

*A XIII.*

F. Max Muller to W.E. Gladstone: July 9 (1873)

to

..The volume which I took the liberty to send you is hardly meant to be read. I knew it is perfectly unreadable except for Sanskrit scholars. It is in fact but the underground foundation on which ~~now~~ the pillars are to rest which are to support the bridge on which people hereafter may walk across from the 19th century after to the 19th century before our era. ..

F. Max Muller to W.E. Gladstone: 18 January 1883

Dear Mr Gladstone

I am afraid I am taking a very great liberty in sending you my last book on India. I must confess I have long wished for an opportunity to engage your interest in behalf of India, I do not mean the mere surface India with its grotesque religion, its pretty poetry, and its fabulous antiquity - but the real India that is only slowly emerging before our eyes - a whole, almost (ff 359v) forgotten act in the great drama of humanity, very different from Greece, from Rome, from modern Europe, and yet not so different that in studying it we can not feel that mutatis nomine nobis fabula narratur (?). The discovery of that real India, of that new intellectual hemisphere, is to my mind a far greater discovery than that of Vasco da Gama's. It was a misfortune that all the early publications of Sanskrit texts belonged really to the (ff 360r) renaissance of Sanskrit literature, Kalidasa's plays which were supposed to be contemporaneous with Virgil, belong to the sixth century, the laws of Manu which Sir William Jones placed 1280B.C. can not be older than 300 A.D. But there was a older literature in India, the Vedic and the Buddhist, which are only now slowly being disinterred, and it is there that we can watch a real growth from the simplest beginnings to the highest concepts which the human mind (ff 360v) is capable of, it is there that we can learn what man is by seeing once more what man has been.

As a very old admirer of yours I should be glad if I could make you look at the work which Sanskrit scholars have lately been doing - but this is only one of many wishes the fulfillment of which one may desire, but does hardly expect. In fact I should not have ventured to say even so much, if I did not know that you only to put my book aside, and may feel assured that I am not so unreasonable as to expect even a line of acknowledgement from your secretary. The one thing which every one in England wishes for you is rest - well earned rest, and asking your pardon for even this short interruption, I remain with sincere respect your very old admirer

F. Max Muller.

F. Max Muller to W.E. Gladstone: October 6, 1870

..(ff292v) My great anxiety through all this war has been the unfriendly feeling that is springing up between England and Germany. The whole future of the world seems to me to depend on the friendship of the three Teutonic nations, Germany, England and America. If Germany is estranged from England, she must become the ally of France and Russia which would mean another century of imperialism and despotism. Can nothing be done to heal the breach?

F. Max Muller to W.E. Gladstone: 28.12.1870

Might not England and America be drawn together through Germany? The German vote in America is (ff 302r) not at first sight very important by itself, but it has hitherto proved most important in keeping the turbulent Irish vote in order. It is an intelligent and peaceful vote, and it retains strong sympathies with the mother country. Might not Germany and England shake hands across America? ... If England joins Germany, the Teutonic breakwater will be sufficiently strong against the savagery of the East, and the restless ambition of the West. Europe will then have rest and peace, and the Teutonic race will have fulfilled its noblest work, its divine purpose and mission on earth. ..

British Museum: Gladstone Papers: Add Ms 44251 (II) ff 261-410  
last letter from FMM is dated 25.2.1897

2408.2.7.

F. Max Müller.

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Visit to Tennyson

[CH. XVI]

Castle and the fine Roman villa, which had not been long excavated.

Another expedition, in which their eldest child shared, was to Freshwater, where a night was spent with Mr. and Mrs. Tennyson. The poet was in rather a silent mood till after the ladies withdrew, when, over their pipes, he read out some of his latest poems to Max Müller, his rich deep voice sounding through the house till far into the small hours.

To HIS MOTHER (for her birthday).

Translation.

BONCHURCH, October 9.

'Each birthday, even the happiest, has its sad side. It is a station nearer death; but whilst in youth and the full enjoyment of life this thought seems terrible, it loses much of its terror as one gets older, for the parting from the few whom we leave behind is made up for by the hope of rejoining the many who are gone before us. So, though this birthday must be very sad to you, you must accustom yourself more and more to the thought that here is not our abiding city, that all that we call ours here is only lent, not given us, and that if the sorrow for those we have lost remains the same, we must yet acknowledge with gratitude to God the great blessing of having enjoyed so many years with those whom He gave us as parents, or children, or friends. One forgets so easily the happy years we have had with those who were the nearest to us. Even these years of happiness, however short they may have been, were only given us, we had not deserved them. I know well there is no comfort for this pain of parting; the wound always remains, but one learns to bear the pain, and learns to thank God for what He gave, for the beautiful memories of the past, and the yet more beautiful hope for the future. If a man has lent us anything for several years, and at last takes it back, he expects gratitude, not anger, and if God has more patience with our weakness than men have, yet murmurs and complaints for the life which He measured out to us as is best for us, are not what He expected from us. A spirit of resignation to God's will is the only comfort, the only relief under the trials God lays upon us, and with such a spirit the heaviest as well as the lightest trials of life are not only bearable, but useful, and gratitude to God and peace in life and in death remain untroubled. May this quiet and peaceful resignation beautify and brighten the evening of your life, that is the one wish I have for your sixty-eighth birthday.... We were yesterday at Freshwater, where Tennyson has his house, and he invited us (G. and Ada) to stay with him. It was very interesting.'

1868]

Education in India

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The following letter was written to the Duke of Argyll soon after his appointment as Secretary of State for India:—

TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

OXFORD, December 16.

'... As for more than twenty years my principal work has been devoted to the ancient literature of India, I cannot but feel a deep and real sympathy for all that concerns the higher interests of the people of that country. Though I have never been in India, I have many friends there, both among the civilians and among the natives, and I believe I am not mistaken in supposing that the publication in England of the ancient sacred writings of the Brâhmans, which had never been published in India, and other contributions from different European scholars towards a better knowledge of the ancient literature and religion of India, have not been without some effect on the intellectual and religious movement that is going on among the more thoughtful members of Indian society. I have sometimes regretted that I am not an Englishman, and able to help more actively in the great work of educating and improving the natives. But I do rejoice that this great task of governing and benefiting India should have fallen to one who knows the greatness of that task and all its opportunities and responsibilities, who thinks not only of its political and financial bearings, but has a heart to feel for the moral welfare of those millions of human beings that are, more or less directly, committed to his charge.

'India has been conquered once, but India must be conquered again, and that second conquest should be a conquest by education. Much has been done for education of late, but if the funds were tripled and quadrupled, that would hardly be enough.

'The results of the educational work carried on during the last twenty years are palpable everywhere. They are good and bad, as was to be expected. It is easy to find fault with what is called Young Bengal, the product of English ideas grafted on the native mind. But Young Bengal, with all its faults, is full of promise. Its bad features are apparent everywhere, its good qualities are naturally hidden from the eyes of careless observers.... India can never be anglicized, but it can be reinvigorated. By encouraging a study of their own ancient literature, as part of their education, a national feeling of pride and self-respect will be reawakened among those who influence the large masses of the people. A new national literature may spring up, impregnated with Western ideas, yet retaining its native spirit and character. The two things hang together. In order to raise the character of the vernaculars, a study of the ancient

classical language is absolutely necessary: for from it these modern dialects have branched off, and from it alone can they draw their vital strength and beauty. A new national literature will bring with it a new national life and new moral vigour. As to religion, that will take care of itself. The missionaries have done far more than they themselves seem to be aware of, nay, much of the work which is theirs they would probably disclaim. The Christianity of our nineteenth century will hardly be the Christianity of India. But the ancient religion of India is doomed—and if Christianity does not step in, whose fault will it be?

The following letter alludes to a little indulgence Max Müller allowed himself more than once. The forests round Dessau are famous for their wild boar, and through his cousin, Baroness Stolzenberg, he was able occasionally to secure one from the ducal forester. The arrival of the first one *entire* made a sensation at the Oxford Railway Station, and a message was sent up that a dead 'Bear' had arrived there for Professor Max Müller. The dinner given to eat the haunch was a great success, and one head of a house was observed to enjoy three helpings.

To HIS MOTHER.

*Translation.*

PARKS END, December 20.

'Yesterday we had a large dinner-party, the Vice-Chancellor, &c., and had the haunch of wild boar, which was excellent. We had already lived a week on the boar, which was a very good one, and arrived in good condition. A young man in London who comes here sometimes to work for me brought it in its skin. The skin is being dressed as a mat, the head we have sent to my father-in-law, and the rest we are slowly eating up. It has amused me having it, and brought back old days.'

The first months of 1869 brought great anxiety to Max Müller and his wife. Early in January they went with their two eldest girls to stay with a cousin at Taplow, where, after a few days, their eldest child sickened with scarlet fever. The alarm was very great, as there was a large party of young cousins living in the house, and the whole family moved once, the mother and her sick child alone remaining isolated on the top floor of a huge country house. Max Müller, who had already returned to Oxford, had the younger children

with him, and could not therefore go to his wife and sick child for fear of infection. It was a very severe case, and the eldest child was only slowly recovering when the second little girl developed the terrible illness, and was brought back to be nursed with her sister. Max Müller suffered acutely from the anxiety, which lasted nearly two months, greatly aggravated too by the feeling that they had driven the whole family from their home. Mercifully the infection did not spread. The second child lay for more than a fortnight at death's door. One night, when her case seemed hopeless, the father came to see her, but the lengthy process of disinfection made it impossible for him to repeat the visit, as his lectures had begun. His daily letters were the one support of his wife.

'How little one thinks that these heavy trials and afflictions may come upon us any day. One lives on as if life were to last for ever, and as if we should never part with those who are most dear to us. Life would be intolerable were it otherwise, but how little one is prepared for what life really is.'

January 24.

'I am longing to see you and our dear little Ada. I am afraid you do not tell me all, and I cannot tell you how I feel for your solitude in all this fearful anxiety. There is but one help and one comfort in these trials, that is to know by whom they are sent. If one knows that nothing can happen to us without Him, one does not feel quite helpless even under the greatest terrors of this life. I tremble always when I open your letters.'

One ray of sunshine came to brighten this time of gloom, in Max Müller's election as a Foreign Member of the French Institute, the youngest man ever elected. The choice lay between him and Theodor Mommsen, who was some years his senior. In writing to congratulate him, Stanislas Julien, the great Sinologue, says: 'et maintenant vous pouvez porter l'habit brodé'—the beautiful dress invented for the members of the Institute by Richelieu, and which Max Müller, before he was made a Privy Councillor, always wore at Court by the Queen's permission.

To MAX MÜLLER.

PARIS, 1<sup>er</sup> mars.

'J'ai été heureux, Monsieur, de concourir à votre nomination comme associé étranger de l'Institut. Précisément l'été dernier j'avais

lu vos Lectures à la British Institution sur la science et la formation du langage, et j'avais été extrêmement frappé de l'élévation, de la profondeur et de l'abondance des idées que vous y avez exposées. Je ne suis pas un juge compétent de vos travaux sur les *Védas*, mais je me félicite d'avoir un peu contribué à vous en fournir les matériaux, et je vous remercie d'en avoir gardé le souvenir. Mon seul regret est de ne vous avoir pas acquis vous-même à la France. C'est une fortune que j'envie un peu à l'Angleterre, tout en lui en faisant mon compliment. Recevez, Monsieur et savant confrère, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

'GUIZOT.'

*Translation.*

'I was glad, Monsieur, to contribute to your nomination as a Foreign Member of the Institute. It was only last year that I read your Lectures at the British Institution on the "Science and Formation of Language," and I was very much struck with the elevation, the depth, and the richness of the ideas which you there brought forward. I am not a competent judge of your labours on the *Rig-veda*, but I congratulate myself in having contributed a little in furnishing you with materials for it, and I thank you for remembering this. My one regret is, not to have secured you yourself for France. It is a piece of good fortune for which I envy, though at the same time I congratulate, England. Receive, Monsieur and learned *confrère*, the assurance of my highest esteem.

'GUIZOT.'

TO HIS WIFE.

February 14.

'One does not like to think of anything, or feel happy about anything, till this illness of the children is quite over; yet you will see from the enclosed letters that I have felt very happy to-day when I heard that I had been elected one of the eight Foreign Members of the Academy. It has been my ambition, I might almost say my foolish ambition through life, to be some day what I saw Humboldt was, when as a mere boy I first called on him in Paris, a Foreign Member of the French Institute; and now the thing has come to pass, and I do feel very happy about it. Still, what is that till we know that our little Mary is out of danger, and that we may look forward to a happy meeting?'

March 15.

'I assure you when I think of what might have been, I seem to have no room for any feeling but that of unceasing thankfulness. "Forget not all His benefits." One ought to keep up the recollection of these great blessings, for daily life is so very apt to wash it away.'

Early in January Max Müller received a pressing invitation from Professor Huxley, who had just been made President of the Ethnological Society, to lecture on the ethnological aspects of Indian Philology.

TO PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

PARKS END, January 8, 1869.

'It is very difficult to say no to such pleading as yours. But I have made a vow to undertake nothing new till what I have now in hand is finished, and it would be dishonest not to keep it. I am truly glad that you have taken the Ethnological Society in hand. I have not followed all the squabbles there seem to have been, but I feel certain that something ought to be done to raise the character of ethnological or anthropological research, and there is no one who can do it as well as you. I shall willingly help you hereafter when I am a little freer, but there are three books in the Press that must be finished first—(1) the first volume of the translation of the *Rig-veda*, (2) the *Prātiśikha*, the oldest work on phonetics (this is printed), and (3) the fifth volume of the text of the *Rig-veda*, with the native commentaries. I hope this will all be done before the year is out, but even then I have promised Longman two more volumes of *Chips*.

'I should be so glad if you would come to Oxford from a Saturday to Monday and stay with us. Term begins towards the end of January; if you could let me know a week before, I could then make sure of some friends who would be glad to meet you.'

Among the many young Germans whom Max Müller was able to assist to positions in India few became more distinguished, or have done better work for Sanskrit scholarship, than Dr. Kielhorn, now Professor at Göttingen. The following is one of the many letters that passed between them:—

To DR. KIELHORN.

*Translation.*

PARKS END, January 10.

'... I am delighted with your photograph, you look so well, and the old Pundit at your side looks a veritable Guru<sup>1</sup> in the true sense of the word. I am glad that the Government is giving a grant for the purchase of MSS. I had already proposed this matter when Lord Elgin was Governor, and advised the Government not to make the matter too public, as that raises the price of MSS. at once. Well, a beginning is made.

'I have finished the *Prātiśikha*, and the translation is progressing.

<sup>1</sup> Teacher.

I have sent you and Bühler my second edition of *Chips* through the Government, also to Dr. Wilson.

'Kind regards to Bühler. I have not heard from him for a very long time, but have just received his *Apastamba*, which gives me much pleasure; it is an old friend of mine. What do you think of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*? Could that be done in Bombay? Bhao Dagi is sure to have much material. It ought really to be begun soon.'

TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

TAPLOW COURT, January 14, 1869.

'It is certainly true that the religion of the Hindus, as far as we can gather it from their sacred hymns in the *Veda*, is free from everything that strikes us as degrading in the present state of religion and morality in India. But between the ancient religion of India and the religious worship of the present generation there have been several falls and several rises. Buddhism, in the sixth century before our era, was a reaction against the corruptions that had crept into the ancient religion even at that early time. Then Buddhism, starting with the highest aspirations, degenerated into monasticism and hypocrisy, and a most rigorous form of the old Brâhmanic religion took possession of India, and drove Buddhism out of every corner of the country. Since that time there have been several religious reforms, though of a more local character, and this makes it very difficult to generalize and treat the whole religious life of India as one organic body of religious thought. Yet so much may be said with perfect truth, that if the religion of India could be brought back to that simple form which it exhibits in the *Veda*, a great reform would be achieved. Something would be lost, for some of the later metaphysical speculations on religion, and again the high and pure and almost Christian morality of Buddha, are things not to be found in the *Veda*. But, as far as the popular conceptions of the deity are concerned, the Vedic religion, though childish and crude, is free from all that is so hideous in the later Hindu Pantheon.'

'With regard to the inevitable decay of religion, a difference ought to be made between two classes of religion, *national* and *personal*. There are ancient religions, like that of Greece, and that of India too, which grow up like national languages, when it is impossible to speak of individual influences, because all individual influence is determined by the silent and almost unconscious approval or disapproval of the community. In these religions I think we can watch for a time a decided progress, a gradual elimination of what is bad, i.e. what is not acceptable to the national conscience.'

'But religions, like Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity too, belong to a different class. They start with a high ideal conceived by a representative man, representative either of a nation or of the whole of humanity, and that high ideal is hardly ever realized; it has to adapt itself to larger circles and lower levels, and can only be kept from utter degeneration by constant efforts at reform.'

TO M. MICHEL BRÉAL.

PARKS END, February 19.

'I knew you would be pleased at the result of the last election, but I was glad all the same to receive your congratulations, and to know that you approve of the choice of that distinguished body, which no doubt before long will count you among its members. To me it is the highest honour that could possibly be bestowed upon me. I believe I may honestly say it has been through life the only object of what you may call a foolish ambition. That I should obtain it so soon I did not expect, and I am afraid my success will secure me many *dîpsus*, but I have long learned that no one does us so much service as our *dîpsus, nos amis les ennemis*, and I do not think my head will be quite turned, as I know too well that "merit is the good opinion which our friends have of us," as Lord Palmerston used to say. I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you and making the acquaintance of Madame Bréal before this year is over. As soon as three books of mine which are now in the Press are finished, I hope to present them in person to the Academy. The *Prâtisâkhyâ* is finished, the first volume of the translation is printed as far as page 224, and there is a third little book printing, which is to be a surprise. I hope when I and my wife come to Paris, we shall find you in the full enjoyment of all the pleasures and treasures of a Grihastha. Many thanks for your *Idées latentes du Langage*, which I read at once with the greatest pleasure, as I do everything you write. You know how to prepare your meats, and do not expect your readers to eat raw flesh. M. Brachet's *Grammar* is out. Now that Parliament is sitting, there is little chance of getting a review, but I shall see what I can do. M. Harris is hard at work translating my *Chips*. There is an Italian translation coming out of my lecture on "Stratification." I need not say that the lecture is quite at your service, if you think a French translation would interest people in France. Schleicher's death is a very great loss to us, more even than Bopp's, who had finished his work.'

Max Müller found that incessant work was the only help in these months of anxiety, and, as is shown in the various

Though adverse criticism moved him very little, discriminating appreciation of his work was a spur and incentive to his affectionate nature, and cheered him on through many a tough and dry bit of work, whilst each year the solemn feeling deepened that the time left him might be short, and there was 'still so much to do.' He writes in January to his wife:—

'To delight in doing one's work in life, that is what helps one on, though the road is sometimes very stiff and tiring—uphill rather it would seem than downhill, and yet downhill it is.'

To MR. NANJIO.

January 1.

'I was very glad to have your wishes for the New Year, and the two Chinese poems, which I shall keep as a remembrance when you are gone. I hope the work you are doing will bear fruit by-and-by. Though we cannot understand how our deeds ripen, they certainly do ripen, and good work bears good fruit, and bad work bears bad fruit. That is a very old lesson, but there are few better lessons to learn and preach. I have been very busy of late, and have not been able to help you as much as I wished, but I hope we shall now begin again to work in good earnest.'

To B. MALABARI, Esq.

OXFORD, January 29.

'As I told you on a former occasion, my thoughts while writing these lectures [the Hibbert] were with the people of India. I wanted to tell those few at least whom I might hope to reach in English, what the true *historical* value of their ancient religion is, as looked upon, not from an exclusively European or Christian, but from an *historical* point of view. I wished to warn against two dangers, that of undervaluing or despising the ancient national religion, as is done so often by your half-Europeanized youths, and that of overvaluing it, and interpreting it as it was never meant to be interpreted, of which you may see a painful instance in Dayānanda Sarasvati's labours on the *Veda*. Accept the *Veda* as an ancient *historical* document, containing thoughts in accordance with the character of an ancient and simple-minded race of men, and you will be able to admire it, and to retain some of it, particularly the teaching of the *Upanishads*, even in these modern days. But discover in it "steam-engines and electricity, and European philosophy and morality," and you deprive it of its true character, you destroy its real value, and you break the historical continuity that ought to bind the present to the past. Accept the past as a reality, study it and try

to understand it, and you will then have less difficulty in finding the right way towards the future.'

'From letters I have received I know that my *Hibbert Lectures* have been read in India. In fact, one of the best reviews of them appeared in the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, published in Calcutta. It was written by Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. But the number of people born in India who can read English, though growing from year to year, is still small, and it was therefore a great satisfaction to me when I heard from you that there was a chance of my lectures being translated into some of the Indian languages.'

'Accept now my sincere thanks for all you have done, and for what you still mean to do.'

To MR. NANJIO.

February 8.

'I can assure you it has been a real pleasure to me to have had you and your friend Kasawara as my pupils. I must sometimes have seemed impatient to you, but you know that it was only due to my wishing you to get on more rapidly. I can quite believe that you found Sanskrit very difficult, but you have mastered it now so far, that if you had to leave Oxford, which I hope will not yet be for a while, you will be able to get on by yourself. I always hope that you have some great and useful work before you when you return to Japan. Every one of us must try in his own sphere to be a real Buddha, devoting his life to the good of other people. I know you will do that, and that the work which we have done together will bear some fruit, even after we are called away from this life.'

The following letter contains the first idea of a collected edition of Max Müller's works, though it was many years before the idea was carried out, and the *History of Sanskrit Literature* was never written, if a new work was intended. Nor was a new edition of *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* published, Max Müller feeling he had not time to read up the books written on the subject since 1861.

To C. J. LONGMAN, Esq.

February 9.

'I wish very much to be guided by your advice as to a collected edition of my works. I am at work on a course of lectures on Ancient India, to be delivered at Birmingham and at Cambridge; they will grow into a book. And if life lasts I have a final book on the *Logos, Language, and Reason*, on the stocks, which will finish my work. Now you know best what is the right thing to do. The *History*

Goneshamdass's Evidence about Hindoos Going Out to Sea: 18.6.1773

Then Goneshamdass was asked:

Question: Do you think Nundcomar would come to England?

Answer: Without force he can't come, because it is contrary to the laws of his religion, he being a Bramin. It is contrary to the religion of the Hindoos to come to England - the consequence would be losing their cast; but by paying money and doing penance at their return they would regain it. - I am a Hindoo.

Question: Is a Hindoo deemed infamous for quitting his country?

Answer: It is contrary to the law, but he recovers himself by penalty and penance.

Question: Did you ever know any instance of Hindoos who lost their cast by going upon the sea, who afterwards regained it?

Answer: I never heard of a Hindoo going upon the sea out of my country, but from the coast of Malabar they go very frequently, and are not affected by it. (p 550)

Question: Do they go long voyages?

Answer: I don't know, but they do go upon the sea.

Question: Do any but the sailor cast go?

Answer: Yes - some others - I don't know what, for I never was in that country.

Fifth Report from Committee (House of Commons) 18.6.1773: (as reprinted in Vol 3 of the 'Reprinted Reports' relating to the 18th century.)

Note: Vol 5 (pp 39-40, 2½cols) contains the evidence of 'Honwāntrow' an ambassador of the Marrathas, a Brahmin, in London in 1781, on the above with a detailed account of his journey through India.

A-XIII/3

A-XII.4

### Introduction (Extract)

The Governments of this country never thought of India but with reference to the supply of troops wanted, and the amount of the revenue out of which they were to be paid, and the local governments have steadily discouraged their servants from wasting their time in many unprofitable enquiries into the history or customs of the natives. It is sufficient for them that the magistrate keeps his district quiet, that the collector allows no arrear of tax, and that the Judge does not trouble them with appeals; and should any officer, with more zeal than wit, perpetrate a report on the subjects of local interest in his neighbourhood, it is quietly conveyed to the care of the white ants, who have long been constituted keepers of all the government records, except the revenue accounts. .... and what information may have been collected by the zeal of individuals is allowed to perish unpublished in the archives of the different Presidencies.

(p2) We have hitherto, as a civilised and organised people, existing among nations disorganised by a long period of foreign domination, and degraded from their former civilisation by the loss of their independence, been able to subdue and keep them in control by the superiority of our knowledge and the perfection of ~~our~~ organisation, but long familiarity with us and our means is daily decreasing the distance between us, and, unless we can keep the advance

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Picturesque illustrations of the Ancient Architecture in Hindostan by J. Fergusson, London 1847 (B.N.Cup.652.m23)  
Preface (2 pp) + Introduction (22 pp) + 23 plates with Narration. (DNB-44Lc4)

We now possess, the time may not be far distant when we may be called upon to resign the sceptre of the East; for it requires no great knowledge of the subject to be able to assert that we must either continue to lead, or be prepared to loose~~the~~ the hold we have upon the minds of the people of India.

Much, however, of this indifference on the part of the public to Indian subjects may, it must be confessed, be traced to the fault of the writers who have hitherto written regarding them, many of whom have treated the whole as a tissue of puerile fables, quite unworthy of serious consideration; totally forgetting that, if the same test of sober reason were applied to the deities or heroes of heathen antiquity, the whole fabric would appear supremely ridiculous, instead of being, as it is now in this country universally acknowledged to be, the only thing worth impressing on the mind of every educated youth. On the other hand, it is also true that many, as if infected by the contagion, have indulged in speculation, scarcely wild and absurd than those of the modern Hindoos themselves. Between the two, the public has been content, in speaking or writing on the subject, with a few set phrases, ringing the changes on which has served to explain all difficulties. In the monuments, their acknowledged "primeval antiquity" has prevented any further elucidation; and when it is urged that they are very like those recently erected, the difficulty is explained by the equally well founded doctrine of "the immutability of the Hindoos"; while, perhaps, there is no country in the world to which these terms are less applicable (as far, at least, as monuments are concerned) than Hindostan.

If the assertor of the latter doctrine would only study the accounts, left by the Greeks of that country, he would see how inapplicable their descriptions are to the habits and customs of the people in the present day; but, without putting it to so severe a test, I would ask him to accompany me to Ellora; and there standing by the European bungalow to remark that in the cliff under his feet there is a long series of caves, extending through a period of at least two centuries, all purely Buddhist; a little to his right another series, less pure, and shewing traces of the Hindu religion, which at last becomes distinct and reigns supreme in the far-famed Kyles. From the period of its excavation, all trace of the Buddhist religion is lost, for a period of probably equal duration. This, again, gives place to the Jaina religion, a mixture of the former two, which seems to have supplied their place at the time the last caves were dug, in the 11th and 12th centuries. Again, if he turns and looks behind him, he will find the two large cities of Aurgangabad and Dowletabad - in all these buildings and forms as purely Mahometan as Bagdad or Damascus - and within a gun shot of the caves the modest tomb of <sup>Mebe</sup> Aurangzib, the most bigotted and <sup>zealous</sup> ~~zealot~~ of all the Mahometan Emperors of India! In front of him, again, are to be seen in the distance the temples of the Jangams and Vishnavas, sects that have no representatives in these caves; which his race may probably, be the germ of the sixth form of faith, which in less than twelve ~~centuries~~ centuries have succeeded each other on that spot. Did the cities of India retain these monuments as perfect as these rock-cut edifices, they would all, I believe, exhibit a

like fickleness of faith on the part of the inhabitants. Indeed we have seen the religion of the Sikhs and many of the sects of Bengal spring up almost in our own day, and among ourselves spread over whole masses of the people.

The primal antiquity of the monuments is even more easily disposed of, as the earliest of them are undoubtedly the rock-cut ones, and the earliest caves are the Buddhist ones; while the founder of that religion died only 543 B.C., and his faith did not become the religion of the people till three centuries after his death. But even this is too early, for I believe no cave can claim a higher antiquity than those of Dasaratha, near Gaya, which date from about two hundred years before our era. Earlier than this, we have only the laths or inscribed pillars of Asoka, and his inscriptions on the rocks of Cuttack and Guzerat, and at Kapur di Giri, in Afghanistan\*

(3) ... It is needless now, in speaking of Indian History, to return to the absurd system of Yuga, or astronomical eras, invented with the present Hindu system shortly before the Mahometan invasion; but there is one date, that of the Kaliyug, 3102 B.C., which forms no part of the astronomical system, but, on the contrary, appears to be a fixed historical date, representing whether correctly or not, the first irruption of the Sanscrit races into Hindostan. But, even if this is assumed, it is not

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\*Anyone acquainted with the opacity with which the English regard all things Indian that do not concern their present interests, would be surprised that the discovery of a contemporary copy of a series of edicts of an Indian monarch of the third century B.C. should not have induced an enterprising publisher to risk 50 pounds in reprinting in this country. No one in the trade, however, has thought it worth his while to throw away his money, and no amateur to waste his time, on what no one cares about.

certain whether it should be referred to Swayambhuva, or to Manichi, or Ikswaku. My own belief is, that it certainly belongs to one of the latter two, and they are so near to one another, that it is for my present purpose of little consequence which is taken. From this period we have, from many different sources, lists of 96 or 120 <sup>h</sup> kings of the Solar race, who ruled as lord supreme of Northern India, from their capital Ayodhya (Oude), certainly supreme till the time when Ram (about 1800 BC) undertook the conquest of the South of India and Ceylon. This was, however, apparently the last great effect of his race; for from this time we find lunar races fast rising into importance, and their capitals of ~~now~~ Canauge and Hastinapoora rivalling the glories of the olden metropolis of the solar line. And from the era of the Mahabharat, or great war of the Pandus, an event as nearly as possible contemporary with the war of Troy, the solar race dwindles into a line of petty rajas, and the imperial throne of India is occupied by the sovereigns of Magadha, of the Lunar race, (4) ruling from their new capitals of Rajagriha and Palibothra (now perfectly ascertained to be Patna). Forty-nine (including the nine Nandas) of these sovereigns occupied the throne till the accession of Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, who usurped the supreme power about the year 325 BC}.

The dates are confirmed from so many <sup>sources</sup> series that I am convinced that a little industry and sound criticism would render them at least as certain as any of a similarly remote age in Greek chronology. In the first

place, they are confirmed by the Greeks themselves, as  
Appian\* gives the same number of 153 kings as ~~reigning~~  
~~from Bacchus (Ikswaku?) to Sandracottus,~~ and  
though he gives a date that allows the absurd duration of  
forty years to each king's reign, still it is some  
consolation to think that the chronology was in that age  
falsified only to that extent, if the date is not entirely  
a mistake of the historian, which I suspect it to be.\*\*

They are confirmed in the second place by the Persian  
historians, especially Ferishtah (twice abstracted, but  
never yet translated into English) from whom I have  
principally taken these dates and also by the Mackenzie MSS  
as analysed by the Rev. Mr. Taylor (Madras Literary Journal,  
passim); and lastly by the Puranas and scriptures of  
the Hindus themselves; for, though the dates in these works  
are falsified to a ridiculous extent, the lists in all  
are so <sup>to</sup> that, applying them the correction  
of about eighteen years for the duration of each reign, which  
is the average <sup>given by</sup> quantity the best modern lists, the dates  
come out almost exactly as I have stated them.

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\* Indica Cap IX.

\*\* If we may understand his generations, or ages, to mean or  
to be a mistake for centuries, the distance of time  
between Hercules (by which name the Greeks certainly meant  
the progenitors of the Pandus) and Bacchus is what I have  
stated. What has been said above may also explain the  
hitherto inexplicable assumption of Arrian that during  
their long period the Indians were only twice (once for  
300 and another for 120 years) governed by their own  
laws; if we understand this to refer to two periods when  
the ~~ancient~~ aboriginal Tamul races had for a time  
rendered themselves independent of the Arian conquerors.

Were I, however, equal to the task of settling this much-vexed question, it is not here that I would attempt it, as not one of all this long line of monarchs has left a monument behind him.

Jugganath (Temple of) pp.25-6. So much has been written about the horrorm of this festival - of the hundreds of dead and dying pilgrims that <sup>strew</sup> shew the road, and of their bones that whiten the plains - and of the victims that threw themselves under the wheels of the car, that I was most agreeably disappointed to find the pilgrims hurrying to the spot, talking and laughing like people to a fair in England, which in fact it is. There are fanatics measuring the road with <sup>their</sup> thin length, and others rolling along, and devotees doing absurd things of all sorts, but not more than one sees in every town in India; and as for victims, none had been heard for many years before that time. Many threw themselves down before the cars, it is true, but a kick or a slap from those who were standing started them long before the wheels came near, amidst the laughter and shouts of derision of the people. Nor were the ~~#~~ bones more plentiful than the victims. I looked out everywhere ~~nowhere~~ for a pilgrim's skull to examine his bump of veneration, and keep it as a curiosity if I found at large, but neither skulls nor bones were to be found anywhere that I could <sup>see</sup> have. Still the authorities are so respectable, that it is but charitable to believe that a different state of things did once exist, and, if the missionaries and talkers of the India House have their own way, probably will return.

... According to these strange reasoners, there is nothing wrong in our interfering in all the civil and

political affairs of these idolators, and governing them as we best may. They find no fault with our taxing their honest industry till we have destroyed their manufactures and ground the agriculturist to the dust, but they are horrified if we interfere with the dishonest gains of a knavish priest, or to tax the gross superstition of an ignorant pilgrim....

Temple of Kanaruc (Black Pagoda) Plate III pp.27-8  
Taken altogether, this building may, as far as my experience goes, be considered, as one of the very best specimens of Indian architecture as an exterior, though in Upper India there are interiors infinitely finer. There is altogether so much consonance in the parts and appropriateness in the details, that the effect of the whole is particularly charming. In speaking, however, thus in its praise, I must be understood to limit that to its effect as an artistic architectural composition; for the sculpture that covers the walls - not the roof - is generally bad in design and execution, and of an obscenity of expression which it is impossible to describe, and which it would be difficult for even a very depraved European imagination to conceive. It is, however, so completely subordinate to the architecture, that this defect is not perceived in contemplating the building at such a distance as enables one to grasp it as a whole.

... the temple itself had a narrow escape from being employed to build a light house on False point. It was, however, found that ~~the~~ the river afforded an easier communication to the minarets of the port and palace of Barabatti, which was therefore pulled down for this laudable

purpose; and the road to Puri, the nearest European station, is so bad that it has hitherto escaped being employed to build a gaol or <sup>repair</sup> ~~retain~~ <sup>bridges</sup> the station buildings. But as there can be little doubt that the active intelligence of the present rulers of India will soon find some useful purpose to which to apply so splendid a quarry, I can only regret that the burning sun and dashing rain of the month of June on the shores of the bay prevented me from doing more than I was able to accomplish for the illustration of so splendid a building.

A GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL  
DESCRIPTION OF HINDOSTAN, AND THE ADJACENT  
COUNTRIES. ( IN TWO VOLUMES )

BY WALTER HAMILTON, ESQ. VOL.II. LONDON, 1820

(ppm-65)

AXL1.5

The Native Circum.

Geographically considered, a village here is a tract of country comprising some hundred, or some thousand, acres of arable or waste land; politically viewed, it resembles a township or corporation. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consist of the following descriptions:-

These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a Hindoo village. In addition to the portion of land appropriated to the pagoda establishment, to the local officers of government, and to the village servants, they were each entitled to certain small shares or perquisites from the crops of the villagers. Under this simple form of government the inhabitants lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereignty it devolves, its internal economy still remaining unchanged.

(ppm-7) India South of Krishna River

The earliest mahomedan army that crossed the Krishna was led, in 1310, by Kafoor against Dhoor Summooder, the capital city of BelalDeo, the sovereign of Karnata; but they never made any permanent conquests until about the commencement of the 18th century. For many centuries prior to the British ascendance, the governments in this quarter were little more than an assemblage of Poligarships, under a superior chief, who, although he had a general control over the whole, exercised very little authority in the interior management of their respective districts. In fact, Hyder was the only Indian Sovereign in this tract who ever subdued all his petty feudatories, or was really, according to European ideas, master of his country. Whatever may have been the nature of the ancient governments, this fertile region has evidently undergone a gradual decay since the first intrusion of the Mahomedans, and its decline appears to have been accelerated since the commencement of the British

? influence, so long as it was exerted through the medium of the native chiefs, whose oppressive mode of collecting the revenue contributed more to ruin the country than all the wars and tumults that had occurred. Many provinces have continued in high culture, although exposed to constant wars, while other have become deserts in the midst of peace. The open violence of armies has probably done less injury than the fines, fees, exactions, and contributions, which have been imposed by the tyranny, or permitted by the weakness of the state. The buildings, tanks, channels, and even ridges that separated former fields, the ruined villages, general tradition, books, accounts, sunnuds, and inscriptions, all combine to give a high idea of the former cultivation and opulence of this division of Hindostan. It must be admitted, however, that many of these appearances may have originated from the circumstance of each portion of the country having become in its turn the seat of a petty transitory state which flourished for a time, afterwards decayed, became gradually deserted by its inhabitants migrating to some more prosperous spot, and at last relapsed to a state of jungle, containing the remains of buildings, tanks, fields, and houses, the vestiges of its former population. The ancient great Hindoo princes in this quarter did not in fact want a large revenue; they had no expensive establishments to keep up, and the simplicity of their manners required but little. Religious ceremonies were probably the chief expense of the state, the soldiers being supported by grants of land.

....

W. Craufurd : Sketches ... of the Hindoos  
(2 vols, 1790, 1792; BM 280 h 16-17 )

AXIII.6(i)

I(p.103) Besides the estates of Rakahs, there were other hereditary lands belonging to persons of less note, and some that were appropriated to charitable and religious purposes. We likewise find, that in many parts of Hindostan, certain lands, or commons, were attached (p.104) to the different villages, which were cultivated by joint labours of their inhabitants. The care of these lands was committed to the elders of the village, and their produce applied to maintain the poor, to defray the expence of festivals, and to pay dancers and players, who might occasionally be employed for the amusement of the villagers.

(p. 105) In such countries as have not the advantage of being watered by considerable rivers; or in such parts where the water cannot be conveyed from them to the adjacent fields; tanks were made, which, being filled during the periodical rains, furnished water for the rice fields, and for the cattle in the dry season. Some of these are of great extent and were made by inclosing deep and low situations with a strong mound of earth.\* (\* On the bank of the great tanks, are generally found a choultry and a temple.) Others of less magnitude, for the use of temples, towns, or gardens, are of a quadrangular form, (p.106) lined with stone, descending in regular steps from the margin to the bottom.\*(\*I have seen some of these measuring between 300<sup>ft</sup> and 400 feet on the sides, and regularly lined with granite. The Hindoos, from some superstitious notion, never construct anything of an exact-square, but rather oblong; though the difference is frequently so small as scarcely to be perceptible to the eye.)

In the towns, as well as in most of the villages, are choultries, or public buildings for the reception of travellers, which were erected and endowed by the munificence of the prince, the generosity of some rich individual, or, not uncommonly, in consequence of some pious vow. A brahman resides near, who furnishes the needy traveller with food, and a mat to lie upon; and contiguous to them is a tank or well, that those who halt, may have it in their power to perform their ablutions before they eat, or proceed on their journey.

Vol I: Chap 1: General Reflections, pp 1-70; 2. Sources of information concerning Hindostan, pp.71-80 (Greeks, Romans, also Lt Col Polier: 30 years in India, also at Delhy; John Stuart, George Foster, the French); 3. History, pp.81-101; 4. Government, etc pp.102-122; 10. Learning and Philosophy of the Brahmins pp.252-283; 11. Astronomy of the Brahmins, pp.284-361 (Barker, etc, also)

(Q. Graufurd 2)

(pp.107) The Dewuls, or temples, called by the Europeans Pagodas, are still very numerous, especially in the southern provinces, and some of them of such remote antiquity, that no account is left, either in writing or by tradition, when or by whom they were erected. ... (Muslim destruction in the north)

The temples at Mardwar, where the Ganges enters Hindostan; at Mathra, the supposed birth-place of Krishna; at Oudgein; at Benares, and at Jaggernaut on the coast of Orissa; a temple on the top of a mountain at Tripetty, about 40 miles

(p.108) north east of Arcot; one on an island called Seringham, which is formed by the rivers Cavery and Coleroon, near Trichnopoly; and one on the island of Ramesseram, between Cayloan and the continent, seem from the most distant times to have been constantly held in the highest veneration. (Seringham description..)

(p.109) At the pagoda of Jaggernaut, people of all casts and ranks eat together, without (p.110) distinction or pre-eminence. This is peculiar to that place, being nowhere else allowed; and the permission, or rather (p.111) order, for the pilgrims of different casts to do so, is said to be in commemoration of their hero and philosopher Krishna, who always recommended complacency and affection for each other. A great quantity of victuals is every day prepared, and, after being placed before the altars, is partaken of by the pilgrims. (other temples: Mahabalipuram, Elephanta, Dwarika, etc.)

(p.113) The inauguration of a temple is attended with great ceremony and proportional (p. 114) expence. After it is completely finished, the Brahmans are perhaps obliged to wait several months, before they find, by their astrology, a fit day for that solemnity. The day is afterwards annually celebrated, and is called the feast of the Dewul.

Vol 2 (p. 104) The Riuts, or cultivators of the ground, are now kept in many countries, in a state of great penury and wretchedness; a melancholy reflection, when we consider, that on their labour depends what we enjoy. .. I am sorry to add, that I fear he /the particular cultivator the author talked to/gave but too faithful a representation of the state of some millions besides himself.

With the first accounts we have of Hindostan, and as far as enquiry has yet been able to go, a mighty empire at once opens to our view, which, in extent, riches, and the number of its inhabitants, has not yet been equalled by any one nation on the globe. We find salutary laws, and an ingenuous and refined system of religion, established; sciences and arts known and practised; and all of these evidently brought to perfection by the

(Q.Graufurd 3)

these evidently brought to perfection by the accumulated experience of (p.106) many preceding ages. We see a country abounding in fair and opulent cities (\* Gour, Lucknow, Cannoge pp 106-13); magnificent temples and palaces; (p/107) useful and ingenious artists employing the precious stones and metals in curious workmanship; (p. 108) manufacturers fabricating cloths, which, in the fineness of their texture, and (p. 109) the beauty and duration of their dyes, have, even yet, been barely imitated (p.110) by other nations. The traveller was enabled to journey through the immense (p.111) country with ease and safety; the public roads were shaded with trees to (p.112) defend him from the scorching sun; at convenient distances buildings were erected (113) for him to repose in; a friendly Brahman attended to supply his wants; and hospitality and the laws held out assistance and protection to all alike, without prejudice or partiality. Their laws being interwoven with their religious doctrines, perhaps threw too great a preponderance on the side of the priesthood; but the evil which this might have (p.114) occasioned seems, in some sort, to have been rectified by the exclusion of the members of that order from any temporal employments; so that while they guarded the people from tyranny, they secured to the sovereign the peaceful obedience of his subjects. (Sciences restricted for fear of decline of spiritual authority:pp 114-5; empire over-run, Islam, etc:pp 115-6...)

II,p.5: The husbands in general do not receive any dower with their wives.

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Vol II: 12: Manners and Customs, pp.1-116; 13: Affinity between Siam ...and Hindostan, pp.117-229; 14: Affinity Hindostan and Egypt, pp.230-247; 15: Present Political State, pp. 248-332; pp.1-116: crafts, agriculture, arts, jugglers.

p.321: It is a usual charity with the natives who can afford it, to station persons during this season at the different choultries, to give gruel made of rice to all passengers who may chuse it. And they even erect temporary choultries, or sheds at short distances from each other, that those who are likely to be overcome by the heat may find places to repose in.

II, p.5: Sali ? pp.14-25; Bernier pp.25-9.

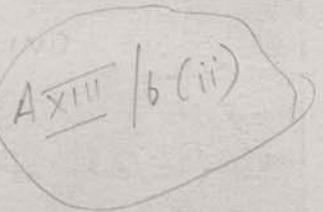
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Charles GRANT: State of Society in Asia: HU Papers:L831-32, Vol 8:pp.3-92.  
Hindu manners and customs: summing up p.47

1. Holy rivers
2. Holy places
3. Sacrifices, offerings and festivals
4. Almsgiving is prescribed in various ways....The Dan-Poojah, a religious ceremony, in which by many fantastic modes, costly presents are bestowed, is conceived to be followed by prodigious rewards in a future state.
5. Endowments to the Brahmins, to Pagodas &c are all esteemed highly meritorious, and the variety and extent of these cannot be described. A large portion of the lands of Hindostan has been transferred, by means of them, into the hands of the brahmanical order.
6. Rigorous Penances, procure the pardon of some species of offences particularly enormous.
7. Methods ... (for dead) ... (as above)
8. Works of superstition.

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# RESEARCHES

CONCERNING THE

LAWS, THEOLOGY, LEARNING,

COMMERCE, ETC.

OF

Ancient and Modern India.

BY Q. CRAUFURD, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

London:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,  
STRAND.

1817.

Such are the dresses we have observed among the Hindūs, whatever part of their country we have visited. Mr. Forster, in his "Journey from Bengal to England," says, that in Cashmire, the women likewise wear the short jacket above-mentioned, but, instead of the cloth wrapped round the loins, they have a red petticoat with a border of different dyes, and instead of the hair being tied in a knot on the top of the head, have it, as is to be seen with the dancing women, plaited and hanging down behind, and a muslin veil that covers the head and extends rather lower than the middle of the body.

The Hindūs are averse from many of those accomplishments in women which are admired by Europeans. They say, they would be injurious to that simplicity of manners, and decorum of behaviour, which are requisite to render them estimable in their families; that, by too much engaging the mind, they would divert their attention from their children and husbands, and give them a disrelish for those cares

for which they think providence has designed them. But the dancing-women, who, like the courtesans of ancient Greece, are the votaries of pleasure, are taught every qualification which may tend to captivate and amuse the other sex. They compose a separate class, live under the protection of government, and according to their own particular rules.

In the code of Hindū laws and customs, it is said; "If the property of a dancing-woman should by any circumstance become subject to seizure, the magistrate shall except her clothes, jewels, and dwelling. In the same manner, to a soldier shall be left his arms; and to a man exercising any profession, the implements of that profession; but the rest of his property may be confiscated."

The dancing-women appear in a variety of dresses. Beside those already mentioned, they sometimes wear trowsers, like the Persians; a Jama of worked muslin, or gold or silver tissue; the hair plaited and hanging down behind, with spiral curls on

each side of the face; and to the gold or silver rings on the ankles, in some of their dances they attach small bells of the same metals. The figures of the Bacchantes, which occur in some antique paintings, engravings, and sculptures, may serve to represent some of the dancing-women of India.

No religious ceremony, or festival of any kind, is thought to be performed with requisite propriety and magnificence, unless accompanied by dancing; and every temple has a set of dancers belonging to it, which is more or less numerous, according to the importance and wealth of the foundation.

In a country of such vast extent of latitude, the complexion as well as the physical constitution of the people must be liable to variation; those in the northern parts being fairer and more robust than those in the southern provinces. But the Hindū women, in general, are finely shaped, gentle in their manners, and have something soft and musical in their voices. Mr.

Forster, in his letter from Cashmire, dated in April, 1783, speaking of the women, says: "They have a bright olive complexion, fine features, and are delicately shaped. There is a pleasing freedom in their manners, without any tendency to immodesty, which seems the result of that confidence which the Hindū husbands in general repose in their wives."\*

All Hindū families are governed by the male senior, to whom great respect is shewn; nor will a son sit down in the presence of his father, until commanded by him so to do. Mr. Forster observes, that in the course of his residence in India, and acquaintance with the Hindūs, he never knew an instance of direct undutifulness to parents.

In the code of Hindū laws, we find mention made of fire-arms; which, as the translator† observes, in records of such unfathomable antiquity, must cause a consi-

\* Journey from Bengal to England, vol. i. p. 309.

† Mr. Halhed.

(p 105) ..(Fysabad)...After returning my respects in the humblast style, and having taken my repast, (from the mother of the present nabob) which indeed was excellent, (and would have been better, had it been accompanied with a glass or two of good wine) I proceeded to view the city.

A-XLII.7

(Etaya, Agra, Gwalior etc) Feb-July 1783

(p 112) Between Shikocabad and Fyrocabad are a few spots of cultivated ground. ...It was at this time in the hand of a Cesine, or Hindoo religious; and as the spirit of the Hindoo government is favourable to agriculture in the highest degree, this spot appeared a perfect garden. It must, indeed, be observed, that although the Hindoo governors or proprietors, from the principle pf avarice, may sometimes distress, they do not destroy the endeavours of the poor, as the mussulmans. For his protection, the Cesine had a camp formed in the neighbourhood, amounting to 2000 men, well armed, and a small park of artillery, in which I saw (p 113) two fine pieces of battering cannon....

(p 116) ... (near Agra at durbar of Nawab Mirza Shuffeh) After the ceremony of reception, which was by touching the turban with the right hand, without rising from their seats, we were desired to sit, for which purpose there were old fashioned chairs brought, which had formerly been rich in carved work and velvet, but were now greatly injured by the hand of time; ...

(p 118) ..(Shah Jehan) to people his new city (of Jehanabad), he is said to have transferred thither one half of the people of Agra, to the amount of upwards of 500,000. The ruins that immediately ensued in Agra, rendered it necessary to erect, for the security of the people, another wall, forming a part of a circle within the old one; and this wall was built by Joy Singh, a Hindoo Raja in the service of the emperor Aurangzeb.

The whole between these two walls is one mass of ruins.

(Return by water from Lucknow to Calcutta 16.7. to 24.9.1783) p 147-

From 'Travels in India' 1780-3 by William Hodges R.A, (pub 1793)  
some of Hodges paintings were also published in the  
'European Magazine' (1786, 1787, 1788, etc)

• • •

#### Dow on the Marhattas

...When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahomedans, all is quiet, happy and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is a sufficient security. ... This is no ideal picture of happiness. The author of the dissertation, who travelled lately into the country of the Marhattas, avers, from experience, the truth of his observations. But the Mahrattors who have been represented as barbarians, are a great and rising people, subject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.

Dow's dissertation is reproduced in the book 'Legislation Orientale ...' by Anquetil Duperreux published 1776. (pp 212-32)  
The above is from page 232.

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[ 2 ]

Axiii/8

conviction, that if I should but succeed to engage their attention to the important points suggested in this letter, the consequences cannot but be favourable to the public interest, and to the Natives of India, whose situation so much claims the indulgent care of the Company.

It was my intention to have followed these subjects, by an endeavour to have shewn how much the peculiar situation of the Gentlemen in the service of the Company abroad calls for your consideration; and to have submitted to you a proposal for relieving them from the necessity, which, for some years past, has compelled them to make their remittances through foreigners; and by that means has caused not only a part of the wealth, which should be brought directly to this country, to be directed into other channels; but has enabled foreigners to carry on a commerce with India, under circumstances which have already occasioned the manufactures to be debased, and under advantages which cannot fail in time to affect the sales of the Company; but a very impaired state of health having obliged me to forbid myself, for the present, the application which these subjects would require, I will not intrude further on your time, than to assure you of the respect with which

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

George-Street, Hanover-Square, 3d Feb. 1779.

JOHN SULIVAN.

Ms. 156-254 (280h 19 Tracts upon India written by Mr. John Sullivan. year 1779, 1780, and 1788).

File: Court EIC

TO THE HONOURABLE  
THE COURT OF DIRECTORS  
OF THE  
EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

THE great political arrangements of India, from their variety and extent, have unavoidably engaged so much of your attention, that it cannot be imagined the subordinate departments, which called not immediately for your aid, should have been enquired into with that regard they would otherwise have received from you.

From the same reasons it must have happened, that, in some instances, even the Governments abroad have been obliged to forbid themselves too minute an enquiry, lest the time given to investigation should have drawn their attention too much from the more important concerns committed to their charge.

UNDER these circumstances, it may be permitted to hope, that every endeavour to convey information will be favourably received by you; and though the importance of the subject, which this Letter is designed to treat of, makes me extremely diffident of my own ability; yet having resided many years at Mazulipatam, with some advantages of information, and having given a very early application to the business of that department, I hope I may be excused the liberty of submitting to you some observations on the situation of your affairs there.

To

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To assist my endeavours, I will presume so much upon your indulgence, as to divide the subject under the following heads.

*(Handwritten note: No. 529)*  
FIRST—An attempt to explain the nature of landed tenures under the Gentoo government; and to describe the securities, which were provided by their institutions, in favour of industry and cultivation.

SECONDLY—An endeavour to shew the influence, which the conquest of the Mahomedans had upon these tenures.

THIRDLY—An enquiry into the introduction and establishment of Zemindars in these provinces; and an explanation of the causes, which raised them to the degree of power and consideration they were found in possession of, when the government of the Company came to be established.

FOURTHLY—A view of their present situation, and of it's influence upon the revenue, and on the industry of the country.

AND LASTLY—An explanation of such measures, as, it may be hoped, would tend to increase the one, and to extend the other.

IT could but little serve the object of this enquiry, to attempt an investigation of the origin and establishment of the Gentoo nation in India; or to examine under what form the distribution of lands was first made amongst a people, whose antiquity seems to have eluded the enquiry of the earliest writers, and whose improvements in arts and manufactures excited the admiration and wonder of those who first visited their country.

LEAVING therefore this research to those, who have more ability and better opportunities for following it, the design of this Letter will be

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be sufficiently answered, if a satisfactory account can be given of the general tenure under which landed property was held at an improved period of the Gentoo government, when the progres<sup>s</sup> of science had established regulations, the forms of which still continue in use.

