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Lord Wellesley and the Provincial Battalions

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT.,
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The history of the Sebundy Corps, a section of the Company's army, serving under the judges, magistrates, collectors and commercial residents in the lower provinces has not received the due attention from the historians. The Sebundy Corps performed duties of a semi-military nature, and thus were analogous in some ways to the old Pargana Battalions in Bengal. The several Sebundy Corps which continued till the time of Wellesley were already notorious for their inefficiency and corruption. It is to the credit of Wellesley that he decided to wind up¹ the Sebundy Corps, and reform and remodel that establishment with a view to ensure the due and proper performance of those services which were originally expected from the several Sebundy Corps. The reorganisation² of these corps is one of the characteristic reforms of Wellesley's regime, although it has not been properly studied by historians yet.

Lest the abrupt disbandment of the existing Sebundy Corps should cause grave inconvenience to the administration, a policy of gradual replacement was decided upon by Wellesley. It was agreed by the Governor-General-in-Council after due consideration of the whole matter that the Sebundy Corps would be continued on their present footing up to November 1, 1803, and that from and after that date these would be replaced by what were called the new Provincial Battalions. It is these Battalions which would now supply detachments for the performance of the duties formerly assigned to the whole of the Sebundy Corps in the Bengal provinces.³

The official records⁴ indicate that the new Battalions were formed on a sound footing so as to obviate the old evils associated

1. Fort William Proceedings, Sept. 1, 1803.

2. Military Department Proceedings, Aug. 25, 1803.

3. Military General Orders, 1803.

4. Orders from the Judicial, Revenue and Public Departments, 1803.

with the Sebundies. The new Battalions were to be commanded by European commissioned officers. They were to be subject to martial law. They would be formed, paid and clothed according to the plan which had been adopted for such troops lately in the Ceded areas. The amount of the monthly abstracts of pay for the Battalions would be paid from the treasury of the nearest Collectors respectively. The muster rolls and abstracts were to be signed by the Magistrate of the city or district where the Corps were stationed. The Magistrate was to take all steps as would be necessary to satisfy himself that the men returned on command and on detachment were effective. Monthly returns of the Corps were to be transmitted through the Magistrates to the Governor-General in Council in the Judicial Department.

The new Provincial Battalions were stationed at the following centres, which were considered the head quarters of the respective Corps:—Benares, Dacca, Chittagong, Burdwan, Patna, Murshidabad and Purnea. An European Commissioned Officer performed the duties of Adjutant with the usual staff allowance, whenever such officers could be spared from the Regular Corps for that purpose. Such of the existing Sebundies as were considered willing and efficient were received and enrolled in the new Corps. Any deficiencies were to be made up by fresh recruitment. The Commanding Officers of the new Battalions were to transmit indents for arms for the use of the Corps under their respective Command to the Military Board, who would take necessary measures for having "Serviceable Repaired" arms supplied from the nearest Magazines. No Batta was to be drawn for the Indian officers and sepoys in any situation, nor were they to be considered entitled to the Invalid Establishment, excepting such of them as should have been sent from the Regular Battalions, or such of the Indian officers and men as should be rendered incapable of further duty from wounds received in the execution of their duties. All this was due obviously to considerations of economy, but one reason was to place these Battalions on a footing different from that of the Regulars.

The Provincial Battalions were placed under strict watch with a view to maintain discipline. The General Officers on the Staff at Calcutta, Dinapore, Chunar and Berhampore were directed to inspect occasionally the provincial battalions stationed in the vicinity of their respective commands, and to report at least once every six months the state of the Corps with respect to discipline, clothing and equipments, to the Governor-General in Council. The

General Officers at Chunar, Dinapore and Berhampore had constant opportunities of inspecting the Battalions, the Head Quarters of which were fixed at Benares, Patna and Murshidabad. The Officer Commanding at the Presidency inspected the Corps stationed at Burdwan, and the Officers Commanding at Dinapore and Berhampore occasionally deputed Officers to inspect and report on the state of the Corps at Purnea, Dacca and Chittagong, when it was inconvenient for themselves to proceed to so great a distance from their respective stations. With a view to provide effectually for the duties previously performed by the Sebundies in the district of Bhagalpur, the Governor-General in Council directed that an addition of one Indian Havildar, one Naik, and 12 sepoys to each of the Four Companies of the Hill Corps Rangers be made to that Corps.

The duties performed by the reformed Battalions were of a multifarious character. In addition to all normal Provincial duties, the Corps worked in place of the Barqandazes and peons attached to the Civil Officers in the different departments. They provided for occasional Reliefs and all contingencies. The Battalion established at Chittagong was intended to provide for the duties of the Salt Department at Bulwah, formerly performed by a party of the Calcutta Native Militia.

The expenses of the Battalions were kept as low as possible. The Officers were, however, allowed the Batta of the superior rank, conformably to the general rule of the service. The cloathing which was to correspond as nearly as possible with the uniform of the Regulars was provided from the established offreckonings. Bounty cloathing was allowed in the first instance in the usual manner.

No contingent expense was to be incurred by the officers Commanding the Battalions without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. When any such expense was incurred, the Bill for the amount had to be attested in the usual Form by the Officers Commanding the Battalion, and countersigned by the Magistrate. The Bill was then to be transmitted by the Commanding Officer to the Paymaster of Extraordinaries for being forwarded to the Military Auditor General and the Military Board and thence to the Government. In the event of the Bill being passed by the Government, the amount was to be carried to the debit of the Civil Department with the other expenses of the Battalions.

The undermentioned officers were appointed to command the new Battalions as follows:—

Lt. Ludlow—Benares.
 Capt. John Stewart—Patna, Purnea, Murshidabad.
 Capt. John Leathart—Burdwan, Dacca, Chittagong.

Each Battalion was staffed, in addition to European Commissioned officers, by Indian officers and men as follows:—

Subadars—	Pay Rs. 36 sonaut rupees.
Jamadars—	do. 18 do.
Havildars—	do. 11 do.
Naiks—	do. 9 do.
Drummers—	do. 9 do.
Sepoys—	do. 5/8 do.
Pukallies—	do. 12 do.

Among other Indian staff were Sircars, Native Doctors, Sicligurs, Chucklers, Tendals and Lascars.

The number of sepoy in each Battalion was as follows:—

Burdwan—	816
Patna—	864
Benares—	674
Purnea—	960
Dacca—	909
Murshidabad—	792
Chittagong—	576

All applications from the officers commanding Provincial Battalions were to be transmitted to the Governor-General in Council in the Judicial Department through the Magistrate. The Officers appointed to command the Battalions had to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for permission to select from the European Corps proper non-commissioned officers for the performance of the duties of Serjeant Majors to their respective Battalions. The Commanding Officers had also to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for such Indian staff as might be desirous of being transferred from the regular Corps to the Provincial Battalions.

In short, everything was done to eliminate the abuses in the organisation of the old Sebundies and to place the new Battalions on a sound footing.

The date of Nidhanpur Grant of Bhaskaravarma¹

BY

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The Nidhanpur Copper-Plates Grant of Bhaskaravarma, King of Kamarupa, is the basis of our knowledge about the political history of Assam in the early period. This Grant records how Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarma issued from his victorious camp at Karnasuvarna where he was in residence (*jayasabdārtha-skandhā vārat Karnasuvarna Vāsakat*) certain copper-plates confirming the bestowal by his ancestor King Bhutivarman (*rājā Sri Bhutivarmanā*) of an area of land in Mayurasālmālagrahāra situated in the district (*visaya*) of Chandrapuri on two hundred and five Brahmins named in the copper-plates. The exact location of the land thus bestowed is still uncertain. The findspot, Nidhanpur, is in the modern district of Sylhet, East Pakistan. The main historical interest of this grant lies in the circumstance that it gives a genealogy of Maharajadhiraja Bhaskaravarma upto his twelfth ancestor, Pushyavarma, the lord of the earth (*kshitipati*), who has been considered² as the contemporary of Samudragupta, the second Gupta Emperor, though Sir Edward Gait³ would place him a century later. This inscription is not dated, but Bhaskaravarma is known from Indian and Chinese sources to have been a contemporary of Harsavardhana (A.D. 606-647). Bana in his *Harsa-Charita*⁴ states that Bhaskaravarma the lord of Pragjyotisa (*Pragjyotisesvara*) sent an envoy named Hamsavega to Harsavardhana when the latter immediately after his accession, was leading an expedition against Sasanka, the king of Gauda. This shows that Bhaskaravarma had been the ruler of Pragjyotisa before Harsa ascended the throne in A.D. 606. Again, Chinese sources⁵ show

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff and *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*.

2. *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*, Introduction, p. 14.

3. Sir Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 28.

4. Bana-*Harsa-Charita*, 7th Uchasa in Eng. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 211-233, or Gajendragadkar's edition of original text pp. 176-177.

5. M. Sylvain Levi—*Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen-T'se dans l'Inde* translated in Indian Antiquary, 1911, pp. 111 ff.

that Bhaskaravarma was reigning when in A.D. 647 Wang-heun-tsi led his expedition against Arjuna, the Minister of Harsa, who had usurped the throne of Kanouj on the death of Harsa. In the account of Wang-heun-tsi's last visit to India in A.D. 657 there is no mention of Bhaskaravarma who evidently had already died. Bhaskaravarma then ruled at least from A.D. 604 to A.D. 649. The question is when, during this long period of his rule, he issued his land-grant from Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauḍa, which he must then have conquered and occupied.

Divergent views have been expressed on the subject. According to one view⁶ Bhaskaravarma issued his copper-plates grant early in the seventh century of the Christian era when he and his ally Harsavardhana were in joint possession of Karnasuvarna celebrating their triumph over Sasanka, the king of Gauḍa. A second view⁷ is that Bhaskaravarma conquered and occupied Karnasuvarna by his own efforts, of course as an ally of Harsa, in A.D. 610. According to a third view⁸ Karnasuvarna passed into the hands of Bhaskara through Harsa's conquest of it, at some later date than that of his first campaign against Sasanka immediately after the murder of Rajyavardhana; and this second campaign of Harsa "might have taken place either during the life-time of Sasanka or after his death" which must have taken place shortly before A.D. 637 when Hiuen Tsiang travelled over Magadha and Karnasuvarna over which, he states, Sasanka had recently ruled.⁹ A fourth view¹⁰ holds that Bhaskaravarma was in possession of Gauḍa and of North Rāḍha in A.D. 642 when he "passed up the Ganges" with a large fleet of boats and a large army to meet Harsa at Kajangal which has been identified with Rajmahal. These four views thus agree in holding that Bhaskara was in possession of Gauḍa including its capital Karnasuvarna during the life-time of Harsa. A fifth view¹¹ would put Bhaskaravarma's conquest of Karnasuvarna after the death of Harsavardhana in A.D. 646-647. The Nidhanpur grant was, according to this view, posterior to Harsa's death. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who supported this view previously, has

6. Bhattacharya, *Kamarupa-Sasanavali*, Introduction, p. 16.
7. K. L. Barua, *Early History of Assam*, pp. 86-87.
8. R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 228.
9. Watters, *Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 185.
10. D. C. Gangulik, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, pp. 122-124.
11. Sir Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 29; and also R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, p. 348.

lately modified his judgment and would now place the conquest of Gauḍa by Bhaskaravarma between A.D. 638 and 642.¹²

Such divergence of opinions shows the uncertainty of the date of the conquest and occupation of Karnasuvarna, the capital of Gauḍa, by Bhaskaravarma and consequently of the date of the issue of the Nidhanpur grant.

Certain circumstances are, however, indubitable. It was Bhaskaravarma who sought Harsa's alliance immediately after the latter's accession following the murder of his elder brother and predecessor Rajyavardhana, even before Harsa had won a single laurel. Does it not suggest that weak as Harsa was at that time Bhaskara was weaker still? Indeed the recently discovered Doobi copper-plates grant¹³ of Bhaskaravarma shows in what precarious condition Bhaskara ascended the throne of Kamarupa. We are told that immediately after the death of his father Susthitavarma a Gauḍa army invaded Kamarupa and defeated Bhaskaravarma and his elder brother Supratisthitavarma so severely that Supratisthitavarma eventually died and Bhaskara ascended the throne vacated by the death of his elder brother. The name of the Gauḍa King who led this invasion on Kamarupa is not mentioned. He was in all probability Sasanka himself. If this supposition is correct it at once explains how natural it was for Bhaskara to seek the friendship and alliance of the more powerful Harsavardhana who, as we know, had a similar wrong to avenge on Sasanka. Nothing is known to have been done by Bhaskaravarma during the next three or four years to justify the view that he conquered Gauḍa as early as A.D. 610. Further, no contemporary authority states that Harsa defeated the Gauḍa King Sasanka in battle. On the other hand the evidence of the Ganjam Copper-plate¹⁴ definitely proves that Sasanka continued to be acknowledged till A.D. 619 as the suzerain over Kongoda which has been identified with the region round the Chilka Lake in Orissa. In view of this admitted fact it is unjustified to hold that Sasanka had lost Gauḍa at any time before A.D. 619. Indeed Kongoda itself was not conquered by Harsa before A.D. 642,¹⁵ and this circumstance strengthens the inference that Sasanka remained

12. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 78.
13. P. D. Chowdhury, *Journal of the Assam Research Society* Vol. XII, 1949, pp. 17 ff verses 48-51 and D. C. Sarkar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 24-246.
14. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.
15. *Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 159.

in full possession of all his territories including Gauḍa not only upto A.D. 619 but also till his death many years later. Thus the theory of the occupation of Gauḍa either jointly by Harsa and Bhaskara or by Bhaskara alone at any time before A.D. 619 has to be discarded.

The view that some years after his accession Harsa made a second invasion on Gauḍa which he then conquered and handed over to his ally, Bhaskaravarma, not only pre-supposes too much altruism on the part of a monarch who fought incessantly for about forty years to extend his empire but is based absolutely on unconfirmed assumptions, on "might haves". As Dr. R. G. Basak, the author of this view, himself puts it,¹⁶ "Harsa might have marched a second time against Sasanka's kingdom in the company of Bhaskara". Indeed Harsa *might have* done many things, but the question is what he really did. On this point all contemporary records are silent, and the *Manju-Sri-Mulakalpa* on which Dr. Basak would rely¹⁷ is not only a much later work and vitiated by sectarian feelings but is also so very cryptic in its statements that these cannot be accepted as true unless these are corroborated by other independent evidence. And there is no corroborative evidence in support of its statements that Ha (meaning Harsa) defeated Soma (i.e. Sasanka) and "forbade him to move out of his country and ordered him to remain there".¹⁸ Even if this statement is accepted as correct it does not prove that Gauḍa passed under Bhaskaravarma's rule before the death of Sasanka which event has to be dated shortly before A.D. 637 when Hiuen Tsiang visited Magadha and found there many proofs of Sasanka's recent anti-Buddhistic vandalism.¹⁹

The view that Gauḍa and Karnasuvarna passed under Bhaskaravarma before A.D. 642 during the life-time of Harsavardhana is based on the sole authority of a statement in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*. The Chinese pilgrim was then on a visit to the court of Bhaskaravarma. Emperor Harsavardhana who, on his way back from Kongoda (Orissa) which he had just conquered, was then camping at Kujurguria which has been identified with Rajmahal, heard of the presence of the Chinese pilgrim in the

16. *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 226.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

18. Jayaswal's edition; verses 721-725 and also *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 63-64.

19. Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 92 and 115.

court of Bhaskaravarma and asked the latter to send the pilgrim to the presence of Harsa. But Bhaskara refused to do so and went to the extent of stating in reply that Harsa might take Bhaskara's head rather than the pilgrim. Such an answer to his request greatly irritated Harsa who promptly sent the demand that Bhaskara should then send his own head. The rest of the story is best told in the words of the *Life* itself. "Kumara (Bhaskaravarma) deeply alarmed at the folly of his language, immediately ordered his army of elephants, 20,000 in number, to be equipped and his ships, 30,000 in number. Then embarking with the Master of the Law they passed up the Ganges together in order to reach the place where Siladitya raja was residing".²⁰ After a march of several days (the number is not mentioned) they met Siladitya (as Harsavardhana is called in the Chinese texts) at Kujurguria which was on the north bank of the Ganges. Some days later on Harsa, accompanied by Bhaskaravarma as well as the Chinese pilgrim, went up to Kanouj where "there were present kings of eighteen countries of the five Indies" to adorn the Court of Emperor Harsavardhana.²¹ This is, in brief, the account on which the theory has been built that at that time (A.D. 642) Bhaskaravarma was in possession of Gauḍa and Karnasuvarna because he could march unopposed through the country with a large army.

The above account is not as free from obscurities as one should expect it to be in order to build on it a theory. First, where was Bhaskaravarma holding his Court when Hiuen Tsiang first met him? In this connection it has to be remembered that according to the *Travels*²² Hiuen Tsiang went to Kamarupa from Nalanda by the land-route and crossed on his way the Karatoya. There is nothing to show that since his arrival at the Kamarupa court king Bhaskaravarma along with the Chinese pilgrim had gone to any place on the bank of the Ganges in Gauḍa where, according to this theory, he must have been when he received the summons from Harsa to send the Chinese pilgrim to his camp at Kujurguria. In the absence of any such evidence the theory has to depend on three words viz. "up the Ganges". If this account in the *Life* is read in the light of the personal account of the pilgrim himself as left in his *Travels* one would be driven to hold that *here* the *Life* has erred. It was not "up the Ganges" that they could

20. Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* p. 172.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

22. Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 348-349 and Vol. II, p. 185.

Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

BY

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III

On the point of reforms, however, the Nawab Wazir maintained a discreet silence. Minto, now, decided that it was time for him to come to Baillie's aid, with a direct address from himself to the Nawab Wazir. His address of May 8th, 1812 to the Nawab Wazir was a document equally distinguished for the moderation of its language and the harshness of its allegations. He emphasised therein the right of the British Government to investigate and arbitrate in Oudh affairs, urged an acquiescence on the part of the Nawab Wazir in the plans proposed to him, and referred him for further details and negotiations to Baillie, who, Minto made it clear, enjoyed his perfect confidence and backing.¹³⁸

On August 26, 1812, twenty months after his receiving the Governor-General's first direct address on the question of reforms, Saadut Ali, who had not, so far, deigned to reply either to this letter or to the two letters written to him by General Hewett, (while he was acting Governor-General) replied to Minto's letter of May 8, 1812 and acknowledged all the other previous letters too. In the preparation of this reply Baillie had wished to assist Saadut Ali, so that the tone of it may be submissive.¹³⁹ When it was sent for Baillie's prior perusal, in accordance with the diplomatic practice of the time, that officer found it "so full of the Vizier's characteristic deceit and evasion, so replete with erroneous statements of every fact and argument that it contains, as to exceed in all those characteristic qualities every former production of his Excellency's that has fallen under my observation." He submitted a memorial on it challenging some of its facts and requesting the Nawab Wazir to recast it. The paragraphs regarding the reforms question were not re-cast at all.¹⁴⁰ The tone of this letter was sub-

138. Oude Papers: Op. Cit., pp. 283-287.

139. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 56, p. 422.

140. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 1, p. 483.

embark; it must have been down the Brahmaputra that they sailed. Once the Karatoya was crossed, as the Chinese pilgrim did cross, and an entrance was made into Kamarupa one could not reach the Ganges, far less go up it, without first going down the Brahmaputra. Secondly, a dispassionate study of the *Life* is bound to leave on the mind of the reader the impression that like all biographers, the author of the *Life* also was suffering from an excessive desire for adulating the hero and has exaggerated all that was done to show honour to him. One instance, I hope, will suffice to prove this submission. We are told in the *Life* that all over India none was found either amongst the Hinayanists or among the orthodox Brahmanical Hindus who could controvert the Master of the Law. Yet on his own admission we know that during the religious disputations held at Kanouj under Harsa's patronage Harsa publicly announced that "whosoever speaks against him (the Master of the Law) his tongue shall be cut,"²³ and, no wonder that "from this time", as the *Life* naively adds, "the followers of error withdrew and disappeared". It is thus evident that the Master of the Law owed his dialectical triumphs not always, as the *Life* would have us believe, to his intellectual superiority but occasionally at least to more readily appreciable agencies. In the circumstances one has to take the whole account with great reservation. Just as Hiuen Tsiang himself was guilty of an error when he stated that Bhaskaravarma was a Brahmin by caste²⁴ similarly the author of the *Life* was guilty of the double error of mistaken topography and of exaggeration in stating that Bhaskaravarma embarked "up the Ganges" with so large an army. Even if the account is assumed to be correct and if it is taken as a whole all that it shows is that Harsavardhana was at the time (A.D. 642) the undisputed suzerain of Northern India. He marched over the country as he liked, ordered kings as he pleased and was readily obeyed by his princely subordinates who felt obliged to accompany him on his marches and to the festivals sponsored by him.

