rampur; it is even better, inasmuch as the libraries are easily accessible. The ASIATIC SOCIETY of Bengal has one of the finest collection of manuscripts, and the silence which reigns in the rooms of the library makes it a charming place for quiet studies. There are two kinds of collections; the one is the property of the Society, while the other belongs to the Government, though it has been placed under its custody. The former is open to the members and their friends, but the latter cannot be seen without the special permission of the Philological Secretary. Separate catalogues of these collections have been published by the Society.

The chief object of my visit here was to consult the *MAASIRI RAHIMI*, of which the Society possesses a good copy, and to run through the works of the poets of Akber's reign. For the study of the Indo-Persian poetry of the sixteenth century the library contains an extensive collection. It can show works of about a dozen and a half leading poets of that period—a treasure which no library in India can boast of. Practically all the time at my disposal was spent in these pursuits, and I could do no more than turn over the pages of some works dealing with the sixteenth and the latter half of the eighteenth century. Of the historical MSS. which I noticed, the following deserve some mention:—*MAASIRI RAHIMI*. This voluminous work covering about one thousand folio pages was completed in 1616, by Abdul Baqi Nahwandi, who wrote the work at the suggestion of Faizi and Abdul Rahim Khani Khana, his patron. It gives an account of the ancestry of Bairam Khan, but enters into fuller details about him and his son, Abdul Rahim. Though only a compilation from the Tabqat and the Akber Nama, it is of some importance, as the author has tried to make out a good case for the hero of these memoirs and his father. A biographer of Abdul Rahim will find plenty of material to work upon in this huge volume. About one-third of the work is devoted to the poets who won the patronage of Abdul Khani Khana, but the extracts which have been given are usually in praise of Abdul Rahim and do not do justice to the genius of the poets mentioned therein. The Asiatic Society has got a very good MS. of this work, a part of which was published, some years back, in the Bibliotheca Indica. *TARIKHI SINDH*.—This is the well-known work of Mir Muhammad Masum, of Bhakkar, dealing with the history of Sindh from the time of the Arabian conquest down to the annexation of

that province by Akber. The present manuscript, though not good, seems to have been written so far back as 1042 A.H. *TARIKHI AKBARI*.—It is a general history of India up to the time of Shah Jahan. The pages at the beginning and the end are missing; so I could not find the name of the author. *DASTURUL AMAL*.—The name is misleading, for the manuscript contains a good deal of miscellaneous historical matter, of doubtful accuracy, brought together in a most unsystematic manner, and covers a wide period, from Yudhisthira to the time of Farrukhsiyar. *TARIKHI MUZAFFARI*.—This is only a modern copy of the work noticed above.

GOVERNMENT COLLECTION.—There are only a few works which are of any striking interest in this section. Most of the manuscripts are well-known and common to other libraries. The following are of some interest. *AL HISANUL MATIN*.—This is a general history of Oudh in Arabic written by Abbas Mirza. The first section gives an account of the rulers of Oudh; the second of the queens and princesses; and the third traces the genealogy both on the father's and mother's side. The present manuscript is a modern copy of the original and is dated 1218.

WAQAI DILPIZIR.—This work gives the history of the wife of Ghaziuddin Haider of Oudh, written by Abdul Ahmad Hansvi, at the request of Lt. Shakespeare and Col. John Lowe. It covers 100 pages and is written in bold and clear hand. *BHAGAT URSI*.—This is not an historical but a religious treatise. Its interest lies in the fact that its author was Lal Sinha, son of Kripa Ram, one of the spiritual teachers of Dara Shikoha. *BARAHIM SAWARIM* and *RISALA DAR MARFAT SHAMSHIR* are two works on the art of fencing, written by Lutfulla who was a pupil of Muhammad Hadi, who also composed Tauhidi Basarat and Taidi Basart. The latter deal with the same subject, and are included in this collection. Besides these works, there are two interesting short treatises, written to elucidate some difficulties in the works of Abul Fazl: they are named Nafaiul Talibin and Sharah makatibat allami. There is also a collection of Abul Fazl's letters, which supplies a larger number of Zain Khan's letters than are ordinarily found in the printed collection.

The Buhar Collection in the IMPERIAL LIBRARY contains several hundred volumes. It was the property of a gentleman of the district of Burdwan, who bequeathed it to the Imperial Library. The historical section is neither rich nor striking. The rarest manuscript is that of *TARIKHI HERAT*, which was written in the eighth century by Saif, son of Yaqub, and bears the seals of several Moghal Emperors. There is a clearly written copy of the first volume of *IQBAL NAMA* of Mutamad Khan. *TAZKIRAI SALATINI CHAGHTA* is a history of the Moghal rulers from Taimur to prince Jawan Bakht, written by Mohammad Hadi

Kamwar Khan. It is a tolerably readable manuscript. *TARIKHI AFAGHANA* of Ahmad Yadgar is an ordinary and readable manuscript, and has been noticed and partially translated in Elliot and Dowson. *MUNTAKHIBUT TAWARIKH* is a rare work written by Yusuf, son of Shaikh Rahmat, in the time of Shah Jahan. It is a general history of the world and covers 636 leaves. The second part of this work deals with the history of India. *MIRAATUL ALAM* was written by Mir Sayyid Mohammad Qanungo in the time of Aurangzeb. This work is different from that of Bakhtawar Khan. *TARIKHI ALAMGIRI*, or *Miraati Jahan Nama*, by Shaikh Mohammad Baqa, is a general history of the Islamic world; parts 5, 6, and 7 deal with the history of India up to the time of Aurangzeb, after which follow short notices of ministers, learned men, etc.

