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Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the
Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls
Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahāndār Shāh.

31310 INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The account of Mr. Ketelaar's embassy is inserted in "Lives of the Great Moguls" (*Levens der Groote Mogols*) which forms part of Francois Valentijn's big work *Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, which appeared in five bulky volumes at Dordrecht and Amsterdam in the year 1726. It is found in vol. IV, pp. 280—302.¹

The author relates that in the year 1710 it was resolved to send an embassy under Mr. Cornelius Bezuijen to Shāh 'Alam Bahādūr Shāh on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. But in October of the same year that gentleman died after a lingering illness at Surat, where he had held the important post of Director of the Dutch factories in Gujarat and Hindustan. Some time previous to his death he recommended the Chief Merchant, Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, to be his successor both as Director of the Dutch factories and as Head of the proposed embassy. Mr. Bezuijen's burial is described at great length. He was buried in the tomb of the late Commissioner-General, Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (died A.D. 1692). This tomb is still the most prominent monument of the Dutch cemetery (locally known as Walandi Qabarstān) at Surat.

In the next year 1711 the embassy under Mr. Ketelaar started and, travelling by way of Agra, arrived on the 10th December of that year at a distance of 6 kos* or 3 miles from Lahore where the Emperor was encamped. The embassy was still at Lahore waiting for their firmān, when Bahādūr Shāh suddenly died on the 28th February 1712. The diary gives a vivid account of the confusion that followed the Emperor's death. The Dutch ambassador was even invited to take an active part in the struggle for the throne on behalf of the eldest son of the deceased monarch, but politely declined the invitation on account of ill-health. When Jahāndār Shāh had come out victorious, negotiations for the firmān were continued with his Court. They had not yet had the desired effect when on the 9th May the Emperor moved camp and with his whole army started for Dehli. It should be remembered that the pretender Farrukhsiyar was making preparations in Bengal. The Dutch ambassador and his suite accompanied the Imperial Court on the march to the capital which was carried out under extreme discomfort in the hottest time of the year. On the 24th of June Dehli was reached. Here the rest of the summer was passed with continuous solicitations to obtain the desired privileges

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from the Imperial Court. It was not until the 9th of October that after endless delays on the part of the Emperor and his officials the Dutch ambassador, having attained his object, could leave Dehli. The return journey to Surat by way of Agra, Gwalyor, Narvar, Sarangpur, Ujjain, Jhabua, Godhra and Baroda took four months and was attended with grave dangers and great difficulties, as all along the road the country was infested with robbers while the petty Rajas of Malwa made it their business to levy blackmail from the caravans passing through their territories. When at last Surat was reached on the 17th February 1713, the first news which greeted the ambassador was that Jahāndār Shāh had been defeated by his nephew Farrukhsiyar. This meant that the privileges granted by the former for the trade of the Dutch had become absolutely valueless and all the difficulties and perils sustained had been in vain.

The account of the embassy of Mr. Ketelaar, as given in Valentijn's big work, is based on the official journal, kept by Ernst Coenraad Graaf, head-clerk of the embassy. A copy of this document is still extant at the State Record Office at The Hague. Now from a comparison of the text of Valentijn with the document in question it appears that the compiler has followed the original fairly closely for the first part of the journal describing the ambassador's stay at Lahore which from a historical point of view is undoubtedly the most important portion of the journal. But the remainder of the document has been summarised by Valentijn in a few pages. Some particulars are given about the embassy's sojourn at Dehli and the description of the famous Peacock Throne is rendered in full from the journal. The march from Lahore to Dehli with the Emperor's army and the eventful journey from the capital to the west coast have been abbreviated in the printed text to such an extent as to lose all colour. Yet these portions of the journal are of great import as they give us in the simple narrative of the Dutch scribe a very vivid impression of the perturbed state of the country and of the peril of travelling only a few years after the death of 'Alamgīr (Aurangzeb).

The English translation which we here offer to the readers of this journal follows Valentijn for the first part of the account of the embassy; but from the beginning of May 1712 it is based on a copy of the original journal kept in the Record Office at The Hague. This copy consists of 150 pages in writing which have been condensed by Valentijn into five pages of print. We may, therefore, safely say that this portion of the journal is here being published for the first time.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it should be pointed out that the document at The Hague is not the original journal kept by the head-clerk of the embassy. The originals of such papers used to be kept at Batavia and copies sent home for the information

of the Directors of the East India Company. On the whole the copy in question gives the impression of being accurate. Only the many Indian names and technical terms seem sometimes to have puzzled the copyist, as in fact in their quaint spelling they are liable to puzzle us. Most of these terms, however, are the same as are met with in contemporary English writings, though differently spelled. The word *nazr* which in English books is usually spelled *nuzzar*, we find here as *nesser*.

While following the original journal, Valentijn has evidently set himself the task of polishing the somewhat uncouth style of the diarist. The same difference of language will perhaps to a certain extent be noticeable in the translation. It was, however, not always possible to retain in the English rendering the quaint style of the original with its preference for French words, which in English are often in common use and therefore fail to make any impression of special quaintness.

The diarist certainly deserves a word of praise for the conscientious manner in which he has discharged his task, often no doubt under very trying circumstances. There are things on which we should have liked to have fuller information. But we must not forget that his interests were different from ours and that the mode of travelling in those days was very unlike that of the modern globe-trotter who enjoys full leisure to look for objects of artistic and historical interest. What perhaps is most striking in the whole account of Johan Josua Ketelaar's embassy is that singleness of purpose and devotion to duty which pervades it in the curious garb of its antiquated matter-of-fact and sometimes humorous style.

We do not know anything regarding the later adventures of 'the Lord Ambassador' in the East. Valentijn only says that he remained at Surat as Director until the year 1715, when he was succeeded by Daniel Hurgronje. Another personage who plays rather a prominent part in the story of the embassy was the "Merchant and First Adjunct Roger Beerenaard." We know that he became Director of the Dutch factory at Chinsura and died there on the 28th November 1733. Among the old hatchments in the Dutch church at Chinsura there is one containing his crest and initials and the date of his death.¹

¹C. R. Wilson, *Dutch Monumental Inscriptions. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LXXIII, part I (1904), p. 274 f.)*

An Embassy from the Honourable Dutch East India Company to the Great Moghul (1711).

The Dutch East India Company a very powerful commercial body has on various occasions deputed ambassadors to the Great Mughals.

In the diary of Sir Thomas Roe's mission to the Court of Jahāngīr (1615-1619) the ambassador refers to a Dutch Embassy, which presented itself at Ahmadabad on 13th January 1618. It was headed by Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn, If we remember the commercial rivalry which in those days existed between the British and the Dutch, the brief account given by Sir Thomas Roe, is very significant.

"The Dutch," he says,¹ came to Court with a great present of China ware, sanders (*i.e.* sandelwood), parrats and cloannes; but were not suffered to come near the third degree. At last the Prince (Khurram) asked me who they were. I replied: The Hollanders resident in Surat. He demanded if they were our friends. I replied: They were a nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places: their business I knew not. He said: for being our friends, I should call them up; and so I was enforced to send for them to deliver their present. They were placed by our merchants, without any speech or further conference.

In the well-known "Travels" of Francois Bernier, the Court physician of Aurangzeb, we also find an account of an embassy of the Dutch East India Company which came to the Mogul Court in 1662.

"The Hollanders," Bernier says, "would not be the last to present Aureng-zebe, with the *Mohbaree*. They determined to send an ambassador to him, and made choice of Monsieur Adrican, chief of their factory at Sourate. This individual possesses integrity, abilities and sound judgment; and as he does not disdain the advice offered by the wise and experienced, it is not surprising that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his countrymen. Although in his general deportment Aurang-zebe be remarkably high and unbending, affects the appearance of a zealous Mahometan, and consequently despises Franks or Christians, yet upon the occasion of this embassy, his behaviour was most courteous and condescending. He even expressed a desire that Monsieur Adrican, after that gentleman had performed the Indian ceremony of the Salaam, should approach and salute him à la Frank.

¹The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615—1619) edited by W. Foster, London 1894, vol. II, p. 459. Cf. vol. I, pp. 228 ff.

The preliminary observances being over, Aurang-zebe intimated that the ambassador might produce his presents; at the same time investing him, and a few gentlemen in his suite, with a *Scr-Apah* of brocade. The presents consisted of a quantity of very fine broad cloths, scarlet and green; some large looking-glasses; and several articles of Chinese and Japan workmanship; among which were a *palky* and a *Tack-zanan*, or travelling throne, of exquisite beauty and much admired.

The Great Moghal is in the habit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can reasonably be done, from an idea that it is becoming his grandeur and power, to receive the homage of foreigners, and to number them among the attendants of his Court. Monsieur Adrican was not dismissed, therefore, so expeditiously as he wished, though much sooner than the ambassadors from Tartary. His secretary died, and the other individuals in his retinue were falling sick, when Aureng-zebe granted him permission to depart. On taking leave the King again presented him with a *Scr-Apah* of brocade for his own use, and another very rich one for the Governor of Batavia, together with a dagger set with jewels; the whole accompanied by a very gracious letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embassy was to ingratiate themselves with the Mogol, and to impart to him some knowledge of their nation, in order that a beneficial influence might thus be produced upon the minds of the governors of sea-ports, and other places, where they have established factories. They hoped that those governors would be restrained from offering insult, and obstructing their commerce, by the consideration that they belonged to a powerful State, that they could obtain immediate access to the King of the Indies to induce him to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. They endeavoured also to impress the government with an opinion that their traffic with Hindoustan was most advantageous to that kingdom, exhibiting a long list of articles purchased by their countrymen, from which they showed that the gold and silver brought by them every year into the Indies amounted to a considerable sum: but they kept out of sight the amount of those precious metals extracted by their constant importations of copper, lead, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, aloes-wood, elephants, and other merchandise."

¹Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (A.D. 1656—1668) edited by A. Constable. Westminster 1891, pp. 127—129. The Embassy of Dirk van Adrichem is also mentioned by Manucci, *Storia do Mogol*, transl. by W. Irvine, vol. II, pp. 62—64.

JOURNAL OF THE AMBASSADE.

In the year of grace 1711 Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, then in the service of the Netherlands East India Company as director of trade at Surat, went as ambassador to the Prince Sjah Aalem Bhadur.¹ His embassy with all its details we shall relate in the form of a journal.

The aforesaid gentleman travelled first a month and a half, or 150 miles from Agra to the some time Imperial City of Lahore, where the Prince lay with his army and arrived there the 10th December, within three miles of the city.

He reached this famous and ancient city, situated in the province of Panschaap² on the large river Rari³ abounding in fish and only navigable by small craft. He then arrived at a Sarai Chan Channa⁴ where he caused his camp to be pitched.

Early in the night, it being very cold, the gentleman was seized by a severe attack of colic.

On the 11th ditto he moved into a certain lodging in which some of the people of Prince Mahmud Azem⁵ were still to be found and in the afternoon received a number of pears, apples, pomegranates and other homelike fruits by order and in the name of a certain Lady of the Court, Douna Juliana Dias da Costa,⁶ Governess of the Royal Seraglio, a lady of great influence with the Great Mogul, and very favourably inclined towards the Hollanders.

She also sent him some horses with the promise that the next morning she would send more, for his State entry.

The 12th ditto he was informed by a Mancepdaar,⁷ named Mahmud Techy Chan,⁸ in the name of the Emperor that the next day he should make his entrance in great pomp under the escort of one of the principal Omrahs.⁹ Shortly after came the Mancepdaar with the Imperial Court Physician, Mr. Martyn, to call on him with quite thirty more Christians of different nations, in order to welcome and accompany him.

The 13th ditto appeared the Omrah, Hattum Beek Chan,¹⁰ with 500 horse and as many foot, to accompany His Honour to the camp.

¹Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah.

²Panjab.

³Ravi.

⁴Sarai Khan Khanan.

⁵Mahmud Azam or 'Azim-ush-shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah, who at the time of his father's death was best supplied with troops and money. Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*.

⁶Father Hosten, S. J., informs me that there exists a book in Portuguese entitled *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grao Mogol* by J. Ismael Gracias, published in 1907 at Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional (price 500 zeih). It contains a collection of letters.

He had with him a State elephant besides four large and many small flags of white and green silk, and four banners of green silk embroidered with gold. To meet him and to conduct him into his presence, the Lord Ambassador sent Mr. Rogier Beerenaard, merchant in the service of the Honourable Company, and Under-Merchant Dirk Huisinkveld, besides the Secretary, Herman Bruinink.

The Omrah produced his credentials and said he had been sent by the Emperor to conduct him to the camp, to which the Lord Ambassador having rendered a very polite answer, the said Omrah took his leave and departed to his tent, which had been pitched outside the Sarai.

In the camp an Armenian Bishop and several Jesuits were sojourning, who came likewise to welcome the Lord Ambassador.

The 14th ditto at nine o'clock the entry of the Lord Ambassador into the camp commenced with great pomp and in the following order.

1. First came a State elephant wearing a trapping of green cloth, the borders whereof were ornamented all about with red cloth, and whereon a green and white silk flag was placed to indicate the rank of the aforesaid Ammarau (or Omrah).

2. There appeared many small flags of green and white (silk) attached to rockets accompanied by the peons, or foot soldiers of the Ammarau.

3. Then appeared a large elephant, as gift from the Honourable Company to the Emperor, covered by a coat of gold brocade, whereafter followed a string of other gift dittos covered with coats of green and red cloth, and on each of them a grenadier, and behind them the superintendent of elephants on horseback.

4. There followed four great banners of the Honourable Company and forty attached to rockets and next a man with kettledrums on horseback.

5. Nine presentation horses for the Emperor, with their gold and silver caparisons, which the equierry and two trumpeters followed on horseback.

6. Then followed the Ensign, Ernst Godlieb Nythard, on horseback, who headed.

7. Six Grenadiers on horseback, riding two by two on horseback.

8. Next came the Under-Merchant and paymaster.¹ Mr. Johan Haak, with the Secretary, Herman Bruinink, on horseback.

9. The first sworn clerk of the Embassy Ernst Coenraad

¹Mansabdar or 'office-holder.'

²Mahmud Taqi (?) Khan.

³Umarā, plur. of *amir*.

⁴Khadim Beg Khan, cf. beneath p. 32.

Graaf, with the Assistant Hondrik Kalden, appeared also on horseback.

10. As likewise the Sergeant, Ernest Otto Belouw, with the Under-Surgeon, George Hannibal Smit.

11. Then came two led horses of the Lord Ambassador, by which rode four silver stick-bearers of His Honour.

12. Next the peons, foot soldiers and musketeers of His Honour.

13. Then appeared the Lord Ambassador himself being borne in his palanquin, between the aforesaid Ammarau and Mancepdaar, and the Emperor's Court Physician, Mr. Martyn, who likewise sat in their palanquins.

14. Behind His Honour's palanquin there were twenty-five horsemen, taken into his service at Agra, moreover on the right hand the Christians, who had come to meet him and on the left hand the horsemen of the Emperor, and also those of the aforesaid Ammarau.

15. Then followed a led horse of the Merchant and first Deputy, the Honourable Rogier Beerenaard.

16. Likewise the peons and musketeers of the same.

17. And then His Honour himself in his palanquin.

18. Then appeared a led horse of the Under-Merchant and second Deputy Dirk Huisinkveld.

19. Likewise his Peons and Musketeers.

20. And thereupon that Deputy himself, in his palanquin.

21. Then followed a Dutch four-wheeled conveyance, which had been brought from Suratte for the Lord Ambassador, in which were seated some Jesuits and likewise the Armenian Bishop.

22. It was followed by a similar car from Agra, in which the Chief Surgeon of the Embassy, Mr. Eppendorf, had taken his place, with some clerks.

23. Next came into view four Hindoostani four-wheeled carts with covers of red and green cloth in which were the remaining clerks and soldiers.

24. Then appeared the Corporal in Command, Arnold Willemisz van Swoll, on horseback.

25. Besides a loaded camel and another one with two great kettle-drums.

26. And finally the Superintendent of Camels on horseback, who closed the procession.

After the Lord Ambassador had thus approached the camp within one kos, or half a mile, there appeared on the road which the procession followed, a four-wheeled cart, covered with a net of red silk, wherein was observed the aforementioned Governess of the Emperor's Mahal or Seraglio, with the four principal wives

¹The original has 'guastoshouder' from the Portuguese *guastos* "expenses."

from the Seraglio, eager to see the entry of the Hollanders, and to give an account of it to the Emperor.

Shortly after the Lord Ambassador was visited by our three Wakiels, or Agents.

They brought with them a Tusker, carrying a howdah, wherein the principal one of these Agents was seated. Thereon was also placed a flag of green and white silk; but the other two were carried in their palanquins and many horsemen and foot soldiers.

As soon as these three gentlemen saw the Lord Ambassador approaching, they alighted, and coming up to him, welcomed His Honour courteously and offered him a Nesser¹ of several gold and silver rupees. on which having placed his hand, the Ambassador presented the same to them in return, whereupon they proceeded in the same order but somewhat to the side of our train.

In the afternoon at three o'clock the Emperor's Artillery was reached, where the tents of the Embassy were found pitched in order, wherein the Lord Ambassador was welcomed by a number of Grandees of the Court.

Donna Juliana, to whom the Emperor had given a full commission for the affairs of the Embassy, informed the Lord Ambassador at once that she had prevailed with His Majesty to permit His Honour with all the Europeans to appear in audience at the pleasure of His Honour, be it even next morning, and that the Emperor had ordered the Ammaraus Enayt Ullah Chan,² Wesaret Chan³ and Isalam Chan⁴ to attend to our interests.

He had also ordered the Ammarau Hattumbeek Chan⁵ to conduct the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies before the throne, for which courtesy the Lord Ambassador thanked the lady, requesting only to be granted a short time in which to unpack the presents which were to precede the audience.

The 16th ditto the lady caused a better camp to be offered to the Lord Ambassador, who accepted the offer. She then arranged for him to have two gardens situated not far away and surrounded by high walls, where His Honour was free from the stench of carrion.

The 17th ditto the goods were sent thither, and followed by the Lord Ambassador, and his suite as at the Entry.

Inasmuch as the presents destined for the Emperor and his

¹A "nuzzer" (Arabic *nazr*), a ceremonial present, properly an offering from an inferior to a superior. *Hobson-Jobson*, *iv.*—

²Inayat-ullah Khan, the Khansaman or Lord Steward.

³Wazarat Khan, *vis.* Hidayat-ullah Khan, acting Wazir in the last year of the reign of Bahadur Shah. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 161, No. 9.)

⁴Islam Khan, General of Artillery.

⁵Khadim Beg Khan.

four Princes took some time to unpack, Donna Juliana informed the Ambassador that she and some ladies of the Court intended to come and inspect them, and at the same time to advise him which of same would please the Emperor and the Princes best.

The 20th ditto she came with some Ladies of the Court, and was very politely and ceremoniously received by the Lord Ambassador and his suite in the garden, where His Honour had arranged on one side the elephants and the cannon and on the other side the presentation horses with their costly gold and silver harness and other caparisons. She was then conducted to the tent of the Hon. Beerenard (in whose room in this tent the goods were placed), where she alighted from a covered cart in which she had come incognito with the Imperial Company, and which by its Kanaats kept her concealed from the eye of others.

Before her arrival she had sent the Lord Ambassador, in the name of the Emperor and by his order, a costly Mesmanie¹ of fifty dishes and after the meal was finished had caused him to be regaled with Abier,² attar of roses and other perfumes, and likewise with betels gracefully wound about with gold and silver thread.

She stayed the whole afternoon with His Honour, and she and her company expressed their surprise especial and delight at the curiosities they had inspected.

On the 21st ditto the Lord Ambassador received, by order of the Emperor, a small table of massive gold, with delicate viands such as were prepared for His Majesty himself. It was very artfully fitted out with little dishes round about in appropriate hollows and in the centre a large bowl for soup.

These were striking marks of the Emperor's favour towards the Lord Ambassador, which the Emier-ul-Ammarau, Sulficaar Chan³ and the said Lady likewise confirmed.

This gave good reason to hope for a favourable conclusion to our affairs, whereof they also fully assured the Lord Ambassador, warning him that the only ones who would try to oppose him were the second Prince, Mahhmud Azem, and two or three Anmaratuws who were hostile to the Christians, but that the former could be set down with money.

Subsequently the presents for the Emperor, packed and wrapped in red Bafta,⁴ after being registered, were sent to the Emperor's tent on the 26th ditto under supervision of the Deputies, Johan

¹Apparently a contamination of the Persian words *mizbani* and *mihmani* meaning "entertainment, hospitality."

²Arabic 'abiz,' ambergris, saffron or any other grateful perfume.

³Zulficar Khan, the Amir-ul-umara and first Bakhshi. He was the son and successor of Asad Khan who will be mentioned in the sequel, cf. p. 13.

⁴4A kind of calico, made especially at Baroch. From the Persian *bafta* "woven," cf. Hobson-Jobson *i.v.* *bafta*.

Hendrik, John Henry Kalden and John Conrad Kok and of our heathen Agents and delivered to the Ammerau, Hattum Beek Chan, who had been appointed by the Emperor to receive them. After the delivery the Deputies wished to return, but they were requested to stay that night in the Emperor's tent, inasmuch as His Majesty wished to inspect the presents, piece by piece, and there was nobody there capable of giving a proper explanation of the same.

They therefore remained and showed all the same to the Emperor, who took them piece by piece in his hands and appeared to take great delight therein.

In the meantime the Lord Isalam Chan informed the Lord Ambassador that it was the desire of His Majesty that he should come to the audience next morning which, however, on account of the foul weather, was postponed, by permission subsequently received, till Sunday following.

On 3rd January 1712, it being fine weather, he was invited to the Audience, whereupon His Honour said that he would go to his tent there, in order to be at hand and there to await further information as to when the Emperor would sit upon his throne. The Ambassador, accordingly, with all his suite, started on his way at nine o'clock in the morning, in the aforementioned order, save that all the military, headed by their leader, Ernest Theophilus Nythart, went on foot.

The road to be covered (route of our march) ran for more than one kos (or half a mile) through the camp of the eldest Prince, Mossoddien,¹ and lasted quite two kos more before we reached the tent of the Embassy. Thus we marched through the main of the Emperor's camp, very pleasantly situated beside the river Rary,² and arrived in the afternoon at the tent, where we rested until further orders.

Whilst we were waiting there, the Lord Ambassador was treated to breakfast by the aforementioned Lady, who asked to be excused on account of the roughness of the weather, saying that otherwise she would have shown His Honour more courtesies, to which His Honour again rendered a very polite answer.

About three o'clock in the afternoon His Honour received information that it was now time to appear before the Emperor, whereupon His Honour with all the Europeans, clerks and military, betook themselves there in procession as aforesaid.

As His Honour arrived at the kunats (or screens) of the Emperor's tent, it was found that all around, at a competent distance, it was thrice enclosed with a net of thick ropes. At the gate or entrance, we had to deliver our pistols and all other weapons, but the Lord Ambassador and his suite retained their swords, and

¹Mu'izz-ud-din, who on his accession assumed the name of Jahandar Shah.

²Ravi.

His Honour and likewise his Deputies, were allowed to approach near to the Canauts in their palanquins, and the others on horseback, but the clerks and soldiers had to follow on foot, inasmuch as no vehicles were allowed to pass.

At the entrance to the Canaats the Ambassador was received by the Divan of the Chief of the Imperial Artillery, the Lord Isalan Chan, and inasmuch as the Emperor had not yet come forth, he was brought into the tent of his Lordship to take a little rest. The latter entertained him with diverse amiable discourses, amidst the sound of several kettle-drums and trumpets, the usual sign of the Emperor's appearance upon the throne.

Shortly thereafter His Honour received information of the appearance of His Majesty, whereupon His Honour with his deputies, having entered their palanquins again, went up to the kanaats.

These were of antique carpets, had three gates besides the one mentioned and covered in circuit quite a kos, or half a mile.

Within the same was seen an antique great tent of silk, with carpets wrought with gold and silver, and behind the same the Emperor's throne.

It stood upon an elevation made of earth and about five feet high. It was covered with carpets very artfully embroidered with gold, and had all round a silver railing at the distance of a hand's breath.

From the aforesaid entrance, that is from the middle of the three gates, was an alley of small flags of red silk, leading up to the fore-tent already mentioned, and below, as far as this stretched, enclosed by a wooden railing, the ground being laid with alcatives,² or carpets.

Inside these three gates of the canaats the Ambassador with his Deputies was received by the Master of the Ceremonies, Ammerauw Hattum Beek Chan, who commanded the Sjobdaars³ or guards, to admit all the Europeans. This, as the Gentleman told His Honour, was the express order of His Majesty.

Not only was this order punctually carried out, but the Gentleman also took the Lord Ambassador by the hand and conducted His Honour followed by his Deputies to the customary spot where the nobles, after the use of this country, were brought before the Emperor, and placed him furthermore inside the first wooden railing close to the aforesaid silver ditto, on the left hand of the Emperor

¹Anglo-Indian *canaut*, *conaut*, *connaught*, from Arabic "*qanat*" the side wall of a tent, a canvas enclosure, *cf.* Hobson-Jobson *i.v.*

²From Arabic *gatif*, 'a carpet with long pile.'

³*Choldar* (Pers.), 'a stick-bearer,' *vis.* an attendant carrying a staff overlaid with silver. *Cf.* Hobson-Jobson, *i.v. chobara*.

and his throne, amongst the row of Ammerauws, whilst his Deputies were placed some paces further back.

The remaining Europeans did likewise pay their complement before His Majesty, but had to stay outside.

As soon as the Lord Ambassador entered, he immediately presented the intended Nesser of gold rupees, and therewith the gold casket in which was enclosed the letter from His Excellency the Lord Governor-General of Netherlands East-India.¹

His Honour's Deputies also presented each a Nesser of gold rupees. The Lord Ambassador, on receiving a sign, personally handed over his to the Officer-in-Command of the Artillery, Isalam Chan, who stood with all the grandees around the Emperor on the aforementioned earthen platform. But those of the Deputies were received by Hattum Beek Chan, who in his turn handed them to Isalam Chan.

This Gentleman showed them all to His Majesty, who duly accepted them.

Shortly after His Honour with his Deputies was conducted by Hattum Beek Chan along the silver railing sideways behind the Emperor's Throne and a robe of honour of gold brocade thrown over his European dress, whilst a turban and Patha was wound round His Honour's hat.

His Honour's Deputies also received each a silver robe of honour, and further royal presents like the Lord Ambassador. They were then conducted back along the silver railing to the place where they had paid their respects. Here they must thank the Emperor for the honour received with three kornus or bows, according to the use of the country, and were then all three led up to the silver railing before the Emperor's Throne. As soon as they arrived there, the Emperor rose and went inside, accompanied by his sons, the Princes Djihaan Daar Sjah² and Djehaan Sjah³ who were seated a little below His Majesty on the right and left side.

Hereupon all the Ammerauws and also the Ambassador went home, but with such a concourse of men that everyone feared to be crushed to death. After passing the Cannat His Honour and the Deputies mounted their palanquins again, and departed with their suite in the same order in which they had come to Court, and reached their garden again at nine o'clock in the evening.

The presentation elephants and horses had not then been able to be presented to the Monarch owing to the short notice in granting the audience. This was done on the 4th January. According to

¹Abraham von Richeck (the son of Johan von Richeck, the founder of Cape-Town) borne at the Cape in 1653, was Governor-General from 30th October 1709 to 17th November 1713, the date of his death.

²Jahandar Shah.

³Jahan Shah, the fourth son of the Emperor.

the etiquette of the country, they were then sent back to the Lord Ambassador, although only with the object that this costly present might be the better seen of the people.

On the same afternoon the Emperor sent by a Mancepdaar a complete repast of delicate viands, prepared in the Mogul fashion, in an enamelled gold service, and half an hour thereafter several large dishes of apples, pears, pomegranates oranges, etc. for which the Lord Ambassador must perform three Impèrial salaams or salutations, (as indeed in such cases even the Empresses and Princes have to do).

After the repast, which the clerks witnessed, the messengers were, as is the use of the country, presented with betels, rosewater and a competent present in coin. The latter is strictly necessary to retain the Emperor's favour, as he would otherwise take it ill; indeed he is used to make express enquiries regarding this, and thereby to estimate, how much or how little his gift is regarded.

On the day following Mr. Ketelaar was apprised that the Emperor would appear again, whereupon His Honour went anew with his Deputies, and the nine elephants and nine horses, and offered the same to him. He accepted the latter, but for the acceptance of the former there was no time, owing to the fall of darkness.

After His Honour had made his salutations, he was presented by the Emperor with a Hindoostani candger^r or dagger, studded with precious stones,—according to the testimony of all, an unusual favour.

The Lord Ambassador, put it in the Moorish fashion into his porte-èpee, or bandolier, and expressed his gratitude by three cornus, that is, *bowing three times very low with the right hand down to the ground and in rising beating it against the forehead*

On the 6th ditto the aforementioned elephants were presented to the Emperor and accepted with marks of pleasure, and inasmuch as the Emperor's consorts had taken a fancy to the European carriage brought from Suratte, His Majesty sent to beg the same of the Ambassador on the 8th. Whereupon the bullocks were put to it and with its further appertances it was presented to His Majesty.

In the meanwhile the presents intended for the Imperial Princes were divided, in order to win them also to the interests of the Hon. Company.

Donna Juliana then came to call upon the Lord Ambassador and was very nobly received by him for the space of half an hour. She inspected everything with much pleasure but remarked that, in order to satisfy the greedy disposition of Prince Mahmud, Lord

¹Ang'a-indice hanger, from the Arabic *khanjar*. "The *khanja*; in India is a large double-edged dagger with a very broad base and a slight curve." (Hobson-Jobson.)

Chancellor Privy Seal of the Realm, and to expedite our affairs, His Honour would do well to set apart for His Highness somewhat more than for his brothers, and that His Honour might be pleased to offer the presents as speedily as possible to the Princes; which was done.

The Princes Mahhmud Azem and Refie! Shah,³ were just then with the Emperor, and the presents were therefore brought back for the time being; but the goods sent to the other Princes were kindly accepted.

On the 11th ditto he sent the goods again to Their Highnesses; but they took only some pieces thereof, and sent the rest back, as a sign of their generosity and with the assurance that they would not bear the Hon. Company less favour on that account than the Princes their brothers.

On the 12th ditto some presents were also sent to Soulficaar Chan (the son of Assed Chan,¹ Governor of Delhi, and a good friend to the Hon. Company), a gentleman of laudable qualities, and first in rank next to the Imperial Princes. These His Excellency very graciously accepted.

On the 15th the same was done to the very influential Ammarauw and Provisional Chancellor of the Realm, Enayt Ullah Chan,² a great favourite of Prince Mahhmud Azem; but His Excellency took only three pairs of spectacles, and returned the rest with the assurance of his friendship.

On the 18th ditto the Lord Ambassador waited upon the Emir ul Ammarauw, Soulficaar Chan; immediately on his arrival he was taken to the seat of the Prince, and very amiably received. After paying the compliments of salutation, His Honour offered the Prince a nesser of gold rupees.

His Excellency took only one, laid his hand upon the rest, according to the polite use of the Country, and desired the Lord Ambassador to keep them; but upon the latter insisting, he finally accepted them.

Thereupon the Prince invited him to sit down at a small distance from him and the Deputies were placed somewhat lower down. After some compliments in the Hindoostani language, the Ambassador begged that His Excellency might be pleased, both here at Court and in all further solicitations, to favour the Hon. Company, (which well remembered the kindness of his father, Assed Chan, late Chancellor of the Realm). This he promised, saying that he did not doubt of a good issue, objecting only to one point, the raising of a new factory-house outside Surat. The Lord

³Rafi'-ush-shan, the third son of the Emperor.

¹Asad Khan.

²Inayat-ul'ah Khan.

Ambassador would have liked to give His Excellency the reasons for this at once, had he not feared to trespass against the uses of the Court, as the first visit and the discourses on that occasion must be made as brief as possible. His Honour was therefore obliged to postpone this to a better opportunity.

The Prince, who was glad to hear mention made of the friendship shown by his father to the Hon. Company, asked whether the Ambassador had not called on his father in Delhi. Hereupon His Honour said that he had wished to do so, but had had no opportunity, owing to the Moorish morth of fasting (when the Mahomedans receive no visits).

At the same time His Honour also requested of His Excellency recommendations to the Governor of Suratte, so that the further presents sent from Batavia might be forwarded.

He instantly procured this for the Ambassador, ratified it with his Seal, handed it to His Honour and said furthermore that he would present the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies with robes of honour. He would not, however, do so in public, but send them to him. He also himself handed to Mr. Ketelaar an Indian 'banquet' of betel,¹ for which that Gentleman and his Deputies thanked the Prince, after which they took their leave.

On January 24th His Honour, hearing that the Emperor wished it, again betook himself to the Court, and was brought by Hattum Beek Chan into the tent of Heyaat Chan,² Chief Eunuch of the first Empress, and an Ammerau of five thousand horse, and was there presented with a golden robe of honour, while his Deputies each received a silver ditto, in the name of the Empress, and this in return for the European carriage, concerning which difficulties had already arisen amongst the Empresses, but it had been granted by the Emperor to his favourite wife, the which was so pleasing to the Princess that she had herself daily pulled about in it by her eunuchs, amidst great merriment, behind the Canaats. With this Donna Juliana had already acquainted the Lord Ambassador.

From here His Honour with his Deputies or followers, was brought before the Throne by Hattum Beek Chan, where His Honour, having made the fitting salutation, was distinguished by His Majesty by a special present of a golden rose set with delicate stones and a tassel of pearls of which the centre³ was also of gold, and decorated with small jewels, such as pertained to the candier or dagger, which His Honour had lately received; for which distinction His Honour again made three salaams, and then received his dismissal.

¹The expression 'a banquet of betel' occurs several times in the account of the Embassy.

²Hayat Khan.

³The original has 'krop,' the meaning of which is not clear.

The Emperor had also heard that the Lord Ambassador had amongst his followers several performers of Music, upon which His Majesty on 26th ditto caused a request to be proffered by Miss Juliana, that these musicians might be heard the following night in the Emperor's Mahal;¹ whereupon this lady sent one of her attendants to conduct them thither.

Hereupon His Honour gave orders that the Assistants and first Clerk, Johan Coenrad Kok, Cornelius Kammert and Adolf van Rensen, etc. should betake themselves thither, who accordingly departed towards evening, and came to the tent of the Lady, standing about a musket shot from the Emperor's Canaats, where they had to remain until dark.

They were then fetched by a Mancepdaar; before the Canaats each of them was asked his name, this written down and he then admitted.

They were brought by a roundabout back way by the river, to the lodging of the Chansamma,² or Dispenser of the aforesaid Mahal a distinguished eunuch, who begged them to be seated.

They perceived a great crowd of women, all curious to see the Europeans, who quarrelled so angrily over the places that they tore to pieces the curtains, which were only of fine linen, in order to be better able to see.

They also, through the eunuch, expressed their desire to be allowed to hear some pieces before the arrival of the Emperor, at which a little beginning was made to please them.

Shortly afterwards they were conducted through several Canaats to an apartment of scarlet cloth, before which a fine zik³ or screen-mat was hung, and there the Emperor, with his most important wives, besides Donna Juliana, were seated.

The musicians, instructed, herein by the last named lady, made three salaams before Their Majesties, as is the use of the country, then began their harmony, with a double bass, harp and hautbois, with which Their Majesties were so ravished that they must continue their music till past midnight.

Donna Juliana came to assure them of the great delight which the Emperor and Embesses took in the same, and added that Niher (Mihir?) Perwer, the first Embess, as a mark of her pleasure, sent them a very generous present, at which the Lady recommended them to perform three salaams as leave taking the which they did.

The Emperor also commanded that he should be told the names of the instruments, and that they should be laid, piece for piece,

¹Seraglio.

²Khansaman.

³Chick, "a kind of screen-blind, made of finely-split bamboo, laced with twine, and often painted on the outer side. It is hung or framed in doorways or windows, both in houses and in tents" (Hobson-Jobson).

before the zik or screen-mat, seeing that His Majesty with his Consorts wished to come forth and view them. During which coming forth of the Emperor the lady recommended them to go a short way off for a little while which, accompanied by several eunuchs, they did.

After the Emperor and his suite had inspected the musical instruments, by the orders of Donna Juliana, they were again called in and were permitted to pass the remainder of the night in her tent.

In the meantime the Emperor inquired of Donna Juliana whether the Ambassador would like to view the Imperial pleasure garden, named Salamar,¹ lying outside Lahore together with the Palace Paerimahal,² situated in the Town; she replied that, inasmuch as the Emperor was pleased to show them that favour, this would be very agreeable to them; whereupon His Majesty immediately gave orders to the eunuch, overseer of the first mentioned place, and an Ammerauw of 3,000 horses, that on the arrival of the Lord Ambassador with his suite, not only should he show everything to him, but moreover cause all the fountains to play.

Of all these matters Donna Juliana gave the Ambassador timely news, who on January 28th following betook himself with all his suite thither, and at the gate of the garden was very politely received by a eunuch, and further treated in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

The place was very large and filled with a variety of fruit trees. The Alleys run between very tall cypress trees, and are architecturally ornamented at regular intervals or spaces with magnificent Imperial pleasure houses, to the number of two and thirty that form an agreeable prospect, the same being greatly enhanced by a number of artful cataracts, which could be seen gushing along the Alleys, and through the pleasure houses; all of which matters are daily kept in order by a hundred and twenty-eight gardeners.

After viewing this, the Ambassador was presented by the eunuch with a 'banquet' of fruits, for which His Honour (such as was the Emperor's command) must turn his brow towards the Emperor's tent in the Moorish fashion, and perform three salaams.

The eunuch then requested His Honour that the Ensign, Ernest Nythart, might go through the drill and that he might witness it. This took place at his request, and Mr. Ketelaar moreover ordered three salutes to be fired in honour of His Imperial Majesty, for which the eunuch, full of admiration, thanked His Honour.

¹The well-known Shalimar Bagh, situated five miles east of Lahore on the road to Amritsar, was laid out in the sixth year of Shah Jahan's reign or in A.D. 1634. Cf. Latif, *Lahore*, pp. 140—144 and 246—249.

²Pari Mahal or Fairy Palace, a mansion in Lahore city, built by Wazir Khan, minister of Shah Jahan, who used it as his private residence, *vide* Latif, *Lahore*, p. 231.

On the 29th ditto His Honour with his suite, also viewed the Palace Paerimahah, otherwise styled the Court of Nymphs.

It lay in the City and was a beautiful piece of work, where in a large gallery the image of our Saviour surrounded by the Angels was very artfully hewn in alabaster.

In a good hour His Honour found here the eldest Prince, Mosoddien, or Djehaan Daar Sjah, being accompanied by his principal wives.

His Highness was reputed a Prince of great condescension and in particular of great favour towards the Christians, whereof he gave the Lord Ambassador many tokens.

Moreover His Highness requested of the Ambassador that the musicians, who on the 26th ditto had played in the Emperor's Mahal, might also be sent to him. This His Honour promised to do on his return, which took place accordingly.

They were conducted by a Heathen of importance to the apartment of the Prince, and made music there for a time before His Highness and his Consort, with such good success that the Prince then came to sit with them, listening to them with delight for three hours on end, and at length dismissing them with a competent present.

A few days later, the third Prince also, Refiel Sjah, requested of the Lord Ambassador to have his musicians, to whom they played all night, and then took their leave with a present.

Prince Mesoddien was not satisfied with the hearing of these musicians, but also wished to see the practice, or military exercises of the Hollanders, and requested of the Lord Ambassador, therefore, on February 1st that he might be present at the same, before the garden of Donna Juliana.

His Highness was there early with his wives and had all the roads lined with his people.

As the Ambassador just then had an attack of fever, His Honour arranged, however, that everything should take place in very good order, in the presence of both his Deputies accompanied by all the clerks and writers, and that the Prince should be saluted by them with full ceremony.

The Ensign, Nythart, in the meantime, assembled his Grenadiers in their full equipment, the Prince with his suite appeared at nine o'clock before the garden, as did likewise the Deputies or Adjuncts. the Under-Merchant Haak, the Secretary Bruinink, the Upper-master¹ Eppendorp and the further Europeans, where they remained.

After witnessing these exercises, the Prince was saluted by Mr. Beerenaard and the second Deputy, Dirk Huisinkveld, as well as the others, with three salaams.

¹The chief surgeon; cf. above p. 4.

As now the Lord Ambassador (owing to sickness) had not been at Court for some time and the Emperor had been made acquainted with this by Donna Juliana, His Majesty on February 16th A. 1712 sent to enquire after his health, through Hattum Beek Chan who assured him of the Emperor's favour in regard to his affairs, and gave him hopes of a speedy expedition thereof.

Mr. Ketelaar, being somewhat better, betook himself on the 21st ditto to Court, appeared before the throne and through Hattum Beek Chan offered His Majesty a nesser of gold rupees and a letter in the Pers'an tongue to tell why he had not appeared at Court.

He received there great signs of the Emperor's favour, through the acceptance of his present, and departed only after the retirement of His Majesty.

According to the word of all the Courtiers and Statesmen at the Court, such marks of favour had never been given to any Ambassador, however high or important, by any Mogul Emperor, wherefore he had hopes that he might be the more favourably and speedily expedited, and the occasion be given him to quit this unhealthy climate, and to return to Surat as soon as possible.

The 27th ditto Donna Juliana let the Lord Ambassador know that the first points of the Hon. Company's request, after long delay on the part of Prince Mahmud Azem were at last signed and sealed by His Highness's Diwan or Deputy, the Ammerau Wesarét Chan (Wazarat Khan), and the other Ammerauws, and that His Imperial Majesty had also granted the other points and commanded that they should be put to paper as speedily as possible.

This was a most favourable breeze, but one which speedily fell, seeing that on the very day of congratulation, by the evening all was in tumult and confusion. The troops of the four Princes were all seen riding to and fro, and each of them was pressing to separate his army from the others, the one preparing himself against the other.

The reason of this was the weak state of the Emperor, beginning with a chill and ending with an apoplectic fit, which put them in fear for his life and recovery; wherefore, in case he should come to die, each put means in hand to secure himself the Realm.

The flight of the armies, together with a number of households having an interest in the same, was extremely great, and the road to Lahore was blocked with baggage to such an extent, that it could not be used, and by reason of the great increase thereof, towards night could not even be approached.¹

Prince Shah Aalem, XIIIth in succession, is here shown from

*Twelve miles.

¹On the great confusion attending Shah 'Alam's death, cf. F. G. Keene *A Sketch of the Hindustan* (London 1885), p. 283.

the life, in a splendid cloth of gold upper robe, and his Consort, the Mother of the succeeding Emperor, also in a splendid cloth-of-gold long kabaay¹ strewn with bouquets.

On the afternoon of February 23th the Emperor, Sjah Aalem Bhadur, came to die, of which the Lord Ambassador was informed in confidence by a faithful friend at Court and it was added that His Majesty had very earnestly recommended his eldest son, Prince Mosoddien, or Djehaan Daar Sjah to the most important Ammeraus and had declared him to be the most competent as his successor.

Donna Juliana informed His Honour of this on the 29th ditto by a letter, and cautioned him at the same time to be on his guard against plundering, as this usually went on until a new Emperor was established.

His Honour therefore had the entrances of his garden as quickly as possible bricked up, and the goods of the Hon. Company brought there, while he went in and out through the door of the adjacent second garden. He also provided himself with two hundred Natives to be in the better state of resistance.

Sjah Aalem Bhadur died thus, after having reigned five years *minus* eight days, on the 28th February A. 1712, being sixty-eight years of age and four months, seeing that he was born in the month of November A. 1653.²

It was said that one of his Field Commanders, whom he discovered with one of his concubines, Jensiati (Jamshid?) Chan by name, caused his death and with a dagger ripped open his belly, being assured that he himself would otherwise be a dead man; but neither did he escape this, as he was immediately hacked to pieces by two bodyguards, who pursued him into the women's quarters.

Sjah Aalem, although so severely wounded, remained about three days in life; but gave up the ghost on the 3rd day.

He left four sons, to wit, Moeseeddien (usually for convenience called Moseddien) or also Djehaan Daar Sjah, who was then fifty years and eight months, and himself had three sons, of whom the eldest, called Assoddien,³ was already a Prince of thirty years, but the two other Princes were still young.

The Emperor's second Son, or the next to Prince Mosoddien, was Mahhmud Azem, who was also sometimes called Azem Ussan Bhadur. He was seven and forty years and four months old, and had also three Sons, of which the eldest was called Mahhmud Car'em, the second Forch Sjeer and the third Hamam Bax,⁴ the eldest being a Prince of about thirty, the next of five and twenty and the

¹Cabaya, "the surcoat or long tunic of muslin, which is one of the most common native garments of the better classes in India" (Hobson-Jobson).

²This must be October 1643. The length of Shah 'Alam's reign is correctly stated, so that 1653 is evidently a misprint.

³A'zz-ud-din.

⁴Muhammad Kasim, Farrukhsiyar, and Humayun Bakht.

youngest about eight years old.

The third son of Shah Aalem, was Refiel Sjah.¹ He was forty years and three months old. He had two sons of which one was ten and the other seven years old.

The last son of the Emperor was Djehaan Sjah,² a Prince of seven and thirty years and six months, and who had two very young sons living.

Each of these Princes tried, by a wide distribution of money, to win the nobles and the people to his side; but Mahhmud Azem outshone them all in great treasure, gold coins and strength of people, notwithstanding that the Emir ul Armerau, Suilficaan Chan, had supported the eldest Prince, Mosoddien, with nine laks of gold rupees and with all his Jewels, a generous example which almost all the other nobles of the Realm followed, out of love of this Prince, for his amiable and sociable temper. This Lord also prevailed so far with the other Princes of the blood, that Refiel Sjah and Djehaan Sjah declared themselves for their eldest Brother and against Prince Mahhmud Azem, whereto the impatient and vindictive temper of the Prince Mahhmud Azem had given great cause.

To draw this bond of union closer between the thrée Princes, it was mutually agreed that Prince Refiel Sjah should be Sovereign King of Bengal and Djehaan Sjah Sovereign Prince of the kingdoms of Choromandel and Decan.

The first act of Prince Mosoddien was to write to the Soubaas³ and Provincial Governors to take care that Farochsjeer did not leave Bengal with his troops, nor unite himself to the bands of his father, Prince Mahhmud Azem, against the lawful successor to the Kingdom; yet in spite of all precautions, owing to the great indolence of the eldest Prince, the Emperor Mosoddien, Prince Mahhmud Azem grew so mighty that that Sovereign was obliged to surround his camp with a circle of double intrenchments.

In this general rising of the Princes one against the other, no thought was given to the affairs of the Hon. Company, just as little as to the Lord Ambassador; except that His Honour also was not free from danger.

Thus was much time lost for nothing, which also caused the Hon. Company great expense and that too, without the least Guarantee for their affairs, even if he, as being the Prince most wished for, should remain upon the throne.

As if these were not troubles enough for Mr. Ketelaar, this was added to them that on March 3rd the eldest Prince sent a Firman or command in writing, ordering him with all his people

¹Rafi-ush-shan.

²Jahan Shah.

³Soobah, *i.e.* Pers. *Suba*, a large Division or Province of the Moghul Empire, *e.g.* the Suba of the Deccan. The word is here used short for Subadar or Viceroy.

to join His Highness, and help against his Brother.

The Lord Ambassador took council on the matter with his Deputits, and returned an answer in very polite terms, saying, besides that he was sick, this did not lie within his power, and that he hoped, therefore, to be excused in the matter.

His request was granted, and His Honour further advised to betake himself to the city, which had declared for His Highness, as the other Princes would otherwise be sure to ask him and possible to force him, in the same way. This advice the Lord Ambassador gratefully followed, the very same day, hiring three Kettera¹ or inns in the city, in which he established himself that evening, with several Europeans, and was followed the next day by the rest of his people, with the goods, to escape the pillage, which increased all around everyday.