The conclusion thus is inevitable that in A.D. 642 when Hiuen Tsiang visited Kamarupa as well as in A.D. 643 when the Chinese pilgrim attended Harsa's sixth quinquennial assembly at Prayaga Maharajadhiraja Sri Harsa was the sovereign of Northern India receiving the homage of eighteen kings including Bhaskaravarma, the king of Kamarupa. But, as the Nidhanpur grant assuredly

23. Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 180.

24. Watters, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 186.

proves, Bhaskaravarma was at one time certainly holding his victorious camp at Karnasuvarna the capital of Gauḍa and must have been in residence there for some time in peace to be able to issue land-grants confirming gifts of lands made by a remote ancestor. To the question what that time was the Nidhanpur grant itself affords the answer. It is no doubt undated but it contains a significant term which it seems has so long escaped the attention that it deserves. In the Nidhanpur grant the genealogy of Bhaskaravarma is clearly traced for twelve preceding generations beginning with Pushyavarma. All the twelve royal predecessors of Bhaskaravarma, including Bhutivarma whose gift of land the Nidhanpur grant confirmed, are referred to by such unassuming prefixes as *kshitisvara* (Pushyavarma) *kshitipa* (Samudravarma), *nripa* (Sthitavarma) and *raja* (Bhutivarma). But Bhaskaravarma is referred to as Maharajadhiraja. As the Bhanskera seal of Harsavardhana shows, that was also the style of the royal title that Harsa himself bore. If that monarch had not allowed, as the *Life* states,²⁵ during his time any other king to march to what was called the "music-pace-drums" he must have seen to it that no other northern Indian king did use, so long as he lived, the royal and majestic title which he himself had assumed. India is a vast country no doubt, but it must have been too small for two emperors, two Maharajadhirajas, to rule at one and the same time. Bhaskaravarma therefore could have assumed this title only after the demise of his more illustrious imperial contemporary. It must have been therefore only after Harsa's death in A.D. 646-647 that Bhaskaravarma assumed the dignified title of Maharajadhiraja and it was only then that he could conquer Gauḍa and Karnasuvarna taking advantage of the utter disorganisation and complete weakness that came to prevail all over Harsa's empire after his death which made the incursion of Wang-heun-tsi possible and feasible. Dr. Majumdar need not have modified his earlier view that Bhaskaravarma occupied Karnasuvarna in A.D. 647. It is, however, needless to assume that he did so to feed an ancient grudge. He conquered Gauḍa including its capital to satisfy his own natural territorial ambition when the removal of the strong arms of Maharajadhiraja Sri Harsavardhana and the accession of an usurper afforded him an unprecedented opportunity which he was not the man to let slip.

25. "As Siladitya marched, he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums, who beat one stroke for every step taken; they called these the "music-pace-drums", Siladitya alone used this method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it."—Beal—*Life*, p. 173.

missive and polite, as of course, the tone of all letters that the Nawab Wazir wrote to the Governor-General, had to be; but the burden of it was: (i) That he was desirous of reform himself, but when at an earlier date he wanted to send his son to make some revenue settlements, Baillie had vetoed this move.¹⁴¹ (ii) That full measurement of all land, before assessment; the co-operation of the kanoongoes, chowdharies, patwaris and zamindars, etc.; a guarantee that the amils in the course of the performance of their duties would not prove to be oppressors of the peasants and renters and ryot in general—all these seemed to him to be the steps essentially preliminary, before the reform plan could be implemented.¹⁴² (iii) That before the Police and Judiciary of Oudh could be safely reformed, disaffection should be completely rooted out and the rebels "utterly extirpated."¹⁴³ (iv) That whatever reforms were undertaken "my independent power and authority, as established by treaty, may not thereby be impaired, and my dignity and consequence be not diminished in the slightest degree in the eyes of my subjects."¹⁴⁴

At this particular stage of the Reform negotiations somehow circumstances so conspired that a whole storm of differences and disputes should arise between the Oudh and British Governments. These we shall notice later; suffice it to say here that for sometime the matter of reforms was shelved. In the heat of controversy things became bitter and the Nawab-Wazir lodged a report against Baillie's conduct and expressed a desire to be permitted to travel, leaving the affairs of state to a Regent,¹⁴⁵ but Minto was not the man to be deluded. He still remembered the Reform Plans and instructed the Resident to exploit the existing circumstances to press this outstanding question.¹⁴⁶

The occurrence of a burglary in an English officer's house in the Cantonments of Lucknow in May 1813, again brought to the fore the question of reforms in the Police administration of Oudh.¹⁴⁷

141. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 468, 484, paras 2 and 3 of p. 488. Baillie challenged this statement; but it seems that in general the Nawab-Wazir was right in this allegation of his.

142. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

143. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

144. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 485.

145. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 331.

146. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 9, p. 347.

147. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 408-409.

Let us remember that it was at this very time that the ticklish question of the Nawab's temporary retirement from the government was being considered. All these things the English Government now absolutely linked together.¹⁴⁸ The reply of Baillie, in effect, was, "If you are keen to go, we shall not obstruct you; all you have to do is to put the administration of Oudh into our hands, whosoever is the Regent will have to be a mere rubber-stamp. You may go after making over charge of government to us, whenever it pleases you. The Reforms Plan, in that case, we shall carry through in your absence. That is not going to be delayed whether you remain or go."¹⁴⁹ Saadut Ali was quick to realise that he had made a faux pas, and wanted to retrace his steps. He had made a mistake about his man, now he knew Baillie better.¹⁵⁰ Following close upon this came the crushing notice from Baillie saying in unambiguous language that so far the Nawab-Wazir had been playing for time—the game could not continue longer because any amount of delay would not change the views of the Supreme Government.¹⁵¹ He went on nagging the Nawab-Wazir, telling him over and over again that his fears of loss of authority and doubts about the practicability of the Reforms Plan were "imaginary and groundless", that the British right to interfere even in the "ordinary government, the usual exercise of his authority", which was guaranteed by the Treaty, would be exercised as completely as possible in the most momentous as well as the most trivial affairs of the Oudh Government.¹⁵² The secret intelligence from the Nawab-Wazir's court for these days indicated that Saadut Ali knew that if it came to a show down ultimately he would have to bow low before the blast.¹⁵³

The cup was already full. The last drop and much more than a mere drop, came from Minto, and the overflow began. Saadut Ali now had to recognise the inevitability of his defeat in the diplomatic game he had been playing with such masterful deliberation. Minto's letter of July 2, 1813, in reply to Saadut Ali's of 26th August 1812, was a classic example of shrewd diplomacy, cunning and presenting an iron clenched fist in a velvet glove. It was delivered to Saadut Ali on Sept. 4, 1813.

148. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 2, pp. 500-501.

149. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, p. 502.

150. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 8, p. 502.

151. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. page 506.

152. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, p. 529.

153. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 534.

The letter was couched "in terms of remonstrance and exhortation, which it can neither be agreeable to me to use nor to your Excellency to hear."¹⁵⁴ The advantages of the proposed reforms were enumerated; he was assured that all opposition on the part of any of his subjects to the Reforms would be suppressed by British arms; he was reminded of his "obligation to conform" to the advice of the British Government; it was asserted each single objection of his had been "respectfully entertained, deliberately examined, and successfully refuted"; he was told point blank that all his opposition to this plan would be unavailing against the resolution of the British to carry it through; it was pointed out that in putting further opposition to the plan he would be violating an express stipulation of the Treaty of 1801, and the Governor-General while shielding the Resident, reaffirmed his complete confidence in Major Baillie. The letter was not closed without driving the fear of extreme measures into the heart of poor Saadut Ali.¹⁵⁵ This was enough to intimidate many a stronger person; Saadut Ali, though obstinate, knew his limitations and recognised, therefore, that the game was up.

Minto was by no means unaware of this; he could only force the Nawab-Wazir into acquiescence, he could not compel him to be sincerely zealous in implementing the plan and he could not stop him from sabotaging the plan from within. Baillie was instructed to ensure the success of this.¹⁵⁶ From now onwards Baillie's intercourse with the Nawab-Wazir assumed the note, "Obey, Obey! else you are heading for destruction. And do not blame us for it, later."¹⁵⁷

On October 7, 1813, Lord Minto made over charge to his successor Lord Moira; but about six more weeks passed before he left for England. On 22nd October 1813 the letter of 12th October from the Nawab-Wazir, addressed to Lord Minto, was received at Fort William, though still in India this nobleman was no longer at the helm of affairs. He had, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the unconditional acquiescence on the part of the Nawab-Wazir, for which he had been pressing, was at last achieved.¹⁵⁸ It would be but just if we notice here the obstinate determination of

154. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 2, p. 506.

155. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 506-512.

156. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 7, page 515.

157. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 4, page 535; para 11, p. 536.

158. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 542-545.

Saadut Ali to clutch his power, even at an hour when he knew it was slipping from his hands. He extracted from Baillie an assurance, however puerile, that his records and details of revenue administration would not be interfered with or subjected to inspection by the British Resident.¹⁵⁹

If Minto had now known his triumph in this matter, very soon Saadut Ali was to know his! Moira held different ideas and thought it fit to consign this Reforms Plan to cold storage.¹⁶⁰ It is one of the ironies of history that though the question of reforms in administration was ever a point at issue between the British and Oudh Governments it somehow could never actually be put into action and remained for ever consigned to the field of wordy warfare and theoretical discussions.

Of British Protection to individuals in Oudh

The earlier British Empire-builders in India were steadfast on some principles. Not the least important of these was their steady patronage, guidance and assistance to Indians—individuals and families—who had proved themselves faithful and serviceable to them.

One of the earlier despatches of Baillie from Lucknow to the Supreme Government is concerning some noblemen of Oudh and the two Begums—the Bhow Begum (widow of Shujauddoulah) and Bhabi Begum (widow of Asafuddoulah) who "consider themselves as the dependents of the British Government, and as entitled to its protection and support."¹⁶¹

We have already seen how the Bhow Begum had appointed the Company as her legatee and how that position had been accepted by Wellesley. Bhabi Begum also called Shamsunissa Begum was the widow of Saadut Ali's brother—the late Nawab Asafuddoulah. There was no love lost between her and her sovereign and brother-in-law.

Then there were persons like Tuhseen Ali Khan, Nawab Madaruddoulah, Nawab Kasim Ali Khan, etc., who had rendered valuable service to the British. The third category of people on whose interests the British Government, through its Resident, felt

159. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 4 and 5, pp. 540-541.

160. Wilson, H. H.: "History of British India", (Pub: 1858) Vol. II, pp. 77-78.

161. Oude Papers: Op. Cit. p. 27.

bound to keep a jealous watch was formed by sons and dependents of persons, who, in their life-time had been faithful quislings. Under this class came Tujummul Hussain Khan, son of Tufuzzul Hussain Khan, Hussain Ali son of Hyder Beg Khan, the widow and children of Ashraf Ali Khan, and Rahmat Ali and Mirza Jan respectively the brother and son (both by adoption) of Almass Ali Khan. The fourth category was formed by persons who were in the company's employ but originally residents of Oudh and subjects, therefore, of the Nawab-Wazir. Such were Parshad Singh Subadar, Mal Tiwari Naik and Munshi Ali Naqi Khan.

Saadut Ali had reasons to be vindictive against all the persons we have listed above. He could not help (as indeed who could?) associating the names of these persons with the help and information received by the British, within Oudh, which was, to a certain extent at least, responsible ultimately for the Treaty of Cession, 1801. He knew he was powerless against the British Government. He was not a saint or an angel and naturally succumbed to the temptation to use his authority in harming such of these persons whom he could easily show what it meant to earn the wrath of a prince. Subsequently events showed, however, that the Resident was as prepared to signalise the patronage and protection of the British government to these persons¹⁶² as the Nawab-Wazir was to show his anger.¹⁶³ In Baillie's hands this pretext became another diplomatic indicator to point out to Saadut Ali as well as to the world that it was the British might which was sovereign in Oudh and not the Nawab-Wazir's right.

Saadut Ali did what anybody else in his situation would have done. He dropped a hint to his amils who became indifferent in the matter of forcing the landholders in the fiefs of such of the nobles who had incurred the Nawab's displeasure, to pay up their dues. These persons were hard-hit and appealed to the Resident. He, in his turn took up the matter with the Nawab-Wazir with whom he pleaded that whether the revenue in the jagirs belonged to him or to the jagirdars the sovereignty even there was his and, therefore, he was expected to send forces to subdue such of the

162. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 3, p. 269. "..... require a more decided interposition of its influence for the protection of those individuals, than has ever been hitherto suggested since the conclusion of the Treaty of 1801."

163. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 5, 6, 7 and 8, page 247. Baillie's letter gives details how the Nawab-Wazir was indirectly, harrassing and persecuting Tujummul and how the British were bent on saving him from all trouble.

zemindars who showed disaffection even though they belonged to the jagirdars' domains. As usual, Saadut Ali promised to do something and slept over the matter. Baillie's next move was to suggest to him that in case the Oudh Government did not move in the matter, he would, on his own initiative, send a small detachment of British troops to aid in restoring order in the jagirdars' holdings. Against this Saadut Ali vigorously protested. He said no British troops, under the Treaty, could be sent for such work within his territories, unless he requisitioned them.¹⁶⁴ Baillie thought that the third Article of the Treaty of Cession, 1801, authorised him to order such a movement of troops within Oudh—but on making a reference to the Supreme Government he discovered that they did not consider it within their rights to authorise him to do so. Remonstrance with the Nawab-Wazir was the only way left open to him.¹⁶⁵

Extensive districts were farmed by an old British favourite, a eunuch—Almass Ali Khan. When he died the Nawab-Wazir most coolly passed over those very districts in succession to the adopted brother (Rahmat Ali Khan) and the adopted son (Mirza Jan alias Khanazad Khan) of the deceased. The terms on which the amilship was granted were exorbitant. Baillie quite understood that this was an alluring trap from which later on there would be no escape for these nincompoops; and so he represented to the Nawab-Wazir against the measure. It is by no means clear why he should not have prevented the victims from falling into it rather than asked the tempter not to spread his trap for them! These persons accepted the amilship, praised the Nawab-Wazir's bounty and were later on unable to pay off their dues and naturally and duly fell into disgrace, and were put under personal restraint, Rahmat Ali died in the meanwhile.¹⁶⁶ The next logical step was to put Khanazad Khan into prison and to confiscate all his personal property; but before the Nawab-Wazir could do so Baillie interceded on his behalf, asking his Excellency to relent and to remit part of the outstanding balances against these persons. Along with this request went another piece of gratuitous advice to change this system of revenue-farming which was to be blamed ultimately for this occurrence!¹⁶⁷

164. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 27.

165. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 28.

166. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 169.

167. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 118-119.

The old minister of Asafuddoula—Tuffuzul Hussain had been granted an *altumgha* (hereditary) jagir on British intercession on his behalf. It was, after his death, confirmed in possession of his only Son Tujummul Hussain Khan, on British recommendation again. The Nawab-Wazir now took steps to get his jagir permutated (to be managed by the government as all other districts were and the jagirdar to be given a fixed yearly sum in lieu of it in this instance settled at Rs. 40,000/- per annum)¹⁶⁸ Tujummul "would never have presumed to object to the arrangement in question save for the unprecedented and unnecessary support which I (Baillie) had afforded to this person and to others in a similar predicament". (The words are Saadut Ali's, being quoted by Baillie).¹⁶⁹

Minto himself agreed with Baillie's line of conduct in both these instances but though on the matter of Tujummul he was prepared to take a very rigid stand he felt he could not do so equally for Almas Ali's dependents.¹⁷⁰ Any way in his direct address to the Nawab-Wazir (dated December 28, 1810) Minto did mention both these cases and hinted that a favourable and lenient view on the part of Saadut Ali would be very satisfactory to the British Government.¹⁷¹

In the negotiations that ensued the Nawab-Wazir took the stand, in the case of Khanazad alias Mirza Jan that "Khanazad Khan and his property were the property of Almass, and Almass himself belonged to me; consequently Khanazad too is my property, and you have no right to interfere."¹⁷² It was a fact that originally Almass had been brought up as a slave.¹⁷³ But later on he became an influential and important officer of the Oudh Government. Baillie's stand was that Almass had thus extricated himself from the state of slavery; and even if it be accepted that he remained a slave, his adopted son, under Islamic law, could not be assumed to be slave. Discussion was prolonged. Baillie's bait to the Nawab-Wazir was that if he could be furnished with a statement of demands against Khanazad, he would arbitrate so that the just dues of the state could be recovered.¹⁷⁴ At last

168. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 135.

169. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 120.

170. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 25, p. 130.

171. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 133-134.

172. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. Article 8, p. 179.

173. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 182.

174. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 170.

partly by pressure from British quarters and partly because of his own inclination to recover some money, at least, which could not be otherwise recovered, Saadut Ali abated the rigours of the detention under which this unfortunate amil was placed, and only two chuprasis were left to look after him; and a promise was made that the required statement of demands would be put forth for investigation by the Resident.¹⁷⁵

On the point of the release of Tujummul's jagir from governmental control and its restoration for management to the jagirdar Saadut Ali had his own objections but after some attempts at evasion he at last agreed to restore it to him.¹⁷⁶ Soon after this restoration, however, there arose some trouble between zemindars in the Khalsa (i.e. the State) domains and the zemindars in Tujummul's jagir, on a minor point of boundary adjustments etc. One can hardly doubt that the officials and zemindars of the Nawab-Wazir felt that a sure way of earning the approbation of their prince was to pick a quarrel with the jagir people and harm them. Tujummul and his employees and protégés on the other hand had the sure vanity of having for their support the British power and the Resident. The matter was naturally reported to the latter by the Nawab-Wazir himself. There was a lengthy correspondence on the point and the Resident opined that neither Tujummul nor his employees were at any fault. Such an opinion, it can be imagined, neither satisfied nor pleased Saadut Ali.¹⁷⁷ But the matter was deliberately forgotten and made to die.

On March 29, 1811 while Minto was away to Java, General Hewett, the acting Governor General, in a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir urged the satisfaction of the 'just claims' of Munshi Ali Naqi Khan.¹⁷⁸ A very long time elapsed before the Nawab-Wazir thought it necessary to give any expression to his feelings on the topic. This Ali Naqi Khan was a resident of Oudh, who was in the company's employ as the head Munshi to the Resident at Lucknow and, according to his own assertion, had been "subjected to extraordinary oppression and violence by the Vizier's Aumils and Zemindars".¹⁷⁹ His claims were that till the year

175. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 179.

176. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 180. [Refer pp. 159 (paras 22, 23), 160 (para 27), 170, 176, for details of negotiations on this issue.]

177. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 248-253.

178. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

179. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 5, p. 269.

1801 he was in possession of two villages as Nankar, three gardens, one chuck, and a bazar in the district of Sandee. He also claimed the right, by inheritance, to a certain share in the chowdher, kanoongoey and zemindari privileges of the town and district of Sandee.¹⁸⁰ Then, the Munshi, who was in the service of the East India Company, went in 1801 to Calcutta. Before he left, the Oudh Government issued a mandate in the name of the officials concerned in the district of Sandee that the Munshi's hereditary possessions were to be kept intact and no harrassment was to be allowed.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the amil of Sandee, as soon as the Munshi left Oudh, dispossessed him of his various properties; there were persons who started building shops in his Bazar, others took charge of a house which the Munshi claimed to have inherited. His own partners would not acknowledge his right to any share in the chowdher, kanoongoey and zemindari privileges.¹⁸² All these claims, as well as the demand that all the revenue he had lost during this interim period should be made good to him, were put forth by Ali Naqi Khan now and Baillie forwarded them all.¹⁸³ The Supreme Government seconded and supported every effort of Baillie to persuade the Nawab-Wazir to satisfy these claims.¹⁸⁴ The claims themselves were, it was said, based upon original 'Sunnuds & Perwannahs' of the Oudh Government and were traced back to the times when Oudh was not ruled by the present ruling house, to the times of Shah Jahan and even before.¹⁸⁵ The Nawab-Wazir, as usual, was employing his dilatory tactics. He would not see the 'Sunnuds' and then say that it was not possible for him to decide unless he had seen the Sunnuds.¹⁸⁶ On one point, however, he was justified. He said that the claims the Munshi had against the Government might be decided by himself, but the claims that person had against his co-sharers could be decided only by the Adawlut (the court of justice).¹⁸⁷ Baillie said this was not agreeable to him, because the courts of Oudh,

180. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 403.

181. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 404.

182. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 403.

183. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 403-404.

184. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. page 283 (Referring to the Vice-President-in-Council's address of March 29, 1811, Governor General's personal address to the Nawab Wazir, dated May 8, 1812) page 510 (Governor-General's Personal address of July 2, 1813).

185. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 470-471, 416-417.

186. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 417, 419.

187. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 429, 471, 489, 491 etc.

according to Baillie, were corrupt and followed the whims of their Prince, who was not happily disposed towards the Munshi. He said that these claims could be sent to the courts only if the right of revising its decision were vested in the Resident.¹⁸⁸ Saadut Ali was prepared to agree to some amicable formula of compromise but Baillie would not have anything but his pound of flesh.¹⁸⁹ The whole negotiation became long, tortuous and nerve-racking.¹⁹⁰ At last after having received three letters from the Supreme Government, urging him to yield on the point, exchanging a voluminous correspondence with Baillie, and discussing it in numerous conferences with him, Saadut Ali agreed to issue orders in satisfaction of all the claims of the Munshi exactly as they had been put forward.¹⁹¹ This, however, he agreed to do at last on October 2, 1813, about one hundred and twenty hours before Minto made over charge to Moira, at Fort William. One interesting aspect of this incident was that, towards the close of the negotiations about his claims, they were carried on by the Munshi himself, on behalf of the British Government.¹⁹² We cannot blame the old and sensitive Saadut Ali too much if he saw in this an attempt on the part of Baillie to humiliate him. One question which a student of this case cannot help asking himself, though it was neither referred to by Baillie nor agitated by Saadut Ali at any stage of these parleys, is why the Munshi allowed a gap of about ten years between his being dispossessed of his rightful properties and privileges and his appeal against the injustice. Obviously, this question was trumped up at a time when there were already existing numerous and very serious troubles between the British and the Oudh Governments.

It was General Hewett again who took up Hussain Ali Khan's case at the highest level with the Nawab-Wazir, through a direct address, dated July 12, 1811.¹⁹³ This Hussain Ali was the younger son of the late Amiruddowlah Hyder Beg Khan, who was for a considerable length of time the Prime Minister of Oudh and in that situation had proved himself helpful and faithful to the British

188. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. page 489 "..... the Munshi will gladly submit his case to the Adawlut, on the indispensable and hitherto admitted condition of the proceeding being subject to the Resident's revision " Baillie to John Adam.

189. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 27 page 416, para 30 page 417.

190. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 15 page 537, the reported message of the Nawab-Wazir to the Resident.

191. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. Article third, para 6 p. 541.

192. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 540-541.

193. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

Government. At the time when this claim was put forward, Hussain Ali was living in abject penury and had no means of subsistence.¹⁹⁴ His elder brother Akbar Ali Khan had earned the displeasure of both the British and the Oudh Governments—and was, therefore, in gaol.¹⁹⁵ Now, it was claimed on behalf of Hussain Ali, by Major Baillie that upto the time of the accession of Saadut Ali Khan the family of Hussain Ali was in the receipt of a pension of Rs. 100,000/- per annum from the State, but, that Saadut Ali had stopped it.¹⁹⁶ The proofs he offered to adduce in favour of this were statements of old persons living in Lucknow who had been alive and in the know of things at the time when the pension was still being continued. Some indifferent documents also were put forth in support of this.¹⁹⁷ The right of the British Government to press these claims was based on an engagement, given in writing by the Nawab-Wazir, on October 26, 1801, to Mr. Henry Wellesley at the time of his visit to Lucknow.¹⁹⁸ In this engagement it was promised that the pensions given to persons by Asafuddolah or by Saadut Ali would be continued until a pensioner disqualified himself for it, by committing breaches which were enumerated in this document. To cut a long story short, the demand now was that the pension of Rs. 100,000/- per annum to the family of the late Hyder Beg Khan in the person of Hussain Ali should be continued, of course, deducting the share of Akbar Ali Khan, who had rendered himself unworthy of it.¹⁹⁹ Then also there were lands, houses, gardens and properties which were forfeit to the state, because of Akbar Ali's misconduct, but in which a share was claimed on Hussain Ali's behalf. This too the Nawab-Wazir was now asked to settle.²⁰⁰ This discussion too, as it seems all discussions between Baillie and Saadut Ali did, grew absurdly long. There were the usual exchange of letters, conferences, addresses from the Governor-General, threats, disavowals, and everything.²⁰¹ It must, however, be said, in strict justice to Saadut Ali that in this case the arguments he put forward were absolutely conclusive and incontrovertible; and to a student of this case it is clear that the claim of Hussain

194. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 283.

195. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 405.

196. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 404-405.

197. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 472.

198. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 405-406.

199. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 405.

200. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 421-422.

201. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 289, 283, 399, 404-405, 407, 413-414 421-422, 432-433, 472-473, 492-493, 506, 510, 530, 583.

Ali, that was being sponsored, by Baillie, was based on flimsy grounds.²⁰² Minto himself suggested to Baillie that making a compromise on one-fourth of the original demand ($\frac{1}{4}$ of 100,000/- = Rs. 25,000/- per annum) would be quite a desirable thing to do.²⁰³ Baillie, however, was too shrewd to give a hint of this inclination to the Nawab-Wazir, who, in that case would not have agreed to give any stipend at all. But in the end all of a sudden Baillie accepted a settlement of Rs. 24,000/- per annum i.e. Rs. 1000/- less than even one fourth of the original demand. Baillie was more than amply satisfied with it.²⁰⁴ Had the claims of Hussain Ali Khan been so well-grounded as they were made out to be, the British Government would not have been so accommodating in this matter as it really was in the end.

The one case, by studying which we can form an absolutely clear opinion of Baillie's motives as well as methods, in all his dealings with the Nawab-Wazir, is connected with the name of Hyder Bukhsh. This man originally belonged to the district of Kara in Oudh.²⁰⁵ While he was very young, and long before Kara was ceded to the company, he took service with Almass Ali Khan,²⁰⁶ a slave as well as the biggest amil of the Nawab-Wazir. In Almass's life time he had left the service of that amil, quietly and with the intention to go on a pilgrimage.²⁰⁷ Before he could obtain the Nawab-Wazir's permission to depart Almass died. After that, the more eager the Nawab-Wazir became to detain him in Lucknow the more impatient this person grew to leave the capital and the country of Oudh and to go back to Kara, which was now under the Company's rule.²⁰⁸ The Nawab-Wazir, it would seem, had allegations against him, that he had misappropriated and hidden part of Almass's property, which, under the prevailing laws of Oudh should have reverted to the State.²⁰⁹ Hyder, in the meanwhile, studiously cultivated the favour of the Resident by constant attendance on him.²¹⁰ He was now in possession of a pass-port from the Governor-General, Baillie took up the matter of his departure

202. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 432-433.

203. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 515.

204. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 541-545.

205. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 332.

206. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. para 11 p. 347.

207. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 335.

208. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338.

209. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 332-333.

210. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 333.

with Saadut Ali, who was determined not to allow Hyder Bukhsh to go. Baillie flew into a rage and declared that he would send his own servants with Hyder to see him out of Lucknow and Oudh so that nobody could dare to stop him.²¹¹ Baillie's contentions were that Hyder, originally a resident of Kara, which was now the company's territory was a British subject and could not be detained at Lucknow; and that holding the pass-port from the Governor-General in this case was tantamount to the express injunction of the Governor-General that Hyder was not to be detained.²¹² The Nawab-Wazir held that Hyder had been born in what was then Oudh territory, and later reared under the eye of a slave of his own (i.e. Almass) whose slave in turn, he was.²¹³ Baillie continued obdurate and seeing this Saadut Ali, almost under compulsion, became lukewarm in his opposition, though he maintained that his rights were incontrovertible. He issued no written *Rahdari Dustuk* (the Oudh Pass-Port) in Hyder's favour but said verbally that he could go if the Resident insisted.²¹⁴ Thus it was that Hyder was allowed to leave. Minto sent his own sentiments on this point after the episode had been closed by the departure of Hyder Bukhsh; and so the curtain had been, willy nilly, wrung down on the trouble. The Chief Secretary's letter, embodying Minto's views, contains a most masterful, balanced, logical and judicious analysis of the situation and criticism of Baillie's conduct. In it, though he makes Baillie realise that the Supreme Government held views opposite to their envoy's, yet the latter is neither blamed nor rebuked. It was because Minto's past experience as a diplomat had taught him the futility of making bitter criticisms of a government's own diplomatic representatives. Nevertheless, it was made plain that Hyder Bukhsh could not be considered a British subject, that the Governor-General's pass-port could not be interpreted to have the meaning Baillie had imputed, that Baillie's action had been a little too high-handed, that such warm interference in the strictly domestic trivialities of Oudh was un-diplomatic, that Baillie must make amends by telling the Nawab-Wazir this: "Even if Hyder has gone from Oudh, if your Excellency has allegations against him that are proved, and demands that are justifiable, we shall see to it that he is justly punished."²¹⁵ Minto

211. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 331, 338.

212. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 334, 338.

213. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 342.

214. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 344.

215. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. paras 10-18, p. 347-349.

discreetly kept quiet on the merits of the question in his communication to the Nawab-Wazir, merely expressing his satisfaction that by Hyder's departure at least one problem was solved.²¹⁶

There could be no greater proof, than this letter of the Governor-General, to show how unwarranted and irritating the little interferences of Baillie must have been to the Nawab-Wazir and also to what absurd limits this officer could go to use logic in support of the illogical troubles he stirred up.

(To be continued)

216. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 379.

History of Chambā State in Mughal and Sikh Times

BY

H. GOETZ, BARODA

The Impact of Mughal Rule: The impact of the Mughal Empire and of its civilization on the formation of later Hindu India can hardly be underestimated. But nevertheless it is difficult to evaluate. Its direct cultural influence became decisive only in the 18th century when it had ceased to be a dominating alien power, and when its political and economic collapse released a great number of well-trained administrators, soldiers, scholars, artists and artisans. During the 16th and 17th centuries, however, it acted mainly as a catalyser speeding up the internal transformation of Hindu civilization. By forcing itself on the indigenous states, it compelled them to modernize their administrative and military technique; by bringing together the Rājput princes at the imperial court and in the army, it intensified the exchange of new ideas; by giving power and wealth to the least anti-Muslim and, for the same reasons, culturally most revolutionary Rājput states, it fostered the growth and expansion of a civilization based not on a revival of

NOTE

This account is mainly based on J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, 2 vols., Lahore 1933, the *Chambā State Gazetteer*, the inscriptions, copperplates and paper documents mentioned in J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, I, 1911, in the Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Calcutta 1909, p. 52 ff., and in the Northern Circle Reports of the Archaeological Survey, and on informations and archaeological evidence collected in Chambā and in all the surrounding former hill states during visits in 1937, 1939, 1947 and 1952. In place of the loosely strung-up informations in the pioneer work of Hutchinson and Vogel, I have tried to elaborate a strictly reasoned political account. Many dates have been corrected or added as a result of the re-examination of the records, or of the coordination of the many local traditions, often vague in themselves, but complementary one to the other. I have, therefore, included such details from the history of other states as are relevant for the understanding of the general political situation; but I have omitted or summarized many of the romantic and sentimental anecdotes which often enough serve to minimize or hush up the real events, and likewise the subordinate dynastic details which now are no more of interest.

the Mediaeval past, but on the revolution of the living folk tradition; by assimilating and transforming part of that native Rājput civilization, it prepared the ground for the later wholesale assimilation of Mughal civilization by the Rājputs. In Rājasthān the Hindu revival had started already in the late 14th century A.D., had reached its zenith under rānā Kumbha in the 15th, and degenerated in the early 16th century. Since the beginning of the 16th century a genuine Rājput tradition had replaced it, which spread over the whole of Rājasthān in the 16th and early 17th centuries, and disintegrated in the course of that latter century, to be superseded by imperial Mughal civilization which, in its turn, was in the second and third quarters of the 18th century transformed into a later Rājput civilization. This latter reached its maturity towards the end of the century and declined during the first half of the 19th century. In the Himālaya this revolution was belated. The Hindu revival started in the second quarter of the 15th century, reached its apogee in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and died in the course of the 18th century. Rājput civilization penetrated not before the end of the 16th century, became dominant by the middle of the 17th, and was ousted by Mughal influence in the second to third quarters of the 18th. And from this latter again developed later Rājput culture at Pūnch, Jammū, Baśohli, Guler and Kāngrā since the second half of the 18th century, to be taken over by the Sikhs in the 19th.

The Dawn of a New Age: In Chambā the occupation of the state by Nūrpur and its recovery by Prithvī Singh formed the turning point. Before the reign of Ānandavarman (A.D. ca. 1475-1513) Chambā had been a backward hill state out of contact with contemporary developments. Under Ānandavarman it fell under the cultural influence of Kāngrā-Trigarta. Under Ganeśavarman (A.D. 1513-66), Pratāpsinghvarman (A.D. 1566-82), Virabhānu (A.D. 1582-89) and Balabhadrarvarman (A.D. 1589-1623, resp. 1641) it came in contact with the Mughal Empire and adopted the revivalist Hindu civilization which, at that time, was discarded in the North-Indian plains. After the restoration of Chambā state by Prithvī Singh in A.D. 1641 this revivalist civilization experienced a last renaissance; but its authority already was discredited by the previous political disaster, and after A.D. 1645 it was swept away by reforms introducing Mughal-Rājput military technique, administration, art and literature. But even this reform did not come quite unprecedented. For already during the 16th century titles like Singh, Miān, Dothain, Tirthain had been introduced; Akbar's

gold mohurs were used for treasure hoards; Ganeśgarh Fort was built according to the principles of Mughal technique. Already A.D. 1557 prince Pratāpsinghvarman had attended Akbar's durbār at Kalānaur; A.D. 1622 the regent Janārdan and his brother Bis-hambar had been presented to Jahāngīr and Nūrhahān at Dhameri-Nūrpur. Prithvī Singh was the first really to be at home at the imperial court.

The Reconquest of Chambā: When in A.D. 1640 the Pathāniā rebellion started, the position of Nūrpur seemed very strong. Jagat Singh stood high in the imperial favour and was governor of Bangash (Kohāt and Kurram Valley), his son Rājrup was faujdār of the Koh-i Kāngrā and thus the controlling authority over all the states around Nūrpur. Nūrpur town, Maukot, and Tārāgarh were strongly fortified and garrisoned, the territory of the state vastly expanded. In the West the counteroffensive of Baśohli had collapsed after the assassination of Bhūpatpāl A.D. 1635, in the East Mandī and Kulū were inimical, but not of much importance. Only the Mughal garrisons of Kāngrā Fort and of Pathānkot could form a serious obstacle to Jagat Singh's aspirations. When Rājrup rose in rebellion, Jagat Singh even could persuade the emperor to send him personally against his son and joined him. The rebellion took the Mughals so off their guard, that only in August 1641 three imperial armies under prince Murād Bakhsh were assembled. After very hard fighting they took Maukot, and two days later Nūrpur. The Pathānias retreated to the impregnable hill fortress Tārāgarh which offered them, moreover, a retreat into the interior Himālaya. Though the Lower Fort was taken, the Middle and Upper Forts of Tārāgarh held out through the bitter winter A.D. 1641-42. The Chambā Vamsāvalī claims that Prithvī Singh of Chambā was responsible for the successful suppression of the revolt. The Mughal historians mention him honourably, and this is very much as they tend to minimize the achievements of non-Muslims, even those in the imperial service. In summary Prithvī Singh's role in the Nūrpur war may best be compared with that of Lawrence of Arabia during the British conquest of Palestine in 1918. After having obtained some help from his protector Sūraj-Sen of Mandī (A.D. 1637-64), he marched in A.D. 1640 through Kulū into Lāhul where, under the weak Delegs Namgyal, Ladakhi rule was disintegrating. He won the support of the local rānās, and in the winter A.D. 1640-41, protected from Nūrpur interference by the closure of the mountain passes, built up some army of his own. Early in April 1641 he reached Pāngī, and as soon as the Chehnī Pass could be crossed, invaded Churāh. From there he negotiated a treaty with

Sangrāmpāl of Balor. After Bhūpatpāl's assassination by Jagat Singh in A.D. 1635 not only Baśohli control over Churāh had disappeared, but also the Bhalai and Jūndh parganas, former Chambā territory, had been annexed by Nūrpur, and Baśohli had become a vassal of that latter state. The Baśohli Government was badly weakened because Samgrāmpāl was still a boy, under the tutelage of his uncle Fatehchand. Baśohli, therefore, likewise wished the overthrow of the Pathānias and, being a wealthy state, could provide Prithvī Singh with the necessary war funds; Prithvī Singh had to promise the Bhalai-Jūndh ilāqas, as a security as he interpreted the treaty, as a perpetual cession as the Baśohli government saw it. The two parganas continued to be a bone of contention for the rest of the history of both states.

Now Prithvī Singh could expel the Nūrpur troops from Chambā town, threw back their reinforcements in a bloody battle over the ridge to its South in which the Chāmundā Temple and Nalhorā bridge were destroyed, and then joined the imperial troops. On the 16th December 1641 he was presented to prince Murādbakhsh and ordered to invest Tārāgarh from the mountain side, in company of Mān Singh of Guler. Details of the siege have been hushed up by the Mughal historians; but it seems that after attempts at storming the Middle and Upper Forts had failed, Jagat Singh's surrender was due to Prithvī Singh's advice to await the effects of the winter which made life on the snow-clad, storm-exposed and quite insufficiently equipped mountain ridge almost unbearable.

Jagat Singh was pardoned after his surrender in March A.D. 1742; but he was exiled to the Deccan, his conquests returned to their former owners, and of the rest half given to a younger brother who had fought on the imperial side. Tārāgarh became a Mughal garrison until late in Aurangzēb's reign.

The Reconstruction of Chambā State: Prithvī Singh was acknowledged as rājā of Chambā and in the following years visited Delhi at least seven times. Chambā tradition claims that he was a social success there and impressed even the ladies of the imperial zenāna. From these visits he brought home many costly presents, until the fire of 1937 preserved in the Chambā Toshakhāna. On the visit in A.D. 1645 to Benāres, Gāyā and Delhī the Raghubīr, a saligrām hitherto used as a weight in the Delhi palace, was revealed to him in a dream. It seems, however, that this was not merely an accidental discovery; for wherever in the Panjāb Himālaya we find idols, chapels and temples of Rāma, the ideal king-god, they are set up by rājās whose main policy had been the unification and cen-

tralization of their respective states. The first Rāma relief in Chambā had been ordered by Pratāpsinghvarman, the Raghubīr was set up by Prithvī Singh in the palace chapel as the special family idol, vying with the old Lakshmī-Nārāyan (Krishna).

Approximately in this same year (1645) Prithvī Singh started on the reform of his kingdom. No temples were built for the next eighty years, hardly any religious donations made after A.D. 1660; copperplate grants were no more issued after A.D. 1646, except on some rare and very solemn occasions (A.D. 1678 in defiance of Aurangzēb; 1748 for the safe return of Umēd Singh from Lahore, A.D. 1787 treaty with Sansār Chand of Kāngrā, A.D. 1856 by Śrī Singh to Lakshmī-Nārāyan, obviously an archaistic revival); the Sanskrit vamsāvalī ends in A.D. 1642. Instead, fire arms then seem to have been introduced, as some decades later they were common already in out-of-the way places. Paper was used for the administration and for paintings in the "Baśohli" style. The administration was recast, now with a partly Mughal terminology. Probably Chambā palace was reconstructed with reliefs and paintings in the "Baśohli" style, like those at Mehlā and in Brahmor Kothī.

Already on his march through Pāngī in A.D. 1640 Prithvī Singh had asserted his suzerainty by the grant of a sacrificial tax to the Chāmundā Temple at Mindhal. A.D. 1642 he deposed the local rānās and ensured his control by the construction of a road through the Phindru gorge between Sāch and Kilār. A.D. 1651 he made a donation to the Devī Temple at Porthī. Lāhul he could not recover. For A.D. 1647-49 the Mongols, conquering Central Tibet, had defeated also Delegs Namgyal of Ladakh, overrun Lāhul and ousted Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-72) from the North of Kulū. But this danger forced Prithvī Singh to protect the passes to Brahmor, and probably on this occasion the Brahmor Kothī was built, with its fine Rājput ("Baśohli") wood carvings. Also in the rest of the state such Kothīs were constructed, combined district offices, police quarters and store houses for the taxes paid in kind.

In other directions Prithvī Singh's policy was neither without success. Though, after the refund of the war loans, Baśohli was in A.D. 1648 ordered by the Mughal governor to return the Bhalai-Jūndh ilāqas, the ambitious Samgrāmpāl not only refused but even made plans for the recovery also of Churāh. However, Prithvī Singh was recompensated by the jāgīrs of Dūn and Nadāun taken away from the Katoches who despite the imperial occupation of Kāngrā Fort went on with their guerrilla war against the Mughals.