For this purpose, it may be sufficient to observe, that however the general property of the country might have been disposed of, or under whatever form of government it might have been ruled by the ancient Rajahs, the subdivisions of the land were made with all the security and encouragement which industry could require. For, by an express law of the Gentoos, it was declared, that the cultivation of the soil conveyed a right to the husbandman, who first brought it into improvement, of being continued in the management of it; and directed that his industry should be rewarded by certain shares in the produce, which, where no private agreement determined otherwise, were regulated to be, in improved ground, or grounds which had not been uncultivated more than two years, five-sixths of the crop; in grounds which had been uncultivated for three or four years, seven-eighths of the crop; and in grounds which had been waste for five years, nine-tenths.— But lest this extraordinary encouragement, for improving waste grounds, should induce the husbandmen to extend their views beyond their ability, or tempt them to neglect the cultivation of such lands as had been first intrusted to their industry, it was provided by the same law, that the husbandmen who should neglect to cultivate such lands, should be bound to give to the proprietor the amount of one-sixth part of the crop which should be produced upon other grounds of the same quality and extent, and to pay a fine of the same value to the government.\*

As a means of obtaining the most authentic information upon a subject of such importance, and of enabling the government to judge of the abilities of the husbandmen, a public officer was established in every village,

\* See Gento Code chapter 13

John SULLIVAN : Observations on the Manufactures  
beginning (3.2.1779) BM 581 p. 24

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village, whose duty it was to form an exact register of the quantity of ground held by each husbandman, the part of this which was cultivated, and the number of working cattle he was possessed of; the produce of each man's industry became afterwards an article in this register; and the proportion he received of the crop, with the price of the market at the time, concluded the account.\*

THE accounts of each village, taken in this detail, were transmitted to other officers, charged with similar duties in the subdivisions of the provinces; who formed from them abstracts of the state of cultivation, the produce and capacity of their several divisions. These abstracts were again reduced, by the provincial registers, to a still more general scale; so that a particular state of the industry and cultivation in each province was constantly exposed to the eye of government.

BESIDES the advantages of this particular information, a further security was established in favour of industry, by the policy of the Gentoos institutions; which connecting the interest of these officers of the revenue with the improvement of the lands, regulated their salaries by a commission upon the whole produce of the soil in their respective departments; and to encourage them to a faithful discharge of their duties, their offices were made hereditary; and by that means a tie seemed established, too powerful to be affected by any temporary advantages, either of oppression or indulgence.

BUT lest this should not be a sufficient check upon their conduct, a further controul was instituted in every village, by the association of the husbandmen; who, jealous of their rights, united for their common security; and to make their union the more effectual, named certain persons from amongst themselves, who, under the character of headmen

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\* See Baroda Survey, Jum Daghni, East India Records.

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of the village, were charged with the care of the common interests, and employed in transacting all the business of the society with the deputies of the government.

AND finally;—as every regulation for the security of property would have been imperfect, where the property itself remained in any respect undefined; it was provided by the Gentoos institutions, that where particular agreements were made to supersede the established regulations with respect to the shares of the crop, such agreements should be executed in writing before the tillage was commenced; specifying the exact terms of the contract, and determining, in the most unquestionable manner, the extent of the husbandman's rights, before he yoked his oxen to the plough.

SUCH were the securities and encouragement held out by the Gentoos in favour of industry, under the protection of institutions, which seemed particularly formed for their advantage; the husbandmen exerted every ability for the improvement of their lands, and, by the simplest operation, obtained, through their industry, a right of property in the soil, which descended to their heirs, upon the easiest and most equitable condition; for it required only a continuation of that industry which first established their claim, and, by the exertion of which, the particular interests of the family could not fail to be extended.

SUBJECT to this general tenure were all the lands of Hindostan, held under the government of the Gentoos; and though, in the course of time, property must have suffered many changes, purchase and sale having been permitted, under certain restrictions; yet, whether the husbandman grew into the absolute proprietor of the soil, or the labourer into a husbandman; the general system felt no alteration, the country

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continued to flourish, and those riches came to be heaped up, which the Mahomedans afterward plundered and dispersed.

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continued to flourish, and those riches came to be heaped up, which the Mahomedans afterwards plundered and dispersed.

The violence which marked the first invasions of these conquerors, and the persecuting spirit which, for a time, followed them in their depredations, must, while they prevailed, have shaken every kind of security. But as soon as the establishment of their authority made them feel a property in the country, their policy discovered to them the advantages of a system, which, besides conveying particular information with regard to the value and capacity of the lands, established checks in every department of the revenue; and the Mahomedans are accordingly found, in a great measure, to have adopted the regulations of the Gentoos, in the administration of the revenue.

For though, instead of the moderate demands of that government, the claims of the emperor were raised, in the year of Christ 1300, to one half of the annual produce of the lands; yet the protection which was at the same time extended to the husbandmen, by the appointment of officers to restrain the collectors from exacting more than the established rates, and the care which was taken, on the other hand, to prevent the husbandmen from undertaking to cultivate more ground than they had the ability to improve,\* afford arguments in point, not only of an attention to the ancient usages of the Gentoos, but of the continuance of those registers, which have been before described as constituting the basis of their system; for without ascertaining the particular stock of every husbandman, and the number of servants employed by him, it would have been impossible to have determined to what extent they might engage in cultivation; and without the assistance of these registers, in which every particular was already inserted, this information could not have been obtained.

\* Dow's Feuulta, Vol II p 274

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In the year 1346, these regulations having been found insufficient, an Inspector-General was appointed, for every-thing that related to husbandry, under the denomination of Amir Kohi; who divided the country into districts of sixty miles square, under a Strickdar, who was to be answerable for its cultivation and improvement; and it is said, that above one hundred Strickdars received their appointments at once, and were furnished from the Treasury with seventy lacs of rupees, to enable them to encourage and assist the industrious husbandmen.

But the instability of the Mahomedan government, the frequent revolutions which happened in the empire, and the rebellions which were perpetually breaking out in the provinces, rendering it impossible to accomplish the establishment of any general system, and making it necessary to adopt some mode, by which a certainty might be established in the resources of government, the custom of farming out the revenues of the provinces to the Omrahs, who were appointed to govern them, which had already obtained in some places, was extended over the greatest part of the empire.—And as these governors had, for the most part, the power of administering and collecting the revenue at discretion, the modes of collection, and the powers and denominations of the several officers employed in it, differed with local circumstances, and the ideas of the governors for the time.—And this may account for the different descriptions of officers, which are to be met with in the public acts of the Mahomedan government, and for the different duties which officers of the same denominations are found to be charged with in different provinces.

WITHOUT therefore attempting further to follow the general regulations of the empire, or endeavouring to explain the duties of the

\* Dow's Feuulta, Vol I p 329

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several officers who were employed in the administration of the revenue throughout that extensive country, which would necessarily create confusion; it will be sufficient here to confine the enquiry to what happened in the provinces now subject to the Company, and dependent on Mazulipatam.

THESE provinces compose a part of that division of the peninsula of India, which is known by the name of Golcondah, and which was probably formerly comprised in the country of Telingana; as the people are still frequently distinguished by the denomination of Telengas; and their language called the language of Telinga, in contradistinction to that of Malabar, which prevails on the coast of Coromandel, from Cape Comorin to Pulicat; when, after crossing a small river, a different language and national character, with a different currency of money, are to be met with, and are found to prevail as far as the northern branch of the river Guadavery, which nearly bounds these provinces on the north.

THE first invasion of Telingana by the Mahomedans, appears to have been in the year of Christ 1303; when it was prosecuted with so much vigour, that in less than three years the country was reduced to a tributary dependence on the emperor of Delhi; under which it continued, with some short interruptions, until the year 1344; when the Rajahs of the Carnatic and Telingana having confederated together, they drove the Mahomedans back into the northern parts of the Deckan; an advantage which they were soon afterwards enabled to maintain, by the revolt of the Siddee officers in the service of the empire. For the jealousy of the emperor, who was himself a Patan, and of a different sect from the Siddees, having induced him to proscribe these officers, they were forced into rebellion; and those in the Deckan having surprised Dowlatabad, they easily seized upon all the possessions of the

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empire in the neighbourhood; and being situated between Telingana and the dominions of the emperor, they served as a barrier to the Gentoos, who probably supported them in their rebellion; and by this means a political connexion came to be established between them, which enabled the Siddees to assert and maintain their independence, and left the Gentoos at liberty to govern their countries in peace.

If the information, which an intelligent traveller received in India above a century ago, may be credited, the Rajahs continued to maintain their independence, and to govern almost all the higher peninsula, until the year 1467; when having imprudently intrusted the government of extensive countries to the Mahomedan officers in their service; or, more probably, having suffered their Mahomedan neighbours to become too powerful; whole provinces were wrested from them; and, amongst others, that of Golcondah; shortly after which, the government of the Gentoos is said to have been confined to the south of the river Kistnah.

How soon after this event the Mahomedans penetrated to Mazulipatam, and reduced the coast of Golcondah, is not well ascertained; though it must have taken place before the year 1565; for the united forces of the Mahomedan princes of the Deckan are said, in that year, to have been employed on an expedition against the Gentoos to the south of the river Kistnah, whose country they plundered and laid waste: and this opinion appears the better founded, as the revenue of the country in the neighbourhood of Mazulipatam, was administered under the Mahomedan authority in the year 1596, when the ancestor of the present Zemindar of Muglatore rented some villages in one of the districts which now compose that Zemindary.

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This imperfect sketch of the progress of the Mahomedans in the Deckan, until they extended their government over the countries now subject to the Company, has been attempted, with a view of connecting the subject of this Letter, and of fixing the era when the history of these provinces becomes particularly interesting to the Company. And the year 1596 will not be thought improperly chosen for this purpose, when it is known, that the establishment of all the Zemindars in these provinces, is to be deduced from the custom, which then first took place in the family of Muglatore, of farming, at a stipulated rent, the government's interest in the produce of the lands.

If a judgment may be formed of the motives which gave rise to this custom, from the particular situation of the Deckan government at that time, it would seem to have been adopted with a view of establishing a greater certainty in their resources, by relieving the revenue from a precarious dependence on the seasons, and of providing against the invasion with which the emperor Akbar then threatened their countries.—For it appears gradually to have extended itself with the progress of the imperial arms, which were soon afterwards carried into the Deckan; until at length the weakness of the government discovering itself on every side, it became necessary to enlarge the powers of the renters; and commissions were accordingly granted, constituting them Zemindars; and, by that appointment, investing them with judicial authority over the lands they held at rent.

THE earliest instance of this kind appears to have happened in the year 1624, when the ancestor of the Muglatore family, who has been seen in 1594 renting a few villages, was constituted Zemindar of three entire districts.

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SIMILAR appointments soon after this took place in favour of other renters; and in the year 1687, when Aurungzebe, after having finally reduced the Deckan princes, had annexed their countries to the dominions of the empire, the greatest part of these provinces was found to be held under Zemindary Saneds; which were then confirmed by the conqueror, and afterwards extended; so that, at his demise, in the year 1707, the whole country was possessed by the ancestors of the present Zemindars.

FROM this time, the confusion which prevailed in every part of the empire, encouraged the Zemindars in these distant provinces to relax in their obedience; in which they were supported by the disputed title to the government of the Deckan; where Nizam-ul-Muluck, maintaining himself in opposition to the orders of the Mogul, excited them to disregard an authority, which possessed not the means of enforcing their submission.

AND though, in the year 1722, some of the more powerful of them were nearly reduced by the Soubah of the Golcondah division of the Deckan, who opposed the pretensions of Nizam-ul-Muluck; yet the approach of the Nizam obliging him to turn his arms to the defence of his own government, they were again left at liberty to strengthen themselves; and the situation of affairs favouring their views, they soon affected the state and independence of the ancient Rajahs.

BUT the success of Nizam-ul-Muluck having, in the year 1725, effectually established his authority over all the Soubahships of the Deckan; and the assistance of the Zemindars being no longer necessary to his ambition; his policy would not suffer a power, which might become formidable, to establish itself in his dominions; and therefore finding

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an excuse in his ambition, and possibly justified by the conduct of the Zemindars, he marched an army into these provinces, and, after a long siege, reduced the fort of Noozeed, which was built in the year 1700 by the Zemindar of that country, whom he now displaced, and deprived of his Zemindary Saneds; he afterwards entered the country of Muglatore, which he also took possession of, and then returned to Hydrabad.

BUT these were rather temporary advantages, than the reduction of the Zemindars; for Nizam-ul-Muluck was scarcely returned to his capital, when the adherents of the families of Noozeed and Muglatore, secretly assisted by the other Zemindars, appeared in arms, plundering and laying waste the country; and though, in the year 1729, they were forced to yield to the superior power of the Nizam's arms, and to fly before his deputy, Rustum Jung Khan, who expelled them all from their lands; yet the country remained such a scene of disorder, from their incursions and depredations, that no revenue was drawn from it; until at length the expedient of admitting them in the character of temporary renters was adopted, and they were allowed, in 1737, to farm small parts of the lands they had formerly possessed.

FROM this time, favoured by the intrigues which brought Nadir Shaw into the empire, and by the revolution at Delhi, in which Nizam-ul-Muluck was principally concerned, the Zemindars were again enabled gradually to extend themselves; and though the return of Nadir Shaw into Persia left the Nizam in possession of the emperor, and of all the remaining power of the Mogul government; yet his absence from the Deckan occasioned disturbances in that quarter, which were only to be quelled by his presence and abilities; and which, by afterwards confining his attention to the Carnatic, where these disturbances

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bances prevailed, necessarily assisted the views of the Zemindars in these northern provinces; who are found, between the years 1737 and 1743, to have recovered all their former possessions; and to have held them with the permission of Nizam-ul-Muluck, if not under the sanction and authority of his Saneds.

DURING the few remaining years of the Nizam's life, the Zemindars appear to have submitted to the authority of his government; and a short interval of quiet was given to the inhabitants of these provinces. But upon his death, which happened in the year 1749, the whole State having been thrown into confusion, by the disputed succession to the government of the Deckan, they were again encouraged to renew their schemes of independence; and the opportunity of a disputed title authorizing them, under the pretence of attachment, to take up arms, they easily re-established their power, and as easily obtained new Saneds from the prevailing Soubah.

IN this state were the affairs of these provinces, when the French obtained a grant of them, in the year 1753, from the third son of the old Nizam, Salabet Jung, who now ruled the Deckan.

IN the commencement of their administration, some of the Zemindars were made to feel the weight of their power; but this was neither of long duration, nor did their government in general prove unfavourable to the Zemindars.—For the engagements of the French having obliged them to lead their troops into the different parts of the Deckan, where the Soubah's government needed their support, before their own authority was well established in these provinces, the collection of the revenue, upon which the payment of the army depended, became the first object of their government, and necessarily engaged them in a temporizing system.

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THE capture of Mazulipatam, which surrendered to the English arms in 1759, having deprived the French of all influence in those countries; and the situation of the Company's affairs having made it prudent to reconcile the Soubah to their success; these provinces were then suffered to return under his government.

It would be a tedious detail of opposition and disputed power, to follow the Soubah's deputies in the management of those provinces, and in their ineffectual attempts to controul the Zemindars; nor would the subject be at all elucidated, by enlarging upon the different negotiations which were opened, after the fall of Pondicherry, with the present Soubah, Nizam Ally Khan, the fourth son of Nizam-ul-Muluck, for obtaining a grant of those provinces to the Company.

It may be sufficient therefore to observe, that the Zemindars paying little regard to the authority of the Soubah, dissipated the revenues in quarrels amongst themselves; and that a general confusion prevailed throughout the country, 'till the Phirmaunds of the Mogul conveyed the sovereignty of these provinces to the Company in the year 1766.

THE Soubah, who had flattered himself that the Company would at length be induced to accept these provinces from him, upon the condition of granting him a military assistance for the general support of his government, as the French had done to his brother, and who, in this hope, had but a few months before refused a very considerable annual tribute, received the news of this event with indignation and disappointment; and immediately made preparations to dispute the authority of a grant, the authenticity of which he affected to deny.

BUT the appearance of a formidable army having soon opened the way to a negotiation, the treaty of Hydrabad was concluded toward

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the end of the year 1766, by which all pretension to these provinces was relinquished by the Soubah, and the authority of the Company became admitted without further opposition.

As there was reason to suppose, that the first arrangements with the Zemindars, for the tribute of their lands, would be attended with difficulty; and as the agents of the Company were unacquainted with the language of the country, and but imperfectly informed in the usages of the people, it was judged expedient to administer the government for a time in the manner which had been found established.

FOR this purpose, all the authority of the Company was delegated to Huffain Ally Khan; who, in the character of their deputy, and supported by their power, proceeded through the provinces, making such agreements as he could with the Zemindars; but under an engagement to the Company, of paying annually into their treasury the sum of Madras Pagodas 316,666, including the charges of the troops employed in his support.

IN this manner was the government of these provinces administered, 'till the end of the year 1769; when it being thought that the servants of the Company were qualified to undertake the management of the country themselves, it was determined to abolish the use of intermediate agents, and to settle with each Zemindar for the tribute of his lands. A resolution which was immediately rewarded, by an increase in the revenue from Madras Pagodas 316,666 to Madras Pagodas 491,941; at which rate the Zemindars continued to pay until the year 1773, when a small increase was made upon the renewal of the leases, though not to take place 'till 1776.

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HAVING now followed the Zemindars through all the variety of their fortune; from the time of their institution, to the period of the English administration; it will be necessary, before we proceed in their story, to look back to the former institutions of the country; and to take another view of the particular temper of the government, under which they received their appointment.

It has been seen, in the first part of this Letter, how careful the government of the Gentoos had been, to provide every security and encouragement in favour of industry; and with what attention the rights of the husbandmen seemed to have been guarded against every kind of violation. It would however be presuming too much to suppose, that injustice and oppression had never invaded these regulations, until the conquest of the Mahomedans had subverted the government, or that the virtues of the Gentoos had yielded only to the miserable necessities of their situation.

THE multiplicity of their penal laws, said to have been enacted long before the name of Mahomed was known, proves, that the vices, common to all extended societies, had made their way amongst them; and though the peculiar wisdom of their political institutions, blended, as they were, with the principles of their religion, and supported by the authority of the Bramins, prevented any material decline in the industry of the people, while under the government of their Rajahs; yet whenever the delegated authority of the Mahomedan government has since given them the power, it must be acknowledged, they have been found to exercise it with relentless severity over their brethren; practising every species of oppression, and discovering uncommon ingenuity in the modes of exaction; while, on the other hand, the histories of Bengal and the Carnatic furnish two instances of Mahomedan administration, which will cause the government of Sujah Khan in the one,

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and of Sadutullah Khan in the other, to be remembered as æras, that may well bear a comparison with the reigns of the most celebrated Rajahs.

Possibly it would be but doing justice to the Mahomedans to suppose, that the same moderation which was exercised for a time in Bengal and the Carnatic, would have been continued in those countries, and even have been extended to every part of their conquests, if the same advantages, of a well-established authority, had enabled them to have directed their attention to the happiness of their subjects; at least this is an acknowledgment which seems due, where the spirit of persecution was made to yield to humanity, and where the usages of the conquered were adopted, in preference to the customs and ideas of the conquerors.\*

SOME circumstances have been before mentioned, to prove how early this attention to the Gentoo institutions took place; but the accommodating policy of the Mahomedans, seems to peculiarly distinguished in the selection of persons to fill the office of Zemindar, that it would be unpardonable to omit observing here, that although, in the course of time, the whole country of Hindostan was converted into Zemindaries, except those parts which were left in the hands of tributary Rajahs, or the small districts reserved for the particular convenience of government; yet, in all the appointments to this office, there appears to have been but one instance of it's having been conferred on a Mahomedan; and this single exception is accounted for, from the great importance of a pâr which lay in the district, and which rendered it rather a military post, than a province of the revenue.

It has been seen, that a Zemindar, besides the superintendance of the revenue, was officially invested with judicial authority within the limits

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\* See Arjun Abbany, Vol I part 3, and Bengal India Analysis, Vol I, published in 1793

of his Zemindary; and of course, that the Gentoos were left, in a great measure, to be governed by those laws, which long establishment had sanctified, and to which they were attached by every moral and religious obligation.

How these laws came to be perverted, and why countries, which the Mahomedans found abounding in every kind of plenty, should, when reduced to their dominion, present the melancholy picture of misery and desolation, even though favoured by the continuance of it's ancient usages, are questions which would require a particular investigation; though possibly, after the minutest enquiry, no better solution could be given, than what has already appeared in the confusion and disorder of the times; causes which could hardly fail, in any country, to pervert the wisest regulations into sources of oppression, and to produce those evils so heavily, but so justly complained of in India. It has been seen however, that they were not there beyond remedy; and the intervals of good government, which were felt in Bengal and the Carnatic, may serve to prove, that possessed of the means to enforce authority, and of abilities to direct the machine of government, everything may still be hoped for in that country.

HAPPILY these means are in the possession of the Company. It has been already seen, with what effect they have been employed in these provinces for increasing the revenue; it may be added, that the investments have received a like increase; and that, by restraining the power of the Zemindars, industry has been relieved from those interruptions of war and devastation, to which it was exposed, before the governments of the Company came to be established.

How much further these improvements might be extended, and what measures should be pursued for that purpose, shall be submitted

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to your consideration in the course of this letter. But previous thereto, it will be proper to go back to the subject of the Zemindars; and to explain, how far the internal police of these provinces was found to have been affected, by their conduct during the anarchy and confusion which prevailed in the government, from the death of Nizam-ul-Muluck, till the establishment of the Company's authority.

It has been already seen, that a disputed title to the succession, encouraged the Zemindars to seek the means of security in their own resources; and that in a little time their authority, countenanced rather than controlled by those whose cause they had assisted, grew into a power, which enabled them to assume the title and independence of the ancient Rajahs.

For a time a common interest united them, in the support and defence of the advantages they had obtained; and while the little remaining power of the government required any general exertion of their strength, they continued to be in some degree connected by the same principle. But from the time this necessity ceased to exist, the jealousies of uncontrollable power and equal rank, with unequal ability, gave rise to divisions amongst them. The means, which before had been employed to oppose the authority of government, were directed to mutual encroachments; and at length their animosities rose to such a height, that every difficulty was preferred to the acknowledgment of superiority.

THE expenses of these violent contests, which spread desolation on every side, and exposed the unhappy husbandmen to all the misery of arbitrary oppression; the payments which were occasionally made to government, and the necessity of sometimes buying off its resentment; caused such drains of money from the Zemindars, as could not fail to involve them in heavy debts; and their necessities increasing, while the uncertainty

uncertainty of payment enhanced the demands of the money-lenders, the whole property of the country soon became subject to the will of their creditors.

THE policy of the Mahomedans, who had long encouraged the agency of money-lenders, for the convenience of speedy payment, and from the advantages which are to be drawn from the influence of a monied interest, where authority is but ill supported, operated with particular force in favour of the Soucars upon this occasion; so that their credit soon came to be the prevailing influence in these provinces: for employed on one side by government with the collection of its rents from the Zemindars, and on the other side by the Zemindars with their collections from the husbandmen, they grew to be a center of union; without whose agency no part of the great machine could be put in motion, and whose influence was at all times sufficient to govern its direction.

SUCH was the state of these provinces, when the grant of the Mogul, and the treaty of Hydrabad, subjected them to the dominion of the Company; and though, from that time, a watchful attention to the conduct of the Zemindars, an invariable resolution to repress every attempt in them for terminating their own differences, and an unremitting steadieness in keeping them to the punctual discharge of their rents, have marked the administration of the Company's agents, and effectually reduced the power of the Zemindars; yet the husbandmen still labour under oppression; the Zemindars still feel the weight of accumulating debts; and the Soucars, possessed of all the specie of the country, still continue to enjoy all the influence of their profession.

If the foregoing pages express the ideas it is intended they should convey, they will have shewn, that there is a connexion of interests, so intricately

intricately interwoven in these provinces, that the greatest care will be requisite in forming any plan for improvement.

THE state of landed property, from the simplest, but securest dependence upon industry, is become precarious and uncertain; the Zemindars, from wealth and power, are involved in all the difficulties of debt, without a hope that the embarrassments of government will, as heretofore, enable them to withhold their tribute; and the Soucars, countenanced and supported as formerly, for the convenience of their agency, have now the sanction of the Company for their engagements with the Zemindars, and demands upon their justice for the liquidation of such debts, as have been contracted since the establishment of the English government.

It has been suggested, that the speediest and most effectual way of restoring good order in these provinces, and extending the blessings of freedom and security to the industrious inhabitants, would be, to displace the Zemindars, and return to the system which prevailed under the mild administration of the Gentoos; and in support of this measure, it has been urged, that the revenue of the Company would be increased, by the addition of the sums now received by the Zemindars.

If the Zemindars were still in possession of that power which made them so formidable to the Mahomedans, and if the collection of the revenue depended upon the precarious strength of the government, the policy of this measure, however hazardous, could not be questioned. But as it has been shewn, that the revenue, though increased, is paid with punctuality; that the power of the Zemindars, heretofore so formidable, is reduced to an absolute dependence upon the authority of the Company; and that their engagements with the Soucars, having the sanction of Government, have involved the publick faith; it may be permitted

permitted to doubt, whether the expulsion of the Zemindars might not be productive of consequences more prejudicial to the publick interest, than those abuses are which it is proposed to correct; and whether, instead of bringing an increase of revenue to the treasury, it might not be the means of hazarding, for some years, the loss of that which is now collected.

It surely cannot be supposed, that the influence of the Zemindars, which has had such time to establish, should expire with their power; that the prejudices of long habit and dependence should immediately dissolve; or, that the husbandmen, accustomed as they have been, under the unsteady administration of the Mahomedans, to see Zemindars displaced and restored, without any improvement of their own situation, should at once adopt new ideas; confide in the declarations of government, which all former experience has taught them to distrust; and expose themselves to the hazards of a revolution, the benefits of which they could see but at a distance, and which even then must seem precarious to them; because in the lands conquered from the French, or those ceded by the Nabob, over which the Zemindars have no authority, the condition of the husbandmen has hitherto received no improvement; nor are they sensible of any other change, than that of seeing a temporary master in possession of that authority, which they had been used to respect in their Zemindars.

It may therefore reasonably be inferred, that until time should imperceptibly wear out the influence of the Zemindars; until their adherents, whether of family, tribe, or attachment, should die away, or be involved in their ruin; no material improvement could take place. On the contrary, it might justly be apprehended, that their followers, as happened in the time of Nizam-ul-Muluck, would infest and disturb the industrious husbandmen, destroying their cattle and their crops; and

and that all the vigilance of government, or the activity of Seapoys, would be insufficient to protect a country of four hundred miles in length, and of difficult access in many parts, from their depredations.

UNDER these disadvantages, which would inevitably involve the current revenue, and render it precarious, the policy of displacing the Zemindars may well be questioned. Probably, upon further enquiry, it will appear, that the real interest of the Company may be found in continuing and supporting them; and in such an event, it will not be unsatisfactory to discover, that there are claims upon their justice in favour of the Zemindars.

WHEN the Phirmaunds of the Mogul, conveying the sovereignty of these provinces to the Company, were first published, circular letters were dispatched to all the Zemindars, inviting them to acknowledge the authority of the English Government; and though some of them, influenced by the intrigues and directions of the Soubah, disregarded the summons, yet the greater number assembled at the place which was appointed for receiving their obedience; and articles were then entered into with them, promising them a confirmation of all their just rights and privileges.

It would be unnecessary now to enter into an explanation of what their rights and privileges were then understood to be, as it is not designed here to establish any claims for the Zemindars, beyond the mere security of their possessions; for though the articles referred to may be thought to convey privileges of more extent, yet when it is considered what infinite advantages are included in the undisturbed possession of property, and that the Zemindars never could have enjoyed this security under the anarchy and confusion of the Mahomedan government, it

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will readily be admitted, that the exchange of such adventitious benefits, for so essential a good, would be greatly in their favour.

HITHERTO however, it must be confessed, that this security has not been complete; nor can it be hoped that it will ever be considered so, while the power of making an arbitrary increase in the revenue is reserved by government; for no confidence in its justice and good intentions can be sufficient to dissipate the apprehensions of such a power.

It may indeed be urged, that this custom is justified by the general usage of India; that it was found established in these provinces, when they submitted to the dominion of the Company; and that in the agreements made with the Zemindars in 1769, and those which have been since concluded, it was admitted without opposition. And, so far as the right to exercise this power is concerned, it would certainly seem justified by these authorities. But it is not the right, it is the policy of the measure that is questioned; and this, it is presumed, will not meet with advocates in a country, where the advantages of property are so generally and so well understood.

It may therefore now with some confidence be said, that the measure from which the most extensive influence might be expected in these provinces, and that which would most favourably proclaim the intentions of government, would be, to convert the precarious and discouraging tenure, under which the Zemindars now hold their lands, into one absolute and invariable; ascertaining the increase which should be made upon renewing the leases at stated periods, and the fines which should be exacted upon the accession of an heir.

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THE only material objection to this measure, would seem to lie in the difficulty of ascertaining the value of the improvements which might be made between the periods of renewal; but this, it is imagined, will be found of little weight in the present case. For as the registers, which were before-mentioned to have been instituted by the Gentoo government, are still regularly taken in every village and district; and as, by means of these, the state of cultivation may at all times be contrasted with the quantity of waste ground belonging to every Zemindar, it would require only to ascertain the first rent, and specify the proportion which, at the expiration of the term of that rent, government should take of the income from the improvements; and this would appear the more easy, as the registers not only mark the quantity of ground cultivated and its produce, but the market-price of such produce at the time of the harvest.

LET it be supposed for instance, that the rents now paid were to be continued for ten years; and that, upon reference at this time to the registers, it should be found one-half part of the improveable land lies waste: let it be supposed further, that upon a like reference at the end of the ten years, it should appear, that one quarter part of such improveable land had been brought under cultivation; and that its produce, upon a medium of the ten years, had yielded such a sum: in such an event, it would not seem difficult, the proportion being fixed and rated by per centage upon this medium, to increase the rent for the next term by the amount of such proportion.

THE spirit of industry so constantly attaches itself to the security of property, that the Zemindars, no longer dependent upon the precarious tenure of preference, but established in their possessions, and sure of sharing largely in the profits of their improvements, would seriously turn their attention to the cultivation of their lands; and filled

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\* English India Analysis, Vol I pp 147-148;  
Captain H. D. Lupton's Despatch, 1792.

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with confidence in the justice of government, they would be easily induced to pay attention to such regulations as might be proposed for the general benefit.

BUT before any such regulations could be introduced with success, it would be necessary to adopt some expedient, by which the Zemindars might hope to be freed in time from the heavy load of debt they are involved in; the mere interest of which now keeps them in poverty, and, by restraining their industry, must ever retard the progress of improvement. Without this, all the efforts of government, and every encouragement they could propose, would be insufficient for restraining oppressions; which originating in necessity, must continue while the weight of that necessity is felt.

AN arrangement therefore with the Soucarts, for the liquidation of the debts due to them from the Zemindars, seems a measure as necessary to the interest of the Company, as it would be essential to the relief of the Zemindars; but how to effect this, without occasioning distrust in the minds of the Soucarts, is a question of equal difficulty and importance: for it can hardly be imagined, that the public credit of the Company in India is supported by that confidence which the national faith procures to it here; nor if it were, would it be prudent to propose that the Company should adopt the expedient of funding; and by taking upon them the debts of the Zemindars, make themselves responsible for the payment.

BUT though it might be too hazardous to propose a measure of this kind, it may not be impossible to qualify the idea; and by substituting the guarantee of the Company instead of their security, and by employing mediation instead of authority, so far to gain the confidence of the

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the Soucarts, as to engage them to see their own interest in an equitable arrangement.

It has already been observed, that the income of the Zemindars may be ascertained from the registers which are kept in every district. By a similar reference to their leases, their rents may be compared with their receipts; and as their ordinary expenses might be limited, it would seem an easy calculation to judge of their ability for discharging their debts. For instance, suppose a Zemindar, in the receipt of fifty thousand pounds a year, stands charged with a rent of thirty thousand; and that his ordinary expenses amount to ten thousand; it must appear evident, that in such a case there can remain but ten thousand to be applied towards the payment of his debts, and that of course the expectations of the Soucarts must be limited to this sum.

In such a case as this, there certainly could be no objection to the Company's obliging the Zemindar to appropriate this sum for the discharge of his debts; nor could there be any danger in their charging themselves with the receipt of it, and accounting annually for the amount to the Soucarts: and as this would be securing to them the effectual interposition of the Company's authority for the recovery of their debts, it would seem that the opportunity of such an indulgence would be most fortunate for urging the necessity of lowering the rate of interest; and particularly as, from the statement just given, it might be made evident, that, without such reduction, the Zemindars who are most involved could never be relieved, as the premium of 20 per cent. would absorb the whole sum which could in reason be appropriated.

It would be expecting too much, to imagine, however reasonable this may appear, that the Soucarts would immediately come into the views

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views of the Company. It may however be hoped, that some amongst them might be induced to accede to them; and that, by a proper improvement of every favorable opportunity, they may all, in the course of time, be engaged to adopt a measure, grounded so evidently upon the public and general benefit, and ultimately providing for the entire discharge of their debts. As a further inducement, they might be assured, that in proportion as the improvements in the country should, upon the renewal of leases, enable the Company to increase their revenue, in the same proportion would they interest themselves to have the payments increased for the discharge of their debts.

It may possibly be objected to this method of accommodation, that the Soucarts do not merit the protection and support it proposes to give them; and that their agency having been ruinous to the Zemindars, the sooner and the more severely they can be restrained in their exactions, the sooner the Company may hope to see industry extend itself.

BUT before an objection of this kind should be admitted, it would seem necessary to enquire, whether the rate of interest required by the Soucarts, should be imputed to a spirit of usury in them; or whether it should not more properly be charged to the peculiar circumstances of the times, which, by rendering the recovery of property precarious, might have made it but a reasonable compensation. At least, if it may be permitted to apply the experience of other times, and other countries, to this subject, it would not be difficult to prove, that the insecurity of property, whether occasioned by want of confidence in the government, or its inability to protect, has always produced a similar increase in the premium upon money; and that the return of good order and equitable administration have always proved sufficient to remedy the evil.

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AND so it would certainly happen in these provinces, if the authority of government should be made but gently to interpose, and an unprejudiced conduct be observed towards the Soucarts. If unhappily a different line should be pursued, and the power of the Company should be directed suddenly to compel the Soucarts into any method of arrangement less favourable to their interest, the public credit could not fail to be wounded, and the views of the Company to be counteracted in every part of India; for the influence of the Soucarts has extended itself to every Durbar; and their agency has been as much encouraged, because it has been found as necessary by Hyder Aly, the Soubah, and the Marattas, as it has been seen to have been in the provinces under Mazzlipatam, and as it was experienced in the family of the Seets in Bengal.

EVERY improvement which should by these means be made in the situation of the Zemindars, could not fail to produce some amendment in the condition of the husbandmen. But the aid of such accidental benefits would never bring forth those exertions of industry, which arise from security, and the certainty of enjoyment. The husbandmen would still be at a great distance from the happy state, in which the wisdom of the Gentoo administration had placed their ancestors; and until some prospect could be shewn them of returning to their ancient establishment, it is to be apprehended their labours would be restrained by diffidence and distrust.

A VARIETY of regulations might be proposed, which would seem to promise them every security, and to preclude every interference of the Zemindars beyond the necessary business of collecting their rents. But regulations are seldom found sufficient to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, or to counteract the habits of established usage. The mind, long accustomed to submission, has not strength enough to assert the rights to which new regulations may call it; nor  
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can the haughty tone of authority be immediately softened into the mild expression of justice.

SOME expedient should therefore be thought of, which, without seeming to look beyond the immediate relief of the husbandmen, might tend to inspire them with confidence; and to revive that independence of spirit, which alone can secure to them the benefit of new regulations; and possibly this expedient might be found in the very distresses it is proposed to relieve.

It is a fact well ascertained, that the embarrassments of the husbandmen reduce them for the most part to the necessity of borrowing money; and that the lowness of their credit obliges some of them to take it at an extravagant interest, while even the most responsible are glad to receive it at 24 per cent. and all under the security of a mortgage upon the small share they are allowed in the produce of their labour.

MIGHT not the treasury of the Company, upon the same security of a mortgage, be made to furnish the small necessary aids which the husbandmen might have occasion for? And would not the mortgages they might receive from them supply the best materials for judging of their situation, and afford the most unquestionable evidence of the necessity for occasionally interposing the authority of government in their behalf? Would not interpositions of this nature inspire the husbandmen with confidence, and in the simplest way establish those principles of justice and right, which courts of law might afterwards extend and sustain?

THE detail of such a business would appear to be its only objection; but this will probably be found of little weight, when it is recollectec<sup>t</sup>,  
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that the chain of connexion established by the Gentoo government, from the village register to the register of the province, is still kept up; and that the salaries which were drawn, by a commission upon the produce of each division, are still received and appropriated by those who inherit those offices by grant of succession, and who in consequence are bound to whatever duties the business of the revenue may require from them in their several departments.

MAY it not be hoped, that the objection to detail would vanish, when it is seen, that through the agency of these established officers, and with the simple operation of government's advancing to the provincial registers the necessary sums, the proposed aid might be administered to the poorest husbandmen? For the particular wants of each individual being known to the registers of the villages, and reported by them to the registers of the districts, and these being again collected together in their reports, every necessary information would be conveyed to the provincial officers; and as all advances from the treasury would be made to them, then receipts would necessarily attach responsibility to them in the first instance, and from them to the subordinate officers; until the mortgage of the husbandman's property should ultimately establish a security; and until, upon the sale of that property, the money should be recovered, and made to flow back to the treasury through the same channels.

It would be an injury to the justice of government, to suppose that any arguments of immediate profit could be necessary to recommend a measure, which has evidently the general benefit for its object. It may not however be improper to observe, that this end might in some measure be disappointed by an excess of liberality; as the sudden transition from a wasting interest to a total exemption from it, might, by the too rapid introduction of plenty, check the spirit of industry.

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To prevent this, and to keep a <sup>re</sup>serve for further indulgence, where the peculiarity of situation might make it necessary, it would be prudent to charge these loans with a moderate interest; and in a country where credit is seldom necessary beyond the harvest, or six months at the most, the rate established by Parliament might be made the standard; always however excepting from this charge such debts as should appear to be contracted for the purchase of feed grain, or for buying such implements of husbandry, as might be necessary for cultivating to advantage the grounds already under tillage: debts of this kind being evidently of necessity, and incurred to preserve the inheritance of the family; which being held upon the tenure of constant cultivation, would become subject to forfeiture without the assistance of such aids.

THE husbandmen relieved by these means from the weight of a consuming interest, and encouraged to regard the Company as their guardians and protectors, would soon become sensible of the improved security of their situation, and no longer apprehensive of the exactions of the Zemindars; who indeed would no longer have an interest, or an excuse for oppressing them; every exertion of their industry would be called forth; and grounds, which for ages have been untilled, would be brought into cultivation.

To secure the permanency of these advantages, the care of government should be extended to provide against the dreadful accidents of droughts; which sometimes happen in every part of India, and which never fail to bring on all the miseries of famine. Without the aid of such assistance, the spirit of industry would at times be exerted in vain; and the endeavours of the husbandmen, instead of being rewarded with plenty, would, in such events, be productive of want and distress, from the loss of their labour and their seeds. Happily the means of providing against so dreadful a misfortune in these provinces are within

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the power of government, and may be attained without any considerable expense, and with the advantage of occasioning a great increase in their cultivations and productions.

THE two greatest rivers, which are on this coast of the peninsula, flow through these provinces; the Kistnah to the south, and the Guadavery on the north; their courses being distant about 130 miles from each other, in the places where they approach the nearest. The country which lies between them in this direction has a natural fall on each side, until it at length forms itself into a low flat, which, for the space of about 47 miles, is at a particular season of the year covered with water.

THE vast extent of this natural reservoir, situated so happily, almost midway between these rivers, and capable of containing more water than all the country between it and the sea could require, would seem to promise an inexhaustible source of plenty to those provinces, if the necessary supplies could be thrown into it; and even to point out a way, by which the easiest and most expeditious communication might be opened between the Guadavery and the Kistnah.

THE idea of forming a communication between these rivers by means of this flat, which is distinguished by the name of the Colere Lake, most probably occurred to the Gentoos; as a channel is still open, but with few interruptions, from the northern end of this lake to the Guadavery, which appears to have been the work of art; and as the remains of a like design are still discoverable for many miles on the side of the Kistnah.

But whether these channels owed their form and direction to the policy of former governments, or to the natural inclination of the

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country, and the violence of inundations; in either case, they seem to point out a way, by which the necessary aids of water might be procured; and to invite government to perfect a communication, the advantages of which would be immediate, and which might in time be made of importance to the trade and security of these provinces.

For bounded as they are on the north-east by the sea, and nearly enclosed to the north-west by the Guadavery, and on the south by the Kistnah, they would seem to want only the advantage of this channel, to be secured against the sudden irruptions of cavalry; and to be prepared for yielding those mutual aids, which their situation, and the nature of their productions, so particularly point out; for which the country in the neighbourhood of the Guadavery, the soil of which is peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of rice, is most favoured, by the heavy and continued fall of the monsoon rains. The lands on either side of the Kistnah lying high, and being fit only for the culture of dry grain, yield the most plentiful harvests, when the seasons are most moderate: so that it rarely happens but that one of these provinces possesses the means of influencing the price of the necessaries of life in the other.

THE want of water-communication has however hitherto prevented the inhabitants from receiving any material benefit from these advantages of their situation; nor can they ever be made to receive them effectually, unless assisted by a canal to open this communication: for, denied a constant intercourse by sea, from the violence with which the monsoon winds blow for several months of the year, supplies must for the most part be sent by land; and the expense of this, in a country where the only conveyance is upon the backs of bullocks, and where the imposts of the road are very high, must necessarily enhance the prices so much as to amount almost to a prohibition.

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THE expense of opening a channel of such extent, with the distant prospect of the advantages to be derived from it, will necessarily occur as objections to this undertaking. It is hoped however that they will not appear of such weight, as totally to discourage from the attempt; but that at least a survey will be ordered, to estimate the expense, and to form a computation of the time within which the work might be completed. In the meanwhile, as it cannot mislead, it may not be unsatisfactory to be informed, that from a measurement of the levels and distances taken with some accuracy, there is reason to believe, that neither the expense nor the labour will be found of the extent they may at first appear.

BUT whatever may be the result of a survey, and with whatever diffidence the proposal for forming a navigable canal is here submitted, the smaller work of opening a sufficient course for the water to flow from the Kistnah and the Guadavery into the Colere, is recommended with all the confidence, that a certain conviction of its general and great utility, and of the small expense at which it might be effected, can inspire.

THE annexed sketch of the country lying between these rivers, will but shew the extent to which the advantages of these supplies might be carried; for all the lands between the sea and these channels may be assisted from them. It will shew too amongst what a number the trifling expense of this work will be shared; for, by the established usage of the country, each land-holder is obliged to contribute two and a half per cent. from the produce of such lands as are watered from any new canal or reservoir, until the expense of forming it has been discharged.

\* Mr Dalrymple published in 1793, with his Memoir *The  
one water in Ceylon, an improved sketch, from more  
correct materials, to which the reader is referred.*

THE only objection which it would seem could be opposed to this measure, is the danger that it might draw off the labouring people too much from the busines<sup>s</sup> of cultivation; an objection which would certainly have great weight, if a peculiar institution of the Gentoos had not removed the difficulty, by separating from all other orders of the society those people who are employed in the digging of canals. This class of people, distinguished in India by a name expressive of their occupation, (tank diggers) have no fixed residence; but wander about with their families in search of busines<sup>s</sup>, and encamp round the place of their work, until it is finished. Instead therefore of apprehending any temporary neglect of cultivation, from the opening of these channels, and forming the proposed communication, the husbandmen would rather have a new incitement to industry, from the increased consumption which these tank diggers would occasion.

It may too be some further recommendation of the measure, to know, that from the great numbers, and the peculiar robustness of the people who compose this society, a work of this kind might be completed in India in a very short time. For the tank diggers, dispersed throughout a country, which has every-where occasion for their assistance, are easily collected in whatever numbers may be necessary; and their work being paid for by measurement, is executed with an expedition, which Europeans could not surpass, even in the temperate climate of their own country.

IT will not be deemed impertinent to digress here for a moment, to offer the tribute of acknowledgment to a people, whose institutions have been seen to furnish resources whenever they were necessary; and whose simplicity of manners has enabled them to preserve, and to support regulations, which distinguish them from all other people, but still more peculiarly distinguish each class of their society from the other; se-

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parating, without causing either divisions or dissensions amongst them.

To this peculiarity in the institutions of the Gentoos, is to be attributed the remains of industry which are still to be found throughout India; and which, under every revolution, has enabled the manufacturer to continue his work; changing only his situation, as his security, the means of subsistence, and the demand for his labour, have made it necessary. From hence too it has proceeded, that, at different periods, commerce has flourished in different parts of India; at one time shewing itself at Mazulipatam, where, for above a century, it diffused riches and plenty; still earlier, and more particularly, discovering itself at Surat, where it is now said to be on the decline; but always uniformly increasing and extending itself in the neighbourhood of the European establishments; because there the demand has been found to be uniform; the payment is known to be certain; and because there the manufacturer receives a protection, which ensures to him the profits of his labour.

IT were to be wished, that still greater encouragement were given to them; and that possessed, as we now are, of the countries where the manufactures for the consumption of Europe are in greatest abundance and perfection, the policy of our administration were directed towards improving the condition of the manufacturers; and that by attaching them to our government, we might secure to ourselves a preference in their labours, until the full extent of our demand should be compleated; and until our rivals, without the pretence of complaint, should be made to yield to us that superiority in the commerce with India, which our dominion, and the lenity of our government, entitle us to look for.

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It would indeed be impossible to say, to what a length these advantages might extend the interest of the Company; or how much their investments might be varied, as well as increased, by their encouragement of the manufacturers.

THOSE who have had opportunities of comparing the texture of the goods provided for Europe, with those fabricated by the natives for their own consumption, must know, that the qualities of our calicoes, the lengths and breadths to which they are woven, and the denominations by which they are distinguished, differ as much from those manufactured for the natives, as the uses do for which they are designed; and though it would be of little consequence to enquire at what time this innovation took place, yet it appears of importance to remark it here; because as means were heretofore found to detach the weavers from the work to which they had been accustomed, and to engage them in these new manufactures, it seems not a forced inference to conclude, that the same success might now be expected to follow every encouragement that should be given them.

AND as professions are entailed amongst the Gentoos, and every male descendant is born under the obligation of confining himself to the occupation of his father, and of chusing his wife from a family of the same profession; it cannot be doubted, but that where manufacturers are so numerous, our investments might be compleated, even though the orders should exceed all former exports from India to Europe; and that still sufficient encouragement might be left for other Europeans to continue in this trade.

IT would be presuming too much, to suppose it were possible here to prescribe the particular modes which should be adopted, for stimulating the industry of the manufacturers who now work for the Company;

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or for encouraging those in the adjoining countries to transport themselves, their families, and their looms, to the neighbourhood of our settlements: for there are circumstances which must ever be regulated, because they will ever be influenced by characters and situations, and because they must vary with the views and caprices of men.

THERE are however some general lines of encouragement, which will hardly admit of exception; and the first of these, for a manufacturing people, would seem to be, the certainty of procuring at all times the necessaries of life at moderate prices.

To secure to them this advantage, public granaries might be established; under such regulations, as would necessarily influence the rates of the market; and in such abundance, as might enable the government to open the public stores, whenever the prices should exceed the easy subsistence of the poorer working people.

It would probably be impossible to propose any mode of encouragement, which would operate with equal efficacy to this amongst all ranks of people; and particularly with the weaving manufacturers; for no class in India more rigidly abstain from the use of animal food. But as professional immunities are ever found to influence the success of new undertakings, it might be politick to exempt for a time those weavers, who should engage in the manufactures of the Company, from the quit-rent with which they are now every-where charged, for the privilege of establishing and working their looms.

SOME assistance too might be given to them in the provision of the cotton-thread, of which their manufactures are composed, and which they now purchase at a great disadvantage. For this thread being an article of trade, and brought from a great distance, its price must necessarily

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necessarily be enhanced in every stage of it's passage, from the first pur-chaser, until it at length falls into the hands of the weaver, at the heavy advance of a retail sale.

It will hardly be credited, that in the small extent of the Company's dominion, this thread, like every other article of trade, is subjected to the payment of a heavy duty to every Zemindar and renter, through whose country it passes; and that commerce meeting with the same demands and discouragement in every part of the peninsula, is now confined to articles of necessity; or carried on under the protection of great names, which exempt it from the payment of duties.

PARTIAL and insufficient as this remedy must be, it cannot but be thought fortunate, that any circumstance should have happened to yield the merchant relief, under the heavy pressure of such impositions; and it is a satisfaction to know, that as the income to the Zemindars from these duties is now rendered inconsiderable, by the frequent use of the dusticks through which this exemption is conveyed, the resumption of the privilege, under which the duties are collected, may be effected, without any material diminution of their revenue.

IT will however be politick to defer discovering any intention of this kind, until the established security of their property shall have removed every apprehension of distrust from the Zemindars; and until the generous policy of the Company, encouraging them on every side, shall have taught them to submit without reluctance to a reform of such importance to the general interest of the State.

WHENEVER this opportunity shall offer, it will be of infinite consequence to reduce the number of custom-houses, which are now to be met with in almost every village of these provinces; and to free commerce

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merce from the complicated detail it is thereby exposed to, by establishing one general duty, the payment of which, in any part of the Company's dominion, shall serve the merchant for a passport into every village of their country.

HAVING already trespassed so much on your patience, it would be presumption to attempt a further intrusion, if it were not justified by the conviction, that all your endeavours to encourage industry and manufactures must prove ineffectual, if measures are not taken to secure the advantages they may confer; if the husbandmen, at a distance from the seat of government, too far to be travelled even for obtaining justice, should be left to feel the weight of oppression without the hope of redress; and if the inhabitants of these countries should still remain without a prospect of ever being adjudged by those laws and usages, which they are taught from their infancy to regard with peculiar veneration, and which are known to differ, in the most essential points, from the laws established in this country.

THE distinction of tribes, which is the first principle in the constitution of the Gentoos, necessarily precludes that indiscriminating justice, which levels all ranks of people in the eye of our law, and which places the peer and the mechanic upon an equality in all public offences; while in India, the Bramin, uniting the dignity of the first order in the society with the sacred function of the priesthood, is allowed privileges and immunities, which no other tribe dare dispute or invade.

THE descent of property, which with us is generally entailed, to give dignity and importance to the elder branch of the family, amongst the Gentoos is directed to go in equal division amongst the males, where division is insisted on. But their laws discourage this so much, and the estab-

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blished usage, with the public opinion, so powerfully recommend the union of family, and the common enjoyment of all the acquisitions they may make, that the instances of separation are as rare as they are disreputable.

INNUMERABLE instances, still more forcible, might be quoted, to prove the impossibility of reconciling the spirit of the laws, under which we live, with the institutes of the Gentoos; and as their institutes are blended with their religion, and have been preserved to this time under every revolution that has happened, it cannot be supposed that any other system, however preferable, would now be received by them.

THE question here therefore would seem to be, not whether we shall innovate their constitution, by an attempt to introduce our laws; but under what form their own laws may be administered, with most advantage to the Subject, and with most security to the State: and this, it is hoped, will be found a question of less difficulty than it may at first appear.

IT has been already seen, that the greatest part of the lands in these provinces are held by Zemindars; and that Zemindars, from their original institution, were vested with judicial powers in their respective districts. In this light were they seen, when the Company itself, a Zemindar, under the Saned of Jaffier Ally Khan, appointed Mr. Holwell to undertake the duties of that office; and when that gentleman, anxious to acquit himself in a charge, which he found complicated, and of extensive jurisdiction, applied to have associates joined to him in the judicial part of his trust.

In this light too have the Zemindars been hitherto considered in these provinces; and though there is too much reason to apprehend, that judging without associates, and unrestrained by any superintending authority

Court Etc

rity there, decisions have been more marked by partiality and resentment, than by the rules of law, or the principles of justice; yet it would not seem candid to infer from hence, that because the institution has been abused, it must therefore be a bad one: on the contrary, referring again to Mr. Holwell, the institution will appear to have peculiar merit; for it is said, that in the course of four years, while he presided in that office, not a single complaint was preferred against his judgments in criminal cases, and but one appeal was made from his decrees in matters of property.

SEEING therefore that justice has been administered to so much advantage under the authority of a Zemindar, may it not be hoped, that, under proper regulations, the same benefits might, by the same means, be extended throughout these provinces? And that, in their Zemindary Courts, the people might be gratified, in being judged by those laws they so earnestly solicit for; and to which they still ascribe the riches and population, that formerly so particularly distinguished their country from every other part of the world?

IT has been an usage amongst the Gentoos, of as great antiquity as their laws, for the Rajahs to form a council, from the most learned of the Bramins, to assist them in the administration of justice, and to pronounce the decisions of the law upon all cases of property or offence. It could not therefore be deemed an innovation, to direct, that in every Zemindary throughout these provinces, a council of this kind should be formed, to consist of any number of Bramins, from ten to three; who should constantly assist the Zemindar in his judicial capacity, and whose opinions should controul them in all matters of law.

