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Pt. 2



# THE KSHATRIYA PRAKASHA

OR

(ORIGIN OF KHATRIS.)

PART II.

BY

SARVAN LAL TANDAN.



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## PREFACE.

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As Government are at present collecting information about the different castes in India, the present book, dealing with the position in the scale of Indian society of the pure remnants of the old Vedic Kshatriyas or the Khattris, together with the history of a few persons of that community, is presented to the public.

A portion of the matter forming the appendix to this book was already represented to the Census Authorities, especially—

- (a) In the author's long letter, dated the 30th March 1901, to the address of Mr R. Burn, the Superintendent of Census Operations, North Western Provinces and Oudh, in reply to that officer's letter of the 25th of that month to the author, wherein that gentleman, after acknowledging the receipt of the author's letter of the 21st idem, says:—

“The problem is complicated by the  
“fact that we have ancient state-  
“ments about castes, and we know

“ their present position, but the intermediate history is missing.”

(b) In the author's printed note of the 30th May 1901—“ Khattris and the Census”—criticising the Honourable Mr. Risley's letter, dated the 24th April 1901.

After acknowledging the receipt of a number of memorials and letters from various associations and individuals, the Census Commissioner says:—

“ These representations exhibit considerable research and form a valuable contribution to the history of the Khattris \*  
\* \* \* I may say at once that the evidence laid before me seems to make it clear that, in British India, at any rate, Khattris are generally believed to be the modern representatives of the Kshatriyas of Hindu tradition. For Census purposes the fact that most people do hold this belief is sufficient in itself, and it would be irrelevant to enquire into the grounds upon which it is based.”

It may here be mentioned, as an Orientalist says, that historical science is strictly allied to, and dependent on, philological science and without a knowledge of the mother tongue of

a nation, or, at all events of the languages in which the original and most important sources of its history are recorded, no person is competent to undertake to write the history of a nation, for, being unable to read the original records himself, first, he is not able to judge them critically; and secondly, it is beyond his power to detect any mistake made by translators. Were all reports true and all translations correct, the drudgery and anxiety of a historian would be considerably reduced, but reports and translations which fulfil these requirements are still a *desideratum*.

In other words, it is absolutely necessary for one, before he undertakes to write any thing about the ethnology of the true Kshatriyas or the Khattris, to be acquainted with Sanskrit, Prakrit, old Hindi, modern Hindi, and Gurmukhi; and particularly with the Dhanurveda (or the ancient Indian military art), the knowledge of which has always been kept as much in secret from the ordinary public as possible—nothing to say about the intricate ceremonies observed by these ancient people.

With the view of removing the least doubt on the subject discussed in these pages, numerous passages from Sanskrit law-books and other works; from the Prakrit writers, Vararuchi and Kalidasa; from the old Hindi of Chand Bardai;

and from the Gurmukhi of Baba. Nanak and Guru Govind Singh, are quoted. For easy reference the Gurmukhi portion is rendered into Hindi. The author has also derived much assistance from various works of eminent writers, such as Sir William Jones, Professor H. H. Wilson, Sir Monier Williams, Professor Max Müller, Professor Cowell, Dr. John Muir, Sir H. M. Elliot, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir John Malcolm, Colonel James Tod, and others. In important passages borrowed from these scholars the system of spelling of oriental names adopted by them is also retained as far as possible.

In regard to the ceremonies observed among the Khattris, a very brief account of them is given in the appendix. Full particulars regarding them are described in the works of Katyana, Asva-layana, Gobhila, Khadira, Manu, Yajyavalkya, Atri, Vasishtha, Parasara, and other Rishis. Some passages of these ancient writers are already quoted in their proper places.

The first part of this book was printed in the year 1891 A. D. Since that time some of its matter was freely borrowed, or rather reproduced, by several gentlemen in their pamphlets and notes without making a reference to the *Kshatriya Prakasha*, which elucidates further particulars on the subject. In order that the public may not be

misled in regard to the true position of the Khattris as compared with other Indian groups, the appendix to this book has been made as complete as possible.

In conclusion it is hoped that any unprejudiced and unbiassed Judge, dealing with the question of the four-fold division of Indian castes, will kindly take the trouble to consider over the arguments and authorities given herein, before assigning to any Indian group a place among the Kshatriyas of ancient India.

CALCUTTA,	}	S. L. TANDAN.
<i>The 1st January, 1902.</i>		



# CONTENTS.

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	Pages.
Raja Todar Mal ... ..	1 to 48
Raja Bikramajit ... ..	49 to 64
Guru Nanak ... ..	65 to 88
Guru Angad ... ..	89 and 90
Guru Amar Das .. ...	90 and 91
Guru Ram Das ... ..	91 to 93
Guru Arjun ... ..	94 to 102
Guru Har Govind ... ..	103 to 107
Guru Har Rai ... ..	107 and 108
Guru Har Kishan ... ..	108
Guru Teg Bahadur ... ..	108 to 113
Guru Govind Singh ... ..	114 to 173
Diwans Mokham Chand, Moti Ram, Kupa	
Ram and Ram Dial ... ..	175 to 204
Diwan Sawan Mal ... ..	205 to 214
Diwan Mul Raj ... ..	215 to 225
General Hari Singh Nalua ... ..	226 to 247
Sirdar Jawahir Singh ... ..	247 and 248
Appendix ... ..	249 to 304





## RAJA TODAR MAL TANDAN WAKILU'S SALTANAT AND MUSHRIF-I-DIWAN.

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RAJA TODAR MAL, the celebrated financier and administrator, was a Khattri of the Tandan family. His father died when the son was quite young, and left no provision for him. The young man entered life as a **writer**, but he soon rose from that position, and was employed by Sher Shah in superintending the erection of New Rohtas. It was under the able government of

Sher Shah that his natural talents were trained and developed, ~~so that~~ he was afterwards of inestimable service to Akbar, and made a name which still remains famous. He was one of the most prominent and active of all the able subordinates of Akbar. At the time of his death which took place on the 11th day of the year 998H. (10th November 1599 A.D.), he was Wakilus Saltanat and Mushrif-i-Diwan of the whole Empire of Hindustan, including the provinces of Kabul and Kandhar.

According to the *Ayecn Akbari*, RAJA TODAR MAL was a Munsubdar or commander of four thousand in addition to his several other ranks. Raja Birbal was a Munsubdar of two thousand and Abulfazl of two thousand and five hundred. With regard to Munsubdars it is stated in the same work that the Almighty, for the benefit of mankind selects from amongst them one whom he makes a king, and supports him with his divine grace and blessings. But since the abilities of a single man are not equal to the duties of every department, the monarch wisely makes choice of some of his most worthy subjects to assist him : And for this purpose nominates them to command others. With this view His Majesty the Emperor Akbar established Munsubs from a Deh-hasby (or a commander of ten) to a Deh-hezary (or a commander of ten thousand). But only the king's sons had Munsubs above five thousand. There were only three Munsubdars of above five thousand ; viz. Sultan Salim, Akbar's eldest son, a Munsubdar of ten thousand ; Shah Murad, Akbar's second son, a Munsubdar of eight thousand ; and Sultan Daniel, Akbar's third son, a Munsubdar of seven thousand. Sultan Khusru, the eldest son of Sultan Salim (afterwards the Emperor Shah-Jahan), was a Munsubdar of five thousand only. The ordinary establishment of a Munsubdar of four thousand, to which

rank RAJA TODAR MAL belonged in his ordinary capacity as a commander was as follows :—

Horses.

27	Irakee.
27	Mojenness.
54	Turkey.
54	Yabu.
54	Tazee.
54	Jungeleh.

Elephants.

16	Sheergeer.
25	Sadeh.
18	Menjholeh.
15	Kerheh.
6	Benderkeeah.

65 Camels.

17 Mules.

130 Carts.

The military pay of a Munsubdar or commander of four thousand varied from Rs. 22,000 to Rs. 21,600 per month.

Niamatulla, who held the office of *waki-nawis* or historio-grapher at the Court of the Emperor Jahangir, and whose father Khwaja Habibulla of Hirat, passed thirty-five years in the service of Akbar, gives the following account of RAJA

TODAR MAL, in the *Tarikhi-Khan-Jahan Lodi*, when the RAJA was in the service of Sher Shah.

Sher Shah, finding a suitable site, laid the foundations of the fort, which he called Rohtas and issued *farmans* to complete it; but TODAR KHATTRI re-

**Erection of the Fort  
Rohtas by Raja Todar  
Mal.** presented that the Ghakkars, to whom that country belonged, would not allow any one to work

for wages; and that they had agreed amongst themselves, upon oath, to expatriate every person that should contravene their wishes. Sher Shah, in answer, said: "You are too cautious about the expenditure of money, and do not desire that my words may be obeyed. It is right you should show no regret in disbursing it, for whatever is expended shall be repaid from my treasury." TODAR, on the reception of this fresh command, fixed first a golden *asharfi* as the remuneration for one stone to be laid down, which induced the Ghakkars to flock to him in such numbers that afterwards a stone was paid with a rupee, and this pay gradually fell to five *tankas*, till the fortress was completed. TODAR was highly extolled for his management and supervision.

The reign of Akbar forms one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of India, and the history of his administration is the history of his generals and statesmen. In giving even a brief sketch of

any of his able generals it is not possible to do it without making a passing reference to the works of other generals. The following account of RAJA TODAR MAL is generally from the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakshi. The author of this work styled it *Tabakat-i-Akbar-Shahi*, and it is so called by Abdul Kadir Badauni in his *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*; but the name by which it is best known in literary circles is *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognized by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely. Badauni, the author of the *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, professes his work to be simply an abridgment of this, and Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete. European authors also hold the work in high esteem. Mr. Erskine considers Nizamuddin to be perhaps the best historian of the period, and Colonel Lees is unable to conceive the reason why his work has not attracted more attention.\*

\* The *Maasirul-Umara* gives the following account of the author :—

In the<sup>1</sup> tenth year of the reign of Akbar, 972H (1565 A. D.) Mir. Muizulmulk and other nobles were sent against Bahadur Khan and Sikandar, whom Khanzaman had sent to create disturbances and make a diversion in the *sarkar* of Sarwar. When intelligence of the approach of the royal forces reached them, **Raja Todar Mal in the battle against Bahadur Khan.** they halted where they were, and sent envoys to Mir Muizulmulk to assure him that they had no wish to contend against him, and entreated him to be the mediator to obtain their forgiveness from the Emperor. But Muizulmulk would hear of nothing but war, so Bahadur Khan returned disappointed, and resolved to make himself ready for battle. Lashkar Khan Mirbakshi and RAJA TODAR MAL now arrived with reinforcements for the royal army, and Bahadur

---

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad was the son of Khwaja Mukim Harawi, who was one of the dependents of His Majesty Babar, and who, at the latter part of that king's reign, was raised to the office of Diwan of the house-hold. The Khwaja subsequently served under Humayun and Akbar. His son, Nizamuddin, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the clearness of his intellect. Nizamuddin was for a long time *bakshi* of the province of Gujarat, and his services are found recorded in his history of Akbar's reign.

Khan and Sikandar Khan renewed their proposals of peace. But Muizulmulk was so eager for war that he would not listen to their words, and so brought upon himself defeat.

Muizulmulk drew out his forces in the order of battle, and sent on his advanced guard under Muhammad Amin Diwana, Salimkhan, Abdulmatlabkhan, Beg Murinkhan, and other veteran soldiers; he himself took post with the main body. On the other side Sikandar had command of the advance, and Bahadur of the centre. In this order they advanced, and a warm action ensued. The royal forces defeated the advanced division under the command of Sikandar. Many of his soldiers were drowned in the Black River and many others fell by the sword. The victorious forces then broke up in search of plunder. Muizulmulk, with a few men, kept his position, and Bahadur until now did not stir from his post. But now he seized the favourable moment, attacked Muizulmulk, and drove him from his position. Muhammad Bakikhan and other of the *amirs*, under pretence of securing the baggage, treacherously withdrew themselves and thus they branded themselves with disloyalty. Mir Muizulmulk was **Valiant character of Raja Todar Mal.** compelled to turn his back and he fell. RAJA TODAR MAL and Lashkarkhan, who were in command of the reserve, *struggled valiantly till night, and maintained their*

*position*; but as the centre had been broken and driven away, their efforts were fruitless.

When the report from RAJA TODAR MAL and Lashkarkhan of the defeat of the Imperial forces and the treachery of some of the *amirs* reached Akbar, he sent them orders to return to court at once. Mir Muizulmulk, RAJA TODAR MAL and Lashkarkhan accordingly returned; but those who had acted disgracefully were forbidden to make their appearance for a time.

On Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 H (1567 A. D) the Emperor Akbar marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached near the town of Bhojpur, he detached Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan, RAJA TODAR MAL and other officers, with **Raja Todar Mal sent nearly 6000 horse, against Sikandar.** Sikandar, who was in Oudh. On hearing of their approach, Sikandar took refuge in a fort. The royal forces came up and laid siege to the fort. Having engaged the commanders in negotiations, Sikandar evacuated the fort by the gate towards the river, and embarked in boats. As he had secured all the boats, the Imperial generals were unable to cross the river. Sikandar again sent a message to them, declaring that he was quite ready to keep the engagement he had made, but that his men were suspicious. He therefore



requested that they would come out in a boat to the middle of the river, and he would meet them with two or three persons and settle the terms. Muhammad Kulikhan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan and RAJA TODAR MAL agreed to this proposition, and went as far as the middle of the stream. Sikandar Khan, on the other side, came out with two or three persons, and had the interview. The *amirs* promised to intercede for the pardon of Sikandar, and swore that they would make no attack on the lives or property of him and his men. Upon this agreement, they separated, and each party went to its own side.

Sikandar then made two days' march, and wrote to the *amirs*, stating that the rise of the waters had prevented his staying on the bank of the river. The *amirs* having received a letter from the Emperor to the effect, that as Sikandar had left the Imperial territory, it was unnecessary to pursue him, returned to court. His estates and *Jagirs* were given to Muhammad Kulikhan Birlas.

The Emperor Akbar having left Ahmabad in Gujarat for Rajputana reached Ajmir, on Wednesday, the 3rd Jumadalawwal, 981 H, and immediately went to visit the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, and made liberal donations to the poor. Next day he departed, and

marching night and day, he reached the village of Puna, three *kos* from Sanganir. Here RAJA TODAR MAL, who had been directed to fit out a thousand boats (*kishti*) and *gharabs* at Agra, had an interview with his Majesty. The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily, so the RAJA was sent to ascertain and settle the assets and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.

On the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar, a viceroy or subahdar was appointed over the whole country, under whom served the district revenue and military officers. The subahdars were usually men of the highest rank. RAJA TODAR MAL, when deputed by the Emperor Akbar to effect a revenue settlement in Gujarat, seized every opportunity of conciliating and attaching to the throne the Rajput chiefs, in furtherance, doubtless, of the wise and generous desire of his master to rule no longer only as the chief of the Muham-madans, but as the head of a great and united Indian nation. On his arrival on the frontier of Gujarat in A. D. 1576 the Zamindar of Seerohee presented a tribute of five hundred rupees with one hundred gold mohars. (This must have been "nazar" the usual offering made at a visit and not a payment of tribute). RAJA TODAR MAL

gave him in return an honorary dress, a jewelled head ornament, and an elephant, after making an agreement with him, on behalf of the Imperial Government, that he was to serve the governor of Gujarat with two thousand cavalry. RAJA TODAR MAL went from that place to Surat, and on the way thither having had a meeting at Broach with the zamindar of Ramnugger, who presented a tribute of twelve thousand rupees and four horses, he made him suitable presents in return. The zamindar was at this time permitted to assume the rank of fifteen hundred horse, and he agreed to serve the Governor of Gujarat with one thousand cavalry. On TODAR MAL'S return from Gujarat towards Agra, he received a visit from Rana Sahsmul, Zamindar of Doongarpur when this chief was granted an honorary dress, and the rank of two thousand five hundred cavalry. He having agreed to serve in the province of Gujarat was permitted to take leave at Meertha.

RAJA TODAR MAL, having made the necessary arrangements in Gujarat, now returned, bringing the accounts of his settlement, and suitable presents for His Majesty. He was highly applauded. After a few

**Akbar gave his own sword to Raja Todar Mal in appreciation of his services.**

days THE EMPEROR GAVE HIM ONE OF HIS OWN SWORDS, and sent him along with Lashkar-khan Mirbakshi to serve under Khankhanan Munim-khan, and assist him in the conquest of Bengal.

Khankhanan sent RAJA TODAR MAL with some other *amirs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Daud. The RAJA when he reached Madaran was informed by his scouts that Daud was engaged collecting men in Dinkasari, and that his forces were daily increasing. TODAR MAL halted at Madaran,\* and sent a full report to Khankhanan. On receiving it, the Khan sent Muhammad Kulikhan Birlas with reinforcements for the RAJA. Upon their arrival, all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gawalpara, ten *kos* from Dinkasari, with all speed. When Daud heard this, he did not flee, but stood his ground at Dharpur.†

The spies now brought in information that Junaid, son of Daud's uncle, a man of high repute among the Afghans for bravery and resolution, who had formerly entered the service of the Emperor, but fled from Agra to Gujarat, and afterwards came from Gujarat to Bengal, was now at Dinkasari, seeking to form a junction with Daud. RAJA TODAR MAL with the approval of the other *amirs* sent Abdulkasim Namaki and Nazar Bahadur to attack Junaid. These men, making light of the matter, neglected the precautions necessary in war-

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\* In the Hugli district between Bardwan and Midnapur,

† A place lying between Bengal and Orissa.

fare, and were defeated by Junaid, thus bringing disgrace upon themselves.

RAJA TODAR MAL, on receiving the news, marched against Junaid; but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into the Jungles. TODAR-MAL therefore stopped at Midnapur. Muhammad Kulikhan Birlas died here after a few days' illness. In concurrence with the remaining *amirs*, RAJA TODAR MAL returned from Midnapur to Madaran. Here Kiyakhan Gang, who was offended with the other *amirs* without reason, went off into the jungle. TODAR MAL reported the fact to Khankhanan and remained for some days in Madaran. Hereupon Khankhanan sent Shahamkhan Jalair and others to support RAJA TODAR MAL. When they joined the RAJA at Bardwan, the RAJA left them, and went out into the jungle after Kiyakhan, and having reconciled him, brought him back with him. From Madaran they marched to Jitura. Here they were informed that Daud, with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras, and was engaged in making preparations for war. RAJA TODAR MAL halted, and sent swift messengers to inform Khankhanan of the position of affairs. Khankhanan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a Junction with RAJA TODAR MAL. Daud had organized his army and now

advanced to meet him. The Afghans entrenched their camps.

On the 20th Zilkada, 982 H, the armies met. After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khankhanan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*Zarb-zan*) and light guns (*Zamburak*), which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghans who were in the advance. Gujarkhan, with his division in excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khankhanan's advanced force upon the *Altamash*.\* Khanialam, who commanded the advance, held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamash*\* division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre which in its turn was in great difficulty. Khankhanan did all in his power, but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gujarkhan attacked and wounded Khankhanan, and as the latter had no sword, he returned Gujarkhan's cuts with slashes of his whip. In this conjecture,

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\* *Altamash* is a Turki word meaning "sixty" and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general.

Khankhanan's horse took fright ; and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him. The Afghans pursued Khankhanan for half a *kos*, when Kiya-khan Gang attacked the Afghans, and showered arrows upon them. The Afghans were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Khankhanan got his horse under control, and rallying his men, led them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gujarkhan, and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled ; but many of them were cut down in their flight. RAJA TODAR MAL, Lashkarkhan and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Shahamkhan and others, who were on the left, also attacked the opponents to the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Khankhanan now became visible, and the death of Gujarkhan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he returned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khankhanan encamped victorious on the battle-field. Lashkarkhan Mirbakshi, who had, along with RAJA TODAR

MAL, rendered such good service, died of his wounds before the army moved.

After his defeat, Daud fled to Katak Banaras (Cuttack), in the centre of Orissa, and Khankhanan who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his *amirs* determined to pursue Daud. RAJA TODAR MAL and others were directed to proceed after him, and it was agreed that Khankhanan himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted. The RAJA and his *amirs* accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-ghati. After resting there a while, the scouts brought in the intelligence that Daud and the Afghans, with their wives and children had shut themselves up in the fort of Katak Banaras. Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the men were resolved upon fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. RAJA TODAR MAL sent a report of the state of affairs to Khankhanan, and the Khan set out for Katak Banaras, never resting till he came within two *kos* of that place. Then he held a council with his *amirs*, and having pitched his camp on the bank of the Mahanadi, which is half a *kos* from Katak, he began to collect materials for a seige.

Daud suffered several defeats in succession, Gujarkhan, his mainstay and support, was slain.



Death stared him in the face ; so in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khankhanan with a message for peace to this effect : " The striving to crush a party of Musulmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject ; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." The *amirs* communicated this to Khankhanan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal.

RAJA TODAR MAL, who well understood the true position of affairs, wrung his hands and stamped his feet to prevent the armistice, but met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement and it so happened, that in the year 984H. (1577 A. D.), while Akbar was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khankhanan, had risen against the royal authorities, and had marched against Tanda. The treaty concluded with Daud provided that he should govern the province of Orissa in the name and on behalf of the Emperor Akbar. But Daud did not keep the faith he pledged on this occasion. He took the first opportunity to rebel, and two years later, was

**Foresight of Raja  
Todar Mal in political  
matters.**

defeated in a great battle by the Moghal general. He was taken prisoner, and in punishment of his treason his head was severed from his body.

When Akbar entered from Udaipur into the territory of Banswala (Banswara) and Dungarpur,  
**Return of Raja Todar Mal from Bengal.** RAJA TODAR MAL came from Bengal, to wait upon him, bringing nearly 500 elephants from the spoils of Bengal, with other presents and offerings.

In the twenty third year of the reign of Akbar the beginning of which corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986H (11th March, 1578 A.D.), RAJA TODAR MAL was commissioned to settle the revenue and other affairs of the province of Gujarat.

**Raja Todar Mal again in Gujarat.** Troubles arose in that province under the following circumstances:—When Akbar was engaged in the siege of Surat, Gulrukh Begum, the daughter of Kamran Mirza and wife of Ibrahim, fled with her child Muzaffar Husain. A disaffected man, named Mihrali, a servant of the late Ibrahim Mirza, who had accompanied Gulrukh Begum, now stirred up the ambition of Muzaffar Husain who was fifteen or sixteen years of age. Under his persuasion Muzaffar Husain left the Dekhin, and collecting a number of adventurers from all directions, entered Gujarat intent upon insurrection.

At this time RAJA TODAR MAL was in Pattan, engaged in the settlement of the revenue. The insurrection spread, and the disaffected were everywhere raising their heads. Wazirkhan, the ruler of Gujarat, had 3,000 horsemen, but there were amongst them many adventurers upon whom he could not rely, so he retired into a fortress, and sent an account of the insurrection to RAJA TODAR MAL. Before the RAJA came to his assistance, Baz Bahadur, the son of Sharif Khan, and Baba Gadai, the *diwan* of Gujarat, attacked Muzaffar Husain in the *pargana* of Nandurbar, and were defeated. Muzaffar Husain then marched towards Kambay, and after staying two or three days, went to Ahmadabad. RAJA TODAR MAL turned back from Pattan, and arrived at Ahmadabad. When the insurgents heard of this, they fell back, and retreated to Daluka. The RAJA and Wazir Khan pursued them, and coming up with them at Dulaka, a battle ensued, in which the royal forces were victorious, and the enemy drew off to Junagarh. After his victory RAJA TODAR MAL returned to the court.

Victory of Raja  
Todar Mal in the  
battle of Daluka.

In the twenty-second year of the reign of Akbar, on the 2nd A'zar, RAJA TODAR MAL, Muzaffar Khan, and Khwaja Shah Mansur were summoned to a council at Kat-pakali, where many important

**Raja Todar Mal** in matters were discussed and settled. The mint of Bengal was placed under the direction of **RAJA TODAR MAL**.

When the reins of government were in the hands of **RAJA TODAR MAL**, orders were issued for the currency of four kinds of Mohars :—1st, the Laal Jilaly, weighing one Tolah and  $13\frac{3}{4}$  Rattees, which was of the greatest degree of fineness, and in value 400 Dams. 2nd, the Mohar which was made of 11 Mashahs in weight. It passed current under three degrees. When of full weight, its value was 360 Dams; and if after a time it lost three grains of rice in weight, it was still accounted of the first degree. Deficiency from four to six of such grains made it of the second degree, and its value was 355 Dams. If from six to nine grains were lost in weight, the Mohar was reckoned of the third degree, and its value was 350 Dams. A Mohar of shorter weight than the latter, was received as bullion.

Rupees were also current after three degrees : 1st, the square Rupee of pure silver,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  Mashahs in weight, which was called Jilaleh, in value 40 Dams. 2nd, the old round Rupee of Akbar Shah, which when of full weight, and until one Rattee short weight, was valued at 39 Dams. That which was two Rattees deficient was rated at 33 Dams, and one of shorter weight than this was received as bullion.

In 988H. a very serious rebellion broke out in Bengal, the rebels occupied the town of Tanda, took Hakim Abdul Fath, Khwaja Shamsuddin and others, prisoners, and began to pillage. They made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khan, who was sent to arrange the affairs of Bengal, out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety, and put him to death. Then they took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihar fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. Akbar, some time before this, had taken Mirza Sharafuddin Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khan to be kept in custody. The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased. Upon the facts being communicated to Akbar, he sent RAJA TODAR MAL and other *amirs* to re-

Raja Todar Mal was sent to quash the rebellion in Bihar and Bengal.

press it. *Farmans* were sent to Muhammad Masum Faran-khudi, governor of Jaunpur, and Samanji Khan and the *Jagirdars* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of RAJA TODAR MAL, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

While the Imperial army was on the march, Shaham Khan Jalair quarrelled with Saiyed Badakhshi and killed him. When the army reached Jaunpur,

Muhammad Masum joined RAJA TODAR MAL with 3,000 horsemen fully armed, and marched on with him. But Muhammad Masum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his army had turned his brain, and he began to show many actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. RAJA TODAR MAL, like a prudent and experienced man, temporized with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

When the Imperial army reached Mongir, Asi Kabuli and the Kakshals, and Mirza Sharafuddin Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, with war-boats and artillery, in battle order, advanced to meet the Imperial army. RAJA TODAR MAL who knew the lack of cohesion in the adventurers composing the enemy's army, deemed it inexpedient to fight. He occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, kept that position. Every day skirmishes occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to Akbar, he sent a great deal of money at different times.

At this time Humayun Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana deserted the Imperial army and joined the insurgents. For four months the loyal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *Zamindars* of the vicinity cut off the supplies

from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Babakhan Kakshal fell sick at Tanda and died. Jabbari, son of Majnunkhan Kakshal, who was the main prop of the rabble, having been informed of the sinking condition of Babakhan, wanted to go to Tanda. Asi Masum not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihar. Arab Bahadur made a rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure. Biharkhan Khassakhail fortified himself in the fort of Patna, and held out. RAJA TODAR MAL and his supporters sent Muhammad Masum Farankhudi with a detachment to the relief of Patna. On hearing of this Arab Bahadur raised the siege, and went off towards Gajpati, one of the chief *Zamindars* of that country. RAJA TODAR MAL and Sadikkhan and the other *amirs* marched to Bihar after Asi Masum, who made a night attack upon Sadikkhan's camp. But Sadikkhan and his men were prepared on that night, and they defeated Masum who retreated to Bengal. Garhi now fell into the hands of the royal troops.

A despatch was now sent by RAJA TODAR MAL, stating that he had hitherto kept Muhammad Masum Farankhudi along with him by conciliatory treatment and all kinds of expedients. That Khwaja Mansur, the *diwan*, had written sharp letters to him, claiming a good deal of money. The *diwan* had also written letters to Tarsun Muhammadkhan, one of

the great *amirs* and commander of an army, holding out threats to him at a time when encouragement was necessary. The malpractices of the *diwan* having been repeatedly mentioned to Akbar, he removed him from the office.

RAJA TODAR MAL, Tarsun Muhammadkhan and the other *amirs* took up their quarters in Hajipur during the rainy season, and Masum Farankhudi, with their permission, went to Jaunpur, which was his *Jagir*. In the year 992H (1584 A.D.) all the

**Success of Raja Todar Mal in repressing the rebellion in Bengal.**

parts of Bengal that were in possession of the rebels came again under the authority of the Imperial officers.

RAJA TODAR MAL now returned to the court, bringing with him fifty-four elephants, which had been taken in Bengal; these he presented, and made a report upon the state of the country. In the *Akbar-nama* Abulfazal says that RAJA TODAR MAL, in ap-

**Raja Todar Mal raised to the dignity of Diwan.**

preciation of his services, received many marks of favour, and was promoted to the dignity of *Diwan* and to the charge of the revenue and civil affairs of the Empire. The same writer says. "He was an honest and sincere man and devoid of avarice. Would that he had been free from hatred and revenge, and that harshness had not been so conspicuous in his character!"



At the beginning of the twenty-seventh year of his reign (990H. or 1582 A.D.), Akbar directed his attention to some improvement in the administration of his territories, and passed new laws for the management of civil and revenue departments. According to the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin, RAJA TODAR MAL *had, previous to this, been named as WAZIR; but the exigencies and difficulties of the post, and the opposition to be encountered, made him unwilling to accept the office. But this unambitious man, who was acquainted with all the mysteries of administration, was now elevated to the office of Diwan, and in reality to the WAKALAT. His clear judgment soon set matters right. Civil and revenue matters received his especial attention. Careful to keep himself free from all selfish ambition, he devoted himself to the service of the state, and earned an everlasting fame. He devoted his skill and powerful mind to simplify the laws of the state, and he allowed no grasping and intriguing men to obtain any influence over him. He now proposed several new laws calculated to give vigour and glory to the Government.*

In connection with the payment of tribute and taxes it is said that in former times, the monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth part of the produce of the lands; in the Turkish empire, the husbandman paid the fifth; in Turan, the sixth;

and in Iran, the tenth. The Muhammadan custom of levying the revenue, which was introduced in India gradually after the Pathan conquest, differed in some important details from the Hindu system. There were two kinds of revenue that were payable. One was called the *Munkasimah*, which was calculated on the actual produce of the soil; and the other was called the *Wazifa* which was realised whether there was any produce or not. The *Institutes of Timur* is the first book in which a systematic attempt was made by the Muhammadan races of Asia to solve the problem of land revenue. Here are found the first traces of the commutation of land revenue into specie. Lands irrigated by canals or perennial springs paid one-third of their produce as revenue, the remaining two-thirds going to the cultivator. In the case of all other lands, which were directed to be classified according to their productive powers, the Government share was to be one-third or one-fourth according to the capacity. Sher Shah, who was the first Muhammadan Sovereign that made a systematic attempt at land settlement and an equitable assessment of the revenue, fixed the share of the state at one-fourth of the produce. But it was during the reign

**Raja Todar Mal as** of Akbar that THE FINANCIAL  
**financier.** GENUIS OF RAJA TODAR MAL  
 MADE THE GRANDEST EFFORT HEARD OF IN INDIA

BEFORE THE BRITISH RULE OF SOLVING ONCE FOR ALL THIS VEXED AND COMPLICATED PROBLEM.

The first step taken by RAJA TODAR MAL towards a fair adjustment of the land revenue was to have the land in every part of the country measured according to a uniform standard. He found different and varying standards of measurement in different parts of the country. To make this system uniform he abolished these in favour of the standard that he introduced. He settled the Gaz, the Tenab, and the Beegah; after which he ascertained the value of the lands and fixed the revenue accordingly. Formerly the Gaz was of three kinds, long, middling, and short. Each was divided into twenty-four equal parts, called Tesuj. A Tesuj of the long Gaz was equal to the breadth of eight ordinary barley corns; and a Tesuj of the last measured six barley corns. The long Gaz was used for measuring cultivated lands, roads, forts, reservoirs, and mud walls. The middling Gaz served for measuring buildings of stone and wood, thatches, religious houses, wells, and gardens; and the short Gaz was employed for measuring cloth, armour, beds, palkees, chairs, carts &c. Sultan Sikandar Lodi introduced a Gaz in Hindustan, consisting of the breadth of  $41\frac{1}{2}$  Iskunderrees, which was a round silver coin adulterated with copper. Humayun made it complete 42 Iskunderrees. This Gaz was equal to thirty-two

fingers. But, according to some ancient authors, this Gaz was in use before the time of the Lodis. Sher Khan and Salim Khan, who abolished the custom of dividing the crops, and made a measurement of the cultivated lands, used this Gaz for that purpose. Taking into consideration the inconveniences arising from a multiplicity of measures, one Gaz, named the Ilahee Gaz, consisting of forty-one fingers, was now introduced for all purposes. The Tenab formerly used in Hindustan was made of rope, which was subject to great variations from the dryness or moisture of the air. It was now composed of bamboos joined together by iron rings. The Beegah or Jereeb were names applied indifferently to the measure itself as well as to such a quantity of land. It consisted of three thousand and six hundred square Gaz. If a piece of ground was unequal in length and breadth, it was brought into square measure.

RAJA TODAR MAL divided the land into four classes. The first, which he termed *Poolej*, was that which returned a regular produce at every season of the year. To this sort of land the system of paying *wazifa*, that is revenue irrespective of the produce, was strictly applied. The second class, termed *Perowty*, included land that yielded only one harvest. Such land was allowed

Division of land by  
Raja Todar Mal.

to lie fallow for some time for repairing its productive capacity.

The third class of land, termed *Checher*, was that which was so much impaired by natural causes, such as floods or excessive rain, that it was to lie uncultivated for a number of years for recovering its productive capacity. This sort of land, when brought under tillage, paid two fifths of the usual revenue the first year of tillage, three fifths on the second year, and four fifths on the third and fourth year. It was afterwards treated as *Poolej* on the fifth year. In the third year the charges of five per cent, and the duty of one Dam per Beegah were collected. The revenue was received either in money or in kind.

The fourth class of land, termed *Banjar* or waste land, was very moderately assessed. In the *Ayeen Akbari* it is laid down that in *Banjar* land there should be taken on the first year only one or two seers from each Beegah; on the second year five seers; on the third year the sixth of the produce, together with one Dam; and on the fourth year a fourth of the produce. After that such land should be treated as *Poolej*. But this indulgence differed according to circumstances. The husbandman might pay the revenue in money or in kind as he found most convenient.

With reference to the first and second classes

of lands the orders were that the revenue should be paid in money by a process of commutation. The most diligent inquiry was made about the prices that had prevailed during the nineteen years from the sixth to the twenty-fourth year of Akbar's reign. Nineteen years according to the Muhammadans is a cycle of the moon, during which time the seasons are supposed to undergo a complete revolution. This period was taken as a fair basis for calculation. The average was struck by considering the prices for nineteen years, and it was according to this standard that the money payments were fixed.

Lands of the first two classes namely *Poolej* and *Perowty* were sub-divided into best, middling, and worst, and the calculations were made on the average produce. The produce of a Beegah of each sort was added together, and a third of that aggregate sum was taken as the average produce of one Beegah of such lands, one-third part of which was the revenue. For example, the revenue on wheat was calculated as follows :—

Maunds. Seers.

The produce of a Beegah of the best

sort of <i>Poolej</i>	...	...	18	0
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The produce of a Beegah of the

middling sort of <i>Poolej</i>	...	...	12	0
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	Maunds. Seers.	
The produce of a Beegah of the worst sort of <i>Poolej</i> ...	8	35
The aggregate produce of three Beegahs of different sorts ...	38	35
One-third of the preceding, being the average produce of a Beegah of <i>Poolej</i> ...	12	38 $\frac{1}{4}$
One-third of the average produce of a Beegah, being the proportion fixed for the revenue ...	4	12 $\frac{3}{4}$

The process of collecting the average of nineteen years' prices proving troublesome in practice, the whole system was changed into a ten years' settlement.

For this purpose, an aggregate having been formed of the rates of collection from the commencement of the fifteenth year to the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Akbar, a tenth part of that total was fixed as the annual rate for ten years to come.

For purposes of revenue settlement RAJA TODAR MAL appointed ten Kanoongoos to collect the accounts of the provincial Kanoongoos, which were brought to the royal exchequer. Then having taken from the Kanoongoos the Tukseem Mulk, or divisions of the empire, he estimated the produce of the lands, and formed a new Jumma. This Tukseem Jumma, or

assessment of the lands contained the history of the twelve Soobahs or Viceroyalties of Hindustan.

These Soobahs were divided into Sircars and the latter into Mahls. For example, the divisions of the Soobah of Agra were as follows :—

Names of Sircars in the Soobah of Agra.	Number of Mahls in each Sircar.	Measurement of each Sircar.		Revenue of each Sircar.
		Beegahs. Biswahs.		Dams.
Agra ...	33	9,107,622	4	191,719,265
Kalpee ...	16	300,029	9	49,456,730
Kinoje ...	30	2,776,673	16	52,584,607½
Kowl ...	21	2,461,731	0	54,992,943
Gwalior ...	12	1,146,465	6	29,683,749
Irej ...	16	2,202,124	18	37,785,421
Sanwan ...	27	762,014	0	8,459,296
Narwer ...	5	394,350	0	4,233,322
Mandlayer ...	14	65,646	0	3,703,884
Alowr ...	43	1,662,012	0	39,832,234
Tejareh ...	18	740,001	5	1,770,061
Narnowl ...	17	2,080,046	0	50,046,711
Sehar ...	6	763,474	0	5,917,569

Similarly the other Soobahs were divided.



The names of the Soobahs were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmir, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, and Malwa: when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, they were formed into three Soobahs, increasing the number to fifteen. The revenue was settled for ten years, at the annual rent of three Arribs, sixty-two Crores, ninety-seven Lakhs, fifty-five thousand two hundred and forty-six Dams\* or Sicca Rupees 907,43,881-2-5.

Mr. Monstuart Elphinstone says that the classifications and measurements of RAJA TODAR MAL have been the basis of all subsequent adjustments of the land revenue and, in fact, form the basis of a clear and intelligible system. The rates that have been fixed in the subsequent settlements under the British rule and that have been fully described by Sir John Shore, have for their basis the measurements and calculations sketched and in a great part enforced by RAJA TODAR MAL.

RAJA TODAR MAL was next engaged with the turbulent tribes of the frontier of India. It is stated in the *Tabakati-Akbari* of Nizamuddin that a Hindustani soldier had settled among the Afghans, and set up a heretical sect. He induced many people to become his disciples, and he gave himself

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\* A Dam is the fortieth part of a Rupee.

the title of *Pir Roshanai*. He was dead, but his son Jalala, a youth of about fourteen, came, in the year 989H, to wait upon Akbar, as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received; but after a few days he went back to the Afghans and gathering a good number of men around him, shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this sect of *Roshanais*, Akbar placed Kumar Mansingh in command, and gave him Kabul in *Jagir*. On the 2nd Safar, 994 H., Saiyid Khan, Raja Birbal, and others were sent with forces to support Zain Khan Koka who had entered the country of Swat with an army. A few days later Hakim Abul Fath was sent after them with additional forces. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person informed Raja Birbal that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*; and that if they got through the pass, they would be safe from the attack designed. Raja Birbal, without making any communication to Zainkhan, pushed on to get through the pass with his army. At the close of the day, he reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with the Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered down upon the troops in the narrow pass, and in the darkness and in the narrow defile men lost their way,

and perished in the recesses of the mountains. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly eight thousand men were killed, and Raja Birbal, who fled for his life, was slain. Raja Dharsingh, Khwaja Arab, *bakshi* of the army, and others were all killed. On the 5th Rabiulawwal, Zainkhan Koka and Hakim Abul Fath were defeated, and reached the fort of Attock with difficulty. This defeat greatly troubled Akbar. He dismissed these

commanders, and sent RAJA TODAR MAL with a large army to repair the disaster. RAJA

TODAR MAL entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and hurried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits.

In the *Zubdatut Tawarikh* of Shaikh Nurul Hakk, the above event is narrated as follows. In the year 994 H, the victorious armies of Akbar were sent, under the command of Raja Birbal, to put down the insurgent Yusufzais. A person came to the Raja, and told him that the Afghans intended to make a night attack upon his force, that the mountain pass did not extend beyond three or four *kos*, and that if he could traverse that distance he would be in safety. Birbal, without communicating with Zainkhan, resolved to go through the pass, and setting his forces in motion, he arrived at the

gorge about sunset. The Afghans assembled from all sides upon the summits of the pass with arrows and stones, and the royal forces, losing their way amid the darkness in the narrow defile, fell into the deep holes and abysses, and there perished. The royal army thus experienced a severe defeat, and nearly 8000 men were slain. Raja Birbal, who fled to save his life, was killed, and no trace of him was found. Zainkhan and Abul Fath were also defeated on the 5th Rabiulawwal of the same year, and with great difficulty made their way to Attock. This defeat had great effect upon the mind of Akbar, and several times he refused to see these commanders. RAJA TODAR MAL *was chosen to head a well-appointed force, and repair this disaster. The RAJA advanced into the mountains with great skill, where he erected several forts, and*

*he conducted the campaign with*  
 Another account of the defeat of Yusufzais by Raja Todar Mal. *such consummate judgment, that the Afghans were soon driven back, and kept within narrow bounds.*

On this subject Colonel Malleson remarks that the Yusufzais not only repulsed the first attack of the Mughals, but when reinforcements, sent by Akbar under his special favourite, Raja Birbal, joined the attacking party, they too were driven back with a loss of 8,000 men, amongst whom was the Raja, and that it was the severest defeat the Mughal

troops had ever experienced. To repair it, the Emperor despatched his BEST COMMANDER, RAJA TODAR MAL, supported by Raja Man Singh, of Jaipur. These generals manœuvred with great caution, supporting their advance by stockades, and eventually completely defeated the tribes in Khaibar Pass.

According to the *Tabakati-Akbari* of Nizamuddin, Akbar arrived, on the 22nd Zilkhada, at Kabul, where he spent two months. **Death of Raja Todar Mal.** Here intelligence reached him that RAJA TODAR MAL WAKILUS SALTANAT AND MUSHRIFI-DIWAN had died at Lahore.

Colonel Malleson also writes that Akbar was at Kabul when news reached him of the death of RAJA TODAR MAL (November 10, 1589).

Abul Fazl, the author of the *Akbar nama* and the *Ayeen Akbari* and who was a commander in the army of Akbar, says that "*for honesty, rectitude, manliness, knowledge of business, and administrative ability* RAJA TODAR MAL *was without a rival in Hindustan.*" **Character of Raja Todar Mal.**

With regard to the general character of this general, Colonel Malleson observes that the chief adviser of Akbar in matters of revenue, finance, and currency, was RAJA TODAR MAL. The RAJA was a man of great ability and of tried integrity.

Though attached to the court of a Muhammadan sovereign, he was an earnest Hindu, and performed faithfully all the ceremonies of his religion. On one occasion when accompanying Akbar to the Punjab in the hurry of departure he forgot his idols. As he transacted no business before his daily worship he remained for several days without food or drink, and was at last with difficulty consoled by the Emperor.

As stated by Nizamuddin, RAJA TODAR MAL was both Wakilus Saltanat and Mushrifi-Diwan. The **Qualifications of Wakil and Mushifi-Diwan.** first was the highest official rank at that time. "The Wakil" says Abulfazl, "is the Emperor's lieutenant in all matters ; and by his management and penetration the grand affairs of the nation are set in order ; promotion, degradation, appointment, and dismissal depend on his good pleasure ; therefore he must possess great experience, wisdom, nobility of mind, honesty, liberality, and consummate patience ; he must entirely divest himself of prejudice, and behave with equal complacency towards relations, strangers, friends and enemies. He must be eloquent, intelligent in business, a speaker of truth, well-bred, capable of giving advice, faithful, vigilant and long-sighted. He should be well versed in the arts of government, and be privy to the secrets of the state, so that in business

“there may be no obstruction. He should not  
“suffer his mind to be distracted by the multipli-  
“city of his affairs, but should consider it as his  
“duty to promote the wishes of others. All his  
“actions should be founded on the basis of in-  
“tegrity, and a due regard to the different ranks  
“of men. Desirous of attaching to himself the  
“hearts of all persons, he treats even his inferiors  
“with respect. He takes care not to commit im-  
“propriety in conversation, and guards himself  
“from bad actions; and although he is not the  
“immediate superintendent of the finances, yet,  
“as the heads of all the offices make their reports  
“to him, it is necessary that he be himself ac-  
“quainted with the particular duty of each. The  
“Meer Mahl, the Keeper of the Seal, the Meer  
“Bakhshy, the Youbeghy, the Kourbeghy, the  
“Meer Tuzek, the Meer Behr, the Meer Ber, the  
“Meer Munzil, the Khansalar, the Moonshy, the  
“Kooskbeghy, and the Akhtahbeghy are included  
“in his department.” In connection with the  
second, Abdulfazl observes that “some princes  
“reckon the Wazirat a part of the Wakalat,  
“and sometimes they make choice of some  
“one who has a taste of his qualities, whom  
“they appoint Mushrifi Diwan, and he is higher  
“in rank than the Diwan, but lower than the  
“Wakil.”

In the Sanskrit *sloka*\* found on a stone in Draupadikund near Sivapur in Benares, it is stated that RAJA TODAR MAL, the minister of the Emperor Akbar and the ornament of the TANDAN family

\* प्रत्यर्थि क्षितिपाल कालनसु \* \* \* \* ने दूतिका ।

मुद्राङ्क प्रकट प्रतापतपन प्रोद्भासिताशा मुखे ॥ १ ॥

क्षोणोशेकवरे प्रशासति महीं तस्मिन् नृपालावलि-

स्फूर्जन्मौलिमरीचि वीचिरुचिरोदञ्चत् पदाम्भोरुहे ॥ २ ॥

तद्राज्यैकधुरन्धरस्य वसुधा साम्राज्यदीक्षागुरोः ।

श्रीमदृण्डनवंशमण्डनमणेः श्रीटोडरक्ष्मापतेः ।

धर्मवैकविधौ समाहितमतेरादेशतोऽचीकर-

द्वापीं पाण्डवमण्डपे \* \* वनो गोविन्ददासः सुधीः ॥ ३ ॥

ऋतुनिगमरसात्मा सम्मिते १६४६ वत्सरेषे

सुकृतिवृत्ति हितैषी टोडर क्षोणिपालः

विहित विविधपूर्त्तोऽचीकरञ्चारूवापीम् ।

विमलसलिलसारां बद्धसोपानपंक्तिम् ॥ ४ ॥

Pratyarthi Kshitipala Kalanasu \* \* \* \*  
nedútika.

Mudranka prakata pratapa tapana prodbhasitasa  
mukhe,

Kshonisekavare prasasati mahimtasmin nripalavali,

Sphurjanmauli marichi vichi ruchirodanchat padam-  
bhoruhe,



(of the Khattris) repaired the *kund* (*Pandavaman-dapa*) in the Samvat year 1646 (i.e., 1589 A.D.) This shows that the tank was repaired by RAJA TODAR MAL shortly before his death.

The *gotra* of RAJA TODAR MAL TANDAN was Angiras. The great Hindu law-giver Manu says\* that the progenitors or forefathers of Kshatriyas are the Havismats and the Havismats are descended from Angiras- The Angirases are the reputed, Rishis (or authors) of the ninth *mandala* of the *Rig Veda*. They are frequently mentioned in the Vedic

Tadrajyaikadhurandharasya vasudha samrajyadikshaguroh,

SRI MATTANDANA vansa mandana maneh SRI TODORA kshmapateh.

Dharmaughaikabidhau samahitamateradesto chikara

Dvapim pandava mandape \* \* vāno govindadasah sudhih,

Ritu nigama rasatma sammite 1646 vatsarese,

Sukriti kriti hitaishi TODORA kshonipalah,

Vihita vividha purtto chikarachcharu vapim,

Vimala salila saram badha sopana panktim.

\* सोमपानामविप्राणां क्षत्रियाणां हविर्भुजः ।

सोमपास्तु कवेः पुत्राः हविषन्तोऽङ्गिरः सुताः ॥

literature. According to the *Linga Purana*\* the great monarchs of Hindustan, Vrihadasva, Mandhata, Purukutsa, Ambrikha, Muchukunda and others belonged to the Angiras family. The

\* वंशाच्च बृहदश्वोऽभूतकुवलाश्वस्तु तत्सुतः ।  
 धुन्धुमारत्वमापन्नो धुन्धुं हत्वा मंहाबलम् ॥  
 धुन्धुमारस्य तनयास्त्रयस्त्रैलोक्यविश्रुताः ।  
 दृढाश्वश्चैव चण्डाश्वः कपिलाश्वश्च ते स्मृताः ॥  
 दृढाश्वस्य प्रमोदस्तु हर्ष्यश्वस्तस्य वै सुतः ।  
 हर्ष्यश्वस्य निकुम्भस्तु संहताश्वस्तु तत्सुतः ॥  
 कृशाश्वोऽथ रणाश्वश्च संहताश्वात्मजा बुभौ ।  
 युवनाश्वो रणाश्वस्य मान्धाता तस्य वै सुतः ॥  
 मान्धातुः पुरुकुत्सोऽभूदम्बरीषश्च वीर्यवान् ।  
 मुचुकुन्दश्च पुण्यात्मा त्रयस्त्रैलोक्यविश्रुताः ॥  
 अम्बरीषस्य दायादो युवनाश्वोऽपरः स्मृतः ।  
 हरितो युवनाश्वस्य हरितास्तु यतः स्मृताः ॥  
 एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षे क्षत्रीयेताद्विजातयः ।  
 पुरुकुत्सस्य दायादस्त्रसहस्युर्महायशः ॥  
 नर्मदायां समुत्पन्नः सम्भूतिस्तस्य चात्मजः ।  
 विष्णुवृद्धः सुतस्तस्य विष्णुवृद्धा यतः स्मृताः ॥  
 एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पक्षे क्षत्रियोऽपेता समाश्रिताः ।  
 सम्भूतिरपरं दुत्तमनरस्य मजीजनत् ॥

*Matsya Purana*\* also says that Vrihadasva and Purukutsa belonged to the Angiras family. The accounts of these ancient kings of India are mentioned in almost all the *Puranas*. It is foreign to the subject to narrate the history of these kings and therefore it will suffice to say that RAJA TODAR MAL TANDAN belonged to that family of the Vedic Kshatriyas from which the greatest monarchs of India were descended, and according to the Sanskrit authorities, who, at one time, ruled over a vast portion of the globe.

रावणेन हतो योऽसौ त्रैलोक्यविजये द्विजाः ।

बृहदश्वोऽनरण्यस्य हृथ्यश्वस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥

हृथ्यश्वात् तु दृषद्वत्यां जज्ञे वसुमना नृपः ।

तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद्राजा त्रिधन्वा भवभावितः ॥

प्रसाद्वह्नसूनोर्वै तण्डिनः प्राप्य शिष्यताम् ।

अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य फलं प्राप्य तदान्नया ॥

\* अङ्गिराबृहदश्वश्च जीवनाश्वस्तथैव च ।

परस्परमवैवाह्यं ऋषयः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥

अङ्गिराश्च सदस्युपुरुकुत्सस्तथैव च ।

कुत्साः कुत्सैरवैवाह्या एव माहुः पुरातनाः ॥

\* \* \* \*

एते तवोक्ताङ्गिरस्तु वंशे महानुभावा ऋषिगोत्रकाराः ।

COMMANDER DHARU TANDAN,  
SON OF RAJA TODAR MAL.

DHARU TANDAN was the son of RAJA TODAR MAL. He was a commander in the army of Akbar and fought most bravely in the conquest of Tatta under Khankhanan. In the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Nizamuddin Ahmad gives the following description of the battle in which DHARU was killed.

Khankhanan, who marched to conquer Tatta, laid siege to the fortress of Sihwan. On the other side Janibeg, with all the *Zamindars* of that country, came with *ghrabs* and boats armed with artillery, to give battle. Khankhanan raised the siege, and marched forwards. When he arrived at Nasrpur, there was a distance of seven *kos* between the rival forces. Janibeg advanced to fight with more than a hundred *ghrabs* and two hundred boats (*kishti*) full of archers, gunners, and large guns. Khankhanan although he had only twenty-five *ghrabs*, went to the field, and the fight began. The battle went on for a night and a day, and the victory at length was declared in favour of the Imperial arms. Janibeg had two hundred men killed in his *ghrabs*; seven *ghrabs* were taken, and the rest escaped. This battle was fought on the 26th Muharram, 1000 H. After his defeat, Janibeg withdrew to a

spot on the bank of the river, which was flanked by water and morasses (*chihla*). Here he entrenched his force. Khankhanan raised batteries before it, and besieged it for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindians had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce, and bread exceedingly dear. Khankhanan had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun, near Tatta. But he sent a portion of his force to invest Sihwan. Janibeg, assuming Sihwan force to be weak in numbers, marched against it. When Khankhanan heard of this movement, he sent off with all possible speed Daulatkhan Lodi, Khwaja Muhammad Hakim Bakshi, DHARU THE SON OF RAJA TODAR MAL and others to re-inforce the Sihwan division. This detachment marched eighty *kos* in two days, and effected a Junction. Next day Janibeg came up and arrayed his army. Daulatkhan also made his dispositions. The royal force amounted to only two-thousand, while Janibeg had more than five-thousand. But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went to give battle. RAJA TODAR MAL'S SON DHARU FOUGHT MOST BRAVELY, AND WAS KILLED. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Janibeg fled towards the bank of the river.

DHARU was a Munsubdar or commander of seven-hundred. The establishment of this rank was as under :—

Horses.

- 6 Irakee.
- 8 Mojenness.
- 13 Turkey.
- 13 Yabu.
- 14 Tazee.
- 7 Jungeleh.

Elephants.

- 4 Sheergeer.
- 5 Sadeh.
- 5 Menjholeh.
- 4 Kerheh.
- 1 Benderkeeah.

- 17 Camels.
- 3 Mules.
- 27 Carts.

The military pay of a Munsubdar or commander of seven-hundred varied from Rs. 4,400 to Rs. 3,800 per month.

RAJA GOVARDHANDHARI TANDAN,  
SON OF RAJA TODAR MAL.

RAJA GOVARDHANDHARI TANDAN, another son of RAJA TODAR MAL, is mentioned in the *Kamsa-badha*, a Sanskrit work in seven acts. This drama was performed at a festival held at Benares in honour of Vishweshwar. The patron of the author and person who presided in the assembly is styled RAJA GOVARDHANDHARI,\* THE SON OF RAJA TODAR MAL, the ornament of the TANDANA family whose *Guru* was Girdhari. Girdhari or Girdhar was the grandson of Vallabha-Acharya, the founder of the Gokalastha Gosains, who flourished early in the sixteenth century.

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\* आर्ये अयमेव तावदखिललङ्काराण्डमण्डपमहानटः  
सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयनाटिका सूत्रधारः सूत्रात्मा विश्व-  
साक्षोभगवानिन्दुशेखरः तत्पादपद्मपरिचर्यापर्याप्त-  
प्राप्तसाम्राज्यधुरन्धरो गोवर्द्धनधारिराजश्च ।

तदाकर्ण्यतां यदि कौतुकम् ।

अस्ति क्षमापालमौलिज्वलदमलमणि

अग्निनः अग्निरोहद्रोचिर्वीचि प्रपञ्च-

च्छुरितपदनखप्रेङ्खदुद्यन्मयूखैः ।

येनाकालेऽपि बालारुणकरनिकरो

In the *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* or the Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir, the Emperor writes that Lakhmi Chand, the Raja of Kamaun, one of the chief Rajas in the hills, at the time of waiting upon the late king (the Emperor Akbar), sent a petition, asking that the son of RAJA TODAR MAL might lead him to the royal presence, and his request was complied with. The name of this son of RAJA TODAR MAL is, however, not mentioned by Jahangir.