ST. XAVIER COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Although there are no manuscripts in this library, a student of Indian history can hardly afford to neglect it, for its collection of printed works on the history of India, especially the periods of early European activities, is superior to that of any other college library I know of. Indeed, it is superior to that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and possesses some works which are not found even in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. A catalogue of this collection was printed some 25 years ago; since then a number of additions have been made. The authorities of the college, it is hoped, will soon see their way to publish a catalogue of this precious collection. The following printed works deserve notice :—

DE IMPERIO MAGNI MOGULIS SIVE INDIA VERA.

COMMENTARIUS by De Laet.

RELATION DE LA COUR DU MOGOL by Capt. Hawkins.

INFORMATIONE DEL REGNO E STATO DEL GRAN RE, ETC.

by J. B. Peruschi.

THESAURUS RERUM INDICARUM, P. P. Jarrici, 3 vols.

ASIA PORTUGUESE by Faria A. Souza, 3 vols.

DECADA DA HISTORIA DA INDIA, Bocarro.

DECADAS DA ASIA of Barros y Couto, 24 vols.

HISTORIA DO DESCOBRIMENTO E CONQUISTA DA INDIA

by Castanheda, 4 vols.

HISTORIARUM INDICARUM LIB. XVI by J. P. Maffei.

WONDERLIJCKE HISTORISCHE ENDE JOURNAELSEHE,

ETC., of Pieter Van den Brœcke.

ANNUAE LITTERÆ SOCIETATIS JESU ANNI of the years 1583 and 1597.

There are besides works of De Guzman, B. Guerreiro, Acosta, Angelini, Camara, and others.

THE ORIENTAL LIBRARY OF BANKIPORE is too well known to require any introduction. Khan Saheb Abdul Muqtadar has prepared a series of catalogues of this library, though the volumes dealing with Indian historical manuscripts have not been published yet. The manuscripts are generally in a good condition, and compare well with those of the library of Sir Salar Jang. The section on the Persian histories of India is not so exhaustive as one would expect, and there is hardly a manuscript which is not available in other libraries. I had only a short time at my disposal, and could not carefully examine the whole collection. I have not noticed here any work on Aurangzeb, as Prof. J. N. Sarkar has already noticed them in the Appendix to the second volume of his *History of Aurangzeb*.

TARIKHI TAIMURIYA.—It is a history of the Taimurids up to the 26th year of Akber's reign. The portions dealing with the reign of Akber were examined carefully, but I found nothing new in it, and was led to conclude that it was an adaptation of Nizamuddin's *Tabqati Akbari*; at places there are passages taken almost verbatim from it. The value of this work does not therefore lie in the historical information it supplies, but in its full-page illustrations, which rank it with the *Razin Nama* of Jaipur.

TUHFATUL KIRAM.—This is one of the best manuscripts I have come across. It is a general history from the earliest times, though it supplies fuller information on the history of Sindh. It was written by Ali Sher Qani in 1180. The Patna copy is probably the best in India. It was written by Mohammad Ismail, a Persian, in 1233 A.H.

RAUZATUT TAHIRIN.—This is a general history from the earliest times, written by Tahir Muhammad Sabzwari, an officer in the service of Akber, in 1014. The present MS. is quite readable and complete, and in this respect may be regarded as a valuable one.

DASTURUL AMAL.—Like most of the *Dasturul Amals*, it is based on the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Shah Jahan Nama*. I would not have mentioned it here, had it not been decidedly better than some of the copies of this manuscript in the India Office and the Asiatic Society of Bengal Libraries.

MIRATUL QUDS.—It is a life of Christ, written by Xavier in Persian. This work was translated by Abdul Rahman, Qandhari, in 1604.

MAASIRI RAHIMI.—This manuscript is inferior to that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

TAZKIRAI TAQI AUHADI.—This is one of the finest manuscripts. The work was written by Taqi-uddin Auhadi in the time of Shah Jahan. It notices the Persian poets of all countries and ages, and can hardly be considered inferior to *Atashkada*, and even the comparatively modern *Tazkira*, so much eulogized by Brown.

RAMPUR.—In this small town, where there is hardly any educational atmosphere and there are scarcely any serious student of history, are two libraries like hidden treasures buried in a desert. The libraries of His Highness, and of Nawab Abdussalam Khan Saheb, taken together, clearly leave both Patna and Calcutta behind and can claim rivalry with Hyderabad itself. The State library contains not less than five hundred manuscripts of historical works only, while Abdussalam Khan Saheb's library, though not so rich in quantity, is not the less remarkable for its quality. No catalogues of these libraries have been published. The Khan Saheb has not inherited any manuscripts from his predecessors, and it reflects a great credit to his love for history and poetry, that from his own purse he has been able to create a library of which all would be proud. The State library is easily accessible, and the policy of His Highness and the courtesy of the librarian have placed everything within easy reach of scholars.