A PUBLIC register of the proceedings of these courts, which would seem to be a part of their constitution, from the report of Mr. Holwell, and

Count. E 1 C

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and which is so consonant to the practice of the Gentoos in other cases, would not only tend to restrain the Zemindars and their associates from every abuse of their power; but would enable the government, by comparing the proceedings of the several courts, to judge by what further regulations the course of justice might be assisted; where the rigour of the Gentoos laws might be tempered, without invading their constitution; and, above all, how the use of juries might be introduced; and the natives of these countries be made to feel, under the security of that privilege, the great advantage of living under an English administration.

It may be objected to this, that the translation of proceedings, so voluminous and complicated, would require the assistance of a greater number of agents, than might be found qualified for such an undertaking. But may it not be answered, that this objection is in itself a reason? And that in shewing how imperfect and confined the communication between the natives and the English now is, it marks strongly the necessity of adopting some mode of encouragement, by which the study of our respective languages might be made more general? And what mode could be proposed, more likely to give this encouragement to the natives, than the certainty of being employed?

If, therefore, no other objection should be found to oppose this measure, the one above suggested would not seem difficult to be obviated; and as the establishment of the Zemindars in their lands, under such security as might remove every apprehension, should precede the regulations here proposed, there would be time enough, before that could be effected, for extending the knowledge of our language, and for making the study of the Gentoos more familiar; and if small premiums of encouragement were to be offered to the natives, and rewards of more consequence were to be held out, to excite the application of the Europeans, it cannot be doubted, but that, at the expense of ten or

twelve

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twelve thousand pounds, you would have in a short time a sufficient number of agents well qualified to translate these proceedings; and whose studies could not fail to throw new lights on the history of a country, and of a people, with which we are yet but imperfectly acquainted.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,

With the greatest respect,

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

George-Street, Hanover-Square,  
3d February, 1779.

(Signed)

JOHN SULIVAN.

## PRE-BRITISH LAND RIGHTS IN INDIA

A-XIII/9

Report of Mr. Beaufey, Secretary Board of Control: early 1792

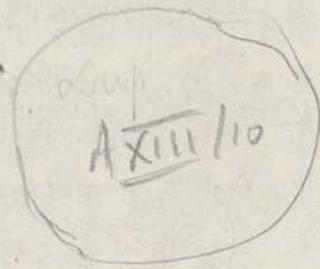
By the ancient system of India, the situation of a ryot was much superior to that of a tenant at will; nor was he subject to arbitrary exactions at the pleasure of the zemindar. While he continued to pay the rent and fulfil the conditions to which by the custom of his village he was bound, he could not be legally dispossessed, and if taxes unauthorised by the government, or by the usage of the district were demanded, the courts of the capital as well as those of the province were open to his complaints; for the protection of the cultivator of the soil was described as the first duty and often became the first object of the Magistrate.

Even in the ruins of this system traces of its principles are easily discovered, for among the numerous assessments that now burthen the lands of the ryots, a tax which is called the original rent invariably takes the lead and has the semblance of governing the rates by which the other branches of the land tax are determined.

But the ancient privileges of the ryots, their claim to continual possession on the terms of a reasonable and established payment, and their exemption from all imposts but those which custom or positive enactments have duly authorised have perished with the government from which they derived their force.

HM 382 (78-9)

Sir



Gumboots 5-

Sati 11

Trial by ordeal 16

Torture 18

Marriage 19

Death from multiple causes 6-7

Brahmin kills his wife 6

Animal house in Durban 9

Marriage 9

Army

By your Expressing agent the  
Collection where I had the honour of being in your Company  
at Montrose upon your Country men and Acquaintances  
for their delinquency or not communicating to you the  
particulars of Countries where they travell'd to, I observed  
you discover a Considerable curiosity that way of I was not  
mistaken so that these few detached observations may give  
you some Satisfaction, my wife and myself are Com-  
pletely answer'd.

Two p.m. 6th July making  
Apology for not writing sooner

Our passage from England to  
the Cape of Good Hope was most prosperous and pleasant, where  
we touch'd to supply our Expence of water and provisions

To give you an account of this place which is Situate  
very near the South extremest point of the Continent of  
Africa

2

Africa, I can be very Concise

altho' in the winter time it is exposed to very cold and  
Swee Southerly Blasts, which are Predominant all the year  
so far to the Southward, & that it's Inhabited by Boorish  
Dutchmen, yet to Mariners it is perhaps the most longed for  
Port in the world. it abounds with every Species both of  
the Animal and Vegetable kind, that the greatest Epicure  
can wish for, to gratify the most Voluptuous taste, and all in  
Consequence excessive cheap, with every Salutary wine at  
the Rate of London Porter; on this we've a pretty profit when  
Imported to Bombay.

The Natives are the Hottentots who, except those  
Contiguous to the Dutch Settlements, are all very wild and  
Barbarous. Mr. Colbin in his history of these people, whose  
unquestionably you've read, has very circumstantially taken  
notice of their Manners and Customs, of which a great deal  
is consistent with the Information I received, but in Regard  
to the flap which he would Intimiate to be Appertinent to  
the Females, I have even endeavoured to prove his Assertion  
by particular; I never found any reason to credit him,  
altho' I was even curious in my Scrutiny of that affair;

3  
on the contrary every method for my Information, gave -  
Substantial proofs Against him,

Between the iape & Madras nothing happen'd worth  
your time; at our Arrival there we expected to find our Country  
men from the bad State in which we left them the preceding  
voyage / under Contributions to the French as Monarchs of  
that part of India, but as greatly to our joy as Surprize,  
Providence had reversed Appearances much in our favour,  
The person whom they had Aspir'd to usurp the Crown,  
against the lawfull Heir our Ally, being Detron'd and  
Killed, so many of their own men either killed or Prisoners  
in our possession, that without assistance from the Country  
powers they have scarcely men enough left to protect -  
Pondicherry, all the other places where they Arbitrarily -  
hoisted their Standards and Collected the Revenues, being  
Some time ago Reduced; On the other hand, the Reinstating the  
lawfull Heir by the Succes: of our Arms, has Effected Many  
Advantages to our Trade, as well as gained us great Credit  
and Awe.

The Natives all over India where I've been, are -  
promiscuously Persians, Gentoo's and Moguls,

The Persians, according to Historical Annotations  
upon,

<sup>4</sup> upon the Religious customs of the Idolatrous Nations, were amongst the first that adored the Sun Moon and Stars, but those Luminous bodies were sometimes Eclipsed and obscure, they wanted something to compensate for the time they were hid from their sight, which at the same time might be an Hieroglyphick of those imaginary Deities.

For this purpose, as the most proper Object to represent the Splendor of the Sun and Stars, they pitched upon Fire this Element at first was only the Emblem of the Planet they worshipped, but now it is insensibly become the Object of their Adoration, and they are very ostentatiously devoted to this Superstition, that was one of their houses on fire they would not lend the least assistance to Extinguish it, but their Equivocation is so great, that they have very handsomely rewarded the European Sailors for their Services upon these occasions.

They eat every kind of Animal food except Pork, at ventals, they never speak upon any consideration having signs for every thing they want, nor afterward will they answer you one word, tho begged most strenuously until they have wash'd their Bodies.

Polygamy is allowed among them, & they, as all the Eastern Nations, are Married in their Infancy.

5  
They constantly at sun rising & letting repair to the water side after washing their face hands & feet, they pay their courtesies towards the Sun by several times Saluting the ground, they begin prayers, which they repeat as fast as possible, lest any body should chance to touch them before they're finished, for in that case, as they had not quite concluded their service before they were disturbed, it behoves them to begin again & go over the whole process from the beginning, I have seen frequent instances of this, for the Europeans to satisfy themselves of this truth frequently make the Experiment, and they seem so well acquainted with our tricks that they now shun us as much as possible & upon an attempt being made to touch them, run away laughing & repeating their prayers as fast as they're able.

The Gentooes who were formerly sovereigns of this part of India before the Mughals conquest, are the most numerous, they are divided into different Tribes or Caste of which the Bramins are the first, these being their learned Men, or Priests, are held in great Reverence by all the other Caste, they are seldom or never seen without their book in which all the Tenets of their Superstitions Religion are inscribed, I have had several Conferences with some of them concerning

the

6

the absurdity of their principles, but never could extort any other vindication of their ceremonies, than that it was the custom of the Ancients, and to annihilate any of the Rites stipulated by them was deemed sacrilege.

If any of these Bramins perpetrates a crime at Marits death the worst punishment that their book allows of, is to deprive him of his Eyes.

They are divided into several Sects distinguished by the different marks which they paint upon their Foreheads, Nose, Breasts and arms, and each have Symbols of peculiar shapes whence they consecrate a Grammatically support his supremacy as a Deity.

They are not permitted to follow any Mechanical Trade, but most of them are Merchants and extremely Overreaching, they all likewise study physick or rather acquire a superficial knowledge of the operations of Vegetable, having not the least Idea of the Animal Economy, never the less some of the Inferior Casts have favourable an Opinion of their unerring Knowledge in Science that when any of them are Sick, and pronounced incurable by these Doctors, the Patient is immediately hurried away to the water side where the nearest Relation then Charitably covers his mouth with mud & dirt, then throws

throws him headlong into the Water

The next Cast to the Bramins are the Rajas or  
Kings, and the Nobles whose privilege & Duty it is, to —  
Defend their Country, to have the Administration of all  
Civil Affairs & to take particular care that the Bramins fall  
not into poverty.

The third Cast are the Banians or Brokers and  
Merchants, they as well as the Bramins are very expert at  
Accompt, which they keep in the most accurate & exact  
Manner either upon paper with Pen and Ink, or upon  
long leaves prickling their letters with an Instrument some  
what resembling a Taylors bodkin. Like the Bramins  
too they are all much given to cheating and overcharging, —  
especially when they have Dealings with Strangers, if they  
happen to be discover'd and Abus'd, they never suffer their  
Imports to be in the least ruffled, but Philosophically bear  
themselves degraded without returning any other than  
the most obliging Reply.

The fourth Cast <sup>includes</sup> all the Mechanicks, <sup>which</sup> is  
Subdivided into many others, each having a particular  
Name borrowed from their respective Trade; They always  
Marry into families of their own profession, & if they have  
never

8. never so many Sons they can follow no other Employm  
than that of their Fathers, & from the Bramins downe  
this Custom prevale. If any of them Should Intermarry  
with an Inferior Cast, he is immediately Excluded his  
owne, & despised as an unclean person, by every one, even  
of his own Family. This is the greatest disgrace  
can befall any of these different Casts here.

Amongst the lowest division of this Cast are the  
Jugglers and Rope Dancers, at which they are <sup>rarely</sup> Proficients. I've seen very little of their performances  
my self, & it's impossible to believe them from the most  
authentick Authority. I have heard the Gentlemen who  
have been present at their performances, declare they had  
some difficulty in crediting the veracity of their Age. They  
They walk the straight rope with great ease and agility  
even communicate that art to their Children, as I have been  
Informed by severals, whose word upon other occasions  
I could not suspect.

They are very Dextrous at caps and Balls, I have  
seen them put a Fowl instead of the ball under a vessell  
just sufficient to cover the Fowl, without any discovery  
being made by the most prying Bystander.  
In all these different Casts Celigamy is practis'd  
amongst the Bramins only in case of the women -

Sterility

Storility, most of the Bramins and their adherents devoutly believe in the Transmigration of Bodies; they all live very abstemiously, many of them only upon Vegetables — Butter and Milk, their Drink in General is common water only. These never kill any kind of Animals nor eat of any thing that ever had life, many say are so Religious exact in this, that they keep Servants to fan the Air while they Eat, in Order to drive away the Fleas & lest any of them should unfortunately fall into their Victims to be killed, at Surat they now shantain an Hospital at a very Considerable Expence for the Sake of Old worn out horses, Lame Oxen ~~and~~, Cows & many other Animals of which it is almost full. Others again Eat Fins only, some condescend to Eat Fish & few other Animals, but they universally abstain from the Flesh of Oxen or Cow, whom they Rank at the head of the Brute Creation.

As I observed before, their Marriages are all conducted by the Parents during the parties Infancy, the Expence of this Ceremony, which is very considerable according to the Rank of the persons Married, is always from the Bridegrooms Family, nor is it customary to give any fortunes with their daughters, because it shou'd not be said they were obliged to buy them husbands for this custom it seems they despise the European very much. They have peculiar lucky Months, in which only <sup>they</sup>

10

they allow the consummation of marriages, in these somewhat with Illuminations, Singers, Dancers & horrid Musick, one would imagine the days and nights were for they never begin their Entertainments before it is dark conclude them while that favours the Demonstration of their Firework, all the time the Bride and Bridgeman richly drest, are well mounted on horse back or carried Pallankins like a couch, in which there is a Mattress and Pillows upon four or six Men's Shoulders thro' Town, Accompanied by the Relations & Friends of both Families. Preceded by the Dancing Girls Musicians Singers with great number of Massals or Links attend them, Previous to this, there are Machines of Fire Extinguisher against all their friends houses to whom they intend to pay respect where always they stop, and are entertained by the Dancers. During the exhibition of the Fire works throughout the whole procession the Bride & Bridgeman are incessantly employed throwing flowers at one another, of which the Servants carry Baskets full for that purpose tho' these ceremonies are not finished in less than six or eight days, yet in regard to their Entertainments they never exceed a few Sweetmeats and Roast Nut which they use as Europeans do Tobacco but the former is a fine Aromatick & in every respect more preferable, at the same time promiscuously sprinkling water & other perfumes amongst their Guests.

11 you would be Surprized to think how great a sum  
the Expence of one of their better sort of Marriages will  
amount to, I saw one my last Voyage at Bengal, which  
I was well Informed could not cost less than Ten or  
Twelve thousand Pounds Sterling, & one since I have  
been in Bombay that amounted to about one third  
of that Sum.

As they have a steadfast belief in Transmigration  
and their women not being permitted to marry  
a second husband, even tho' the first should die in her  
Mongage, & say from these Considerations and hardships  
upon the female Sex, we may be enabled in some measure  
to Account for the great fortitude and unmatched Resolution  
of the wives burning with the Bodies of their dead husbands,  
which instead of being Obliged to, by the laws of their  
Country, as some people have suggested, great entreaties  
and Arguments are generally made use of, to break their  
Resolutions, but I doom to thy purpose, 'tis certain that  
after they have determined to burn, and the Bramins have  
performed the Ceremonies for that Occasion, should they ~~then~~  
attempt to Retract, their Friends and Relations would assist to  
throw them into the Flame.

Sometimes since a young creature at Bengal embray'd  
this Resolution, she was known by many of the European  
Ladies there, who kindly visited her, in her distress, &  
endeavoured to move her desperate design by the most —  
Influencing reasons they could offer, as she had two very  
fine

12 fine Children, they represented to her the hardships and difficulties they would be liable to, when destitute of both parents, nor were her own Relations & those of her Husband less assiduous with their persuasions, however nothing could stagger her fixed Determination.

The Day she was to burn bring Arrived many gentlemen attended her to the Pile with several Bramins <sup>the</sup>

The Bramins after praying with her for a considerable time, anointed her head and hair all the while muttering some unintelligible sentences, afterwards they walked round the Pile with her three times, constantly singing out their prayers, having thus ended the ceremony, she takes off her Bracelets Earrings &c<sup>o</sup> and distributes them amongst her Relations who attend her, then embracing them she took her leave very pleasantly and Retired to the middle of the Pile, where her dead husband lay, and having placed herself at his feet, the Bramin gave a lighted match into her hand, with joy in his countenance she Received it and said That Night I shall enjoy my husband's Company in another form, then immediately set fire to the Pile, but Observing that she had done it on the Leeward side, she turned round and lighted it in Several places to Windward.

The Gentlemen curiously led them as near to the Pile as the Flames would admit them, yet they never heard her utter the last Moan. Tho' the laws of the Country do not oblige the Women to this cruel custom yet in private

private it is certainly encouraged among them, for it is esteemed a great honour to the whole Family, and the — children of the Woman who burns are always much Regarded and very well Matched.

Besides these castes which I have mention'd, there are a set whom they call Parreca's they are the refuse of the whole Nation, their villages & wells are always separate from others, they are lookt upon as Unclean, therefore dare not walk the Streets where the Bramins Inhabit, as they are extremely poor they eat any kind of animal flesh except the Cow without the least Reluctance even when they find it in the fields Dead and Stinking, they exercise all the Employments which every one of the rest think beneath them.

Altho' in the Eyes of all their Neighbours this set of people is a most despicable Race, yet amongst themselves they have diversity of Ranks and Conditions, some of them are not allowed to keep upon the Earth, therefore like the Birds of the Air, their habitations are built upon trees, to which they ascend by small Ladders, or Niche's cut in the Body of the tree, others are not permitted on ~~any~~ account, to wear any thing but leaves of this sort like one woman lately in the Country, for they are rarely seen near European Towns I immediately pronounced her an Ecclite, for it is not possible that any thing cou'd better Express our Original Nakedness and Simplicity, all her Cloathing being an Apron of

of leaves about four or five inches Square. Notwithstand  
 ing this Lady might be so easily dressed & at S. Small an large  
 yet the laws of this Country in General are so very Rude  
 & Impolite towards the Females, that was this Apron to  
 off by any accident it is not in her power to put it on again  
 but must immediately go in Search of her Husband in  
 sole Duty it is, always to perform that service, She at the  
 time Indicuously assigning some satisfactory Reasons  
 her Deshabille.

In every Division of their Casts have variety of  
 and Bad Duties to appear, So likewise they have  
 different and Extraordinary methods of performing  
 several Religious Injunctions, but as they almost all  
 very severe Duties, or rather corporal punishments  
 better sort generally are excused for hissing these Parreasts  
 for them.

During my six Months Residence at Bengal I  
 requiered not an opportunity of being witness to many  
 such sufferings, which lasted three Days, the first two  
 voluntarily tortured themselves with Iron Wires running  
 thick thro' their Tongue, and out at the other, Some had  
 skewers penetrating considerably deep the different Musc  
 parts of the Body, others suffered with two long pieces of  
 Sharp at one End and flat at the Other, the points were  
 under the Skin in each side, the two flat sides going from  
 Body in the form of an angle were tyed together, upon  
 some combustible stuff were continually kept burning  
 the assistance of a Bottle of Oil which a Concomitant  
 carried for that purpose. Others again had small Co  
 like

like Coarse Pack thread Light or Ten Feet long, put thro' their  
Sides, much in the same manner as the Surgeon makes Sutons, v.  
they were attended with a man both before and behind who  
kept the cords well upon the Stake, while the Person thus  
Accousted Dances from one man to the other for hours to-  
gether, In Spight of all their Infirmitie, they in general  
well Counterfeited a merry disposition and entertained  
Crowds of Spectators with very Comicks & Frolick Some  
Capers being accompanied all the time with their  
Country Musick.

Upon the third day their ceremonies were very  
different from the preceding, having Erected long Poles  
full two Stories high, to which at the Top, they annex —  
another by the middle into admeed to one of the extremes  
ends of this cross Pole is a Rope with two Iron hooks,  
Reckly like what our Butchers hang their meat upon at  
the Chambles, which being fixed sufficiently in the fleshy  
parts between the Shoulder Blade & Back bone of both  
sides, the Signal is immediately given to three or four  
men who are placed at another Rope which is fastend  
to the opposite extreme end of this cross Pole. They  
quickly hoise him up and at the same time Run  
round as fast as possible, by which Contrivance the  
Person in the air makes a Sweep of a Considerable —  
Circumference with great Velocity, and continues Swinging  
some three or four Minutes till he shews some signs  
of token

token of his desire to be let down.

There can be no due it in this, for altho there  
certainly is always at these occasions a great number  
of people, which renders it very difficult to get me  
the place, never the less on account of my Incredulity  
I was provided with a chaise, by which means I  
my way to the very Pole, & was even allowed to  
cut several of the hooks from the peoples backs,  
the same time very much astonished that none of them  
were followed with the least effusion of Blood, & that  
not discover the smallest tendency to any Inflammation.  
No sooner was one down than another was ready to  
hooked, that I may modestly affirm some thousands  
went thro this operation upon the different Machines  
that were Erected for the purpose that Day.

as these people never travel into Foreign Countries  
to rectify their Ideas & Improve their Knowledge  
their other customs are all of a piece, equally absurd  
and amazing, particularly their method of  
victing their capital offenders, when they are <sup>destitute</sup> of  
any witness & have no other proof but strong <sup>suspicion</sup>  
to alledge against them, in this case a Capital  
trial is provided with Boiling Oil into which <sup>the</sup> Ring  
is thrown, the person suspected is to take <sup>in</sup> the  
Ring out with his naked fingers whilst the oil  
actually Boiling & afterwards they are tyed up  
within

17  
with Cotton Roller to remaine in that situation about  
thirty hours, when the Roller is Removed and his Fiv-  
ers Examined; if there are any signs of them being —  
Burned by the Oil, he is pronounced guilty, otherwise  
Innocent, & that he is either immediately impaled,  
or Dragged out & publickly Executed with their Broad  
Swords, every one that chooses it, making a stroke at  
the malefactor.

The Relation of these Stories to Europeans —  
appear, and not unreasonably, mere juggling &  
Rediculous Falshood, so that they generally draw-  
upon the Relates the common allowances according  
to the Extensiveness of his Travels.

at Tellicherry one of our Settlements upon the  
Mallabar Coast, where this custom is much practised, some  
English Gentleman of good capacities have very strictly  
attended to this particular, and to their great surprise have  
known several of the people come off scot-free, without  
the least signe either of burn or blister, after going thro  
this Fury Tryal, and in consequence proclaimed Innocent  
with great Acclamations of Joy.

The method they have of trying Theft and all Inferior  
Crimes, is by ordering the suspected persons to eat a certain  
quantity of Rice, which, they say, the Guilty man will  
have the greatest difficulty to Swallow, this may be much  
easier

easier accounted for than the preceding mystery, for as the people in general have so high an opinion of the <sup>int</sup> Judgments of the Bramins who Preside at all these Examinations respecting their Infallability at finding out offenders, the guilty person is struck with so much confusion <sup>dread</sup> & hurry to finish his Modicum first, that he quite disarranges his Intentions, & almost suffocates himself with too much haste.

The Gentooes in general except some who are distinguished by the Name of Moratass, of whom hereafter <sup>are</sup> subject to the great Mogul, under whom there is almost an innumerable Number of Rajas or Vice-Kings who according to the Extent of their several Principalities pay a certain Annual Revenue into the Moguls coffers. These Black <sup>Princely</sup> Monarchs upon this Coast especially with much greater propriety deserve the name of Pagrates than that of Kings, as their income at some years Insufficient to satisfy the Moguls demands they are often obliged beneath their Princely Dignity to render & pay from their Neighbours so that there is almost a General Enmity in this part of the world greatly to the prejudice of Trade, of which a very considerable part is carried on in open defiance <sup>of</sup> blockade consequently easily annoyed by the great number of small armed Vessels which every one of these Kings sets out for purpose, and this fleet is maintained with the considerable sums which they receive by selling passports, for it is necessary

Necessary that every Vessel bound to any part of this Coast, unless when they are under Convoy be provided with five or Six different papers, and even then they are at times not without Risque, for it frequently happens that upon differences between Brothers, the one will convene a Force — in order to Subvert the other & establish the Crown upon his own head, at the same time making prizes of every Vessel that carries his Antagonists passport on this account all the European Companies of Merchants trading in this part of the World are obliged to keep very considerable Naval forces to protect their Crafts by sea:

Angria is the most troublesome and powerfull of all these Princes, He has a Fleet at this time consisting of three Ship Grabs each carrying Twenty Guns & upwards, Seven or Eight Rocket Grabs mounting from Twelve to eighteen, and about Fifty Gallivats with some dozen or four Carrage, besides — Swivel Guns &c.

As his Capital Port is very contiguous to this Islands the late Reinforcement from England of the Protector of Forty-Guns & Guardian of Twenty have confined him this Season more to his own Harbours than has been known for many years before. The Protector fell in with upwards of Thirty Sail of his Godiwats soon after our Arrival upon this Coast, as he is always when overmatched, so he was then very complaisant, and paid us Respect by firing Several Guns to leeward, but as we returned the Salutation without drawing the grape.

42 He accordingly in Civiltoms Replyed to Sumshieat <sup>wne</sup> that he cou'd give him no positive answer till he had transmitted the purpose of his letter to Maxadabad which he immediately did, & Received strict <sup>answ</sup> Comands to Comply with the Instructions of his Father, in pursuance of which Gynde Amet wrote to Sumshieat that the Suba Gladly accepted the tender of his Service & that he shoud with pleasure Embrace him, The Suba <sup>had</sup> Likewise sent him a letter to the same purpose, without professing his speedy march into Bengall, this was done to lull him into the utmost security -

The scheme of Sumshieat which I have already <sup>had</sup> told, in desiring an interview with the Nabob Gynde Amet Cawne, was to assassinate him, & so enter the <sup>city</sup> before his troops could recover their consternation -

Sumshieat Cawne on Receipt of the Subas and Nob. letters advanced within two Miles of the Town with his Troops, where a sumptuous Tent was prepared for his Reception, under it a Mine was sunk with a <sup>train</sup> extending considerable way from the Tent, of which the Signal for firing was Gynde amets Retiring a certain Distance, but every circumstance was betrayed to Sumshieat by a Spy whom he had in the Nabobs army, Sumshieat however advanced & when he w<sup>as</sup> within

within a Furlong of the Tent, he Received a message  
from the Nabob Requesting that he would order his  
people to halt, that they might not be Incommoded,  
this he Complied with, & proceeded to the Tent with  
a few chosen attendants, who had all Armour under  
their Coats, this meeting was attended with mutual  
embraces & the most affectionate compliments before  
they sat down, When they entered upon the Subject of  
the war, After half an hours discourse a Servant entered  
& whisper'd the Nabob, Who thereon made a comple-  
ment to the General, telling him he was just going  
to give some necessary orders about his Reception,  
and Entertainment in the City, & that he would attend  
him again in a few Minutes, as he was Rising with  
an Intent to withdraw from the Tent / the Signal  
agreed upon for setting fire to the Train / Hamidat  
Lawne Suddenly drew his Scymeter and being at  
seconded by his followers they immediately cut the  
Nabob and his people to pieces, whilst others ad-  
vanced towards the Train / the course of which they were  
perfectly Instructed with to prevent their Springing  
the Mine, and in this they succeeded for the Nabobs  
people without the Tent not knowing their Masters  
Fate

44

Fate, ~~had~~ Retreated as the others advanced; The General being over & the mine secured, he made the Signal for his Troops to follow him, & mounting his Horse, almost entered the City of Patna as soon as the <sup>the</sup> ~~it~~ tives, before Hodgie was well inform'd of the Fate of his unhappy son. Sun-wheel without loss of time proceeded to the palace, where he took Hodgie <sup>the</sup> Ham prisoner as he was attempting to escape in a Dis-<sup>qui</sup> se, afterwards he went in search of the principal <sup>his</sup> Treasure of the City, to which he was directed by his Spy's this he deposited in the palace, & gave the Re-<sup>main</sup>ning plunder to his Soldiers, who were three days committing the very greatest outrages & murders throughout the City, the European Troops only excepted.

Hodgie Ham after suffering every Indi-<sup>gust</sup> ty that could be devis'd against him, & undergoing the severe Discipline of the Kora or lash, was by order of the General sit on an ass, with his Legs fasten'd together under the Belly of the Animal & his face half painted white & half Black, thus <sup>led</sup> round the City in the same Rout, himself had on for the Head of Mustapha Lawrence, on his Return <sup>from</sup>

5 from this Disgracefull procepcion, he suffered again,  
with the greatest Constancy & Resolution tho Kora,  
intended to force a confession from him of a large sum in  
Gold & Diamonds which it was said he Secreted; after  
all this he was chained to an Elephant design'd for  
the most cruel & Lingering Death but one of his Gu:  
ards touched with his old age, great sufferings &  
Lamentations for his Son who was extremely dear  
to him, Conveyed some poyson to him, which put  
an end to his miserable life. Somewhat Lawer some  
few Days afterwards, retired with his Troops and  
Immence Riches by plundiring into his own Country

Thus Sir you may observe, & it is general  
all the East, that most advantages gained by the Mili:  
tary are much often by Guile & Stratagem than  
Otherways, The Kingdom of Bengal & all the Subaship  
of ally Verdy Lawne is to this day Involved with war,  
for the Morratters, make frequent Diftants into his  
provinces plundering and annoying the poor Inha:  
bitants, who always fly at their appearance, leav:  
ing their houses &c to be Pellage at the Discras:  
tion of a mercyls Robble. This is the Essential  
Reason why all the Manufacturies from that  
part

<sup>46</sup>  
part of the world Imported in Europe, are both <sup>more</sup> & Dearer than they were some Eight or Ten years ago before these Troubles Commenced —

Upon this Coast they are now beginning fresh Troubles, so that war must soon issue, if any thing happens worth communicating; I shall omit no Opportunity that I think will afford any pleasure.

I have now only to beg leave ~~to add~~ <sup>to</sup> send my best Wishes for yours, & your Families long health and happiness, with my Compliments to your Lady & the Miss Doig's — to assure you with great Sincerity that I shall always esteem myself highly honour'd when favoured with any of your Commands or Letters. I am <sup>with</sup> respect

Yrs

your Most Obedient  
Humble Servant

Alex<sup>d</sup> Knox

Bombay 25<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1753.

To David Doig Esq:  
Lord Provost of Montrose

U U

House of Commons: Report on a Petition relative to the  
Administration of Justice in India 1781, pp. 39-40.

A-XIII/11

There being at this Time a Bramin in England, who is a subject of a Gentoo Government, Your Committee judging it to be the most authentic Source of Information, concerning the Usages and Religion of the Hindoos, requested his Attendance; and the Particulars of his Examination being interpreted by Charles William Boughton Russel, Esquire, a Member of Your Committee, are--That his Name is Honwontrow--That he comes from Poonah, a Gentoo Government, of which Sittarab is the Capital--That it is governed by the Peshwah, who is a Bramin--That he is come to England on the Part of Regent Row, with Letters to the King, and the East India Company--That he is a Bramin--That his Cast, as well as all others, is obliged to observe particular Rules and Models of Life--That the Object of Worship is alike to ~~all~~ all Casts; but that there are many Sects and Distinctions, each of which has its peculiar Muses. That there are four Principal Casts; and within these, there are a great many others; and that it is criminal for any Gentoo, to transgress the Rules of his particular Cast. That he may lose his Cast entirely, or, according to the Nature of the Offences, it may admit of Expiation. Then being asked, Whether some of these Expiations are not expensive and troublesome? he said, Without Expence and Trouble how can Expiation be made? That it would be proportionable to the Crime; for Instance, Krishhatta, or killing of a Bramin; Strehatta, or the killing of a Woman; Barhatta, or the killing a Child; Gowhatta, or the killing of a Cow; are the Four Great offences that require the most rigorous Expiations, and the Degree of Criminality is nearly

alike. That he must make one Distinction, that it can only be done by Consent and Direction of learned bramins. That in case of a rich Person, the Expiation is large Sums given in Charity, if of low Condition, long Pilgrimages, as far as Twelve Years, without Shoes, and naked Fest, would be enjoined. That by the Laws and Customs of the Gentoos, a bramin Might possibly commit such a Crime, as to incur the Punishment of death; for instance, Wilful Murder; but there is one Thing, it is not right to hang a bramin; if he is to be put to Death, it should be with a Sword. At the same Time the witness added, That he never heard of an Instance in which, under a Hindoo Government, a bramin was put to Death. Then being asked, whether there is any other Crime, besides Wilful Murder, for which a bramin can be punished with Death? he said, the Prince may take his Life for some great Breach of Trust, or Crime against the State; but hanging would not be the Punishment--the Punishment of Death is not inflicted for smaller Matters; but what other Crimes can merit Death? That hanging is, by the Hindoos, considered as a great Pollution; and further, it is the belief of the Hindoos, that a Man who suffers Death by the Sword, has Pardon for his Offences; but if he dies by the Halter, he dies with his Sins upon him--That a Person dying by Suicide, or by the Halter, cannot have his Funeral Rites performed. That the Body of a hanged bramin is so polluted, that another will not touch it. And being asked the particular Reason? the Witness said, How can I tell you the Reasons for it? Such is our ancient Religion. It is a general Principle of Faith, that an Hindoo should die placed upon the earth. Being asked, Whether there are not Crimes by

which Hindoos may lose their Cast? he said, There are; for Instance, that he, being a Bramin, could not eat any Thing prepared by the Hands of the Persee (who was then sitting by him); that if he did, he should lose his Cast; and that if he had done it of his own free Will, it could not be expiated; that, though a Gantoo, should have resisted, if he be forced violently into an Act of impurity, it will rest with the learned Bramins, whether to restore him to his Cast again, or not? That they can do nothing in it, but by the Order of the Shaster. That they can eat only the Things that are permitted them by the Rules of their Cast; that he has heard, the Bramins of the Ganooze eat some Kinds of Flesh; but that if the Bramins in his Country eat Meat, they would lose their Cast. That a Bramin cannot eat his Food, unless prepared by another Bramin; that if he should eat Food dress by a Person of another Cast, it would be an Impurity. That Indulgencies would be allowed to Persons under an extreme illness, or such Hunger as might take away Power of Judgment; but that if he should only be hungry, and had the Power of distinguishing Persons, no Deviation from Rule would be allowed. Being asked, Whether there are any Distinctions as to Vessels or Places of Cookery; he said, There are; that for Instance, he could not dress his Food at the Fire in the Room where he was then sitting, nor could he dress it in borrowed Vessels, nor could he dress it upon a wooden Floor, but if there was a Span of Earth upon the Floor, he might. That if a Man of another Cast, or of no Cast, was to touch him at his meals, or whilst he was dressing his Food, or was to enter into the Space allotted by him for the dressing his food, he should be

obliged to wash himself. That some Casts would be obliged to wash their Cloaths and Body, others only their body; and some low Casts would not be obliged to wash at all. And being asked, Whether he had not suffered great Difficulties in the Journey from his own Country to England? he said, Yes, very great; that from Bombay to Mocha, though the Voyage lasted 27 Days, he never eat any Thing but what he brought with him, such a Sweet-meats and preserved Fruits, and Pumpkins Vegetables, and drank the Water he brought with him, and never tasted any Food dress on board the Ship. That when he arrived at Judda, the Governor, who is a Mahomedan, examined his Baggage, and ordered him into Confinement in the same House with the Persees; that the Governor sent him Victuals Two or Three Times every Day; but for Two whole Days he neither eat nor drank any Thing; that they were surprized at his not eating, when they had sent him so good a Dinner; and that after some Difficulty he made them understand, by Means of a boy, who spoke his Language, that being a Bramin, he could not eat their Victuals; that when he instructed them what his Customs required, they furnished him with a Tent, and other necessary Conveniences for dressing his Victuals; which he then did with his own Hands. Being asked, What is their Mode of Confinement of a Debtor? he said, In the first Place, it is not usual to confine them; but if the Person should be refractory, and disobey the Orders of the Magistrate for discharging the Debt, perhaps he would place a Guard upon his Hand; if his Debts amounted to more than his Effects, the Magistrate would then order Distribution. If he never touches the Images or Ornaments of the Place of worship, or of the

Apartments of the Women and Children, nor the furniture of the House; and that the Guard suffers nobody to go in or out without his Permission, but that it is not the business of the Guard to prevent the Victuals coming in, unless he has a special Order from the Magistrate, for the business of the Guard is to prevent any Thing being carried out; that if the Person has committed a Crime, and the Magistrate wishes to disgrace him, he may give such an Order; that he must not, even in that Case, disgrace the Women. That it sometimes happens that a Prince presses a Zemindar for Payment of his Rents, and sends a Guard upon his House, that if the Zemindar is absent, and has not the Money to pay, he absconds, but then the Guard will not do any Thing to affect his Women; that if he should seize the Property of a Zemindar, it would not be justifiable to touch his religious Ornaments, or his Women's Apartments; that besides, nothing is got by ruining a Zemindar, who is the paramount Proprietor of the Land. Being asked, What Dealings are allowed to the Bramins? he said, He is prohibited from trading in Salt, Spirituous Liquors, Oil, Butter, Shoes, and from low Trades; that an Hindoo is obliged to wash in a Tank, or with water, in his own House; that not to wash at all, would be an Impurity; that he cannot eat without, except in case of Sickness. That if an Hindoo is excluded his Cast, he is disgraced, and becomes Hallachore, and is considered by his Family as dead; that even his funeral Rites are performed, and his face is never to be seen afterwards. That the Hindoos consider the water of the Ganges as sacred, and vow to wash in it on particular Occasions. That long Pilgrimages are considered as Expiations.

That the inferior Casts of Hindoos pay Respect to the superior; to a Bramin particularly, the highest; that Wealth is nothing in competition with that Degree of Rank. That the low People may drink the Water in which a Superior has washed his Feet; that he himself would drink, and think it would be right to do it, of the Water in which a Bramin, learned in their books, has washed his Feet, but it would be a Disgrace to the Bramin to suffer Hallachores or base People to do it. Being asked, Whether the lower Casts are not much offended when they see the higher such as the Bramin, treated with Indignity and Disrespect, or whether they are pleased? he said, if a Rajahpout sees an Indignity offered to a Bramin, he will risque his Life to protect him; that even the lowest Casts of Hindoos would not be pleased to see a Bramin degraded; that what a Mohomedan might think upon it, he does not know. The Witness further said, That under a Gentoo Government, the Charges of recovering a Debt are a Fourth Part, which goes to the Magistrate, and makes Part of the public Revenue. That in his Country, Women are not so much secluded as among the Mahomedans; but it would be a Disgrace if they went into Courts of Justice. That if he had Guests at his House, his Wife might come in with the Victuals, but could not sit down with Man. That he has heard that the Rajahpouts, and People of Bengal, confine their Women more than the Mahrattas; that they will not permit them, particularly those of Rank, to be seen. That in his Country, the Mode of recovering a Debt from a Woman, is for the Magistrate to send to her, to satisfy the Creditor; if she refuses, he orders her, if she be a Woman of Character, to be brought to his House,

she is carried in a covered Carriage, and received by his Women, but is never compelled to attend the Cause in a Public Court, and even if the Magistrate himself speaks to her, there will be a curtain between them. He said also, That it is usual for Women, in his Country, to burn themselves on the Funeral Pile of their Husbands, and that the same Custom prevails also in Bengal and other Parts of Indostan.

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Captain Gabriel Harper (Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, Oude, 1761-76)

(p.40) That the Vizier treated the Rajahs and Zemindars with the greatest Marks of Civility, Respect, and Friendship, and particularly with regard to the Women's Apartments. That in coming near a village, he would quit the main road, that he might avoid seeing the inclosures, as his Situation on an Elephant would enable him to overlook them. That he always recommended a similar conduct to the Witness, which he invariably observed.

P.37: Major Kennell, Mr Hickey, Mr Harry Verelst (population, geography, customs, manners, caste)

P.38: Verelst (no prison for debtors); Mr Baber: During seventeen years residence, he never saw the wife, or women, of any man of rank or Zamindar; Mr Vansittart: In the time of the Famine, in 1770, many Gentoos chose rather to be starved, than to eat the flesh of a cow.

P.39: Maj Rennell: customs, manners; that during his thirteen years residence, he never saw a Rajah or Zemindar's wife, excepting one who was going to burn herself on her husband's funeral pile; that they are exceedingly servile to their superiors, and behave with mildness and lenity to their inferiors, as far as relates to their exterior deportment.

pp.39-40: Honwontrow, in England on behalf of Kagenautrow.

A-XIII 12(i)

The Gentoos of the lower provinces are a slight made people. Rice is their chief food. It seems to afford but poor nourishment; for strong robust men are seldom seen among them. Though the people in general are healthy, yet they rarely attain to any great age, which is in some measure made up to them by an early maturity. They are married in their infancy; and consummate at fourteen on the male side, and ten or eleven on the female: and it is common to see a woman of twelve with a child in her arms. Though a barren woman is rare among them, yet they bear but few children; for at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are strongly marked with age: The men indeed wear something better, though they also are on the decline after thirty. Thus the spring of life is but of short duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient? Surely not. We always see the organs of the body suited to the climate; nor do I know a stronger or more active race of people than the Mallays, who live mostly within six degrees of the equinoctial: We must however rather look for it in that early indulgence in venereal pleasures, their excessive abstemiousness, their sedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces, in the dejected state of their minds, oppressed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with such customs, such bodies, and such minds, they fall an easy prey to every invader.

#### OF THE MOORS

The word Moors is used by us to express the Mahometans of all sects and countries who are settled in India. It is indeed necessary to have some general word; for whether Python, Persian, or Tartar by birth, it matters not, the ~~enem~~<sup>softness</sup> of the climate, soon forms character of them, the ~~enem~~<sup>softness</sup> of which are persidy a

Scratch I

be, nevertheless, necessary to trace their progress to that character, and to distinguish the various nations they come from, before they are melted down into the common mass.

The Moors of India have the following origins.

The Arabs, who came from the Persian gulph, settled at Massulipatam; from thence made conquests of the open country up to Delhi, to which they gave a race of kings, who were expelled by Tamerlane and his successors; but they appear to have founded various colonies in different parts, who still subsist, and are called Pytans.

The Afghans, who came from Candahar and the mountains that divide Persia from Hindostan, are also called Pytans; but whence the word is derived, or why the appellation should be common to both of them, I will not pretend to ascertain. The Tartars, or the Mungul Tartars, who came in from Bochara and Samarcand with Tamerlane, are commonly called Moguls. The same name is also given to the Ousbeg, Calmuc, and other tribes of Tartars, who are continually coming in, as a kind of adventurers as well as the Persians, who, since the destruction of their own empire, seek a refuge at the courts of the Mogul and the Nabobs of the provinces. These, with the slaves they have brought up to their own religion, compose the (19) whole body of Mahometans, whom we blend together, under the general denomination of Moors; and who, though not in number the hundredth part of the natives, yet, by the division of the Gentoos, keep almost the whole in subjection. Of these, the Moguls are in possession of the throne of Delhi, and most of the principal governments and employments dependent thereon.

If we would come at their true character, we must look for it in their education. Till the age of five or six, the boys of rank and family are left entirely to the eunuchs and women; and from the soundness and tenderness of their management, they first acquire a delicacy of constitution, a timidity, and an early tendency to the pleasures of the seraglio: They are then provided

with tutors, to teach them the Persian and Arabic languages; and, at this early age, they are brought into company, where they are taught to behave with great gravity and circumspection, to curb every motion of impatience, learn all the punctilious ceremonies of the eastern courts, to say their prayers in public, and every exterior of devotion; and it is astonishing to see how well a boy of eight or nine years old will acquit himself in company. They are also taught to ride, and the use of arms, and are furnished with their shield and sabre, and a little dagger at their waist, which is called a cuttarry, the principal use of which, is to stab on occasion. When the hours of school and company are past, they return to the seraglio, and the parents never scruple to admit them to all their plays and diversions, at which are exhibited representations of every thing that is beastly and unnatural, not in a manner to excite horror, but merely to afford diversion. Nothing ever shocked me more than to see the insensibility of the parents, in exposing such scenes to the tender minds of their children. (20) The slaves and women of the seraglio wait with impatience the first appearance of desire to debauch them, unknown to the parents, and this manner of education continues till thirteen or fourteen, when they consummate their marriages, which are made by their parents in their infancy, and a separate household is formed for them. They are then forbid their father's seraglio, are permitted to see none but their mothers, nor has the father even the permission to see his daughter-in-law; and from that time, that dissimulation, which they learnt from the father's lessons and examples, is practised between father and son, and too often a jealousy arises between them, which their history shows frequently ends in blood. This is the general education of all the great, and there are few exceptions; the poor and middling sort are only curbed by the shortness of their finances; for as soon as they acquire money, they tread in the steps of their superiors. Here, then, you see the deeds of that perfidy and sensuality, which are the distinguishing qualities of an Indian

Moor; qualities, that would long since have destroyed the whole race of them, had they not been continually supplied with new recruits from their original country.

The Pytans, as I said before, are settled in numerous colonies in the interior of India, and chiefly in the barren and mountainous parts, and appear to be the descendants of those Arabs, who came in from the gulph of Persia, whose power was broke by Tamerlane and his successors; but such, who had got possession of any country difficult & of access, maintained themselves there, and their descendants are the best soldiers of the empire, but are detested by the Moguls, who look on them to exceed themselves in perfidiousness and cruelty. They make a trade of hiring themselves out, and if they have an opportunity, make no scruple of dethroning the power (21) which hires them. As to the Afghan Pytans, they seldom continue here, they only make incursions for plunder, and return with their booty. The Gusecs, Calmucs, and the various tribes of Tartars, who come to settle here, when they first arrive, are a bold, hardy, martial people. Their rusticity, and the barbarity of their manners, are greatly derided by the oldick standers. They generally bring a good horse with them, and are sure to be taken into service, for they are reckoned more faithful than other Mahometans. They begin as a simple cavalier, and are perferred by degrees, till some of them come to great commands. At first they abhor the sensuality and effeminacy of their masters; but by degrees their native manners wear off, they adopt the luxury they despised, they marry the women of the country, and their children or at the utmost their grand-children, have nothing remaining of their Tartar origin; like our English hounds, when sent abroad, the first breed of which retains some little of the qualities of a hound, but the next are no better than ours.

The Persians are but a small number; and on account of the fairness of their complexion, and their politeness, are favourably received at court, the great men being desirous of marrying them to their daughters, that they may keep up the

complexion of their family; for degenerate as the Moors are, they are proud of their origin, and as the Mungul Tartars are a fair complexioned people, a man takes his rank in some measure from his colour. As to the slaves bred up to the Mahometan religion, they are much such a race as the converts the Portuguese make to their religion; they are destitute of all the commendable qualities of the Gentoos, and acquire only the bad ones of the Mahometans. I am sensible I have altogether given the Moors a detestable character; and I am sorry to say it is so universally true, that I never knew above two or (22) three exceptions, and those were, among the Tartar and Persian officers of the army, whose native manners were not yet utterly corrupted.

Hospitality is, I think, the only virtue they can pretend to. It seems to be a refuge from the oppression of the government; and many of them scruple a breach of faith with any man they have entertained under their roof. By this you would think friendship was a sacred bond among them. True, it is ever in their mouths, but rarely in their hearts, and it is a word seldom used but to deceive. Their friendship like their devotion is all ostentation; they will drink a dram in the intervals between each prayer, though all spirituous liquors are forbid by their laws, and they will stab while they embrace you; for which reason the great men never embrace but on the left, that the person they embrace may not come at their dagger with their right hand. The Mahometans in other parts of the world are enthusiasts to their religion; but here the sects of Osman and Ali never disagree about who was the lawful successor to the caliphate, if they agree about the succession to the government they live under. There are but few mosques, still fewer priests, and the great men, though, by habit, vastly punctual in their private devotions, rarely go to the public mosques.

The Moors may be divided into two characters; those who aspire at power, and those who are in possession of it. The former are brave, active, vigilant and enterprising, sometimes faithful to

into the families of the great, if they engage in any plot, are sue to betray them, but oftner give false information against the innocent for the sake of reward. The person informed against, ignorant whence the information comes, in self-preservation informs against his nearest friends. Thus mutual good faith, the bond of society, is broke, and treachery and suspicion embitter every hour of their lives; but still such measures answer the end of the government as far as the inspection of the supreme power extends; but in all these great unwieldy empires, they have no check on the distant provinces; and a governor has no sooner taken the oath of allegiance, than he plots how to break it with security. In vain are all precautions, where there is no check but fear; whatever calls the Emperor from the centre of his dominions, affords the opportunity of a revolt; and this is the source of all their revolutions. Money is here, if I may so express myself, the essence of power; for the soldiers know no other attachment than their pay, and the richest party soon becomes the strongest.

Another principal cause of the frequent revolutions in this country is, their strange error in the government of thair armies. One would expect to see good sense in their military establishment at least. Their whole force is divided into great commands, and the pay is issued from the treasury to the respecrve generals. Hence the soldiers regard only the man from whom they receive their pay, and are intirely at his devotion, except indeed the Emperor's or Subah's body-guard which he pays himself, and he only endeavours to keep a kind of balance of power among those great officers; he does not study to attach the whole to (29) himself, only a majority, the rest he awes with his power, and makes them fight from fear; and, what is more extraordinary, he keeps his troops greatly in arrear, from a mistaken notion, that they will be true to him, from the fear of

losing their pay. The consequence is, that if the invader offers fair, he wins over the general officers to him, and a revolution is at once effected; or else they refuse to take the field, till their arrears are paid, and perhaps the treasury is too low to satisfy them, and by this delay, the enemy have time to gather strength; and finally, when the day of action comes, they draw their swords but faintly, having no great motive to inspire them with courage, while the invaders are pushed on by the hope of reward and plunder. On the other side again, when the Emperors or Subahs have secured a majority of their general officers, and desire to dismiss a part of their force, they absolutely refuse the pay that is justly due to them, and make them and their soldiers quit the country, or perhaps follow them with a body of troops, and cut them in pieces.

I now flatter myself, to have explained to you the sources of the frequent revolutions among these people. An Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the government. It is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference, whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar; for they feel all the ~~most~~ curses of power without any of the benefit, but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only state worse than that they endure.

I am, etc.

There is no forming a general character for so vast a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin in the latitude 6°, to Lahore in 30°. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the dissolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters, differing according to the climate, the tribes and the government. But in justice to the Gentoo religion and customs, I must say, that, before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatick country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind: Everything (12) seemed calculated to remote agriculture and manufactures.

A-XIII/12(Cii)

The fruitfulness of these hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy season being here of very short duration, the preservation of the water is a principal object: For which reason the high lands are bounded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains; and these reservoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleasing and refreshing shade; and every two or three miles are stone-buildings called Choultrys, for the convenience of travellers, who always find Bramins attending to furnish them with waters: And so free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an instance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchants, who generally pass this country, have seldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the Lord of that spot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects, or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the Weavers carry on their

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British Museum: Scrafton: Letter I: (Extract)

manufactures, and, if the soil will admit,  
there is a handsome stone reservoir, called  
a Tank.

In the capital of every considerable district is generally a large temple or pagoda, some of them most stupendous buildings, all of stone, the outside from top to bottom adorned with little images, representing the histories of their gods, and too often their armours, full as bad as any of the ancients. These pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by successive generations of them, for some of them appear to be the work of ages. They consist of several courts, which contain places (13) for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are some thousands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country assigned them for their support.

The Bramins, who in other respects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however strongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their happy transmigration. Happily for the country they have grafted a vanity on this virtue, which promotes and extends its good effects. It is the height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children, than if their parents had left them immense wealth.

What greater proof need we of the goodness of the government, than the immense revenue their country yields; many of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of country equal to our richest countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. And I have been told, that the Gentoes of the northern provinces still preserve the Gentoo purity and simplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly subdued. The successors of Tamerlane made fierce and constant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave resistance, and were

at last convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the first who entered into a treaty with them; his example was followed by succeeding emperors; and they long proved an excellent barrier against the Afghauns and the northern Tartars. But when the emperors degenerated into lewd monsters and tyrants, they forsook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was exposed to (14) the invasion of the Maharattas, the Persians, and lastly, of the Afghauns.

The most extensive Gentoo government is that of the Mharattas, who have now almost overturned the whole empire, of which more when I come to speak of their government and history. I shall only observe here, that they have vastly deviated from the true Gentoo character. The military spirit that has prevailed among them for the two last centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is banished; and their Rajahs have laid waste their own country by their oppression, almost as much as that of their enemies, while the generals of their army and their soldiery are grown immensely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul empire. There are a number of Rajahships interspersed throughout India, which by the advantageous situation of the country, have either never been subdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preserving their own religion and laws. Such is the Rajahship of Tanjour, the Rajah of which two years ago repulsed the veterans of France, commanded by Lieutenant General Lally.

X  
We read in the ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who I incline to think were a set of philosophers rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in astronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very possible they had just pretensions to that character, but in all these eastern countries, if any man possesses any secret of nature, he only considers how he shall make use of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration;

and therefore the key of the Arcana is trusted to very few. For example, I was amazed to see, that the Bramins could foretel an eclipse; and yet ask them the nature of it, and they tell you an absurd story of a dragon laying hold of the sun, and they teach the people (15) to run into the river and make all the noise they can, which they persuade them will frighten the dragon away. This led me to enquire into it, and I found that they are possessed of a list of eclipses calculated for some thousand years to come. Now, whoever made this list must certainly have known the motions of the heavenly bodies, whereby it was occasioned; but it is the system of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only by taking advantage of their ignorance. Therefore we are not to wonder at the excesses they run into in judicial astrology, which they carry indeed to the highest degree of folly. Their almanac, composed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that presides over everyday, but over every hour, every minute, and every action; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without consulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumstances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the south; some days are so entirely taken up by evil spirits, that they abstain from all manner of business; and a clap of thunder at once breaks their resolutions, let the almanac say what it will. So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted; and his veto is as effectual as that of a tribune in the Roman senate; the stress they lay on this really makes it of great consequence, and the general who should march in army against the opinion of the astrologer, would be as much condemned, as the Roman general who fought, though the chicken would not feed.