जागरोज्जृम्भमाणजोत्स्राजालैर्जटालं  
स्फुटमजनि हरिश्चक्रबालान्तरालम् ॥

अपि च—

वापीपातालमूलं जलमुरगनदीकच्छपः स्वच्छकन्दः ।  
शेषो नालं दलानां विततिरपि फणाः कर्णिकाशैवशैलः ॥  
तारास्ताराः परागा मधु च मधुमतीकेसरादन्तिदन्तास्त-  
स्मिन्त्यत्कोर्तिपद्मे भ्रमति मधुकरः शर्वरी सार्वभौमः ॥

तस्यास्ति टण्डनकुलामलमण्डनस्य  
श्रीतोडर क्षितिपते स्तनयो नयनः ।  
नानाकलाकुलगृहं सविदग्धगोष्ठी-  
मेकोऽधितिष्ठतिगुरुर्गिरधारिनामा ॥

तेन चाहं सबहुमानमाहूय ससमाजेनादिष्टोऽस्मि ।



## RAJA BIKRAMAJIT HARDAS RAI, THE CONQUEROR OF KANGRA.



IN the *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* or the *Jahangir-nama* (the authentic Memoirs of Jahangir), the Emperor Jahangir appreciates the gallantry and judgment of this general in the following terms :—

“HARDAS RAI, who had received from my father (the Emperor Akbar) the title of RAI RAYAN, and from me that of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT was honoured by me with marks of the *highest distinction*. I made him Commandant of artillery, with directions to keep 50,000 gunners and 3,000 gun-carriages always in a state of readiness. BIKRAMAJIT was a Khattri by caste. He was in my father's time examiner of the expenditure on

the elephants, and was afterwards raised to the exalted grade of Diwan, and enrolled among the nobles of the Court. He was not wanting in gallantry and judgment."

*Services of HARDAS RAI as Rai Rayan under Akbar.* The following account of the same general is from the *Takmila-i-Akbar-nama* or the supplement of the *Akbar-nama*, containing an account of the four remaining years of Akbar's reign by Shaikh Inayatulla.

Abulfazl reached Sarai Banga, two stages from Gwalior, on the 1st Shahryur. There Barsinghdeo Bundela, anxious to obtain the favour of the Prince Sultan Salim, planted an ambuscade in his way. Abulfazl's followers apprised him of the danger, and recommended him to retire for protection to RAI RAYAN and Raja Raisingh, who were with 2,000 horse at Antari, a distance of only two kos. But the Shaikh, whose hour of death was at hand, did not listen to the advice. The Rajputs soon afterwards placed their rough hands upon his collar, and slew him with his attendants. Akbar was much affected on hearing of his death and orders **Rai Rayan ordered to punish Barsinghdeo.** were issued to the RAI RAYAN for bringing Barsinghdeo to punishment.

Barsinghdeo, the murderer of Abulfazl, had first

been pursued by the RAI RAYAN to Bhandar, and thence to Irich, a strong fort on the river. When the advanced party of the Imperial troops turned their conquering face against this place, he came out and drew up his troops to dispute the bank of the stream Betwa. The RAI RAYAN crossed the river and attacked and drove him back into the fort, which was then besieged by the royal forces. The distress of the enemy increased, till the benighted culprit broke from the walls by night, and fled to the jungle. His elephant was slain there; but he contrived, under the darkness of the night, to effect his escape.

In the *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* of Hasanbin Muhammad-al-Khaki-ul-Shirazi, who came to India in the time of Akbar, and obtained different offices under that Emperor, it is stated that on the 17th of Shahryar, 1006H, Akbar appointed RAI HARDAS to act as minister jointly with Khwaja Shamsuddin.

*Services of Hardas Rai as Bikramajit under Jahangir.* In the *Shash Fath-i-Kangra*, Muhammad Jalala Tibatiba, who is also the author of a history of Shah Jahan, gives the following account of the conquest of Kangra by RAJA BIKRAMAJIT.

When a victory was achieved by the Prince Shah Jahan along with RAJA BIKRAMAJIT over the Rana, and the tribes of Jam\* and Bhara\* were subdued in Gujarat by the royal army, Jahangir was exceedingly happy.

Subjugation by Raja BIKRAMAJIT of the tribes of Jam and Bhara.

Since a mere shake of the chain of prosperity is sufficient to produce all that is necessary for the accomplishment of any purpose, the Almighty God determined to reveal a wonder from the hidden chambers of secrecy, and effect a miracle by his beneficence in behalf of the Prince and the Imperial army. This was exemplified in the revolt of Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu. Through his folly Suraj Mal relied upon the precarious shelter of his forts, and exulted in having the hills for his defence, not knowing that the warriors of the royal army were so powerful that, even if he were to flee from water and fire, and conceal himself under stones, he would easily be destroyed with their blazing spears and blades of good water, just as a flying spark is soon reduced to nothing, or a tiny drop is absorbed by the earth. In short when the Emperor who, by his generosity and kindness, had confirmed him in the paternal dominions after the death of his father, had been informed of Suraj Mal's

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\* By Jam is meant the chief Zamindar of Surat in Gujarat; and by Bhara, the Zamindar of Kach.

revolt who had laid his rapacious hands upon some of the *paraganas* of the Punjab, Jahangir entrusted the duty of punishing the rebel to the Prince, and the latter in order to display the

**Bikramajit in command of the campaign against Suraj Mal of Kangra.**

excellence of his arrangements, gave the command to RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, an old, brave and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne, for whom the Prince had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose loyalty, when tried by the touchstone, had turned out pure and red, and who had successfully rendered many services to the Emperor Jahangir on former occasions, and also in the conquest of the tribes of Jam and Bhara, alluded to above, against whom matters had been previously ill-conducted, and for whose present discomfiture the Government was indebted entirely to his exertions and valour.

Agreeably to the orders of the Prince, RAJA BIKRAMAJIT with a stout heart, experienced judgment, loyal intentions, pure friendship, and great precaution, marched from Gujarat against the rebel,

**Raja Bikramajit marched from Gujarat against Suraj Mal.**

at the head of a considerable army, in order to secure success, on the 12th of Shahriyar, the 13th year of Jahangir's reign, corresponding with the 1st of Shaban, 1027H.

Suraj Mal, on receiving the intelligence of the movements of BIKRAMAJIT, was so overwhelmed with fear that he dared not lay his rapacious hands upon the rich province of the Punjab, which he had intended to plunder. He fled precipitately towards Pathankot, and took shelter in the fort of Mau, which was surrounded by hills and forests, and was reckoned one of the loftiest and strongest forts in the country. From ancient times it had been the capital of the chiefs of that territory, and several times siege was laid to it, but no enemy was ever able to take it. RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, at

**Capture of the fort of Mau by Bikramajit.** the head of a royal army, soon reached the place, and laid siege to the fort. The refugees offered opposition, but they were soon defeated. About 700 hundred persons on their side, male and female were killed, many men were taken prisoners, and Suraj Mal himself, with a few others, fled to the fort of Nurpur, which had been built by Raja Basu.

This town, before the fort was built, was called Dhamri, and subsequent to its conquest it was called Nurpur, after the illustrious name of the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir. BIKRAMAJIT, having taken possession of the fort of Mau, and having collected his munitions of war, was bent on the destruction of Suraj Mal, and the conquest of Kangra. With this intention he pursued Suraj Mal without

delay ; but the fugitive chief, not finding himself able to withstand the mighty torrent of the royal army, and being quite confounded, dared not stop there for a moment, but, before its arrival, fled away at midnight towards the mountains ; and having entered the dominions of the Raja of Chamba, concealed himself in the fort of Taragarh, a very old, lofty, and strong fortress, hemmed in by thick forests and mountains. He was, however, soon besieged there by the royal army. For three

Raja Bikramajit stormed the fort of Taragarh and captured it.

days RAJA BIKRAMAJIT led successive attacks upon the fort, and on the fourth day stormed it with all his warriors, who, though they sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, yet with their bravery and by the force of their arms, carried every thing before them. RAJA BIKRAMAJIT took possession of the fort, and obliged Suraj Mal to flee. After he had lost more than one thousand men on his side, and a great number had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, he fled from Taragarh to the Raja of Chamba, and took refuge in a fort in which the Raja and his family resided, and here he considered himself fortunate in obtaining a respite of two or three days.

RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, after the capture of the fort of Taragarh and the flight of the rebel chief, march-

ed towards the fort of Nurpur, where he stayed for some days, and then moved from that place with his mighty army, and made at once all the neighbouring places his prey. He soon conquered the

**Raja Bikramajit conquered the forts of Hara, Pahari, Thatha, Pakrota, Sur, and Jawali.**

forts of Hara, Pahari, Thatha, Pakrota, Sur, and Jawali, which all lay in the vicinity of Nurpur, surrounded with jungle, and were all very strong.

Having so far succeeded in his undertaking, RAJA BIKRAMAJIT determined now to seize Suraj Mal, and take the fort of Kangra. While he was engaged in making preparations for this purpose, Madhusingh, brother of Suraj Mal, taking advantage of the opportunity, raised a rebellion in the same territory ; but, through fear of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, he chose to secure himself within the fort of Kotila, between Kangra and Nurpur. It was bounded on three sides by a large river ; and on the land side, which was as dark and narrow as his own understanding he fortified it with cannon blazing like the firmament of fire. The prudence of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT did not permit of his leaving behind him this new rebel unpunished. With all haste, therefore, he

**Raja Bikramajit defeated Madhusingh and captured the fort of Kotila.**

marched towards him, and having reached the place, suddenly laid seige to the fort. The enemy offered a bold



resistance, but at last was defeated ; and, after much bloodshed, the fort fell into the hands of the royalists.

RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, having wrested the whole territory from Suraj Mal and his agents, made himself master of it on the part of the Emperor Jahangir. He removed all the rebels' officers from

**Raja Bikramajit** their different posts, and established his own *thanas*. *He granted Jagirs to his warriors.*

*gave several parganas to the servants of the throne as Jagirs.*

The unfortunate Suraj Mal, having been properly punished for his insolence and rebellious conduct, and having suffered great loss, repented of his folly. In a short space of time, many strong forts had been easily taken, a large number of people had been slain, and many men had been taken prisoners. Being entirely humbled to the dust, and overwhelmed by sorrow and remorse, he was seized by a fatal disease, and soon after died in the fort of the Raja of Chamba. The latter, after the rebel's death, wisely saw his safety in acknowledging obedience to the throne. With this conviction he sued RAJA BIKRAMAJIT for peace ; and, having succeeded in gaining his favour,

**The Raja of Chamba** surrendered to Raja Bikramajit.

craved him to obtain Jahangir's forgiveness for his past misconduct. RAJA BIKRAMAJIT called

upon him to give up all the property of Suraj MAL, and to make the most unconditional offer to surrender. The Raja of Chamba accordingly made over the whole property of Suraj Mal, and RAJA BIKRAMAJIT despatched all the prize property, under a strong escort, to Jahangir; which, besides other valuables, consisted of fourteen large elephants, and 200 Arab and Turkish horses.

Having thus got rid of the rebels, RAJA BIKRAMAJIT now proceeded to the conquest of Kangra. Immediately on his approaching the fort, he surrounded it with his troops; and though his religious scruples stood in his way, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of the God, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude. In this fort there was a temple of Devi, one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindus, and people resorted to the place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country to worship the goddess.

RAJA BIKRAMAJIT was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no

danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestors did not possess the title of Raja, and hereditary honours did not, therefore, inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of BIKRAMAJIT, and the *munsub* or rank of a Commander of 5,000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. Indeed, the advantages of obedience and gratitude to a master are incalculably numerous

and infinitely great. In short, Raja Bikramajit laid siege to the fort, of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made, and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service, and he himself remained to superintend the whole.

RAJA BIKRAMAJIT led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls, and forced a passage into the fort. *A most sanguinary*

*Description of the contest ensued.* The brave battle of Kangra. soldiers of the royal army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that

they rivalled the celebrated Sam and Nariman in feats of chivalry ; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the hives of bees ; and the breasts of the heroes, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that they might have drawn down the milky way from the heavens. The musket-balls which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of the drums drowned that of thunder. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of the day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standards, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom

their mighty hand compelled to surrender the keys of the fort.

RAJA BIKRAMAJIT *triumphantly entered the fort*, appointed trust-worthy officers to protect the property which might be found there, and placed *amil*s at different stations where they were required. *After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his rank and deserts. He also increased the munsubs (or military official ranks) of those warriors who distinguished themselves in the battle.* He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the Rajas of that place from ancient times. *From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor Jahangir with a report of the victory thus achieved.* Jahangir, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.

Having given an account of the conquest by RAJA BIKRAMAJIT of Kangra, the historian Muham-

**Description of the fort of Kangra.** mad Jalala Tibatiba gives a description of the fort of Kangra.

This fort, according to his statement, was very lofty, and stood on a very high hill. Its buildings were very beautiful. It was so old that no one could tell at what period it had been built. The fort was very strong, insomuch that no king had ever been able to take it; and it was unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of ancient Rajas, that from the beginning up to the time of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT it had always remained in possession of one and the same family.

This fact has also been confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who reigned in India. From 720H. or the commencement of Sultan Ghiyasuddin's power, to the year 963H, when the Emperor Akbar became the master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort was besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one was able to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts; for at least he was contented with having an interview with its Raja, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kulikhan Turkoman, entitled Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the Government of the Punjab;

but, notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished; and hence it was that Akbar, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not obtain its possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of RAJA BIKRAMAJIT, the Commander of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose auspicious star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.

It has been related above that RAJA BIKRAMAJIT had always under him 50,000 gunners and 3,000 gun-carriages in a state of readiness. Besides this, he was a Munsubdar or Commander of five-thousand

Raja Bikramajit as  
a Commander of five  
thousand.

which was the highest military rank except in the case of the king's own sons. The ordinary establishment of a commander of five thousand was as follows :—

Horses.

- 34 Irakee.
- 34 Mojenness.
- 68 Turkey.
- 68 Yabu.
- 68 Tazee.
- 68 Jungeleh.

## Elephants.

20 Sheergeer.

30 Sadeh.

20 Menjholeh.

20 Kerheh.

10 Benderkeeah.

80 Camels.

20 Mules.

160 Carts.

The military pay of a Munsubdar of five thousand varied from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 28,000 per month.

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## GURU NANAK VEDI AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

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GURU NANAK was born in the Samvat year of  
**Birth of Guru Nanak.** Vikramaditya 1525, correspond-  
ing to 892 H. and to 1468 A.D.,  
in the thirty-second year of the reign of Belol Lodi.  
GURU NANAK'S father, whose name was Kallu, was  
of the Vedi family of the Khattri caste. He was a  
native of the village of Talwandi but Nanak was,  
says Dr. M'Gregor, not born there though stated to  
be so both by Mr. Forster and Sir John Malcolm.  
Talwandi is about sixty miles from Lahore and twenty  
south of Wazirabad, on the route from that place to  
Amritsar in latitude  $32^{\circ}4'$ . In the account of the  
birth of Guru Nanak it is called *Talwandi-rae-malar*,  
meaning "wisdom and wealth." The author of the

*Nanaka Chandrodaya*, calls the village Talvandi  
(ka)\*

\* तस्यां बंशे वेदिनां क्षत्रियाणामास्ते यावत्सृष्टिशुद्धः

प्रसिद्धः ।

श्रेणी गुह्यामौक्तिकानामिवासीत्स्मात्पुंसां सत्सभा-

भूषणानाम् ॥

कलावपिध्वस्त समस्तधर्मे न वेदमार्गात्प्रचलन्ति

किञ्चित् ।

ते क्षत्रियास्तेन गताः प्रसिद्धिं स्वकर्मणा वेदिन

इत्युदाराम् ॥

धावद्भिर्विषयग्रहाय सततं संक्षोभयद्भिर्मनः किञ्चित्काल-

मनिग्रहेण बलिभिः पातप्रदैस्तत्क्षणम् ॥

योगानाचरता सदैव सुजयैरर्थैर्नष्टमिं गतैर्वशे

स्मिन्बहवो बभूवुरजिता अक्षैर्विपक्षैस्तथा ।

वेदी यत्र किलज्वलत्यतिमहाः संग्रामवेदीगतः

संस्कारं विधिवद्विजैर्दहनवन्नीतो युतो हेतिभिः ॥

इयन्ते यवनावनीपसमिधः स्नेहैः खलानां मृतास्तत्र

स्वास्थ्यमुपैति शान्तिकरणाद्भोविप्रसत्संहतिः ।

क्रुधाः शत्रुषु संयुगे यशसिते लुब्धाः परं पातकाङ्गीता

भृशुरपादयोर्नतिषुषोमृष्यन्ति वक्रं धनुः ।

GURU NANAK was a precocious child. At the early age of four, he was sent to the school, the master whereof was a Deist, and wished to inculcate the same principle in his youthful scholar, but the boy, to his great astonishment, instead of yielding implicit credence, inquired of his teacher, "What proofs he could give him of the existence of a God?" The school-master soon after renounced the world and became a *Fakir*. NANAK is represented to have been from his very childhood inclined to devotion, and indifferent to worldly concerns. His father endeavoured to divert his mind from this religious tendency, and amongst other expedients, gave him some money to purchase salt at one village and to sell it at another at some profit. NANAK undertook the commission, and

**Early life of Guru Nanak.**

किं चैकं शरणागतं विजहति द्रव्यं वदान्योत्तमाः

संगृह्णन्ति चिराय केवलमहोधर्मं स्वकर्मं स्थिराः ॥

क्षत्रस्य कर्मपरराज्यधनापहारहिंसामलीमसमुपेक्ष्य

विरज्यमानः ।

ग्रामांस्तिलेखकतिचित्तलवंडिकाया राज्ञा स्वबन्धुरिव

सप्रणयेन बद्धः ॥

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सुजन्मना तेन क्षतप्रहर्षा सवालहृदा तलवंडिकैव ॥

accompanied by a servant, named Bala, proceeded towards the village where he was to buy salt. On the road he fell in with some *Fakirs* (holy mendicants), who were suffering from want of food, which they had not tasted for three days. NANAK, affected by their condition, observed to Bala. "The gain of this world is transient; I wish to relieve these poor men, and thus obtain that gain which is eternal." His companion (who became afterwards the favourite disciple of NANAK) commended his proposal, and the money given to purchase salt was distributed by NANAK amongst the starving *Fakirs*, who, when refreshed, entered into a long discourse upon the unity of God, with which NANAK was much delighted.

Upon his return home, his father inquired what profit he had made. "I have fed the poor," replied NANAK, "and have thereby secured for you a gain that will endure for ever." Kallu provoked at this thoughtless prodigality, abused Nanak, and even struck him. Rai Bolar, the ruler of the district, overheard the transaction, and, severely reproving Kallu for his treatment of his son, interdicted him from ever lifting his hand against NANAK, before whom, to the astonishment of all present, he humbled himself with profound veneration.

Kallu, though obliged to treat his son with more forbearance than formerly, still hoped to detach him

from his unprofitable abstractions, and in order to divert his attention to worldly occupations, prevailed upon Jaya Ram, his son-in-law, to admit NANAK into partnership with him. NANAK accordingly attended the granaries of Doulat Khan, which were in charge of Jaya Ram; but though his hands were employed in this work, and his kindness of manner made all the inhabitants of Sultanpur, where the granaries were established, his friends; yet his heart never strayed for one moment from its object. It was incessantly fixed on the Divinity.

According to some writers one morning, as NANAK sat in a contemplative posture, a *Fakir* approached him and exclaimed: "Oh NANAK! upon what are thy thoughts now employed? Quit such occupations, that thou mayest obtain the inheritance of eternal wealth." Starting up, after a pause, NANAK distributed the contents of the granaries amongst the poor and renounced all worldly occupations.

Daulat Khan, hearing that his granaries had been emptied, ordered Jaya Ram to be cast into prison for theft; but NANAK, when he heard of this event, proceeded to the Khan, avowed the act, and offered to be held responsible for all that was deficient in the granaries. Jaya Ram's accounts were accordingly examined, when a balance was found in his favour.

According to other writers NANAK is said to

have had an interview with the Supreme God. It is thus described. "One day NANAK heard a voice "from above exclaim, NANAK, approach!" He replied, "Oh God! What power have I to stand in "thy presence?" The voice said, "Close thine eyes." NANAK shut his eyes, and advanced: he was told to look up: he did so, and heard the word *Wa!* or *well done*, pronounced five times; and then *Wa! Guruji* or *well done teacher*. After this God said, "NANAK! I have sent thee into the world, in the Kali Yuga (or depraved age); go and bear my name." Nanak said, "Oh God! how can I bear the mighty burthen? If my age was extended to tens of millions of years, if I drank of immortality, and my eyes were formed of the sun and moon, and were never closed, still, Oh God! I could not presume to take charge of thy wondrous name." "I will be thy Guru (teacher)," said God, "and thou "shalt be a Guru to all mankind, and thy sect shall "be great in the world. Thou must teach unto thy "followers three lessons: the first, to worship my "name; the second, ~~char~~ity; the third, ablution. "They must not abandon the world, and ~~they~~ must "do ill to no being; for into every being have I "infused breath; and whatever I am, thou art, for "betwixt us there is no difference. It is a blessing "that thou art sent into the Kali Yuga." After this, "*Wa Guru!* or *well done teacher!* was pronounc-

“ed from the mouth of the most high Guru or “teacher, and NANAK came to give light and freedom to the universe.” This probably refers to the state when NANAK was in contemplation.

NANAK began to practise the austerities and penances of a holy man, and by his abstraction in the contemplation of the Divine Being, his abstinence and virtue, he acquired great celebrity. He is said to have travelled into various countries and wherever he journeyed, he preached and explained to all ranks the doctrines of the unity and omnipresence of God, defending his own opinions without disparaging those of others. “Put on armour,” says GURU NANAK, “that will harm no one; let thy coat of mail “be that of understanding, and convert thy enemies “to friends. Fight with valour, but with no weapon, “except the word of God.” In praise of the Almighty God GURU NANAK observes:—

Thy portals how wonderful they are, how wonderful thy palace, where thou sittest and governest all!

Numberless and infinite are the sounds which proclaim thy praises.

How numerous are thy Paris, skilful in music and song!

Pavan (air), water, and fire celebrate thee;  
Dharma Raja celebrates thy praises at thy gates.

Chitragupta (Secretary to Dharma Raja) celebrates thy praises ; who, skilful in writing, writes and administers final justice.

Iswara, Brahma, and Devi, celebrate thy praises ; they declare in fit terms thy majesty at thy gates.

Indra celebrates thy praises, sitting on the Indraic throne amid the Devatas.

The just celebrate thy praises in profound meditation, the pious declare thy glory.

The Yatis and the Satis joyfully celebrate thy might.

The Pandits, skilled in reading, and the Rishiswaras, who, age by age, read the Vedas, recite thy praises.

The Mohinis, heart alluring, inhabiting Swarga, Mritya and Patala, celebrate thy praises.

The Ratnas (gems), with the thirty-eight Tirthas, celebrate thy praises.

Heroes of great might celebrate thy name ; beings of the four kinds of production celebrate thy praises.

The continents, and regions of the world, celebrate thy praises ; the universal Brahmanda (the mundane egg), which thou hast made firm.

All who know thee praise thee, all who are desirous of thy worship.



How numerous they are who praise thee ! they  
exceed my comprehension : how then, shall  
Nanak describe them ?

He, even he, is the Lord of truth, true, and truly  
just.

He is, he was, he passes not, the preserver of all  
that is preserved.

Of numerous hues, sorts and kinds, he is the  
original author of Maya.

Having formed the creation, he surveys his own  
work, the display of his own greatness.

What pleases him he does, and no order of any  
other being can reach him.

He is the Padshah and the Padshah Sahib of  
Shahs ; Nanak resides in his favour.

From these few verses of GURUK NANAK, some  
idea will be formed of the doctrines he taught to  
his followers. He professed himself the enemy of  
discord, and to have no other object than that of re-  
conciling the two seemingly hostile faiths of the  
Hindus and Muhammadans in one religion, which he  
endeavoured to do by recalling them to that great  
and original truth which they professed in common,  
and by reclaiming them from the errors into which  
they were considered to have fallen at that time.

It is stated that a Raja of Sivanabhu endea-  
voured to tempt NANAK, by offering him all the  
luxuries of the world, to depart from his austere

habits, but in vain.\* His presents of rich food, splendid clothes and fair ladies, only afforded the GURU so many opportunities of decrying against the vanities of this world, and preaching to the

\* Compare the following incident in the life of Buddha as given in the *Mahavagga—Pabbajjasutta*, a dialogue in which king Bimbisara feeling interested in Buddha tries to tempt him with wealth, but is mildly rebuked by Buddha.

1. I will praise an ascetic life such as the clearly-seeing (Buddha) led, such as he thinking over it approved of as an ascetic life.

2. This house-life is pain, the seat of impurity, and an ascetic life is an open-air life, so considering he embraced an ascetic life.

3. Leading an ascetic life, he avoided with his body sinful deeds, and having also abandoned sin in words, he cleansed his life.

4. Buddha went to Rajagaha, he entered the Giribbaja in Magadha for alms with a profusion of excellent signs.

5. Bimbisara standing in his palace saw him, and seeing him endowed with these signs, he spoke these words :

6. Attend ye to this man, he is handsome, great, clean, he is both endowed with good conduct, and he does not look before him further than a *yuga* (the distance of a plough.)

7. With down cast eyes, thoughtful, this one is not like those of low caste ; let the king's messengers run off, (and ask) : Where is the Bhikkhu going ?

8. The king's messengers followed after him and said : Where is the Bhikku going, where will he reside ?

Raja the blessings of eternal life. He at last succeeded in making him a convert, and resided at Sivanabhu two years and five months. During this period he composed the *Pran Sankali*, for the instruction of his followers. After NANAK had

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9. Going begging from house to house, watching the door of the senses, well restrained, he quickly filled his bowl, conscious, and thoughtful.

10. Wandering about in search of alms, having gone out of the town, the Muni repaired to the mountain Pandava; it must be there he lives.

11. Seeing that he had entered his dwelling, the messengers then sat down, and one messenger having returned, announced it to the king.

12. This Bhikku, O great king, is sitting on the east side of Pandava, like a tiger, like a bull, like a lion in a mountain cave.

13. Having heard the messenger's words, the Khattiya in a fine chariot hastening went out to the Pandava mountain.

14. Having gone as far as the ground was practicable for a chariot, the Khattiya, after alighting from the chariot, and approaching on foot, having come up to him, seated himself.

15. Having sat down, the king then exchanged the usual ceremonious greetings with him, and after the complimentary talk he spoke these words :

16. Thou art both young and delicate, a lad in the prime of youth, possessed of a fine complexion, like a high-born Khattiya.

visited all the cities of India, he went to Mecca and Medina, where his actions, his miracles, and his long disputations with the most celebrated Muhammadan saints and doctors are most circumstantially described by different writers.

He was one day abused, and even struck as one of his biographers relates, by a Mullah, for lying on the ground with his feet in the direction of the

17. I will decorate and furnish the army-house, and at the head of the assembly of chiefs give thee wealth ; enjoy it and tell me thy birth, when asked.

18. Buddha : Just beside Himavata, O king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala.

19. They are Adichchas by family, Sakiyas by birth ; from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures.

20. Seeing misery in sensual pleasures, and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself ; in this my mind delights.

Again in the *Mahavagga*—*Selasutta*—Sela addresses to Buddha :—

Thou deservest to be a king, a king of universal kings, a ruler of the four-cornered (earth), a conqueror, a lord of the Jambu-grove (i.e. India).

Khattiyas and wealthy kings are devoted to thee ; rule, O Gotama, as a king of kings, a leader of men.

I am a king, O Sela,—so said Bhagavat,—an incomparable, religious king, with Justice I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible.

sacred temple of Mecca. "How darest thou, infidel"! said the offended Muhammadan priest, "turn thy feet towards the house of God." "Turn them, if you can," said Nanak, "to a direction where the house of God is not."—Showing clearly that the mind of the GURU was deeply imbued with the great truth that all space was filled with Him.

The most insignificant animal that crawled on the earth, the least complicated flower that decked the face of the desert, were alike the work of the same Divine hand that formed the elephant and wide-spreading banian tree! Trusting to this bountiful Being, GURU NANAK despised all worldly riches, unless in so far as they served to relieve his fellow-creatures; and charity to all mankind was one of the precepts which he preached to his followers, next to devotion to the Deity. The life of a fellow-creature was sacred in his eyes, for the same breath was breathed into them all by the Almighty, and was only to be taken away by Him. Murder, war, and discord, whereby the lives of

[*Note.*—*Khattiya* means a prince or warrior and *Bhikkhu* a mendicant. In Sanskrit these words are written as *Kshattriya* and *Bhikshu* respectively. In other words the Sanskrit letter *ksha* (क्ष) is written and spoken in Pali as *kha*, as is generally the case in Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali and other dialects derived from Sanskrit.]

men were sacrificed, he deprecated; and cruelty and intolerance were held in abomination by him, as heinous sins.

During his travels, in the year 1526 A.D., NANAK was introduced to the Emperor Babar, before whom he maintained his doctrine with great firmness and eloquence. Babar is said to have been pleased with the interview, and to have offered him an ample maintenance, which Nanak refused, observing, that he trusted for support to Him who provided for all, and from Whom alone a man of religion and virtue should accept favour or reward.

NANAK is said to have proceeded to Multan, where he communed with the  
**Death of Gurur Nanak.** Pirs, or Muhammadan saints, of that part of the country. Thence he went to Kirtipur, on the Ravi, where he died at the age of 71, in the year 963 H. (1539 A.D.) in the first year of the reign of Akbar. He reigned as Guru sixty years, five months, and seven days. His *Samad* is on the bank of the Ravi, five miles from Kulanur. Vast crowds collect annually at this place to perform certain ceremonies in commemoration of the day of his decease.

The character of GURU NANAK is fairly drawn  
**Character of Guru Nanak.** by Sir John Malcom: "The great eminence he attained, and the success with which he combated the opposition

he met with, afford ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius : and this favourable impression of his character will be confirmed by a consideration of the object of his life, and the means he took to accomplish it. Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammad and the worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend these jarring elements in peaceful union, and he only endeavoured to effect his purpose through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recall both Muhammadans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimest of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one and the deep rooted superstition of the other ; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason and humanity ; and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Muhammadan government under which he lived."

A comparison between certain events in the life

of GURU NANAK and Buddha has already been drawn above. On this subject Sir Lepel Griffin says that there is much in the character and teaching of GURU NANAK which reminds the student of the life and teaching of the great Buddhist reformer, whose devotion to the cause of humanity and the general enlightenment of whose doctrine have had so vast an influence on a quarter of the human race.

According to the same authority the unity of the Supreme Being was the main point in the doctrine taught by GURU NANAK; that He is One and Alone, as he affirms in the following couplet : . ' Whom shall I call the second ? There is none. In all there is that one Spotless One ' (the Deity.) The Deity under whatever known name as Brahm, Hari, Ram, or Govind, is incomprehensible, invisible, uncreated, eternal, and alone possessing any real existence. He is the root of all things ; the Primary Cause from which all human beings and all Nature have been evolved, from whom every thing has been expanded. In the same way as Darwin has taught the evolution of species, so did the doctrine of GURU NANAK proclaim, not the creation of Nature by the All-Powerful out of nothing, but the infinite division of His own essence into a plurality of forms.



Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham observes that GURU NANAK likens the Deity to Truth, which was before the world began, which is, and which shall endure for ever, as the ultimate idea or cause of all we know or behold. The GURU addresses equally the Mulla and the Pandit, the Dervish and the Sanyasi, and tells them that virtues and charities, heroic acts and gathered wisdom, are nought of themselves, that the only knowledge which availeth is the knowledge of God; and then, as if to rebuke those vain men who saw eternal life in their own act of faith, he declares that they only can find the Lord on whom the Lord looks with favour. Yet the extension of grace is linked with the exercise of our will and the beneficent use of our faculties. He adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitive transmigrations have ceased. Life, he says, is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot. He also referred to the Arabian prophet, and to the Hindu incarnations, not as imposters and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind, and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He asserted himself no special successor, of these inspired teachers of his belief,

sent to reclaim fallen mortals of all creeds and countries. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and places, yet he declared himself to be but the slave, the humble messenger of the Almighty, making use of universal truth as his sole instrument.

At this stage of the narrative it would not be out of place to give a cursory view of the religious and philosophic thought of India. On this subject, Captain Cunningham remarks that the condition of India from remote ages to the present time, is an episode in the history of the world.\* At an early period, the Asiatic peninsula, from the Southern Ghats to the Himalayan mountains, would seem to have been colonized by a warlike subdivision of the Caucasian race, which here and there, near the greater rivers and the shores of the ocean, formed orderly communities; but it was on the banks of the Upper Ganges that the latent energies of the people first received an impulse, which produced the peculiar civilization of the Brahmans, and made a few heroic families supreme from Arachosia to the Golden Chersonese. India illustrates the power of Darius and the greatness of Alexander, the philosophy of Greece and the religion of China; and while Rome was contending

with Germans and Cimbri, and yielding to Goths and Huns, the Hindu Indo-Aryans absorbed swarms of Scythic barbarians; they dispersed Sacæ, they enrolled Getæ among their most famous tribes, and they made others serve as their valiant defenders.\* India afterwards checked the victorious career of Islam, but she could not wholly resist the fierce enthusiasm of the Turkoman hordes; and she became one of the most splendid of Muhammadan empires. The well-being of India's industrious millions is now linked with the foremost nation of the west, and the representatives of Judæan faith and Roman polity will long wage a war of principles with the speculative Brahman, the authoritative Mulla, and the hardy believing Sikh.

The Brahmans and their valiant Khatris had a long and arduous contest with that ancient faith of India, which, as successively modified, became famous as Buddhism. When Manu wrote, when Alexander conquered, and when the obscure Fahian travelled and studied, there were some kingdoms ruled by others than "Aryas." During this period the genius of Hinduism became fully developed

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\* Compare Sir W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*—pages 167, 168, 170, 171 and 180; also Colonel Tod's *Rajasthan* Vol. I, page 40 and Professor H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* Vol. IV, p. 187.

and the Brahmins rivalled the Greeks in the greatness and the variety of their triumphs. Epic poems show high imaginative and descriptive powers, and the Ramayana and Mahabharata still move the feelings and affect the character of the people. Mathematical science was so perfect, and astronomical observation so complete, that the paths of the sun and moon were accurately measured. The Philosophy of the learned few was, perhaps, for the first time, firmly allied with the theology of the believing many, and Brahmanism laid down as articles of faith, the unity of God, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. The remote dwellers upon the Ganges distinctly made known that future life about which Moses is silent or obscure, and that unity and omnipotence of the Creator which were unknown to the polytheism of the Greek and Roman multitude, and to the dualism of the Mithraic legislators; while Vyasa perhaps surpassed Plato in keeping the people tremblingly alive to the punishment which awaited evil deeds.

The Brahmins succeeded in expelling the Buddhist faith from the Indian peninsula, and when Shankarcharya journeyed and disputed, a few learned men, and the inoffensive half conforming Jains, alone remained to represent the "gentiles" of Hinduism. The Khattris had acquired king-

doms and heathen princes had been subdued or converted. Hinduism had attained its limits, and the victory brought with it the seeds of decay. The intermingling with strangers led to a partial adoption of their usages. The old Brahman worship had been domestic or solitary and that of the Buddhists public or congregational; the Brahman ascetic separated himself from his fellows, but the Buddhist hermit became a cœnobite, the member of a community of devotees; the Brahman reared a family before he became an anchorite, but the Buddhist vowed celibacy and renounced most of the pleasures of sense. These customs of the vanquished had their effect upon the conquerors, and Shankaracharya, in his endeavour to strengthen orthodoxy, enacted the double part of St. Basil and Pope Honorius. He established a monastery of Brahman ascetics; he converted the solitary "Dandee," with his staff and waterpot, into one of an order, a monk or friar, at once cœnobitic and mendicant, who lived upon alms and who practised chastity.

Philosophic speculation had kept pace in diversity with religious usage: learning and wealth, and an extended intercourse with men, produced the ordinary tendency towards scepticism, and six orthodox schools opposed six heretical systems, and made devious attempts to acquire a knowledge of God by logical deductions from the phenomena

of nature or of the human mind. They disputed about the reality and the eternity of matter ; about consciousness and understanding ; and about life and the soul, as separate from, or as identical with, one another and with God. The results were, the atheism of some, the belief of others in a liminary deity, and the more general reception of the doctrine of "Maya" or illusion.

A new people now entered the country, and a new element hastened the decline of corrupted Hinduism. Armed with religion as a motive, and empire as an object, the Turks precipitated themselves upon India. • The Mughals and Afghans gradually changed the language and the thoughts of the people. Subsequently the Muhummadans became Indianized ; and, in the sixteenth century, the great Akbar conceived the design of establishing a national government or monarchy which should unite the elements of the two systems ; but political obedience does not always denote social amalgamation, and the reaction upon the Moslem mind perhaps increased that intolerance of Aurangzeb which hastened the ruin of the dynasty.

The public mind became agitated and the first result of the conflict was the institution, about the end of the fourteenth century, of a comprehensive sect by Ramanand of Benares, a follower of the tenets of Ramanuj. He admitted

all classes of people as his disciples, and he declared that the true votary was raised above mere social forms, and was free or liberated. During the same century the learned enthusiast Guru Goraknath gave popularity to the doctrine of the "Yoga." It was, however, held, that in this Kaliyuga, or iron age, fallen man was unequal to so great a penance, or to the attainment of complete beauty; but Goraknath taught that intense mental abstraction would etherialise the body of the most lowly, and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. In the next generation, or about the year 1450 A.D. Kabir preached to the Muhammadans as well as the Hindus and he urged them to strive continually after inward purity. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the reforms of Ramanand were introduced into Bengal by Chaitanya, a Brahman of Naddea. He admitted all classes as members of his sect, and insisted upon "Bhakti," or faith, as chastening the most impure. About the same period Vallabhacharya, a Brahman of Tellingana, gave a further impulse to the reformation in progress. He taught that effected devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition as unworthy of a thought.

They formed pious associations of contended Quietists, or they gave themselves up to the contemplation of futurity in the hope of approaching bliss. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations. It was reserved for NANAK to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor GOVIND SINGH to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality.

“GURU NANAK was unquestionably a man of uncommon genius,” observes Mr. W. G. Osborne, “as may be inferred from the eminence he attained and the success with which he combated the opposition which encountered him, while he laboured unremittingly to inculcate upon Hindus and Muhamadans, that sublime principle which enjoins devotion to God and peace towards men.”

In short GURU NANAK effected a change in the religious thought of this country. He has left an undying influence behind him for good and his doctrines are even at the present day practised by a great many persons. His mild demeanor, earnest piety and persuasive eloquence are ever the themes of praise, and fairs are held at most of the places connected with the events of his life; at Nankana, for instance, in the Sharakpur tahsil; at Dera Nanak, in the Gurdaspur district; at Bir Baba Nanak, close to Sialkot, and so forth.



GURU NANAK had two sons, named Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das, but he thought neither of them worthy to succeed him in his spiritual office which he bequeathed to a Khattri of the Tihan family,

**Guru Nanak's suc-** named Lehna. GURU NANAK  
**cessor.** had initiated Lehna in the

sacred mysteries of his sect, clothed him in the holy mantle of a *Fakir*, and bestowed on him the name or tittle of ANGAD or own body. It is believed that the spirit of GURU NANAK passed into the body of ANGAD. ANGAD was therefore acknowledged as the teacher of the sect, and SRI CHAND, the son of GURU NANAK, became a *fakir* and founded the order of Udasis, a community indifferent to the concerns of the world.

GURU ANGAD was born, according to most accounts, in the Samvat year 1561 or 1504 A. D., (on the first day of the bright half of Bysakh) but according to others, in the Samvat year 1567 or 1510 A. D. He settled at the village of Khadur, on the bank of the Beas, in the Taran Taran Tahsil of the Amritsar district, where

**Guru Angad.**

there is a shrine in his honour and where his family enjoys some respect. He taught the same doctrines as GURU NANAK did, and wrote some verses that now form part of the *Granth*. He reigned as Guru for a period of twelve years, six months and nine days; and left

two sons, Dasu and Datu, but as neither of them was initiated in the mysteries of the sect he was succeeded, at his death, in the Samvat year 1609 (1552 A.D.), by a Khattri of the Bhalle family, named AMAR DAS, an ardent follower.

GURU AMAR DAS was distinguished by his activity in preaching the tenets of GURU NANAK ;

he made many converts and  
**Guru Amar Das.**

with their aid he acquired some temporal power. He was a wise and just GURU and he sent twenty-two disciples to preach his doctrines to different parts of the country. It is said that he found an attentive listener in the tolerant Akbar. He built a fine *baoli* or large well, containing 84 steps, together with a shelter for travellers, at Govindwal in the province of Lahore. On this he spent large sums of money, as the water was at a great depth.

GURU AMAR DAS had two sons Mohan and Mori, and two daughters Dani and Bhani: he was very anxious regarding the marriage of Bhani, and employed a Brahman to seek a fit husband for her ; but the attention of the GURU was accidentally drawn to a youth named RAM DAS, a Khattri of the Sodi family, a lineal descendant of Sodi Rai, who had abdicated the throne of Lahore in favour of his uncle Kulpat Vedi, and he gave him his daughter in marriage. GURU AMAR DAS died,

in the Samvat year 1631 or 1574 A.D., after a reign of more than twenty-two years, at Govindwal, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, whom he had initiated in the sacred mysteries of the sect.

GURU RAM DAS became celebrated for his piety, and for the improvements he made at Amritsar, an ancient city, then  
**Guru Ram Das.** called Chak, and which for some time was known by the name of Rampur or Ramdaspur, after him. He built a tank which he termed Amritsar, signifying "water of immortality." This tank has acquired a sacred character, and has imparted its holiness to the city.

It is related that at the time the Emperor Akbar was at Lahore, he heard of the fame of GURU RAM DAS and wished to see him. He threw off the trammels of religion, and after conversing with the GURU was much pleased with him, and as a mark of esteem and regard, the Emperor issued an order, that a certain portion of ground should be granted to GURU RAM DAS, which was accordingly done. It was on this piece of ground the sacred tank referred to above, was built by the GURU who went occasionally from Govindwal to reside there, and his disciples and followers settled at that place. The gift of Akbar was, however, disputed by a Byragi, who claimed the land as the site of an

ancient pool dedicated to Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, and the tutelary deity of his order; but the GURU said he was himself the representative of the hero. The Byragi could produce no proof; but RAM DAS dug deep into the earth, and displayed to numerous admirers, the ancient steps of Raja Ram Chandra's reservoir. The connection between the family of Ram Das and Ram Chandra is explained further on.

After a short time the Emperor Akbar went from the Punjab to the Dekhan, and on arriving at Govindwal he encamped there, and sent for RAM DAS; he received the GURU with great distinction and kindness, and requested him to ask a favour. GURU RAM DAS replied that he wanted nothing, but he had one remark to make. Akbar enquired what it was. The GURU replied, that during the stay of the Emperor at Lahore, the consumption of grain had been great, and high prices paid for it, but now that the court had left that place the prices would be low and the ryots would suffer accordingly. "I would recommend," he added, "that you levy no rent this year." Akbar was pleased with the remark, and said the GURU was the friend of the poor; he ordered the rents to be remitted, and bestowed, at the same time, valuable presents on GURU RAM DAS.

GURU RAM DAS passed a quiet life, employing

it chiefly in the composition of religious works explanatory of the tenets of GURU NANAK, and, after a reign of nearly seven years, died at Amritsar in 1581 or 1582 A.D.\*

\* According to the Panjabi writers the Hindi dates of the birth and death of Gurus Nanak to Har Govind are as follows :—

Names of Gurus.	Dates of birth	Dates of death.
Nanak ...	Kartrik Sudi, 15th, Samvat 1526 (1469 A.D.)	Aswin Vadi, 10th, Samvat 1596 (1539 A.D.)
Angad ...	Bysakh Sudi, 1st, Samvat 1561 (1504 A.D.)	Chaitra Sudi, 4th, Samvat 1609 (1552 A.D.)
Amar Das.	Bysakh Sudi, 14th, Samvat 1526 (1469 A.D.)	Bhadrapad Sudi, 15th, Samvat 1631 (1574 A.D.)
Ram Das.	Kartrik Vadi, 2nd, Samvat 1591 (1534 A.D.)	Bhadrapad Sudi, 3rd, Samvat 1638 (1581 A.D.)
Arjun ...	Bysakh Vadi, 7th, Samvat 1620 (1563 A.D.)	Jesth Sudi, 4th, Samvat 1663 (1606 A.D.)
Har Govind.	Asar Vadi 1st, Samvat 1652 (1595 A.D.)	Chaitra Sudi, 5th, Samvat 1695 (1638 A.D.)

In the above calculations the difference between the Samvat year and the Christian era is taken 57 years.

GURU ARJUN succeeded his father RAM DAS and rendered himself illustrious by compiling the *Adi-Granth*. This work received its present form and arrangement from GURU ARJUN; he collected the most valuable writings and sayings of GURU NANAK and his immediate successors, ANGAD, AMAR DAS, and RAM DAS and enlarged and improved them by making additions of his own.†

On this subject Dr. W. L. M'Gregor writes as under—

“Nanak was born in the year of the Hijera 892, corresponding to the year of the Christian era 1468 and to 1525 of Bikermajeet, in the 32nd year of the reign of Belol (Lodi). In Malcolm's sketch of the Sikhs, the year 1469 is given; but the year in the text is the correct one, since the calculation is made with both the era of the Hijera, and that of Bikermajeet. Malcolm most likely followed Forster, who also assumed 1469, as the year of Nanak's birth. In Dow's history of Hindustan, Bikermajeet is said to have died in the eighty-ninth year of the Christian era. The Mussulman authors of the History of the Sikhs preserve invariably, a period of fifty-seven years between the Christian era and that of Bikermajeet, or Samvat.”

† As an example some passages from the *Adi-Granth* are quoted below—

करै अनंद अनंदी मेरा, घटघट पूरण शिरशिरहि निबेरा  
शिर शाहाके सखा साहिब और नाही को दूजाहे ।

The most important doctrine inculcated in the *Granth* is that of reverence and obedience to the Guru and respect to and worship of the saints. The practices of ablution, of giving alms, of abstinence from animal food are enjoined, while, by way of ethical principles, such things as slander unchastity, anger, covetousness, selfishness and want of faith are especially denounced.

हर्षबंत अनंत दयाला, प्रगटि रङ्गो प्रभु सर्व उजाला ॥  
 रूपकरे करिवेखे बिगसै आपेही आपि पूजाहे ।  
 आपे कुदरति करे बिचारा, आपेही सचु करे पसारा ॥  
 आपै खेलि खिलावै दिनराती आपे सुणि सुणि भीजाहे ।  
 साचा तखत सच्चो पातिशाही, सच्चुख जौना साचाशाही ।  
 आपे सचुधाख्यो सभ साचा सच्चै सचिव रती जाहे ॥  
 सच्चुत पावसु सच्चै केरा, साचाथान सदा प्रभु तेरा ।  
 सच्चौ कुदरति सच्चौ बाणी सचु साहिब सुख की जाहे ॥  
 एको आपि तूहै बड़ि राजा, हुक्मि सच्चै कै पूरे काजा ।  
 अन्तर बाहर सभ किछु जाणै आपेही आपि पतीजाहे ॥  
 पांच पचीस मोह मदमत्सर आड़ी परबल माया ।  
 जन गरीब को जोर न पडु'चै कहा करौ रघुराया ॥  
 काम किवारी दुख सुख दरवानी पाप पुन दरवाजा ।  
 क्रोध प्रधानः महाबड़ दुदर तहमन मा बासी राजा ॥

This GURU lived in great splendour, kept fine horses and was clothed in costly raiments.

खाद सनाह टोप ममता को कुबुधि कमान चढ़ाई ।  
 तृष्णा तीर रहे घट भीतर यों गढ़ लियो न जाई ॥  
 प्रेम पलीता सुरति हवाई गोला ज्ञान चलाया ।  
 ब्रह्म अग्नि सहजे परजाली एकहि चोट रिभाया ॥  
 सत सन्तोष लैलरने लागा तोरे दुइ दरवाजा ।  
 साध संगति अरु गुरु की कृपाते पकख्यो गढ़को राजा ॥  
 भूठे मान कहा करै जग सुपने ज्यो जान ।  
 इनमें कहु तेरो नही नानक कह्यो बखान ॥  
 गर्बु करत है देह को बिनशै छिन मैं भीत ।  
 जिहि प्राणी हरि यश कह्यो नानक तिहि जगु जीति ॥  
 जो उपज्यो सो बिनशि हैं परी आजु के काल ।  
 नानक हरिगुन गाइले छाड़ि सकल जंजाल ॥

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संग सखा सभ तजि गये कोऊ न निबह्यो साथ ।  
 कहु नानक इह बिपत मैं टेक एक रघुनाथ ॥  
 राम नाम उरमें गह्यो जाके सम नही कोइ ।  
 जिह सिमरत संकट मिटै दरसु तुहारो होइ ॥  
 करि किरपा प्रभु अंतर्ध्यामी साध संगि हरि पाइये ।  
 खोलि किवार दिखाले दर्शन पुनरपि जनमि न पाइये ॥



Towards the latter part of his reign GURU ARJUN removed to Amritsar from Govindwal, and dwelt there. At Amritsar he constructed a temple in the midst of the tank, and named it Harimandir, or God's

मिलहु परोतम स्वामी अपने सगले दूख हरौरे ।  
 पार ब्रह्म जिन रिदै अराध्या ताकै संगितरौरे ॥  
 खत्री ब्राह्मण शूद्र वेश्य उपदेश चह्मं वरनाको साभा ।  
 गुरुमुखि नाम जपै उधरै सो कलिमहिं घटि घटि  
 नानकमांभा ॥

जितने धनवंत कुलवंत मिलखवंत दीसहि मनमेरे  
 सभिविनशि जाहि जो रंग कसुंभ कचाण ॥  
 हरि सत्य निरंजन सदा सेवि मन मेरे  
 जितु हरि दरगह पावहि तू माण ।  
 ब्राह्मण खत्री शूद्र वैश चारि वर्ण चारि आश्रमहहिं  
 जो हरि ध्यावै सो परधान ॥  
 ज्यो चन्दन निकट बसै हिरडु बपुड़ा ल्यो सतसंगति  
 मिलि पतित परवाण ॥  
 योग शब्दं ज्ञान शब्दं वेद शब्दंत ब्राह्मणह ।  
 खत्री शब्दं शूर शब्दं शूद्र शब्दं पराकृतह ॥  
 सर्व शब्दंत एक शब्दं जे को जानसि भेउ ।  
 नानक ताको दासु है सोई निरंजन देउ ॥

house. The *Granth*, or the Holy Book, was placed in this temple, and crowds of persons frequented it for the purpose of bathing and hearing the *Granth* read. The Chak of Ram Das was enlarged, and the wealth of GURU ARJUN began to increase in horses, elephants, &c.

एक कृष्णांतु सर्व देवा देवदेवात आत्मह ।

आत्मं श्री वासुदेवस्य जे कोई जानसि भेव ।

नानक ताको दासु है सोई निरंजन देव ॥

घटंत रूपं घटंत दीपं घटंत रवि शशी अर नख्यत्र गगनं ।

घटंत बसुधा गिरितर सिखंडं ॥

घटंत ललना सुत भ्रात हीतं ।

घटंत कनिक मानिक माया स्वरूपं ॥

नह घटंत केवल गोपाल अच्युत ।

अस्थिर नानक साधजन ॥

नच दुर्लभं धनं रूपं नच दुर्लभं स्वर्ग राजनह ।

नच दुर्लभं भोजनं विज्ञानं नच दुर्लभं स्वच्छ अंबरह ॥

नच दुर्लभं सुत मित्र भ्रात बान्धव नच दुर्लभं वनिता

विलासह ।

नच दुर्लभं विद्या प्रवीणं नच दुर्लभं चतुर चंचलह ॥

दुर्लभं एक भगवान नामह नानक लब्ध साध्य संगि

कृपा प्रभं ।

At this time the agents of GURU ARJUN were spread over the country to demand and receive the contributions of the faithful, which they proceeded to deliver to the GURU in person at an annual assembly, and thus a regular government, according to the almost contemporary Moshan Fani, was established by the GURU. He sent his followers as far as Turkistan for the purpose of purchasing horses. He appears to have been sought as a political partizan by Khusru, the son of the Emperor Jahangir, when in temporary possession of the Panjab.

GURU ARJUN also built a tank, at a distance of seven miles from Amritsar, naming it Tarantaran, which means "cleansing water." He appears to have died at Lahore after a reign of more than twenty four years.

मंत्रं राम राम नामं ध्यानं सर्वत्र पूरनह ॥

ज्ञानं सम दुख सुख युगति निर्मल निरवैरणह ।

दयालं सरवत्र मोया पंच दोष विवर्जितः ॥

भोजनं गोपाल कीर्त्तनं अल्प माया जलकमल रहतह ।

उपदेशं सम मित्र शत्रह भगवंत भगति भावनी ।

परनिन्दा नह श्रुति श्रवणं आपु त्यागि सगल रेणुकह ।

षट लक्षण पूरनं पुरषह नानक नाम साधस्वजनह ॥

As there are several versions of the manner in which GURU ARJUN met his death, it is not easy to say how he came to his end. One account says that an orthodox zealot, whose writings the GURU had refused to admit into the *Adi Granth*, on the ground that the doctrines therein inculcated were inconsistent with the pure doctrines of the unity and omnipotence of God, as taught by GURU NANAK and his apostles, induced the Muhammadan Soobahdar, over whom he had sufficient influence to cast the Guru into the prison. The Guru, with the permission of the Jailor, one morning went to the river (the Ravi then flowed just under the walls of the fort) to bathe and was never seen again.

Another but a more popular account of GURU ARJUN'S death is, that Chandushah, the Diwan or prime minister at Lahore, had a beautiful daughter, whom his father wished to bestow in marriage on his successor in office; this resolution he communicated to his friends. But they advised him to give her in marriage to GURU ARJUN'S son, who was a very comely youth. Chandushah not only gave a deaf ear to their advice, but insultingly remarked, "Though ARJUN is a wealthy man and a Hindu Guru, still he is a *Fakir*. I am like the upper storey of a house; he is like the drain for

receiving the filthy water." Being pressed, however, on the subject, Chandushah consented to the match, and the marriage presents were sent to the house of GURU ARJUN. One of the by-standers told the GURU what Chandushah had said, and the contrast he had drawn. On hearing this, GURU ARJUN was very angry, and said, "Chandushah is a fool; I will not allow my son to marry his daughter." The GURU returned the presents, adding, "He is a nobleman, I am a *Fakir*; he must be mad in wishing his daughter to wed my son."

Chandushah asked GURU ARJUN'S forgiveness for the words he had used, and went in person to his house, taking with him nearly a lakh of rupees. He, with joined hands, asked permission to address the GURU; but the latter said it was useless, adding—"Oh! Chandushah, my words are engraved on stone, and cannot be washed out; I will never gainsay them; and were you to give the whole world as a dowry with your daughter, she shall never wed my son; this is fixed and irrevocable." On hearing these words, Chandushah remained silent, but from that time meditated revenge against GURU ARJUN. "This man must have the blood of kings in his veins to refuse my offer," were his emphatic words on leaving the GURU.

About this time, the Emperor of Delhi, on his

intended visit to Kashmir, arrived at Lahore ; and Chandushah having obtained an audience, told him that a Hindu *fakir* in the Panjab had assumed a state of royalty, and had crowds of people as his followers, who raised tumults and disturbances. At the instigation of this man the GURU was called for and kept in prison.

When the night passed and the sun rose in the heavens, GURU ARJUN having found no way of his escape, requested leave to go to the Ravi for the purpose of bathing. His request was granted. On reaching the river the GURU plunged into it, sank and disappeared !

According to another account GURU ARJUN fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Muhammadans.

A shrine in honour of GURU ARJUN stands outside the fort of Lahore on the bank of the old river bed.

## GURU HAR GOVIND.

When the news of GURU ARJUN's death reached his son HAR GOVIND, he was filled with grief. When the days of mourning were over, he ascended the throne of the Gurus.

**Guru Har Govind's  
early life.**

GURU HAR GOVIND was born in the Samvat year 1652 or 1595 A.D. He was not more than eleven years of age at his father's death, but he was moved by his followers to resent the enmity of Chandushah, and he is represented either to have procured his condemnation by the Emperor, or to have slain him by open force without reference to authority. Whatever may be the truth about the death of Chandushah and the first years of GURU HAR GOVIND'S ministry, it is certain that, in a short time, the GURU became a military leader as well as a spiritual teacher.

From every quarter disciples flocked around GURU HAR GOVIND, bringing money and other presents. This GURU was a great soldier, and he was the first that took up the arms in defence of his country and religion. He made his followers buckle on the sword and prepare for war. He had a stable of eight hundred horses ; three hundred

mounted followers were constantly in attendance upon him; and a guard of sixty match-lock men secured the safety of his person, had he ever feared or thought of assassination.

GURU HAR GOVIND wore two swords in his girdle, one to denote his spiritual and the other his temporal power; or, as he sometimes expressed it, one to avenge the death of his father and the other to destroy Muhammadanism.