In the meantime Souilficaar Chan pressed Mahhmud Azam so nearly by a small manœuvre, posting himself in four separate divisions and causing great scarcity of provisions, in his camp, that the armies were thereby forced to approach each other, and from twelve hundred pieces continuously cannonaded one another.

Mosoddien, assured of the favour of the Cazi, or Spiritual Judge at Lahore (a Lord of no less consideration amongst the Mohammedan clergy than the Pope in the Church of Rome) and having been informed that the Son of the deceased Lord Chancellor Chanchanaan and Mohabeth Chan Bhadur Seffer Jeng² had made a secret agreement with Mahhmud Azam, thought it advisable to have the former thrown into prison, and his considerable property confiscated, while the latter had betaken himself to Mahhmud Azam.

They found there great store of treasure, of silver, gold and other goods, consisting of sixty thousand gold Rupees, twenty *man* uncoined gold, and about seventy *man* uncoined silver, and the worth of four lak of rupees in men's and women's apparel, all of which was brought to His Majesty.

After they had cannonaded one another, then, for six days and nights continuously, Mahhmud Azam was attacked by his youngest brother, Prince Djehaan Sjah on March 17th and forced to risk a very uncertain and terrible battle.

He approached Djehaan Sjah with various deceitful signs of friendship, such as the waving of his nose kerchief, appearing as if he would come over to his side; but attacked him with several thousand Gatanders³ (the best warriors in this country) very furi-

¹Hindi *katra*.

²Khan Khanan.

³Mahabat Khan Bahadur, Safdar Jang.

⁴Hindi *man*, Ang o-indices. *maund*.

⁵Pathans under the command of Sulaiman Khan Ganni and Shah Nawaz Khan.

ously caused him to fall back, captured his cannon, and would have defeated that Prince completely, had he not been lacking in several things.

Djehaan Sjah, quickly recovering himself, attacked him anew, and had the good fortune to vanquish Prince Mahhmud Sjah and to so strike him as he sat upon his Elephant first with an arrow in the head and then with a musket shot in the breast, that he died thereof.¹

This was the cause that the youngest son of the deceased, named Hamambax,² was taken prisoner and brought to the Castle of Lahore.

What had become of the eldest, Mahhmud Car'em³ was not known.

Everything being now as it seemed, brought into a state of quiet, and Mosoddien having become master also of his Brother's great treasure, the victorious Prince, inspite of his two other Brothers, who were stirred up against him by this and that nobleman, and brought by jealousy to destroy their compact, became A. 1712 the eight and thirtieth Emperor of the illustrious Moghul Kingdom, so celebrated throughout all India, and the fourteenth Moghul in the direct succession from Tamerlain.

Although he might have taken advantage of his superiority over the other Princes his Brothers, he did not do so, but showed his equity towards them with regard to the great treasures which he had gained by the death of Prince Mahhmud.

He wished (which was the extremity of fairness) to divide this into three equal parts; but Prince Djehaan Sjah was so indiscreet as to dare to demand one-half for himself, as well as half of the Jewels left by their Father, Sjah Aalem Bhadur, all of which not being granted, this much inflated Prince suddenly took himself off.

Shortly after, he thought with five hundred men to turn Soulficaar Chan out of his encampment; but this was discovered, and

¹The account of 'Azim-ush-shan's death is summarised by Mr. Irvine from native historians as follows: "In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince 'Azim-ush-shan was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Ravi, the rider fell off, and Ja'al Khan, Lodi, the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Amin-ud-din and others galloped in pursuit at the top of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the Prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand."

²Humayun Bakht.

³Muhammad Karim.

his men so admirably received by the cannon, that most of them forgot to return.

Between the 25th and 26th of March Soulficaar Chan set fire to the powder magazine of Djehaan Sjah, which enraged that Prince so greatly that he swore to revenge it sabre in hand, and so either to make himself Emperor or die fighting.

He had courage in sufficiency but great lack of money, the very sinew of war, and the first incentive to the Soldiers, so that he was obliged to sacrifice his silver plate for the payment of their arrears, already grown somewhat great.

Thereupon, on the Emperor's side, the order of battle was made in four divisions in such manner that Prince Refiel Sjah should attack the enemy first, the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Assodien, support him, Soulficaar Chan lead the third division and the Ammerauw Koekeltaas Chan,¹ make the fourth attack.

In the meantime, Prince Djehaan Sjah had managed to get some more powder, so that on March 27th he not only opened a heavy cannonade, but on the 28th made a furious attack with the most part of his power upon the Emperor's army, intending to overcome him; but he was so warmly received by a troop of ten thousand men, that he was immediately driven back, and forced to abandon the posts already taken, and to retire to his own defences.

The cannonade continued from early in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the armies joined issue; but in a manner contrary to expectation; for the Emperor was attacked in front by Djehaan Sjah and, against all expectation by Refiel Sjah treacherously from behind, notwithstanding that he had been granted five and twenty laks of rupees, and more things besides; and was by his cannon, arrows and muskets so distressed, that he would have run sore danger, if Soulficaar Chan with a thousand of his best horse had not frustrated this treacherous blow, and by a small detour, falling upon Djehaan Sjah from behind, scattered his power, thereby throwing him into flight; and with about eighty more who were with him, so successfully surrounded him, that with diverse bullet and arrow shots he shot him dead on his elephant.

Notwithstanding this, Refiel Sjah, following up his act of treachery, in the evening resumed a heavy cannonade of the Emperor's army, the which amply replied through the whole night.

The 29th ditto on the morning, an hour before sunrise, the Prince with his whole power betook themselves to the open field, intending to renew the strife.

He was as one possessed, and driven so far by his despair that, against the advice of all his friends, he risked one more chance; but he failed miserably, as, being just arrived there, he

¹Kokaltash Khan.

was so hit by a cannon ball that he fell dead to earth from his Elephant.

His dead body was immediately brought before the Emperor, who for some time left it contemptuously to lie on the ground, saying that a traitor deserved no more; but at last His Majesty allowed it to be brought to the Imperial Mausoleum at Delhi, with the corpses of the Princes, Mahhmud Azam and Djehaan Sjah.

Thus one month's time had witnessed the Emperor dead and four Princes, with an army of nearly twice a hundred thousand men in motion, who delivered three actions in the field against each other, where the three youngest left their lives, and therewith the Realm, to the eldest and lawful, and to the Christians most benign Prince.

The Emperor's army consisted of twenty thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot-soldiers.

That of Prince Mahhmud Azam consisted of thirty thousand Horse and forty thousand foot.

The army of Prince Refiel Sjah consisted of eight thousand Horse and as many foot soldiers; while that of Prince Djehaan Sjah was five and twenty thousand Horse, and thirty thousand foot.

Thus all these armies consisted of hundred and ninety-one thousand men; but how many each of them had lost cannot be said.

The first thing done by Emperor Mosoddien was to revive the Law, which had been greatly neglected owing to the weak government of the former Emperor.

Many of those who had rebelled against the former and the present Emperor were beheaded, others imprisoned, or deprived of their offices; amongst whom were:¹ Hhamedodien Chan Bhadur, Mahâbet Chan, Bhadur Chan, Semaan Chan, Bhadur, Rhemet Jaar Chan, Octemaan Chaan, Rehiem Ullah Chan, Jemaal Ullah Chan, Fettehmakoed Chan, Jettehnesret Chan, Seif-Ullah Chan, Seraf-raan Chan Bhadur, Bhere Jaab Chan, Aka Beek Chan, Ray-Kisserising, Ray Bhegoti, Soer Chan, Atta-Ullah Chan, Ray Fetteh Sjend, Monohez Chan, Asailet Chan, Nesarret Chan, Fakier Ullah Chan, Momin Chan, Achsem Chan, Seif Chan, all of whom are at the moment still in confinement with the Coetewaal² of Lahore and whose goods have been confiscated to the Emperor.

Lubfullah Chan, after the surrender of thirty lak of Rupees, was reinstated.

Jani Chan, Astni Chan, Ray Bhelamel, Hhakiem ul Molk, Ray Rayahan were released, but also dismissed from their offices, and deprived of their goods, these being apportioned to the Emperor.

Jesin Chan, Mobesser Chan, Abdul Rahhman Chan and Seer Afger Chan, were, as concerns their persons and their goods, treated

¹Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 163 f.) reproduces the above list of names in their correct forms.

²Kotwal or Sheriff.

in the same way.

Rustrmdil Chan, and Mochelis Chan,¹ during the fighting had presumed to force their way into the Mahal of the dead Emperor, there violated some of the women, and after this outrage, even to rob the same of their Jewels.²

For this, three days long, they were exposed to be beaten with shoes (the deepest disgrace in that Country) by all who would, after that, beheaded, arms and legs lopped off, and their limbs hung upon the trees, as a warning to others.

The four surviving Princes of Refiel Sjah and Djehaan Sjah, although young and innocent, were at the Emperor's orders thrown into prison in the Castle of Lahore according to the Mongol custom.

Sultan Mahhmud Cariem (also called Cariem Eddien) eldest Son of Prince Mahhmud Azam, had lain hidden for some time in Lahore, but gave himself up to the Emperor through one of the eunuchs, sued for pardon and received it, although only for a short time; for not long after, on the accusation of Koekeltaas Chan who, when visiting him, although a great favourite of the Emperors, he had very foully abused, as well as for other signs of his low nature, he was beheaded.

The 1st April the Lord Ambassador went to Soulficaar Chan, to sound him concerning the affairs of the Hon. Company. He promised him a favourable issue, made the matter his own, promised to procure him a speedy audience with the Emperor, had the honour to receive Betels from his hands, and then took his leave.

The second ditto His Honour with all his following, to avoid the high house rent, betook himself again to the garden where he had formerly sojourned.

A certain Radja wished to take it for himself, but Soulficaar gave the Ambassador notice of the same and had the other frustrated.

Many of His Majesty's friends were shortly afterwards greatly advanced; as is seen from the following list³ of those promoted by Djehaan Daar Sjah.

Nisaam ul Mo'k Aseful Daulet, otherwise called Assed Chan, was made Advocate-General, or General Superintendent of Pleas, Keeper of the Great Seal of the Realm, with an income of twelve thousand Mansel (each thousand reckoned at sixteen hundred and fifty Rupees) and twelve thousand Horsemen per month, at the Emperor's expense.

Emier ul Ammerauw, Bhadur Nesret Jeng Sepeh Salaar Jaar,

¹Rustam Dil Khan and Mukhils Khan, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahan Shah.

²Possibly this refers to the incident related by Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 162).

³The list with the names in their correct forms is reproduced by Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 160 f.).

Wofadaar, or Soulficaar Chan, Lord Chancellor of the Realm, with ten thousand Mansel and as many Horsemen.

Chan Djehaan, Bhadur Nesret Jeng Sepeh Serdaar Kokeltaas, first Baksi-General or Pay Master of the Horse, Daroga or Superintendent of the Emperor's slaves, had eight thousand horses and also as many Mansel.

¹Chan Dohraan Bhadur, second Baksi General, drew six thousand Mansel and had five thousand Horsemen.

Monteza Chan Bhadur, third Ditto General, had five thousand Mansel and four thousand Horsemen.

Chaje Hossein Chan, fourth Baksi General, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

²Soutraab Chan Bhadur, Joob (read: Toob) Cannaka Daroga,¹ or General of the Artillery, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand horsemen.

Bheremend Chan, Master General of the Imperial Horse, First Master of Ceremonies, or Introducer of all foreign Ambassadors, had the same amount of each.

Saad Ullah Chan M'atekid, Steward of the Imperial Household,² had five thousand Mansel and four thousand Horsemen.

Seffer Chan, Daroga Fiel Channa,³ or Superintendent General of the Elephants, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

Hasret Koelli Chan, Asptab'ka Daroga,⁴ or first Master of the Stables, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

Achlaas Khan, General Master of Petitions or Public Intercessor, had three thousand Mansel and two thousand Horsemen.

Ragie Sebhasjed Divan⁵ or second Deputy of the Lord High Chancellor had Horsemen and Mansel as above.

Djehaandaar Koelhi Chan, Daroga of the Robes of Honour; had the same of both.

Serbra Chan, Sheriff-General, drew the same.

Nobet Chan, Daroga of the Kettledrums, had three thousand Mansel and two thousand Horsemen.

Abdul Semede Chan, Sedder⁶ or Senen-Master General had the same.

Seriet Chan. Cazi⁷ General or Judge Spiritual, had likewise the same.

¹Topkhanah ka Daroghah.

²*i.e.* Khansaman.

³Daroghah-i-Filkhanah.

⁴Daroghah-i-Asp-Tavelah.

⁵Read. Sebha Sjend Divan, *i.e.* Sabha Chand, Divan, a Khatri, lately made a Raja, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious (Irvine's *Later Mughals*, p. 170).

⁶Sudder (Arabic *sadr*=chief).

⁷Çazee (Arabic *qadi*).

Hattum Beek Chan, Book-keeper to the General Master of the Horses of the Imperial Cavalry, had five and twenty hundred Mansel and fifteen hundred Horsemen.

Johan Whelo, Serdaar Frengiaan¹ or Captain of the Europeans in the Emperor's service, drew as much Mansel, but had only five hundred Horsemen.

Molla Mohhammed Aali, Sercheyl² to the Emperor's Mother, is the last of the favourites who we here enumerate.

On April 7th the Lord Ambassador, Ketelaar, went with his Deputies, to an audience, and was immediately brought into the Aada'et³ or Audience tent of the Ammaratws and given a position of higher rank amongst the nobles than by the former Emperor.

His Honour then congratulated the Emperor and at the Emperor's command received Betels from the eunuchs, an honour which his Deputies also enjoyed.

His Majesty also gave orders to have them covered with robes of honour, and presents to be given them; but the Commissioner or senechal of the robes of honour, having none worthy of the Ambassador in readiness, proffered his excuses until a future occasion, and thereupon His Honour received an honourable dismissal.

The 10th ditto His Honour with his Deputies or Adjuncts, again went to greet the Emperor, and was honoured by His Majesty with a golden Cerpauw,⁴ or Robe of Honour, as were his Deputies or Adjuncts with silver dittos.

His Honour in the meantime had a paper presented to His Majesty, wherein he begged that His Majesty would be pleased to grant the same matters conceded by his Father, the deceased Emperor; which was favourably received, and the Lord High Chancellor recommended to have care for the same.

His Honour had also proffered a complaint against the Souba of Asmeer,⁵ Sousirat Chan, or rather his General, Taberall Chan, for wringing money from His Honour on the way to Agra; for which he was deprived of all his dignities by the Emperor, and summoned to answer for his not having obeyed the commands of the deceased Emperor.

The 14th ditto His Majesty went to a Mesdjid,⁶ or Praying Place, lying beyond the Ambassador's garden, wherefore my Lord

¹Sardar-i-Firingiyan. Mr. Irvine calls him Jahan Whelo, which is evidently due to an oversight. In the original his first name is Johan, i.e. John. He must have been a European.

²Persian *sar-khail* "the chief of a band" or "a captain of cavalry."

³Arabic *'adalat* "a tribunal."

⁴Persian *sar-o-pa*, meaning "from head to foot," viz. "a complete suit, a robe of honour." Bernier has *Serapha Travels*, pp. 80, 128.

⁵Ajmir in Rajputana.

⁶Masjid or mosque.

with his Deputies, took the opportunity at His Majesty's return, to offer him Nessesers of gold Rupees, which the Emperor seeing, sent Hattum Beek Chan to meet him, to receive the same.

Moreover, being come with his Imperial palanquin beside the Ambassador and his Deputies, after the usual ceremonies of salutation had been performed, he paused, until the aforementioned Ammerau had received the present for the Emperor and handed it over to His Majesty.

Soulficaar Chan, in the meantime, was engaged with the papers that were needed so that we might shortly depart, the more so, as the Emperor was on the point of breaking up camp to go to Agra with his Army, and because the unhealthy air and the bad water greatly increased the sickness amongst the Europeans.

The first Empress, Laal Coemwer,¹ had in the meanwhile become curious to see the Hollanders again, wherefore the Emperor on April 25th, had the Ambassador informed that the Empress would pass by his quarters in the afternoon and that it would please His Majesty if His Honour with all his Europeans, would appear before Her Majesty while passing, and make the same presentation as they had done to him; all of which the Ambassador informed His Majesty he would strictly carry out.

When, then, Her Majesty at four o'clock in the afternoon with a large following unexpectedly appeared, being accompanied by Donna Juliana and several of the most important Ladies of the Court, but somewhat earlier than Mr. Ketelaar had expected, she had the goodness to stop at one end of the garden, until the Lord Ambassador with all his suite had passed before her coach, and had performed their salutations beseeingly.

He and his Deputies also offered the Empress Nessesers of gold Rupees, which she graciously accepted and added thereto that she would cause Betels to be brought to him and his adjuncts, whereupon she gave him leave to return to his house.

The next day she did send them Betels, for which they proffered their thanks to Her Majesty. For this unusual favour they had to thank no other than Donna Juliana, a lady, whose person, on account of the services which she rendered us on divers occasions, deserves a special description.

Her Father, named Augustinho Dias da Costa, was a Merchant and (Burgess of Coetsjien² at the time that the Netherlanders conquered that City.

He then travelled from there to Goa, and so further to Bengal, in which country Donna Juliana was born.

Later on her Parents went to Agra, in which place her Father was appointed as Mancepdaar and Court-Physician to the Prince

¹The notorious dancing-girl, Lal Kunwar, the concubine of Jahandar Shah.

²Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, captured by the Dutch in the year 1661.

Sjah Aalem Bhadur; but a short time before the imprisonment of that Prince, he met with his death at Golconda, after which time the lady was appointed to be Governess of the Emperor's Seraglio.

Her assiduity and help shown to the aforesaid Prince, during the nine years of his imprisonment,¹ brought her into great honour with the same after his release and complete restoration by order of his Father, Eurangzeeb; since which time she is called Channem,² or Madam, with a monthly income of five and twenty hundred Rupees, and is provided with a great number of servants, both male and female.

Now after that Prince had ascended the throne of his Father, she was favoured with an income of four thousand Mansel and with a state equal to a regular wife of an Ammerauw, and therefore had in her train two Elephants, and red Banners with a white cross in the centre, whenever she went out.

She had command over all the Christians, whom she engaged and dismissed at her pleasure.

She was, as it were, the oracle of the Emperor, of the Princes and of all the Ammerauws, and without accepting presents from anyone, was helpful to everyone, and therefore greatly beloved by all. Yea it was even said, that when the Emperor Sjah Aalem Bhadur, fought against his brother, Azem Tarra, and had begun to flee, it was she who, seated beside him on his elephant, encouraged him again to stand, and to look the enemy in the face, with the assurance that she and all the Christians had prayed for him, and therefore he would gain the victory.

Now this having come about, the Emperor gave her the name of *Fiddewie Dnegoo Juliana*,³ that is, according to the meaning of the words, *Juliana devoted to prayer*.

She had received more titles of honour besides this from the Emperor; but on her Persian seal she bore only this: *Fiddewie Bhadur Sjah*,⁴ *Juliana*, "the devoted to Bhadur Sjah Juliana."

After the death of that Emperor she wished to leave the Court and retire to Goa; but the new Emperor, Mosoddien, and the principal Christians at the Court persuaded her to continue in her office for a little while.

She was at that time (namely Anno 1712) five and fifty years of age, and in ascendancy and influence at Court a Second Madame De Maintenon.

¹Shah 'Alam had been kept in confinement by his father Aurangzeb Alamgir for seven years from March 2nd, 1687 till April 26th, 1694. (*Ind. Ant.* xl, p. 79).

²Khanum.

³This evidently stands for *Fidwi Du'a-goi Juliana* meaning Juliana the slave of him that prays.

⁴Fidwi-i-Bahadur Shah.

The 26th April the Emperor with his chief Consort and Donna Juliana going deer hunting, passed by the lodging of the Lord Ambassador, and His Majesty himself shot a deer, for which His Honour with his suite, congratulated the Emperor on his return. First he (the Ambassador) paid his compliment to the Empress who came in advance together with Donna Juliana and some other ladies of the Court, while offering Her Majesty nesses with gold Roopees, but she graciously returned them to the Ambassador and his Deputies. An hour thereafter he repeated the same ceremony on the arrival of the Emperor himself. His Majesty accepted the nesses and made token with his hand (a singular favour) for the Ambassador to approach a little nearer. He also sent a deer to His Honour.

The same evening the Ambassador received the news that all the Hon. Company's points had been accepted by the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan (Zū-l-fiqār Khān) and would shortly be signed.

May 3rd.—About midday the Emperor with his whole Court in a very splendid procession departed from the encampment at Lahore, in order to divert himself for 8 or 10 days with hunting, at 4 cos distance from here; whither the *peeschana*¹ had already proceeded, hence to continue the march Delhi-wards. As His Majesty passed close by the lodging of the Dutch Embassy the Ambassador (who had waited for several days with the greatest impatience, every moment expecting the fulfilment of the promises given by the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan that all the Company's points that had been accepted would be signed before the departure of the Emperor, yet in spite of all efforts still sadly waited in vain) took the opportunity when the above mentioned Monarch was passing to again offer him gifts, which were accepted by His Majesty in a particularly gracious manner, from the Lord Ambassador's own hands, His Majesty signing with his hand to the Lord Ambassador that he should approach close to his palanquin, which stopped for a moment, and there taking leave of His Honour.

The same presentation of gold moors was made by the Ambassador to the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan, who followed close upon His Majesty, with the repeated earnest request that His Honour would bring the affairs of the Company to a speedy conclusion, to which the Prince, after a gracious acceptance of the presents, once more promised to do, requesting His Honour the Ambassador to send one of his Deputies to him to receive the points in question. Concerning this, it was thought, no time should be lost, so the following day the Hon. Merchant and first Deputy Rogier Beernaert and the second Deputy, Sr. Huisinkvelt, betook themselves thither next day.

May 4th.—Early in the morning, in order to press forward as

¹Pers. *peesh-khana* "fore-service." Vide *Hobson-Jobson*.

much as possible the signature of the points by the abovementioned Lord Chancellor. Towards the afternoon the Lord Ambassador learned through a note from the aforesaid Deputies that the following day they would be admitted to an audience by the abovementioned Prince, and that then according to the Emperor's own command, they would receive the agreement signed and in order.

6th ditto.—At break of day the Lord Ambassador received a further note from the Deputies, dated 5th ditto, the evening before, whereout it appeared that the same morning, having visited the Lord Chancellor, they had been very graciously received by His Highness and at his orders had been brought to his Divan Chona (Diwan-khana), or place of audience where the Nabob appeared about 1 o'clock and in the presence of divers important Ammerouws and a great number of other men, spoke to them in amiable terms, saying "I have attended to all your points and shall now sign them, God being with me," for which they had expressed their gratitude and remained awaiting the effect thereof with great eagerness. In the meantime their Honours had also obtained an opportunity of recommending the affairs of the Embassy urgently to His Highnesses second, Rajah Sebhasjent,¹ and second Divan Gessingh,² which two gentlemen received them very politely and left no good promises unmade concerning the subject *in cas*, making assurance of having the Chancellor's promise to sign the agreement, to further which they would gladly do their best for the Deputies with the Agents of the Embassy. Proceeding after this to the place of audience of the abovementioned Nabob again and after waiting there till 2 o'clock in the afternoon in eager desire for the effect of all these promises, the Prince had let them know that they might go home without anxiety, as His Highness would sign the papers and send them to His Honour. The aforesaid Prince, on being again pressed, renewed his promises the same evening, with the addition that the agreement should without fail be signed the following day and sent to His Honour, with which for the present, they were obliged content themselves and again retire, hoping for the best.

7th ditto.—This day the undermerchant and second Deputy, Sr. Huysinkvelt, returned to the Ambassador to give him full verbal information concerning the princely and other promises that had been made.

8th ditto.—About 10 o'clock in the forenoon a letter was delivered to the Lord Ambassador, addressed an hour earlier to His Honour by the second Deputy, wherein he stated that, after our Agents the day before had returned empty-handed from the Lord Chancellor, His Honour the evening of date having received a message that the Nabob was about to sign our points, *de novo*

¹Sabha Chand Divan.

²Divan Jai Singh.

visited the durbar of the aforesaid Prince; but after having sat there till fully eleven o'clock at night, His Highness had at last excused himself, as having been deterred from signing by a too great press of business, but would do so tomorrow; with which reply they must yet again content themselves. In the meantime, when leaving the Durbar, the aforesaid first Deputy had spoken to Ragie Sebhasjent, Diwan of the oft aforementioned Prince, in earnest but courteous terms, asking what the reason might be for this distressing postponement from one time to another, with the request to be permitted to have a report of our concerns; to which the gentleman in a most amiable manner had replied, that not only were our affairs in a highly propitious condition, but were already accompanied, as the Nabob himself had assured His Honour; encouraging him to have no misgivings whatever, undertaking moreover, at the proposal of the aforesaid Deputy, to bring the Nabob tomorrow's day to the signing of the points.

In going to the Durbar His Honour had met Prince Assuddien, to whom he felt obliged to offer a nesser of 5 gold moors, which His Highness had graciously accepted, and thereupon dispatched the aforesaid Non. Beernaerts, further informing the aforesaid first Deputy, though not with absolute certainty, that the Emperor would break camp the following day, as the day before His Majesty's tent had been removed and put up $2\frac{1}{2}$ cos further on.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Lord Ambassador received a further missive from the aforesaid Son. Beernaerts, written in the afternoon about 2 o'clock wherein he informed His Honour that having again presented himself at the Durbar of the Lord Chancellor, His Highness passing by diverse ammerouws and rajahs come there to salute him, without even looking at them, had approached the aforesaid Hon. Beernaerts with a gracious countenance and promised that he would sign the points that day in accordance with his desire, that the requests of the Embassy were already accorded; wherefore His Honour had resolved to betake himself there again at about 4 o'clock, in the hope of a favourable conclusion. He also notified, that according to the word of divers important personages, amongst them some of the Lord Chancellor's suite, the Emperor was about to break camp on the 11th and that if he heard further news on this subject he would communicate it to His Honour differing in the meantime to the approval of the Lord Ambassador, that he would remain with the Embassy suite until the day before the Emperor's departure; which was approved by His Honour and acted on accordingly.

Just before midnight the Lord Ambassador again received a letter from the frequently mentioned Deputy, written shortly before, at 10 o'clock, in which His Honour communicated that, according to advice, he had again presented himself at 4 o'clock at the Durbar of the Lord Chancellor, and having received auspicious

promises from the lords Sebhasjent and Raigisingh as that they would secure the Nabob's signature that evening. His Honour had lived in the hope of being able to rejoice the Lord Ambassador therewith, but that this had again been prevented by unexpected obstacles, seeing that the aforesaid Prince, having despatched all the Ammerouws, and retired for the signing of the papers about 8 o'clock, was ordered by the Emperor to appear at the feast in honour of his birthday, which fell upon that day; shortly afterwards, while proceeding thither on passing by the Hon. Beernarts he addressed him with his usual kindness in the following words "Doubt not that I have arranged your affairs and that I shall sign, why do you give yourself so much trouble by coming here every-day," saying shortly afterwards to the Agents who walked beside his palanquin for a while, "Do not take the trouble of constantly coming here, I shall sign the papers," with which His Honour, being unable to do anything else, was obliged to be satisfied. And further at the end of aforesaid missive, His Honour advised the Lord Ambassador that the Emperor was about to travel 2½ cos further the following day and that aforesaid Deputy had resolved, with the approval of the Ambassador, to send the fore-tent in advance, so that His Honour with his train could await results *in loco*.

9th ditto.—In the morning at 6 o'clock an answer thereto being sent by letter, action was taken accordingly and shortly after all was ready to follow; which likewise took place; the Lord Ambassador and his train arriving just after the departure of the Emperor in the tent of the Hon. Beernards, pitched about a musket shot from that of the Emperor. Here they remained until it was judged that the greater part of the army would be passed and the fore-tent of the Embassy pitched, when His Honour also set out and about midnight reached the advance tent of the Embassy, standing not far from that of the Emperor, pitched about 4 cos from the Chacanna Serrai.¹

10th ditto.—In the morning the march of the Emperor and shortly after that of the Embassy was continued for six cos, 2 ditto beyond Serra Amanat Chan,² everything going well beyond expectation, with such order and quiet for the march of so numerous an army that we could not enough admire it. The camp of the Embassy was again close by the tent of the Emperor, amongst the most important Ammerouws, which is to be counted as a most unusual and singular favour from His Majesty.

11th ditto.—With the dawn of day the Emperor again broke camp with his army and marched 8 cos further, to 3 cos beyond the little town called Noerdicoebd,³ which the Embassy did likewise,

¹Sarai Khan Khanan, cf. p. 1.

²Sarai Amanat Khan, 20 miles east of Lahore Cantonments.

³Probably Nurdin, 31° 28' N., 74° 52' E., about 3 miles west of the town of Tarn Taran.

whose tent was pitched between that of the Emperor and that of Souilficaar Chan, in a place where a pleasant cool air could be felt. In the meantime the Lord Ambassador was informed that the Lord Chancellor, according to instructions, had signed some of the most important of the Company's points, promising to confirm it the following day with his seal.

12th ditto.—As soon as day began to break the march was continued in common, for 9 cos, up to the river Debda,¹ in no less good order, and without any discomfort, as it had been on the former days; the tent of the Embassy here as before, being placed near to the Emperor's, close to the aforesaid river. The armies of Prince Assuddien, called Kogiltaes Chan Baxi, already lay in camp on the further side of the river, (over which two bridges of boats were thrown). The Lord Ambassador here received the happy tidings that the Lord Chancellor, the night before, had signed all the points but one, which he promised to treat in the same way as soon as his accumulated occupations permitted him a moment for the purpose.

13th ditto.—Mokkam,² or day of rest held; but as the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan³ offered the Lord Ambassador a vessel for the transport of the Embassy's goods, etc., some heavy carts were put across at His Honour's orders at once that day.

14th ditto.—The Emperor (although the greater part of the army had crossed the river) remained in camp, by which the Lord Ambassador also was regulated; who yet in the meanwhile had the remaining heavy carts of the Embassy which had not been taken over the day before, transported in a vessel put at his disposal by the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan, to the end that His Honour in crossing later, might have so much the less hindrance.

15th ditto.—The Emperor passed over the aforesaid river by the bridge of boats thrown over it, and as His Majesty had given the Lord Ambassador leave to make use of it, His Honour broke camp with his train (except the Hon. Mr. Beernarts, who remained there until everything was transported and nothing left behind) in the afternoon at 3 o'clock and at about a cannon shot from our encampment, passed over the aforesaid bridge, in front of which a gate was made, through which everything must first pass, in order that the people might not crowd too thickly upon it and cause each other annoyance. The bridge in question consisted of about 38 flat-bottomed boats, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms wide, which were so ranged side by side, that the water just had play between them, forming in all at a guess a length of 80 fathoms; the width of the same was about 2 fathoms, so that two carts would have been able to pass over one beside the other; the crossing of which took place without any notable difficulties, although the heat was so great and

¹Evidently the river Beas is meant.

²Ar. *maqam*.

³Khadim Beg Khan, mentioned above.

vehement that in so short a time of marching yet were many people seen lying dead upon the ground along the road.

The Lord Ambassador's tent being pitched about half a cos from the river at the usual place not far from the Emperor's tent and he having reached it, was given notice that one of the horsemen who had entered the Hon. Company's service at Agra,¹ while trying to cross the river on horseback had lost his footing through the rapidity of the stream and was drowned, but the horse was salvaged, at which His Honour, at the urgent request of the Mohammedans in the Company's service, sent several natives to search for the unsouled body, who reported on their return that amongst the multitude of drowned bodies floating down the river they had not been able to find the *corpus* they sought.

Further the Lord Ambassador was informed that one of his boats, being too heavily laden with people who had forced themselves upon it, was sunk, but everything was salvaged, whilst one ditto with passengers and army rabble amongst whom many women, was upset by an elephant, causing divers persons to be drowned.

16th ditto.—In the morning arrived Mr. Beernards with the tent and goods that had remained behind, the Lord Ambassador being notified towards evening by our Agents that his Mogul Majesty had promised to sign the few remaining separate requests and thereupon to pass them on to the Lord Chancellor Souifficaar Chan for his joint signature and further expedition; but that His Majesty had been hindered therein by the occurrence of a betrothal that very day between the Prince Bedaer Dil (being a son of Bedaer Bax (Bedar Bakht), whose father was the deceased Prince Aziem Tarra²) and a daughter of Prince Mhemeth Aziem, for which reason His Imperial Majesty.

17th ditto.—remained in his encampment by the river, although the baggage, etc. as well of the army as of the Embassy, were sent on 7 cos; there being only a single passage over a long stone bridge at the entrance to the town called Suldaenpoer,³ it required much time before such a great army could be passed over it.

Shortly after we heard that the Emperor with the whole army was about to break camp the following day and to continue the march, as was

18th ditto.—effected in the morning at break of day and the general march continued to the aforesaid town, but as the Lord Ambassador thought it would be very difficult to pass the bridge and a second ditto 8 cos further on, at the same time as the army, His Honour resolved to leave his Deputies behind (in order should

¹Agra, where the Dutch E. I. Company had a factory.

²Muhammad A'zam Shah, called A'zam Tara and 'Ali Jah, was killed in the battle of Jajan between Dholpur and Agra on June 18th, 1707.

³Sultanpur (31° 13' N., 75° 14' E.), near the junction of the Bias and the Satluj (Sutlej). It belongs now to the Sikh State of Kapurthala.

any occasion thereto arise to urge the Company's interests as much as possible at Court with the Lord Chancellor) until the Emperor should start on the march, while the Lord Ambassador with the Embassy train should go on in front. Wherefor His Honour at 9 o'clock in the evening broke camp and shortly after the whole power, being favoured in their march by the moonlight, crossed the bridge safely and formed their encampment at the further side of the last mentioned bridge.

19th ditto.—The Emperor remained with his army and the Lord Ambassador received per letter from his Deputy the news that His Imperial Majesty had signed some more of the remaining points, His Honour having witnessed the signature of the same with his own eyes. There arose in the evening a heavy thunderstorm, together with a fierce wind, thunder and heavy rain mixed with hailstones the size of a musket bullet, that lasted nearly an hour, in which storm many people were cut down by brigands and otherwise lost their lives.

21st ditto.—In the forenoon the Emperor arrived and shortly after the frequently mentioned Deputies.

In the evening there was again a violent hailstorm and thereby such a vehement storm of wind that most of the tents of the army as well as those of the Embassy were torn down, inspite of whatever precautions could be taken, the same lasting a good hour and occasioning fire in diverse parts of the army, which, however, being timely extinguished, caused no particular harm.

22nd ditto.—Before sunrise the march was again begun and continued for 8 cos up to a Serrai called Nomahel,¹ the route being taken past a village called Nicadoor.² This day the heat was not so excessive as it had been for a few days, thus the rain that had fallen had somewhat cooled the ground, as desired.

23rd ditto.—The Emperor kept mokkam, or day of rest, nevertheless the Lord Ambassador towards evening sent the foretent 12 cos in advance, as far as the river Sadalets³ and at 12 o'clock at night the greater part of the Embassy train followed, leaving the Deputies behind with the rest until the Emperor decamped, in order that if unexpectedly anything might be required with regard to the Company's affairs, someone might be at hand, thereby giving the Court no excuse for neglect of affairs. In the meantime if it should be found possible, he would, with the advance train in question pass over the river before His Majesty, which,

24th ditto.—was reached at 10 o'clock in the morning and the advanced tent being pitched, His Honour was of intent to pass over

¹Sarai Nur Mahal, built by the Empress Nur Mahal. Vide A. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Report*, vol. xiv, p. 62.

²Nakodar (31° 8' N., 75° 31' E.) town in the Ja'andhar district. Cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogol*, vol. II, p. 383.

³Satluj (Sutlej).

the water in the evening after some rest with his accompanying suite. But there being only one bridge thrown over it here, the same was found so full and obstructed by troops and baggage, that to avoid accidents he was obliged to put it off for the present, all the more so, that it was pitiable to see the quantity of corpses floating down the river of people who had been crowded off the aforesaid bridge. The Elephants, Camels and many horsemen waded the river over a sand bank, on which occasion many persons being lifted from the ground by the stream and not able to save themselves by swimming, were forced to forfeit their lives miserably.

25th ditto.—At 9 o'clock in the morning the Emperor, with his Court train, passed over the aforesaid bridge, but the Elephants of His Majesty and the army with an innumerable number of camels and other bestial, passed over the sand bank, many of the troops, not being able to get over the bridge and trying to go through the aforesaid shallow part of the river, were carried away by the stream and only a few of them salvaged.

And as the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan at the Emperor's command had provided two boats for the transport of the Embassy's carts in the afternoon the military with some cargo were sent over and

26th ditto.—followed by the Ambassador, by the bridge cited, who found the tents of the Embassy standing between the small town of Lodiana¹ and aforesaid river. The whole night through thunder and it rained heavily.

27th ditto.—In the morning, the weather seeming fair and good, the Emperor betook himself to the antelope hunt, from which he returned at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Shortly after came another violent thunderstorm, accompanied by heavy rain and hailstones, amongst which some were of the size of pigeon's eggs, which lasted till the evening and by which the river was so swollen that it was feared that our encampment (of which a part was inundated) might by continuation of the same, come entirely under water, the Lord Ambassador broke camp.

28th ditto.—With the whole train from thence, went through Lodiana, and formed his encampment a musket shot beyond, on rising ground.

The Lord Chancellor in the meantime, finding himself at liberty to sign the Company's requests, demanded them of his diwan and having signed the same, summoned the Company's Persian writer, to whom His Highness presented the same and sent them to the Lord Ambassador with friendly salutations, who with his whole company was not a little delighted thereover and immediately caused the first Deputy² who was acquainted with and practised in the

¹Ludhiana (30° 55' N., 75° 54' E.) headquarters of the district of the same name.

²Rogier Beerenaard.

Persian language, minutely to examine the same, requesting him to translate it and to take careful notice if there be no equivocal or ambiguous terms therein, which might later raise disputes and might be interpreted contrary to the true intentions of the Company. But the same was found satisfactory and couched as the deceased Prince, Mhamet Aziem, had constructed it.

29th ditto.—At break of day the whole army broke camp and after a march of 8 cos came to lie at a village called Draha.¹ The heat that day was very great, while there was only turbid and very bad drinking water, so scarce that men and beasts became quite enfeebled. Then through a large and populous city, lying 8 cos further and called Cirhint.² At the further side of this place a long stone bridge must be passed over, wherefore the Lord Ambassador with his train (as it was thought almost impossible for the army to make the crossing without encountering great difficulties) went on in front, leaving his Deputies with the necessary retinue behind, to follow the next day with the remainder, and at the fall of evening passed through the aforesaid town, although not without great difficulty and long delay, as the Emperor's peeschauna or advance tents, loaded upon 300 camels with many troops and baggage, passed through at the same time. At a good cannon shot from the town the encampment of the Embassy was made in a garden. The following morning or

Ultimo May.—The Emperor arrived with most of the army and shortly afterwards the abovementioned Deputies in our camp, it being a great sign of favour from the Emperor never before enjoyed by any embassy, that he permitted the tent of the Ambassador to be pitched between a tent of His Imperial Highness in which the so-called Assaer Mobareck³ or blessed beard-hair of a so-called saint is kept, and the tent of the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan. Moreover His Imperial Majesty permitted the Lord Ambassador to bear four large train banners and to raise them in his encampment upon tall standards so as to be seen from afar, which honour was permitted to none but the greatest Ammerouws. The Emperor Jehandaersja (Jahandar Shah) with his formidable battle array having reached the town of Sirhint, as already said, and after resting there some days broke up his camp.

June 3rd.—As did the Netherlands Embassy also and continued the journey to Delhi at a quick march on account of the approaching rainy season, by the towns of Taneser, Carnael, Panipat and Soripat,⁴ which are all great and populous and yet provided only with walls and no other works of defence.

¹Doraha, village and railway-station in the State Patiala.

²Sirhind (33° 38' N., 76° 29' E.), town in the State Patiala.

³Ar. *asar mubarak* "blessed relic."

⁴Thanesar, Karnal, Panipat and Sonipat.

A number of villages and small places included in the line of march will here in behalf of desired brevity and because there is nothing remarkable to be told about them, be passed over in silence, only the principal occurrences that made a part of the march to Delhi being mentioned; of which the most important is the imminent danger in which the Emperor found himself on the 12th ditto of being very suddenly robbed of his life and crushed to pieces by a mad Elephant. His Imperial Majesty, on the above-mentioned day, having just left his tent on the march to above-mentioned city of Carnael, the aforesaid hollow-belly made straight for His Majesty and struck with his trunk or snout at the golden litter in which the monarch was contained; but the cahaers¹ surviving so far aside that his blow miscarried the Elephant wound his trunk round the Litter to break the same to pieces, but His Majesty dealt the horrible enemy a smart blow over the snout with his sabre and at the same time was hastily rescued by his convoy of Ammerouws and riders, while the infuriated beast was done to death with javelins and the carnaet² sitting upon him transfixed by His Majesty's own hand with a javelin, the overseer of the carnaets being immediately taken into arrest.

At this, the Emperor's most happy escape, the Embassy not without cause was greatly rejoiced, seeing that if His Majesty (who had already given so many substantial proofs of his favour to the Embassy and almost daily gave still further ones) had been so overcome by the imminent danger as might easily have occurred, without doubt nothing but sad consequences could have ensued for our difficult and important mission, the which, however, Heaven was graciously pleased to avert.

20th ditto.—With the army towards the town of Sjha Jehaen Abael³ (Olum Dilly) but having advanced a march, the Emperor was pleased to notify to the Lord Ambassador, that it would not be disagreeable to His Majesty if His Honour with his accompanying train of Hollanders, would accompany His Majesty at his entry into the aforesaid city. This being considered a particular mark of favour, it was accorded to the aforesaid Monarch with assurances of respectful gratitude, but

21st ditto.—later, when encamped by the village of Batly⁴ lying three cos to the north of the city and 6 cos from the castle of Delhi, the rain descended so heavily that the roads thither were rendered very muddy and almost impassible. Wherefore the Emperor had the Lord Ambassador further notified that for the above reasons His Honour and Company would be excused from accompanying His Majesty as had been agreed, only requesting that the

¹H. *kahar*=palanquin-bearer. Cf. Hobson-Jobson i.v. *kuhar*.

²Cornac.

³Shahjahanabad, the town founded by the Emperor Shah Jahan.

⁴Badli Sarai.

military might accompany him at the aforesaid entry, the which was accorded with repeated assurances of respect. The Lord Ambassador with some Netherlands servants and soldiers, the weather being somewhat more tranquil, proceeded to the aforesaid town, leaving his Deputies with abovementioned military, consisting of sergeant Arnoldus Willems of Swol, 18 grenadiers, 2 trumpeters and 1 drummer, in the encampment near the Emperor's tent.

The aforesaid Deputies in the meantime having paid a visit to the Casie, to congratulate that so-called spiritual judge upon his elder brother Mr. Abdul Hemied Chan¹ having received the dignity of Governor of Sourat, his Mohammedan Holiness as a sign that th's visit was by no means disagreeable to him, of his own accord promised speedily to write to his aforesaid brother in recommendation of the Hon. Company.

June 23rd.—In the morning the aforesaid grenadiers in full uniform and muskets, were sent by the Hon'ble Beernarts to the Emperor's tent. Having waited there scarcely an hour, the order to march was given, by the beating of the kettledrum, whereupon aforesaid military were formed in double ranks, whereby the trumpeters of the Embassy made themselves lustily heard. The Emperor, borne in a litter of massive gold, of the size and almost the shape of a coach, here issued from his tent and was greeted by the military in the native fashion, whereupon passing through the formed ranks, His Majesty signed with his own hand that they should keep just in front of His Majesty's litter, which was promptly carried out, they marching in two rows, one on the right and one on the left hand, a little in front of His Most Royal Highness and convoyed him thus up to the castle where leave was taken and late in the afternoon they arrived at the quarters of the Embassy.

The great and unprecedented confidence reposed by a Mogul Emperor in Europeans provided with loaded muskets, was regarded by everyone as something particular and caused much speculation amongst the natives as well as the Europeans who were present.

June 24th.—The Hon. Deputies also arrived at the aforesaid city and the lodging of the Embassy, where the abovementioned Hon. Beernarts received two Persian letters signed by the Emperor himself. The one announced that the Lord Ambassador and his Hon. Deputies might come at least once in the week to salute him; in the second consent was given to the Lord Ambassador to pay a visit of salutation to the ex-Lord Chancellor Asset Chan,² now Advocate-General of the Empire and Souba of the Province of Gouzouratta. This His Honour of necessity had already done, thinking the service of the Hon. Company required it, all the more so, that the Prince is the father of the present Lord Chancellor

¹Abdul Hamid Khan.

²Asad Khan.

Souilficaar Chan.

June 27th.—Some gifts presented to the aforesaid Nabob and graciously accepted by His Highness, who at the same time gave permission to the Lord Ambassador with his Deputies, if it pleased them, to come and salute him the next day, accordingly the Lord Ambassador with the aforesaid Deputies

June 28th.—leaving his lodging at 9 o'clock in the morning, betook himself towards the residence of His Highness. Arrived there he was brought without a moment's delay to the apartment where the Prince was found and very graciously received by His Highness, immediately invited to sit down. After some exchange of compliments and discourse the Lord Ambassador requested of His Highness, that the Hon. Compy might enjoy the favour of a *perwana*¹ being granted with reference to the excise officers in Amedabat,² to the end that they should strictly observe the concessions and not, as had often previously happened, molest the Compy with the levying of unreasonable duties, contrary to the Emperor's *fermaen*.³ To which the Nabob responded that a paper should immediately be drawn up as the Lord Ambassador desired and that His Highness himself would sign it and confirm it with his seal. For which the Ambassador and his Hon. Deputies, having rendered their thanks, the same were presented with robes of honour as well as with *betels* and politely dismissed.

Ultimo June.—The Lord Ambassador was handed over four copies of original *parwannas* as a minute, one ditto for the villages of the Hon. Compy in the Province of Bengal and the second ditto granting to in possession to the Hon. Compy from the Emperor two houses, that of the deceased Governor Attabaar Chan¹ in Souratta and Noerulla Chan in Pattena,⁴ to live in for all time without any payment for the same. Concerning which original writings His Honour sent immediately to the Casie or Spiritual Judge, with the request to have authenticated copies made, that he might be able to send them to the aforesaid places instead of the originals.

July 9th.—In the meantime His Most Royal Highness sent another Persian missive, signed by his own hand to the Lord Ambassador, wherein it was announced that his Mogul Majesty the following day, intended to appear for the first time upon the throne at Delhi and to hold a public session there where His Honour and his Deputies might come and do homage to him, and permission was given, to the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies only, to enter the castle in *palanquins*. The aforesaid *gent'emen*,

¹Pers. *parwana*, a grant or letter under royal seal, a licence or pass.

²Ahmadabad, the capital of the province of Gujrat.

³Pers. *firman*, an order, patent, or passport.

⁴Nur-ullah Khan at Patna.

therefore, with the sworn clerk Ernst Coenrad Graev, the Assistant Cornelis Ingeman, both on horseback, accompanied by the grenadiers on foot, led by Sergeant Arnoldus Willemsz on horseback, proceeded thither on the appointed day at 9 o'clock in the morning. Arrived at the second gate of the castle, the Lord Ambassador left the grenadiers there and having passed the third gate the abovementioned assistants and sergeant dismounted and followed His Honour with the frequently aforesaid Deputies on foot, who were carried in their palanquins to where they could easily see the throne, where the aforesaid gentlemen left their palanquins, in order to approach near to His Imperial Majesty, who at that moment appeared upon his throne.

The Lord Ambassador and his Deputies having performed the first salutation at the usual place and offered the Emperor nesses of gold mores, which His Majesty graciously accepted through the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan, His Excellency and his Deputies were let through a silver railing by the same dignitary, close up to the throne, before which the Lord Ambassador took his accustomed place on the left hand side, aforesaid Deputies somewhat behind the same and aforesaid assistants and sergeant a little further back still, where the same united in showing their esteem by performing 3 salaams *de novo* before the Monarch.