Chhattar (Śatru) Singh (A.D. 1664-90) continued his father's policy, with the assistance of his brother Jai Singh, as wazīr. Soon after the death of Prithvī Singh Samgrāmpāl of Basohli invaded Churāh. But his overbearing ambitions had already made him a general nuisance, and Chhattar Singh expelled him and recaptured Bhalai and Jūndh with the sanction of the Mughal governor Mīr Khān (A.D. 1665). Shortly afterwards (A.D. 1667-68) he occupied also Pādar, the Chandrabhāga Valley between Pāngī and Kashtwār, and there erected Chhattargarh (destroyed by the Dogras A.D. 1836). Rājā Mahā Singh of Kashtwār (A.D. 1661-74) who then had incurred Aurangzēb's displeasure, could not oppose him. Also Lāhul could be reconquered. With Mughal help the Mongols had been expelled from Western Tibet (peace A.D. 1650), and about A.D. 1670 their influence waned also in Kulū and Lāhul. Jagat Singh who in the meantime had expanded his kingdom in the South up to the Sutlej, now reconquered also Northern Kulū and marched into Lāhul. It seems that on this occasion war between Chambā and Kulū was imminent. But it was avoided by a division of Lāhul and the marriage of Jagat Singh to a Chambā princess as whose "dowry" Eastern Lāhul was treated.

The reason for this sudden volteface from competition to alliance was Aurangzēb's anti-Hindu policy. For also the Chambā temples were to be pulled down. But in defiance Chhattar Singh had their pinnacles and the Garuda statues on the pillars in front of the Lakshmīnārāyan and Damodar Temples gilded, the temple śikhāras protected by wheel-roofs of the Kulū type, and a fine entrance gate provided for the Lakshmī-Nārāyan (A.D. 1678). He was ordered to Delhi, but sent his brother Sakat Singh, in company of Rāj Singh of Guler (A.D. 1675-95). But at Bajwāra near Hoshiārpur they turned home. Aurangzēb was preoccupied with the war in the Deccan, the rebellions of the Jāts and Rājputs, and was hardly in a position to enforce his orders.

The Period of Mughal Decline: Already before Chhattar Singh's death A.D. 1690 the disintegration of Mughal rule in the Panjāb Himālaya had set in. The Deccan war drained the financial and manpower resources of the empire. The Mughal garrisons were reduced and at last abandoned, with the sole exception of Kāngrā Fort. The Mughal troops and officials were left without pay, and helped themselves by raiding the Hindu states, sure that Aurangzēb would and could not disapprove. As the hill rājās defended themselves, Mughal rule soon disappeared but in name. The Mughal governors still issued orders, but they could not en-

force them, except by playing out rājā against rājā, and prince against prince. This again caused an internal crisis in many states, and at last a return to that policy of individual grabbing which the Mughals had so long kept in check, but which now resulted in the gradual elimination of all smaller states and in the emergence of a few feudal confederacies competing for the supremacy over the Panjāb hills.

A.D. 1690 seems to have been the approximate date of the end of de facto Mughal control. For in this year the combined forces of Jāmmū, Basohli, Chambā and Guler defeated an invasion of Khwāja Rizā Bēg (Mūrā Rēziā Beg), "governor of the Panjāb", but probably merely faujdār of Kalānaur or Pathānkot. Thereafter all forts still held by the Mughals were evacuated, except Kāngrā.

Udai Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) who not long after this victory had followed his father Chhattar Singh, was a weak character. But for the time being everything went well, as his able uncle Miān Jai Singh continued to act as wazīr. Internally the state was further strengthened by the extension of the administrative reforms to Trehtā and Lāhul which districts Udai Singh visited in person. Building activities revived (Sītārām Temple in the Kharūrā quarter, Devī Temple of Bhatālkuān, repairs at the Mānimaheśa at Brahmor and the Bhagvatī near Chambā, Dyol and Mirkulā-Udaipur Kothis, Udaipur hunting lodge below Chambā town), revealing an increasing infiltration of Mughal influence, and also a general decline of artistic standards.

But after Jai Singh's death ca. A. D. 1696 the administration disintegrated. Udai Singh, self-willed, took to evil ways, spent his days in debaucheries and sensual pleasures and at last appointed as his wazīr a barber with whose daughter he had fallen in love. Probably in A.D. 1708 he was removed from government and his cousin Ugar Singh made regent. But after a month Udai Singh reasserted himself so that Ugar Singh had to flee to Jāmmū. At last his rule became so intolerable that a conspiracy of the nobles and officials was formed, and he was cut down, together with his brother Lakshman Singh, at Udaipur hunting lodge, in A.D. 1720.

This catastrophe inaugurated a critical period. For the conspirators had intended only to depose Udai Singh, and to set up Lakshman Singh as ruler. But as Udai Singh had bravely resisted, and as Lakshman Singh had at the last moment gone over to him, both had to be killed. Now no direct legitimate successor was left, except two babies, too young to be considered. The officials, al-

ready divided thanks to Udai Singh's maladministration, had the choice between several princes, all descendants of Prithvī Singh. Thus things were ripe for civil war and for interference from outside, at the very time when the most powerful neighbours of Chambā, especially Dhirājpal of Basohli (A.D. 1693-1725), Dhrūb-Dev of Jammū (A.D. 1703-35) and Hamir Chand of Kāngrā (A.D. 1700-1747), had already started on a policy of conquest.

Already in A.D. 1695 the combined troops of Basohli, Bhadu and Jammū, under the command of Dhirājpal, had invaded Guler where after the death of Rāj Singh (who in A.D. 1679 had been prepared to accompany Chhattar Singh's brother Sakat Singh on his dangerous mission to the court of Aurangzēb) a child, Dalip Singh (A.D. 1695-1730), had been raised to the throne. But on the appeal of the queen-mother an alliance of Chambā, Mandi and Kahlūr (Bilāspur) drove them out. Nevertheless the war dragged on, and peace was concluded not before A.D. 1708. As Guler and Nūrpur soon thereafter entered the sphere of Kāngrā influence, the Dogras did no more venture on an expansion in this direction. But Dhirājpal attacked Chambā again in A.D. 1625 and was killed in the battle.

Nevertheless Chambā passed slowly into the orbit of the rulers of Jammū, first of Dhrūb-Dev, then of Ranjīt-Dev (A.D. 1735-81) who brought under their control all the states west of Rāvi. After Udai Singh's assassination Ugar Singh (A.D. 1720-35) returned to Chambā with a Jammū escort and was installed as ruler. But he was aware of the weakness of his claims and of that of the party supporting him, and the memory of Udai Singh's bloody end became an obsession. As this was ascribed to the ghost of the childless (autar = aputra) deceased, a lofty (though barbarian) temple was erected in atonement of the crime; but it was of no avail. Thus Ugar Singh turned to repression. The most dangerous pretender, however, Dalel (Dilēr) Singh was beyond his reach as he had likewise found a refuge at the Jammū court. Ugar Singh succeeded in denouncing him to the Mughal governor, Zakariā Khān, who had him handed over by Dhrūb-Dev and imprisoned in Lahore Fort. However, this proved Ugar Singh's own undoing. For when his oppression became unbearable, another conspiracy was hatched. The viceroy was won over by the present of a lakh of Rupees, Ugar Singh declared deposed, Bhalai and Jūndh again transferred to Medinipāl of Basohli (A.D. 1725-57), and Dūn and Nadāun resumed, soon to return to their original owners, the rajās of Kāngrā. When a Mughal force brought Dalel Singh to Chambā, Ugar Singh set

fire to the wooden town and from the Chāmundā Temple on the ridge south of it watched the conflagration which destroyed most documents and art treasures of the preceding hundred years. Then Ugar Singh fled up the Rāvi Valley and died at last in Kāngrā from a wound in the thigh caused by a bullet which at Jūh in Chanhota the rānā of Guroḷā had fired at the fallen oppressor.

Dalel Singh's rule (A.D. 1735-48) was beneficent, and as he was on good terms with Zakariyā Khān, he received the jāgīr of Pathyār as a recompensation for the forfeited Dūn and Nadāun. But this grant proved to be no more than a Macchiavellian move. For Pathyār which Todar-Mall had in A.D. 1573 taken from Chambā for the imperial demesne, had already fallen into the hands of the Katoches who ignored three successive imperial sanads (A.D. 1744, 1746, 1747). Like Bhalai and Jūndh had become the bone of contention between Basohli and Chambā, Pathyār, still under a local rānā Silachand, was destined to be a similar constant source of conflict with the Katoches.

However, in A.D. 1748 also Dalel Singh was deposed. His protector Zakariyā Khān had died in A.D. 1745 and three years later also the latter's worthless sons had disappeared from the scene. The new viceroy Mu'in-ud-dīn Mir Mannū became interested in Udai Singh's two sons, now grown up, though still political prisoners. When prince Umēd Singh returned with a Dogra escort, Dalel Singh offered no opposition, but diligently handed the administration over, turned sādhu and died at last at the holy temple of Jalpadevi at Jwalamukhi.

Chambā as a Protegee of Jammū: In the meantime fateful events had occurred all around. A.D. 1738-39 the Persian invasion of Nādir Shāh had swept down over the Panjāb and Delhī, and in A.D. 1747 the Afghān invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and of his successors had set in. Since A.D. 1739 the Panjāb was practically autonomous, until A.D. 1752 nominally under Delhī, thereafter under Kābul. After the death of Zakariyā Khān A.D. 1745 its administration quickly broke up under the double stress of weak governors and endless war depredations, in A.D. 1759 it had disappeared, and since A.D. 1764 only a chaos was left. The various temporary rulers of the Panjāb could not even play out the one rājā of the Himālaya against another, and were satisfied with the nominal allegiance of the most powerful of them. Ranjīt-Dev of Jammū and Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā thus became their representatives (nāzim, wazīr) in the hills, of course using this position

only for the purpose of obtaining control over the other rājās. Ghamand Chand, however, was temporarily handicapped by the efforts of Adina Beg to re-establish direct Mughal rule (between A.D. 1755 and 1758). Soon thereafter the Himālayan valleys were periodically disturbed by Sikh raids and Sikh mercenaries; but these latter became dangerous only after A.D. 1780 and deadly to the hill states between A.D. 1801 and 1812.

The first years of Umēd Singh's reign (A.D. 1748-64) were comparatively peaceful. However, even in A.D. 1748 when Umēd Singh visited the viceroy after the battle of Manūpur, conditions were already so bad in the plains that a special recitation of the *Durgāsaptasati* had to be instituted as a prayer for the rājā's safe return from Lahore. And after the cession of the Panjāb to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in A.D. 1752 the central administration collapsed in the hills. All the rājās took such territories as they could, and Umēd Singh, fortified by the grant of Pathyār to Dalel Singh and an additional grant of Pālam and Barnī which he had obtained from Mu'in-ud-dīn in the preceding year, reoccupied all the former conquests (between A.D. 1563-1573) of Pratāpsinghvarman. Later he even penetrated into Barā Bangāhal and Bīr Bangāhal, though Chhotā Bangāhal he had to leave to Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā.

The years between A.D. 1752 and 1758 were the happiest period of Umēd Singh's reign. The disappearance of foreign overlordship and the new conquests aroused feelings of self-confidence and hope like in Pratāpsinghvarman's time, and found expression in similar activities at home. However, as Umēd Singh had been educated at the Mughal court, and as after the collapse of the Mughal empire refugee administrators, artists, artisans and scholars from the plains had become available, this renaissance introduced the provincial Mughal tradition of the early 18th century. We can trace it in Basohli mainly under Medinipāl and Amritpāl, in Guler under Govardhan-Chand and Prakāsh Chand, in Kāngrā under Hamīr and Ghamand-Chand, in Jammū under Ranjīt Dev. In Chambā the administrative reform begun by Prithvī Singh was completed by Umēd Singh (see *Chambā Gazetteer*). In Mehlā, a śikhara stone shrine, decorated with archaic Mughal ornaments, was added to the Hīrmā temple of Dāi Batlū. At Devī-rī-Kothī in Churāh A.D. 1754 the wooden Chāmundā temple was erected, the walls and ceilings of which are completely covered with painted or carved panels in the Mughal-Rājput style. In Chambā town the Khanchandī Palace was built, with vast murals in Mughal technique, representing scenes from the *Mahābhārata*; panels with fine figural reliefs in the

best Mughal style from some other palace buildings destroyed in A.D. 1774 were later on re-used in Chāmundā Temple. The Rang-mahal south of the town, and the Rājnagar Palace at Naḍā where the Rāvi turns towards the plains, both in provincial Mughal style, were completed in A.D. 1755. To Prithvī Singh's Kothī at Brah-mor a wing covered with figural reliefs in the Mughal style was added, probably about A.D. 1762. Of Umēd Singh's reign are most of the earlier (Mughal-) Rājput miniatures now preserved in the Bhūrī Singh Museum.

But in A.D. 1758 fortune turned against Umēd Singh. First Adina Beg tried to re-establish the imperial demesne. When he died, Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā, nominally his successor as nāzim, started on an offensive with a corps of 1000 Afghān mercenaries. Though he could not capture Kāngrā Fort which had withstood his attack already in A.D. 1752, he took all the other territories held by Adina Beg, made Guler his vassal and invaded the Chambā districts south of the Dhaulā Dhār, Bangāhal and even Kulū. At the same time Umēd Singh was attacked in the Southwest by Amritpāl of Basohli (A.D. 1757-1775) who subjected the States of Bhadu, Jasrota and Lakhanpur, annexed part of Nūrpur, invaded Bhadrawāh and took Bhalai and Jūndh from Chambā. A sanad A.D. 1758 in favour of Umēd Singh was of no avail as Adina Beg died. The only ally on whom Umēd Singh could fall back, was his father-in-law Ranjīt-Deo of Jammū (A.D. 1735-81), the nāzim of the Dogra hills. But Ranjīt-Dev who already had forced Basohli into vassalage in the time of Jīt-Pāl (A.D. 1736-57), was naturally loath to check conquests which, through his vassal, were virtually his own. Umēd Singh, therefore, had to accept the loss for the time being. But Ranjīt-Dev's help proved valuable at least in the struggle with Ghamand-Chand. Though two Afghān sanads, obtained in A.D. 1762 thanks to the mediation of Ranjīt-Dev, proved ineffective to recover Pathyār, another sanad shows that in the same year he had retaken Charī which belonged to Saif 'Alī Khān, the governor of Kāngrā Fort. But in reply Ghamand-Chand invaded Bīr Bangāhal and Chhotā Bangāhal, the neighbours of the districts of Brah-mor and Trehtā belonging to Chambā. When in A.D. 1764 Umēd Singh died and left only a minor son, the situation became most critical. During the regency of his widow, a Jammū princess, the country was defended by a Jammū official, the wazīr Aklū. And when in A.D. 1770 Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā was made tributary by the Sikh leader Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia, Aklū succeeded in driving out the Katoches from Bīr Bangāhal. But

Aklū acted more and more as viceroy of Ranjīt-Dev. Chambā had become a vassal of Jammū.

Chambā as Heir of the Jammū Hegemony: When Umēd Singh's successor Rāj Singh (born A.D. 1755) came of age, the political situation was reverted. Ranjīt-Dev had become very old, and died in A.D. 1781. His successor Brajrāj-Dev (A.D. 1781-87), inefficient and without political judgment, brought in the Sikhs in connection with the bitter quarrel with his brother Dalel Singh. In the Kāngrā Valley the Katoches were struggling against the Sikh Misls. In A.D. 1776 Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia who had bossed them since A.D. 1770, was ousted with the help of Jai Singh Kanheya, who again was expelled in A.D. 1786 by an alliance of the Katoches with the Rāmgarhia and Sukerchakia Misls of the Sikhs. Only when on this occasion Sansār Chand II at last obtained Kāngrā Fort, he could again dream of dominating the eastern Panjāb hills. Until then the Katoches had to move cautiously. These developments gave Chambā respite from Katoch pressure and a free hand against the Dogras. This permitted Rāj Singh to liberate his kingdom from the Dogra domination, to humiliate Basohli and to build up an empire of his own at the cost of Jammū until the struggle with Kāngrā was resumed during his last years.

About A.D. 1771 Rāj Singh came of age. After his mother's death ca. A.D. 1772 his relations with Aklū, the wazir who had been imposed by Jammū, soon became strained. In A.D. 1773-4 Aklū was arrested and thrown into prison, and the many Jammū officials with whom he had filled all posts, were expelled. In reply Amritpāl of Basohli swooped down on Churāh and Chambā, burning down Rājnagar Palace, Rāj Singh's birthplace and also part of Umēd Singh's palace in the capital. Rāj Singh who had not yet been able to reorganize his administration, was forced to call in the Sikhs under Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia. They expelled the Balauria army, but had to be paid a lakh of Rupees as immediate indemnity and an annual tribute of Rs. 4,001 thereafter. Amritpāl was so aggrieved that he turned sādhu, and secretly left his country.

After the fall of Jassā Singh, Rāj Singh first secured his back by a preliminary treaty on Rihlu in A.D. 1780 with Sansār Chand of Kāngrā (A.D. 1775-1823), a general non-aggression treaty with Kāngrā and Guler in A.D. 1781, and an understanding with Brajrājdev of Jammū (A.D. 1781-87) in which his claims on Bhalai and Jūndh, and on the Churāh districts still held by Basohli were acknowledged. Brajrāj-Dev had a bitter feud with his brothers and

nephews, especially Dalel Singh whom he got assassinated. Dalel Singh's son Jīt Singh summoned the Bhangī Sikhs to his help, Brajrāj called the Rāmgarhias and Sukerchakias all of whom were only interested in pillaging and dismembering the Jammū state. Brajrāj-Dev, paralyzed, was prepared to accept any changes as long as his rule was acknowledged. By posing also further on as a loyal vassal of Jammū and treating the expulsion of Aklū and then the defeat of Basohli as mere internal quarrels within the framework of the Jammū empire, Rāj Singh could maintain himself in the favour of Brajrāj-Dev and take over practically the whole sphere of Jammū influence in the interior Himālaya.

In A.D. 1782 at last Rāj Singh took possession of Bhalai and Jūndh, defeated Bijaipāl (A.D. 1775-1806), captured Basohli, and looted its famous palace. In A.D. 1783 Brajrājdev of Jammū gave his sanction to these conquests. A.D. 1783 also Bhadravāh and Kashtwār were transferred by Brajrāj-Dev to the control of Chambā. Already in A.D. 1774 Rāj Singh had married rājā Fatehpāl's (A.D. 1770-90) sister Nagīnu, and later he found a local partisan in Bhūpchand, the Rājā's ambitious younger brother and husband of a Chambā princess, Atharbānū. Bhadravāh Fort was taken by the Chambā wazir Nathū Barotrū, and in A.D. 1785 a formal treaty was signed by which Fatehpāl was forced to accept a Chambā garrison, to provide supplies and troops and to hand over the control of foreign relations to Rāj Singh. Kashtwār State was likewise rent by dynastic dissensions. One brother of the insane rājā Mihr Singh Sa'idmand Khān (A.D. 1771-86), Sujān Singh, had fled to Jammū, two others, Dalel Singh and Kundan Singh, to Chambā. Already in A.D. 1774 Rāj Singh had forced Fatehpāl to promise Bhadravāh troops for the invasion of Kashtwār. But in the same year Bijaipāl of Basohli tried to forestall Chambā by invading the same state. Mihr Singh fled to the Afghān governor of Kashmīr.

A.D. 1786 Rāj Singh sent an army under the nominal command of his son Jīt Singh (a boy of eleven years) which was joined by a Bhadravāh contingent under Bhūpchand, forced the Basohli troops to retreat and occupied the country. Kundan Singh was made rājā. But in the meantime prince Sujān Singh had raised a force in Jammū and joined Mihr Singh who returned with Afghān troops, so that after six months the Chambā army had to evacuate Kashtwār. As Mihr Singh died, Sujān Singh became rājā, but likewise died after two months. His successor Prithvī Singh, the surreptitious son of Mihr Singh, was after half a year drowned by prince Ajīt Singh, whereon Sampūran Dev of Jammū (A.D. 1787-96) had

Kashtwār ruled by some Lāldev (a Jammū prince?). A rebellion in A.D. 1788 brought Ināyat-Ullah Singh, son of Sujān Singh, on the throne who in A.D. 1789 was followed by his minor son Tēgh Singh (A.D. 1789-1820). Both maintained themselves by becoming vassals of Kashmīr, and only fifteen years later Chambā could regain control over Kashtwār for a few years.