Some noteworthy manuscripts in the State library are noted below.

1. **JAMI JAHAN NUMA**—by Qudrat-ullah. This is a general history from the beginning of creation down to the year 1779; the portions dealing with Indian History and biographies cover about 400 pages.

2. **JAHANGIR NAMA**.—This is a metrical history of Jahangir, composed in 1035 A.H. by Talib Amli, the poet-laureate of the court of Jahangir, and covers 316 pages.

CHAHAR FATH, or Aurangnama, by Qasim Dana, a manuscript of 64 pages, gives an account of the war of succession.

HUSAIN SHAHI—written in 1213 A.H. by Imamuddia Chishti, who had lived at the court of Shah Zaman. It gives a history of Ahmad Shah Durraani and his descendants, and also of some Afghan tribes such as the Rohillas and the Yusuf Zais.

KHULASATUL ANSAB—by Hafizulmulk Rahmat Khan, deals with the history of the Afghan families, and the Rohillas.

AINAI BAKHT.—This manuscript was the original draft which was later on developed into Miratul Alam by Bakhtawar Khan.

AKBER NAMA.—There are several manuscripts of this work. One manuscript contains a list of the Mansabdars in the reign of Shah Jahan, from 9000 to 500; another has an account, written by the order of Shah Jahan, of the last four years of Akber's reign, different from that of Inayat-ullah, covering 68 pages; while the third has an account of the same period written by Muhibbi Ali, who says that the necessity for it arose on account of the unfairness of Miramad Khan towards Abul Fazl. The Bibliotheca Indica edition of Akber Nama has incorporated the last one.

AKHBARI BARMAKIAN.—This manuscript, though not connected with the History of India, attracted my notice on account of Ziauddin

Barni, the author of Tarikhi Ferozshahi. It is a Persian translation of an Arabic work which is attributed to Abu Qasim Taifi. There are two copies of it in this library.

AHWALI HASBO NASB JUNUBIAN.—The name of the author of this short manuscript of 41 pages is not known, but it describes the history of Taimur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and the politics of Delhi of the time of Shah Alam.

HALATI ASAD BEG, or Waqai Asad, by Qazwini, the literary Secretary of Abul Fazl, gives an account of the death of Abul Fazl, the measures taken to punish Bir Singh Deo, and his embassy to the court of Bijapur. The manuscript contains 71 pages.

WAQIATI BABARI—by Zain Khan Khwafi, written in ordinary Nastaliq and covering 247 pages, is inferior to the Alwar Codex.

TARIKHI CHAGHTAI—by Sayyad Muhammad Shafi, son of Muhammad Shariff. This is a history of India, from Taimur to Muhammad Shah. The later portions are copious.

TARIKHI RASHIDI.—This is the well-known work of Mirza Haider Dughlat, a cousin of Baber.

TARIKHI SHAH SHUJA—by Shamsulmulk and Muhammad Hussain of Herat, 3 vols. of 332 pages.

TARIKHI SHAHIYA NAISHAPURIYA—by Qasim Ali. This manuscript of 174 pages deals with the history of Oudh up to the time of Muhammad Ali Shah, in whose reign it was written.

TARIKHI TAHIRI—by Tahir Muhammad Nasyani, who finished his work in 1030 A.H. It is a history of Sindh from the foundation of Tatha up to 1018 or 1021 A.H.

HAFT AQLIM—by Amin Ahmad Razi (1004), is too well known to require any notice.

WAQAYA FATH BANGALA—by Muhammad Wafa (1156). This is a manuscript of 76 pages, and describes the invasion of Bengal by Bhasker Pantha and the rebellion of Shamshir Khan Shuja-ul-mulk. Its chief interest lies in the fact that every sentence of it yields 1161, the date of its composition.

The other manuscripts were Tarikh Kashmir of Azam Shah; Tarikhi Kashmir, by some unknown author, written probably about the time of Aurangzeb; Tuhfai Akber Shahi of Abbas Khan; Baluwant Nama and Ibrat Nama by Khairuddin; Tarjumai Yamini, in Persian, by Abul Sharaf. Tanqikul Akhbar fi Asarul Adwar of Rai Munna Lal; and a Bayaz of the firmans of Asafuddaulah.

MAKHZANI AFGHANI—by Niamatullah, is a manuscript of 616 pages and was written in 1021.

MATLAUS SADAIN—by Abdul Razzaq, 1 vol., an old manuscript covering 1,018 pages. The State library has only one volume of this rare work, but I was told that the second volume of it exists in the library of Nawab Abdus Salam Khan.

MIRATUL AUZA.—This work deals with the history and administration of Oudh, and was written by Munshi Lalji in 1270 A.H. The present manuscript covers 569 pages and is a transcribed copy of the original work, which is in the possession of Sayyed Muzaffar Ali Khan of Jansatha.