Description of the abovementioned costly Mogul Throne preserved in the Castle of Sja Jehaen Abaed or Delhi.

The magnificence, craftsmanship and costliness that are displayed in the aforesaid throne are indescribable; but yet, in so far as the eye could observe in so short a time, we will here render a slight sketch.

Sjah Djihaan, great-grandfather of the present Emperor, built the throne and placed it in Delhi; but he himself, they say, never sat upon it it being first ascended by Aurangzeeb on the day of his coronation.

It is of massive gold, architecturally designed and has in front, as behind, three arches and at each side two, rounded above as portals; with a pointed roof, also of pure gold and ornamented at each corner with a golden peacock, whose tails are most gloriously spread and very well imitated in colour, so that they lack nothing but life.

Between these peacocks stands a golden flower-vase with various golden flowers, in the midst of which is a green leaf made of an emerald as large as a hen's egg.

The Throne is studded all about and everywhere with Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, Turquoises and all manner of costly stones, all of an unusual size.

Above this roof is a canopy of crimson velvet, very sumptuous richly ornamented with costly pearls, resting upon four staves about four fathoms high and fourteen or sixteen inches thick and also studded with costly stones and splendidly enamelled.

Around the throne at about three paces distance, is a massive gold railing, with bars or small columns of an "el" in height, and about twelve inches thick, being a very artificial piece of work.

After passing through this fence, four steps are ascended to the throne, before which at each corner, four golden Geridons stand. These consist of five leaves or separate elevations, which become smaller and smaller in pyramidal form and are filled with different kinds of flowers.

About six paces behind the throne was seen a gold Machine, somewhat smaller than the first, serving as a second throne, and at the same distance still further back a third very magnificent place, whose ground is of fine alabaster, but above is of nothing but pure gold.

This was not unlike a Sacristy of the Roman Catholics, and was hung in front with a zik¹ or screen, of very fine gold thread, behind which could be observed the movements of a certain personage, whom we were assured was the First Empress, who from thence, as the throne directly faced the entrance to the castle, had a view of everything.

The apartment in which this throne stood was also very splendid. In front it had the width of nine vaults or arches, from the midmost of which a view was obtained of these thrones standing one behind the other, as well as of the entrance to the castle.

High up in the hall were seen many golden balls, the thickness of a man's head, which hung from golden chains.

This throne, which indeed may be called one of the Wonders of the World both from the aspect of art and because of its expense and great value has cost nine crores (each being 100 laks), nine laks (each 1,00,000 rupees) and 9,909 Rupees (each a "daalder") and 9/16ths of a Rupee, which in Dutch money is the value of 136,000,000, 3 tonnen of gold, 64,864 guilders.

A short time after their last salutation, the Emperor caused the Ambassador and his Deputies to be presented with Bete's, which was again replied to by three Salaans.

Half an hour later His Majesty presented Souilficaar Chan, standing at his left side, with a costly string of pearls and then rose from his throne, whereupon the Ambassador also returned home with his suite.

15th ditto.—The Lord Ambassador received tidings from the Castle of Delhi that the Souba of Amedabaed, named Mhameth Beek Chan, otherwise called Jaffar Chan, lately appointed at the expense of several laks of Rupees had been deprived of his office

¹Chick (H. *chik*), "a kind of screen-blind made of finely-split bamboo, laced with twine, and often painted on the outer side." (Hobson-Jobson.)

and that in his place the wealthy Ammerouw Cerbolint Chan,¹ then present at the Court, had been appointed.

16th ditto.—His Excellency, through his Deputies, sent his compliments of felicitation to the diwan of the Amerul Ammerouw Souilfcaar Chan, the Regie Sakhachaud, on account of his advancement to be an Ammerouw of 7,500 horse at the Emperor had been pleased to create him, meaning by this compliment more to engage him for the advancement of the Company's interests with aforementioned His Highness and Majesty, in case it might come to be required in one thing or another; for which courtesy the aforesaid diwan acknowledged his thanks, assured the Ambassador with cordial greetings, of his support and presenting the aforesaid Deputies with Betels from his own hand, dismissed them in a courteous manner.

17th ditto.—By a cela (Emperor's slave) the Ambassador was told for truth of a very dangerous occurrence in the Emperor's Mahel, which was said to have happened in the following manner His Majesty was celebrating the feast of Bacchus with one of his consorts and invited to his Women's Court a certain Ammerouw named Naamdar Chan, a great singer and a relative of the first Empress.² This man, after a short while, overpowered by the fumes of drink and being engaged in a discourse with His Majesty, broke off in an irreverent manner and changed it into a dispute, wherein his drunken obstinacy grew to so great an excess that he struck the Emperor on the breast with his full fist and called for his sword, but as none of the slaves present would or dared fetch it, His Majesty, quite unperturbed and without change of countenance, wishing to see what the fool had in his mind, commanded with a grave face that it be given to him. But he refused to accept it, whereupon His Majesty said "Wilt thou not take it? then I will." At this the aforesaid musician eclipsed himself from the sight of the Emperor, who knowing no better than that this thoughtless guest had retired without, followed the same with the naked weapon in his hand. Being come outside and finding the guard of slaves all asleep, he sought the aforesaid singer without in any way disturbing them. Some of the slaves having in the meantime awaked and coming to their Sovereign, received diverse blows with the flat of the sword as recompense, with a severe reproof for their scandalous neglect and confidence. In the meantime, the aforesaid bold visitor appearing from inside, with a naked cattery or belly-cutter and with this trying to open a way to his liberty and freedom, the

¹Sarbu'and Khan, brother-in-law of the late 'Azim-ush-shan who had presented himself with five or six thousand men, while the court was at Sarai Doraha on its way to Delhi. There, through the intervention of Ni'mat Khan, a brother of Lal Kunwar and that of Khan Jahan, Kokaltash Khan, he received the governorship of Gujarat, without the *wasir*, Zu-l-fiqar Khan, having been consulted. Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, pp. 166 and 171.

²One of the brothers of Lal Kunwar. Cf. *Later Mughals*, p. 167.

Emperor ordered him to be seized; which was instantly accomplished, and without doubt this coarse delinquent would have been cut to pieces, had not the first Empress, by falling upon her knees, so far been able to change the Emperor's anger to graciousness that he was only robbed of all his offices, his house thrown open to plunderers by His Majesty's orders, himself thrown into chains and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. For otherwise it is amongst the Moguls a rigid immutable law, that if anyone dare to appear before the Emperor with a naked weapon, his life is thereby forfeited.

That the greatest benefits are often repaid by the most scandalous ingratitude is shown clearly by the case related, by which the Emperor's life was not a little endangered, notwithstanding that His Majesty, from the pure and sole consideration that he was a relative of the first Empress Lakoemwer¹ (who from dancing girl had achieved to being the principal Empress through the irresistible passion of His Majesty) had raised him from the dust to be an Ammerouw, after that he had renounced his Ragia (poet) faith and embraced that of Mohamed.

18th ditto.--It was communicated to the Lord Ambassador that the Emperor, after his arrival at Delhi, had ordered the children of Prince Azem Tarra to be brought before him and those of his son Prince Bedaer Bax (Bedar Bakhsh), (who had been kept in prison since the death of their father) and that their conduct had so greatly pleased him that His Majesty had adopted the son of Azem Tarra and the first Empress Lael Koemwer the son of Bedaer Bax, had granted them their freedom and given them licence to appear at the derbar beside the Princes, His Majesty's sons. To which effect had been given. The day before yesterday, returning to their place, on their cushions and soucenys² being examined before being laid before the throne, in that of the eldest son of Azem Tarra a large knife was found, which being carried to the Emperor he ordered the Princes cited to be brought before him. This being done the Emperor asked them to what end they had hidden the knife and brought it there, to which the eldest replied that it was not customary for Princes to go unarmed, whereupon His Majesty, without making any reply to this, ordered them to be imprisoned as before.

19th ditto.—It was said that Jehandaar Sja had granted permission to his son Assuddien,³ at His Highness's request, to take the considerable sum of 9 crore Rupees out of His Majesty's treasury at Agara, Itawa, etc., in order to raise a formidable army and therewith, after the rainy season, to proceed against Prince Faroohsjeer in Bengal. It was moreover said that the (Governor) of Dekken

¹Lal Kunwar.

²Soucenys.

³A'zz-ud-din.

had been sent for and was already *en route* with a considerable number of Rupees and that Ammerouw Danout Chan, who was renowned as a brave soldier, should lead the army, but under the aforesaid Royal Highness as generalissimus.

21st ditto.—The present Attorney-General of the Empire and viceroy of the province of Gonsoratta, Asset Chan, was honoured by a personal visit from the Emperor, in return for which His Excellency presented him with 3 lakhs of Rupees whereof the grey haired and faithful minister had caused a Tsjaboutra to be formed, which after His Majesty had sat thereon and returned home again was taken away by His Majesty's servants and stored up.

22nd ditto.—The Lord Ambassador received the unpleasant news, by Bengalese despatches that the Hon. Jacob van Hoorn, Chief Merchant at Patna, was deceased and that at the death of the same his estate, as well as the goods of the Hon. Company, had been confiscated by the there residing Prince Farochsjeer¹ (Farukhsiyar). Whether this is the truth all revealing time must discover.

25th ditto.—The Ambassador was told for a certainty, that the first Empress (of whom mention has already frequently been made) had begged the Emperor for the Soubaship of Agara for one of her relatives (who, as already told had from a mean quality been advanced to be an Ammerouw) the which His Majesty had accorded to her and as witness thereof had given a letter to the aforesaid Ammerouw, with orders to show it to the Lord Chancellor, Souilficaar Chan. Deeming himself fortunate and having given his most humble thanks to His Majesty, he thereupon went straight to the house of the aforesaid Lord Chancellor, was very politely received by His Highness and after showing aforesaid note was made happy by the Soubaeship in question, with the request that as the Lord Chancellor was in need of 300 tamboeros (being small drums on which singers constantly beat while singing)² and was convinced that no one could better help him therein than he, that he would be pleased to supply them, the sooner the better. To which the other replied (not noticing the sarcasm in these words) by a promise promptly to deliver them within a few days. Accordingly, on arriving home, he wished to send out his people at once to procure them; but one of his capaters,³ understanding the simplicity of his master, asked what he was going to do with so many of these instruments, guessing the meaning of the Ammerouw and advised him not to do it, explaining to him how to understand there ironical terms; whereupon, this would be Souba, humiliated and almost bursting with rage at the insult, again betook himself to the Emperor, making complaint to him of his mishap. The Emperor, having understood,

¹Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azim-ush-Shan, born on the 11th September 1683.

²Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 167 f.

³The term 'capater,' which occurs frequently, means "a eunuch."

and calling to mind that there were so many Ammerouws of merit without office or income at Court, besides that the aforesaid Soubaeship already granted to the brother of the Mierbari Cokeltaes Chan, or Chan Jehaen Badur,¹ His Majesty responded that he would speak to the Lord Chancellor concerning the matter. With which answer this suppliant, this courtier transformed out of a singer into an Ammerouw, was obliged to be contented. The Lord Chancellor, being come before His Majesty and being asked why he had mocked the Ammerouw in such a satirical manner, it is said that he submitted that if His Majesty was pleased to elect singers to be Soubaes of Agara, etc., the Ammerouws would have to become singers.

28th ditto.—On receiving tidings that the naya souba or newly appointed Deputy Governor (sub-regent) at Gousourat of Asset Chan, the wealthy Ammerouw Sirbolint Chan² referred to above, was about to depart to the aforesaid government within a few days, the Ambassador sent his Deputies thither today, to congratulate His Excellency upon the aforesaid vice-soubaeship, to request his friendship and aid for the Hon. Company and to wish His Excellency a safe journey. The aforesaid gentlemen having arrived at the dwelling of the aforesaid Ammerouw, were very politely received and assured of his assistance. After being presented with the usual present of betels, they were dismissed in a most friendly manner and returned home.

Prime August.—This morning the head of the Hon. Company's cassetts³ here received news in writing from his agents in Pattena (Patna), that now the Hon. Company's residents there were treated with a good deal of more civility by Prince Farooksjeer than shortly after the death of the Hon. Jacob van Hoorn, that the despatches sent thither by the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies had been delivered and would be answered, moreover that the director and Council of Hougly had taken several jagierdars, or income-tax collectors of the aforesaid Prince into custody, and by a missive had requested His Highness not to molest the Hon. Company's administrators in the town (Patna), but to give them liberty either to remain *in loco* or else to retire from there with their goods and effects. If this was not granted they would be forced to exercise reprisals upon His Highness's servants. Thus it is hoped shortly to hear by writing from the aforesaid residents what the true condition of affairs may be.

August 3rd.—It was communicated to the Lord Ambassador by some reliable persons that the Emperor Jehandaer Sja had yesterday received various letters designed for the infantry officers of

¹Mir Bakhshi, Kokaltash Khan, Khan Jahan, the foster-brother of the Emperor.

²Naib Suba Sarbuland Khan.

³Arabic *qasid* 'a courier, a running messenger;' Anglo-Indian *cossid* (*vide* Hobson-Jobson, i.v.).

the usurping Prince Farochsjeer, which had been intercepted by Prince Asuddien and sent hither to His Majesty. From these a conspiracy was discovered whereby 7 captains of the gunners¹ in the artillery in His Majesty's service, besides diverse other captains with their lieutenants and men (to the number of 20,000) were willing to transfer themselves to His Highness's service, requesting that, if he was pleased to approve their design, he would have the goodness to advance a few marches towards them with his army, either under the leadership of his own person or that of a trustworthy Anmerouw, to the end that they might join together; with the assurance that, while awaiting his answer, they would be diligent to win other captains to their design. The Emperor having become aware of the conspiracy instantly apprehended the authors of the same and took them prisoner, but what procedure will be adopted with regard to them, or whether they will discover their accomplices and an exemplary carnage will stop the evil-doers in their bad design, or if it must run its course, all-revealing time must show.*

August 6th.—Reports were divulged at Court that the degraded Naib Souba of Gousouratta, Mhameth Beek Chan, not without great prospect of success (according to the private opinion of many of the most important courtiers), solicited for the government of Suratta; which numerous and sudden changes of chief regents, even if they fall out the most favourably, cannot but be prejudicial to trade.

August 8th.—His Mogul Majesty had an elephant fight arranged on a suitable open space between the Castle and the river, whereby one of the carnaes lost his life, for the aforesaid animals attacking one another with terrible fury, one of these hollow-bellies tore the unfortunate rider from the neck of his adversary with his trunk, and so tossed him into the air that he fell dead to earth.

August 9th.—His Imperial Majesty on the departure of the newly elected Souba of Agara, Jeffer Chan,² (being the brother of the Baxi General Kokeltaes Chan) presented him with a robe of honour, besides a gold dragons head (called in the Moorish language *mayhi maan tap*³) an ornament which none but Anmerouws of the highest dignity may wear in state.

August 10th.—The death of chief merchant of Pattena, Van Hoorn, was again confirmed by Bengalese despatches, with the fur-

¹The original has 'roerschutters' which really means 'musqueteers.'

*In any case, as long as these sons of Mars, who are all clamouring because of the ill-payment of their arrears, get no better acquitted thereof than heretofore, the same can be but little relied upon.

²Muhammad Mah, Zafar Khan, became A'zam with the governorship of Agra. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 160.)

³*Mahi maratib* (Pers.) or "Fish standard." Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann, p. 50, foot-note).

ther particulars that Prince Farochsjeer had had the Company's confiscated goods a costly valued at 1½ lakk and fetched from the warehouse by his people with the promise to repay the same when he should have become king, but that the Hon. Company's sub-resident had declared with reference to the above-mentioned valuation the same to amount to a sum of 5 lakhs Rupees; furthermore, that to the aforesaid servants of the Company free exit and entrance was permitted, and not more than 5 or 6 peons of the Prince were placed before the Hon. Company's lodging to keep watch on the Hollanders. But notwithstanding the vigilant watch that was kept all around the Company from thence sent its papers to the Embassy, both for Batavia, Hougly and elsewhere, in a secret manner, which had reached their addresses without the Prince's servants being able to discover it. Which relieved the Lord Ambassador from his cares and anxieties on their account, with the hope that the advices may have been sent to Batavia and reached their honours in good time.

August 11th.—In the morning one of our Agents came by order and in the name of the Lord Chancellor, and informed the Embassy that His Excellency with his assistants must appear at Court today, to receive the robes of honour which the Emperor had granted to His Excellency when for the first time sitting in this castle upon the most costly throne of his forefathers he had been saluted by His Excellency. At which communication His Excellency and train betook themselves thither. On entering the castle and being informed that the Emperor had not yet appeared upon the throne, the same were obliged to await the arrival of the Monarch in one of the galleries which were beside the ordinary throne of marble upon which His Majesty was to sit, upon an alcaty¹ laid down for the Lord Ambassador and his train by the Sjobdaers of His Majesty who half an hour later appeared on his throne, when the usual compliments were paid by His Excellency and train to His Mogul Majesty; whereupon, each in his usual rank and place, diverse Ammerouws were raised to Mansebs and granted robes of honour. His Excellency was presented with a gold cerpauw² with appurtinences and His Excellency's assistants each had a silver robe thrown over his European habit, for which thanks having been given according to the custom of the country, His Mogul Majesty shortly afterwards withdrew, and the Lord Ambassador with his company retired to their lodging.

August 13th.—After deliberating if it were not necessary to communicate to the Lord Chancellor the news mentioned here on the 10th of the month, of the violent procedure of Prince Farochsjeer in order to remove any suspicion by this powerful Minister as well as by the Emperor, which they might easily conceive, that in the aforesaid computation the usurper had been willingly supported

¹Alcatif "a carpet," from Arabic *gatif*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, *iq. alcatif*.
²Vide p. 32, footnote 6.

with money and goods, the Ambassador approved today that by the Persian scribe Bendrabendas,¹ a Persian letter should be sent to our agents with orders to deliver it to the aforesaid Nabob, by the contents of which what had happened and been done at Pattena (Patna) was notified to His Highness; the aforesaid Persian writer having acquitted himself of his commission and duty, this afternoon the abovementioned agents appeared before the Lord Ambassador and reported having handed over aforesaid letter to the Raja Sebhassant, and that the same had accepted it and promised further to insinuate it to the Lord Chancellor; and moreover communicated that the Fermaens which the oft mentioned Nabob, with the purpose of revising for the last time, had kept so long by him, had been signed by His Highness without any alteration and delivered to his diwan, with orders to have them entered by the secretary. This gave His Excellency hope that the affairs would now shortly reach the desired conclusion and he would be able to address himself to his return journey with great satisfaction and honour, which long wished for news having been heard by the Lord Ambassador with real joy, His Excellency recommended their honours in earnest but civil terms, to press forward the entering of the Fermans in question with all their power, which they respectfully promised to do.

August 14th.—The above mentioned Persian writer, having been in the Diwan of the Lord Chancellor to ascertain if the letter of notification cited had been delivered to his master, communicated on his return that this had been done, and that it had been agreeable to the Nabob that the Lord Ambassador had been good enough to inform him of what had occurred in Pattena, likewise that His Highness had expressed his regret at the losses that the Hon. Company had suffered thereby, and made assurance that if the times changed for the better, the Hon. Company would receive its guarantees.

August 15th.—The fore-tents of the Emperor were taken in the direction of Agara and there pitched. It is said that he intends to march against Prince Farochsjeer in person with his army, which is not given much credit by statesmen, and regarded only as a stratagem. The Lord Ambassador, in the meanwhile, having seen only too plainly and with sorrow, how lax and slowly everything happens at this Court, and that there would undoubtedly be delay before he could secure his dismissal although all the business was settled, His Excellency thought it advisable to beg the Lord Chancellor to solicit His Majesty without delay, to press the completing of the Fermans. Wherefore His Excellency caused his requests to the Lord Chancellor to be delivered today by our agents, and received the answer that His Highness would present the same to the Emperor on the first occasion possible, and procure an honourable dismissal from His Majesty for the Lord Ambassador, as indeed on

¹Bindraban Dass.

August 16th.—The Prince informed the Lord Ambassador that he had acquainted the Emperor with His Excellency's request, and that His Majesty had acceded to it, that His Excellency would obtain a gracious and honourable dismissal, so that, now, although with uncertainty the much and greatly wished for day may be awaited.

August 17th.—It was told to the Lord Ambassador as certain that in the army of Prince Adsuddien, camping outside Agara, from His Highness's Mahel, gold and jewels had been stolen to the value of 3 lakhs rupees in money; and that the aforesaid Prince as soon as this was told him, had ordered the couterwaa¹ of the aforesaid town to be brought before him. This being done, His Highness commanded the Magistrate to pay this sum, as it was his nonchalance that had caused the robbery. The couterwaal replied hereto that his authority was for the town and he could not be held responsible for what was stolen in His Highness's camp, but that the couterwaal of the lakar² had to guard against this and, must make good the robberies committed. Yet such pleas of innocence could not prevent the officer being held in custody for some days, from which, however, the intercession of his friends released him without any injury.

August 18th.—News came in that Prince Adsuddien, having at the Emperor's orders, crossed the river Imna³ near Agra with his army, His Majesty had settled to go towards Agra also with his army, by moonlight. For this purpose most of the Amerouws had already had their foretents taken out of the town and pitched there.

August 19th.—The rumour that had been current here for several days, that the ex-Souba of Gousouratta, Amanet Chan, or Sja Amanet Chan, had become viceroy of the district of Malva (of which the city of Ojeen⁴ is the capital) was confirmed today, with the addition that in order to obtain the charge the Prince Sadul'a Chan Matekil (Sa'dullah Khan Mu'taqad) or Mesaret Chan had given the Amirul Amerouw Souilficar Chan 3 lakhs of rupees for him.

The 20th ditto.—The Hon. Company's Heathen agents came to show the Lord Ambassador 5 pieces of fair copy original Fermans, with the assurance that the 6th referring to Amedabad would follow in a few days, and that we now might hope to be ready in 10 or 12 days.

Further His Excellency was informed by the agents that the Amerouw Matemet Chan and former Cham Chana of the unfortunate Prince Jehaen Sja had been appointed Fausdaer (Faujdar)

¹*Kotwal* or superintendent of police. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *cotwal*, *cutwaul*.

²Pers. *lashkar* "an army, an army camp."

³Jamna.

⁴Ujjain.

of Godra,¹ and that if the Lord Ambassador should take the road by Jabua² (which would be the most secure), he would be passing by his Fousdary (Faujdari), whither it would be a great pleasure to him if he might enjoy the honour of His Excellency's company, and that in that case His Honour would be pleased to wait 10 or 12 days longer, either in Delhi or Agara for the Lord Ambassador, in case His Excellency should not have finished his affairs at this Court at the time of his departure. At the same time the Amerouw requested through the aforesaid agents, that His Excellency would be pleased to lend transport to his son in one of the Hon. Company's vessels to Persia where he was about to conclude a marriage; which the Lord Ambassador in reply promised to the Fousdaer, always supposing that in the harbour of Souratta a ship for Persia should arrive.

The 24th ditto.—Information was received that Sirbolint Chan (Sarbuland KHān) having recently departed for the Soubā of Amedabad and having already passed Agara (Agra), had been appointed Governor of Sourat instead of Gosia Abdul Hemit Chan (Khawja Abdul Hamid Khan), whereas the actual Souba of Amedabad, Whameth Beek Chan, having been degraded, was again appointed in his place.³ It was also confirmed that Sja Amanet Chan (*alias* Amanet Chan) was elected to be Souba of the Province of Malwa, whereof mention has been made before.

The 25th ditto.—Bengalese Cassetts report unanimously that in Pattena and the surrounding country but few troops were seen, and that the feeling there was that as soon as Jehaendaar Sja appeared with the army, Farochsjeer would be abandoned by most of his people.

The 30th ditto.—Was delivered to the Lord Ambassador by the agents for the embassy five pieces of original and perfected fermaens with the assurance that the 6th concerning Amedabat according to the promise of Ragia Sighadsjent, would follow in a few days, at which His Excellency, greatly rejoicing, promised to aforesaid Hackiels (wakiels?)⁴ robes of honour, not having them in readiness at the moment.

The Lord Ambassador was informed that by the orders of the Emperor, there were being prepared for presents at the farewell audience the following for His Excellency the Governor-General⁵ of India as well as the Lord Ambassador and his assistants.

¹Godhra (22° 48' N., 73° 40' E.) in Panch Mahal district of Gujrat.

²Jhabua (22° 45' N., 74° 38' E.) capital of native State of same name in Central India.

³*Cf.* above pp. 55 and 60.

⁴Wakil—an agent.

⁵The Governor-General at the time was Abraham van Riebeeck.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY ABOVEMENTIONED.

1. Epistle from His present Majesty to His Excellency in answer to that sent to His Majesty's father the departed Emperor.

1. Jewel, being a breast piece.

50 tolas of otto of roses, which it is said the Mogul Emperors otherwise never sent to any but crowned heads.

40 Ps.* bodidaers (?)¹ *pieces.

10 „ shawls.

20 „ stuffs, and

10 „ niemaetiens.²

FOR THE LORD AMBASSADOR.

1 horse.

1 robe of honour.

1 calgi³ or plume.

1 candjer.⁴

FOR THEIR HONOURS.

Each a robe of honour and a candjer or Hindoostani dagger.

September 2nd.—News was brought that Prince Adsuddien had demanded subsidies from the Banyan merchants in Agara, but receiving a negative answer thereto, under the pretext of being unable and not provided with money for doing so, His Highness not daring, for fear of the Emperor, to use force, had made a second attempt and desired that in the case of said merchants not having so much ready money, they should meet his demands in copper yet that this had been fruitless as the aforesaid heathens persisted in their former answer.

September 3rd.—The Lord Ambassador sent the Persian writer Bendrabendas to the Hon. Company's agents with the commission most earnestly to recommend to them that they present the signing of the Anedabat fermaen to the diwan of the Lord High Chancellor, which he upon his return, in the name of the agents, notified to His Honour, that yesterday evening the diwan had fulfilled his promise of giving the writing in question to be expedited today, the success of which, however, he doubted, as the Emperor with his whole Court and followers including the aforesaid Diwan, were on the point of going out to the grave of a certain Mohamedan so-called

¹The term *bodidaer* possibly is Persian *bulidar* "floral, flowery."

²Persian *nim-astin*, an upper robe with half sleeves often made of gold or silver tissue.

³Culgee. A jewelled plume surmounting the *sirpesh* or aigrette upon the turban. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *culgee*.

⁴*Vide* above p. 12.

saint, lying 8 cos from here, named Codobodien,¹ where, as was said, His Imperial Majesty would reside for 8 or 10 days that, notwithstanding, his agents would betake themselves to the house of the frequently mentioned minister in order, if possible, to obtain the aforesaid fermaen; accordingly towards the evening they came to communicate to the Lord Ambassador that they had employed their utmost endeavour, but had not been able to get possession of the said fermaen, while the aforesaid Diwan had put off the delivery till his return to the city of Delhi.

September 5th.—The malice and wickedness of the French surgeon, Martyn, who was in the service of the wretched Prince Jehaensja, and who after the latter's death was without reputation and used, it is said, to move about in the army like a scoundrel,² went so far that he was not content with involving the Lord Ambassador in great difficulties with the deceased Emperor regarding a considerable sum of rupees which he falsely gave out to have been handed over to the Hon. Company by the deceased physician Polvliet. This he claimed to be his by inheritance, on the strength of having married one of the slaves left behind by Polvliet who pretended to have been his legal wife and instituted lawful heir to all his estate. But through the caution of the Lord Ambassador, together with the help of powerful courtiers and the excellent Donna Juliana, finding himself entirely frustrated in his unfounded pretensions and evil, his passion went so far that, hearing that some difficulty was being made about the Gousourats fermaen, he had recourse to a capater³ who had been in the service of aforesaid Prince Jehaensja, and was now in the service of the Imperial General of Artillery Souciaet Chan (previously called Resae Coelie Chan)⁴ who had the ear of His Lord and Majesty, to whom this Martyn had managed to dish up such a story about some of the requests contained in the said fermaen, especially the bestowal of the house of the deceased governor Attembaer Chan⁵ in Souratta on the Hon. Company, that the aforesaid general had promised to speak to the Emperor and Lord Chancellor about it, to prevent one thing and another. But this plot being discovered by our heathen agents before it was ripe and coming to the knowledge of Donna Juliana, that excellent lady contrived, of her own accord and without even having been requested to do so, so to demonstrate the futility of the action by pointing out that, if there had been any grain of truth in Martyn's story, the Emperor and his Chancellor would not have signed the many points of the request which had passed

¹The shrine of Quth-ud-din at Mihrauli, 11 miles to the south of Shah-jahanabad, *cf.* Bernier, *Travels*, p. 283.

²The passage is not clear.

³A eunuch, *cf.* above p. 59.

⁴Raza Quli Khan, Shuja'at Khan, Daroghah of the Topkhanah.

⁵Itibar Khan.

through revision without any argument, that aforesaid Ammerouw convinced of the contrary was obliged to entirely desist from his underaking.

September 7th.—His Imperial Majesty and his whole Court returned from their pilgrimage, to the town and castle of Dilly.

September 11th.—The 50 tolas double attar of roses valued at 50 rupees the tola, mentioned on ultimo of the newly past month of August, projected as a present to His Excellency the Lord Governor at Batavia, were given into the hands of His Excellency in two boxes closed with the Emperor's seal, with the promise that the further presents specified on the abovementioned date would arrive within a few days, together with an honourable leave and licence to return home.

And seeing that the orders of the deceased Emperor for the restitution of the monies seized by the Souba of Asmer (Ajmir), Sousiaet Chan, or rather his general Tewelalchan, owing to the death of His Majesty had so far not achieved the desired effect, the Lord Ambassador today made known the coercion anew to the present Emperor per arsy¹ as had been done in the days of Badursje (Bahadur Shah), with the request that His Majesty would be pleased to issue his imperative commands for the re-embursement of the monies. The which having been read by his Mogul Majesty, the same gave orders to his Lord Chancellor to see to it that the monies were restored to the Lord Ambassador the which was communicated to the Lord Ambassador by the Hon. Company's agents. Time must show what the effect of the same will be, as accordingly.

September 12th.—The Lord Ambassador was further informed that the Lord Chancellor in accordance with the Emperor's orders given yesterday had instructed his Diwan without fail to collect the monies carried away in Asmeer (Ajmir) from the Hollanders. Said Diwan had immediately nominated a gosberdaer² sent him to aforesaid Souba to constrain him, or rather his general, to the aforesaid restitution.

September 17th.—The agents came at 9 o'clock in the evening to communicate to the Lord Ambassador, that the fermaen regarding Amedabat had been delivered to them by Ragia Sebasjent to be copied out, assuring His Excellency that he would receive it in 2 or 3 days.

September 19th.—At 3 o'clock in the afternoon His Excellency received through his agents the breast-piece consisting of diamonds and other precious stones inlaid in gold and with a gold chain to it and a candjer, also garnished with gold and small rubies, a present from the Moghul Monarch to His Excellency the Lord

¹Petition.

²Gurz-bardar (Pers.) or mace-bearers. Cf. Bernier's *Travels* (transl. V. A. Smith) pp. 263, 267 and 280.

Governor-General, with the announcement that His Excellency and assistants would receive within a few days the robes of honour and an honourable dismissal.

September 21st.—Raysammerlingh, one of the Hon. Company's agents at the Court here, came this morning to communicate to the Lord Ambassador that the fermaen regarding Amedabat was ready copied and he made no doubt that the same sealed in complete perfection would be put into the hands of His Excellency very shortly. Likewise that the villany of the French surgeon Martyn (of which there has been frequent mention made in this record) concerning the Amedabat fermaen; etc. was so much resented by the Lord Chancellor that his mance¹ or fee was reduced to the half and the agent assured us that it would not stop there, but that it was possible he would loose the rest in recompense for his evil intrigues, by which he had thought to influence the doings of the wise and powerful Minister of State.

In the evening the Lord Ambassador was given the very agreeable news by the oft mentioned agent, that the Emperor at repeated instigation to this end, had ordered His Excellency to be apprised this evening that His Majesty would be pleased to take leave of him to-morrow, and that for this purpose His Excellency must appear at the dirbar. This His Excellency engaged to do with great pleasure and at the same time earnestly enjoined the agent aforesaid *de novo* to take care that the Amedabad fermaen should be brought to His Excellency in *debita forma* before his departure from the court, the which was promised in respectful terms.

September 22nd.—In accordance with what was noted yesterday the Lord Ambassador together with his assistants and further suite betook themselves in the morning to the Court of His Mogul Majesty, in order to present the same with the necessary compliments of farewell. Arrived there and being come within the red railings, and finding His Majesty upon his ordinary throne of marble, His Excellency with his whole European suite first went to the place where it was usual to pay respects to the Emperor. After paying these respects, the robes of honour were brought by servants of the deroga² of the robes of honour to the place where His Excellency and his assistants were to receive the *cerpauws*.³ While the Ambassador was there, the Emperor inspected the Elephants and horses, which as is customary when His Majesty shows himself to the people, were brought before the same. Whereupon His Excellency having been clothed by the darroga with a golden and his assistants with silver robes of honour and being brought back to the first mentioned place, these expressed their gratitude

¹Mansab.

²*Darogha* "a superintendent, a manager." Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *daroga*.

³*Vide* above p. 32.

for the great honour done to them, by making three cornusses. And seeing that the horse, destined by His Mogul Majesty as a present to the Lord Ambassador was not yet saddled and at hand, and it was feared that the Emperor was just about to retire, the which would compel the Lord Ambassador to seek a fresh occasion to give thanks for the honour with a special visit to the Court to pay his compliments of thanks in the court manner, to avoid this it was thought best to make use of one of the horses present. Accordingly, when the two assistants of the Ambassador had retreated a little to the side, and the Lord Ambassador stood above before His Majesty, one of these was led before His Excellency and the reins of the same were laid by His Majesty's Master of the Stables over His Excellency's right arm and the ends given into the left hand; His Excellency gave thanks for it with 4 salaams. Shortly after this the Emperor arising and passing within, His Excellency and assistants were fetched by the darroga of the Emperor's jewels and by orders of His Majesty conducted to the inner Court where in the name of the Monarch the Lord Ambassador was presented with a calgie (being an ornament of various small stones and birds feathers set in gold such as none but Princes and Amerouws are permitted to wear) and a candjer also set with small stones, while His Excellency's adjutants were each honoured with a ditto candjer or dagger, for which the suitable salutation of thanks having been given, His Excellency quitted the Court and reverted with accompanying train about midday to his lodging.

September 23rd.—The Lord Ambassador having, as told yesterday, been in an honourable manner dismissed by the Emperor, there now remained nothing more than to take a suitable leave of the powerful Princes at the Court. So the oft mentioned agents came early this morning to inform His Excellency that the Amerul Amerauw Soulficaer Chan would be pleased to receive His Excellency and assistants. Accordingly at about 10 o'clock His Excellency betook him to the dwelling of His Highness. Arrived there he found His Highness still at table, who being informed of His Excellency's arrival requested him to have the goodness to go into his garden *ad interim* and to disport himself there a little until his meal was at an end. This being done by the Lord Ambassador, in the meantime the Amirul Amerauw was suddenly and unexpectedly called by His Imperial Majesty. His Highness let His Excellency know of it, repeating his request that he would await his return, to which it was politely agreed. The aforesaid Prince, who an passant repeated his request to His Excellency by word of mouth having been absent about an hour, sent a Sobdaer¹ to inform the Lord Ambassador that on account of important occupations it would be late before he would be able to obtain his dis-

¹*Chobdar* (Pers.) or 'stick-bearer.' The *chobdars* carry a staff overlaid with silver.

missal from the Emperor, and on that account could not well speak to His Excellency today, and wished that this might be postponed till to-morrow. To such a powerful Prince and friend of the Hon. Company this could not well be refused, wherefore His Excellency gave an assenting answer to His Highness and reverted to his house.

September 24th.—In the morning His Excellency and the agents went to the aforesaid Amirul Amerauw and Lord Chancellor to know if His Excellency could take his leave of the Prince today. Returning with the message that the Prince would make his afternoon free to receive His Excellency in his house, the Ambassador accompanied by his suite betook himself thither at 3 o'clock. Arrived at the place His Excellency was met by capater¹ who sat expressly at the door to request him in the name of lord and master once more to sit for a time in the garden where the Ambassador had been yesterday, informing him that aforesaid Prince had again been called to the Emperor, and before going out had instructed him to beg the Dutch Ambassador, if he came, that he would not be offended at again being invited to wait in the garden until His Highness came home, as he had been again unexpectedly called away by His Imperial Majesty. This was politely accepted by His Excellency who waited there till about the hour of half past seven in the evening with great longing for His Royal Highness, at which hour the Nabob once more sent his polite excuses and said that it distressed him that the Lord Ambassador had been kept fruitlessly waiting for the days, and seeing that it would not be possible to leave the Emperor till late in the night he would not detain His Excellency longer, but if God willed he hoped to receive His Excellency tomorrow and to take leave of him. Whereon His Excellency returned sadly about 9 o'clock, which could have been wished otherwise, because, in order to give this powerful minister no reason for offense or displeasures, it was impossible to leave without having taken ceremonious leave of him, and his noble father. Neither could precedence be given to Princes of lower rank in this respect, seeing that His Princely Highness at all times and especially in these important affairs had given notable proofs of his sincerity and goodwill towards the Hon. Company.

In the meantime the Lord Ambassador before going out this morning had caused an *arsdast*² again to be placed in the hands of the Prince in question, in which he in polite but earnest terms begged that orders might be given that the money forced from us before Sjapoer (?) might be restituted by the Asmeer Souba, and likewise that the Amedebad fermaen might speedily be sealed and sent to the Lord Ambassador; the Prince in reply assured His Excellency that he would do his uttermost for both the one

¹A eunuch. Cf. above p. 59.

²Petition, Persian '*ars-dasht*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *urz*.

and the other.

In the meantime His Excellency in order to show that he really intended to depart when he had received his dismissal from His Imperial Majesty, this morning had the tents carried to Serra Barrapoel¹ and pitched there.

September 25th.—The Lord Ambassador, as already mentioned, having now fruitlessly spent two days following in waiting in the Lord Chancellor's house in order to take his leave, betook himself with his assistants, having previously ascertained that the Emperor was gone hunting and that the aforesaid Chancellor had expressly stayed at home to receive the Lord Ambassador at his house, towards the spot. Having arrived at the dwelling of the Prince, their honours were again invited to step into the garden where they had been before, where after sitting for a little while, they were clothed in robes of honour and then introduced before the said Nabob; having been thanked for this honour with 4 salaams, His Highness with his own hand presented the Lord Ambassador with a calgi of beautiful stones set in gold, which having been bound upon his honours heart, was thanked for with 4 more salaams. This being done the Prince invited the Lord Ambassador and his adjutants to be seated, which being done close to His Highness, the first deputy handed to him a Persian Arsdast or letter of notification in which the oft mentioned Prince in brief terms was thanked for all the favour and help shown to us was besought to let us obtain, before our return if possible, or otherwise before our departure, the remaining papers, to which the wise State Minister very graciously replied in the following words: "I will have you assisted at once," and immediately gave orders to his Diwan to effectuate the same. Shortly afterwards His Princely Highness was thanked by the Lord Ambassador in the Hindoostani tongue for his conspicuous favour and help shown in the conduct of the Hon. Company's affairs, with the assurance that the Hon. Company would keep it in lively memory, requesting at the same time that it would please His Highness to continue in the same gracious benevolence towards the Hon. Company, who responded with a friendly countenance. "Put your heart at ease, I shall do all in my power." A little after His Highness was also addressed by the first deputy in Persian, principally requesting him that, as the Hon. Company had in His Majesty's widely extended realm much trouble and difficulty in negotiation, His Highness would now and then exert his powerful favour and protection and that it might be his pleasure to permit Their Honours from time to time to write to him, to which the Prince made the friendly reply "Do so freely, I shall bear the Hon. Company in mind." For which, also for the promise given to His Excellency of letting him know

¹The Bara Pul or bridge of twelve arches, is situated 5 miles to the south of Delhi on the road to Mathura (Muthra).

when it would be convenient to his father the Advocate-General of the Empire, Asset Chan, to receive a visit from Their Honours, having expressed his thanks, he took leave after sitting for a little while longer and returned again in the afternoon to the apartments of the embassy.

September 28th.—His Excellency was congratulated by the subordinate officers of diverse great Amerouws, in the name and on account of their masters, with the newly acquired honours by his leave taking both from the Emperor and the Lord Chancellor.

September 28th.—The Lord Ambassador having been informed by a servant of the Lord Chancellor that today he could take leave of His Highness's father Asset Chan, His Excellency and his deputies betook themselves this morning without delay to the dwelling of the aforesaid Prince. On arriving they were clothed in robes of honour and brought before the Nabob, who was being carried round his garden by four females in a curious litter ornamented with gold. The aforesaid Prince, seeing the Lord Ambassador, halted, and caused His Excellency to come close to his litter. After greetings rendered, His Excellency thanked the Prince in courteous terms for the favour and protection received, with the request that he would not withdraw it from the Hon. Company but would continue in the same favour which His Highness had always cultivated for the aforesaid society. To which the old and grey-haired Prince replied: "If you in future need anything from the Emperor, write it to me, when you shall receive proof of my continued favour to Your Excellency." His Excellency having returned thanks for this gracious expression and begged leave to depart, the Prince replied "The Lord God be your leader." Having salaamed after these words, Their Honours stepped outside and returned in the afternoon to their lodging.

In the afternoon His Excellency was entrusted with four roses, or buds, with delicate stones set in gold and ornamented with pearl tassels, belonging to the candjers which were presented by the Mogul to His Excellency the Lord Governor-General, the Ambassador and his deputies.

September 29th.—Having received advices, that the Governor of Sourat had refused under various pretexts to deliver the house of Attebaer Chan (Itibar Khan) in the abovementioned town to the Company's ministers that, in spite of the production of the Imperial parwaenne,¹ the Lord Ambassador requested to have a new order or command concerning it for the Governor Mhamet Beek Chan. This, together with the long wished for Amedabat fermaen sealed in proper form, was delivered to His Excellency.

Primo October.—After having been advertised that the Baxi General Chan Jehaen Badur Kokeltaes Sefferjing² would be pleased

¹"An order, a grant or letter under royal seal." From Persian *parwana*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *parwana*.

²Khan Jahan Bahadar Kokaltash Safdar Jang.

to accept a visit from the Lord Ambassador today, His Excellency accompanied by his deputies betook themselves to the dwelling of the Prince in question. But on arriving there they understood the Nabob had shortly before joined the Emperor, so His Excellency's suite returned disappointed. But at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Lord Ambassador was *de novo* informed by the agents at the express orders of the Prince that His Highness, sitting in the place of public audience, had said that the Lord Ambassador, if His Excellency wished it, might appear there. His Excellency accompanied by aforesaid deputies again betook himself thither. Arrived at the dwelling of the Prince, they were instantly brought before His Highness, who after the ordinary greetings had been passed and the nesses accepted, requested the Lord Ambassador to sit down close to him. This being done, His Excellency thanked the Prince for the favour and help received from him, with the request that he would continue the same, and still extend his protection to the Hon. Company's affairs and servants. At the same time His Excellency handed to the Prince the passport¹ necessary for our return journey in a few days by Agara, etc., the which was accepted by His Royal Highness and returned to His Excellency after these words "If Your Excellency needs my favours, and has any request to make to the Emperor, write to me, when you may be assured of my goodwill (laying his right hand upon his breast)." For this gracious promise His Excellency thanked with great politeness, and having spent some time in amiable discourse, His Excellency begged leave to depart, which the Prince granted with these words "God be your guide," and the information that the Lord Ambassador and his suite would each be presented with a robe of honour (which would be brought to the house). For this Their Honours having expressed their thanks by making the usual salaams, departed to their lodging where they duly received the aforesaid robes of honour.

September 2nd.—Donna Juliana informed the Ambassador by the servant of one of our agents that the Empress called Laelkomwer or Intaesmahel² had ordered her ladyship to inform the Dutch Ambassador that within a few days His Excellency and his whole company might come to greet Her Majesty in the castle and take leave, and that the exact time at which this should take place would be communicated to His Excellency later; for which agreeable announcement, the Lord Ambassador thanked her ladyship politely, assuring her that he would regard it as a great honour to obey the commands of such an illustrious Empress.

September 3rd.—In the afternoon Their Honours went to Prince

¹The original has 'distect,' in other places 'bestek,' which is rendered by Dutch 'vrij-geleide' (safe-conduct). It must be the Persian *dastak* 'a passport.' Cf. Hobson Jobson iv dustuck.

²Imtiyaz Mahal (Charm of the Palace).

Sadulla Chan Matekid,¹ Chamberlain and Receiver General of the Emperor's domains, and also to the general of the Imperial artillery Emperor's domains, and also to the general of the Imperial Artillery Resa Coelie Chan (Raza Quli Khan). By these gentlemen His Excellency was very politely received and after expressing his thanks for the friendship enjoyed, he was assured of the continuation of the same, and by the last named lord presented with a robe of honour, with many polite expressions including the wish that he might enjoy a safe and prosperous journey, whereupon His Excellency took leave.

September 5th.—The 80 pieces of robes of honour for the Governor-General specified on ultimo August, were delivered to the Lord Ambassador.

September 6th.—The Lord Ambassador and his suite visited the dwelling of the Lord Chancellor's Diwan den Ragia Sebasjent (Sabha Chand) to thank that gentleman for his favour and friendship. Being received by aforesaid nobleman, and sitting down, the Lord Ambassador offered the compliments applicable to the case, whereupon the aforesaid nobleman asked if anything was still wanting, in regard to the Lord Ambassador's requests, to which His Honour replied that nothing was missing except the passport² of the Gosbaerdaer (gurz-bardar), which was, ordered for the delivery of the house of Attebaer Chan by His Majesty, requesting that, as the ragia had always graciously extended a helpful hand to us and had fulfilled our requests in complete perfection, his goodness would also extend to having this delivered to His Excellency the sooner the better, so that within 3 or 4 days we should be able to depart without leaving behind one thing or another. This the nobleman promised with great certainty to have effected within two days, and delivered to His Excellency for which promise the Lord Ambassador politely thanked him, and after sitting a little longer, begged to take leave, to which the nobleman consented with many amiable expressions, begging that the Lord Ambassador would not forget him, but sometimes do him the honour of sending a letter, while he would regard the Hon. Company's affairs as his own, and on all occasions that his offices might be required would prove himself a friend. The Lord Ambassador having expressed his thanks, His Excellency next betook himself with his suite to the Amerouw Attembeek Chan, by which gentleman His Excellency was no less politely received, and after some amiable discourse, including the wish for a prosperous journey, they took leave and returned to their lodging in the evening.

September 7th.—Last evening at 9 o'clock the Lord Ambassador was informed by the agents, that, by the Empress's express orders His Excellency with his whole train should greet her this morning.

¹Sa'dullah Khan Mu'taqad, Comptrol'er of Household (*i.e.* Khansaman).

²The original has 'bestek' (read: 'destek'). Cf. p. 85, footnote 1.

His Excellency therefore ordered all the Europeans, both civil and military, to be in readiness, and accordingly at about 10 o'clock this morning he was further informed by aforesaid agents that His Excellency with his deputies paymaster¹ and secretary should appear at Court. Hereupon His Excellency with the persons named, betook himself immediately to the castle, where he was informed that, as the Empress had a view over the river, it was her pleasure that Their Honours should go to that side, behind the castle. This being done, and having waited a while under the shadow of some trees, the Lord Ambassador received in the name of Her Majesty a gold and Their Honours his adjutants silver, robes of honour, as also the paymaster,¹ the secretary Bodidaerse² These having been donned. Their Honours were brought to a suitable distance from the place where Her Majesty sat behind the castle, where having remained about 1 hour, Their Honours, were brought to within about 40 paces of the window where Her Majesty was enjoying the view and there ranged in a row. Having payed their respect by advancing one step, then several steps and making four salaams, after standing there for about 50 seconds, they were notified by a sign from above, that Her Majesty permitted the Lord Ambassador to take his departure, which, after making one more salaam, took place.