After having said so much on the customs and religion of the Gentoos, I think I may venture to say on the whole, that [The Gentoos,

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uninfluenced by the Mahometans, (16) are a meek, superstitious charitable people, a character formed by their temperance, customs, and religion. They are almost strangers to many of those passions that form the pleasure and pain of our lives. Love, at least all the violent tumults of it, is unknown to the Gentoos, by their marrying so young, and by the little intercourse they have with other women; ambition, is effectually restrained by their religion, which has, by insurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited sphere; and all those follies, arising from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abstaining from all intoxicating liquors. But from hence also, they are strangers to that vigor of mind, and all the virtues grafted on those passions which animate our more active spirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this saying from some favourite book: "It is better to sit than to walk, to lie down than to sit, to sleep than to wake, and death is best of all." Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, straves all the natural passions and leaves them only avarice, which preys most on the narrowest minds. This bias to avarice is also prompted by the oppression of the government, for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their subjects rise above mediocrity; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a subject as a boy does on a bird's nest; he eyes their progress with impatience, then comes with a spoiler's hand, and ravishes the fruit of their labour. To counter-act this, the Gentoos bury their money under ground, often with such secrecy as not to trust even their own children with the knowledge of it; and it is amazing ~~how~~ what they will suffer rather than betray it. When their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal punishments on them, they threaten to defile them, but even that often fails; for resentment (17) prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poison themselves, and carry the secret to the grave; and the sums lost in this manner, in some measure account why the silver in India does not appear to increase, though there are such quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

X  
the party they engage with; but once in possession of power, they seem to have sought it only to abuse it, by making it subservient to their sensuality. The charms of the seraglio at once disarm them, they abandon themselves to their pleasures, and seem to be fattening themselves up for a sacrifice to some one that possesses those qualities themselves have lost. (23)

Y  
Having said thus much of their character, I shall endeavour to explain how government can subsist with so little virtue.

✓  
As I before observed, the universality of the Gentoo religion throughout the continent should imply, that there also subsisted an universal empire; but no accounts we have of India go far enough back to prove it; for in Alexander the Great's time, it appears to have been divided into great Rajahships, whose Rajahs were continually at war with each other. Then ensues a long chasm in our knowledge of them. When the Portuguese first rounded the Cape of Good Hope, they found, that the Arabs had made several conquests along the sea shore, and had even penetrated along the open country upto Delhi. As they must have come by sea, it is highly probable their force was not very great; and their progress must have been owing to the intestine wars of the Rajahs. When Tamerlane came in, he over-powered them with mighty armies; but though he is called conqueror of India, he seems to have conquered only the open country. The vast tract of country, from the Indus to the Ganges, was unsubdued nor had he made any great progress in the eastern provinces; and it was not till the time of Aurangezebe, that the Tartar arms penetrated into the Deccan and Carnatic; and even he did not make a perfect conquest of them, for he was on an expedition against the Mharattas when he died. Thus the Tartar conquest was never perfect; for their government was so weakened, by the various struggles for the succession, on the death of every emperor, but more by their abandoning themselves so totally to the pleasures of the seraglio, that it never took any deep root; and even two thirds of what they had conquered, was still left in the hands of the old Rajahs families, in consideration of their paying a certain sum

annually to the viceroys appointed by the Mogul over each (24) particular province. Thus the Mahometan lawa never extended further than the capital cities; and even there the old customs were still regarded. This is one happy effect of the tenaciousness of the Gentoos to their own religion; for had they turned Mahometans, they would indeed have been the most abject and wretched of the human species.

I am amazed to see, that all the writers have asserted, that there are no laws in this country; that the land is not hereditary; and that the emperor is universal heir. I am ready to allow, there are no written institutions; no acts of parliament; and that there is no power to controul the emperor; but I must assert, that they proceed in their courts of justice by established precedents; that the lineal succession, where there are children, is as indefeasible here as in any country that has no check on the supreme power; and that the emperor is heir to none but his own officers. Although the Tartars, from their roving life in their own wild country where they live in tents, require few laws, and no settled police, yet they could distinguish the use of them in the countries they conquered; and accordingly, both in China and India, they made no innovation, so that the old Gento lawa still previl. The most immutable of these is the hereditary right to all lands, which even extends to the tenants. The lord of the manor has an uncontested right, as long as he pays the usful tax to the government; so also the tenant under him cannot be removed while he pays his lord the usual rate; and the sum at which each acre is valued, as also the taxes to the government are wrote and preserved in the country books, and can never be exceeded. These laws against oppression, and instituted, as barriers against the demesnes of the crown, which on the expulsion of the great Rajahs families, fell to the Tartar conqueror; and for the Jaghire lands, which (25) are lands bestowed by the crown out of its demesnes to the Omrahs,

for the support of their forces, which, on the death of the possessor, revert to the crown; but even this regards only the lordship of the lands; for under these the right of the tenants is indefeasible.

These laws continued in full force, till the invasion of Nadir Shah; and till that time there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufacturers, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression, but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power: but when the governors of the provinces found the weakness of the Mogul, and each set up for sovereign in his own province, although they would not break through these immutable laws, they invented new taxes under new names, which doubled or trebled the original ones, and which the land-holder was obliged to levy on his tenants. The old stock of wealth for some time supported this; but when that failed, and the tenants were still pressed for more, they borrowed of usurers at an exorbitant interest; and the government still continuing these demands, the lords of the land were obliged to do the same; but as all this while the value of the lands did not increase, the consequence was, that, at last, unable to pay the interest of the mortgages, the rents were seized by rapacious usurers. The government finding the revenues fall shorter every year, at last sent collectors and farmers of the revenues into the provinces. Thus the lord of the land was divested of the power over his country, and the tenants exposed to merciless plunderers; till the farmer and manufacturer finding the more they laboured, the more they paid, the manufacturer would work no more, the farmer cultivate no more, than was necessary for the bare subsistence of his family. Thus this once flourishing and plentiful country, has in the course of a few years, been reduced to such misery, that many (26) thousands are continually perishing through want. The crown lands are still worse off; let out to the highest bidder, the farmer of them looks no farther than to make the most of his short time; and the Jaghire lands alone remain

unplundered. Hence that equal distribution of wealth, that makes the happiness of a people and spreads a face of cheerfulness and plenty through all ranks, has now ceased; and the riches of the country are settled partly in the hands of a few usurers, and greedy courtiers, and the rest is carried out of the country, by the foreign troops taken into pay to maintain the governors in their usurpation. This unhappy decay the Indian company have already experienced, in the decline of their trade, and rise of the price of their manufactures, and will, I fear, experience more and more annually.

I would always have you carry in your mind, that these grievances have arisen only since the invasion of Nadir Shah, from the disproportionate number of forces kept up by the revolted governors, whose necessities have led them into these oppressive measures, and not from the nature of the government; for, till within these very few years, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their ease, than under this government; nor is there a part of the world, where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactories, and rich merchants, were proofs sufficient.

Unhappily for the Gentoos, themselves are made the ministers of oppression over each other; the Moormen, haughty, lazy, and voluptuous, make them, of whom they have no jealousy, the ministers of their oppression, ~~which~~ which further answers the end of dividing them, and prevents their uniting to fling off the yoke; and by the strange intoxication of power, they are found still more cruel and rapacious than their foreign masters; and what (27) is more extraordinary, the Bramins still exceed the rest in every abuse of power, and seem to think, if they bribe God by bestowing a part of their plunder on cows and Faquires, their iniquities will be pardoned. Yet at the same time, ~~as~~ they serve

their tyrants with fear and trembling. There is no further connection between them than the use they are of to each other. The Gentoo, cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in application, is urged on by the prospect of enriching himself, while his master finds means and leisure to give himself up to the delights of his seraglio; But as his profuseness is still more than his minister can supply, in his first exigence he seizes on him, and puts him to the torture to discover his secret hoard. If the sum he gets by this means answers his expectation, he reinstates him in his former authority; if not, he cuts off his head and puts another of the same stamp in his room. Thus all money affairs are in the hands of the Gentoos. Not only those of the government, but every Moorman of rank and every merchant has his Gentoo agent, who keeps his accounts, and is the petty tyrant over his tyrant's slaves. Thus much for the management of the revenues.

With respect to the executive part depending on power, the government of the Moors borders so near on anarchy, you would wonder how it keeps together. Here every man maintains as many armed men as the state of his finances will admit, and the degree of submission is proportioned to the means of resistance; and the grand mystery of their politics is to foment this disunion. Whenever any subject becomes formidable either by his wealth or power, they prefer the silent execution of assassination to that of public justice, lest a criminal, publicly arraigned, should prove as a standard for the seditious to repair to.

Loyalty and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown, and when they cease to fear, they cease<sup>(28)</sup> to obey; but to keep their fears and mistrusts in perpetual agitation, whole legions of spies are entertained by the government; these are dispersed all over the country, and insinuating themselves

88

~~to his sons, his grandsons,  
to his ministers, and principal nobles; to which is  
prefixed his will. Translated from the Persian, by JOSEPH EARLES,  
Calcutta, 1788, 130p.80: above is Letter XCVII(97), p.50, and is  
addressed to his grandson by Aurangzebe. (The book is in the  
British Museum: No. 14779.a.14)~~

In the times of his Majesty Jennet@ Mukani the Khalsa revenues amounted annually to 28 crores of daums, and the expenses of his Majesty's government to a crore and fifty lacs of rupees; so that he expended during his reign, seven crores of rupees, besides Asherfies@@, which were left him by his Majesty Arsh@@ Asfani.

At his demise a crore of rupees remained in the Royal Treasury, and his Majesty Saheb Keran@@ Sani, who exceeded all the princes of his time in knowledge, discernment, and judgement in the nature of affairs, brought 60 crores of daums in specie annually into the Khalsa Treasury, and limited the royal expences to one crore of rupees.

footnotes

① An inhabitant of Paradise. The Emperor Jehangier.  
② Gold Mohurs.

③ At the threshold of the Empyrean Heaven, or the foot of the throne of God. The Emperor Akber the Father of Jehangier.  
④ The second Lord of Ages. Timur or Tamerlane was the first who bore this title, because his reign exceeded a Kiren, the singular of Keran, or a period of 30 years. The Emperor Shah Jeha — All the Emperors of the race of Timur are distinguished after their decease by some such appellations as the two former of these, by which they are thence as well known as they were by their proper names.

\*from Letters of the Emperor Aurung-zebe, to his sons, his grandsons, his ministers, and principal nobles; to which is prefixed his will. Translated from the Persian, by JOSEPH EARLES, Calcutta, 1788, 130p.80: above is Letter XCVII(97), p.50, and is addressed to his grandson by Aurangzebe. (The book is in the British Museum: No. 14779.a.14)

Barthn Iugdai  
Travel Account

(Ballasore Bearers)

IV

A-XIII/14

(9) From this part of Orissa, which lies between this and Cettai, come all that people which the English improperly call Ballasore Bearers. This circumstance contributes also in some measure to the depopulation of this country, for altho' this people stretch the levitacal law, so far, that a brother not only raises up seed to another after his decease, but even during his absence on service and by that means no woman lies idle, and altho' few of these who go to Bengall settle there, yet as they return with some money, and with hands softened by the luxury of Calcutta, they ever after choose to leiter after a herd of cattle than to apply to the labour of the plough and a tract of land to supply that herd with pasture would be sufficient for the support of 30 families if applied to the purposes of agriculture.

(10) The bearers of Calcutta form a commonwealth, the most politic in the world. They have for their motto concordia res parva crescunt, and by concord alone have they made themselves masters of the conquerors of Indestan. They have a Ferramnick or judge, and hold frequent councils, in which every thing is settled for the good of the community, and when a resolution is formed neither strifes nor bonds must cause any member to recede; if he does he is banished ab aris et focis.

The air of Bengall has a surprising effect on them, for here they are reported by their neighbours to be the greatest thieves on earth, whereas there they are trusted with every thing. It is true they have bye-laws which make it impossible almost to detect them in case of a robbery. For by them, first a bearer is to prejure himself, rather than accuse another and secondly; they will suffer none but their brethren to enter their houses, pretending they shall lose cast, whereas it is well-known an European may go into the house of a Bramin, and it will have no other effect, than obliging him to break his earthen pots. They have gained their present ascendance over the English by taking advantage of the zuling passion at Calcutta indolence, for if a person incurs the displeasure of this worshipfull society, he may walk till he dies of a fever. I have known them carry their authority so far as to fine a poor gentleman for accidentally spitting in his servant's face, though the man was no more defiled by it than by his own urine nor had it any other consequence than obliging him to wash before he eat: but the society regarding it as an insult it was his place to submitt. Many other absurdities have they made by their union the English swallow. Was that union as firmly engaged in the most glorieus of causes the defence of their native country, the Marhattas would never be able to keep them in subission.

Bedleian: Dep b 66: (copyright: Miss Margaret Dickinsen, Bisham Grange, Marlow, Bucks). Titled 'Journey of a March from Ballasore to Semulpeor'. Dated 1766. 36 pages. Author George Vansittart, member of the council of Bengal. The above extract ends at the bottom of page 10 except for two lines of a new para.

pp. 19..... It is surprising to me how the gardeners in this country have stole from the Bommins the right of officiating in the temple of Roodur and Bawanee. Was a person of that cast to do so in Bengall, all the Bommins would rise against him, and thunder the most shocking anathamas against them. It is certain the Bommins originally confined the priesthood to their own tribe. It is certain the priesthood is beneficial because the priests hold everywhere large tracts of land in the name of their God rent free, besides keep the management of all the lands appropriated to religious purposes in their hands. By what means then the laity have been admitted to share this advantage with them I cannot conceive. I enquired of a Bommin regarded as a man of bearing. He told me Roodur and his family were so jealous and punished the least omission in their duty (p. 20) with so much severity, that the Bommins not caring to serve him longer gave up that office, reserving to themselves only the right of officiating to Wisnoo or Jagunant. This is scarce possible for the Gentoos being actuated rather by fear than by God are much more generous in their offerings to the God that hurts them, than to him that does them good, and the service of Roodur is consequently is much more advantageous than that of Wishnuc. The Bommins of this country have thus lost the means of supporting themselves without labour, are more illiterate than those in Bengall, which has also an effect on their religion, in the practice whereof they are not near so strict, selling and even eating fowls, creatures held in so great abomination by all other Bommins, that if one of them alights on their house it obliges them to break all their earthen water potts.

Opposite this part of the Bankey country on the other side of the river is the chuchla of Tixorea, the Raja of which is named Chumput Sing. This Raja has taken great pains to improve his country by keeping it in a state of tranquility. When Sheesoo Butt wanted the zemindaries of Dinkanol and Burrumba, because they did not pay their rents, he invited the weavers who fled from thence to settle in his country at the village of Mid Patna, to which place he annexed extraordinary privileges, and has since given all possible encouragement to merchants. That place therefore bids fair to be a flourishing aurung if not nipped in the bud by the rapacity of the Marhattas.

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Bodleian Oxford: Dep b66: Journal of a March from Ballasor to Somulpoor: Dated 1766 pp. 36

pp. 25.....(Puddamtolu....10 miles from Burnule)....They grow no grain or pulse but such as ripen in the rainy season, as for such as ripen in March and April, they are entirely neglected, because the inhabitants expect the Marhattas to over run the country in those months.

The policy of the Marhattas in the government of those parts, appears at first shocking, but a more close examination on the principles of the eastern nations convinces us that it is adapted to the manners of the inhabitants and to the situation of the country. To a son of liberty taught, that government was intended for the protection of every individual and that the meanest, who finds himself oppressed by it has a right to complain and be redressed, if such redress is not (in) consistent with the common weal, it will appear strange that a sovereign, the head servant of the state, should march an army into any countries subject to him, and suffer it to live at discretion until the inhabitants agree to pay a sum to support that army, and keep it in readiness to play the same game the next year. He will at once pronounce that to give money to be employed for your own destruction is unnatural. While an inhabitant of the eastern world, whom the climate invites to ease the desire of which arms him with a stoical indifference, forbid by natural suspicion of his temper from forming such an alliance with his neighbour as may protect them both, submits to any thing he cannot alone resist and bred up with the most abject notions of subordination, in the midst of his misery impiously pronounces it the will of God. At the same time a mean cunning ever the attendant of a servile disposition, make it a folly to repose the least confidence in them.

When Rogoojee entered Orissa at the instigation of Meer Hubbid, who had fled disgusted from Allivudi Khan's service in 1738, he found all these parts divided into small zeminiars dependent on the Rajah of Pooree at whose capital the famous Temple of Jagguanat is. Suspicious of this Rajah's power, he made all the zeminiaries dependent on Cottai; and thus formed the Chuclas of Dinkanol, Bonkay, Nusingpoor, Tigorea, Tolchari, Cundea, Parra, Duppullor, Hindole, Ungool and Boad. The four first are kept in order, by the neighbourhood of Cottai, the others are refractory, and make their payments, only when they have an army at their doors. Since his time the Marhattas finding the revenues of these countries not sufficient to pay a force sufficient to keep them in awe usually march their troops after the rains, and (redue?) what they can from them. If this like all other eastern armies lives at discretion, the Rajah only is to be blamed for bringing such vengeance on his country, but not being punctual in his payments.

Bodleian Oxford: Dep 666: Journal of a March from Ballasor to Somulpoor: Dated 1766 pp. 36

pp.31.....The ordinary revenues of the country are paid in kind and the regulation of it is easy for each village being rented at a certain number of measures of rice in the husk, the ground is again rated at a certain number of measures of rice to the inhabitants. In this manner a person being of a proper age is enrolled as a fighting man and allowed for his subsistence half a measure of rice per day and three rupees per annum for clothing. As much arable land is then made over to him as it is rated at 202-1/3 measures. Of this he (is?) to pay the Rajah 60-5/6 measures and the remainder is for his own use. The land is given in charge of the wife who feeds him and provides for paying the rent, and if it produces more than it is rated at, it is her profit, if less, her loss. The reserved rent of three or four villages being always one fourth of the value of the land are applied to the use of the Rajah's household, the reserved rent of the rest is given to his relation or principal servants of the village dependent on them. The extra revenues consist of duties on merchants and others passing through the country and of fines. The former are not settled but depend on the conscience of the Rajah, and indeed within (those? three?) years since he robbed and plundered a Nagpoor merchant of considerable wealth, near this place, none have passed this way. The latter also are entirely arbitrary, nor is it necessary to find a man guilty of any crime in order to fine him in a country where money (cannot be acquired?) by means prejudicial to society.

With respect to the power of government the Rajah is arbitrary, but idly delegating all his authority to his servants and he cannot resume it without murdering them, for if they get any notice of their approaching disgrace and find themselves not a match for the Rajah, they fly to the village, the reserved rent of which belongs to them, and assembling the people of it, stand on their defence. This will be better explained by an history of the last three years.

In the year 1763, Ajeet Sing was Rajah and Dwan Roy Duvan. This man taking advantage of his master's indolence acquired such an ascendance over him, that he directed everything according to his own will and pleasure. At length some busy body roused the Rajah, and represented the extreme dependance of his situation. The Rajah privately consulted with the people about (p.32) and reflecting it would be dangerous to attack the Dewan the Dewan openly because he had so many villages dependent on him, resolved to get him assassinated. This resolution suited the genius of the natives who were very sensible in the midst of (his) disturbances, consequent on such assassination, the plunier of the Dewan's house would fall their share, they therefore readily came to the place, and the Rajah

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Bodleian Oxford: Dep b66: Journal of a March from Ballasor to Somulpoor: Dated 1766 pp.36

having on the 16th June, ordered the Publick Hall to be cleared of every body except the Dewan, on pretense that the Ranee~~s~~ would pass through it in her way to a Temple whither she was going to pay her devotions and would then speak to him. He not suspecting anything, but waiting for her, when eight or ten ruffians, who ~~had been~~ had been concealed for the purpose rushed out and cut him to pieces. This was the signal for plundering his house which the populace instantly did, and although the Rajah sent a party to secure his share of the booty, he got scarce any thing.

pp. 33.....The forces of the Rajah consist of all the men able to bring and bear arms and may amount to 15,000. These are allowed each two pounds of rice per day, when upon service about 500 of them are armed with matchlocks, and these receive higher pay than the rest, who have only swords and shields and bows and arrows.

If a state of ignorance is a state of nature, the inhabitants of this country, are perfect naturals, since as they are as naked with respect to rational improvements, as when they were born. The men are all military, and leave labor to the women, nay so indelicate are they in that respect that I have been introduced to and embraced by a man of consequence in the morning, whose wife in the afternoon was cutting, as much as she would stagger under, and sold it me for a penny. This soon destroys the softness of the sex, which the husbands do not at all reject being addicted in the greatest degree to the most abominable of vices. (Pathicks) are so much encouraged that it is safer to insult the Rajah, than to affront one of them, nay so far do they carry their insolence, that they will not suffer a female prostitute in the streets, and a poor little whore which I countenanced for the use of my family was afraid to venture out of doors for fear of being pulled to pieces. They often insult the married women, who do not fail to exercise the female weapon with great success on them and sometimes proceed to blows, though then they come off with the worst because the husbands always take the part of their minions. This is doubtless (p. 34) a mortification in the most sensible part, however it seems as a spur to the industry of their women by which they get the command of the purse and are able to buy the favours of their husbands or of other able men, for those who are addicted to this abominable crime usually become impotent towards the female sex. I have been more than once requested to join in effecting the destruction of the female Durvan. I had granted it since they are evidently of the female sex. They are very abstemious eating only once in every 24 hours and that in the evening. Their meat is then two pounds of rice, and they keep the water in which it is boiled for drinking the next day - raw water being apt to give them a flux. The Pathicks are the only dancers of this place, but the dewan understanding I would not admit them into my house, sent twenty miles for two dancing girls to amuse me. (end of 34 page).

Bolts 1772

On the Mogul Empire Before the Invasion of Nader Shah

A XIII/15

Toemoor Beg, otherwise called Toemoor Lung, or Tamerlane, invaded Hindostan about the 1397th year of Christ, or the 800th of the Higerah, where he was guilty of abundant ravages and murders; but soon retired to his own country, and never visted India more.

It was not till about the year 1520, that Baber, one of his descendants, got possession of Dehly, seated himself on the throne of Hindostan, and properly established the Mogul empire in India; the duration of which has not much exceeded two hundred years, with various degrees of fortune, figure, and prosperity.

The principles of the Mogul government were however so moderate and mild, that while the empire did continue to flourish, it certainly must have been more owing to the prejudices and peculiarities of the people, than to any faults in their rulers, that they did not grow powerful in proportion to their prosperity. As the court of Delhi always appeared ready to give every kind of encouragement to the commercial intercourses of other nations with the natives of Hindostan, we may reasonably suppose they would have been equally ready to favour any commerce, which their own subjects had discovered an inclination to prosecute with distant countries, especially as all ~~suppk~~ scruples of a religious nature must have been entirely out of the question; for the Christian could not have been more offensive than the Hindoo religion to a Mahomedan government. But indeed it does not appear, that they ever much concerned themselves about the religion either of their own Indian subjects, or of those who traded with them. All people who went to deal in India found welcome and indulgence from the Sovereigns of the country: from which practice we

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British Museum: 146.d.5(I Vol.); W. Bolts (1772)  
Considerations on Indian Affairs: pp.12-21  
(Extracts)

we may infer, that they would as willingly have encouraged a spirit of commerce as of manufacturing, in the natives of India; to which they probably had not unfrequently been invited by the sovereigns of many other countries. Such was at least the case with respect to England; for both Queen Elizabeth and her successor did give them such encouragement. And as such would have been the best means that could be devised for establishing in their country a maritime power, which must equally have added to their political importance and national strength, (both of which were always favourite (14) objects to Mahomedan governments) they would form policy have been inclined to favour such undertakings. And we may the more readily suppose them capable of comprehending a system of policy like this, as we know their right ideas of the advantages resulting from manufacturing induced them to give every encouragement to the practice, even in some instances considerably to the lessening of their own revenues by so doing.

The lands of Hindostan were principally the property of the Moguls, and almost the whole of their income arose from the rents of them; the rest of their revenues consisting of little else than a few low rated port and inland duties. Yet to so very stiff attentive were they always to the manufacturing interest, and of course to the welfare and prosperity of their people, that in the prosperous times of the Mogul government the rents of their lands were always kept extremely low; though of late years the rates\* of them may at least be supposed to have doubled. The ancient laws of Hindostan indeed prohibited any advancement of the rents of the lands on those who really occupied them, nor could the agreements be violated that were made with such tenants, so long as they continued the regular payment of their rents; which surely may be considered as remarkable

\* See letter from Mr. Sykes to the Select Committee at Calcutta, No. XXXIX in the Appendix, page 140. And likewise Mr. Holwell's letter to the Board of Directors in London dated December 1765. Historical Events, Part I, page 222, etc.: It may be proper just to mention here what will be enlarged on hereafter, that there were two ways of paying those rents, according to stipulations. One by a fixed value in money, as rent is now paid in this kingdom; the other by a part of the products of lands, paid in money, according to the rates of the markets when due.

instances of royal attention to the welfare of the state, the happiness and effectual protection of the people, and of extraordinary moderation in a government that was despotic, especially in so interesting an object as that of the revenue, and even the principal part of it: for those rents were made to answer almost every purpose of taxation for supporting the establishments of a splendid court and great empire. Such was the wise and benignant internal policy, and such were the humane and just laws of the Mogul government.

By such judicious regulations, provisions were rendered cheap; and as there were no kinds of burthensome levies on the people of Hindostan, the rates of all labour were consequently very low; so that manufactures were thereby made so favourable in prices, that they forced their own sale in the remotest regions of the globe; which caused such treasures to stream from all quarters into those countries that produced them, as kept Hindostan enriched, beyond comparative example in the records of time. A quick succession, however, of rapacious masters (15) since, with a total change of policy and practice, have of late years been as rapidly impoverishing those countries again.

So likewise, in order to encourage the purchase of such manufacturers, those Princes manifested equal wisdom and generosity in granting to foreign traders their royal firmauns\* of exemption

\* Exemptions from such duties, to favour a beneficial trade that was carried on by foreigners, were certainly wise measures; as were likewise the fixing of low import duties on things necessary or useful; and more especially when they served to promote a mutual traffic which, upon the whole, had been experienced to be extremely profitable. But on the contrary, nothing can be more absurd than to value a trade, however losing on the balance, for the import-duties, or internal taxes which it is made to occasion consumers to pay; because direct or indirect national profit should be the only public end in view, from either prosecuting or encouraging any kind of foreign commerce.

from the payment of all duties; which was lessening another branch of the revenue, for the generous purpose of promoting public prosperity, and the reverse of what was ever practised either by ignorance or tyranny.

(From prepage.....of Foot Note)

Yet it has not been uncommon to hear the value of the India trade of this kingdom estimated by the duties and taxes which government has been enabled to levy on such commodities, imported from Asia to be consumed in this country; which is judging contrary to every principle of sound policy. Suppose, for example, we paid yearly a million balance to India, for tea, coffee, callicoes, muslins, wrought silks, and other articles of luxury which we could well do without, in order to enable government annually to raise two millions by taxes on the people; government would, in such case, be actually purchasing those powers of taxation at fifty per cent loss to the state, besides injuring the industry of the nation in an equal degree: for manufactures to answer all the purposes of those so imported, and even coffee, might be produced in the British dominions. As for tea, we had better not consume it at all; because it is expensive in the purchase, and many ways hurtful in its use. It should therefore be thought the reverse of good policy to encourage unnecessary, or pernicious imports, merely for the sake of the duties and taxes on them which are paid by consumers at home; because so much as the people are able to pay to government might be drawn from them by means that would neither prove hurtful to themselves or injurious to the state.

In like manner, since this nation has acquired immense territories in India, which must constitutionally be the property of the state, it is strange policy to suffer annual revenue of several millions to be there made subservient to a branch of national trade which is prosecuted under a direction that must be incompetent for good government, and is without sufficient power for the protection of extensive dominions. The revenues and preservation of large, populous and wealthy provinces are now with regard to India, the great objects of this country, and not the concerns of a company of natives and foreigners, who are carrying on a trade that is in many ways hurtful, and may, upon the whole, be likewise a losing one to the kingdom.

It must then have been the fault of the Hindoo people, and not of their Mahomedan government, that India did not many ages past figure as much in commerce abroad as in manufacturing at home; and she would thereby not only have acquired the valuable arts of the western nations, of many of which she is yet much in want, but likewise what would have been above all, probably such maritime power as might have effectually protected her against any nation on that element. (16)

But so entirely did the principles of and manners of the Hindoos prevent their visiting foreign countries, that, not only all their distant maritime commerce, but even their traffic by caravans from the back parts of their own country, together with most of their annual coasting, and much of their inland trade, were prosecuted by foreigners; to which causes must have been greatly owing their weakness in past times, and their present miserable subjugation to a body of the trading subjects of one of the most distantly-situated potentates on the globe.

Had there been ever any material maritime strength in India, which would really have been contrary to the genius of that country, it must have been impossible for the Portuguese either to have acquired or kept possession of the territories which they so long held in Hindostan; for they were always in a state of religious war with the natives, and never able to support a considerable navy. And yet, that they did lose their superiority in Asia at last, was in no degree owing to any power in the Indians, but to their subjugation to Spain, with which nation the Dutch were then desperately contending even for existence as a people. Perhaps the greatest maritime power ever belonging to Hindostan was that of Angria, who (as Grose informs us in his voyage to India, page 130) had the presumption to demand a yearly tribute of twelve lacs of rupees, or an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, from the English Company; to let their ships pass unmolested; and yet we saw his whole power very speedily and effectually destroyed during the late war, by Admiral Watson, with but few ships.

Indeed a free intercourse with remote countries would not have less tended to strengthen them as a military than a maritime power, because all the great improvements which, in late ages, have been made in the art of war, were of European invention, as hath likewise been the case with respect to other useful arts.

To the peculiar religious principles and consequent reserved manners of the people, therefore, may be attributed the continual weakness of Hindostan; and to the excess of their extreme despotism has been owing the instability of their governments. Tyranny was never long secure in any country but Germany; and there, by compact, it has been rendered constitutional: a confederacy of military despots having engaged to be the supporters of each other.

Wealth in other countries is usually considered as the foundation of power; but in Hindostan it has proved otherwise: it has there rather been the source of weakness. The very idea of despotism with riches, is apt to occasion indolence: and with great delegated power servants soon grow to be masters of those whom they appear to obey; of which the History of Hindostan abounds with striking examples. But that the Mogul empire, in the days of its splendor, was one of the most extensive and rich that the world has ever known, was always believed, and of late has been made evident by many writers, from indisputable authorities.

The most authentic account that has been published of the revenues of this empire, while in its flourishing state before the invasion of Nader Shah, is of the region of the Emperor Aurengzebe\*, who died in the year 1707; when the annual revenues are specified to have amounted to (17) thirty seven millions, seven hundred twenty-four thousand, six hundred and fifteen

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\* See Mr. James Fraser's History of the Mogul Emperors, page 35.

pounds sterling\*, the Subahs, or greater governments being rated as follows:-

<u>Subahs</u>	<u>Dams</u>	<u>Pounds Sterling</u>
Dehly	1,221,950,137	3,818,594 3 6
Agra	1,146,760,157	3,583,625 10 0
Azmeer	652,345,362	2,038,579 5 0
Illahabad	456,543,248	1,426,697 13 0
Panjab	826,132,107	2,581,661 16 8
Audih or Owd	822,827,829	1,007,274 10 0
Multan	214,442,936	670,134 3 6
Cabool	161,089,354	503,248 0 0
Cashmeer	229,911,397	718,473 2 4
Guzerat	607,849,185	1,899,529 3 6
Bengal	524,636,240	)
Bahar	407,161,000	1,272,378 2 6
	)	2,911,866 7 6
	)	446,312 10 0
Orissa	142,820,000	3,358,178 17 6
Scind	91,816,810	286,927 10 0
Dowlatabad	1,034,945,100	3,234,203 9 0
Malva	403,901,658	1,262,192 13 6
Berar	614,025,000	1,918,828 2 6
Khandeish	448,630,000	1,401,869 0 0
Bedr	372,974,370	1,165,545 0 0
Hyderabad	1,113,360,000	3,479,250 0 0
Vizapore	1,078,305,000	3,369,703 2 6
Dams**	<u>12,071,876,840</u>	L. St. <u>87,724,615 2 6</u>

Every person well acquainted with Hindostan will allow, if the above sum found its way into the King's treasury at Dehly, that it may, with great moderation, be admitted, twice that sum at

\* In the account of the embassy of Captain William Hawkins to Dehly, it appears the yearly revenue of the Mogul, Shah Seleem, son and successor of the great Akbur, in the year 1610, was rated at fifty millions sterling; and Sir Thomas Roe, another of King James's ambassadors to the Mogul, afterwards confirmed that estimation: but the provinces which were then possessed by the Mogul are not enumerated. See Purchas's Pilgrimes, printed at London 1625 and 1626.

\*\* The land revenues were computed at the court of Dehly by dams, which are here reckoned, according to Mr. Fraser, at forty for each standard, or sicca rupee, and each rupee at two shillings and six pence.

least was collected from the tenants, or husbandmen, as will be made to appear evident to the (18) reader in a following chapter, which will treat of the revenues and methods of collecting them in those countries.

Mr. Holwell, formerly Governor of Bengal\*, asserts, that "the revenues of the ~~uk~~ lands are very nearly in a quadruple proportion to the rents of them." We are therefore certainly secure in estimating them at only half that value; by which calculation we have the sum given us of upwards of seventy-five millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the annual produce of the farmed lands of the Mogul empire in Hindostan about the year 1707.

In further proof of the late grandeur of this empire, it will not be foreign to our purpose to put the reader in mind of some circumstances, as related by others\*\*, attending Nader Shah's invasion of Dehly about the beginning of the year 1739.

The throne of the then emperor, Mahomed Shah, known throughout Hindostan by the name of Tukhte-Tacos, or the Peacock Throne, as taken by that invader, was valued at ten crores of rupees, or about twelve millions and a half sterling; which, together with the other regalia, treasure, and valuables that Nader and his nobals carried away with them, amounted, in the whole, to no less than from seventy to eighty millions sterling. The computation of the damage otherwise done to the capital and its inhabitants on this occasion would scarcely be believed, if it was not so well vouched by Mr. Fraser in his translation of Mitza Zuman of Dehly's very particular journal of the transactions of that period, and also by the concurrent testimonies of many reputable persons still living in Hindostan.

\* Historical Events, Part I, page 219

\*\* See Dow's Hindostan, the first edition, page 26 of the Appendix; and Orme's Indostan, page 23 of the Dissertation. See also Lettres Edifiantes, Paris edition 1741, Vol. 25, pages 448, 452, etc.

traversed, so much as one example of such purity of manners as this gentleman here mentions; though, from evidence that should be thought indisputable, it may be admitted, that there is no reason to think the natives of Hindistan have not in former times been as virtuous and happy as any people whomsoever.

With regard to later times, another modern writer on this subject, assures us\*, "that the laws of Hindostan were wisely instituted as barriers against oppression, and continued in force until the invasion of Nader Shah; till when there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression, but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power. For, till within these very few years, merchants were nowhere better protected, nor more at their ease than under this government: nor is there a part of the world where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactures, and the rich merchants were proofs sufficient."

During the Mogul government, though they had no laws in Hindostan like English acts of parliament, they had various books, written by learned and religious men, containing collections of the Mahomedan immemorial usages and customs, founded on reason and the Koran, which, as in other countries, may be properly called their civil and (20) religious laws; particularly those written or compiled by Baha al Deen Mahomed Aumly, Malek Shafee, Hanbal, and Abul Haneefa; by which the officers of the government were usually guided in their decisions. In cases not capital or criminal, where Hindoos, or Gentoos alone were concerned, particularly in affairs of their casts, or tribes, which are of the most consequence to Hindoos, the matters (excepting where the Mahomedan Governor or the Kazy were more than ordinarily bigotted) were generally left

\* Luks Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Hindostan. Printed 1770, pages 24, 25 and 26.

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\* Luke Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Hindostan. Printed 1770, pages 24, 25 and 26.

to their own Brahmins to be decided according to their Shastras, or ancient Scriptures, of which, as before observed, we have but little knowledge; and, upon decision, a certain duty or fine was levied for the government.

The tenaciousness of the Hindoos to their own ancient customs forced the new comers to this expedient; for as, on the one hand, it was impossible that Mahomedans could conform to the customs of the Hindoos, so, on the other, it was equally impossible for the Hindoos, from the peculiarities of their own civil and religious constitution, to adopt the manners and customs of the Mahomedans, or to receive those invaders into their casts or tribes. But whatever expedient might have been adopted to lessen the great confusion and disorder which must naturally have been introduced on the mixture of two nations so widely different in every religious and political sentiment, it is certain, as we may judge from present experiance that nothing could prevent therefrom a corruption of manners.

All the offices and forms of government at the Court of Hindostan, during the empire of the Moguls, have ever been imitations of the Persian, as the names of them evince; to the keeping up of which, the constant ingress of adventurers from that kingdom, who generally met with a favourable reception at Dehly, must greatly have contributed. Those, therefore, who are desirous of knowing what the Hindostan government, as instituted by the Moguls, should be, if the original were well imitated, may see it in the Chevalier Chardin's\* very particular account of Persia.

Hindostan is in many places greatly favoured by nature for commercial advantages; and the provinces of Bengal, which are the more immediate objects of our considerations, above all others. This Subah of the empire, which was emphatically stiled by the Emperor Aurangzebe, The Paradise of Nations, spontaneously

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\*Voyages en Perse, du Chevalier Chardin

2

produces, in great abundance, almost every thing requisite for the support and even high enjoyment of mankind. No country can be better watered, by a variety of considerable (21) streams falling into or from the great rivers Pudda and Brimhaptre, which render the inland navigation very extensive and convenient for the purposes of trade.\* This great facility of obtaining water, and the natural fertility of the soil, every where assisted by the periodical rains from May to September, render the cultivation of the earth an inviting task, and so easy, as to afford the husbandman great leisure for application even to the arts of manufacturing.

Dehly, without the aid of silver or gold mines, was in her times of prosperity a receptacle into which the gold and silver of the greatest part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted its courses. This great influx of wealth, ~~XXXX~~ was, owing, first, to the extraordinary fruitfulness of the dependent dominions: secondly, to the sober

\* The Indians of Bengal formerly carried on a considerable trade by sea, and had some sort of maritime power, as we read in many parts of Purchas's Collection; particularly, in the year 1607, an account is given of a fleet from the King of Bengal having invaded the Maldivia Islands. It is most probable that this fleet was composed only of coasting boats, such as are still built in some parts of the Bay. But whatever might be the state of such navies heretofore, it is certain that the Indians have not figured in the maritime way since the Portuguese found their way among them round the Cape of Good Hope. However, the late Angria whom we have before mentioned, at Gheria on the Coast of Malabar, gave many signal proofs of what might be done, even by an Indian navy, in Indian seas, under the direction of only one able man; and our East India Company may perhaps repent the surrender of that port, which they so imprudently and easily gave up to the Marhattahs.

industry of the inhabitants, either applied to agriculture, which was greatly encouraged, or to manufacturing those commodities which have for many ages been in esteem throughout the world; and thirdly, to the strong protection that was granted to merchants.

The encouragement of foreign and domestic trade was more particularly necessary in the Subah of Bengal, which, not containing mines of diamonds, gold or silver, depended solely upon its manufactories for the very large balance of trade in its favour which alone could enable it to pay so considerable a tribute, as hath been shown, annually to the court of Dehly. Accordingly, as Mr. Scrafton hath expressed it, "till of late years", inconceivable numbers of merchants, from all parts of Asia in general, as well as from the rest of Hindostan in particular, sometimes in bodies of many thousands at a time, were used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money, or bills, to purchase the produce of those provinces. The causes and effects of the unfortunate failure of such commerce since, will hereafter be made appear.

9036 A

A Petition sent by a black Princess to Governor Hastings while he was in India.

The following is the translation of a Petition sent by the wife of Mias-ali-can, who was seized upon and put to death for political purposes in India.

A XII 116

To the High and mighty Servant of the most powerful Prince George King of England.

The lowly and humble Slave of misery comes praying for mercy towards of her children; May the blessing of thy God ever rest on thee. May the sun of glory shine round thy head, and may the gates of honour Plenty and Happiness be always open to thee and thine. May the Pillars of peace keep thy cheek, and may the pleasure of imagination attend thy dreams; and when length of years make thee tired of earthly joys, and the curtains of death gently closes round the last sleep of human existence, may the angels of thy God attend thy bed and take care that the expiring

The Black Princess  
Petition

85.35

NLW 1036

lamps of life shall not receive once rude blast to hasten its extinction. Oh! hearken to the voice of distress, and grant the petition of thy servant, Spare, O! spare the father of my children, Spare the partner of my bed, my Husband my all that is dear. Consider oh mighty Sir, that he did not become rich by iniquity; but that which he possessed was the inheritance of a line of flourishing Ancestors who in those smiling days when the thunder of Great Britain was not heard on the fatile plains of India reaped their harvest in quiet and enjoyed their extremity unmolested. Think, oh think that thy God whom thou worshippst delights not in the blood of the innocent. Remember his own commandment (Thou shall not kill) and obey the orders of heaven. Give back my Almas-ali-cam, and take all our Wealth, strip us of our jewels, and our precious stones, of our gold and our slaves, but take not the life of my Husband. Innocence is seated on his brow, and the milk of Human kindness flows round his heart. Let us wander thro' the deserts, let us become tatters and laborers of those delightful spots which he was once lord and master of. But i spare, Oh! mighty Sir, spare his life and let not the instrument of death be lifted up against him (you

have them at present by force) and we will remember thee in our prayers, and forget that we ever were rich and powerful. My children, the children of Almas-ali-cam send their petition for the life of him who gave them life; they beseech from thee the Author of their existence. By that humanity, by which we have been <sup>the</sup> glores in the breast of European goodness, by the tender mercies of Englishmen, by virtues, honour, honesty, and natural feeling of thy Great Queen whose numerous offspring is so dear to her the miserable wife of thy prisoner beseeches thee to save her Husband's life, and restore him to her arms. If <sup>God</sup> reward thee, thy Country will thank thee, and she who now petitions, will ever pray for thee, if thou grantest the prayer of thy humble Vassal.

St. B. This petition was delivered by the unhappy Woman to Governor Hastings, who after perusing it, gave orders that Almas-ali-cam should be immediately strangled, and those orders were instantly put into execution.

Copied at Whittington, Dec: 17<sup>th</sup>. 1814. J. F.

Trial for Traga

from Board's Collections: 1814-5 (no 11065): Bombay Judicial Consultations 6 January 1809. pages 42-44

VEVUSTA by Hindoo Law Officers

A-XIII/17

If a person so situated as not to be able to make his escape, or a person insulted by a blow, or a person whose house has been robbed, or a person on account of his own cast, or on account of a friend, or on account of his wife, or relations, puts an end to his own existence, the blame lies with the person causing such act; but in this case the person against whom the violence was committed, was not present, nor had he made use of any abusive expression, therefore no blame attaches itself to him. The prisoner put an end to the existence of his daughter conceiving his conduct conformable to the custom of his cast, his punishment is therefore confined to the privation he has sustained in the loss of his daughter, and the punishment of his brother for cutting his arm, is also confined to the offering occasioned thereby. The Thaster does not assign any penalty to the Rajah. The Rajah may act as he pleases. The prisoners having opposed the Rajah's authority, he may fine them, or punish them corporally, or by other means. This is written in the Metakshuna.

(signed) Kirparam Shastree  
(true translate )  
(signed) Syram Rowles, Register,

TRAGA AND DHURNA IN KAIRA IN 1800's

Bombay Political Proceedings: January 23, 1811.

Report of Kairn Collector: 9.12.1810

A-XIII | 18 (i)

10. Throughout the Beejapoor pargannah, as well as the neighbouring dependencies of the Guiovar, Murry excepted; neither the Rajepoos or Coolies, nor any of the sacred and religious tribes contribute in the slightest degree to the revenue; although they enjoy the most fertile portions of land. The heads of villages or talooches, induce a few Coombies or cultivators to reside in their districts, to whom they assign a portion of ground, and realise from them an amount equivalent to the dues of Government.

11. The dependent Coolie or Rajepoet pays nothing, not even to his immediate chieftain; the expenses of the latter, being defrayed by assessments in the cultivators, and merchants by arbitrary, but long established claims on neighbouring villages, and by the general assessment of his dependents, and lastly by participating in their plunder.

12. The industrious part of the inhabitants throughout these districts are assessed to a degree beyond what in any well regulated district, would be requisite. A cultivator for instance, paying beyond the half of his produce, an assessment fluctuating from 20 to 40 rupees on each plough, and occasionally a further impost to complete some real or supposed deficiency in the revenue.

13. Where the lot of the industrious is so hard, and the undeserving and culpable are allowed the enjoyment of equal, and more extensive benefits, without being liable to any deduction, much disgrace must reflect upon the Government, and I am convinced that there is no object their Hon'ble Board have more earnestly at heart than the revision of such an order of things, and the establishment of an equitable assessment, and an invigorated authority, in commanding authority to such measures, as justice, no less than policy may dictate.

14. At the disproportionate distribution of the burdens of Government is not, by any means, the most serious evil which exists. The Coolies not content with the free enjoyment of their lands, constantly practice, the most alarming excesses; nor are the measures heretofore practiced for maintaining order or curbing licentiousness at all adequate to the object in view.

15. That Beejapoor should be rendered the station of an entire battalion, for the period of two years, would I think be found desirable, in order fully to establish the authority of Government, and prevent the possibility of the inhabitants reverting to the same scenes of turbulence, anarchy and confusion which so long existed.

16. An additional motive which makes me earnest in recommending the foregoing measures to their Hon'ble Board is the effect of our laws, or rather the laws of humanity and civilisation, in preventing the self sacrifice and mutilation of the Bhauts; such practices have already been most publicly declared criminal by their Hon'ble Board; but notwithstanding the most positive injunctions on the part of the local officers of Government, instances still occur, though rarely, where recourse is had to this terrible practice.

Range 33 vol 23 ( 8.1. to 19.2.1811, nos 1-172) of Bombay Political Proceedings. The Kairn Collector report is of 43 paras on pages 173-194. The extracts are from pages 177-9 and 191-4.

43. That such a practice should exist, contrary to the wishes of Government, is alone to be attributed, to a perfect conviction on the part of the Bharoots, that on it rests the continuance of their influence; the fear of the Bharoot having recourse to the last extreme is the only thing that appals the desperate Cooly, and if he is made sensible, which must be the case in a short time, that the Government forbids such an inhuman practice, he no longer will respect his security, and other measures must be resorted to, to ensure the tranquility of the country.

44. Such an alteration in system can not be long procrastinated and the positive junctions I have laid on the Bharoots, in conformity with sentiments of their Hon'ble Board, and my own disposition no longer to have recourse to such inhuman practices, will I think very probably render different measures requisite at the ensuing settlements.

45. I have invariably expressed myself in favour of the moderate exercise of the influence of the Bharoot, as I deem it congenial to the feelings of the natives and beneficial to the affairs of Government; but no moderate influence has a chance of succeeding over the minds of a great proportion of the inhabitants of these districts and therefore Bharoot security should certainly not be resorted to in such cases.

46. Any thing beyond the persuasive influence, exhortation and moderate abstinence from food, on the part of the Bharoot becomes a criminal act; and if we are sensible that such lenient measures are not adequate to enforce obedience, according to the Bharoots engagement, with us, we necessarily become participators in crime, in entering into such an engagement.

47. The same reflection will be found equally applicable, if referred to the plan of farming the pergannah; for we could no more admit of farmers sanctioning the effusion of innocent blood, than reconcile it to our own system, and with instructions on this head, I will venture to say no native would undertake the management on eligible terms.

48. The fore-going consideration induce me strongly but respectfully, to recommend the immediate stationing an entire battalion within this pergannah, and of arranging such measures with the Guicwar state, as may result in the cooperation of an adequate force on their part, whereby the authority of each Government may be established in its respective districts, more adequate securities be obtained for the maintenance of the peace, the ill-disposed in the neighbouring petty state be suppressed, the burdens of Government be more equitably distributed, and those benefits conferred on the district which nature has rendered it so capable of receiving; but which it hitherto has been deprived of from the ferocity of its society.

Kaira Collector's  
Office, Beejapoor  
9th December 1810

I have & c  
Pyrom Rowles  
Collector

Bombay Political Proceedings: March 22, 1811.

Referred the letter from the Collector of Kaira dated the 9th of December as referred to in the preceding one.

#### Board's Resolution

15. The Committee of the Collector, will furnish Government with the instances adverted to in Mr Rowles' 42 paragraph, prohibitory of the self-immolation of Bhauts, in the enforcement of their engagements.

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engagements as securities, an extremity which although certainly most undesirable to be had recourse to, must yet if the negative on it be promulgated tend powerfully to counteract, if not entirely to subvert, the system and the degree of utility of which it is certainly susceptible, whence it should be announced, to be forbidden in all cases whatsoever; the ill consequences of which have been already experienced in the case of the impunity thence derived to Nahar Sing of Ahyma in his present depredations; whereas what Government conceive to be chiefly and alone wholly criminal, is the immolation of Brahmins Bhatts or Bharoots of themselves their wives or children, or other helpless, or perhaps fanatical females, in promotion of their self-interested and sinister designs, as has in consequence been provided for by the Regulation of the Supreme Government marked in the margin of which the Committee are now to be furnished with a copy that they may consider and report how far they may now view a body of similar provisions as calculated for observance within the sillaah of Kairaa, under such exceptions, alterations or qualifications as any difference in the local habits, from what stands described in the preamble to the Regulation in question, may appear to them to require, and which they will, in that case carefully specify and point out.

16. Neither need the system of Bharoot securities be lightly given up, even if attended occasionally with the loss of the lives of those who make such undertakings a profession, the question as to which resolves itself into the simple consideration, whether more of good or of evil is involved therein; and there seems little doubt but the former preponderates. It will accordingly be probably found to have been uniformly practiced in all Hindoo governments, as supplying the easiest means of realising the revenue, and that at least cost to the Public or the parties paying it; since the reward of those Bharoots weighs, as nothing, when put in the scale against what must be paid to Shroffs or other monied men for their similar intervention. It is besides a constituent part of the native constitution; to withdraw or annul any part of which that is not positively and even atrociously criminal, may be apt to endanger the whole fabric; and if on such principles our Governor General refrains from prohibiting widows ascending the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, or various religious casts to quit life by drowning, or voluntarily descending into their graves, without other object than the indulgence of the superstitious notions of such deluded victims; it may well be matter of hesitation to seek to eradicate one, certainly liable in itself to as little objection, whilst it involves several considerations of public utility. Thus it operated during the six or seven years that the present Governor of Bombay was Resident at Benares, and saved no doubt in many instances the necessity for the resort to more coercive measures in the departments either of Revenue or Police at the same time that there did not occur during that period one instance of consequent suicide; though often of course threatened, but always anxiously guarded against by the solicitude of the defaulters; to such a degree, that, ....(passage quoted at end of para 29 in the letter dated 6.10.1815 from the Board to E.I.G.)

Range 383 vol 21 (19.2. to 27.3.1811, pages 673-1248) of Bombay Political Proceedings. The minute is on pages 1129-1152 and the above extract on pages 1142-6.

*I*  
*V*

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS (circa 1753)

(Marriages, Rati, Parsons, Determination of Guilt)

A-XIII-19

(9)... but they universally abstain from the flesh of oxen or cows, whom they rank at the head of the brute creation.

As I observed before, their marriages are all conducted by the parents during the parties infancy, the expence of this ceremony, which is considerable according to the ranks of the persons married, is always from the bridegroom's family, nor is it customary to give any fortunes with their daughters, because it should not be said they were obliged to buy them husbands, for this custom it seems they despise the Europeans very much.

They have peculiar months; in which only they (10) allow the consummation of marriage. In these months what with illuminations, singers, dances and horrid music, one would imagine the days and nights reverred for they never begin the entertainment before it is dark, nor conclude them while that favours the demonstration of their fireworks. All this time, the bride and bridegroom richly dress'd, are well mounted on horse back or carried in palanquins (like a couch, in which there is a mattress and pillows) upon four or six men's shoulders thro' the town, accompanied by the relations and friends of both families, preceded by the dancing girls, musicians, singers, with great number of masts or links attending them. review to this, there are machines of fire erected over against all their friends houses to whom they intend to pay respect, where always they stop, and are entertained by the dancers. And during the exhibition of the fireworks, throughout the whole procession the bride and bridegroom are incessantly employed throwing flowers at one another, of which the servants carry basketsful for that purpose. Though these ceremonies are not finished in less than six or eight days, yet in regard to their entertainments they never exceed a few sweetmeats and beetle nuts, which they use as Europeans do tobacco, but the former is in a fine aromatick and in every respect much preferable, at the same time promiscuously sprinkling rose-water and other perfumes amongst their guests.

(11) You would be surprised to think how great a sum the expence of one of their better sort of marriages will amount to. I saw one my last voyage at Bengal, which I was well informed could not cost less than ten or twelve thousand pounds sterlings, and one since I have been in Bombay that amounted to about one third of that sum.

As they have so steadfast a belief in transmigration among, their women not being permitted to marry a second husband, even the first should die in her XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

nage. I say from the consideration and hardships upon the tender sex, we may be may be enabled in some measure to account for the great fortitude and unmatched resolution of the wives burning with the bodies of their dead husbands, which instead of being obliged to, by the laws of their country, as some people have suggested, great entreaties and arguments are generally made use of, to break their resolution, but seldom to any purpose. It is certain that after they have determined to burn and the Brahmins have performed the ceremonies for that occasion, should they then attempt to retract, their friends and relations would assist to throw them into the flames.

Sometime since a young creature at Bengall embraced this resolution, she was known by many of the European ladies there, who kindly visited her, in her distress, and endeavoured to move her desperate design by the most influencing reasons they could offer, as she had two very (12) fine children, they represented to her the hardships and difficulties they would be liable to, when destitute of both parents, nor were her own relations and those of her husband less assiduous with their persuasions; however nothing could stagger her fixed determination.