This failure had its repercussion in Bhadrawāh. Fatehpāl was suspected of likewise intriguing against his overlord, was in A.D. 1790 deposed and brought as a prisoner to Chambā. In A.D. 1794 his son and successor Dayapāl fell under the same suspicion, was replaced by Bhūp Chand, but restored when that latter, too, proved too dangerous and was also imprisoned in the Chambā palace whereafter Dayapāl was restored under stricter supervision (until A.D. 1810).

In the meantime the glory of Jammū had faded out. In A.D. 1786 the Bhangī Sikhs had again invaded the state and the next year killed Brajrāj-Dev in a battle. His successor Sampūran-Dev (A.D. 1787-97) and the last rājā, Jīt-Dev (A.D. 1797-1801-1812), were children. The tribute, irregularly levied by the Sikhs in Brajrāj-Dev's reign, now became permanent; in A.D. 1801 Jīt-Dev had to submit to Ranjīt Singh of Lahore, A.D. 1812 he was deposed, and the state given as a fief to prince Kharak Singh. The empire of Ranjīt-Dev had disappeared and was partitioned between Chambā, Kashmīr and the Sikhs. Rāj Singh of Chambā had become its heir, but he had also lost the protection which it once had offered to Umēd Singh against the encroachments of Ghamand-Chand of Kāngrā.

Now it was the increasing danger from Sansār Chand II of Kāngrā (A.D. 1775-1823) which enforced the slackening of Chambā policy in Kashtwār after A.D. 1786. As already mentioned, in A.D. 1781 the Katoch ruler had concluded a treaty of non-aggression with Rāj Singh of Chambā, and renewed it most solemnly (engraved on a copperplate) in A.D. 1787. His reasons were the same as those of Rāj Singh, i.e., he needed a free hand in other directions. As Rāj Singh freed himself from Jammū and extended his influence over Basohli, Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār, Sansār Chand got rid of the Mughals and Sikhs, and built up an empire in the Kāngrā Valley. In A.D. 1776 he got Jassā Singh Rāmgarhia expelled by Jai Singh Kanheya, and in A.D. 1781 started the siege of Kāngrā Fort in cooperation with the latter. The fort fell A.D. 1783 when the old Mughal governor Saif 'Alī Khān died; but Sansār Chand,

who had hoped to obtain the fortress, had the mortification of seeing it occupied by his "ally". At last in A.D. 1786 the Katoches, combining with the Rāmgarhia and Sukerchakia Sikhs, at Batala defeated Jai Singh Kanheya who now had to evacuate Kāngrā Fort. Now at last master in his own house, Sansār Chand started subjecting the surrounding states. A.D. 1785 he supported Uchalpāl of Bangāhal in an invasion of Mandī in order to recover part of his patrimony, but disavowed him after having obtained tribute from Mandī and Kulū. Next year he concluded a treaty against Kulū with Mandī, Bilāspur and Chambā. In A.D. 1792 he invaded Mandī and brought its child-ruler, Išvarī-Sen (A.D. 1788-1826), home as a prisoner. Suket State submitted on the same occasion. At the same time he broke up Guler State by allying himself with Dhyān Singh, its former wazīr and now ruler of Kotla. Next it was the turn of Nūrpur where likewise a child, Bīr Singh (A.D. 1789-1846), was ruler.

Rāj Singh who had grown increasingly suspicious despite the protestations of Sansār Chand, and who already in A.D. 1787 had got the defences of Tārāgarh repaired, came to the support of Nūrpur. Now Sansār Chand regarded the old non-aggression pact as broken and demanded Rihlū, the fort of which Rāj Singh strengthened instead. In A.D. 1794 Sansār Chand at Nerti surprised Rāj Singh who with only a small escort had visited the Nūrpur troops and, outnumbered, was slain.

The Competition with Kāngrā: As the Chambā administration was in the strong hands of the loyal wazīr Nathū Barotrū, Rāj Singh's death did not create a crisis. The field troops and Rihlū fort held out, and Sansār Chand concluded peace with Jīt Singh (A.D. 1794-1808), content with the token cession of a few villages. He preferred to invade Bilāspur (Kahlūr) A.D. 1795 where the nobles were up in rebellion against rājā Mahan Singh (A.D. 1778-1824). Instead, Bijaipal of Basohli (A.D. 1776-1806) thought the time ripe for revenging his disgrace in A.D. 1782, and invaded Chambā, trying to reoccupy Bhalai and Jūndh. In A.D. 1796 Jīt Singh retaliated and conquered the Balauria Rāj, restoring Bijai-pāl in A.D. 1797 on payment of a heavy war indemnity. Probably the already mentioned troubles in Bhadrawāh A.D. 1794-96, leading to the successive arrests of Dayapāl and Dhūpchand, were no more than an echo of the war with Basohli.

Now Jīt Singh's prestige was so great that when somewhat later he wanted to undertake a pilgrimage to Devī Mallā (Śārādā

Devī) at Sukral, the rājās of Basohli, Bhadu and Rāmnagar bought him off with half a lakh of Rupees. And Shāh-Zamān of Kābul entrusted him A.D. 1797 with the diwānī over the hills, by the side of Sampūran-Dev of Jammū (who was probably considered as heir of Ranjīt-Deo, the former Afghān nāzim, but had just died). Chambā was more and more acknowledged as the leader of all the states not yet subjected by Sansār-Chand II of Kāngrā. A.D. 1801-02 a block was formed, comprising, besides Chambā, Nūrpur, Basohli, Jasrota, Mānkot, Bhadrawāh, Kashtwār and Jammū. At the same time Chambā negotiated also with Kulū and Kahlūr. Yet Sansār Chand's power now reached its zenith so that in the next year he annexed Kahlūr west of the Sutlej and even invaded the Panjāb plains, though he was repelled by Ranjīt Singh of Lahore near Hoshiārpur. Jit Singh had to conclude a treaty of "alliance" with Kāngrā, which forced him to send troops in support of Sansār Chand in case of a war. But this treaty meant no more than temporizing. For in the meantime negotiations went on, especially with the Gurkhas of Nepāl who then had reached the left bank of the Sutlej. Jit Singh was acknowledged as their "wazīr" in the hills west of Kāngrā. Thus the war started in which the Gurkhas, called in by the hill rājās, and the Sikhs, summoned by Sansār Chand II in extremis, were to overrun the western Himālaya, and to subject and annex its Rājput kingdoms. But Jit Singh did no more witness this catastrophe; he died during the siege of Kāngrā Fort by the Gurkhas.

In comparison with the political position which Chambā occupied under Rāj Singh and Jit Singh, the artistic output of that time is disappointingly meagre, though of high quality. The victories had been dearly paid for, and most of the tributes levied on Basohli, Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār had again to be spent on armaments. Extensive fortification works were undertaken at Tārāgarh, Rihlū, and probably also at Prithvī-Jor, Bhadrawāh, etc. After the invasion of Amritpāl A.D., 1774 Chambā town and the Pakkī Chaukī (old Palace) therein had also to be reconstructed and repaired. Rājnagar was left in ruins. Rāj Singh continued the work at the Rang Mahal begun by his father and completed the śikhara temple of Hirmā at Mehlā. Some śikhara temples of his reign are found also on the road south of Chambā town; the traditional religious sculptures therein and in other temples are of a queer, doll-like elegance and slimness. But his chief monument is the reconstruction of the Chāmundā temple above the town, a wooden hill temple with a ceiling completely covered with reliefs in the

"Kāngrā" style. The portraits, historical and mythological miniatures of his time are executed first in a mixed Mughal-Rājput, later in the pure "Kāngrā" style. The artists seem to have come from outside, from Guler and Basohli especially. Of art under Jit Singh even less is known. His own and prince Charhat Singh's portraits were added on the facade of the Chāmundā temple at Devī-ri Kothī in Churāh, and probably some of the best miniatures in the Bhuri Singh Museum may be attributed to his reign. The strict economy of wazīr Nathū which permitted Chambā to pass through those critical years without debts, did not allow of much extravagance.

Struggle for Survival: The last years of Jit Singh's reign had witnessed a complete reversal of the world-political situation which had made the political dreams of the Rājput hill states possible at all. Afghānistān lost even its precarious control over the Panjāb, and the Sikhs were united by Ranjīt Singh of Lahore between A.D. 1798 and 1812. Divided into the 12 Misl and quarrelling one with the other, they had already been a danger for the hill states; united and drilled by European officers, they became irresistible. Moreover, the Dogras of Jammū, under a junior line of princes joining the Sikhs, attacked the other states from the west and north, whereas the Gurkhas weakened them by their invasion from the East. At this very juncture Chambā was burdened with a child (Charhat Singh A.D. 1808-1844) on the throne, later to grow into an indolent ruler, to be followed by two other nonentities. That the state survived, was due to three facts: It had in the queen-regent Śāradā Devī and the wazīrs Nathū and Bhāga some efficient and devoted administrators. As the second power in the hills it was neither so prominent to be broken completely, nor so small as to be swallowed without consideration. It could accomodate itself to the new powers and buy off all designs on its existence by sacrificing one conquest after the other, until it was taken over into the British system of protected states, at last to go as a "relic of the past" with the disappearance of British rule.

The Gurkha invasion A.D. 1805 started over the internal troubles of Kahlūr (Bilāspur) State. There the nobles, i.e., the princes of the later Simla States, were since many years in revolt against rājā Mahan Singh, and already in A.D. 1805 Sansār-Chand had taken the opportunity to invade the country. When in A.D. 1804 he annexed the whole western border of the Sutlej, Mahan Singh, driven to desperation by the rājā of Nalagarh, implored the Gurkha leader, Amar Singh Thapa, for assistance. That latter

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had received invitations also from the rājās further to the West to liberate them likewise from the Katoch yoke. A.D. 1805 Amar Singh Thapa crossed the Sutlej, defeated Sansār Chand who was weakened by an untimely reform of his army, at Mahal-Moriān, took his capital Tira-Sujānpur and summer residence Nadāun, freed Ísvāri-Sen, the imprisoned rājā of Mandī, and in A.D. 1806 laid siege to Kāngrā Fort, whither Sansār Chand had fled. For three years the siege of the impregnable fortress dragged on until starvation forced Sansār Chand to offer his submission to Ranjīt Singh of Lahore if he would relieve him. Also the other hill rājās were prepared to change sides as the depredations of the Gurkhas had already exasperated them. But Ranjīt Singh, convinced that Sansār Chand would never keep his promise when relieved from his difficulties, was most cautious. At last wazīr Nathū of Chambā succeeded in negotiating an agreement, sworn over the holy flame of Jwalamukhī. The Gurkhas, attacked by the Sikhs in front, and harrassed by the hill rājās in the back, were driven out in A.D. 1809, and in A.D. 1813-14 they were expelled also from the Simla States, Garhwāl and Kumāon by the British.

Instead, the Sikhs became the lords. Already in A.D. 1801 Jammū had become dependent. A.D. 1809 Ranjīt Singh occupied Pathānkot, Jasrota, Basohli, Kāngrā Fort and State, and Jambhari in Bilāspur. A.D. 1810 Kulū was invaded, and Chambā had to buy off a threatening invasion. A.D. 1811 Kotla was annexed; A.D. 1812 Akhnūr and Bhīmbar were subdued. In the same year Ranjīt Singh held a great durbār in which all the hill rājās had to pay homage to him. But annexation continued, generally by first asking for a tribute which the state was unable to pay, and then taking over the country and deposing its ruler. A.D. 1812 Jammū disappeared, 1813 Guler, 1814 Kashmīr was attacked, 1815 Nūrpur, 1819 Kashmīr, 1820 Mānkot and Kashtwār, 1822 Pūnch and Bandh-rāta, 1827 Kāngrā State, 1834 Jasrota and Ladakh, 1836 Basohli and Bhoti were annexed. However, part of these conquests were not made by the Sikhs themselves, but by three brothers of a junior line of the Jammū house, Dhyān Singh, Suchet Singh and Gulāb Singh, who had joined the Sikhs and rose high in the court and army of Ranjīt Singh, laying the foundations of the later Jammū-Kashmīr State.

Chambā survived by a similar, though less successful policy. As representative of the hill rājās during the Gurkha war, wazīr Nathū had already in A.D. 1809 made himself useful to Ranjīt Singh in negotiating the agreement with Sansār Chand. In A.D.

1814 he saved Ranjīt Singh's life at a critical moment of the winter campaign against Kashmīr, and since then could reckon on the Sikh ruler's friendship. When the interests of Chambā clashed with those of more influential court favourites, he generally was the loser; but Ranjīt Singh would mitigate the loss or recompensate him otherwise.

Since the rise of the Sikh power Kashtwār had again slipped from Chambā control. In A.D. 1815-16 rājā Tegh Singh had incurred the displeasure of Ranjīt Singh by sheltering Shāh Shujā of Afghānistān who had fled from the Lahore court. Thus in A.D. 1820 Gulāb Singh annexed the state. In consequence Pahār Chand (son of Bhūpchand) who in A.D. 1810 had followed Dayapāl on the throne of Bhadrawāh, rebelled against Chambā and defeated an army led against him by wazīr Nathū. Thereon Desā Singh Majīthia, the Sikh governor of Kāngrā, claimed Rihlū as part of the former imperial demesne, and besieged and took the fort. Nathū saved the situation by personally proceeding to Lahore in A.D. 1821 and obtaining a sanad from Ranjīt Singh, confirming Chambā in the possession of Bhadrawāh, returning the village of Rānītar in Rihlū district which had been the personal jāgīr of the rānīs of Chambā and remitting an annual tribute of 30,000 in consideration of the territorial loss. When Nathū returned to Bhadrawāh with a Sikh force, Paharchand realized that resistance was useless and fled to Amritsar. Bhadrawāh was annexed to Chambā.

The next trouble was caused by Nūrpur which had been annexed by the Sikhs in A.D. 1815. Its rājā Bīr Singh, married to a sister of Charhat Singh, tried to recapture his state in A.D. 1826, was expelled by a Sikh force, fled to Chambā, had to be surrendered, was for seven years imprisoned in Govindgarh Fort near Amritsar, and was at last ransomed in A.D. 1834.

Another friction arose over Pādar in the Chandrabhāga Valley. During the later years of Tsepāl Namgyal when the rule of Leh already was in full disintegration, and when the Kulavīs and Lāhulis invaded the adjoining districts of Ladakh, the Chambā governor (Pālasrā) of Pādar had annexed Zanskar. When a decade later, in A.D. 1834, Ladakh was taken by the Dogras, those latter not only claimed Zanskar, but also the right of passage from there to Kashtwār, because the road through Kashmīr was under direct Sikh administration. Naturally the Pālasrā was opposed even to a temporary sojourn of Dogra troops in Pādar, afraid that it might turn into a permanent occupation. In consequence Chhattargarh was

1936) those reforms were further developed by the dewān. During the minority of the last rājā, Lachman Singh (A.D. 1936-48) the state was run by British administrators mainly interested in developing the communications, economic resources, hospitals, etc. A.D. 1947 the first motor-road was completed, connecting Chambā town with Dalhousie and Pathānkot. A.D. 1948 Chambā state at last disappeared, absorbed in Himāchal Pradesh.

Concluding Observations: Despoiled of the ancient glamour of Rājput romance, the history of Chambā since the Muslim conquest is that of the unification of innumerable diminutive and isolated feudal territories into one, interconnected and centrally administered state, to be subdued and at last absorbed by much vaster political units, the Panjāb and India. But this growth was the product of a long rivalry with several other similar states and state systems, and of the ideals and ideologies of several successive types of civilization, the Hindu revival inspired by a brāhmin oligarchy, the Rājput civilization developed in the Mughal empire and the impact of the modern world first under British control and now under an Indian national government. And it was achieved, promoted and impeded by individuals and social groups, their efficiency and vision learnt in a hard struggle for survival, and their degeneration in the easygoing security of possession. In so far the history of Chambā, though of only a local character, is an exceptionally complete epitome of the history of India over many centuries of which our knowledge still is very fragmentary.

Libraries and their management in Mughul India

BY

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"Of making many books there is no end and the beginning is lost in antiquity; and of collecting books into libraries the beginnings are very remote"—Sir Frederick Kenyon.¹

The Turk Rulers of India during the Sultanate period had no separate building for their libraries. The educational buildings—the mosques with their maqtabas and the khanqahs and the madrasas—were the places where the books were stocked and preserved. There is no mention of separate libraries in the period, though during the period following we come across accounts of a number of such buildings. The only library of which we read during the Sultanate period is that of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, which was situated in his khanqah in Delhi. The library was a public property and was open to all deserving, as it had been raised from public donations or waqfs.

A. IMPERIAL AND ROYAL LIBRARIES

The Mughul emperors who followed the sultans of Delhi were all well-read and accomplished, educated and highly cultured men. They possessed literary taste and were also great patrons of learning. They were real lovers of art and literature. They maintained a separate library in a portion of their residences and sometimes also public buildings for keeping their best choice books. It was their practice to support great public libraries, as also to maintain their personal ones.

1. Sir Frederick Kenyon: *Libraries and Museums*, p. 1.

besieged and destroyed in A.D. 1836 (later Gulābgarh was founded in its place), and Zanskar as well as Pādar annexed to the Dogra kingdom. The Chambā government had to disown its loyal governor and to accept the loss. However, an attempt of Gulāb Singh's general, Zorāwar Singh Kahlūria, to conquer also Bhadrawāh was beaten off.

Nevertheless, those years were, on the whole, not so bad for the state. For as long as Chambā was protected by the personal friendship between wazīr Nathū and Ranjīt Singh, conditions were comparatively stable. And the burden of the heavy tribute to the Sikhs was alleviated by the reduction of direct military expenditure. Artistic activities, therefore, were much more conspicuous than in the two preceding reigns, though they lacked their vitality and high spirit. In A.D. 1825 the queen-mother, rānī Śāradā of Jammū, erected the last big temple in Chambā, the Rādhā-Krishna, in the mixed Mughal-Hindu style developed at Guler under Govardhan-Chand (ca. A.D. 1730-60), and the fountain house (with "Kāngrā" murals) of Suhi-dā Marh, at the end of Sāhillavarman's aqueduct (10th century A.D.). Charhat Singh himself, interested only in his ladies and in religious ceremonies, spent mainly on his zanāna palaces, the Pakkī Chaukī, the Rang Mahal and a garden house on the ruins of Rājnagar; their architecture is cheap, but they are richly decorated in the "Kāngrā" style. The miniatures executed during Śāradā Devī's regency are excellent, especially the Ukhā-Charitra Album in the Bhuri Singh Museum, probably the work of a refugee artist from Sujānpur. The miniatures of Charhat Singh's later reign reveal a rapid degeneration. Under the regency probably also rumāl work was introduced from Basohli and Sujānpur, though occasionally such embroideries were made already in Rāj Singh's time.

A.D. 1838 Nathū died and his son Bhāga became wazīr. The next year Ranjīt Singh died at Lahore, and was succeeded by Kharak Singh (A.D. 1839-41). Chambā, now unprotected, was drawn into the vortex of the disintegration of the Sikh kingdom. For some years when Ranjīt Singh's old prime minister Dhyān Singh still was in office, the crisis was delayed. But when in A.D. 1843 that latter was assassinated, together with mahārājā Shēr Singh, things quickly came to a head. Mahārājā Dalip Singh's prime minister was Hira Singh. The latter's chief adviser was a Pandit Jalla of Basohli who appointed a relative, Narāin Shāh (nick-named Lakkar Shāh) as Sikh agent in Chambā. Lakkar Shāh looted the country so shamelessly, that he drove the humiliated officials to desperation. In

the meantime Charhat Singh died, and again a child, Śrī Singh (A.D. 1844-1870), became rājā. As all complaints were ignored by Pandit Jalla, Lakkar Shāh was kidnapped with the tacit consent of the queen-mother, carried into the mountains and tortured to death. Wazīr Bhāga then tried to placate Hira Singh, claiming that the Chambā authorities had not been involved in the conspiracy. But Pandit Jalla had him and his two companions cast into prison and despatched two Sikh armies against Chambā. One, coming from Nūrpur, was held at bay by the garrison of Tārāgarh; but the other, advancing via Sandhāra, took Chambā town and forced the rānī to flee, with her child, up the Rāvi Valley. But in the meantime Hira Singh was murdered by the party of Rānī Jindan, soon thereafter chaos reigned in Lahore, and in A.D. 1845 the Sikh army invaded British territory. In consequence, the Sikh troops left Chambā when things already looked most critical. When the Sikh kingdom was broken up, Chambā was first ceded to the British in A.D. 1846, but then made over to Gulāb Singh, as part of the new Jammū-Kashmīr State. Thereupon wazīr Bhāga immediately proceeded to Lahore, explaining that by Ranjīt Singh's order of A.D. 1821 Chambā had been given a status similar to that of Jammū, and that its non-participation in the recent war had placed it also in a similar position visavis the British. Sir Henry Lawrence thereon took Chambā under direct British protection, but indemnified Gulāb Singh by transferring Bhadrawāh to Jammū.