September 9th.—At 10 o'clock in the morning, we departed in state from our lodging for Barapoel (Bara Pula),³ whither the baggage waggons had been very early dispatched. En passant the Lord Ambassador and his whole suite visited the house of Madame Juliana, to thank her for the unremitting zeal and friendship shown to the Hon. Company in this embassy. Having reached the abode of the said lady, *Their Honour* were received with great politeness and after exchanging reciprocal compliments, invited to sit down before a curtain, behind which her ladyship with some other ladies. was seated. After the expression of their thanks the aforesaid dona answered in obliging terms, and regaled the Lord Ambassador and further friends with beetels, after which expressions leave was taken and the journey towards Barapoel was resumed. The Lord Ambassador was escorted by his deputies through Sja Jehaenabad as far as old Dilly, where that gentleman returned to the lodging they had left, to expedite the acquisition of the fermaen for His Excellency the Lord Governor General, which had not been ready before our departure. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Serra of Barapoel was reached, in company with diverse important Christians and merchants, who after a short stay and amiable reception, returned again to the city.

October 12th.—Towards evening the aforesaid deputies arrived.

¹ Guastoshouder in the original.

² Cf. p. 67.

³ Bara Pula near the Dargah of Nizam-ud-din.

and in giving an account of their doings, informed the Lord Ambassador amongst others that the Persian (clerk) Bendrabandas with our agents would follow to-morrow with the remaining papers.

In the evening about 9 o'clock we heard a great outcry and diverse cannon shots from the army that was encamped opposite the Serra. This was caused by gangs of robbers, who had deprived some of the riders of their horses.

October 13th.—In the afternoon, in accordance with yesterday's assurance, the Imperial favour for His Excellency at Batavia and the destek for our return journey were brought by the frequently mentioned Persian writer and three agents, and delivered to the Lord Ambassador. Thereupon His Excellency presented the last named, in the name of the Hon. Company each with a robe of honour and a horse in acknowledgment of their services during this embassy, after which towards evening they took a respectful leave and departed, having been *de novo* enjoined by the Lord Ambassador in serious terms to push the Company's affairs with vigilance and activity, especially concerning the money forced from it at Sja-poer.

October 14th.—Everything having been made ready for the journey during the night, at sunrise we left the Serra and came without any notable event after a march of 7 cos to the spot Farietabaat¹ and entered a serra for the approaching night, from which

October 15th.—at break of day and properly accompanied by cavalry we set out. We had been warned that the road we were to travel today to the spot called Serra Horel (Sarai Hodal) was very unsafe owing to the roving thieves, so the Lord Ambassador caused the train to march in 3 columns, as close as possible together, dividing both the cavalry and infantry in the rearguard under his Hon. Bernards and in the vanguard under Huysinghvelt. In this order having passed half the day and rested under some trees, we received tidings that a few hours before some carts had been robbed quite near our resting place, which news made us keep even more on our guard and close together, but we arrived in the afternoon without any evil encounters at the spot Palwel,² situated 13 cos from Farietabaat, and lodged in a Serra there till next day.

October 16th.—At sunrise, in the aforesaid order and under suitable convoy the journey was resumed in company with the Baxie and Wakkawanees³ from Aetjeen⁴ Mortusa Coelie Chan⁵ and

¹Faridabad, 7 miles to the south of Delhi in the road to Mathura.

²Palwal, 38 miles to the south of Delhi.

³The passage in the manuscript is corrupt. Cf. *infra*, p. 93.

⁴*Wakkawanees*, Ang'o-Indian *Vakea-nevis*, a news-writer, a public intelligencer" from Persian *waqiah-nawis*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *vacca*, *vakea-nevis*.

⁵Ujjain in Malwa.

⁶Murtaza Quli Khan.

thé boutaert (,) of Boerapoer¹ Kidjerichan² who having ridden till midday on horseback with His Excellency then took to their palanquins as the sun shone with terrific heat. Four cos from Palwel we passed through the village of Bamerekea, 1½ cos further the village of Mitroal, being a notorious nest of robbers and 2 cos beyond this having passed Kattakera, the convoy that had accompanied us from Palwel took leave, as their territory ended here, that of Horel began. A cos from thé village in question, in the open field on our left hand various horsemen appeared now and then, from behind the hills and bushes, in accordance with the maxims of the robbers in these lands, coming on the flank to awaken fear in the travellers and cause them to take to flight. But some fifteen of our horsemen, recognising them as such voleurs, together with the treasurer and secretary who were also on horseback, charging at them in full gallop, the aforesaid vagabonds retired quietly towards the bushes and big hills behind which (as we were told 1½ hours later by a peasant) more than eighty horsemen and at least fifty musqueteers were hidden, intending, by sending out a few of their accomplices to entice thither those who pursued them. In the meantime, some of the boldest holding their ground, and coming to blows, three of them with their horses were taken prisoner, the remainder salving themselves by flight behind the hill cited allowing the aforesaid enthusiasts to amuse themselves with the aforesaid booty, while the prisoners in question, with hands bound upon their backs, were brought back to the Lord Ambassador, who commanded that they should so far be carried with us to our following mamsjel of Horel.³ ½ cos further the convoy from the latter place came to meet us, with whom, after passing a large village called Banzary, by marching 12 cos we arrived at Horel at 3 o'clock in the afternoon without any further such encounters, and took up our quarters in a serra. When we had been about ½ an hour in aforesaid serra, an Amerouw came to prostrate himself before the Lord Ambassador, begging His Excellency to put to death the scoundrels that we had entrapped and brought here prisoner, because they were the same who, now two days ago, had murdered his only son on that road and stolen his horse, the which could be recognised amongst the three horses captured from the scoundrels and brought here. But His Excellency sent them and their horses and weapons with one of our gosbaerdaers (gurzbardars) to the faus-daer (faujdar) of aforesaid Horel, with orders to acquaint him with what had happened, recommending that the fellows should be kept safe where they could not escape, and that the foudaar would send a letter in which he acknowledged having these prisoners in his power,

¹Burhanpur in Central India.

²Khizr (?) Khan.

³Manzil or stage of Hodal.

as His Excellency was about to communicate the same to the Court. Accordingly aforesaid gosberdaar delivered the required billet to the Lord Ambassador on his return, and assured him in the name of the officer in question that the rascals should be treated according to his wish and orders. Having passed the further night in tranquility we proceeded

October 17th.—Next morning, as soon as the serra was opened, upon our journey in the former order, although as has been said, we were no longer in danger from robbers. After passing diverse villages and meeting with no discomforts in the way, a march of 9 cos brought us to the serra of the village of Tesjatta.¹ Shortly after our arrival there we were told that ill news of us had been circulated there, that we had been struck down by the Mewatties (being the name of aforesaid robbers) and our caffila² despoiled, and further that yesterday, between Horal and Palwel an escort which had met us had been struck by the same miserable fate. Towards evening the Lord Ambassador had diverse letters written in Persian, to the Lord Charcellor his Diwan and other important Princes in which our encounter with the robbers between Palwel and Horal was notified as related above, with which was enclosed the letter from the faudaar of the latter place to His Excellency with the hope that His Mogul Majesty and Their Highnesses would not be offended by his action, the which missive the following day was

October 18th.—Despatched at 10 o'clock in the morning with his own seal attached. This done we proceeded on our journey. About 1 cos beyond a town called Matura His Excellency was met in the road by the son and the cousin of the broker Birsidas, who said they were come from Agara and bid him welcome with presentation of nesses, which, however, His Excellency did not accept but returned to them with a friendly countenance. We arrived at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the serra Gosia Attebaerchan,³ after marching 13 cos.

In the evening some of our people came with the news that some bamams (banians?) coming from Agara and going to Mattura had been despoiled by some horsemen not even half a cos from this serra; also the tidings concerning the robbed Caffila of yesterday were confirmed.

October 19th.—At 4 o'clock in the morning the serra was left, and the journey continued for 8 or 11 cos past the town of Orangalaat (also called Caepnegger)⁴ and various villages and serras, as far as a spacious and clean serra called Gougat,⁵ which we

¹Chata, 20 miles north of Mathura.

²A caravan. From Arabic *qafila*, a body of convoy of travellers." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, i.v. *caffila*.

³Sarai Khwaja Itibar Khan.

⁴Aurangabad. (?)

⁵Gaughat.

reached safely at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

October 20th.—At 5 o'clock in the morning we again took to road, passing $\frac{1}{2}$ cos from Gougæt a serra cal'ed Honckte, $1\frac{1}{2}$ further the village serra of Rosbehaen and 1 cos further the village of Secondra¹ where the Lord Ambassador took breakfast in a celebrated garden belonging to Assen Chan (Asad Khan) and where we remained till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Here the Agara fermaen was delivered to accountant Sr. Dirk Huysenve't by the Imperial addy² Nouroes Allie Beek, sitting on an alcatyv, as well as that for all ragadoms (?) in the territory of the Mogul, to the Resident from the Court of the honoured monarch and delegated chieftain, with the following ceremonies. The aforesaid Gosberdaen seated upon an alcatyv, just inside the gate on a large square platform of stone masonry, held in his two hands the aforesaid fermaens in authentic copy bound up in golden bags. The Lord Ambassador with the first Deputy Oogier Bernards having the aforesaid accredited chieftain between them and clothed in the robes of honour that they had received at the farewell audience from His Mogul Majesty, came from behind out of the garden and lead the same before aforesaid Gorsberdaer, who thereupon rose up from the place where he sat and having turned with his back towards Dilly, aforesaid chief made four cormusses, three steps nearer again four cormusses and having advanced once more three steps, the aforesaid writings were delivered to him and bound upon his head, whereupon he entered his palanquin and preceded us upon the road to the Hon. Company's lodging. The Lord Ambassador and his suite followed shortly, who being arrived at 5 o'clock was congratulated upon his safe arrival there and in the evening treated to a magnificent feast by the aforesaid chieftain.

October 24th.—The Ambassador obtained tidings by a letter from the Court that, according to His Excellency's request the occurrence with the robbers on the road between Dilly and this town of Agara had been notified to the Emperor, and that both by His Majesty and the Lord Chancellor the conduct pursued by His Excellency in the affair was very well received and highly commended, while on the other hand His Majesty's Highness was so displeased with the Fausdaer of Horel for not keeping the safety in his district better, that no doubt was felt as to the department of that officer.

October 28th.—Letters from Dilly received by the Lord Am-

¹Sikandrah.

²Anglo-Indian *haddy*; i.e. *ahadi* (from the Arabic *ahad*=one), "a warranted officer a gentleman trooper, a horseman not attached to any chief, but under the direct command of the king." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, i.v. *haddy*. The personal name of the *ahadi* in question appears to be Nauroz 'Ali Beg.

bassador today, announced that the Gorsberdaer who was expressly ordered by His Imperial Majesty to go with us to Souratta to constrain the governor of that town to deliver the house of Attebaer. Chan to us, would arrive here from the Court within 2 or 3 days.

Primo November.—The Lord Ambassador received a visit from the baxi and wakanees of Oejeen (Ujjain), Mortusa Coille Chan, together with bautart of Baenam-poer (Burhanpur ?) Kidjeri Chan¹ who had travelled with His Excellency from Dilly as notified above. These gentlemen being politely received by His Excellency and invited to sit down, the former communicated to His Excellency that amongst other things he had heard by letters from Dilly that the Lord Chancellor had made the Emperor acquainted with the rencontre with the robbers between Horel and Pälwel, and that the Ambassador's conduct in the matter had been applauded by His Imperial Majesty.

November 4th.—The Gosberdaer (*gurzbardar*) expected from the Court arrived at the Company's lodging bringing with him such papers as were necessary for the accomplishment of his commission.

November 5th.—By orders of the Lord Ambassador the advance tents were taken to the serra gosia lying about 4 cos to the south of this town, where His Excellency intended to follow within a few days with the whole train of the embassy, except the friends who were to remain in Agara, and, with God's blessing from there to pursue the journey towards Sourat.

November 6th.—The Lord Ambassador received visits from diverse notables of this town, who after being politely received by His Excellency unanimously wished him a prosperous journey and returned to their homes.

November 7th.—His Excellency was congratulated by the *couterwael* and *carora couterwael*, named Chan Miersa Allie Sjeer,² on his happy return hither, with renewed assurance of his friendship and favour, which the Lord Ambassador answered in polite terms and begged him to continue in his goodwill and affection, both as regards His Excellency although he was leaving this place, and also the permanent head in loco and further friends, which was promised with great cordiality. After some further friendly discourse and presentation of beetels His Excellency took leave and departed.

November 8th.—Diverse notables of the town visited the Lord Ambassador, who after wishing His Excellency a happy and prosperous journey, returned to their homes.

November 9th.—The Ambassador commissioned the merchant and first deputy Rogier Berrards, with the under-merchant and elected resident at the Mogul Court, likewise chief of the office at Agara Sr, Dirck Huysinkvelt with his ass'tant Cornelius Ingeman.

¹Cf. supra p. 89.

²Khan Mirza 'Ali Sher.

to acquaint Isaek Chan, the Emperor's Diwan in this town, and to read to him the newly acquired *fermaen* for the factory at Agara, and that concerning the *ragadoms* (? *radaries*¹) throughout the whole Empire granted to the Hon. Company by the present Emperor in the first year of his reign, and to beg his friendship and help for the chief merchant in this residency in case they might need them in the service of the Hon. Company. "When this nobleman saw that His Honour Bernards was about to unroll the document to show it to him, he replied "do not do so, for I know very well the rights that the Hon. Company have long enjoyed and what they have now gained, as I came here from the Court not long ago; therefore Your Honours need have no doubts and may assure the Lord Ambassador that His Majesty's mighty commands shall be executed with all obedience," saying further "as regards the amity requested for the chief of Agara (Agra), Your Honours can assure the Lord Ambassador that I shall treat them with great consideration for the sake of the Hollanders, if he should be in need of such." For which amiable expressions and promises Mr. Bernards thanked him, and after parting of the usual banquet of *beetels* His Honour and further friends took leave, and proceeded from there to the house of the *boutaet*² or Imperial '*boedelmeester*' to pay the customary compliments and salutations. This gentleman not only received Their Honours with great politeness, but assured them of his assistance and friendship if such should be required in the service of the Hon. Company, with the request that they would assure the Lord Ambassador of the same with cordial greetings. Having thanked His Honour and taken a suitable leave of him, the commissioners returned.

And as the departure from Agara towards Sourat was fixed for the 11th ditto, the carts were loaded today.

November 10th.—At 9 o'clock in the morning the Ambassador with his deputies went to take leave of the *Mancebaer* (*mansabdar*) of the castle of Agara, called *Mier Mhameth*, being an old friend of the Lord Ambassador, who received Their Honours with great amiability and expressed his pleasure at the success of His Excellency's expedition in the interests of the Hon. Company at Court, together with his safe return in loco and regaled Their Honours with the usual refreshment of *beetels*. After some more friendly conversation Their Honours took leave, whereupon aforesaid gentleman very politely wished them a prosperous journey, after which Their Honours returned to the Hon. Company's lodging.

November 11th.—Everything necessary for our journey being ready and the freight and baggage carts being sent on early in the morning, the Lord Ambassador and suite left the Company's house

¹Persian *rahdari*, i.e. rights or customs levied by the State along the caravan route.

²Persian *butat* 'account of household expense.'

on the way to the Serra Gosia already mentioned, accompanied by the Agra notables, some Jesuit fathers and various important Armenian and other merchants. With this company His Excellency arrived in aforesaid serra about 6 o'clock in the evening, and was amiably received by his friends, who after staying a while and wishing him a prosperous journey took leave and went to the town.

November 12th.—Having despatched advices to Souratta, Amadabat and Bratia¹ by returning cassetts (messengers) and taken a friendly leave of the Agra notables who had accompanied us thus far, we took the road at sunrise to prosecute our journey towards Souratta. Having done $\frac{1}{2}$ cos, we came to a large and by no means undelectable garden, founded by an important capater² of the Emperor Sja Jaen (Shah Jahan) named Dera, which His Excellency and Company took the pleasure of viewing, and staying until the rearguard under command of His Honour Bernards arrived there. Leaving this His Excellency travelled one and a half cos to the Serra Malaekstjeen which he passed and 2 cos from there again reached another garden where we stayed a while, in which was to be seen the grave of a formerly renowned Amerauw of the aforesaid Emperor Sja Jhaen called Heyat Chan, and beside it the grave of a lion and a hunting dog of aforesaid Amerauw, whose images hewn in stone represented them there. After a short pause there His Excellency again set out on his journey passed after travelling 2 cos the village and adjoining serra Ossera, likewise a musket shot from there a river with the same name, having an unfinished bridge which lie on the right hand. Three cos further we passed the serra Seya, and after two more cos, and march of 11 cos took up our nights lodging in the serra Diaetjou,³ beside which Badjur Sja (Bahadur Shah) overcome his brother Azemtarra (A'zam Tara) in a bloody and obstinate battle, killed him, and thus secured himself on the Mogul throne. The night there spent in tranquility.

November 13th.—This place was left an hour before day, 3 cos from there the serra Mania⁴ was passed and 5 cos further a village called Sanda, destroyed because of robbers and rebellion against the Emperor, and after riding 2 cos more reached the spot Fettiabaat (Fatehabad) where we took up our nights lodging. This place had formerly various handsome houses and other buildings, but these are mostly fallen to pieces. It is celebrated for the victory hereabouts of Oranzeep (Aurangzeb) against his brother Dara,

¹Suratte, Ahmadabad and Broach.

²Vide above p. 59.

³Gajan; the battle took place on 18th June, 1707.

⁴Mania (25° 50' N., 77° 59' E.), a village in Dholpur State.

which is also indicated by the name of Fattiaabaat.¹ The situation of this place is not unpleasant on account of the many shady trees which stand around it.

November 14th.—Before sunrise we began our journey again, the vanguard being under command of His Hon. Bernards, who went in front on that account. Two cos from Fettiabaat we came to a large village called Dhaulpoer (Dholpur) and 2 cos further through the village of Hindri lying on a steep hill on the river Djoammel (Chamba!) which separates the district of Agara from that of Gouleur (Gwalior). Before coming to the aforesaid river we had to pass a steep mountain and very deep defile of about $\frac{1}{4}$ cos. Everything was transported by means of flat-bottomed vessels, which however for want of sufficient workmen, proceeded rather slowly, notwithstanding that His Excellency seated on a height in aforesaid village from the Agara side, could see that the work was pressed on with all possible industry, while on the further side His Hon. Bernards took all necessary care for the debarkation of the carts, etc. The greatest part of the train being successfully carried over, His Excellency and accompanying friends were alike transported and after greeting His Hon. Bernards and recommending the remainder to the vigilance of His Honour made his way to a round plane lying $\frac{1}{2}$ cos in between the mountains, where His Excellency and accompanying friends stopped and took breakfast and waited until everything had been brought across aforesaid river. Proceeding from thence we had to pass for at least 1 cos between mountains and dangerous robbers dens before we again reached even ground. After we had gone a few more cos, after a march of 5 cos, at one o'clock in the afternoon we came to a halt at the serra Tsjola lying 3 cos from aforesaid river, in which the night was passed in peace.

November 15th.—At break of day the journey was begun, with the intention and hope of continuing it to the village of Noerabaat² and the serra Mattaemet Chan, the beginning of which seemed favourable enough; a good road of 1 cos led to the village of Patsjokra and subsequently 1 cos more to a village called Quarry which were happily reached without accident or molestation. But the advance guard trying to pass the defiles that lead past aforesaid village were held up by the revolted peasantry, who, armed with good musquets and other guns had posted themselves everywhere behind the hills and in the caves along the way, asserting that they would on no account let them pass before they had given some money, to which the Lord Ambassador (seeing that all around was

¹ The name of the place which was formerly called Samonguer (*i.e.* Samugarh) is now Fatehabad, that is to say the *Place of Victory*." Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Constable: V. A. Smith), p. 47.

² Nurabad (26° 25' N. 78° 4' E.), town in Gwalior State.

broken country and therefore the situation so bad that it was impossible to find any other way out of the labyrinth) ordered the Imperial gorsberdaer and ditto adsy to abouch as civilly as possible with the peasants for a small douceur, which at first appeared to be likely of success, but as the European military and some natives advanced to protect the advanced carts, a fierce attack both from the village and out of the hollow ways was made upon them with muskets and arrows, by which at the first instance a native musketeer was killed by a musket shot, the corporal of the grenadiers Frank, hit in the thigh by a ball, the assistant Calde shot through his hat, and the assistant Gotingh hit on the breast by a spent ball, which however caused no harm but a slight swelling. Also in this encounter one riders horse was shot dead and one ditto hurt in the leg, one of the Hon. Company's horses on which the steward Blauw sat received a ball in its head, which entered above the left eye and came out under the right eye, from which the same spun round several times, but did not fall to the ground. At the same time the Lord Ambassador and other friends being under a hailstorm of bullets, to avoid further misfortunes ordered an instant retreat of both men and carts from the plain where they were exposed to the fire of these rascals to behind the hills where we had some advantage, to await what should be the effect of the envoys that His Excellency had sent to discuss an accommodation, seeing that the position was so bad that it was impossible to do anything by force against such rascals without exposing ourselves to many evil consequences; the more so as all the surrounding villages were with them in their riotous plots; so the European military with their leader and ensign Neythard were drawn off in good order without any further misfortune. Nevertheless a few shots were fired on our side also, during the slight retreat, upon those who followed and seemed as if they would plunder the caffila by which they were diverted from their evil aim and kept back. Having spent a considerable time in this anxious state of affairs, some of the chiefs of the aforesaid peasants came to the Lord Ambassador, asserting that the first shots had been fired at them from our side and diverse people killed and others wounded, although such was false and invented to be an excuse for raising their first reasonable pretensions to a pretty large sum which they accordingly did, and to which, if we were continue our journey without further notable misfortunes, we were obliged to compel with a fairly large sum of rupees. Hereupon the march was continued and 1 cos further we came to a village called Brauly¹ on the left hand side of a bridge. Here we again found the peasants behind the walls² of their houses in full arms, not permitting anything to pass without paying them

¹Paravali, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, vol. 1, p. 279.

²In the original 'meurengessen.' What is the meaning of 'gessen,' can it be 'loop-holes?'

passage money, for which we were obliged to promise them some money when we should come into the mansel, as it was considered not at all wise to let them see where the money was kept, wherefore they retained the servant of His Hon. Bernards, called Pier Mhameth, with four of the Compy's camels laden with tent goods and 1 baggage wagon, as hostages until the money promised them should be paid. After this the march was continued for 3 cos to a serra, river and village, all three called Menthy, which two places are separated aforesaid river but lie a musket shot from one another. We became aware of the danger in which we were there, for the Lord Ambassador in his palanquin accompanied by the secretary Bruynink and a Jesuit priest Johannes d' Abreu, hastening forward to prevent harm to the best of his ability, as soon as H. E. appeared from out a deep defile, was greeted by such a storm of shot and arrows, that it was a miracle and due to no one but God, that H. E. and accompanying friends escaped so fortunately by retreating the way they had come, while in the encounter the chief of the torch-bearers, named Densje Bora, who was drinking water at the aforesaid river with four more native peons who were about H. E. were shot dead, the head of aforesaid peons dangerously wounded through both his thighs and his foundation by a bullet. An Armenian merchant called Jacob Jan and another passenger despoiled of everything they had with them in their cart, as well as paterns (?) of the Lord Ambassador after the cahaer¹ had been wounded in the thigh by an arrow, robbed at the side of the H. E. while the Lord Ambassador having retreated a little, H. E. and followers went under a tree surrounded by a small earthen wall and right opposite aforesaid serra to await there what answer would be brought by the gorsberdaers we had sent, who at last after we had anxiously awaited them for a long time, appeared before H. E. with three headmen of the villages in question (all three being brothers) and told him of the accommodation they had made, not without great difficulty, for a goodly sum of rupees which must be given to them at once, on the condition that they should accompany us with a sufficient escort to Noerabaat lying 2 cos from us, to which H. E. wished to travel without delay; but seeing that the day was nearly spent through this unfortunate rencontre, the Tannedaer² of the last named village strongly recommended the Lord Ambassador to be pleased to overnight in the serra close by, not only because we must still pass diverse villages in which at evening he could not guarantee no mishaps, but also because the Tannedaer would be glad to see that the two paters with all that was in them, should be restored to H. E. promising to guard us so well, all night by a sufficient watch of his own people that not the least harm or loss should be incurred by us, while tomorrow

¹Palanquin-bearer. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *kūhar*.

²Hindi *thanadar* "the chief of a police station." Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *tanaḍar*.

morning we should be conveyed to the desired place with a sufficient escort. To this we were obliged to consent, while by order of H. E. a rampart of wagons was formed in aforesaid serra, which was in no wise defensive but open on all sides and our people so placed at the approaches, that in case of an attack we should be able to defend it to the uttermost and avoid surprise. But God was our protector, that no further evil should befall except that some of our natives who went too far outside the serra lost their lives, nevertheless we spent the night in continual anxiety, as the rascals were not greatly to be trusted.

As the night began to leave us the Tannedaar came to advise H. E. that he had directed his uttermost efforts to the restitution of the paters taken, but had not been able to procure the same, at the same time he was now ready, according to his promise of yesterday, to have us conveyed by 200 horsemen to Noerabaat, requesting that if the peasants were to fire now and then we should take no notice of it, but go on quietly, he himself not trusting the rascals over much. What embarrassment and uneasiness these circumstances, added to our sharp encounters yesterday caused us, can be easily imagined, against which, however, we could do nothing but patiently and warily arm ourselves, and hazard the venture for good or evil. Hereupon, then, leaving our mansjel¹ and taking again to the road, we passed over the aforementioned river and the oft-cited village of Menthy, extended in a half moon on our left hand, beside which our escort was stationed on an elevation. Notwithstanding this, now and then a few musket shots and arrows were sent at our train en passant by the thieving knaves, by which one of our horsemen beside His Hon. E. Beernards in the rear-guard, was hurt in the leg. After ½ cos riding, all the time through hollow ways, we regained at length the open field not without relief, and after 2 cos more we came to a large and well constructed bridge, having four turrets at each side, and between them diverse pleasant seats, which we crossed and entered the adjacent serra Metthemet Chan,² in which we spent the night more at our ease than the night before. In the meantime our Gorsberdaers were sent out to announce the arrival of the Lord Ambassador in the villages along our line of march, while showing the Imperial mandate, to the end that they might resort to no excesses out of fear of our train and pretended ignorance, but on the contrary should escort us in safety from one place to the other on the strength of the royal commands. Of which having been assured by a letter directed to H. E. by the aforesaid Gorsberdaer we proceeded

The 17th ditto.—early in the morning on our way, which led us through open country, where both on our right and on our left hand lay mountains and many villages. After riding 3 cos we passed

¹Manzil—a stage.

²Sarai Motamid Khan (?). Cf. Gaz. I, p. 237.

a large stone serra called Patter, 2 cos further the serra Ianan and after advancing 2 cos more we occupied the serra Candhaura, lying upon an eminence just opposite to the town of Gouleer (Gwalior), where everything being built of stone we found it clean and in good order. The Lord Ambassador sent our Gorsberdaer to acquaint the governor of our arrival, and likewise to protest against the violence done by the peasants in his district and demand reparation, at the same time requesting to be conveyed through the remainder of this province into the next. To this the governor replied by expressing his regret, with the promise to restore what had been stolen, and immediately to write about it as well as the desired escort, to the soubâ (being an Ammerouw of 5,000 horsemen called Mier Chan¹), as the same with all his troops had personally taken the field against the peasantry in revolt 15 cos from here, and the governor had not sufficient power at hand to be able to escort us in safety to the next province. For this reason we found ourselves necessitated

The 18th ditto.—to hold a Mokkam or day of rest, when H. E. received the greetings of the diwan of the soubâ (being a government money-changer and creditor of H. E.).

The 19th ditto.—Were obliged to remain for the reasons alleged, when the Lord Ambassador again received a visit from the diwan.

Towards the evening H. E. received a letter from the aforementioned Mier Chan,¹ in which H. E. expressed his regrets for the rencontres in his country, promised to send a convoy, and assured H. E. with many polite expressions of his friendship.

The aforementioned town of Gouleer (Gwalior) is fully 7 cos in circumference, has a castle on a very high rock and by nature very strong, which occupies $3\frac{1}{2}$ cos in circumference and contains 17 water-tanks and many ditto wells and furnishes so many aliments that in case of a siege the garrison can be maintained upon them. Herein three splendid Royal Mahels or women's houses were found, to wit of Jangier, Sja Jaen² and of a ragia. Along the rock upon which the castle lies are seen many temples of heathen idols, whose stone images hewn in the cliff, can be seen to this day. On the east side of the town is a small river almost dried up called Sounisser, by the side of which many pleasant gardens are found. In this town there are also many skilful workers in iron, which metal is found in great plenty in the mountain here and therefore can be procured for a civil price.

The 20th ditto.—Very early in the morning we left the Serra Candhawia and passed through the town amidst a great throng of people. Shortly after, we crossed the abovementioned small river, $\frac{1}{4}$ cos from there we left a village called Mohel on the left hand. After this our road lay continually through mountains and valleys,

¹Mir Khan.

²Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

3 cos from Mohel we again crossed a small river, called Moeraer¹ and the adjacent village Cotha, in which a serra lies called Kabister, which the Emperor Sja Jaen (Shāh Jahān) had built for the ease and safety of travellers; mounting continually, having advanced 1½ cos we came to a small village lying amongst the hills, called Marhi, by which there is a small rivulet and not far from it another village called Sja Jaen poer,² at which place H. E. and company took a little refreshment under a spreading tree. Having departed thence and climbed 1½ cos further on our journey, we reached the top of the mountains. Descending not without great peril we found on our left hand the spot Anthry³ and beside the same the convoy awaiting us from the Mier Chan, the souba of Gouler, under whose escort, after riding a cos we came to a fine garden and 2 cos further stopped at the serra Pahaer, which the river Sinde (Sindh) passes; in which place having passed the night in peace we proceeded

The 21st ditto.—with the glimmering of day upon our journey under the same convoy, crossed the aforesaid river and 2 cos further passed the village of Gestondry and after 2 cos riding took up our quarters in the Lauki serra, from which

The 22 ditto.—at sunrise we again took the road under the same escort and half a cos further passed the village of Gandaser with its rivulet and 1½ cos further on the village of Sjamaer, without any molestation. But having gone 2 cos further and come to the large village of Palaetsja which stands on a steep eminence by the river called the Parwei (Parwati), the peasants were seen in great numbers and armed, notwithstanding that, as has been said, they had been apprised of our approach by our Gorsberdaers. H. E. and the vanguard, although some shots were fired, were allowed to pass unmolested, but His Hon. E. Bernards with the last carts having arrived there, four of these were seized under the pretext that they were merchant's carts, at which some of our escort protesting, a horseman was severely wounded by an arrow in his back and a cut on his head. But at the instigation of His Excellency who went back with His Hon. Bernards, said carts were released after the payment of certain moneys. The road from the village in question lay through a pleasant valley by the mountains, upon which, on the left hand side 2 cos from there lay a village called Degonny

¹Morar, a village 4 miles east of Lashkar and 3 miles from Old Gwalior. It was previously the seat of British cantonments. Kota is a deserted village 4 miles south of Lashkar.

²Shahjahanpur.

³Antri (26° 3' N., 78° 16' E.) fort in Gwalior State, now railway station between Gwalior and Datia.

and 2 cos further the village and serra of Magronny,¹ where we took up our quarters.

The 23rd ditto.—At daybreak His Hon. Bernards departed to greet the Souba of Nerwer² in the name of H. E. and to acquaint him with our arrival and likewise to dispose this governor to give us a suitable escort, being shortly after followed by the Ambassador and the whole train. Two cos further we crossed the forementioned river over a costly stone bridge, which had been built by a celebrated Amerauw of the Emperor Sja Jaen, called Schaste Chan,³ for the accommodation of travellers, seeing that the river being full of rocks and the bed very uneven it could not be crossed by men and animals without great peril, being twenty-six arches long and high, by which H. E. stayed until the whole train had passed over, after which H. E. marched on and 1 cos further took up his quarters close by the town of Nerwer (Narwar) in a serra of the same name.

In the evening the Ambassador received sealed letters from the residency of Agara, with the information that the couriers had been detained two days by the peasants in revolt, and had then been set free.

Also the Lord Ambassador was congratulated on his arrival in the province by the brother of the ragia, a young gentleman of about eighteen years, who in return was received by H. E. with great friendliness.

The 24th ditto.—We kept a day of rest, as His Hon. merchant Bernards was not yet returned, nor any news of him arrived.

The 27th ditto.—An hour before sunrise we left the aforesaid serra and passed through the town of Nerwer,⁴ being an open place without walls, which has a castle standing on a high rock of great natural strength, but internally quite decayed, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cos in circumference, and which contains 3 grand mahels in good condition being one of ragia nel, one of a ragia Annoepsing, and one of the present ragia Gessingh (now honoured by the Emperor Jehaen daer sja (Jahändär Shäh) with the name of his father Annoepsingh); the castle is also provided with several large talauwen, one of which was founded by Ragia Nel, and has as many as 90 deep water wells, which even when the talabs are dried up still yield sufficient water. The road to the fort runs up very steeply, at the foot of the hill

¹Magroni (25° 42' N., 77° 58' E.), village in Gwalior State, formerly famous for iron smelting.

²Narwar (25° 39' N., 77° 56' E.), town in Gwalior State, with famous hill-fort.

³Shaista Khan who filled many important offices of State under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and died in A.D. 1694. He is often mentioned in Bernier's travels as Chah-Hestkan. The bridge is still in existence. (Photograph available in Archl. Offices.)

⁴Local tradition connects Narwar with King Nala, the hero of a famous episode from the Mahabharata. The chiefs of Narwar belonged to the Kachh-clan.

five gates must be passed before entering. This place is said to have been founded long ago by the forefathers of the abovementioned ragias. Two cos from this town we passed by a strong bridge consisting of twenty-five stone arches, over the river Sinda (Sindh). This bridge was also built for the ease of travellers by the abovementioned amerauw Djastechan (Shāisā Khān). From there the road lay continually through and over high mountains, which seemed almost impossible for the carts to pass. Indeed after passing the whole day in this arduous travelling, they were obliged to remain for the night on the last mountain, but H. E. and further friends arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in the serra Dongri by which a village of the same name lies,¹ to wait there for the delayed carts.

The 28th ditto.—Kept Moçkam (makām); conveyances in question arrived in the forenoon safely and without any injury.

The 29th ditto.—At peep of day left abovementioned serra, under escort of a golden mace bearer of the aforesaid ragia. Proceeding on our journey, found the road to lie over low hills in reasonably good condition; 4 cos from Dongri passed a large village, before which His Hon. Bernards was met and welcomed. Further, having laid back one cos, we reached the residency of the often mentioned Ragia Getsingh. In passing this town, at the Ragia's express request, H. E. and all the Europeans paid their respects to him in his abode and were received by the prince with much civility, the Lord Ambassador invited to sit close beside him on his left hand and the other friends according to rank. After some discourse the Ragia requested the Lord Ambassador that the military might make a charge with their firelocks, which was granted and delivered to Insign Neythart to execute, in which the prince seemed to take great delight, and after three charges thanked H. E. very politely. After a little more sitting the Lord Ambassador and company took leave, passed through the rest of the town, and pitched his camp just outside.

The 30th ditto.—Were obliged to stay in camp there, as the above named ragia, thinking to gain a good contribution, would not give us an escort through his revolting province without a considerable sum of money, and without the same it was not thought advisable to hazard anything on the road, but rather to come to a reasonable agreement.

December.—As soon as day broke we decamped from before Cipri,² as in the meantime an agreement had been come to about a convoy, to proceed 3 cos further on our journey to the serra Sesy, which was done successfully. As the road lay through open ground we had not much to fear from being attacked by any one. By the serra, which is large and commodious, is a village of the same name,

¹Village Dongar on high road between Narwar and Sipri.

²Sipri (25° 25' N., 77° 41' E.) in Gwalior State. The late Maharaja of Gwalior made it his summer capital, built a palace there and called it Sivapuri.

where we spent the afternoon, our addy had to stay at the court of the abovementioned ragia, in order to give effect to our agreement concerning a sufficient convey.

The 2nd ditto.—At daybreak the march was continued, in the hope of continuing the journey for 8 cos to the village and serra Poera Dongri;¹ but when we had advanced 3 cos to a large hamlet place called Coelaris² we were warned by an express from the ragia Gessing not to go any further, as last night the town of Nerwer had been attacked by the peasantry in revolt and on the road we were to pass also some of his villages had been reduced to ashes and ruined by the scoundrels, but that for our own safety we were to await a convoy of some 100 of his horsemen from Locoem. H. E. felt obliged to follow this advice and to move into the serra of Coelaris until the convoy in question should arrive, to hasten which the addy Nouroos allie Beek³ was sent back to the frequently mentioned ragia, which was however, of little or no effect and day after day passed fruitlessly, which gave us not a little anxiety, as we were in dubio if the message of the ragia was in good faith, or with evil intention. To this was added the not too pleasant news, that we gained in the meantime, that prince Adsuddien had been totally defeated by Farochsjeer and had been obliged to save himself by flight to Agara and then Delhi.

The 9th ditto.—In the forenoon His Hon. Bernards and the assistant Calde went back to Cipri to the ragia, but could not attain their object inasmuch as he strongly recommended the Lord Ambassador with his train to retreat once more to Cipri, which

The 10th ditto.—was done, although uncertain when heaven would permit us to proceed. The ragia in the meantime having learned that amongst the Dutch suite of this embassy were some lovers of the chase, of which he himself was a devotee

The 17th ditto.—at break of day sent one of his servants to advise the Lord Ambassador that His Highness was about to proceed into the country to partake of this diversion and that it would not be disagreeable to him if he were accompanied by some Hollanders, for which the under merchant and treasurer Sr. Johan Haek with the first clerk of the embassy Ernst Coenraet Grav offered themselves. They were ordered to make ready without delay and proceed to the ragia, which was promptly done. The ragia accompanied by two brothers, one of 10 and the other of 11 years about, with a suite of some 200 horsemen passed out of the name of the Lord Ambassador, to which His Highness replied with a very friendly countenance and ordered them to join close at his side. Which being done the ragia enquired of them of diverse matters in Europe

¹Burha Donger ("Old Donger") village with Mogul Sarai still extant.

²Kolaras, village in Gwalior State. It is an ancient place described by Sir Alexander Cunningham. It is now headquarters of a *tahsil*.

³Nauroz Ali Beg.

concerning customs in hunting and war and other things, to which receiving suitable but guarded replies the prince seemed to be pleased. Two cos from the town the horsemen, who had spread out on all sides, discovered several hares in their forms the ragia brought the messieurs to them in person, shot one after the other with great nicety with arrows and offered them to the same; later one more of these animals being put up the prince had it caught by his dogs, telling the treasurer that if another were found his dogs might also have a run, giving orders to his people that his own dogs so long should be held fast, which shortly afterwards took place and one of the aforesaid creatures, after it had been injured by a pistol shot from Haek, was caught by 3 dogs, whereby men did admire with what rapidity the ragia, although the ground was perilous from many stones and rocks, was able to follow the fugitive game on his horse at full gallop. In the meanwhile, time having passed and it become mid-day, in returning to the town the ragia let diverse partridges and quails be caught by falcons. Arrived at the dwelling of the prince, the messieurs dismounting from their horses to render thanks for the honour enjoyed, he would not dismiss them but invited them into his audience chamber, where they were seated with his brothers at his right hand. After sitting a considerable time and being asked various curious questions by the prince about Europe, they received permission to return home, while the game caught was sent to the Lord Ambassador by a golden mace bearer with polite greeting from his Princely Highness.

The 18th ditto.—In the morning the abovementioned prince sent his diwan to the Lord Ambassador assuring H. E. that he had taken great pleasure in the company of the two Hollanders who had yesterday accompanied him in the chase and requesting him not to be cast down that he had detained us so long, this being for our own good. Now the ragia had received good tidings that the trouble with the ragia with whom he was at war, were as good as ended and within four or five days he would be able to accommodate us with a sufficient escort of his horsemen to convoy us as far as the town of Cerons.¹ For this agreeable tidings the Lord Ambassador returned his thanks to the prince.

The 19th ditto.—The ragia betaking himself at break of day to a wild boar hunt, sent one of his officers to request the aforementioned enthusiasts again to accompany him, to which the Ambassador consented. When appearing before the said prince in front of the town, he had them to ride the whole time at his side, and give answer to His Highness diverse questions on diverse customs in Holland. Having advanced to a great mountain range about 3 cos further, we entered the same with all the horsemen who were with us, being about 200 men. The ragia recommended the messieurs

¹Sironj, town in Tonk State.

²*Cf.* p. 10, footnote 1.

not to absent themselves, but to keep close to him, as it was somewhat perilous owing to the tigers. Much industry and eagerness was shown to get a good catch, although after riding 3 cos through the mountains and thick forest nothing was raised or caught, but a large tiger-wolf which being instantly surrounded on all sides by the horsemen was slain with lances. On returning towards evening the aforesaid enthusiasts were brought to a large tauwlaui which was full of waterfowl. Here they were requested to shoot, which they did and sometimes hit three or four ducks at one shot, which raised no little surprise amongst the people, as they were not acquainted with shot, and were accustomed to shoot with a bullet, and thought that the Hollanders did the same, in which opinion they were left and not permitted to witness the loading of the guns. In the meantime the ragia, who in order to view the shooting was reclining upon an alcatyv¹ beneath a tree, praised the messieurs mightily when they appeared before His Highness, presented them with what they had shot and invited them to come and sit beside him and rest a little. Shortly after the prince betook himself to another tauwlaui, as by the repeated shooting the game had flown. Here he requested the first clerk to load his gun, very curiously inlaid with gold, in the Dutch manner, which was done, whereupon the prince shot at the ducks having the good fortune to his one of the same he was so mad with it that he continued till sunset, and all the good game being gone shot at the crows. Returning by torch light, the ragia directed his two young brothers to take them messieurs between them and take them to the court, where, as at the first time, they must again sit down beside him, notwithstanding that His Highness as well as all the rest were not a little fatigued and tired, telling his nobles, who according to the custom of the country came to congratulate him upon the pleasures of the chase and the bag, how the two Hollanders who were with him, without 'forket stok'¹ (which they, the natives use) had hit their mark so well at the very first shot. After an hour they were licensed to return to their domicile, and to other all the game, born by a golden mace bearer, to the Ambassador, with affectionate greetings from His Highness, who rendered his thanks for the same, (and sent the mace bearer back with a present for his trouble).

The 21st ditto.—The oft mentioned ragia let the Lord Ambassador know that he could quietly get ready for his further journey, avoiding all noise so that evil people could form no bad designs upon our way. Moreover that he would have us accompanied from village to village as far as Cerons (Sironj) by a good convoy of his horsemen. At the fall of evening H. E. with his deputies betook him to the prince, in order to thank him for the friendship and benevolence they had enjoyed from His Highness'

¹The 'forket stok' (forked stick), on which the musquet is rested for aiming.

abode, they were invited to be seated, were entertained with various amiable discourses and presented with betels, and at their departure, the Lord Ambassador received a gold, and his assistants silver robes of honour.

The 22nd ditto.—At break of day we abandoned, under a good convoy of Ragiapoets (Rajputs) the residency of Cipri, passed after riding 3 cos the serra Seya, 3 cos from that the spot Coelaris, (Kolaras), $2\frac{1}{2}$ further we left on our left hand the village Sansara, passed 1 cos from there the village Lequassera, 1 cos further left on our right hand on an eminence the village Kokary and arrived after a march of 1 cos at 4 o'clock in the afternoon at the serra Bodadonger¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ cos from Kokary where we put up for the coming night.

Having travelled several days after another in peace and quiet, not only under the convoy that should take us from Cipri to Cerons, but also under the accompaniment of the escort who according to the Ciprian ragia's orders awaited us at each village we continued our journey to the serra named Catsjenael which was beset by the fausdaer of Keysera Dillawen Chan (? Dilāwar Khān) both with cavalry and infantry.

The 25th ditto.—In the morning when we wished to leave the above named place of rest proceed on our journey, we found the gates shut by the sjamedaer (jamadār) and all the people under his command stood on the gesses (?) of the serra in question in full arms with the face inwards to prevent our departing thence unless we would pay 10,000 rupees. From these pretensions he would not withdraw at first, however strongly we protested, behaving as if he were drunk, but the officer who commanded our convoy from Cipri protested violently against it, threatening that in case the gates of the serra were not opened he and his people would know how to find the key and open them by force, the sjamedaer answered, before that shou'd happen he would first be cut to hotchpotch. The head of our escort thereupon answered that the sjamedaer would see what he would get from him and the Hollanders, who were not at all inclined to accord to his unreasonable pretentions, at that got to horse with all his people, when the aforesaid head of the militia hastily changed his tone, contented himself with a gift, and allowed us to depart without any molestation. Having laid back 3 cos we passed the village of Dsjepaun and 1 cos further having reached the Mogol serra, it was considered right to take up quarters there, notwithstanding that there was little accommodation, seeing that both men and beasts, from the forced marches that had been made during the last days, were fatigued and quite exhausted.

The 26th ditto.—Our journey was continued over steep and

¹Bodadonger, evidently the same as Poera Dongri, i.e. Burha Donger. Cf. p. 108.

²Cf. above, p. 100.

difficult mountains called the Gaty to the town of Cerons (Sironj), which we passed through, and made our camp at a great taulan on the further side. This town is celebrated for the linen trade that is driven there, and has 3 serras or places of rest, which were occupied by three caffilas with linen for the Mongolian (Moghul) court under the escort of 4 or 5,000 men, which had laid there for several months, and had not dared to travel from there for fear of the notorious Robber whose country we had passed through, notwithstanding that they had already offered 5,000 rupees to have an unmolested journey. From this we could perceive that the prince ragia Gessingh who had convoyed us so far by his own people, had meant well by us.

And as some days of rest were required, both for our repose, and in order to make known per letter our arrival to the souba Amanetchan who has command over the province of Ma'va under which this place sorts, and to request a convoy from H. E. thus some days of mockam being necessary, we were obliged to lie there for a few days. In the meanwhile the Lord Ambassador and his deputies paid a visit to the fausdaer (faujdar) of the town, named Sjeigh Facel Chan,¹ which gentleman received Their Honours very politely, and expressed his willingness to provide as with an adequate convoy, provided His Honour had enough men at hand and was able; counselling the Lord Ambassador for this reason to remain in loco until the convoy should arrive from his principal, Amanet Chan. H. E. and attaches being returned to their encampment after remaining a short time with the aforesaid officer, the fausdaer of the suburbs of Cerons came with a considerable train of horsemen, and footsoldiers and various kettle-drums and banners, to welcome the Lord Ambassador, and offer his services. This was answered in applicable terms, and seeing that it was uncertain whether the expected convoy from Amenet Chan or Sja Amenet Chan would in fact advance so far, as it was wished to press the journey as speedily as possible, the Hon. Bernards was

The 29th ditto.—sent to the above named fausdaer (faujdar) to request His Hon. for an escort, for which he promised to care to the utmost of his power, as inted

The 31st ditto.—at 8 o'clock in the morning a fausdaer of a village 16 cos from Cerons, with about 50 horsemen appeared before H. E. and announced that he had been ordered to accompany H. E. Having traveled thus several days in succession, under the escort of these horsemen over mountains and difficult roads to a spot called Kalara, we were met not far from there by a convoy of horsemen from the aforementioned Souba Sja Amenet Chan, and taken by a road which he had expressly instructed the commanding officer to use, seeing that the direct road was not all too secure on account

¹Sheikh Fazl Khan. (?)

of the robbers with whom H. E. had been at blows, scattering the rabble.