There are copies of Chachanama and Tarikhi Masumi which deal with the history of Sindh, and have been partially translated in Elliot and Dowson.

HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
ALLAHABAD.

RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI.

Professor Beni Prasad's Report

THE LIBRARY OF THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

The Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh, consists mostly of printed English books on various subjects, but it contains the largest collection of Persian and Urdu works of any university or affiliated college. The absence of good up-to-date Urdu bookstalls adds to the value of such collections. Here, for example, one may consult a few good Urdu works on the Mutiny of 1857, such as the Asabab Sarkashi Hindustan, the Sawadeh Sarkashi Hindustan (MS.), Kaghzat-i-Mutaliq Sarkashi Hindustan (MS.), the Sarkashi Zila Bijnor, Tamadun-i-Hind. The history of the Mutiny has yet to be written. Whenever it comes to be written with due impartiality and proper perspective, the vernacular historical material deposited at Aligarh and scattered broadcast over North India will have to be carefully examined and utilised. The Aligarh Library contains a few other good Urdu books which, though printed, are not known widely enough, such as the Tarikh-i-Patiala by Kalifa Sayyid Muhammad, and the history of the Bijapur Kingdom by M. Bashiruddin Ahmad.

The fine collection of printed Persian works, both historical and literary, need not detain one. But a word must be said on the Persian MSS. The historical ones are copies, mostly presented by generous donors. There is thus no system in the collection. Nor does it include any absolutely unique MS. which cannot be consulted at the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipore, the Nawab of Rampur's Library, or the Library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. But the Aligarh MSS. do include a few works which have not yet been printed and which are not easily accessible. The third part of Muhammad Khan's Iqbalnama, that recording the events of Jahangir's reign (1603—27), is common enough and has been printed in the Bibliotheca

Indica series, but the first part dealing with the reigns of Babur and Humayun is scarce. Fortunately, the Aligarh Library possesses a copy thereof. It has also got copies of other unprinted Persian histories, such as the Mirat-ul-alam, Mirat Aftab Numa, the Tarikh Alam Arai Abbasi. More valuable are the farmans of the Sultans of Delhi (Farman-i-Salatin Delhi), and biographical notices and literary estimates of Muslim poets (Tazkirah Shaura). There are a few histories of the Deccan, Tarikh-i-Qutb Shah, Tarikh Asaf Sah, but none of great value. A few local annals, however, such as the Tarikh Waqiat Haidarabad, Tarikh Farrukhabad by Muhammad Wali ullah (which relates the history of the city from its foundation to 1226 A.H.), Ahadi Delhi by Nawab Dargah Ali Khan, Sirajul Luqman Tarikh Bhopal, throw light on local history.

THE LIBRARY OF THE KASHI NAGARI PRACHARINI
SABHA, BENARES

There hardly exists a better collection of printed Hindi books than the one possessed by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, which has done so much to advance the cause of Hindi literature. A large number of medieval Hindi works still remain unprinted. Of those which have been printed, many are already out of print or very difficult of access. The Library of the Sabha is perhaps the only place where one can hope to find almost all important printed Hindi literature ready at hand, classified and catalogued. The MSS. in the Library, however, are only slightly above 100 in number and fill only one almirah. They include several copies of Tulsi Das's Ramayana. There is a copy of the Hindi verses of that great warrior, diplomat, linguist, scholar, and patron of letters, Abdur Rahim Khan (son of Bairam Khan) who flourished during the reigns of Akber and Jahangir. Next to the Maasir-i-Rahimi, they furnish the most important means for the study of the Khan Khana's mind, which perplexed his contemporaries so much. The MSS. almirah contains a printed copy of the Birvinoda, a Hindi history of Rajputana by the late Kaviraja Shyamal Das, one of the greatest of modern scholars that Rajputana has produced. The work, it is said, was written and printed at an enormous expense at the command of the Mewar Darbar and was then suppressed, probably because it furnished too much material to local zamindars and grant-holders to press their claims against the State. Be that as it may, it is a most valuable work, based as it is on original chronicles that are extremely rare.

THE RAMNAGAR LIBRARY OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF
BENARES

From the historical investigator's point of view, one of the best libraries in these provinces is that of H.H. The Maharaja of Benares, located

across the Ganges within the walls of Ramnagar, almost adjoining the Maharaja's palace. It is not a public library, but there is no difficulty in obtaining permission to visit it and consult the books. The Maharaja's enlightened policy contrasts most favourably with that of some ruling princes who seem dead to all claims of historical research.

The Ramnagar Library consists mostly of MSS., divided into two sections (1) Urdu and Persian and (2) Hindi and Sanscrit, housed in separate rooms, under the charge of a Maulavi and a Pandit respectively. Both sections comprise works on all sorts of subjects—religion, philosophy, ethics, pure literature, history, medicine, etc., besides a large number of paintings. All the MSS. and pictures are well kept, though the catalogues leave much to be desired.