It is related, that a servant or follower of GURU HAR GOVIND brought some valuable horses for his master from Turkistan. Some of the king's attendants siezed them, and one was conferred as a gift on the *Kajee*, or Judge of Lahore. From the latter this one animal was purchased by GURU HAR GOVIND for the sum of 10,000 rupees; the price, however, was not paid to the *Kajee*, and on the second day HAR GOVIND departed with the horse from Lahore and reached Amritsar.

In return for the seizure of the horses, one of GURU HAR GOVIND'S servants carried off a white hawk belonging to the king. Other things like this might have occurred, and the king gave Mukhlas Khan orders to proceed with an army of 7,000 horse, to arrest GURU HAR GOVIND. On hearing of the approach of Mukhlas Khan, GURU HAR GOVIND armed his followers to the number of 5,000 men, and prepared to meet him in battle. In addition



to his army, GURU HAR GOVIND, being a member of the military class of the old Indians, was possessed of a warlike spirit, and it was not therefore surprising, that he defeated the royal troops ; many of the latter were slain in the battle which ensued, and the rest fled with their leader to Lahore.

**First victory of Guru Har Govind.**

GURU HAR GOVIND now deemed it prudent to retire for a time to the jungle of Bhatinda, south of the Satlej, in the province of Hissar, where the ground was dry from a scarcity of water. The place is since called Guru-ka-kote, or the abode of the GURU. While in this jungle, an inconsiderable number of men became his followers and disciples, and among the rest Budha, a free booter.

This man stole two horses from the king's stables at Lahore, and brought them to GURU HAR GOVIND. This act incensed the king still more against the GURU, and a large army was sent against him, under the command of Kunmer Beg and Lal Beg. They crossed the Satlej in search of GURU HAR GOVIND, but the want of water so distressed the royal troops that they were unable to fight ; and being easily defeated by the GURU, they fled to Lahore, leaving their two commanders slain on the field of battle.

**Second victory of Guru Har Govind.**

This second successful trial of his strength with the king's troops rendered GURU HAR GOVIND more daring than ever, and he resolved to recross the Satlej. He arrived at Kartarpur, in the Bist Jallandhar, which had been built by GURU ARJUN, and there he collected a large army of horse and foot.

One of GURU HAR GOVIND'S servants was a Pathan, named Paendi Khan, but he had quarrelled with the GURU and escaped to Delhi. He requested the Emperor to place him at the head of an army for the purpose of capturing the GURU. His request was readily granted, and on reaching the Panjab a battle was fought between the king's troops under this Pathan, and the followers of GURU HAR GOVIND led by himself.

The conflict was a desperate one, and great valour was displayed on both sides, for the Muham-madans always evinced a deep-rooted hatred for the Gurus. Victory at length was declared in favour of GURU HAR GOVIND, who performed

**Third victory of  
Guru Har Govind.**

prodigies of valour, slaying many of the Muham-madans with his own hand, and among the rest Paendi Khan. On the death of their leader, the king's troops fled in confusion, great numbers being slain.

GURU HAR GOVIND had three wives by whom he had five sons ; namely Guruditya, Tegh Bahadur,

Suraj Mal, Anne Rai and Atal Rai. The eldest Guruditya died during the life time of his father, leaving two sons Har Rai and Dharmal, GURU HAR GOVIND had a great affection for Har Rai, and appointed him his successor.

The mother of Tegh Bahadur was very much displeased at this act of injustice, as she considered it, and accused GURU HAR GOVIND of acting unfairly towards her and her son. GURU HAR GOVIND told her to have patience and assured her that Tegh Bahadur would one day sit on his throne. "I give you" continued her husband, "my arms for his use, and when he comes of age deliver them to him." After this the GURU prayed, and departed his life in the Samvat

Year 1695, or 1638 A.D. GURU HAR GOVIND reigned 31 years, and a few months : his death took place in the month of Chaitra.

When GURU HAR GOVIND died, his grandson ascended the throne of the GURUS. At this time the Emperor Aurangzeb was at war with his brother Dara. The latter came to Lahore, where he raised an army, and GURU HAR RAI joined him with his

troops ; but on the defeat of the prince and his flight to Multan, his allies, the followers of the GURU, returned to their houses, and GURU HAR RAI went to Kiratpur, where he died on the 9th day of the dark half of Kartrik (October) in the Samvat year 1718, or 1661 A.D.

On the death of HAR RAI his youngest son, HAR KISHAN succeeded him. It is stated that at this time a violent contention arose among the followers and disciples of Nanak regarding the

**Guru Har Kishan** succession to the office of their spiritual leader. The dispute between HAR KISHAN and RAM RAI was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Delhi. According to some accounts Aurangzeb allowed the disciples of NANAK to choose their own GURU, while according to others he declared the right of HAR KISHAN to be indisputable. Whatever may have been, HAR KISHAN was recognised as the head of the community but he died soon after. He reigned as GURU two years, five months and a few days.

GURU HAR KISHAN was succeeded by his uncle **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. TEG BAHADUR, or Baba Bakula, *i.e.*, the ruler of the village of Bakula. GURU TEGH BAHADUR is said to have accompanied the chief of Jaipur to Bengal. He resided for some time at Patna, but afterwards

joined the army of the Raja, to bring success to the expedition against the chiefs of Assam. He meditated on the banks of the Brahmaputra; and he is stated to have convinced the Raja of Kamrup, and to have made him a believer in his mission.

After a time GURU TEGH BAHADUR returned to the Panjab, and bought a piece of ground, on which he built the town of Makhowal, on the Satlej, close to Kiratpur, the chosen residence of his father.

GURU TEGH BAHADUR seems to have been of a hard and moody character, and his example powerfully aided in making the disciples of NANAK a martial as well as a devotional people. His reverence for the sword of his father HAR GOVIND, and his repeated injunction that his disciples should obey the bearer of his arrows, show more of the kingly than of priestly spirit. About this time the GURUS were regarded by their followers, as "Sachche Padshahs," or as "veritable kings," meaning that they governed by just influence and not by the force of arms, or that they guided men to salvation, while others controlled their worldly actions. This term seems to have preyed upon and perplexed the minds of the Mughal princes and an intelligent Muhammadan writer, Syed Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Ser-ul-Mutakherin*, asserts that GURU TEGH BAHADUR was at the head

of many thousand men and aspired to sovereign power.

It is said that when the Brahmans of Kashmir were hard pressed to adopt the Muhammadan religion, they came to GURU TEGH BAHADUR and asked him to interfere in the matter. Although GURU GOVIND SINGH was very young at that time, yet he suggested that the Brahmans must be protected at any cost. They were therefore told to send word to the Emperor of Delhi to the effect that their GURU TEGH BAHADUR should first be made a convert to the Muhammadan faith and that they would afterwards follow his example. Under the circumstances GURU TEGH BAHADUR was arrested at Agra and sent under a strong escort from there to Delhi.

At Agra there is a place called *Guru-ka Talab* where TEGH BAHADUR halted. There is also a *Dharma Sala* in memory of this GURU in Maithan Street of the town. Here the "Mai" is said to have remained for some time. Several of the followers of the GURU were beheaded at Delhi and every sort of pressure was brought to bear upon him to give up his religion but in vain. The GURU remained true to his faith and when the Emperor half insultingly and half credulously told him to exhibit miracles in proof of the divinity of his mission, the GURU replied

that the duty of man was to pray to the Lord. He was subsequently told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he would not get back his liberty. At length the GURU gave this answer. "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will put a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written something on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck, and then requested the Emperor to order some one to cut it. The blow was struck, and the head of the GURU rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words:—

*"Sir diya aur Sirr nadiya."\**

\* साधन हेत इति जिन करी ।

शीश दिया परसी न उचरी ॥

धरम हेत साका जिन कीआ ।

शीश दीआ पर सिरर न दीआ ॥

\* \* \* \*

ठोकर फोर दिलीश शिर प्रभ पुर कीआ पयान ।

तेग वहादर सी कया करी न किनह्' पान ॥

तेग वहादर के चलत भयो जगत को शोक ।

है है है सब जग भयो जै जै जै सुरलोक ॥

*Daswen Padshahka' Granth.*

Literally, "I gave my head, but not my secret or religion." His life was gone, but his inspiration or apostolic virtue was left behind him in the world.

There is a famous shrine at Delhi in honour of the Guru where he "gave his head," that is, where the catastrophe fell.

There is another version relating to the death of GURU TEGH BAHADUR. He is said to have leagued with a Muhammadan Zealot, named Adam Hafiz, and their combined power interfered with that of Aurangzeb. They having given a ready asylum to all fugitives, the imperial troops marched against them, and they were, after fighting for some time, made prisoners. The Muhammadan saint was banished, but Aurangzeb determined that the GURU should be put to death.

At this time RAM RAI was at the court of the Emperor of Delhi. He was acquainted with the *Yoga* system, *i.e.*, he possessed the singular and miraculous power of dying at will, and returning to life, after a concerted interval; but on one occasion having mistaken his reckoning, he never revived, and the bed on which he died is still shown at Dehra Dun, 20 miles from Hardwar, which was founded by him and where he settled for some time. His temple, a handsome building, forms the chief architectural ornament of Dehra Dun. As RAM RAI considered himself a claimant



to the throne of the Gurus and had influence with the Emperor, he is said by some authorities to have endeavoured, by art and intrigue, to effect the ruin of TEGH BAHADUR who met his death in the manner explained above, and his head was brought from Delhi to his son who performed the necessary ceremonies.

When GURU TEGH BAHADUR was on his way to Delhi, he sent for his son whom he addressed, after embracing him, in these words, "My son, they have sent for me, but if they kill me, do not lament at my death; you will be my successor, and do not forget to avenge my blood." Having thus spoken he appointed GURU GOVIND his successor, and gave him the arms of his father GURU HAR GOVIND.



## GURU GOVIND SINGH.

GURU GOVIND SINGH, the son of GURU TEGH BAHADUR, was, according to the Panjabi writers, born in the Samvat year 1723, (Push Sudi 7th), corresponding to 1666 A.D. He was very young at

the time of his father's death  
**Early life of Guru Govind Singh.** but cherished a sentiment of

implacable resentment against those who had caused it. The violent end and the last injunction of the Martyr GURU made a deep impression on his mind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country he became the irreconcilable foe of the Muhammadan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the Hindus into a new and aspiring people.

Being acknowledged by his followers as their SAT-GURU, or true spiritual leader, he first laid the foundation of a religious and military commonwealth, and executed his design, as Mr. Elphinstone observes, "with the systematic spirit of a Grecian law-giver." He taught a doctrine suited to the troubled state of his mind, and called upon his followers, by every feeling of manhood, to lay aside their peaceable habits, to have the resolute courage of the soldier with the enthusiastic

faith of the devotee, to swear eternal war against the cruel and haughty Muhammadans, and to devote themselves to *steel* as the only means of obtaining every blessing that this world, or that to come, could afford to mortals.

GURU GOVIND SINGH ever dwelt upon the fate of his father, and the oppressive bigotry of Aurangzeb; study and reflection had enlarged his mind, experience of the world had matured his judgment, and, under the mixed impulse of avenging his own and his country's wrongs, he resolved upon awakening his followers to a new life, and upon giving precision and aim to the broad and general institutes of Nanak. In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself to the task of subverting it and he succeeded in effecting a complete revolution in the habits, character, and creed of his followers. Hitherto they had resorted to arms only in self-defence, which is sanctioned by the institutes of the Hindus; but GURU GOVIND SINGH broke through a rule which limited his own ambition as well as the growth of the sect; he perceived that the only effectual means of resisting the Muhammadan government was to admit converts from all tribes, to arm the whole population, and to make worldly wealth and eminence, objects to which Hindus of every rank might aspire. He admitted people of all nationalities

and he gave to all his followers the epithet of *Singh* or "lion."

GURU GOVIND SINGH propagated and enforced his tenets by preaching, by example, and by writing. The *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, or "the Book of the Tenth King,"—GURU GOVIND SINGH being the tenth leader from GURU NANAK—is his work. It is as much revered amongst the followers of NANAK as the *Adi-Granth*. In the *Vichitra Natak* GURU GOVIND SINGH gives the account of his mission as follows :—\*

\* अब मैं अपनी कथा बखानो ।

तप साधत जिह विधि भूह आनो ॥

हेमकूट पर्वत है जहां । सप्त शृंग सोभित है तहां ॥

सप्तशृंग तिह नाम कहावा ।

पंडराज जिह जोग कमावा ॥

तह हम अधिक तपस्या साधी ।

महाकाल कालका आराधी ॥

इहि विधि कर तपस्या भयो । द्वैते एक रूप छै गयो ॥

तात मात मुर अलख अराधा ।

बहुविधि जोग साधना साधा ॥

तिन जो करी अलख की सेवा ।

ताते भये प्रसन्न गुरुदेवा ॥

"I now declare my own history and the austerities which I have performed. Where the seven peaks rise beautiful on the mountain Himakuta, and the place takes the name of Sapta Sringa, and where Pandus performed their penances I practised severe austerities for a long time, meditating con-

तिन प्रभ जब आइस (आयुस) मोहि दीया ।

तब हम जनम कलुमें लीया ॥

चित न भयो हमरो आवन कह ।

बुझी रही श्रुति प्रभ चरनन मह ॥

जिऊं तिऊं प्रभु हमको समझायो ।

इम कहि कै इह लोक पठायो ॥

\* \* \* \*

हम एह काज जगत में आये ।

धरम हेतो गुरदेव पठाये ॥

जहां तहां तुम धरम बिथारो ।

दुष्ट दोखी अन पकर पछारो ॥

इह काज धरा हम जनमं ।

समझि लेहु साधू सभ मनमं ॥

धरम चलावन संत उवारन ।

दुष्ट सभन को मूल उपारन ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

stantly on Mahakala and Kalika, till diversity was changed into one form. My father and mother meditated on the Divinity, and performed the Yoga, till Guru Deva approved of their devotions. Then the Supreme issued his order, and I was born in the Kali Yuga, though my inclination was not to come into the world, my mind being fixed on the foot of the Supreme. When the Supreme Being made known his will, I was sent into the world to establish virtue and expel vice."

"For this sole reason—to establish virtue—was I sent into the world by Guru Deva. Everywhere" said he, "establish virtue and exterminate the wicked and vicious. For this purpose have I received mortal birth; and this let all the virtuous understand. To establish virtue, to exalt piety, and to extirpate the vicious utterly."

GURU GOVIND SINGH, after this account of the origin of his mission, gives a short account of his birth and succession to the spiritual duties at his father's death.

"At the command of God I received mortal birth and came into the world. This I now declare briefly; attend to what I speak."

"My father journeyed towards the East, performing ablution in all the sacred *Tirthas*. When he arrived at Triveni (Allahabad) he spent some days in acts of devotion and charity. On that

occasion was I manifested. In the town of Patna I was born. Then I was brought to Madra Desh where I was nursed tenderly and with great care. In Madra Desh I also received different sorts of instructions. When I reached the age of *Dharma* and *Karma* (principles and practice), my father departed to the *Deva Loka* (heaven). When I was invested with the dignity of Raja, I established virtue to the utmost of my power. I practised the different modes of hunting in the forests, and killed the bear. When I had become acquainted with that country, I proceeded to the city of Pamata, where I amused myself on the banks of the Kalindri (Jamna), and viewed every kind of sight. There I slew a great number of tigers; and, in various modes, daily hunted the bear."\*

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\* मुर पित पूरव कीयसि पयाना ।

भांति भांति के तौरथ न्हाना ॥

जबह्नी जाति त्रिवेणी भए ।

पुन दान दिन करत वितए ॥

तहो प्रकाश हमारी भयो ।

पटना शहिर भव लयो ॥

मद्रदेश हमको ले आए ।

भांति भांति दाइ अनदु लराए ॥

These occupations are said to have offended the Emperor of Delhi, who ordered the Muhammadan governors to proceed against GURU GOVIND SINGH and to arrest him.

Victory of Guru  
Govind Singh.

GURU GOVIND SINGH gives the following account of an action with these chiefs.

कौनौ अधिक भांति कौ रक्षा ।  
 दीनी भांति भांति की शिक्षा ॥  
 जब हम धरम करममें आए ।  
 देवलोक तब पिता सिधाए ॥  
 राज साज हम पर जब आयो ।  
 जथा सकत तब धरम चलायो ॥  
 भांति भांति बन खेल सिकारा ।  
 मारे रौख रोभ भंकारा ॥  
 देश चाल हमते पुन भई ।  
 शहिर पामटा की सुधि लई ॥  
 कालिंद्री तट करे विलासा ।  
 अनिक भांतिके पेख तमासा ॥  
 तहके सिंह घने चुनि मारे ।  
 रोज रौख बहु भांति बिदारे ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*



“Kripal rages, wielding his mace : he crushed the skull of the fierce Hayat Khan. He made the blood spurt aloft, and scattered the brains of the chief, as the God Krishna crushed the earthen vessel of butter. Then Nand Chand raged in dreadful ire, launching the spear, and wielding the sword. He broke his keen scimitar, and drew his dagger, to support the honour of the Sodi family. Then my maternal uncle Kripal advanced in his rage, and exhibited the skilful war feats of a true Kshattriya. The mighty warrior, though struck with an arrow, made a valiant Khan fall from his saddle, and Saheb Chand, of the Kshattriya race, strove in the battle's fury, and slew a blood-thirsty Khan, a warrior of Khorasan.” After recording the actions of several other Khattris related to him or on his side as well as of his enemies, and the death of Nijamat Khan in the battle field, GURU GOVIND SINGH thus describes his own deeds : “Blood-drinking spectres and ghosts yelled for carnage ; the fierce *Vaitala*, the chief of the spectres, laughed for joy, and sternly prepared himself for his repast. The vultures hovered around, screaming for their prey. Hari Chand, (a Hindu chief in the Emperor's army,) in his wrath, drawing his bow, first struck my steed with an arrow : aiming a second time, he discharged his arrow ; but the Deity preserved me and it passed me, and only grazed my ear.

His third arrow struck my breast : it tore open the mail, and pierced the skin, leaving a slight scar ; but the God whom I adore saved me. When I felt this hurt, my anger was kindled ; I drew my bow and discharged an arrow : all my champions did the same, rushing onwards to the battle. Then I aimed at the young hero, and struck him down. Hari Chand was killed with many of his followers. Death devoured him, who was called a Raja among a hundred thousand Rajas. Then all the host, struck with consternation, fled, deserting the field of battle. I obtained the victory through the favour of the Almighty ; and victorious in the field, we raised aloud the song of triumph. Riches fell on us like rain, and all my warriors were glad.\*

- \* कृपाल कोपोश्रं कुतको संभारी ।  
 हठो खान हयात के शीश भारी ॥  
 उठी छिछ इछं कटा मेज जोरं ।  
 मनो माखनं मटकी कान्ह फोरं ॥  
 तहा नंदचंदं कीयो कोप भारो ।  
 लगाई बरखी कृपाणं सभारो ॥  
 तुटो तेग त्रिषी कटे जंम दंडं ।  
 हठो राखोयं लज वंशं सुनडं ॥

तहा मातलेयं कपाल क्रुद्धं ।  
 छकयो छोभ चत्री करयो जुद्ध सुद्धं ॥  
 सहे देह आपं महावीर बाणं ।  
 करो खान वानी न खाली पलाणं ॥  
 हठिउ साहिवं चंद खेतं खत्रियाणं ।  
 हने खान खूनी खुरासान भानं ॥  
 तहां वोर वंके भलो भांति मारे ।  
 चले प्राण लैकै सिपाही सिधारे ॥  
 तहां साह संग्राम कीने अखारे ।  
 घने खेत मों खान खूनी लतारे ॥  
 नृपं गोपालयं खरो खेत गाजे ।  
 मृगाभुंड मधियं मने सिंहराजै ॥  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 खुलै खान खूनी खुरासान खंगं ।  
 परी शस्त्रधारं उठी भाल अंगं ॥  
 भई तीर भीरं कमाणं कचंके ।  
 गिरे वाज ताजी लगे तीर धंके ॥  
 वजी भेर भुंकार धुंके नगारे ।  
 दुहुं उरते वोर वंके वकारे ॥  
 करे बाहु आघात शस्त्रं प्रहारं ।  
 डको डाकणी चाकड़ी चीतकारं ॥

कहालगे वरणन करो मचियो जुब अपार ।

जे लुभै भुभै सभै भजै शूर हजार ॥

\* \* \*

मारि निजावत खानको संगो जूभै जुभार ।

हाहा इह लोकै भयो सुरग लोक जैकार ॥

\* \* \*

सवै स्वाम धरमं सुवीरं संभारे ।

डको डाकणी भूत प्रेतं वकारे ॥

हसे वीर वैताल औ सुध सिधं ।

चवी चावड़ीयं उड़ी गृध ब्रिधं ॥

हरीचंद कोपे कमाणं संभारं ।

प्रथम वाजीयं ताण वाणं प्रहारं ॥

दुतीय ताक कै तीर मोको चलायं ।

रखिउ दईव मै कान कुवै कै सिधायं ॥

त्रितीय वाण मारियो सुपेटी मभारं ।

विधिअं चिलकतं दुआल पारं पधारं ॥

सुभी चिंच चरमं कहु घाइ न आयं ।

कलं केवलं जान दाशं वचायं ॥

जबै वाण लागिउ, तवै रोस जागिउ ।

करं लै कमाणं, हनं वाण ताणं ।

सवै वीर धाए, सरोचं चलाए ।

This success greatly increased the number of GURU GOVIND SINGH'S followers, whom he settled at Anandpur and other places. He was next invited\* by Bhim Chand, the Raja of Nadon, (a mountainous tract bordering on the Panjab) who was threatened with an invasion by the Raja of Jammu, who had been incited to hostilities, by Mian Khan, a Moghal chief, then at war with Bhim Chand.

तवे ताकि वाणं, हनियो एक जुआनं ।

हरीचंद मारे, सुजोधा लतारे ।

सु करोड़ रायं, वहै कालघायं ।

रणं तिआग भागे, सबै त्रास पागे ।

भई जीत मेरी, कृपा कालकेरी ।

रणं जीत आए, जयं गीत गाए ।

धनं धार वरखे, समै शूर हरखे ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

\* बहुत काल इह भांत वितायो ।

मीआ खान जंमू कह आयो ॥

अलफखान नादीण पठावा ।

भौमचंद तव वैर बड़ावा ॥

जुड काज नृप हमै बुलायो ।

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

GURU GOVIND SINGH gives an account of this action of Nadon or *Nadonka-juddha* or victory of the Guru in the battle of Nadon. *ka-juddh*, as he calls it, in the true Ossianic style. He describes Bhim Chand and himself as leading on their warriors to battle, "like streams of fire consuming the forest."\* He further says how the warrior Dial and the commander Kripal as well as his other heroes fought and killed their enemies. It is related that, in the battle-field, the soldiers, with their uniforms wet with blood, were dealing with arrows and shots as if they were playing *Holi* during the Holi festival in the month of Falgun, (March).†

GURU GOVIND SINGH was completely successful in this expedition; the Raja of Jammu, and

\* सवे कोप कै कै महावौर ठूके ।

चले वारवे वारको जिऊं भभूके ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

† परीवार बुंगं कुटी वाण गोली ।

मनो शूर बैठे भली खेल होली ॥

गिरे बोर भूमं सरं सांग पेलं ।

रंगे औण वखं मनो फाग खेलं ॥

लियो जीत वैरो किया आम डेरं ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

his Muhammadan allies, having been defeated and chased with disgrace across the Satlej.

GURU GOVIND SINGH was next engaged with Dilawar Khan, the Viceroy of the Panjab, whose son crossed the river and attempted to surprise the GURU during the night; but, when that project failed, his troops were seized with panic, and the son of Dilawar Khan, with his soldiers, fled before the GURU in the most cowardly way. The followers of the GURU showed great courage on that fearful dark night, which was like the great *Kalaratri*, or the night at the end of the universe.\*

तब लो खान दिलावर आए ।

पूत आपन हम उर पठाए ॥

दु इक घरी बोती निशि जवै ।

चड़हत करी खानन मिल तवे ॥

जब दल पार नदीके आयो ।

आन आलमै हमै जगायो ॥

शोर परा सभही नर जागे ।

गहि गहि शस्त्र वीर रिस पागे ॥

कूटन लगी तुफंगै तबही ।

गहि गहि शस्त्र रिसाने सबही ॥

Dilawar Khan, enraged at the disgraceful retreat of his son, collected all his followers and sent Husain Khan, one of his great commanders

**Husaini Vadh Juddh**  
or the battle in which  
Husaini was killed.

who, after performing prodigies of valour in a general action, suffered a crushing defeat and lost his life, like a *Mahant*, or a great chief

क्रूर भंति तिन करौ पुकारा ।  
 शोर सुना सरताके पारा ॥  
 वजी भेर भुंकार धुके नगारे ।  
 महाबीर बानै तवंके बकारे ॥  
 भए बाह्र आघात नचे मरालं ।  
 कृपासिन्धु काली गरजी करालं ॥  
 नदीयं लखयो कालरात्रं समानं ।  
 करे शूरमा सीत पिगं प्रमानं ॥  
 इते वीर गर्जे भए नाद भारे ।  
 भजे खान खूनो इना शस्त्र भारे ॥  
 निलज्ज खान भजियो, किनी न शस्त्र सजियो ।  
 सुतिआग खेतको चले, सुबीर बीरहा भले ।  
 चले तुरे तुरादकै, सकै न शस्त्र उठादकै ।  
 न लै हथिआर गर्जही, निहारि नारि लजही ।



who gave up his crown. In this battle, or *Husaini-vadh-Juddha*, Gopal, Kripal and Ram Singh showed great tact and killed a good many of their opponents. On the side of the Muhammadans, Himmat fought bravely but he was killed by Gopal in the battle-field.\*

खान हुसैन छपालके हिंमत रण जूझंत ।  
 भाजि चले जोधा सभै जिमदे सुकट मंहंत ॥  
 इह बिधि शस्त्र सबै चुनि मारे ।  
 गिरे आपने शूर सभारै ॥  
 तह घाइल हिंमत कह लहा ।  
 रामसिंह गोपाल सिंउ कहा ॥  
 जिन हिंमत अस कलह बढ़ायो ।  
 घाइल आजु हाथ वह आयो ॥  
 जव गोपाल ऐसे सुनि पावा ।  
 मारि दियो जीअत न उठावा ॥  
 जीअत भई रण भयो उभारा ।  
 अति करि सभ घरो सिधारा ॥  
 राख लियो हमको जगराई ।  
 लोह घटा अनतै वरसाई ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

Dilawar Khan and Ristan (Rustam) Khan next marched against GURU GOVIND SINGH. The battle which followed is called the *Jujhar Singh Juddh*, as the young hero JIJHAR SINGH took a prominent part in this action and killed a good many soldiers on the side of the enemy.\*

On hearing the intelligence of the successes of GURU GOVIND SINGH in the several battles, Aurangzeb became very angry with his governors

Bahadur Shah sent against Govind Singh. and sent his own son, afterwards known as the Emperor Bahadur Shah, to settle the disturbances in the Panjab. It should be noted that GURU GOVIND SINGH mentions in his Granth the

जुद्ध भयो इह भांति अपारा ।

तुरकन को मारो सिरदारा ॥

रिस्तन खान दिलावर तण ।

इस मजूर पठावत भए ॥

उतै जुझारमिंध भयो आढ़ा ।

जिम रण खंभ भूमि रण गाढ़ा ॥

गाड़ा चलै न हाड़ा चलहै ।

सामुहि सेल समर मो भलहै ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

name of the Emperor Aurangzeb, as *Aurang*.\* At the prince's approach, many of the followers of the GURU deserted him and took refuge in the lofty mountains. Govind Singh deserted by his followers. "These vile cowards," says the GURU, "too greatly alarmed in mind to understand their own advantage. The imperial troops burnt the habitations of those that had fled."

\* तब औरंग मनमाहि रिसावा ।  
 मद्रदेश को पूत पठावा ॥  
 तिह आवत सभ लोग डराने ।  
 बड़े बड़े गिर हेर लुकाने ॥  
 हमहूँ लोगन अधिक डरायो ।  
 काल करम को करम न पायो ॥  
 कितक लोग तज संग सिधारे ।  
 जाइ वसे गिरवर जहूँ भारे ॥  
 चित मूजीअन को अधिक डराना ।  
 तिनै उवारन अपना जाना ॥  
 तब औरंग जीय माभि रिसाए ।  
 एक अहदीआ इहाँ पठाए ॥  
 हम ते भाज विमुख जे गए ।  
 तिनके धाम गिरावत भए ॥

*Dasven Padshah ka Granth,*

GURU GOVIND SINGH took this occasion of denouncing every misery that this world would bring, and all the pains and horrors of the next, on those who deserted their GURU. His remarks were of a general character showing the relation between a Guru and his disciples. He said, "The man who does not obey or deserts his Guru shall not have children and grand children. His parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog and be thrown into hell to lament."\* He, at the same time, blessed those who remained true to their Guru, adding that "grief and sorrow cannot touch even the shadow of those disciples, who devote themselves to the feet of their Guru, or spiritual leader, and that every Riddhi and Siddhi, (success and prosperity), always remain in their houses."†

\* गुरु पग ते जे विमुख सिधारे ।

इहां उहां तिनके मुख कारे ॥

पुत्र पौत्र तिनके नही फिरै ।

दुख दै मात पिता को मरै ॥

गुरु दोषी सग की मृत पावे ।

नरक कुंड डारे पकृतावे ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

† जे जे गुरु चरणन रत है है ।

तिनको कष्ट न देखन पै है ॥

He affirms, that not one of those faithful followers who adhered to him at this trying crisis, received the least injury.

When GURU GOVIND SINGH had established himself at Anandpur-Makhowal, he built four new forts, namely, Anandghar, Fatehgarh, Loghar and Mughalghar. In these he placed all his military stores. In the course of a few years he subdued the country around him, extending his conquests as far as Rupar, on the left bank of the Satlej. The Rajas of Kahlur (or Khalore), Jiswal and other hill chiefs, who had been defeated and disgraced in several actions by GURU GOVIND SINGH became alarmed lest he should expel them from their dominions.

They, therefore, appealed to the court of Aurangzeb for the imperial aid against one who announced himself as the True King (SACHCHA PADSHAH.) Their request was complied with. Aurangzeb ordered the Muhammadan governors of Lahore and Sirhind to afford aid to the hill

Rajas hostile to Govind Singh appealed to Aurangzeb.

रिष सिद्ध तिनके गृह माहीं ।

पाप ताप छुवै सकै न छाहीं ॥

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*

Rajas to oppose the further aggressions of GURU GOVIND SINGH.

The combined imperial troops and the forces of the Rajas proceeded against GURU GOVIND SINGH towards Anandpur which they surrounded.

**Battle of Anandpur.** For seven months the war was carried on outside the forts,

with varying success. At the end of this time, the GURU retreated to his strongest fort, where his provisions were, after a short time, exhausted. His own resolution was equal to any emergency, but numbers of his followers deserted him. Under the circumstances he ordered those disciples who remained faithful to their Guru to leave the fort, one by one, at about mid-night, and to separate the moment they went out. His orders were obeyed. He himself went, among the rest; and after undergoing great fatigue and escaping many dangers, the GURU reached Chamkour (or Cham Kowah).

The imperial army, aided by the Rajas hostile to GURU GOVIND SINGH, next marched to Cham-

**Battle of Chamkour** kour and besieged it. Here (or Cham Kowah).

the GURU prepared, with his few followers, to make the most desperate resistance.

The imperial army was commanded by Khwajah Muhammad and Nahar Khan, who deputed an

envoy to GURU GOVIND SINGH, with the following message :—"This army is not one belonging to Rajas and Ranas: it is that of the great Aurangzeb; show, therefore, thy respect, and embrace the true faith." The envoy proceeded, in executing his mission, with all the pride of those he represented. "Listen" said he, from himself, to GURU GOVIND SINGH, "to the words of the Nawab and leave off contending with us, and playing the infidel; for it is evident "you can never succeed in such an unequal contest." He was stopped by AJIT SINGH, the son of GURU GOVIND SINGH, from saying more. That youth, seizing his scimitar, exclaimed: "If you utter another word I will humble your pride: I will smite your head from your body, and cut you to pieces, for daring to speak such language before our chief." The blood of the envoy boiled with rage, and he returned with this challenge to the imperial army.

This effort to subdue the fortitude and faith of GURU GOVIND SINGH having failed, the siege commenced with great vigour. A very long description is given by several authors of the actions that were performed. Sir John Malcolm says that the actions of AJIT SINGH, and ZORAWAR SINGH, sons of GURU GOVIND SINGH, are particularly described; and from one of the descriptions, it would appear that the family of GURU GOVIND SINGH, proud of

their descent, had not laid aside the *sunar* or holy cord, to which they were, as belonging to the Kshatriya caste, entitled. Speaking of these youths, it is said: "Slaughtering every Turk and Pathan whom they saw, they adorned their sacred strings, by converting them into sword-belts. Returning from the field they sought their father, who bestowed a hundred blessings on their scimitars."

AJIT SINGH, the son of GURU GOVIND SINGH, exhibited acts of prodigious valour. His death is thus recorded: "A second time the Khan advanced, and the battle raged. Some fought, some fled. AJIT SINGH, covered with glory, departed to *Swarga* (heaven). Indra, first of the *Devatas* (gods), advanced with the celestial host to meet him; he conducted him to *Devapur*, the city of the gods, and seated him on a celestial throne: having remained there a short time, he proceeded to the region of the sun." Thus, the writer concludes, "AJIT SINGH departed in glory; and his fame extends over three worlds, for the fame of the warrior lives for ever."\*

\* Compare—

\* रणेषु कदनं कृत्वा ज्ञातिभिः परिवारितः  
 शस्त्रास्त्रैः सुविनिर्भित्तः क्षत्रियो वधमर्हति ॥



At Chamkour, in the Hoshiarpur District of the Panjab, there is a "Shahidganj" to the memory of AJIT SINGH and ZORAWAR SINGH.

भर्तुरर्थे च यः शूरो विक्रमे त्वाहिनीमुखे ।  
 भयात् ना निर्वर्तत तस्य स्वर्गो ह्यनन्तकः ॥  
 आहवे निहतमशूरं न शोचेत कदाचन ॥  
 निर्मुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो याति सलोकताम् ॥  
 वराप्सरस्सहस्राणि शूरं आयोधने हतम् ।  
 त्वरमाणाः प्रधावन्ति ह्ययन्मम भवेत् इति ॥  
 मुनिभिर्दीर्घतपसा प्राप्यते यत्पदमहत् ।  
 युद्धाभिमुखनिहतैः शूरैः तद्वाक् अवाप्यते ॥  
 एतत्तपस्य पुण्यञ्च धर्मश्चैव सनातनः ।  
 चत्वाराम्रमस्तस्य यो युद्धे न पलायते ॥  
 नहि शौर्यात्परं किञ्चित्त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते ।  
 शूरं सर्वं पालयति शूरे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

A Kshattriya has earned (a noble) death, when, surrounded by his relations, he has made a slaughter of (enemies) on the battle-field, and is well-pierced with arms and missiles.

That hero who fights for the sake of his leader in front of the army, nor turns away from fear, is sure of the everlasting heaven.

One should never bewail a hero who is killed in battle;

Although GURU GOVIND SINGH showed an invincible spirit, and performed prodigies of valour, having killed, with his own hand, Naharkhan, and wounded Khwajah Muhammad, the other leader of the imperial troops, he found it impossible to contend with such superior numbers. His gallant followers, including his two sons, slew great numbers of the enemy, but were themselves killed, with the exception of a very few men (according to some authorities, five only.) The rest of his history is not very correctly known. It is said that he now resolved upon escape, and taking an advantage of a dark night he threaded his way to the outskirts of the camp, and thence he managed, with great difficulty and after escaping many dangers, to reach the wastes of Bhatinda. In

freed from all sins, he goes purified to the world specially assigned to him.

Towards a hero who is killed in battle, run thousands of the best *Apsaras*, saying : "this one should be mine."

That grand step which after long penance is obtained by sages, is quickly won by heroes, who are killed with their faces turned towards the contest.

He who does not run away in the battle, earns (the fruits of) this penance, this merit, primeval virtue and the four stages.

In the three worlds there is nothing known better than heroism ; the hero protects all, in a hero all is fixed.

this part of the country, there were many followers of GURUS HAR GOVIND and TEGH BAHADUR and they flocked around him.

After some days, GURU GOVIND SINGH proceeded to Kote-ka-pura, where he remained for a short time, to recruit his health and strength. From this place he journeyed to Muktsar, in the Ferozepur district, and here a great number of his followers who had deserted him again collected. His followers now amounted to twelve thousand men, including horse and foot soldiers.

The news of GURU GOVIND SINGH'S escape, and of his being again at the head of a large army reached Sirhind, and the Muhammadan Governor of that place lost no time in collecting troops. With seven thousand fighting men he pursued the

**Battle of Muktsar.** GURU. A battle took place near Muktsar, or the pool of salva-

tion, in which GURU GOVIND SINGH was victorious. Great numbers were slaughtered on both sides; and the GURU harangued and complimented his soldiers on their bravery, encouraging them, at the same time, to fresh exertions in expelling the enemy. The place, which the GURU had judiciously chosen as his abode, was in a parched and barren part of the country, where no water was procurable, except from a few tanks which he held in his possession. The Muhammadans, unable to obtain any

water, fled and were pursued by the GURU ; numbers of them perished.

There are several shrines and sacred places of pilgrimage, in the neighbourhood of Muktsar, in connection with this battle. "Tibbi Sahib," a hillock from which GURU GOVIND SINGH watched the action and shot his arrows ; the "Shahidganj," where the bodies of the slain were buried ; and the "Tambu Sahib," where the followers of the GURU dried their clothes after the rain.

Dr. M'Gregor remarks that having created a military race, the next question which suggested itself to GURU GOVIND SINGH, was the art of overcoming a superior force. Besieged in his fort of Anandpur-Makhwal, it was impossible for him to contend, with any prospect of success, against enemies, supported as they were by the disciplined troops of the Mussulmans. His only chance was a sudden attack on his besiegers, and this he at once recommended, but his followers, intimidated, or probably reduced in bodily strength by want of supplies, were disheartened and unable to fight. When in the jungles and in a position chosen by himself, they showed no want of courage, and their victory was rendered complete, by the foresight of their leader in seizing upon the only supplies of water afforded by a few tanks.

From Muktsar the GURU proceeded to Dam-

dama, or the Breathing Place. Here he remained for sometime and occupied himself in composing the "*Daswen Padshah ka Granth*", or the Book of the Tenth King.

The battles fought by GURU GOVIND SINGH in the hills and plains, were well known to the Emperor Aurangzeb. The news of the GURU'S late actions disturbed him and he summoned him to his presence. In reply to the "royal farman" GURU GOVIND

**Guru Govind Singh's  
letter to Aurangzeb.**

SINGH wrote a long letter or poem, which was very judiciously and politically worded.

In this, he gave a full and glowing account of the persecutions which he had suffered, not only in his own person, but those of GURUS ARJUN and TEGH BAHADUR. He also referred to BABA NANAK'S religious form, who believed in one God. At the same time he briefly recapitulated the history of his other ancestors. He remonstrated rather than humbled himself. He said it would be seen on the day of reckoning how the Emperor would justify his manifold cruelties and oppressions, adding that the GURU was fearing none but the Sole Emperor, the King of Kings. There is a sacred place at Wani where GURU GOVIND SINGH wrote this letter to the Emperor Aurangzeb.

It is said that the GURU was again desired to repair to Aurangzeb's presence. The royal letter

was to the effect, that if the GURU would come to the Deccan, the Emperor would receive him kindly.

After a short time Aurangzeb died and his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, hastened from Kabul to secure the succession. He slew one of his brothers near Agra, and, marching to the south, defeated the second, who died of his wounds. While engaged in this last campaign, Bahadur Shah summoned GURU GOVIND SINGH to his camp. It is said that the GURU went and he was treated with respect. Bahadur Shah bestowed presents on him, consisting of rich tents, elephants, horses, and the like; and appointed him to the military command of five thousand horsemen in the valley of the Godavery.

In this connection Sir John Malcolm remarks that "when we consider the enthusiastic ardour of the GURU'S mind, his active habits, his valour, and the insatiable thirst of revenge, which he had cherished through his life, against the murderers of his father, and the oppressors of his sect, we cannot think, when that leading passion of his mind must have been increased by the massacre of his children, and the death or mutilation of his most attached followers, that he would have remained inactive: much less that he would have sunk into a servant of that government, against which he had been in constant rebellion: nor is it likely

that such a leader as GURU GOVIND could ever have been trusted by a Muhammadan prince."

Some relate that GURU GOVIND SINGH died in the Panjab; others that he went to Patna, and

**Death of Govind  
Singh.**

ended his days there; but the popular account is that he died in the Deccan. It is said that

he engaged the services of an Afghan who procured for him a considerable number of horses. One day he brought a horse, the price of which was seven thousand rupees. The GURU promised to pay the amount but delayed doing so from day to day. The Pathan seeing that smooth words had no effect, used an angry gesture towards the GURU, and his mutterings of violence provoked GOVIND SINGH to strike him dead. The GURU repented of this act, and sending for the son of the murdered Pathan, he bestowed money and presents on him.

One day GURU GOVIND SINGH addressed the young Pathan thus, "I am the murderer of your father and if you do not avenge his death, you are a rascal and coward." The lad, however, respected the GURU, and resolved to make his escape.

On another day while GURU GOVIND SINGH and the young Pathan were playing chess together, the former began taunting the latter as usual, until the lad grew enraged, and drawing a dagger, plunged it into the body of GURU GOVIND SINGH.

The wound was a small one, but a portion of the GURU'S intestines came out. People ran in all directions for the purpose of killing the murderer ; but this was strictly forbidden by the GURU, who said, " the man was only avenging an injury ; it was by my own advice that he committed the deed which has removed his father's blood off my hands. Permit him, therefore, to go where he pleases."

The wound was sewed up, and to all appearances, it healed, but GURU GOVIND SINGH was determined to die. He asked for a strong bow, which he bent with all his force, and in doing so the stitches of his wound gave way, his bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

This event occurred, on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Kartrik, in the Samvat year 1765, corresponding to 1132 H. and 1708 A.D., at Nadir, a town in the South of India on the Godavary river, about one hundred miles from Hyderabad. The place is called Abchalnagar (" Ab-chala-ham" now I am departing) and crowds of people frequent it.

Captain Cunningham observes that if it be thought by any that the obscure end of GURU GOVIND SINGH belied the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that— . . .



"The hand of man  
Is but a tardy servant of the brain,  
And follows, with its leaden diligence,  
The fiery steps of fancy ;"

"that when Muhammad was a fugitive from Mecca ; the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world ; and that Achilles of the poetry, the reflection of truth, left Troy untaken. The lord of the Myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met an end almost as base as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander ; and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels : he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. Success is thus not always the measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts to that purity of worship which had been preached by NANAK. GOVIND SINGH saw what

was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire."

Sir John Malcolm says that it would not be expected that GURU GOVIND SINGH could accomplish all those great schemes he had planned. He planted the tree; but it was not permitted, according to Sikh writers, that he should see it in that maturity which it was destined to reach; and this, these authors state, was foretold to him. The GURU was content that future generations should enjoy the fruits of that tree which he had planted.

GURU GOVIND SINGH had four sons, namely AJIT SINGH, ZORAWAR SINGH, JUJHAR SINGH and FATEH SINGH. It has already been related that the first two lost their lives in the battle of Chamkour. With regard to the remaining two it is said that when Makhowal was besieged by the combined troops of the empire and of the hill Rajas, the mother of GURU GOVIND SINGH, who was in the fort with his two sons, wrote to the Rajas requesting permission to leave the fort with her two grandsons; and the request being granted, she departed with the two boys during the night without communicating the matter to GURU GOVIND SINGH. Several Sikhs accompanied her, and she went to Sirhind. The Collector of Sirhind on hearing the intelligence that GURU GOVIND SINGH'S mother and sons were in the city, ordered the two boys to

be buried alive under the city wall! She died of grief at the sad fate of her grandsons.

The cruel and cold blooded murder of the two sons of GURU GOVIND SINGH has never been forgotten by his followers. The very name of Sirhind is accursed, and to this day no Sikhs and few Hindus, especially when returning from the Ganges, pass the town without taking a brick from the old ruins and casting it into the Satlej. Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, is said to have thrown two bricks into the river.

Many instances are recorded of the personal character of GURU GOVIND SINGH. One day, one of his disciples arrived from Sind, bringing with him a couple of handsome bracelets, worth about 50,000 rupees, for the GURU, and requested permission to fasten them on his wrists. GURU GOVIND SINGH, at first, refused; but the man continuing to urge his request, he at length complied. The GURU then went to the river and threw one of the bracelets into the water. On hearing this, the disciple procured a diver, and offered him 500 rupees if he would bring it up. The diver agreed, provided the place could be pointed out to him. On referring this matter to GURU GOVIND SINGH, the GURU took off the other bracelet and threw it into the water, adding, "That is the place." His disciple was astonished and gave up the search.

On another occasion, one of the disciples of GURU GOVIND SINGH brought from the Deccan for him, a sword, an elephant, a white hawk, a rich tent with gilded poles, and an Arab horse. The hill Rajas hearing of these costly presents, came to visit the GURU for the purpose of seeing them. The GURU ordered the tent to be pitched, and the howdah placed on the elephant, while the horse was saddled and bridled.

On seeing these, the Rajas wished much to possess them. The elephant and the tent were coveted by Bhim Chand, the Raja of Phulore, while Hari Chand, the Raja of Hindour, wished for the horse, sword, and hawk. The latter Raja seized the sword, but GURU GOVIND SINGH remarked, "My follower has brought these things for me, and you can easily have them on my terms; which are that I first sit in the howdah with the hawk in my hand, the sword girded on my side, and the horse led before me. I shall afterwards sit in the tent. If you want the tent, elephant, horse, sword and hawk, you are welcome to them after I have thus used them."

The Rajas began to abuse GURU GOVIND SINGH, saying that in imposing such terms, he had insulted them. The followers of the GURU were already prepared to avenge the insult offered to their leader, and speedily took up their arms.

The noise and tumult were increasing every moment, and there was little doubt that the lives of the Rajas would have been forfeited by their indiscreet behaviour, but a word from the GURU was sufficient to allay the uproar. His followers were already crying, "Guru ji-ki fateh," or victory to the GURU.

At length the patience of his followers was exhausted, and they were rushing on the Rajas, when GURU GOVIND SINGH waved his hand and ordered them to desist. They obeyed the order, though very unwillingly; and as they could not use their arms, they had recourse to abusive language; a mode of revenge still extant among his followers.

When GURU GOVIND SINGH was in the Dekhin, some of his followers told him that there was a *fakir* of the Bairagi sect, who was not only a great soldier, but a magician as well. They added, "whoever attempts to sit in his presence without his permission, he causes him instantly to fall down."

Next day GURU GOVIND SINGH proceeded with a number of his followers to the *fakir's* hut, and entering it, seated himself without asking the Bairagi's permission. Banda observed the unwarrantable freedom, and was very wroth. He began to use his art in the hope of unseating

GURU GOVIND SINGH. He in vain repeated *mantra* after *mantra*, the GURU kept his seat firmly. When Banda observed this, he rose and prostrated himself before GURU GOVIND SINGH, entreating that the latter would explain to him the reason which led him to honour the *fakir's* humble dwelling, asking at the same time the name of the GURU. GOVIND SINGH replied, "you know who I am." The Bairagi rejoined, "How should I know?" GURU GOVIND SINGH merely added, "Think over this matter." Banda then enquired if he were GURU GOVIND SINGH. The latter responded, "yes." Banda again asked the purport of his visit, and GURU GOVIND SINGH answered, "To make you a convert." Banda immediately consented and became a follower of the GURU. The word "Banda" means a slave, and it is said by some that he was so called after he became a disciple of GURU GOVIND SINGH.

After a few days, GURU GOVIND SINGH sent for Banda and instructed him thus—"you must act like a soldier after me, and avenge the blood of my father and sons. Do not fear death." GURU GOVIND SINGH then took five arrows from his quiver, and delivering them to Banda, added, "Do not approach a woman, and keep these five arrows: so long as you obey this order, no misfortune will ever happen to you; if you forget my orders, or

‘disobey them, you shall die.’ Banda received the arrows, and promised to obey faithfully the injunctions of the GURU.

It may here be mentioned that Banda was simply a devoted follower of GURU GOVIND SINGH and a leader of the Sikhs after him, but he was not the successor to the throne of the GURUS. A prophecy limited the spiritual guides of the Sikhs to the number of ten, and GURU GOVIND SINGH was the last acknowledged GURU. When GURU GOVIND SINGH was expiring, his disciples asked in sorrow who should inspire them with truth and lead them to victory when he was no more. The last GURU bade them be of good cheer; the appointed ten had fulfilled their mission, but he was about to deliver the Khalsa (or common wealth) to God, the never dying (*Akal-Purakh*.) “He who wishes to behold the GURU, let him search the *Granth*. The GURU will dwell with the Khalsa: be firm and be faithful: wherever five of his followers are gathered together there will the GURU also be present.”

GURU GOVIND SINGH instituted the *Guru Mata*, or State Council, which met at Amritsar, and by admitting his followers to a personal share in the government, gave to their political institutions the form of a federative republic.

The followers of GURU GOVIND SINGH were

required to devote themselves to arms, always to have steel about them in some shape or other; to wear a blue dress; to allow their hair to grow; and to exclaim, when they met each other, *Wah! Guruji ka khalsa! Wah! Guruji ki fateh!* meaning, "success to the state of the Guru! Victory attend the Guru!" They were further required to have one form of initiation, the sprinkling of water by five of the faithful; to worship One God; and to honour the memory of BABA NANAK and his successors.

As already stated above, GURU GOVIND SINGH commenced the composing of the *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, or the Book of the Tenth King, at Dam-Dama. Like the *Adi Granth*, it is metrical throughout. It is written in the Hindi dialect of upper India, and in the Gurmukhi characters, with the exception of the concluding portion, the language of which is Persian, while the Alphabets continue the Gurmukhi. The principal chapters are the Japji, Akala Stuti, Vichitra Nataka, Chandi Charitra, Chandi ka Vara, Gyana Prabodha, Chaurayan Chaubis Avataranka, Shastra Nama Mala, Sri Mukh Vakya, Hazareh Shabdh, Istri Charitra and Hikayats. The book contains, amongst other subjects, praises of God, names of different weapons used in war, genealogy of GURUS NANAK and



Govind Singh, particulars of the different battles fought by the latter and his instructions to his followers.

Some idea of the views of GURU GOVIND SINGH and the doctrine he preached to his disciples will be formed from the following passages from his works—

Man, who is a beast of the field, can not comprehend Him whose power is of the Past, the Present, and the Future.

God who created Angels and Demons, who created the East and the West, the North and the South, How can He be expressed by words?

God is worshipped, that by worship salvation may be attained.

The Sanyasi should consider his home the jungle.

His heart should not yearn after material forms : Gyan (true knowledge) should be his Guru.

His vibhut (or ashes) should be the name of God

And he should neither be held to be "Sat-Joni," nor "Raj-Joni," nor "Tam-Joni" (that is he should be indifferent to worldly concerns).

He who knows not the One God  
Will be born again times innumerable.

He who speaks of me as the Lord,  
Will be thrown into the pit of Hell.  
Consider me as the slave of God :  
Of that have no doubt in thy mind.  
I am but the slave of the Lord,  
Come to behold the wonders of Creation.

In reply to certain questions asked by Bhai Nand Lal, GURU GOVIND SINGH says in the *Tankha Namah*—

He who looks lustfully upon the mother or sister of one of the brethren—he who does not bestow his daughter becomingly in marriage—he who takes to himself the property of a (younger) sister or daughter—he who wears not iron in some shape—he who robs or oppresses the poor, and he who makes obeisance to a Turk, is to be punished.

A Sikh should not delight in women, nor give himself up to them.

A Sikh should content himself with the society of his own wife only. He should not desire other women.

He who sees a poor man and gives him not something, shall not behold the presence of God.

Considering all as created by the Lord,  
Give offence to none, otherwise the Lord will  
himself be offended.

He is of the Khalsa,  
 Who protects the poor,  
 Who combats evil,  
 Who remembers God,  
 Who resides in grandeur,  
 Who is intent upon the Lord,  
 Who is wholly unfettered,  
 Who mounts the war steed,  
 Who is ever waging battle,  
 Who is continually armed,

\* \* \* \*

Who extends the faith,  
 And who gives his head with what is upon it.  
 The name of God shall be proclaimed;  
 No one shall speak against Him;  
 The rivers and the mountains shall remember  
 Him;  
 All who call upon Him shall be saved.

Captain Cunningham remarks that "it is not  
 easy to place the actions of GURU GOVIND SINGH  
 in due order, or to understand  
 the particular object of each of  
 his proceedings. He is stated by  
 a credible Muhammadan author to have organized  
 his followers into troops and bands, and to have  
 placed them under the command of trustworthy  
 disciples. He appears to have entertained a body  
 of Pathans, who are everywhere the soldiers of

Character of Guru  
 Govind Singh.

fortune, and it is certain that he established two or three forts along the skirts of the hills between the Satlej and Jamna. He had a post at Panta in the Keearde vale near Nahan, a place long afterwards the scene of a severe struggle between the Gurkhas and the English. He had likewise a retreat at Anandpur-Makhowal, which had been established by his father, and a third at Chamkowr, fairly in the plains and lower down the Satlej, then the chosen haunt of Togh Bahadur. He had thus got a stronghold which secured him against any attempts of his hill neighbours, and he would next seem to have endeavoured to mix himself up with the affairs of these half independent chiefs, and to obtain a commanding influence over them, so as by degrees to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Mughal Government. As a religious teacher he drew contributions and procured followers from all parts of India, but as a leader he perceived the necessity of a military pivot."

"In the character of this reformer of the Sikhs," observes Sir John Malcolm, "it is impossible not to recognise many of those features which have distinguished the most celebrated founders of political communities. The object he attempted was great and laudable. It was the emancipation

of his tribe from oppression and persecution ; and the means which he adopted were such as a comprehensive mind could alone have suggested. The Muhammadan conquerors of India, as they added to their territories, added to their strength, by making proselytes through the double means of persuasion and force ; and these, the moment they had adopted their faith, became the supporters of their power against the efforts of the Hindus ; who, bound in the chains of their civil and religious institutions, could neither add to their number by admitting converts, nor allow more than a small proportion of the population of the country to arm against the enemy. GURU GOVIND SINGH saw that he could only hope for success by a bold departure from usages which were calculated to keep those, by whom they were observed, in a degraded subjection to an insulting and intolerant race. 'You make Hindus Muhammadans, and are justified by your laws,' he is said to have written to Aurangzeb : 'now I, on a principle of self-preservation, which is superior to all laws, will make Muhammadans Hindus. You may rest,' he added, 'in fancied security : but beware ! for I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle to the ground.' A fine allusion to his design of inspiring the lowest races, among the Hindus, with that valour and ambition which would lead them to

perform the greatest actions." Sir John Malcolm adds, "The efforts of GURU GOVIND SINGH to establish that temporal power in his person, of which he laid the foundation for his tribe, were daring and successful in as great a degree as circumstances would admit : but it was not possible he could create means in a few years, to oppose, with success, the forces of one of the greatest empires in the universe. The spirit, however, he infused into his followers, was handed down as a rich inheritance to their children."

Dr. M'Gregor says, " If we consider the work which GURU GOVIND accomplished, both in reforming his religion and instituting a new code of laws for his followers ; his personal bravery under all circumstances ; his persevering endurance amidst difficulties, which would have disheartened others, and overwhelmed them in inextricable distress ; and, lastly, his final victory over his powerful enemies by the very men who had previously forsaken him, we need not be surprised that his followers venerate his memory. He was, undoubtedly, a great man."