Anno 1713

The 6th January.—Arriving at a populous city named Sarangpoer,¹ we there re-crossed the rivers mention of which has been made in these journals, named Sinde, or Calit Sinde and formed our camp beside the same. At the other side of the water the army of the above mentioned Amanet Chan was encamped, 14,000 strong and composed of picked men. The Souba was greeted by H. E. and suite, and showed great pleasure at the arrival of H. E. there, assured him of the continuation of his gracious friendship, and promised to send a mesmanie² or banquet of butter, sugar, flour and some sheep and goats. From which, rendering polite thanks for the same, H. E. excused himself, as he was resolved not to stay there at all, but to make as much haste with his journey as was possible. For which purpose H. E. wishing the Souba good fortune in his enterprise and all prosperity took final leave of him.

At dawn of day decamped from Sarangpore and under a fresh convoy of 100 horsemen from Amanet Chan after riding 1 cos we came to a village called Oekauwtha.³ Here we were shown a great masonry grave of a dog, and beside it a stone bauli or water well, of which the natives told the following story. A certain influential merchant of Sjanapoer,⁴ was in the habit of travelling from there to Sarangpoer bearing a considerable capital in money with him for trading purposes. On the road he was robbed of all that he had with him and found himself obliged, for the execution of his affairs, to take up the sum of 10,000 rupees on credit from a distinguished money-lender in the last named town, who was a good friend of his. As pledge, he left a large dog that was trained to various tricks, instructing the animal that he must not leave there until the borrowed money was returned, the which the dog obeyed. In the meantime the money-lender one night while attending a wedding and being out of his house, was robbed of a large sum of money and at his return became aware of the same with great consternation. The dog saw this, and coming to the money-lender, nudged him with his snout and ran to the door of the room. This he did several times, so that the money-lender remarking that the creature had a purpose in doing so, opened the door, whereupon the dog, constantly looking round and wagging

¹Sarangpur (23° 34' N., 76° 31' E.), town on the Kali Sindh river, in Dewas State. It is associated with the love of Baz Bahadur of Ma'wa. It is described by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

²Cf. p. 7, footnote 1.

³Ukaota, a village on the high road.

⁴Shajapur, a town on the Tilar river, now headquarters of a district of Gwalior State.

his tail, led the money-lender, who with some of his servants followed him in great curiosity, to a certain garden lying not far off. Here he began to scratch up the ground, and the money-lender seeing this, became of opinion that something must be hidden there. He at once had the ground dug up, and found in it not only that which had been taken from him, but a great treasure of other wealth, at which the money-lender was not less delighted than he was surprised by the faithfulness of the animal, and immediately wrote a letter to the owner of the dog, in which he acquainted him with what had happened, and released him from the 10,000 rupees he had borrowed. This letter he bound to the neck of the dog and told him to carry it to his lord and master, which the dog did. But his master meeting him on the road was very angry with him and said "Thou faithless one, why hast thou put disgrace on me by running away," and instantly shot him with an arrow. Hereupon seeing the letter on the dog, and having read it, he was plunged in remorse for his hastiness, and caused the tomb to be raised, and a well to be sunk for the ease of travellers and the poor.

Our journey was continued from there and diverse villages and hamlets passed till we came to a large village named Sonnera,¹ before which was the battlefield where the above mentioned Souba Sja Amanet Cran not long ago had defeated the ragia Rottensingh,² slain him and sent his head to the Emperor (for which Orangzeep (Aurangzeb) had bestowed on him the title of Islam Chan). The heads of the further slain were exhibited along the road built into stone pillars. A few villages passed, some cos further we came to a large town called Sjajaenpoer,³ lying not unpleasantly on the river Tiler, the which river on the one side is supported by a sufficient wall of stone whereby on that side the town is reasonably secure, below the same the bed of the river is all rocks, wherefore our carts must go a long way round to reach our encampment which we had formed outside this place.

The 9th and the 10th ditto.—Our journey continued, without any notable occurrences, passed the village of Soerkotha Patterki with a serra, Sangmie, the serra and village of Kana-Saya (where, owing to the very rocky mountains the roads were almost impracticable for our carts) and further the villages Padora-kera, near which the roads are in reasonable condition and there is a river called Calis Sinda (Kāli Sindh), with more villages hamlets not worth naming to the capital and residency of the ragia of the province named Ajeen.⁴ This place is large and populous, but provided with bad houses and few costly edifices. It drives a great trade in grain, having on the south side a fairly large river called Separa

¹Suncera, a village on the high road.

²Ratan Singh.

³Shajapur, 60 miles N. E. of Indore.

⁴Ujjain, the ancient Ujjayini.

(Sipra). Here the embassy and beasts greatly fatigued, but it was considered to be of service to the Hon. Comp. that the principal ministers of Amanet Chan, Mier Sallael Addien and Jagernaet (who had always shown themselves friends of the Hon. Comp.) should be visited by the Lord Ambassador and his deputies, which was done, and reciprocally, the Ambassador and his suite were complimented on their arrival with great sincerity and joy.

The 12th ditto.—Addressing ourselves again to travel, we marched passed the villages of Manglaes, Kettan, Naemheri, Bambehoo (by the last named of which is a costly and well constructed bauli) Comuas and the river Dagambier, the village Niesinga and the river Gjommel, moreover, the villages Sjelaen, Nautay, and came without any difficulties to a large village named Badenawer,¹ being the residency of the ragia Sulthaensingh, which lies upon five hills with a castle in the midst, before which we encountered a small detachment of about 400 horsemen of Amanet Chan, who had come to an accord with the ragia named. Here we stayed

The 15th ditto.—as the said ragia informed the Lord Ambassador that the road by Jaboa (Jhabua) was very unsafe and 1,500 horsemen from thence were in progress towards him. H. E. having despatched a letter to the ragia of Jaboa to announce his arrival and to request a convoy through his country, thought it advisable to await his answer before continuing the journey, and to see if what the ragia had spoken was the truth or not, as we did not quite dare to trust either the one or the other in this matter. The answer was brought in the evening by return express, and therefrom it appeared that the Lord Ambassador with his train could depart with a quiet heart, as the ragia of Jaboa would have us escorted unmolested from place to place. Thus the whole train

The 16th ditto.—departed in the morning from before Badenwer not only under the old convoy that the souba of Oetjaen (Ujjain) Lord Amanet Chan had provided us with so far, but also under a new escort of same horsemen from the above mentioned detachment, as well as 25 horsemen and 100 footmen from Rajah Sulthaensingh. That day our way was very difficult and not a little perilous through deep forests and mountains, hollow roads, and regular robbers' caves. We passed the river Bagerie, by some called Sirwint and the May² being the frontier between the country of ragia Sulthaensingh and that of Jaboa, which said waters being very difficult for the carts to pass, on account of the hard rocky bed, obliged us to form our

¹Badnawar, in Dhar State

²The Mahi. "The height of its banks and the fierceness of its floods, the deep ravines through which the traveller has to pass on his way to the river, and, perhaps above all, the bad name of the tribes who dwell about it, explain the proverb: "When the Mahi is crossed, there is comfort." (*Inys. Gaz. of India*, vol. xvii, p. 12.)

camp a cos from there in the mountains, on a plateau called Cassaer-bary, where we could get nothing and barely drinking water.

The 18th ditto.—At break of day broke up camp, and found the road not less dangerous for us than the day before, which caused us to be constantly on our guard. After accomplishing several cos and crossing a river called Laerki, we found on the other side 100 coolies drawn up under a captain giving himself out to be a ragia, who on the arrival of H. E. on the spot, came to greet him, and sat down beside the Lord Ambassador under a tree. Shortly after they went away, and assembled on an eminence by the river, and had the carts held up by some of them, with the demand for money for beetels. But the gosberdaer (gursbardär) given us from the Mangolian (Moghul) court opposing them in the matter, and showing the imperial destekks (pass-ports) or mandates or letters of safe-conduct,¹ they allowed us to proceed undisturbed. The mountains continuing for some cos, we at length reached, not without joy, open country and a good road and came to a large village called Pallande (also Piplot) to pass the night.

At break of day we left our place of rest under the already mentioned convoys. The robbers or grassias² so called, were clever enough, under cover of a thick mist, to appropriate one of our water camels and drive it towards the woods, but were pursued by our convoys at full gallop and deprived of the booty. After this we again came into great mountains and thick forests, where, after the mist had left us, we saw here and there parties of armed peasants, who however let us pass untroubled; this notwithstanding we were on our guard and marched as close as was possible. Having passed through the greatest mountains, we saw on both right and left hand diverse villages, and arrived at last after much fatigue at a reasonably large village called Bagauw, the principal place of the ragia Jaboa (Jhābua) and lying on a large talauw or pond of water, at which we threw ourselves down, although the just mentioned ragia has not his domicile there, but 3 cos inland, in the fort Jaboa. Shortly after our arrival there the Lord Ambassador was informed that the son of the ragia, P'ince Paetsen, with his diwan had arrived in the aforementioned village, to welcome H. L. although we suspected such to be more from reasons of interest and greed than from honest friendship. This suspicion we found to our sorrow was all too well founded for the next day, keeping still, to await the old ragia, the diwan of the ragia's son came to inspect our cafila, noted down all the carts, and tor each of these

¹Here the word in the original is 'destekk.' Cf. above, p. 85, footnote.

²*Gras* used for the black-mail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of protection and forbearance. The title of *grassia*, originally an honourable one, became at last a term of approbrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *grassia*.

whether large or small demanded 16 rupees and *pro rata* for the camels and horses separately. To this excessive demand the Lord Ambassador not being able to consent, we found ourselves obliged to await the arrival of the old ragia (who was said to be of a reasonable disposition) in loco, and to enter into no accord with these usurpers. The above mentioned son (who was said by the instigation of his second to have fought 3 battles against his father, but had always been reconciled again to the same by the help of ministers) towards evening sending a party of horsemen to demand some money for subsistence, averring that he had lain there six weeks expressly for our sakes and had lost several horses, he could not avoid giving them a small sum of money to get rid of them, howbeit the Lord Ambassador was, warned by one of the natives that the object of these thievish people was to exhaust our patience by all manner of finesses, and if they were given the smallest excuse to plunder the whole caffila. This, their vile intention, could be traced well enough in the impudence with which the prince and his diwan more and more began to behave, although we now daily with argus-eyes looked out for the coming of the old ragia, and flattered ourselves with the hope that then matters would change for the better.

The 21st ditto.—When finally and at last the heathen king made his appearance the Lord Ambassador greeted him with much politeness, (and falling into discourse about affairs, H. E. offered the ancient prince in return for a passage through his father's district, 2 carpauws or robes of honour, as well as a horse. He answered that he was satisfied therewith and would immediately endorse a pass-port with his signature and a siap. But no sooner had his son and his intriguing diwan got news of this than they came with great importunity and abusive language to attack the old ragia in H. E.'s tent, saying that if they did not obtain their demand of us, they would break all our necks, and seize and plunder all there was, which so greatly embarrassed the old ragia that he knew not what to do and dared not to answer anything to it. And seeing that against these tyrants in the dangerous mountain passes and forests nothing could be done, and they would not listen to the smallest reason, but played sic volo sic jubeo, we found ourselves necessitated, if we would get out of this melancholy labyrinth, to give them 2 horses and 2 carpauws and a considerable sum of rupees as passage money, in place of the impudent demand which they had made before, for the king's presentation horse to the Lord Ambassador, as well as a large sum of ready money and other things; after this contract the passport was signed not only by the old ragia but also by the son and his diwan and delivered to the Lord Ambassador, with the condition that early tomorrow morning they would escort us out of their province into the next one. At this, not without great anxiety and distrust of the variable and rascally temper of the heathens, we

The 22nd ditto.—betook ourselves at break of day to the road. But the rearguard having barely left the encampment, the vanguard was held up by the oft mentioned diwan who wished to escort us in person, like the wolf the sheep, under the pretext that the contract agreed upon concerned the carts and horses but not the camels, who we were again obliged to content with some promises. His wickedness did not stop there, as he moreover took toll of horses, oxen, goats, etc. in payment before we were able to proceed from there. After riding 3 cos through dark forests we arrived at the river called Banaes, which is evil to ford on account of its rocks. The carts being in the midst of the water amongst the rocks were *de novo* held up by the diwan and a sum of 1,000 rupees demanded. Against this not only the royal gorsbardaar (gurzbardār) sent with us, but also the escort from H. E. Lord Amanet Chan violently protested, the first with threats of their king and the others of their nabob, saying that everything that was forced from us in this violent way was as good as taken from their principal treasure-chest, who would not fail to redeem his pledge on them and had already crossed the river May (Mahī) with a formidable army, in order to pay off on their ragia not only this but old scores. The rascal paid no attention to this, saying with a laugh that they cared not for king or nabob, as at their approach they had only to flee into the mountains, when they would presently have to retreat fruitlessly. Also, money was demanded in place of one of the horses given to the ragia as he had hunted with it in such wise that a heavy fall had wounded it in the breast. If we wished to continue our journey and rid ourselves of this scum, we saw ourselves forced to consent, as well as to a good bunch of rupees for the crossing of the river. These difficulties having been overcome in the early morning, the train got once more under weigh and after a perilous march pitched its camp amongst the mountains on a plateau called Catta Bauli, where nothing could be seen but a few rows of sentry houses. At night a strong watch was kept, and diverse alarms given, caused by some of the thieves from the mountains wishing to practice in our encampment. The coutewael (kotwāl) with his sentries discovered them and pursued them into the woods, but were obliged to return to the encampment, as several men had been severely wounded by arrows from the voleurs. As soon as Aurora

The 23rd ditto.—showed her face the journey was pursued, and after 4 cos riding we left, not without joy, the territory of Jaboa. Some cos further we met a fresh convoy of 50 horsemen from the fausdaer of Dahoar (Dohad), being one of the king's servants, who brought us to the place named with great politeness with and beside the escort of Amanet Chan. In the meantime the diwan of Jaboa, like a criminal, quietly retired home at the first frontier place. The Lord Ambassador having arrived in the above named place, was very respectfully complimented upon his safe arrival by the fausdaer there, and regaled with a mesmanie of sheep, goats

and other victuals.

Dahota¹ is a reasonably large town, but not a fortress. It is celebrated for the fact that the famous Mongolian (Moghul) Emperor Oranzcep (Aurangzeb) was born there, to whose memory the mother of the Emperor in question has erected a large serra or place of rest for travellers, and in the midst of the same a costly temple, on the spot where this Alomgier (Alamgīr) was born into the world. This serra is of pure stone, very clean and well executed, and is held to be the best and most beautiful in the whole Mongolian (Moghul) Empire. Through the almost unsurmountable difficulties we had been subjected to by the acts of the ragias and other rabble, not less than the heavy marches which we had made several days in succession without rest by day or by night, both men and beasts were greatly exhausted. It was therefore found needful to rest there the following day, and put ourselves in proper condition again for the remainder of our journey. In the meantime the officer who H. E. Lord Amanet Chan had thus far sent with us, received licence, with his people and a suitable recompense for his trouble and friendship, to return to his cited lord and master.

The 25th ditto.—Again, in spite of very bad roads through thick forests and great mountains, a march of 10 cos was made, with no further encounters than that the baggage was stopped by 100 Biels,² but again released at the promise of a gift, which was also given.

The 26th ditto.—At break of day we left our place, when a tannedaer (thānadār) with a strong party of men stopped the train, but was satisfied with a small present to let it go again. Advancing further into the forest, we met here and there sentinels of the ragia Bangdas Rouwel, both on foot and horseback, who let us pass unmolested. About 2 miles further, coming to a talauw (talao), the Lord Ambassador was informed that the aforesaid ragia was coming to salute him in person, which shortly after took effect. At a waiting place called Schierie tschookie, the ragia, accompanied by two of his sons, welcomed H. E. with many assurances of respect. After some sitting he made overtures for passage money, over which there was much debate, but finally a reasonable agreement was come to, after the accomplishment of which the Lord Ambassador wished to travel 3 cos further but was obliged by reiterated and very polite requests from the prince to remain there for the night, with the promise that the ragia would so surround us with his people that not the least harm should come to us. Of this he fully acquitted himself, and after a friendly talk requested that the Lord Ambassador would have the goodness to put the European military

¹Dohad (22° 50' N., 74° 16' E.), now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in the Panch Mahals District, Bombay. As the name ('two boundaries') indicates, Dohad is the frontier-town between Malwa and Gujarat.

²Bhils (the Bhīllas of Sanskrit literature) a wild tribe of hunters and woodmen whose original home is the hilly country between Abu and Asirgarh.

that he had with him, through their drill. This being consented to and done, it caused him no little admiration. Having enjoyed this pleasure he returned with H. E. into his tent, where he no sooner saw a snaphaen (fire-lock ?) besides a silver inlaid hooka and quispedoor then he asked for them in polite terms and received them both, and kept H. E. company till 9 o'clock in the evening.

The 27th ditto.—With the break of day the signal to march was given by the kettledrums and the ragia coming to greet the Lord Ambassador, gave him an escort of horsemen and wished him a prosperous journey. As the town of Godra¹ (belonging to the sobaship of Amedabad) was 13 cos from us, no diligence was spared to reach it under the aforesaid convoy and that of the fausdaer of Dahoot who thus far had acquitted themselves faithfully, and with the merciful blessing of God to be released from this land of thieves and protracted anxieties. And in truth in the afternoon we arrived at that place, and received tidings that prince Farochsjeer had been overcome by the Emperor Jechaendaersja (Jahândâr Shâh).

The 28th ditto.—The journey was continued 15 cos to a place called Kallool,² where further rumours of a battle that had closed between Jechaendaersja and Farochsjeer, which quite contradicted the first, and in this state of affairs found ourselves by no means out of great perils. Everywhere, in all the villages that we passed the so-called "grasses" were seen arms, but seeing us coming in well closed ranks and under the above mentioned convoys, they dared nothing except to despoil one of the natives who had absented himself too far from the road. The following day

The 29th ditto.—at dawn everything being ready to march, the Dahootan escort received their despatches for return and we set out under a fresh convoy from the fausdaer of Godra, and arrived without any evil encounters after travelling 15 cos, at the town of Brodra,³ took up our quarters there in a serra for a few days rest, as here there was nothing more at all to fear and we might consider ourselves as good as in safe harbour. Shortly after the Lord Ambassador had appeared in the place of rest in question, the brokers of the Hon. Comp. with other important Banians from Amedabat (Ahmadabâd) come to compliment H. E., on his safe arrival there, also with the fatal and to us by no means agreeable tidings that the Emperor Jechaendaersja in an obstinate battle with Farochsjeer had encountered defeat, and that by the treachery of 4 of his principal amerauws, who in the beginning of the fight had deserted to Farochsjeer, and by which the Emperor had been obliged to climb down from his elephant, and with his Lord Chancellor Souilficaer Chan to save himself by flight, although it was

¹Godhra (22° 46' N., 73° 37' E.), now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in Panch Mahals District, Bombay.

²Kalol, now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name Baroda State.

³Baroda (22° 18' N., 73° 15' E.), now capital of the Baroda State.

not known wither. This unpleasant news

The 30th ditto.—was confirmed by the Amadabat chief of the Hon. Comp. his hon. merchant Philip Sael, who with some clerks of the office came to welcome the Lord Ambassador and his suite, with the assurance that Farochsjeer had been declared Emperor in this town by beat of drum, and that in the name of the same coins had already been struck. What impression these fatal news made on the minds of those who had undertaken such a long and perilous journey, at great personal expense, can be easily imagined, but it was seen that it must be simply left to time to show what course affairs would take under a new government and whether the Hon. Comp. would enjoy the desired facilities for their valuable consignments.

The chief from Brootsia¹ undermerchant Sir Frederick Dudde with some clerks, together with the broker came to the Lord Ambassador to congratulate H. E. on his arrival there, in the company of which friends from Amedabat and Brootsia.

Primo February.—An hour before day the journey to Brootsia was begun, which place without any notable events was

The 3rd ditto.—reached, and after staying there some days for repose after the accomplished journey, half way between there and Souratta the Lord Ambassador was welcomed by the hon. temporal Commander Daniel Hurgronje, the hon. independent fiscal Gidion Boudaen together with some further officials and ship acquaintances. In company with these gentlemen the 7th of the last named month the city of Souratta was passed through in proper order and state, and we were established outside in the Hon. Comp.'s garden, thanking the merciful God that His Divine Majesty had vouchsafed us His gracious protection, and through so many incredible difficulties and perils had brought us to a happy conclusion.

¹Broach or Broch, the ancient Bharukachchha, near the mouth of the Narmada river.

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AKBAR'S POPULARITY.

Akbar the Great is described in histories as one of the most powerful and popular potentates of India. It is not proposed to detail the causes of his popularity. Here it is simply intended to show that one of the chief causes contributory to his popularity was his free intercourse with his subjects in their social life and this fact finds support from the marriage ceremonies of the Hindus of the South West of the Punjab, where his name is still honoured with the reverence that is due to a sovereign.

2. In Multan, one of the most ancient places in India and historically important as the classic ground of Alexander's conquest, a ceremony called the *tambol* ceremony is performed in the celebration of Hindu marriages. *Tambol* is described in the last paragraph of Part I of the *Punjab Civil Code* (edition 1854) as being presents made by neighbours and friends of the same caste on the occasion of marriage to each other. This *tambol* ceremony in the *Utradhi* section of the Arora community of Multan, to which the writer belongs, is performed as under:—

After the bridegroom's party reaches the bride's house and after all other ceremonies and the *Vedic* rites are performed both the bride and the bridegroom's parties sit together at one place and at this meeting presents in cash, gold and clothes are made by *dheta* (the head of the bride's party) to the bridegroom and some of his selected near relatives. These presents are made through a *bhât* (lit. a bard), who after receiving a suit of clothes comprising of one *Pagri*, one large handkerchief and a coat stands in the meeting assembled and exclaims thus:—

Jora kapra gabhrú de bhâú kún tambol—

Translation.—(A pair of clothes is presented to the father of the bridegroom).

This he delivers personally to the bridegroom's father, who according to the time-honoured custom, wears these clothes over those already worn by him. Similarly presentations are made in turn to the bridegroom's paternal and maternal father by exclamations:—

Jora kapra gabhrú de dáde kún tambol

Jora kapra gabhrú de náne kún tambol.

(A pair of clothes is presented to the paternal or maternal father of the bridegroom).

Cash or ornaments in gold or silver are placed in a silver tray and presented by the *bhât* on behalf of the *dheta* to the *putreta* (the head of the bridegroom's party).

* Presents in the form of cash, valuables, etc., are then made

* "The *tambol* given is any sum from Re. 1 to Rs. 10 and seldom exceeds the latter sum. Careful accounts are kept of the *tambol* given and received." *Multan Gazetteer*, p. 80, (1927, edition).

by the other members of the family with which also is presented a cocoanut.

After this is over the *bhát* then stands up and exclaims:—

Akbar Sháh Báásháh de ghar dá nárel

Raja Todar Mal Tannan de ghar dá nárel

Misr Chhabildas Brahman de ghar dá nárel

Kishne Magule de ghar dá nárel

Rain Ram Prithi pat Narule de garh dá nárel.

TRANSLATION.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Emperor Akbar.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Raja Todar Mal, caste Tannan.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Misr Chhabildas, Brahman.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Kishna Mangla.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Rain Ram, caste Narula Prithipat. (Lit. the lord of the land).

The *bhát* does not present the cocoanuts referred to by him but simply makes the above recital.

3. From the above it appears that Akbar had enjoined on the officials of the *'iláqa* to join the celebration of Hindu marriages and to present cocoanuts one on behalf of the Emperor and the other on behalf of themselves. It is also clear that Raja Todar Mal, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, is responsible for introducing this institution, which is still commemorated in spite of the fact that the House of the Emperor has ceased to reign since long. It, however, yet remains to be ascertained who the other personages mentioned are and what their relation with regard to the *tambol* ceremony is. Every possible effort has been made to get this matter cleared up but to no effect.

4. Another thing in this connection that has to be established is whether the cocoanut part of the ceremony is observed in other places as well. My enquiries show that as far as Multan is concerned this recital is made on the occasion of the marriages of the sons of the *Dakhna* and *Dahra* sections of the Arora community besides the *Utradhis* but is not in vogue in *Khatri* and Brahman circles. It is difficult to assign any reason for this difference as also to say whether this custom prevails in other parts of the South West Punjab, or the Punjab proper. It is, however, fairly certain that the *Khatri*s of Bahawalpur observe this ceremony more or less in the same form as is done by the Aroras of Multan. The following passage from the *Gazetteer** of the Bahawalpur State is worthy of notice:—

* Bahawalpur *Gazetteer* (1904), p. 114.

† The Arora community of Multan is divided into three sections—*Utradhi* (Men of the North) *Dakhana* (Men of the South) and *Dahra* (Men of the Midland).

“As a preliminary to the *tambol* ceremony among the Khattris the *bhat* stands in the meeting assembled to contribute the *tambol* to the *Putreta* with a cocoanut in the right hand and exclaims:

Akbar Sháh Bádsháh de nárel, i.e., a cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Emperor Akbar and then makes it over to the *putreta*. Again taking another cocoanut in the hand he exclaims:

“*Todar Mál Tannan de ghar dá nárel, i.e.*, a cocoanut contributed by Todar Mál Tannan, and gives the same to the *putreta* also. The practice is as old as the time of Akbar when it is said, both Akbar and Todar Mal sent one cocoanut each to every Khatri in the country, who celebrated the marriage of his son, the former to please the latter who was his Revenue Minister, and the latter to please his caste. The royal *tambol* ceased to exist from the death of Akbar, but the Khattris of this part of the country preserved the custom to perpetuate the memory of this popular potentate.”

5. For the last several years Multan has been the battle-ground of communal tension between the Hindus and Muhammadans. This has had a baneful effect on this custom also. Since the despicable riots of 1922 the relations between the communities in Multan as well as in other places have been very much estranged with the result that each community has been contriving by all possible means to boycott the other. Here, as elsewhere, Muhammadans have been striving to eradicate even the shadow of Hindu element from almost all phases of their life. The Hindus have retaliated with equal force and vigour so much so that in the recital mentioned in para. 2 above for the words “*Akbar Sháh Bádsháh de ghar dá nárel,*” the *bhats* have since been using the words “*Sri Ram Chandr Ji de ghar dá nárel.*” This change, though brought about by providential circumstances, is very much regretted but it is not without its significance as it tends to show how historical facts are shaped by such circumstances. Whether the Hindu *bhats* of Bahawalpur have done the same it has not been possible to ascertain.

PARMANAND ARORA,

M.A., M.R.A.S.

SURGEON GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

In the paper entitled "Jahan-Ara" and published in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society Vol. II, No. 2 (1914), the author has controverted the assertion that Surgeon Gabriel Boughton did not take part in the treatment and recovery of Jahan-Ara' Begum, daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan. The learned author has noticed the "Boughton legend" at greater length than the scope of the article would seem to admit. He has consulted those sources which he has particularly noticed by name; and others, which he has omitted, as the context would show, to refer by name. As an editor and employee of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he must have read the paper on Surgeon Boughton and the privileges to the English traders published in 1912 in the Society's Journal, and Mr. William Foster's two learned Monographs in the Indian Antiquary for 1911 and 1912, on the former of which the paper in the Asiatic Society's Journal was based.

What the author's main contention is summed up in this one sentence "that Boughton must have left Surat many months (*could it not be many days or hours?*) earlier than the 3rd January, 1645." Again "It is quite in the fitness of things that Asalat Khan should have sent for a capable European Surgeon from Surat."

Without going through the various arguments and facts advanced by William Foster in the Indian Antiquary and by myself in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal *re* "the Boughton legend" may I at once bring to the notice of the writer of the article, Mr. Yazdani, that Gabriel Boughton went with Asalat Khan, who *had long importuned us* (President and Council at Surat), not to Agra, but to Central Asia,—to Balucke (Balkh) as a body—Physician of that minister. It is a fact noted by Persian writers that none but Hakīms or Yunanī Physicians took any part in prescribing those medicines that were taken internally; but Physicians and laymen of other nationalities took part in the treatment of the external sores. It is also a fact, that these latter treatments were of no benefit to the august patient, but only the ointments given by two unknown persons—Arif and Hemūn. Every one of the Physicians and quacks, whose medicines were found to be efficacious, were rewarded and mentioned in the Persian Histories of the time. But those whose medicines did no good to the Princess, were not mentioned. If Dr. Boughton was so quick as to arrive at Agra or Delhī in time, he too like others were not mentioned because his treatment like that of others was of no benefit to the Princes. Either he took no part in the treatment or took part without being successful in curing the sores. In either case Boughton, and through him the English Company could not get any concessions. Boughton got no concessions nor even a Khel'at.

ABDUL WALI, M.R.A.S.

HISTORY OF CHAMBA STATE.

(By J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel).

Chamba is one of the oldest Native States in India, having been founded not later than A.D. 600. It is situated in the bosom of the Himālaya Mountains, between north latitude $32^{\circ} 11' 30''$ and $33^{\circ} 13' 6''$ and east longitude $75^{\circ} 49' 0''$ and $77^{\circ} 3' 30''$. The boundaries are as follows:—

On the north-west and west, Jammu and Kashmir; on the north-east and east, Ladak, British-Lahul and Bara Bangāhal, on the south-east and south, the Districts of Kāngra and Gurdāspur.

The superficial area of the State is 3,216 square miles; with a population of 144,867 at the Census of 1921; giving a proportion of about 41 to the square mile.

In shape the State is more or less of a rough oblong contracted towards the north. The greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is about 70 miles; and the greatest breadth, from south-east to north-west, about 50 miles. The average length may be put at 65 miles, and the average breadth at 50 miles. Within this area are comprised a small portion of the Biās Valley; a section of the Rāvī Valley, which is the Chamba Valley Proper; and a similar section of the Chinab Valley called Pāngī and Chamba-Lahul. The territory is wholly mountains, with altitudes ranging from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above sea-level; the inhabited area reaching to 10,000 feet.

The mountain ranges running through the State from south-east to north-west and forming the watersheds of the great rivers are, the Outer Himālaya or Dhaula Dhār, separating the Biās from the Rāvī; the Mid-Himālaya or Pāngī Range—the Pir Panjāl of geologists—separating the Rāvī from the Chināb; and the Main Himālaya closing in the State to the north and separating the Chināb from the Indus.

The State contains five sub-divisions called *Wazārats*:—

Bhattiat, in the Bias Valley.

Chamba, Brahmour and Churah in the Ravi Valley.

Pangi including *Chamba-Lahul*, in the Chinab Valley.

Chamba, the capital, and the only town in the State, has a population of about 6,000. It stands on a plateau on the right bank of the Rāvī—19 miles due east of the hill station of Dalhousie and about 50 miles from Shāhpur, where the Rāvī debouches on the plains.

The principal authority for the history of the State is the *Vansāvalī*, or genealogical roll of the Rājas, which in addition to a list of names contains much historical material of great interest. Its value as a historical record has been fully proved by the study of

the inscriptions which, on the one hand, have confirmed its credibility, and on the other, have derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. Next in importance are the epigraphical records and copper-plate title-deeds. Sheltered by its snowclad mountains barriers, Chamba has had the rare good fortune to escape the successive waves of Muhammadan invasion which swept away all monuments of old Indian civilization on the plains. The result is that its ancient remains are more abundant and better preserved than in any other part of the Punjab. In Kashmīr, a centre of Sanskrit learning in former times, the temples of Lilitaditya and his successors were ruthlessly destroyed by Sikandar Butshikan; and only a few poor fragments of inscriptions have come to light. In Chamba, the brazen idols of Meru-verman, nearly contemporaneous with the temple of Mārtund, still stand in their ancient shrines of carved cedar wood-copper plate grants issued by the early rulers of Chamba, whose names figure in the *Rājataranginī* are still preserved by the descendants of the original donees, who enjoy the granted lands up to the present day. Chamba is thus not only a store-house of antiquities, but in itself a relic of the past, invaluable to the student of India's ancient history.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to draw attention, in 1839, to the ancient remains of Chamba, but it was only in more recent years that the whole wealth of antiquarian and especially epigraphical material has come to light. The inscriptions are found all over the State and are remarkable alike for their number and their variety. Excluding the last two centuries, no fewer than 130 inscriptions have been collected, of which 50 are of the pre-Muhammadan and 80 of the Muhammadan period. The oldest inscriptions are in the Gupta character of the seventh century, and those of a later date are in Sārada—the script in use in the Punjab hills, and probably also on the plains, from about the eighth century; and still in use in Kashmīr. The more recent ones are in Tākari and Nāgari and a few in Tibetan. These records are classified according to the objects on which they are found, as rock inscriptions, image inscriptions slab inscriptions, and copper-plate title-deeds. The rock inscriptions are the most ancient, but they are few in number and difficult to decipher. The image inscriptions come next in point of age, which the oldest are found on the idols erected by Rāja Meru-Varma in Brahmaur about A.D. 700. Most of the stone inscriptions are found on large slabs, covered with quaint and grotesque figures, which the traveller will often observe at springs, either *in situ* or lying disused and broken. These slabs originally formed parts of elaborately carved water fountains erected in the olden time, chiefly by the Rānas and Thākurs, who ruled the country previous to the advent of the Rājas, and who continued to exercise great authority for centuries after their subjection. These inscriptions always record the erection of a cistern (called *Varuna-deva*), in memory of their deceased ancestor, and for their spiritual bliss in the next world. Such *carved* slabs are found not only all over the State but also beyond its borders,

whereas inscribed slabs seem to be peculiar to Chamba. The oldest of the latter kind records the erection of a temple by a feudatory of Rāja Meru-Varma, as the Rāna styles himself, and must therefore date from about A.D. 700. Historically these epigraphs are of great value. In most cases they are fully dated, both according to the era then in use and the regnal year of the ruling chief of the time. Two of them found in Pāngī have made it possible to fix the dates of accession of two Chamba Rājas of the twelfth century, whose names alone are found in the *Vansāvalī*.

The Chamba State also possesses a unique collection of copper-plate title-deeds—more than 150 in number,—five of them belonging to the pre-Muhammadan period. In ancient times and down almost to the present day it was customary to give copper-plate title-deeds, conveying grants of land to Brahmans and temples. Such title-deeds are referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, and must therefore have been in use in the fifth century. With the exception of a few plates, the Panjāb has yielded no ancient records of this kind, though they must have been at one time as numerous there as in other parts of India. The pre-Muhammadan plates have a special value. The oldest of them was issued by Yugākara-Varma(n), son and successor of Rāja Sāhila-Varma(n), who founded the present capital. Three others, of the eleventh century, corroborate the references to Chamba in the *Rājataranginī*, and also give us the names of two Rājas which are not found in the *Vansāvalī*. Of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not a single copper-plate has been found, but from A.D. 1,330 a series of plates begins which has been continued without interruption to the present day.

The most difficult problem in connection with these inscriptions is their chronology. The very early ones are not dated, and only palaeographic evidence is available in fixing the period to which they belong. The earliest dated epigraphs bear only the regnal year of the Rāja then in power, and not till the eleventh century do we meet with a document bearing a date of any recognized era. The first inscription, fully dated in both the Sāstra and Vikrāma eras, is that of Rāja Vairāsi-Varma(n), A.D. 1,330, and from that time onwards the epigraphs usually bear a date in the Sāstra and Vikrāma and sometimes also in the Sāka eras.

The Vikrāmaditya era appears to have only then begun to come into use in Chamba. Previous to this the era in common use was the Leka-kālā or Sāstra era already referred to, otherwise called the Saptarshi, or era of the Seven Rishis. It is identical with the Laukika or Kashmīri era of the *Rājataranginī*, which was in use in Kashmīr and throughout the hills from the earliest times, and is still in common use in Chamba State, along with the Vikrāmaditya and Christian eras.

The Sāstra era is a cycle of 2,700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 *Nakshatras*, or lunar mansions. The reckoning is, in practice, never carried beyond 100, and each century as it comes to an end is left entirely out of computation. The first

year of each century of this era corresponds to the 24th year of each Christian century. Though this era probably was in use in Chamba from the earliest times, it does not appear to have been used to record public events, at any rate no trace of any such use has yet been found previous to the eleventh century. This era is thus highly unsatisfactory for chronological purposes. It is found, however, on most of the copper-plates from that of Rāja Vairāsi-Varma(n) onwards. From that time there is clear and exact testimony from the plates confirmatory of the *Vansavali*. In all of them is mentioned the name of the reigning Rāja, by whom the grant was made, also usually the name of his father and often of his mother, and sometimes that of an ancestor. Generally, too, the name and date of the month, and in a few cases the day of the week on which the plate was given, are stated and in some of the plates there are other details which are of historical interest. So far as known, Chamba is the only place in the Panjāb where copper-plate grants of the pre-Muhammadan period are found, and the existence of a series of documents of this kind, issued by a line of rulers of one State, during a period of ten centuries, is thus unique in the province and probably in the whole of India. Regarded historically these ancient epigraphical and antiquarian remains are of great value, for they enable us to compile a more detailed and coherent history of Chamba than of any of the Himālayan States, except Kashmīr and Nepāl, and they throw important side-lights on the history of neighbouring territories, where documentary evidence is more scanty than in Chamba, and can, therefore, be supplemented from the Chamba records. In this connection the references to Chamba in the *Rājataranginī* are specially interesting. Another circumstance which lends a special charm to the study of these ancient remains is, that in them the present is linked with the past by an unbroken tie. In Chamba, ancient traditions and institutions have survived to the present time, of which in most other parts of India, even the remembrance has long since passed away. The State is still ruled by a descendant of the royal line, some of whose members bore a conspicuous part in the civil wars of Kashmīr in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He still resides in the ancient capital of his ancestors, and is saluted by his subjects with the classical greeting of Jai Deo. At the original capital of Brahmapura, now Brahmaur, the brazen idols still stand in the carved temples in which they were placed by Rāja Meru-Varma(n) about A.D. 700, and in the present capital *puja* is still performed, as of yore, in the elaborate shrines erected by Rāja Sāhiba-Varma(n) in the early part of the tenth century. The Rānas also—those powerful barons of the Hills whose tenure antedated even that of the Rājas—are represented by numerous families, still clinging to their ancient title and to the remnants of their former patrimony. The official, too, who presides over the fifty sub-divisions of the State, still bears a title (*chāta*—now Chār), which in Chamba has remained unchanged from remote times, though it has long since passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

One point remains to be noted in connection with these documents; they all have one feature in common. Almost without exception, they have a religious purport, which is definitely stated in the inscription itself. In the case of those recording the consecration of temples or images this is obvious. The donations of land to Brahmans and temples, recorded on copper-plates, had likewise the character of pious acts, calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor; and the same is true of the fountain slabs, erected in memory of deceased ancestors and for the sake of their bliss in the next world. The essentially religious character of the epigraphs shows at once their limitations as historical records. Practically none of these inscriptions were intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. Any historical reference in them is purely incidental and merely an episode in the eulogy devoted to the ancestor of the donor. The historically important points are omitted.

On the other hand the sacred associations attaching to all these inscriptions have, in a large degree, contributed to preserve them from wilful damage; where inscriptions have become defaced or destroyed this has been mostly due to the forces of nature. In only very few instances have such stones been appropriated to building purposes or wantonly damaged.

There are also a good many references to the State in the annals of other hill States and in the *Rājataranginī* and Muhammadan histories, which have proved of much value in fixing the chronological order of events.

Lastly, social conditions have been prevalent in the hills from remote times which invest traditionary lore with an importance and credibility which it would not otherwise possess, and much interesting information has come down through this channel.

There are no sources of information to help us to determine who were the original inhabitants of the mountain area now included in Chamba State, but common tradition affirms that they came from the plains. If one may hazard a conjecture where all is uncertain it seems not improbable that the aborigines of these hills are now represented to a large extent by the various low-caste tribes, which form a very considerable proportion of the population. We know that this is the case on the plains, and it seems not unreasonable to believe that the same is true of the hills. In Chamba State the tribes in question comprise fully one-fourth of the population. They are included under the names of Kolī, Hālī, Sipi, Chamār, Dumna, Barwāla, Megh, Darain, Rehāra, Sarāra, Lohār, Bhatwāl, Dhaugrī, and some others.¹ Though differing among themselves as regards social status, they are all looked upon as outcastes, by the high caste Hindu, who applies to them the epithet of Chanāl or Chandāl. These low caste

¹ The Megh, Dum, Chamar and other allied castes are found in the same social position in the Jammu area. In Kangra and Kulu, and as far as the Satluj, the same or similar names are used to designate the same class of people.

tribes possess no traditions as to their original home, which tends to confirm the conjecture that a long period of time must have elapsed since they first migrated to the hills. General Cunningham believed that the Western Himālaya were at one time occupied by a true Kolian group from the same race as the Kols of Central India.¹ There are still many people in the Western Hills who bear the name of Kolī; and the Hālī, Sipī, Megh and Dāgī, etc., are essentially the same people. The Dāgī of Kulū for example, are all called Kolī as an alternative name. These tribes must have been of non-Aryan origin like the other aborigines of India, but a great fusion of races took place in ancient times by intermarriage, and later by degradation from the high castes, a process which is still going on. This doubtless led in course of time to many changes in the appearance and characteristics of the people, and to these we may ascribe the fact that all now exhibit the features of the Aryan race, and use dialects of the Aryan family of languages. These low-caste tribes are employed in menial occupations, many of them being farm-servants and artisans. Some of those in Chamba State, and probably in other parts of the hills, are small farmers, and hold land either directly from the State, or from high-caste proprietors. In their subordinate position of farm servants they were usually spoken of as *kāma*, and in former times, and indeed up to the commencement of British rule, were in a state analagous to that of slavery. Even now they labour under some social restrictions, especially in the Native States; and their condition generally seems to indicate that they have long occupied a very depressed position in the social scale. There is a common saying in the hills which runs thus:—

Chanāl jetha : Rāthī kanētha.

“The Chanāl is the elder brother: the Rāthī the younger.” The meaning attached to this saying by the people is, that the high-castes are dependent on the Chanals, just as a younger brother is on an elder one. No ceremony of any importance can take place without their presence and help. At births, marriages and deaths they are indispensable in one capacity or another. It seems improbable, however, that this was the original signification, which has become obscured through the lapse of ages. It is more likely that the saying is an unconscious expression of the general conviction that the Chanāls were the original inhabitants of the hills. The Rāthīs came at a later period; yet so long a time has passed since even they migrated to the mountains, that they are generally regarded as having been always resident there.

A new view of Aryan migration, recently suggested by Professor Rhys Davids, throws much light on the colonisation of the hills.¹

¹ There was also probably a large Dravidian element in the aboriginal population of the hills, Vedic India, pages 287-293 and the North Western Province of India by W. Crooke, pages 58-93.

¹ Buddhist India, page 32.

He postulates three lines of advance, one of which was along the foot of the Himālaya from Kashmīr eastward. The Aryans, being hillmen, tended to cling to the hills, and we learn that there is clear evidence, in Sanskrit literature, of their presence in the Western Himālaya at a very early period, probably before that in which the hymns of the Rig Veda were compiled.² We may therefore assume that the oldest strata of the Aryan population of Chamba State are of very ancient origin.³

At the present time the four principal caste sub-divisions are Brahman, Rājput, Thakkur and Rāthī—of which the two latter may be regarded as one caste—and they include the great bulk of the high-caste population. It is noteworthy that, in general character and mutual relationship, they substantially represent the three sections of the ancient Aryan community, *vis.*, Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya.⁴

But while the lower strata of the population in each of these castes are probably of ancient origin, it is certain that all of them have received large accessions from the plains to various periods, as the result of invasion and immigration.

As regards the Brahmans, it is probable that many of them began to find their way into the hills at an early period, as priests and religious devotees. The Gaddī Brahmans have a tradition that their ancestors came from Delhi to Brahmaur in the reign of Rāja Ajia-Varma(n) A.D. 780-800. Many of the Rājputs are probably the descendants of invaders from the plains. The Gaddī Rājputs have the same tradition as the Gaddī Brahmans as to their original home: while the Gaddī Khattris say that their ancestors fled from Lahore to escape persecution, probably at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions. Doubtless many of all castes came to the hills for the same reason during the period of Muhammadan Rule.

The Thakkur and Rāthī are almost certainly of ancient origin, and are regarded as indigenous to the hills, or indigenous to the hills, or indigenous by the half-blood with the aborigines. These castes are widely distributed throughout the Western Hills. In the Jammu area, between the Jhelum and the Rāvī, they are all classed as Thakkur: and in the Kāngra area, the same people are called Thakkur and Rāthī. They are essentially an agricultural people, resembling in many respects the Jats of the plains. In Chamba they number more than one-half of the high-caste inhabitants, and form the backbone of the population.

The Gaddīs are a separate clan. The term Gaddī is a generic name, and under it are included Brahmans, Rājputs, Khattris, Thakkurs and Rāthīs. The majority, however, are Khattris. As the custom of the Brahman and Rājput sections is to return themselves

² Vedic India, page 170.

³ Dr. Grierson has recently pointed out that the dialects of Rajputana are closely allied to those of the Himalaya. R.A.S. October, 1901, page 808.

⁴ The original meaning of Vaishya simply was "the common people."

under their caste names, it is improbable that many of these have been classed as Gaddis. The Census Returns may, therefore, be regarded as including, chiefly, the Khatri, Thakkur and Rāthī sections of the clan. The traditions as to their original home have already been referred to. They are found principally in the Brahmaur Wazārat, which is called Gadaran, but also in other parts of the State.

As regards the minor high-castes, chiefly consisting of Khatri, Kūmhār, Jat, Sikh, etc., the figures for each are so small that their presence in the State is easily accounted for, and the same is true of the Muhammadan portion of the population. They must all have come from the plains probably at no very remote period.

Now the most ancient traditions current in the hills have reference to a time when the greater part of the Western Himālaya was under the rule of petty chiefs, who bore the title of Thākkur or Rāna. These chiefs owned States of very diminutive size, and, in what is now Chamba territory, each of these was called Thākkur; or *ranhu*.¹ They are said to have been constantly at war with one another, and their *ranhu* boundaries were in consequence very unsettled. As regards caste the general opinion is that the Rānas were Rājputs, and all the existing families are of this caste. In the case of the Thākkurs common opinion is not so clear, but the general impression seems to be that they belonged to the caste which is indicated by the name. Probably most of them originally were of Rāthī caste. We may suppose that, having gained an ascendancy over a small portion of territory, each of these Rāthī leaders was recognized as ruler, and assumed, or was given the title of 'Thākkur,' meaning 'Chief' or 'Lord.' The various offshoots of the ruling families of Rāthī caste would naturally seek a distinctive name for themselves, and thus the word Thakkur probably acquired the secondary meaning which it still bears, as the name of a separate caste. This caste ranks immediately beneath the Rājput, and above the Rāthī, the chief distinction being that the Rājput will take the daughter of a Thākkur in marriage, but will not give his own in return, and the same is true of the Thakkur and Rāthī. As a caste name the word is pronounced Thākkur.²

The period during which the Thākkurs and Rānas ruled in the hills is spoken of as the 'Apthakkuri' or 'Thākurian.' This Thākurian period seems to have been of very ancient origin, but when it began, and how long it lasted, are questions to which no

¹ *Gadaran* from Skr. *gadar* 'a sheep' and meaning. "Sheep country," and *gaddi* "a shepherd."

¹ Many inscriptions dating from the time of the Ranas have recently been found in Chamba. One of the earliest of these containing the word Rajanaka—Rana, dates from about A.D. 700.