Absorption into the Modern World: The later history of the state is no more of much interest. Śrī Singh was as unimportant as his father. When wazīr Bhāga Barotrū retired A.D. 1854, he was followed by his son Billū. But after the latter's death the administration degenerated and was at last in A.D. 1863-64 modernized by Major Blair Reid. On this occasion the old feudal system and the state army and garrisons disappeared. A.D. 1851-54 the hill station Dalhousie was laid out on former Chambā territory, A.D. 1866 the hill cantonment Bakloh. A.D. 1871-72 the old fortresses were demolished, and forced labour abolished. But under Śrī Singh and his successor Gopāl Singh (A.D. 1870-73) the old cultural life still flourished, though as a dull and rich court luxury. The Śakti Devī Temple at Chatrārhi, the Lakshmī-Nārayan Temple Gate, the Chāmunda and Sitalā Devī temples and the Khanchandī Palace in the capital were redecorated. Syām Singh (A.D. 1873-1904) and Bhūrī Singh (A.D. 1911-1919) were two reformers under whom modern education, research, medical, social and other improvements penetrated the state. Under Rām Singh (A.D. 1919-

Babur

To Babur, the first Mughul emperor, the greatest presentation one could make to anybody was a selection of some good and useful books. He valued such a present most. We read in the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* that when he took possession of Milwat and reached the library of Ghazi Khan,² he took out some books from it and gave them to his eldest son Humayun as a gift and sent some others to his second son Kamran at Kabul.³ These were mostly theological books—books on religion and on Islam.

Babur was an author and a poet. He found solace in literary work and composed verses even in times of adversity. It is said that he forgot his sorrows and miseries when he was engrossed in poetry. Whenever he could snatch time, he busied himself in writing his autobiography. He had a personal library which he utilized to its best. It was in this library or study that he took rest whenever he was tired or found time to relax.⁴

According to Stanley Lane-Poole, "in his native Turki he (Babur) was a master of a pure and unaffected style, alike in prose and verse".⁵ Beveridge has gone to the extent of describing his *Tuzuk* as "one of those priceless records which are for all time, and fit to rank with the confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau and the memoirs of Gibbon and Newton. In Asia it stands almost alone."⁶ That Babur was a good poet is evident from his *Diwan-i-Babur Padisha*,⁷ a selection of his verses.

It is stated on the authority of the *Tawarikh* of Sayyid Maqbar Ali, a minister of Babur, that the public works department was also entrusted with the work of building and repairing schools, colleges and seminaries. Most of these institutions had a library attached to each. Babur encouraged the establishment and expansion of many libraries.⁸

2. Babur: *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Translated by Beveridge, Vol. II.

3. Babur: *Ibid.*

4. Babur: *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Vols. I and II.

5. S. Lane-Poole: Babur (in *Rulers of India Series*), p. 10.

6. Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review*, 1897.

7. *Diwan-i-Babur Padishah*, Edited by E. Denison Ross in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910.

8. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, etc.

Humayun

Humayun had a passion for study of geography, astronomy and astrology. He had a greater love for books and libraries than Babur even.⁹ His favourite subjects included poetry and literature. Very often Humayun held scholarly discussions in his private assemblies. Admiral Sidi Ali Rais, the well-known Turkish traveller, has made references to Humayun's scholarly discussions and love for books many a time in his account of travels. Sidi Ali Rais concludes: "There is much enthusiasm for poetry and poetical contests in these days and for this reason I had to remain in the King's presence"¹⁰ for many months.

The pleasure-house of Sher Shah in the Purana Qila was converted by Humayun into a library and it was as a result of his fall from the stairs of this library at Sher Mandal that the emperor received severe injuries and later succumbed to them.¹¹

Humayun had a large number of selected books in his personal library. Jauhar, his table-servant, tells us that the emperor took with him some choice and favourite books even to the battle-fields and on his expeditions to Bangal and Gujarat.¹² A selection from the personal library moved with the emperor. He also took this library with him during his exile and wanderings after his defeat at the hands of Sher Khan. During his Gujarat expedition when he was encamped at Cambay, some forest and hill tribes, we are told, made a night attack on his camp and in the confusion and plunder that ensued, according to Abul Fazl, "many rare books, which were his real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession, were lost."¹³ This anecdote is a fine example of Humayun's inordinate love for books and libraries. He aided the establishment of many libraries in the kingdom in spite of ill-luck and disturbed rule.

Akbar

Akbar's patronage of learning and the learned is proverbial.

Though himself not a man of letters,¹⁴ Akbar equalled his ancestors in his literary taste. He was interested in the different

9. S. K. Banerji: *Humayun Padshah*, Vol. II.

10. Sidi Ali Rais: *Safar Nama*.

11. W. Haig: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 309.

12. Jauhar: *Tazkirat-ul-Waqayat*.

13. Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 309.

14. Sometime back there was a controversy whether Akbar was literate or an unlettered man. Proof is more against Akbar's literacy than in its favour. See S. M. Jaffar: *Education in Moslem India*.

branches of learning, like philosophy, theology, history, politics, etc., on the problems of which he could give his own opinions.¹⁵ He gathered round him a band of scholars and poets, historians and philosophers well-known as the Nine Jewels and maintained a big library containing books on various subjects.¹⁶ These books were read out to the emperor by different scholars and the emperor gained an excellent knowledge of these subjects. His intellectual level also rose greatly by taking part in the discussions held in the Ibadat Khana. Writes Dr. Vincent A. Smith, "Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy".¹⁷ Badauni admits that Akbar had "by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books".¹⁸ This compliment is from a dissatisfied writer. Jahangir writes that Akbar understood the beauty of both prose and poetry much better than anyone else.^{18a}

The active interest of the emperor in learning led him to the establishment of new libraries which were stocked with numerous valuable manuscript books. Akbar had inherited from his father quite a good personal library. He improved it and added to the number of books by acquisitions made during his expeditions to Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bangal, Bihar, Kashmir, and the Deccan. During the conquests of these parts and through his agents he collected a large set of unique and rare books. The rare *Diwan* of Humayun Shah the poet was one of them. Many more rare books were found out by the emperor and purchased for the imperial library.¹⁹

Akbar's fondness for books is manifest in his orders for the establishment of a translation department or bureau which translated Sanskrit epics and valuable Turki and Arabic books into Persian. This bureau prepared translations of numerous works on different subjects which were copied out in beautiful handwriting,

15. E. Maclagan: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 205-6.

16. Maclagan: *Ibid.*

17. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*.

18. Baduni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 263.

18a. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 33.

19. Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

illustrated by the best painters of the realm and beautifully bound.²⁰ Calligraphy reached its acme of perfection. After a handy and attractive garb was given to these translations, they were placed in the big imperial library at Agra. Some of them were also placed in the personal library of the emperor. The Sanskrit books translated included the *Atharva Veda* and the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. The *Mahabharata* was translated by Badauni under the title of *Razmanama* and Faizi prepared a translation of *Lilavati*, a treatise on arithmetic. Some books in Turki and Arabic also were translated into Persian by the translation bureau. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan translated Babur's *Tuzuk* from Turki into Persian.²¹

The royal library was situated in the big hall on the side of Shah Jahan's octagonal tower in the fort of Agra. It was a big library "to which probably no parallel then existed, or ever has existed in the world."²² It contained 24,000 beautifully bound manuscript books in October, 1605, when the emperor breathed his last.²³ All these books were valued at rupees 64½ lakhs (Rs. 64,63,731). The average valuation of each book was between £ 27/- and £ 30/- and the total value of the library in English money was between £ 6,46,373 and £ 7,37,159.²⁴ Among these 24,000 books of Akbar's library were included 4,300 choice manuscript books which had been transferred to it from the library of Shaikh Faizi on his death in 1595.²⁵ This enormous collection of 24,000 volumes was properly classified under sections and efficiently maintained by expert librarians.

Akbar was so fond of books that whenever a new book was added to his collection, he called it in and ordered some scholar to read it out to him. Abul Fazl tells us that the emperor himself marked the book at the proper place with the date as an indication to the extent up to which the book had been read on one particular night, and ordered to begin it next night from the place the book had been left.²⁶ Elliot and Dowson consider him to be a

20. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vols. I and II, *op. cit.*

21. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 103-6.

22. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

23. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 491 and V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

24. V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 424.

25. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 491.

26. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 74, and p. 103.

fastidious critic of poetry who could improve upon verses of other poets.^{26a}

The emperor's court was full of masters of all the arts. He even apportioned salaries and pensions to these men of letters and admitted some top-ranking among them to his mansabdari system.

Salima Sultana

Besides the emperor himself, one of his queens Salima Sultana Begam was also a scholar, a poetess and a patron of the learned. Such was the daughter of Gulrukh Begam who was a sister of emperor Humayun. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* has spoken highly of her ability and outstanding merits as a scholar. Salima Sultana Begam was fond of reading books and maintained a library of her own.²⁷

Gulbadan Begam

We do not have any recorded mention as to whether or not Gulbadan Begam, the daughter of Babur who wrote her *Humayun Nama* during the reign of Akbar, had a library. She was definitely interested in reading and writing, which means she must have had a library. Her *Humayun Nama* has been highly praised and it could not have been the work of an unlettered woman. However, the discrepancies and the errors in her history give rise to doubts that she did not possess any reference work to look into while compiling the book.²⁸

Jahangir

Jahangir has a very high reputation for his fine taste and literary accomplishments. His *Tuzuk* is a very clear proof of his extraordinary ability and love for reading and writing.²⁹ Besides the age-old imperial library, Jahangir also maintained a personal library. This library was always on the move along with the emperor, and went wherever the emperor happened to go. Jahangir

26a. Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. IV, p. 294.

27. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated and Edited by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, op. cit.

28. Gulbadan Begam: *Humayun Nama*, Translated and Edited by Beveridge.

29. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated and Edited by Rogers and Beveridge, op. cit..

used to read books as a relaxation and diversion as also for obtaining information and improving his knowledge. When Jahangir went to Gujarat, he took his personal library with him.³⁰ Like Babur, he also regarded books as the most valuable possession and most valued present one could make. He gave several books to the ulema of Gujarat as tokens of his regard and respect for them when they went to meet him. He writes in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that on the second visit of the ulema to the emperor, he gave them robes of honour, travelling expenses, lands and one book to each of them from his royal library, and on the back of each book he wrote the date of his arrival in Gujarat and the date of the presentation of the book to that scholar.³¹

Jahangir had a very large personal library and therefore had to appoint a big staff to look after it under a Darogha of the library.

Khafi Khan in his history has recorded that in order to encourage learning and collection of books the emperor issued an order to utilize all the property of the people dying without making a will, for the repairs and building of madrasas, monasteries and seminaries which usually maintained a library.³² Most of the escheat money was spent for the propagation of learning among the people and for establishing libraries at the madrasas and other places of higher education.³³

Nur Jahan

Nur Jahan the queen of Jahangir was no less a lover of books than her royal husband. She maintained a personal library which she enriched from time to time by new purchases. Even before her marriage with the emperor she had a good collection of rare books. The Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna has a copy of the *Diwan* of Kamran which Nur Jahan had once purchased for three mohars. The empress was well-versed in Arabic and Persian literatures and was specially fond of Persian poetry.³⁴

30. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, op. cit.

31. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, op. cit.

32. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, etc. pp. 174-5. and F. E. Keay: *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 128.

33. Khafi Khan: *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II.

34. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, op. cit.

Shah Jahan

It should not be supposed that Shah Jahan gave up the patronage of learning, unlike his predecessors. He certainly continued to patronize the fine arts and literature and learning, though his personal taste was more towards constructing magnificent buildings than towards studies, music or painting. None the less, he spent the early hours of the night daily in his study room and read or listened to his choice books.³⁵ He encouraged learned men by giving them rewards and fixing stipends for their maintenance.³⁶

Dara Shukoh

Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was one of the greatest scholars India has ever produced. Like Akbar, he was imbued with the liberal doctrines of Sufism and tried to unite the two communities of the country by mutual love, understanding and sympathy.³⁷ Under his patronage a number of books were written and translated. Prominent translations from Sanskrit into Persian were the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagwat Gita*, the *Yoga Vashishtha Ramayan* and others; the original works were the *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, a biography of Muslim saints, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, an account of Mian Mir, an Indian Saint, and the *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, an encyclopaedic book on the technical terms of Hindu Vedantism and Muslim Sufism; and some books on Sufism like the *Nadir-ul-Nukat*, the *Risalah-i-Haqnama* and the *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*.³⁸

The famous administrator Sir William Sleeman musing over the grave of Dara Shukoh very aptly thought that had Dara survived and come to the throne of the Mughul emperors instead of Aurangzeb, the history of India and the history of Indian education and scholarship must have been far different from what it is today.³⁹

Mumtaz Mahal

Mumtaz Mahal the queen of Shah Jahan was educated and fond of books. The emperor's daughter Jahanara Begam was also educated and was a regular reader of the Quran.

35. J. N. Sarkar: *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays*, p. 174.

36. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 183.

37. K. R. Qanungo: *Dara Shukoh*, Vol. I.

38. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, pp. 184-6.

39. Sleeman: *Rambles and Recollections*, etc., Edited by Smith, pp. 511-3.

Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb was a widely-read emperor and an accurate scholar. He kept his love of books to his last day.⁴⁰ His voluminous correspondence with his sons and noblemen of the times proves his mastery of Persian and Arabic languages and literatures. He knew Turki also. Aurangzeb knew the Quran and the Hadis (Traditions) by heart and was a scholar of theology.⁴¹ He maintained a personal library and also added many books to the imperial library, mostly on theology and religion. He transferred the library of Mahmud Gawan from Bidar and amalgamated it with the imperial library. The emperor was mainly responsible for the great digest of Muslim Law made in India, entitled the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*.

Zebun Nisa

Zebun Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb, inherited her father's intelligence and love of books. She was specially fond of poetry and was a good student of Arabic and Persian. She collected a large library of her own which came to be her only companion to console her during her imprisonment for her complicity in the rebellion of Prince Akbar.⁴² From 1681 up to her death in May 1702 she spent her time engrossed in poetry in the Char Burji garden in the outskirts of Lahore where she was kept as a state prisoner by her father, the emperor.

The Later Mughuls

Bahadur Shah the successor of Aurangzeb was also well-educated and loved the society of the learned people. During the rule of Muhammad Shah, Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur built observatories at Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura, Banaras and Delhi. The imperial library was well cared for and sometimes books were added to it. Though Nadir Shah took away with him a large number of the books of the Imperial library at Delhi, the later Mughul emperors continued to collect new books and thereby enrich and replenish it. Thus by the time of Shah Alam II the library of the Mughul emperors had again been extended to considerable proportions.⁴³

40. J. N. Sarkar: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 371.

41. Lane-Poole: *Mediaeval India*, p. 360.

42. Sarkar: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 252 and 302.

43. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 198.

B. LIBRARIES OF NOBLEMEN AND INDIVIDUALS

The imperial library and the royal libraries were the source of inspiration and example to the noblemen, the courtiers, the wealthy and other people of the empire. The noblemen sometimes vied with one another in collecting books, enlarging their libraries and sometimes taking airs as patrons of learning. Whatever the reason may be, their activities were of considerable good to the progress and development of libraries and to learning. We can take notice of only a few of them.

Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan

Among the noblemen of Akbar's time the greatest patron of books and learning was Abdur Rahim who was the son of Bairam Khan the protector of Akbar's young days. Abdur Rahim was honoured by the emperor with the title of Khan Khanan in 1584. He excelled all his contemporaries as a patron of learning and was himself a man of letters—a poet, a writer and a scholar.⁴⁴ He maintained a first-class library. It was looked after with perfect care and was maintained at a great cost. The Khan Khanan employed highly trained scribes and calligraphers, painters and book-binders, gilders and cutters, who were masters of their art. They were busy in improving the look and the contents of the books and the management of the books in the library and were adding many more to it by copying them out for the nobleman. *Maasir-i-Rahimi* speaks highly of Abdur Rahim's librarian, Maulana Ibrahim Naqqash.⁴⁵ The Khan Khanan employed the best painters of the day to paint and decorate the books in his library. Muhammad Amin Khurasani, the inventor of the *abri* (shining) paper was employed by the Khan Khanan on a monthly salary of Rs. 400/- as a book-binder and gilder. Shaikh Brahmi of Bahraich who was a good poet of Hindi, and his son Shaikh Abdus Salam, were successively the Darogha-i-Kutub Khana or Librarians of this library. Besides these, there were numerous translators and moderators and the whole staff totalled about 95 persons.⁴⁶

The chief feature of the Khan Khanan's library was that most of the books were in the hands of their authors themselves. Some

44. Abdur Rahim was also a fine poet in Hindi and was a friend of the famous poet of Ramcharita-manasa, Goswami Tulsidas, Ain., III.

45. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1686.

46. Abdul Baqi: *Ibid.*, Vol. III, op. cit.

of the authors had presented their books to that nobleman and received rewards in return.⁴⁷ Some such books were the *Diwan* of Naziri Nishapuri, the *Masnavi* of Muhatsin Kashi, the *Diwan* of Urfi Shirazi, the poems of Nuruddin Zahuri and the *Qasidas* of Muhammad Waqri Nishapuri.

Some of the books of the Khan Khanan's library are still to be seen in various libraries of India. The library of the nawab of Rampur and the library of the Raj Pramukh of Haidarabad have some books of that reputed old library. On the book *Tasawuf* by Abdulla Ansari, which was presented by the Khan Khanan to emperor Jahangir, there is the name and date of presentation in Jahangir's handwriting. Shah Jahan, too, wrote his name in the book when it passed on to his library. In the Kutub Khana Asafia at Haidarabad there was a book on explanations of dreams which was given by Akbar to the Khan Khanan. The Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna has some books of the Khan Khanan's library. A copy of the Quran is with the Royal Asiatic Society's library at Calcutta.

Munim Khan

Munim Khan was the governor of Jaunpur from 1568 onwards in the time of Akbar. He was fond of reading good books and had a personal library of choice books. A lover of books,⁴⁸ he tried to get hold of rare books wherever he could. Some of the books in his library were procured and sent to him by his friends and admirers. Munim Khan in return for these presents used to compensate the people with gifts of money and other such presents. The *Kulliat* of Shaikh Saadi was sent to him by Bahadur Khan and the nobleman rewarded him with Rs. 500/-. Munim Khan purchased many books from professional book-sellers when they took books to him. He had a rare copy of the *Diwan* of Kamran which was purchased at a high price.

Shaikh Faizi

Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, was noted for his learning. A scholar himself and a son and a brother of scholars, Faizi had collected a large number of rare and fine books. Most of these books were in the writings of their authors or copied in their lifetime under their guidance and authority. This added to the value of these books. All the books of Faizi's library were nicely bound

47. Abdul Baqi: *Ibid.*, Vol. III, op. cit.

48. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, op. cit.

and well-kept and looked after.⁴⁹ The library included the works of Faizi himself, which, they say, numbered 101. The total number of books in his library was over 4,300 and all of them passed on to the imperial library on Faizi's death. The library contained books on diverse subjects like literature, medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy, the sciences, mathematics and jurisprudence.⁵⁰

Farid Bukhari

Shaikh Farid Bukhari was a favourite courtier of Jahangir⁵¹ and was the governor of Lahore and Ahmadabad for sometime. He maintained a library of valuable books and enriched it by adding new volumes from time to time. Some of the books of Farid's library are seen in some old libraries of India. A conspicuous example is the *Diwan* of Hasan Dehlavi, which is now in the Khudabux Oriental Library at Patna.

C. LIBRARIES OF PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS

Besides the emperor many of the independent rulers of the Mughul times also had their personal libraries and encouraged the establishment of many public libraries.

Gujarat

Before Gujarat was conquered by Akbar, there was a good library of the independent rulers of that kingdom. Sultan Ahmad Shah I patronized learning, started many madrasas, and established a royal library. Sultan Muhammad Shah gave away some books from the royal library to some of the madrasas of the kingdom. When Akbar conquered Gujarat, he distributed some books of the Gujarat sultan's library among his courtiers.⁵² Abdul Qadir Badauni and Abul Fazl were among the lucky recipients of the spoils of the Gujarat library.