In short GURU GOVIND SINGH made a great change in the character of his followers, who, though they consider GURU NANAK, as the founder of their religion, revere with a just gratitude the

Tenth GURU, as the founder of their worldly eminence. The Last GURU was not only a Gurmukhi and Persian scholar but he was also acquainted with the ancient history of India as given in Sanskrit works. His *Granth* is full of Sanskrit technical terms. The allusions therein made to the battle between Indra and Vritrasura, and to the battles of Dronacharya narrated in the *Mahabharata*, show that GURU GOVIND SINGH used to take interest in such matters. Taking into consideration the chief events of his life—one whose father, while the son was merely a child, met his death for the sake of his religion by the hand of the most tyrannical emperor that ever ruled over India, one who succeeded in collecting a great number of followers whom he turned into soldiers, one who successfully opposed the forces of one of the greatest empires in the world, one whose mother and four promising sons sacrificed themselves for their country, one who was deserted by his followers at the most trying crisis and who, after overcoming many difficulties and escaping many dangers, succeeded to collect them again under his standard, one whose followers were and are not inferior to the soldiers of any other nation on the globe, and one whose belief was that the lot of a man, whether a great monarch or a holy mendicant, did not weigh

the lowest fraction *without the Grace of God*.\*—every body will admit that GURU GOVIND SINGH was more than an ordinary man, nay a man of rare religious, social, political and soldierly qualities that the world has produced in modern times.

It has already been stated that GURU NANAK was a Vedi Khattri and GURU GOVIND SINGH a Sodi Khattri. The history of these two families is fully described in the *Daswen Genealogy of Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh. Padshah ka Granth*. After narrating the accounts of several other monarchs, it is therein stated that king Raghu was born in the Solar Race. He had a son, named Aja, who was a great warrior and an expert archer. The latter was succeeded by his son, Dasaratha, who was likewise a skilful archer.

Dasaratha married three queens by whom he had four sons, namely, Rama, Bharata, Lakshmana, and Satruvidara (Satrughna). They ruled for a number of years.

Rama married Sita, who gave birth to two sons, named Lava and Kusa. These became great men and each founded a city after his own name; that

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\*श्रीभगवानकी भाई कृष्णविन एक रती विन एकरतीके।

*Daswen Padshah ka Granth.*



of the first being Lahore and of the second Kusur.

The descendants of Lava and Kusa continued to possess Lahore and Kusur for several generations. After a long series of years Kalket and Kalrai in their families became kings. The former was a great warrior and expelled the latter from the Panjab.

Kalrai took refuge in Sanaur Desh, where he married the daughter of the Raja of that part of the country. By this princess he had a son, named Sodi Rai, who succeeded his father.

Sodi Rai made conquests in several parts of India and became a great king. He performed several Asvamedha and Rajsuya ceremonies and his descendants were called Sodis.

Subsequently a civil war broke out between the descendants of Lava and Kusa, a long description of which is given in the *Daswen Padshahka Granth*. The former became victorious and took possession of the country. The latter proceeded to the holy city of Kashi, known in modern times by the name of Benares, where they began to study the four Vedas, namely, Rika, Yajura, Sama, and Atharvana. From the circumstance of their being experts in the Vedas, they were surnamed Vedis, and their descendants were also called by the same name.

The king of Madra Desh that is Sodi Rai)

sent for the Vedis from Benares, and after hearing the first three Vedas, he bestowed his whole kingdom on Kalket Vedi.

Thus Kalket bacame, once more, king of Lahore and Sodi Rai having put on the dress of a Rishi, a holy mendicant took his departure to the forest.

GURU NANAK being one of the descendants of the Vedis, was called Nanak Vedi, and RAM DAS was the first GURU of the Sodi family and hence named RAM DAS SODI.\*

\* ताते सूरज रूप को धरा ।

जाते वंश प्रचुर रविकरा ॥

\* \* \*

तिनके वंश विषय रघु भयो ।

रघुवंश जिह जगह चल्यो ॥

ताते पुत्र होत भयो अजवर ।

महारथी अर महा धनुरधर ॥

जव तिन भेष जोग को लयो ।

राजपाट दशरथ को दयो ॥

होत भयो वह महा धनुरधर ।

तीन ब्रियाण वरा जिह रुचिकर ॥

प्रथम जयो तिह राम कुमारा ।

भरत लक्ष्मन शत्रु विदारा ॥

बहुत काल तिन राज कमायो ।  
 काल पाइ सुरपुरहि सिधायो ॥  
 सीअ सुत बहुर भये दुए राजा ।  
 राजपाट उनही को छाजा ॥ .  
 मद्रदेश ऐखरजा वरी जब ।  
 भांति भांतिके जग किये तब ॥  
 तही तिने वाधे दुइ पुरवा ।  
 एक कशूर दुतिआ लहरवा ॥

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तिनते पुत्र पीचे जेवए ।  
 राज करत इह जग को भए ॥  
 कहा लगे ते वरन सुनाऊं ।  
 तिनके नाम न संख्यां पाऊं ॥

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जो अब तऊ कृपावल पाऊं ।  
 नाम जथा मति भाख सुनाऊं ॥  
 कालकेत अर कालराइ भन ।  
 जिनते भए पुत्र घर अनगन ॥  
 कालकेत भयो बली अपारा ।  
 कालराइ जिन नग्न निवारा ॥

भाज सनौठ देश ते गये ।  
 तहो भूपजा विश्राहत भये ॥  
 तिह ते पुत्र भयो जोधामा ।  
 सोढी राइ धरा तिह नामा ॥  
 वंश सनौठ ता दिनते थीआ ।  
 परम पवित्र पुरुष जूकोआ ॥  
 ताते पुत्र पौत्र हुइ आए ।  
 ते सोढी सब जगत कहाए ॥  
 जग में अधिक सो भए प्रसिद्धा ।  
 दिन दिन तिनके धनकी छडा ॥  
 राज करत भए विंधि प्रकारा ।  
 देश देश के जीत नृपारा ॥  
 जहां तहां तिह धरम चलायो ।  
 अंत्र पंत्र कह शौश दुरायो ॥  
 राजसूअ बहु वारन कीए ।  
 जीत जीत देशेश्वर लीए ॥  
 बाजमेध बहु वारन करे ।  
 सकल कुलख निज कुलके हरे ॥  
 बहुर वंशमें बढ़े विखाधा ।  
 भेट न सका कोऊ तिह साधा ॥

बिचरे बीर वनैत अखंडल ।

गहि गहि चले भिरन रणमंडल ॥

धन अर भूमि पुरातन वैरा ।

जिन का मूआ करत जग घैरा ॥

मोह बाद हंकार पसारा ।

काम क्रोध जीता जग सारा ॥

धन धन धनको भाखीए जाका जगत गुलाम ।

मवं निरखत याको फिरै सभ चल करत सलाम ॥

\* \* \*

रचा वेर वादं विधाते अपारं ।

जिसै साध सकिउ न कोऊ सुधारं ॥

\* \* \*

तहां वीर वंके वकै आपमधं ।

उठै शस्त्र लै लै मचा जुद्ध सुधं ॥

कहं खपरी खोल खंडे अपारं ।

नचे वीर वैताल डोरू उकारं ॥

\* \* \*

कहं खोपरी खोल खिंगं खतंगं ।

कहं खत्रोअं खंग खेतं निखंगं ॥

चवो चावड़ी डाकनी डाक मारै ।

कहं भैरवी भूत भैरौ वकारै ॥

\* \*

विचरे महां जंग जोधा जुआणं ।

खुले खग खली अभूतं भयाणं ॥

बली जुझ रुझै रसं रुद्र रते ।

मिले हंथ वखं महा तेजतते ॥

भमो तेज तेगं सरोसं प्रहारं ।

रुले रुंउ मुंउं उठी शस्त्रभारं ॥

बवकंत वीरं भभकंत घायं ।

नमो जुझ इन्द्र जुटिउ हतरायं ॥

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सब खची खग खंड खेतते भूमंडप आहटे ।

सारधार धर धूम सुक्ति वंधन ते छुटे ॥

है टूक टूक जुझै सबै पाव न पाछै डारीयं ।

जैकार अपार सुधार हं अंबा शिवलोक सुधारीयं ॥

इह विधि मचा घोर संग्रामा ।

सिधए शूर शूरके धामा ॥

कहा लगै वह कथो सरारई ।

चापन प्रभ न वरनी जाई ॥

लवो सरव जीते, कुशौ सरव हारे ।

बचे जे बली प्राण लैके सुधारे ॥

चतुरवेद पठियो कीयो काशिवासं ।

घने वरख कोने तहां ही निवासं ॥

जिने वेद पठियो सु वेदो कहाए ।  
 तिनै धरम के करम नीके चलाए ॥  
 पठे कागदं मद्र राजा सुधारं ।  
 आपो आप मों वैरभावं विसारं ॥  
 नृपं सुकलियं दूत सो काशि आयं ।  
 सबै वेदियं भेद भाखे सुनायं ॥  
 सबै वेदपाठी चले मद्रदेशं ।  
 प्रणामं कीयो आन कै कै नरिशं ॥  
 धुनं वेद की भूप ताते कराई ।  
 सबै बैठे सभा बौच भाई ॥  
 पढ़हे सामवेदं जजुरवेद कथं ।  
 ऋगं वेद पठियं करे भाव हथं ॥  
 अथरवेद पठियं, सुणे पाप नठियं ।  
 रहा रौभ राजा, दौया सरव साजा ।  
 लयो वनवासं, महापाप नाशं ।  
 ऋखं भेस कीयं, तिसै राज दीयं ।  
 रहे होर लोगं, तजे सरव शोगं ।  
 धन धाम तिआगे, प्रभं प्रेम पागे ॥  
 वेदो भयो प्रसन राज कह पाइके ।  
 देत भयो वरदान होऐ हुलसाइके ॥

Both the towns of Lahore and Kusur referred to above, exist at the present day. The name Lahore means the "Fort of Lava or Lah." It was anciently called Lahavar. The word "avar" is a

जब नानक कलमें हम आन कहाइ है ।

हो जगत पूजकर तोहि परम पद पाइ है ॥

लवो राज दै बन गए वेदीअन कीनो राज ।

भांति भांति तिन भोगी अन भूअका सकल समाज ॥

त्रितीय वेद सुनवो तुम किया ।

चतुरवेद सुन भूअको दीआ ॥

तीन जनम हम-हूँ जब धर है ।

चउथे जनम गुरु तुहि कर हैं ॥

उत राजा कानन हि सिधायो ।

इत इन राज करत सुख पायो ॥

कहा लगे करि कथा सुनाऊँ ।

ग्रंथ बढ़न तै अधिक डराऊँ ॥

बहुर विखाद वाधियं, किनी न ताहि साधियं ॥

करम काल यौ भई, सो भूमि वंश ते गई ॥

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\*

तिन वेदिअनके कुल विखे प्रगटे नानकराइ ।

मब मिखन को सुख दए जह तह भए सहाइ ॥

*Dasven Padshah ka Granth.*



corruption of Sanskrit "avarāṇ," meaning a fort or enclosure. Similarly the ancient name of Kusur is Kusavar or the "Fort of Kusa." Lahore is the capital of the Punjab, and Kusur is 16 miles to the south of Raiwind railway station (which is 182 miles from Multan and 26 miles from Lahore), on the north bank of the old course of the river Beas. The former deep bed of the river is still seen near Kusur, showing that it had at one time pursued its course close to that town, and about 12 miles from its present channel. As the extensive ruins of Kusur testify, the place is one of great antiquity, and must have formerly contained a very large population. It was coeval with Lahore in size and grandeur, and, at first, formed a distinct capital of this portion of the Doab lying between the Beas and the Ravi. General Cunningham supposes it to be the "great town" referred to by the Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang, where he halted for a month on his way from the capital of Taki to Chinapati.

The Vedis and Sodis are every where extremely influential throughout the Panjab. The more celebrated of the Sodis have separate *Gaddis* in different parts of the country, and many of them are said to be peripatetic. They are numerous about Makhwal, and on this side of the Satlej at Macheewarah, which, in fact, belongs to two Sodi families.

Sirdar Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, the Ruler of Lahore, was one of the disciples of Kiun Shah Sodi. Many Sodis were holding high posts in the time of Ranjit Singh. They fought several battles, such as in the capture of Multan and in the action of Tehri in 1823 A. D. They also received Jagirs and Khilats for their services.

At the present day the number of those who follow the doctrine of GURU NANAK is more than two millions. They are known by the names of Nanakpanthis (followers of Nanak), Udasis (indifferent to the world), Nirmalas (sinless), Niranjanis and Nirankaris (after Nanak Nirankari), Sikhs and Akalis or Nihangs.

The word Sikh is a corruption of the Sanskrit word "Sishya" (शिष्य), meaning a disciple. In Panjabi and certain other Indian dialects, the Sanskrit letter "Sha" (ष), and its compound "Ksha" (क्ष), are generally pronounced as "Kha" (ख). Similarly the Sanskrit word "Akal Purusha" (अकाल पुरुष) is pronounced in Panjabi as "Akal Purakh". Thus the word "Sikh" denotes a follower of the Guru.

The Akalis or Nihangs belong to the fanatical order, which owes its origin to the express patronage of GURU GOVIND SINGH. There are two accounts of the

**Akalis.**

founding of this order. According to one, the GURU seeing his infant son FATEH SINGH, playing before him with his turban peaked in the fashion now adopted by the Akalis, blessed him and instituted an order which should follow the same custom.

The Akalis are always known by their blue turbans, and the *Chakras* or circles of steel, which they bear over them. These are weapons of warfare, thrown with great precision and often deadly effect by those who are experts in their practice. There are five or seven principal motions connected with the *Chakra* or discus practice. These weapons are at the edge like a razor and are to be handled in the very midst. Their circumference generally varies from a little less than a span to two spans.

According to the other account, the Akali dress was started by the GURU as a disguise after the battle of Chamkour, when he was leaving that place, but others deny this. Some say it has connection with the hero Bala Ram, the brother of God Krishna, who wore blue cloth or *Nilambar*. Whatever may be the case, this dress was worn by the Akalis under the direct orders of GURU GOVIND SINGH.

The name "Akali" is a Sanskrit word, meaning "immortal." Some understood the term to

imply that the Akalis are followers of the "Immortal Being," (Akal Purukh), that is, "of God;" others that they are invincible in fight.

The Akali is full of memories of the glorious days of the Khalsa; and he is nothing if he is not a soldier—a soldier of the Guru. He dreams of armies, and he thinks in lakhs. If he wishes to imply that five Akalis are present, he will say that "five lakhs are before you;" or if he would explain he is alone, he will say that he is with "1,25,000 (*sawa lakh*) Khalsa." In other words, one Akali considers himself strong enough to fight with so many opponents. You ask him how he is, and he replies that "the army is well." You enquire where he has come from, and he says, "the troops marched from Lahore."

It should be borne in mind that the Akalis do not drink spirits or eat meat. The smoking of tobacco is strictly prohibited, but they drink *Bhang* (hemp). Their good qualities were well appreciated by Ranjit Singh, and when there were specially fierce foes to meet, such as the Pathans beyond the Indus, the Akalis were always to the front.

There are numerous shrines consecrated to the memory of the Gurus. These are known by the name of Gurudwara, Dharmshala, Darbar Sahib or Derah, and

Gurudwaras.

generally have been built at places associated in some way with the Gurus, and commemorating some incidents in their lives. The principal are at Nankanah or Talwandi ; Khadur ; Govindwal ; Amritsar ; Lahore ; Kirtpur ; Waddi and Walla Sahib, near Amritsar ; Nadon, in the Kangra hills ; Baba-ka-Bakala ; Anandpur ; Hadiala ; Muluwala ; Sulisar ; Dhamtal ; Naina Devi, Kesghar, and Amb Sahib, near Anandpur ; Kotkapura ; Manjhi Sahib, Sirhind ; Chamkour ; Wani ; Muktsar ; Bhatinda ; Hiraghat and Abchalnagar, in the Deccan ; Nara-yanghar ; Kapal Mochan ; Muchiwara ; Jandpur ; Delhi ; Agra ; Jaipur ; Thanesar ; Allahabad ; Benares ; and Patna. Some of these have already been noticed in their proper places. There are also monasteries and *Akharas* of the Udasis, Vedis, Sodis or other Sikh communities. Many of these possess great wealth and large estates. One visiting these places, especially in the morning and evening time, will notice the people uttering the words *Wah Guruji ki Fateh*.



## **DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND.**

IN the foregoing pages, it has been described how Raja Todar Mal managed the business of the Indian Empire in the time of Akbar and how Raja Bikramajit did the same in the time of Jahangir. It has been further related how Gurus Nanak and Govind Singh laid the foundation of a new Indian nationality. This led to the establishment of an independent kingdom in the Panjab, where DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF HARI SINGH NALUA and DIWAN SAWAN MAL, from time to time, successfully fought several decisive battles, and greatly extended the kingdom of the Lahore Chief. The sons and grand-sons of these generals also fought like their ancestors in the cause of the Panjab. What was Raja Todar Mal to the Emperor Akbar and Raja Bikramajit to the Emperor Jahangir, so was DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND to the Ruler of the Panjab, and the heroic deeds of GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA will long remain in the memory of his countrymen. With regard to DIWAN SAWAN MAL the impartial justice of this able administrator is a theme of praise among the people of Hindustan.

MOKHAM CHAND was the son of BAISAKHI MAL, a Khattri of the Panjab. It was this distinguished

DIWAN by whose skill and courage Ranjit Singh rose from a subordinate chiefship to the Empire of the Panjáb. Some say that MOKHAM CHAND was

**Early life of Diwan  
Mokham Chand.**

with Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, at the siege and capture of Rasalnagar, where he gained his first military experience, but others are doubtful of this. Whatever may have been, it is certain that MOKHAM CHAND remained with Dal Singh Gil of Akalgarh till the latter's death in the year 1804 A.D., when he left that place and became Diwan of the chief of Gujrat. Subsequently Ranjit Singh appreciating his talents made him chief of his army.

Sir Lepel Griffin observes that of all the generals of Ranjit Singh, the best was probably DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, a Khattri by birth, who from 1806 to 1814 A.D., when he died, was the virtual commander-in-chief of the Sikh army, and was associated with all his conquests. His grandson, RAM DIAL, killed in Hazara in 1820 A.D., was also a skilful commander, who would have risen to distinction if he had lived.

In the cold season of 1806-7 A.D., DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND invaded the Cis-Satlej territory,

**Mokham Chand invaded the Cis-Satlej territory.**

and first seized Zira, which was defended for some time. He then reduced Buria, Muktsar,



Dharamkot, Kotkapura, and Mari. The DIWAN next marched against Faridkot, summoning the garrison to surrender, and, on their refusal, besieged the fort. The garrison trusted more to their position than to their numerical strength. Faridkot, about 35 miles from Bhatinda, 20 miles from Ferozepur, and 8 miles from Kotkapura, was situated in the very desert, and the only water for a besieging army was to be found in a few pools filled with rain water, and scattered round the place: these the besieged filled with the branches of a poisonous shrub, which so impregnated the water as to give the Lahore troops the most violent purging, and GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND had no other resource than to raise the siege. He contrived, however, to exact a tribute of seven thousand rupees from the chief before leaving the place, and in his heart resolved to conquer Faridkot on the first favourable opportunity. This was done in September 1808 A.D., when the fort surrendered to the Lahore troops. Each of the Phulkian chiefs tried to obtain the district of Faridkot from the Ruler of Lahore. Patiala had the best claim, for it had once been subject to her authority; but Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind both bade high. But DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, who had set

heart on possessing Faridkot since 1807 A.D., was the fortunate grantee, although **Mokham Chand obtained Faridkot.** he had to pay for it a large *nazarana*.

About the same time, DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND accompanied Ranjit Singh, who proceeded to interfere in the dissensions between the Raja of Patiala and his wife. The **Mokham Chand in Patiala.** latter wished to force from her husband a large assignment for the support of her infant son, and she tempted the Lahore Chief, by the offer of a necklace of diamonds and a piece of brass ordnance, to espouse her cause. An arrangement was made, by which a sum of 50,000 rupees per annum was allowed to the boy for his maintenance.

Narayangarh, between Ambala and the hills, held by a family of Rajputs, was next attacked, and the place was secured after a repulse and a heavy loss.

Ludhiana, Jhandiala, Baddowal, Jagraon, Kot, Talwandi, Saniwal and other districts were also seized. Some of these were received in *Jagir* by DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND. **Sialkot, Shekhupura and other districts annexed by Mokham Chand.** Sialkot and Shekhupura, south of the Satlej were next seized, and annexed to the immediate

territory of the Lahore Chief by GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND.

In the year 1807 A.D., Tara Singh Ghaiba died, and his large possessions in the Jalandhar Doab were seized and divided between MOKHAM CHAND and Gurba Singh.

**Mokham Chand received possessions in the Jalandhar Doab.**

For his good services GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND obtained in *Jagir* a number of *Ilakas*, comprising more than two hundred villages, worth Rs. 1,54,255 a year. The Raon and Nakodar country worth Rs. 6,42,611 was also made over to the Diwan in *Jagir*. For details of these *Jagirs*, see further on.

**Jagirs of Mokham Chand.**

When the English first occupied Ludhiana, DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND built on the site of an imperial Sarai, on the right bank of the Satlej, the Fort of Phillour. This fort still commands the passage of the river.

**Mokham Chand built the Fort of Phillour.**

DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND next proceeded, with a large army, to Kangra to assist Raja Sansar Chand in expelling the Gurkhas from that place. But he was soon after recalled owing to the movements of British troops to the Satlej. He took his position at Phillour, commanding the

**Mokham Chand in Kangra.**

passage of the Satlej at its most important point, opposite the town of Ludhiana, a little more than a hundred miles from Lahore.

In November 1810 A.D., the DIWAN went to enforce the collection of tribute, and to complete arrangements in the hills, where the Rajas of Bhimbar and Rajaori, and the tribe of Chibh Bhao, were refractory. Sultan Khan, the Raja of Bhimbar, fought gallantly, but at length lost his fort, and became a tributary of the Lahore Government, agreeing to pay Rs. 40,000 annually.

In April 1811 A.D., DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND annexed the Nakki country, lying between Multan and Manja.

Some of the Jalandhar chiefs now showed a disposition to rise and MOKHAM CHAND proceeded to Phillour and fully garrisoned the fort of that important place. In the month of Asvin (September), the city of Jalandhar was besieged by the DIWAN and it was subsequently taken by him. In a

short time he restored order in this part of the country, much to the satisfaction of Ranjit Singh, who created him DIWAN, bestowing on him at the same time valuable *khilats*. He was also made Governor of the Jalandhar Doab.

It was at this time that MOKHAM CHAND annexed the territories of Budh Singh, the head of the Faizulapuria *misal*, valued at upwards of three

**Forts of Jalandhar and Patti surrendered to Mokham Chand.** lakhs of rupees. The chief who had possessions on both sides of the river Satlej, fled to Ludhiana for his life. His troops, influenced by the point of honour, made a resistance for some days, before surrendering the principal forts of Jalandhar and Patti. Hajipur and Sain were next taken from Nidhan Singh, the son of Jai Singh.

In the month of Bysakh (April), 1812 A.D., DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND compelled the Rajas of Kulu, Mandi, Suket, and other hill provinces to become tributaries of Lahore, and present a *nazarana* of one lakh and ninety thousand rupees.

**Mokham Chand subdued Kulu, Mandi and Suket.** In the course of this year the Mussulman chiefs of Bhimbar and Rajaori, though pressed by the expeditions before directed against them, made head again. They were now assisted by a confederacy of chiefs and *Jagirdars* of their faith, and by the Governor of Kashmir. At first Bhai Ram Singh was sent against Sultan Khan of Bhimbar, and the Sikhs were, after an obstinate fight, routed; and they lost great numbers in killed and wounded. DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND was then sent to take the chief command, and by his successful efforts,

peace was established, and Sultan Khan induced to accompany him to Lahore, where he was imprisoned and kept in confinement for six years.

**Bhimbar and Rajaori  
taken by Mokham  
Chand.**

Both Bhimbar and Rajaori were occupied in the early part of November and the discomfitted Muhammadan chiefs submitted on the 13th of the month. Some of the confederates were compelled to take refuge with Ata Muhammad, the son of Sher Muhamad, Governor of Kashmir.

DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND was next engaged to ascertain whether the province of Kashmir was ripe for conquest. But there was another ambitious man who was preparing himself to attack this part of the country. This man was Fateh Khan, the Wazir of Shah Muhammad of Kabul, who, in the year 1812 A.D., left Peshawar and crossed the Attock. Thence he sent an ambassador to the Lahore Chief, asking for his aid in the conquest of Kashmir. On this Ranjit Singh collected a large army under numerous Sirdars, and the chief command was bestowed on GENERAL

**Mokham Chand sent  
against Kashmir.**

MOKHAM CHAND. Some say that Ranjit Singh himself invited the Kabul Wazir to an interview upon the Jhelam, in order that they might concert a joint expedition against Kashmir. The meeting took place on the 1st December and the

alliance was made only to be broken, both the Ruler of the Panjab and the Kabul Wazir determining to deceive each other at the first opportunity ; but it was necessary for the moment, as neither dared to march through the hills leaving a hostile army behind him. It was settled that the Lahore Chief should place a force, under his DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, at the Wazir's disposal in the expedition contemplated, and should give every facility for the passage into Kashmir by the passes of Rajaori which had been recently subdued. The aid of a detachment of Afghans to be employed afterwards against Multan and a third part of the plunder of Kashmir, were the returns stipulated for this succour. Ranjit Singh desired a portion of the revenues of the valley, but the politic Wazir objected to any participation in the permanent resources of the province, and preferred agreeing to a *nazarana* of nine lakhs of rupees from the spoil expected. On these terms GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND, in charge of twelve thousand Sikhs, marched with Fateh Khan from Jhelam. When the latter had reached the Pir Panjal range, the Kabul Wazir, thinking that enough had been done to secure the neutrality of the Lahore Government, pressed on by double marches with his hardy mountaineers. without giving MOKHAM CHAND any notice of his intentions ; while the Lahore troops,

less inured to the severities of a mountain winter than the Afghans, were unable to move owing to a heavy fall of snow. DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND saw the design of Fateh Khan, but he was not disconcerted. He promised the Rajaori chief a *Jagir* of 25,000 rupees if he would show him a pass by which he might reach the valley at the same time as Fateh Khan, which he contrived to do with a handful of troops. The DIWAN was thus present at the capture of Shergarh and Hari Parbat and the reduction of the valley, which was a work of no difficulty, as little resistance had been offered. Thus Kashmir was conquered and Ata Muhammad, the governor of the province, driven out of the city; but as the DIWAN'S force was too small at the time, Fateh Khan declared that he was not entitled to the share of the spoil.

At this time Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, the ex-king of Kabul, was a prisoner in Kashmir. His wife usually styled the *wafa-Begum*, offered DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND the far-famed precious diamond *Kohinur*, if he would release her husband.

**Mokham Chand released Shah Shujah from Kashmir.**

This famous diamond was found on the banks of the river Godavery in the south of India in 1550 A.D. It remained in the possession of the Emperor Shah Jahan and his son Aurangzeb. In 1739 A.D., it passed into the hands of Nadir Shah,



who is said by some to have called it the *Koh-i-nûr*, or mountain of light. It next went to the monarchs of Afghanistan, and it was at this time with Shah-Shujah-ul-Mulk. DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND released Shah-Shujah and took him along with him to Lahore. Ranjit Singh managed to obtain the *Kohinur* from the Shah. This diamond next went to Dalip Singh and when the Panjab was annexed to the British crown in 1849 A.D., it passed to the Sovereign of Great Britain. It was valued at £120,664, some say £140,000. Its present weight is  $106\frac{1}{8}$  carats.

Jahandad Khan, brother of Ata Muhammad, the late Governor of Kashmir, held the fort of Attock, commanding the passage of the Indus. When Fateh Khan declined to pay the part of the plunder of Kashmir to DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, negotiations were opened with Jahandad Khan and he was induced to surrender the important fortress to a Sikh force. This unlooked-for stroke incensed Fateh Khan, who cried out against the usurpation of the Sikhs. The Kabul Wazir demanded the restoration of the fort of Attock, but he was refused until he should pay the share of the Kashmir plunder to the Lahore government.

In 1813 A.D., a famine broke out in the Panjab, and Fâteh Khan having collected a large

army, invested Attock, pending the negotiations at Lahore. A relieving force was hurried up from Lahore, and GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND was again in chief command.

**Mokham Chand in command of the forces sent against the Afghans.**

He was directed to act as occasion might require, and in the beginning of July, intelligence was received from him, that the garrison was reduced to such straits, that, unless very shortly relieved, they must surrender. Upon this a council was held at Lahore, and it was determined to relieve the fort at all risks. Orders to this effect were accordingly sent to DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, who being encamped at Burhan, marched at day-break on the 12th July, 1813 A.D., and reached an outpost on a rivulet, held by a piquet of Fateh Khan's army, which retired in the night. The DIWAN marched again next morning leisurely along the rivulet, that his men might drink, and be always fresh for action, the weather being extremely hot. At ten in the morning, he came to the Indus, at about five miles from the fort. The Kabul army was here drawn up to oppose his further advance, its van being composed of a body of Mulkia Muhammadans, supported by a body of cavalry under Dost Muhammad Khan, afterwards the celebrated ruler of Kabul. GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND arranged his cavalry in four divisions, and

the only battalion of infantry that had yet come up, in a square. The Mulkia Muhammadans immediately made a resolute charge on the battalion, but were received with so heavy a rolling fire as to be driven back with severe loss. The DIWAN ordered for the support of his battalion some fresh troops, and artillery under Ghausi Khan, which had come in sight, but his orders were not obeyed. Dost Muhammad Khan now attacked with his horse, and the Lahore troops were sinking before him, when DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND in person on his elephant, carried up two guns, which discharging grape checked the Afghans. The DIWAN

**Victory of Mokham Chand in the battle of Haidaru.**

then drove back the enemy at all points with great loss. Fateh Khan had already fled, believing Dost Muhammad Khan to be slain, and the Afghan army, driven out of Khairabad, retired upon Kabul. This action of Haidaru, a few miles from Attock, was fought on the 13th July, 1813 A.D., and it was the first time that the Lahore troops met the Afghans in a pitched battle.

DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND was now left free to relieve the fort of Attock, which having effected, he returned to Lahore in

**Mokham Chand relieved the fort of Attock.**

August, 1813 A.D., to receive the reward of his service, and to prefer his complaint against the officers, whose

disobedience had so nearly proved fatal. They were found guilty of keeping correspondence with the enemy, and were severely punished.

It has been mentioned above that MOKHAM CHAND was governor of the Jalandhar Doab in addition to his other duties. At the time the DIWAN was engaged on active service, his son MOTI RAM managed the Jalandhar Doab. His grandson RAM DIAL, though at this time only twenty-two years of age, already distinguished himself for ability and bravery in several engagements, and, in May, 1814 A.D., when Ranjit Singh made preparations at Sialkot, about 27 miles from Wazirabad, to complete the conquest of Kashmir, he was appointed to command one division of the army. GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND who was detained by illness at the capital strongly dissuaded his master from the undertaking but Ranjit Singh turned a deaf ear to his counsils. At the head of a large army the Lahore Chief reached Rajaori. From this place a detachment under the command of RAM DIAL was sent by Bahramgalla towards Supin, while Ranjit Singh himself took the Punch route. \*The young gallant commandant occupied the Bahramgalla Pass on the 18th June, but the march of the main body under Ranjit Singh, was delayed. RAM DIAL

Ram Dial sent  
against Kashmir.

managed to ascend the Pir Panjal mountains driving before him the Kashmir troops defending the place. Though the Lahore troops under RAM DIAL worked wonders, yet the expedition failed, and Ranjit Singh found that he must retreat himself, leaving RAM DIAL to his fate. After a heavy loss of men and officers, among the latter the brave Mit Singh Padhania, the Ruler of the Panjab returned to Lahore in August.

RAM DIAL who was left in the valley of Kashmir to his own resources, was pursued and surrounded by Muhammad Azim Khan, the governor of the province, but he behaved so gallantly and with such determination that Azim Khan was compelled to come to terms with the enemy he could not annihilate, allowing him a safe conduct to the Panjab and *even admitting in a written document the supremacy of Lahore.*

In October, 1814 A.D., DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND died at Phillour amidst the regrets and lamentations of all well-wishers to the power of the Sikhs and the dominion of the Lion of the

**Death of Mokham Chand.**

Panjab.

Captain Cunningham observes that DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND was an able man who fully justified the confidence reposed in him.

**Character of Mokham Chand.**

Sir Lepel Griffin says that as a general DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND had been almost always successful, and that his administrative talents were as great as his military ones. In his death Ranjit Singh lost his most loyal and devoted servant.

Mr. H. T. Prinsep writes that in his private character the DIWAN was liberal, upright, and high-minded; he enjoyed the confidence of the troops placed under his command, and was popular and much respected amongst the entire Sikh community.

Dr. W. L. M'Gregor remarks that DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND was a man of the greatest military tact, and had always been successful in the various important commands bestowed on him.

According to the statement drawn up in 1809 A.D., by Sir David Ochterloney the following were the *Jagirs* given to DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND during the Fasli years 1214, 1215 and 1216 corresponding to 1806, 1807 and 1808 A.D.

**Jagirs of Diwan  
Mokham Chand.**

Villages.	Taluqas.	Pargannahs.	Estimated Revenue.	Year.
			Rupees.	
12	Gilla ... ..	Ludhiana ...	6,680	1214
14	Ditto ... ..	Pyub ...	2,075	1214
3	Ditto ... ..	Ditto ...	640	1214
8	Kot ... ..	Ditto ...	5,770	1214
25	Jagraon ... ..	Tahara ...	13,770	1214
7	Talwandi ... ..	Ditto ...	3,000	1214
2	Ditto ... ..	Ditto ...	2,110	1214
12	Dharamkot ... ..	Ditto ...	401	1215
77	Kotkapura ... ..	Ditto ...	61,400	1215
12	Zira ... ..	Ditto ...	7,500	1215
21	Faridkot ... ..	Ditto ...	19,125	1216
6	Saniwal ... ..	Pyub ...	2,461	1216
8	Ditto ... ..	Rahu ...	1,778	1216
13	Ditto ... ..	Ditto ...	2,525	1216
10	Jandbar ... ..	} Rahimabad.	25,000	1216
12	Chandpur ... ..			
14	Dhari ... ..			
12	Bardpur ... ..			
		Total ...	1,54,235	

The following *pargannahs* also formed part of the *Jagirs* of DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND. They were shown against his name in the old statement of chiefs possessing territory between the Satlej and Beas, or Jalandhar Doab, exclusive of districts in the hills. This list was drawn up in the year 1808 A.D.

Pargannah.	Revenue.
	Rupees.
Dardakh Rahon . . .	6,11,510
Nakodar . . .	31,101
Total . . .	6,42,611

MOTI RAM, son of GENERAL MOKHAM CHAND, succeeded his father as DIWAN, and held possession of all his extensive lands.

**Moti Ram succeeded Mokham Chand.** The Jalandhar Doab was also entrusted to him, with the charge of the fort at Phillour.

In the month of Magh (January, 1815 A.D.), **Ram Dial sent against Khana Katcha.** RAM DIAL, son of DIWAN MOTI RAM, was sent to exact tribute at Khana Katcha.

In April, 1815 A.D., a force was employed under RAM DIAL to ravage the Multan and Bahawalpur territories, and to exact tributes and contributions in that neighbourhood.

**Ram Dial ravaged Multan and Bahawalpur.**



About the same time DIWAN MOTI RAM with 2,000 foot and a portion of artillery also proceeded towards Bahawalpur.

The retreat of the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh from Kashmir mentioned above, encouraged the Mussalman chiefs of Bhimbar and Rajaori to break out into rebellion, and towards the close of the year 1814 A.D., the son of the latter, who was detained as a hostage at Lahore, effected his escape and joined his father. The Bhimbar insurgents were headed by the brother of Sultan Khan, who was a prisoner at Lahore. In the month of Kunwar (September—October, 1815 A.D.), a large army was despatched under the command of RAM DIAL to punish the Bhimbar and Rajaori chiefs. After marching for some days, and pillaging as it went, this force reached Rajaori, and besieged the city. The chief of Rajaori tried to buy forgiveness, but RAM DIAL did not listen to his terms. After defending it for three or four days, the

**Ram Dial besieged  
and took Rajaori.**

chief escaped to the fastnesses of the hills, and concealed himself there. On finding the place deserted, the Lahore troops pillaged, and afterwards burned it, demolishing the chief's palace as well as walls of the city. The whole country was laid waste, after which the troops returned.

RAM DIAL was next directed to proceed against Rhotas.

In the course of the year 1816 A.D., Fateh Khan having crossed the Attock, proceeded by the route of Pakholi and Damtour to Kashmir. There he defeated the Muhammadan governor of the province and established his authority. On this occasion RAM DIAL went with a force to Attock, in order to aid the Sikh commandant of that fortress, in settling the country. On reaching Attock, RAM DIAL despatched a force against Muhammad Khan, the Zamindar of Dheri; who, unable to make any resistance, fled to the hills, and there concealed himself. The Lahore troops took possession of his fort, and after a short time returned to their camp. On their way back they were attacked suddenly by the Pathans, who had purposely laid themselves in ambush, and great numbers were slain. After two or three days RAM DIAL reached Kala-ka-Sarai, and remained there to watch the movements of Fateh Khan, until the latter left Kashmir by the same route he had entered the country.

Early in the year 1818 A.D., an expedition was directed against Multan. The fort of Muzaf-fargarh was besieged and taken; thence the force

proceeded to Multan. DIWAN MOTI RAM bringing fresh troops, joined the

Moti Ram and Hari Singh Nalua assisted in the capture of Multan.

army, and the siege of the latter was begun. On the 1st of Falgun (February), the siege was carried on with great vigour, and Muzaffar Khan, the governor, defended himself with great bravery. Breaches were made in the walls of the city, of which the Lahore troops took possession after a severe fight; but the siege of the citadel lasted for three months. The upper works and defences were nearly demolished in the course of the month of April. In May, the approaches were carried close to the *Dhul-Kot*, or *fausse-braye* of the works. On the 18th of Jesth (May), a desperate attack was made on the fort by the besiegers. The Pathans fought hand to hand with the Lahore troops. The latter were at last victorious, and pillaged the fort, where they found great quantities of money, clothes and other valuable articles. HARI SINGH NALUA was chiefly instrumental in the capture of this important place. In the beginning of Asvin (September), the troops returned to Lahore.

On the 22nd of the month of Ashar in the Samvat year 1876 (June 1819 A.D.), Kashmir was taken from its Muhammadan ruler by the Lahore troops. The leader of the Sikh army was Diwan

Chand, while RAM DIAL commanded the rear division. On the 5th of Sravan (July), DIWAN

**Moti Ram appointed governor of Kashmir.** MOTI RAM was appointed Governor of that province. A

strong body of troops accompanied the DIWAN for the purpose of reducing Darband and other strongholds.

RAM DIAL, the Governor's son, was directed to proceed with an army against Punch, in order to bring Raja Zabbar Dost Khan into subjection. When that chief saw that he could offer no resistance to RAM DIAL, he despatched his son to the Ruler of Lahore; and all the Zamindars in the direction of Kashmir likewise presented themselves. Fifty-three lakhs of rupees were received from these hill provinces, besides ten lakhs brought on another occasion.

**Ram Dial subdued Punch and other places.**

DIWAN MOTI RAM continued to remain in charge of Kashmir and his son RAM DIAL was despatched to Pakholi, Damtour, Chachnazara, Turbela, and other places, for the purpose of settling the revenue and receiving tribute. In one of these actions the young commander unfortunately met his death, which was a source of deep regret to the Ruler of Lahore, no less than to his father MOTI RAM, and of general sorrow to all; for he was a rising officer of great promise in the Panjab army.

Sir Lepel Griffin gives the following description of the action in which RAM DIAL was killed. The work of subduing the fierce Mussalman tribes of Hazara, who have so often given trouble since the English conquest and have necessitated numerous military expeditions, was a very difficult matter. The Sikhs were never fond of hill fighting, while the Afghans and Yusafzais are much at home in the hills than in the plain country, and their national system of attack has been adopted by the wild and mountainous nature of the country in which they fight. Bhai Makhan Singh was killed in Hazara, and though the other governor Hukma Singh Chimni was a brave soldier, he was a ruthless administrator. His arbitrary ways and especially his hanging of a wealthy and influential chief, Syad Khan, had roused the whole country side, and compelled Ranjit Singh to recall him in 1819 A.D., and appoint DIWAN RAM DIAL in his place.

This young General, accompanied by Prince Sher Singh and Sirdar Feteah Singh, marched through the hills as far as the fort of Gandgarh, where the tribes of Yusafzais and Swat had assembled to oppose them. The Sikhs were outnumbered, and the tribes had gained confidence by more than one victory over the troops of the late governor. RAM DIAL was surrounded by numbers of the enemy, the Afghans of Miswari, Srikot, Turbela,

Yusafzai and Swat, and compelled to fight. Through the whole day, from sunrise to sunset, the battle was fought against enormous odds by the Sikhs, and at night, completely worn out, they retired to their entrenchments. Last to leave the field was RAM DIAL, and the enemy perceiving that he was separated from the main body of the army, made a sudden dash and cut off and surrounded his party. After an obstinate resistance RAM DIAL was killed and all his escort.

**Death of Ram Dial.**

When the Sikhs saw that their General was dead, they were much disturbed, and the next day retreated, burning all the villages in their track.

DIWAN MOTI RAM had three sons, namely, RAM DIAL, SHIV DIAL, and KIRPA RAM. When his eldest son RAM DIAL was killed in Hazara, he resigned his appointment as Governor of Kashmir, and wished to retire to Benares, the sacred city of the Hindus. Ranjit Singh therefore sent as his successor the martial chief HARI SINGH NALUA, who had killed a tiger single-handed on horse-back.

HARI SINGH NALUA was the most dashing soldier in the Panjab army, now that RAM DIAL was dead. His harshness, however, made him unpopular, and obnoxious to the inhabitants of Kashmir, who revolted ; and in order to quash the

rebellion DIWAN MOTI RAM, who was of pacific devotional habits, was sent back to Kashmir as Governor of the province. He was an able administrator and was liked by the people.

After a short time DIWAN MOTI RAM, together with Diwan Chand and the Atariwala Sirdar, proceeded to punish the chiefs of Punch, Khuki, and Bhimbar. **Moti Ram punished the chiefs of Punch, Khuki and Bhimbar.** Diwan Chand reached Mirpur, and laid waste the country; while DIWAN MOTI RAM and the Atariwala Sirdar seized some leaders of the Khuki tribe.

When news was brought in Lahore, that Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul possessed a very beautiful horse, named "Laili," it was determined to secure the animal. KIRPA RAM, the son of DIWAN MOTI RAM, and HARI SINGH NALUA were accordingly directed to proceed with the force despatched to cross the Attock and bring the horse at all risks. On reaching the Attock they crossed the river with 8,000 horse and laid siege to the fort of Jehanjirka. After a battle the Pathans deserted the fort and it was taken by the Lahore troops. The horse was subsequently brought to Lahore by another general in the Sikh service.

**Kirpa Ram and Hari Singh Nalua took the fort of Jehanjirka.**

KIRPA RAM and HARI SINGH NALUA were also present in the capture of Peshawar. Muhammad

Azim Khan was at Kabul, when he heard of the advance of the Lahore troops towards Peshawar. He collected an army and arrived at Peshawar on the 27th January, 1824 A. D. Many *Ghazis* joined him, who resolved to wage war against the the infidels. On the 14th March, the Lahore army entered Akora, about 35 miles from Peshawar, where it was joined by Jai Singh Atariwala. The battle which subsequently ensued was a fierce one. There were upwards of 1,000 men (Sir Claude Martin Wade says 2,000) killed and wounded on the side of the Sikhs, and amongst them four officers of distinction, Phula Singh Akali, a Sikh desperado, Gharba Singh, Karam Singh, and Balbhadar Singh Gurkhali.\* The last named was the officer who had defended Nalapani, with great determination, against Generals Gillespie and Martindell, at the commencement of the British war with Nepal. On the side of the Muhammadans 10,000 men were, according to the statement of Dr. W. L. M'Gregor, slaughtered.

\* After peace was re-established between the British and Nepal Governments, Balbhadar Singh Gurkhali formed an ill-fated connection with the wife of another, and, by the law of the country, his life became forfeit to the injured husband. This led to his expatriating himself, and taking employment under Ranjit Singh.



Muhammad Azim Khan was, during this action of the *Ghazis*, or fighters for the faith, at Chamkawa, about four miles and a half east of Peshawar, where he was watched by a force under KIRPA

**Kirpa Ram and Hari Singh Nalua assisted in the capture of Peshawar.**

RAM and HARI SINGH NALUA, which had advanced by the opposite bank of the river. On the 17th March, the Lahore troops made their entry into Peshawar. In April, the submission of Yar Muhammad, brother of Muhammad Azim Khan, was secured, and he was allowed to hold Peshawar as a tributary of Lahore, after presenting a *nazarana* and a number of horses.

After the *Daserah* of 1823 A.D., (October), the Lahore army proceeded towards Wazirabad and Gujrat. It crossed the river near Dera Ghazi Khan and three lakhs of rupees were exacted from the Zamindars of that part of the country.

**Kirpa Ram subdued the country of Azal Khan.**

Thence KIRPA RAM marched against the Muhammadan chief Azal Khan. The DIWAN having subdued the country and seized Azal Khan and his son, proceeded with them to Lahore.

In the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, that nobleman was anxious to have an interview with Ranjit Singh, and an arrangement

was made under which a formal mission was sent from Lahore. The mem-

**Moti Ram and Hari Singh Nalua received by the Governor-General.**

bers of this mission were DIWAN MOTI RAM, HARI SINGH NALUA, and Faqir Aziz-ud-din.

They were treated with much distinction by the Governor-General, who received the mission soon after his arrival at Simla,

While DIWAN MOTI RAM was in charge of Kashmir, his son KIRPA RAM managed the Jalandhar Doab, and SHIV DIAL lived on his *Jagir* in the Gujrat district. Raja Dhian Singh became jealous of the wealth and power of the family and did his utmost to ruin it. Both MOTI RAM and KIRPA RAM subsequently retired and spent the latter part of their lives at Benares, where they died in 1839 and 1842 A.D., respectively.

Sir Lepel Griffin observes that the DIWANS MOTI RAM and his youngest son KIRPA RAM were, on the whole, the best Governors that Kashmir had in those hard days, and their rule, with two breaks, lasted till the year 1831 A.D. In the year 1826 A.D., the family fell into disgrace owing to the sinister influence of Raja Dhian Singh, and Diwan Chuni Lal took the charge of the province for a year and a half. Then DIWAN KIRPA RAM became governor. He

was an intelligent man and his administration was tolerably successful. He beautified the capital with many fine buildings and pleasure grounds. The Rambagh garden at Srinagar was laid out by him. In 1831 A.D., KIRPA RAM again incurred the enmity of Raja Dhian Singh. He had given protection to Raja Faiz Talab Khan of Blimbhar, whom the Dogra Rajas hated and wished to capture ; while KIRPA RAM resolutely refused to give him up. He was recalled from Kashmir, and soon afterwards left the Panjab for Benares, where he remained till his death. His family for three generations had done good and brilliant service for the Ruler of Lahore, but this did not save them from the ingratitude of their master, who cared nothing for men whose work was done; or who had become obnoxious to a new favourite. Ranjit Singh even kept KIRPA RAM twice under confinement, and when the latter finding the enmity of Raja Dhian Singh as great as ever, asked permission to join his father at Benares, it was refused. But KIRPA RAM determined to go without it. He managed to cross the Satlej from Jwala Mukhi into British territory and thence proceeded to Benares.

DIWAN MOKHAM CHAND, the founder of the Diwan family, was, says Sir Griffin, the best and most successful general of Ranjit Singh, and it

was in great measure owing to his military ability that Ranjit Singh established himself as sole ruler of the Panjab.

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## DIWAN SAWAN MAL OF MULTAN.

DIWAN SAWAN MAL was born in the year 1788 A.D. His father, whose name was HASHNAK RAI, belonged to the Chopra family of the Khattris.

The young man is said to have commenced his public life in the office of his elder brother

**Early life of Sawan Mal.**

NANAK CHAND, and, in 1820 A.D., was sent to Multan on 250 rupees a month, as the head of the account office of that province. In 1821 A.D., he became the Governor of half the province of Multan, and, in 1829 A.D., the whole province was given to him.

DIWAN SAWAN MAL also held charge of the Dehra Ghazi Khan district and governed this and the adjacent districts from his head quarters at Multan from 1832 A.D., till his death in 1844 A.D.

The tract of country under the rule of DIWAN SAWAN MAL was thus very extensive. Before his time it was almost a desert. For many years it had been the scene of rapine and war. Life and property were insecure and the population, which had once been numerous and wealthy, became scanty and impoverished. But a great change was made under the administration of SAWAN MAL. By offering protection to the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, the discreet DIWAN was enabled to improve his province and

he developed its resources by excavating canals (in the Multan district alone of the length of three hundred miles.) In every way he acted as a wise and beneficent ruler.

The DIWAN had, however, great difficulty in bringing the frontier tribes under his control. The Kharrals, who held some forty villages about Shaikhpura and Jhang, a turbulent and thievish race, were ever impatient of control. More fanatical than other Muhammadan tribes, they submitted with the greatest reluctance to his rule, and it was as much as DIWAN SAWAN MAL and the Sikhs could do to restrain them, for whenever an organized force was sent against them they retreated into the marshes and thick jungles, where it was impossible to follow them.

The Mazari tribe, who cut off from the rest of the district by the Harrand country, did not come under the influence of the Sikhs till the annexation of that country in 1827 A.D., and who then refused to acknowledge their supremacy and continued the predatory habits for which they were notorious. DIWAN SAWAN MAL marched against them with an army of seven thousand men, drove them into the hills, and made them surrender all the stolen cattle in their possession. They soon broke out again and sacked the town of

**Sawan Mal subdued  
the Mazari tribe.**

Mithankot, but a second expedition directed by the DIWAN against them, proved more effective; terms were arranged, and Bahram Khan, the Mazari chief, attended SAWAN MAL'S Darbar at Multan in 1833-4 A.D.

DIWAN SAWAN MAL next put down a rebellion of the Gurchani tribe, which rose immediately after

**Sawan Mal quashed a rebellion of the Gurchani tribe.**

the great fort at Harrand was built by the Sikhs, and murdered the warden of the fort.

Subsequently, in a struggle between rival claimants for the chieftainship of that tribe, the DIWAN opposed the claimant, Bijar Khan, favoured by the tribe, and supported the Leghari tribe in making war upon them.

Asad Khan, the Nutkani chief, who had agreed

**Sawan Mal's treatment of the frontier chiefs.**

to pay tribute, had, either from insubordination or from real inability to pay tribute, fled into the hills before DIWAN SAWAN MAL became governor. The DIWAN well treated the chief, calling him to Multan and giving him an annual allowance.

In regard to the policy of DIWAN SAWAN MAL, a retired frontier officer writes in one of the Indian Dailies of the 11th June, 1897, as follows:—

“Before Chief Courts arose, and legality interfered, captured free booters were readily dealt

with. The frontier register showed the name of each, and the offences entered against him. A hill man in his hills makes no secret of these offences; he boasts of his *coups* there, or when trading in the plains under safe conduct; and due entry is made in the book of the knowledge thus acquired. These entries used to be good evidence at the trial, and the offender was sent to a central jail or to the Andamans. Indeed the ground of conviction in a Peshawar murder case was, within a few years, much the same. The numerous Peshawar murders were generally committed by hired assassins. This was the business of a special tribe and the scale of fees varied from Rs. 200 to Rs. 5,000 for an English victim! Once back in his hills the assassin is not reticent and the assessors used to come into court acquainted with every detail of the case. Police and accused worked out between them a pretty record of perjured evidence; the Police proving the actual commission of the murder by the accused himself (who had in fact merely come near enough the scene to point out the victim, and then galloped off to establish an *alibi*), the latter establishing his innocent presence at a point twenty miles away. But the verdict rested upon the admissions of the hill men; whether it stood or not was a matter of luck and lawyers.



“To have any chance against the free-booters the Collector needed ample command of money; a Jackal was not bought for a trifle, and money was also constantly wanted for rewards more honourably earned. One source of income was collective fines upon villages failing in a pursuit. After a raid immediate enquiry was made into the route followed by the marauders in their return. No body of men with booty can pass through the lands of a village unawares. If the villagers did not turn out in pursuit, their sympathy or cowardice was presumable. Unless good cause could be shown for the failure, a round fine was imposed, to be distributed in part among more loyal or stout-hearted pursuers as *nalbandi*, or wherewithal to repair their horses' shoes. Such was the regulation of DIWAN SAWAN MAL, the famous Sikh Frontier warden and the practice was maintained by British wardens with the best results, till the Chief Court interfered.”

Ranjit Singh saw the gradual increase of the power of DIWAN SAWAN MAL, but as the tribute was regularly paid, there was no cause of complaint during the time of the Lahore Chief. But no sooner was Ranjit Singh dead than the 'enemies of the DIWAN attempted to destroy him. Chief of these were said to have been the Jammu Rajas, Golab Singh and Dhian Singh, between whom and

the DIWAN had always existed jealousy and the most bitter hatred. At one time it was proposed to demand from the DIWAN half a million sterling, but he settled the matter amicably with the Lahore Darbar.

The year 1841 A.D., was a year of terror throughout the Panjab. Eruptions of turbulence and rapacity occurred in every part of the country. At this time DIWAN SAWAN MAL very ably dealt with his turbulent soldiers. When the reins of Government were in the hand of Sher Singh, he directed SAWAN MAL and Dhian Singh to raise fresh troops, in order to replace with them some of the turbulent Sikh regiments. SAWAN MAL showed the greatest activity in raising Muhammadan troops, with the real object of defending himself against Dhian Singh; while the latter was not less energetic in doing the same.

In the year 1842 A.D., DIWAN SAWAN MAL put down a rebellion of the frontier tribes.

During the years 1842 to 1844 A.D., DIWAN SAWAN MAL continued to strengthen himself at Multan. He expended so much money and labour upon his fort that it was all but impregnable to any force of that time. The empire founded by Ranjit Singh was falling asunder, and no effort of DIWAN SAWAN MAL could avail to save it. There seems every reason to believe, says Sir Lepel

Griffin, that the DIWAN intended, at some favourable opportunity, to declare his independence.

But whatever were the intentions of SAWAN MAL, he was not destined to see them realized. On the 16th September, 1844 A.D., the DIWAN

**Death of Sawan Mal.** was assassinated, while he was

at his Darbar. For a time Hira Singh bore the odium of this act, it being supposed that he desired the removal of a powerful officer, who designed to seize the sovereignty of the rich province of Multan. It appeared, however, that he was shot by a criminal soldier whilst under examination before him. After investigation the soldier was remanded and placed in the "Deorhi" or anti-chamber with a guard over him. The DIWAN transacted all his business, and towards evening went out through the "Deorhi" to take the air. The prisoner, who had hidden a pistol in his waist cloth, drew it, and fired at the DIWAN at a distance of five paces. The ball struck SAWAN MAL on the left part of his breast, and passing round the ribs came out at his back and wounded an officer who was standing on the right arm. Sahib Singh and Sarbuland Khan cut the assassin down, and the DIWAN was carried into the palace. For some days all went on well, and to all appearance the wound was healing, when a change for the worse took place; the wound

re-opened, and DIWAN SAWAN MAL gradually sank and died on the 29th September, 1844 A.D.

DIWAN SAWAN MAL'S administration was most able. The DIWAN was a m̄an of great vigour and ability, and the prosperity of the province of Multan and the adjacent country is mainly attributable to his exertions. His Kardars were Jawahar Mal, Rang Ram, Kirpa Ram, Bahadur Chand, Radha Kishan and Longa Ram.

DIWAN SAWAN MAL encouraged cultivation and commerce, and did more for the district than any previous governor of it. It is said that one day a peasant complained to him that some chief had destroyed his crop, by turning his horses loose to graze in the field. SAWAN MAL asked the complainant if he could point out the offender in Darbar. The peasant pointed to RAM DAS, the eldest son of SAWAN MAL. RAM DAS admitted the complaint to be just, and SAWAN MAL ordered his son to be imprisoned! The injured man begged for his pardon, but for several days RAM DAS remained in confinement, and his spirit was so broken by this punishment that he fell ill and died shortly after his release! It would be useless to enlarge further upon the character of this distinguished DIWAN, which is still well-known throughout the country.

Sir Lepel Griffin remarks that DIWAN SAWAN MAL, Governor of Multan, Leiah, Dera Ghazi Khan, Khangarh, and Jhang, was the best of all Ranjit Singh's administrators, and that he turned what was a desert into a rich and cultivated plain. During the latter years of Ranjit Singh's life and during the reigns of his successors, the DIWAN was practically irresponsible, yet his great power was in no way abused. He amassed great wealth, it is true, and upwards of a million sterling was divided by his family after his death; but this was not wrung from the people by cruelty or oppression. The Government demand, under both SAWAN MAL and his son MUL RAJ never exceeded one third of the gross produce of the land, and was generally only one fifth or one-sixth. But it was his impartiality which caused the people to regard SAWAN MAL with such love. The people still revere his memory.