A FEW HISTORICAL PERSIAN MSS.—There is an incomplete copy of an important geographical work, *Intikhab-i-Haftaqlim*, describing various places all over the Muslim world. The chronogram yields 1002 A.H. (1593 A.D.) as the date of composition. Besides the standard Persian histories of India, the Ramnagar Library contains a few less-known works such as the *Tarikh Mir Ali Shir*, an account of the descendants of Babur; Mohammad Ali Khan's *Akhbar-i-Salatin*, a miscellaneous compendium containing notices of Badshahs and Sultans all over the Muslim world; Mohammad Ali Khan's *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, a history of the descendants of Taimur up to the nineteenth century, broadening in narrative as it advances; Rafiuddin Ahmad's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*; Ashraf Ali's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*; Mirza Mohammad Khani's *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushai Nadiri*, a history of Nadir Shah.

More than anything else, however, the Ramnagar Library is valuable for the eighteenth century history of Oudh, of which Benares formed a part for a long time. *Tarikh Akbari* by Nawab Mir Akbar Ali Fath Jang, a noble of Haidarabad, begins after the time of Aurangzeb. It is an old tattered MS. and largely forms the basis of an Urdu history of the State of Benares, recently published on behalf of the State. Sayyid Kamaluddin Haidar's *Tarikh Badshahan Oudh*, a history of the kings of Oudh, written shortly after the Mutiny, is a family history and political narrative combined. One of the most precious MSS. in the whole library is Ghulam Mohammad Khan's *Tajjaliyat Mahalaqa*, written in 1231 A.H. The MS. was purchased by the Maharaja of Benares about 1830 A.D. It contains the lives of the Nawabs of Oudh and their wives. Khairuddin Muhammad's *Alam Ashob* is a history of Lucknow, while his *Jaunpurnama* traces the history of Jaunpur from its foundation by Firoz Shah Tughlak in the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century. The *Dalwant nama* is a history of Benares from the eighteenth century to recent times.

It is beyond the scope of this note to notice the non-historical works, but mention might be made of one or two literary works of historic interest. Padmadhar's *Tarikh-i-Ramayan* is a fine Persian rendering. Abul Faizi's translation of the *Mahabharat* (wrongly ascribed here to Abdul Fazl) fills five old stout MS. volumes. *Farhang Jahangiri*, a valuable Persian dictionary, compiled by order of the Emperor Jahangir in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, constitutes one of the most remarkable literary undertakings of the period. Ghulam Mohammad's *Tazkira Khushnawisan* gives the lives of calligraphists.

URDU WORKS.—The Urdu section likewise contains an Urdu translation of Valmiki's (Sanskrit) *Ramayan* by Parmeshwar Dayal, and a *Masnavi* by Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh. There is a charming translation or rather transliteration of the great Hindi poet, Bihari's *Satsai*, or 700 couplets. The MS. illustrates the perfection to which the art of Persian calligraphy was raised in India.

PAINTINGS.—The Urdu-Persian section contains five pictures of all the Mughal Emperors, Nawabs of Oudh, and Maharajas of Benares. Besides, one may see here Akbar in old age; Jahangir as Prince Salim, as well as seated on the throne; Shah Jahan in *darbar*, in a procession with four elephants and a few horses behind, and finally in a royal barge with a few barges on either side and with followers marching on land; Aurangzeb in his teens. Among the nobles represented here are Diler Khan, Janish Khan, Shaista Khan, Aqidat Khan, Tana Shah, Ahmad Shah Durrani, Amir Khan; other foreigners and free lances are not neglected. Among the most remarkable portraits are those of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, standing, the latter presenting jewels in a dish to the former—probably the scene in the *darbar* at Mandu on Shah Jahan's return from the Deccan in 1619; and Shah Jahan seated, taking aim at deer while Sadullah Khan and Prince Dara Shikoh stand behind.

THE HINDI-SANSKRIT SECTION.—Far richer than the Urdu-Persian section is the Hindi-Sanskrit section. It is simply invaluable for a cultural history of ancient or medieval India, but it has no historical works that are not already well-known.

A few of the MSS. are finely illustrated. The collection of pictures includes those of all Hindu gods and goddesses, heroes and famous kings.

CHHATARPUR, CENTRAL INDIA.

Chhatarpur is a small state in Central India in the very heart of Bundelkhand. To the student of history, it is interesting primarily for the forts perched on the tops of hillocks, and for the temples and memorials, many of which are in ruins, scattered all over. The most remarkable group is the

one at Khajarah, close to Rajnagar, the boundary of the ancient Aryavarta, 26 miles from Chhatarpur, the present capital of the State. They were described by Cunningham many years ago. The Archæological Department, with the assistance of the State, is engaged in preparing a detailed survey, which is likely to be published in about a year. The splendid, imposing temples are nearly a thousand years old and rank among the oldest architectural monuments north of the Narbada. The absence of railway lines and the resulting difficulties of travel are responsible for the general ignorance about them even among scholars. But in historic interest and importance they are inferior to no monuments in Central or North India. The Khajarah temples fall into groups (1) the larger group of temples which are, at any rate now, dedicated to the Hindu gods and goddesses, Shiva, Vishnu, Kali, etc., and (2) the smaller group of Jain temples. The idols in the two sets are of course different, but the style of architecture is the same. The ceiling and the walls inside and outside are covered almost completely by statuary, representing gods and saints, even female figures and occasionally incidents of sacred lore, exactly after the Buddhist fashion. Of other decorations there is but little. The solidity of the structures reminds the visitor of the monuments of the Shirki kings of Jaunpore erected in the fourteenth century. The style reminds one of the southern temples. Further discussion must be postponed till the appearance of the memoir of the Archæological Survey, but it strikes one that these temples were constructed at a time when the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist styles of architecture nearly coincided, and that they represent a happy medium between the northern and southern schools.