Bidar

The college built by Mahmud Gawan at Bidar in the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani is said to have possessed a library containing over 3,000 books on different subjects.⁵³ During

49. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*

50. Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 305.

51. Jahangir: *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vols. I and III, *op. cit.*

52. Badauni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 202.

53. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 99 and 113. Keay: *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 119.

Aurangzeb's time this library was transferred to Delhi and amalgamated with the imperial library.

Jaunpur

During its brief life of about eighty years, the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur reached the greatest height of civilization and culture, so much so that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century it came to be called the "Shiraz of India".⁵⁴ The Sharqi rulers were scholars themselves and respected the scholars at their court. Sometimes some of them paid visits to these scholars at their homes. The library of Maulvi Maashuq Ali was well-known in the kingdom in Mughul days and contained over 5,000 books. The library of the Mufti was also a big one. Under the Mughul emperors the city of Jaunpur retained its title and its libraries attracted many scholars of the country from far and near.⁵⁵ It was at Jaunpur where Sher Shah was educated.

Khandesh

The Faruqi Sultanate of Khandesh came to an end at the hands of Akbar. The sultans of Khandesh had a fine library. Hindu Beg Farishta mentions in his history that he visited this library and from one of the books here he obtained a full history of the Faruqi rulers.⁵⁶ The library had a precious and rare copy of the *Tughluq Nama*. Before the annexation of Khandesh, Faizi had requested Raja Ali Khan to supply him with a copy of some pages of this rare book. The letter of Faizi is said to be preserved in the British Museum till this day.

Bijapur

Of the five new Sultanates that sprung up after the fall of the Bahmani kingdom, Adilshahi kingdom of Bijapur was the most prominent. The Adilshahi sultans were very keenly interested in letters, as they were in politics and the arms. Fatehullah Shirazi, Qasim Farishta and other scholars of the age adorned their courts. The sultans also maintained large personal library which passed

54. K. R. Qanungo: *Sher Shah*; S. K. Banerji: *Humayun Padshah*, 2 Vols.

55. Abul Fazl: *Akbar Nama*, Vols. I and II, *op. cit.*

56. Farishta: *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Vol. II, p. 277.

on from ruler to ruler. In this large library there were about 60 employees who were engaged in calligraphy, copying, painting, binding and gilding the books prepared.

Bangal

In Bangal, nawab Murshid Quli Khan "possessed a very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. He wrote with great elegance and was a remarkably fine penman".⁵⁷

Maharashtra

In Maharashtra, the Chhatrapatis and after them the Peshwas maintained their personal libraries and many of them who were interested in learning tried to procure old manuscripts or their copies for their personal libraries and also for the public libraries.⁵⁸

Like the Mughul emperors at Agra in the beginning and at Delhi after the capital was transferred by Aurangzeb, the different independent rulers encouraged learning in their dominions by maintaining their own libraries and encouraging their courtiers by setting examples in learning and its patronage by the wealthy.

D. LIBRARY MANAGEMENT

During the Mughul age there was a special department of the government to look after the libraries and many people were employed in this governmental department.

The Nazim

The highest official of the Library was the Nazim or Mutamad who was the general manager of the library.⁵⁹ He was in charge of the income and the expenditure of the library, as also the appointment and dismissal of the staff of the library. He was responsible to the emperor for everything regarding the Library. The Nazim was invariably a high dignitary or nobleman at the court. Akbar's Nazims were Mulla Pir Muhammad and Shaikh Faizi in succession, while Maktub Khan was Jahangir's Nazim.

57. Stewart: History of Bengal, p. 406.

58. S. N. Sen: Administrative System of the Marathas, p. 477.

59. Muhammad Sadiq: Shah Jahan Nama, Vol. II, p. 505.

The Darogha

The Darogha was the next official of the library.⁶⁰ He looked after the internal management of the library under the supervision of the Nazim. The Darogha-i-Kutubkhana was a man of letters, a well-read and highly accomplished man, acquainted with both the sciences and the arts. He was usually a master-mind so far as learning was concerned.⁶¹ He performed his stupendous task with the help of many assistants. With their assistance he had to purchase, arrange and classify the books according to their subjects. The clerks under him maintained registers for separate subjects up to date. Each clerk was in charge of his own section and subject.⁶²

Library Building

Each library of the Mughul age had a spacious and big building of its own. The floor of the library building was kept spotlessly clean and free from dust. Proper care was taken that the building was also free from damp and moisture as a precaution that the leaves of the books, which were almost always manuscripts, may not stick to each other due to the moisture and humidity of the air and atmosphere. The engineers and architects were also to make proper provisions for light and air in order to keep the building airy and bright. The library buildings of Humayun and Akbar bear testimony to their spaciousness and cleanliness as also sufficiency of light and air in every portion of the building.⁶³

Classification

"Books in a library", writes Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, "can be used to the maximum possible extent only if they are arranged on the shelves in a classified order according to their subject matter".⁶⁴ The Mughul librarians were fully conscious of the fact that proper classification is an essential part of library management. Smaller libraries were classified into the arts and the sciences, while the bigger ones were further sub-classified accord-

60. Muhammad Sadiq: Shah Jahan Nama, Vol. II, op. cit.

61. Abdul Baqi: Maasir-i-Rahimi, Vol. III, p. 1686.

62. Abdul Baqi: Ibid.

63. Abul Fazl: Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, op. cit.

64. S. R. Ranganathan: Suggestions for Organization of Libraries, p. 47.

Mahadji Scindia's Bilingual Order A.D. 1792

BY

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Hon. Secretary, Rajwade S. Mandal, Dhulia.

Two young men escaped from the carnage that followed the defeat of the Marathas on the fateful battle field of Panipat in A.D. 1761. One of them was a Maratha belonging to the Sardar family of Gwalior, who later on became famous as Mahadji Scindia alias Patilbowa. The other was a Brahmin belonging to the Fadnis family named Balaji Janardan Bhanu in the service of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa. Mahadji became lame and was brought to the south by a Bhisti on his bullock. Mahadji Scindia became the pillar of the Maratha rule in the north of India by his valour and political sagacity. Balaji Janardan subsequently became famous as Nana Fadnis, a politician and proved a pillar of the Maratha rule in the south.

In the battle of Panipat, the brave and valourous members of the Scindia family died leaving behind no male member except Mahadji Scindia, who was the son of a keep of Ranoji Scindia, the commander and lieutenant of Bajirao the first and founder of the Scindia family. Madhaorao first chose Mahadji Scindia and conferred upon him the Sardarship of Gwalior. He appointed Madhao Gangadhar as the Diwan of Mahadji Scindia and in his early career he proved of great help, in administering the territory in the north of India which was in the possession of the Scindia family of Gwalior. The expectations of Madhaorao the first were fully justified in recognising Mahadji's claims to the Sardarship of Scindia family. Gradually Mahadji Scindia acquired great power and influence to such an extent that Mahommadshah, Emperor of Delhi appointed him as his Wakil-al-mutlik and handed over to him the administration of all the territories in the north, which were in his possession and the capital city of Delhi, which remained in

* A melancholy interest attaches to this article. The author passed away before it was sent to the press.

ing to their subject-matter. Akbar's library and that of Shaikh Faizi were classified into the following sections⁶⁵ according to their subject matter:—

- (i) Astrology
- (ii) Astronomy
- (iii) Commentaries
- (iv) Geometry
- (v) Law
- (vi) Medicine
- (vii) Music
- (viii) Philology
- (ix) Philosophy
- (x) Poetry
- (xi) Sufism
- (xii) Theology
- (xiii) Traditions.

Like the librarians of our times, the Mughul librarians also kept rare and scarce books separately from the common books.

Maintenance

Books in the libraries were kept in trunks and in almirahs in their serial numbers. Special attendants and experts were employed to clean and dust them periodically and to see that they were not soiled by weather, or eaten away by the worms or spoiled in any other way.⁶⁶ These experts removed the dust off the books and turned every page of the book during their inspection. So thorough was their work.

Other Staff

Big libraries had their own book binders and gilders, as the books were not allowed to go out of the building.⁶⁷ A number of painters were attached to almost every big library whose work it was to illustrate the books and beautify them. Highly skilled calligraphers were in regular employment of libraries to copy out rare manuscripts in beautiful handwriting.⁶⁸ Copyists copied

65. N. N. Law: *Promotion of Learning*, p. 132 and 151.

66. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1690.

67. Abul Fazl: *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, op. cit.

68. Abul Fazl: *Ibid.*

books at a great speed which were later on transcribed by expert calligraphers. After a new manuscript was copied and written out by the calligraphers in beautiful hand, it was sent to the Muqabila Navis who compared it with the original and corrected the slips and mistakes if any. The chief Muqabila Navis was a man of wide learning and was a highly paid official. He was expected to complete the missing portions, fill in the gaps, and sometimes even correct the original if it happened to be wrong.⁶⁹ Thus he was expected to be a man of encyclopaedic learning and knowledge. The last process in the book-production business was its illumination and illustration by expert painters.

The library in the Mughul age was a highly specialized and developed governmental department of the Mughul administrative machinery.

Libraries were kept separate from the Public Records Office. The State records were kept in the Public Records Office which was a part of the diwan's department.⁷⁰ All reports of the news-writers coming from different provinces were stored and preserved in the Records Office which can be easily compared to the present National Archives of India at New Delhi.

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69. Abdul Baqi: *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, p. 1696.

70. Sri Ram Sharma: *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 41.

Mahadji's possession till 1800 A.D. in which year it was taken by the English from Daulatrao Scindia the adopted son of Mahadji.

After the appointment of Mahadji Scindia as Wakil-al-mutlik by Mahommadshah the subjects of the territories of the Moghul Empire began to approach Mahadji Scindia for the redress of their grievances and for getting justice. A Kabir Panthi Mahomedan family of Panipat, Subha Shahajanabad was given a Rojina allowance by the former Emperors of Delhi. This amount was reduced by an officer, of the Moghul Government. Mahadji Scindia inquired through his officers the previous record of this Rojina allowance and seeing that the amount was unjustly reduced restored the previous grant. After this enquiry he issued an order to the Kamvisdar of the Panipat Pargana to pay to the family the original amount granted to it. This order is written on a paper which was then used in Government offices. It is 9' in breadth and 3' in lenth. At the top of the document is the seal of Mahadji Scindia as Wakil-al-mutlik of Emperor Mahommadshah along with the honourfic title conferred upon him by the Emperor. The seal is in Persian language and script and is about 2½" in diameter. The opening part of the document is in Persian language and Persian script while the subsequent part of the document is in Marathi language and Modi script. A free English translation of this document is given below.

"SEAL"

Order issued to present and future Kamvisdars of Pargana Panipat, Subha Shahajanabad. Mahomedan era-year Isane Tisen Maya and Alafu (i.e. 23-3-1792 A.D.) Musmat Latifa Bairaokhn Mahamad progeny of Jalaluddin Kabir Awalia (saint) have been receiving from olden times Rojina of one rupee and ten annas. Narayandas servant of Safikhan deducted twelve annas out of this sum and ordered to pay the remaining fourteen annas. According to that order they have been getting this amount from Government. But as twelve annas have been deducted it is prayed that a new sanad ordering the payment of the amount as before be kindly given to them. On looking into the Ferist (register) it is seen that although the amount as stated above was being paid from olden times, Narayandas deducted this amount (without any cause). For this reason it is ordered that original amount be paid as follows:

Rojina of one vear (8 months to be taken as one year)

As.	As.
2 Latifa	1 Ajani
½ Fatma	1½ Rabiya
1 Dalo	1 Ladbibee
1 Guhamini	1 Jabta
1 Arni	1 Saidbibee
1 Khan Mahamad	
6½	5½

12 annas.

In all twelve annas be paid as Rojina according to this sanad out of the income of the said Pargana from the current year. Therefore taking into consideration the past practice Batta calculated on Rs. 1-10-0 per hundred be deducted and the remaining amount of Rojina be given. Every year no demand for a fresh order should be made. A copy of this sanad should be kept by you and the original should be returned to the grantee.

Be this known to you. Chha 29 Rajab i.e., 23-3-1792 A.D. This order to be obeyed.

I proceed to discuss some important points about this order. There is a controversy amongst historical researchers as to whether territory including Atak and Lahore was under Maratha rule. This document is a complete and satisfactory answer to those researchers, who hold the opinion that territory upto Atak and Lahore never formed part of the Maratha empire. It is likely that documents of a similar nature may hereafter be found in the archives of the Indian States in the Punjab Province which have recently merged in the Bharat State.

The diameter of the circular seal of Mahadji Scindia is about 2½ inches. Such a big seal had to be adopted as it contains a good many honourfic titles conferred on Mahadji Scindia by Mohomad Shah, Emperor.

The writing on the seal in Persian reads as follows:

Wakil-al-Mutlik Ameerool Umra Mukhtyar Mulk Madamt Maham-ut Saltanat, Umadlut Arakeen-ul-Khilafat Sardaml-Ekat-dar yare-Wafadar, Sipah-salar Sadatmahd Farjand-khasut Khal Pandit Pradhan Maharajadhiraj Sawai Madhavrao Narayan Bahadur Fidavi Shah Alam Badshah Gazi.

A good many high sounding titles given to Mahadji Scindia and in his capacity as Wakil-al-Mutlik and the title of general of the army are mentioned in the Persian language. Mahadaji Scindia is described as the servant of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, who is also described as the servant of the Emperor. The point to be noted in this connection is that the Peshwas of Shahu Chhatrapati never regarded themselves as the servants of the Delhi Emperor. Mahadji Scindia did not object to this. In addition to the above high sounding titles conferred upon Mahadji Scindia, the Emperor gave him Nalkhi Palkhi and Mahe Maratab rare gifts, given to nobles who rendered distinguished services to them. When Mahadji Scindia at the *fag end of his life went to Poona along with these gifts with a view to present them to Savai Madhavrao Peshwa, Nana Fadnavis and other politicians as well as Savai Madhavrao Peshwa declined to accept them as the Peshwas never regarded themselves as the servants of the Delhi Emperor. The gifts were returned to Mahadji who was asked to treat them as gifts given to him, personally.*

The seal of Mahadji Scindia made on several historical documents in Marathi, found so far, contains the simple words "Jyoti Swarup Charni tatpar "Ranjoti Sut Mahadji Sinde Nirantar" i.e. Mahadji son of Ranoji. The Persian seal seems to have been adopted by Mahadji as being attractive to the people of the north of India, who had become familiar with the language and etiquette of the Moghul Emperors.

Another point to be noted in connection with this document is its bilingual character. One part of it is in Persian script and Persian language and another part of it is in Marathi language and Modi Script. From a large number of original historical documents found in different parts of India it is seen that for all Government documents be they Mohomedan, Maratha or English, this practice was generally followed.

Before concluding I acknowledge with thanks the kindness shown to me by Prof. Gundasing in allowing to take a photo of the order and to write a short note thereon.

Lord Cornwallis and the Press

BY

K. SAJAN LAL, M.A.

In this paper we shall narrate how Lord Cornwallis came into clash with the Press in India.

William Duane, a native of North America of Irish parentage, had arrived in Bengal in 1787 as a private in the service of the East India Company. By trade he was a printer. It was in 1791 he became the editor of the Bengal Journal.

Lord Cornwallis was engaged in the Maratha War and it so happened that the absence of his despatches set up ugly rumours and one such said that Cornwallis was dead. It was very foolish on the part of Duane to publish such a rumour and more so to attribute it to Co. 1 De Canaple the French Commander. It was but natural that the Col. got wild with such a piece of news. Therefore he demanded a deterrant punishment for the writer of such a piece of rascality from the Government of Bengal.

Lord Cornwallis had his hands full with pressing matters of the state. He did not like to be involved in one more—rather a nasty one, unnecessarily in a friction with the French. He consulted his law officers on the validity of deporting Duane. On being satisfied with their opinion, he ordered Duane's arrest and deportation.

Margarita Barns says that "Duane filed an application in the Supreme Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus which was in effect granted though the Supreme Court unanimously recognised the right of deportation asserted by the Government."¹

We shall now give a detailed account of the Supreme Court's proceedings, wherein was filed the petition of Habeas Corpus on behalf of Duane.

It was on the orders of Lord Cornwallis in Council, that the Lt. Cosmo Gordon, Officiating Town Major of the Garrison of Fort

1. Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, p. 64.
J. 10

William arrested him on 1st June 1791 and kept him in confinement. Duane was given the choice to be at liberty till the time of his departure provided he gives a security of Rs. 10,000/- as well as two sureties, of course, approved by the Governor-General for Rs. 5,000/- each. But where could Duane, provide such a large sum of money and on his failure to do so, he was kept in confinement from 1st June to 16th June when he was produced before the Court.²

His Counsels Ledlie, Strethell and Shaw pleaded his case but in vain. The Government Counsels answered their contentions. The Judge C. J. Chambers and Sir Hyde East gave their verdict against Duane.

Now let us proceed with Duane to the Court and watch the proceedings.

It was Mr. Burroughs who moved that Mr. Gordon's return to a writ of Habeas Corpus might be filed.

The writ set out was directed to the defendant, a Lt. in the military service of the East India Company commanding him to have the body of William Duane detained in his custody with the cause of his caption and detention, before Sir W. Jones, or any other Judge of the Supreme Court, immediately, and was attested by Sir R. Chambers at Fort William on the 15th June.³

"Return—I, James Cosmo Gordon, Esqr., a Lieutenant in the Military service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, do hereby most humbly certify and return to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of jurisdiction at Fort William in Bengal, that William Duane, in the writ hereunto annexed mentioned, was on the 1st day of June instant, a British subject, residing and trafficking, and trading, in Calcutta, at Fort William aforesaid, in Bengal aforesaid, and was not then nor at any time since, nor is now, in the service of His Majesty, King George III, or of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, nor in any manner licenced by the said United Co. or by the Governor-General in Calcutta for the affairs of the said United Co. at the Presidency of Fort

2. Morley's Digest, Vol. II, pp. 223-224.

3. Ibid., and Note: Sir Robert Chambers was the Chief Justice from 1791—to 1st August 1799. Sir Edward Hyde, later became the Chief Justice in 1813.

William in Bengal, and was not on the said 1st day of June instant, or at any time since, or is now, in any manner legally authorised to be or remain in the East Indies. That on the said 1st day of June instant the said Governor-General in Calcutta, in Council assembled, did resolve and order that the said W. Duane, as being a British subject, and not being in any manner legally authorised or licensed to be or remain, or to traffic or trade, in the East Indies, should be forthwith seized and sent to Europe in the first of the ships of the United Company that may proceed to England in the ensuing season, and that he should be restrained and kept in confinement under custody of the Town Major, until the departure of such ships, unless he shall enter into security, himself in the sum of Rs. 10,000/- and by two sureties (approved by the Governor-General) in the sum of Rs. 5,000/- each, and that he will be forthcoming on the day fixed for the departure of such ships packet from Calcutta, and then surrender him to the acting Town Major, that such orders might then be given for his proceeding to England as the said Governor-General in Calcutta should judge proper, and further, that directions should be given to the acting Town Major conformable to such resolution."

Proceeding further J. C. Gordon, Acting Town Major, says: "I the said Town Major of and for garrison of Fort William aforesaid, did as it was lawful for me to do, on the said first day of June instant arrest and take the body of the said W. Duane, and him, the said W. Duane, do still detain and keep in my possession, as in the execution of my office of an acting Town Major, as aforesaid, and by virtue of and in obedience to the said order of the said Governor-General-in-Council to me, so aforesaid given, it is lawful for me to do so. Dated the 16th day of June, in the year 1791" (Sd. J. C. Gordon).

Thus we find Duane in jail from 1st June to 16th June.⁴

Gordon presenting Duane to the Court said: "And this is the cause of the Caption and detention of the said W. Duane, whose body I have ready before the justices of the said Supreme Court on the day and at the place of the writ hereunto annexed, as by the said writ I commanded." (Signed J. C. Gordon, Acting Town Major).

This return was read and filed.

4. Ibid., p. 225.

On behalf of Duane one of his counsels Ledlie moved that Duane be discharged on account of the insufficiency of the said return and of the cause assigned for his detention.

Then Ledlie together with other counsels Strettell and Shaw urged that the British subjects in India are entitled to all the benefits and privileges of the laws of England and quoted Magna Carta, *nullus liber homo capiatur etc.*^{4a}

They raised objection to the return on the following points.⁵

1. That it did not appear from it that there was any warrant under hand and seal.

2. That it had not a proper conclusion in support of which they cited instances from the Court of Common pleas.

3. The warrant or order was not set forth as it ought to be, that the cause of detention might fully appear, for if, in the return, no sufficient cause appear, he might be set at liberty.