Captain Cunningham says that MOKHAM CHAND and SAWAN MAL; both of the same caste, were the best of Ranjit Singh's governors.

In the list of the revenues of the Panjab, as estimated in the year 1844 A.D.,

**Farms and Jagirs of  
Sawan Mal.**

the following places are shown  
under DIWAN SAWAN MAL.

## LAND REVENUE.

## FARMS.

Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan  
and Mankehra—

	Rupees.		
Contract	...	36,00,000	
Troops	...	7,00,000	
Assignments, &c.	...	2,00,000	Rupees.
		<hr/>	45,00,000
Ramnagar, &c.	...	...	3,00,000
Hill Jagirs	...	...	20,000
			<hr/>
Total			48,20,000

DIWAN SAWAN MAL had, according to the list  
of 1844 A.D., under him the  
'Regular army un-  
der Sawan Mal.' regular army to the following  
extent.

	Nos.		
Infantry Regiments (Muham-			
madans and some Sikhs)	...	...	3
Light Artillery	...	...	6
Heavy Guns (Garrisons)	...	...	40

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## DIWAN MUL RAJ.

MUL RAJ, the second son of DIWAN SAWAN MAL, succeeded his father, as Governor of Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan and the adjoining country. Raja Hira Singh and the Court of Lahore would have preferred some nominee of their own, but the Multan family was too strong, both in fact and reputation, to be put aside. MUL RAJ also held Hasan Abdal, Khatir, Ghehpee and lately Chatch Hazara. The revenue of these farms alone was one lakh of rupees.

At the time of DIWAN SAWAN MAL'S death, MUL RAJ was about 30 years of age. He had served under his father, first as *Kardar* or Governor of Shujabad, and then *Kardar* of Jhang. When he became Governor of Multan, he showed more aptitude for affairs than was expected of him.

He suppressed a mutiny among the provincial troops, partly composed of Sikhs, with vigour and success. Nominally part of the Lahore army, the force at Multan was raised by the governor, who promoted or discharged men and officers at his pleasure. He was only bound to keep up a certain force. At this time, of the ten battalions at Multan, eight were composed of Muhammadans.

and two of Sikhs. The latter, instigated, it was believed, by the Darbar, rose in mutiny on the 24th of November, 1844 A.D., demanding higher pay. They were jealous of the Lahore army, in which, at this time, the pay of an infantry soldier, was eleven rupees, eight annas, a month, while they only obtained seven rupees, eight annas. MUL Raj at once surrounded the mutinous troops, and demanded the ring-leaders, and on their surrender being refused, he opened a fire upon their whole body, and killed nearly 400 of them. This victory so much baffled the Darbar and strengthened MUL RAJ that the latter sent to Lahore to offer a very much smaller *nazarana*, or relief, than that required as the usual condition of succession.

MUL RAJ was equally prompt in dealing with a younger brother, who desired to have half the province assigned to him as the equal heir of the deceased DIWAN. MUL RAJ put his brother in prison, and thus freed himself from all local dangers.

DIWAN MUL RAJ also evaded the demands of the Lahore Court for an increased farm or contract. On the other hand, the Darbar, having heard reports of the vast wealth left by SAWAN MAL, proposed to dispatch a force against Multan, and the "Khalsa" approved of the measure through the



assembled Panchayets of regiments and brigades. Negotiations went on for some time, and in September, 1845 A.D., it was arranged that MUL RAJ should pay eighteen lakhs of rupees in lieu of the original demand of one million sterling. After a short time the minister Jawahar Singh was murdered, and the country became the scene of anarchy and confusion. Subsequently Raja Lal Singh, the old enemy of MUL RAJ, became minister at Lahore. The eighteen lakhs agreed upon were now demanded, with seven lakhs of arrears. The minister eagerly desired the ruin of the Governor, and hoped to install his own brother in his place. With this object he insisted upon sending troops to enforce the claim of the Darbar. MUL RAJ had at this time no wish to oppose the government, and withdrew most of his troops towards Multan, as the Lahore force advanced. However, three miles from Leia, a collision took place between some irregulars of the DIWAN and the advanced body of the Lahore force. The latter, after a sharp skirmish, was worsted, and its leader taken prisoner.

MUL RAJ was still anxious to make his peace with the Darbar. He tried hard to settle the matter amicably, and at the end of November, an agreement was concluded by which he was to pay eight lakhs of what was due, at once, and the

remainder by instalments. Some petty districts which had been recently occupied by the Lahore troops were to be retained by the Darbar to satisfy in 'a measure the letter of the original demand. For the remaining portion of the province the DIWAN was to pay 19, 68,000 rupees per annum.

After the death of the Lion of the Panjab there was lack of union among the officers of the government of Lahore. It is no wonder that when two such nations as the Sikhs and the British came to blows, the struggle was severe. Old soldiers still give very thrilling stories of the Sikh campaigns. In the year 1845 A. D., the Sikhs had been the losers, four murderous battles had been fought, and they had been stripped of territory. But in 1848 A.D., they were at war again; indignation had been rankling for three years in their hearts, and a quarrel with DIWAN MUL RAJ, the governor of Multan, was followed by the murder of two British officers, who had gone there to settle the dispute.

Sir Herbert Edwardes was then in the Upper Derajat, the settlement of which he had just completed. On receiving instructions from the British Resident to hold the Upper Derajat, and also to seize the Lower, which was the trans-Indus portion of the province of Multan, he

advanced southwards. He describes the Lower Derajat as divided into two districts, Sangarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. His first advance was on the fort of Mangrotha in Sangarh, which was in charge of Chetan Mal, the *Kardar* or governor of DIWAN MUL RAJ. Chetan Mul, seeing Sir Herbert supported by the Kasrani tribe, surrendered the fort.

Sir Herbert Edwardes halted at Dera Fath Khan while General Cortlandt with a force moved on towards Dera Ghazi Khan. On the way he was joined by Ghulam Haidar, the son of the chief of the Khosa tribe, by the Sori Lunds and their chief, and by other inhabitants of the district. DIWAN MUL RAJ won over Asad Khan, the Nutkani chief, and Jalal Khan, who was then the *de facto* chief of the Leghari tribe, by offering the former Sangarh and the latter Dera Ghazi Khan in Jagir, and they joined Longa Mal, MUL RAJ's governor at Dera Ghazi Khan, who made preparations to oppose General Cortlandt's advance.

The Khosa and Leghari\* tribes were old enemies. It will be observed from the above that

\* Colonel Tod observes that "the Langas were Rajputs; and they are, in fact, a subdivision of the Solanki or Chalook race, one of the four *Agniculas*; and it is in-

the one sided with the British and the other with DIWAN MUL RAJ. Kaura Khan, the Khosa chief,

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portant to observe that in their *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' they claim Lakote in the Panjab as their early location; in all probability prior to their regeneration on Mount Abu, when they adopted Brahmanical principles. From the year S. 787 (731 A.D.), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (1474 A.D.), a period of seven hundred and forty three years, perpetual border-strife appears to have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, which terminated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against tribe, during the reign of Rawal Chachik, in the last mentioned period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, and Multan became a province of the empire, when the authority of tribes ceased. Firishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as kings of Multan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign 847 H. (1443 A.D.), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Muslem historian says that when Khizer Khan Syud was Emperor of Delhi, he sent Shekh Yusooph as his Lieutenant to Multan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Rae Sehra, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him, and to offer his services and a daughter in marriage. The offer was accepted; constant communication was kept up between Seeve (Sibi) and Multan, till at length Rae Sehra disclosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Shekh, sent him off to Delhi, and crowned himself king of Multan under the title of Kootub-u-din. Firishta calls Rae-Sehra

however, succeeded in putting the Legharis and Sikhs to flight. General Cortlandt then occupied Dera Ghazi Khan and was joined there by Sir Herbert Edwardes. Jalal Khan Leghari soon after joined them and added eighty men to their force. Asad Khan Nutkani declined to come in, but he did not oppose, and ultimately joined, the British side as one of the force under the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Mokham Chand, DIWAN MUL RAJ's *Kardar* at Harrand, was now left alone to oppose the English. He was holding the fort there with a force of two-hundred men. He was

and his tribe of Langa, Afghans; and Abulfazl says, the inhabitants of Seeve (Sibi) were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page *Pathan* and in another *Rajput*, which are perfectly reconcilable and by no means indicative that the Pathan or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Rae Sehra, was a Muhammadan. The title of Rae is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghans from the Jews; but not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe, although it has much affinity to the Zend and Sanskrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Yadu, converted into *Yahudi* or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus are or are not *Yuti* or *Getes*, remains to be proved."

reduced by a force under Lieutenant Young, aided by the Gurchani tribe and their chief, who had from the first been yearning for a chance of attacking the Sikhs and Legharis.

Sir Herbert Edwardes advanced against Multan. Ghulam Haider, the chief of the Gurchani tribe, was also for a time at the siege of this important place. Other levies joined the British force and DIWAN MUL RAJ fortified himself in the citadel of Multan. Later on, a body of seven thousand British troops, under General Whish, was sent to Multan. The force was joined by a further contingent of five thousand men under Sher Singh, an influential Sikh Sirdar. Before the bombardment began General Whish sent a written invitation to the inhabitants and the garrison of Multan to surrender to the representatives of the Queen of Great Britain. The answer to the invitation was soon given ; there was a puff of smoke from the biggest gun in the citadel, and a cannon ball fell just behind the General and his staff—the invitation itself had been rammed into the gun. Sher Singh went over to MUL RAJ but he soon left Multan, his interests not coinciding precisely with those of the DIWAN, and boldly marched towards Lahore. General Whish was obliged to retire and entrench himself.

Mr. David Ross says the city was first attacked in September 1848 A.D., but the British force was beaten back and obliged to retreat on September 16th. Reinforcements had then to be waited for during several months; a renewed attack was made on the 25th December, 1848 A.D. DIWAN MUL RAJ offered a resolute defence, and after severe fighting the city was taken by storm on January 2nd, 1849 A.D. But the citadel did not surrender till January 22nd, after the walls were breached and the assault was ordered, when DIWAN MUL RAJ surrendered at discretion.

On this subject Sir W. W. Hunter writes as follows :—

“The siege was commenced immediately after the arrival of the heavy guns on the 4th of September, 1848 A.D. But even with the united British force from Lahore and Ferozepur, together with the subsidiary Sikh troops supplied by the Regency under the Raja Sher Singh, it was found impracticable to attempt the place by storm.”

“On the 15th of September, 1848 A.D., the siege was raised, and the British troops were drawn off to a position of safety. Meanwhile the new Governor-General had, from his distant post in Calcutta, watched with profound dissatisfaction the tardiness of the military authorities in the Panjab. ‘There is no other course open to us,’ he wrote to

the Secret Committee, 'but to prepare for a general Panjab war, and ultimately to occupy the country.' With swift resolution he ordered an addition of 17,000 men to the army, and hurried up troops to the Panjab from Sind and Bombay. 'If our enemies want war,' said Lord Dalhousie in a speech at a great military ball at Barrackpur on October 5th, 1848 A.D., a ball which may well compare with the festivities on the eve of Waterloo, 'war they shall have, and with a vengeance.'

"The Governor-General promptly started for the British frontier on the Sattlej. In November 1848 A.D., Lord Gough moved out his grand army to the task. Twenty thousand men and nearly 100 guns swept across the Panjab under his command "

"The troops from the south were now, however, advancing upon Multan. The arrival of the Bombay contingent before that city on the 26th December, 1848 A.D., increased the forces there, under General Whish, to 17,000 men with sixty-four heavy guns. The siege which had been interrupted for three and-a-half months, since September 15th, was resumed on the 27th December. After a most gallant defence, an English shell fortunately exploded the powder magazine of the besieged. On the 2nd January, 1849 A.D., the city was captured; and on the 22nd, after 40,000 shot and shell had



been poured into Multan from seventy British cannon, the citadel surrendered unconditionally, and MUL RAJ delivered himself up to the English camp."

DIWAN MUL RAJ, the last governor of Multan, was treated, not as an honourable enemy, but as a rebel, and he was sentenced

**Death of Mul Raj.** to be hanged ; but his punishment was afterwards changed to banishment beyond the sea. He, however, died at Calcutta the following year. Multan has since been under British rule.

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## **GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA, THE TIGER KILLER.**

CERTAIN events in the life of the martial chief HARI SINGH NALUA have already been referred to in the preceding pages, such as his appointment to the governorship of Kashmir, his employment against the Muhammadans of Multan and Peshawar, and on a mission to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India.

GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA was born at Gujranwala in the Panjab. Mr. David Ross says, Gujranwala, forty-two miles north of Lahore, was the residence of the celebrated SIRDAR HARI SINGH NALUA, the most dauntless of all the Sikh chieftains, whose fort has been dismantled, the garden once contained within its ramparts is one of the finest in the Panjab. It abounds in fine fruit-trees, specially orange trees, originally imported from Malta by General Avitabile of the Sikh service. The fragrance from this superb collection of shrubs and flowers is delightful. The deeds of heroic daring traditionally imputed to HARI SINGH NALUA would fill a volume.

GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA belonged to a respectable family. He was a Khattri by caste. His grand-father HAR DAS SINGH was killed in

an action in the year 1762 A.D., and his father GUR DIAL SINGH accompanied Charat Singh and Mahan Singh on all their expeditions, and received in jagir the village of Balloke near Shahdera.

At the time of his father's death, HARI SINGH NALUA was only seven years old. He, however, early distinguished himself, and at the siege of Kasur, in 1807 A.D., behaved with such gallantry that Ranjit Singh made him a Sirdar and gave him a Jagir.

**Early life of Hari Singh Nalua.**

Sir Lepel Griffin observes that the most famous of the fighting chiefs, and the one to whom Ranjit Singh was most attached, was HARI SINGH NALUA. He was not only the bravest, but the most skilful of all Ranjit Singh's generals, and was employed to command all expeditions of exceptional difficulty.

In 1810 A.D., GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA was present in the siege of Multan. He next reduced the Mitha Tiwana country, which he was allowed to hold in Jagir.

In 1818 A.D., GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA accompanied the successful expedition against Multan, in the capture of which he was chiefly instrumental. In the following year he commanded one division of the army invading Kashmir.

In 1820 A.D., he was appointed Governor of Kashmir, but he ruled with a strong hand and Ranjit Singh was compelled to recall him in 1821 A.D. After this he was chiefly employed on the frontier of the Panjab.

It has already been related that the city and province of Peshawar became tributary to the Lahore Government in 1823 A.D. It was then held for the Afghan Chief by Yar Muhammad Khan, whose brother, Muhammad Azim Khan, had succeeded Fateh Khan as the nominal minister, but virtual ruler of Kabul and Northern Afghanistan. The latter, displeased with his brother, the governor of Peshawar for making a subordinate, though friendly, alliance, with the Lahore Ruler and offering him some valuable horses, marched with a strong force from Kabul, and, raising the wild Yusafzai tribes in a *Jihad* against the Sikhs, met them in battle at Theri, near Nowshera, half way between Attock and Peshawar. It was a critical contest, and decided, once for all, whether the Sikhs or Afghans should rule east of the Khaibar and the mountains of North-West frontier. As has been mentioned the battle was a fierce one and there were killed and wounded upwards of 1,000 men (some say 2,000 men) on the side of the Sikhs and about 10,000 men on the side of Muhammadans. Ranjit Singh commanded in

person on the left bank of the Kabul river, where the Yusafzais were posted. On the other side of the river, GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA, commanding the main body of the Sikh army,

**Battle of Nowshera.** opposed the Afghans under

Muhammad Azim Khan, who retired upon Peshawar and thence through the passes fled with precipitation towards Kabul.

After the decisive battle of Nowshera, the Peshawar valley lay at the mercy of the Sikhs, and GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA remained to

**Hari Singh Nalua as Commander of the frontier troops.** command on the frontier with a force of about 12,000 men.

No permanent occupation, however, at this period attempted. Only certain arrangements were made for the payment by the Barakzai chiefs of a yearly tribute. The Yusafzai country was similarly dealt with. GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA had to direct annual expeditions to realize the tribute, and in frequent conflicts with the Barakzai chiefs and the untamable and fanatical tribes many valuable lives were lost.

In these expeditions GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA displayed rare soldierly qualities, and the Pathans, whilst they cannot but cordially hate the memory of their most tyrannical oppressor, still acknowledge his bravery and skill. The tribute levied from the Yusafzais was not fixed, but

depended upon his will, and consisted of horses, hawks, and such sums in cash as he could collect as a fee to escape his visitation. The tribute of horses was, in 1835 A.D., commuted to a tax of Rs. 4 per house. There is scarcely a village from the head of Lundkhwar valley to the Indus, which was not burnt and plundered by this celebrated commander. In such awe were his visitations held that his name was used by Afghan mothers as a term of affright to hush their unruly children. But lately old grey beards were alive to point out the hills over which they were chased "like sheep by the Singh," and men still show where their fathers fought and fell. Destruction was so certain that the few villages, which from the extreme difficulty of their position, were either passed by the Tiger-killer Champion of the Panjab, or resisting attack, were but partially destroyed, claimed a triumph, and came to be looked upon as invincible.

Taking into consideration how the Muham-madans, when they were at their zenith, had oppressed the Hindus and Sikhs and killed some of their Gurus as well as defiled their temples, GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA, being a member of the same military caste to which Gurus from Nanak to Govind Singh belonged, and a strict follower of Guru Govind Singh, might not be

much blamed for this sort of treatment towards the Afghans. The day of vengeance came and those who had once been the persecutors were now rolled in the dust by the triumphant follower of Guru Govind Singh.

In the year 1824 A.D., there was an insurrection in Draband (Darband), and the following year GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA was nearly

overwhelmed by a gathering of the Yusafzais, five times as numerous as the Sikh force, whom he defeated after a most stubborn and gallant fight.

Continual fighting, raids and insurrections marked the connection of this dauntless hero with Peshawar, Hazara and the frontier till 1833 A.D., when Sultan Muhammad and the other Barakzai Sirdars at Peshawar brought their own ruin by their intrigues with the Sikhs, for the overthrow of their brother, Dost Muhammad Khan, of whose power at Kabul they had become jealous, and who had lately taken into his own hands the province of Jalalabad from his nephew, Muhammad Zaman Khan, and had given further grounds of annoyance by causing himself to be publicly crowned at Kabul. By a treaty entered into with Shah Shuja, whose real power was nominal, but who still maintained the style of kingship, Peshawar

was to be ceded to the Sikhs. But the gift had to be taken by fraud or force and it was in connection with such schemes that GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA crossed the Indus in 1834 A.D., and took up a position at Chamkanni, with a force of 9,000 men. The Sirdars

**Hari Singh Nalua  
captured Peshawar.**

were uneasy and suspicious of him, and had sent their families and property to Michni. Having realized his demands HARI SINGH NALUA prepared to withdraw to Attock and sent words to the Sirdars that Nau Nihal Singh intended visiting the city on the following morning. Seeing him approach with columns marching behind him, the Sirdars fled to Shaikhan, a village on the Bara river near the hills. The party covering their retreat, had some skirmishing with the Sikhs. The citadel was assaulted and taken on the 6th May, 1834 A.D., and GENERAL HARI SINGH made himself master of Peshawar. Thus was Peshawar lost to the Afghans for ever.

But Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul could not submit patiently to this. Exasperated against the Sikhs, and indignant at the fatuous conduct of his brothers, he determined on declaring a religious war against the infidels, and began with his characteristic energy to organise a force sufficient-ly strong to wrest Peshawar from the hands of



HARI SINGH NALUA. To strengthen his influence he assumed, at this time, the title of Amir-al-Momin (commander of the faithful), and exerted himself to inflame the breasts of his followers with that burning Muhammadan zeal which has so often impelled the disciples of the Prophet to deeds of the most consummate daring and most heroic self-abandonment. Money was now to be obtained, and to obtain it much extortion is said to have been practised. Dost Muhammad Khan took all that he could get, raised a very respectable force, coined money in his own name, and then prepared for the great struggle.

At the head of an imposing array of fighting men, Dost Muhammad Khan marched out of Kabul. He had judged wisely. The declaration of war against the infidel—war proclaimed in the name of the Prophet—had brought thousands to his banner; and ever as he marched the great stream of humanity seemed to swell and swell, as new tributaries came pouring in from every part, and the thousands became tens of thousands. From the Kohistan, from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Hindu-Kush, from the remoter fastnesses of Turistan, multitudes of various tribes and denominations, moved by various impulses, but all publicly boasting their true Muhammadan zeal, came flocking to the Amir's

standard. Ghilzzes and Kohistanis, sleek Kuzzi-bashes and rugged Usbegs, horsemen and footmen, all who could wield a sword or lift a match-lock, obeyed the call in the name of the Prophet. "Savages from the remotest recesses of the mountainous districts," writes General Harlan who saw this strange congeries of Mussalman humanity, "who were dignified with the profession of the Muhammadan faith, many of them giants in form and strength, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, bows and arrows, matchlocks, rifles, spears and blunderbusses, concentrated themselves around the standard of religion, and were prepared to slay, plunder, and destroy, for the sake of God and the Prophet, the unenlightened infidels of the Panjab."

This great expedition, so promising at the outset, was brought prematurely to a disastrous close. Treachery broke up the vast army and Dost Muhammad Khan, with the *debris* of his force, preserving his guns, but sacrificing much of his camp-equipage, fell back upon Kabul, and, in bitterness of spirit, declaiming against the emptiness of military renown, plunged deeply in the study of the Koran. He did not dare to come himself again before HARI SINGH NALUA, the Champion of the Panjab.

GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA continued in

administrative charge of the province of Peshawar during the years 1835 and 1836 A.D. He strengthened his position by building a new fortress

**Hari Singh Nalua**  
built a fortress.

on the site of the Bala Hisar, and placing garrisons in the district. A force was also cantoned in the plain north of Attock, between the Indus and Kabul rivers, protected by the fort of Jahangira, a place of some strength on the latter river, and four miles above its junction with the Indus. The Pathan proprietors were afraid of HARI SINGH NALUA, and many of the Arabs fled to the hills, where they organized predatory bands, and made the roads of the district unsafe. Sultan Muhammad Khan, after his flight from Peshawar, was in Bajaur, devising schemes with the chief of that country, Mir Ali Khan, and the upper Mohmands, for annoying the Sikhs in the Doaba, at the same time keeping a correspondence with Lahore in hopes of recovering his lost province of Peshawar by negotiation. He was, however, granted, in Jagir, Hashtnagar and half Doaba, supposed to yield an income of two lakhs, together with Kohat and Hangu, the annual revenues of which were 1,50,000 rupees, as it was very expensive to maintain these places.

At the end of the year 1836 A.D., GENERAL

HARI SINGH NALUA, contrary to the advice of those Muhammadan chiefs who were supposed to be the most friendly disposed towards him, commenced the erection of a strong fort at Jamrud, at the mouth of the

**Hari Singh Nalua erected the Fort of Jamrud.** Khaibar Pass, with the view of bridling the tribes which guard-

ed that terrific inlet, and of securing a passage to Kabul. HARI SINGH NALUA disregarded the advice offered him, through contempt he held towards the whole Pathan nation, and his unwillingness to believe that they could for any time thwart him in his plans. The place is of considerable strength. A square of about 300 yards protects an octagonal fort, in the centre of which a natural mound strengthened with masonry forms a kind of citadel which commands the surrounding country. There is a fine *pukka* well inside the place upwards of 200 feet deep. The fortress was garrisoned and this act of GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA again roused Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul.

Dost Muhammad Khan resolved that an effort must be made to oppose the measure of GENERAL HARI SINGH, and, if possible, to crush his dangerous neighbours, his fears being increased by a well-grounded report to the effect that his brothers, Sultan Muhammad and Pir Muhammad, had been

again intriguing with the Sikhs, and a plan had been arranged for the passage of a Panjabi force through the Khaibar Pass, with the ultimate intention of moving upon Kabul. Dost Muhammad Khan accordingly prepared a force of 7,000 to 15,000 horse and foot, with 18 to 50 pieces of artillery (different writers give different numbers in regard to this expedition), which he placed under the command of Muhammad Akbar Khan, the most warlike of his sons; but the operations were directed by his minister, Mirza Shamsuddin Khan. Afzal Khan and the other sons of the Amir, as well as the chiefs of Kabul and its dependencies also accompanied the expedition. The fierce mountain tribes were ready to co-operate with this force, and the courage of the troops was stimulated by fanaticism to an unusual degree of ferocity.

The force arrived near Jamrud in April, 1837 A. D., and laid siege to the citadel. On the 30th of that month GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA came from Peshawar to its relief. An action took place, in which both the young Afghan Sirdars greatly distinguished themselves, and Shamsuddin Khan's conduct was equally conspicuous. The conflict was severe, and the scale of victory tumbled for some time in the balance; cannons were taken

and re-taken on both sides ; the Afghans, however, acknowledge that on this day they were worsted.

The reports of this action are various; but facts seem to be that the artillery fire from the Afghan guns laid the walls of the place in ruins, and that the Duranis were about to commence an assault when General HARI SINGH NALUA, who had held back until the enemy advanced, fell upon them with his wonted vigour, and without much loss broke their ranks and put them to flight, capturing 14 guns. The Duranis were soon dispersed in confusion, a small party only holding their ground with firmness under Afzal Khan; the other chiefs were separated and scattered in groups amongst the neighbouring ravines. The Sikhs, too soon presuming upon victory, pressed in pursuit, without maintaining much order, when Shamsuddin Khan coming up with a fresh party, and being joined by some of the fugitives who rallied upon, charged down upon their scattered masses, and drove them back, whilst Muhammad Akbar Khan, coming up with more troops, re-captured some of the guns. At this critical moment the Commander-in-Chief HARI SINGH NALUA was shot in charging round upon the Durani right, the Sikhs withdrawing and entrenching themselves under the walls of the fort. It is believed that had not their intrepid

leader been killed, the Sikhs would have retrieved the day. The Sikh troops in the Peshawar valley had been considerably reduced by the withdrawal of large parties to Lahore, to make a display on the occasion of Nau Nihal Singh's marriage, and of the expected visit of the English Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

Muhammad Akbar Khan, the son of the Amir, proposed to follow up the victory by dashing on to Peshawar; but the Mirza, who, according to Mr. Masson, had, during the action, "secreted himself in some cave or sheltered recess, where, in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground," now made his appearance, declaring that his prayers had been accepted, and "entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what he had done." The advice was sufficiently sound, whatever may have been the motives which dictated it. The battle of Jamrud can scarcely be said to have been drawn, for the Sikhs held their ground, and as their re-inforcement appeared in sight, the Duranis retired in disorder by night, and many of the troops were not checked till they had arrived at Kabul. Even if the victory had been more decisive it would have been dearly purchased by the Sikhs with the loss of so brave a warrior as HARI SINGH NALUA, who died the

same night. The death of GENERAL HARI SINGH was never forgotten.

In regard to the battle of Jamrud and the death of HARI SINGH NALUA, Sir Lepel Griffin observes that the Amir despatched a force of 7,000 horse, 2,000 match-lockmen, and 18 guns, from Jalalabad under his son Muhammad Akbar Khan, three other of his sons accompanying, and being joined by some 20,000 tribesmen. They arrived in April, 1837 A.D., before Jamrud, then unprovisioned and garrisoned by only 800 Sikhs. HARI SINGH was ill with fever in Peshawar and made no sign, and the siege went merrily on for six days, when the walls were breached so that cavalry might have charged up them. At last, when hope was almost gone, the great General turned out all his garrison from Peshawar, 6,000 foot, 1,000 regular cavalry, and 3,000 irregular, and marched to the relief. For some days the hostile forces lay opposite each other, neither wishing to attack. At length HARI SINGH decided on battle. His advance was, at first, irresistible, and the Afghans broke and fled; but the Sikhs carried their pursuit too far, and were overwhelmed by a charge of Afghan horse under Sirdar Shumsuddin Khan. HARI SINGH saw that his presence alone could retrieve the day, and in spite of the entreaties of his officers, he rode



to the front and urged his men to stand on their ground and repulse the enemy. The victory might still have been to the Sikhs, but HARI SINGH who alone could ensure it, was struck by two balls, one in the side, and the other in the stomach. He knew he was mortally wounded, but fearing to discourage his men, he turned his horse's head, and managed to ride as far as his tent. He swooned as he was taken from his horse, and

**Death of Hari Singh.** half an hour later the bravest of the Sikh generals, the man with the terror of whose name Afghan mothers used to quiet their fretful children, was dead !\*

\* It would not be improper to quote the following verses in connection with the death of this hero.

अविद्यतेन देहेन प्रलयं योऽधिगच्छति ।

क्षत्रियो नास्य तत्कर्म प्रशंसन्ति पुराविदः ॥

न गृहे मरणं शस्तं क्षत्रियाणाम्बिना रणात् ।

शौण्डोराणां अशौण्डोरं अधर्ममूकपणमिह यत् ॥

आह्वेषु मिथ्योन्योन्यं जिघां सन्तो महीक्षितः ।

युध्यमानाः परंशक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपरासुखाः ॥

Those persons who are acquainted with the past do not praise the death of that Kshattriya who meets his dissolution with unwounded body.

Captain Cunningham observes that HARI SINGH, a Khattri by caste, was the most enterprising of Ranjit Singh's generals. Mr.

**Character of Hari Singh Nalua.**

Vigne says HARI SINGH showed him the sword with which he killed the tiger. Sir Lepel Griffin remarks that HARI SINGH was a leader of infinite dash and gallantry, and was adorned by the army; ever ready to fight and win, without counting the odds against him.

At the time of his death GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA possessed larger estates than any other man in the Panjab proper.

**Estate of Hari Singh Nalua.**

He was lord of Gujranwala, Kachi, Nurpur, Mitha Tiwana, Sheikhowal, Kalarghar, Hazara, Khanpur, Dhanna, Khattak, and other places, worth 8,52,608 rupees per annum; but with these Jagirs he was bound to furnish two regiments of cavalry, a battery of artillery, and a camel swivel battery.

His wealth in money and jewels was also very great. His property amounting to about eighty

The death of Kshatriyas in a house without a combat is not praised; it would be despicable, unrighteous, and miserable.

The leaders, who, wishing to kill each other in battles, are fighting with utmost strength, go (direct) to heaven with not averted heads.

lakhs of rupees is said to have been seized by Ranjit Singh after his death.

During the time of his administration GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA introduced a rupee, called *Hari Singhi rupee*, worth about eight annas. It

**Hari Singhi Rupee.** was struck at Srinagar in Kashmir. This rupee is still available in Kashmir and several other places in the Panjab.

GENERAL HARI HINGH NALUA, when he was Governor of Hazara, founded the town of *Haripur* in that district of the Panjab.

**Haripur founded by Hari Singh Nalua.** It formed the administrative centre under the government of the Sikhs, and on the British annexation in 1849 A.D., became for a time the local headquarters; but the civil station was afterwards removed to Abbottabad. Haripur is situated in an open plain, near the left bank of the river Dor. The town is symmetrically laid out, and divided into rectangular blocks by broad and shady streets. At present it is generally reached *via* Hasan Abdal, a railway station, about 80 miles from Peshawar and 30 miles from Rawalpindi.

*Hari Singh ka Burz*, near which several recent disturbances on the north-west frontier of India occurred, also bears the name of this famous general.

In regard to the palace and garden of GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA, Baron Hügel, the German tourist, writes, in his Travels in the Panjab, as follows:—

Description of the  
palace and garden of  
Hari Singh Nalua.

*"Friday, January 8th, 1836 A.D.—*This (place near Wazirabad, thirty miles north-west of Lahore) is one of the possessions of HARI SINGH NALUA, Commander-in-Chief of all Ranjit Singh's troops, the French legion alone excepted. HARI SINGH NALUA has a palace and garden in Guseraoli, which are protected by a mud fort. As we drew near the town, a troop of horse was deputed to escort me; and presently the Diwan rode up, mounted on an elephant. The splendour of the rooms in the palace did not excite my admiration nearly so much as the garden, which was the most beautiful and best kept I had seen in India. The trees were loaded with oranges, of the same kind known in China as Mandarin oranges, but much larger and finer, here called the Santreh orange; HARI SINGH has also transported the plane-tree from Kashmir, which seems to flourish exceedingly well in its new locality. An odour almost overwhelming ascended from the Jonquils, which were in immense abundance, and of an incredibly large size. Nothing, in fact, could be more carefully adorned with lovely flowers and

plants of various kinds, than this garden, which evidently formed one of the chief delights, and sometimes the occupation of its owner: it reminded me of my own at home. As I approached the terrace, where I saw luxurious carpets spread, HARI SINGH came to meet me, with a present, consisting of twenty-five plates of sweetmeats, and a dozen baskets of fruits, etc. I tasted some of the former, and found them very good. He then conducted me over the palace, every room of which was hung and covered with the richest carpets of Kashmir and Kabul, a sight promising comfort and repose, and most inviting in this cool season. When I mentioned the coldness of the last few days, he immediately ordered two portable stoves to be taken to my apartments. HARI SINGH'S manner and conversation are very frank and affable; and having acquainted myself beforehand with the history of this most distinguished member of Ranjit Singh's court, I surprised him by my knowledge whence he had gained the appellation of Nalua, and of his having cloven the head of a tiger who had already seized him as its prey. He told the Diwan to bring some drawings, and gave me his portrait, in the act of killing the beast. HARI SINGH NALUA was the person sent by Ranjit Singh to invite Lord William Bentinck to confer with the Maharaja at Simla; and as I

happened to know most of the persons he had met there, our conversation was very different from the majority of such interviews in India, and really consisted of a due exchange of ideas, and of references to events which had actually taken place. His questions proved him to have thought and reasoned justly: he is well informed on the statistics of many of the European States, and on the policy of the East India Company, and what is very rare among the Sikhs, he can both read and write the Persian language."

"*Saturday, January 9th.*—The warmth of the rooms procured me the great comfort of rest last night, and for the first time for a very long period, I would willingly have indulged myself with more sleep. While the carriage was being packed, I strolled out into a part of the garden which I had not yet visited, and wondered at the variety of little buildings scattered about it; one of these, called San Padre, is in the form of a square with one side open, and a fountain in the middle, which falls into a broad thick sheet of water. In the three walls I observed several niches for lamps."

"I wished to take leave of HARI SINGH, and thank him for his kind reception of us; and on inquiring for him, was conducted to the terrace, where he was seated in the sun, having caught a cold and slight fever. He was able, notwithstanding

ing, to keep up very lively conversation, and put a variety of questions. He had all my answers taken down on paper. On my departure he presented me with a Khilat (or a rich robe of honour), accepting in return some trifles as a remembrance of me. He was pleased greatly to magnify their value."

From the above description some idea of HARI SINGH'S character will easily be formed.

SIRDAR JAWAHIR SINGH was the son of GENERAL HARI SINGH NALUA. He had, in 1832 A. D., been appointed to command at Jahangira, and two years later he was sent **Jawahir Singh, son of Hari Singh Nalua.** on duty to Peshawar, and was engaged in many of the actions with the Afghans up to the time of his father's death, in 1837 A.D.

Subsequently JAWAHIR SINGH fought against the British with great gallantry at Chillianwala and Gujrat. The former is about 21 miles from Lala Musa Junction on the Sind Sagar line of the North-Western railway and the latter about 70 miles from Lahore. Sir Lepel Griffin says that JAWAHIR SINGH, who was a great friend of mine, inherited all his father's valour, and it was he who led the splendid charge of irregular cavalry against the English at Chillianwala,

which so nearly turned the victory into a catastrophe. Chillianwala is indentified by General Cunningham with the battle field of Porus and Alexander after the passage of the Jhelam. Sir William Hunter observes that on the fatal field of Chillianwala, which patriotism prefers to call a drawn battle, the British lost 2,400 officers and men, besides four guns and the colours of three regiments, (13th January, 1849 A. D.)

In 1857 A. D., SIRDAR JAWAHIR SINGH was one of the first Sirdars selected by the Chief Commissioner for service in Hindustan. **Jawahir Singh in British service.** He served throughout the war with a gallantry and devotion which, says Sir Lepel Griffin, none surpassed. He was Risaldar and Senior Native Officer of the 1st Sikh Cavalry. At Lucknow, Bithur, Cawnpur, Kalpi, and wherever that noble regiment was engaged, JAWAHIR SINGH was present. He was eighteen times engaged with the enemy, and, at the close of the year 1859 A. D., he received, as a reward for his services, a Jagir of 12,000 rupees per annum. For his distinguished services in the field he had previously received the first class order of British India.



## APPENDIX.

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It has been related in the preceding portion of this book that Raja Todar Mal, Raja Bikramajit, Guru Nanak, Guru Hargovind, Guru Govind Singh, Diwan Mokham Chand, Diwan Ram Dial, Diwan Sawan Mal, Diwan Mul Raj, General Hari Singh Nalua, and Sirdar Jawahir Singh were Khattris. It will therefore be proper to make a few remarks about the Khattris as regards their position in the scale of Indian society.

In the eleventh *mantra* of the 31st *Adhyaya* of the *Yajurveda* it is mentioned that the Brahmanas are produced from the mouth of the *Purusha* (Creator), the Rajanayas from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet.

In the different *Smritis*, or law books, of the ancient Indians, the four castes are termed the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Sudras. For example :—

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्रश्चेति वर्णाश्चत्वारः ।

*Vishnu.*

यन्नसिद्धयर्थमनघान् ब्राह्मणान्मुखतोऽसृजत् ।

असृजत् क्षत्रियान् वाङ्मोर्वैश्यान्पुरुदेशतः ।

शूद्रांश्च पादयोः सृष्ट्वा तेषाञ्चैवानुपूर्वशः ॥

*Harita.*

ब्रह्मक्षत्रियविट्शूद्रा वर्णास्त्वाद्यास्तयो द्विजाः ।

*Yajnyavalkya.*

चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः ।

*Vasishtha.*

At the present day the correct pronunciation of any of these four names is hardly uttered, in their daily use, by the people of India, especially by the masses who do not know Sanskrit. The reason is that Sanskrit was the oldest language of the Indo-Aryans and that it exists in its primitive form in the *Veda*. In subsequent periods it underwent many modifications and finally ceased to be the vernacular of the people, although it continued to be cultivated for all the higher purposes of literature and religion. For popular purposes the Indo-Aryans used several dialects which were denominated Prakrit.

Mr. E. B. Cowell, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, says:—"Prakrit is the general term, under which are comprised the various dialects which appear to have arisen in India out of the corruption of the Sanskrit, during the centuries immediately preceding our era. Their investigation offers much

to interest both the philological and historical student; for not only is a knowledge of Prakrit essential to the explanation of many forms in the modern languages of India—supplying, as it does, the connecting link between these and the ancient Sanskrit—but, while thus throwing light on the history of one branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, it affords many valuable illustrations of those laws of euphony, with whose effects we are ourselves familiar, in comparing the modern Italian and Spanish with the Latin out of which they sprang. At the same time Prakrit is closely connected with several deeply interesting historical questions. When the Greeks, under Alexander, came in contact with India, Prakrit seems to have been the spoken dialect of the mass of the people. The language of the rock inscriptions of King Asoka, which record the name of Antiochus and other Greek princes about 200 B. C. is also a form of Prakrit; and similarly we find it on the bi-lingual coins of the Greek Kings of Bactria."

In his letter, dated the 29th December 1858, to the *Times*, Professor Monier Williams, in dealing with the native alphabets of India, says:—"We have no need to meddle with the sacred Sanskrit. This time-honoured and venerable language, the repository of all the learning and literature of the

Hindus, may be allowed undisputed possession of its own 'divine' character, to which it has the exclusive right. But Sanskrit, be it remembered, is now a dead language. Nay, more, it was never spoken and never intended to be spoken in the way it is at present written. The spoken Sanskrit, which is found on the rock inscriptions of 300 B C, and which is the direct source of all the languages now current among the Hindus, was a kind of *patois*, as different from the learned as Italian from Latin."

In another place, Sir Monier Williams says that the word Sanskrit means 'carefully constructed,' 'symmetrically formed' (*confectus, constructus*). In this sense it is opposed to Prakrit, 'common,' 'natural,' the name given to the vulgar dialects which gradually arose out of it, and from which most of the languages now spoken in Upper India are more or less directly derived. It is probable that Sanskrit, although a real language—once the living tongue of the Aryan or dominant races, and still the learned language of India, preserved in all its purity through the medium of an immense literature—was never spoken in its most perfect and systematized form by the mass of the people. "For we may," remarks the Professor, "reasonably conjecture, that if the language of Addison differed from the vulgar and provincial

English of his own day, and if the Latin of Cicero differed from the spoken dialect of the Roman plebeian, much more must the polished and artificial of all languages have suffered corruption when it became the common speech of a vast community. Prakrit, then, was merely the natural process of change and corruption which the refined Sanskrit underwent in adapting itself to the exigencies of a spoken dialect. It was, in fact, the provincial Sanskrit of the mass of the community; while Sanskrit, properly so called, became, as it is to this day, the language of the Brahmans and the accomplishment of the learned."

The Hindus are famous for the study of Grammar from time immemorial. Mr. M. A. Sherring says:—"Were the Hindus proverbially reckless in their statements and opinions, and had they never produced any great work exhibiting minuteness of detail, together with clearness, consistency, and truth, there might not be so much cause for wonder. But they have astonished the world by their achievements in a department of learning usually regarded as dry and uninteresting. I refer to the subject of Grammar. Carefully collecting the facts brought to light by critical and painstaking observation, they have elaborated a system of Grammar, of gigantic dimensions, far surpassing anything that has ever

been effected, in this branch of study, in any country or age of the world. Their greatest and most brilliant champion in this science is Panini: yet many other Grammarians helped to rear the stupendous fabric which now excites the admiration of mankind. And, while they emulated the genius of the Greeks in generalizing upon the results of their observations, they far outshone them in the correctness and extent of their investigations."

Professor F. Max Müller says:—"In Grammar, I challenge any scholar to produce from any language a more comprehensive collection and classification of all the facts of a language than we find in Panini's *Sutras*."

Sir Monier Williams styles Panini as the "Great Father of Sanskrit Grammar."

Sir Monier Williams further observes:—"The various modifications of Prakrit are the intermediate links which connect Sanskrit with the dialects at present spoken by the natives of Hindustan. They have been analyzed and assorted by Vararuchi, the ancient Grammarian, who was to Prakrit what Panini was to Sanskrit Grammar. Out of them arose Hindi (termed Hindustani or Urdu, when mixed with Persian and Arabic words), Marathi, and Gujarathi, the modern dialects spread widely over the country. To

these may be added, Bengali, the language of Bengal; Uriya, the dialect of Orissa, in the province of Cuttack; Sindhi, that of Sindh; Panjabi, of the Panjab; Kasmirian, of Kasmir; and Nepalese, of Nepal."

All the rules of the Prakrit Grammar of Vararuchi, who may be called the Father of Prakrit Grammar, are, like those of Panini, given in the form of *sutras* (aphorisms). Professor H. H. Wilson in the introduction to his Sanskrit Dictionary (first edition), Professor Max Müller in the "History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature," and Professor E. B. Cowell in the preface to the "Prakrita Prakasa" have fully discussed the question about the time of Vararuchi. According to them he flourished between 400 B. C. and 56 B. C.

Professor Cowell says that the Prakrita Prakasa of Vararuchi is certainly our oldest authority for Prakrit Grammar; and its rules are generally quoted by later Grammarians and scholiasts as *par excellence* the "Prakrit Sastra."

The 29th *Sutra* of the third section (*Tritiya Parichchheda*) of this work of Vararuchi runs as follows :—

ष्क स्क् क्षां खः ॥

स्क् ष्क क्षां खकारो भवति ॥

ष्कस्य ॥ मुखं । पोक्खरो ॥ स्कस्य ॥ खंदो । खंधो ॥  
क्षस्य । खंदो । जक्खो ॥

That is, in Prakrit *Kha* is substituted for Sanskrit *Shka*, *Ska*, and *Ksha* : as in the following examples :—

SANSKRIT FORM.	PRAKRIT FORM.
<i>Pushkara</i> (a lake).	<i>Pokkharo</i> .
<i>Skandha</i> (the shoulder).	<i>Khandho</i> .
<i>Yaksha</i> (a demigod).	<i>Jakkho</i> .
<i>Kshata</i> (wounded).	<i>Khado</i> .

In other words, the Sanskrit conjunct *Ksha* corrupted into Prakrit *Kha* in the Sanskrit word or root *Kshata*; and from this *Kshata*, the Sanskrit word *Kshatriya* takes its form—*Kshatatrayate Kshatriyah* ( क्षतात् त्रायते क्षत्रियः ).

Thus according to the Grammarian Vararuchi the Sanskrit conjunct *Ksha* of the word *Kshatriya* changed into *Kha* in Prakrit.\*

The other Prakrit words referred to in this work and quoted above, *viz.* *Pokhara* for a lake and *Khandha* or *Kandha* for the shoulder are in daily use in Hindi, Panjabi, and several other modern dialects of India; and there is in Simla in the Panjab a hillock known under the name of

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\* For philological rules on this subject, see Part I.



Jakkho where a *Yaksha* (demigod) is said to have lived in ancient times.

This fact is corroborated by Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India, who flourished about two thousand years ago. For Kalidasa, in his work 'Vikramorvasi' (the Hero and the Nymph) writes as under :—

तापसी । सुणादु महारात्रो । एसो दीहाऊ आऊ  
जादमेत्तो एव उव्वसीए किं वि णिमित्त मवे-  
क्खिअ मम हत्थे णासी किदो । जं खत्तिअस्स  
कुलीणस्स जादकम्मादि विहाणं तं से तत्त भवदा  
चवणेण सव्वं अणुद्धिदम् । गिहीद विज्जो धणु-  
व्वेदेश विणीदो ।

विदूषकः । ए क्वु अण्णहा बम्हणस्स बभ्रणं भोदि ।

Kalidasa has here used the word "Khattiassa" for "Kshatriyasya" and "Bamhanassa" for "Brahmanayasya" in the genitive case. Professor H. H. Wilson translates the word "Khattiassa" by the English word "martial" and the word "Bamhanassa" by "Brahmana's." The English translation of these passages is as follows :—

"Let the king hear. This princely youth, the son  
Of Urvasi, was for some cause confided,

Without your knowledge, to my secret care  
 The ceremonies of his *martial* birth  
 The pious Chyavana has ministered,  
 Taught him the knowledge fitted to his  
station  
 And lastly trained his growing youth to arms  
(*dhanurvidya*).  
 A *Brahman's* words, be assured, are never  
uttered in vain."

Other passages of this celebrated author are also to the same effect. For instance, he writes—

विदूषकः—णं क्वु एसो खत्तिअ कुमारी जस्स  
 णामाङ्घ्रिदो गिह लक्खवेही नाराओ उवल्लो  
 तत्तभवदो वहु अणुकरेदि ।

Here "Khattiya" is used for the Sanskrit word "Kshatriya."

In regard to this work of Kalidasa, Professor H. H. Wilson observes that the richness of the Prakrit in it, both in structure and in its metrical code, is very remarkable. It is clear, therefore, that this form of Sanskrit must have been highly cultivated long before it was written.

It will thus be observed that the conjunct "Ksh" in the polished Sanskrit word "Kshatriya" was, not later than the time of Vararuchi and

Kalidasa, used to be spoken and written as "Kh" in the ordinary or common language of the people.

Sir Monier Williams says that it would be interesting to trace the gradual transition of Sanskrit into Prakrit. In a book called the *Lalita-vistara*, the life and adventures of Buddha are narrated in pure Sanskrit. But subjoined to the Sanskrit version are *gathas* or songs, which repeat the story in a kind of mixed dialect, half Sanskrit, half Prakrit. They were probably rude ballads, which, though not written, were current among the people soon after Buddha's death. They contain Vedic as well as more modern formations, interspersed with Prakrit corruptions, proving that the language was then in a transition state.

The question now turns towards Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists, which is, according to Professors Monier Williams and Cowell, also a form of the Prakrit. In this connection it will not be out of place to quote the following passage from Sir Charles Trevelyan's evidence before the Indian Committee of the House of Lords in 1853 A.D., illustrating the influence which India and its language have always exercised over the whole of Asia:—

"India is the central country of Asia. It is an

extremely rich country. It is rich in actual wealth, but it is still richer in undeveloped resources. It is inhabited by an acute, intellectual and partially cultivated people, among whom learning and learned men have, from the most ancient times, been held in high reputation. When our ancestors were clothed with the skins of beasts and were entirely destitute of literature, and indulged in wholesale human sacrifices, the Indians were a cultivated and learned people. India has in all ages exercised a considerable influence over the surrounding countries. We derive from India, our beautiful system of Decimal Notation, commonly called the Arabic numerals, but which really came to us through the Arabs from India, where it has existed from time immemorial precisely as it was transferred to us, the forms of the figures in Sanskrit being almost identical with those which we use every day. The Fables which have for ages been known to the Western world as the Fables of Æsop and Pilpay, were discovered, when Sanskrit literature began to be studied, under the name of Hito-padesa, the identity being beyond all question, although some of the stories have been clothed in a Western medium to suit Western ideas. Towards the East and North a yet more remarkable influence has been exercised by a reformed system of Hindooism (Buddhism)..... This reformed Hindooism, which originated in the district of Behar, has spread over the countries to the eastward, over Barmah and Siam and China, and far among the Tartar and Mongolian tribes inhabiting Asiatic Russia, even to the shores of the Artic Sea; it includes among its votaries a larger number than any other existing religion; and the ancient vernacular language of Behar, under the name of Pali, and to a certain extent the

Sanskrit language, have become the sacred language of many of those countries."

In regard to the ancient vernacular language referred to by Sir Charles Trevelyan the following examples fully explain the subject.

*Khattiya*—A Kshatriya or man belonging to the warrior caste, a prince, a nobleman (*vide* page 335 of the *Abhidhana-uppadika*, edited by Waska duive Subhuite, Columbo, 1865 A.D.)

Sannadho *Khattiyo* tapati—The warrior shines in his armour (*vide* page 69 of the *Dhammapadama* edited by V. Fausböll, Copenhagen, 1871 A.D.)

See also the passages quoted from the *Dhammapadama* at pages 74 to 76 of this book.

*Khattiyanī*—A Kshatriya lady or princess (*Mahavanso*—verse 61).

In the polished Sanskrit a female of the community of the Kshatriyas is called a Kshatriyani.

क्षत्रियजातीयायाम् ॥ अयं क्षत्रियाभ्यामिति पाक्षिक  
अनुनाग मोडीष च ॥

This word has been modified into *Khattiyanī* as shown above, and its present form in the

modern dialects of Upper India is Khatriyani, meaning a lady of the community of the Khatri.

Professor R. G. Bhandarkar has minutely discussed this subject, showing the different stages of a good many words, including the word Khatri, from the very beginning to their present forms in the modern dialects of India. He says :—

“We have now traced the gradual decay of Sanskrit from the form in which it is presented to us in the oldest literary records, to that which it assumed in the Apabhramsa dialect. We have seen how words lost some of their vocal elements on account of the natural tendency of men to economize effort.....We have also observed the effects of the operation of the law of analogy in simplifying the grammar of the language.”

“If the Prakrits and the Apabhramsa which we have examined really represent the speech of the Indian people at certain periods of their past history, we should expect to find a relation of continuity between them and the prevailing speech of modern times. The words and grammatical forms in the modern vernaculars should either be the same as those existing in those dialects, or should be easily deducible from them by laws which we have observed to be in operation. We will therefore proceed now to

the examination of the vernaculars with a view to trace this continuity."

"The varieties of speech prevailing in Northern India at the present day are almost innumerable. But they may be divided into classes on the principle of resemblance; and generally the dialects spoken in the adjoining provinces are so alike each other that they may be regarded as constituting one class or even one language. Thus we have nine principal languages.....the Marathi, the Gujarati, the Sindhi, including the Kachchhi, the Panjabi, the Kasmiri, the Hindi, the Nepali, the Bengali, and the Oriya...I will now give short specimens of these dialects "

In regard to the Panjabi, in which the word Khatri occurs, Professor Bhandarkar quotes the following passage from the *Janama Sakhi*.

तां फेर बाबे नानकजी कहिआ है पंडतजी तूं सुण  
ब्राह्मण खतरौ (KHATRI) दा धरम जनेज ते रहिंदा  
है या भले करमांते रहिंदा है। सुण पंडत जे जनेज  
पावे अर बुरे करम करे तां उह ब्राह्मण खतरौ  
(KHATRI) रहिंदा हैं या चंडाल हुंदा है। जां इह गक  
खी गुरु बाबेजी कही तां जितने लोक बैठेसे सभ हैरान  
हो गए। तां कहिण लग्गे ऐ खी परमेश्वरजी अजां इह  
बालक है अते कैसीआं वातां करदा हैं।

Professor Bhandarkar translates this passage as under :—

“ Then again Babe Nanakaji said : ‘ O Pandit, hear. Is the religious holiness of Brahmans and KSHATRIYAS preserved by the sacred thread or by good deeds? Hear, O Pandit, if one who is invested with the sacred thread, does wicked deeds, does he remain a Brahman or KSHATRIYA or become a Chandala?’ When Sri Guru Babeji spoke thus, all the people that were sitting there were astonished. Then they began to exclaim : ‘ O God, he is still but a child, and how wonderfully he speaks!’ ”

It should be noted that Professor Bhandarkar translates the word KHATRI in the Panjabi by the word KSHATRIYA in the English translation.

After quoting passages from other dialects the Professor observes :—“ In these extracts there are a great many words which on examination will be found to be derived from Sanskrit through the Prakrits ; in other words, the vernacular forms will be found to be the same as, or further developments of, Prakrit forms. You will find that in the Marathi passage there are about 58 different words of which 26 or a few less than a half are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prakrits ; in the Gujarati there are 42 out of which 23 or a few more than a half are of the latter description ; in the Sindhi



the proportion is 38 to 21 or somewhat greater than a half; in the Panjabi 44 to 23 or a half; in the High Hindi 48 to 23 or a little less than a half; in the Braj 45 to 29, *i.e.*, about two thirds; in the Bengali 71 to 27, *i.e.*, about two fifths; and in the Oriya 32 to 15 or a little less than a half. . . . In this list there are three or four words such as नाम and वह् which may be called old Tatsamas, since they exist unchanged in the Prakrits, and the rest may be called old Tadbhavas. Now in these passages you will also have seen a number of words such as प्रार्थना, अग्निप्रवेश, आश्चर्य, स्वप्न, बालक, शरीर, नदी, प्रिय, प्रथम, ज्वर, दिवारात्रि, शृङ्ग, स्थान, &c., which are exactly the same as in Sanskrit. They could not have existed in those forms in the Prakrits, and hence it is clear that they were introduced long after the Prakrit period; and the tendency now-a-days in our languages is to introduce more of such words. These may be called modern Tatsamas. But some of these have undergone a corruption since they were adopted. Thus कर्म (*karma*) is pronounced as करम (*karama*); धर्म (*dharma*), धरम (*dharama*); क्षत्रिय (KSHATRIYA), खतरौ (KHATRI); कार्य (*karya*), कारज (*karaja*); and कृपा (*kripa*), कर्पा (*karpa*) or कुर्पा (*kurpa*); while the Prakrit corruptions of these are कम्म (*kamma*),

धम्म (*dhamma*), खत्तिअ (*KHATTIYA*), कज्ज (*kajja*), and किवा (*kiwa*). Such words are therefore modern Tadbhavas. At the end of my observations on the Prakrits in the last lecture I gave a list of vocables existing in those dialects which are called Desyas by native grammarians, and showed that several of them existed in our vernaculars also. We observe from the above passages which contain such words as मुल्हाही, साहेब, and पातिशाह that there are in modern dialects words of an Arabic or Persian origin also. Thus we may distinguish these elements in the vocabulary of the vernaculars of Northern India:—1 Old Tadbhava, 2 Old Tatsama, 3 Modern Tadbhava, 4 Modern Tatsama, 5 Desya, 6 Arabic, and 7 Persian. In its nature the old Tatsama element is but a small quantity and the main skeleton of our languages is made up of the old Tadbhava. It forms the principal constituent of the speech of the middle classes. The higher classes, however, use the Modern Tatsama and Tadbhava element to a much larger extent .....