It may be mentioned by the way that a drive through the interior of Bundelkhand, with its large stretches of barren soil covered by wild mushroom growth and terminated at the horizon by low, undulating, rugged hills, sometimes crowned by strong forts; with its rivulets rushing at headlong speed in the rains, but dry and sandy in the winters and summers; with its huge tanks and wells, and its sparse population, is the best preparation for an understanding of Bundela history.

THE CHHATARPUR LIBRARY

The various Central Indian states possess precious palace libraries which, when fully examined, will shed a flood of light on medieval Central Indian history. The one at Chhatarpur is a comparatively modern one but still valuable to the historian. It may be mentioned that it is divided into two sections (1) English, and (2) Sanscrit and Hindi. The former comprises works on classical literature, poetry and drama, fiction, history and politics, religion and philosophy, painting and sculpture, reference and miscellaneous

books. It is located in the balcony over the corridor of the spacious and beautiful Darbar Hall of white stone. It is not open to the public but there is no difficulty in obtaining His Highness the Maharaja's permission to visit it.

The Hindi-Sanscrit section is located within the palace and therefore inaccessible. It includes printed works as well as MSS. The catalogue is complete, though not very systematic. On obtaining His Highness's permission to consult the books, one may select any from the catalogue and they are brought for perusal in the Darbar Hall. The collection of printed works is a fine one, but it is needless to notice it here. The MSS., as usual with the palace-libraries of ruling princes, deal with all sorts of subjects—religion, philosophy, ethics, medicine, astronomy, poetry, prosody, history. The Chhatarpur Library is exceptionally rich in religious lore, and forms one of the finest collections of Vaishnavite literature in North India. It is therefore valuable for a cultural history of India and for a history of Hindi literature.

It contains more than twenty editions of the Bhagvad Gita with various commentaries in Sanscrit and Hindi. The Mahatmyas, or eulogies of all Hindu gods and goddesses, sacred rivers and places of pilgrimages, of all the months and of festivals, form another group of deep interest to the student of religious history. Quite a large number of works are devoted to ritual—Anhika sutraavidhis, Shraddha Karma, etc.

A whole section is devoted to 'Ramayan', that is, to poetic works on the life of Rama or on the cult of Rama worship, composed in Sanscrit and Hindi through centuries. The Bhagvat, the great epitome of the cult of Krishna, may be read here in numerous Sanscrit copies and Hindi translations. Each canto is also separately represented by more than one copy. All the Smritis or Hindu Law-books are here in various recensions. Nothing need be said of the original Sanscrit copies of the Puranas—those store-houses of Hindu history and mythology—but it may be remarked that their various Hindi translations deposited here are indispensable for an historical study of Hindi literature.

Sur Das, the poet-laureate of Hindi, is represented by several recensions. There are three rare works—Vyalisila, Bani and Padavali—of the devotional Hindi poet, Dhruva Das, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century—valuable for the contemporary Renaissance. Among the other rare works may be mentioned (1) the Sakhis and (2) Padas of Biharini Das who flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century; (3) and (4) the two Samaya Prabandhas of Nagari Das, another poet of the same period; (5) the Ras ke pad; (6) Mangal char pada, and (7) the padas of Vyas Swami, one of the bright jewels of the sixteenth century. They are all devoted to Bhakti—the personal worship of a personal God.

The Chhatarpur Library contains but scanty material on political history. There are two interesting genealogies—one of the Parmar branch which has given the present dynasty to Chhatarpur, and the other of the Bundelas¹.

UNIVERSITY HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
ALLAHABAD.

BENI PRASAD.

Mr. Gurty Venkat Rao's Report
THE MADRAS LIBRARIES

I went to Madras to consult the Mackenzie collections and other documents, contained in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, with a view to collect some materials for constructing an account of the administrative organization and the financial resources of the Vijayanagar Empire, together with an estimate of their influence on the well-being of the people under its sway. During my stay there, I visited the Connemara Public Library, the University Library, the Telugu Academy, the Literary Society Library, the Secretariat Library, the Assistant Epigraphist's office, and the Government Oriental MSS. Library, the major portion of my time being spent in the last.

The Connemara Library contains a large collection of books which enabled me to look up references in published works (*e.g.*, certain volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Madras Epigraphical reports, all the issues of the Madras Christian College Magazine, etc.) which are not to be found in our libraries here. The books not available in that library were supplied by the University Library which is situated under the same roof.