The day she was to burn being arrived many gentlemen attended her to the pile with several Brahmins &c.

The Brahmins after sayingxham praying with her for a considerable time, anointed her head and hair, all the while muttering some unintelligible sentences; afterwards they walked round the pile with her three times, constantly singing out their prayers. Having thus ended the ceremony, she takes off her bracelets, earings &c and distributes them amongst her relations who attend her. Then embracing them she took her leave very pleasantly and retired to the middle of the pile, where her dead husband lay, and having placed herself at his feet, the Brahmin gave a lighted match into her hand. With joy in her countenance she received it and said 'this night I shall enjoy my husband's company in another form', then immediately set fire to the pile, but observing that she done it on the leeward side, she turned round and lighted it in several places to windward.

The gentlemen's curiosity led them as near to the pile as the flames would admit them, yet they never heard her utter the least sound. The the laws of the country do not oblige the women to this cruel custom yet in (13) private it is certainly encouraged among them, for it is a great honur to the whole family, and the children of the woman who burns are always much regarded and very well mated.

Besides these casts which I have mentioned, there are a sect whom they call Parross. They are the refuse of the whole nation, their villages, and well, are always separate from others. They are look upon as unclean therefore do not walk in streets where the Brahmins inhabit. As they are extremely poor they eat any kind of animals flesh except the cow without the least reluctance even when they

die in her

find it in the fields dead and stinking. They exercise all the employments which every one of the rest think beneath them.

Altho in the eyes of all their neighbours this sect of people is a most despicable race, yet amongst themselves they have diversity of ranks and conditions. Some of them are not allowed to keep upon the earth, therefore like the birds of the air, their habitations are built upon trees, to which they ascend by small ladders, or notches cut in the body of the tree. Others are not permitted on any account, to wear anything but leaves. Of this sort I saw one woman lately in the country, for they are rarely seen near European towns. I immediately pronounced her an Eveite, for it is not possible that anything could better express our original nakedness and simplicity, all her clothing being an apron (14) of leaves about four or five inches square. Notwithstanding this lady might be so easily dressed and at so small an expence yet the laws of this country in general are so very rude and impolite towards the females, that was this apron to fall off by any accident it is not in her power to put it on again but must immediately go in search of her husband, whose sole duty it is, always to perform that service, she at the same time judiciously assigning some satisfactory reason for her dishabille.

As every division of the castes have variety of good and bad duties to perform, so likewise they have more different and extraordinary methods of performing their several religious injunctions, but as they are almost all are very severe duties or rather corporal punishments the better sort generally are excused for hitting these farres to attene for them.

....  
(16)... As these people never travel into foreign countries to rectify their ideas and improve their knowledge, their other customs are all of a piece, equally absurd and amazing, particularly their methods of convicting their capital offenders, when they are destitute of witnesses and have no other proof but strong suspicions to alledge against them. In this case a copper vessel is provided with boiling oil into which a gold ring is thrown. The person suspected is to take this ring out with his naked fingers whilst the oil is actually boiling and afterwards they are tyed up (17) with a cotten roller to remain in that situation about 30 hours, when the roller is removed and his fingers examined; if there are any signs of their being burned by the oil, he is pronounced guilty, if otherwise innocent, so that he is either immediately reprieved, or dragged out and publicly executed with their bread awards, every one that cheeses it, making a stroke at the malefactor.

The relation of these stories to Europeans appear, and not unreasonably, mere juggles and ridiculous falsehoods, so that they generally draw upon the relater the common allowances according to the extensiveness of his travels.

At Tellicherry one of our settlement upon the

Mallabar coast, where this custom is much practiced some English gentlemen of good capacities have very strictly attended to this particular, and to their great surprise have known several of the people come off unaffected, without the least sign either of burn or blister, after going through this fiery tryal and in consequence proclaimed innocent with great acclamation of joy.

The method they have of trying thefts and all inferior crimes, is by ordering the suspected persons to eat a certain quantity of rice, which, they say, the guilty man will have the greatest difficulty to swallow. This may be much (18) easier accounted for than the preceding mystery, for as the people in general have so high an opinion of the judgement of the Bramins who preside at all these examinations respecting their infallibility at finding out offenders, the guilty person is struck with so much confusion, dread and hurry to finish his medious firet, that he quite disappoints his intention and almost suffocates himself with too much haste.

The Gentooes in general except some who are distinguished by the name of Narratias, of whom hereafter, are subject to the great Begul...

Oxford: Bodleian: Ms. Deuce 320: 46 pages (ff 23);  
dated: Bombay 20 Nov 1753; signed Alex Fins:  
addressed to David Beig, Lord Lieutenant of Mysore.  
(Perhaps a copy: W D Rainwright & N Matthews "A Guide  
to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British  
Museum relating to South and South East Asia", Oxford  
1965, page 325 bottom)

*A-XIII/20*

was one of the great problems for the European Companies.<sup>1</sup> The Indian market could not absorb any considerable amount of European articles. Neither the English nor the Dutch Company could export an unlimited supply of money from their own countries. In India money could be borrowed only at an extortionate rate of interest. Two ways lay open to the European Companies who did not want to fall into the hands of the native moneylenders. They could raise money by trading in countries where imports were paid for with cash; the trade with China and Japan was the most fruitful in this respect, and here the Dutch had a practical monopoly. Secondly, they could escape the necessity of importing money by importing non-European articles for which there was a demand in India, and here again the Dutch were fortunate in their control of the supply of spices. Apart from spices, the chief articles which they imported on the Coromandel Coast were sandal wood and pepper from the Malay Archipelago, Japanese copper and certain Chinese textiles from the Far East.

In 1617 the directorate of the Coromandel Coast was raised into a *gouvernement*, its chief at Pulicat being given the title of governor as well as becoming an Extraordinary Councillor of the Indies. In 1689 the governor's seat was removed from Pulicat in the centre to Negapatam in the south, which as will be described in a subsequent paragraph, had been taken from the Portuguese in 1659. No doubt the decision to make it into the capital of the coast, which was adversely criticised by many who praised the situation of Pulicat as ideally central, was inspired by the consideration that in the troublous times ahead, now that Aurangzib was master of Golconda, Negapatam, close to the Company's new stronghold of Ceylon, was the natural strategic basis of the whole *gouvernement*. A new castle was at once constructed, at a cost, it was said, of 1,600,000 guilders, which far surpassed Fort Geldria in size and strength.

We possess a very vivid account of the conditions in the Dutch factories on the Coromandel Coast just about the time when this transfer was taking place in the travels of Daniel Havart.

The society into which Havart introduces his reader is purely official. The "Free merchants" whom early governors-general had wanted to encourage had been driven away by the severely monopolist policy on which the Seventeen insisted. There were only the servants of the Company left, who enriched themselves (although Havart does not say so) by infringing that very monopoly which was so dear to the directors' hearts. During the last years of Havart's stay on the coast this little society was shaken to its foundations by the appearance of a commissioner, Van Reede tot Drakensteyn, entrusted by the Seventeen themselves with extraordinary powers to put down corruption and reform abuses. Several officials, chiefs of factories among them, were broken by this ruthless reformer, whose social

<sup>1</sup> Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 58 sqq.

his successors as well, still claimed Colombo, and the Dutch, anxious above all to be left in peace so that the cinnamon might be safely collected, humoured their pretensions by paying them excessive honours and posing as their humble allies bound to aid them against the attacks of foreign powers. During Raja Sinha's lifetime this did not prevent frequent trouble, the king sometimes attacking Dutch posts and extending the cinnamon area directly under his control. Cinnamon-peeling was repeatedly prevented and the export of arecanuts, the most important product of the king's own dominions, prohibited. Better relations prevailed under his immediate successors, although the Dutch maintained their pretension to keep the trade with the outside world completely in their own hands, and in 1707, in order the better to prevent smuggling, closed all ports except Colombo, Galle and Jaffnapatam. By placing ships at the disposal of the court for intercourse with Pegu, whence came Buddhist priests, and with Madura, whence the kings generally obtained their wives, the Company strove to make its control of overseas relations less galling. The kings of the Dravidian dynasty, however, who came to the throne in 1739 with Hanguraketa, and under whom all power at court was in the hands of nayaks from the mainland, were not so easily pacified. At the same time the Company's governors became more and more impatient of the humiliating conditions of their position in Ceylon. Particularly they disliked the annual embassy to the king's court, in order to secure with abject genuflections the right to collect the cinnamon-bark in the area under the king's sovereignty.

But the relations with Kandi did not constitute the only difficulty with which Dutch rule had to contend. Wide regions with populations of varying national and religious traditions and complicated social structures were brought under direct Dutch control. At the time of the conquest, material misery, after Portuguese misrule and protracted war, was the most pressing problem. The Dutch imported slaves from Southern India to restore irrigation works and cultivate the rice fields. They encouraged new crops, like cotton and indigo. They did their best to reduce the chaos which reigned in land tenure. In the Sinhalese country Maetsuycker's *Batavia Statutes*, a codification of the Company's laws, were introduced, but experienced Sinhalese were always members of the *Landraads* in order to see that the ancient customs of the country were observed. In the north, Tamil law, codified under Dutch auspices in 1707, was taken as the basis for legal decisions so long as it appeared consonant with reason, all deficiencies being supplied from Dutch law. The administration of justice left, however, a great deal to be desired. The governors never ceased complaining about the scarcity of officials with sufficient legal training and at the same time conversant with the conditions of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Moreland, *From Akbar to Durwan*, pp. 58-49.

position (he was a member of the Utrecht nobility, a very unusual rank among the servants of the Company) added to the awe which he inspired.

By Havart's time some of the early factories, Petapoli and Tirupuliyur, had been abandoned. On the other hand several new ones had been founded. Proceeding northward from Negapatam, Havart enumerates: Porto Novo, Devanampatnam, Sadraspatam, Pulicat, Masulipatam, Nagelwanze, Golconda, Palakkollu, Daatzeron and Bimlipatam. Of these, Porto Novo, founded as late as 1680, was a prosperous centre for the collection of cottons. Sadraspatam and Palakkollu were important on account of the especial excellency of the textiles to be had there. Devanampatnam and Masulipatam were the busiest factories, both for export and import, although Masulipatam had lost some of its importance since the establishment, in 1660, of a factory at Golconda, the chief of which, apart from his commercial duties, acted as the Company's resident with the king of Golconda, although special embassies continued still to be sent after as before 1660. Nagelwanze was the centre for the indigo trade. At Palakkollu the Company had had a factory since 1613, and carried on a profitable dyeing industry. From 1653 the village was administered by the Company which held it from the king at an annual rent of 1000 pagodas.

In all these places the Dutch Company had buildings, more or less fortified, and large enough to accommodate the factors, their slaves, and sometimes a small body of soldiers. The number of factors varied a good deal. At Sadraspatam, although a very successful trading centre, there were only four; at Nagelwanze, at the time of its highest prosperity about 1680, eighteen. Many of the factors were married, and if the factory could not house their families, they lived outside. At Masulipatam eight or ten were married, when the Commissioner Van Reede strictly prohibited (except for the chiefs of factories) what was regarded as an abuse, and sent many families to Europe or Batavia. The factors in the Company's service were called merchants, and their ranks were assistant, junior merchant, merchant, and senior merchant. This nomenclature was preserved even in possessions where the duties of the Company's servants were not primarily commercial, but administrative, as in Ceylon. At the head of a factory there were as a rule two chiefs, the first and the second chief, who might be junior merchant, merchant, or senior merchant in rank. The Coromandel instructions of the Pulecat governors of 1649 and 1663<sup>1</sup> laid it down that the first chief presides over the council, on which the other factors also sat; he had the general supervision over the factory's affairs, kept the money, negotiated with native traders, contracting for textiles, etc., and corresponding with the central administration, with the director or governor, as the case might be, but consulting his *secundo*.

<sup>1</sup> Havart, *Op en Ondergang van Coromandel*, III, 57.

Memorandum of Timorensis Dutchisch (1879) no mention of Palambakai (Palambakai) as a memory place, or Dutch settlement.  
Bishop R. Colburn: Report of the Committee of Timorensis (1881) p. 91. The earliest date in the English chronology in Palambakai is 1771.  
p. 244. (Santos) was the Sultan of Timorensis in 1770. That Timorensis

his successors as well, still claimed Colombo, and the Dutch, anxious above all to be left in peace so that the cinnamon might be safely collected, humoured their pretensions by paying them excessive honours and posing as their humble allies bound to aid them against the attacks of foreign powers. During Raja Sinha's lifetime this did not prevent frequent trouble, the king sometimes attacking Dutch Posts and extending the cinnamon area directly under his control. Cinnamon-peeling was repeatedly prevented and the export of arecanuts, the most important product of the king's own dominions, prohibited. Better relations prevailed under his immediate successors, although the Dutch maintained their pretension to keep the trade of the court for intercourse with Pegu, whence came Buddhist priests, and with Madura, whence the kings generally obtained their wives, the Company strove to make its control of overseas relations less galling. The kings of the Dravidian dynasty, however, who came to the throne in 1739 with Hanguraketa, and under whom all power at court was in the hands of nayaks from the mainland, were not so easily pacified. At the same time the Company's governors became more and more impatient of the humiliating conditions of their position in Ceylon. Particularly they disliked the annual embassy to the king's court, in order to secure with abject genuflections the right to collect the cinnamon-bark in the area under the king's sovereignty.

But the relations with Kandi did not constitute the only difficulty with which Dutch rule had to contend. Wide regions with populations of varying national and religious traditions and complicated social structures were brought under direct Dutch control. At the time of the conquest, material misery, after Portuguese misrule and protracted war, was the most pressing problem. The Dutch imported slaves from Southern India to restore irrigation works and cultivate the rice fields. They encouraged new crops, like cotton and indigo. They did their best to reduce the chaos which reigned in land tenure. In the Sinhalese country Maetsuycker's *Batavia Statutes*, a codification of the Company's laws, were introduced, but experienced Sinhalese were always members of the *Landraads* in order to see that the ancient customs of the country were observed. In the north, Tamil law, codified under Dutch auspices in 1707, was taken as the basis for legal decisions so long as it appeared consonant with reason, all deficiencies being supplied from Dutch law. The administration of justice left, however, a great deal to be desired. The governors never ceased complaining about the scarcity of officials with sufficient legal training and at the same time conversant with the conditions of the country.

On the whole, circumstances were not such as to favour the growth of a vigorous public spirit among the officials. The society in which they lived at Colombo and in the other coastal towns remained permeated with Portuguese influences. The same was true, to a greater or lesser extent, for all the places on the mainland of India and in the Malay Archipelago from which the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese, and it is to be explained by two characteristics of Portuguese colonisation, their marriages with the natives and their successful propagation of Catholicism. Under Dutch rule ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church at once took charge of the communities of Christians formed by the Portuguese ecclesiastics, but far into the eighteenth century complaints were frequent that the attachment of native Christians, then numbered in hundreds of thousands, to Protestantism, and even to Christianity, was purely nominal. The later historian owes a very real debt to some of the Dutch Reformed ministers. We mention only Philippus Baldaeus, whose description of Ceylon and the Malabar Coast was published in 1672, François Valentyn, whose encyclopaedic work on the possessions of the Company appeared from 1724 to 1726, Abraham Rogierus, probably the best scholar of them all, who was at Pulicat from 1631 to 1641, and whose *Gentilismus Reservatus* was described by A. C. Burnell in 1893 as "still, perhaps, the most complete account of South Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest". The principal author, too, of the famous botanical work *Hortus Malabaricus*, which under the patronage of Van Reede tot Drakensteijn appeared in 1678 and following years, was a minister of the church—Johannes Casarius. But the Dutch *predikants* had little of the missionary zeal which distinguished the Roman Catholic priests, and they made far less impression on the native populations in whose midst they lived. In Ceylon, seminaries for the training of native missionaries were founded in 1690, but until the governorship of Baron van Imhoff, 1737-40, when only one at Colombo survived, they led a precarious existence.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards half-caste Malabar and Sinhalese pupils regularly passed from the Colombo seminary to Holland, and, after a course of theology at the universities of Utrecht or Leyden, returned to their native land fully qualified ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. Their influence was never very deep however, and in spite of all repressive measures—no doubt greatly relaxed during the second half of the eighteenth century—Catholicism continued to show much vitality. Portuguese remained the language of the slave population and this, added to the deplorable failure to provide good education for them, had unfortunate effects on the children of the officials, who frequently entered the Company's service when they grew up. The number of Dutch free burghers who settled in Ceylon was never very great. There was, in short, no healthy

<sup>1</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *De Heroymde Kerk in Nederl. Ost-Indie onder de O. I. Compagnie*, pp. 574-194.

W. Callank (Deelen-Denre—) 1915: p. XXVI (Biographische aantekeningen). Zijn standplaats was Pidderhattha Tham drie Empedchen huisintjehuizen, en zijn gewoon is dat men niet meer weet.

1045. h. b. (5)

the "Price"

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# TRAVELS.

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA;

DESCRIBING

CHARACTERS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LAWS,  
and PRODUCTIONS of NATURE and ART:

CONTAINING

Various REMARKS on the POLITICAL and  
COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

And delineating, in particular,

A NEW SYSTEM

For the Government and Improvement of the BRITISH  
SETTLEMENTS in the

EAST INDIES:

Begun in the YEAR 1777, and finished in 1781.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCCLXXIII.

tiger leaped from a thicket, and carried off a screaming boy, the son of one of his neighbours. The Englishman expressed symptoms of the most extreme horror, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What," said the former, "are you unaffected by so dreadful a scene?" "The great God," said the other, "would have it so."—Whatever may be the cause, it is certain, that death is regarded with less horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, say the philosophers of India of the present times, is a *vacuum*. A state of *repose* is the state of greatest perfection; and this is the state after which a wise man aspires. It is better, say the Hindoos, to sit than to walk, and to sleep than to wake; but death is the best of all.

ACCORDING to the Gentoos laws, criminals sentenced to death are not to be strangled, suffocated, or poisoned, but to be cut off by the sword; because, without an effusion of blood, malefactors are supposed

to

to die with all their sins about them; but the shedding of their blood, it is thought, expiates their crimes. The unjust punishment of *Nundcomar*, who was hanged on a gibbet against the laws of his country, and even by an *ex post facto* English law, was aggravated by that circumstance of horror, that he died without an effusion of blood.

THE Hindoos are well acquainted with the nature of simples, and apply them judiciously either in performing cures which require not amputation, or in effecting death by quick or slow poisons. They have been for ages, in the practice of inoculating for the small-pox; on which occasion, as well as on others, they have recourse to the favourable mediation of charms, or spells.

ALTHOUGH the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their

arms,

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described as such by the author  
and several Indian officers  
and soldiers, who have been  
to Madras.

## LETTER LV.

At the end of the letter, there is a small note:

To J— M—, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1779.

I AM now to fulfil my promise, to give you a particular account of the day, as it is commonly spent by an Englishman in Bengal.

ABOUT the hour of seven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen) harcarrahs (messengers or spies) chubdars (a kind of constables) huccabadars and consumas (or steward and butler) writers and solicitors. The head-bearer and jemadar enter the hall, and his bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady quits

quits his side, and is conducted by a private stair-case, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He descends, perhaps, to nod or cast an eye towards the solicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a servant, whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face, and presents a towel. — The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat, is seated; the consumah

P 4 makes

makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of the houcca,\* into his hand. While the hair-dresser is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping, and smoaking by turns. By and bye, his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—

\* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in length, which is called a snake. To shew the deference or indulgence shewn by ladies to the practice of smoaking, I need but transcribe a card for the governor general and his lady's concert and supper.

Mr. and Mrs. H—'s present their compliments to Mr. —, and request the favour of his company to a concert and supper on Thursday next, at Mrs. H—'s house in town.

12 October, 1779.

The concert to begin at eight o'clock.  
Mr. — is requested to bring no servants except his huccabadar.

These

These ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans and cumberbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist;) they move off at a quick amble; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if business renders his PRESENCE ONLY necessary, he shews himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he and his company sit down, perfectly *at ease* in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watching

ing behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bedroom, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he sleeps till about seven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is administered; his huccabadar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea-table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; supper being served at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in the morning, preserving great sobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bedroom, where he finds a female companion,

to

to amuse him until the hour of seven or eight next morning.—With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes.

I am, &c.

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(a)

Quarterly Review  
(1809-10)

A-XIII/22

On Charles Grant?  
Colleague of Wilberforce and several times chairman of EIC

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which the political and commercial interests of the nation were deeply concerned, was almost wholly occupied, for several successive nights, in drawing forth evidence favourable to the propagation of the Christian religion in India by means of missionaries. This examination has wisely been suppressed; but in every part of the kingdom meetings are held, and resolutions passed, most of them intemperate in language, and many of them false in fact—indirect at all times, but impolitic, in the highest degree, at this particular time.\* Many of these resolutions injudiciously dwell upon the degrading and inhuman superstitions, the horrible customs, and the moral turpitude of the Hindoos. It is a gross mistake to suppose that no notice will be taken of them by the natives of India. Many of the brahmins read the English newspapers, and, when any thing that interests them occurs, communicate and discuss what they read with one another. To say that the resolutions of individuals can do no harm, is assuming more than can be known. In our opinion, the mere agitation of the question, after what has happened, will do harm. It may be true, that it is not what we resolve, but what *they* think, that will endanger India; but it should be remembered, that by our proceedings will their thoughts be regulated; and it would not be much out of character to suppose some subtle brahmin of Benares to harangue his colleagues somewhat to the following effect:

My brethren, we are on the eve of a great change. Hitherto the Feringas† have shaped their government for our good; they have taken the whole country, it is true, into their possession; they have modified the laws; but they have given us tranquillity and improved the condition of the great mass of the people; they have shewn respect for our customs and prejudices, and they have protected us in the free exercise of our religious duties; hence, we have borne our own fall with patience. While a few Christian fanatics, apparently regarded by their government with as much indifference as our fanatics are by us, were content to collect to their houses the outcasts of society—men who had forfeited their characters, and lost their caste,—men ready to take up any religion, after being communicated from their own—parties and colonies, willing to be Christians, in order to eat the bread of idleness;‡ their mistaken zeal created no alarm. But other “benevolent persons,” as they

\* The malady is become epidemic. Petitions load the tables of the two Houses, from all quarters. In one night twenty-two were presented by a single member; and we have heard from respectable authority, that a manufacture of them is carried on by a Committee, in London, which occupies no small portion of the time of the engrossing clerks of the capital.

† The name by which Europeans in general are distinguished;—hence *François*, which a Frenchman has the vanity to think is a term of compliment to his nation.

‡ A great part of the funds sent out from England is consumed in maintaining those persons who are converted.

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are called, are to be sent among us, to change, what they themselves have pronounced unchangeable,\* our established religion. A certain ameer al onraah,† at the head of many of the nobles and learned of the land, has declared, “that there are more than fifty millions of inhabitants subject to the British empire in India, under the influence of inhuman and degrading superstitions, which form an effectual bar to their progress in civilization;” and it is added that the only remedy for these evils is to diffuse among us the blessings of Christian knowledge. They represent our superstitions as senseless, because we worship one god, and acknowledge his attributes in the triple character of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, emblems of the creating, the preserving, and the destroying power. They call them degrading, because our people have, from time immemorial, been subdivided into a number of castes, each enjoying its particular rights, and the whole forming a regulated gradation in society: we have, it is true, like other civilized nations, our privileged orders founded on superior knowledge, and continued in hereditary succession; but we have no exclusion of property; among our brahmins are found beggars, and among our sudras wealthy merchants. But our superstitions are inhuman, because a particular tribe of people, from a high-minded, but ill-directed pride, were in the habit of putting their infant daughters to death; a practice which was no sooner explained to be a sin, and contrary to the precepts of the Shasters, than it was discontinued.‡ And if, when life is despised of, and a recovery hopeless, we perform the ceremony of ablution and ‘extreme unction,’ we are not singular in the idea of thus affording consolation in the last moments of departing life. It may also happen, that an enthusiast will occasionally throw himself under the wheels of the sacred car at Juggernaut; but this is the frenzy of religion, and a practice not sanctioned in our Shasters; and what religion has not its impostors and its fanatics? And why may not a death of this kind sometimes be the effect of accident? Is it more surprising that, in the pressure of a crowd, where one hundred thousand would not be missed,§ half a dozen persons should be crushed to death, than that twice that number should perish at the door of a playhouse? But we are reproached for considering certain kinds of suicide as meritorious: this is not our

\* Mr. Graham's evidence.

† Ameer al onraah—a lord of the lords;—from ameer comes our admiral, or admiral; ameer al muamim, the commander of the faithful.—The resolution, we suppose, refers to that of the meeting of which Admiral Lord Gambier was chairman,

‡ Moore's Hindoo Infanticide.

§ Doctor Buchanan's Christian Pilgrimages.—Among a million of ragged and naked pilgrims, all pushing to get near the sacred car; the doctor was fortunate in being able to see a devotee throw himself under the wheel,

belief;

belief; and, at any rate, ours are suicides from hope, not from despondency. Again, we are accused of compelling widows to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands: this is also a mistake; a Hindoo wife, who is burnt with her husband, is either actuated by motives of real affection, or she thinks it her duty to conform to custom; or she consents to avoid reproach. Of the few cases that happen, (and few they are since, though always public, not one European in one hundred ever witnessed the ceremony,) nine out of ten are entirely voluntary; they are not forcibly bound to the stake, and burnt as martyrs. Whatever our superstitions may be, they have at least the plea of antiquity in their favour; had we been given to change, force or persuasion or intrigue would long before this have robbed us of our religion.\*

\* But our moral character is held up by another ameer,† as "a compound of servility, fraud, and duplicity." It is possible we may thus be known among the shroffs and Bantians of Calcutta. But another Englishman, better acquainted with our character, has declared that the Hindus of Benares and those of the interior, "are not more distinguished by their lofty stature and robust frame of body, than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind;" that "they are brave, generous, and humane; and their truth as remarkable as their courage."‡ By a third, whom we have all cause to remember with gratitude, we are represented as "gentle, benevolent, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people upon the face of the earth; faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority."§ But can it be considered as matter of surprise that duplicity and deception

\* The Emperor Akbar, to conciliate all parties, contrived a new religion. To this end he removed the ceremony of baptism to conciliate the Portuguese Christians; reverence to the sun, to please the Parsees; the mythological and moral dogmas of the Shastras to win over the brahmans; and retained circumcision to flatter the Mahomedans. The consequence was, that by the Mussulmans he was considered as an apostate, by the Hindus as a fanatic, by the Parsees as a profector, and by the Christians as a pagan; the scheme was abandoned to avoid rebellion.

† Evidence of Lord Tagore before the Committee of the Commons.

‡ Sir J. M. Malcolm's Evidence before the Committee of the Lords. "Great pains," says Mr. Hastings, "have been taken to implant into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unceasing commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature. I assure you, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded."

The testimony of Colonel Munro, who was thirty-two years in India, almost constantly in the interior, is still stronger, and cannot in justice be withheld. "If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the nations of Europe." should

should sometimes be practised to stave off the extortions to which we are subjected? How often may the inconsistencies in the testimonies given by witnesses in the courts of justice proceed from "simplicity, fear, embarrassment—how often from the ignorance or impatience of the judges?" "We cannot wonder," said one of these enlightened judges, "that the natives are aware of our suspicious and incredulous tempers. They see how difficult it is to persuade us to believe a true story; and accordingly endeavour to suit our taste with a false one."\*

"We are accused of fraud and treachery by those who live among us, without fear of their houses being plundered by their own domestics. We are not worthy to be trusted, and yet our revilers scruple not to send to the bazar for a cossid, whom they never saw before, and entrust him with the conveyance of a purse of gold, or a casket of jewels for many thousand cos, which he never fails to deliver, and receives for his reward about as much as would pay the price of shoes worn out by an European in performing the same journey.† It is true, the lower provinces of Bengal, near to the seat of government, are infested with decoits, who lurk in the jungles and thickets; but neither the streets of Benares nor Calcutta, are annoyed by gangs of pickpockets, robbing passengers in the face of day; nor is every fifteen hundredth person committed to our jails to be tried for his life.‡ Neither are we yet so depraved as to have our houses entered by night, and our property stolen, to the amount of one-eighth part of the whole territorial revenue of Hindostan.§ The charge made against us of degrading our women, comes with a bad grace from those who dwell in a city wherein fifty thousand prostitutes, or one-tenth part of the females of all descriptions, old and young, nightly parade the streets.]

"But if our rulers are really our superiors in civilization and knowledge, and are desirous, as we sincerely believe they are, of further improving our condition, it would be as well perhaps were they, in the first place, to abstain from draining us of our little wealth for the purchase of our own productions, and sending away the surplus as tribute; let them instruct our children in their

\* Sir Henry Strachey's Report. Fifth Report. Appendix, No. 11.

† Major Scott Waring.

‡ The return of persons committed for capital offences in England and Wales, in 1811, amounted to 6,819.

§ The property stolen in one year in and about London, amounts to two millions sterling.—Colquhoun on the Police of the Metropolis, p. 613.

¶ Colquhoun on the Police of the Metropolis.—"It would be no slight praise to the women of any nation, not even to the ladies of England, to have it said, that the correctness of their conduct was not inferior to that of the brahmin women and the Hindoo women of the higher classes."—Colonel Munro's Evidence before the Committee of the Commons. We see no improbability in the supposition that a brahmin may have read Mr. Colquhoun's book; indeed, we think that it may be safely assumed as a fact, language,

language, and enable them to read their books; let them inspire our youths with a taste for those arts and sciences in which they excel us; let them send their merchants and their traders under proper restrictions, into the midst of us, and thereby excite a spirit of industry among the manufacturers and the cultivators of the soil; but let us be permitted to worship in our own way, the way in which our forefathers trod for centuries before their religion had existence.'

Observations like these, however harsh or unfounded, would not, on the present occasion, be incompatible with the feelings of a brahmin of Benares. While we yield to none in anxious desire for the spreading of Christianity over the whole heathen world, we cannot subscribe to that sublime doctrine that would sacrifice all 'worldly policy and temporal blessings to higher motives';—in other words, that would stir up a civil war among fifty millions of people, for the mere chance of nominally converting some hundred pariahs. In a former article we took the liberty to suggest a church establishment in India, which we are rejoiced to find has met the views of government; though, after the discussion that has taken place, we cannot but entertain some doubts as to the propriety of introducing it into the body of the charter, or of introducing it at all, till any ferment, which may have been occasioned by the present impudent discussions and resolutions, shall have subsided. But with respect to *chartered* missionaries, we trust for the sake of the nation and of India, that such will for ever be excluded from that country. Let them go as heretofore; or let them go under those restrictions which it may be necessary to impose on all; let them have full scope to preach the gospel; translate the scriptures, and establish schools on their own account and at their own risk; but let not the government give its sanction to their proceedings, nor tie up its own hands or the hands of the Governor General, which is the object of those who profess 'higher motives than worldly policy'; in short, let it always bear in mind,

\* We have again and again indicated the policy of spreading the English language, and especially in our own foreign dominions, where we are still foreigners. Considering one of the most intelligent of the Baptist missionaries, has justly observed that the dissemination of the scriptures is useless until the people are taught to read; and if yet to be taught, why not in the English language, instead of giving them a mutilated and incorrect translation of the scriptures into their own? He recommends the establishment of schools, to which children of all castes might be sent without scruple. He recommends instruction in natural history, geography, astronomy, and mathematics, \* which would furnish them with the means of detecting a mass of absurdities which are imposed upon them by their Shasters, and interwoven with their laws.—Bap. Mis. Society, No. 128. Half a million of youths might be educated, and furnished with books, paper, pens, and even warm clothing, at an annual expense, not exceeding £20,000.—*Bid.*

† Resolutions of a meeting at Glasgow, signed by one Joshua Heywood, that

that on the point of religion only 'the Hindoos are dangerous to their masters.' For our own parts, we are fully persuaded there are but two ways that hold out any hopes of effectual success in the conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity. The one is, by a splendid church establishment served by sensible, zealous, but discreet ministers; not by such as talk of coercing the proud and contemptuous spirit of the natives,\* but such as would, with the aid of government, address themselves to the reason, and, if that failed, to the interest of the pundits and brahmins of Benares. The early fathers, to whose well-tempered zeal Christianity owed its rapid progress among the pagan nations of Greece and Rome, adopted this line of conduct: their appeal was not to the multitude, much less to the outcasts from that multitude; they addressed themselves to emperors, prefects and senators, and these once won over, the plebeians followed in course. This mode of proceeding has not yet, we believe, been tried with the Hindoos. The other method which we would recommend is that of establishing public schools in every part of our extensive dominions, for the purpose of instructing the native youth in the English language; and to make a proficiency in that language the road to employment and preferment; the scriptures might then be read to advantage in their purity, and with better effect than can be expected from those incorrect and mutilated portions now disseminated, and which, we fear, are too commonly either disregarded or despised.

But, to return to Mr. Grant; 'why,' he asks, of the 'thirty thousand British subjects of the full blood,' which reside in India, some thousands of them from their youth, many of them habituated and even attached to the climate, manners, and mode of living, many forming sexual connections, and few returning at an advanced period of life; and, of the whole aggregate, not more than one in five returning at all—why is it, that 'not a single person of this large and fluctuating body is found to settle or colonize in India?' Doctor Smith has solved the problem in half a dozen words: 'the genius of an exclusive company' prevents it. Satisfied with this answer, but not before he has endeavoured to overturn some of the theoretical maxims of this celebrated writer, and brushed away some flimsy dogmas of the Edinburgh reviewers, Mr. Grant proceeds to class, under six different heads, the obstacles which the 'genius' of the East Indian system offers to the colonization of India. They are these:

First, The necessity of obtaining a special license from the Company to proceed to India in one of their ships; and the power of

perquisites – has been identified as the root cause of these disturbances. One wonders if this was the whole story. The estimates of the revenue expected change but little over long periods. To assume that the demand nevertheless became increasingly intolerable because of declining taxable capacity is to assume that productivity of land and labour was also on the decline. There is nothing in our sources to suggest such a trend. Even if one takes literally Bernier's analysis of the effects of tyranny, his uncultivated fields and neglected irrigation refer to a static, not a developing, situation. In the mid-eighteenth century, agriculture in most parts of India – with the probable exception of the regions devastated by the war with the Marathas – does not appear to have been in a worse state than in the days of Akbar.

The scarcity of *jagirs* with which to remunerate the *mansabdārs* reflected not merely a pressure on stagnant resources: it was at least in part a result of administrative failure, and the incapacity of a weakened ruling class to extract a high proportion of the produce. The big *jagirdārs* in their financial distress tried to economize on the contingents they were required to maintain and inevitably came to depend on revenue farmers for the collection of revenue. It is not difficult to imagine who benefited most from the arrangement. The petty *mansabdār* languished even more while the *zor tālab zamīndār* flourished. The agrarian risings against the Mughal emperor were no doubt in part desperate bids by an over-exploited peasantry. One would, however, like to know more of the role played by the powerful rural élite who saw in the decline of imperial power their door of opportunity. It is significant that the social groups which in many parts of India replaced the *mansabdār-jagirdārs* in the hierarchy of political power were, as a class, firmly entrenched in their rights over land. Perhaps the decline of the empire was a positive turning point in the political and economic career of the rural élite – a story of which our knowledge is still very inadequate.

We do not know what proportion of the agricultural surplus went to the numerous class of *rajas*, *zamīndārs* and the owners of superior rights in land. Judging by the number of armed retainers maintained by the *zamīndārs*, it is unlikely to have been small. Then, the *a'immadārs* – the emperors' 'army of prayer' – were assigned some 2 to 5 per cent of the revenue-paying land in the different provinces. The bulk of the realized revenue – estimated at something between a third and a half of the gross national product<sup>1</sup> – went to the emperor and the *mansabdārs*. The emperor's share, consisting of the income from the *khāliṣa* plus the tribute from feudatories, varied from time to time: the *khāliṣa*'s share in the total *jama'* fluctuated between 5 per cent and 25 per cent. The balance of revenue income was distributed very unevenly among the

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*mansabdārs* of different ranks:<sup>2</sup> in 1646, 655 of them disposed of 61.5 per cent of the assessed revenue; the *jagirs* accounting for six-sevenths of the *jama'* were assigned to a total of 8,210 *mansab*-holders. Thus an infinitesimal proportion of the population disposed of the bulk of the agricultural surplus and in so doing influenced crucially the course of the economy.

The survival of the empire and its ruling class depended on their power to coerce – a fact clearly brought home when this power declined. Hence, the largest part of the *mansabdārs*' income – 77.2 per cent in the case of the 445 highest-ranking nobles in 1647 – went into the maintenance of the armed forces, especially the horsemen they were required to retain. Of the latter, there were 185,000 in 1647. Besides, there were 7,000 cavalrymen and matchlock-bearers and 40,000 artillery men in the imperial establishment as well as 40,000 infantry. To this one has to add the nearly 4.7 million retainers including 300,000 horsemen in the employ of the *zamīndārs*. Taking into account the large number of non-military personnel in the service of the army, the nobles and the imperial establishment and the families of all the people thus employed, the total number dependent for their livelihoods on employment in the armed services and associated activities has been estimated at some 26 million,<sup>3</sup> a remarkably large figure for a population estimated at a mere 100 million by one authority. The bulk of these 26 million were maintained at a level of bare subsistence: the pay of a foot-soldier ranged from 100 to 400 *dāms* a month. To that extent the deployment of the agricultural surplus to retain the armed forces did little more than help ensure the extraction of the same surplus. The plentiful supply of cheap labour for the army and associated services was maintained largely by the flight of over-harassed peasants from their agricultural occupations. In the latter's case, such employments amounted to a shift of labour directly from productive to unproductive occupations. Here was a vicious circle of coercion helping to maintain a machinery of coercion. It would, however, be unrealistic to look upon the armed forces as something entirely negative in the context of the economic life of the period. Mughal peace and a vast unified empire had very positive implications for the economy of the sub-continent. The army was a crucial element in the institutional framework which sustained that empire, besides being a bulk consumer of a wide range of commodities including such military hardware as cannon and matchlocks. Further, the horsemen were paid at rates well above the subsistence level and hence their income implied an addition to the total market demand. The import of horses for the army paid for with

<sup>1</sup> See chapter ix.

<sup>2</sup> See: Habib [351].

50 Inc army

exports – mainly manufactured goods – also had the effect of indirectly stimulating the economy.

Next to the expenditure on the armed forces, the main charge on the ruling élite's income was the maintenance of a truly fabulous life-style.<sup>1</sup> Some idea of its magnitude may be formed from a contemporary's remark that in Delhi's bazaar a young nobleman could expect to buy only the barest necessities with Rs. 100,000.<sup>2</sup> The imported luxuries – mainly from Iran and central Asia – indirectly stimulated exports, while the consumption of domestic products helped sustain a vast market for luxury goods. A portion of the domestic manufactures was no doubt secured for the nobles through coercion on terms uneconomic for the producer, but the evidence clearly suggests that the bulk of these commodities were procured through normal exchange, stimulating production. The nobles' taste for the products of high and intricate skills encouraged the tendency to specialization which was a characteristic feature of India's manufactures. In one way, the ruling élite contributed directly to the growth of luxury manufactures. The *kārkhanas*, or workshops for the production of luxury goods, were parts of the imperial as well as the nobles' establishments. One noble, Bakhtawar Khān, established *kārkhanas* in Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Burhanpur. The imperial *kārkhanas* produced not only luxury goods but arms as well, and acted as training grounds for skills which eventually could be placed at the disposal of nobles and feudatories. Bernier's account of the near-servitude of the artisanate makes an important exception. 'The arts in the Indies', he wrote, 'would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the Monarch and principal Omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the Korrah. The protection afforded by powerful patrons to rich merchants and tradesmen who pay the workmen rather higher wages, tends also to preserve the arts.'<sup>3</sup> The wages of skilled artisans working in the imperial *kārkhanas* as given in the *A'in* were well above the subsistence level.

It is often assumed that the army of servants and retainers in the employ of the emperor and nobles lived at the margin of subsistence and were maintained primarily for purposes of useless display. Unless one accepts some absolute standard by which to judge what is 'useful' or otherwise, the latter assumption is certainly erroneous. The tendency towards minute specialization built into India's socio-economic *mores*, interacting with the Mughal nobility's evidently perfectionist taste for

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the nobles' pattern of consumption and its impact on the economy see chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Masnav-i-Dabir* [73], cited in: Habib [351].

<sup>3</sup> Bernier [202], 228–9.

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highly-skilled services, created a fantastic range of skilled-service occupations. Attached to the imperial stables were fourteen categories of servants with specialized duties besides three categories with executive or official functions. And if the weavers producing muslin or the jeweller were usefully employed, there is no reason to consider useless the services of the *bādās* who taught 'horses the elementary steps'. As to the wages, if the data relating to the employees in the imperial establishment are any guide, several categories of servants with not very exalted functions – like the *akhtachis* who looked after the harness, the *bāda*, the *mirdāb*, 'an experienced groom placed over ten servants' – had the pay of *ahādis* which could be more than Rs. 500 per month. The driver of an ox-drawn carriage could draw as much as 12 *dāms* per day, besides an annual allowance if they also repaired the carts which worked out at about 6 *dāms* a day – not a subsistence wage when the price of foodgrains ranged from 6 to 12 *dāms* per man (36 lb.).<sup>1</sup> In short, part of the surplus extracted as revenue went to create and maintain a class of skilled servants, whose skills had a market demand in that period and whose income, well above the subsistence level, stimulated the demand for commodities.

The employees of the Mughal state and nobility included a vast array of lesser functionaries ranging from *ahādis* and revenue officials to petty clerks and accountants attached to every department of the administration and every noble's establishment. Recent research indicates that the actual income of such functionaries frequently exceeded their nominal pay and many of them could aspire to a life-style modelled on that of the *amīrs*.<sup>2</sup> The revenue paid by the peasant thus sustained a middle-income group. Given the size of the administrative apparatus and the lack of concern for economizing on manpower, this group was unlikely to have been very small. At one level, they were petty exploiters adding through their extra-legal extactions to the burden of the producers. At another, they, too, like the armed forces, were an essential prop of the structure of empire: their function was not without positive relevance to the functioning of the economy.

The intelligentsia, including the professional classes, was not an extensive body in Mughal India. A fair part of it was directly patronized by the emperor, rajas and nobles. Bernier was misled by the absence of European-type 'academies and colleges' in India into concluding that a universal ignorance was the natural consequence of the Mughal tyranny which precluded the 'benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity, that require ability and science'. Poets, scholars, artists, musicians, calligraphists, physicians and the like were all beneficiaries of imperial or aristocratic munificence. Together, they

<sup>1</sup> Abd'l Fazl [123], 1, 65, 145–6, 159, 219.

<sup>2</sup> See: L. A. Khan [180].

of villages.<sup>1</sup> Fish was more popular in Bengal, Orissa and the coastal areas, including Sind.<sup>2</sup> But fish, too, was not taken either very often or in large quantities, especially by those who lived inland or far from rivers. There was a taboo on beef and pigmeat which extended to hens, eggs and most of the domesticated animals. In the Delhi-Agra region Palsaert says that workmen 'know little of the taste of meat'.<sup>3</sup> He goes on to say, 'for their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little kitchery [khichri] made of green pulse mixed with rice... eaten with butter in the evening, in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain [sattu].'<sup>4</sup>

In spite of our sources treating the rural population generally as an undifferentiated mass, they do sometimes refer to the conditions of life of the very poor; and then even the modest standards above described would seem no longer to be applicable. The food of the very poor is described as 'boiled rice, nichany [the ragged millet], Millet and grass roots' on the western coast. In Bihar, they ate the 'pea-like grain', which used to cause sickness.<sup>5</sup>

The more prosperous villages could afford more than one meal a day. The major meal, according to the Hindi poet Sūrdās, was taken at midday or earlier, while a lighter meal (*byārī*) was served at sunset. Buttermilk (*cbbāk*) supplemented the meal. *Gbi* was apparently a staple part of the diet in the northern part (except Kashmir), Bengal and western India. Curd and cheap sweets made of milk, jaggery and oilseeds are mentioned by the Bengali poet Mukundarāma as delicacies which the poor could afford only on rare occasions such as festivals, marriages, etc. But Tavernier declares that 'even in the smallest villages sugar and other sweetmeats, dry and liquid, could be procured in abundance'.<sup>6</sup> It may be assumed from this that *gur* (jaggery) was commonly consumed in the villages.

Salt which was a government monopoly was twice as expensive in terms of wheat prices prevalent in the sixteenth century as compared with modern times. Its per capita consumption, therefore, must have been less than now. 'Spices such as cuminseed, corianderseed and ginger were probably within the peasant's reach, but cloves, cardamoms and pepper were obviously too expensive, at least, in the central regions.' Capsicum or chillies were unknown.<sup>7</sup> Fruits of the common kind, mangoes, melons, berries, coconut, etc., were available to the poor in season.<sup>8</sup> Toddy and other intoxicating drinks distilled from plants such as *māhū* and sugar cane were also used.

<sup>1</sup> Tavernier [104] (2), 38, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Palsaert [98] (trans. Moreland and Geyl), 60-1.

<sup>3</sup> Abū'l Faḍl [123], 1, 258.

<sup>4</sup> Habib [545], 95.

<sup>5</sup> For the common fruits in India, see: Bābur [168] (ed. Beveridge), 105-15.

<sup>6</sup> Abū'l Faḍl [123], 1, 389, 391, 516, 564.

<sup>7</sup> Fryer [107], II, 119.

<sup>8</sup> Tavernier [104], I, 258.

It is difficult to draw a comparison between the food available to the poor in medieval and modern times. According to one view, 'the peasant of Mughal times was more fortunate with *gbi*, while his modern descendant has more salt and three entirely new articles of food, maize, potatoes and chillies'.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a modern Indian economist is of the opinion that in view of the larger average size of holding, higher productivity of land and a more favourable land:man ratio, 'the standards of food consumption were substantially higher than now'.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to compute the amount of money spent on fairs and festivals which were frequent, and provided a welcome relief from the drab life of the villagers. Money was also spent on birth and death ceremonies and marriages, and sometimes debts had to be contracted for the purpose. Pilgrimages were popular.

Famine and epidemics were two major scourges in the lives of the villages. Partial failure of crops due to lack or excess of rain or other reasons was of frequent occurrence. Though these led to widespread suffering the peasant often tried to keep a reserve grain in stock to tide over bad times.<sup>3</sup> The state, too, provided relief by remission of land revenue and loans (*taqāvī*). But the big famines which affected large areas and were often accompanied by epidemics disrupted the entire rural economy and led to mass migrations. Relief operations by the state and by private individuals were of little avail.

Nevertheless, the picture of peasant life in Mughal India is not one of acute discontent, except in some areas at different periods. The Agra-Mathura region, inhabited by the Jat peasants was one such area during the seventeenth century. For the bulk of the writers of the period in the various regional languages, the village represented an established way of life in which both joys and sorrows were to be borne with equanimity.

#### THE URBAN POOR

It is difficult to compute the number or proportion of the poor people in the cities. According to Bābur, one of the good things that could be said of Hindustan was that it had 'unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind'.<sup>4</sup> Apart from artisans and workmen, the cities had large numbers of soldiers and their hangers-on, and a considerable number of servants and retainers, both free and slaves. The employment of large numbers of servants and attendants by the upper classes was a characteristic feature of Indian society of the time. As many travellers noted, a 'man of quality' would not move out in public without being attended by a train of attendants, pages and slaves. Bernier says, 'for

<sup>1</sup> Habib [545], 94.

<sup>2</sup> See: Morris [410], 285.

<sup>3</sup> Desai [285], 61. See also: Moavi [415], 181-4.

<sup>4</sup> Bābur [168], (trans. Beveridge), II.

this indicator of aggregate demand, the authors then arrive at estimates of the probability of conflict by calculating the ratio of demand to capabilities.<sup>23</sup> Application of the model to the case of pre-war Japan seems, on the basis of aggregate data, to yield a fairly close fit. With the growth of Japan's population and economic infrastructure, coupled with the loss of export markets and access to overseas resources, the strains on finite resources built up to a point where the incentives to engage in war were overwhelming. How much of an impact did the loss of overseas markets and resources have? If economic incentives drove Japanese leaders to expand the country's colonial empire, then these incentives may have indirectly induced the domestic changes already noted—the emergence of "fascist" ideology and the urge toward a managerial polity.

All of this suggests that there are gaping holes in our knowledge of how the external environment affected pre-war Japan. There is a growing body of theoretical literature in the field of international relations which can be usefully tested on the case of pre-war Japan. Instead of remaining transfixed by the need to explain the aberrational phenomenon of fascism—or for that matter, the failure of democracy, or the derailing of political development—we need to press beyond the orthodox concerns of the past to formulate new questions, build new models, and test these empirically within a broad spectrum of heretofore unexplored perspectives. The study of fascism—in spite of all the problems alluded to here—has produced a number of valuable works, particularly those of Maruyama Masao. But the field has come to a stage where the problems and costs of continuing this line of inquiry outweigh the benefits. One of the underlying reasons for the postwar flurry of Japanese studies on fascism—the psychological need to identify who or what was responsible for the tragedy of the Second World War—may have passed. So, too, may the scholarly rationale for directing so much attention to this subject.

<sup>23</sup> Robert North and Nazli Choucri, *Nations in Conflict* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975).

## The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire of the Mughals

STEPHEN P. BLAKE

A number of nonspecialists have used the Mughal Empire as an example of various models of state organization,<sup>1</sup> but no authority on Muslim India has yet attempted to place the Mughal state in a larger context, as part of a more generalized type of political organization. Depending on which aspect of the state was examined (economic, administrative, social, religious, or military), the Empire was characterized as oriental, despotic, Persian, Indian, Turkish, Mongol, or some combination of these. In no instance were the implications of these terms fully spelled out, and no complete model of this traditional state was presented.<sup>2</sup> The lack of a blueprint did not mean, however, that scholars wrote about the Mughal Empire in a vacuum, without presuppositions; on the contrary, a set of unexamined assumptions which established the categories of analysis and limited the varieties of evidence lay beneath most explications of the Mughal state. The following reinterpretation is based on the belief that these assumptions were nonindigenous and anachronistic, were not supported by the Persian sources, and were the cause of widespread misunderstanding.

The source of these assumptions was the notion that the Mughal Empire was ancestor to the British Raj—and, to be sure, there were a number of ways in which the British system followed Mughal practice. For example, like the Mughals, the British divided governmental authority into two main branches, military and revenue; they kept the basic Mughal administrative subdivisions and centralized civil power at each level in the hands of one person; and they adopted, especially after the Mutiny of 1857, the Mughal position that the state's role should be limited to collecting taxes and maintaining law and order. As a result, most specialists on the

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the treatment of the Mughal Empire in the following: S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Political Systems of Empires* (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 12 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935–64), 7, pt. 4; Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974), 3; Edward L. Farmer et al., *A Comparative History of Civilizations in Asia*, 2 vols. (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1977), 1; and Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 3 vols. (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), 3.

<sup>2</sup> M. Athar Ali exhibits the clearest perception of this failure in his presidential address to the 1972 meeting of the Indian History Congress, *Proceedings of the 33rd Session of the Indian History Congress* (Muzaffarpur: Indian History Congress, 1972), pp. 175–88. In the last chapter of his recent work, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1976), Michael Pearson offers a model of the political system in Gujarat. This model certainly has implications for the organization of the empire at large, but Pearson does not spell them out in any detail. He restricts his analysis for the most part to western India and Gujarat.

Mughal period (particularly those writing in the early part of the century) looked to the highly structured military, judicial, and administrative systems of late Imperial India (c. 1875–1914) for clues to the organization of the Mughal state. Thus, scholars described *mansabdārs*, the officers of the Mughal army, as members of a finely graded, hierarchical system of rank and responsibility similar to that of the British army, with detailed salary schedules, promotions, demotions, bestowal of honors, regulations regarding horses and equipment, and a great gap between officers and soldiers. *Mansabdārs* filled almost all of the posts in what was portrayed as an elaborately bureaucratic administrative system. The Empire was divided and subdivided, according to this view, into provinces, districts, and subdistricts for ease of administration. At each level, military, fiscal, and judicial officials operated within definite jurisdictional limits. Carefully drawn lines of authority, it was argued, linked ministers of central departments in the capital to junior officials in small towns, with each official answering to his immediate superior. These scholars seem to have understood Mughal government as a kind of undeveloped forerunner of the rational, highly systematized military, administrative, and legal framework of British Imperial India.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Patrimonial-Bureaucratic Empire

Before moving to an analysis of Mughal government, I would like to discuss briefly a model of the premodern state called the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. As an ideal type, this model does not reflect the working of any actual state, but presents a catalogue of elements drawn from existing situations and ordered into a functioning but theoretical system. Just as an economy can be judged "free market" without displaying all the elements of Adam Smith's model, for example, so an

<sup>3</sup> Examples of this approach occur most frequently in the work of an earlier generation of scholars whose writings were responsible for the standard introductions to the Mughal state. See, for example, William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls: Its Organization and Administration* (1903; rpt. New Delhi: Eurasian Publishing House Private Ltd., 1962); Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* (1936; rpt. Karachi: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967); Ishaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire* (Karachi: Univ. of Karachi, 1966); A. L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, 2 vols. (Agra, U.P.: Shiva Lal Agarwall and Company, 1962–67), 2; P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (Allahabad, U.P.: Kitabistan, 1941).