“But though the vocabulary of our languages is thus composite the grammar is in every way the same that they have inherited from the Prakrits. Here there is no mixture of different elements. A good many of the forms now in use

have been constructed since the Prakrit period ; but, as I hope to show you, they are simply combinations or adaptations of existing Prakrit forms. Thus we will divide our examination of the vernaculars into three branches. In the first we will trace out the Sanskrit words which were transformed in the Pali and the Prakrits in the various ways we have noticed, and discover the operation of the same or other laws in their further transformation, if they have undergone any, as also in the transformation of other words which remained unchanged in the Prakrits or were imported from Sanskrit at a later period. In the second we will trace out the Prakrit or Apabhramsa grammatical forms, and in the third, examine the new or re-constructed forms and find out the principles upon which they have been made up."

After discussing the above points to a great length Professor Bhandarkar says :—

"When क् (K) the first sound of क्श् (Ksh) prevails and adds to itself the heavy aspiration of ष् (sh), the conjunct becomes क्क्श् (Kkh.) Of this change there are many instances in the vernaculars.

Skr.\* वृक्ष (vriksha) a tree, Pr. रुक्ख (rukha), P. रुक्ख (rukha), H. रुख (rukha.)

\* Skr. stands for Sanskrit, Pr. for Prakrit, P. for

Skr. रक्ष (rahsha) to keep, to protect, Pr. रक्ख (rakkha), P. रक्खणा (rakkhana), S. रक्खणु (rakhanu), H. रक्खना (rakhana), also राक्खना (rakhana), M. राक्खणें (rakhaneh), G. राक्खवुं (rakhavun), B. र्खिवा (khiva), O. खिवा (khiva).

Skr. उपलक्ष (upalaksha) to mark, Pr. उवलक्ख (uvalakha), M. G. ओलक्ख (olakha) acquaintance.

Skr. शिक्ष† (siksha) to learn, Pr. सिक्ख (sikkha), P. सिक्खणा (sikhana), H. सोक्खना (sikhana), S. सिक्खणु (sikhanu), G. सिक्खवुं (sikhavun), M. शिकणें (sikaneh), B. O खिवा (khiva).

Skr. क्षेत्र (kshetra), a field, Pr. खेत (kheta), P. खेत (kheta), S. खेतु (khetu) or खिट्टु (khetu), H. B. O. खेत (kheta), G. खेत (kheta) in खेती (kheti) agriculture.

Skr. कुक्षि (kukshi) a side of the abdomen. Pr. कुक्खि (kukkhi), P. कुक्ख (kukkha) or कोक्ख (kokha), S. कक्खि (kakhi), H. कोक्ख (kokha), G. कुक्ख (kukha).

Skr. बुभुक्षा (bubhuksha) hunger, Pr. बुड्डक्ख (vuhukkha), P. भुक्ख (bhukkha), S. बुक्ख (bukha),

Panjabi, H. for Hindi, S. for Sindhi, M. for Marathi, G. for Gujarati, B. for Bengali, and O. for Oriya.

† Compare the word Sikh, a disciple of the warrior saint Guru Govind Singh, which is derived from this word.

H. G. B. भूख (*bhukha*), M. B. भूक (*bhuka*), O. भोक (*bhoka*).

Skr. म्रक्षण (*mrakshana*) to anoint, an unguent, Pr. मक्खण (*makkhana*), P. मक्खण (*makkhana*) butter, S. मखणु (*makhanu*) anoint, butter, H. मक्खन (*makkhana*) or माखन (*makhana*) butter, B. O. माखन (*makhana*) butter, माखिवा (*makhiva*) to anoint, M. माखणें (*makhaneh*) to anoint, G. माखण (*makhana*) butter.

Skr. परीक्षा (*pariksha*) examination, Pr. परिकखा (*parikkha*), H. P. B. O. परख (*parakha*), M. G. S. पारख (*parakha*).

Skr. अक्षि (*akshi*) the eye, Pr. अक्खि (*akkhi*), P. अक्ख (*akkha*), S. अखि (*akhi*) H. G. आंख (*ankha*), B. O. आखि (*akhi*).

Skr. क्षीर (*kshira*) milk, Pr. खीर (*khira*), S. खीरु (*khiru*), P. H. M. G. खोर (*khira*) a dish of rice and milk, O. खीरी (*khiri*).

Skr. इक्षु (*ikshu*) sugarcane, Pr. उक्खु (*ukkhhu*) or इक्खु (*ikkhu*), H. ऊख (*ukha*) or ईख (*ikha*), P. इक्ख (*ikkha*)."

\* \* \* \* \*

" In some of the provinces the old disability of the Prakrit speakers has been inherited in certain

cases by their modern descendants, whether educated or uneducated, and it is very much to be regretted that the writers of books should in such cases write words in their Sanskrit forms which when they are read by themselves or others are read in quite a different way. The people of Sindh, whether belonging to the higher or lower classes, and the Bengalis pronounce the conjunct क्ष् (ksh) invariably as क्ख (khh). Thus Sanskrit नक्षत्र (nakshatra), is pronounced नक्खत्र (nakkhatra), साक्षी (sakshi) as साखी (sakhi), मोक्ष (moksha) as मोक्ख (mokkha) or मोख (mokha) &c. The speakers of the Hindi \* \* pronounce \* \* \* \* क्षत्रिय (Kshatriya), खत्री (Khatri) \* \* \* \* . The Panjabis pronounce \* \* \* \* क्षत्रिय (Kshatriya) as खत्री (Khatri) \* \* \* \* ."

It will thus be observed that according to Pandit Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar M. A. PHD., C. I. E. Hon. M. R. A. S., London, Professor of the Oriental Languages of the Deccan College, Poona, and late Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, the word Khatri is technically the modern Tadbhava form of the Sanskrit word Kshatriya and that the higher classes use the modern Tadbhava element to a much larger extent.

As an example of the difficulty in the correct

pronunciation of the word Kshatriya and others of this class, Professor Bhandarkar says :—

“While I was Head Master of the High School of Hyderabad in Sindh, I introduced about the beginning of 1865 A.D. the study of Sanskrit, and the first thing I had to do was to teach correct pronunciation to my pupils. I had no great difficulty, so far as I can now remember, in making them pronounce the other conjuncts; but when I came to क्ष् (ksh) all my endeavours to teach its correct pronunciation failed. I got the most intelligent of my boys to pronounce first क् (k) and then श् (sh). This he did very well, whereupon I told him to utter both the sounds one after another immediately; but instead of making क्ष् (ksh) of them he invariably gave them the form of क्क्ष् (khh). I then gave up the attempt in despair.”

In his Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, Mr. John Beame observes that “the form ख् (kha) occurs much more frequently at the beginning of a word in Hindi and its allied group, and as this is precisely the position in which the form क्ष् (ksha) would be most difficult to pronounce, it is just in this case that the inversion might be expected to be more frequent :”

Professor Bhandarkar remarks that "in Hindi Skr. ष् (*sh*) is often pronounced as ख् (*kh*) as in भाखा for भाषा 'spoken dialect,' पुरुख for पुरुष, भेख for वेष, विखम for विषम् &c. This is to be identified with the practice of the followers of the Madhyandina recension of the white Yajur Veda\* who read the ष् (*sh*) occurring in their books throughout as ख् (*kh*). But other dialects also have a few instances of this change as विख P. M. G., विखु S., for Skr. विष."

In the pronunciation of the Yajur Veda not only ष् (*sh*) is pronounced as ख् (*kh*), but य् (*y*) is also pronounced as ज् (*j*) in certain cases.\* This is also the case in Hindi, Panjabi, and several other dialects of the present day. For example, the river यमुना (*Yamuna*) is invariably pronounced as *Jamna*.

An idea as to what effect the Prakrit has produced on the people of this country in regard to the pronunciation of many words used in the modern dialects of India can easily be formed on a reference to the numerals. For example :—

\* For the original Sanskrit text and Vedic examples on this subject, see Part I.



SANSKRIT      PRAKRIT HINDI      PANJABI SINDHI      MARATHI      GUJARATI      ORIYA      BENGALI

५५	एकादश (eleven)	एअरह ग्यारह यारां or यारहं	अकरा	अग्यार	एगार	एगार
		गिअरां कारहं				
	द्वादश (twelve)	बारह वारां	बारहं	बारा	बार	बार
	त्रयोदश (thirteen)	तेरह तेरां	तेरहं	तेरा	तेर	तेर
	चतुर्दश (fourteen)	चउद्दह चौदहां	चौडहं	चौदा	चौद	चौद्
	पञ्चदश (fifteen)	पण्णरह पंद्रह	पंद्रहं	पंधरा	पंधर	पनिर
	षोडश (sixteen)	सीलह सोलह	सीरां	सीला	सील	षोह्ल षील
	सप्तदश (seventeen)	सत्तरह सत्रह	सतरां	सतरा	सत्तर	सतर
	अष्टादश (eighteen)	अठारह अठारां	अडहं	अठरा	अठर	अटार

A few more examples are quoted below to show the connection through the Prakrit between the original Sanskrit forms and the present forms of a vast number of words of the modern dialects of India.

Skr. कृष्णः proper name of the God Krishna, Pr. कण्हो, H. G. M. कान्ह or कान्हा

Skr. वृद्धः old, Pr. वुड्डो, H. P. बुड्डा, S. वुढो, G. बुड्डो, O. बुडा, B. बुडा.

Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवणो, H. कूप्पा, G. कुवो.

Skr. चित्रकः leopard, Pr. चित्तणो, H. चीता, M. चिता, G. चित्तो.

Skr. भगिनौ sister, Pr. भइणी, H. वहिन or वहन, P. भैण, G. बेन, M. वहिण or भैण.

Skr. पुस्तकम्, a volume, Pr. पोत्थणो, H. P. पोथी, M. G. पोथी, S. पोथु and पोथी, O. पोथी, B. पुथी or पुती.

Skr. खदिर name of a tree, Pr. खइर, H. P. M. खैर.

Skr. चतुष्क a square, Pr. चउक्क, H. P. M. चौक.

Skr. वधू a young lady, daughter-in-law, Pr. वड्ड, H. S. G. वड्ड, O. वी or वीड्ड.

Skr. मधुमक्षिका a bee, Pr. मधुमक्षिषा, H. मधु-  
मक्षी.

Skr. रजनी night, Pr. रञ्जणी, or रयणी, H. P. रैन.

Skr. वचन speech, Pr. वञ्जण or वयण, H. वैन.

Skr. क्षय to loose, Pr. खय, H. खोना, P. खोणा,  
G. खोवं.

Skr. नवशिक्षित newly learned, Pr. नवसिक्खिष, H. नौसिख, M. नौशिका or नवशिका.

Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिञ्चं, H. P. S. G. मोती.

Skr. यूथिका a flowering bush, Pr. जूहिषा, H. G. M. जुही or जुई.

Skr. घोटकः a horse, Pr. घोडञ्चो, H. P. M. B. O. घोड़ा.

Skr. ताम्बूलिकः a seller of betel leaves and betel nuts, Pr. तम्बोलिञ्चो, H. G. तंवोली, M. तांबोली.

Skr. तैलिकः a seller of oil, Pr. तेन्निञ्चो, H. तेली.

Skr. वृश्चिकः a scorpion, Pr. विञ्जुञ्चो, H. P. विङ्गू, S. विङ्गु, B. O. विङ्गा, M. विंचू

Skr. यूका a louse, Pr. जूआ, H. P. G. जू

Skr. श्वश्रू mother-in-law, Pr. सस्रू, P. सस्र, H. सस्र or सास, S. ससु, G. M. सासू.

Skr. हस्तिनी a female elephant, Pr. हत्तिनी, H. हथनी, G. हाथीन.

Skr. पारदः mercury, Pr. पारओ, H. P. B. O. M. पारा.

Skr. मस्तकम् head, Pr. मत्यओ, P. मत्या or मथ्या, H. मथा or माथा, M. B. माथा, G. माथुं.

Skr. भगिनीपति sister's husband, Pr. बहिनीवई, P. H. बहनोई.

Skr. कासित cough, Pr. खासिअ, H. P. G. खांसी.

Skr. कथानक or कथानिका a story, Pr. कहणअ or कहणिअ, H. कहानी, G. M. कहणी, S. किहाणी.

Skr. दधि curds, Pr. दहि, H. P. G. M. O. दहिं.

Skr. सौभाग्य prosperity, good fortune, Pr. सोहग, H. सोहाग or सुहाग.

Skr. दंष्ट्रा a jaw, a grinder, Pr. दाढा, H. डाढ, M. G. दाढ.

Skr. हस्त hand, Pr. हत्य, P. हथ्य, S. हथु, H. G. हाथ, M. B. O. हात.

Skr. अङ्गुष्ठ thumb, Pr. अंगुष्ठ, P. अंगूट, H. अंगूठा, G. अंगूटो.

Skr. प्रस्तर stone, Pr. पत्थर, H. P. पत्थर, S. पथर, G. पथ्थर or पाथर.

Skr. जिह्वा tongue, Pr. जिब्भा, H. P. G. M. जीभ, S. B., O. जिभ.

Skr. रश्मि a cord, a rope, Pr. रस्मि, P. H. रस्सी S. G. B. O. रसी.

Skr. अद्य to-day, Pr. अज्ज, P. अज्ज, S. अजु, H. G. M. आज, B. O. आजि.

Skr. विष्किर to spread, Pr. विक्खिर, P. विख्खरना, H. विखरना, S. विखेरण, G. विखरवुं, M. विखरणे to be scattered.

Skr. सत्य true, Pr. सच्च, P. H. सच्च, S. सचु, M. साच, G. साचुं, B. सांचा.

It will be perceived from the foregoing examples that all the words of the modern dialects of India quoted above are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prakrit; and that the Panjabi, the dialect of the people living on the banks of the sacred Saraswati and Satadru (Satlej) mentioned in the Vedas, by Manu, and in

subsequent Sanskrit works, has close connection with the ancient Prakrit; then comes the Hindi, and then the other dialects of India. It will further be observed that the forms KHATRI and KHATRIYANI can very easily be traced back to their original Sanskrit forms KSHATRIYA and KSHATRIYANI; but in many cases it is most difficult to trace without the help of the Prakrit the forms of the modern dialects of India from the Sanskrit words of which they are the corruptions. For example, it is next to impossible for any scholar to prove that the present words रुख (rukha) a tree, वारह (varaha) twelve, and तेरह (teraha) thirteen, are corruptions of the Sanskrit words वृक्ष (vriksha), द्वादश (dvadasa), and त्रयोदश (trayodasa) respectively. But a mere reference to the Prakrit shows that it is as true as an angle in a semicircle is a right angle and not a trapezium. For the ancient Grammarian Vararuchi and his Commentator clearly say :—

वृक्षे वेन रुर्वा ॥

वृक्षशब्दे व शब्देन सह ऋकारस्य रुकारो भवति वा ॥

रुक्खो ॥

संख्यायां च ॥

संख्यावाचिनिशब्दे यो दकारस्तस्य रेफा देशो भवति ।

एअरह । वारह । तेरह ॥ एकादश । द्वादश । त्रयोदश ।  
 दशादिषु हः ॥  
 दश इत्येवमादिषु शकारस्य हकारो भवति ॥ दह ।  
 एअरह । वारह । तेरह ॥

These forms have been fully explained in the examples already quoted.

When the Prakrit has such connection with a vast number of words of the modern dialects of India, no one can find the least difficulty in proving that the forms Khatri and Khatriyani are corruptions of the Sanskrit words Kshatriya and Kshatriyani, and that the forms Baman or Vaman and Bamani of the Sanskrit words Brahman and Brahmani.

In regard to the corruption of the Sanskrit word "Brahmana" Vararuchi says.

नह ह्रस्वे नलमां स्थिति रूढं ॥  
 नह ह्रस्वे इत्येतेष्वधःस्थितानां नकार लकार मकाराणां  
 स्थितिरूढं सुपरिष्टाद्भवति ॥ नहस्य । पुम्वण्हो । अव-  
 रण्हो ॥ ह्रस्वस्य । कल्हारं । अल्हादो । ह्रस्वस्य । वम्वणो ॥

Under this *sutra* the word "Brahmanah" corrupted into "Vamhano" in Prakrit. From Prakrit "Vamhano" it corrupted into "Vamhana" (वम्वण) or "Vamana" (वामन) or "Bamana" (बामन) in the

modern dialects of India. But it should be remembered that there is also a Sanskrit word "Vaman" (वामन) meaning low, vile, or a dwarf, and the latter should not be taken for the former, as there is a vast difference between the two words.

Similarly there is a Sanskrit word Kshattri (क्षत्र) a bastard caste, whose duty is to kill or confine such animals as live in holes and who is to dwell near large public trees, in places for burning the dead, on mountains, and in groves. This word should not be confounded with the corruption of the Sanskrit word Kshatriya, *i.e.* Khatri, the difference between the two being as poles asunder. In the first place, in Sanskrit words ending with the vowel *ri* (ऋ) when they are used in Hindi and Panjabi, the vowel *ri* (ऋ) is changed into long *a*. For example, the word *pitri* (पितृ); (father) is written and spoken as *pita* (पिता); *matrī* (मातृ) (mother) as *mata* (माता); and *datrī* (दातृ) (a giver) as *data* (दाता). In certain cases, *tri* is changed into *i*, as *jamatri* (जामातृ) (a son-in-law), Jamai (जमाई). The Hindi or Panjabi form of the Sanskrit word Kshattri (क्षत्र) is therefore Kshatta (क्षत्ता).

In the second place, the word "Kshatta" itself is used in several Sanskrit works. For example :—



विप्रामूर्धाभिषिक्तो हि क्षत्रियाणां विप्रः स्त्रियाम् ।  
 अ व उः शूद्रां निषादो जातः पारश्वोऽपि वा ॥  
 वेण्या शूद्रोस्तु राजन्यान्माहिष्योग्री सुतौ स्मृतौ ।  
 वेण्यात्तु करणः शूद्रां विप्रस्त्रेणविधिः स्मृतः ॥  
 ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियात् सुतो वैश्याद्देहकस्तथा ।  
 शूद्राज्जातस्तु चाण्डालः सर्वधर्मवहिष्कृतः ॥  
 क्षत्रिया मागधं वेण्याच्छूद्रात् क्षत्तारमेव  
 (Kshattarameva) तु ।  
 शूद्रादायोग्रं वैश्या जनयामास वे सुतम् ॥  
*Yajyavalkya.*

The word Kshatta for the offspring of a Sudra father and a Kshatriya mother is thus used in the above passage of Yajyavalkya. Chatta or Chhatta is used in the same sense in the *Ayeen Akbary*\* which represents the pronunciation of the time of Akbar. The *Ayeen Akbary*† lays down :—

“By the intermarriages of the four original tribes, sixteen races of men are produced. 1. Brahmin (Brahman) whose father and mother are both Brahmins (Brahmans). 2. Moordhawasseekat, the father Brahmin (Brahman) and the mother Kehteree (Khatri). 3. Neshad, the

\* For particulars of this work see pages 285 and 286, further on.

† Francis Gladwin's translation of the *Ayeen Akbary*.

father Brahmin (Brahman) and the mother Sooder. 4. Untelut, the father Brahmin (Brahman) and the mother Biess. 5. Kehteree (Khatri), both father and mother Kehteree (Khatri). 6. Soote, the father Kehteree (Khatri) and the mother Brahminee (Brahmani). 7. Maheys, the father Kehteree (Khatri) and the mother Biess. 8. Oogur, the father Kehteree (Khatri) and the mother Sooder. 9. Biess, both father and mother Biess. Beydeah, the father Biess and the mother Brahminee (Brahmani). 11. Magdeh, the father Biess and the mother Kehteree (Khatri). 12. Kurren (Karana), the father Biess and the mother Sooder. 13. Sooder, both father and mother Sooder. 14. Chundal, the father Sooder and the mother Brahminee. 15. *Chutta, the father Sooder and the mother Kehteree.* I-ugoe, the father Sooder and the mother Biess. Again by the mixture of these sixteen tribes are produced others without number."

Pandit Sri Guljar, the teacher of Dharma Sastra in the Raj Sanskrit Pathasala of Benares has also shown Kshatta at pages 146-47 of his Hindi translation of Manu (the Manava Dharma Prakasa, 1878 A. D. ) in this sense.

Again, a female of the community of the military class is called in Sanskrit Kshatriyani, which has been corrupted into Khatriyani in Hindi

and Panjabi. Panini, the Great Father of the Sanskrit Grammar, in the *Siddhanta Kaumudi*, very distinctly says that the word Kshatriyani can only be formed from Kshatriya, whereas under rules of the Sanskrit Grammar the feminine of the word Kshatri (क्षत्रि) (ending with the vowel *ri*) is Kshatri (क्षत्री) (ending with the consonant *r* and the vowel *i*) and can never be Kshatriyani.\*

Pandit Damodar Vishnu Sastri, at pages 40 and 41 of his Grammar—Deva Vani, Part II—

\* ऋद्धेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ ४।१।५ ।

ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । कर्त्री ।

दण्डिनौ । क्रोद्धी । क्रोद्ध्री । क्रोद्धयः ॥

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ४८ ॥

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो ङीष् स्यात्  
गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ ब्राह्मणस्य स्त्री ब्राह्मणी तस्मात्  
क्षत्तुः ( संकरस्य ) स्त्री क्षत्री ॥

इन्द्र वरुण भव शर्व रुद्र मृड हिमारेण्य यव यवन  
मातुलाचार्याणामानुक् । ४ । १ । ४९ ॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च अयं क्षत्रियाभ्यां वा  
स्वार्थे । अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वेश्या वेत्यर्थः ।  
क्षत्रियाणी ।

published, in the Samvat year 1939 (1882 A. D.), under the patronage of Goswami Govardhanlalji, Maharaja of Nathdwara, the spiritual head of the Vallabhacharya Vaishnavas throughout India, gives the following list of Hindi and Sanskrit words in which he shows that the Hindi word Khatri is a corruption of the Sanskrit word Kshatriya.

HINDI FORM.	SANSKRIT FORM.
आंख (eye).	अक्षि
पंख (a wing).	पक्षः
लाख (sealing wax, lac).	लाक्षा, लक्षः
रूख (a tree).	वृक्ष
राख, राखी (ashes).	रक्षा
खत्री (KHATRI) (a man of the military caste).	क्षत्रियः (Ksha- triya)
रूखा (rough).	रक्षा
दाख (dry grape).	द्राक्षा
भूख (ख) (hungry).	बुभुक्षा
निरखना (to see).	निरीक्षणं
पखालना (to wash).	प्रक्षालनं

This change has been confirmed not only by Sanskrit authors, like Kalidasa, or authors of the Pali and Prakrit period, and others of the Hindu

period of the Indian history, but it is noticed in the works of writers of the Muhammadan period as well.

Guru Nanak was one of the greatest preachers that India has produced during the Muhammadan period. He flourished in the time of the Emperor Baber. In his sayings the form Khatri is invariably used for the Sanskrit word Kshatriya. For instance:—

ब्राह्मण खत्री शूद्र वैश चारिवर्ण चारि आश्रमहृदि  
जो हरि ध्यावे सो परधान ।      *Adigranth.*

For other examples of this nature, see pages 94 to 99 of this book.

The grandson of Baber was the great Akbar. He was born at Amarkot in India in 1542 A. D.; was proclaimed Emperor in 1556 A. D.; and died in 1605 A. D.; aged sixty three years and one day, having reigned more than forty nine years. The learned writer Shaikh Abulfazl Alami was one of his ministers and a commander in his army. At the command of the Emperor Akbar, Abulfazl wrote the *Ayeen Akbary*, or Akbar's regulations for the government of Hindustan. This work is a miscellaneous compilation highly appreciated for the information it affords on the topics of those times, and as a reliable authority on many points connected therewith, and the

course of legal procedure adopted during that period. In regard to the Hindu castes, the following account is given in the *Ayeen Akbary*.

"The Hindu philosophers divide the human race into Charburren, or four tribes. At the creation of the world, these four tribes were produced from Brahma. The Brahmins (Brahmans) from his mouth; the Kehteree (Khatri) from his arms; the Biess from his thighs; the Sooder from his feet."

#### "THE BRAHMINS (BRAHMANS).

These have properly six duties. 1. The study of the Bedes (Vedas). 2. The study of other sciences. 3. To instruct others. 4. To perform the Jug (yajya), or the bestowing of charity for the sake of the Dewtahs (Devatas), and exciting others to do the same. 5. Giving charity on their own account. 6. Receiving charity from others."

#### "THE KEHTEREES (KHATRIS)

Are enjoined the performance of three of the above-mentioned duties. 1. Study. 2. Performing the jug (Yajya). 3. Bestowing charity.— Besides which, they have ten other duties. 1. Serving Brahmins (Brahmans). 2. To be rulers of the earth, and receive the reward of their labour or tribute. 3. The protection of religion. 4. The exaction of fines from delinquents, and ascertaining the quantity thereof. 5. To punish every

one according to his offence. 6. To acquire wealth, and spend it properly. 7. To train elephants, horses, and oxen, and to instruct servants in their respective duties. 8. To be soldiers. 9. Not to receive charity from men. 10. To reward merit."

"There are now upwards of five hundred different tribes of Kehteree (Khatri), fifty two of whom are in esteem, and twelve are better than the rest. *But at present there are scarcely any true Kehterees (Khatris) to be found, excepting a few who do not follow the profession of arms.*"\*

The foregoing passage of the *Ayeen Akbary* in regard to the true Kshatriyas (Khatris) who do not generally follow the profession of arms speaks for itself and requires no comment.

What Abulfazl expressed very politely in the above passage, his successor Firishta made it as clear as day light in the *Tarikh Firishta*. "This work," says Sir H. M. Elliot, "is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other General Histories of India. The author, Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Firishta, states in his preface that he is indebted for his materials to thirty five different histories, but he has quoted in the body

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\* Francis Gladwin's translation of the *Ayeen Akbary*.

of his work several more, besides those he has enumerated, and such conscientious and excellent use has he made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless to any but the most anxious and attentive student of Indian History, who may hope here and there to glean some thing of interest which Firishta may have overlooked."

Firishta presented the first draft of his history to Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1606 A.D., but it is evident that during the rest of his life he was engaged in revising it and even adding whole chapters, where it was deficient. In his history this famous writer gives the following description of the Hindu castes.

"Brahma, having by the will of the Creator, brought man out of the invisible condition into manifest existence, created four castes. Brahman, KHATRI, Bais, and Sudra. He appointed the first caste to maintain a holy warfare, to practise austerities, to uphold the laws, and enforce restrictions. To them he confided the direction of the mortal world. The second class he seated upon the throne of rule and government and giving it the sovereignty of the world, he provided for the due government of men. The third caste was appointed to carry on agriculture,



trades, and crafts. The fourth was created to serve their superiors."

"In the latter half of the Dwapar Yug, there was a Khatri Raja at Hastinapur in Hindustan, who sat upon the throne of justice, and protected the rights of his people. His name was Bharat.\* He was followed by seven descendants in direct succession, who carried on the government, and departed to the other world. The eighth successor of his race was Raja Kur. Kur-Khet (or) Thanesar, which is a large city, still bears his name. His descendants were called Kauruvas."

"The Brahman and Khatri castes have existed from the most ancient times. There are many other castes which came into existence at the end of the Dwapar Yug or third age, and the beginning of the Kali Yug or fourth age. Thus the *Rajputs* were not known at first but sprang into existence in later times."†

In regard to the question how the true Kshatriyas ceased to reign in India, the following is recorded in the *Vishnu Purana*.

\* India is called Bharatavarsha in Sanskrit after this Khatri Raja. The great epic poem Mahabharata also derives its name from the same Ruler.

† Sir Elliot's History of India.

योयं रिपुंजयो नाम बार्हद्रथोत्पत्तस्य शुनको नामा-  
 मात्यो भविष्यति ॥ १ ॥ स चैनं स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रं  
 प्रद्योतनामा नमभिषेक्षति ॥ तस्यापि पालकनामा पुत्रो  
 भविता ततश्च विशाखयूपस्तत्पुत्रो जनकस्तस्य च नन्दि-  
 वर्धन इत्येते अष्टत्रिंशदुत्तरमन्दशतं पञ्चप्रद्योताः पृथिवीं  
 भोक्ष्यन्ति ॥ २ ॥ ततश्च शिशुनागस्तत्पुत्रश्च काकवर्णो  
 भविता तत्पुत्रः क्षेमधर्मा तस्यापि क्षत्रीजास्तत्पुत्रो  
 बिन्दुसारस्ततश्चाजातशत्रुस्तस्माच्च दर्भको दर्भकाञ्चोदयन-  
 स्तस्मादपि नन्दिवर्धनस्ततो महानन्दो इत्येते शैशुनागा  
 दशभूमिपालास्त्रीणि वर्षशतानि द्विषष्ट्याधिकानि भवि-  
 ष्यन्ति ॥ ३ ॥ महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रा गर्भोज्ज्वोति लुब्धो  
 महापद्मोनन्दः परशुराम इवापरोखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी  
 भविता ॥ ४ ॥ ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भूमिपाला भविष्यन्ति ।  
 स चैकच्छत्रामनुसंधितशासनो महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति  
 ॥ ५ ॥ तस्याप्यष्टौ सुताः सुमात्याद्या भवितारस्तस्य च  
 महापद्मस्यानुपृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति महापद्मस्तत्पुत्राश्च एकं  
 वर्षशतमवनीपतयो भविष्यन्ति ॥ नवैव तावदान्कौटिल्यो  
 ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति ॥ ६ ॥ तेषामभावे मौर्याश्च पृथिवीं  
 भोक्ष्यन्ति कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्येभिषेक्षति ॥ ७ ॥

The last king of the Brihadratha dynasty  
 was Ripunjaya, who had a minister named Sunaka,

who having killed his sovereign, placed his son Pradyota upon the throne: his son was Palaka; his son was Visakhayupa; his son was Janaka; and his son was Nandivardhana. These five kings of the house of Pradyota reigned over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.

The next prince was Sisunaga; his son was Kakavarna; his son was Kshemadharman; his son was Kshattraujas; his son was Vindusara; his son was Ajatasatra; his son was Darbhaka; his son was Udayana; his son was also Nandivardhana; and his son was Mahanandin. These ten Saisunagas were kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years.

The son of Mahanandin was born of a woman of the Sudra (or servile) class; his name was Nanda, (called) Mahapadama, for he was exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurama, he was the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; *for, after him, the kings of the earth were Sudras.* He brought the whole earth under one umbrella: he had eight sons, Sumalya and others, who reigned after Mahapadama; and he and his sons governed for a hundred years. The Brahman Kautilya rooted out the nine Nandas.

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas possessed the earth; for Kautilya placed Chandragupta on the throne.

The *Matsya Purana* also gives the same account and says that several tribes, such as the Andhras, Sakas, Pulindas, **Choolikas**, Yavanas (Greeks), Kaivartas, **Abhiras**, Savaras, and other Mlechchh *sambhavah* (origin) people entered or possessed India at this time. Its original text is as under :—

यथा मे कौर्त्तितं पूर्वं व्यासेनाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ।  
 भाष्यं कलियुगश्चैव तथा मन्वन्तराणि च ॥  
 अनागतानि सर्वाणि ब्रुवतो मे निबोधत ।  
 अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये नृपास्तथा ॥  
 ऐडेक्षाकान्वये चैव पौरुषे चान्वये तथा ।  
 येषु संस्थास्यते तच्च ऐडेक्षाकुक्कुलं शुभम् ॥  
 तान् सर्वान् कौर्त्तयिष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान् नृपान् ।  
 तेभ्योऽपरेऽपि ये त्वन्ये ह्युत्पत्स्यन्ते नृपाः पुनः ॥  
 क्षत्राः पारशवाः शूद्रास्तथान्ये ये बह्विधराः ।  
 अश्वः शकाः पुलिन्दाश्च चूलिका यवनास्तथा ॥  
 केवर्ताभौरश्वरा ये चान्ये क्लृप्ताश्च सश्रवाः ।  
 पर्यायतः प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतश्चैव तान् नृपान् ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कलिकांशजः ।  
 उत्पत्स्यते मंहापद्मः सर्वं क्षत्रान्तको नृपः ॥

ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शुद्रयोनयः ।  
 एकराट् स महापद्मो एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥  
 अष्टाशौति तु वर्षाणि पृथिव्याश्च भविष्यति ।  
 सर्वं क्षत्रमथोत्साद्य भाविनार्थेन चोदितः ॥  
 सुकल्पादिसुता ह्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ।  
 महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ॥  
 उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समाद्वादशभिः सुतान् ।  
 भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ॥

These Pauranic authorities expressly corroborate the entire extermination of the true Kshatriyas (Khatris), as a ruling race, and the usurpation of the throne of India by Sesanagas, Nandas and Mauryas. Chandragupta was the first king of the Maurya dynasty.

This historical fact is further confirmed in the celebrated work, *Mudra Rakshas*, wherein the following is recorded :—

नन्दान्तं क्षत्रियकुलमिति पौराणशासनात् ।  
 कल्यादो नन्दनामानः केचिदासम्पद्भीभुजः ॥  
 राज्ञः पत्नी सुनन्दासौज्यं छात्या वृषलात्मजा ।  
 सुराख्या सा प्रिया भर्तुः शीललावण्यसम्पदा ॥  
 सुरा प्रासूततनयं मौर्याख्यं गुणवत्तरम् ।

Professor H. H. Wilson translates the foregoing passages as below:—"According to the Puranas, the Kshatriya sovereignty was to cease with Nanda. In the beginning of the Kali age the Nandas were kings so named."

"The king had two wives, of whom Sunanda was the elder—the other was of Sudra extraction; she was the favourite of the king, of great beauty and amiable character—her name was Mura."

"Mura was delivered of one son, of most excellent qualities, who was named Maurya."

Professor Wilson observes that Chandragupta is the most important name in the above list; as it can scarcely be doubted that he is the Sandrocttus, or—as Athenæus writes, more correctly,—the Sandrocoptus, of the Greeks, "as I have endeavoured to prove in the introduction to the *Mudra Rakhasa*. The relative positions of Chandragupta, Vidmisara (or Bimbisara), and Ajatasatru serve to confirm the identification. Sakya was contemporary with both the latter, dying in the eighth year of Ajatasatru's reign. The *Mahavanso* says he reigned twenty-four years afterwards; but the *Vayu Purana* makes his whole reign but twenty-five years, which would place the close of it B.C. 526. The rest of the Saisunaga dynasty, according to the *Vayu* and *Matsya Puranas*, reigned 143 or 140 years; bring-

ing their close to B.C. 383. Another century being deducted for the duration of the Nandas would place the accession of Chandragupta B.C. 283. Chandragupta was the contemporary of Seleucas Necator, who began his reign B.C. 310, and concluded a treaty with him B.C. 305. Although, therefore, his date may not be made out quite correctly from the Pauranic premises, yet the error cannot be more than twenty or thirty years."

Colonel James Tod says that Chandragupta was Mori, and in the sacred genealogies (of the Rajputs) is declared of the race of Takshac. The ancient inscriptions of the Pramaras (Rajputs), of which the Mori is a principal branch, declare it of the race of Tusta or Takshac.

In regard to the Rajaputras or Rajputs the Puranas say:—

शूद्रा विशोस्तु करणोऽम्बष्ठो वैश्या द्विजन्मनो ।

\* \* \* \* \*

क्षत्रात् करणकन्यायां राजपुत्रो बभूव ह ।

राजपुत्रात् करणदागरीति प्रकीर्तितः ॥

सद्यः क्षत्रियवीजेन राजपुत्रस्य योषिति ।

बभूव तीव्ररश्मैव पतितो जारदोषतः ॥

*Brahmavairarta Purana.*

Dr. J. Wilson, F.R.S. translates the foregoing passages as under :—

<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Father.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>	<i>Explanation.</i>
Karana.	Vaisya.	Sudra.	Kayastha.*
Tivara.	Kshatriya.	Rajaputra.	Fisherman.
<b>Rajaputra.</b>	<b>Kshatriya.</b>	<b>Karana.</b>	
Agari.	Karana.	Rajaputra.	Maker of salt.

\* Compare the following where this name is itself used :—

वैश्यायां विप्रतथैर्य्यात् कुम्भकारः स उच्यते ।  
 कुलालहृत्था जीवेत्, नापिता वा भवन्त्यतः ॥  
 सूतके प्रेतके वापि दीक्षाकालेऽथ वापनम् ।  
 नाभेरुध्वन्तु वपनं तस्मान्नापित उच्यते ॥  
 कायस्य इति जीवेत्, विचरेच्च इतस्ततः ॥  
 काकाक्षौण्यं यमात् क्रौर्यं स्थपतेरथ क्षन्तनम् ।  
 आद्यक्षराणि संश्लक्ष्य कायस्य इति कीर्त्तितः ॥

*Usanas.*

वणिक्किरातकायस्यमालाकारकुटुम्बिनः ।  
 वरटो मेदचण्डालदासः श्लेषकोलकाः ॥  
 ऐतेऽन्धजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाश्रमाः ।  
 एषां सभाषणात्क्षानं दर्शनादर्कवीक्षणम् ॥

*I'yasa.*



Alexander Kinloch Forbes writes that the bard Chand states that when the sages dwelt on Mount Abu, and were annoyed by the Asuras, or demons, Vashistha, one of their number, created from a sacrificial pit of fire—Pureehar, Solunkhee, Purmar, and Chohan. From these sprang the thirty-six Rajput clans which he thus enumerates :—

“ The sun, the moon, the Jaduv races ;  
 Kukoosth, Purmar, and Tonwur,  
 Chahoowan, Chalook,  
 Chind, Silar, Abheewur,  
 Doyamutt, Mukwan,  
 Gurooa Gohil, Gahiloot,  
 Chapotkut, Pureehar,  
 Rav Rathor the angry,  
 Deora, Thank, Sindhuv, Unig,  
 Yotik, Prutechar, Dudheekhuth,  
 Karutpal, Kotpal, Hoon,

---

चाटुतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पोष्यमानाः प्रजारचेत् कायस्यैव विशेषतः ॥

*Yajyavalkya.*

With the view that it may not be displeasing to any Indian group, the translation of the above passages is not given. But their Sanskrit is so easy that one having interest in the matter can, without the least difficulty, render them into English.

Hureetuth, Gor, Kumad, Jutt,  
 Dhyanpaluk, Nikoombh great,  
 Rajpal lords of earth,  
 Kaluchur last of all,  
 I have named the thirty-six races."\*

\* The original text of Chand is as under:—

तोहि वंस होइ कुंडलधारी ।  
 अनु कि अर्क राका विस्तारी ॥  
 युति करि सेव देव तिहि पानं ।  
 जै जै तप्य जिते चहुवानं ॥  
 परिहरि बीर बीर नर केकं ।  
 तिहि चालुक्क भयो गुन मेकं ॥  
 परहरि वर पावार तिवारं ।  
 क्रोधरूप जाजुल्य निधारं ॥  
 जाजुल्लति परिहार न दिष्यौ ।  
 षिजि करि विप्र पौरि तह रष्यौ ॥  
 तिन कारन वाचिष्ट रिषीसं ।  
 अर्बुद नाम गिरि नंद जगीसं ॥  
 ता उपर दुरवासा आए । दै सराप वाचिष्ट पठाए ॥  
 अब वे दानव दुष्ट सु दावै ।  
 तो रष्या चव कुली सु रावै ॥

Colonel Tod gives the following names in his list :—Icshwacu, Cacoostha, or Surya; Unwye; Indu, Som or Chandra; Grahilote or Gehlote; Yadu; Tuar; Rahtore; Cushwaha or Cutchwaha; Pramara; Chahuman or Chohan; Chalook or Solanki; Purihara; Chawra; Tak, Tank, or

---

वंस छतीस गनौजै भारी ।

चार कुली कुल तिन अधिकारी ॥

सब सु जात जोनी मग दिषिय ।

ए ब्रह्मा अविसेष विसिषिय ॥

रवि ससि जादव ( or यादव ) वंस ।

ककुस्थ परमार तोंवर ॥

चाहुवान चालुक, छिंद सिलार आभीवर ।

दोयमत्त मकवान, गरुअ गोहिल गहिलुत ।

चापोत्कट परिहार, राव राठोर रोसजुत ।

देबरा टांक सिंधव अनिग,

योतिक प्रतिहार दधीषट ।

कारटपाल कोटपाल हुन,

हरीतट गोर कमाष (ड) जट ।

ध्यानपालक निकुंभवर, राजपाल कविनीस ।

कालकुरकैं आदि दै, वरने वंस छतीस ।

Takshac; Jit or Gete; Hun or Hoon; Catti; Balla; Jhala; Jaitwa or Camari; Gohil; Sarweya; Silar; Dabi; Gor; Doda or Dor; Gherwal; Birgoojur; Sengar; Sikerwal; Byce; Dahia; Johya; Mohil; Nicoompa; Rajpali; Dahima; Hool; Dahirya.

These names throw a flood of light on the present subject.

In his Sanskrit Dictionary Professor H. H. Wilson defines **Hoon**, a barbarian, a **Hun**.

**Hun**—One of the Scythians who conquered Pannonia, and gave it its present name, Hungary. The **Huns** are first mentioned by the Chinese, in the third century before Christ, under the name of Hiong-nu.—*Webster*.

**Huns**.—The name of a considerable nation of antiquity, which, from time to time, made incursions upon the Roman dominions, and which eventually, under Attila, the most renowned of its leaders, brought the empires of both the East and the West to the very verge of destruction.

The **Huns** were of Asiatic origin, and, in all probability, of the Mongolian or Tartar stock; therefore akin to, and perhaps to be identical with, the Scythians and Turks. According to De Guignes, whose theory has been accepted by Gibbon, the Huns who invaded the Roman empire were lineally descended from the Hiong-nou, whose ancient seat was an extensive but barren tract of country immediately to the north of the great wall of China. About the year 200 B. C., these people overran the Chinese empire, defeated the Chinese armies in numerous engagements, and even drove the Emperor Kao-ti himself to an ignominious capitulation and treaty. During the reign of Vou-ti (141—87 B. C.), the power of the Huns was very much broken.

Eventually, they separated into two distinct camps, one of which, amounting to about 50,000 families, went southwards, while the other endeavoured to maintain itself in its original seat. This, however, it was very difficult for them to do; and eventually the most warlike and enterprising went west and northwest in search of new homes.

In the reign of Theodosius the Younger, they had increased so considerably in power, that their sovereign **Rugilas**, or **Raos**, was paid an annual tribute to secure the Roman empire from further injury.

**Rugilas**, dying in the year 434 A. D., was succeeded in the sovereignty of the Huns by his nephews **Attila** and **Bleda**. With **Attila's** death, however, in 454 A. D., the power of the Huns was broken in pieces.

A fabulous origin was assigned to these people worthy of their form and manners—that the witches of Scythia, who for their foul and deadly practices had been driven from society, had copulated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction.—*Chamber's Encyclopædia*.

**Hun** OR **Hoon**.—Amongst the Scythic tribes who have secured for themselves a niche with the thirty-six (Rajput) races of India, is the Hun. At what period this race, so well-known by its ravages and settlement in Europe, invaded India, we know not. Doubtless it was in the society of many others found in the peninsula of Saurashtra, as the **Gatti**, the **Balla**, the **Macwahana**, &c.

The earliest notice of the tribe is in an inscription recording the power of a prince of Behar, who, amidst his other conquests, "humbled the pride of the Huns." In the annals of the early history of Mewar, in the catalogue of princes who made common cause with this the chief of all the

Rajputs, when Cheetore (Chitor) was assailed in the first irruption of the Mohomedans, was Ungutsi, lord of the Huns, who led his quota on this occasion. De Guignes describes Ungut as being the name of a considerable horde of Huns or Moguls; and Abulgazi says that the Tatar tribe who guarded the great wall of China were termed Ungutti, who had a distinct prince with high pay and honour. The countries inhabited by the Hiong-nou and the Ou-huon, the Turks and Moguls, called 'Tatar' from Tatan, the name of the country from the banks of the Irtysh along the mountains of Altai to the shores of the Yellow Sea, are described at large by the historians of the Huns.

D' Anville, quoting Cosmos the traveller, informs us, that the white Huns (Leukoi Ounnoi—an orthography which more assimilates with the Hindu pronunciation of the name Huon, or Oun, than Hun) occupied the north of India; and it is most probable a colony of these found their way into Saurashtra and Mewar.

It is on the eastern bank of the Chambal, at the ancient Barolli, that tradition assigns a residence to the Hoon; and one of the celebrated temples at the place is the marriage hall of the Hoon prince, who is also declared to have been possessed of a lordship on the opposite bank, occupying the site of the present town of Bhynsrar.—*Tod.*

In Sanskrit works it is stated that the Indo-Aryans defeated the Hoons at a very early period of Indian history, somewhere near the country of the Kambojas:—

तत्र हना वरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।

कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुषेष्टितम् ॥

काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।

गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षौटैः सार्धमानताः ॥

The acts of the Indo-Aryan prince which had been manifested in their vigour against the husbands of the women in the seraglios of the Hoon women became the cause of the red scars on their cheeks, which they frantically struck with their own hands in their grief; and the Kambojas, unable to endure his valour in battle, bowed down before him together with the *Akshota* (walnut) trees bruised by the chains of his elephants. In other words, the paleness of the cheeks of the Hoon women consequent to the defeat of their husbands showed the achievements of the victorious Indian prince inscribed on those cheeks; *i. e.*, his victory could easily be inferred from their paleness.

The Kambojas, along with the Javanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and other *mlechchhavascharya* tribes are included in Sanskrit works under the term *DASYU*, somewhat similar to the 'Barbarian' of the Greeks and Romans.

पौण्ड्रकाक्षीद्रविडाः काम्बोजा जवना शकाः ।

पारदाः पल्लवाक्षीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥

मुखवाह्यरूपज्ञानां या लोके जातयो वहिः ।

नृच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वेते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥

Most of the above tribes apparently belonged to Central Asia, whence the Hoons or Huns entered into India.

In the *Markandeya Purana*, prayers are offered to the goddess Chandika for protection against the DASYUS and NAGAS, as in the passage quoted below :—

रक्षांसि यत्रोग्रविषास्य नागा (Naga)

यत्रारयो दस्यु (Dasyu) बलानि यत्र ।

Subsequently these people seem to have strengthened their position in India. The following passages show a very low position of the tribes, called the *Hoons* or *Huns*, Pulindas, Savaras, Varvaras, Pahlavas, Sakas, Malavas, Konkanas, Andhras, Cholas, Pandyas, Keralas, Mlechchhas, Chandalas, Svapachas, Khalas (or Khasas) &c. For these barbarous tribes the terms *Goyonayah*, *Viyonayah* and *Sankaryadohsanirata* are used, giving them a very low birth. Their irruptions bear reference to the *Adhama Yuga* (*Kali-Yuga*), i.e., to the time when the power of the true Kshatriyas (Khatris) was waning.

हनाः पुलिन्दाः शवरा वर्वरा पह्लवाः शकाः ।

मालवाः कोङ्कणा क्षत्र्याः चीलाः पाण्ड्याः सक्कीरलाः ॥

क्षेत्रा मीयोनयस्यान्ते चण्डालाः स्वपचाः खलाः (खशाः)।

\* \* \* \* \*



पापा स्ते कथं धर्मं वेत्स्यन्ति च वियोनयः ।

साङ्ख्यदोषनिरता भविष्यन्त्यधर्मे युगे ॥

*Vaisampayana.*

The **Hoons** or **Huns** are very distinctly mentioned in these passages. The **Pahlavas** appear to have been the ancient Persians ; the **Sakas** were most probably the ancient **Sacæ** ; and the other names refer to the various other races of that time out of the pale of the Indo-Aryan religion.

**Abhiras.**—Another important tribe is the “**Abhira**” which is shown by Colonel Tod as one of the thirty-six races of the Rajputs in the list he drew up from a leaf of an ancient work, obtained from a Yati of a Jain temple at the old city of Nadole in Marwar. The same authority also includes this tribe in the list he compiled from the poem of the bard Chand Bardai. It will be observed from the passages of the *Matsya Purana*, already quoted in original at page 292 of this book, that the **Parsavas**, **Andhras**, **Sakas**, **Pulindas**, **Choolikas**, **Yavanas**, **Kaivartas**, **Abhiras**, **Savaras**, and other **Mlechchha** tribes (*anye mlechhasambhavaḥ*) are therein included in the same group, as belonging to the period about which the power of the true **Kshatriyas** (**Khatris**) declined, and **Mahanandin** and **Chandragupta**, the **Maurya** or **Mori**, flourished.

Manu also mentions a mixed caste, Abhira. He says that from a Brahman on a wife of the Vaisya caste is born a son called Ambastha and from a Brahman by a girl of the Ambastha caste is born an ABHIRA.

**Maurayas**—Of the ancient history of Mauryas sufficient has been already said. It may be added that, in the *Markandaya Purana*, the **Kambus**, Kalakas Daurhradas, **Mauryas**, and Kalakeyas are mentioned as *Daityas* or *Asuras*.\*

**Tak** or **Takshac**.—Takshac appears to be the generic term of the race from which the various scythic tribes, the early invaders of India, branched off. It appears of more ancient application than Getæ, which was the parent of innumerable sachæ. It might not be judicious to separate them, though it would be speculative to say which was the primitive title of the races called scythic, after their country, Sakatai or Saca-dwipa, the land of the great Getæ.

\* अथ सर्वबलैर्देव्याः षडशीतिरुदायुधाः ।

कम्बूनां चतुराशीतिर्निर्यान्तु स्वबलैर्वृताः ॥

कोटिवीर्याणि पञ्चाशदसुराणां कुलानि वै ।

शतं कुलानि धूम्राणां निर्गच्छन्तु ममाग्नया ॥

कालका दौर्द्धदा मौर्याः (Mauryah) कालकेया-

स्तथाऽसुराः ।

युद्धाय सज्जा निर्यान्तु आग्नया त्वरिता मम ॥

Abulgazi makes Taunak, the son of Turc or Targetai, who appears to be the Turashka\* of the Puranas; the Tukyuks of the Chinese historians, the nomadic Tochari of Strabo, who aided to overturn the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and gave their name to the grand division of Asia, Tocharistan or Turkistan;† and there is every appearance of that singular race, the Tajak still scattered over these regions, and whose history appears a mystery, being the descendants of the Takshac.—*Tod.*

In Sanskrit law books the origin of the Takshac, a mixed caste, is thus given :—

शूद्रायां वैश्यसंसर्गाद्विधिना सूचकः स्मृतः ।

सूचकाद्विप्रकन्यायां जातस्तक्षक उच्यते ॥

From a Sudra mother and a Vāisya father is born a Suchaka, and from a Suchaka male and a Brahman girl is born a Takshac.

\* तुरुष्कः स्नेच्छजातिविशेषे ।

† Tacash continued to be a proper name with the great Khans of Carazm (Chorasmia) until they adopted the faith of Mahomed. The father of Jellal, the foe of Jungheez Khan, was named Tacash. Tachkhund on the Jaxartes, the capital of Turkistan, may be derived from the name of the race.

Bayer says, "Tocharistan was the region of the Tochari, who were the ancient Tocharoi or Tacharoi."

Compare तुरुष्कः or तुरुष्कदेश or तुरुष्कस्थान in Sanskrit.

**Jit.**—In all the ancient catalogues of the thirty-six royal (Rajput) races of India the Jit has a place. In the Panjab they still retain their ancient name of Jit. On the Jumna and Ganges they are styled Jats. On the Indus and in Saurashtra they are termed Juts. The greater portion of the husbandmen in Rajasthan are Jits; and there are numerous tribes beyond the Indus, now proselytes to the Mahomedan religion, which derive their origin from this class.

The kingdom of the great Gete, whose capital was on the Jaxartes, preserved its integrity and name from the period of Cyrus to the fourteenth century, when it was converted to the faith of Islam. Herodotus informs us that the Getes were theists and held the tenent of the soul's immortality; and De Guignes asserts that "the superiority of the Chinese over the Turks caused the great Khan to turn his arms against the Nomadic Getes of 'Mawer-ool-Nehr (Transoxiana), descended from the Yuchi, and bred on the Jihoon or Oxus, whence they had extended themselves along the Indus and even Ganges, and are there yet found."

The traditions of the Jits claim the regions west of the Indus as the cradle of the race, and make them of Yadu extraction; thus corroborating the annals of the Yadus, which state their migration from Zabulistan, and almost inducing us to dispense with the descent of this tribe from Krishna, and to pronounce it an important colony of the Yuchi, Ynti, or Jits. Of the first migration from Central Asia of this race within the Indus, we have no record: it might have been simultaneous with the Takshacs, from the invasions of Cyrus or his ancestors.

The Jit divided with the Takshac the claim of being

the parent name of the various tribes called Scythic invaders of India; and there is before the author an inscription of the fifth century applying both epithets to the same prince, who is invested moreover with the Scythic quality of worshipping the sun. It states, likewise, that the mother of this Jit prince was of Yadu race; strengthening their claims to a niche amongst the thirty-six (Rajput) Rajculas, as well as their Yadu descent.

The fifth century of the Christian era, to which this inscription belongs, is a period of interest in Jit history. De Guignes, from original authorities, states the Yuchi, or Jits, to have established themselves in the Panjab in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the inscription now quoted applies to a prince whose capital is styled Salindrapura in these regions. How much earlier than this the Jit penetrated into Rajasthan must be left to more ancient inscriptions to determine: suffice it, that in 440 A.D., we find him in power. At this time 449 A.D. the Jut brothers, Hengist and Horsa, led a colony from Jutland and founded the kingdom of Kent.

The invasion of these **Indu-Scythic** tribes, **Gotes, Takshacs, Asi, Cattl, Rajpali, Huns, Camari**, introduced the worship of Boodha.—*Tod*.

**AGNICULAS.** Of all the thirty-six royal (Rajput) races (says Chand, the great bard of the Chohans), the Agnicula is the greatest: the rest were born of woman; these were created by the Brahmans!

The Agniculas are the **Framara, Purihara, Chalook or Solanki, and Chohan**.

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Abu, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Bal, "the Moonis, who passed their time in devotion, whom desire never

approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, fruits, and flowers, yet did the Daityas, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

The Brahmans dug the pit for burnt-sacrifice to the south-west (*nairit*); but the demons\* raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh, with every impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail.

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priests, assembling round the Agnicōṇḍa, prayed for aid to Mahadeva.

From the fire fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmans placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara (contracted to Purihara). A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara. He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail.

Again Vasishtha,† seated on the lotus, prepared incantations; again he called the gods to aid: and, as he

\* Asoora-Daitya, which Titans were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Scythic hordes.—*Tod*.

† The Bard Chand calls this Brahman 'Vachista' in several places. For example:—

तत्र चिंतिय वाचिष्ट । एह आसुर अविचारिय ॥

*Chand Bardai's Prithwiraj Rasa.*

See also the original text of Chand quoted at page 298 of this book where the word 'Vachista' (वाचिष्ट) is used.

poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*Chatooranga*), whence his name, Chohan.

Vasishtha prayed that his hope might be at length fulfilled, as the Chohan was despatched against the demons. He went against the demons; their leaders he slew. The rest fled, nor halted till they reached the depths of hell. Anhul slew the demons. The Brahmans were made happy; and of his race was Prithwiraja.

The genealogical tree of the Chohans exhibits thirty-nine princes, from Anhul, the first created Chohan to Prithwiraja, who was born in Samvat 1215, or A.D. 1159.

Let us here pause for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and inquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahmanism, and brought within the pale of their faith? They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the pervading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill-favoured; the Agniculas are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the Parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythians in distant ages, and which even Brahmanism has failed to eradicate; while the *tumuli*, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond, where the Chohans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Abu.—*Tod*.

The following throws further light on the subject.

The Rajputs perform the sacrifice 'Johura,' when every *sachæ* (branch) is cut off : and hence the Rajput glories in the title of *sacha band*, from having performed the *sacha* ; an awful rite, and with every appearance of being the *sacæ* of the Scythic Getae, as described by Strabo.

The *Sacæ* had invaded the inhabitants on the borders of the Pontic sea : whilst engaged in dividing the booty, the Persian generals surprised them at night, and exterminated them. To eternize the remembrance of this event, the Persians heaped up the earth round a rock in the plain where the battle was fought, on which they erected two temples, one to the goddess Anaitis, the other to the divinities Omanus and Anandate, and then founded the annual festival called *Sacæa*, still celebrated by the possessors of Zela. Such is the account by some authors of the origin of *Sacæa*. According to others it dates from the reign of Cyrus only. This prince, they say, having carried the war into the country of the *Sacæ* (*Massagetæ* of Herodotus) lost a battle. Compelled to fall back on his magazines, abundantly stored with provisions, but especially wine, and having halted some time to refresh his army, he departed before the enemy, feigning a flight, and leaving his camp standing full of provisions. The *Sacæ* who pursued, reaching the abandoned camp stored with provisions, gave themselves up to debauch. Cyrus returned and surprised the inebriated and senseless barbarians.