² The original form was Thakkura, of which Thakkur is a later form. The word Rajanaka—Rana is not found in the classical literature of India, and seems to be a Sanskritized rather than a real Sanskrit word and the same is true of *Thakkura*—Thakkur.

satisfactory answers can be given. One thing is certain, that it continued in force a much longer time in some parts of the mountains than in others. In the Kulū Settlement Report, Sir J. B. Lyall points out that the traditions relating to that period are carried back to a much more remote past in the case of Kāngra than in that of Kulū, and they refer to a time which is comparatively recent as regards the Rāvī and Chandrabhāga Valleys. It is true that the Upper Rāvī Valley was conquered from the Rānas, who previously ruled there, by the founder of the Chamba State, in the middle of the sixth century A.D.; but the lower portion of the valley was not subdued till the early part of the tenth century. The Kashtwār State was founded towards the end of the tenth century, the country having been taken from the Thākkurs who previously held it. The Thākkurs of the Chandrabhāga Valley, evidently independent rulers, are referred to in the *Rājataranginī* as late as the early part of the twelfth century. The Bhadrawāh State again seems, from the *Vansāvālī*, to have been founded about the time of Akbar the Great, and there, too, the Rānas are said to have been in power previous to this. A still more striking instance is that of Pādar in the Chandrabhāga Valley. There the Rānas unquestionably ruled the country until subdued by Rāja Chatar Singh of Chamba, at a date subsequent to A.D. 1664. The descendants of several of them are still in existence, and are now reduced to the position of common zamindars, but the traditions regarding them are so clear and definite that there can be no doubt as to their authenticity. In Pāngī the traditions of a Thākkurain period refer to a time more remote than in the case of Pādar, due to the fact that it was subjected to Chamba at an earlier date. There also, however, several of the old families still exist as common farmers.¹ In Lahul the Thākkurs are in possession to the present day of most of the territory ruled by their ancestors. Indeed, all through the hills traces are still to be found of the older order of things, and local tradition can often point to the sites of the Rānas' forts² or recall stories of their exploits, and even define the boundaries of their territories. In the Chamba State there are several cases in which their descendants retain possession to this day of the whole, or a part of the old family domain, and still bear the old family title; while many more who have sunk to the position

¹ A Rana and a Thakkur are still resident in Kilar, and on the first day of the annual *mela* in October, they are escorted in state from their homes to the place of meeting; the Local State officials even sometimes supporting them on the right and left. In Kashtwar the ancient rulers were called *Rolar* probably from *Ranuutra*.

² The remains of the Ranas' fort are still to be seen on the Bannu Hill near Chamba; and the following popular rhyme has handed down the name of one of them to our own day:—"Rahla Rana, Bahla Rani; Bannu kot, Sarol pani; Badram janjan khani."

"Rahla Rana and Bahla Rani had their fort on Bannu Hill, their water from Sarol (a cool spring near Chamba), and their rice from Badram (a place near Chamba)."

of common cultivator are spoken of, and addressed as Rāna. In the Kulū Settlement Report Sir J. B. Lyall says: "Many of the existing kothis and tappas are said to have possessed their present limits from the day when each of them formed the domain of a Thākkur." The same is probably true as regards some of the *parganas* of Chamba State, though, judging from common tradition, the country would seem to have been more minutely subdivided than was the case in Kulū. In former times, however, these *parganas* were more numerous than at present and may then have represented, to a greater extent than they do now, the ancient limits of the old ranhus. Some of the State kothis are said to stand on the very sites formerly occupied by the Rānas' forts, and in several instances the ancient buildings themselves are still in use.

As regards their relation to the more powerful States in their vicinity, Sir J. B. Lyall suggests that the small States of the Thakurain period can seldom have been entirely independent. He says: "Without a lord-paramount, and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side for any length of time. It is pretty certain, therefore, that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power." This remark was made with reference to the States of the Kulū area, but it is probably true of the whole of the Western Hills. General Cunningham was of opinion that in early times the greater part of the tract now comprised in the Chamba State, as far east as the Rāvī and Dhaulā Dhār, was under the control of Kashmir. This would appear to have been the case in the seventh century, at the time of the visit of Huen Tshang, and it was so again in the ninth century, when, by the conquest of Trigarta, the sovereign power of Kashmir was extended to the Satluj. Chamba was again conquered by Kashmir about A.D. 1050-60 and seems to have remained more or less dependent on that kingdom until the early part of the twelfth century, when the confusion resulting from internal dissension, and the Muhammadan invasions, enabled it to assert its independence. We may, therefore, conclude that, from very early times, Kashmir claimed suzerain power over the greater part of the territory now embraced in Chamba State.

The Thākurain period was followed by the rise of numerous Rājput principalities which held sway throughout the Western Hills up to comparatively recent times, and some of which still remain.¹ These were all founded by Rājput leaders—each probably with a small band of followers—who either came directly from the Plains, or were scions of one or other of the ruling families who had previously established themselves in the Hills. By them the Rānas¹ and Thākkurs were either expelled, or reduced to the position of tribu-

¹ In the Simla Hill States, some of which are almost as diminutive as an ancient *ranhu*, most of the rulers still bear the old title of Rana or Thakkur, and collectively these States are called the Thakurain.

taries or subjects.¹

Researches in Chamba have brought to light the interesting fact that the Rānas did not immediately sink into obscurity after their final subjection, but continued for a long period to hold influential positions in the State. They are mentioned in one of the early copper-plate title-deeds under the name of 'Rājānaka,' and the place in order assigned them,—immediately after the Rāja,—seems to indicate that they were prominent and honourable members of the community. They seem also to have filled various offices in the State administration. There are also traditions pointing to the fact that they did not always yield a willing obedience to the new rulers and that rebellion was not unknown among them. And such outbreaks did not occur only in Chamba, for we learn from the annals of Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār, that, in both of these States the old rulers combined against their new masters, and made a determined effort to drive them out. In each case this happened a long period posterior to the founding of the State.

According to General Cunningham, the oldest classification of the Rajput principalities of the Western Himālaya, between the Satluj and the Indus, divided them into three groups, each of which was named after the State which held the position of head of the confederation. These were Kashmīr, Durgara or Dugar, and Trigarta. There are indications that this division into three groups was in existence from a period anterior to the seventh century, and Chamba was in early times associated with the first, or Kashmīr, group of States. A classification of much later date divided the alpine Panjab, between the Satluj and the Indus, into 22 Hindu and 22 Muhammadan Chiefships¹—the former being to the east and the latter to the west of the Chenab.² Again the 22 Hindu States between the Satluj and the Chenāb were arranged in two groups or circles, named the Jālandhar or Kangra Circle, and the Dugar or Jammu Circle, one being to the east, and the other to the west of the Rāvī. Each of these circles was popularly regarded as containing eleven States, Kāngra and Jammu being recognized as the respective heads. Chamba was chiefly associated with the Kāngra Circle, but owing to the fact that the Rāvī divides the State into two parts, it was included in both groups.³

The royal clan in each of these States had a special designation based on the custom which obtained in almost all the Rajput States in the hills, in accordance with which the ruling line took its distinctive name from that of the country over which it ruled. The clan name of the Chamba royal family is Chambiāl or Chamiāl.

¹ There are still twenty or thirty Rana families in Chamba State.

² Excepting Chamba, Mandi and Suket, they were all overthrown during Sikh rule—between A.D. 1811 and 1841. All the States of the Dugar Circle, except Chamba, and all the Muhammadan States between the Chenab and Jhelum are now merged in Jammu.

³ Anc. Geo. of India, p. 130.

³ Vide Kangra Settlement Report, p. 6.

The original suffix in the Chamba royal family, was 'Varma(n)', a cognomen extensively used in ancient times. It was used in the reigning families of Nepāl, Kamrūp or Assam, and Kanauj in the seventh and eighth centuries; in the Rathor family before it acquired Kanauj, and by the Chandēl Rajas of Bandēlkhand. Though probably not adopted as a dynastic surname in any of these families, its use by individual chiefs proves that it was widely known. There was also an entire Varma(n) dynasty in Kashmīr, from A.D. 854 to A.D. 939; and the cognomen is still in use in the royal houses of Travancore and Cochin. The Chamba Rājas continued to bear it till the end of the sixteenth century, after which it was gradually displaced by "-Singh," which was then coming into general use among Rājputs, but the older title is still employed in all religious ceremonies.

The title 'Deva' is also found after each Rāja's name in the inscriptions and copper-plates. This too was a royal designation, as we learn from Sanskrit literature, and was affixed to the names of all kings and queens in its masculine or feminine form, just as Rex and Regina are in our own Royal Family. Hence arose the Rājput salutation Jaideya—Jaidevāh, which originally was accorded only to Rājputs of royal rank. The original form in Sanskrit was *Jayatu Devāh*, 'May the King be victorious.'

In former times, as we learn from the copper-plates, an heir-apparent in Chamba bore the title of 'Yuvarāja.' When it was disused is not known, but it is found in plates issued towards the end of the sixteenth century. At the present time an heir apparent, if a son of the ruling chief, has the distinctive title of 'Tikka,' while younger sons are named Duthain, Tirthain, Chauthain, etc. These titles are modern, and date only from the sixteenth century. The title 'Tikka' occurs on a plate, dated A.D. 1579.

The title 'Mian' was originally borne only by the scions of the royal houses of the Kāngra and Dugar Circles, and is said to have been given them by one of the Mughal Emperors, probably Jahāngīr, but its precise origin is unknown.¹ It occurs as "Mie" on a copper-plate, dated in A.D. 1623. A.D. 1613, as one of the titles of Janārdan, son and heir-apparent of Rāja Balabhadra, younger sons of a ruling chief, other than the Tikka, and also brothers, are addressed as 'Mian Sahib.'

It is difficult to determine with certainty the exact date at which the Chamba State was founded, but it seems probable that this event took place about the middle of the sixth century, A.D. The following are the reasons on which this conclusion is based. There are, as has already been said, several references to Chamba—or Chāmpa as the place was then named—in the *Rājataranginī*, and the earliest of these is interesting and valuable as furnishing a fixed and fairly reliable date from which to begin our chronological in-

¹ *Mian* probably means 'Prince.'

quiry. We read that Ananta-Deva, Rāja of Kashmīr, who reigned from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063, invaded Chamba; uprooted the ruling Rāja named Sāla, and set up another in his place. No reference to this invasion is to be found to the State annals, and there is only one Rāja mentioned in the *vansāvalī*, whose name bears any resemblance to that in the *Rājataranginī*. This is the name of Sāla or Sāhila-Varma(n) who was the founder of the present capital. It was for some time supposed that this was the Rāja referred to, and the absence of any allusion to the invasion in the Chronicle left the matter more or less in doubt, until the discovery of three copper-plate title-deeds, which practically set the question at rest. All of these title-deeds make mention of a Rāja Sālavāhana-Varma(n), whose name is entirely omitted from the *vansāvalī*, as also that of his elder son, Soma-Varma(n). Asata-Varma(n), his younger son, is alone mentioned. It is manifest that Sālavāhana must be the Rāja referred to as having been deposed by Ananta-Deva. That both he and his son, Soma-Varma(n) actually reigned is clear from the tenor of the inscriptions on the copper-plates. Unfortunately they have no date. We know, however, that Ananta-Deva began his reign as a child in A.D. 1028, and may therefore assume that his conquest of Chamba cannot have taken place before A.D. 1050. As he abdicated in favour of his son in 1063, the invasion must have occurred previous to this; and such is implied in the narrative. The earliest of the copper-plates in question purports to have been granted by Soma-Varma(n), son of Sālavāhana-Varma(n), in the seventh year of his reign, in the month of Bhādon, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in Bhādon¹ A.D. 1066, and though the day does not exactly correspond with that on the plate, it is near enough to raise a strong probability that this is the eclipse referred to. In ancient times it was customary to date such plates on the very day of the eclipse, as it was considered to add to the merit of the gift, but there were doubtless exceptions to the rule, and this may have been one of them. It is very interesting to note that the signature of Sālavāhana himself appears on the plate in a somewhat defaced but quite legible form, and from this we may conclude that it had been his intention to make the grant himself, and that he was prevented from doing so by his deposition and probable death. The son was thus only carrying out his father's wish.

Now if we count back seven years from A.D. 1066, we get A.D. 1059-60 as the probable date of the invasion of Ananta-Deva, and of Soma-Varma(n); accession, and in any case that invasion cannot have been later than A.D. 1060, nor much earlier than A.D. 1050. From

¹ Solar eclipse took place in the month of Bhādon of the years 1047—1056 and 1066, but we are justified in restricting the alternative dates to 1056 and 1066, the latter being regarded as the more probable date of the eclipse referred to.

this date to A.D. 1870, the year in which Rāja Srī-Singh died, there were 37 Rājas in consecutive order, during a period of 810-20 years, giving an average reign of 22 years. Again from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1870—a period for which there are authentic and reliable data, there were 11 Rājas in 281 years, with an average reign of 25 years. General Cunningham allows 25 years to each reign, but this seems excessive; an average of 20 years would appear to be safer. Now there were, according to the *vansavali*, 26 Rājas from Maru, the founder of the State, to Sālavāhana, whose reign came to an end not later than A.D. 1060. Allowing an average reign of 20 years we arrive at A.D. 540-50 as the approximate date for the founding of the State, which is thus proved to be one of the most ancient native principalities in India. The original capital, as we know, was at Brahmaur in the Upper Rāvī Valley, where numerous traditions are still current concerning many of the ancient Rājas, and there are also archæological and epigraphical remains, which afford a remarkable corroboration of the conclusion which has been reached, as regards the antiquity of the State. There are three inscriptions on brass in Brahmaur, and one in Chatrārī, a village half-way between Brahmour and Chamba. Of these one is on the pedestal of a brazen bull of life size, standing in front of the temple of Mani-Mahesa, the erection of which is traditionally ascribed to Meru-Varma(n) who was the eighth Rāja in succession from Maru. The two other inscriptions at Brahmour are on the pedestals of the idols Lakshana Devī, and Ganesa, and that at Chatrārī is similarly on the pedestal of the image of Saktī Devī; and the erection of these idols is traditionally attributed to the same Rāja. The inscriptions themselves which have now been translated confirm these popular traditions. The name of Meru-Varma(n) is found on all of them, and it is stated that the idols were dedicated by his order. Even more interesting is the fact that in two of these inscriptions—those of Lakshana Devī, and Ganesa—the Rāja traces back his own ancestry far three generations, and mentions the names of his father, Divākara Varma(n), his grandfather, Bala-Varma(n); and his great-grandfather, Aditya-Varma(n).¹ Two of these names are found in the *vansavali* in a modified form, which leaves no doubt as to their identity with the names in the inscriptions. The third—that of Bala-Varma(n)—seems to have been omitted at a very early period, probably in the process of copying. The name of Aditya-Varma(n) is found as Adi-Varma(n) in the *vansavali*, while that of Divākara-Varma(n) occurs as Devā-Varma(n), both in the *vansavali* and in the Chhatrārī inscription. There is unfortunately no date on any of these inscriptions, but from a careful examination of the characters in which they are written, they cannot be assigned to a later period than the early part of the eighth century, and they probably date from the very beginning of that century. The name of Meru-

¹ He also mentions Moshuna or Mushuna, the progenitor of his race.

Varma(n) is evidently out of its proper place in the vansavali, as it stands fifth in succession after Divākara-Varma(n), who was his father. Correcting the vansavali by the inscriptions, which are more reliable, we find that Meru-Varra(n) reigned from A.D. 680 to A.D. 700, or a little later. A further proof that these inscriptions are contemporaneous is afforded by the fact that all of them were executed by the same workman, whose name was Gugga, as shown on the inscriptions themselves. This also is in agreement with common tradition, by which the name of Gugga has been handed down to the present day.

With all those data at our disposal it becomes a comparatively easy matter to fix an approximate date for the founding of the present capital. *Vansāvālī* is very explicit as to the founder, and here again common tradition is in full accord. His name was Sāhila-Varma(n), and he was the 20th Rāja in succession from Maru, the founder of the State. Sālavāhana-Varma(n) whose reign came to an end not later than A.D. 1060, was the sixth Rāja after Sāhila-Varma(n) and by deducting six reigns, or 120 years, from A.D. 1060, we find that Sāhila-Varma(n) must have ruled from about A.D. 920 to A.D. 940. His reign was probably along one, and it may have been in the earlier part of it, say A.D. 930, that the town of Chamba was founded, and the seat of government transferred thither from Brahmaur. From that time onward to the present day there is an almost unbroken chain of historical evidence furnished partly by the Chronicle, which is full and clear, and still more by a series of copper-plate title-deeds—about one hundred and fifty in number.¹ The oldest of these yet discovered bears the name of Yugākar-Varma(n), the son and successor of Sāhila-Varma(n). The date on this plate is a year of his reign, and the same is true of the plates of Vidagdha-Varma(n), his son, and of Soma-Varma(n) and Asata-Varma(n), sons of the deposed Rāja Sālavāhana-Varma(n), who followed their father in succession. Here, however, the *Rājataranginī* again comes to our aid, and from it we learn that Asata-Varma(n) visited Kashmir, on which Chamba was then dependent, in A.D. 1087-8; his son, Jāsata-Varma(n) in A.D. 1101; and his grandson Udaya-Varma(n) A.D. 1122. Udaya-Varma(n) name is probably mis-placed in the *vansāvālī*, and a correction has to be made in accordance with the *Rājataranginī*; otherwise these dates agree with the Chronicle.

It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further, except to remark that an examination of the records of other existing and extinct states would doubtless add much to our knowledge of Chamba history, as well as throw light on the general course of events in the Western

¹ From ancient times it seems to have been the custom for every Chamba Chief, on his accession, to make a grant of land to a Brahman or a temple. As many as 42 of these plates are known to have been given in the course of one reign.

Himālaya in former times.

The Rājas of Chamba belong to the Surajvansī line of Rājputs; and their *vansāvālī* begins from Vishnu or Narāyana.¹ Rāma, the hero of the Ramāyana, is sixty-third in the order of descent, which is continued through Kusa, the third son of Rāma. The original home of the family is said to have been in Ayodhya, but they removed at a very early period to the Upper Ganges Valley, where they settled in Kalapa. The historical portion of the *vansāvālī* commences with the name of Maru who was then the head of the family, and contains sixty-seven names including that of the present ruling Chief.

Maru is said to have been at first a religious devotee whose life was given up to *tapas* or self-mortification. He afterwards married, and three sons were born to him. When they reached manhood he bestowed a kingdom on each of them. Leaving the eldest in the ancestral home, he traversed the Panjāb with the other two, and settled one of them in the mountains near Kashmīr. Accompanied by Jaistambh, the youngest, he then penetrated to the Upper Rāvī Valley through the outer hills, and having conquered that territory from the petty Rānas who held it, he founded the town of Brahma-pura¹ and made it the capital of a new State. This event is believed to have taken place about the middle of the sixth century, A.D.

The original State was of very small extent, and in all likelihood comprised, at the most, only the present Brahmaur Wazārat, *i.e.*, the valley of the Rāvī from below Bara Bangāhal, with its tributaries the Budhīl and the Tundahen, as far down as Chhatrārī.

It would appear that Maru's rule was not a long one, for the Chronicle says that, having founded the States, he made it over to his son, and returned to Kalapa, where he again became a *sādhu*.

After Maru several Rājas ruled in succession, but only their names are known. They were.—*Jaistambh*, *Jalstambh*, and *Mahastambh*.

Aditya-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 620).—The name of this Rāja appears as *Adi-Varma(n)* in the *vansāvālī* and is of very special interest, for it is twice mentioned in the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which he is referred to as the great-grandfather of *Meru-Varma(n)*, by whose orders they were engraved; and he was the first of the Chamba line to assume the suffix of 'Varma(n).²

¹ The people believe that the place was named after Brahmāni Devi, the patron goddess of the Budhīl Valley, whose shrine is situated a little way above the town. The name was in use, however, at a still earlier period, for the more ancient kingdom of Brahmāpura, now British Gathwal and Kamaon. The present form of the word is Brahmaur.

² The Sanskrit word, 'Varma(n),' means "armour, coat of mail; shelter, protection" and as the second member of a compound noun it means "protected by." It was anciently used in Rājput names; as *Sarma(n)* was in those of Brahmans.

There are several references to Chamba in the Kulū Chronicle³ and the earliest of these probably refers to Aditya Varma(n). It is to the effect that Brahma Pāl, Rāja of Kulū, left no legitimate sons, and the Rājas of Chamba (Brahmapura), Ladāk, Sukēt, Bushahar, Kāngra, and Bangūbal made one Ganesh Pāl his heir. This note is interesting as showing that at that early period the Brahmapura State was powerful enough to exert some influence in their internal affairs.

Bala-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 640).—The name of this Rāja is not found in the *vansāvalī*; having been omitted probably by a clerical error. It occurs, however, in two of the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which Bala-Varma(n) is called the grandfather of Meru-Varma(n).

Divākara-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 660).—In the Brahmaur inscriptions this Rāja's name is found in its full form; but in the *vansāvalī*, and the Chhatrārī inscription, it occurs as Devā-Varma(n).

Meru-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 680).—As the name of this chief stands fifth in the *vansāvalī*, after that of the previous Rāja who was his father, it is clearly out of its proper place. The error must have crept in at an early period, for all the existing copies of the *vansāvalī* are alike.

Meru-Varma(n) seems to have been one of the most notable of the early Brahmapura rulers. He was probably the first to extend the State boundaries by conquest, for in the Chhatrārī inscription it is recorded, that he dedicated the idol of Saktī Devī in gratitude for help against his enemies, whom he had attacked in their strongholds and overcome. An inscribed stone has recently been found at Gm which was erected by a *sāmanta* or feudatory of Meru-Varma(n), probably a Rāna, named Ashādha. From this it is clear that Meru-Varma(n)'s rule extended down the Rāvi Valley almost as far as the present capital. There is also a note in the Kulū Chronicle which almost certainly refers to him. In the reign of Srī Dateshawar Pāl, Rāja of Kulū, there was war with Chamba (Brahmapura) in which the Kulū Chief was killed by Amar, Rāja of Chamba. There is no such name on the Chamba roll; but it seems not improbable that Meru-Varma(n) is the Rāja referred to. Assuming this to be correct, it would appear that under Meru-Varma(n) the Brahmapura State asserted its power, and carried its arms successfully into one at least of the neighbouring principalities. This is confirmed by the further note in the Kulū annals that Amar Pāl, Rāja of that State, while defending his country from another inroad of the Brahmapura Chief, was slain with all his sons, except one. This son, Sital Pāl, was an exile for life, and he and five of his descendants never reigned, from which it would seem that Kulū remained subject to Brahmapura for a considerable period.¹

³ Vide "*Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*" by Captain Harcourt. Note, A cadet of the Chamba royal family founded the Bindralta State, now called Ramnagar situated to the north-east of Jammu.

¹ Vide "*Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*," pages 113-14.

But Meru-Varma(n) was not only a brave and warlike leader, he was also a great builder, and there are still in existence in Brahmaur many interesting remains, some of which are known to date from his time. They prove that even at that early period of its history the State possessed a considerable measure of wealth and material resources. The remains consist chiefly of temples, in a remarkably good state of preservation in spite of their long exposure to the weather. Their names are Mani-Mahesa Laksana Devī, Ganesa and Nārsingh.² In front of the Mani-Mahesa temple is a brazen bull of life size, on the pedestal of which is a long inscription. This and the other two inscriptions, in the temples of Laksana Devī and Ganesa, distinctly ascribe the dedication of all the idols named, except that of Nārsingh, and also of the brazen bull, to Meru-Varma(n). Tradition affirms that the Surajmukha Shrine was also built by him, and in accordance with ancient custom, a Chamba Rāja, when visiting Brahmaur, must pay his devotions at this temple before proceeding to his camp. The image of Sakti Devī at Chhatrārī, with its inscription, has already been referred to as dating from the reign of Meru-Varma(n). Lands are said to have been assigned for the support of these temples, but no title-deeds have yet been found of an earlier date than the tenth century.

Meru-Varma(n) was followed by several Rājas, of whom we know nothing but the names. These were;—*Mandār-Varma(n)*: *Kantār-Varma(n)*: *Praḡalbh-Varma(n)*.

Ajia-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 760).—The Gaddī Brahmins and Rājputs have a tradition that they came to Brahmaur from Delhi in the reign of this Rāja. It is also on record that when his son grew up to manhood Ajia-Varma(n) initiated him into the art of government, and then installed him as Rāja. He thereafter retired to the junction of the Rāvī and Budhil rivers near Ulānsa, where he spent the rest of his life in the worship of Siva; and is said to have been translated to heaven.

Suvarn-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 780).

Lakshmi-Varma(n)—(c.O.D. 800).—This Rāja had not been long in power when the country was visited by an epidemic of a virulent and fatal character, resembling cholera or plague. Large numbers fell victims to the disease, and the State was in a measure depopulated. Taking advantage of the desolation which prevailed, a people, bearing the name of 'Kīra' in the Chronicle, invaded Brahma-pura, and, having killed the Rāja, took possession of the territory. It is uncertain who the Kīra were. They are referred to in the *Brihat Samhita* in association with Kashmīris, but in such a manner as to show that the two nations were distinct from each other. Dr. Stein

² While the shrines of Lakshana Devi and Ganesa at Brahmaur and of Sakti Devi at Chhatrari, almost certainly date from the time of Meru-Varma(n) the present temple of Mani-Mahesa is probably of later date; the original temple, however, was erected by Meru-Varma(n) as proved by the inscription on the bull.

is of opinion that they occupied the mountains north-east of Kashmir and they may therefore have been Tibetans, or Yārkandīs, as is the belief in Chamba. They also held Baijnāth in the Kāngra Valley, which was anciently called Kīragrāma.

Kulū had probably remained under the sway of Brahmapura from the time of Meru-Varma(n); but it recovered its independence on the death of Lakshmi-Varma(n), for the Kulū Chronicle states that its Rāja obtained help from Bushabar and expelled the Chamba (Brahmapura) troops.

Mushan-Varma(n)—(c. A.D. 820).—Lakshmi-Varma(n) left no son, but his rānī was enceinte at the time of his death, and an interesting legend has come down to us regarding the birth of her child. On the defeat and death of the Rāja, the Wazīr and parohit, or family priest, had the rānī put into a pālki, and carried off towards Kāngra. On reaching the village of Gāroh, a little beyond Deoli, in the Trēhta *ilāqa* of the Upper Rāvī Valley, she felt the pains of labour coming on, and desiring the bearers to put down the pālki, went into a cave by the wayside, and there her son was born. Thinking it better to leave the infant to perish than run the risk of his capture by their enemies who were in pudsuit, she left him in the cave and returning to the pālki resumed her journey. Suspicion was, however, aroused and on being closely questioned, the rānī confessed that she had given birth to a son, and left him in the cave. The Wazīr and parohit at once went back, and found the young prince, with a number of mice surrounding and keeping guard over him; and from this circumstance he was named Mushan-Varma(n).¹ The villagers still shew the stone on which he is said to have been laid. Having recovered the child the party proceeded on their journey to Kāngra. There the rānī took up her residence in the house of a Brahman whom she made her guru; and remained eight or nine years under his protection, without disclosing her identity. One day the boy happened to tread on some flour sprinkled on the floor, and the Brahman, on seeing his footprint, recognized it to be that of a royal person, and the mother being questioned made known her relationship to the Brahmapura royal family. The Brahman thereupon conducted her and the child to the Rāja of Suket,² who received them kindly, and had Mushan-Varma(n) provided for, and carefully educated. He grew up intelligent and brave, and received the Rāja's daughter in marriage, and with her as dowry a *jāgīr* in the *pargana* of Pāngna, and other large presents, Mushan-Varma(n)

¹ The name of Māusikanos of Alexander's historians, who ruled in Sindh, is derived by Lassen from the Sanskrit Maushika or mouse. See McCrindle's "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great."

² His name is given as Parbogh, but there is no such name in the genealogical roll of Suket.

³ The reference is to the *padami* or *Urdh Regh*—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life" on the hand, running along the sole of the foot from the toe to the heel.

was also furnished with an army, and returning to Brahmapura he drove out the invaders and recovered his kingdom.

Nothing is on record about him after his return, but the killing of mice is said to have been prohibited by him on account of the services rendered by these animals in his infancy. This custom still obtains in the Chamba royal family and a mouse caught in the palace is never killed.

After Mushan-Varma(n) the following Rājas ruled in succession, but nothing is known regarding any of them;—*Hans-Varma(n)* *Sār-Varma(n)*: *Sen-Varma(n)*: *Sajjan-Varma(n)*.

Sāhila-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 920).—This Rāja holds a very conspicuous place in the State annals, for it was he who conquered the lower Rāvī Valley, and transferred the seat of government from Brahmapura to the new capital, which he had founded at Chamba. It was probably in the beginning of his reign that another invasion of Kulū took place. The war lasted twelve years, and then a peace was patched up. The Kulū people invited the Brahmapura soldiers to a feast which was held at night, and in the darkness the latter were inveigled down to the banks of the Beās near Rahla, where they fell over the precipices and were killed.

Shortly after *Sāhila-Varma(n)*'s accession Brahmapura was visited by 84 *yogis*, who were greatly pleased with the Rāja's piety and hospitality; and, as he had no heir, they promised him ten sons. They were invited to remain in Brahmapura till the prediction was fulfilled, and in due course ten sons were born, and also a daughter, named Champavatī.

Meanwhile *Sāhila-Varma(n)* had been engaged in extending his rule, and had brought under his sway all the petty rānas who still held the lower portion of the Rāvī Valley. On this expedition he was accompanied by Charpatnāth, one of the *yogis* and also by his queen and daughter. Previous to its occupation by *Sāhila-Varma(n)* the plateau on which the town of Chamba stands was within the domain of a rāna, who had conveyed it in *sāsan* or gift to a family of Kanwān Brahmans. Champavatī, the Rāja's daughter, took a great liking to the place, and asked her father to found a town and make it his capital. *Sāhila-Varma(n)* was desirous of acceding to her wish, but all the land fit for building purposes had passed into the hands of the Brahmans, and he was unwilling to dispossess them. At length an arrangement was effected, whereby in recognition of their proprietary rights, eight *chaklis*—Chamba copper coins—were promised in perpetuity on the occasion of every marriage in the town. The land was then given up, and the above condition has been observed ever since. The Rāja then founded the town, and named it Champa after his daughter.¹

¹ This is the version in the Chronicle, but two other suppositions are possible. The place may have received its name from the Champa tree, which grows in the neighbourhood and even in the town itself, on it may have been

An interesting and pathetic legend has come down to us in connection with the settlement of the new capital. There was no good and convenient water supply, and the Rāja was anxious to meet this need. He therefore had a water-course made from the Sarota stream round the shoulder of the Shāh Madār Hill, behind the town. For some reason the water refused to enter the channel prepared for it, and in accordance with the superstitious notions of the time, this was ascribed to supernatural causes. The spirit of the stream must be propitiated, and the Brahmans, on being consulted replied that the victim must be either the rānī or her son. Another tradition runs that the Rāja himself had a dream in which he was directed to offer up his son, whereupon the rānī pleaded to be accepted as a substitute. The Rāja was unwilling to accede to her wish, and wanted to offer some one else, but she insisted that if there must be a sacrifice she should be the victim. Her wish prevailed, and, accompanied by her maidens, and bare-headed as for *sat*, she was carried up the hill to the spot near the village of Balota, where the water-course leaves the main stream. There a grave was dug and she was buried alive. The legend goes on to say that when the grave was filled in the water began to flow and has ever since flowed abundantly.

Yugākar, the son and successor of Sāhila-Varma(n) mentions his mother's name in the only copper-plate of his reign which has been found. It was Nenna Devī, and she may possibly have been the rānī referred to. In memory of her devotion a small shrine was afterwards erected by her husband on the spot, at the top of the present flight of steps, where she is said to have sat down to rest. A *mela* was also appointed to be held yearly from the 15th of Chait to the 1st of Baisākh. It is called the Sui *mela*, and is attended only by women and children, of all castes who, in their gayest attire, climb the steps to the shrine, and there sing the rānī's praises and present their floral offerings. They are entertained at the Rāja's expense on this occasion. The steps are not ancient, having been constructed by Rānī Sārda, queen of Rāja Ajit-singh. A.D. 1794-1808.

There can be little doubt that the legend is founded on fact, such a sacrifice was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times, and it is noteworthy that the *mela* has been held from time immemorial, affording strong proof of the truth of the story as related. It is significant, too, that, although a death in the royal family during any other *mela* necessitates its immediate suspension, this does not apply in the case of the Sui *mela* which is never interrupted.

Another legend has also been handed down by tradition in connection with the founding of the Champavati or Chamasni Temple, probably the first erected by Sāhila-Varma(n) in Chamba. His daughter, Champavati, was of a religious disposition, and used to

named after the more ancient Champa, which stood near the modern Bhagalpur in Bengal. It is also possible that the name was already in use in the time of the ranas.

visit the place of a *sādhu* for conversation. Suspicion was instilled into her father's mind and he followed her on one occasion with a drawn sword in his hand, only however to find that the house was empty. As he entered, a voice came from the stillness upbraiding him for his suspicions, and telling him that his child had been taken from him as a punishment. He was further commanded to erect a temple to her on the spot where he stood, to atone for his sin, and avert calamity from his house. The temple was accordingly built, and named after his daughter, who is there worshipped as a goddess. It is regarded as the family temple of the Chamba Rājas, and a *mela* has been held in connection with it from time immemorial, from the 1st to the 21st Baisākh. Until recent years it was customary for the ruling Chief to make a daily visit during the *mela* to certain temples in fixed rotation, always starting from and returning to that of Champavati, but this custom has now fallen more or less into disuse. Sāhila-Varma(n) also erected several other temples in Chamba, which are still in existence. The earliest of these are believed to have been the Chandragupta and Kāmeshwara Temples, built for two idols of Siva which the Rāja took out of the Sāl stream near its junction with the Rāvi. This he did while bathing, under the guidance of Charpatnāth.

Of the other temples erected by Sāhila-Varma(n) the principal one is that of Lakshmī-Narāyana, or Vishnu, in association with which a curious legend has been preserved. Being desirous of raising a temple to Vishnu, the Rāja sent nine of his sons to the marble quarries in the Vindhya Mountains, to bring a block of marble for an image. They were successful in this mission, but on beginning to cut the slab it was found to contain a frog. As this was considered to render it unsuitable for the primary purpose for which it was intended, this slab was used in making some smaller images. These were the Trimukha, or three faced image of Shiva; a small image of Ganpat now in the Chandragupta Temple; and also that of a small goddess, possibly Lakshmī, wife of Vishnu. The young princes were sent to bring another block, but were all killed by robber on their way back. On this news reaching Chamba, Sāhila-Varma(n) sent his eldest son, Yugākar, who was also attacked, but receiving help from some Sanyāsi gosains, he destroyed the robbers, and returned with a slab, from which the image of Vishnu was made, and set up in the temple prepared for it. Sāhila-Varma(n) is also said to have built the Chandrasekhara Temple at Saro, for an idol found in the Sāl stream near that place.¹

When all the temples were finished, lands were assigned for their support; but no copper-plates of Sāhila-Varma(n)'s time have yet been found.

¹ Recent research has shown that the original temple of Chandrasekhara was erected about the time of Sahjla-Varma(n) by a local chief, probably a rana, named Satyaki.

The original palace at Chamba must also have been erected by Sāhila-Varma(n), and it doubtless occupied the same site as the present building.

In all matters connected with the settlement of the new capital the Rāja was guided by the advice of the *yogī* Charpatnāth; and in recognition of this a shrine was afterwards erected to him near the Lakshmi-Narāyana Temple, where *puja* is done morning and evening. This shrine is ascribed to Sāhila-Varma(n) but it probably dates from a later period.

The only coin special to Chamba is the *chakli*, five of which make an *anna*, and it has been in use, in all likelihood, from ancient times. On it Sāhila-Varma(n) caused to be struck a pierced ear, the symbol of a *yogī*, in honour of Charpatnāth, and this has been continued down to the present day. The later Rājas added the Vishnu-pad, or feet of Vishnu on their coins. There is no tradition of a silver coinage ever having been current.

Sāhila-Varma(n) stands out as the most conspicuous personality on the long roll of the Chamba Chiefs: and his name is a household word throughout the State. Though his son, Yugākar, makes no special reference to him in the copper-plate of his reign, there are reasons for believing that his martial qualities were recognized far beyond the bounds of the State, and that his conquests were not confined to the Rāvī Valley. Two copper-plates have come to light in which some of the events of his reign are alluded to; and after making due allowance for hyperbole and exaggeration, it seems probable that the references are founded on fact. The first of these plates was granted by Soma-Varma(n), and the second by Soma and Asata, sons of Sālavāhana-Varma(n), they date from A.D. 1056-66, *i.e.*, about 120 years after Sāhila-Varma(n)'s death, when his name and fame would still be fresh in the memory of the people; and deserve mention in this history. After the customary introduction it runs as follows:—

“From his residence at the glorious Champaka, the highly devout king (Soma-Varma(n), an ornament of the spotless house of Sāhila-Deva, who (Sāhila) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīra forces; fanned as by the wind by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumatika; whose army was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown on his brow; whose alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who was asked the favour of his bestowing royalty in return for services, by his kinsman the Lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage; who by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree the large force of the Turushka on whom wounds had been inflicted, who bore the fortunate name of Karivarsa (elephant rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity, joyfully granted by the Lord Bhaskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was made fully contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants whose flat

cheeks were covered with a swarm of bees, attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed in Kurukshetra at the time of an eclipse; who has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame, painted with the inkbrushes, which were the mouths of all the princes assembled on that occasion; who by his unequalled kindness and compassion, combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness, and unfathomable profoundness has impaired the fame of heroes like the son of Jamadagni (Parasurāma), Sibi, Karna, Yudhishthira; whose wide-spread greatness, brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence, was renowned like that of Sudrakasvāmīndeva, by looking upon whose lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; who by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles, acquired such names as Sāhasānka (marked by rashness) Nīssankamalla (dauntless wrestler), and Matamata Sinha (roaring lion).¹

With one exception all the names in the quotation are fairly well known, and the references are of great historical interest. As regards the Kīra, we have seen that they were a people located in the mountains in the vicinity of the Kashmīr Valley. They conquered Brahmapura in the time of Lakshmi-Varma(n), and they are here represented as having again invaded the State. They were assisted by the Rāja of Durgara, the ancient name of Jammu State, of which the present form is Dugar, still in common use.¹ Who the Saumatika were is not quite certain, but most likely the inhabitants of Sumurta, in the Basohli State to the west of the Rāvī, are indicated. Kashmīr had from ancient times claimed an intermittent suzerainty over the hill tracts as far east as the Rāvī; and the formidable array which is represented as advancing against Sāhila-Varma(n) was probably meant to assert and uphold this claim. They doubtless anticipated an easy victory, but a crushing defeat awaited them; for they are spoken of as having been dispersed by the Chamba forces as if by a frown on the Rāja's brow.

The next reference is to Trigarta, the ancient name of Kāngra, which at that early period also included Jālandhar and a large portion of territory on the plains, between the Sulej and the Rāvī. We are told that Sāhila-Varma(n)'s alliance was sought by the Trigarta Chief after a contest in which Chamba was victorious. With such a name for valour we may well believe that Sāhila-Varma(n)'s conquests were not confined to the Rāvī Valley; and the war with Trigarta suggests the probability of the Chamba Chief having carried his arms to the south of the Dhaula Dhār, and annexed the whole southern fringe of that range, from the Rāvī to Bīr-Bangāhal. There are said to be many traditions in Kāngra pointing to an early occupa-

¹ The text is almost exactly the same in both the plates, except that the reference to the Turushka is omitted from the first plate.

¹ The capital probably then was at Balhapura, now Babor, 17 miles east of Jammu, where ancient remains still exist. The Raja of Babbapura is referred to in the Rajatarangini as subject to Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88.

tion of these territories by Kulūta when is the ancient name of the principality of Kulū, and it owed allegiance to Chamba in the time of Sāhila-Varma(n), as it had done at an earlier period. The two royal families were also connected by marriage.

The reference to the Turushka is in some respects the most interesting of all. This name was applied to all invaders of India from the North-West. Originally used for the Turks, it came afterwards to have an exclusive reference to the Muhammadans, who from the middle of the seventh century had begun to make their influence felt on the North-West frontier. Kabul was conquered by them about A.D. 870. The Turkī-Shāhi dynasty, which had ruled Kabul and Peshawar for centuries, was overthrown about A.D. 875, by the Brahman Wazīr of the last Turkī-Shāhi king, who founded the Hindu-Shāhi dynasty, with its capital at Ulabhāndapura now Ohind on the Indus. There this dynasty continued to rule over the kingdom of Gandhāra, till A.D. 960 and thereafter at Lahore, till finally expelled by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1021. As we learn from the Rājataranginī, these kings were in alliance with Kashmīr; and also doubtless with other States in the Panjāb, which was for a long time in subjection to them. We may, therefore, conclude that contingents were sent by these States to help to oppose the onward advance of the fierce invaders from the West; and it was most probably in one of these frontier wars that Sāhila-Varma(n) came into conflict with the Turushka, and gained renown for himself by his valiant deeds.

The reference to Kurukshetra is in full accord with ancient custom in India.

Sāhila-Varma(n) did not spend the last years of his life in Chamba; probably the home of his early days had greater attractions for him. We may well believe that his reign was a long one in view of all that he accomplished; and when his work done, and old age was creeping upon him, he abdicated in favour of his son, Yugākar, and retired to Brahmapura to spend the evening of his life in peace. There he dwelt as a *sādhu* in the company of Charpatnāth and the other *yogis*, many of whose shrines are still pointed out on the small 'green' where all the temples stand, and which for this reason is called the 'Chaurāsi.' For the same reason the Chamba State is believed to have been originally subdivided into 84 *ilāqas*, but they are less numerous now.

Yugākar-Varma(n)—(A.D. 940).—There is nothing on record in the Chronicle with regard to this Rāja subsequent to his accession, but a copper-plate deed which bears his name is still extant. It was granted in the tenth year of his reign, and is of interest as being the oldest yet discovered in Chamba. Its interest is enhanced by the

¹ Kalhana refers to a king of Kashmīr visiting Kurukshetra on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, probably that which took place on 23rd July, A.D. 1134. Rajatarang, vii 2220 Stein.

fact that Yugākar refers to his father and mother by name, and also probably to his queen, Tribhuvanarekha Devī. The deed conveyed a grant of land to the Nārsingh Temple at Brahmapura, which is spoken of as having been erected by the 'Rāni,' presumably his own or his father's queen. According to tradition Yugākar himself erected the temple of Ishwar-Gaurja, or Gaurī-Shankar, in Chamba, near that of Lakshmī-Narāyana.

Vidagdha-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 960).—A copper-plate of this Rāja's time is extant. Granted in the fourth year of his reign, it mentions his father, Yugākar, and his mother, Bhogamati Devī. The Rāja speaks of himself as of the house (gotra) of Moshuna—a name found in the Brahmatur inscriptions.¹

Dodaka-Varma(n) (80).—In the *vansāvalī* Vidagdha-Varma(n) is followed by a Rāja named Daghdha-Varma(n). An inscribed stone recently found near Basu, contains, in consecutive order, the names Yugākar, Vidagdha, and a third Rāja, named Dodaka, by whose order the stone was inscribed. It seems probable that this is the correct form of the name which, in the *vansāvalī*, has become corrupted into Daghdha. Dodaka was, therefore, the son of Vidagdha and grandson of Yugākar, and as, in the inscription, he assumes the royal style and titles he must have been the ruling Rāja at the time the stone was inscribed. Daghdha, meaning 'burnt' is a most unlikely name for a Rāja.

Sālavāhana-Varma(n) (A.D. 1040).—The name of this Rāja does not appear in the *vansāvalī*, and his very existence was unknown until the discovery of three copper-plates, in all of which he is mentioned.¹

With his reign another interesting period in the history of the State is reached. Kashmīr, as we have seen, had from ancient times asserted a claim to the suzerainty of the hill tracts on her borders, as far east as the Rāvī. There were probably long intervals during which this claim was in abeyance, or when, as in the time of Sāhila-Varma(n) it was impossible to enforce it; and the State then enjoyed complete independence. This would appear to have been the case from a period anterior to the reign of Sāhila-Varma(n), but it was now near an end. In A.D. 1028, Ananta-Deva succeeded as a child to the throne of Kashmīr; and when he grew up to manhood the claim of supremacy seems to have been revived, and was resisted by the Hill Chiefs. Chamba was then, as we learn from the *Rāja-taraṅginī*, under the rule of a Rāja named Sala, who for long was identified with Sāhila-Varma(n). It would seem that he refused to yield allegiance to Kashmīr, with the result that his country was

¹ An inscribed stone, found near Basu, is dated in the first year of Vidagdha-Varma(n), and was erected by a vassal, probably a rana.

² On a rock inscription at Proli-ragala the name of a raja occurs: not in the *Vansāvalī*, called Mrtyunjaya-Varma(n), probably after Dodaka.

¹ The Harirai Temple was erected by Salakara, who probably was the same as Salavāhana.

invaded, and himself defeated, deposed, and probably killed. There is no allusion to this event in the Chronicle, but, for reasons already stated, we may conclude that it occurred not later than A.D. 1060, nor earlier than about A.D. 1050; and Vallapura a Balaur—another small Hill State on the Rāvī—was invaded by Ananta-Deva about the same time, and presumably for the same reason.

Two inscribed fountain slabs of the time of Sālavāhana-Varma(n) were found in the Sai and Tisa *parganas* of Churah, which bear the name of a Rāja named Trailokyadeva, the suffix *deva* denoting that he was a ruling chief. These slabs raise an interesting question regarding the northern boundary of the State at that time. The name, Trailookya, is not found in the Chamba *Vansāvalī*, but it occurs in that of Balor (Basohli). The date of one of the slabs is S.4= A.D. 1028-9, and of the other S.27= A.D. 1041. One of the slabs was set up by a Rāna who refers to Trilokya-deva in terms which imply that the latter was his overlord, and the other by a Brahman who usés similar language. The dates correspond approximately to the time when Trailokya must have ruled, and the conclusion is therefore justified that Churāh, the northern province of Chamba, was then a part of Balor State.

We learn from the plates that Sālavāhana had two sons—Soma-Varma(n) and Asata-Varma(n)—who ruled in succession.

Soma-Varma(n) (c.A.D. 1060).—After deposing Sālavāhana the king of Kashnūr is said to have set up another in his place, and that this was Soma-Varma(n) is clear from the plates, though his name, like that of his father, is entirely absent from the *vansāvalī*. The first deed is signed by Soma-Varma(n) alone, and was granted in the seventh year of his reign, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, probably September, A.D. 1066. It is on this plate that the signature of Sālavāhana appears, showing that he had intended to make the grant himself, which he was prevented from doing by his deposition and death. On it the *rānas* are also referred to under the name of 'Rājānaka,' and in such a manner as to indicate that some of them at least held high offices in the State.¹ The second deed made a grant of land in favour of Siva and Vishnu, and is now in the possession of the Champavati and Hari Rai Temples. It is dated in the first year of Asata's reign, and is signed by both brothers, with an additional grant in the eleventh year, signed by Asata. The long quotation relating to Sāhila-Varma(n) is found almost word for word in both of these plates, except the reference to the Turushka, which appears only in the second plate.

Asata-Varma(n) (A.D. 1080).—The first plate of this Rāja has already been referred to, and another, the third in which his father's name is mentioned, was granted in the fifth year of his reign.

Though the *vansāvalī* is silent, strong corroborative evidence is

¹ One held the office of Mahamatya (Prime Minister), another that of Mahakshap-at-alika (Lord Chancellor).

furnished by the *Rājataranginī* where it is stated that "Asata, Rāja of Champa," visited Kashmir in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, in the reign of Kalasa, son of Ananta-Deva, who, like his father, asserted the claim of suzerainty over Chamba, and other Hill States. That this claim was widely acknowledged is proved by the fact that the rulers of seven other hill principalities, from Chamba to Urasa or Hazāra, were present in Kashmir at the same time as Asata-Varma(n). It would thus appear that, after the invasion of Ananta-Deva, the State remained more or less dependent on Kashmir for a considerable period. There were also inter-marriages between the two ruling families, for Kalasa had as his queen a sister of Asata, whose name was Bappikā, and her son Harsa succeeded to the throne on his father's death.