The younger historians, on the other hand, having narrowed their interests and limited their topics, have not yet begun to re-examine the larger question. While none of what I stress here is unknown to them, these scholars have not, because of their more circumscribed purview, reflected on the implications of these aspects of Mughal government for the established interpretation. They have not seen the contradiction between the patrimonial aspects of the Mughal state and the conventional description of it in the standard works. See M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1968; paperback ed., 1970); and Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, 2d. ed. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1972). Both authors have put together detailed studies that break important new ground, but neither has looked into the impact of his work on the conventional model of the Mughal state.

Two careful, imaginative Western historians of Mughal India, John F. Richards and Michael N. Pearson, are pertinent also. Pearson's closely argued study focuses almost exclusively on western India. Richards' painstaking examination of Mughal administration in the South Indian state of Golconda, a revealing look at an often-ignored area, discusses both the patrimonial and bureaucratic aspects of the Mughal state without touching the larger issue. See *Mughal Administration in Golconda* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 75–78. Finally, a look at the new historical atlas of South Asia reveals that the older view is far from dead. The table portraying the administrative organization of the Mughal Empire is a perfect rendering of the standard interpretation. See Joseph Schwartzberg, ed., *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978), plate VI.A.2, p. 45.

empire can be termed "patrimonial-bureaucratic" without demonstrating all of the particulars of the type. Understood in this way, the model is more a suggestion, an outline, a guide, or point of departure than it is a final explanation of a particular historical circumstance.

In discussing the political framework of this type I draw heavily on Max Weber's work on the patrimonial state. The ruler of such a state governs on the basis of a personal, traditional authority whose model is the patriarchal family. Patrimonial domination originates in the patriarch's authority over his household; it entails obedience to a person, not an office; it depends on the reciprocal loyalty between subject and master; and it is limited only by the ruler's discretion. Patrimonial states arise, according to Weber, when lords and princes extend their sway over extrahousehold subjects (patrimonial masters themselves) in areas beyond the patriarchal domain. This extension involves a change of authority: from the patrimonial, which is domestic and personal, to the purely political, which is military and judicial and which must be administered by extrahousehold officials. Expansion does not limit the ruler's ambition, however. Within the larger realm, conceived as a huge household, the ruler/master tries to exercise military and judicial power in the same absolute and unrestrained way. In the description which follows I distinguish two variants within the patrimonial type of political organization. The first, the patrimonial kingdom, is the smaller of the two, and is closer in organization and government to the ideal represented by the patriarchal family. The second, the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire, is larger and more diffuse. Rulers of such empires developed a collection of strategies and techniques that allowed personal, household-dominated rule of an attenuated sort within realms of considerable area, population, and complexity.

To govern successfully, a patrimonial ruler must have at his disposal a body of loyal, disciplined soldiers. Patrimonial armies were made up of troops whose primary allegiance was to an individual rather than to a dynasty or an office. In patrimonial kingdoms the military forces consisted, for the most part, of the household troops of the ruler. In patrimonial-bureaucratic empires, on the other hand, armies grew large and complex. The armies required to pacify and maintain order in states of such size were too large for the imperial household to manage and support. As a result, the armies of patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors split into two groups: the private household troops of the emperor, and the soldiers of major subordinates, who made up the bulk of the army—men who were bound more to their commanders than to the emperor.

Patrimonial administration followed a similar pattern. In the limited compass of the patrimonial kingdom the private domain of the ruler was virtually coterminous with the realm itself, and there was little or no difference between state and household officials. In patrimonial-bureaucratic empires, however, these groups were not the same. The extension of control beyond the household domain called forth extrapatrimonial officials who administered, for the most part, the collection of taxes and the settlement of a limited number of disputes. Such officials, neither dependents nor bureaucrats, worked in an organization intermediate between the household apparatus of the patrimonial kingdom and the highly bureaucratized system of the modern state. For example, patrimonial-bureaucratic officials filled positions that were loosely defined and imperfectly ordered—a situation very different from the articulated hierarchy of precisely circumscribed offices in a modern bureaucracy. Candidates for posts in patrimonial-bureaucratic administrations had

to demonstrate personal qualifications—loyalty, family, and position—in addition to technical qualifications such as reading and writing. Whereas modern bureaucrats are given fixed salaries in money, members of these administrations were often assigned prebends or benefices, such as rights to certain of the fees, taxes, or goods due the state. In a modern bureaucracy a job is a career, and is the primary occupation of the jobholder; in patrimonial-bureaucratic administrations, on the other hand, officeholders served at the pleasure of the ruler and often performed tasks unrelated to their appointments. Finally, while modern bureaucrats are subject to an official, impersonal authority, patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors demanded personal loyalty and allegiance of their officials. Such rulers ignored the modern distinction between private and official, or personal and professional, and tried to make household dependents of their subordinates.

In the smallest and most intimate patrimonial kingdoms, officials received compensation for their services directly from the ruler's household—they ate at his table, clothed themselves from his wardrobe, and rode horses from his stables. Beyond that, however, they had no claim on the resources of the realm. In the larger, more complex situation of the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire, on the other hand, rulers found it impossible to maintain personally all members of their expanded administrations; thus they began more and more to give officials benefits or prebends. In time this led to a situation in which the greater portion of state revenues was assigned to soldiers and officials. Since these revenues bypassed the ruler entirely, and since the assigned lands were often at considerable distances from the capital, this arrangement meant a loosening of the emperor's control over his officials. Under such conditions the strength of personal, patrimonial authority began to wane, and officials began to appropriate prebends and declare their independence.

As a result, patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors began to devise strategies that would replace, to some extent at least, the traditional sources of control. In order to maintain their hold and prevent appropriation, emperors traveled widely and frequently, renewing in countless face-to-face meetings the personal bond between master and subject on which the state was founded; they demanded of all soldiers and officials regular attendance at court and, on their departure, often required that a son or relative be left behind as hostage; they periodically rotated officials from post to post, allowing no one to keep his job for more than a few years running; they maintained a network of newswriters or intelligence gatherers outside the regular administrative structure who reported directly to them; and, finally, in an effort to check the power of subordinates, rulers of patrimonial-bureaucratic empires created provincial and district offices with overlapping responsibilities.<sup>4</sup>

As I turn now to an analysis of the Mughal state, it is important to remember that I have just described the political structure of an ideal type. Although one

<sup>4</sup> The most complete discussion of the patrimonial state and its variants is Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1: 229–57, 263–64; 3: 966–72, 1006–69, 1086–92. Weber's remarks on the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire are scattered and fragmentary, and so not easy to integrate and interpret. His style is to construct pure types—the patrimonial state and the modern bureaucratic state—and contrast

them. No historical state, as Weber himself points out, exactly matches either type. All present and past state systems are combinations of elements from several types; the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire is a mixture of the modern bureaucratic and patrimonial states. Actual historical examples of the model differ as they approach closer to one or the other pure type.

cannot expect to find a perfect patrimonial-bureaucratic image in the governmental organization of any historical state; a number of states should approximate the model more or less closely. The Mughal Empire belongs to that number,<sup>5</sup> as do several other roughly contemporaneous Asian states—the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, the Safavid Empire in Iran, the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan, and the Ming Empire in China.<sup>6</sup>

The *A'in-i Akbari* (Regulations of Akbar) of Abu al-Fazl is the major text on Mughal government; it is the manual that expounds Akbar's conception of the state and his plans for ordering and administering it. The structure developed by Akbar and described in the *A'in* by Abu al-Fazl endured: succeeding emperors left it pretty much alone, and it survived in its basic form down to the early eighteenth century. Most misinterpretations of the Mughal Empire stem from a misreading of the *A'in*. It is not that scholars relied on inaccurate translations—most of them, in fact, knew Persian, and read the texts in the original. The misreading arose instead from the preconceptions they brought to their work. To examine the *A'in* de novo, in Persian, and, as far as possible, without presuppositions, is the only way to uncover the indigenous categories of state organization.

The bulk of this essay concentrates on the details of reinterpretation. While I do not mean to imply that the Mughal state was unique, I also do not want to begin a search for origins. Such a search is often elusive and unproductive, especially when it is intended as an explanation. However, I do want to include a few lines on the Asian states that seem to have influenced, to some degree at least, the organization of the Mughal Empire.

The Mughal Emperors were Turks. Babar, the founder of the dynasty, spoke Chaghatai Turkish and descended from Timur, the great Central Asian ruler (r. 1370–1405). "Timurid" is probably a more accurate name for the dynasty than "Mughal" (from Mongol). As Turks, the Mughal Emperors—like the Timurid rulers before them—were influenced by both the Mongols and Persians. The Mongol state of Chinghiz Khan (r. 1206–27), much closer than the Mughal Empire to the pure patrimonial type, contributed a strong patrimonial strain. The Mongols, for example, gave Imperial officers household titles: the man in charge of one of Chinghiz's armies had the title "cook," and some of the highest officials were given the title "fifth-son"—Chinghiz had four natural sons and, at one time, three fifth-sons. Furthermore, a decree issued by Hulegu (son of the Grand Khan Mongke) in the mid-1250s divided government into the same three categories—household, army, and empire—as did the *A'in*.<sup>7</sup>

The Persians contributed a strong bureaucratic strain not only to the Mughals, but also to the other Turkish and Mongol states in West and Central Asia. From the time of the Sasanid Empire (c. A.D. 224–651), the Persians had a routinized system of tax collection, a well-developed, bureaucratic administrative system, and a tra-

<sup>5</sup> This is, as far as I know, the first serious attempt to analyze the Mughal empire in terms of the patrimonial-bureaucratic model. Both Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers*, p. 62, and Peter Hardy, *The Mughals of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 12–14 mention Weber's work. Neither, however, writes at any length on the application of the model to Mughal India.

<sup>6</sup> I do not have the space here to present the

evidence. The details of the argument are worked out in a manuscript I am preparing on the history of Shahjahanabad, the capital of the Mughal Empire from 1648–1858.

<sup>7</sup> Rashid al-Din, *Jami al-Tavarikh*, ed. B. Karimi, 2 vols. (Tehran: n.p., 1959), 2: 688. I am indebted to Thomas Allsen for the reference and the information about the Mongols.

dition of strong centralized rule under an absolute, semidivine emperor. Akbar's contribution to the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire in India was to develop, refine, and systematize the elements of state organization he had inherited from India and West and Central Asia. Both the Muslim dynasties which preceded the Mughals (collectively called the Delhi Sultanate, c. 1206–1526) and the earlier Hindu states such as the Mauryan Empire (c. 322–185 B.C.) exhibited aspects of patrimonial-bureaucratic organization. Akbar synthesized these elements into the coherent, rational system of government that we see described in the *A'in-i Akbari*, and gave the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire in India its most systematic, fully developed, and clearly articulated form.

#### The Structure of the Mughal Empire

In his preface to the *A'in-i Akbari*, Abu al-Fazl states that the art of governing comprises three topics: "I shall explain the regulations [ā'in] of the household [manzil], the army [sipāh], and the empire [mulk] since these three constitute the work of a ruler."<sup>8</sup> The divisions of the text reflect this view of state organization: Book One discusses the Imperial household, Book Two the army, Book Three the empire at large, Book Four Hindu religious, social, and intellectual activity, and Book Five the sayings of Akbar.

#### Household

The dominating presence in Book One and, indeed, in the text as a whole (two of the five books center on him) is Akbar, the emperor. A major theme in the first book, one that is treated from a variety of perspectives, is the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. Abu al-Fazl defines a ruler as a man touched by God, a person ennobled by divine inspiration: "Royalty [pādshāhī] is a light from God. . . . Without a mediator it appears as a holy form to the holders of power and at the sight of it everyone bends the forehead of praise to the ground of submission."<sup>9</sup> On receipt of this illumination a ruler acquires the qualities and virtues needed to govern successfully. These include trust in God, prayer and devotion, a large heart, and, first and most important, a paternal love for the people—the ideal ruler governs as a father.<sup>10</sup> Such a ruler—and Abu al-Fazl uses Akbar as the exemplar—is presented as an *insān-i kāmil* (perfect man), a Sufi phrase which describes a person who enjoys a special and intimate relationship with God.<sup>11</sup> In his massive biography of Akbar, *The Akbar Namah*, Abu al-Fazl includes a number of miraculous stories intended to

<sup>8</sup> Abu al-Fazl, *The A'in-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochmann, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872–77), 1: 7; Abu al-Fazl, *The A'in-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, corrected and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, 2d ed., 3 vols. (1927–1949; rpt. New Delhi: New Imperial Book Depot, 1965), 1: 9. I follow the system of transliteration of F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. In all footnotes to the *A'in*, I include references to both the Persian and English editions of the text, so that interested readers may discover Blochmann's errors by comparing his translation with the original work. All translations in this paper are, of course, my own.

<sup>9</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 2; *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 3. For a similar statement see *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 158 and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 172.

<sup>10</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 2; *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 3.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the term see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d, ed., s.v. "al-insān al-kāmil." Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, 3: 75–80; and Srivastava, *Akbar*, 2: 300 both argue that Abu al-Fazl presented Akbar in such a light throughout his writings. *A'in* 77 provides perhaps the best example of Abu al-Fazl's approach. See *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 158–60; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 170–76.

illustrate the emperor's close relationship with God, and to buttress the claim that Akbar was a perfect man.

This view of Akbar as a divinely inspired patriarch, an extremely wise, just, competent, and creative father of his people, is one supported by the most controversial *ā'in* in Book One, *A'in* 77. "The Regulation on Guidance" (*ā'in-i rāh-nāmā*), mistranslated "His Majesty as the Spiritual Guide of the People,"<sup>12</sup> has been interpreted by the translator Heinrich Blochmann and others as Akbar's attempt to start a new religion called the *dīn-i ilāhī*, or divine faith. As several scholars have pointed out, however, this interpretation is surely false. What Akbar almost certainly intended, as befits a perfect man, was to start a small Sufi sect with himself as *pīr*, or leader.<sup>13</sup> A crucial phrase in *A'in* 77, "regulations for the disciples" (*ā'in-i irādat guzīnān*), was misrendered "Ordinances of the Divine Faith" by Blochmann and was, without justification, set off from the body of the text.<sup>14</sup> Neither the regulations nor the ceremony of initiation described in *A'in* 77 would seem unusual to any member of a Sufi order.

The elaborate rules governing admission to court and establishing behavior before the throne (*A'ins* 73–75) also support this reading of the relationship between emperor and subject. Extreme deference is the only attitude possible in the presence of an emperor who is also a perfect man. That rulers are touched by God, singled out, and called to the throne is a major theme in Abu al-Fazl's discussion of the Imperial household. Once in power a ruler is inspired by God to govern his state with the same strength, wisdom, and compassion that a father employs in looking after his household.

A second theme—the mixing of household and state—surfaces in Abu al-Fazl's discussion of this first branch of government. In the Imperial household, departments dealing with purely domestic matters coexist side-by-side with departments of wider reach and greater significance. In Book One there are regulations for the harem, the wardrobe, the kitchen, and the perfumery; there are also directives on the care and keeping of the emperor's elephants, horses, cows, camels, and mules. Several *ā'in* touch on matters of construction—on styles, materials, and workmen. In addition to departments of a mostly personal and familial kind, there are departments whose responsibility extends beyond the care and comfort of the emperor's immediate family. Thus Book One contains regulations on the Imperial mint, the state arsenal, the department of the treasury, the use of royal seals, the symbolic prerogatives of royalty, and the organization of the Imperial camp.

A look at the finances of the Imperial household indicates something of the scale of this branch of government. In 1594 the income of Akbar's household (i.e., the monies from the emperor's private lands) was about 25 percent of total state revenues, and salaries for clerks, servants, and laborers—by no means the entire dependent population of the household—amounted to nearly 9 percent of Imperial

<sup>12</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 158; *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 170.

<sup>13</sup> This issue has generated a good deal of controversy. For the arguments in favor of a new religion, see *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 176–223. For the opposing and, it seems to me, more plausible view, see Srivastava, *Akbar*, 1: 303–13, 2: 311–16; and S. M. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, ed. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1975, pp. 374–417.

<sup>14</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 160; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 175.

revenues.<sup>15</sup> All of this suggests close similarities between the Mughal and patrimonial-bureaucratic empires. The centrality and importance of the Imperial household in the organization of Akbar's empire parallels the position of the ruler's establishment in the ideal type. Abu al-Fazl's portrayal of Akbar as a divinely aided father to his people recalls the traditional, family rooted authority of the patrimonial-bureaucratic emperor. And, finally, the inclusion of state offices and officials in the Imperial household, the combination there of personal and official, brings to mind the thwarted ambition of patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors to absorb state into household and to rule the realm as one great extended family.

#### Army

In Book Two of the *Ā'm-i Akbari* Abu al-Fazl discusses the army, and divides this second branch of Mughal government into four classes: *mansabdārs* and their men, *ahādis* (from *ahād*, "one"), other soldiers, and infantry. Although *mansabdārs* are clearly preferred, and although scholars have written a good deal about them, it is well to remember that this group did not make up the whole of the Mughal army. Men with mounted followers became *mansabdārs* only after an interview with Akbar. In the meeting between emperor and applicant, Akbar had an opportunity to size up the candidate and to inquire into his background and experience. With his divinely aided insight and judgment, Akbar was, according to Abu al-Fazl, consistently able to choose superior men: "According to his knowledge of the temper of the times . . . he evaluated many [candidates] immediately and gave them high rank at once."<sup>16</sup> Akbar established sixty-six ranks, corresponding to the value of the letters in the word Allah. It is clear, however, that this division of the interval between ten and ten thousand, the high and low ranks, was mostly theoretical. Blochmann found, for example, that only thirty-three of the sixty-six possible ranks were ever actually filled during Akbar's reign.<sup>17</sup>

*Ahādis*, the second class of the Mughal army, were single men who had no mounted military following, and so could not be given *mansabdāri* rank. Since they were often men of talent and birth, however, and skilled in fighting and administration, the emperor decided it was better to keep them nearby as a body of personal servants than to assign them to *mansabdāri* contingents. *Ahādis*, like *mansabdārs*, had to maintain a certain number of horses in proper condition.<sup>18</sup>

The third class of the Mughal army included all those horsemen who were neither *ahādis* nor members of a *mansabdāri* contingent. Since these men were usually too poor to own horses, the Mughals gave them lands or cash to buy mounts and to support themselves. In return, these cavalrymen served as extra troops for *mansabdārs* on campaign and as auxiliaries for provincial authorities.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> In *The Agrarian System of Mughal India: 1556–1739* (Bombay, India: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 272, Irfan Habib estimates Akbar's private lands to have yielded about 25 percent of total land revenues. For the salaries of servants and others, see *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 9; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 12. The figure for total state revenues can be found in *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 386; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 129.

<sup>16</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 179; and *A'in*,

trans. Blochmann, 1: 248. For another example of Akbar's penchant for making quick decisions on *mansabdāri* candidates see *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 191; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 265.

<sup>17</sup> *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 248–50.

<sup>18</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 187; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 259–60.

<sup>19</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 175, 187–88; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 241, 260–61.

The dominance of the cavalry in Mughal military thought and organization is reflected in the rag-tag character of the fourth class of the Mughal army, the *soorsoldiers*. Of the nine groups listed under *A'in* 6, only one, matchlock bearers, participated in actual combat. Porters, runners, guards, gladiators, wrestlers, slaves, bearers, and laborers worked as miscellaneous support personnel.<sup>20</sup>

The remainder of Book Two deals with other aspects of army organization: *A'ins* 7 and 8 establish procedures for the branding of horses, while *A'in* 9 outlines the regulations for mounting guard. For purposes of protecting the person and household of the ruler, the four divisions of the army were required to perform three kinds of guard duty. To staff the most visible and demanding shift, that which performed court duties and stood daily before the emperor, the army was divided into seven parts, one for each day of the week. For the two longer shifts, the Mughal military forces were broken down into two separate and distinct divisions of twelve parts each. One shift, one-twelfth of the army, headquartered in the Imperial establishment for an entire month and the other shift, a different one-twelfth, lived with the emperor for a full year.<sup>21</sup>

Another group of regulations appears at first glance to have little in common with the subject matter of Book Two: *A'ins* 16–19 treat Akbar's charitable contributions; *A'in* 22 discusses feasts; *A'in* 23, fancy bazars; *A'in* 24, marriage; and *A'in* 25, education. If these regulations are read carefully and in context, however, a common theme links them all: namely, the emperor's efforts to influence, order, and shape the lives of his subordinates. Thus, the *ā'ins* on Akbar's gifts to the needy and deserving seem intended to give *mansabdārs* examples of meritorious activity.<sup>22</sup> The regulations on feasts and fancy bazars are also exemplary, since feasts provide opportunities to dispense charity, and bazars are occasions for hearing the grievances of local shopkeepers and inspecting the productions of household workshops.<sup>23</sup> Akbar's intention to regulate the private lives of his nobles is even more evident in the *ā'ins* covering marriage and education. In *A'in* 24 Akbar established rules for the size of dowries, the age of consent, and the permitted degrees of consanguinity; he also appointed two officials to see that the rules were followed. Finally, in *A'in* 25 Akbar suggested reforms in the traditional system of education: he wanted the method of instruction simplified and its pace increased, and urged that the curriculum be expanded to include subjects of practical interest, like arithmetic, arithmetical notation, agriculture, household management, rules of government, and physiognomy, in addition to the traditional religious topics.<sup>24</sup>

*A'ins* 27 and 28 cover hunting, and *A'in* 29, games. According to Abu al-Fazl, Akbar's motive in pursuing these activities was not primarily relaxation or diversion: hunting expeditions gave the emperor a chance to examine the condition of the people and the army, and games like chess and field hockey sharpened the reflexes, judgment, and concentration of the participants.<sup>25</sup>

It is time now to summarize Abu al-Fazl's discussion of the Mughal army.

<sup>20</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 188–90; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 261–64.

<sup>21</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 192; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 267–68.

<sup>22</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 197–99; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 276–80.

<sup>23</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 200–201; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 286–87.

<sup>24</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 201–2; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 287–89.

<sup>25</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 204–22; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 292–320.

*Mansabdārs*, the most important of the four military divisions, received ranks and assignments only after an interview with the emperor. Acceptance into the army required no special qualifications and did not depend on heredity. Although Abu al-Fazl's table of sixty-six ranks suggests a carefully worked out system of organization, the fact that only thirty-three of these were ever used agrees with the individual and ad hoc character of other military arrangements—recruitment, promotion, and assignment, for example. All *mansabdārs* reported directly to the ruler and not to other men of greater rank; no chain of command separated emperor and officer. *Mansabdārs* had to spend a good deal of time in the presence of the emperor. They were called to court on change of assignment and for promotion, and they had to stand three separate guard duties in the Imperial household. The emperor apparently took advantage of these periods of proximity to meddle in their private lives: he regulated their marriages, prescribed the education of their sons, and organized the activities of their leisure. The personnel of the Mughal army, like soldiers in patrimonial-bureaucratic empires, could not be contained within the Imperial household. As a result, the Mughal army functioned in two parts. One part was headquartered in the Imperial household. It included the *ahādis*, Imperial foot-soldiers, and *mansabdārs* who had been assigned duty at court and their contingents. The other part, on campaign or stationed in posts around the realm, comprised the *mansabdārs* outside court, their cavalry, and the extra horsemen and infantry assigned them.

All of this suggests an empire much closer to the patrimonial-bureaucratic than to the British Indian. It is inappropriate, it seems to me, to characterize Abu al-Fazl's discussion of *mansabdārs* in Book Two as the delineation of a highly bureaucratic administrative system. To describe it this way, as many scholars have done,<sup>26</sup> is to employ categories anachronistic and foreign to the Mughal experience. And, as I have tried to show in the discussion above, Book Two of the *A'in-i Akbari* cannot bear the burden of such an interpretation. Book Two does seem to support the interpretation of the Mughal state as a patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. In Abu al-Fazl's discussion, the Mughal army is the adjunct of a household-dominated patrimonial-bureaucratic empire rather than the fighting arm of a highly structured, bureaucratically administered state.

#### Empire

The designation of the empire as the third aspect of governance indicates a progressive widening in the range of the ruler's responsibility. *A'in* 1 of Book Three lays out the duties of the *sipāh sälär* (army commander), the man in general charge of provincial affairs. Known later as the *nāzīm* or *sūbhādār*, this *mansabdār* controlled the largest body of troops in the area, and was primarily responsible for keeping the peace.<sup>27</sup> *A'in* 2 discusses the major military subordinate of the *sipāh sälär*, the *saujdār*. This officer commanded a large body of cavalry, and was supposed to maintain order in several subdivisions (*parganabs*) of the province. He was charged not only with subduing recalcitrant cultivators, but also with checking the ambitions of local revenue-collectors and *jāgīrdārs* (*mansabdārs* who had been assigned lands in lieu of cash salaries).<sup>28</sup> *A'in* 3 outlines the duties of the Imperial sub-

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Srivastava, *Akbar*, 2: 218; trans. Blochmann, 2: 37–41. and Qureshi, *Mughal Administration*, p. 102.

<sup>27</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 280–83; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 41–42.

<sup>28</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 283; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 41–42.

ordinaries (*qāzī* and *mir 'adl*) responsible for the administration of justice in the provinces. The regulation does not assign these men specific posts, and they may well have had permanent positions only in large towns and cities, spending the rest of their time riding circuit and dispensing periodic justice.<sup>29</sup> *A'in* 4 takes up the duties of the *kotwāl*, the chief urban official in Mughal India, who was charged with patrolling the streets and maintaining order, collecting information on townspeople, regulating artisans and merchants, seeing that markets ran properly, and collecting taxes.<sup>30</sup>

*A'in*s 5, 6, and 7 describe the responsibilities of revenue collectors. The *'amal-guzār* (collector) was the chief fiscal officer at the subprovincial level, who, with the help of his assistants, oversaw all aspects of revenue administration in the village. He dealt directly with village officials, and mediated between them and provincial and Imperial officers. He also sent to court information on prices, local assignees, artisans, cultivators, and the poor.<sup>31</sup> *A'in* 6 sets out the duties of the accountant (*bitikchī*), writer, and assistant to the *'amal-guzār*. He gathered data on land tenures, sales, leases, yields, prices, and taxes and made it available to the collector. In the survey of village lands, and during the assessment and collection of taxes, the *bitikchī* prepared a meticulous record of all holdings, assessments, payments, and disbursements. After being checked by the collector, this record was sent directly to the Imperial court.<sup>32</sup> The second assistant of the collector, the *khizānadar* (treasurer), is considered in *A'in* 7; this official deposited government revenues in a secure place in or near the collector's residence. All monies received were entered in an account book, and no disbursements were made without written order of the provincial or Imperial *diwān* (finance officer).<sup>33</sup>

The rest of Book Three deals with matters of land revenue. *A'in*s 8 through 13 consider the classification and measurement of agricultural lands. To fully understand *A'in*s 14 (The Nineteen Years' Rate) and 15 (The Ten Years' Settlement) it is necessary to see them in the context of Akbar's attempts to determine a fair and accurate tax on agricultural produce. Before 1579 the tax demanded of an individual cultivator was based on estimates of the size of his land, the yield on his crop, and its price in the market. In 1560, in an attempt to reduce the inaccuracy and unreliability of this method, Akbar's men began collecting data on the market prices and revenue rates of various crops in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and Malwa. These figures, collected for the years through 1579, are displayed in the tables of *A'in* 14.<sup>34</sup> In 1575, still dissatisfied with the revenue system, Akbar ordered that all lands in the central Indo-Gangetic provinces revert to the *khāliqa*, the Imperial domain. This meant that *mansabdārs* who had been assigned the state's share of the tax on a group of lands (the lands were called a *jāgīr* and the person so compensated a *jāgīrdār*) were henceforward to be paid in cash from the Imperial treasury. During the following five years the lands in the newly expanded Imperial domain were carefully measured, crop prices meticulously noted, and the tax rates accurately determined. In 1579 a new assessment was prepared: the

<sup>29</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 283; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 42–43.

<sup>30</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 284–85; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 43–45.

<sup>31</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 285–88; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 46–50.

<sup>32</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 288; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 50–52.

<sup>33</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 289; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 52–53.

<sup>34</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 303–47; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 75–93.

revenue rates for the five years prior to 1575 were added to the figures collected from 1575 to 1579, and the total divided by ten. The new assessment, the average of the rates for each crop over a ten year period, is shown for the eight provinces of the central Empire in *A'in* 15.<sup>35</sup> After these figures were established, Akbar removed a large part of the rich lands of the central provinces from the Imperial domain and reassigned it to *mansabdārs*, but retained for his own household lands yielding some 25 percent of total revenues. The remainder of *A'in* 15 is given over to a general account of the fifteen provinces of the empire. Included in these descriptions are revenue figures for each revenue subdivision of each district of each province.

The seven officials who made up the administrative structure described in Book Three are not presented as links in administrative chains joining individual villages—by way of subdistrict, district, and provincial offices—to central departments in the capital. Rather, as we have seen, an official's responsibility often cut across several of these essentially fiscal divisions; individual men were not posted at each separate level. In such an arrangement Mughal officials, unlike modern bureaucrats, were expected to deal not only with those nearest them in the organization—immediate superiors and subordinates—but with others as well. In fact, the expectation seems to have been that most officials would report directly to the emperor. A passage in *A'in* 7 suggests the Mughal view: "All of the work, from that of the *sipāh sālār* to that of this person [khwāzānādār], is primarily in the charge of the emperor. And since the strength of one person is not sufficient, he appointed a deputy for each task and gave the necessary threads [of government] extra strength."<sup>36</sup> A look at what modern scholars call the central level of administration lends support to the idea that the emperor took direct and personal responsibility for all facets of governance. Book Three, as we have seen, discusses only the seven officials named above; it contains nothing whatsoever on the superiors of the army-commander, collector, or judge stationed at court.

It is necessary to return to the preface to find mention of these officials. There Abu al-Fazl divides the men who assist the ruler, the men of the state, into four groups. The first group, nobles of the state (*nizānā-i dawlat*), included all high-ranking *mansabdārs*. As head of this group, the *vākil* (prime minister) was the "... emperor's deputy in all things concerning the empire (*mulk*) and the household (*manzil*)."<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, he was the one person in the Imperial entourage most concerned with the problems of the army-commander and his subordinates in the districts. Group two, friends of victory (*auliyā-i nusrat*), included all those who dealt with the collection and disbursement of state funds. The *dīwān* commanded these men, and was the person in the capital most interested in the reports of the *'amal-guzār* and his assistants. Group three, companions of the emperor (*ashāb-i 'ubbat*), included men of religion and learning. Here we find the *sadr*, to whom the provincial officials responsible for law and justice reported. Group four, servants (*arbāb-i khidmat*), included those who worked for and waited upon the emperor and his family in the Imperial household.<sup>38</sup>

Book Three, like Books One and Two, describes an empire much closer to the patrimonial-bureaucratic than to the British Indian model. Although the Mughal

<sup>35</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 347–86; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 94–122.

<sup>36</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 289; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 53.

<sup>37</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 4; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 4–5.

<sup>38</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 4–5; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 6–7.

state was too large to be absorbed into the household and administered as the emperor's private domain, the Mughal policy of dividing the realm for purposes of land revenue administration into two types—household lands and assignable lands—enabled the Mughal ruler to control a large part of state revenues personally, as did the patrimonial-bureaucratic emperor. In the area of the Imperial domain, supplementary officers from the Imperial establishment were assigned to district and subdistrict levels to help the regular officials with the actual collection of taxes. Officials at court, whose responsibilities covered both household and empire, directed the activities of all administrative personnel in the lands of the Imperial domain.

The second area comprised the lands assigned *mansabdārs*, and ranged from a minimum of 75 percent of the empire during the reign of Akbar to a maximum of 95 percent during the reign of his son Jahangir. Although the extrahousehold officials of Book Three remained in the assigned lands to oversee the activities of the *mansabdārs*' agents, it is clear that this part of the empire could not be controlled as closely as the household lands of the emperor. Akbar's brief resumption of assigned lands—surely in part an attempt to extend the range of authority of the Imperial establishment—illustrates an important truth about patrimonial-bureaucratic empires: the impossibility of achieving in premodern times a degree of control over the empire at large comparable to that exercised in the household.

The organization of officials also followed a patrimonial-bureaucratic pattern. In Mughal India men of the state were not, for the most part, allowed to specialize in either the civil or military branches of government; all officials came from one class, the *mansabdāri*, and all were deemed capable of handling both kinds of responsibility. For the Mughals, there was no clear relationship between *mansabdāri* rank and position in government; high-ranking officials sometimes held provincial or subprovincial posts, and middling ranks often filled central level offices in the household. For Mughal officials, promotion depended as much on being present at court for birthday, New Year's, and *'Id* (Islamic holiday) celebrations and on the quality of gifts given the emperor, as it did on performance in office. Finally, as we saw above, Mughal officials usually reported directly to officers in the Imperial household rather than to officials of lesser responsibility outside the capital. All of this, it seems to me, argues against the prevailing interpretation of Mughal administration.

That interpretation supposes a complex system of offices arranged in a hierarchy stretching from villages to central departments, offices manned by graded and ranked officials with specific duties and responsibilities. Blochmann's decision to entitle Book Three of his translation of the *A'in* "Imperial Administration" encapsulates this entire misconceived attempt to explain the Mughal state on the model of the British Indian Empire. There is, in fact, no justification for such a heading: the Persian edition of the text uses the word *mulk* (empire),<sup>39</sup> and Book Three itself deals with the state at large—everything of interest outside the household and the army. It covers much more than "Administration." In the Mughal method of government there were no clear-cut lines of authority, no separate departments at successive levels of administration, and no tables of organization. To the contrary, what one

<sup>39</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 265; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 2: 1.

finds are groups of men in the Imperial household who oversaw, on behalf of the emperor, provincial and subprovincial officials, who in turn exercised military, financial, or legal power within jurisdictions of varying scope.

#### Control of Officials

Within the smaller compass of the patrimonial kingdom, the ruler retained control by dint of personal force. Where area and scale were restricted, and where the fiction of state as household approached reality, a ruler was better able to renew the ties of loyalty and devotion in the day-to-day job of governing. The great size of patrimonial-bureaucratic empires, however, denied emperors the advantages of such workaday intimacy. In order to prevent the appropriation of prebends or benefits, and to reinvigorate the relationship on which the empire was founded, patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors had to employ extraordinary measures: requiring attendance at court, establishing overlapping spheres of authority, transferring officials frequently, using intelligence gatherers, and traveling regularly.<sup>40</sup> That the Mughals used all of these strategies again suggests the similarities between the patrimonial-bureaucratic model and the Mughal empire.

As we have seen, the Mughal Emperor required regular attendance at court of all his officers. In addition to the intricate schedule of weekly, monthly, and yearly visits set out in A'in 9 of Book Two, *mansabdārs* were expected to present themselves before the emperor on a number of other occasions: after a change in assignment, after a change in *jágir* posting, on the occasion of promotion, and, if at all possible, on days of special celebration. A second technique of patrimonial-bureaucratic control used by the Mughals was the appointment of officials with competing, cross-cutting areas of responsibility. In the provinces, the authority of the provincial governor was undercut by two other officials, the finance office and the *bakhshi* (military official). The finance officer was responsible for collecting and disbursing monies at both the provincial and subprovincial levels. No sum of consequence could be withdrawn from the provincial treasuries without his signature. In matters concerning the army, the military official encroached on the provincial governor's territory. He inspected the contingents of provincial *mansabdārs*, including those of the provincial governor and the finance officer, to see that horses and riders met rank requirements. At the subprovincial level a similar system of checks and balances prevailed: the army captain worked to protect villagers against unjust demands by the collector and local assignees, and the treasurer would not make payments without authorization of the finance officer.

The Mughal emperors relied on frequent transfers to curb the independence of far-flung subordinates; no man was allowed to keep his piece of land or stay at his post for more than three or four consecutive years. This strategy was designed to prevent distant *mansabdārs* from making alliances with local elements and building independent bases of power. Although shifts of such frequency introduced a great deal of waste and uncertainty into Mughal government, Akbar and his successors thought the gain in control worth the loss in efficiency. A'in 10 of Book Two discusses the duties of the newswriter (*wāqi'-nawīs*). Although Abu al-Fazl concentrates on the duties of those men assigned to court, it is clear that newswriters

<sup>40</sup> Weber, *Economy and Society*, 3: 1042–44.

Table 1.  
Years Away From the Capital: 1556–1739\*

	Akbar 1556–1605	Jahangir 1605–1627	Shahjahan 1627–1658	Aurangzeb 1658–1707	Babadur Shah 1707–1712	Farrukhsiyar 1712–1719	Muhammad Shah 1719–1739
Regnal Years	49 years	22 years	31 years	49 years	5 years	7 years	20 years
5	1556–60	1630–32	1662–64	1707–12			
10	1565–67	1613–19	1635–37				
15			1638–43	1669–71			
20	1577–78		1645–48	1674–76			
25			1651–53	1679–1707			
30	1585–86						
35							
40							
45	1599–1601						
50							
Percentage of Reign Absent	10/49 20%	6/22 27%	14/31 45%	34/49 69%	5/5 100%	0/7 0%	0/20 0%
						Total 60/183 38%	

\*The sources for this table are the chronicles of each emperor's reign. The capital city of the empire shifted several times during the period. From 1564–71 it was in Agra, from 1571–85 in Fatehpur Sikri, from 1585–98 in Lahore, from 1598–1648 in Agra, and from 1648–1658 in Shahjahanabad. Only the first twenty years of Muhammad Shah's reign, up to the sack of Delhi in 1739, are included. Muhammad Shah died in 1748.

were stationed in cities and towns throughout the realm, and were responsible for acquainting the emperor with the doings of the *mansabdārs* and local assignees in their areas.<sup>41</sup>

Of the strategies used by patrimonial-bureaucratic emperors to control their officials, travel was the one most heavily relied upon by Mughal rulers. Moving regularly across the countryside to renew the personal tie between leader and distant subordinate was an important activity in the reigns of most emperors. Table 1 illustrates the pervasiveness of this tactic during the reigns of the seven emperors between 1556 and 1739. Even when trips of one year or less are excluded, rulers of the Mughal state spent nearly 40 percent of their time during this approximately two hundred-year period on tour. An administrative manual written in the early eighteenth century and devoted to the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb corroborates this finding. The manual divides the reign of each emperor into two parts: settled (*istiqāmat*) and peripatetic (*safar*). Under "settled" the manual lists the periods during which each emperor resided in the major cities of the realm; under "peripatetic" the manual gives the itineraries of the longer journeys of each ruler.<sup>42</sup> A final piece of information, perhaps apocryphal, underscores the central role of travel in the life of the Imperial household. In a letter said to have been written to the emperor Muhammad Shah in the early eighteenth century, Nizam al-Mulk, the ruler of Hyderabad, referred to a curious practice among the women of the Imperial harim: the wives of the Mughal emperor, he wrote, gave birth lying on a saddle cloth.<sup>43</sup>

During the period 1556–1739, an emperor would leave the capital and begin a tour for one or more of the following reasons: to hunt, to put down a rebellion, to check the administration of a province, to conquer new areas, to reconquer old ones, to visit a shrine, to attend a festival, or to escape the midsummer heat of northern India. Amidst all this change and variety, however, the place and function of the emperor remained constant. No matter where he might be, city or camp, the Mughal emperor held court and conducted state business. The organization and activity of the Imperial camp illustrate the exercise of sovereignty on tour. Virtually the entire Imperial household—men, women, animals, supplies, and equipment—traveled with the emperor. In addition to officers, soldiers, clerks, artists, musicians, craftsmen, and merchants of the palace, the records of the Imperial record office, the money and jewels of the Imperial treasuries, and the men and equipment of the mint could all be found at the Imperial camp.<sup>44</sup> Those princes and great nobles assigned to court accompanied the emperor, of course, along with the personnel and supplies of their establishments.

A look at the arrangement and function of tents within the enclosure of the Imperial household confirms that the Mughal emperor continued to rule on tour.

<sup>41</sup> See *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 192–93; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 268–69 about news-writers at court. *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 5, and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 7 discuss the need for spies. For such people in the provinces, see Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals: 1700–50* (Bombay: Aligarh Muslim University, 1970), p. 113.

<sup>42</sup> "Dastur al-Amal," Persian Manuscript Collection, Oriental 1690, British Museum, folios

98a–99b, 145a–49b.  
<sup>43</sup> *Asiatick Miscellany* (Calcutta: n.p., 1785), 1: 491.

<sup>44</sup> For the *daftari*, see *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: xxi, plate iv; for the treasures, see Nizam al-Din Ahmad Harawi, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. B. De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, 3 vols. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1913–40), 2: 284; and for the mint, see *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 27; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 16–18.

The map of the Imperial establishment in the *Ā'in-i Akbari* shows a two-storied structure with a window or balcony near the harim.<sup>45</sup> From this balcony in camp, as from the balcony of audience in the palace, the emperor gave audience, listening to complaints, receiving petitions, and dispensing justice to anyone who chose to come. In Akbar's reign the hall of ordinary audience of the camp stood just inside the gate to the Imperial enclosure.<sup>46</sup> The emperor conducted the routine business of state in the hall of ordinary audience in both camp and city; that is, he received reports and petitions, examined financial accounts, granted promotions, decided on assignments, interviewed *mansabdāri* candidates, and inspected the products of various Imperial workshops. During the reign of Akbar the hall of special audience was set back within the Imperial enclosure; this secluded location indicated the importance and secrecy of the matters to be transacted there.<sup>47</sup>

It is clear from this discussion that the Imperial camp was a place of significance for the state at large. The emperors' frequent and extended travels and their activities on tour have led several scholars to conclude that the Imperial camp functioned as the administrative center of the realm during much of the Mughal period.<sup>48</sup> Although it is difficult to point to a great deal of indigenous, contemporary evidence on this point, a look at the inscriptions on some of the coins from Akbar's reign suggests that the Mughals held this view. Coins issued for only one or two years from small towns or villages, the work of the camp mint, carried the epithet *dār al-khilāfat* (seat of sovereignty).<sup>49</sup> Since this same phrase was used to describe capital cities throughout the period 1556–1739,<sup>50</sup> it appears that the Mughals considered the Imperial camp—the temporary settlement of the emperor, princes, great nobles, and their households—the seat of sovereignty of the state and the capital of the empire.

Aurangzeb, the most peripatetic of the seven emperors, stressed the importance of frequent movement. He wrote that ". . . the ruler of a kingdom should not spare himself from moving about."<sup>51</sup> Elsewhere, he justified the overthrow of his father Shahjahan: "If Shahjahan had not chosen to stay in *dār al-khilāfat* [Shahjahanabad] and *mustaqqr al-khilāfat* [Agra], but had been constantly traveling [*safar*], he would not have ended up as he did. . . ."<sup>52</sup> The Mughal emperor kept the personal, quasi-familial ties of the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire fresh and vital by moving

<sup>45</sup> *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: xxii, plates iv, xi.

bay: Government of Maharashtra, 1960), pp. 23, 38, 39, 42.

<sup>46</sup> *A'in*, ed. Blochmann, 1: 42; and *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: 48–49.

<sup>47</sup> *A'in*, trans. Blochmann, 1: xxii, plate iv, p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, Parmeshwari Gupta, "A Study of the Mint Towns of Akbar," in *Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarker*, ed. Hari Ram Gupta, 2 vols. (Hoshiapur, India: Punjab University, 1958), 2: 147; Upendra Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India* (Varanasi, U.P.: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972), pp. 140–41; and Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 190.

<sup>49</sup> Gupta, "A Study of the Mint Towns of Akbar," 2: 157; Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1892), pp. 24, 51; and V. P. Rode, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Central Museum Nagpur: Coins of the Mughal Emperors* (Bombay, 1912), p. 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> Hamid al-Din Khan, *Abkām-i 'Alamgīr*, Persian text with an English translation by Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1912), p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

rapidly and frequently from distant subordinate to distant subordinate, renewing in the face-to-face contact of the court ceremonial the household bonds of loyalty, respect, and devotion.

#### Summary and Implications

The prevailing view of the Mughal Empire has been based on the mistaken assumption that this state was a kind of unfinished, unfocused prototype of the British Indian Empire of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This assumption has caused most writers to misunderstand and misinterpret the nature and organization of the Mughal state. A more fruitful approach, one closer to indigenous ideas and more consonant with the work of other scholars on premodern states, is to treat the Mughal Empire as one example of the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire. A close and careful reading of the major document on Mughal government, the *A'in-i Akbari* of Abu al-Fazl, not only reveals the weakness of the established interpretation, but shows as well the remarkable congruence between the state Akbar organized and the patrimonial-bureaucratic empire analyzed by Weber. In its depiction of the emperor as a divinely-aided patriarch, the household as the central element in government, members of the army as dependent on the emperor, the administration as a loosely structured group of men controlled by the Imperial household, and travel as a significant part of the emperor's activities, the *A'in-i Akbari* supports the suggestion that Akbar's state was a patrimonial-bureaucratic empire.

This view of the state has a number of implications for our understanding of Mughal India. First and most important, it alters our conception of Mughal political organization. This is obviously the basic argument of my essay; I have tried to show the new light this reinterpretation sheds on such aspects of the political system as transfer of officials, administrative structure, and the *mansabdāri* system. Other issues in Mughal politics—the rebellion of princes and the causes of decline, for example—I have not touched upon at all. Nevertheless, it seems clear that to accept this interpretation of the empire is to accept the necessity of re-examining the entire structure of Mughal political activity.

Our understanding of other facets of Mughal culture and civilization is also affected. Urban organization is one example. From this new perspective, life in the administrative centers of patrimonial-bureaucratic empires—capital cities, provincial headquarters, and the like—is seen to revolve around the resources and requirements of imperial and noble households. Thus, in Shahjahanabad (capital of the Mughal Empire from 1648 to 1858) the palace-fortress of Shahjahan and the mansions of princes and nobles dominated social, economic, and political activity.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, taking this view of the state highlights a hitherto neglected aspect of the Mughal economy, and enables us to see the households of emperors and great nobles as important elements in the economic organization of the empire. In administrative centers in particular, the households of great men emerge as the central productive institutions in the urban economy and as major forces in the patterns of production, exchange, and consumption.

<sup>53</sup> My manuscript on Shahjahanabad discusses these points and those in the following paragraph in considerable detail.

#### Research Note

### The "Thought of Huang-Lao"<sup>a</sup>: A Reflection on the Lao Tzu<sup>b</sup> and Huang Ti<sup>c</sup> Texts in the Silk Manuscripts of Ma-wang-tui<sup>d</sup>

TU WEI-MING

On 30 July 1972 the *People's Daily* in China broke the news of a major archaeological discovery in the Ch'ang-sha<sup>e</sup> area of Hunan<sup>f</sup> Province, the site of the ancient state of Ch'u.<sup>g</sup> The discovery, which was to be labeled Tomb 1 of the Ma-wang-tui finds, was of an astonishingly well-preserved female who lived at least 1,000 years ago, along with numerous artifacts from the Western Han<sup>h</sup> (206 B.C.–A.D. 8), including finely executed paintings on silk, intricately embroidered clothes, more than 180 pieces of delicate lacquer ware, 162 expressive wooden tomb figurines, and more than 300 bamboo strips and wooden slips used as "grave inventory notes" (*shien-ts'e*)<sup>i</sup> inscribed with ink characters of high calligraphic quality. Subsequent researches, including anatomical studies of the woman's body, positively identified Ma-wang-tui as the burial mound of the Marquis of Tai,<sup>j</sup> Li Ts'ang,<sup>k</sup> who had served as chief minister to three kings of the Kingdom of Ch'ang-sha prior to his death in 186 B.C.; and of his consort, who died—possibly of food poisoning—approximately twenty years later. These vivid relics revealed an important chapter of ancient Chinese culture history to the scholarly community.<sup>l</sup>

The excavations of the two tombs adjoining Tomb 1 were carried out from November 1973 to January 1974 by representatives of the Archaeological Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Hunan Provincial Museum. They further substantiated the importance of what had already been acclaimed one of the most significant discoveries in recent decades.<sup>2</sup> In July 1974 *Wen-wu*<sup>m</sup> (Cultural

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fessor Yu Ying-shih,<sup>o</sup> head of the Delegation, for granting him special permission to take part in the discussion in Peking. He wishes to acknowledge further the editorial assistance of Betsy Scheiner. The Chinese characters in the glossary were written by Changlin Dillingham.

<sup>1</sup> For some of the early scholarly discussions on Tomb 1 of the Ma-wang-tui finds, see *Kao-ku* [Archaeology], 1972, no. 5, pp. 37–42; and 1972, no. 6, pp. 48–52. Also, see *Wen-wu* [Cultural relics], 1973, no. 7, pp. 73–74; and 1973, no. 9, pp. 61–76.

<sup>2</sup> For brief notes in English on some of the more important articles on these finds, see Jeffrey K. Riegel, "A Summary of Some Recent *Wenwu* and *Kaogu* Articles: Mawangdui Tombs Two and Three," *Early China*, Fall 1975, no. 1, pp. 10–15.

her leakes, the goods being taken out, and some damage received.<sup>1</sup> Now her leakes being somewhat stopped, and her goods in, not losing an houre of time, wee departed from thence the eight of December 1612, and arriued at Bantam the one and twentieth of the same: where Sir Henry Middleton not finding the Trade sufficient to goe home that yeare, was forced to stay and carine her. Hauing ended account with him, as himself liked best, I tooke my goods and shipped them in the Salomon, which came for our Voyage, for sauing of a greater Fraight: but I could not be admitted to goe in her myselfe; Captaine Saris, I thank him, accommodated me in the Thomas, and it was agreed, that the Salomon and wee should keepe company together.<sup>2</sup>

From thence we set saile on the thirtieth of January 1612, and arriued in Saldania Road, the one and twentieth day of April 1613, and comming neere some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary windes. Here we found fourtayle of Hollanders that departed Bantam a moneth before vs. There was great kindnesse betwixt vs, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in India, by an Agent of theirs, that was Lieger at Masulipatan. Some eight dayes after the Expedition came in, and brought mee a Letter from your Worships, and deliuered it vnto mee two days after their arriuall. The wind comming faire, we departed from Saldania the one and twentieth of May 1613.

The Expe-  
dition ar-  
rived in  
Saldania.

Many ad-  
vises of the  
Authour  
touching  
Forts, In-  
dian Fac-  
tories, etc.  
I have  
omitted as  
not so fit-  
ting every  
Eye.

Their de-  
parture  
from Salda-  
nia.

They ar-  
rived at Ban-  
tam Decem-  
ber, 1612.

<sup>1</sup> See page 209 of the *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies* (Hakluyt Society's vol., 1877). Tiku (Tecu) was one of the principal Sumatran ports for pepper on the west coast.

<sup>2</sup> See *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, etc.*, p. 218. The Thomas was a ship in the fleet of Captain Saris.

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## § IV.

A briefe Discourse of the strength, wealth, and Gouvernment, with some Customes of the great Mogol: which I haue both seene and gathered by his chiefe Officers, and Ouer-seers of all his Estate.

First, I begin with his Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen. As Christian Princes vse their degrees by Titles, so they haue their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horses: vnlesse it bee those that the King most fauoureth, whom he honoureth with the Title of Chan and Trumirza. None haue the title of Sultan but his Sonnes. Chan in the Persian Language, is as much as Duke, Trumirza is the title of the King's Brother's Children.

They that be of the Fame of twelve thousand Horsemen belong to the King, and his Mother, and eldest Sonne, and one more, who is of the blood Royal of Vybeck, named Vybeck. Chan Azam. Dukes be nine thousand Fame, Marquesses five thousand Fame, Earles three thousand, Viscounts two thousand, Barons a thousand, Knights four hundred, Esquires an hundred, Gentlemen fifty, Yeomen from twenty down wards. All they that haue these numbers of Horsemen are called Mansibdars,<sup>1</sup> or men of Liuings or Lordships. Of these there are three thousand, that is to say, foure be of twelve thousand Horse a-piece, and they be the King, his Mother, Sultan Peruis, Prince and Chan Azam. Of nine thousand Horsemen there bee three, that is to say, Sultan Choran, the King's third Sonne, Chanchanna, and Kelich Chan. Of five thousand there be eightene, named Hasuff Chan, Chan Tchan, Abdula Chan, Raga Manzing Ray Durga, Raga Sursing, Ramadus Rechuna, Raga Bassu, Emirel Vinera, Mahabet Chan, Chan Dowran, Sedris Chan, Hogio Bey Mirza, Mirza Cazi, Etlebar Chan, Abulfet De-

Mansib-  
dars.

<sup>1</sup> See Gladwin's *Ay'in Akbari*.

kenny Selen Cully Chan, Sheik Serid. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, Chan Alem Mirza Ereg, Mirza Doreb, Hogio Sahan, Hogio Abdal Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shemchadin, Mirza Chadulla, Seffer Chan, Kazmy Chan, Mirza Chin Kelich, Saif Chan, Lalla Bersingdia, Mirza Tyeady, Mirza Ally Ecberchuly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Chamcogly, Mirza Rustem, Ally Mardon Badur, Tasbey Chan, Abulbey. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receiue pay monethly, from sixe Horse to one, there bee fife thousand, these bee called Haddies. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie sixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers, Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Trasses, or Tentmen, Cookes, Lightbeares, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the King's Treasure, whose Wages be from ten to three Rupias.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seuen-nights' warning, from twelve thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three Leckes,<sup>1</sup> which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

*The Kings yeerely Income of his Crowne Land is fiftie Cror of Rupias, every Cror is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupiae.*

The compasse of his countrey is two yeares travell with Candahar. Carrauan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Lougthare in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Deccan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his kingdomes.