Some, buried in profound sleep, were easily massacred; others occupied in drinking and dancing, without defence, fell into the hands of armed foes; so that all perished. The conqueror, attributing his success to divine protection, consecrated this day to the goddess honoured in his country, and decreed it should be called 'the day of the Sacæa.' This is the battle related by Herodotus, to which Strabo alludes, between the Persian monarch and Tomyris queen of the Getæ.

Amongst the Rajput Sachæ, all grand battles attended with fatal results are termed *Saca*. When besieged, without hope of relief, in the last effort of despair, the females are immolated, and the warriors, decorated in saffron robes, rush on inevitable destruction. This is to perform *Saca*, where every branch (*sacha*) is cut off. Chitor has to boast of having thrice (and-a-half) suffered *Saca*. *Chitor sacha ka pap*, 'by the sin of the sack of Chitor,' is the most solemn adjuration of the Gehlote Rajput.

If such be the origin of the festival from the slaughter of the Sacæ of Tomyris, it will be allowed to strengthen the analogy contended for between the Sacæ east and west the Indus.—*Tod*.

A scion from Macaouti, named Ajipal, established himself at Ajmer, and erected its castle of Taragurh. The name of Ajipal is one of the most conspicuous that tradition has preserved. It (Ajmer) is indifferently called Ajimer and Ajidoorg, the invincible hill (*Mera*), or invincible castle (*Doorg*). Tradition, however, says that the name of this renowned abode, the key of Rajputana, derived from the humble profession of the young Chohan,

who was a goat-herd: *Aja* meaning 'a goat' in Sanskrit; still referring to the original pastoral occupation of the Palis.

I obtained at Ajmer and at Pushkar several very valuable medals, Bactrian, Indo-Scythic and Hindu, having the ancient Pali on one side, and the effigy of a horse on the other.

That these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated and converted by the Brahmans to fight their battles, the clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will disclose; and as the most ancient of their inscriptions are in the Pali character, discovered wherever the Buddhist religion prevailed, their being declared of the race of Tusta or Takshac, warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries before Christ.

The Chohans, like most of these remote Rajput tribes (of the Indian desert), dispense with the *Zinar* or *Funnoo*, the distinctive thread of a "twice-born" tribe," and are altogether free from the prejudices of those whom association with Brahmans has bound down with chains of iron. In eating they have no prejudices; they make no *Choka*, or fire-place; their cooks are generally of the barber (*nae*) tribe, and what is left at one meal, they contrary to all good manners, tie up and eat at the next.—*Tod*.

Some derive the word Chauhan from *chan*, "four" (*dharma*, religion; *riti*, ceremonies; *daya*, piety; and *karma*, duties) and *han*, "loss".

The Agnicoonda is still shewn on the summit of Abu. The probable period of this conversion has been hinted at; but of the dynasties issuing from the Agniculas, many of

the princes professed the Buddhist or Jain faith, to periods so late as the Muhammadan invasion.—*Tod*.

**Ghelote.**—Meywar contains ten thousand villages; and the whole of Sircar Chitore is dependent upon it. The governor of the Soobah resides at Chitor. The present possessors of these lands are native Zamindars, who anciently were named Rawel; but for a long time past are called Rana. They are of the Ghelote tribe, and consider themselves to be the descendants from Noorshirwan (Nausherwan). *Ayeen Akbari*.\*

**Rajpali.**—The Raj-Pali, or, 'Royal Pastors,' are enumerated as one of the thirty-six royal (Rajput) races of ancient days: the city of Palithana, 'the abode of the Pali,' in Saurashtra, (built at the foot of Mount Satrunja, sacred to Budha), and Palli in Godwar, are at once evidence of their political consequence and the religion they brought with them; while the different mail-headed characters are claimed by their descendants, the sectarian Jains of the present day. There is scarcely an ancient city in Rajputana whence I have not obtained copies of inscriptions from columns and rocks, or medals, gold, silver, and copper, bearing this antique character. *All are memorials of these races, likewise termed Takshac, the Scythic conquerors of India, ancestors of many of the Rajputs*, whose history the antiquary will one day become better acquainted with.—*Tod*.

See also the names of **Karatpal** and **Kotpal** mentioned by the bard Chand and given at pages 297 and 299 of this book.

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\* Gladwin's translation.

**Rahtore.**—A doubt hangs on the origin of this justly celebrated race. The Rahtore genealogies trace their pedigree to Cush, the second son of Rama; consequently they would be Suryavansa. But by the bards of this race they are denied this honour; and although Cushite, they are held to be the descendants of Casyapa, of the Solar race, by the daughter of a Daitya (Titan).

We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rahtores are, or are not, *Rawud-Vansa*, 'Children of the sun'; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rahtore (from the *raht* or spine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipur prince, (*i.e.*, the first Rahtore) was invented to cover some disgrace.\*—*Tod*.

**Surajvansi or Ravya or Surya, Kakoostha, Raghuvansi and Nikumbha.** Before giving the history of these tribes the following points should be borne in mind:—

- (i) From Rama, all the tribes termed Suryavansa, or 'Race of the Sun,' claim descent.—*Tod*.
- (ii) The existing Rajput tribes of the Solar race claim descent from Lava and Cush, the two sons of Rama; nor do I believe any existing tribes trace their ancestry to his other children, or to his brothers.—*Tod*.

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\* Rajasthan Volumes I and II.

- (iii) The Surajbansis give girls to the..... Gautam and Baghel. The poorer members of the sept are said to sell their daughters to rich Rajputs of any clan irrespective of social rank.—*Crooke*.
- (iv) In Sultanpur the Raghubansis give brides to the Mainpuri Chauhans, Surajbansis of Mahul.....Their gotra is Kasyapa. In Jaunpur they take brides of the Nikumbha.—*Crooke*.
- (v) In Farukhabad the Nikumbhas claim to belong to the Garga Gotra. In Onao they say they belong to the Bharadwaja Gotra; take wives from the Gaur, Dhakre, Bais and Janwar; and give girls to the Sombansi, Rathaur and Chauhan.—*Crooke*.

According to the *Vishnu Purana* and other Sanskrit works, the genealogy of the Aryan Suryavansa is in the following order:—**Vivasvat** (the sun), Manu (Vaivasvata), Ikshavaku, Vikukshi (Sasada), **Puranjaya** or **Kakutstha**, Anenas, Prithu, ..... **Nikumbha**, ..... **Raghu**, ..... **Rama**. In other words, Ikshavaku, the first king of the ancient solar family, was the grandfather of Kakutstha, and Nikumbha was a descendant of Kakutstha. Subsequently Raghu was

born in the same family and Rama was a descendant from Raghu. It will thus be observed that the four persons, Vivasvat or the sun, Kakutstha, Nikumbha, and Raghu belonged to *one* and the *same* family. In the *Ramayana* and other ancient Sanskrit works, the *same* hero, Rama, is therefore in one place called Raghava, or Raghuvansi; in the second place, Kakutstha; and in the third place Suryavansi. The descendants of this Rama of the solar race, the hero of the *Ramayana*, cannot divide themselves into four such families as Suryavansi, Kakutstha, Nikumbha and Raghuvansi. In this case the family must, under whatever name it may be called, remain as *one* and the *same*, nothing to say about the marriages and the different *gotras* in the same family.

It should not be kept out of view that the the well-known *Nikumbha*\* was quite another person, the son of the *Rakshas Kumbhakarana*, brother of Ravana, the King of Lanka or Ceylon, who fought with and was killed by Rama, the Kshatriya hero of the *Ramayana*; that *Kai-Kaous* was a well-known epithet in the Persian dynasties; and that *Rugilas* was the king of the Huns already referred to. The Scythians also worshipped the Sun.

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\* See H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.

It should at the same time be remembered that some sub-divisions of the following tribes also call themselves as Raghuvansi, Surajvansi, and so forth.

Kanjar (a vagrant tribe of a gypsy character)—Surajvansi, Rathaur and Chauhan.

Ahir—Raghuvansi (in Fatehpur and Lucknow).

Baheliya (a class of hunters and fowlers. The tradition is that the father is a barber and the mother an Ahir of bad character)—Raghuvansi (in Oudh) and Chandel (in Gorakhpur).

Beriya or Bediya (a caste of vagrants, very closely allied, if not identical with, the Sansi, Kanjar, &c.)—Raghuvansi and Chauhan. It is said that regular marriages seldom occur among the Beriyan, because nearly all the girls are reserved for prostitution, and the men keep concubines drawn from any other caste. So far is this the rule, that in Farukhabad, it is alleged that if a man marry a girl of the tribe, he is put out of caste; and in Etawah, if a man marry a girl who has been prostituted, he is obliged to pay a fine to the tribal council. Their appearance and physique indicate that they are a branch of the Indian gypsy race.

Thari or Tharu (a tribe having its head quarters in the Himalayan Tarai)—Raghuvansi. It is said that until the nuptial ceremony has been completed, and the woman has become the recognised property of some individual man, she is regarded as the common property of the clan, and is treated accordingly; till then there is no restriction of intercourse. Even when the marriage knot has been

tied, it is not very difficult to get it unloosened ; for the contract is not binding for life, or invested with anything like a sacred character, as it is with the Hindus; and men can, and do, change their wives in a spirit of mutual accommodation.

**Darzi (tailor)**—Surajvansi, Raghuvansi, Solankhi and Rathaur.

**Tamboli (betel-leaves-seller)**—Raghuvansi, Jadon, Rathaur and Rawat.

Sir H. M. Elliot observes that the Nagas extended their usurpations to the Magadha empire of Behar, the throne of which was held by the Nag or serpent dynasty for ten generations. A branch of them the Nagbansee chieftains of Ramgarh Sirgooja, have the lunettes of their serpent ancestor engraved on their signets in proof of their lineage; while the capital and district of Nagpur are called after their name.

It may be added that the whole of the Scythian race is mythically descended from a being half woman and half serpent, who bore three sons to Heracles (HERD. IV, 9-10). It was no doubt from this creation that Milton borrowed his conception of sin. The serpents that are said to have invaded the kingdom of Lydians just before the downfall of Cræsus, were probably nothing more than Scythian Nagas (HERD. I).



Colonel Tod is of opinion that the period of the invasion of the Takshacs, or Nag-vansa, under Shesnag, is about six or seven centuries before the Christian era, at which very period the Scythic invasion of Egypt and Syria, "by the sons of Togarmah riding on horses" is alike recorded by the prophet Ezekiel and Diodorus. The Abu Mahatmya calls the Takshacs "the sons of Himachal," all evincing scythic descent.

Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler remarks that the Scythic Nagas worshipped the serpent as a national deity, and adopted it as a national emblem, and from these circumstances they appear to have derived the name of Nagas, or serpents. The seats of these Nagas were not confined to India, for they have left traces of their belief in almost every religious system, as well as in almost every country in the ancient world. They appear to have entered India at some remote period, and to have pushed their way towards the east and south; but whether they preceeded the Aryans, or whether they followed the Aryans, is a point which has not yet been decided. In process of time these Nagas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity and emblem of the Nagas and the Nagas themselves. The great historic fact in connection

with the Nagas, which stands prominently forward in Hindu myths, is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brahmans. The destruction of serpents at the burning of the forest of Khandava, the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms one of the opening scenes in the *Mahabharata*, and the supernatural exploits of the youthful Krishna against the serpent sent to destroy him, are all expressions of Brahmanical hatred towards the Nagas. Ultimately this antagonism merged into that deadly conflict between the Brahman and the Buddhist, which after a lengthened period of religious warfare terminated in the triumph of the Brahman. From these data it would appear that the Nagas were originally a race distinct from the Aryans, and wholly without the pale of Brahmanism; that those who became Buddhists were either crushed or driven out of India during the age of Brahmanical revival; and that the remainder have become converts to Brahmanism, and appear to be regarded as an inferior order of Kshatriyas.

This is the opinion of Sir. H. M. Elliot, and is confirmed by the present status of the Naga tribe in the neighbourhood of the Manipur valley, who, whenever they profess Hinduism, at once receive the thread of the Kshatriya. *M'Culloch's Account of Manipur.*

Colonel Tod says that ancient inscriptions in the Pali or Buddhist character have been discovered in various parts of Rajasthan, of the race called Tusta, Takshac, and Tak, relating to the tribes, the Mori, Pramara, their descendants. Naga and Takshac are synonymous appellations in Sanskrit for the snake, and the Takshac is the celebrated Nag-vansa of the early heroic history of India. The *Mahabharata* describes, in its usual allegorical style, the wars between the Pandus of Indraprastha and the Takshacs of the north. The assassination of Parikshit by the Takshac, and the exterminating warfare carried on against them by his son and successor, Janmejaya, who at last compelled them to sign tributary engagements, divested of its allegory, is plain historical fact.

From Chand Bardai's\* *Prithwiraj Rasa* it is quite clear that after this historical event of king Janmejaya, the Takshac was allowed by that Kshatriya ruler to reside on Mount Abu, where the conversion of Pramara and other Agnicula Rajputs subsequently took place.\*

\* नृप जनमेजय (Janmejaya) नाम ।

भयौ तामस उत गारव ॥

तात वैर सिंसु दृषि । जियन सोइ लोइ विचारै ॥

This historical fact is further corroborated by the Gotracharya of the Rajputs. "Gotracharya of the Chohans—Sam Veda, *Somvansa*, Madhooni Sacha, Vacha gotra, punch purwar Junoo. Laktuncarinekas, Chandrabhaga Nadi, Brigooneshan,

जानिहु बातन हरिय । मच्छ बंधी जनु जारै ॥

होमंत सक्ति तच्छक (Takshac) सुनग ।

इन्द्र सरन पत्नी तबै ॥

सुनि क्रवराज तामस भयी ।

करहु मंत साधन सबै ॥

करौ अस्तुति यं स्वाहा इंद्र जोग ।

तहां इंद्र आयौ सुरं नाग (Naga) भोगं ॥

इतं देव सादेव सारन आयौ ।

तिनं काटि दीयंत सो पाप पायौ ॥

अभय दान आतुरह । अनं उग्राह पान दत ॥

\* \* \* \*

तिन काज राज प्रार्थयिये ।

जियत तच्छक (Takshac) तन उब्बरै ॥

सो तच्छक (Takshac) आवू (Abu) प्रमान ।

मंडीयौ सू अचल कर ॥

अरबुद (Arbud) नाम धर श्रुतिया ।

दूर तवित बहुराज्या ॥

Amba-ca-Bhavani, Balun Putra, Kal-Bhiroo, Abu Achilleswar Mahadeo, Chatur-bhooja Chauhan."

—*Tod.*

In spite of the admitted regeneration of the Chauhans at Abu, they were entered by their bard into *Somvansa*, which in Sanskrit means Lunar Race.

The country legends abound with instances of the conflict between the Rajput and the Brahman in pre-historic times. As a survival of this it may be noted that, in Bundelkhand, Brahmans will not allow the navel string (*nara*) of Rajput children to be buried in their villages lest the latter tribe may some day supplant and dispossess them.

—*Crooke.*

On the other hand, the ancient true Kshatriyas or Khatriis were and are always regarded by the Brahmans as their protectors "ब्राह्मणानां रक्षतृणां ततः क्षत्रिय उच्यते" and not as their enemies.

There are also some other accounts why certain groups (other than the Khatriis) came to

तब तबि अर्बुद नाग (Arbud Naga) ।

मिच गिरनंद हित हिय ॥

तब निय अर्बुद नाग (Arbud Naga) ।

कांध उह रघौ मंदि नग ॥

*Chand Bardai's Prithwiraj Rasa.*

consider themselves as connected with the sun and the moon. For instance:—

“In Goojur-des (Guzerat) there are eighty-four cities. In one of these, Kaira, resided the Brahman Devadit, the expounder of the *Vedas*. He had an only child, Soobhaga (‘of good fortune’) by name, at once a maiden and a widow. Having learned from her preceptor the solar incantation, incautiously repeating it, the sun appeared and embraced her, and she thence became pregnant. The affliction of her father was diminished when he discovered the parent; nevertheless, [as others might be less charitable,] he sent her with a female attendant to Ballabhipura, where she was delivered of twins, male and female. When grown up the boy was sent to school; but being eternally plagued about his mysterious birth, whence he received the nickname of *Gybie* (‘concealed’), he, in a fit of irritation, one day threatened to kill his mother if she refused to disclose the author of his existence. At this moment the sun revealed himself: he gave the youth a pebble, with which it was sufficient to touch his companions in order to overcome them. Being carried before the Balhara prince, who menaced Gybie, the latter slew him with the pebble, and became himself sovereign of Saurashtra, taking the name of Silladitya (from *Silla*, ‘a stone or pebble,’ and *Aditya*, ‘the sun’): his sister was married to the Raja of Baroach.—*Quoted by Colonel Tod from a Collection of Historic Fragments in the Magadhi Dialect.*

Hemavati was the daughter of Hemraj, the family priest of Indrajit, the Gaharwar Raja of Kashi, or of Indrajit himself. With her at midnight the moon had dalliance. She awoke and saw the moon going away, and was about to curse him saying,—“I am not a Gautam woman that

I should be thus treated." When he replied,— "The curse of Sri Krishna has been fulfilled. "Your son will become a mighty hero, and will reign from the sunrise to the sunset." Hemavati said:—"Tell me that spell whereby my son may be absolved." He answered:—You will have a son and he will be your expiation," and he gave her this spell—" When the time of your delivery comes near go to Asu, near Kalinjar, and there dwell. When within a short time of being delivered, cross the river Ken and go to Khajrain, where Chintaman Baniya lives, and stay with him. Your son shall perform the great sacrifice. In this iron age sacrifices are not perfect. I will appear as a Brahman and complete the sacrifice. Then your absolution will be complete." The fruit of this amour was Chandra Varma, said to have been born in A. D. 157, and from whom Parmel Deo, whose fort Kalinjar was taken by Kutb-ud-din in 1202 A. D —*Crooke*.

Instead of proving any connection with the solar and lunar dynasties, all these legends point indirectly to some flaw in the tribal pedigree.

It may be mentioned that from time immemorial the Khatri have been a very handsome class of people somewhat like the moon; and there is a well-known proverb *Khatri se gora pandu rogi*, i. e., in India, one who is fairer than a Khatri has got a skin disease (the white leprosy), or only one suffering from a skin disease is fairer than a Khatri. The following passage quoted by Sir H. M. Elliot from the celebrated writer, Firishta, is worthy of notice.

"The Brahman and Khatri castes have existed from the most ancient times. There are many other castes which came into existence at the end of the Dwapar Yug or third age, and the beginning of the Kali Yug or fourth age. Thus the Rajputs were not known at first, but sprang into existence in later times...1600 and some years before the time in which I (Firishta) write, they (the Rajputs) attained sovereign power, and the manner of their gaining it is thus related: According to a custom the *rais* of the Khattris make their damsels wait upon them (Khattris) during the day; but give them liberty to do as they please at night; so each fair one chooses whom she will, and gives birth to children. These are brought up with great care, and are looked upon as the children of the great *rais*. As sons of the house, they consider themselves as of noble birth, and call themselves sons of the Rajas. If you ask one of them whose son he is, he will tell you he is a Rajput, that is, son of a Raja; for *Raj* means the same as Raja, and *put* signifies son."\* In this connection see also the Sanskrit authority quoted at page 295 of this book.

It is a well known fact in the ancient history

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\* Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India.

Writers other Firishta also give a somewhat similar description. For obvious reasons further quotations are not given.



of India that the true Kshatriyas used to keep *Naga-Kanyas*, or Naga girls, as their mistresses.

In regard to a somewhat similar connection with the Muhammadan rulers of India, Colonel Tod says that Amber, the nearest to Delhi and the most exposed, though more open to temptation than to conquest, in its then contracted sphere, was the first to set the example. Its Raja Bhagwandas gave his daughter to the Mughal emperor; and subsequently this practice became so common, that some of the most celebrated emperors were the offspring of Rajput princesses. Of these, Salim called after his accession, Jahangir; his ill-fated son, Khushro; Shah Jahan; Kambaksh, the favourite of his father; Aurangzeb, and his rebellious son Akbar, whom his Rajput kin would have placed on the throne had his genius equalled their power, are the most prominent instances. Feroksere, when the empire began to totter, furnished the last instance of a Mughal sovereign marrying a Hindu (Rajput) princess, the daughter of Raja Ajit Singh, sovereign of Marwar.\* In short it

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\* Colonel Tod remarks :—" To this very marriage we owe the origin of our power. When the nuptials were preparing, the emperor fell ill. A mission was at that time at Delhi from Surat, where we traded, of which Mr. Hamilton was the surgeon. He cured the king, and the marriage was completed. In the oriental style, he desired the doctor to

became general, and what originated in force or persuasion, was soon coveted from interested motives; and as nearly all the states submitted in time to give queens to the empire, few were left to stigmatize this dereliction from Hindu principle.

Further details of these people will be out of the scope of this book. It is quite clear from the Sanskrit and other authorities quoted above, that the Mauriyas or Moris, the Abhiras, the Taks or Takshacs, the Nagas, the Yuchis or Yutis, the Hoons or Huns, the Choolikas, the Sakas, the Pulindas, the Yavanas\* or Javanas, the Dasyus, the Mlechchhas, and the like, gradually strengthened their position in India, and that the sovereign power went out of the hands of the true Aryan Kshatriyas (Khatris) of the ancient solar and lunar dynasties.

According to the *Vishnu*, *Matsya* and *Vayu Puranas*, the last king of the solar race of the

name his reward; but instead of asking any thing for himself, he demanded a grant of land for a factory on the Hooghly for his employers. It was accorded, and this was the origin of the greatness of the British empire in the East."

\* When Sandrocottas or Chandragupta used to start from Palibothra, whether on a hunting or war-like expedition, he was attended by *Yavana women*, armed with bows in their hands and wearing garlands of wild flowers.

Aryan Kshatriyas was Sumitra and that of the lunar race Kshemaka. For the original text and other particulars, see Part I.

The darkest period of Indian history is during the six centuries following Vikramaditya, which are scarcely enlightened by a ray of knowledge: but India was undergoing great changes, and foreign tribes were pouring in from the north. To this period, the sixth century, the genealogies of the *Puranas* are brought down, which expressly declare (adopting the prophetic spirit to conceal the alterations and additions they then underwent) that at this time the genuine line of princes would be extinct, and that a mixed race would rule conjointly with foreign barbarians; as the Turushka, the Mauna (see *History of the Tribes* pp. 111, 121, articles "Takshac," and "Jhala," or **Macwahana**, in all probability the *Mauna* of the *Puranas*), the Yavana, the Gorind and Gardhabin. There is much of truth in this; nor is it to be doubted that *many of the Rajput tribes entered India from the north-west regions about this period.* Gor and Gardha have the same signification; the first is Persian, the second its version in Hindi, meaning the 'wild ass,' an appellation of the Persian monarch Bahram, surnamed *Gor* from his partiality to hunting that animal. Various authorities state Byramgor being in India in the fifth century, and his having there left progeny by a princess of Kanauj. A passage extracted by the author from an ancient Jain M. S., indicates that in "S. 523, Raja Gardha-bhela, of Cacoostha, or Suryavansa, ruled in Ballahipura." It has been surmised that Gardha-bhela was the son of Byramgor, a son of whom is stated to have obtained dominion at Pattan.

The *Yavana*, or Greek princes, who apparently continued

to rule within the Indus after the Christian era, were either the remains of the Bactrian dynasty or the independent kingdom of Demetrius or Appollodotus, who ruled in the Panjab, having as their capital *Sagala*, changed by Demetrius to Euthymedia. Bayer says, "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that there was a city within the Hydaspes yet nearer the Indus, called *Sagala*, also Euthymedia; but I scarcely doubt that Demetrius called it Euthy *demia*, from his father, after his death and that of Menander.

On this ancient city, *Sagala*, I have already said much; conjecturing it to be the *Salbanpura* of the Yadus when driven from Zabulistan, and that of the *Yuchi* or *Yuti*, who were fixed there from Central Asia in the fifth century, and if so early as the second century, when Ptolemy wrote, may have originated the change to *Yuti media* the 'Central Yuti.' The numerous medals which I possess, chiefly found within the probable limits of the Greek kingdom of *Sagala*, either belong to these princes or the Parthian kings of Minagara on the Indus. The legends are in Greek on one side, and in the Sassanian character on the reverse. Hitherto I have not deciphered the names of any but those of Appollodotus and Menander; but the titles of 'Great king,' 'Saviour,' and other epithets adopted by the Arsacidæ, are perfectly legible. The devices, however, all incline me to pronounce them Parthian. It would be curious to ascertain how these Greeks and Parthians gradually merged into the Hindu population.

These invaders were Scythic, and in all probability a colony from the Parthian kingdom, which was established in sovereignty on the Indus in the second century, having their capital at *Saminagara*, where the ancient *Yadu* ruled for ages: the Minagara of Arrian, and the Mankir of the

Arabian geographers. It was by this route, through the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, that the various hordes of **Getes** or **Jits**, **Huns**, **Camarl**, **Catti**, **Macwahana**, **Balla** and **Aswaria**, had peopled this peninsula, leaving traces still visible. The period is also remarkable, when these and other Scythic hordes were simultaneously abandoning higher Asia for the cold regions of Europe and the warm plains of Hindustan. From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era, various records exist of these irruptions from the north. Gibbon, quoting De Guignes, mentions one in the second century, which fixed permanently in the Saurashtra peninsula; and the latter, from original authorities, describes another of the **Getes** or **Jits**, styled by the Chinese *Yu-chi*, in the north of India. But the authority directly in point is that of **Cosmas**, surnamed **Indopleustes**, who was in India during the reign of **Justinian**, and that of the first monarch of the Chinese dynasty of **Leam**. **Cosmas** had visited **Callian**, included in the **Ballhara** kingdom; and he mentions the **Abtelites**, or white **Huns**, under their king **Golas**, as being established on the **Indus** at the very period of the invasion of **Ballabhipura**.

**Arrian**, who resided in the second century at **Barugaza** (**Broach**), describes a **Parthian** sovereignty as extending from the **Indus** to the **Nerbudda**. Their capital has already been mentioned, **Minagara**. Whether these, the **Abtelites** of **Cosmas**, were the **Parthian** dynasty of **Arrian**, or whether the **Parthians** were supplanted by the **Huns**, we must remain in ignorance.....It would be indulging a legitimate curiosity, could we by any means discover how these '**Strange**' tribes obtained a footing amongst the **Hindu** races; for so late as seven centuries ago we find **Getes**, **Huns**, **Catti**, **Ariaspas**, and **Dahm**, definitively settled, and

*enumerated amongst the Chhatees rajculas (of the Rajputs). How much earlier the admission, no authority states; but mention is made of several of them aiding in the defence of Chitor, on the first appearance of the Faith of Islam, upwards of eleven hundred years ago.*

*It is a singular fact, that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajput families, all of whom are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of the Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Panjab and on the Indus. Pal or Pali, the universal adjunct to every proper name, indicates the pastoral race of these invaders.—Tod.*

After the cessation of their rule, the true Kshatriyas of ancient India, or the Khattris, followed the mandate of Manu, their great law giver, to preserve their caste and legitimacy, in the earning of their livelihood. For Manu enjoins:—

Among the several occupations for gaining a livelihood the most commendable respectively for the sacerdotal, military, and mercantile classes, are teaching the *Veda*, defending the people, and commerce or keeping herds and flocks.

Yet a Brahman, unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned, may live by the duty of a soldier; for that is the next in rank.

If it be asked, how he must live, should he be unable to get a subsistence by either of those employments; the answer is, he may subsist as a

mercantile man, applying himself in person to tillage and attendance on cattle.

But a Brahman and a Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, must avoid with care, if they can live by keeping herds, the business of tillage, which gives great pain to sentient creatures, and is dependant on the labour of others, as bulls and so forth.

Some are of opinion, that agriculture is excellent; but it is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame; for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it.

If through want of a virtuous livelihood, they cannot follow laudable occupations, they may then gain a competence of wealth by selling commodities usually sold by merchants avoiding what ought to be avoided.

Thus the true Kshatriyas (Khatris) generally took the profession of commerce, avoiding, at the same time, the business of tillage, which is prohibited for them by Mānu.

Other Sanskrit authorities also lay down for the Kshatriyas the profession of trade under such circumstances. For example :—

**ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियाचारमाश्रयेदापदि द्विजाः ।**

क्षत्रियोऽपि च विद्वत्तिमत्यापदि समान्येत् ॥

*Vrihanaradiya Purana.*

चात्रेण कर्मणा जीवेद्दिशां वाप्यापदि द्विजः ।

*Yajnyavalkya.*

Sir George Campbell writes :—"Trade is their main occupation, but in fact they (the Khattris) have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Panjab and the greater part of Afghanistan and doing a good deal beyond these limits, they are in the Panjab the chief administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, moreover, the priests or Gurus of the Sikhs. Both Nanak and Govind were, and the Sodis and Vedis of the present day are, Khattris. Thus, then, they are in the Panjab, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Mahratta Brahmans are in the Mahratta country, besides engrossing the trade, which the Mahratta Brahmans have not. They are not usually military in their character, but quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, and his notorious successor, Mul Raj, and many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries, were Khattris. Even under Muhammadan rulers in the West they



have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatri Diwan of Badakshan or Kundûz, and, I believe, of a Khatri Governor of Peshawar under the Afghans. The Emperor Akbar's famous minister Todar Mal was a Khatri, and a relative of the man of undoubted energy, the great Commissariat contractor of Agra, Joti Prasad, lately informed me that he also is a Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatri is one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India, though, in fact, except locally in the Panjab, they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatri is staunch Hindus, and it is somewhat singular that while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The Khatri is a very fine, fair, handsome race, and as may be gathered from what I have said, they are very generally educated."

Like the Khatri, their family priests, the Saraswat Brahmans, are also fair-complexioned, tall, and handsome men, as will be observed from the following remark of Professor H. H. Wilson.

"It is said in the Gada Parvan or Gadayudha Parvan of the Mahabharata that during a great drought the Brahmans engrossed by the care of subsistence, neglected the study of the sacred book and the Vedas were lost. The Rishi

Saraswata alone, being fed with fish by his mother Saraswati, the personified river so named, kept up his studies, and preserved the Hindu Scripture. At the end of the famine, the Brahmans repaired to him to be taught; and sixty thousand disciples again acquired a knowledge of the Vedas from Saraswata.\* The legend appears to indicate the revival, or, more probably, the introduction of the Hindu ritual by the race of Brahmans, or the people called Saraswata: for, according to the Hindu Geographers, it was the name of a nation, as it still is the appellation of a class of Brahmans who chiefly inhabit the Panjab (*Asiatic Researches* Vol. VII, p. 219 (or Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 22) Vol. VIII. pp. 334-341). The Saraswata Brahmans are met with in many parts of India, and are, usually, fair-complexioned, tall, and handsome men. They are classed in the Jati Malas or popular lists of castes, amongst the five Gauda Brahmans, and are divided into ten tribes. They are said, also, to be especially the Purohitas or family priests of the Kshatriyas or Military caste; (see the *Jati Mala*, printed in Price's *Hindoe and Hindustanee Selections* Vol I. p. 280). Circumstances in harmony with the purport of the legend, and confirmatory of the Saraswatas,

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\* For the Sanskrit text of the Mahabharata, see Part I.

of the Panjab having been prominent agents in the establishment of the Hindu religion in India. The holy land of the Hindus or the primary seat, perhaps of Brahmanism, has, for one of its boundaries, the Saraswati river."

Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler observes that the first point to be settled in the history of the Brahmanic age is the relative geographical position of the Vedic and Brahmanic settlements at the dawn of tradition. The geographical distinction between the two classes of settlements can only be ascertained after a critical investigation of the data which are to be found in the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* and the laws of Manu.

According to Manu there were two ancient territories in the north-west quarter of India, which seem to have been more or less separated from each other by a once famous river known as the Saraswati. This river might be roughly described as flowing from the Himalayas towards the south in a parallel line with the Satlej and Jamna, and about half way between the two; and thus the Aryan invaders from the north-west would have to cross the Saraswati on their way from the Panjab to Hindustan. The region to the westward of the river is said by Manu to have been created or frequented by the Devatas, or gods of the Vedic Aryans. The region to the eastward of the river

is said to have been the country of the ancient Brahman priests, the worshippers of the god Brahma. This distinction between the Devatas, or gods of the Vedic Aryans, and Brahma, or god of the Brahmans, must be especially borne in mind in dealing with the history of ancient India. In Hindu traditions the gods are frequently identified with their worshippers. Thus the term "Devatas" often points to the Vedic people, whilst the term "Brahma" may sometimes point to the Brahman people.

On the first glance at these geographical data, it would appear that the territory of the Vedic Aryans might be identified with the modern Panjab, and that the territory of the Brahmans might be in like manner identified with that of Hindustan proper. Indeed it is by no means improbable that this conjecture involves an important geographical fact; namely, a distinction between the Vedic people and Brahmanic people, corresponding to the distinction between the Panjab and Hindustan. In the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* frequent reference is made to the land of the seven rivers, created by Indra and Agni, which rivers seem to correspond to the seven rivers of the Panjab. The seven rivers of the Panjab consist of the Indus and the Saraswati, and the five rivers between them, namely, the Jhelam,

the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Satlej. Manu, however, restricts both the Vedic region and the Brahmanic region to a much more limited area, and distinguishes each one by a Brahmanical name. The Vedic territory is described as a small tract between the so-called Saraswati and Dhrishadvati, which have been identified with two little streams known in modern maps as the Sersooty and Caggar, and enclose between them a little territory about sixty miles long and from twenty-four to forty miles wide. The Brahmanic territory occupied in the mind of Manu a far larger area, but one which was still confined to western Hindustan, namely, from the bank of the Saraswati to the bank of the Ganges in the neighbourhood of the famous city of Kanauj, an interval of about three hundred miles as the crow flies. In the Vedic period, as will be seen hereafter, the river Saraswati flowed on to the river Indus. In the Brahmanic period, however, when the code of Manu was promulgated, the same river disappeared in the sand long before it reached the Indus; and Vinasana, or the place of the disappearance of the river, was adopted by Manu as a land mark which formed the western boundary of the middle region. Thus at the time when the river Saraswati flowed to the Indus, the Vedic deities were alone wor-

shipped by the Vedic Aryans. In speaking of the Vedic tract, Manu says :—" This country was created by the Devatas (*i. e.* Vedic gods) and therefore the sages (*i. e.*, the Brahmans of a later age, of whom Manu was the representative) gave it the name of Brahnavarta."

A comparison of the geographical data in the *Rig-Veda*, when the river Saraswati flowed on to the Indus, with the geographical data in Manu, when the same river disappeared in the sand long before it reached the Indus, will fully confirm the conclusions which have been laid down. The Saraswati river is known in the *Rig-Veda* as the seventh stream; because apparently it was the seventh and last stream which the Vedic Aryans had to cross in their way from the Panjab to Hindustan proper, or, in other words, from the banks of the Satlej to the banks of the Jamna. It was also called the mother of the Indus or Sindhu; probably because it flowed into the Indus, and thus fed or nourished that river. Its praises are duly hymned in the *Rig-Veda* as the mightiest of rivers, the beautiful goddess, the protecting deity, the bestower of food and riches. " This Saraswati, firm as a city made of iron, flows rapidly with all sustaining water, sweeping away in its might all other waters, as a charioteer clears the road : Saraswati, chief

and parent of rivers, flowing from the mountains to the ocean.....May the auspicious and gracious Saraswati hear our praises at this sacrifice, approached as she is with reverence and with bended knees; We present to thee, Saraswati, these oblations with reverence; be gratified by our praise; and may we ever recline upon thee, as upon a sheltering tree." (*Rig-Veda*, Mandal V, Hymn 95).

The first scene in the history of India opens upon the Aryan occupation of the Panjab. A teeming population had apparently been settled for generations, and perhaps for centuries, in the land of the five or seven rivers. In that remote period the river Saraswati flowed into the Indus; and it is easy to infer from hymns already quoted, that a line of Aryan settlements was to be found on the banks of both rivers. In the subsequent age of Brahmanism, the Aryans had conquered Hindustan, and the geography of the region bordering on the Saraswati had almost faded away from the national memory; and but little was known beyond the fact that the river itself disappeared in the sand long before it reached the Indus. The period between the establishment of Vedic settlements on the Saraswati, and the Aryan conquest of Hindustan, *probably*, says Mr. Wheeler, covers an interval of *thousands* of years.

The Vedic custom relating to food is still the same among these Vedic (Saraswat) Brahmans and the Vedic Kshatriyas (Khatris). That is, the Saraswat Brahmans eat both *pakki* and *kachchi*, food cooked by the Khatris and the *vice versa*. But it should be borne in mind that according to the orthodox view some ceremonies and sacrifices which were allowed in previous ages are, as will be seen from authorities quoted further on, prohibited in the Kali Yuga, or the present age. Even Manu, though permitted animal food in some ceremonies under certain circumstances, laid down several restrictions as well as rules and regulations, with the view of dissuading the people from its use, and finally the great Hindu legislator says :—

He, who injures no animated creature, shall attain without hardship whatever he thinks of, whatever he strives for, whatever he fixes his mind on.

Flesh-meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude ; from flesh-meat, therefore, let man abstain :

Attentively considering the formation of bodies, and the death or confinement of embodied spirits, let him abstain from eating flesh-meat of any kind.



The man, who forsakes not the law, and eats not flesh meat, like a blood-thirsty demon, shall attain good will in this world, and shall not be afflicted with maladies.

He, who consents to the death of an animal ; he, who kills it ; he, who dissects it ; he, who buys it ; he, who sells it ; he, who dresses it : he, who serves it up ; and he, who makes it his food ; these are eight principals in the slaughter.

The following texts, which are collected in a work, entitled the *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, deserve mention.\*

*Narada* :—The slaughter of cattle in the entertainment of a guest, the repast on fleshmeat at funeral obsequies.....are forbidden in the fourth age.

*Aditya Purana* :—What was a duty in the first age, must not, in all cases, be done in the fourth ; since, in the Kali-age, both men and women are addicted to sin : such as the sacrifice .....and all spirituous liquor, must, in the Kali-age, be avoided by twice-born men.

*Smṛiti* :—The slaughter ..... at a sacrifice ; the acceptance of spirituous liquor, even at the ceremony called Sautramanī ;

\* See the general note by Sir William Jones in his translation of Manu.

The slaughter of cattle in honour of eminent guests or of ancestors.

These parts of ancient law were abrogated by wise legislators, as the cases arose at the beginning of the Kali-age, with an intent of securing mankind from evil.

Sir William Jones observes that it is a maxim in the science of legislation and government, that *Laws are of no avail without manners*, or, to explain the sentence more fully, that the best intended legislative provisions would have no beneficial effect even at first, and none at all in a short course of time, unless they were congenial to the disposition and habits, to the religious prejudices, and approved immemorial usages, of the people, for whom they were enacted; especially if those people universally and sincerely believed, that all their ancient usages and established rules of conduct had the sanction of an actual revelation from heaven.

Thus there is a vast number of Brahmans and Khattris who are non-flesh eaters at the present day, whereas with the Scythians and others who entered India in later times the case is quite different.

Fa Hien describes the food and some of the social conditions of the inhabitants of the territory

between Agra and Kanauj. At that time no one except the *Chandalas*, *i. e.* ; the very lowest class, killed any living thing or drank anything intoxicating ; there were no shambles and no wine shops.

Guru Nanak and several of his successors were vegetarians. Guru Hargovind is, however, said by some to have introduced the flesh eating in the Panjab to some extent, but others do not agree with this. Whatever may be, it is well known that both Guru Hargovind and Guru Govind Singh never allowed the flesh of animals slaughtered by Muhammadans in their way. As has already been said, the Akalis, or the fanatical Sikhs, are to this day pure vegetarians.

Dr. Josiah Oldfield, senior physician to the Hospital of St. Francis in London, says that during his study of comparative theology at Oxford he noticed that all religions laid down rules for dietary—some discriminated between clean and unclean animals, and some between food cooked with water and food cooked with milk. These were, however, minor points. The great point was whether meat should be eaten or not ? On this point all the great religions agreed. They all said that on certain fast days in order to purify the spirit and bring themselves nearer to God, they should abstain from meat.

“ I then asked, says Dr. Oldfield, ‘ Why ? And

most of them replied, 'He who abstains does so to have more control over his body and he who controls his physical feeling can approach spiritual glory.' Most philosophers and priests have said that evolution in spiritual life must come from abstinence from meat. Science also says that the human race progresses by evolution and that the less valuable life may be taken when absolutely necessary for the more valuable one. Science advocates meat eating only for the body but so long as the spirit and the character are the most important parts of the man, and so long as it is not proved that the stronger body implies the stronger character and spirit we need not eat meat. If God is all compassion and if we aspire to be with God, we must evolve our character. Injuring life unnecessarily makes men cruel and furious. The true worship of God is not to build temples but to reduce pain. Science also says spiritual evolution comes by the gentle virtues—not by cruelty." From his own experience of the London Vegetarian Hospital in his charge and of the Indian hospitals in which patients are mostly fed on the vegetarian diet he is convinced that meat is not even necessary for patient's physique, it is very doubtful whether meat-eaters are the strongest. The peasantry of England, Scotland and Ireland, which form the backbone of the empire, are mostly fed

on the vegetarian diet. So are the peasantry of India, and even the peasantry of most countries would have far more stamina if only they have enough of nutritious vegetarian diet.

“People,” says Dr. Oldfield, “abstain from meat on different grounds—some because they can not afford it, others because they cannot digest it. I abstain from it, because I consider the vegetarian diet to be the aristophagy of food, *i.e.*, the food that builds up the best of men. Those who wish to live on the best of food, and become the best of men should abstain from meat. Let others eat it, if they like, because there must always remain on the earth a caste of human wolves and hyennas.”

In connection with the principal ceremonies rigidly observed amongst the Khatris, the ceremony of conception, the *Punsavanam* and the *Simantah*, or the ceremonies while the child is in the womb of its mother, may be mentioned. When the male child is born, the *Nandimukh Sradha* and other ceremonies prescribed by the Hindu lawgivers are performed. When the midwife cuts the child's navel-string, it is absolutely necessary to tie the navel part *with the sacred thread* of the father of the child, or of some other elder in the family. The whole family then become unclean for *twelve days*. This state is called *Sutaka*. The Hindu lawgivers say:—

ब्राह्मणस्य सपिण्डानां जननमरणयोर्दशाहमशीचम् ।  
द्वादशाहं राजन्यस्य । पञ्चदशाहं वैश्यस्य । मासं शूद्रस्य ।

*Vishnu.*

क्षत्रस्य द्वादशहानि विशः पञ्चदशैव तु ।  
त्रिंशद्दिनानि शूद्रस्य तदर्धं न्यायवर्त्तिनः ॥

*Yajyavalkya.*

शुभेऽद् द्विजो दशाहेन द्वादशाहेन भूपतिः ।  
वैश्यः पञ्चदशाहेन शूद्रो मासेन शुध्यति ॥

*Usanas.*

विप्रो दशाहमासीत् दानाध्ययनवर्जितः ।  
क्षत्रियो द्वादशाहेन वैश्यः पञ्चदशैव तु ।  
शूद्रः शुध्यति मासेन सम्वर्त्तवचनं यथा ॥

*Samvartha.*

ब्राह्मणो दशरात्रेण द्वादशाहेन भूमिपः ।  
वैश्यः पञ्चदशाहेन शूद्रो मासेन शुध्यति ॥

*Atri.*

जाते विप्रो दशाहेन द्वादशाहेन भूमिपः ।  
वैश्यः पञ्चादशाहेन शूद्रो मासेन शुध्यति ॥

*Parasara.*

जनने मरणे विप्रो दशाहेन विशुध्यति ।  
क्षत्रियो द्वादशाहेन वैश्यः पक्षेण शुध्यति ।  
मासेन तु तथा शूद्रः शुद्धिमाप्नोति नाम्तरा ॥

*Sankha.*

जाति विप्रो दशाहेन द्वादशाहेन भूमिपः ।

वैश्यः पञ्चदशाहेन शूद्रो मासेन शुच्यति ॥

*Daksha.*

All the authorities of the Dharma Sastras, quoted above, prescribe that a Brahman becomes pure in ten days; a Kshatriya in twelve days; a Vaisya in fifteen days; and a Sudra in a month.

Compare the foregoing with the following passage of the *Ayeen Akbari* :—

“Immediately upon the birth of a child, the father bathes himself in cold water, makes offerings to the Dewtahs (Devatas), and the Sheradh (Shradha) for his ancestors. Then the widwife cuts the child's navel-string, when the whole family become unclean. Whilst they continue in this state, they abstain from performing the Hom, worshipping the Dewtahs (Devatas), reading the Gayateree (Gayatri), and all other ceremonies; confining themselves to inward remembrances of the Deity. If the child's father is a Brahmin (Brahman) all who are related to him, as far as the fourth degree of consanguinity, are unclean for ten days. And at the expiration of the above prescribed period, they are cleansed by ablutions. If the father is a KEITEREE (KHATRI), the family are unclean for twelve days, and if a Byess (Vaisya), or Sooder (Sudra), fifteen days. The

inferior branches of Sooder (Sudra) are unclean for thirty days. During this time strangers will not eat in their houses; this state is called Sewtuck (Sutaka)."

The several ceremonies (*Jatakarma*) in connection with the birth of a child, as prescribed in different Sanskrit works, continue till the thirteenth day, when some special ceremonies are performed. Among other things the child must wear from that day an ornament of *steel*, in addition to those of precious metals. The mother of the child keeps with her a sword, or a large knife, or steel in some other shape, for full forty days.

The *Namakarna*, the *Nishkramana* and the *Surya-Pujana* ceremonies are then performed. That is, a name is given to the child and it is carried out of its room or house to see the sun and to worship an image of that deity.

When the child is six months old, the *Anna-prasana* ceremony (*i. e.* putting milk and rice with a golden or silver spoon into the mouth of the child) is performed.

Manu says that, in the fourth month, the child should be carried out of the house to see the sun; in the sixth month, he should be fed with rice; or that may be done, which, by the custom of the family, is thought most propitious.



The *Chuda Karma*, or the *Mundana* (tonsure), and the *Karna Chhadana* (or boring of the ears) ceremonies are then observed. Next is performed one of the most important ceremonies, namely, the *Upanayana* or *Yajyopavita*—the sacred thread ceremony—followed by the *Vedarambha* ceremony, or the learning of the *Veda*.

Professor Max Müller observes that before the ancient language and literature of India had been made accessible to European scholars, it was the fashion to represent the Brahmans as a set of priests jealously guarding the treasures of their sacred wisdom from the members of all the other castes, and thus maintaining their ascendancy over an ignorant people. It requires but the slightest acquaintance with Sanskrit literature to see the utter groundlessness of such a charge. One caste only, the Sudras, were prohibited from knowing the *Veda*. With the other castes, the the military and civil classes, a knowledge of the *Veda*, so far from being prohibited, was a sacred duty. All had to learn the *Veda*, the only privilege of the Brahmans was that they alone were allowed to teach it. It was not even the intention of the Brahmans that only traditional forms of faith and the purely ritual observances should be communicated to the lower castes, and a kind of esoteric religion, that of the *Upanishads*,

be reserved for the Brahmans. On the contrary, there are many indications to show that these esoteric doctrines emanated from the second rather than from the first caste.

In this connection the following passage from the *Chhandogya Upanishad* deserves mention :—

Svetaketu Aruneya (a learned Brahman boy) went to an assembly of the Panchalas. Pravahana Jaivali (a Kshatriya sage) said to him : “ Boy, has your father instructed you ? ” “ Yes, Sir,” he replied.

Do you know to what place men go from here ? No, Sir, he replied.

Do you know how they return again ? No, Sir, he replied.

Do you know where the path of the Devas and the path of the fathers diverge ? No, Sir, he replied.

Do you know why that world (that of fathers) never becomes full ? No, Sir, he replied.

Do you know why in the fifth libation water is called *Man* ? No, Sir, he replied.

Then why did you say (you had been) instructed ? How could any body who did not know these things say that he had been instructed ? Then the boy went back sorrowful to the place of

his father, and said: "Though you had not instructed me, Sir, you said you had instructed me."

That fellow of a Rajanya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them. The father said: As you have told me these questions of his, I do not know any one of them. If I knew these questions, how should I not have told you.

Then Gautama went to the king's place and when he had come to him, the king offered him proper respect. In the morning the king went out on his way to the assembly. The king said to him, "Sir, Gautama, ask a boon of such things as men possess." He replied, "Such things as men possess may remain with you. Tell me the speech which you addressed to the boy."

The king was perplexed, and commanded him, saying, "stay with me some time:" Then he said, "As (to what) you have said to me, Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brahman before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra (Kshatriya) class alone."

It should at the same time be remembered that Gautama was himself a very great philosopher.

The French philosopher Louis Jacolliat says: "Astonishing fact! The Hindu revelation, which proclaims the slow and gradual formation of worlds, is of all revelations the only one whose

ideas are in complete harmony with modern science."

It should not be overlooked that the Rishi of the most sacred *mantra* of the Vedas, the *Gayatri*, is a son of a Kshatriya of the Kausika family, to which (family) the Kapur sept of the Khatris belong. Mr. Colebrooke says that the authorship of certain hymns of the Rig-Veda belong to royal authors, such as Mandhatri, son of Yuvanasva; Sivi, son of Usinara; Vasumanas, son of Rohidasva, and Pratardana, son of Divodasa. Other hymns of the same Veda are attributed to several of the sons of Vishvamitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha and Renu; to Ambarisha; to Bharata, the father of Devasrava; to Medhatithi; to Nabhaga; to Rahugana; to Vatsapriya, the son of Bhalandana; to Pururuva, of the lunar race of kings; to Vena; to Sudasa, Gritsamada, Devapi and Santanu; and to other princely authors. Some of these names are of daily use among the Khatris in their religious Vedic ceremonies. The connection of Mandhatri or Mandhata and Ambarisha or Ambarikha with the Tandan sept of the Khatris has already been explained at pages 42 and 43 of this book in the history of Raja Todar Mal Tandan.

In regard to the duties of the teacher and the student and the learning of the *Gayatri* or *Savitri*

from the former by the latter, the following is laid down in the second *Kanda* of the *Paraskara Grihya Sutra*, which belongs to the *White Yajur Veda*.

Having walked round the fire with his right side turned towards it, he sits down—

Taking hold (of the student), he sacrifices the *Ajya* oblations, and after having partaken (of the remains of the sacrificial food) he instructs him. "A student art thou—Take water. Do the service. Do not sleep in the day time. Keep silence. Put fuel on (the fire). Take water."

He then recites the *Savitri* to him, who is seated to the north of the fire, with his face to the west, sitting near the teacher, and looks (at the teacher) while (the teacher) looks at him; some say, to (the student) who is standing or seated to the south (of the fire), *pada* by *pada*, (then) hemistich by hemistich, and the third time the whole (*mantra*) reciting it together (with the student), after one year, or after six months, or after twenty-four days, or after twelve days, or after six days, or after three days.

To a Brahman, however, he should recite the (*Savitri*) verse in the *Gayatri* metre immediately. For it is said in the *Sruti* "To Agni indeed belongs the Brahman." A *Trishtubh* verse to a

Rajanya. A Jagati to a Vaisya. Or a Gayatri to (persons of) all (the three classes).

The second *Adhyaya* of the *Sankhayayana Grihya Sutra*, which is based on the *Rig-Veda*, lays down the following:—

After one year (the teacher) recites the Savitri (to the student), (or) after three nights, or immediately.

Let him recite a Gayatri to a Brahman. A Trishtubh to a Kshatriya. A Jagati to a Vaisya. But let it be any how a verse sacred to Savitar.

They seat themselves to the north of fire; the teacher with his face turned eastward.

After (the student) has said, "Recite, Sir!" The teacher, having pronounced the word *Om*, then causes the other one to say, "Recite the Savitri, Sir!"

He then recites the Savitri to him, firstly *pada* by *pada*, (then) hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) without a stop.

In the first *Adhyaya* of the *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra*, the following is laid down:—

Seizing with his (the student's) garment and with (his own) hands (the student's) hands (the teacher) recites the Savitri, (firstly) *pada* by *pada*, (then) hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) the

whole (verse). He should make him recite (the Savitri) as far as he is able.

In the second *Patala* of the *Khadira-Grihya-Sutra*, which belongs to the Drahyayana school of the *Sama-Veda*, the following is given :—

With the words), "Recite, Sir!" (the student) should respectfully sit down near (the teacher). He then recites the Savitri to him, *pada* by *pada*, hemistich by hemistich, (and finally) the whole—thus he should teach him the Savitri and the Mahavyahritis one by one and the word *Om*.

In accordance with these rules the Saraswat Brahmins recite to the Khatri boys at the prescribed age the word *Om*, the Mahavyahritis, and the Gayatri or Savitri, on the day the *Yajyopavita* ceremony takes place.

In regard to this ceremony Manu says :—

In the eighth year from the conception of a Brahman, in the eleventh from that of a Kshatriya and in the twelfth from that of a Vaisya, let the father invest the child with mark of his class :

Should a Brahman be desirous of his advancement in sacred knowledge; a Kshatriya, of extending his power; or a Vaisya, of engaging in mercantile business; the investiture may be made in the fifth, sixth, or eighth years respectively.

The ceremony of investiture hallowed by the Gayatri must not be delayed, in the case of a

Brahman, beyond the sixteenth year; nor in that of a Kshatriya, beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vaisya, beyond the twenty-fourth.

After that, all youths of these three classes, who have not been invested at the proper time, become *Vratyas*, or out-castes, degraded from the Gayatri, and condemned by the virtuous.

With such impure men, let no Brahman, even in distress for subsistence, ever form a connection in law, either by the study of the *Veda*, or by affinity.

Let students in theology wear for their mantles, the hides of black antelopes, of common deer, or of goats, with lower vests of woven *Sana*, of *Kshuma*, and of wool, in the direct order of their classes.

After describing some other particulars, Manu observes :—

The most excellent of the three classes, being girt with the sacrificial thread, must ask food, with the respectful word *bharati*, at the beginning of the phrase; those of the second class, with that word in the middle; and those of the third, with that word at the end.

Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his mother's sister; then of some other female who will not disgrace him.



Having collected as much of the desired food as he has occasion for, and having presented it without guile to his preceptor, let him eat some of it, being duly purified, with his face to the east.

A youth of the three highest classes is named *Upaviti*, when his right hand is extended for the cord to pass over his head and be fixed on his left shoulder; when his left hand is extended, that the thread may be placed on his right shoulder, he is called *Prachinaviti*; and *Niviti*, when it is fastened on his neck.

The other Hindu law-givers are also to the same effect, as will be seen from the original texts quoted below:—

गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टे ब्राह्मणस्योपनयनम् ।

गर्भेकादशे रात्रः । गर्भद्वादशे विशः ।

आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्य सावित्री नातिवर्त्तते ।

आद्वाविंशात् क्षत्रबन्धोराचतुर्विंशतेर्विशः ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं त्रयोऽप्येते यथा कालमसंस्कृताः ।

सावित्री पतिता ब्राह्म्या भवन्त्यार्यविगर्हिताः ॥

\* \* \*

मातुरग्रे विजननं द्वितीयं मौञ्जबन्धनम् ।

*Vishnu.*

विप्रो गर्भाष्टमे वर्षे क्षत्र एकादशे तथा ।  
 द्वादशे वैश्यजातिस्तु व्रतोपनयनमर्हति ॥  
 तस्य प्राप्तव्रतस्यायं कालः स्यात् द्विगुणाधिकः ।  
 वेदव्रतच्युतो ब्राह्म्यः सत्रात्यस्तोममर्हति ॥

*Vyasa.*

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्यास्तथोवर्णा द्विजातयः ।  
 तेषां जन्मद्वितीयस्तु विज्ञेयं मौञ्जबन्धनम् ॥

*Sankha.*

अथो वर्णा द्विजातयो ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्याः ।  
 तेषां मातुरयेऽधिजननं द्वितीयं मौञ्जबन्धने ॥

*Vasishtha.*

Compare these with the following passages given in the *Ayeen Akbari*:—

“The Brahmins (Brahmans) regard the *Zenar* as one of the first principles of their religion : indeed none of the three first tribes consider themselves initiated till they have put it on. A Brahmin (Brahman) may put on the *Zenar* at any time between eight and sixteen years of age ; a *Kehteree* (*Khatri*), from eleven till twenty-two ; a *Byess* (*Vaisya*), from twelve to twenty-four ; but a *Sooder* (*Sudra*) cannot wear it. If any of the three tribes neglects to put on the *Zenar* within the prescribed time for each, he is not considered as a Hindoo.”