During my visits to the Telugu Academy I found that their Journal published from time to time invaluable materials for South Indian History, among which may be noted the 'Rayavachakam' (containing a somewhat detailed account of the achievements of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar), the 'Pratapacharitam' (about Pratapa-rudradeva, the Gajapati King) and Anagondi Sasanams, etc.

In the Literary Society Library I came across a pamphlet by Mr. G. Hari-Sarvottam Rao, entitled 'The Neglected Emperor Poet', which presents Krishnadeva-Raya as an author and patron of Telugu literature. I also went through all the series of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science contained in that library. This Journal was started in October 1833, and was continued intermittently till 1889. Its issues for 1838 to 1840, and for 1848, contain analytical reports of the Mackenzie papers restored by Rev. W. Taylor and deposited in the Madras Oriental MSS. Library. These reports were very helpful to me in studying the five bulky volumes of the Mackenzie

¹ For providing facilities in the Chhatarpur Library, I have to thank H. H. The Mahajara, Pandit Shukdeva Bihari Misra, B.A., Diwan and himself a leading Hindi writer, and Mr. Gulab Rai, M.A., LL.B., Private Secretary to His Highness.—B. P.

documents noticed below. Besides these, the Journal contains articles which are very useful for the student of South Indian History—*vide* H. H. Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya (1837, pp. 176—220), C. P. Brown's notes on creeds, customs, and literature of the Jangams (1840, pp. 143—76), Mrs. L. Fletcher's article on Ibn Batuta in Southern India (1888, pp. 37—59), etc. The Appendix to the Journal for 1878 contains an index by Dr. G. Oppert to the 62 volumes of the Local Records copied by C. P. Brown from the Mackenzie MSS.

A major portion of my time at Madras was spent in the examination of the *MACKENZIE MSS.* contained in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. These manuscripts in their original form are in a very bad condition, worm-eaten, and difficult to read. Fortunately, copies of a major portion of these documents prepared by Messrs. Taylor, Brown and other scholars are available in the same library. These copies are to be found in the volumes entitled respectively :

(a) The Mackenzie MSS., restored by Rev. W. Taylor, in five bulky volumes. Each volume contains about 700 pages and is written in various South-Indian scripts (*i.e.*, Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam and Marathi). The contents of these volumes are varied in character, legendary, historical and descriptive. The historical portions, such as the Congu-desā Rājakal and the Carnatic Rājakal Savistāra charitra in Tamil, and the Keral Utpatti in Malayālam (*vide* Volume I), the account of the Chola Rājas (Volume II, Telugu, pp. 559—93), an account of Shivaji and of his wars with the Padaslah (Volume III, Marathi, pp. 551—629), an account of Vira Krishna-deva, the Gajapati prince (Volume IV, Telugu, pp. 507—46) etc., though containing much valuable information, are not to be entirely relied upon. They sometimes give facts which are contrary to epigraphical evidence. The second volume (pp. 665—87) contains a letter from Raghunath Yādava to Nānā Fadnavis which, if genuine, is of undoubted value to a student of Maratha history. The descriptive portions deal with various South Indian temples, tribes, and clans. But these volumes contain very little information regarding the administration and economic history of the Vijayanagar Empire, and so their study did not benefit me much.

(b) The Local Records in 62 volumes, restored in 1844 from the Mackenzie MSS. by C. P. Brown. A major portion of these volumes are in Telugu, the rest being in Tamil, Kanarese, Marathi, Sanskrit, and Persian. Each volume contains 450 to 500 pages, and during the short time at my disposal it was impossible for me to study all the volumes minutely. However, I tried my best to gain a general idea of their contents, and to note down the passages bearing on the subject of my special study. Each of them contains a legendary, historical, and descriptive account of various

towns, villages, and temples of South India. The historical portions throw some light on the methods of administration and the financial resources of the Vijayanagar Empire. The inscriptions of various localities noticed in them are important because many of them have since disappeared. The economic (*i.e.*, productions, prices, etc.) and statistical details relate to the latter half of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, and consequently are invaluable to a student of that period. The 13th volume contains a somewhat detailed account of Seringapatam (pp. 345—418) written by one Guram Kondamarasayya. The same is also given in the 22nd volume (pp. 383—465). The 40th volume (page 10—40) contains copies of sanads in Persian and Marathi by Saiyyad Hamid Sadulla Hasan (A.H. 1092), Hyder Ali (A.H. 1193) and other rulers. There is a beautiful impression of a 'board-seal' of Krishnadeva Raya on page 55 of the same volume. On the whole, my study of these volumes enabled me to gain some insight into the various aspects of the subject of my special study.

(c) No name, but in two big volumes of about 500 pages each. The first volume contains a summary of the inscriptions coming from the 'Ceded Districts'. A large number of them relate to the Vijayanagar period and throw some light on the land-values, rents, and taxes of those days. The second volume contains a catalogue of inscriptions of the 'Southern Districts', and those collected in different parts of Mysore, Canara, etc. But most of them are in Tamil, and refer to the Chola and the Pandya times. The same volume also includes a few Mohammadan sanads and grants (*vide* Part III, pp. 123—23) and other memorials.