Jāsata-Varma(n) (A.D. 1105).—The Chronicle furnishes no information about this Rāja, but he is referred to in the *Rājataranginī* as affording support to Harsa, his own cousin, in A.D. 1101, when Kashmir was invaded by the princes of the Lohara family, who claimed the throne. On that occasion he was taken prisoner by Sussala, in the temple at Vijayesvara (Bijbehara). He must, however, have been only heir-apparent at that time, as a stone inscription, found at Luj in Pāngī, is dated in the first year of his reign, S.81-A.D. 1105, which must therefore have been the year of his accession. The use of the Sāstra era is noteworthy as being the earliest certain instance yet found in Chamba. As the stone, which formed part of a *panihār*, or cistern, was erected by a vassal, probably a rāna, Pāngī must have been, even at that early period, under the supremacy of Chamba. In A.D. 1112 Jāsata is again mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as supporting Bhikshachara grandson of Harsa, against Sussala who had then usurped the throne of Kashmir. Being unsuccessful Bhikshachara retired to Chamba, and lived there for four or five years as the Rāja's guest.¹ Jāsata's reign must therefore have lasted till about A.D. 1117-18. Another inscribed stone of Jāsata's reign exists at Loh-Tikrī in Churāh and is dated in his 9th year A.D. 1114.

It is thus evident that Chamba supremacy over Churāh had been established, probably by conquest from Balor, and it was still in force in the reign of Lalita-Varma(n) (A.D. 1143-75). This is proved by a fountain-stone containing his name, found at Debī-Kothī in Bera *ṣargana*, dated in the seventeenth year of Lalita-Varma(n) A.D. 1159-61). On another stone in the same fountain enclosure another inscription occurs containing the name of a Rāja named Rāna-pāla. This name is not found on the Chamba roll, but is present on that of Balor. It would, therefore, seem that at some date later than A.D. 1161 the Balaria Rāja had recovered possession of Churāh and his name was inscribed, either by his orders or by the Rāna of the time. His son was Ajaya-pāl as in the Balor *Vansāvalī* and

¹ He evidently was unwelcome as he had difficulty in procuring food and clothings from the Raja.

his name is also found on another fountain-slab of Lalita-Varma(n) at Sai, dated in A.D. 1169-70. There is no indication in any later inscription as to how long Balor retained possession, but we know that Churāh was for centuries a bone of contention between the two states, down a'most to the extinction of Balor.

Dhāla-Varma(n) (A.D. 1118).—He is said to have been a brother of the previous Rāja, and his reign must have been short.

Udaya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1120).—The name of this Rāja seems to be out of its proper order in the *vansāvuli*, for it stands fifth after that of Jāsata. As the latter reigned till about A.D. 1118, and Udaya-Varma(n) is mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as having been in Kashmir in A.D. 1122, it seems improbable that four reigns intervened in such a short period. Chamba had now changed sides in the struggle which was going on for the throne of Kashmir, and Udaya-Varma(n) lent his support to Sussala, who had been opposed by Jāsata. The change of attitude was most likely due to the fact that, in the interval, Sussala had espoused two princesses of the Chamba family, whose names were Devalekha and Tāralālekha, both of whom became *satī* on the death of Sussala, in A.D. 1128. Kashmir was now in a very unsettled condition, owing to internal dissensions which had been going on for some time. Kalasa, the son of Ananta-Deva, was succeeded by Harsa, who, with his son Bhoja, was killed in A.D. 1101, and the throne seized by the Lohara Princes, Uchchla and Sussala. On the death of his father and loss of the kingdom, Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja, then a child, was taken away to Mālwa. Returning from there in A.D. 1112, he fell in with a party of Hill Chiefs at Kurukshetra, among whom was his own relative, Jāsata of Chamba, and they encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. In this he had the support of Chamba, Vallāpura, and some of the Thākurs in the Chandrabhāga Valley. Being defeated he retired to Chamba, where as already stated, he resided for some time under the protection of Jāsata-Varma(n). Another attempt in A.D. 1120 resulted in his being restored to power, which, however, he retained only for six months. It is probable that Chamba had changed sides previous to this, for when in A.D. 1121-22 Sussala made a successful effort to regain the throne, he had the active support of Udaya-Varma(n). Kashmir was now on the decline, and these disorders, and the Muhammadan invasions which had been in progress for more than a century, tended to still further weaken its power. Chamba seems to have taken advantage of this to assert its independence; at any rate there is no further reference to the State in the *Rājataranginī*.

After Udaya-Varma(n) the following Rājas ruled in succession, but no information about them is available:—*Ajita-Varma(n)*, *Dahtīari-Varma(n)*, *Prithvī-Varma(n)*.

Lalita-Varma(n) (A.D. 1143).—Two slab inscriptions of this Rāja's reign have recently been found. One of these is dated in his 17th year, and records the erection of a *panihār*, or cistern, at

Debrī Kothī, by a Rāna named Nāga Pāla, who states that he had received the title of 'Rājanakā' from the Rāja. The other inscribed stone is at Sālhi in the Saichu Nāla, Pāngī, and is dated in the 27th year of Lalita-Varma(n) S.46—A.D. 1170. This Rāja must therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 1143-44, and may have lived till about A.D. 1175. The second slab-part of a *panihār*—was erected by a Rāna, named Ludar Pāl, whose lineal descendants still hold land in Sālhi, as common farmers. In it Pāngī is called Pāngatī, which seems to have been the ancient name of the Valley.

Vijaya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1175).—This prince is said to have been brave and warlike, and was much beloved by his people. The Chronicle states that he invaded Kashmir and Ladakh, and brought back much spoil. The State boundaries were enlarged during his reign.¹ If we bear in mind the political condition of Northern India about this period, we shall have little difficulty in understanding the easy success which Vijaya-Varma(n) seems to have gained. In A.D. 1191 Muhammad of Ghor invaded India, and was defeated by the confederate Hindu Princes, under the leadership of Prithvī-Rāj of Delhī. He returned in A.D. 1193, and, in the great battle which ensued on the banks of the Ghaggar, Prithvī-Rāj perished with the followers of his army. In the following year Kanauj also was overthrown, and everywhere confusion and disorder reigned. There is thus little room for surprise that Vijaya-Varma(n) availed himself of the opportunity to extend the boundaries of the State.

He was succeeded by *Rāja-Varma(n)*; *Sāra-Varma(n)*: *Kirtī-Varma(n)*: *Ajīto-Varma(n)*: *Madana-Varma(n)*: brother of the previous Rāja; *Narakanjar-Varma(n)*: *Asha-Varma(n)*: *Jimūt-Varma(n)*.

Vairāsi-Varma(n). (A.D. 1330).—This Rāja is called Vairī-Varma(n) in the *vansāvalī*, but a copper-plate deed gives his name as above. It bears the date Sāstra 6, Vik. 1387—A.D. 1330, which was probably the first year of his reign. This is the first plate with a distinct date, and for this reason it is both interesting and important. Vairāsi-Varma(n) had probably a long reign, and died about A.D. 1370.

Manikya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1370).—The name of this Chief occurs on the copper-plates of his son, Bhot-Varma(n), the earliest of which is dated in A.D. 1397. We may, therefore, assume that this was the year of his father's death.

Bhot-Varma(n) (A.D. 1397).—The earliest plate of this reign has just been referred to, and the latest yet found has the date S.12—A.D. 1436. There is an allusion to Bhot-Varma(n)'s death in a deed granted by his son, from which it appears that this event took place in A.D. 1442.

Sangrām-Varma(n) (A.D. 1442).—The plates of this reign afford no assistance chronologically, as the dates of all but one are

¹ His sway is said to have extended to Gujrat.

uncertain.

Anand-Varma(n) (A.D. 1475).—The only dated plate of this Rāja was granted in S.57—A.D. 1481, but his reign probably began some years earlier. His mother's name was Sampurna Devī. Anand-Varma(n) was very religious, and was believed to have the power of working miracles. He espoused the daughter of the Rāja of Kangra, and in order to test his miraculous powers the dishes at the marriage feast were purposely placed so far from him as to be out of his reach. A vessel with three spouts was also given him to drink from. This, however, caused no inconvenience to the Chamba Chief. Whatever he wanted came towards him of its own accord, and when, he took up the glass to drink, snakes protruded from two of the spouts and stopped them, enabling him to use the third. Anand-Varma(n) died about A.D. 1512.

Ganesa-Varma(n) (A.D. 1512).—The first plate of this reign was granted in S.88, Sāka 1434—A.D. 1512, and the last in S.35—A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varma(n)'s reign was thus a very long one. In several plates the name of his son, Partāp-Singh-Varma(n), occurs, and he is styled 'Yuvarāja' and 'Mahārājaputra.' These plates furnish the earliest instances of the use of the suffix 'Singh' in the Chamba family.

Ganesa-Varma(n) built the fort of Ganeshgarh in the Mothila *ilāqa* to protect his frontier, and consolidate his power to the south of the Dhautla Dhār. This was done probably towards the end of his reign, when the signs of the times began to point to the near approach of that Mughal supremacy, which was soon to overshadow at the Hill States of the Panjab. Chamba had probably enjoyed complete independence for more than 400 years; for the early Muhammadan rulers of India were too much engrossed in defending or extending their possessions on the plains to attempt the conquest of the inner mountains. Kāngra, it is true, was invaded once and again, and the famous fort captured and re-captured; but there is no evidence that these inroads extended beyond the Siwālik. With the rise of the Mughal power this immunity and freedom came to an end. Akbar the Great, then a boy of 14, ascended the throne in A.D. 1556. When the news of his father's death arrived he was at Kalanaur in the Gurdāspur District, having been engaged in the pursuit of Sikandar Shāh Sur, who retreated before him into the hills. Immediately after his accession the young Emperor advanced into the outer hills and at Nurpur Dharm Chand of Kāngra waited upon him and was received into favour. In A.D. 1558, Sikandar Shāh emerged from his retreat in the hills, and occupied the fort of Maukot, half way between Pathānkot and Nurpur and within the Nurpur State, which he held for eight months;¹ and on its capitula-

¹ Maukot is called Mankot by mistake in Elphinstone's History of India, page 431.

tion the Rāja of Nurpur, who had sided with him, was taken to Lahore and executed. There were thus good grounds for apprehension on the part of the other States; and it is probable that Mughal influence had begun to make itself felt in Chamba previous to the death of Ganesa-Varma(n) in A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varma(n) had six sons, *vis.*, Partāp-Singh Jit-Singh; Bīr Bahādūr; Hari-Singh; Satargun-Singh, Rupanand-Singh. It is noteworthy that almost all of them bore the suffix 'Singh,' which was now coming into general use, but it did not entirely displace the older name of Varma(n) for fully half a century, and Partāp-Singh-Varma(n), the next Rāja, used both names synchronously.

Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) -(A.D. 1559).—This Rāja is called the son of Ganesa-Varma(n) and Sahib Devī on the copper-plates of his reign, of which there are many extant. He is said to have been very generous, and considerate of the well-being and comfort of his people. This was shown specially in his unwillingness to impose heavy taxation upon them. The Lakshmi-Narāyana Temple was in need of repairs, and the erection of other temples was under contemplation; but there was no money in the treasury for this purpose. Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) called a council of his officials to ask their advice, and they all recommended the imposition of a tax. This course, however, did not commend itself to the Rāja, as it meant a new burden on his subjects. He was much concerned about the matter, but next morning, on taking his seat in Darbār, a man presented himself from the Hill *ilāqa* with a piece of copper in his hand, and said that a copper mine had been discovered near his village. The Rāja at once issued orders for the working of the mine, and, with the produce, repaired all the temples, and built some new ones. The mine then became exhausted, or was closed, but the old workings may still be seen.

Soon after this, war broke out between Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) and the Rāja of Kāngra, whose name is given as Chandar Pāl.¹ As the suffix of the Kāngra Rājas has always been 'Chand' it is clear that a mistake has crept into the Chronicle. The surname of the Bangāhal Rājas was 'Pāl' and it is just possible that the war was with that State, Kāngra coming to the assistance of its weaker neighbour. In any case the main struggle seems to have been with Kāngra, and it ended in the defeat of the Katoch forces, and the death of Jit Singh, the younger brother of the Kāngra Rāja. Much booty in horses and elephants was taken, and Charī and Ghāroh, two small districts near the Chamba border, were annexed. Gulēr, the capital of the Gulēr State, is said to have been occupied by the Chamba army, and from this it seems probable that the war was also with the Gulēr branch of the Katoch family of Kāngra. It would be interesting to know if there is any record of this war in

¹ In the Sanskrit *varsavali* the Rāja's name is 'Chandra,' and he is called "The king of Nagar-kot" (Kāngra). There is no mention of Guler.

the Katoch annals.

Partāp-singh-Varma(n) was contemporary with Akbar, and it seems probable that early in his reign the whole of the Hill States, including Chamba, became subject and tributary to the Mughal Empire. Soon afterwards Todar Mal, the great finance minister of Akbar, was deputed by his master to create an imperial, demesne in Kāngra by confiscating territory from the various States of the Kāngra group. In accordance with his instructions, Todar Mal annexed a large portion of the Kāngra Valley, and made a similar demand on each of the other States proportionate to their means. Chamba was compelled to surrender Rihlu and all the territory it then held to the east of that province; as also the two small districts of Charī and Ghāroh recently acquired from Kāngra. In presenting his report to his royal master, Todar Mal is said to have made use of the metaphor, that he had "taken the meat and left the bone"; meaning that he had annexed the fertile tracts, and abandoned only the bare hills to the Hill Chiefs.¹ There was much truth in this remark as regards Chamba, for Rihlu was the most fertile portion of the State.

From this time onwards for nearly 200 years Chamba, like the other Hill States, was in subjection to the Empire; but all accounts agree that the Mughal authority sat very lightly on the Hill Chiefs. Their prerogatives were seldom questioned, and there was practically no interference in their internal administration. Indeed, throughout the whole period of Muhammadan ascendancy, the Hill Chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even generous treatment. So long as they did not fail in their allegiance, they were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities; and were allowed to wield the power and exercise the functions of independent sovereigns. For example, they built forts, and waged war on one another, without any reference to, or interference from, the Emperor, and sometimes even asked and received assistance in men and arms from the Mughal Viceroy. On his accession each Chief had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor by the payment of a fee of investiture after which he received a *sanad*, or patent of installation, with a *khilat*, from the Imperial Darbar. A yearly tribute, called *peshkash*, of four lakhs of rupees was exacted from the States of the Kāngra group in the time of Shāh Jahān, as we learn from the Bādshahnāma. The Hill Chiefs were always addressed as 'Zamindār.' There seems to have been much friendly intercourse between them and the Imperial Court, as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the Emperors which are still in the possession of some of the old royal families.¹ Some

¹ This incident is traditionary and there is no mention of the demesne in the histories, but it was attached to the Fort probably from the time of its capture by Jahangir, in A.D. 1620.

¹ There are two such letters in Chamba, and also presents said to have been given to Raja Prithvi-singh by Shah Jahan. There are also several letters from the Durani rulers of Kabul. Vide Appendix V.

of the Chiefs gained for themselves so high a place in the favour of the Emperors that they received *mansab*, or military rank, in the Imperial army, and were advanced to important offices in the State. As we shall see, such a distinction fell to the lot of one at least of the Chamba Rājas.

There is some doubt as to how much of Lahul was under Chamba in early times, but it seems probable that from the tenth or eleventh century, if not from an earlier period, the main Chandra-bhāga valley, as far up as Tandī near the junction of the two rivers, was included in State territory. Many traditions are said to exist in Lahul, pointing to this conclusion, and the people of Gus, on the left bank, say that they once owned a copper-plate deed, granted by a Chamba Rāja, which was taken from them after the country was annexed to Kulū.

On the right bank these traditions are not so clear, owing probably to the fact that the country was more open to invasion, and must often have changed hands. The rest of Lahul including the valleys of the Chandra and Bhāga, seems to have been under Kulū from early times. In the Kulū annals it is stated that Lahul was conquered by Chamba in the reign of Rudar Pāl, the nineteenth Rāja from the founder of the Kulū dynasty, but was recovered by Kulū in the following reign after a hard contest on the Rotang Pass; and though these records are more or less legendary, yet they confirm the conclusion that in early time Lahul was under the rule of Kulū and Chamba. In the middle of the twelfth century Kulū, with the upper portion of Lahul was conquered by Ladakh, and remained subject to that country, more or less, till about A.D. 1660-70. Chamba however, maintained its supremacy over the greater part of the main valley, and seems also to have gained some influence in upper Lahul, for the Kulū annals state that the territory now embraced in British Lahul, and formerly a part of Kulū, was acquired by that State from Chamba.¹

The latest plates of Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) are dated S.62—A.D. 1686, and he probably died in the same year. In one of his plates, dated S.55, Vik. 1635—A.D. 1579, Balachandra-Deva, his grandson, is called² Yuvarāja and Tikka: though Vīr-Vāhnu, his son, was alive, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. The title was probably accorded to both father and son.

Vīr-Vāhnu—(A.D. 1586).—This Rāja was in power for only four years at the most, as his son, Balachandra, succeeded in A.D. 1589—the year in which his earliest plate is dated. No plate of this reign has yet been found.

Bala-chandra—(A.D. 1589).—This Chief stands out conspicuous among his compeers on account of his reputed piety, great generosity,

¹ Possibly the barons of upper Lahul paid tribute both to Chamba and Kulu.

² This is the earliest instance of the use of the title Tikka in Chamba.

and the many legends which are associated with his name. He was profuse in his gifts to Brahmans, and at least 42 copper-plates of his reign are known to be extant. There may be more. By his people he was named Bali-Karna, after two heroes of antiquity famous for their generosity. He bestowed grants of land and other gifts upon Brahmans in a most lavish manner;¹ and regarded this as his highest and most imperative duty, refusing even to eat each morning till this had been discharged. The grants of his reign are far in excess of those of any other Chamba Chief either before or since. No petitioner was sent away disappointed, and, if a request was made to him, the Rāja used to part with any article which was lying near, regardless of its value. He gifted grants of land to the Lakshmī-Narāyana Temple, as well as many jewels, and other valuables, some of which are still in existence. Each of them is enclosed in a golden case with an inscription on it, one of these bearing the date, Vik. 1675—A.D. 1619.

These lavish gifts seem to have gone on for some years and to such an extent that the State administration became seriously embarrassed. The officials were much concerned, and tried to dissuade the Rāja from such profuse liberality, but their remonstrances only made him angry, and were met by a sharp rebuke. At length, owing to the excessive drain on the treasury, there was difficulty in meeting ordinary and necessary State expenditure. Just then Janārdan, the Rāja's eldest son, came of age, and the officials begged him to intervene by removing his father from power. This was accordingly done, and Bala-Chandra was deported to the village of Baraia on the other side of the Rāvi, and a house and lands were assigned for his support.

But there also Bala-Chandra is said to have continued his lavish gifts, and soon the whole of the land assigned him was alienated to Brahmans. As nothing now remained to him but the house he lived in, he was in great straits. Being under the necessity of giving before eating, he began to part with his house at the rate of a foot each morning, and, when in this way a whole verandah or room had been disposed of, he ceased to use it, considering that it was no longer his property. In course of time the whole building was thus gifted away, and the Rāja then vacated it, and lived in the open, at the same time refusing to eat. On this being reported to his son, Janārdan gave his father a fresh grant of land to enable him to continue his benefactions.

No reference to the deposition is to be found in the Chronicle; but the traditions regarding it are so clear and definite that they must have a foundation in fact. There is some obscurity as to the year in which it took place, but a consideration of all the data available leads to the conclusion that it cannot have been later than

¹ Such grants were not confined to Chamba for plates have recently been found in Nurpur and Kangra.

A.D. 1613. This conclusion is sustained by an existing record, evidently compiled from older documents, in which the period of Bala-Chandra's deposition is given as Vik. 1670-80—A.D. 1613-23. Some light is thrown on the subject by an examination of the copper-plates of his reign. These are all carefully dated and extend from A.D. 1589 to 1641, the year of his death. Only two marked breaks occur in the regular continuity of these plates, one between A.D. 1599 and 1607, and the other between A.D. 1620 and 1629. In all of them Bala-Chandra is referred to in terms which imply that he was recognised as Rāja; and the grants are not limited to one locality, but are widely distributed, and are still in the possession of the descendants of the original grantees. Another plate recently found was issued by Janārdan in A.D. 1613, and in it also Bala-Chandra is spoken of as Rāja. In it Janārdan is called "Maharāja Kumāra," "Mahārājaputra" and "Mie," *i.e.*, Mian, and the fact of the plate having been issued by him points to the conclusion that he was then in authority in the State, and that he only acted as regent, and did not assume full power in his own name. The issue of the plate probably marks the beginning of his regency. In the *vansāvalī* Janārdan's name is found after that of his father, in the regular order of succession.

Shortly after Janārdan assumed the government, war broke out between him and the Rāja of Nurpur. The cause of this war is not known, but it was probably due to an attempt on the part of the Nurpur Chief to enlarge his borders at the cost of Chamba. At that time, as we know, Jagat-singh, second brother of Suraj Mal, the then Rāja of Nurpur, stood high in the favour of the Emperor Jahāngīr, and if he originated the war with Chamba, as he is said to have done, he doubtless counted on obtaining support from the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore. It is certain, however, that Jagat-singh was not Rāja of Nurpur at the time the war began, for he did not obtain that position till after the rebellion and death of his brother, Suraj Mal, in A.D. 1618-19.

The war went on in a desultory manner for twelve years without either side gaining any decided advantage; and there seem to have been intervals of peace.¹ This was the case in A.D. 1618, for we learn from the Bādshāhnāma that, when Suraj Mal rebelled and was compelled by the Imperial army to flee from Nurpur, he found a temporary refuge in one of the Chamba forts, and ultimately retired to the capital. There he was joined by his youngest brother, Mādho-singh, who had for a time defended the Kotila Fort. As the Imperial forces were preparing to advance against Chamba, news came that Suraj Mal was dead. The Mughal Commander then sent a peremptory order to the Chamba Chief to surrender all money and valuables belonging to the deceased Rāja on pain of his highest

¹ A copper plate is extant, by Balabhadra, conferring a *sasan* grant on the parohit of Raja Jagat-singh, and dated A.D. 1618.

displeasure. This order was complied with, the property being sent through the son and the brother of the Rāja. Madho-singh also was given up. On his brother's rebellion, Jagat-singh was recalled from Bengal by the Emperor, who conferred on him the *mansab* of 1,000 with 500 horse, the title of Rāja, and a present, and he was sent to assist in the siege of Kāngra Fort, which was then in progress. He also became Rāja of Nurpur in succession to Suraj Mal. The siege of Kāngra Fort ended in its capture in November A.D. 1620, and in January, 1622, Jahāngīr visited Kāngra, coming by Siba and returning by Nurpur. There he was waited on by the Hill Chiefs and among them reference is made in the *Tūsuk-i-Jahāngīrī* to the Rāja of Chamba. The reference is as follows:—“At this stage the offering of the Rāja of Chamba was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kāngra. There is no greater Zamindār in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the Zamindārs of the hills. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects and on his part performed the duties of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour.” The Rāja referred to was probably Janārdan, with his brother, Bishambar. Hostilities seem to have been resumed with Chamba soon afterwards, and ultimately the Mughal Viceroy espoused the cause of Jagat-singh, and sent troops to his support. A decisive battle was fought at Dhalog on the Sandhāra Road; the Chamba army was defeated, and Bishambar, Janārdan's younger brother was killed. Jagat-singh then advanced on the capital, which he captured and sacked—while Janārdan, unable to offer any effective resistance, fled. A treacherous message was then sent him by Jagat-singh—offering terms of peace if he would present himself in Darbār to discuss them. Janārdan, suspecting nothing, accepted the invitation, and came with only a few followers. While they were engaged in conversation, Jagat-singh suddenly drew his dagger and plunged it into Janārdan's breast, inflicting a mortal wound. The latter also had a dagger in his waistbelt, but the handle was tied to the sheath by a cord, so that he could not draw it in time to defend himself. Owing to this the Chamba Rājas have ever since worn the dagger loose in the sheath. The date of Janārdan's death was probably in A.D. 1623. The fact of his having been killed by Jagat-singh is confirmed by a statement to that effect in the *Bādshāhnāma*.¹

In the *vansāvalī* it is stated that Janārdan left no heir, but his *rānī* was *enceinte*, and that, on learning this Jagat-singh gave orders that a strict watch should be kept on the palace. If the infant proved to be a boy he was at once to be killed, and if a girl she was to be married into the Nurpur family so as to strengthen his hold on the State. When the child, afterwards Prithvī-singh, was born, his

¹ This tragedy is said to have taken place in the Palace at Chamba.

nurse, named Batlu, is said to have smuggled him out of the palace, without the knowledge of the guards, and conveyed him away to Mandī. Recent research has shown that the birth story is not quite correct. A second plate, granted by Janārdan and dated Māgh, Sambat 1595—February, A.D. 1619, records a sasan *grant* to a Brahman on the occasion of the birth of his son, Prithvī-singh, who must, therefore, have been born before his father's death. There is, however, no reason to doubt the fact of his having been conveyed away to Mandī.

On Janārdan's death the State became subject to Jagat-singh, and is said to have been ruled by his officials for 20 years.

He built the fort of Tāragarh within Chamba territory as there was no site so good in his own country. This fort is said to have received its name from the fact that a farmer, named Tāra, was buried alive beneath the foundations as a sacrifice to ensure its stability, according to a custom common in India in former times. The stronghold occupied a conspicuous position on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill near the Chamba-Nurpur frontier, and its ruins are still visible from a distance. It stood Jagat-singh in good stead at the time of his own rebellion in A.D. 1641.¹

Some uncertainty still exists regarding the status of Bala-Chandra during the period of Nurpur supremacy, but it seems probable that on Janārdan's death he was restored to power, and continued till his death to rule the State in subjection to Jagat-singh. No plates have yet been found of the years from A.D. 1620 to 1629. From A.D. 1629, however, the issue of plates was resumed and continued till the early spring of A.D. 1641. His death must have occurred soon afterwards, shortly before the return of his grandson, Prithvī-singh, in the summer of the same year. The record containing the date of his deposition states that he died in Vik. 1699—A.D. 1642, but this is probably incorrect. In the other plates two other sons are referred to by name—Mān-singh and Sudar Sen—and the names of other sons have been handed down by tradition.

Prithvī-singh (A.D. 1641).—After he grew up to manhood Prithvī-singh, who was still in Mandī, only awaited a favourable opportunity to strike a blow for the recovery of his kingdom. The opportunity came in A.D. 1641, when Jagat-singh, in conjunction with his son, Rājrup-singh, raised the standard of rebellion against Shāhjahān. Till now Jagat-singh's career had been fortunate and successful. Under Jahāngir he rose to a *mansab* of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and during the reign of Shāhjahān he retained his honours, and was appointed to Bangash,¹ and two years later to Kabul, where

¹ Taragarh consisted of three forts, one above another, the highest being perched on the summit of the hill. It covered an area of about 30 acres, and had 12 fortified gateways.

¹ The Kurram Valley and Kohat. Vide Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872, p. 158.

he greatly distinguished himself. In the eleventh year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was sent from Kabul to Kandhār with the Imperial army, and had command of the vanguard. In the twelfth year he returned to Lahore, received presents from the Emperor, and was again appointed Faujdār of Bangash. In his father's absence, Rājrup-singh was in charge of the State, and was appointed by Shāhjahān to the important post of Faujdār of Kāngra, and collector of the tribute from the Hill Chiefs. In the spring of A.D. 1641, in secret concert with his father, who was then in Bangash, he rebelled. Jagat-singh pretended anger, and asked to be made Faujdār himself, so that he might suppress the revolt, and pay in the *nostrāna* of four lakhs. This request was granted, but on his return to the hills, he first showed discontent, and then broke out into open revolt. We are not told what was the cause of the trouble, but the Pathānia Chiefs were ever turbulent, and this was by no means the first time they had raised their hands against the Emperor. Court intrigues against him are hinted at by Jagat-singh, in his petition to Shāh-jahān.

On the news of the outbreak reaching the Imperial ear, a large army under the command of Prince Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of the Emperor, with many able Captains, was sent to suppress it, and assembled at Pathānkot,¹ in August, A.D. 1641.

The Chronicle makes no mention of Jagat-singh's rebellion, but it was doubtless on hearing of it that Prithvī-singh asked and obtained help in money and troops from the Rājas of Mandī and Sukēt, to enable him to recover his kingdom. Passing through Kulū, he crossed the Rotang Pass into Lahul, and, advancing by way of Pāngī, crossed the Gheni Pass into Churāh, the northern province of the State. This he reconquered and fought his way to the capital, which he captured, expelling the Nurpur officials from the country. We may assume that these events occurred in the summer of A.D. 1641, for early in December of that year Prithvī-singh was present in the Mughal Camp near Pathānkot and was sent on to the Imperial Court, probably then in Lahore, to pay his respects to the Emperor.

Jagat-singh offered a brave resistance too the overwhelming force sent against him. He had long been preparing for a struggle, and had strongly fortified the three principal strongholds in his territory. These were Maukot, Nurpur and Tāragarh. All the hill passes and ways of approach were also blocked and defended by his troops. Maukot was only a fortified enclosure with dense jungle around it, but it was a position of great strength.² Jagat-singh

¹ Called Paithan in the *Badshahnama*.

² Maukot was situated about half way between Pathankot and Nurpur, on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki. The place is near Raja ka Bagh, and is still called Mauwa da ban, but only vestiges of the fortifications now remain. It is called the "Fort of Mau" in the *Badshahnama*, and was built by Islam-Shah, son of Sher-Shah Sur, A.D. 1545-53.

decided on making his first stand there, while Nurpur was entrusted to some of his officers. Both of these forts were invested by the Imperial army in the middle of October, and the siege was pressed with great vigour.¹ By the middle of December, Jagat-singh's position in Maukot had become untenable, so he abandoned it and, along with his sons, fled to Tāragarh. Two days afterwards the defenders of Nurpur also evacuated that fort, on hearing of the fall of Maukot.²

All this we learn from the Bādshāhnāma, and though the narrative does not actually say so, it seems to imply that Prithvī-singh was present at the siege of Maukot or Nurpur. It is as follows:—“On the 23rd of Ramazān (16th December, A.D. 1641), the high-born prince (Prince Murād Bakhsh) in accordance with the sublime orders, sent Prithvī-Chand, the Zemindār of Champa, whose father had been killed by the outcast Jagat-singh, and who was at this time enrolled among the royal servants on the recommendation of the ministers of the State, to the royal threshold, the abode of great kings, along with Alla Vairdī Khān and Mīr Buzurg, who had gone to bring him.”.....

“Prithvī-Chand, the Zemindār of Champa, was honoured with a *khilat*, an inlaid dagger, the title of ‘Commander of one thousand,’ and the actual command of four hundred horsemen, the title of Rāja and a horse. As the mountain on which Jagat-singh had laid the foundations of the fort of Tāragarh was in Chamba, and had been taken by the Rāja with violence; and as the back of the fort joined on to the above-mentioned territory, and had in that direction an eminence commanding it, the possession of which was essential to the taking of the fort, he was ordered to go home that he might make the necessary preparations to deliver an attack with a proper force from the back of the fort, and capturing the eminence, reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances.” It was probably in consequence of this order that Prithvī-singh sent to Saugrām-pāl of Basohli for help, for which he surrendered to Basohli the *pargana* of Bhalai.¹

SIEGE OF TARAGARH.

As soon as arrangements were complete, the Imperial army, in the end of December, advanced to the assault of Tāragarh. On

¹ During the siege Rajrup-singh was sent to the Mughal camp under a safe conduct with a letter to the Emperor proposing terms of surrender, but they were not accepted.

² Maukot was captured on 13th December and Nurpur on 15th December, A.D. 1641.

¹ For some reason unknown Prithvi-singh, in A.D. 1648, claimed the retrocession of Bhalai, and his claim was upheld by the Imperial delegate, though not enforced till the following reign. Vide Appendix V.

his return from Chamba with his force, Prithvī-singh took up his position on the ground assigned him, in conjunction with Rāja Mān Singh of Gwālīor, (Guler) who is spoken of as "the mortal enemy of Jagat-singh." By the beginning of March, A.D. 1642, the garrison was reduced to great straits, and Jagat-singh, realising that his cause was hopeless, sued for pardon, and in company with his sons surrendered himself to the clemency of the Emperor. They appeared in Darbār with halters round their necks, and after making their submission, were not only pardoned but restored to all their honours.² On the conclusion of the war, Tāragarh was taken over by the Mughals and garrisoned with Imperial troops.³

The account of these occurrences in the Chronicle differs from that of the *Bādshāhnāma*. It is as follows:—"On recovering his kingdom Prithvī-singh determined to avenge himself on Jagat-singh. He, therefore, concluded a league with Sangrām-pāl of Basohli, and surrendered to him the *pargana* of Bhalai, after which both Rājas went to the Mughal Viceroy at Kalanaur to ask help. This was granted on condition that Jagat-singh should be taken alive, and made over to the Viceroy. The Rājas with their forces then advanced upon Nurpur which they assaulted and captured, but the final assault having been made at night, Jagat-singh escaped in the darkness to Tāragarh, where he was taken a month afterwards and sent on to the Viceroy, seated on a buffalo with his face backwards.

Having recovered his kingdom, Prithvī-singh next addressed himself to its consolidation and extension. His advance through Pāngī had made him personally acquainted with that valley, which was still under the rule of the local rānas subject to the supremacy of Chamba. These he displaced, and appointed his own officials, thus bringing the country directly under State control. A rock inscription bearing his name exists between Kīlār and Sāch, where the river flows through a narrow gorge, and it probably records the fact that in S.18—A.D. 1642, the precipice was cut away by his orders for the construction of a road. He was the first to build Kothīs, or State offices, in Churāh and Pāngī.

After completing the consolidation of his kingdom, Prithvī-singh went on pilgrimage to Prayag, Kāshi and Gaya. He is also said to have visited Delhī nine times in the reign of Shāhjahān, and to have been received with much favour—a *jaqīr* in Jaswān, of Rs.

² Jagat-singh was restored to his honours on 10th April, A.D. 1642, and afterwards rendered distinguished service to the Emperor in the Afghan wars, in which he was accompanied by his son, Rajrup-singh; but the exposure he endured undermined his health and he returned to Peshawar in January, 1646, only to die. Vide Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 511.

³ According to popular tradition the siege of Taragarh lasted 12 years. The surrender took place on 11th March and Jagat-singh, with his sons, appeared before the Emperor on 17th March, A.D. 1642. The Mughals are said to have planted a garden of mangoe trees, and eaten the first fruit, after ten years.

26,000 value, being granted him by the Emperor, which continued to be attached to the State for ninety years. This *jagīr* was really that of Dūn and Nādaun in Kāngra, (appendix v. c. 7), which was withdrawn in the reign of Rāja Ugar Singh. There are still in the Toshakhana many valuable presents, especially inlaid daggers, and a jewelled sirpaich with a large sapphire in it, which were received by Prithvī-singh on the occasion of his visits to Delhī. The family idol of the Chamba Rājas, called Raghubīr, is said to have been obtained from Shāhpahān on one of these occasions. It had originally been used as a weight in the Mughal Palace.

Tradition says that Prithvī-singh was a very handsome man, and his fame spread through Delhī to such a degree that the ladies of the royal zanana begged to be allowed to see him. He was accordingly led blind-folded into the harem that they might have their wish gratified.

Prithvī-singh was married to a daughter of Sangrām-pāl, of Basohli, and had eight sons, whose names were:—Shatru-singh, Jai-singh, Indar-singh, Mahipat-singh, Raghunāth-singh, Rām-singh, Shakat-singh, and Rāj-singh. From this time onwards the old suffix of Varma⁽ⁿ⁾ was entirely dropped.

Among the Gaddī Khattris of Brahmaur there is a tradition that their ancestors fled from Lahore in the time of Prithvī-singh to escape the persecutions of Aurangzeb. It is probable, however, that this took place at a much earlier period.¹

The temples of Khajināg at Khajiār, Hidimba at Mahla, and Sīta-Rām at Chamha, are believed to have been erected in this reign by Batlu, the nurse who was the means of saving Prithvī-singh's life.¹

Chatar-singh (A.D. 1664).—This Rāja's name was Shatru-singh, as appears from the copper-plates, but Chatar-singh is the name in common use. On his accession, he appointed Jai-singh, his brother, to the office of Wazīr, and sent him to Sangrām-pāl of Basohli, to demand the restoration of the Bhalai *ilāqa*, alienated by his father. This demand being refused, Chatar-singh it is said invaded Basohli and re-annexed Bhalai to Chamba. He visited Pāngī, and carried his arms lower down the Chandrābhāga valley, into Pādar, which had till then remained in the possession of its rānas, though probably under the suzerainty of Chamba. These he removed from all authority and appointed his own officials. He also founded a town on the plain and named it Chatargarh. Being an emporium of the Central Asian trade, a good deal of which then

¹ In connection with this tradition the following popular rhyme is of interest:—

Lahore became waste: Brahmor was peopled. Ujriya Lahor-Vasiya Brahmor.

¹ She also built a bridge over the Ravi at Nelhora, near Chamba, called Daku ra seu, or Duku's bridge; so named after her husband.

passed through Nurpur and Chamba to Zanskar and Ladakh, the town grew and flourished, until A.D. 1836; when it was completely destroyed by the Dogras, and the name changed to Gulābgarh.

In A.D. 1678, the Emperor Aurangzeb issued an order for the demolition of all Hindu temples in the State. Chatar-singh refused to render obedience, and directed that a gilt pinnacle should be put on each of the chief temples in Chamba as a mark of defiance. On hearing this the Emperor was greatly incensed, and summoned the Rāja to Delhi. Instead of going himself he sent his brother, Shakat-singh, who was accompanied by Rāj-singh of Gulēr, but for some reason unknown they turned back from Bajwāra, before reaching Delhi. Chatar-singh seems to have been able to allay the Emperor's wrath, but there is no record as to how the matter was finally settled. The gilt pinnacles remain on the temples to the present day.

At that time Mirza Rezia Beg, the Suba or Viceroy of the Punjāb, who resided chiefly at Kalanaur, used to make incursions into the hills, and greatly annoyed the Hill Chiefs. This led to confederation being formed against him, in which were included Chatar-singh of Chamba, Rāj-singh of Gulēr, Dhirāj-pāl of Basohli and Kirpāl-deo of Jammu. Jammu sent a force of Pathān troops and the confederate army defeated that of the Viceroy, enabling the Chiefs to recover the territory they had lost.

It was probably in the beginning of Chatar-singh's reign that Lahul was finally divided between Chamba and Kulū. Till then, as we have seen, Chamba territory extended up to the junction of the Chandra and Bhāga; the remainder of Lahul being under Kulū and subject to Ladākh. In consequence of the invasion of Ladākh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646-47 the power of the former country was much weakened, and Rāja Bidhī-singh, of Kulū, A.D. 1663—74, took advantage of this to throw off his allegiance and expel the Ladākhi officials from Lahul. Soon afterwards Chamba lost the upper part of the main valley. The Kulū annals state that Lahul was acquired as dowry with a Chamba princess, but this is improbable. It seems more likely that the transfer of territory was the result of war and conquest, as is hinted at in the local tradition of Kulū. There seems to be no authority for the statement that Gugē in upper Kanāwar had gained a footing in Lahul, and that Chamba and Kulū combined to expel the invader and then divided the country between them.²

Chatar-singh died in A.D. 1690, leaving two sons; Udai-singh and Lachman-singh.

Udai-singh (A.D. 1690).—The new reign began auspiciously. The young Rāja was well read and accomplished, the people were

¹ Vide *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, p. 39. Raja Udai Singh, (A.D. 1720), visited Lahul in the early part of his reign, possibly in connection with the boundary dispute with Kulu, Udaipur near Triloknath was named after him.

² Vide Appendix V.

happy and contented, and the country was prosperous. Jai-singh, brother of the late Rāja, seems to have retained the office of Wazīr throughout the previous reign, and he was re-appointed by Udai-singh. Much of the prosperity which the State enjoyed seems to have been due to his able administration, and it continued while he lived. He died, however, shortly after Udai-singh's accession. About the same time Rāj-singh of Gulēr also died, and was succeeded by his son, Dalīp-singh, a minor, to whom Udai-singh had been appointed guardian. Taking advantage of Dalīp-singh's minority, the Rājas of Jammu, Bhadu and Basohli, invaded Gulēr, and Udai-singh was appealed to for help. He sent to Siba, Kahlūr and Mandī, and with the co-operation of these States drove out the invaders, and restored the infant Rāja to his rights.

So far all had gone well, and how long this prosperity continued we do not know, but dark days were now at hand. Udai-singh was of a self-willed disposition, and after his uncle's guiding hand and wise counsel were withdrawn, his natural tendencies began to assert themselves. He gradually gave way to evil courses, and surrendered himself to sensual pleasures, which alienated from him the loyalty of his people. The administration of the State became more and more disorganised, and at length a climax was reached when Udai-singh appointed a barber, with whose daughter he had fallen in love, to the office of Wazīr, and resigned all authority into his hands. The officials then interfered and deposed him from power, in the hope that this would have a salutary effect. Meantime Ugar-singh, son of Mahīpat-singh and cousin of the Rāja, was appointed regent. At the end of a month Udai-singh was restored, but he soon relapsed into his former ways; and Ugar-singh being afraid, fled to Jammu. Things went from bad to worse until, at last, the officials formed a conspiracy against the Rāja, and determined to kill him, and put Lachman-singh, his younger brother, on the *gaddi*. Lachman-singh, on being approached, fell in with their designs, and joined the conspirators. To carry out their purpose, a day was fixed when Udai-singh was to hunt at Udaipur, a large plain on the left bank of the Rāvi, three miles below Chamba. About mid-day they began firing their guns, and Udai-singh, realising danger, came out of his tent with a sword in his hand. Seeing a few of his personal servants standing near, he called on them to rally around him. Touched by his appeal, and repenting of the part he was playing, Lachman-singh abandoned the conspirators, and took his stand beside his brother. On this the officials ordered Lachman-singh to be killed first and then the Rāja was mortally wounded. He died in a few days. The spot on which this tragedy took place has remained uncultivated to the present time.

Udai-singh died in A.D. 1720, after having reigned for thirty-years. He left no heir to succeed him, and Lachman-singh seems also to have died childless.

Ugar-singh (A.D. 1720).—As has been stated, Ugar-singh acted as regent for a time during his cousin's suspension from power, but on Udai-singh's restoration he took refuge in Jammu. There he entered the service of Dharab-Deo, Rāja of Jammu, as a soldier, without disclosing his identity. One day as he was returning from bathing in the river Tawī, with a *lota* full of water in his hand, he was met by a *mast* elephant which had broken loose, and which, seeing Ugar-singh, suddenly charged down upon him. He checked the animal for a moment by a blow with the *lota*, and thus gained time to draw his sword, with which he severed the trunk from the body at one blow. The feat was reported to the Rāja, who summoned Ugar-singh to his presence, and elicited from him the fact of his near relationship to the ruling family of Chamba. He seems in fact to have been next in the succession after the two sons of Chatar-singh, his uncles Jai-singh and Indar-singh having probably died childless.

Shortly afterwards intelligence of the assassination of Udai-singh and his brother arrived, and Dharab-Deo then furnished Ugar-singh with all necessary assistance, and sent him back to Chamba where he was installed as Rāja.

It is said that the ghost of the murdered Rāja used to appear to Ugar-singh, and cause him much distress, and that to lay the evil spirit he erected a temple at Udaipur, near the place of the murder, and imposed a small tax for its maintenance. The temple is still in existence and the tax, called Tirsera Udai-singhiāna Autariāna is still collected.

Shortly after his accession, Ugar-singh had his suspicions aroused against his cousin, Dalel-singh, son of Raghunāth-singh, who was then a boy, residing with his maternal uncle in Jammu territory; and the Mughal Viceroy on being appealed to, had Dalel-singh brought to Lahore and kept in confinement.

Ugar-singh was popular at first, but as years went on the feelings of the officials towards him underwent a change, and they decided to depose him and raise Dalel-singh to the *gaddi*. Their first step was to gain over the Viceroy by a present of a lakh of rupees, whereby Dalel-singh's release was secured, also a *sanad* appointing him Rāja of Chamba. This appointment was supported by a force of Mughal troops. On hearing of Dalel-singh's approach, Ugar-singh made no effort to oppose him, but broke down the bridge over the Rāvī, and set fire to the town. He then retired to the Chāmunda Temple, whence he watched the conflagration and thereafter fled up the Rāvī Valley. When passing the village of Juh in Chanota, he was wounded in the thigh by a bullet fired by the Rāna of Gurola, and the spot where this happened has been marked by a small shrine ever since. Ugar-singh then fled to Kāngra, where he soon afterwards died. The *jaḡir* of Dūn and Nādāun granted to Rāja Prithvi-singh was resumed in his reign owing to unfaithfulness. He left two sons, Umed-singh and Sher-singh, who were then quite

young.

Dalel-singh (A.D. 1735).—Having secured the *gaddi* the new Rāja's first care was to have Ugar-singh's sons placed under lock and key in Lahore, where they remained for thirteen years. Dalel-singh also rewarded those who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and made himself popular by remitting various oppressive taxes.

Nevertheless the sons of Ugar-singh, as the rightful heirs to the throne, had many friends and supporters among the people, who only waited for a suitable opportunity to restore them. In spite of every effort, however, it was found impossible for some time to effect their release, but at length this was secured through a servant of Umed-singh, belonging to the Katwālu family in Chamba. This young man was of the same age as his master, and strongly resembled him in appearance; and, the two having exchanged clothes, Umed-singh escaped, the servant remaining in his place. When the deception was discovered the man was brought before the Mughal Viceroy, who asked him why he had thus forfeited his life. For answer he said that he had only done his duty to his master, and was ready to bear the penalty. The Viceroy was so pleased with this reply, and with the man's fidelity and devotion, that he ordered his release, and dismissed him with presents. But Umed-singh did not succeed in escaping after all, for he was recaptured, and brought back to Lahore. On enquiry, however, the Viceroy became acquainted with the fact that he was the rightful heir to the Chamba *gaddi*, and a *sanad* was therefore granted, along with an armed force, to enable him to recover his territory. Being married to a daughter of the Rāja of Jasrota. Umed-singh came by way of Jasrota and Basohli, obtaining further assistance from these Chiefs. Dalel-singh was urged by his officials to prepare for resistance, but he refused to do so, saying that Umed-singh was the lawful heir, and he would not oppose his claim. He accordingly remained at the capital, and on Umed-singh's arrival surrendered the State into his hands, and was kindly dealt with. For a time he continued to reside in Chamba, but afterwards became a *sādhu*, and died at Jawālamukhi. He left no son, and his daughter was married to Bajai-Deo of Jammu.

Umed-singh—(A.D. 1748).—This Rāja was a just ruler and an able administrator. He succeeded to the State at a very momentous period in India history. The Mughal Empire was now in the throes of dissolution; the Viceroys of the provinces were assuming independence, and the Marāthas and Afghans had begun their life and death struggle for the mastery of India. All paramount authority was thus at an end, and the Hill Chiefs, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed, threw off their allegiance, and recovered all the territory of which they had been deprived by the Mughals. A

¹ *Autar* is an abbreviation of *A putra*, meaning one dying without a son to succeed him and is believed to become an evil spirit.