His Empire is diuided into fife great Kingdomes, tho

<sup>1</sup> Lakhs.

first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the Chiefe Seate; the second is Bengala, the Chiefe Seate Sonargham: the third is Malwa, the Chiefe Seate is Ugam:<sup>2</sup> the fourth is Decan, the Chiefe Seate Bramport: the fifth is Guzerat, the Chiefe Seat is Amadauer:<sup>3</sup> The Chiefe Citie or Seat Royall of the Kings of India is called Delly, where hee is established King: and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier,<sup>3</sup> Neruer, Ratambore, Hassier, Roughtaz. In euery one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu<sup>4</sup> in Decan: in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malwa, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be fife, to say, Sultan Coussero,<sup>5</sup> Sultan Peruis,<sup>6</sup> Sultan Chorem,<sup>7</sup> Sultan Shariar,<sup>8</sup> and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan: the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Bijge:<sup>9</sup> the third is the Daughter of Seinchan: the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamann, who was Brother to his Father Ecber Padasha.

*His Treasure is as followeth: The first is his seuerall Coine of Gold.*

In primis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckis. Of another sort of Coyne, of

<sup>1</sup> Ujain.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmedabad.

<sup>3</sup> Gwalior.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Amber, the famous Minister of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>5</sup> Khuzru, who rebelled and passed the rest of his life in captivity.

<sup>6</sup> Parwiz, a drunkard.

<sup>7</sup> Khurram, who succeeded as Shah Jehan.

<sup>8</sup> Shahryar.  
<sup>9</sup> See note at p. 414.

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such as are brought into *Italy*, preserved in Sugar. It hath leaves much like that plant which produces Gum Arabick,<sup>1</sup> by me formerly describ'd<sup>2</sup>; different onely in this, that in that of Gum Arabick the branch, consisting of many leaves, is much less, round or oval, and seems one leaf made up of many long and narrow ones: but in this *Myrobalane* Tree the branch is sufficiently long, and the small leaves composing it in two rows on either side are somewhat larger; nor is the *Myrobalane* Tree prickly, like that of Gum Arabick. The fruit is round, hard, of a yellowish green, smooth, shining, of little pulp, with a great stone, almost round and furrow'd with six circular lines. Being raw it hath an acid and astringent, but, in my judgment, no pleasant taste; but when preserv'd becomes good. They say it is refrigerative and purges Choler.

IX.—Having rested many times upon the way and in all travell'd two Leagues, we ended this day's journey in the onely considerable and populous Town we had hitherto met, which is call'd *Ahinelli*.<sup>3</sup> We lodg'd in the Porches of a Temple of Idols, low after their manner, with very large eaves supported by great Posts; the Pavement rais'd high and dung'd,<sup>4</sup> but not lately; the walls white, sprinkled in the corners and ends with a sort of rosy pigment, ill colour'd; for so is their custom

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derived from two Greek words signifying "unguent" and "fruit" or "nut", comprehends several species of *Terminalia*, and one of *Phyllanthus*. As to the medicinal and other properties of the fruit, see Sir H. Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*. An allusion to the fruit occurs in Beckford's *Vathek*, "She is sweeter to me than the myrabolan comfit."

<sup>1</sup> Gum-arabic is the product of *Acacia Nilotica* and *Acacia Seyal* the Myrobolan being a *Combretum*.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the letters not included in this translation.

<sup>3</sup> This town seems to be the modern *Honelli*. It is not at present a town of any importance.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, pp. 87 and 230.

always in their Religious Structures.<sup>1</sup> The Idol was call'd *Vireñā Deuriū*,<sup>2</sup> the latter of which words signifies *God*, or rather *Lord*, being attributed also to Men of quality; he stood at the upper end in a dark place with Candles before him; of what figure he was I could not see well, by reason of the darkness, but they told me 'twas a Man. In the body of the Temple were many other wooden Statues of less Idols, plac'd about in several places, as 'twere for ornament; some of which were figures of their Gods, others not of Gods, but for ornament, of several shapes.

Many of these figures represented dishonest actions. One was of a Woman. Another was of a Man and a Woman kissing, the Man holding his Hands on the Woman's Breasts, and sundry such representations fit indeed for such a Temple.<sup>3</sup> But these were not figures of Gods. Of Gods there was a *Brahmā* with five Heads<sup>4</sup> and three Arms on a side, sitting astride a Peacock, which in their Language they call *Nau Brahmā*,<sup>5</sup> that is the *Peacock*

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<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Lubbock (*Origin of Civilization*, p. 366) thinks that this red pigment is intended to represent the blood of sacrifices offered to the deities. The use of such red paint is common among idolatrous nations, and in some parts of India no flowers can be presented to idols except those of a red colour. (See Dubois, *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 441.)

<sup>2</sup> A name applied to the Lingam, or emblem of Siva. For the legend regarding the origin of this emblem, see Dubois, *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 417 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Two passages in the original are omitted.

<sup>4</sup> It is unusual for this deity to be represented with five heads. It is true that he is said to have been born with five heads, but he lost one of them in a combat with Siva. (See Dubois, *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 396.)

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "the Boat of Brahma," signifying the vehicle by which Brahma was supposed to be conveyed in the ocean of space. A swan, or goose, sometimes takes the place of the peacock. (See Dubois, vol. ii, p. 396.)

of *Brahmā*; another God was call'd *Naraina*,<sup>1</sup> with four Arms on a side: another with an Elephant's Head and two Hands to an Arm, whom they call *Ganesh*,<sup>2</sup> and others *Bacra-tundo*,<sup>3</sup> that is *Round-mouth*; for one and the same God hath divers names. Another, call'd *Fuend*,<sup>4</sup> had the shape of a Man, holding a naked Sword in his right Hand and a Buckler in his left. Another had a Man under his Feet,<sup>5</sup> upon whose Head he trampled; and so many others of various sorts.

I observ'd that all these Idols had the same cover of the Head, high, with many peaks, all ending in one long peak, a strange and majestic Diadem not used now in *India*; it might have been of wreath'd Linnen, or Gold, or other solid matter; wherefore I imagine that it is a very ancient covering, at this day dis-us'd; unless haply it be some ensign of Divinity, which I rather think, because I remember to have seen at *Rome* almost the same Diadems upon the Heads of some *Ægyptian* Statues, (and, if I forget not, they were called *Tutuli*,<sup>6</sup> and the Idols *Tutulati*), as amongst us the Diadems of the Saints, or, as some make it, three Crowns one upon another, like the *Regno*,<sup>7</sup> or Pontifical Crown, of our Pope.

<sup>1</sup> A name of Siva, properly *Narayana*. He has various other names.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 73, note.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "crooked trunk".

<sup>4</sup> The name of some local deity.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Siva as "the Destroyer". For the attributes of this deity, see Dubois' *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> The word "Tutulus" was a name given to the pile of hair worn on the head by Roman women. (See *Lucian*, ii, 358, and *Juvenal*, vi, 503.) The headdress of the Egyptian Isis is made up of the serpent Thermuthes. Dubois attributes the conical shape of the headdress seen on Indian sacred statues to a "particular taste" of the Indians for a pyramidal shape. (See his *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, vol. ii, p. 348.)

<sup>7</sup> The Pontifical crown is generally called "Tiara", consisting of three crowns, added to successively by three Popes (John XIII, Boni-

In the middle of the Temple, between the chief entrance and the inner shrine, was another darker inclosure, separated from the chief entrance, but not to the same extent as was the inner shrine, that is to say about half-way between the two, wherein stood, fastned in the ground, certain slender staves, with others across them in two rows, making a little Stockade, or Palisade, of a long form; and these were to hang Lamps and Tapers upon, at more solemn dayes and hours. A Barber whom we had with us, an *Indian-Gentile* but a Native of the Country of *Adil-Sciâh*, who was named *Dengî*, and understood something of the *Portugal-Tongue*, could not well tell me the names of those figures and Idols of the Temple when I ask'd him; because, he said, they were not things of his Country, where they had other things and Gods, and that every Country had particular ones of their own.

Within the circuit of this Temple, but on one side of the Court as you go in, were three other little cells, separate from the body of the great Temple, two of which were empty, perhaps not yet well prepared, but in the other was an Idol of an Ox, which our Barber knew, and said was also of his Country and that they call it *Basuana*<sup>1</sup>; it was half lying, or rather sitting, upon the floor, with the Head erect; like which Ox, or *Basuana*, stood another in the upper part of the Temple, before the Tribunal of the Idol *Virend*, as if it stood there for his guard.

face VIII, and Benedict XII), indicative of the Trinity. The word "Regno" is applied to it as indicating its signification as the badge of civil authority, the spiritual authority of the Pope being represented by the keys. The resemblance between the costumes seen in India and those of Egyptian statues is mentioned also by Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 184).

<sup>1</sup> More correctly *Basav-anna*. The figure of a bull (having no doubt a symbolical meaning) is frequently represented with that of Siva. So also the Egyptian god Mitthas was represented as seated on a bull.

In the Evening the Ministers of the Temple ring a kind of Bell, or Shell,<sup>1</sup> which was within the Temple, striking it with a staff; and it made a tolerable sound, as if it had been a good Bell: at which sound, some from without assembling together, they begin to sound within the Temple very loudly two Drums, and two Pipes, or Flutes, of metal; after which, many Tapers being lighted, particularly at the Stockade above-mentioned, and a little quilt being put in order, with a Canopy of rich stuff above it which is always ready in the Temple for carrying the Idol, they put the principal Idol *Virend* on it, (not that one of ordinary wood in the middle of the Temple, but the other at the upper end, which was of the same bigness, about two spans round the body) and ornaments about it, but all painted with various colours, gilded, and deck'd with white Flowers. Then one of the Ministers march'd first, sounding a Bell continually as he went, and after him others, and at length two with lighted Tapers, after which follow'd the Idol in his Canopy, with a Minister before him, carrying a Vessel of Perfumes, which he burnt; and thus they carry'd him in Procession: first into the Court without the Temple, going out of it on the left Hand, as you enter, which to them as they came out was the right, and returning by the other opposite. After which, going out of the Gate of the Court into the street, they went in the same manner in Procession, (still sounding their Bells) I know not whither, but 'tis likely they went to some other Temple to perform some kind of ceremony; for in the Town there was more than one. Being at length return'd, and the Procession re-entering the Court with a great train of Men and Women of the Town, they went thrice about the inside of the Court, as they had done once, before

<sup>1</sup> As to the general use of bells in temples, see Sir J. Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, p. 232; and Dubois' *Mœurs des peuples de l'Inde*, quoted by Sir J. Lubbock.

they went out. But in these three Circumgyrations they observ'd this Order, that the first time they walked as they had done in the street; the second more leisurely, and those that sounded the Flutes left off and sounded another kind of shriller, sweeter, Pipe; the third time they walk'd more slowly than before, and, leaving off the second Pipes, sounded others of a far lower note. Which being done, those that carry'd and accompany'd the Canopy of the Idol stood still in the entrance of the Temple, right against the Upper End, and one of the Priests, or Ministers, standing at the Upper End, directly opposite to the Idol, (who was held standing on his Feet by help of one of the Minister's Hands, who for that purpose went always on one side near him;) began to salute the Idol a far off with a dim Taper in his Hand, making a great circle<sup>1</sup> with the same from on high downwards, and from below upwards, directly over against the Idol, which he repeated several times; and in the end of the circles, which were always terminated in the lower part, he describ'd a strait line from one side to the opposite, and that where the circle began; nor did he seem to me always to begin the circles on the same part, but sometimes on the right and sometimes on the left, with what Order I know not.

This being done within, the same Priest came to the entrance where the Idol stood, passing directly through the midst of the Palisade of Lights, (through which, I believe that, for others and at another time it is not lawful to pass; because, when any one enter'd to perform other Services other than these Ceremonies, I saw him always go without the Palisade by the side) coming along, I say, sounding a Bell, and being follow'd by a Boy who carry'd a Basin of

<sup>1</sup> This and the other motions of the priest, subsequently described, appear to have a distinct connection with a form of worship of the sun and other heavenly bodies.

water with *Santalus*, or *Sanders*,<sup>1</sup> after him, (the same wherewith, I conceive, they are wont to paint their fore-heads) and also with Drums and Flutes sounding all the while; he went in this manner three times round the Idol, beginning his circuits from the left side. When he had thus done, standing on the same side of the Idol where he began, and laying aside his Bell, he offer'd the Basin of water to the Idol, and dipping one Finger in it, lay'd the same upon the Idol's Forehead, or thereabouts ; and, if I was not mistaken, taking a little in his Hand, he also dy'd himself and the other Minister, who upheld the Idol, on the Fore-head therewith, after which he went to powre the remainder of the water in the Basin upon the ground without the Temple, but within the inclosure, or Court. Then he took a wax-Candle,<sup>2</sup> and therewith describ'd, within the *Palanchino*, or Carriage, before the Idol many circles with lines at the end ; and, putting out the Candle, took the Idol out of the *Palanchino*, and carrying it through the rail'd Stockade, in the middle of the Torches, plac'd it on its Tribunal at the Upper End where it usually stands.

In the mean time one of the Ministers distributed to all the by-standers a little quantity of certain Fitches,<sup>3</sup> mingled with small slices of Indian Nut, which, I conceive, had been offer'd to the Idol ; and they took and ate the same with signes of Devotion and Reverence. He offer'd some likewise to our people, and there wanted not such as took them ; the Drums and Fifes sounding in the mean time ; which at length ceasing, and the Candles being put out, the Ceremonies ended and the people return'd to their Houses.

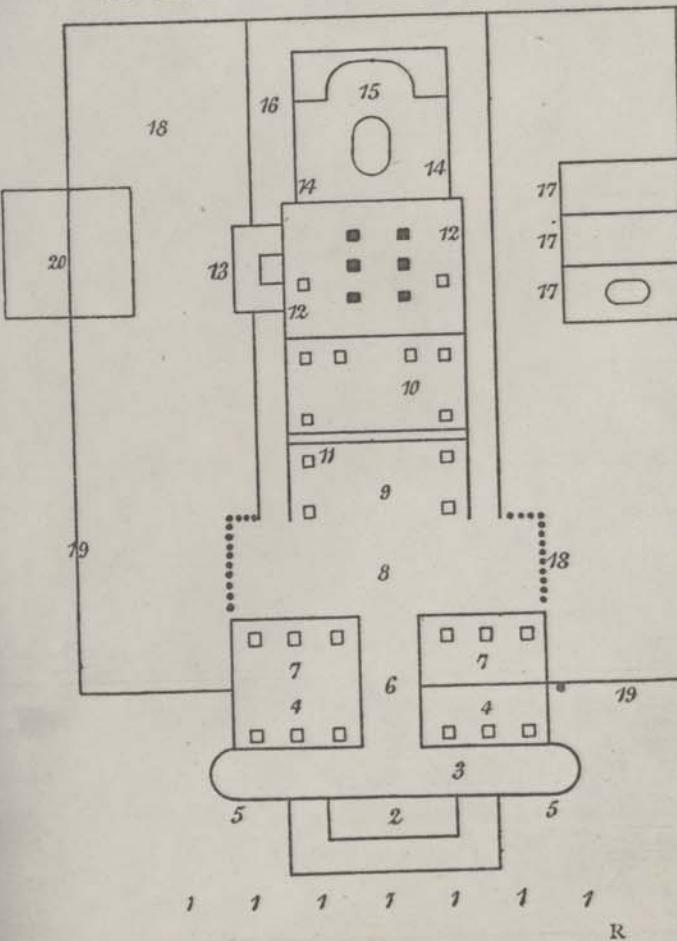
<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 99, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Wax candles are certainly not common in India even in the present day, among natives, and were probably only used in temples.

<sup>3</sup> Or "vetches"; some kind of chick-pea, probably *Cicer Arietinum*.

Such Men as were not Officers of the Temple assisted at the Ceremonies at the first entrance, where we also stood ; but the Women stood more within the body of the Temple, where the rows of lights were. For the better understanding of all which description I shall here delineate the Ground-plan of the Temple with its inclosure and Porches, as well as I could do it by the Eye without measuring it.

THE GROUND-PLAN OF AN INDIAN TEMPLE.



1. The Street. 2. The Stairs of the Entrance. 3. An high Wall of Earth before the Outer Porch. 4. The Outward Porch with an high Earthen Floor. 5. Two small Idols in two *Niches* on the out side of the ends of the Porch. 6. The Gate, level with the Earthen Wall No. 3. 7. The Inner Porch with an Earthen Floor higher than that of the Gate, the Wall, and the Outer Porch. 8. A Void Space between the Porch and the Temple. 9. Part of the First Entrance of the Temple, lower than the plane of the Gate and the said Void Space. 10. Part of the same, but one Step higher. 11. The said Step, dividing the first Entrance in the middle. 12. The body of the Temple, situate between the first Entrance and the Penetrale, or Chancel, the dots denoting the rows of Torches. 13. A little door to go out at. 14. The Penetrale, or Chancel, where the Oval denotes the Statue of *Boué*, or *Basava*,<sup>1</sup> upon the ground. 15. The Inmost Part of the Chancel, where the Idol *Virend*<sup>2</sup> stands. 16. A high Earthen Wall encompassing the Temple. 17. Three little Cells; in the first of which the Oval represents the Statue of *Boué*, or *Basava*. 18. An open square-Court, or inclosure, surrounding the Temple which stands in the middle of it. 19. The Walls thereof. 20. The Houses of such Men and Women as keep the Temple.

X.—The same Evening was brought to our Ambassador a Letter from *Vitulà Sinay*,<sup>3</sup> who writ that, arriving at the Court on *Fryday* before, he had spoken with his King, who, being well pleas'd with the Ambassador's coming, had prepar'd the same house for him wherein the King of *Belighi*<sup>4</sup> was wont to lodge when he was at his Court; and that he would make him a very honorable Reception; that therefore as soon as we arriv'd at the Town *Ahinalà*,<sup>5</sup> (where we now were), the Ambassador should send him notice; which was accordingly done by dispatching the Messenger presently back again; and we waited for his return.

November the fifth. At day-break the Ministers of the Temple where we lodged sounded Pipes and Drums for a good while in the Temple, without other Ceremony. The like they did again about Noon and at Evening; but at night they made the same Procession with the Idol, and the same Ceremonies, which are above describ'd.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 237, note 1. <sup>2</sup> See p. 235, note 2. <sup>3</sup> See p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Bilgi*, a small town near Honáwar.

<sup>5</sup> Previously (p. 234) called *Ahinéli*.

This day came to the Town a Captain from the King with many attendants, and, having visited the Ambassador, took divers of those Idols which stood in the first Entrance, and carry'd them away with him to be new made, because some were old and broken.

Late in the night came another Letter from *Vitulà Sinay*, which signifi'd to us that we should move towards a Town very near the Court, call'd *Badrapoor*, where some persons from the King were to meet us and accompany us to the court; although the Ambassador had writ to him before that he car'd not for being accompany'd at his Entrance, but onely when he should go to see the King.

I style him King because the *Portugals* themselves and the *Indians* do so; but, in truth, *Venk-tapà Naieka*, (not onely because his Predecessors were a few years ago Vassals and simple *Naiekas*,<sup>1</sup> that is feudatory Princes, or rather Provincial Gouvernours, under the King of *Vidianagher*<sup>2</sup>; and at this day he himself reigns absolutely by Usurpation, and is in effect no other then a Rebel; (and God know how long his House will abide in greatness); but also much more by reason of the smallness of his territory, though it be great, in respect of other Indian Gentile-Princes) deserves not the Appellation of King; and the less because he pays Tribute to *Idal-Scidh*,<sup>3</sup> who although a greater Prince, is but small for a King and payes Tribute to the *Moghol*.<sup>4</sup> In short, *Venk-tapà Naieka*, although now absolute, should, in my opinion, be call'd a Royolet rather than a King: but the *Portugals*, to magnifie their affaires in *India*, or else to honor the persons that rule there (which is not displeasing in *Spain*, and at the Court of the Catholick King who is of the same humor), give the title of King to all these petty Indian Princes,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 168, note 2. <sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 109, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Adil Shah. <sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 143, note 5. <sup>4</sup> See p. 48, note 2.

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openings near them, to draw off any considerable proportion of the accumulating tide. In the Hoogly river, the Bore commences at Hoogly point, (the place where the river first contracts itself) and is perceptible above Hoogly town; and so quick in its motion, that it hardly employs four hours, in travelling from one to the other, although the distance is seventy miles. At Calcutta, it sometimes occasions an instantaneous rise of five feet; and both here, and in every other part of its track, the boats, on its approach, immediately quit the shore, and make for safety into deep water.

In the channels, between the islands in the mouth of the Megna, &c. the height of the Bore exceeds twelve feet, and is so terrific in its appearance, and dangerous in its consequences, that no boat will venture to pass at spring tide. After the tide is fairly past the islands, no vestige of a Bore is seen, which may be owing to the great width of the Megna, in comparison with the passages between the islands; but the effects of it are visible enough, by the sudden rising of the tides.

#### *Particular account of the NUDDEAH UNIVERSITY.*

THE Joguy or Fakier Abdehead, has the glory of being its founder, it is said upwards of four hundred years ago. The tradition is, that, the place being a perfect jungle, or uncultivated forest, Abdehead retired into it, to lead a life of devotion and abstinence. His residing there, induced two or three other persons to build huts there. The place soon began to wear a flourishing aspect; when it appeared, that this holy man, was, in a most distinguished manner, an object of the divine favour.—He was inspired with a perfect knowledge of the sciences, without any application or study, and his benevolence induced him to impart to his neighbours, the supreme happiness, which he derived from the gift. As he described the nature of it to them, they expressed so great a desire to partake of it, that he offered to instruct them in it. The success attending this generous undertaking, was so remarkable, that it is believed to have been preternatural.

By the time he had read one leaf to them, they comprehended what would have filled ten. They soon read, and transcribed all that he had committed to writing, and with the utmost facility, composed new works of their own: about this time, the place began to engage attention.

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Fortunately the Rajah or principal person of the district, was a man of liberal mind, and a friend to religion and learning. His name was Roghow Ray, a bramin of the sect Gour. This illustrious person, visited the Fakier's school, and became one of his disciples. He afterwards patronized the seminary, and made it a regular and permanent institution. He in a princely manner endowed it with lands, for entertaining masters and students, building houses at the same time for their accommodation. He also bestowed prizes upon certain degrees of proficiency in literature,—for example, he that could explain the Nea Shastra, received from the Rajah, a cup filled with gold mohurs, and he that explained any other of the Shasters, received a cup filled with rupees.—In short, the Rajah's liberality, and the Fakier's supernatural knowledge, soon rendered Nuddeah, the most frequented as well as the most learned university in the east. It has been, and is this day, peculiarly celebrated, as a school of philosophy.

The learned Serowmum, one of the first professors of philosophy at Nuddeah, wrote a system of philosophy, which has continued to be the text book of that school ever since. Fifty-two pundits of considerable note, in the republic of letters, have written each a commentary, on Serowmum's treatise of philosophy.

The pundit Shunkur, one of the present professors, is a descendant from Serowmum, and supports the literary reputation of his own family and of Nuddeah, in a very distinguished manner.

Other sciences have also been cultivated at Nuddeah, with peculiar success, particularly astronomy and astrology; although there is no man there at present, very eminent in this department.

The names of the Nuddeah Rajah's since the foundation of the university, are as follow: RAGOU RAY, ROODRE, RAM JEEMUR, RUGGURAM, KISSUN CHUND, and SIEUCHUND.

The present Rajah's son is about twenty-five years of age, and named ISURCHUND.—All these have been remarkably long lived, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the nature of their pursuits, by which they were never exposed to violence or danger. ROODRE, in particular, lived to be upwards of one hundred years of age; and as he inherited his father's taste and liberality, his long reign was the means of establishing, and perpetuating, the fame of Nuddeah. This family's place of residence or palace, is at Sieunibas, and the courts of judicature, are held at Kiftangur.

The

The grandeur of the foundation of the Nuddeah University is generally acknowledged. It consists of three colleges,—Nuddeah, Santipore and Gopulpurah. Each is endowed with lands for maintaining masters in every science. Whenever the revenues of these lands, prove too scanty for the support of the Pundits and their scholars, the Rajah's treasury supplies the deficiency; for the respective masters have not only stated salaries from the Rajah, for their own support; but also an additional allowance for every pupil they entertain. And these resources are so ample, and so well administered, that in the college of Nuddeah alone, there are at present about ELEVEN HUNDRED students, and ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY masters. Their numbers, it is true, fall very short of those in former days. In Rajah Rooddre's time, there were at Nuddeah, no less than FOUR THOUSAND students, and masters in proportion. Still however, it must be acknowledged, that the seminary is respectable, and must be supported by no inconsiderable talents and learning.

Shunker pundit, is head of the college of Nuddeah, and allowed to be the first philosopher and scholar in the whole university. His name inspires the youth with the love of virtue—the pundits with the love of learning—and the greatest Rajahs, with its own veneration.

The students that come from distant parts, are generally of a maturity in years, and proficiency in learning, to qualify them for beginning the study of philosophy, immediately on their admission; but yet they say, that to become a real pundit, a man ought to spend twenty years at Nuddeah, in close application. Thus in the east, as well as the west, the fruit of the tree of knowledge, costs the high price of *viginti annorum lucubrationes*.

Any man that chuses to devote himself to literature, will find a maintenance at Nuddeah, from the fixed revenues of the University, and the donations of the Rajah. Men in affluent circumstances, however, live there at their own expence, without burthening the foundation.

By the pundits system of education, all valuable works, are committed to memory; and to facilitate this, most of their compositions,—even their dictionaries, are in metre. But they by no means, trust their learning entirely, to this repository; on the contrary, those who

write

write treatises, or commentaries on learned topics, have at Nuddeah, always met with distinguished encouragements and rewards.

The time of attending the public schools and lectures, is from 10 o'clock in the morning until noon. Their method of teaching is this:—two of the masters commence a dialogue, or disputation on the particular topic they mean to explain. When a student hears any thing advanced, or expressed that he does not perfectly understand, he has the privilege of interrogating the master about it. They give the young men every encouragement, to communicate their doubts, by their temper and patience in solving them. It is a professed and established maxim of Nuddeah, that a pundit who lost his temper, in explaining any point to a student, let him be ever so dull and void of memory, absolutely forfeits his reputation, and is disgraced.

The Nuddeah Rajah's have made it their frequent practice, to attend the disputations. On all public occasions especially, the Rajah assists, and rewards those, who distinguish themselves. But, instead of cups fulls of gold and silver, as formerly; all that this prince can now afford to bestow is *hatta, dhratty*, i. e. a bras cup and a pair of drawers. These however, from the Rajah's own hand, are, by no means, considered trivial rewards.—No Emperors Chelat communicates a higher pleasure, nor inspires a nobler pride.—Nothing can be more characteristic of philosophic simplicity and moderation, than the value which they set up it: “Is it not” say they, “the DRESS and FURNITURE which NATURE requires?”

*A remarkable and recent instance, of the bigg jense of honor, entertained by a Rajah of the superior cast.*

**I**N September last, within a few cos of Bunnore, where Major Montgomery's detachment was then encamped, lived Rangapah Naick, Rajah of Dewarlung, who had governed a country, handed to him from his fore fathers, with justice and with moderation; and who, like them, had regularly paid the accustomed tribute: but, when at the Subah's court, in the month preceding, he as usual paid his attention to Teyd Jung, brikhee, and commander in chief of the troops; which was observed with a jealous eye, by Meesher ul-Mullock, the Minister.

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the East are the first symptoms of the decline of a dynasty interpreted. The mock salaam, the "left-handed" salute, with its deliberate insinuation of disrespect only perceptible to the accustomed eye, changes all too soon to the open abuse and blow. Is there anything in the India of to-day which suggests that this change is nigh, unless the British Elector awakes betimes to the duties and the rights which his returning political strength, the crisis of Home Rule fever being now happily past, gives him opportunity to fulfil and uphold?

What is India? Some few thousand Englishmen in administrative employ; some tens of thousands of Englishmen engaged in private enterprise; more tens of thousands of British troops; more still of poorer Britons and descendants of Britons, Christians and English in thought and instinct, although Eurasian by birth and of every shade in colour. And beside these are hundreds of thousands of natives either under arms or trained to the use of arms; jealous rulers of Native States with well-drilled forces and blindly subservient millions of subjects; hundreds of glib-tongued agitators and thousands of followers of agitators, educated and uneducated, in the towns; and, below all, three hundred millions of unthinking country folk, easily swayed by gusts of passion and prejudice, giving ready credence to the wildest lies—of all human stuff the most inflammable that the world affords for political purposes. Every experienced resident of India will bear me out in the statement that, when the Government designs to build a railway bridge across an Indian river, any mischievous person that chooses can throw millions of foolish folk in the country round into panic with the intelligence that emissaries of Government are out seeking for human heads to lay the foundations of the piers upon. How often are British surgeons in Northern India entreated by despairing native patients for just one dose of the infallible drug which Western science obtains by hanging a man by his heels till the precious essence drips out of his skull? It is no use to tell the villagers that this drug is unknown to British pharmacy. He only concludes that, for reasons unknown, his hopeless case has not the sympathy of the English doctor, and he turns his face to the wall to die. These are the people whom we rule and with whom, if we misrule, we shall have to reckon. The Congress orator and the native politician of Calcutta and Madras, who have borrowed our systems of political agitation, are but the froth upon the water where the strong river of British civilisation pours itself into the still ocean of Indian ignorance; beneath them, dark and inscrutably deep, run the currents of native thought. Yet we have the memory of 1857 to teach us that those currents may be suddenly and inexplicably stirred to surface-storms terribly destructive in their course. The great mutiny arose somehow from the depths of

native prejudice. Yet why it arose, and why, having arisen, it did not sweep the people with it, instead of leaving the British power to break the backs of the unaided mutineers, are problems that remain unsolved to-day, and will probably remain unsolved for ever. The fact remains that the great mutiny, not without some warning signs beforehand, arose as a terrible reality in the spring of 1857, and in the autumn of the same year was being discussed as a bloody experience of the past. On one point, too, all commentators are agreed, namely, that the negligence and blindness of those whose duty it was to watch and foresee contributed to, if indeed they did not cause, the disaster. Is there any such negligence or such blindness in evidence to-day? India is essentially a country where symbols are accepted as realities, because for ages before British rule in India the two were synonymous. In a land of misrule where each man ploughed the land that he could defend with his sword, the erection of a symbol signified the power to uphold it. Of what use to issue a currency, for instance, if a stronger neighbour chose to declare—as he would promptly have done—that all persons captured with any coins of that currency in their possession would be summarily executed? We have only to look across the borders of India to find this state of things still prevailing; for who in Afghanistan dares to use the coinage of Ishak Khan? Yet, had Ishak Khan been able to prevail against General Ghulam Haider, and had not the Indian Government been at hand if necessary to secure the Afghan throne to the present Ameer and his heirs, it would now be the currency of Abdur Rahman that had been proscribed. In the West, among people sheltered by the civil laws from every form of violence, to whom war and bloodshed are matters of other peoples' histories, many symbols of the most subversive kind are allowed to be harmlessly exalted and worshipped, each as the fetish of an eccentric few. But the Oriental still regards the symbol as the index of power, and measures the power by the character of the symbol. Now the power of the Crown in India is, from the native point of view, concentrated in a single symbol, the Viceroy; and it is to this matter of the appointment of Viceroy in India that the attention of the British electors ought to be drawn as one of the most important results dependent upon his vote at a general election now and hereafter.

This is quite a new thing; so new as to have escaped general notice as yet. It would of course have been far better if the question of the government of India could have been kept away from the vortex of British politics. The office of Viceroy in India, the very highest in the gift of the Crown, is so exalted that continuity of policy and the same high level of political and social rank, should have been regarded as essential to its proper fulfilment.

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Khandkar Fuzli Rubee  
 (Dewan to Nawab of Murshidabad)  
 -The origin of the Mys of Bengal  
 (1595)

Extract 20-21, 60-75

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE

A.H.	A.H.	Nazims of Bengal.	Emperors.
1545	952	Mahomed Khan Sur	Salim Badshah.
1555	962	Bahadur Shah Salim Khan	Mahomed Shah Adil.
1560	968	Jalal-ud-din Shah	Do.
1564	971	Soleman Shah Karan Afghani.	Do.
		Soleman Shah removed the capital of Bengal from Ghor to Tanda.	
1573	981	Daud Shah, son of Soleman Jalal-ud-din Akbar Shah.	Badshah.
		In the reign of this ruler Akbar Badshah conquered Bengal in 1570 A.D. and annexed it to his dominions.	
		Governors under the Mughal Dynasty.	
1576	984	Nawab Khan Jahan	Jalal-ud-din Akbar Badshah.
		Khan Jahan captured Daudkhan, and the latter was put to death. Under the administration of Khan Jahan, Bengal and Behar became subject to the regular government of Akbar. He removed again the capital of Bengal from Tanda to Ghor.	
1597	987	Muzafar Khan	Jalal-ud-din Akbar
1580	988	Rajah Todar Mal	Do.
1582	990	Khan-i-Azam	Do.
1584	992	Shahbaz Khan	Do.
1589	997	Rajah Man Singh	Do.
		Rajah Man Singh removed the capital to Rajmahal.	
1606	1015	Kutb-ud-din Khan	Jahangir Badshah.
1607	1016	Jahangir Kooli Khan	Do.
1608	1017	Shaikh Islam Khan	Do.
		Islam Khan removed the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca.	
1613	1022	Kasim Khan, son of Islam	Jahangir Badshah Khan.
1618	1028	Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang	Do.

## MUSALMANS OF BENGAL.

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A.D.	A.H.	Nazims of Bengal.	Emperors.
1622	1032	Shah Jahan, son of Jahangir	Jahangir Badshah
1625	1033	Khana Nawaz Khan	Do.
1626	1035	Nowab Mukarron Khan	Do.
1627	1036	N. Fidai Khan	Do.
1628	1037	N. Kasim Khan	Shah Jahan Badshah.
1632	1042	N. Azam Khan	Do.
1637	1047	N. Jolam Khan Mashhadi	Do.
1639	1049	Shahzadah Sultan Mahomed Shuja, son of Shah Jahan	Do.
1660	1070	Nowab Meer Jumla	Awrangzeb Badshah.
1664	1074	Nowab Shayesta Khan	Do.
1677	1087	Nowab Fedai Khan	Do.
1678	1088	Shahzadah Sultan Mahomed Azam	Do.
1680	1090	Nowab Shaista Khan	Do.
1689	1099	N. Ibrahim Khan Sani (II)	Do.
1697	1108	Prince Azim-oosh-shan	Do.
1704	1116	Nowab Murshed Kooli Khan	Do.
		Murshed Kooli Khan removed the capital from Dacca to Murshidabad.	
1725	1139	Nowab Shuja-ud-din Mahomed Khan	Mahomed Shah Badshah.
		Taking advantage of the convulsions and weakness of the Delhi Empire, Nowab Shuja-ud-din Mahomed Khan assumed absolute power and began to govern the country on his own account. From this time Bengal again became an independent State.	
1739	1151	Nowab Sarfaraz Khan, son of Shuja-ud-din Khan	Mahomed Shah Badshah.
1740	1153	Nowab Alivardi Khan	Do.
1756	1170	Nowab Siraj-ud-dowlah	Alamgir II.
1757	1171	Nowab Mir Mahomed Jaffer Khan	Do.

Every rational mind can well conceive that there is no earthly temptation, however strong, that can seduce one from the religion of his father and induce him to embrace any other religion. However mean and low a person's condition in life may be, he holds his faith dearer than all worldly lucre. If Mr. Beverley's conjectures were right, all the Hindus, high caste and low, would have equally forsaken their religion and embraced Islam, during the Musalman supremacy, in order to secure worldly advantages; and thus of the followers of the Hindu faith who are countless in this country at the present day, scarcely any could be found; or if some of them would have nevertheless remained in some remote and isolated part of the country, these remnants would surely have yielded to the evangelic persuasions of the missionaries, and would have been tempted to embrace Christianity for the sake of finding education and training in civilization and also the means of livelihood by the help of those missionaries, and furthermore to secure that equality of position which, from a religious point of view, is deemed to exist just as much among the Christian people as among the followers of Islam.

Mr. Beverley's opinion, that even a low-caste Hindu, on his conversion to Islam, attains to a position of equality with the generality of Musalmans, simply betrays his ignorance of the customs of the Musalmans. From a religious point of view, of course, all Musalmans stand on a footing of equality. But according to usage and customs the social position and the family rank of a man do not become altered by the change of religion. In fact the social position of a Musalman

convert exactly corresponds to the station he held previous to his conversion, and he can associate with only such Musalmans as belong to the same station as he himself; a low-caste person on his embracing Islam, is not allowed to hold familiar intercourse or claim equality with high-born Musalmans, nor can a Hindu of superior caste, upon his conversion to Islam, marry into a respectable Musalman family. Rigid and scrupulous regard has ever been paid by the Musalmans to social position and family dignity.

Regarding the features and physique, habits and characteristics of the Bengal Musalmans, Mr. Beverley has written that if one of these Musalmans be contrasted with a Chandala or Rajbansi, no difference can be perceived between them except in their dress and the cut of their hair. We shall show, in a subsequent chapter treating of the ethnological features and characteristics of the Musalmans, how far this statement is correct, but here we point out that the countenance and appearance of the Musalmans of Bengal remarkably differs from that of the Hindus of this country and is generally better than theirs.

Europeans have travelled through Arabia and Ajam under disguise, and have been taken by the natives of those countries either for Arabs or Ajams. For instance, in the accounts of the travels of the celebrated traveller, Sir Richard Burton, which were published, together with his portrait in Arabic costume, in the *Illustrated London News* of November 1st, 1890, it is related that he travelled through Africa and Arabia under the assumed name of Shaik Abdullah. He had

## CHAPTER II.

TRAITS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHIEF  
MUSALMAN FAMILIES IN BENGAL.

ANOTHER proof of the existence of noble and high Musalman families in Bengal is that during the supremacy of the Ghori, Khilji, Mughal and other Musalman dynasties in India, the practice was that high and responsible officers and persons of distinction were granted *Jagirs*, *Al-tamgha*, *Aima* and *Madadi-ma'āsh* by the State, in lieu of the payment of their salaries and stipends in cash. As a rule, *Jagirs* and *Al-tamgha* used to be granted to civil and military officers, and *Aimas* and *Madadi-ma'āsh* to learned men, spiritual leaders, and persons of noble descent. *Jagirs* were granted nominally for life, but as most of the State appointments were conferred on the heirs of the late incumbents, consequently the *Jagirs* became hereditary in the family. *Aimas* and *Madadi-ma'āsh* were granted in perpetuity chiefly to persons of noble birth and to holy men. Besides these grants, rent-free tenements used to be assigned by Government for the maintenance of holy shrines, mosques, and other religious establishments.

It should be here noted that in those times much circumspection was exercised and strictness observed in

regard to land being granted free of rent; as from very early ages it has been the prerogative of royalty to possess certain proprietary rights in the lands within the kingdom, and the former sovereigns depended for their personal expenses as well as for those of the administration exclusively upon the revenues derived from these lands. For this reason, such grants of land as deprived the Crown of its proprietary rights were never made except under actual and special requirements; and consequently these grants were made by Government only in cases of absolute necessity to persons of great distinction, of admitted holiness and for the maintenance of shrines. The rules and practices related in the *Ain-i-Akbari* regarding *Sayirghás* are given below in a condensed form.

The kind-hearted Emperor (Akbar), by the wisdom given to him by God, reserved the grants of subsistence allowances and *Madadi-ma'āsh* for four kinds of men, *viz.*—

"(1) Those persons who have devoted themselves to the service of God and have withdrawn from all worldly concerns, and are engaged, day and night, in the search after true knowledge.

"(2) Those men of pious resignation who, overcoming vicious tendencies of human nature, have turned their faces from society.

"(3) Men who are destitute of means and incapable of making shift for themselves.

"(4) Men of respectability and good birth who, having improvidently and imprudently learnt no profession, are unable to provide for themselves."

Subsistence allowances paid in cash are termed *Ozeifa*, and the grants in land are called *Madadi-ma'āsh*.

In these two forms, millions have already been given away by the Imperial Government.

The *Sayúrgháls* of the Afghans were separated from the *Khalasa* or Crown lands, and orders were issued to the effect that all those who possessed five hundred bighas or more should relinquish their hold upon those lands, unless their titles were reviewed and ratified by the Emperor in person.

Another order was passed that the excess of all lands beyond one hundred bighas, if left unspecified in the *Farmans*, should be reduced to its two-fifths and the difference of three-fifths should be resumed and converted to Crown land, the Eranian and Tooranian widows alone being exempted from the operation of this regulation.

It was further ruled that such of the *Jagir* holders as might be found to occupy lands other than those constituting their *Jagirs*, may each of them be granted out of these new lands such a portion as to be equivalent to three-fourths of his relinquished *Jagir*.

During the ministry of Azd-ud-Dawlah, it was ordained that if a *Sayúrghál* was held by more than one person and had not been divided and partitioned according to the terms of the *Farman*, the *Sadar* should, of his own motion, in the event of the death of any of the partners, proceed to make a proper division of the *Sayúrghál*, and keep the share of the deceased partner annexed to the Crown land until the appearance of rightful heirs. The *Sadar* was, moreover, vested with the power to grant releases for holdings up to fifteen bighas.

Again, when it transpired that holders of one hundred bighas or less were guilty of dishonesty, orders were given for the *Sadar* to produce these grantees in person before the royal presence. Further orders were afterwards passed that the *Sadar* should, with the concurrence of Abul Fazl, either increase or retrench these grants.

The general rule was that *Sayúrgháls* should consist of one-half of tilled and the other half of cultivable lands, but if otherwise, one-fourth of the whole might be retrenched and a cash allowance made in lieu of the remainder. The rate of revenue per bigha varies in the different parts but is never less than a rupee.\*

The following statement will show the varieties and descriptions of *Lakhiraj* or rent-free tenures, held by the gentry and nobility, in most of the districts of Bengal, as originally under such rules and restrictions as have been mentioned above.

#### DESCRIPTIONS OF LAKHIRAJ TENURES.

Varieties of Lakhiraj Tenures.	Particulars of Holders.	Nature of the Tenures.
Jagir ...	Musalmans and Hindus.	Used to be granted for the life term of the holder for bearing any office or as remuneration for service.
Al-tamghá ... Madadi-má'sh ...	Ditto ... Musalmans ...	Granted in perpetuity. Granted exclusively to spiritual guides, Syyads and high-born Musalmans.
Aima ...	Ditto ...	For religious leaders, spiritual guides and Syyads.

\* Note on the Cadrs of Akbar's reign.

*Description of Lakhiraj Tenures.—continued.*

Varieties of Lakhiraj Tenures.	Particulars of Holders.	Nature of the Tenures.
Maskan	Musalmans	For the erection of habitations, &c.
Nazoorat	Ditto	Granted to spiritual guides, Syyads and venerable holy men.
Khankah	Ditto	For the erection of Khankah.
Fakiran	Ditto	For mendicants.
Nazri Dargah	Ditto	For the maintenance of a shrine.
Nazri-Imamain or Tazin-dari.	Ditto	For the celebration of the Moharram.
Zamin-i-Masjid	Ditto	For the current expenses of a mosque.
Nazri Hazrat	Ditto	For the performance of certain oblations.
Kharchi Mosafirana Marunmati Masjid, &c.	Ditto	For hospitality to wayfarers.
Ma-A'fi	Ditto	For the maintenance of a mosque, &c.
Piran	Ditto	For spiritual guides and learned men, &c.
Khyrat or Khyrati	Ditto	For Musalmans in destitute circumstances.
Kharij Jama	Hindus and Musalmans.	This tenure pertains both to Hindus and Musalmans.
Minhai	Ditto	Ditto.
Brahmattar	Hindus	Specially for Brahmins.
Mehtran	Ditto	For Hindus other than Brahmins.
Maleek and Maleakkanna.	Musalmans and Hindus.	Pertains both to Hindus and Musalmans.
Debatter	Ditto	For the maintenance of Hindu shrines.
Shewatter	Ditto	Ditto.
Sooraj Parbat	Hindus	For the maintenance of Hindu shrines.
Inam	Musalmans and Hindus.	Given as a reward for service both to Hindus and Musalmans.
Munkar	Ditto	Ditto.

Besides the varieties detailed in the above statement, there are many other kinds of *Lakhiraj* in Bengal, which are known by different names in different districts. But of the whole nomenclature, the terms *Al-tamgha Aima*, *Madadi-ma'ash* and *Jagir* signify royal grants.

*Aima* tenures are peculiar to Bengal, and are nowhere else to be found; thus indicating that they form the grants exclusively made by the Kings of Gaur.

The verbal meaning of the term *Aima* is subsistence or maintenance, but technically it signifies a *Jagir* granted by the king, to an especially deserving and venerable person. Grants bearing this designation pertain exclusively to the Syyads, holy men, venerable persons, and the leaders of the Musalman religion. Or, speaking more generally, lands granted by the Kings of Bengal to the religious and spiritual leaders of the Musalmans were termed *Aimas*. Of *Aimas*, again, there are two subdivisions,—one is free from assessment, and the other is very lightly assessed. Both the kinds, however, form royal grants. A very small remnant of the rent-free *Aimas* now exist, for most of these were resumed during the régime of the Mughal dynasty and then resettled for low rates with their former owners. The difference between *Lakhiraj* or rent-free tenures granted by the Kings of Gaur and those granted by the Mughal Emperors is merely nominal, freehold tenements bestowed by the Kings of Gaur on holy persons, learned men and religious guides, were designated *Aimas*; while similar grants made by the Mughal Emperors were termed *Madadi-ma'ash*. *Aima* tenures are chiefly to be found in those

districts in which the ancient noble Musalman families of Gaur lived. There are twenty-five such districts in Bengal, namely :—

- |                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| (1) Murshidabad.  | (14) Bogra.      |
| (2) Nuddea.       | (15) Pabna.      |
| (3) 24-Perganahs. | (16) Darjeeling. |
| (4) Khoolna.      | (17) Jalpaiguri. |
| (5) Jessore.      | (18) Dacca.      |
| (6) Burdwan.      | (19) Faridpore.  |
| (7) Hugly.        | (20) Bakarganj.  |
| (8) Midnapore.    | (21) Mymensingh. |
| (9) Birbhoom.     | (22) Chittagong. |
| (10) Bankoorah.   | (23) Noakholly.  |
| (11) Deenajpore.  | (24) Tipperah.   |
| (12) Rajshahi.    | (25) Maldah.     |
| (13) Rangpore.    |                  |

Again, there are 700 lots of *Aimas* in the district of Murshidabad; in Rajshahi, Bagha and Nattore there are large numbers of *Aima* lots; in Bogra there are 694 lots; in Burdwan 1,705 lots; in Hugly 894 lots; in Bakarganj the number is somewhat smaller, but has not been ascertained precisely; in Midnapore there are 12 lots; in 24-Perganahs 16 lots; and in Maldah, Deenajpore, Noakholly there are some lots also, but their exact number has not been learnt. It is evident from the above accounts that there are the largest numbers of *Aima* lots in the districts of Murshidabad, Burdwan, Hugly, Maldah, Rajshahi and Bogra, namely, the districts adjoining Gaur. But even in these districts *Aimas* lie chiefly in such parts as are elevated and free from damp, and where the soil is hard and compact, but rarely in such places as are marshy or sandy or subject to river floods. Again, with regard to the three ancient

divisions of Bengal, namely, Rarh, Barind and Bang, *Aimas* are to be found mostly in Rarh, less in Barind and rarely in Bang.

After the conquest of Bengal by Akbar, when the land-settlement of the country was made by Rajah Todar Mall, most of the *Aimas* were, under the rules of *Sayúrghál*, converted to domain lands; and, subsequently, during the administrations of the Nazims, Murshid Kuli Khan and Nawab Kasim Ali Khan, *Aima* lands were again resumed and then permanently settled for low rents with their former possessors. Henceforth these lightly assessed tenements came to be called *Aimas*. The general rate of Government revenue for *Aima* lands is three bighas per rupee.

Sir W. Hunter has written in his *Statistical Account of Murshidabad* that the real difference between a ceded *Aima* and *Lakhiraj* is very slight. *Aimas* were granted exclusively to the Musalmans, and although revenue has been levied upon them, yet the rates fixed are very low and nominal. The same author has written in his account of Rajshahi that in this district there are *Aimas* in Nattore and Bagha. All these were granted by the former rulers chiefly to the learned men of the Musalmans and to their holy men, spiritual guides, and religious leaders, and for charitable purposes; these grants date from times far remote from the *dewani* administration; and the proprietary rights vested by the grants are both hereditary and transferable.

Besides the *Aimas*, *Madadi-ma'ásh* and other varieties of *Lakhiraj* tenures, as detailed in the foregoing statement, are very numerous in Bengal; and although their

exact amount is not known, yet from the statistical accounts it is very clear that it is very large.

When the government of these provinces fell under the sovereign control of the British nation, then, according to Regulation XIX of 1793 of this Government, all *Lakhiraj* tenements exceeding ten bighas, with regard to which the occupiers failed to produce royal *Sanads* were resumed. Under the operation of this Regulation many *bonâ fide* grants, for which the *Sanads* were not forthcoming, were converted to domain lands.

Afterwards Regulation XXXVII of 1793 was passed for the resumption of life-term and other kinds of *Lakhiraj* tenures, other than those forming royal grants, and also such as might be dated earlier than 1765 A.D., of which the occupiers might be in possession of *Sanads*, and of which they should have acquired the possession by fair means before the above-mentioned year, and which had not been previously assessed by the British authorities for more than its usual revenue.

Finally, Regulation II of 1819 A.D.; for the resumption of *Lakhiraj* lands, gave the death-blow to these tenures. It was laid down in section 28 of this Regulation that no *Farman* of the Emperors of Delhi, nor any *Sanad*, or *Parwana* of any Wazir, Nawab, or Rajah, shall be considered valid ground for title, unless such documents can be verified from official records and their genuineness attested to by living witnesses, and that they shall not be accepted as valid merely because of other attestations which they may contain.

Under the operations of the Regulations noticed above, more especially those of the last-mentioned,

most of the *Lakhiraj* tenements underwent resumption; and it is surprising, indeed, that in spite of these sweeping legislative measures, such numerous Musalman *Lakhiraj* tenures should still continue to exist in these provinces.

But let us pause here to ask those who are opposed to our views, whether all these countless *Lakhiraj* tenures (which by their very nature pertain exclusively to the Musalmans) are not standing memorials of equally countless, high, and noble Musalman families in this country, belonging to by-gone generations? We maintain that no one can affirm the contrary. Let us further ask whether it is possible that the lines of descent of all those countless families could have become extinct? and if not, where are their descendants, if not in Bengal; and who are they, if not the present generation of the Musalmans of this country? We are afraid that any candid reply given to the above questions would but confute the declared opinion of those who oppose our views.

Let it be remembered that those *Lakhiraj* and *Aima* tenures which were peculiar to the Musalmans are not all at present in their possession. The fact is that, on the one hand, ruin having overtaken the ancient Musalman families, and, on the other hand, the auction rules of Government being in active operation, these tenures have become alienated from their original owners either by public auction by Government or by private sales by themselves, and gradually men of different nations and creeds have acquired possession of the estates of the Musalmans.

PWPs 648.

Poem (Written to yeoman)

(Copy)

PWPs 648

## The Poligar

I am sick of the Tale that is told over & over  
of the great Feats of Arms we achiev'd in Mysore;  
These labors were light, & those victories ~~were~~ in  
Compared to the deeds of the Southern campaign;  
Tho' wild was the Foe, not unequal the War;  
For skilful & brave is the wild Poligar.

As we march'd thro' the jungle & saw not a foe,  
Many Youths of fair promise too soon were laid low:-  
These Mothers had thought to have seen them great men;-  
Bold Mothers, you never will see them again;  
For alas! in this butchering, bush-fighting war,  
Too true was the aim of the keen Poligar.

When the Foe first appear'd in array on the plain,  
At the head of his troops Grant charg'd them a main;  
For in vain did he charge, nor in vain did he strike,  
But his brave Native Officer fell by the pike.  
Wounded Grant press'd the hand of his brave Tambadar,  
And curs'd from his heart the too fleet Poligar.

A-XII/29

Elated by laurels so recently won  
To a magical spot we moved gallantly on,  
Where the quick sighted rebels a refuge had found  
In a fortress, invisibly raised from the ground;  
For, strange to relate, when impaled afar,  
This wonder was work'd by the shrewd Potigar.