Besides these, I went through two bulky volumes (generally called the Elliot collections) of about 800 pages each. They are entitled the *TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS*, and a major portion of them refer to the Chalukyas, Pandyas, Reddis, Gajapatis, and Kakatiyas. There are very few inscriptions in them relating to the Vijayanagar period.

In addition to these works, I studied a few minor works on palm-leaves (*e.g.*, Vedanta Desika's *Abhiti-stava*, Vidyananya's *Rajakala-Nirnayam*, Vijayanagaram *Kaifiyat*, etc.), but these did not yield the materials I was looking for.

It may be stated that there is great scarcity of materials for the administrative and economic history of the Vijayanagar empire. The Mackenzie MSS. upon which Mr. Lewis Rice based his account (see his *Mysore Gaz.*, Volume I, pp. 578-88) are not to be found in the Government Oriental MSS. Library of Madras. Perhaps they are in England. However, I tried my best to glean as much material as possible from among the documents available to me in Madras.

UNIVERSITY HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
ALLAHABAD,
12th August 1921.

GURTY VENKAT RAO.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Tour.

The object of my tour was twofold. In the first place I wanted to collect rare historical manuscripts, to consult the records preserved in many an Indian State, and to formulate proposals for their safe custody. In the second place, I wanted to make myself acquainted with the needs of the colleges affiliated to the University of Allahabad, to offer such suggestions with regard to the teaching of History, the text-books prescribed, etc., as seemed to me to be necessary to the objective study of a complex science like History, and finally to encourage the prosecution of original research according to a policy that would bring local history and general history into one focus, and show the doings of our ancestors not merely through the smoked glasses of a dry-as-dust text-book, but with the clear gaze and pure vision derived from a complete grasp of the primary data. The problem of local history awaited solution, no less than the problem of national history. How far, and to what extent, should the natural desire of a college, say, at Indore, for the study of Maharatta history be gratified? How was this comparatively narrow outlook on history to be broadened, in order that a connected history of India as a nation might find its due place in the hierarchy of our educational requirements?

These were the two objects of my tour, and I am glad to be able to say that a prolonged tour, extending over seven weeks, has resulted in the solution of both of these difficulties. I have been able to gain important information concerning some data indispensable for history; I have visited many of the Record Offices of the Indian States through which I have passed, and have made arrangements whereby some of the most useful, as they are the most important, of the data may be transcribed for the use of the University History Department, Allahabad. This is a satisfactory beginning, and we hope to be able gradually to secure transcripts of all the documents in which we are keenly interested. Moreover, some exceptionally rare manuscripts have been acquired, and agents have been appointed to keep the Department in touch with the progress of discoveries. We hope to be able to collect a large amount of essential information in this way. Only after the enormous mass of first-hand data has been thoroughly examined and properly studied, will it be possible to construct a sound, because scientific, history of the Indian people.

The amount of material preserved in the libraries of many an Indian State and in private collections is so much, that the writer is justified in saying that a truly objective history of India, embodying voluminous

material along scientific lines, has yet to be written. This conclusion is based on experience of numerous libraries, private and public. I have been able to go through some of these documents in the Indian States through which I travelled.

As regards the second object, this has been achieved by visits to, and lectures at, the most important colleges affiliated to the University of Allahabad. The following is a short account of the tour:—

- January 16 Left Allahabad: arrived Cawnpore.
 „ 17 Lectured at D.A.V. College, Cawnpore, to the students of the D.A.V. and Christ Church Colleges.
 „ 18 Left Cawnpore: arrived Bareilly.
 „ 19 Lectured at Bareilly College.
 „ 20 Arrived Delhi.
 „ 21 Arrived Meerut: lectured at Meerut College.
 „ 22-24 Returned to Delhi.
 „ 25 Left Delhi: arrived Ajmir.
 „ 26-29 Jodhpore: collection of MSS.; visit to Record Office; lecture (29th) at Jaswant College.
 „ 30 Ajmir: lecture at Government College; visited Mayo College and Government High School.
 „ 31- } Udaipur: consulted MSS.; visited places of historical
 Feb. 4 } interest.
 February 5-11 Indore: 4 lectures—in the two colleges, the General Library, and the Secretariat; visit to Record Office; consulted MSS.; visited the Record Office.
 „ 12-17 Jaipur: visit to places of interest; consulted MSS.; two lectures at the Maharaja's College.
 „ 18-19 Agra.
 „ 20-23 Nagpur: lectures at Hislop College and Morris College.
 „ 25-27 Hyderabad (Deccan); visit to Sir Salar Jung's Library, and State Library; collected MSS.; visited the Usmania University; consulted records in the *daftari divani*, and the *daftari mali* "دفتاری مالی"; and consulted many private collection of MSS., and printed books.
 March 1-2 Calcutta.
 „ 3 Returned to Allahabad.

I hope to be able to give a short, critical account of the numerous records consulted by me in the course of my tour, in the next issue of the *Journal of Indian History*.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS have been held over to the next number, owing lack of space.

Hoe & Co., Madras.