² The real name was Diler-singh, as in the Mughal *sanads* of his reign.

large and fertile district of the Chamba State, to the south of the Dhaula Dhār, had been thus confiscated; Umed-singh re-asserted his sway over it, and carried his victorious army along the southern slopes of the range as far as the borders of Mandi. His troops garrisoned the fort of Pathiār near Pālampur, and he is said to have obtained a footing in Bir Bangāhal. In the Kāngra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a letter from the Emperor Ahmad Shāh to the Chamba Chief, remonstrating with him on the seizure of Chari and Rihlu. The letter is still in the State archives but is from Ahmad Shah Durāni. It is dated in A.D. 1762 and it must have been between 1750 and 1760 that the State territory to the south of the Dhaula Dhār was restored to its ancient limits. It probably took place previous to A.D. 1752, for in that year Mughal supremacy entirely ceased with the cession of the Hill States, along with the rest of the Punjab, to Ahmad Shāh Durāni. But Afghan rule was never more than nominal in the Hills to the east of the Jhelum, and Chamba seems to have enjoyed practical independence till about A.D. 1767. When it came more or less under the influence of the Sikhs.¹

The Khandchandi portion of the palace, which is still in existence, was erected by Umed-singh, and he also built a palace at Nadā, eight miles down the Rāvi Valley, changing the name of the place to Rājnagar. There his son, Rāj-singh, was born in A.D. 1755. Only one gateway of this building now remains.²

Umed-singh died on the 13th of Baisākh, Vik. 1820—A.D. 1764, in the 39th year of his age, and the 16th of his reign. He left orders that no rāni was to become *sati* at his funeral.

Rāj-singh—(A.D. 1764).—He was only nine years old at the time of his father's death, and Umed-singh, being suspicious of the designs of his younger brother, Sher-singh, had left secret orders that, immediately on his own decease, Sher-singh should be arrested and kept under restraint. This was done, and all danger was thus averted.

Soon after this, Ghamand-chand of Kāngra, taking advantage of Rāj-singh's minority, seized the fort of Pathiār, and drove the Chamba troops out of Bir-Bangāhal, but the queen-regent, who was a Jammu princess, obtained help from Ranjit-Deo of that State, and recovered the territory which had been lost. It would appear, however, that another and more successful attempt was made by the Kāngra Chief, for all the State territory to the east of Rihlu was lost to Chamba prior to the death of Rāj-singh.

¹ For a short time in 1758 all the Hill States, and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra, were subject to Adina Beg Khan, Viceroy of the Punjab under the Marathas.

² The foundations of the Rang Mahal at Chamba are also said to have been laid by this Raja.

³ The vernacular Bansaui State that the *jagir* granted to Raja Prithvi-singh was resumed in Umed-singh's reign. It really was lost by Raja Ugar-singh's disobedients.

Ranjit-Deo of Jammu seems to have interfered a great deal in Chamba affairs during the minority of Rāj-singh, owing to his near relationship to the Rāja's mother. He probably aimed at bringing the State entirely under his own supremacy. On the decline of Mughal rule, Ranjīt-Deo had also become practically independent, and, not content with his own ancestral possessions, had asserted his sway over all the Hill States between the Chenab and the Rāvi. As has been stated, his influence was felt as far east as Chamba where he had appointed one of his own officials, named Aklu, to the office of Wazir. While the queen-mother lived things remained quiet but she died soon after Rāj-singh came of age, and, her influence being withdrawn, the young prince—who disliked Aklu, and probably suspected secret designs against the State had him seized and thrown into prison. This was resented as a personal insult by Ranjīt-Deo, who sent an army under Amrit Pāl of Basohli to invade Chamba.¹ Rāj-singh was absent at the time, having gone to interview the Viceroy of the Punjab² at Kalanaur. He heard of the invasion at Nurpur on his way back, and at once sent to the Rāmgārhia Sardars to ask assistance, for which he paid a lakh of rupees. With their help he drove out the Jammu army after it had been in possession of his capital for three months. This took place in A.D. 1775, and is the first reference to the Sikhs in the State annals.

Durāni rule, which had always been intermittent, came to an end in the Central and Eastern Punjab after the last invasion at Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1767. The Sikhs then rapidly acquired political power, and their marauding bands roamed about the country, intent only on plunder and rapine. They had by this time formed themselves into the twelve misls, or confederacies which preceded their consolidation into one kingdom under Ranjīt-singh. One of these was the Rāmgārhia *misl* and Jassa-singh, the head of this confederacy, seems to have been the first Sikh leader to invade the Kāngra Hills. About A.D. 1770 he made tributary to himself Ghamand-chand of Kāngra, and several other Hill States, one of which was probably Chamba. This is, in all likelihood, the reason why Rāj-singh went to him for help against Jammu. His authority was, however, of brief duration, for in A.D. 1776 he was defeated on the plains by Jai-singh, of the Kanhiya *misl*, who then assumed the suzerainty of most of the Kāngra group of State. In the Kāngra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a document in his name fixing the amount of tribute payable by Chamba at 4,001 rupees.

Rāj-singh was married to a daughter of Sampat-pāl of Bhadravāh, and his son, Jit-singh, was born in A.D. 1775.

¹ There is a copper-plate in existence granted by Amrit Pal on this occasion in place of one which had been lost. It is dated Vik. 1831—A.D. 1775.

² Probably Khwaja Obed, the Afghan Viceroy.

¹In A.D. 1782 Rāj-singh invaded and conquered Basohli but restored the country on payment of a lakh of rupees, the amount he had paid for the assistance of the Sikhs against Basohli and Jammu.² Bhadrawāh was at this time tributary to Chamba, as it probably had been for a considerable period. It was, however, under its own native ruler, whose name was Daya-pāl.

In A.D. 1786 Chamba also asserted its supremacy over the Native State of Kashtwār on, it is said, the invitation of Brij-rāj-Deo of Jammu; and an army under Jit-singh, son of Rāj-singh, then only eleven years old, was sent to invade the territory. In this it was successful, and Kashtwār was conquered and held for six months, during which the Chamba troops remained in the capital. They seem to have been withdrawn on the approach of winter, and the return of the Kashtwār Chief from Kashnūr, whither he had fled, with an army provided by the Durāni rulers, who then held the valley.

Meanwhile events fraught with disastrous consequences to the Chamba Chief were ripening in Kāngra. On the decline of the Mughal Empire, Ghamand-chand of Kāngra resumed possession of that portion of the Kāngra Valley which had been included in the Imperial demense, and also made strenuous efforts to capture the Fort in which he was not successful. This famous stronghold was held by Nawāb Saif Ali Khān, the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kāngra Hills, who, we are told, continued to correspond directly with Delhi. Though completely isolated, and possessing nothing but the lands immediately beneath the walls, this brave officer contrived to hold his own against all assailants for forty years. In A.D. 1775 Sansār-chand, grandson of Ghamand-chand, succeeded to the kingdom of Kāngra. His great ambition was to capture Kāngra Fort, and he redoubled his efforts to regain possession of the ancient capital of his kingdom. Being still unsuccessful, he in 1781 called in to his help Jai-singh Kanhiya, the Sikh Chief³ already referred to, and a force was sent under his son, Gurbakhsh-singh. The old Nawab was then still alive but dangerously ill and on his demise the garrison was persuaded to capitulate but, much to Sansār-chand's chagrin and disappointment, the capitulation was made to the Sikhs and not to himself. Jai-singh thus got possession of the stronghold and retained it till A.D. 1785-86; when, being defeated on the plains by a combination against him, aided by Sansār-chand, he withdrew from the hills, leaving Kāngra Fort in the hands of its legitimate Chief, to whom it was thus restored about a century and a half after its occupation by the Mughals.

² This is the correct spelling of the Bhadrawar of the Maps.

¹ The date of the conquest of Basohli is recorded on a stone in the pavement in front of the Lakshmi Narayana Temple at Chamba.

³ The Hararis or Mughal gunners from Delhi had arranged to surrender the fort to Sansar-chand for a reward, but Jai-singh heard of this and his troops being nearest the gate, entered first, and kept possession.

With the recovery of the fort,¹ and the withdrawal of the Sikhs from the hills, Sansār-chand was left at liberty to prosecute his ambitious designs. He revived the ancient claim of Kāngra to the headship of the eleven States of the Jālandhar group, which had been in abeyance in the Mughal times, and arrogated to himself supreme authority over the Chiefs. He compelled them to pay tribute, encroached upon their territories, and seized by force all the lands which had been included in the imperial demesne. In pursuance of this claim he demanded of Rāj-singh the surrender of the Rihlu *ilāqa*, as having been part of the Kāngra kār-dāri under the Mughals. This demand was met by a prompt refusal, and, seeing a conflict inevitable, Rāj-singh began at once to prepare for war. He went in person to Rihlu, and repaired and strengthened the fort, which was garrisoned by his own troops. Meantime Sansār-chand was not slow to support his demand by armed force. He concluded a treaty with Dhiān-singh, Wazīr of Gulēr, who, in those unsettled times, had seized the small State of Kotila, between Kāngra and Nurpur, and had made himself independent. Rāj-singh obtained help from Nurpur. The Chamba army was disposed in various directions along the frontiers, keeping watch and ward, while Rāj-singh himself was at Nerti near Shāhpur; with the Nurpur levies and a small force of his own troops. Sansār-chand, getting intelligence of this, advanced secretly, and fell suddenly upon the Chamba force, which was taken completely by surprise. The Nurpur levies fell into a panic and fled, leaving with the Rāja only forty-five of his own men. His officers urged him to make a retreat, pointing out to him the hopelessness of effecting a stand against such superior numbers, but he refused to do so, saying it would be a disgrace to retire when confronted by the enemy. His personal attendants and servants first fell around him, and then the Rāja himself was wounded in the thigh by a bullet. Still he bravely fought on, killing many of his opponents and performing prodigies of valour. At last a man named Jit-singh,¹ Purbea came from behind, and struck him on the head with a sword. Rāj-singh wiped away the blood, and then, resting his hand on a large stone near which he was standing, fell dead. The impress of the blood-stained hand is believed to be still visible on the stone. A temple was erected on the spot by his son, at which a *mela* is held every year on the anniversary of his death. Rāj-singh's bravery on this occasion is still commemorated in song by the local bards throughout these mountains. He is said to have

¹ Kangra Fort was in former times regarded as impregnable, and the popular conception of the prestige attaching to its possession found expression in the saying:—

"He who holds the Fort, holds the Hills" Vide Kangra Settlement Report, p. 10.

¹ This man's name is given differently in different accounts of the battle. In one it is Amar-singh, Hazari, and he is said to have been one of four brothers present, one of whom was killed by Rāj-singh.

paid special veneration to Chāmunda Devī,² the Goddess of War of the Chamba Chiefs, and was promised by her an addition of twelve years to his life, and the honour of dying in battle as he desired.

Rāj-singh died on the 7th Hār, Vik. 1850—A.D. 1794; in the 40th year of his age, and the 30th of his reign. When his body was examined it was found to bear no fewer than eighteen wounds.³

As already stated the possession of Churāh, in whole or in part, was the standing cause of dispute between Chamba and Basohli. It had changed hands more than once in the early centuries and in later times the dispute was limited chiefly to the two *ilāqas* of Jundh and Bhalai, adjoining the Basohli boundary. These were made over to Sangrām-pāl of Basohli by Prithvī-singh in 1641 and a *sanad* for their restoration to Chamba was granted by the Mughal Viceroy in 1648. They had perhaps been given only as security for repayment of the cost of the contingent sent by Basohli and Sangrām-pāl wanted to retain them permanently. However this may have been, they were recovered in 1666 by Chatar-singh. Rāja Ugar-singh again lost them about 1730 owing to some act of disloyalty, but they were restored in 1758 to Rāja Umed-singh, by another *sanad* of the Mughal Viceroy. The next attempt to recover the territory was in the early part of Rāj-singh's reign about 1774, by Amritpāl of Basohli, aided by Jammu and the last in 1794 after Rāj-singh's death.

Jit-singh—(A.D. 1794).—Notwithstanding the death of the Rāja the Chamba troops continued to maintain their hold on Rihlu, and there was no more fighting.⁴ Sansār-chand secured only a few villages on the border. Jit-singh was nineteen years of age at the time of his father's death; and shortly after his accession he was involved in a war with Basohli. Bijāi-pāl of that State was in the habit of making inroads into the Jundh and Bhalai *ilāqas* of Chamba, which adjoined his own territory, and of plundering the country. In A.D. 1800 Jit-singh retaliated by invading Basohli, and after conquering the State, restored it, as his father had done on payment of a war indemnity. Sometime after this the Chamba Chief was desirous of visiting the shrine of Devī Mal in Balor, but the Rājas of Basohli, Bhadu and Rāmnagar, suspecting that he had designs against them, sent a *nazarana* of Rs. 50,000, with a request to him to turn back, which he accordingly did.

² Raj-singh repaired or rebuilt the Chamunda Temple, and the steps leading up to it were also made by him.

³ Raj-singh's body was cremated at Rihlu Fort, and his rani became *sati* in Chamba.

⁴ Sansār-chand is said to have given orders that Raj-singh should be taken prisoner and the Raja's death caused him much concern. This may partly account for the sudden cessation of hostilities: a copper-plate exists recording a treaty of amity and friendship between Raj-singh and Sansar-chand, dated Vik. 1845—A.D. 1788.

¹Meanwhile Sansār-chand had been engaged in still further consolidating and extending his power, and with the acquisition of Fort Kāngra, he was able to exercise a tyrannical and oppressive sway over all the Hill States between the Rāvi and the Satluj. These he made entirely subject, and compelled the Chiefs to attend his Court, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way he fully established his power in the hills, and ruled despotically for twenty years, gaining for himself a renown which had never been approached by any of his ancestors; and his name is still widely known throughout these mountains. But his overweening ambition carried him too far. Not content with what he had acquired in the hills, he aimed also at the recovery of his ancestral possessions on the plains, which had been lost after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni; and is said even to have dreamt of a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab. For this purpose he twice descended from the mountains into the Bāri Doāb, but was driven back by Ranjīt-singh, who was then rising into power, and would brook no rival. This was in A.D. 1803 and A.D. 1804. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, Sansār-chand, in A.D. 1805, turned his arms against the State of Bilāspur, and seized part of the territory lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This was the last straw; and the Hill Chiefs, smarting under the many indignities heaped upon them, and fearing probably for their own possessions, formed a general confederacy against him, the ultimate result of which was his downfall, and the complete extinction of his kingdom.

Previous to A.D. 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepāl had invaded and annexed the mountain area between the Gogra and the Satluj, and Bilāspur was subject to them. The Rāja of that State, in conjunction with all the associated States of the Jālandhar Circle, and also Basohli, sent to invite Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kāngra, and promised him their support. This invitation was eagerly accepted, and the Gurkha army at once crossed the Satluj, and was met by contingents from the Confederate States. This was in the spring of A.D. 1806. Nathu, Wazīr of Chamba, was sent in charge of the State troops. The Kāngra forces, which had been weakened by recent changes, made a brave but ineffectual resistance, and the Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to Kāngra Fort, in which Sansār-chand had taken refuge. The fort was invested for four years, but all the efforts of the Gurkhas were unequal to the task of reducing it. At length, rendered desperate by the misery and distress which had come upon his country and seeing no hope of relief, Sansār-chand, in A.D. 1809, sent Fateh-chand, his younger brother, to ask the aid of Ranjīt-singh. This request was readily granted, but on condition that the Kāngra fort should

¹ *Vide* Kangra Settlement Report, page 10.

be surrendered; and to this Sansār-chand had to agree. The Mahārāja then advanced into the hills in person, in May, A.D. 1809, and being met at Jwalamukhi by Sansār-chand, who had escaped from the fort in disguise, he in August gave battle to the Gurkhas, defeated them, and compelled them to retire across the Satluj. According to agreement Ranjīt-singh then took possession of the fort, and with it the 66 villages in the Kāngra Valley which had formed a part of the Imperial demesne, leaving the rest of the Kāngra State in the hands of Sansār-chand, who was now reduced to the position of a feudatory of the Sikhs.¹ His downfall involved that of the other States, and from A.D. 1809 all of them, including Chamba, became tributary to Lahore.

Jīt-singh died in A.D. 1808, while the siege of the Kāngra Fort was still going on, in the 33rd year of his age and the 14th of his reign. He lived in troublous times, and a large army had to be maintained for the defence of the State, but he managed his affairs with such prudence that the revenues sufficed for all expenses, and the State was never in debt. His sons were Charat-singh and Zorawar-singh.

Charat-singh—(A.D. 1808).—He was only six years old at the time of his father's death, but the State official seated him on the *gaddī*, and installed him as Rāja. During Charat-singh's minority the administration was in the hands of the queen-mother, a Jammu princess, and of Nathu, a member of the Baratru family, who had been appointed Wazīr in the reign of Jīt-singh. The queen-mother, whose name was Rānī Sarā, was a wise and far-seeing woman. She erected the temple of Rādha-Krishna, which was consecrated on the 14th of Baisākh, Vik. 1882—A.D. 1825. It was she, too, who caused the steps to be made to the Rānī's shrine alongside the water-course on the Shāh Madār Hill. Nathu, the Wazīr, also seems to have been a man of great ability and administrative talent. His name is still remembered in Chamba, where he is spoken of with great respect. The first event of importance after the accession of the young Chief was a threatened invasion of the Sikhs under Ranjīt-singh. He had reduced Jasrota and Basohli, in the Jammu Hills, to the position of tributaries, and was advancing on Chamba, when he was bought off by large presents. This was in A.D. 1808-09. The State soon afterwards became subject to Lahore but remained almost completely free from actual invasion, though threatened with it more than once. This immunity was due in part to the mountainous and difficult character of the country, but also in a considerable degree to the personal influence, and great sagacity, of Nathu, the Wazīr, who was a favourite with the Mahārāja.

As already mentioned, the small State of Bhadrawāh had long

¹ Sansar-chand died in December, 1823, and in 1827-28 his kingdom was annexed by Ranjit-singh.

been tributary to Chamba, and was ruled by its own Chief, whose name at this time was Daya-pāl.¹ Towards the end of his reign internal family quarrels arose in Bhadrawāh, and Daya-pāl was driven out, and died in Dinanagar. Pahār-chand, his cousin, succeeded, in the absence of a direct heir, and after some years he, in A.D. 1820, refused to continue the payment of tribute to Chamba. Nathu, Wazīr, advanced against him, but was defeated on the Padari Pass. He then went to Ranjīt-singh, and obtaining help from him, with a *sanad* of transfer, advanced a second time in A.D. 1821. The Rāja of Bhadrawāh, finding resistance hopeless, partly demolished a fort recently erected, and fled, never to return. Bhadrawāh was then annexed to the Chamba State, and placed under the direct control of its officials.

In A.D. 1821, Desa-singh, Majīthia,² in the name of Ranjīt-singh, claimed Rihlu, as having been a part of the Kāngra kārđāri under the Empire, and laid siege to the fort. Nathu sent orders to the officer in command to hold out till he should proceed to Lahore, and arrange the matter with the Mahārāja; but the queen-mother, becoming afraid of the consequences of further resistance, directed the fort to be surrendered to the Sikhs. Rihlu thus passed away finally from the possession of the State. Nathu went to Lahore, but failed in his mission, in so far as the retention of Rihlu was concerned, but he succeeded in persuading Ranjīt-singh to give back Ranitar, a small place in Rihlu, which had been the hereditary jāgīr of the Rānis of the Chamba family. He also secured the remission of the yearly tribute of Rs. 30,000, in consideration of the loss of Rihlu. Mr. Vigne states that Chamba agreed to the surrender of Rihlu on condition of being allowed to retain Bhaddrawāh, and the fact of a *sanad* having been granted by Ranjīt-singh in A.D. 1820, conveying Bhadrawāh to Chamba seems to lend support to this version. This *sanad*, as we shall see, helped to save the State from dismemberment and practical annexation to Jammu.

In A.D. 1815 Bīr-singh of Nurpur, brother-in-law of Charat-singh, was expelled from his principality by Ranjīt-singh, and fled to Chamba. There he raised an army to attempt the recovery of his State, and, being defeated, sought refuge in British territory across the Satluj. In A.D. 1826 he returned to Nurpur in disguise, and his people rallied around him, but on the approach of a Sikh force he again retired to Chamba; and having been given up under compulsion by Charat-singh, he was imprisoned for seven years in the fort of Govindgarh. Thereafter he was ransomed by the Chamba Chief for Rs. 85,000 and returned to Chamba, where he resided off and

¹ Fateh-pal and Bhup-chand, the fathers, respectively, of Daya-pal and Pahar-chand, were prisoners in the Pakki Chauk or old palace at Chamba and died there. Pahar-chand's mother was a Chamba princess.

² Desa-singh was the first Sikh nazim or Governor of Kangra. The Rihlu Fort was surrendered on 2nd Har S. 97—A.D. 1821.

and on for some time. He was in Chamba at the time of Mr. Vigne's visit in 1839, and, finally, died at Nurpur in 1846, while engaged in a last vain attempt to recover his principality.

In A.D. 1820-25 Ratanu, the Palasra, or Chief State Official in Pādar, invaded Zanskar, and made it tributary to Chamba. It had till then been under its own Rāja, who was subject to Ladākh.¹

In A.D. 1835 Gulāb-singh of Jammu sent an army under Wazīr Zorāwar-singh, Kahlūria, one of his ablest generals, to invade and conquer Ladākh. After the conquest a force under Wazīr Lakhpāt Rai was detached from the main army to annex Zanskar, which still held out, and having done this the force crossed the Umāsī Pass and passed through Pādar on the way back to Jammu. It is believed that Gulāb-singh had no intention of encroaching on State territory, but the Pādar people were suspicious, and some opposition was offered to the passage of the Dogra army. This, however, did not amount to much, and the main body passed on, leaving only about thirty men in Chatargarh to keep up communications.² Thereupon Ratanu, the Chamba official, stirred up the people, seized the Dogra soldiers, and sent them to Chamba. Charat-singh at once disowned the act of his official, but the mischief had been done, and in the spring of 1836 Zorāwar-singh came in person with a large force to avenge the insult. Ratanu had the bridge over the Chandra-bhāga broken down, and in this way kept the Dogras at bay for three months, but at last having with the help of some villagers passed a jhula across the river a few miles lower down, Zorāwar-singh succeeded in transferring a portion of his force to the other bank, and thus, advancing under cover of night, effected an entrance into Chatargarh by the bridge over the Bhutna Nāla, which had been left intact. Chatargarh was razed to the ground and the name of the place changed to Gulābgarh; and several of the Pādar people were hanged or mutilated. The country was then annexed to Jammu.¹

It was in Pādar that a sapphire mine was discovered in 1880 which has been a source of considerable gain to the Jammu State.

Ratanu whose excess of loyalty had caused all the trouble, fled to Chamba, but he was seized and sent to Jammu, where he was confined for some years. He was then released and allotted a small *jāgīr* in Kashtwār, which is still held by his family, who, however, have now been permitted to return to their original home in Pādar. It is told of him that, on learning of Charat-singh's death, he shaved his head and beard as a sign of mourning, and on hearing of this,

¹ The tribute is said to have been Rs. 1,000 yearly, besides musk ~~bags~~ and other things.

² Twenty men with a thanadar had been left at Padam in Zanskar, but they were all killed in an outbreak; and it was probably on hearing this that Ratanu attacked the small force in Chatargarh.

¹ The right bank of the Ganaur Nala in Paṅgi was seized at the same time, and included in Pādar.

Gulāb-singh sent for him. In reply to the Rāja's inquiry, Ratanu is reported to have answered that Charat-singh of Chamba was his master and that he was bound to go into mourning on such an occasion. Gulāb-singh was so pleased with his boldness and patriotic feeling that he was at once forgiven.

In 1836 a Dogra army, under Zorāwar-singh, Kahluria, advanced against Bhadrawāh, but the fort was strongly held by the Chamba troops, while another force was advancing from Chanība to their support, and the Dogras had therefore to retire.

Wazīr Nathu died about 1838, and his death was a great loss to the State, which he had served so faithfully for more than 40 years. He is said to have stood high in the favour of Maharāja Ranjīt-singh, on account of important personal service rendered on the occasion of the first invasion of Kashmīr in 1814, which ended disastrously for the Sikhs. This personal influence with the Maharāja stood the State in good stead at several grave junctures.

He was succeeded by Wazīr Bhāga, also a member of the Baratru family. It was soon after this, in February, 1839, that Chamba was for the first time visited by a European in the person of Mr. Vigne. He came by Basohli and Sandhāra and departed by Chuāri and Nurpur. He speaks of Charat-singh as "not tall, inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression and a weak voice." Of Zorāwar-singh he remarks that "he is not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome, but inexpressive features, and is always splendidly dressed à la Sikh with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead over the turban." The Rāja's travels, he states, had never extended beyond Chenini, whither he went to claim and carry off his bride, a daughter of the Rāja of that place. As regards the daily routine, Mr. Vigne says; "The Rāja passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his *pūja*; then follows the breakfast and the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business, and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the "green" on an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen.¹

Zorāwar-singh, the Rāja's younger brother, is still remembered in Chamba, and the people love to dwell upon the cordiality and affection which existed between the two brothers. Charat-singh never went to Lahore himself, but always sent Zorāwar-singh instead, and in 1833 he was raised to the dignity of Rāja of Bhadrawāh and was then spoken of as "Chota Rāja." Possibly this title had some association with the ancient designation of "Yuvarāja," and, till the birth of Sri-Singh in 1839, Zorāwar-singh must have been regarded as heir-apparent to the *gaddi*. This probably was at the bottom of the trouble which, as we shall see, arose after Charat-singh's death.

Mr. Vigne met Bīr-singh of Nurpur at Chamba, and heard the

¹ Travels in Kashmir, Vol. I. pages 150-59.

story of his misfortunes from his own lips. Bir-singh's anxiety to regain his dominions was evident in every sentence he uttered. In the same year, 1839, Chamba was visited by General Cunningham, who was the first to examine the archæological remains in the State, at the capital and Brahmaur.

Charat-singh was afflicted with a form of melancholia which cast a cloud over the last two or three years of his life. He died in 1844 in the 42nd year of his age, having occupied the *gaddi* for 36 years. Two *rānīs* and six concubines became *sati*, this being the last occasion of such rite in Chamba. He left three sons. Sri-singh, Gopāl-singh and Suchet-singh all of whom were mere children at the time of their father's death.

Sri-singh—(A.D. 1844).—He was only five years of age on his accession, and all authority remained in the hands of his mother, who was a Katoch princess, while Bhāga continued to hold the office of Wazīr. Some suspicion had been aroused in regard to Zorāwar-singh, the young Rāja's uncle, and the queen-mother tried to have him arrested and imprisoned, but he easily escaped, and there was a disturbance in the capital. Zorāwar-singh, however, seems to have been unable to gain any support among the people, and immediately fled to Bhadrawāh, of which he was titular Rāja. Thence he went to Jammu, and died there soon afterwards, in 1845. His son, Prākim-singh, was then made Rāja of Bhadrawāh, but that State was annexed in the same year by Gulāb-singh of Jammu.¹

Soon after Śri-singh was seated on the *gaddi* an incident occurred which, in less fortunate circumstances might have ended disastrously for the State. The facts of the case are thus related. There was in State service a Brahman, of Basohli, contractor, went by the name of Lakar Shāh. He was a relative of Pundit Jalla, who with Hīra-singh, son of Dhīān-singh of Jammu, at the time wielded supreme power in Lahore. This man seems to have acted an agent of the Sikh Government, and managed to acquire so much influence in Chamba that the whole State administration was virtually in his hands. In his time, and by his orders, a new issue of the Chamba copper coin was made, and is still called Lakar-Shāhi, after him. The State officials resented his arrogance, and took counsel with the Rānī to have him put out of the way. Accordingly he was set upon one day, seized, bound and carried up the Saho Valley, and over to Bailj, where he was killed. Bhāga Wazīr, and two of the State officials then went to Lahore to try to pacify Hīra-singh and avert the consequences of their act; but Pandit Jalla had them cast into prison, and sent an army to invade Chamba. One division came by Chun and Sandhāra, and on its approach the Rānī took Śri-singh and fled up the Rāvī Valley to Basu. The capital was captured and looted by the Sikhs. Another Sikh force advanced by Nurpur, but the Chamba troops in

¹ It is probable that Bhadrawah had come more or less under the control of Jammu some time previous to this.

Tāragarh Fort kept them at bay, and prevented their coming farther than Jājri. The Ganeshgarh Fort was taken by a Sikh force from Kotila. Things were looking very dark for the State when news arrived of the assassination of Hīra Singh and Pandit Jalla by the soldiery in Lahore, on the 21st December, A.D. 1844; whereupon the invading armies at once withdrew. Wazīr Bhāga and his companions were also set at liberty, and returned to Chamba.

The disorders in the Punjab, which followed the death of Maharāja Ranjīt-singh, were now fast approaching a crisis, and the following year, 1845, broke out the First Sikh War, which ended so disastrously for the Sikh kingdom. On its conclusion the treaty of peace, as finally arranged, included the transfer to the British Government in perpetual sovereignty of the Jālandhar Doāb and the hill country between the Biās and the Satluj. A war indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees was also stipulated for. The Sikh Darbār, being unable to meet this demand, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country between the Biās and the Indus as the equivalent of one crore promising to pay the remainder in cash. This treaty was concluded on 9th March, 1846. On the 16th of March, following a separate treaty was entered into between the British Government and Gulāb-singh of Jammu, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Rāvī and the Indus, including Chamba, on his agreeing to pay £750,000. This treaty was shortly afterwards modified as regards the boundary on the Rāvī. This river divides the Chamba State into two parts, and a question arose as to whether it was intended to include the whole State in the transfer, or only the portion to the west of the Rāvī. Ultimately an agreement was come to whereby Gulāb-singh acquired *taluka* Lakhanpur in exchange for the Cis-Rāvī portion, and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawāh, for which it held a *sanad* from Ranjīt-singh, on condition that the territory to the west of the Rāvī should be restored, thus preserving the ancient integrity of the State.¹ Had the provisions of the treaty of 16th March been fully carried out, Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu territory.² It was saved from this fate by the patriotic zeal and astuteness of Wazīr Bāga, who immediately proceeded to Lahore, laid the matter before Sir Henry Lawrence, and succeeded in securing his sympathy and support, with the result stated. Bhadrawāh thus ceased to be Chamba territory, but the rest of the State was left intact and directly under British control, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000. A *sanad*,³ dated 6th April, 1848, was granted to Rāja Srī-singh, conferring the territory

¹ Lakhanpur and Chandgraon are to the west of the Ravi opposite Madhopur, in Jammu territory. They were at the time attached to Nurpur State.

² It is said that a portion of the State adjoining the Jammu border was for a short time in the hands of the Jammu officials.

³ Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Vol. II, No. CXXIX.

of Chamba upon him,⁴ and providing that, failing heirs—male of his own body, the succession should devolve on his elder surviving brother. A more recent *sanad*⁵ grants the right of adoption to the Chamba Chiefs on the failure of direct heirs, and is dated 11th March, 1862.

In 1851 the State Authorities were approached by Government with a view to the establishment of a Sanatorium for Europeans within the territory, and every facility was given for this purpose. A site was selected on the western extremity of the Dhaula Dhār by the late Lord Napier of Magdāla, then Colonel Napier. After the necessary observations as to climate had been made, Government sanction was given in A.D. 1853 to the transfer of certain plateaux from the Chamba State, viz., Katalagh, Potrain, Terah, Bakrota and Bhangor, in consideration of which a reduction of Rs. 2,000 was made in the amount of the tribute annually payable by the State. On the recommendation of the late Sir Donald McLeod the new Sanatorium was named Dalhousie. In A.D. 1866 the Balun plateau was also taken over for the Convalescent Depot for European troops, and at the same time the Bakloh plateau was transferred for a Gurkha Cantonment. For these a further reduction of Rs. 5,000 was made in the tribute. More transfers of land to Government have taken place since then, with a relative reduction in the annual tribute, which now stands at Rs. 3,800.

During the Mutiny Srī-singh was loyal to the Government, and rendered every assistance in his power. He sent troops to Dalhousie under the late Mian Autār-singh, and also had a careful watch kept along the frontier for any mutineers who might enter State territory, many of whom were apprehended and made over to the British Authorities.

Wazīr Bhāga retired in 1854, and was succeeded by Wazīr Billu, also of the Baratru family who, with a short break, held office till 1860. There were one or two more changes, each of brief duration, previous to the appointment of a European Superintendent in December, 1862, after which the office of Wazīr was for some years in abeyance.

The administration seems to have become much disorganized during Srī-singh's minority, and when he came of age and took the reigns of government into his own hands, he found it difficult to restore order. He had married a Sukēt princess and the men who came with her gradually usurped all authority, the Chamba officials being unable to make a firm stand against them. The revenue had fallen to about a lakh, and a heavy debt had accumulated, due probably in a measure at least to the exactions under Sikh rule. Finding himself unequal to the task of dealing with the disorder into which affairs had fallen, Srī-singh, in 1862, asked the Punjab Government

⁴ Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Vol. II, No. XVIII.

⁵ The small *jagir* of Ranitar in Rihlu was, however, resumed by Government.

for the services of a British officer. His request was acceded to, and Major Blair Reid was appointed Superintendent, and arrived on 1st January, 1863. In a short time Major Reid effected important and far-reaching reforms. All the useless servants and hangers on about the Court were dismissed; the troops—chiefly of Purbiahs and Pathāns—whose allowances were in arrears, were paid up and discharged; debts of long standing were liquidated, and the State finances placed on a sound footing.

Till then the forts of Tāragarh, Ganeshgarh and Prithvijor had been garrisoned by State troops, and when these were disbanded the garrisons were withdrawn, the arms removed to Chamba, and the forts entrusted to the care of the local State officials.

Major Reid next devoted attention to the development of the internal resources of the State. In a mountainous country like Chamba, where for ages every precaution had to be taken against aggression from without, the routes into the interior were little more than tracks; and the opening up of communications was therefore a matter of the first importance. A Public Works Department under European supervision was organized, new lines of road were surveyed, and their construction was vigorously pushed on from year to year as funds permitted. Even in the isolated valley of Pāngī, communications were much improved, chiefly through the agency of the Forest Department.

In 1863 a Post Office was opened in the capital, and a daily mail service with Dalhousie established and maintained at the cost of the State.

Educational work was begun in the same year by the opening of a Primary School, the nucleus of the present High School.

Realising the great importance of efficient forest conservancy, Major Reid, in 1864, moved the Rāja to transfer the working of the State Forests to Government, and this was effected by a lease (dated 10th September, 1864), for 99 years, subject to revision every 20 years. Under this lease Government agreed to pay the State Rs. 22,000 yearly, and the Forests were thus placed under the direct control of the Imperial Forest Department.

In January, 1865, Major Reid was succeeded by Captain Forbes. Plans for a Residency had already been prepared and the building was completed during his term of office. In June, 1866, Lieutenant E. G. Wace succeeded Captain Forbes till Major Reid's return in December, 1866.

In December, 1866, a Hospital was opened under Doctor Elmslie of the Kashmīr Medical Mission, in connection with the Chamba State. The institution was largely resorted to and much regret was felt when, in March, 1867, Doctor Elmslie returned to his permanent sphere of work in Kashmīr. As no one could be found to take his place, the Hospital was temporarily closed, but was re-opened in February, 1868, under an Assistant Surgeon.

The next two years were marked by the construction of two

entirely new roads to Dalhousie—*via* Kolri and Khajiār, respectively—which not only made the journey easier, but greatly facilitated trade with the plains. Dak Bungalows were opened at Chamba and Khajiār. Jandra-Ghat, the Rāja's Dalhousie residence, was erected in 1870-71.

Meantime the State continued to prosper, and as a result of stable government the revenue rapidly expanded, till in 1870 it reached Rs. 1,73,000. This substantial increase was not due to additional taxation, on the contrary many vexatious and petty taxes on marriages, traders, etc., were abolished, only the town octroi and bridge tolls being retained. It was due chiefly to the security of land tenure afforded by the granting of leases, whereby the area under cultivation was immensely increased; and with the opening up of communications, high prices were obtained from traders, who with their mules and bullocks were now able to visit the interior of the State for the purchase of grain and other exports.

While these changes were in progress and everything augured well for the future, Rāja Sri-singh died after a short illness, on the 11th Assuj, 1870, in the 32nd year of his age and the 27th of his reign. Though not well educated he was a wise and sagacious ruler, and had many good qualities both of head and heart. Generous and amiable in character, he was much beloved by his people, and his early death was deeply and sincerely mourned. The various reforms initiated by the Superintendents had his hearty support, for he saw in them the best means of ameliorating the condition of his people and advancing the interests of the State. His only son died in infancy, and his only daughter was married to the present Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmīr.

Gopal-singh—(A.D. 1870).—In the absence of a direct heir, Mian Suchet-singh, the younger of the two surviving brothers, laid claim to the *gaddi*, basing his claim on the fact that he was the late Rāja's uterine brother. The *sanad* of '1848 had, however, made provision for the succession, and in accordance with it, Mian Gopal-singh, the elder of the two brothers, was declared the rightful heir. The order of Government directing his recognition as Rāja was notified in open Darbār by Colonel Blair Reid on the 25th October, 1870. Mian Suchet-singh then retired from Chamba, and continued to press his claim for many years, both in India and England, but always with the same result. He died in London in August, 1896, without male heirs.

Like his predecessor, Rāja Gopāl-singh had the assistance of a Political Officer, and Colonel Reid continued in charge. The reforms initiated in the previous reign were pushed on and the revenue continued to increase. Several new lines of road were constructed, and improvements carried out in the capital which added much to its beauty. In 1871 the school was raised to the Middle Standard and a European Headmaster appointed. The Hospital continued to attract an increasing number of patients and proved a great boon to

the people in general; while the other departments of the administration were conducted with regularity and precision.

On 13th November, 1871, Chamba was visited by Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India.

On 5th January, 1872, Colonel Blair Reid proceeded on furlough and Colonel G. A. McAndrew was appointed Superintendent. His term of office was marked by another change in the administration. Rāja Gopāl-singh had little predilection for the cares of government and difficulties began to arise. These reached a climax in the spring of 1873, and finding himself incapable of governing the country, the Rāja in April of that year, abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Tikka Shām-singh, then a boy of seven. A *jāgīr* was assigned him at Manjir with a suitable allowance, and there he lived in retirement until his death in March, 1895. He had three sons Shām-singh, born 8th July, 1866; Bhuri-singh, born 18th December, 1869, and Partāp-singh, born after his abdication.

Rāja Shām-singh—(A.D. 1873).—The young Rāja was installed by General Reynell Taylor, Commissioner of Amritsar, on 7th October, 1873; Mian Autār-singh being appointed Wazīr. In the following January Colonel Blair Reid returned from furlough and resumed political charge of the State. The Rāja being a minor supreme power was vested in the Superintendent and the Wazīr, and their first concern was to make suitable arrangements for the education and training of the young Chief. Along with his brother, the Mian Sahib, he was placed under the care of a competent teacher, and no pains were spared to prepare him for the responsible position he was to fill. In April, 1874, Chamba was visited by Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; in March, 1875, the Rāja was present at the Imperial Darbār in Delhī; and in 1876 he visited Lahore, with the other Chiefs to meet the Prince of Wales, being the youngest ruling Chief present on that occasion. On 1st January, 1877, he took part in the great Proclamation Darbār at Delhī.

Meanwhile things had been going on quietly and prosperously in the State. Every effort had been made to develop its resources and a fair measure of success had been attained. The revenue now stood at Rs. 2,00,000 and was expanding. A Land Revenue Settlement, begun by Colonel Reid in 1876, resulted in a considerable gain to the State finances. It brought to light a great deal of land which was either very lightly assessed or had entirely escaped observation, thus considerably increasing the area under assessment. On 5th March, 1877, Colonel Blair Reid retired. With three intervals of absence he had been in uninterrupted charge of the State since 1863, and it would be difficult to over-estimate his services. Coming at a crisis in its history he found it in a state of chaos, and on his departure he made over to his successor one of the most prosperous and progressive principalities in the Province, with a full treasury and an administration organized on a sound basis. It may justly be

said that to General Blair Reid the Chamba State is chiefly indebted for the prosperity which it has ever since enjoyed.

Colonel Reid was succeeded by Mr. R. T. Burney, C.S., who did much to still further improve the lines of communication. An entirely new road to Brahmaur was completed as far as the 20th mile; but the project was ultimately abandoned owing to the cost which it would have involved. Of the other new roads one was carried from the capital to the Chuāri Pass, and the other to Khajjār.

In 1878 Mian Autār-singh retired from the office of Wazir. In the same year Mr. John Harvey, of the Punjab Educational Department, was appointed tutor to the Rāja, and on his promotion in 1881, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Mr. G. W. Blaithwayt. Under the care of these gentlemen the Rāja made satisfactory progress in his studies and also acquired a taste for manly sports in which he greatly excelled.

On 7th October, 1879, Mr. Burney was succeeded by Captain C. H. T. Marshall, who retained charge till November, 1885. Under his officer the roads were still further improved and a new Darbār Hall, which is named after him, was added to the Palace. Hop-growing was introduced in 1880 under European supervision, and the industry prospered and proved remunerative, both to the cultivator and the State. It continued to flourish till 1896, but was ultimately abandoned owing to the difficulties in the process of drying. The Pāngī Valley was found to be specially adapted to hop-culture. Sericulture was also tried but did not prove a success.

In 1881 a Branch Dispensary was opened at Tissa, which proved a great boon to the people of that portion of the State. In the same year a Leper Asylum, commenced by the "Mission to Lepers in 1876, was taken over by the State, and has ever since been maintained as a State institution. It usually has about 20 inmates.

In February, 1883, the Rāja was married to a grand-daughter of the Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmir, and in the same year to a cousin of the Rāja of Sirmur.

In November, 1883, Chamba was visited by Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. In May, 1884, the Forest Lease came up for revision on the expiry of the first term of 20 years, and Government agreed to pay two-thirds of the profits to the State during the second term of the lease. The total revenue had now reached Rs. 2,50,000.

As the time drew near for the assumption of full powers the young Chief was initiated into the art of government, for which he showed considerable aptitude. He came of age in July, 1884, and in the following October was invested with full authority as a ruling Chief by Colonel C. A. McMahon, Commissioner of Lahore. Diwan Govind Chand was at the same time advanced to the office of Wazir which had been vacant since 1878. The first year of his rule was uneventful, and on 3rd November, 1885 the entire burden of the administration was transferred to the Rāja by the withdrawal of the

Superintendent.

The Rāja entered on his onerous and responsible duties with zeal and earnestness. Every department was kept under his own control and received his personal attention, and at the end of a year the Commissioner was able to report that "The Rāja's personal interest in the management of his territory is real and its administration is satisfactory."

In January, 1887, a Postal Convention was concluded which brought the State into direct relations with the Imperial Postal System, and resulted in a great expansion of the work of the Postal Department. Till then there had been only a Post Office in the capital, but in that year branch offices were opened at Brahmaur, Lil, Sihunta, Bathri, Tissa, Kihār and Pāngī, thus linking up the different Wazārats of the State. A daily arrival and departure mail service was established in connection with each, except in the case of Pāngī and Brahmaur, where the climate renders this impossible for more than six months in the summer. A special surcharged stamp was also introduced, which had been a source of revenue to the State.

The Judicial Department was reorganised on the British model but adapted to local conditions, civil and criminal appeals going from the subordinate to the higher courts, then to the Wazīr, and finally to the Rāja. In the Police Department the force was increased to 100 constables under the control of an official designated Kotwāl. The Public Works Department was also reorganised and entrusted with the care of the roads and public buildings.

The work of the Medical Department continued to grow under the fostering care of the Rāja, and no expense was spared to secure efficiency. The Hospital buildings, erected by Colonel Reid in 1875, were demolished in 1891 to make way for the present "Shām-singh Hospital," with accommodation for 40 in-patients, and fully furnished with all necessary medical and surgical appliances. The Branch Dispensary opened at Tissa in 1881, continued to attract an increasing number of patients.

Education was also fostered, and the advanced pupils were encouraged to prosecute their studies by the offer of scholarships in Chamba and on the plains.

A small military force was formed; it consisted of 300 infantry and 30 cavalry with 4 guns, and was accommodated in near and substantial barracks erected in the neighbourhood of the town.

Shortly after his investment with full powers the Rāja initiated extensive building operations and other improvements in the capital, which were continued over a series of years. Among these may be mentioned the erection of a new Court-House, Post-Office, Kotwālī, Hospital and Jail. A large part of the main bazar was also rebuilt and the chaugān or public promenade, within the town, levelled and extended, adding much to its attractions.

The Palace, most of which was old, was in a dilapidated condition. Its renovation was undertaken and the greater portion of it

rebuilt. In addition to these improvements by the State, many new houses were erected in the town by private owners, and so great have been the changes in recent years that the capital has been transformed out of recognition, with a corresponding enhancement of its natural beauty.

In 1894 the old wire-suspension bridge over the Rāvi was injured by a flood, and in the following year was replaced by a substantial suspension bridge of iron at a cost of nearly a lakh of rupees.

The year 1895 was marked by an agrarian agitation, which arose in the Bhattiyāt Wazārat, and for a considerable time rendered it difficult for the State Officials to collect the revenue and provide the necessary supply of coolies for State service. As, however, an inquiry into their grievances by the Commissioner of Lahore, proved clearly that there was no good ground for complaint, the ringleaders were arrested and punished and the agitation then subsided.

In January, 1898, Wazīr Govind Chand was retired on pension, and the Rāja's brother, Mian Bhuri-singh, was appointed to succeed him. From childhood the two brothers had been greatly attached to each other, and for some years before his appointment as Wazīr the Mian Sahib had acted as Private Secretary to the Rāja, and was thus fully conversant with every detail of the administration; and his nomination gave great satisfaction throughout the State. During the disturbances on the North-West Frontier in 1897-98 the State made an offer of a large quantity of grain for the use of the troops. This offer, like others of a similar kind, was declined, but the loyalty to the British Crown which prompted it was fully appreciated and acknowledged by Government.

In September, 1900, the State was honoured by the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, who spent a week in Chamba. The Viceregal party were accommodated in the Residency, which was tastefully furnished for them, and His Excellency was pleased to express his entire satisfaction with all the arrangements, and his appreciation of the Rāja's efforts to make the visit a pleasant one.

In November, 1901, Sir Macworth Young, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, included Chamba in his cold weather tour, and expressed his gratification at the efficiency of the administration and the prosperous condition of the State. The revenue had now reached Rs. 4,00,000.

In September, 1902, the Rāja was prostrated by a serious and prolonged illness, which was a cause of great anxiety throughout the State. The illness was all the more unfortunate as preparations were then in progress for the Delhī Coronation Darbār, to which he had been invited. After his restoration to health, the Rāja finding himself unequal to the duties inseparable from his position, addressed Government privately and expressed a strong wish to be permitted to abdicate in favour of his brother, Mian Bhuri-singh. After some delay his abdication was accepted, in deference to his own desire,

and, on 22nd January, 1904, this was notified in open Darbār by the Honourable Mr. A. Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner of Lahore.

Bhuri-singh—(A.D. 1904).—On May, 1904, Mian Bhuri-singh, C.I.E., was, with all due ceremony, installed as Rāja of Chamba, by Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. For seven years the Mian Sahib had been associated with his brother in the administration, and discharged the duties of Wazīr with such conspicuous ability as to earn the approval of Government. This was shown in 1902 when he had conferred on him the well deserved distinction of a Companionship of the Indian Empire, in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the State. His accession to the *gaddi* was thus an event of deep significance. Highly cultured and of mature judgment, with wide administrative experience and an intimate knowledge of the State and its needs, Rāja Bhuri-singh entered on a career of great promise as a Ruling Chief, with every happy augury of prosperity and success.

In 1904 the Forest Lease came up for revision, on the expiry of the second term of 20 years, and Government decided that, after a small deduction as interest on capital all the profits from the working of the Forests should in future be paid over to the State. This resulted in a substantial increase of the revenue, raising it to more than Rs. 6,00,000. Government has now (1907) restored the management of the Forests to the Rāja experimentally for a period of five years, on condition that the management is to be conducted on lines approved by Government.

After his abdication Rāja Shām-singh continued to reside in Chamba in the enjoyment of a liberal allowance. He had not fully recovered from the effects of his severe illness, but was in fair health and nothing untoward was anticipated. His sudden demise on 10th June, 1905, was thus quite unexpected, and caused sincere grief throughout the State. He was in the 39th year of his age, and at the time of his abdication had occupied the *gaddi* for 30 years.

On 1st January, 1906, His Highness the Rāja received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knighthood in the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India; and this signal mark of favour gave keen gratification to his subjects.