4. That the Commitments might have been to the common jail and directed to the Sheriff.

5. Shaw insisted that if the seizure and detention of W. Duane were to be justified by any statute, by any extraordinary or special power of the East India Company, or to their Government or Agents, such statute ought to have been cited in the return, or atleast so clearly referred to that no doubt could remain about the authority under which the act was professed to be done.

The Government counsels A. G. Davies and Burroughs defended the action of the Government. They said that "without any violation of Magna Carta, or the hereditary rights of Englishmen, the King and Parliament have prohibited all the British subjects from trading to or residing in the East Indies, unless by licence of the East India Company, and have empowered the Company, and certain Governors of their settlements and other agents to arrest and send to England all such British subjects as should be found in Indies residing without such licence."

They then replied to the various objections raised by Duane's counsels. As to the first objection, viz. that it did not appear that there was a warrant under hand and seal. They argued that "none of the statutes from which the power is derived of seizing unlicensed

4a. *Nullus liber homo Capiatur vel imprisonatur* is Clause 40(1) of the Magna Carta which means that no freeman could be arrested and detained in prison without a trial.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

persons and sending them to England require it to be done by warrant. They authorised the Company and their agents, specified in one of the latter Acts, to seize, or cause to be seized, such offenders but they do not prescribe the mode of such seizures."

In answer to the 2nd objection, that the warrant had not a proper conclusion, they contended that "this and the former objections were grounded on principles that relate to commitments by Magistrates in the ordinary course of Criminal justice, for the purpose of bringing offenders to trial; but that arrest was no such commitment, but done under the authority of the statutes, for the purpose of carrying the persons to England and when he should arrive there, he might be by statute 9th Geog. III C. 26 Sec. 7, be committed by a justice of the Peace to the next county jail."

For the third objection, it was urged, that the cause of seizing and detaining Mr. Duane was fully and clearly stated in the return, and so also was the substance of the order given for that purpose, but that it could not be necessarily set forth in the very words of the order. In support of it they cited a number of rulings.

Against their 4th objection, they contended, that "in the 5th Geo. I, when the power was first given, there was no common jail in Calcutta to which the offenders could be committed, nor any sheriff to whom the warrant could be directed." They argued that the Charter of the 12 Geo. I, was the first, that established courts of Justice in India, which were to proceed according to the laws of England, and was also first mentioned by name Sheriffs. The last act that contained any regulation of the power of seizing and sending to Europe persons unlawfully resident in India was the statute 26th Geog. III, C. 57, G. 35 which enacts that such power be enforced and put in execution, not only by the order and authority of the Governor-General-in-Council, at Calcutta, or of the President-in-Council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively, but also by any Resident at any of the British settlements in the East Indies, or by the order and authority of the Company's council of Supra Cargoes^{5a} for the time being at Canton. They argued, that the same phrase was used with regard to the Supra Cargoes as to the Governor-General in Calcutta, and yet neither the Supra Cargoes nor Residents had any common jail to which they could commit, nor any Sheriff to whom they could direct an order or warrant.

5a. For Supra-Cargoes, read Auber, "An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, p. 149.

They stated also, that it was certain that in Calcutta the Sheriff was not the proper officer of the Governor-General-in-Council, nor could the latter, as such, issue any warrant to the Sheriff.

They met the 5th objection by stating that "all the statutes relating to this subject are public Acts, which the judges are bound to take notice, although not referred to, or set out, that it was true that the statute 5th Geog. I, C. 21, and 7th Geog. I, C. 21, seem at first to be private Acts, but they were made public Acts by the statute 9th Geog. I, C. 26, S. 10 and that as well as all the subsequent Acts under this head, they were and are expressly public Acts."⁶

When arguments on both sides were concluded, then the Judges being all of opinion that Mr. Duane must be remanded, C. J. Chambers immediately pronounced the judgment of the Court to that effect.

We need not give the details of the judgment where in the learned judge cited various statutes and explained the words: "by the order and authority of" at great length.

It must be remembered that the proceedings in this case were under the provisions of the earlier statutes. But by the 3rd and 4th Will. IV C. 85, S. 81, it was provided "that it shall be lawful for any natural born subjects of His Majesty to proceed by sea to any port and etc., and to reside thereat, or to proceed to and reside in or pass through any part of such of the territories as were under the Government of the said Company on the 1st January 1800, and in any part of the countries ceded by the Nawab of the Carnatic, of the provinces of Cuttack, and of the settlements of Gungapur and Malacca, without any licence whatever; provided that all subjects of His Majesty, not natives of the said territories shall, on their arrival in any part of such territories, from any port or place, not within the said territories make known, in writing, their names, places etc., to the Chief Officer of the Customs."

Strangely enough, a few years after, William Duane got again into trouble with the authorities. The reader may now pick up the thread where we have left and follow Margarita Barns' excellent account of the future activities of Duane.⁷

6. Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

7. Margarita Barns, pp. 64-66.

St. Xavier and the Badagas

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, TRAVANCORE

The article by Rev. Fr. Mattom, of Travancore, in this J. I. H. for April 1953 (pages 75-79) on St Francis Xavier and the Badaga invasion of 1544, says that in that year, shortly after "the beginning of July" (p. 77) (1) "Vithala, the cousin of Ramaray the Regent" (p. 76) of Vijayanagar, accompanied by (2) the Pandyan king "Visuananda," (3) the Madura Naik, (4) his son Krishnappa, and (5) Chinna Timma, Vithala's brother (p. 77) entered Travancore through the Aramboly Pass, or another pass near it (p. 77), and invaded that territory up to about Kottar in Travancore of that year, ruled by Vira Kerala Varma *alias* Unni Kerala Tiruvadi. He is "Iniquitriberim" mentioned in a letter of 1533 from Joao da Cruz, the Calicut Nayar convert of 1513, and in another of 1547 from Moniz Barreto, the Portuguese Captain of Kayalpatnam south of Tuticorin on the east coast, and also in several letters of March 1544 to April 1545 from St. Xavier.

This Iniquitriberim appears as Unyque Trebery in the above Calicut Malayali's letter of 1533, and as Nyquee Trauadim in Captain Moniz's letter of 1547, *supra*. These three forms are Portuguese corruptions of *Unikkēla Tiruvaṭi*, the shortened form of *Unṇi Kēraḷa Tiruvaṭi*, the Malayalam name. Tiruvaṭi appears in Portuguese records of 1519 to 1547 as *treveri*, *trebery*, *treberery*, *trauadim*, *triutrim*, etc.

Now, Rev. Fr. G. Schurhammer, S. J., of Rome, the great authority on St. Xavier says in J. B. H. S., the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, III, 1930, pp. 35-36, about the above Badaga (Vijayanagar Telugus') invasion of 1544 (after their first invasion of about 1534, and before their third one of 1547) as follows: —

"The second expedition of 1544 under Sadasiva against the Pandya Vettumperumāl and in favour of the Tiruvaṭi. The general Viṭṭhala Rāmarāja is sent to the south with his Badaga troops and with him his brother Chinna Timma, the contemporaneous *Bālabhāgavatam* expressly states that his patron Chinna Timma restored to the Tiruvaṭi his lost territory, and defeated the

Pandya sovereign, who had fought against the Tiruvadi, and that he was therefore called "Tiruvadi Rājyasthāpanācharya" (Restorer of the kingdom of Tiruvadi)".

Fr. Schurhammer adds also this footnote (p. 35): "The descriptions of this second expedition are rather confuse, the letters of St. Francis Xavier, the chief source, having been misunderstood. The Badagas are wrongly said to fight against Iniquitriberim, and Betermemal is mixed up with Vitthala Ramaraja" (of Vijayanagar). Betermemal is the Pandya Vettumperumāl King of Kayattar (ibid., p. 34) in Koilpatti Taluka, Tinnevely, whom the above article in J.I.H., p. 76, wrongly calls "Visuananda". No Pandyan king of the Tenkasi or Kayattar kingdom of Tinnevely in St. Xavier's days in South India (1542-46) is known as "Visuananda."

About Betermemal Fr. Schurhammer says on pp. 27-28 of J.B.H.S. *supra*. thus: "Beteperumal is not Vitthala,..... and Xavier never calls him captain, but only king. Beteperumal is the Pāṇḍyan King of Kayattār, Vettum Perumal Raja"

On p. 78 of J.I.H. *supra* there is mention of Iniquitriberim's "proclamation commanding his subjects throughout his kingdom to give the title" (Valiya Pātiri, Senior, or Great Padre) "to the Father in future and also to obey him as if he were the person of the king himself," who had the title Valiya Tampurān. It means the senior-most or great prince. He was therefore the ruling king of "Travancore" of those days. A Portuguese document of 1519 mentions "the Great King of Quilon." Correa (1512 to ca. 1563) speaks of the Great King of Cape Comorin in 1518 and 1543. Great King was therefore a general term like the ruling king or the senior prince.

In 1545 Joao Vaz, who had stayed with St. Xavier on the Fishery Coast in 1544 for six months, said that "Xavier there found grace with "one king" (Iniquitriberim) so far that the latter published a proclamation "throughout his whole kingdom," that all should obey "his brother, the Balea Padre," as himself, and that all his subjects who wanted to become Christians could do so; and that the king gave the Father also a great sum of money," ... This is the sum of 2000 fanams (for building churches for his new converts), which the Padre received as a reward from the king for his efforts as mediator in "the negotiations between Xavier, the Portuguese, and Iniquitriberim" who needed Portuguese aid.

In Fr. Schurhammer's reply of 21st March 1928 from Germany to my enquiry of 7th February that year (as Secretary of the History, Archaeology and Numismatics Section of the Kerala Society), he said: "The text of the proclamation, if it is not in the Travancore archives, is lost. It never appears in any publication or manuscript dealing with St. Francis Xavier. In the Portuguese archives no olas are left." See Kerala Society Papers, Series 1, 1928, p. 49.

Of the Badaga persecutions (not invasions) Mansilhas, Xavier's companion, making conversions at Punnaikkāyal, and other places on the S.E. coast says: "Once there came to the kingdom of Travancore certain Badagas, pagan people from the kingdom of Bisnaga, to rob, for they were robbers, and tyrannize the Christians, and to kill them. As soon as Fr. Master Francisco (Xavier) heard of it he went to the said kingdom of Travancore, where these robbers, Badagas, were to defend the Christians." Vide *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Matriti, 1900, p. 19. Xavier's letters furnish particular instances of Badaga persecution in 1544. On or shortly before Saturday June 14 the Badagas made Christians of Cape Comorin prisoners, and they fled to the rocks in the sea, where they were dying of hunger and thirst. On August 1 he went from Manappad, north east of Comorin, on foot to that Cape to visit and help the poor Christians who went to Manappad "fleeing and robbed by the Badagas." On or before Aug. 3 Xavier was warned by a Kanakkan (= Accountant) a friend of the Christians and a favourite of Iniquitriberim that the Badaga horsemen would come to the coast (the S.E. coast), and the Padre wrote to the king that "as he was a friend of the Governor, he should not suffer these Badagas doing us harm, as the Governor (at Goa) would take the evil that would be done to these Christians very ill." On or before August 19 Xavier got an ola (a letter on palm-leaf) from Guarim, Mansilha's friend, telling him how the Badagas robbed fugitive Christians. And finally by August 21 "the Badagas who were in the neighbourhood of Maṇappād had already gone to Cabecate" (correctly Calecate, Kaḷakkāṭu, in the interior). No miraculous retreat of even those Badaga persecutors is found mentioned in documents.

In 1544 "Travancore," i.e., the territory having the town "Travancore" (Tiruvāṅkōṭu, south of Trivandrum) as capital, extended southwards from at least Pūvār, north of the mouth of the Neyyar River, down to Comorin, and included south Tinnevely also, up to some place south of Tuticorin which then belonged to "Beteperumal," the Pandya.

The Portuguese and Dutch pronunciation of "Travancore" must have been Tra-vān-cō-rē (4 syllables), the first two syllables of the Malayalam name *Ti-ru-vān-cō-tu* having been coalesced into one. The two r's in Travancore represent two different sounds of Malayalam *r* and *ṛ*, the latter unknown in Portuguese and Dutch. The English, however, pronounced "Travancore" of Portuguese and Dutch records as Trā-van-cōr or even Trā-vān-cō. Recently Malayalis transformed the English form into Tiruvitāṅkūr, *kūr* being a wrong substitute for English core (Mal. *kōṭu*). Vitāṅ in the present Malayalam form is found in the alternative old form Tiru-vitāṅ-kōṭu, older forms having instead *putāṅ*, *vutāṅ*, or *mutāṅ*. Putāṅ seems to be the correct form. Putāṅ-kōṭu means the new āṅkōṭu (= Siva's bull's corner or village). *Pu* of Vatteluttu records could also be read as *vu*, or carelessly as *mu*.

Reviews

THE SUCINDRAM TEMPLE: by Dr. K. K. Pillay with a foreword by J. H. Cousins (Kalakshetra Publications, Adyar, Madras-20 Rs. 35/-).

Local history is of more than ordinary interest. Particularly it is so in South India; and an indispensable key to it is the study of every important temple in the area. In fact it is impossible to form a clear idea of the art and culture of South India in the absence of unitary studies of the great temples in the land on the excellent model of those undertaken by the Archaeological Department in Java. This richly illustrated and attractively got up monograph which is the outcome of a thesis submitted by Dr. K. K. Pillay to the University of Madras is a detailed historical and descriptive study of the celebrated ancient temple at Sucindram (Agastisvaram Taluk, Trivandrum district, Travancore-Cochin), the "spiritual capital" of Nancinad and one of the remarkable masterpieces of South India architecture and sculpture. It is an objective account of the different aspects of the compact temple closely studded with numerous shrines constructed in the course of over ten centuries.

The author sets the geographical and political background for his work in the first two chapters. The large availability of granite gneiss in the area helped largely the growth of the temple; and the frequent political changes that the region passed through did not in any manner retard its progress. Though the numerous legends connected with the origin of the temple may not be helpful historically, there can be no denying the fact that the traditions embodied in them have been believed by myriads of people for centuries and they have influenced their religious attitude and conduct in no small measure (p. 110). From the time range of the inscriptions found in the temple, it appears that the temple had its beginnings about the 7th century A.D. and it has grown to its present size in the course of about ten centuries. Though fresh additions and elaborate structures were made from time to time "the unity of the entire edifice, as it stands at present is amazing for one feels as if the whole temple was constructed according to some preconceived plan." Sucindram was a *brahmadeya* and the *mahāsabhā* of the place exercised much control over the affairs of the village in general and the temple in particular though the management of

the daily affairs of the temple as well as its finances fell to the lot of a smaller body called the *mūlaparuḍai sabhā*. But with the decline of the latter the *yōgakkār* or the *ūrāṇmaikkār* took its place and wielded much power between the 14th and 19th centuries. However their growing power was more and more checked and controlled by the government until at last the Devasvam Department came to be established.

Dr. Pillay gives in two chapters a full account of the different functionaries in the temple and the *pūjas* and festivals celebrated in it. In another chapter entitled "Temple and Society" the author traces the history of the administration of the temple by the *sabha* and the *mūlaparundai*. During the period of the *yōgakkārs* the temple was a *sanketam* exercising unlimited supreme power, maintaining criminal and civil jurisdiction over the place and preventing any kind of pollution to it. Its other functions were similar to those exercised by the temples in the Tamil country. The author's account of the origin, enrolment and functions of the *devadāsīs* is informative. The role of the temple in the economic and social life of the village is also dealt with in detail. The ordeal of *kai-mūkku* (dipping the hand in boiling ghee) which was in vogue among the Nambudris from the 12th century till its abolition in 1834 is described in another chapter. In the subsequent chapters, the architectural features of the temple as also the sculptures, iconographic items and paintings in it are dealt with. The architecture of the different structures in the temple is illustrative of the main architectural features current in South India in the various epochs. The bas-reliefs on the facades of the Campakarāman maṇḍapa depict scenes from the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and other sacred lore. The panels illustrated in the book portray scenes from the life of Lord Krishna as narrated in the *Bhāgavata*. The inner walls of the seven storeyed tower present a continuous array of paintings of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *sthālapurāṇa* of the place. The book ends with a number of appendices among which are some Malayalam palm leaf documents, a list of some 90 inscriptions from the temple, a glossary, and a select bibliography besides a good index. The value of the work is enhanced by the inclusion of five maps and plans and 38 well chosen plates.

The book is a notable contribution to our knowledge of temple lore and must stimulate similar studies on the great temples of South India which stand to this day as the sagas of our culture.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS:

Vol. III, (1812-1817) by H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Nagpur, Government Printing, Madhya Pradesh, 1953. Pages xxx and 667. Price Rs. 16/- or sh. 27/-.

This is a collection of about 200 letters from the Nagpur Residency arranged under seven convenient heads, each bearing a separate series of numbers for the collection falling under it. The chief contents of the letters are conveniently summarised by the Editor in his Introduction of about twelve pages, and there is a chronological index to the letters following the introduction which makes for easy reference. There is also a summary indication of the contents of each letter preceding its text in the body of the book, and a serviceable Index at the end, so that the reader finds all the facilities required for his use of the book. The main heads are: Bhonsla's affairs (44 letters including seven on Sirgoojah), Nizam's affairs (10), Peshwa's affairs (48), Sindhia's affairs (35), Pindaris (52 rather short ones)—it is not clear why the form Pindaries is preferred to Pindaris though Pindari is the form used for the singular and for the adjective, Miscellaneous (12), and Trade and Commerce (3). There are sometimes several enclosures to a letter and these are often more important than the covering letter, and the editor has done well to draw the Reader's attention to this in every case.

There is no indication of the general plan of the series—of the number of volumes it is likely to comprise or of the probable time of their publication. The 'errata' at page 667 are far from making a complete list, and though the printing and format of the volume are good, the proofs deserve more careful handling than they seem to have received.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

PERSIAN RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY: I Delhi Affairs

(1761-1788) News-letters from Parasnis collection, Translated into English with Notes by Jadunath Sarkar, Published by the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, 1953. Pages X and 213. Price Rs. 2-8-0 or 4sh. 6d.

The veteran historian who translates and edits these Persian News-letters describes his work in the following succinct terms in his brief introduction: "I have in the present volume arranged and translated the Delhi letters (including only one from Calcutta,

which gives the reaction to the convention of Wadgaon), from 1756 to 1788 (down to the downfall of Ghulam Qadri Ruhela and the final assertion of Mahratha control at Delhi). There are many gaps in the surviving collection, some years are totally missing, and several despatches are mutilated, wanting one or more leaves.' Very rightly, if one may say so, Sri Jadunath refrains from writing an elaborate introduction to explain the complicated affairs of these changeable years and refers the curious reader to his monumental work on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III in its second edition.

Dr. P. M. Joshi, the General Editor, however, contributes a succinct foreword which he concludes with a well-merited tribute to the memorable work of Sri. Jadunath Sarkar and Sri G. S. Sardesai on the history of the Mughals and Marathas. He also says that two more volumes of these News-letters will be issued 'as circumstances permit.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Ancient India* — No. 6, January 1950, New Delhi.
 1. *Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography* by C. Sivaramamurti.
- II. *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — Annals of the*, Vol. XXXIII, 1952, Poona.
 1. *The Study of the Śaṅkarācārya* by Daniel, H. H. Ingalls.
 2. *Studies in the Inscriptions of Aśoka*, No. I (A) Queen's edict (Allahabad-Kosam Pillar) reconsidered by C. D. Chatterjee.
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- III. *Bihar Research Society, The Journal of the* Vol. XXXVIII, Parts 3-4 September and December 1952, Patna
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- IV. *Bombay University, Journal of the*, Vol. XXI (New Series), Part 4, January 1953, Bombay.
1. *Maharana Udaisingh, The Great* by Ramachandra G. Tiwari.
- V. *Indian Historical Quarterly—The Journal of the*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, December 1952, Calcutta.
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1. *Military Organization of the Surs (Sher Shah and His Successors)* by Dr. Satish Chandra Misra.
- VIII. *Numismatic Society of India—The Journal of The*, Vol. XIV, Parts 1 and 2, March 1953, Bombay.
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- IX. *Oriental Institute—Journal of The*, Vol. II, No. 3, March 1953, Baroda.
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Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.*
2. *Aryan Path, Bombay.*
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona Quarterly.*
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.*
5. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.*
6. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.*
7. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London.*
8. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.*
9. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
10. *Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.*
11. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, Mysore.*
12. *Hindustan Review, Patna.*
13. *Indian Archives, Delhi.*
14. *Indian Review, Madras.*
15. *India Quarterly, New Delhi.*
16. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Waltair.*
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18. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.*
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26. *Political Science Quarterly, New York.*
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28. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham.*
29. *University of Ceylon Review.*

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