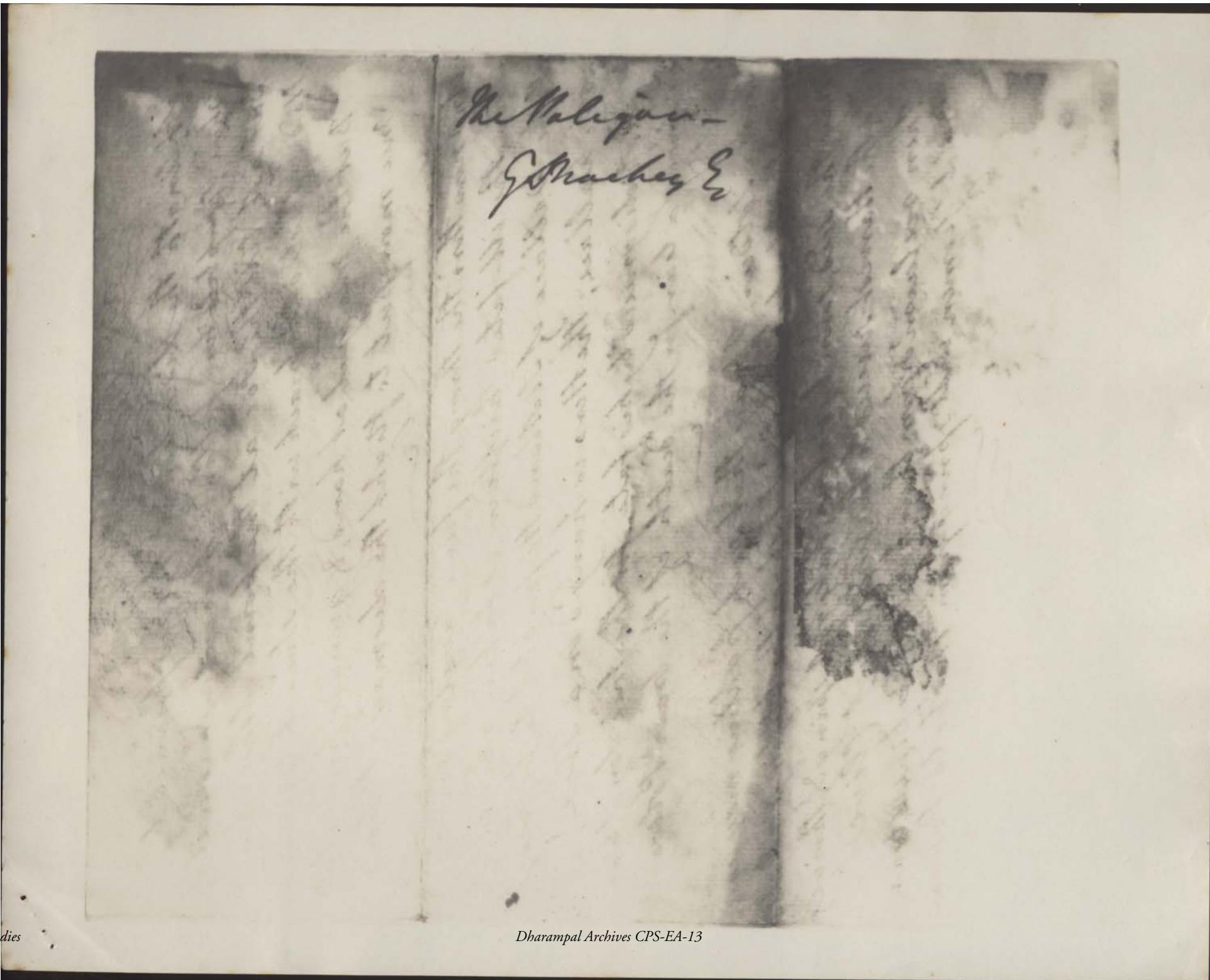
Our Leader consulted; - our Leader he plan'd  
And determin'd to carry the place sword in hand;  
But the foemen contriv'd all his schemes to defeat  
And the pick'd troops of Britain were for'd to retreat;  
For it seems that our Leader had judg'd from afar  
Of the hole in the wall of the strong Potigar.

Long inactive we lay before walls, built of mud;  
Cemented indeed by the best British blood:  
Prosper for that blood & the dread of disgrace  
Made us cease to believe it "a pitiful place."  
So we eagerly look'd for fresh succours from far,  
One more to be fear'd by the proud Potigar.

At length the discretion of Agnew prevail'd  
when Campbell had fall'n & Macnay had fail'd;  
But not till the Fox at the point of the spear  
Had contested the brach with the staunch Grenadier.  
But the musket at hand, & grenade from afar  
Once more put to flight the dismay'd Poligar.

And now thro' the throng the fine Cavalry drove;  
Soon the ill-fated Chieftain is taken alive:  
Like Wallace of Scotland he fought to be free;—  
Like Wallace, the Hus is hang'd on a Tree!  
Not disgraced by his fate, for the true Son of War  
Shed a tear for the death of the brave Poligar.

'Tho' a Soldier, I pray that such fighting may cease,  
And the Blacks & the Whites share the blessings of Peace;  
May the seed, sown by valour, take root, spring & thrive,  
And the Harvest succed to the wishes of Clive!  
Then, reclaim'd from their habits of rapine & war,  
Bold Yeomen will spring from the bold Poligar.'



Capt Hiram Cox: Journal of a Residence in the Burmese Empire and more particularly  
[BM: 1046 C 8] at the court of Amarapoorah, India 1821. W431 (8.10.1796 - 1.11.1797)  
written by Captain Hiram Cox

## OIL WELLS IN BURMA 1797

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JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE  
(CAPTAIN HIRAM COX: JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE)

Also  
on  
12/18/20

rains, innumerable mountain-streams facilitate the transportation, and what has been cut too late to be brought down by water the whole way, is dragged overland on truck-carriages by buffaloes. A little beyond Patoo, on the west bank, a lofty hill with a pagoda on it forms an abrupt point. In India, this would be fortified as a commanding-post on the river; but fortification does not seem to be in estimation among the Burmhans.

January 2, 1797. In the morning we came to the lower town of Mhegeounya. Several boats were lying at it, and at noon, when we arrived at the upper town, we found a great many large merchant-boats loading, and the place not only very populous, but also evidently one of great trade.

January 5. To-day I had a proof of the independence of the common labourers in this country; the crew of my boat went ashore with their little bundles, refusing to proceed further, unless the Laidaighee (the cockswain or owner of the boat) paid them the balance of their contract-hire for the trip to Amarapoorah. They had received fifteen ticals in advance at Rangoon, and now wanted the remaining ten ticals: twenty-five ticals and provisions is the hire of a boatman from Rangoon to Amarapoorah, and the passage rarely exceeds two months. The Laidaighee pleaded that he had no security for their performing the trip, whereas they were sure of obtaining

IN THE BURMSE EMPIRE

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IN THE BURMESE EMPIRE & 10.1796-1.11.1797  
LONDON 1821

redress against him, if he refused to pay. The officers of government with me, never interfered to compel them; but at length compromised the business by becoming security for the owner of the boat. During the passage also, on several occasions, the boats' crews have been threatened with punishment for neglect of attention; the rattan has been brandished, and even the culprit bound, but I never saw a blow inflicted.

January 7. At noon we came to the upper town of Raynangoong, or, as it is pronounced by the natives, Yanangoong: I stopped here on purpose to pay a visit to the wells of Naphtha, or earth-oil. The town has but a mean appearance, and many of its pagodas (of which there are a great number) were falling to ruins; the inhabitants, however, were well-dressed, and many of them had gold spiral ear-ornaments, and were undoubtedly rich from the great trade they carry on in the earth-oil. At this time thirty-three large boats, besides numerous small ones, were lying here; and thirty-three large merchant-boats, at two villages dependent on this place a little higher up the river. At two P.M. I set off from my boat, accompanied by the Mewthaghee or Zemindar of the town and several of the merchants, to view the wells. Our road lay to the east-north-east through dry beds of loose sand in the water-courses, and over rugged arid downs and hillocks, on which were scat-

tered plants of euphorbium, the cassia tree, which yields the cutch or terra japonica, used throughout India, to add to the astringency of the betel when formed into pawn: it also yields a very durable timber for lining the oil-wells, and, lastly, the hardy biar, or wild plum of India. The sky was cloudless, so that the sun shone upon us with undiminished force, and, as I had been unwell for some days, I walked rather slowly; but at the expiration of an hour we reached the wells. I compute the distance therefore to be three miles from the river. The wells we saw are scattered irregularly about the downs at no great distance from each other; some, perhaps, not more than thirty or forty yards. At this particular place we were informed, that there are 180 wells; and four or five miles to the north-east there are 340 more.

In making a well, the hill is cut down, so as to form a square table of 14 or 20 feet for the crown of the well, and from this table a road is formed by scraping away an inclined plane for the drawers to descend, in raising the excavated earth from the well, and subsequently the oil. The shaft is sunk of a square form, and lined as the miner proceeds with squares of cassia wood staves; these staves are about six feet long, six inches broad, and two thick, and are rudely jointed and pinned at right angles to each other, forming a square frame about four and a half feet in the clear for the uppermost

ones, but more contracted below. When a miner has pierced six or more feet of the shaft, a series of these square frames are piled on each other, and regularly added to at top; the whole gradually sinking as he deepens the shaft, and securing him against the falling in of the sides. The soil or strata to be pierced is, first, a light sandy loam intermixed with fragments of quartz, silex, &c. Secondly, a friable sand-stone easily wrought, with thin horizontal strata of a concrete of martial ore, talc\*, and indurated argil, at from ten or fifteen feet from the surface, and also from each other, as there are several of these veins in the great body of free-stone. Thirdly, at twenty cubits, more or less, from the surface, and immediately below the free-stone, a pale blue argillaceous earth (schista) appears, impregnated with the petroleum, and smelling strongly of it. This, they say, is very difficult to work, and grows harder as they get deeper, ending in schist and slate, such as is found covering veins of coal in Europe. Below this schist, at the depth of 130 cubits, is coal. I procured some (intermixed with sulphur and pyrites), which had been taken from a well deepened a few days before my arrival; but

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\* The talc has this singularity; it is denticulated, its lamina being perpendicular to the horizontal lamina of the argil on which it is seated.

deemed amongst them a rarity, as they are seldom obliged to proceed to such a depth. They were piercing a new well when I was there; had got to the depth of eighty cubits, and expected oil at ten or twenty cubits more.

The machinery used in drawing up the rubbish, and afterwards the oil from the well, is an axle crossing the centre of the well resting on two rude forked stauchions, with a revolving barrel on its centre, like the nave of a wheel, in which is a score for receiving the draw-rope; the bucket is of wicker work covered with dammer; and the labour of the drawers, consisting in general of three men, is facilitated by the descent of the inclined plane, as water is drawn from deep wells in Hindostān. To receive the oil, one man is stationed at the brink of the well, who empties the bucket into a channel made on the surface of the earth leading to a sunken jar, from whence it is laded into smaller ones, and immediately carried down to the river, either by coolies or on hackeries\*. When a well grows dry, they deepen it. They say, none are abandoned for barrenness. Even the death of a miner from mephitic air does not deter others from persisting in deepening them when dry. Two days before my arrival, a man was suffocated in one of the wells; yet they afterwards

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\* Hackeries, the term for the common carts in India.

renewed their attempts without further accident. I recommended trying the air with a candle, &c., with seemingly little effect.

The oil is drawn pure from the wells in the liquid state, as used without variation; but in the cold season it congeals in the open air, and always loses something of its fluidity; the temperature of the wells preserving it in a liquid state fit to be drawn. A man, who was lowered into a well 110 cubits, in my presence, and immediately drawn up, perspired copiously at every pore: unfortunately I had no other means of trying the temperature. The oil is of a dingy green, and odorous: it is used for lamps, and, boiled with a little dammer (a resin of the country) for paying the timbers of houses, and the bottoms of boats &c., which it preserves from decay and vermin. Its medicinal properties known to the natives, cause it to be employed as a lotion in cutaneous eruptions, and as an embrocation in bruises and rheumatic affections. The miners positively assured me, that no water ever percolates through the earth into the wells, as has been supposed. The rains in this part of the country are seldom heavy, and during the season a roof of thatch is thrown over the wells. The water that falls soon runs off to the river, and what penetrates into the earth is effectually prevented from descending to any great depth, by the increasing hardness of the

oleaginous argil of schist. This will readily be admitted, when it is known, that the coal-mines at Whitby are worked below the harbour, and the roof of the galleries not more than fifty feet from the bed of the sea. The deficiency of rain in this tract may be owing to the high range of mountains to the eastward, which run parallel to the river, and arrest the clouds in their passage; as is the case on the eastern side of the peninsula of India. Solicitous to obtain accurate information on a subject so interesting as this natural source of wealth, I had all the principal proprietors assembled on board my boat, and collected from them the following particulars: the foregoing I learnt at the wells, from the miners and others. I endeavoured to guard against exaggeration, as well as to obviate the caution and reserve, which mercantile men in all countries think it necessary to observe when minutely questioned on subjects affecting their interests; and I have reason to hope my information is not very far distant from the truth.

The property of these wells is in the owners of the soil, natives of the country, and descends to the heir-general as a kind of entailed hereditament, with which it is said government never interferes, and which no distress will induce them to alienate. One family perhaps possesses four or five wells. I heard of none who had more, the generality of

them have less, they are sunk by, and wrought for, the proprietors. The cost of sinking a new well is 2,000 ticals, flowered silver of the country, or 2,500 sicca rupees, and the annual average net profit 1,000 ticals, or 1,250 sicca rupees. The contract price with the miners for sinking a well is as follows: for the first forty cubits they have forty ticals, for the next forty cubits 300 ticals, and beyond these eighty cubits to the oil, they have from thirty to fifty ticals per cubit, according to the depth (the Birmah cubit is nineteen inches English,) taking the mean rate at forty ticals per cubit, and 100 cubits as the general depth at which they come to oil; the remaining twenty cubits will cost 800 ticals, or the whole of the miners' wages for sinking the shaft 1,140 ticals. A well of 100 cubits will require 950 cassia staves, which at five ticals per 100, will cost forty-seven ticals and a half. Portage and workmanship, in fitting them, may amount to 100 ticals more. The levelling the hill for the crown of the well, and making the draw-road, &c., according to the common rate of labour in the country, will cost about 200 ticals, ropes, &c., and provisions for the workmen, which are supplied by the proprietor. When making a new well, expenses of propitiatory sacrifices, and perhaps a seigniorage fine to government for permission to sink it, consume the remaining  $512\frac{1}{2}$  ticals. In deepening an old well, they

make the best bargain in their power with the miners, who rate their demand per cubit according to its depth, or danger from the heat or mephitic air.

The amount, produce, and wages of the labourers who draw the oil, as stated to me, I suspect was exaggerated, or erroneous from misinterpretation on both sides. The average produce of each well per diem, they said was 500 viss, or 1,825 lbs. avoirdupois, and that the labourers earned upwards of eight ticals each per month; but I apprehend this was not meant, as the average produce or wages for every day or month throughout the year, as must appear from a further examination of the subject. Where facts are dubious, we must endeavour to obtain truth from internal evidence. Each well is worked by four men, and their wages is regulated by the average produce of six days' labour, of which they have one-sixth, or its value, at the rate of one and a quarter ticals per hundred viss, the price of the oil at the wells. The proprietor has an option of paying their sixth in oil; but I understand he pays the value in money, and if so, I think this is as fair a way of regulating the wages of labour as is anywhere practised; for, in proportion as the labourer works he benefits, and gains only as he benefits his employer. He can only do injury by overworking himself, which is not likely to happen to an Indian.

No provisions are allowed to the oil drawers, but the proprietors supply the ropes, &c., and lastly, the king's duty is a tenth of the produce. Now, supposing a well to yield 500 viss per diem throughout the year, deducting one-sixth for the labourers, and one-tenth for the king, there will remain for the proprietor, rejecting fractions, 136,876 viss, which at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  tical, the value at the wells is equal to 1,710 ticals per annum. From this sum there is to be deducted only a trifle for drawing, ropes, &c., for I could not learn that there was any further duties or expense to be charged on the produce; but the merchants say they gain only a neat 1,000 ticals per annum for each well; and, as we advance we shall have reason to think they have given the maximum rather than the minimum of their profits; hence we may infer, that the gross amount of produce per annum is not 182,500 viss. Further, the four labourers' share, or one-sixth, deducting the king's tithe, will be 2,250 viss per month of thirty days, or in money at the above price, twenty-eight ticals, fifty avas, or seven ticals, twelve avas each man per month; but the wages of a common labourer in this part of the country, as the same persons informed me, is only five ticals per month when hired from day to day: they also admitted that the labour of the oil-drawers was not harder than that of common labourers, and the employment no

way obnoxious to health. On being more indirectly questioned, (for on this part of the subject, perhaps owing to the minuteness of my inquiries, they were most reserved,) they allowed that their gain was not much greater than the common labourers of the country, nor is it reasonable it should; for, as there is no mystery in drawing of oil; no particular hardships endured, or risk of health; no compulsion or prevention pretended; and, as it is the interest of the proprietors to get their work done at the cheapest rate, of course the numbers that would flock to so regular and profitable an employment would soon lower the rate of hire, nearly at least to the common wages of the country. Besides, I observed no appearance of affluence amongst the labourers; they were meanly lodged and clad, and fed coarsely; not on rice which in the upper province is an article of luxury, but on dry grains, and indigenous roots of the nature of cassada, collected in their wastes by their women and children. Further, it is not reasonable to suppose that these labourers worked constantly: Nature always requires a respite, and will be obeyed, however much the desire of gain may stimulate; and, this cause must more particularly operate in warm climates, to produce what we often improperly call indolence. Even the rigid Cato emphatically says, that "the man who has not time to be idle is a slave." A due

consideration of this physical and moral necessity ought, perhaps, to vindicate religious legislators from the reproaches too liberally bestowed on them, for sanctioning relaxation. Be that as it may, I think it is sufficiently apparent that the article of wages is also exaggerated, and that 500 viss must only be considered as the amount produce of working-days, and not an average for every day in the year. The labour of the miners, as I have observed above, is altogether distinct from the oil-drawers, and their pay proportioned to their hardships, and the risks they endure. Assuming therefore as data, the acknowledged profit of 1,000 ticals per annum for each well, which we can hardly suppose exaggerated, as it would expose the proprietors to an additional tax, and the common wages of precarious employment in the country, that is one month with another, including holidays, the year round, four and a quarter ticals per month as the pay of the oil-drawers, which includes the two extremes of the question, it will make the average produce of each well per diem, 300 viss, or 109,500 viss per annum, equal to 395,675 lbs. avoirdupois, or 173 tons 955 lbs.; or in liquid measure 793 hogsheads of sixty-three gallons each; and, as there are 520 wells registered by government, the gross amount produce of the whole per annum, will be 56,940 viss, or 92,781 tons, 1,560 lbs., or 412,360 hogsheads;

*63 galln. hogshead*

worth at the wells, at one and a quarter ticals per hundred viss, 711,750 ticals, or 889,687½ sicca rupees.

From the wells the oil is carried in small jars, by coolies or on carts, to the river; where it is delivered to the merchant exporter, at two ticals per hundred viss; the value being enhanced three-eighths by the expense and risk of portage; therefore the gross value or profit to the country of the whole, deducting five per cent for wastage, may be stated at 1,081,860 ticals, or 1,362,325 sicca rupees per annum, yielding a direct revenue to the king of 136,232 sicca rupees per annum, and perhaps thrice as much more before it reaches the consumer; besides the benefit the whole country must derive from the productive industry called into action, by the constant employment of so large a capital on so gruff an article. There were between seventy and eighty boats, average burthen sixty tons each, loading oil at the several wharfs, and others constantly coming and going while I was there. A number of boats and men also find constant employment in providing the pots, &c., for the oil; and the extent of this single branch of internal commerce, (for almost the whole is consumed in the country,) will serve to give some insight into the internal commerce and resources of the country. At the wells the price of the oil is seven anas seven pice, per 112lbs.

avoirdupois; at the port of Ranghong it is sold at the rate of three sicca rupees, three anas, and six pice, per 112lbs., or per hogshead of sixty-three gallons, (weighing 504lbs.) fourteen rupees, seven anas, nine pice, exclusive of the cask; or per Bengal bazar maund, two rupees, five anas, eight pice; whereas the mustard-seed and other vegetable oils sell, at Ranghong, at eleven rupees per bazar maund.

To conclude, this oil is a genuine petroleum, possessing all the properties of coal-tar, being in fact the self-same thing; the only difference is, that Nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth, that for the Burmhans, for which European nations are obliged to the ingenuity of Lord Dundonald.<sup>1</sup>

*January 14, 1797.* Passed the modern city of Gneayan, its N.W. face towards the river extends about one mile and a half. At this station the former deputation was met by two woondocks from Ava, attended by a gilt and several other war-boats, and conducted to a house prepared on shore, and entertained with music, dancing, and sweetmeats, according to the fashion of the country. As my appointment took place at his majesty's request, I of course expected the same attention, but in this I was completely disappointed; and, from the neglect with which I have been treated during the whole of my journey, have just reason to apprehend that the enemies of Great Britain

was one of the great problems for the European Companies.<sup>1</sup> The Indian market could not absorb any considerable amount of European articles. Neither the English nor the Dutch Company could export an unlimited supply of money from their own countries. In India money could be borrowed only at an extortionate rate of interest. Two ways lay open to the European Companies who did not want to fall into the hands of the native moneylenders. They could raise money by trading in countries where imports were paid for with cash; the trade with China and Japan was the most fruitful in this respect, and here the Dutch had a practical monopoly. Secondly, they could escape the necessity of importing money by importing non-European articles for which there was a demand in India, and here again the Dutch were fortunate in their control of the supply of spices. Apart from spices, the chief articles which they imported on the Coromandel Coast were sandal wood and pepper from the Malay Archipelago, Japanese copper and certain Chinese textiles from the Far East.

In 1617 the directorate of the Coromandel Coast was raised into a *gouvernement*, its chief at Pulicat being given the title of governor as well as becoming an Extraordinary Councillor of the Indies. In 1689 the governor's seat was removed from Pulicat in the centre to Negapatam in the south, which as will be described in a subsequent paragraph, had been taken from the Portuguese in 1659. No doubt the decision to make it into the capital of the coast, which was adversely criticised by many who praised the situation of Pulicat as ideally central, was inspired by the consideration that in the troublous times ahead, now that Aurangzib was master of Golconda, Negapatam, close to the Company's new stronghold of Ceylon, was the natural strategic basis of the whole *gouvernement*. A new castle was at once constructed, at a cost, it was said, of 1,600,000 guilders, which far surpassed Fort Geldria in size and strength.

We possess a very vivid account of the conditions in the Dutch factories on the Coromandel Coast just about the time when this transfer was taking place in the travels of Daniel Havart.

The society into which Havart introduces his reader is purely official. The "Free merchants" whom early governors-general had wanted to encourage had been driven away by the severely monopolist policy on which the Seventeen insisted. There were only the servants of the Company left, who enriched themselves (although Havart does not say so) by infringing that very monopoly which was so dear to the directors' hearts. During the last years of Havart's stay on the coast this little society was shaken to its foundations by the appearance of a commissioner, Van Reede tot Drakensteyn, entrusted by the Seventeen themselves with extraordinary powers to put down corruption and reform abuses. Several officials, chiefs of factories among them, were broken by this ruthless reformer, whose social

<sup>1</sup> Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 58 sqq.

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position (he was a member of the Utrecht nobility, a very unusual rank among the servants of the Company) added to the awe which he inspired.

By Havart's time some of the early factories, Petapoli and Tirupuliyur, had been abandoned. On the other hand several new ones had been founded. Proceeding northward from Negapatam, Havart enumerates: Porto Novo, Devenampatnam, Sadraspatam, Pulicat, Masulipatam, Nagelwanze, Golconda, Palakollu, Daatzerom and Birlipatam. Of these, Porto Novo, founded as late as 1680, was a prosperous centre for the collection of cottons. Sadraspatam and Palakollu were important on account of the especial excellence of the textiles to be had there. Devenampatnam and Masulipatam were the busiest factories, both for export and import, although Masulipatam had lost some of its importance since the establishment, in 1660, of a factory at Golconda, the chief of which, apart from his commercial duties, acted as the Company's resident with the king of Golconda, although special embassies continued still to be sent after as before 1660. Nagelwanze was the centre for the indigo trade. At Palakollu the Company had had a factory since 1613, and carried on a profitable dyeing industry. From 1653 the village was administered by the Company which held it from the king at an annual rent of 1000 pagodas.

In all these places the Dutch Company had buildings, more or less fortified, and large enough to accommodate the factors, their slaves, and sometimes a small body of soldiers. The number of factors varied a good deal. At Sadraspatam, although a very successful trading centre, there were only four; at Nagelwanze, at the time of its highest prosperity about 1680, eighteen. Many of the factors were married, and if the factory could not house their families, they lived outside. At Masulipatam eight or ten were married, when the Commissioner Van Keede strictly prohibited (except for the chiefs of factories) what was regarded as an abuse, and sent many families to Europe or Batavia. The factors in the Company's service were called merchants, and their ranks were assistant, junior merchant, merchant, and senior merchant. This nomenclature was preserved even in possessions where the duties of the Company's servants were not primarily commercial, but administrative, as in Ceylon. At the head of a factory there were as a rule two chiefs, the first and the second chief, who might be junior merchant, merchant, or senior merchant in rank. The Coromandel instructions of the Pulicat governors of 1649 and 1663<sup>1</sup> laid it down that the first chief presides over the council, on which the other factors also sat; he had the general supervision over the factory's affairs, kept the money, negotiated with native traders, contracting for textiles, etc., and corresponding with the central administration, with the director or governor, as the case might be, but consulting his secundo.

<sup>1</sup> Havart, *Op- en Ondergang van Cormandel*, iii, 57.

Manual of Tinnevelly District (1879) no mention of Palyankottai (Palankottai) as a missionary place, or Dutch settlement.

Bishop R. Caldwell: *Post-Plan History of Tinnevelly* (1881) p. 91. The earliest date of English churchyard in Palankottai is 1771. P. L. T. (Swartz) mentions the fact (in 1770) that there were a few Christians then.

his successors as well, still claimed Colombo, and the Dutch, anxious above all to be left in peace so that the cinnamon might be safely collected, humoured their pretensions by paying them excessive honours and posing as their humble allies bound to aid them against the attacks of foreign powers. During Raja Sinha's lifetime this did not prevent frequent trouble, the king sometimes attacking Dutch posts and extending the cinnamon area directly under his control. Cinnamon-peeling was repeatedly prevented and the export of arecanuts, the most important product of the king's own dominions, prohibited. Better relations prevailed under his immediate successors, although the Dutch maintained their pretension to keep the trade with the outside world completely in their own hands, and in 1707, in order the better to prevent smuggling, closed all ports except Colombo, Galle and Jaffnapatam. By placing ships at the disposal of the court for intercourse with Pegu, whence came Buddhist priests, and with Madura, whence the kings generally obtained their wives, the Company strove to make its control of overseas relations less galling. The kings of the Dravidian dynasty, however, who came to the throne in 1739 with Hanguraketa, and under whom all power at court was in the hands of nayaks from the mainland, were not so easily pacified. At the same time the Company's governors became more and more impatient of the humiliating conditions of their position in Ceylon. Particularly they disliked the annual embassy to the king's court, in order to secure with abject genuflections the right to collect the cinnamon-bark in the area under the king's sovereignty.

But the relations with Kandi did not constitute the only difficulty with which Dutch rule had to contend. Wide regions with populations of varying national and religious traditions and complicated social structures were brought under direct Dutch control. At the time of the conquest, material misery, after Portuguese misrule and protracted war, was the most pressing problem. The Dutch imported slaves from Southern India to restore irrigation works and cultivate the rice fields. They encouraged new crops, like cotton and indigo. They did their best to reduce the chaos which reigned in land tenure. In the Sinhalese country Maetsuycker's *Batavia Statutes*, a codification of the Company's laws, were introduced, but experienced Sinhalese were always members of the *Landraads* in order to see that the ancient customs of the country were observed. In the north, Tamil law, codified under Dutch auspices in 1707, was taken as the basis for legal decisions so long as it appeared consonant with reason, all deficiencies being supplied from Dutch law. The administration of justice left, however, a great deal to be desired. The governors never ceased complaining about the scarcity of officials with sufficient legal training and at the same time conversant with the conditions of the country.

On the whole, circumstances were not such as to favour the growth of a vigorous public spirit among the officials. The society in which they lived at Colombo and in the other coastal towns remained permeated with Portuguese influences. The same was true, to a greater or lesser extent, for all the places on the mainland of India and in the Malay Archipelago from which the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese, and it is to be explained by two characteristics of Portuguese colonisation, their marriages with the natives and their successful propagation of Catholicism. Under Dutch rule ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church at once took charge of the communities of Christians formed by the Portuguese ecclesiastics, but far into the eighteenth century complaints were frequent that the attachment of native Christians, then numbered in hundreds of thousands, to Protestantism, and even to Christianity, was purely nominal. The later historian owes a very real debt to some of the Dutch Reformed ministers. We mention only Philippus Baldaeus, whose description of Ceylon and the Malabar Coast was published in 1672, François Valentyn, whose encyclopaedic work on the possessions of the Company appeared from 1724 to 1726, Abraham Rogerius, probably the best scholar of them all, who was at Pulicat from 1631 to 1641, and whose *Gentilismus Reseratus* was described by A. C. Burnell in 1898 as "still, perhaps, the most complete account of South Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest". The principal author, too, of the famous botanical work *Hortus Malabaricus*, which under the patronage of Van Reede tot Drakensteyn appeared in 1678 and following years, was a minister of the church—Johannes Cascerius. But the Dutch *predikants* had little of the missionary zeal which distinguished the Roman Catholic priests, and they made far less impression on the native populations in whose midst they lived. In Ceylon, seminaries for the training of native missionaries were founded in 1690, but until the governorship of Baron van Imhoff, 1737–40, when only one at Colombo survived, they led a precarious existence.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards half-caste Malabar and Sinhalese pupils regularly passed from the Colombo seminary to Holland, and, after a course of theology at the universities of Utrecht or Leyden, returned to their native land fully qualified ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. Their influence was never very deep however, and in spite of all repressive measures—no doubt greatly relaxed during the second half of the eighteenth century—Catholicism continued to show much vitality. Portuguese remained the language of the slave population and this, added to the deplorable failure to provide good education for them, had unfortunate effects on the children of the officials, who frequently entered the Company's service when they grew up. The number of Dutch free burghers who settled in Ceylon was never very great. There was, in short, no healthy

<sup>1</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruyn, *De Hervormde Kerk in Nederl. Oost-Indië onder de O. I. Compagnie*, pp. 574 sqq.

W. Calland (De open-Denre --) 1915: p. xxvi (Biographische aankekeningen). Zijn standplaet was Paliaekatta, Trans dorde Engelschen Pulicat geheten, en gelegen iet noordelike Madras.

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1045. h. b. (5)

W. Price

1045. h. b.

# TRAVELS.

I N

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA;

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CHARACTERS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LAWS,  
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CONTAINING

Various REMARKS on the POLITICAL and  
COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N:

And delineating, in particular,

A N E W S Y S T E M

For the Government and Improvement of the BRITISH  
SETTLEMENTS in the

E A S T I N D I E S:

Begun in the YEAR 1777, and finished in 1781.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

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tiger leaped from a thicket, and carried off a screaming boy, the son of one of his neighbours. The Englishman expressed symptoms of the most extreme horror, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What," said the former, "are you unaffected by so dreadful a scene?" "The great God," said the other, "would have it so."—Whatever may be the cause, it is certain, that death is regarded with less horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, say the philosophers of India of the present times, is a *vacuum*. A state of *repose* is the state of greatest perfection; and this is the state after which a wise man aspires. It is better, say the Hindoos, to sit than to walk, and to sleep than to wake; but death is the best of all.

ACCORDING to the Gentoo laws, criminals sentenced to death are not to be strangled, suffocated, or poisoned, but to be cut off by the sword; because, without an effusion of blood, malefactors are supposed to

to die with all their sins about them; but the shedding of their blood, it is thought, expiates their crimes. The unjust punishment of *Nundcomar*, who was hanged on a gibbet against the laws of his country, and even by an *ex post facto* English law, was aggravated by that circumstance of horror, that he died without an effusion of blood.

THE Hindoos are well acquainted with the nature of simples, and apply them judiciously either in performing cures which require not amputation, or in effecting death by quick or slow poisons. They have been for ages, in the practice of inoculating for the small-pox; on which occasion, as well as on others, they have recourse to the favourable mediation of charms, or spells.

ALTHOUGH the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their

arms,

composed of various kinds of revenue  
and ecclesiastical incomes, &c. &c. &c. &c.  
including all kinds of nobility.

## LETTER LV.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1779.

I AM now to fulfil my promise, to give you a particular account of the day, as it is commonly spent by an Englishman in Bengal.

ABOUT the hour of seven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen) harcarrahs (messengers or spies) chubbards (a kind of constables) huccabaddars and consumas (or steward and butler) writers and solicitors. The head-bearer and jemadar enter the hall, and his bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady quits

quits his side, and is conducted by a private stair-cafe, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He descends, perhaps, to nod or cast an eye towards the solicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a servant, whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face, and presents a towel. — The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat; is seated; the consumah

P 4 makes

makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of the houcca\* into his hand. While the hair-dresser is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping, and smoaking by turns. By and bye, his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—

\* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in length, which is called a snake. To shew the deference or indulgence shewn by ladies to the practice of smoaking, I need but transcribe a card for the governor general and his lady's concert and supper.

Mr. and Mrs. H——'s present their compliments to Mr. ——, and request the favour of his company to a concert and supper on Thursday next, at Mrs. H——'s house in town.

1st October, 1779.

The concert to begin at eight o'clock.

Mr. —— is requested to bring no servants except his huccabadar.

These

These ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans and cumberbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist;) they move off at a quick amble; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if business renders his PRESENCE ONLY necessary, he shews himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he and his company sit down, perfectly *at ease* in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watching

ing behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bedroom, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he sleeps till about seven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is administered; his huccabadar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; supper being served at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in the morning, preserving great sobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bedroom, where he finds a female companion,

to

to amuse him until the hour of seven or eight next morning.—With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes.

I am, &c.

word Pashtō is obscure. In the north-east dialect, spoken round Peshawar, it is called Pakhto, which is by some considered the original sound. It is the name of the language. The people call themselves *Pakhtūn* (singular) or *Pakhtūna* (plural). From the latter is derived *Pathān*. They are said to be the same as the *Pakthas* of the *Veda* and as the *Hārves* of Herodotus. The reference to the ancient prince is probably to Afghān, the eponymous founder of the tribe, a name for which there are several fanciful derivations, such as the Arabic word meaning 'lamentation' or 'sighs.' See also Yule, p. 746, *Pathān*.

Page 454, line 7.—The Italian text has for *Surina* 'Surma.'

Page 454, line 13.—For *Usmān* the Italian has 'Omar.'

Page 455, line 6.—Read men 'are in the service' of the governors.

Page 455, line 12, at end.—Add 'and have a quasi-democratic mode of government.'

Page 455, line 25.—After *horse* insert 'and much infantry,' and after *prince* insert 'but are a republic, now having one leader, then another, and rule themselves with prudence and justice.'

Page 457, line 24: *necessities*.—The Italian adds 'con la purga nel corpo e con li calzoni alle mani.'

Page 460, line 16: *Khān Khānān*.—The man intended must be Mirzā Barkhūdār, Khān 'Ālam, son of 'Abd-ur-rahmān, Dūldai, who was sent to Persia as envoy about 1027 H. (1617-18). He was considered the most magnificent *elchi* who had ever appeared at the Safawi court. He met Shīh 'Abbās I. at Qazwin, and was well received. He returned to India in 1620, and died at Agra after 1631 ('Ma,āsir-ul-umārī', i. 732-736).

Page 463, line 8: *Enamel work*.—'Like mosaic.'

Page 463, last paragraph: *The lewd wife*.—Another version of this story will be found in J. Ovington, 'Voyage to Suratt' (1696), p. 210.

Page 469, line 9: *Ibrāhīm-i-Ādham*.—The story is in 'Latāif-i-Hindi,' edition of 1840, by W. C. Smyth, p. 35 (Story XXV.). There the girl lay down and went to sleep. The king found her in his bed, and ordered her to have one hundred strokes. She took fifty laughing and fifty crying.

### VOLUME III.

Page 5, note 2.—In the last line after 'V.=3 and 4' insert 'VI.=7.'

Page 8, line 5: *Written on the head*.—In the *Orientalist*, i. 230-233, is an article entitled *Kēketuvāva*, 'Inscription on the Head,' by C. Alwis. Cingalese have a proverb, *Oluvē kōṭalū tiyanavā*, 'It is written on the head.' The Rev. H. Horsley, C.M.S., thus renders the Tamil:

'No man escapes the writing dread  
Of Brahma, branded on the head.'

Page 9, note 3: *Incarnations of Vishnu*.—Dr. Grierson writes that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I, iii. (cf. II, vii.), gives twenty-two incarnations. But Dr. Grierson has worked the matter out on these lines in the translation of the 'Bhakta Mālā,' upon which he is now engaged.

Page 17, line 12: *Ātanary*.—The Italian text has *artanary*, which is nearer the true form.

Page 19, line 29: *Which some hang from their neck*.—'They [the Tschi-lamadakarer] carry also a lingam of christal about them' (J. T. Philipp, 'Account of the Religion . . . [1717].

Page 20, last line: *A fruit*.—This fruit is (Tamil) *ai-virali*, 'Bryonia laciniosa' L.

Page 44, line 22: *Nastika*.—That *Nastika* is the word intended is shown by a passage in Father Pierre Martin's letter of November 8, 1709: 'There is a class of men who, so it seems, profess that they do not recognise any divinity; they are called *Nagastagher*' (J. Bertrand, S.J., 'La Mission de Maduré,' iv. 193).

Page 56, line 8: *A pilgrimage*.—E. Thurston, 'Ethnographic Notes' (1906), p. 1, quotes this pretended flight to Banīras, known as *Kāsiyātra*.

Page 56, last line, and note 2: *Scuderis*.—Mr. Ferguson suggests the native word *gudrī*, 'a quilt.' Compare p. 70, where we are told the bride is seated on a mat.

Page 67, line 6: *Earthen figures*.—Here again Mr. Ferguson would, instead of *passe*, read *paste* (i.e., *pâie*, the text being here in French), 'figures made of a paste.'

Page 71, line 24: *Hindū burials*.—'They are buried in a sitting posture with their hands lifted up, as if they were in an act of devotion, which they call *Tschimadu*' (J. T. Philipp, 'Religion, Manners, and Learning . . . of Malabar' [1717], p. 35).

Page 77, line 2: *Twelve 'covados'*.—Elephants were always measured in *covados*, a linear measure of 16 Dutch inches or  $\frac{1}{2}$  Rhenish feet. Johann Jacob Saar, in his account of Ceylon, 1647-57, said he had seen elephants 7 to 10 *covados* in height, and the largest 11 *covados* (see the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, xi. 253, xv. 181, 194, quoting Saar's book and 'The Ceylon Elephant,' by Cornelis Taay van Wezel [1713]). The second article gives incidentally the derivation of the curious French word *cornac*—viz., *kuru* (elephant), *nīyaka* (chief); and see also Yule, p. 256. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, 'Wild Elephants,' p. 30, remarks on the extravagant estimates of elephants' height current in Ceylon even so late as 1806. Out of 1,100 measured, not one reached 11 feet.

Page 77, line 25: *A certain oil*.—Mr. Ferguson states that this assertion about a scented oil is a fiction.

Page 90: *Negotiations at Gulkandah*.—The first step in the employment of Manucci is recorded in a minute of March 7, 1687. Having had their letters sent back, the Council agreed to take 'the advice of Senor Manuche, an Italian doctor inhabitant of this Town, who was formerly in the Mogul's service.' His advice was to send a letter about their wrongs in the 'Bay' by his servant, accompanied by four Rājpūts, this letter to be delivered to two Englishmen, Thomas and Richard Goodlad [? read 'Thomas Goodlad and Richard Cogan']. The Englishmen were to wait for the emperor's appearance in public, and hold up the letter so that it could be seen, when it would be received and read. Otherwise the great men through whose hands it passed would suppress the true contents.

Page 93, line 20: *Abnūs*.—Mr. Ellis points out that 'Abnūs' means 'John' through an intermediate form 'Avanūs' (see Rieu, 'Persian Catalogue,' p. 5). 'Ibnūs' and 'Avannes' are other forms met with. On December 8, 1685, it was reported that the English had seized some ships, one of them belonging to John de Marks. This must be the same man (A. T. Pringle, 'Diary and Consultations, 1685,' p. 161).

Page 96, note 1: *March 1, 1639*.—Colonel Love corrects this date; it should be August 22, 1639. The 'Madras Manual' is wrong.

Page 97, note 2: *Vijayanagar kingdom*.—The chronology of the Vijayanagar dynasties seems to be exceptionally uncertain. Probably that in R. Sewell, 'A Forgotten Empire' (1900), pp. 199, 214, 216, 404, founded on Dr. Huiltsche's researches, should be preferred. According to those results,

Page 207, line 25, and note 1: *Mirzā Arjanj*.—For a proposed identification, see additional note to Vol. I., p. 328.

Page 209, line 2: *Chūlia*.—For a good account of these men, see T. Bowrey, pp. 256, 257.

Page 210, line 19: *Pegu fireworks*.—Captain Hamilton, ('New Account,' 1744, ii., p. 55), who saw these 'rockets,' gives a better description. The carcass, made of a large hollowed tree, was filled with gunpowder and bound round with green buffalo-hide thongs; the tail, sometimes 120 feet long, was a large bamboo. The whole was attached to the branch of a high tree, from which it was discharged.

Page 215, note 2: *Flacourt*.—There were three Flacourts in the French Company's service. The father came to India among the first arrivals, and retired to Europe in 1684, leaving his two sons, Charles and François, behind. I am indebted to Dr. Kaeplin for this information. F. de Flacourt was sent from Pondicherry to Bengal, and left the service in 1711 (Kaeplin, p. 636).

Page 217, note 1, second sentence.—Read 'just outside the old Black Town.' See correction to Introduction, p. lxv.

Page 225, line 11: *They buried the blood*.—It is a common rule that royal blood may not be shed upon the ground, nor in bleeding should it be allowed to fall' (J. G. Frazer, 'Golden Bough,' second edition, i., p. 354).

Page 232, note 1: *Bouynot*.—His name crops up in 1713 and 1715 as the captor in the China Seas of an English vessel, which he sold at Manila. On its coming to Madras, the original owners claimed it (C. R. Wilson, 'Early Annals,' ii., part i., pp. xlvi, 230, October 10, 1715). This officer is also mentioned several times in the French archives between 1705 and 1715. He died in India about 1714, just as an inquiry into his conduct was commencing. See Kaeplin, 599, 600, 609, 610.

Page 239, paragraphs 1 and 2: *French envoy to Dāud Khān*.—Martin says a Brahman was sent towards the end of 1705, but he does not give his name. Dāud Khan had demanded, in July, 1705, the restoration of the *Phénix* to the Dutch and a payment of 100,000 rupees as fine for building a fort without leave (Kaeplin, p. 517).

Page 244, line 29: *A'gam Tārā*.—In the description opposite his portrait in O.D. 45, *Réserve*, there is the following character of this prince: 'It is he whom Aurangzeb caused to be arrested because he suspected him of an intention of taking flight to Bengal. . . . This prince is by nature very choleric, a debauchee, rough and discourteous to everybody, also avaricious.'

Page 257, line 16: *tattoo marks*.—For a full account of Burmese tattooing, see John Nisbet, 'Burma' (1901). Captain Hamilton, 'New Account' (1744), ii. 48, says the tattooing was confined to the Burmans.

Page 262, line 9: *Rodriguez*.—Perhaps this is the Rodriguez twice mentioned already, iv., pp. 153, 178.

Page 263, line 3: *Hindū Rāo*.—For other evidence of his connection with Penukonda see ante, p. 249, note 1, at end.

Page 266, line 5: *Fra Ivo*.—Father Ives (or Yves) was for a time pro-vicar at Sūrat, but was deposed in 1695 in favour of a Jesuit. He died before 1700 (See Archives Nationales, K 1,374, Document No. 43).

Page 271, note 2, at end.—Dr. Ross informs me that he has now presented the manuscript to the India Office Library (January, 1908).

Page 326, note 2: *Eusebius*.—Father Tachard and the other Jesuits prevented François Martin from appointing Father Eusebius chaplain of the *Saint Louis*, but he was allowed to proceed as a passenger. See Kaeplin, 557.

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## ERRATA

## VOL. I

TABLE OF CONTENTS: Page xiv, line 26, for 'Sādrās,' read 'Sadrās'; line 44, and throughout, for 'Damān,' read 'Daman.'

Introduction: Page xx, note 1, E. Terry, for '1665,' read '1655.'—Page xxix, line 27, for 'Domes,' read 'Domus,' and for 'Parisienses,' read 'Parisiensis.'—Page xxxviii, line 14, for 'and nothing,' read 'and have found nothing.'—Page li, line 27, for 'Paramal,' read 'Perumāl (Viśu).'—Page ix, line 18, for 'II. 137,' read 'II. 178'; line 19, and throughout, for 'Bandora,' read 'Bāndra.'—Page lx, line 24, for 'Estevão,' read 'Estevāo'; line 30, for 'St. Iago,' read 'Sant' Iago' or 'San Thiago.'—Page lxiii, line 3 from foot, for '1700,' read '1697.'—Page lxiv, line 1, and throughout, for 'Tānjor,' read 'Tanjor.'—Page lxvii, line 2 from foot, and page lxviii, line 1, for 'Saverini,' read 'Severini.'—Page lxxi, line 10 from foot, for '1740 and 1750,' read '1640 and 1650.'

Page 38, line 25, for 'pardoned,' read 'spared.'—Page 57, line 12, for 'the river of salt,' read 'Salt River.'—Page 59, note 2, for 'Algofres,' read 'Aljofres.'—Page 61, note 1, line 3, for 'Home,' read 'House.'—Page 62, line 9, for 'Brother,' read 'Frey (Friar).'—Page 63, paragraph 2 at end, insert '[40]'—Page 74, note 3, for 'Mahomedan,' read 'Mohammadan.'—Page 75, line 38, for 'calender,' read 'calendar.'—Page 81, line 11, for 'Jean,' read 'Joan.'—Page 111, line 5, for 'Xamxa,' read 'Shams Shah'; line 7, for 'Ferrexa,' read 'Ferroxa,' and delete mark of interrogation; line 9, for 'Amunixa,' read 'Amuvixa.'—Page 135, line 22, for '[85],' read '[86]'—Page 137, line 1, for 'wager,' read 'vow.'—Page 140, last line, perhaps better for 'dome,' to substitute 'vaulted roof.'—Page 142, notes 1 and 2, the first sentence of note 2 should be transferred to the end of note 1.—Page 148, lines 26, 28, for 'serpent,' read 'creeping thing' or 'worm.'—Page 149, lines 6, 7, 8, 12, for 'snake,' read 'worm.'—Page 161, note 1, line 7, for 'Santo,' read 'Sāntūs,' it being named after a Father Santucci.—Page 167, line 10, for 'Jehāngir,' read 'Jahāngir.'—Page 167, line 20, for 'Jehāngir,' read 'Jahāngir.'—Page 187, line 30, for 'Mahmūd,' read 'Muhammad.'—Page 207, note 1, line 6, for 'Salīḥ,' read 'Sāliḥ.'—Page 208, note 1, last line, for '1878,' read '1678.'—Page 227, line 23, for 'Singh,' read 'Singh.'—Page 228, line 18, for 'cobra snakes,' read 'cobras.'—Page 232, line 10, and throughout, for 'Gulkandah,' read 'Gulkandah'; lines 15, 26, 27, for 'Kārnātik,' read 'Karnātik'; line 21, after 'armes blanches,' add 'and armour.'—Page 243, line 28, and throughout, for 'Dalel or Daler,' read 'Dilel or Diler.'—Page 273, note 1, line 3, for 'May 30,'

Batavia, and finally Director-General there (1647-50). Hamilton's story relating to Caron's experiences in Japan seems to be a distorted version of an incident that occurred at Hirado in 1640, when he was obliged to pull down a great part of some warehouses he had erected, because they bore a Christian date (see Murdoch's *History of Japan*, vol. II, p. 672). On the formation of the French East India Company Caron was induced to transfer his allegiance to that body, and was sent out to Surat, as head of the factory there. Being suspected of intriguing with his former masters, he was recalled in 1672, and on the way attempted to take refuge at Lisbon; but the vessel was wrecked at the mouth of the Tagus, and Caron was one of those who perished.

'Jeddo' is now Tokio, and 'Meaco' Kioto.

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'Koban or Kobang, a Japanese gold coin, then [1677] weighing about 200 grains, with an intrinsic value greater than its face value as currency. At the Indian mints it turned out a value of 30 to 36 shillings; in Japan it cost the Dutch from 20 to 26 shillings' (Morse, vol. I, p. 45 n.).

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'Stigmatizing' is an old term for 'branding.'

Amida is a favourite object of worship with certain sects of Buddhists in Japan, as Lord of the Western Paradise or Pure Land.

'Magotty' means full of whims and fancies.

'Eso' is the modern Yezo.

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Jan Maatsuiker was Governor-General at Batavia from May 1653 to January 1678 (N.S.).

A 'houker' (Dutch *hoeker*) was a small sailing vessel, usually with two masts.

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*Mokha weights, etc.* 'Kerrat' is the Arabic *qirat*, a small bean used as a weight (the origin of our 'carat'). 'Cafilla' is *qaflah*, 'vakeea' *waqiyat*, and 'frasella' *fārsala*. Fryer (vol. II, p. 138) estimates the 'vachia' at one ounce and the 'ferasilah' at 27 lb. 'Rotulla' is *ratt*, about a pound English. 'Magiet' is the Hindi *Majith*, Indian madder (*Rubia cordifolia*), much used in dyeing. 'Vazena' is *wasna*. 'Bea' is called 'beak' in Milburn (vol. I, p. 98). 'Dab' appears to be the Arabic *dahab* (*ibid.*, p. 82). 'Cammassie' is the 'commassee' of Ovington (p. 270) and Milburn (vol. I, p. 98) and the 'komassi' of Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. I, p. 330). 'Sheriff' is the Arabic *sarrāf*, a money-changer or banker, more familiar as 'shroff.' 'Tomaan' is *tūmān*, called 'teman' by Ovington (p. 269) and 'tomand' by Milburn (vol. I, p. 98); the latter estimates it at about 170 lb. 'Kella' is *kīla*.

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*Weights, etc., in Persia.* The Tabriz and Shāh maunds are well known. The 'Capaar' is evidently identical with the 'Copara' maund of Lockyer (p. 242), though he makes it equivalent only to 7½-7½ lb. (in the bazaar). Milburn (vol. I, p. 132) says: 'The maund

Copra is 7½ lbs. at the customhouse, but in the bazar from 7½ to 7½ lbs. By this weight rice, almonds, raisins, and other eatables are sold.' The coins mentioned are the *ghāzbegī*, *shāhī*, *mahmūdī*, *abbāsī*, and *tūmān*; these are all familiar. 'Miscal' is the Arabic *misqāl*.

*Weights, etc., at Basra.* The Arabic *dirham* was both a weight and a small silver coin. For the 'maund-attarie' see p. 228 of vol. I and Milburn (vol. I, p. 121), who says that it equals 28½ lb. 'Fluce' is the Arabic *fulūs* (plural of *fals*); while 'croush' is *ghrūsh*, a piastre.

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*Weights at 'Sindy'* (i.e. Lāharibandar). 'Maund-pucah' is the *pakka* or standard maund.

*Weights, etc., at Surat.* The pice, maund, and candy need no explanation. 'Tolla' is the Hind. *tolā*; 'vall' the Sanskrit *valla*; and 'rutty' the Hind. *ratī* (the seed of *Abrus precatorius* = 2·66 troy grains). 'Tank' is the Sanskrit *tanka*. The rupees mentioned are the *chalānī* ('current'), *hundi* (a term connected with the *hundi*, or bill of exchange), *khazāna* ('treasury'), and possibly (as conjectured in Fryer, vol. II, p. 125) *mukarrātī* ('fixed').

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*Coins at Bombay.* 'Rayes' represents the Portuguese *reis* (pl. of *real*), an imaginary coin. The others are *zerafins*, *lāris*, and *fedeas*.

*Coins in the Deccan.* The pagoda or *hun* was a gold coin which was the general unit of currency in Southern India. For those coined at Ikkeri (Bednur) and Dharwār respectively see Lockyer (p. 271) and Milburn (vol. I, p. 313). 'Jettal' is the Hind. *jītal*.

*Weights, etc., at Goa.* 'Candil' is the Portuguese form of 'candy.' 'Budgerooch' represents the Portuguese *bazarucco*, a small coin of base metal. 'Tango' is *tanga*, which, like the *vintem*, was a money of account only. The *zerafin* or *pardao* was a silver coin. The gold coin mentioned was the *San Thomé*, so called from bearing an image of St Thomas.

*Calicut coins.* Fryer (vol. II, p. 131) says that 28 'silver tarrs' go to the fanam. Lockyer, however, declares (p. 280) that '16 silver tare are reckon'd one fanam, tho' there are but 13 or 14 currant in the bazar; the fanham is gold.' Milburn likewise reckons 16 'tars' to the fanam.

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*Bengal coins.* 'Poan' is 'pun' (Hind. *pana*). 'Secca' is *sikkā*, a 'newly-coined' rupee, which always bore a higher value than the current (*chalānī*) rupee. 'Harsanna' has been explained already. For 'piet' no satisfactory explanation has been found; possibly it is a misprint.

*Pegu weights.* These are the *viss*, *tikal*, *bahār*, and *pikul*.

*Achin weights, etc.* The 'bankaal' is the Malay *bungkal*. The *mas* was a small gold coin, valued by Dampier (vol. II, p. 59) at 1s. 3d. or from 1000 to 1500 'cash,' which were of lead or block tin. The tael he reckoned equivalent to 20s. Hamilton here puts it at 18s. or 20s., but on p. 55 takes it at about 16s.

*Weights, etc., in Siam.* Milburn (vol. II, p. 440) gives *phuani* as the Siamese equivalent of 'foad,' and says that two of these make a 'miam or mace.'