“A Brahmin (Brahman) receives the *Zenar* from his father or tutor; a Kehteree (Khatri) and a Byess (Vaisya) from the hands of a Brahmin (Brahman). Only a Brahmin (Brahman) can twist this cord; and that which a Brahmin (Brahman) puts on the first time, must be twisted by his father or tutor. It is made after the following manner: three threads, each measuring ninety-six hands, are twisted together; then they are folded into three, and twisted again, making it to consist of nine threads. This is folded again into three, but without any more twisting and each end fastened with a knot.\* This is the *Zenar*, which, being put upon the left shoulder, passes to the right side, and hangs down as far as the fingers can reach.”

“A Brahmin (Brahman) uses antelope skin; a Kehteree (Khatri) any other deer skin; and a Byess (Vaisya) goat skin: They, moreover, at this time, wear round the waist a cord, made of a particular kind of grass, called *Moonj*.”

\* चिह्नदूर्ध्वं वृतं कार्यं तन्मुच्यमधो वृतम् । चिह्नं चोपवीतं स्वात्तस्वेको ग्रन्थिरिष्यते । वामावर्तं त्रिगुणं कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणावर्तं नवगुणं विधाय तदेवं त्रिसरं कृत्वा ग्रन्थिनेत्रं विदध्यादिति पारस्कारगृह्यसूत्रे हरिहरभाष्ये ।

“He next learns the Gayatree (Gayatri) which are certain words in praise of the sun. This they consider like the Kelma of the Muhammadans.”

It is hardly necessary to say that the ceremony of the *Yajyopavita* is very rigidly observed among the Khatris, as is explained above. A handsome Khatri boy, with deer skin on his side and the cord of the *moonj* grass round his waist, begging food from his mother and other females, with the word *bhavati* in the middle of the Sanskrit phrase, is worthy to be seen at this ceremony.

After some ordinary ceremonies, the next important ceremony is the marriage. In this the bridegroom goes to the house of the father of the bride on a horse with his sword in his right hand. The sword is not merely for the purpose of display, or of protection against a danger, but certain ceremonies are actually performed with this weapon, and it is therefore absolutely necessary with the Khatri bridegroom.

The family goddess of many Khatris is Chandika.

दंष्ट्रा करालवदने शिरोमाला विभूषणे ।

चामुण्डे मुण्डमथने नारायणि नमोऽस्तु ते ॥

*Markandeya Purana.*

This deity is represented, as having terrible large teeth and a chaplet or garland (शिरोमाला)

worn on her head, in the act of killing the demons, Chanda and Munda.

Another Sanskrit name for this garland for the head is *Sekhara* (शेखरः), or *Sekharaka* (शेखरकः), the Prakrit form of which is *Sehara* (सेहरा). From the Prakrit it has taken the Hindi and Panjabi form *Sehara* (सेहरा) or *Sihara* (सिहरा).\*

This head dress or *Sehara* is worn by the Khattris and Saraswat Brahmans in all their important ceremonies, such as the *Mundana*, the *Yajyopavita*, the marriage and so forth. For the marriage this head dress is made of gold thread.

From the above it will be observed that the word *Sehara* is in common use from the time when the Prakrit was a spoken language in India, more than twenty-five hundred years ago—nothing to say about the period when the Sanskrit form of this head dress was in use. Historical science is strictly allied to, and dependent on, Philological science; and one not knowing the true derivation of this word may guess that it has some connection with the Muhammadan or Getic period. It is possible that other nations might have also adopted this head dress and slightly modified its shape.

\* See page 161, Vol: XVII (Part II) of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1889.

A little consideration over the rules of Philology will show that the change from the Sanskrit letter *kha* (ख) into Hindi and Panjabi *ha* (ह) takes place not only in the word *Sehara* but there are also many other words of this class in the modern dialects of India. For example :—

Skr. मुख face, Pr. मुह, H. मुंह, S. मुंह,  
G. मोहो.

Skr. नख nail, H. नह, S. नहु, P. नहुं.

Skr. सखी a female companion, Pr. सही, G.  
सही, H. S. P. सहेली, M. B. O. सर्ई.

Skr. सुखकर agreeable, Pr. सुहकर, H. सोहर.

Skr. शखेट hunt, H. शहर.

The other important ceremonies among the Khattris are the *Muklava* and the *Devakarya* or *Deva-Darsana*. The latter is performed when one has got his first son, as the Hindu law directs the twice-borns to pay his three debts (1) to the *Rishis* or sages by reading the Vedas and other religious books, (2) to the *Devas* or gods by performing regular sacrifices, and (3) to the *Pitris* or manes by begetting a son.

In connection with the birth of King Dasaratha it is said :—

अपिदेवगणस्वधामुजां श्रुतयागप्रसवैः स पार्थिवः ।

अमृतत्वमुपेयिवान् वभी परिधेर्मुक्त इवोच्छदीधितिः ॥

King Aja, father of Dasaratha, by the study of the *Vedas*, by sacrifices, and by procreation of sons, having obtained release from debts due to Rishis, gods and the enjoyers of oblations (the manes), shone like the sun freed from his halo.

The *Antyeshti karma*, or the ceremony of the dead, is also very rigidly observed among the Khatris. It lasts for four years. As in the case of the birth of a child so in the present state the whole family remain unclean for twelve days in accordance with the authorities of the Hindu law books already quoted.

In regard to the *gotras* of the Khatris, sufficient has already been said. It may, however, be mentioned that it is not necessary that the *gotras* of the Khatris and their Purohitas, or family priests, should be the same. For example, the *gotra* of Tandana Khatris is Angiras, and that of their Purohitas, the Jhigran sept of the Sarāswata Brahmans, is Bharadvaja. Again the *gotra* of Mihire Khatris is Kausalya and that of their Purohitas, the Jetli sept of the Saraswat Brahmans, is Vatsa. It can never be said that the Saraswat Brahmans of the Jhigran and Jetli septs have got the *Vriti* of Tandana and Mihire Khatris from other Brahmans. The same remark applies to Kanne Khatris and their Purohitas.

But it may not be forgotten that—as in 'old times Brahmins and Kshatriyas could intermarry among themselves and the descendants of one and the same Rishi could be Brahmins and Kshatriyas—in certain cases the Brahmins and the true Kshatriyas or Khatriis are descended from, and belong to, one and the same\* family, as is quite clear from the following passages.

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो राजर्षि सत्कृतः ।

क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति कलौ ॥

*Vishnu Purana.*

The sovereign power of the race which gave origin to Brahmins and Kshatriyas and which was purified by Rajarishis or regal sages terminated with King Kshemaka in the Kali Age.

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षि सत्कृतः ।

क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

*Vayu Purana.*

\* This subject is fully discussed in Part I., wherein a genealogical tree is given on the authority of Sanskrit works, showing the Brahmins and Kshatriyas descending from one and the same progenitor *i. e.*, belonging to the same *gotra*. Dr. John Muir also says that Brahmins and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock.



The rule of the race which gave *origin to Brahmans and Kshatriyas* and which was purified by Devarishis terminated with King Kshemaka in the Kali Age.

वेणुहोत्रसुतश्चापि गार्ग्यो वै नाम विश्रुतः ।

गार्ग्यस्य गर्गभूमिस्तु वत्सो वत्सस्य धीमतः ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव तयोः पुत्राः सुधार्मिकाः ॥

*Vayu Puranu.*

The son of Venuhotra was the celebrated Gargya; Gargabhumi was the son of Gargya; and Vatsa, of (*Dhimatah* or wise) Vatsa: *Virtuous Brahmans and Kshatriyas were the sons of these two.*

The Khattris, irrespective of their ancient family names, are at the present day also known by provincial groups in connection with the names of places where they settled themselves. These groups are the Agrewale\* (*i. e.* of Agra), the Dilwali† (*i. e.* of Delhi), the Sinandiye (or Sirhin-

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\* Some derive the word "Agrewala" from Sanskrit "Agra," foremost—*i. e.*, those who are foremost in their *Acharas* and *Vicharas* according to the *Shastras*: otherwise expressed, those who belong to the most orthodox class. The ancient town of Agroha in the Panjab is also referred to by some in their connection.

† The place Dilwal is also mentioned in regard to the origin of this group.

diye), the Lahoriye, the Multaniye, the Peshauriye, the Purvia (from *Purva*, the east), the Pachhainye (from *Paschama*, the west), and so forth.

The foremost families in the Agrewale group of the Khattris are the Tandan, the Mihire, the Kapur, and the Khamne. They are called Chaujati (*i.e.* four families) and include the Dhaighar\* and Charghar divisions.\*

In the Dilwali group of the Khattris, the foremost families are the Mihire, the Tandan, the Kapur and the Seth.

In the Lahoriye group of the Khattris, the Mihire, the Kapur, the Khamne, and the Seth are included in the foremost families.

Similar is the case with other groups.

In addition to the Dhai and Charghar divisions, there is another division termed Bari or Bareghar (including twelve families), and another known as the Bhanjais or Bawanjatis (including fifty-two families). There are also Sarin, Khokran, Dharman and other divisions.

\* The names of the Khatri warriors, Lallu and Jagdar, are mentioned as one of the reasons in connection with the great distinctions at present among the Khattris. But there were sub-divisions before their time also. A fair, called Lallu-Jagdar-ka-Mela, is still annually held at Agra in memory to these two brothers.

Most of the names of the Khatri families are taken from their military profession. The very names of these septs indicate the weapons used and the military arts practised by the Khatri of old. For example :—

**Tandan or Ranjit Tandan.**—The heroes who always gain victories in battles. For further details of this noble family and its connection with the Aryan kings of ancient India, see pages 41 to 43 of this book in the accounts of Raja Todar Mal Tandan.

**Mihire or Mihiretre.**—The descendants of the sun. In Sanskrit *mihira*\* (मिहिर) means the sun.

**Kapur.†**—The descendants of the moon.

\* For example :—

मयितावन्मिहिरोऽपि निर्दयोऽभूत्

*Bhaminivilasa.*

वदनकमलपरिशीलनमिलितमिहिरसमकुण्डलशोभम् ।

*Gita Govinda.*

† कर्पूरचन्द्रसंज्ञे ॥

The Sanskrit word Karpura (कर्पूर) when used in Prakrit as well as in Hindi and Panjabi takes the form of Kappura (कप्पूर) or Kapur (कपूर). For example :—

पुत्ति कप्पूर मञ्जरि तहज्जेब्ब करी अद्द ।

*Rajasekhara's Karpuramanjari.*

**Dhanwin or Dhaun.**—The archers. The *dhanu* (bow) is thus personified—

पृथुग्रीवं सूक्ष्मशिरः तनुमध्यं सुपृष्ठवत् ।  
चतुष्किष्कुप्रांशुदेहं त्रिणतं दीर्घजिह्वकम् ॥  
द्रंद्वा करालवदनं रक्ताभं घरघरस्वनम् ।  
आन्त्रमाला परिक्षिप्तं लेलिहानञ्च सूक्ष्मणी ॥

A being that has a broad neck, a small face, a slender waist, and a strong back. He is four cubits in height, and bent in three places. He has a long tongue, and his mouth has terrible tusks ; his colour is that of blood, and he makes always a gurgling noise. He is covered with garlands of entrails, and licks continually with his tongue the two corners of his mouth.

धनुर्वेदविधानेन नाम्न्य वामकरेण तत् ।  
दक्षिणेन ज्यया योज्यं पृष्ठे मध्ये प्रगृह्य तत् ॥  
वामाङ्गुष्ठं तदुदरे पृष्ठे तु चतुरङ्गुलीः ।  
पुङ्गमध्ये ज्यया योज्यं स्वाङ्गुली विवरेण तु ॥  
आकर्णन्तु समाकथ्य दृष्टिं लक्ष्ये विवेश्य च ।  
लक्षात् अन्यात् अपश्यन्तु कृतपुङ्गः प्रयोगवित् ॥  
यदा मुञ्चेत् शरम्विध्ये तत्कृतहस्तस्तदोच्यते ।  
एवम्वाणाः प्रयोक्तव्याः ह्यात्मारभ्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥

Accordinging to the rules laid down in the

Dhanurveda, the bow should be bent by the left hand, the bowstring should be taken by the right hand, and the arrow be placed on the thumb and between the fingers of the bowhand on the back of the bow.

The length of the bow, and consequently also of the arrow, varies. Two strings are generally fixed to a bow, and the archer wears on his left arm a leather protection against the bow, and a quiver on his back.

लक्ष्यस्य प्रतिसन्धानमाकर्षणविकर्षणे ।

पर्याकर्षानुकर्षी च मण्डलीकरणं तथा ॥

पूरणं धारणं चैव धूननभ्रामणं तथा ।

आसन्नदूरपातौ च पृष्ठमध्यमपातने ।

एतानि वलिताभ्याङ्गुस्तुर्दशधनुर्विदः ॥

Fourteen\* different movements (Pratisandhana, Akarsana, Vikarsana, Paryakarsana, and the others mentioned in the above verses) which can be made when using the *Dhanu* (bow) are distinguished by the Dhanurvedahs or Dhanwins.

**Mahendru.\***—The great lords having connection with the God Indra. Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler

\* The Sanskrit word "Mahendra" is made of *maha*, the great, and *Indra*, the God Indra or Lord.

*Maha + Indra = Mahendra.*

observes that the chief gods of Vedic Aryans were Indra and Agni. Indra as the style of sovereignty and conquest, the giver of rain, and sometimes the creator of the rivers and mountains; and Agni, as light or fire in all its varied manifestations, as the creative or vivifying spirit which animated the entire universe like a supreme soul. Judging from the analogy furnished by Hebrew history, the hymns might be referred to a class of minstrels of whom King David was a type, rather than to a sacerdotal class. But there is an opposition in the hymns of the Rig-Veda between a peaceful community and a warlike community which might possibly indicate an opposition between the ancestors of the men who afterwards became Brahmans and the ancestors of the men who afterwards became Kshatriyas. Such an opposition must be referred to a period long before the names of Brahman and Kshatriya had been applied to the priest and warrior castes. It has been seen that the majority of the hymns of the Rig-Veda are the expression of a peaceful community, who offered simple oblations of butter and milk to the deities of the elements, and other personified abstractions; and this class of priestly worshippers has been identified with the ancestors of the later Brahmans. In like manner it has been seen that there are other hymns which appear to be the

expression of a warlike class of the community ; for they are connected with flesh\* sacrifices to Indra ; and accordingly this class of worshippers has been identified with the ancestors of the later Kshatriyas. Traces are also to be found in these ancient hymns of an opposition between the worship of the Maruts, or winds, by a peaceful community, and the worship of Indra, as a hero, by a warlike community. In one hymn Indra is represented as expostulating with the Maruts in the following language :—" Where, Maruts, has that food been assigned to you, which was appropriated to me alone for the destruction of Ali? For I indeed am fierce, and strong, and mighty, and have bowed down all my enemies with death-dealing shafts." Again, Agastya, the sage, who appears to have especially upheld the worship of the Maruts, expostulates with Indra thus :—" Why, Indra, dost thou purpose to slay us? The Maruts are thy brethren! Share with them in peace; destroy us not in enmity. In another hymn a worshipper thus expresses to the Maruts his alarm at the jealousy of Indra :—" Maruts, through fear of that violent Indra, I fly trembling ; the oblations that had been prepared for you have

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\* As a relic of this pre-historic custom, flesh offerings are still made by certain Khatri families to *Joginis* (*Yoganis*) or kites before the marriage and some other ceremonies.

been put away ; nevertheless have patience with us." Indeed some of the hymns which are addressed to Indra are wholly of a warlike and triumphant character, like the song of Mirian, or the song of Barak and Deborah, and can scarcely be identified as belonging to a devotional psalmody. The potent god, the showerer of benefits, is invoked as the destroyer of the cities of the Dasyus, the conqueror of Sambara, the slayer of the black-skinned barbarians who gave him no libations, and who molested the white complexioned Aryans, that were his friends and worshippers.

**Vyuhori** or **Buhori**, Vyuh-ari (व्यूह + अरि). Experts in breaking the columns (Vyuhas) of the enemy. The formation of an army into different columns is a subject to which great attention was paid by the Aryan Kshatriyas.

दण्डो भोगोऽसंहतश्च मण्डलव्यूह एव च ।

व्यूहाश्चत्वार एवेते तेषु भेदान् ब्रवीम्यहम् ॥

प्रदरो दृढकक्षत्थश्चापभूस्रस्त्रिरेव च ।

सुप्रतिष्ठोऽप्रतिष्ठश्च श्येनो विजयसञ्जयी ॥

विशालो विजयः सूची स्थूणो कर्णश्चमूमुखः ।

सुखास्यो विजयश्चेति दण्डस्त्रसदशात्मकः ॥

गोमूचिका हंसिका च सञ्चारीशकटस्तथा ।



एवं करपतन्तीति भोगभेदास्तु पञ्चवै ॥

अर्धचन्द्रकटदारो वज्रशकटकस्तथा ।

शृंगी च काकपादी च गोधिकेत्यपरस्तः ॥

असंहतः षड्विधस्तथादित्याहुर्व्यूहकोविदाः ।

सर्वभद्रो दुर्जयश्च मण्डलोपि द्विधा इति ॥

Four different kinds of principal Vyuhās or columns are enumerated, namely, the Danda Vyūha, Bhoga Vyūha, Asamhata Vyūha, and Mandala Vyūha.

The Danda Vyūha has seventeen varieties, *viz.*, the Pradara, Suchi, Syena, Sthuna, Karna, Chamumukha, and so forth.

There are five varieties of the Bhoga Vyūha, *viz.*, the Gomutrika, Hamsika, Sanchari, Sakata, and Karpatanti.

The Asamhata Vyūha has six varieties, *viz.*,—the Ardha-Chandra (half-moon), Vajra, Sringi, Kakapadi, and so forth.

There are only two varieties of the Mandala Vyūha, *viz.*, the Sarvabhadra and Durjaya.

वाराहीमकरव्यूहो गारुडः क्रीञ्च एव च ।

पद्माद्याद्याङ्गवैकल्यास्ते तेभ्यास्ते पृथक्स्मृताः ॥

Besides these, five most important columns are not enrolled in any of these sets ; they are called

the Varaha Vyuha, Makara Vyuha, Garuda Vyuha, Krauncha Vyuha, and Padama Vyuha.

The place where the Kauravas arranged at the time of the great war of the *Mahabharata* their troops in the Chakra Vyuha order is still shown at Thanesar, or Kurukshetra, about a hundred miles from Dehli, in the Karnal district of the Panjab.

In connection with this historical place it is related in the *Mahabharata* that Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, fought with distinguished valour on the first day of the great war, cutting down the ensign in the chariot of the great Bhishma, the generalissimo of the Kauravas. On the second day he slew a son of Duryodhana and when attacked by the latter was rescued by Arjuna. On the thirteenth day of the *Mahabharata*, he was, owing to the absence of Arjuna, commanded by Yudhishtira to charge the Kauravas who were drawn up in the Chakra Vyuha order; he succeeded to drive his chariot into the enemies' ranks and performed prodigies of valour, proving himself to be acquainted with particulars of this Vyuha of the enemies. He was, however, over-powered by six warriors and was finally slain.

**Khagga.**—Experts in the use of the sword. In the Sanskrit word *Khadga*, which means a

sword, when it is used in the Prakrit, the letter *d* is elided and the letter *g* is doubled according to the following *sutra* of Vararuchi:—

उपरिलोपः कगडतदपषसां ।

कादौनामष्टानां युक्तस्योपरिष्ठितानां लोपो भवति ॥

कस्य तावत् ॥ डस्य । खगो ॥

This weapon of the Aryan Kshatriyas is thus described.—

ईषद्वक्रश्चेकधारो विस्तारो चतुरंगुलः ।

क्षुरप्रान्तो नाभिसमो दृढमुष्टिसुचन्द्ररक् ।

खड्गः प्रासद्यतुर्हस्तदण्डबुध्नः क्षुराननः ॥

A *Khadga* (sword) is a little curved, has one blade, is four *angulas* broad, at the point sharp as a razor, reaches up to the navel, has a strong hilt and is as brilliant as the beautiful moon. The broad sword is four cubits long, broad (at the hilt), and at the end-point sharp like a razor.

It is said that when the gods were battling against the demons, there appeared through Brahma's agency on the top of the Himalaya mountain the deity of the sword illuminating by its splendour the whole sky, the earth at the same time was shaking to its very foundation. The *Khadga* was thus introduced into the world by Brahma for the sake of freeing the universe from

the mighty demons. It was 50 thumbs long and 4 broad, and Brahma entrusted it to Siva. After success had attended the undertaking of Siva, he delivered the sword to Vishnu, who on his side handed it over again to Marichi and the other Rishis. One of the latter gave it to Indra. Indra conferred it on the guardians of the quarters of the world, and these latter presented it to Manu, the son of the Sun, to help him in the administration of justice against evil-doers. Since that time it has remained in the family of Manu, or the Khattris. It is handled in thirty-two different ways and carried on the left side.

**Vija.**—Another name for the sword in Sanskrit is Vijaya from which this sub-division of the Khattris has derived its appellation. It also means victory.

**Uppal.**—Those heroes who jump or leap (*Utplavana*) upon their enemies at once without counting the odds against them like General Hari Singh Nalua.

**Aggechal.**—Experts in the use of explosives (*agg*).

शेषोऽदंतवत् ॥

अग्नीहिं बाजहिं । एवं मालाहिं शरहिं वज्रहिं ।

अग्निस्त्र वाउस्त्र । अग्नीदो । वाजदो । अग्निदु ।

वाजुदु ॥ जस ओ वो वाऽत्वं यूत्वं च ॥

अग्नीओ अग्नौवो अग्निणो अग्नाओ अग्गवो  
अग्गी वाजुओ, etc.

The above *sutra* and examples show that the Sanskrit word *Agni* (fire) takes the form *Aggi* or *Agg* in Prakrit. *Agg* (अग्ग) and *Ag* (आग) meaning fire in the modern dialects of India are corruptions of the same word.

The Aryan Kshatriyas of ancient India displayed a great ingenuity in inventing destructive and irritating compounds for hurling their weapons amongst the enemy during a combat. It is the opinion of not a few scholars that the oldest documents mentioning and describing gunpowder are found in India and written in Sanskrit, and that the use of gunpowder and its application to the discharge of missiles from projectile weapons was a well known fact in ancient India, corroborating so far the opinion of those who always pointed out India as the original seat of its invention. In Sanskrit *Agnichurna* is the name for gunpowder, and *nalika*\* for a gun. The

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\* नलिका ऋजुदेहा स्यात् तन्वङ्गीमध्वरन्तिका ।

गर्भं व्हेदकरी नीला द्रोणिचापशरैरिषी ॥

Arabs obtained a knowledge of the manufacture of gunpowder from India, with which country they had an active commercial intercourse. Subsequently it was carried by the Saracens from Africa to the Europeans.

Flavius Philostratos, who lived at the court of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, mentions in his history of Apollonios of Tyana, that when that extraordinary man was travelling in India, he had among other things learnt the real reason why Alexander the Great desisted from attacking Oxydracae. "These truly wise men dwell between the rivers Hyphasis and Ganges; their country Alexander never entered, deterred not by fear of the inhabitants, but, as I suppose, by religious motives, for had he passed the Hyphasis, he might, doubtless, have made himself master of all the country round them; but their cities he never could have taken, though he had

ग्रहणं आपनञ्चैव स्यूतञ्चेति गतित्रयम् ।

तामाश्रितां विदित्वा तु जेता सर्वान् रिपून् युधि ॥

The *Nalika* has a straight body, is thin-limbed, and hollow in the middle. It pierces the vital parts, is dark, and discharges missiles of the *Dronichapa*. When it is to be used, it is taken up, ignited, and pierces the mark. These are the three actions connected with the *Nalika*.

led a thousand as brave as Achilles, or three thousand such as Ajax, to the assault; for they come not out to the field to fight those who attack them, but these holy men, beloved by the gods, overthrew their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls." In the letter which Alexander is said to have written to Aristotle, he describes the frightful dangers to which his army were exposed in India, when the enemies hurled upon them flaming thunderbolts.

In one case gunpowder was also used in connection with the well known Aryan weapon *Gada*.

गदा शैक्याय समयौ शतारपृथुशौर्धका ।

शङ्खप्रावरणा घोरा चतुर्हस्तसमुन्नता ॥

रथाक्षमात्रकाया च किरौटाक्षितमस्तका ।

सुवर्णमेखलागुप्ता गजपर्वतभेदिनी ॥

मण्डलानि विचित्राणि गतप्रत्यागतानि च ।

अस्त्रयन्त्राणि चित्राणि स्थानानि विविधानि च ॥

परिमोक्षं प्रहरणं वजनं परिधावनम् ।

अभिद्रवणमाक्षेपमवस्थानं सविग्रहम् ॥

परावृत्तं सन्निवृत्तमवपुः समुपपुः समम् ।

दक्षिणं मण्डलञ्चैव सव्यं मण्डलमेव च ॥

अविद्वक्ष प्रविद्वक्ष स्फोटनं ज्वालनं तथा ।

उपन्यस्तमपन्यस्तङ्गदा मार्गाश्च विंशतिः ॥

The *gada* is made of sharp iron, has 100 spikes at its broad head, and is covered on the sides with spikes. It is a formidable weapon, four cubits long, and its body equals the axle of a *ratha* (war-chariot) in measure (*rathakshamatra kaya*). The head is adorned with a crest; it is covered with a golden belt, and is able to crush elephants and mountains. Twenty different motions are ascribed to the *gada*, namely, the *parimoksham*, *praharanam*, *varjanam*, *paridhavanam*, *abhidra-vanam*, *akshepam*, *avasthanam*, *avigraham*, *para-urittam*, *sannivrittam*, *avaplutam*, *upaplutam*, *dakshinamandalam*, *savyamandalam*, *aviddham*, *praviddham*, *sphotanam*, *jvalanam*, *upanyastam*, and *apanyastam*. By means of gunpowder it is thrown out of projectile weapons of various forms. Bhimasena, the second of the five sons of Pandu, was famous for his strength and for the unfailing use of the *gada*. In the great war of the *Mahabharata* between the Pandavas and Kauravas he wounded Duryodhana and killed his brothers with this formidable weapon.

Explosives are at present manufactured in Europe. How nicely the French philosopher Louis Jacolliat addresses India in the following passage:—"Soil of Ancient India, cradle of humanity, hail! Hail, venerable and efficient nurse whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried



under the dust of oblivion ! Hail, father-land of faith, of love, of poetry and of *science* ! May we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future."

**Patti or Pattipati.**—A *patti* consists of one chariot, ten elephants, one thousand horses, and one lakh or one hundred thousand foot-soldiers.

एको रथो दशगजाः सहस्रञ्चात्रवाजिनः ।

लक्षसंख्यानराः पक्षावेवमग्रेऽपि योजना ॥

The *Pati* (officer in charge or commander) of a *patti* is called a *Patti-pati*.

**Astari or Astri.**—Experts in the use of *Astras* and particularly of *Astara*.

आस्तरो ग्रन्थिपादस्त्रात् दीर्घमौलिर्बृहत्कारः ।

भुम्नहस्तोदरश्चितः श्यामवर्णो द्विहस्तकः ॥

भ्रामणं कर्षणञ्चैव त्रोटनं तत् त्रिवलिताम् ।

ज्ञात्वा शत्रून् रणे हन्यात् धार्यस्त्रादिपदातिकैः ॥

The *Astara* has a knot at the foot and a long head. It is a hand broad. Its middle part is bent to the extent of a cubit ; it is sharp, black coloured and two cubits long. *Bhramanam* (whirling), *Karshanam* (pulling) and *Trotanam* (breaking) are its three actions. Charioteers and foot-soldiers acquainted with its use can kill their enemies in the battle-field.

**Bhalla**.—Experts in the use of the *Bhalla*, a kind of missile used by the Aryan Kshatriyas in their warfare. ( सुहीदलफलो भक्षः इति यादवः )  
For example :—

भक्षापवर्जितस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्महीम् ।

तस्तार मरघा व्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ॥

In the battle-field the King scattered the heads of his enemies with beards, *severed by Bhallas*, and they looked like collections of honey-combs covered with bees.

स दक्षिणं तूणमुखेन वामं

व्यापारयन् हस्तमलक्ष्यताजौ ।

आकर्णकृष्टा सक्तदस्य योद्धुः

मौर्वीव वाणान् सुषुवे रिपुघ्नान् ॥

सरोषदष्टाधिकलोहितोष्ठैः

व्यक्तोर्ध्वरेखा भ्रुकुटीर्वह्निः ।

तस्तार गां भक्षनिकृत्तकण्ठैः

हृङ्गारगर्भैर्हिषतां शिरोभिः ॥

The King was observed in the battle beautifully plying his right hand by the mouth of the quiver, that warrior's bow-string once drawn to the ear looked as if it was itself producing foe-destroying arrows.

He strewed the earth with enemies' heads with (their) *throats cut by Bhallas*; their lips, bitten in rage, excessively bloody, bearing frowns with perceptible upward linear marks, still emitting defiant sounds.

**Dugal or Durgal.**—This sept has its connection with fortification (दुर्ग). Manu says :—

Let the king reside in a capital, having, by way of a fortress, a desert rather more than twenty miles round it, or a fortress of earth, a fortress of water, or of trees, a fortress of armed men, or a fortress of mountains.

With all possible care let him secure a fortress of mountains; for, among those just mentioned, a fortress of mountains has many transcendent properties.

In the three first of them live wild beasts, vermin, and aquatic animals; in the three last, apes, men, and gods, in order as they are named :

As enemies hurt them not in the shelter of their several abodes, thus foes hurt not a king, who has taken refuge in his *Durga* (दुर्ग) (or place of difficult access *i.e.*, a fortress).

One bowman, placed on a wall, is match in war for a hundred enemies; and a hundred, for ten thousand; therefore is a fort recommended.

Guns were also used in forts.

**Vedi and Sodi.**—For the history of these two septs and their origin from the Solar race, see pages 160 to 170 of this book.

**Suri or Sure**—Heroes of the Solar dynasty.

सुसिद्धाल्पबलशूरो विजेतुमक्षमते रिपुम् ।

महासुसिद्धबलयुक् शूरः किं न विजेष्यति ॥

A hero (शूर) who has a small but well-disciplined army is able to conquer the enemy ; (if so) will not a hero (शूर) with a strong well-provided army conquer? Or otherwise expressed, what is there which a hero will not be able to conquer with a strong well-provided army?

**Seni or Senani**—Those having connection with armies (*Sena*), or commanders of armies.

सेना शस्त्रास्त्रसंयुक्तमनुयादिगणात्मका ।

A *Sena* (army) is a numerous body consisting especially of men provided with weapons and missiles.

स्वगमान्यगमा चेति द्विधा सैव पृथक्त्रिधा ।

दैव्यासुरी मानवी च पूर्वपूर्वा बलाधिका ॥

It is of two kinds either self-moving or not-self-moving; it is besides in a threefold manner an army either of gods, of Asuras (demons), or of human beings, each preceding being stronger than the succeeding.

स्वगमा या स्वयं गन्तव्यो यानगाऽन्यगमा रक्षता ।

पादातं स्वगमं चान्यद्वयाश्च गजमं त्रिधा ॥

It is called self-moving, if it moves itself ; not self-moving if it moves on vehicles. Infantry is self-moving ; the not self-moving army moves in three ways, on *rathas* (chariots or carriages), horses and elephants.

सैन्यात्विना नैव राज्यं न धनं न पराक्रमः ।

Without a *Sena* (*i.e.*, if there is no *Sena*), there is no government, no wealth and no power.

बलमेव रिपोर्नित्यम्यराज्यकरम्यरम् ।

तस्माद्बलमभेद्यं तु धारयेत्यब्रवीत नृपः ॥

An army is truly always the best means for the defeat of an enemy, a king should therefore zealously maintain an unconquerable army.

सेनाबलन्तु द्विविधं स्वीयम् त्रैश्व तद्विधा ।

मौलसाद्यस्कभेदाभ्याम् सारासारम्युनर्द्धिधा ॥

An armed force (*Sena bala*) is of two kinds, it is either one's own, or it belongs to an ally ; each with its own classes of *Maula* and *Sadyaska* (Reserve and Line), and these again are in a two-fold manner divided into efficient and inefficient men.

अशिक्षितमशिक्षितञ्च गुल्मीभूतमगुल्मकम् ।

दत्तास्त्रादिस्त्रयस्त्रास्त्रम् स्ववाहिदत्तवाहनम् ॥

It is either trained or not trained, formed into corps (*Gulmibhutam*) or not formed into corps (*Agulmakam*), provided or providing itself with arms, provided or providing itself with vehicles.

सौजन्यात्साधकमैत्र्यम् स्वीयभृत्या प्रपालितम् ।

मौलस्य ह्यवानुबन्धि साद्यस्कर्म्यत्तदन्यथा ॥

An allied army is useful when kindly treated, one's own is maintained by pay: the Reserve (*Maula*) is of many years' standing, the Line (*Sadyaska*) differs in this respect.

सेनाबलमसुभृत्या तु तपोभ्यासैस्तथास्त्रिकम् ।

वर्धयेत् शास्त्रचतुरसंयोगात्धीबलमसदा ॥

The king should keep up his military strength (*Senabala*) by good pay, but the strength of his weapons by penance and practice; and his intellectual power by having always intercourse with wise persons.

W. P. Andrew writes that "from the earliest records we learn that India had always been divided into large provinces or kingdoms and that these were ruled by rajas or kings, supported by a council of Brahmans or priests who were entitled to sit on the right side while the Cahutriyas or warriors occupied the left."

H. H. Wilson, M. A., F. R. S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, who has translated many Sanskrit works into English, including a portion of the Vedas, and has written a Sanskrit Grammar and a Dictionary, says :—

*Khatru*, corruptly Khatry, Khetree, Khetry—Hindi word—(Sanskrit *Kṣatriya*). The man of the second pure tribe, the soldier and sovereign caste—*vide* page 284 of the Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of the different languages of India, compiled and published under the authority of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company (London MDCCCLV).

Duncan Forbes, L. L. D., M. R. A. S., Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in King's College, London, writes at page 291 of his Hindustani and English Dictionary (Part I) London, 1859—

Khatri—The second of the four grand Hindu tribes, being that of the military order.

J. T. Thomson in his Hindi and English Dictionary (1862) writes :—

Khatree—one of the four Hindoo castes, a man of the military tribe.

At page 870 of the Urdu, Classical, Hindi and English Dictionary (1884) by John T. Platt,

Persian Teacher at the University of Oxford, and late Inspector of Schools, Central Provinces, India, the following is given :—

Khattri or Khatri (Sanskrit Kshatriya). The second (the military and regal) caste of Hindus.

Khatirani (Sanskrit Kshatriyani). A woman of the Khatri or military caste of Hindus.

J. Talboys Wheeler, who has criticised the Ramayana and the Mahabharata to a great extent, says :—

In modern vernaculars the Kshatriyas are called Kattris. (History of India Vol. III, page 173)

Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, who spent several years in the Panjab, and, in addition to his personal observations in 1805 A. D. and subsequent years, collected from different sources materials relating to the history, manners, and religion of the people of that province, invariably writes, in his "Sketch of the Sikhs" Cshatriyas for Khattris. For example :—

(1) "Nanac Shah, the founder of the sect, since distinguished by the name of Sikhs, was born in the year of Christ 1469.....His father, whose name was Calu, was of the Cshatriya caste, and Vedi tribe of Hindus."

(2) "Nanac did not deem either of his sons worthy of the succession to his spiritual functions,



which he bequeathed to a Cshatriya of the Trehun tribe, called Lehna."

(3) "He (Guru Angad) was succeeded by Amera Das, a Cshatriya of the tribe of Bhalle."

(4) "He (Amer Das) asked him (Ram Das) regarding his tribe, his name and his family. The lad said his name was Ram Das, and that he was a Cshatriya of a respectable family of the Sodi tribe." (*vide* pages 5, 15, 16, and 18 of Sir J. Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Calcutta 1827).

Sir Monier Williams says at pages 258 of the "Indian Wisdom" that "Diodorus Siculus (xix—33) describes how, after the battle between Antiochus and Eumenes, one of the wives of the Indian General Knteus (=Ketu or Khatri?) burnt herself, after contending with the other for the honour." The parenthetical words are by the learned Professor. They are given here for what they are worth.

Captain C. D. Cunningham says that he lived among the people of the Panjab for a period of eight years from 1837 to 1845 A.D., and during a very important portion of their history. He had intercourse, under every variety of circumstances, with all classes of men, and he had at the same time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs of the frontier. He observes:—

"The Khutrees and Uroras of the cities and

towns are (at present) enterprising as merchants and frugal as tradesmen. They are the principal financiers and accountants of the country; but the ancient military spirit frequently reappears amongst the once royal "Kshutrees," and they become able governors of provinces and skilful leaders of armies. Huree Singh, a Sikh, and the most enterprising of Runjeet Singh's generals, was a Khutree; and the best of his governors, Mohkum Chund and Sawun Mull, were of the same race. The learning of Boloo Mull, a Khunna Khutree.....excites some little jealousy among the Brahmans of Lahore and of the Jalundhur Doab; and Chundoo Lal, who so long managed the affairs of the Nizam of Hyderabad, was a Khutree of Northern India, and greatly encouraged the Sikh mercenaries in that principality, in opposition to the Arabs and Afghans. The declension of the Khutrees from soldiers and sovereigns into traders and shop-keepers, has a parallel in the history of the Jews. Men of active minds will always find employment for themselves, and thus we know what Greeks became under the victorious Romans, and what they are under the ruling Turks. We likewise know that the vanquished Moors were the most industrious of the subjects of Mediæval Spain; that the Moghals of British India are gradually applying themselves to the business of exchange....."

# INDEX.

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## A

	Page.		Page.
Abchnagar	... 144, 173.	Afghanistan	... 185, 228.
Abottabad	... 243.	Afzal Khan	... 237, 238.
Abu	... 220.	Agniculas	... 219.
Abdul Fath	... 21, 34, 35, 36.	Agra	... 10, 11, 12, 32, 33, 110, 142, 173.
Abdul Kadir		Ahmadabad	... 9, 19, 33.
Badauni	... 5.	Ahmadnagar	... 33.
Abdul Kasim		Aja	... 160.
Namaki	... 12.	Ajit Singh	... 135, 136, 137, 146.
Abdulmatlab		Ajmir	... 9, 17, 33.
Khan	... 7.	Akalgarh	... 176.
Abulfazl	... 2, 24, 37, 38, 39, 50, 221.	Akalis	... 170, 171, 172, 200.
Achilles	... 145.	Akal Purakh	... 151, 170, 172.
Adam Hafiz	... 112.	Akal Stuti	... 152.
Adichchas	... 76.	Akbar	... 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50, 51, 62, 63, 78, 86, 90, 91, 92, 175.
Adi Granth	... 94, 100, 116, 152.	Akbarnama	... 24, 37, 50.
Afghan	... 12, 14, 15, 16, 33, 34, 35, 36, 86, 143, 183, 184, 186, 187, 197, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 237, 238, 240, 241, 247.	Akharas	... 173.

	Page.		Page.
Akora	... 200.	Assam	... 109.
Alexander	... 82, 83, 248.	Asvamedha	... 161.
Allahabad	... 33, 118, 173.	Atal Rai	... 107.
Altamash	... 14.	Ata Muhammad	182, 184, 185.
Amar Das	... 90, 93, 94.	Atharvana	
Ambala	... 178.	(Veda)	... 161.
Ambrikha	... 42.	Attock	... 35, 36, 182, 185, 186, 187, 194, 199, 228, 232, 235.
Amb Sahib	... 173.	Aurangzeb	... 86, 107, 108, 112, 115, 130, 131, 133, 135, 141, 142, 157, 184.
Amritsar	... 65, 89, 91, 93, 97, 99, 104, 151, 173.	Avitabile	... 226.
Anandgarh	... 133.	Ayeen Akbari	... 2, 29, 37.
Anandpur	... 125, 133, 134, 140, 156, 173.	Azal Khan	... 201.
Andamans	... 208.	Azim Khan	... 189.
Angad	... 89, 93, 94.	Azizuddin	... 202.
Angiras	... 41, 42, 43.		
Anne Rai	... 107.		
Antari	... 50.		
Apasaras	... 138.		
Arab	... 145, 148, 235.		
Arab Bahadur	... 23.		
Arjun	... 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 141.		
Asad Khan	... 207, 219, 221.		
Asi Kabuli	... 22.		
Asi Masum	... 23.		

	Page.		Page.
Bahadur Shah	130, 142.	Bengal	... 12, 17, 20,
Bahawalpur	... 192, 193, 221.		21, 23, 24, 33, 87, 108.
Bahram Khan	207.	Bentinck,	
Bahramgalla	... 188.	William	... 201, 226, 245.
Baisakhi Mal	... 175.	Berar	... 33.
Bajaur	... 235.	Betwa	... 51.
Bala	... 68.	Bhag Singh	... 177.
Bala Hisar	... 235.	Bhalla	... 90.
Bala Ram	... 171.	Bhakti	... 87.
Balbhadar Singh	200.	Bhander	... 51.
Balloke	... 227.	Bhang	... 172.
Baloch	... 221.	Bhani	... 90.
Banda	... 149, 150, 151.	Bhara	... 52, 53.
Banjar	... 29.	Bharata	... 160.
Banswara	... 18.	Bhatinda	... 105, 138, 173, 177.
Bara	... 232.	Bhatti	... 220, 221.
Bardwan	... 12, 13.	Bhikku	... 74, 75, 77.
Barrackpur	... 224.	Bhimbar	... 180, 181, 182, 193, 199, 203.
Barsinghdeo	... 50, 51.	Bhim Chand	... 125, 126, 148.
Basu	... 52, 54.	Bhojpur	... 8.
Baz Bahadur	... 19.	Bihar	... 21, 23, 33.
Beas	... 89, 169, 192.	Bihar Khan	... 23.
Beg Murinkhan	7.	Bijar Khan	... 207.
Belol Lodi	... 65, 94.	Bikramajit	... 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 175.
Benares	... 40, 47, 86, 161, 162, 173, 198, 202, 203.		

[ IV ]

	Page.		Page.
Bimbisara	... 74.	Chamkour	... 134, 137, 146, 156, 171, 173.
Bir Baba Nanak	88.	Chandi Charitra	152.
Birbal	... 2, 34, 35, 36.	Chandi ka Vara	152.
Bithur	... 248.	Chandpur	... 191.
Bombay	... 224.	Chandu Shah	... 100, 101, 102, 103.
Brahm	... 80.	Charat Singh	... 227.
Brahma	... 72.	Chatch Hazara	215.
Brahmanda	... 72.	Chaupayan Chau- bis Avataranka	152.
Brahmaputra	... 109.	Chetan Mal	... 219.
Broach	... 11.	Chibh Bhao	... 180.
Buddha	... 74, 76, 80.	Chillianwala	... 247, 248.
Buddhism	... 83.	China	... 82, 244.
Buddhist	... 85.	Chinapati	... 169.
Budha Singh	... 181.	Chitragupta	... 72.
Burhan	... 186.	Chuni Lal	... 202.
Buria	... 176.	Cumbri	... 83.
		Cortlandt	... 219, 221.
<b>C</b>		<b>D</b>	
Calcutta	... 223, 225.	Dalhousie	... 224.
Cawnpore	... 248.	Dalip Singh	... 185.
Chachnazara	... 196.	Daluka	... 19.
Chachik (Rawal)	220.	Dal Singh	... 176.
Chaitanya	... 87.	Damdama	... 140, 141, 152.
Chak	... 91, 98.	Damtour	... 194, 196.
Chakra	... 171.	Dandee	... 85.
Chalook	... 219.		
Chamba	... 55, 57 58.		
Chamkanni	... 232.		

	Page.		Page.
Dani	.. 90.	Dera Nanak	... 88.
Daniel	... 2.	Devapur	... 136.
Dara	... 107.	Devatas	... 72, 136.
Darband	... 196.	Devi	... 72.
Darbar Sahib	... 172.	Dhamri	... 54.
Dardakh Rahon	192.	Dhamtal	... 173.
Darius	... 82.	Dhanna	... 242.
Darwin	... 80.	Dharamkot	... 177, 191.
Dasaratha	... 160.	Dhari	... 191.
Dasu	... 90.	Dharmal	... 107.
Daswen Padshah		Dharma Raja	... 71, 72.
ka Granth	... 111, 116,	Dharmsala	... 172.
	117, 120, 125, 126,	Dharm Singh	... 35.
	128, 129, 130, 131,	Dharpur	... 12.
	132, 133, 141, 152,	Dharu	... 44, 45, 46.
	160, 161.	Dhian Singh	... 202, 203,
Datu	... 90.		209, 210.
Daud	... 12, 13, 15,	Dheri	... 194.
	16, 17.	Dial	... 126.
Daulat Khan	... 45, 69.	Dilawar Khan	... 127, 128,
Dehra Dun	... 112.		130.
Dellhi	... 33, 62, 101,	Dinkasari	... 12.
	106, 108, 110, 112,	Diwan Chand	... 195, 196,
	113, 120, 173, 220.		199.
Dera Fath Khan	219.	Dor	... 243.
Dera Ghazi		Dost Muham-	
Khan	... 201, 205,	mad Khan	... 186, 187,
	213, 214, 215, 219,		199, 231, 232, 233,
	221.		234, 236, 237.
Derah	... 172.	Draband	
Derajat	... 218, 219.	(Darband)	... 231.

	Page.		Page.
Draupadikund	40.		
Dronacharya ...	159.	<b>G</b>	
Duranis ...	238, 239.	Gajpati ...	23.
		Gandgarh ...	197.
<b>E</b>		Ganges ...	82, 84, 147.
Edwardes,		Garhi ...	23.
Herbert ...	218, 219, 221, 222.	Gausi Khan ...	187.
		German ...	83, 244.
<b>F</b>		Getæ ...	83, 221.
Fahian ...	83.	Ghakkars ...	4.
Faiz Talab		Ghehpee ...	215.
Khan ...	203.	Ghilzzes ...	234.
Faizulapuria ...	181.	Ghiyasuddin ...	62.
Faridkot ...	177, 178, 191.	Ghulam Haidar	219, 222.
Fatehgarh ...	133.	Ghulam Husain	109.
Fateh Khan ...	182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 194, 228.	Gilla ...	191.
Fateh Singh (son of Guru Govind Singh) ...	146, 171.	Gillespie ...	200.
Fateh Singh (Sirdar) ...	197.	Girdhari ...	47.
Ferozepur ...	139, 177, 223.	Giribbaja ...	74.
Firishta ...	5, 220.	Godavery ...	142, 144, 184.
Firoz ...	62.	<b>Gokalastha</b>	
		Gosains ...	47.
		Golab Singh ...	209.
		Gopal ...	129.
		Gorakh Nath ...	87.
		Gotama ...	76.
		Goths ...	83.
		Gough ...	224.
		Gowind (the Deity) ...	80.



	Page.		Page.
Govind Singh		Gurchani	... 207, 222.
(Guru)	... 88, 110,	Gurdaspur	... 88.
	113, 114, 115, 116,	Gur Dial Singh	227.
	118, 120, 121, 125,	Gurkhas	... 156, 179.
	126, 127, 130 131,	Guruditya	... 107.
	132, 133, 134, 135,	Gurudwara	... 172.
	136, 138, 139, 140,	Guru-ka-Kote	105.
	141, 142, 143, 144,	Guru Mata	... 151.
	145, 146, 147, 148,	Guru-ka-Talab	110.
	149, 150, 151, 152,	Gwalior	... 32, 50.
	153, 154, 155, 157,	Gyana Prabodha	152.
	158, 159, 160, 170,		
	171, 175, 230, 231.	<b>H</b>	
Govindwal	... 90, 91, 92,	Habibulla	... 3.
	97, 173.	Hadiala	... 173.
Govardhandhari	47.	Handaru	... 187.
Gowalpara	... 12.	Hajipur	... 24.
Granth	... 89, 95, 98,	Hangu	... 235.
	130, 151, 159.	Hara	... 56.
Greece	... 82.	Hardas Rai	... 49, 50, 51.
Greeks	... 84.	Hardas Singh	... 226.
Gujarat	... 6, 9, 10, 11,	Hardwar	... 112.
	12, 18, 19, 52, 53.	Har Govind	... 93, 103,
Gujarkhan	... 14, 15, 16.		104, 105, 106, 107,
Gujranwala	... 226, 242.		109, 113, 139.
Gujrat (in		Hari	... 80.
Panjab)	... 201, 202,	Hari Chand	... 121, 122,
	247,		148.
Gulrukh		Harimandir	... 97.
(Begum)	... 18.	Har Patbat	... 184.
Gumba Singh	... 179.		

[ VIII ]

	Page.		Page.
Haripur	... 243.	Hazara	... 176, 197,
Hari Singh			198, 231, 242, 243.
Nalua	... 175, 195,	Hazareh Shabdh	152.
	198, 199, 201, 202,	Hebrew	... 221.
	226, 227, 229, 230,	Hikayats	... 152.
	231, 232, 233, 234,	Himakuta	... 117.
	235, 236, 237, 238,	Himavata	... 76.
	239, 240, 241, 242,	Himmat	... 129.
	243, 244, 245, 246,	Hindu Kush	... 233.
	247.	Hiraghat	... 173.
Hari Singhi		Hira Singh	... 211, 215.
Rupee	... 243.	Hirat	... 3.
Hari Singh ka		Hissar	... 105.
Burz	... 243.	Holi	... 126.
Har Kishan	... 108.	Hoshiarpur	... 137.
Harlan	... 234.	Hügel	... 244.
Har Rai	... 107, 108.	Hughly	... 12.
Harrand	... 206, 207,	Hukma Singh	197.
	221.	Humayun	... 6, 27.
Hasan Abdal	... 215, 243.	Humayun	
Hasanbin		Farmuli	... 22.
Muhammad-al-		Huns	... 83.
Khaki-ul-		Husaini-Vadh-	
Shirazi	... 51.	gudha	... 128, 129.
Hasan Kuli		Husain Khan	... 128.
Khan	... 62.	Hyderabad	... 144.
Hashnak Rai	... 205.	Hwen Thsang	... 169.
Hashtnagar	... 235.		
Havismats	... 41.	I	
Hayat Khan	... 121.	Ibrahim	... 18.
		Inayatulla	... 50.

[ IX ]

	Page.		Page.
Indra	... 72, 136, 159.	Jammu	... 125, 126, 209.
Indus	... 172, 185, 186, 230, 232, 235.	Jamna	... 119, 156.
Iran	... 26.	Jamrud	... 236, 237, 239, 240.
Irej	... 32.	Jandbar	... 191.
Irich	... 51.	Jandpur	... 173.
Istri Charitra	... 152.	Janibeg	... 44, 45.
<b>J</b>		Japji	... 152.
		Jaswant Singh	177.
Jabbari	... 23.	Jaunpur	... 8, 21, 24.
Jagraon	... 178, 191.	Jawahar Mal	... 212.
Jahandad Khan	185.	Jawahar Singh	
Jahangir	... 3, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 61, 63, 99, 175.	(minister)	... 217.
Jahangira	... 235, 247.	Jawahar Singh	
Jahangirnama	... 49.	(son of Hari Singh Nalua)	... 247, 248.
Jains	... 84.	Jawali	... 56.
Jaipur	... 37, 108, 173.	Jaya Ram	... 69.
Jai Singh	... 181, 200.	Jehanjrka	... 199.
Jalala	... 34.	Jerusalem	... 145.
Jalalabad	... 231, 240.	Jews	... 221.
Jalal Khan	... 219, 221.	Jhang	... 206, 213, 215.
Jalandhar	... 106, 179, 180, 181, 138, 192, 202.	Jhelam	... 183, 248.
Jam	... 52, 53.	Jhind	... 177.
Jambu-grove	... 76.	Jiswal	... 133.
		Jit	... 221.
		Jitura	... 13.
		Jujhar Singh	.. 130, 146.

	Page.		Page.
'Jujhar-Singh-		Kamaun ...	48.
Judha ...	130.	Kambay ...	19.
Jun ...	45.	Kamran ...	18.
Junagarh ...	19.	'Kamrup ...	109.
Junaid ...	12, 13.	'Kamsabadha ...	47.
Jupiter ...	60.	Kangra ...	49, 51, 54,
Jwala Mukhi ...	203.	56, 58, 59, 61, 173,	
		179.	
		Kapal Mochan ...	173.
<b>K</b>		Karagar ...	34.
'Kabul ...	33, 34, 37,	'Karam Singh ...	200.
142, 182, 183, 185,		Kartarpur ...	106.
186, 187, 200, 228,		'Kashi ...	161.
229, 231, 232, 233,		Kashmir ...	102, 110,
234, 235, 236, 237,		181, 182, 183, 184,	
239, 245.		185, 188, 189, 193,	
'Kach ...	52.	194, 195, 196, 198,	
'Kachi ...	242.	199, 202, 203, 226,	
'Kahlur ...	133.	227, 228, 243, 244,	
Kakshal ...	22.	245.	
Kala-ka-sarai ...	194.	'Kasrani ...	219.
Kalaratti ...	127.	Katak Banaras ...	13, 16.
'Kalarghar ...	242.	Katpakali ...	19.
Kalika ...	118.	Kaura Khan ...	220.
Kalindri ...	119.	Keearde ...	156.
Kali Yuga ...	70, 87, 118.	Kesghar ...	173.
Kalkalghati ...	16.	Khadur ...	89, 173.
Kalket ...	161, 162.	Khaibar ...	37, 228, 236,
Kalrai ...	161.	237.	
Kallu ...	65, 68.	Khairabad ...	187.
Kalpee ...	32.	Khalore ...	133.

	Page.		Page.
Khalsa	... 151, 152, 155, 172.	Kirtipur	... 78, 108, 109, 173.
Khana Katcha...	192.	Kium Shah	... 170.
Khandesh	... 33.	Kiyakhan Gang	13, 15.
Khangarh	... 213.	Kohat	... 235.
Khanialam	... 14.	Kohinur	... 184, 185.
Khani-Jahan	... 62.	Kohistan	... 233.
Khankhanan	... 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 44, 45.	Kohistanis	... 234.
Khanpur	... 242.	Koran	... 234.
Khansalar	... 39.	Kosala	... 76.
Khanzaman	... 6.	Kot	... 178, 191.
Kharrals	... 206.	Kotila	... 56.
Khattak	... 242.	Kotkapura	... 139, 173, 177, 191.
Khatir	... 215.	Kripal	... 121, 126, 129.
Khizer Khan	... 220.	Kripa Ram	
Khorasan	... 121.	(Diwan)	... 198, 199, 201, 202, 203.
Khosa	... 219, 220.	Krishna	... 121, 171.
Khukhi	... 199.	Kulanur	... 78.
Khusru	... 2, 99.	Kulu	... 181.
Khwaja Arab	... 35.	Kunmer Beg	... 105.
Khwaja Mansur	33.	Kusa	... 160, 161, 169.
Khwaja Muminud-din Chishti	... 9.	Kusavar	... 169.
Khwaja Muham-mad	... 134, 138.	Kusur	... 161, 168, 169, 227.
Khwaja Sham-suddin	... 51.	Kuzzibashes	... 234.
Kirpa Ram (Kardar of Sawan Mal)	... 212.		

	Page.		Page.
<b>L</b>		<b>Leghari</b>	... 207, 219, 221, 222.
<b>Lahavar</b>	... 168.	<b>Lehna</b>	... 89.
<b>Lahore</b>	... 33, 65, 90, 91, 92, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 107, 133, 161, 162, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195, 196, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 209, 210, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 223, 226, 228, 235, 239, 244, 247.	<b>Leiah</b>	... 213, 217.
		<b>Linga Purana</b>	... 42.
		<b>Logarh</b>	... 133.
		<b>Longa Mal</b>	... 219.
		<b>Longa Ram</b>	... 212.
		<b>Lucknow</b>	... 248.
		<b>Ludhiana</b>	... 178, 179, 180, 181, 191.
		<b>Lundkhwar</b>	... 230.
		<b>M</b>	
		<b>Maasirul-Umra</b>	5.
		<b>Macheewarah</b>	... 169.
<b>Laili</b>	... 199.	<b>Madaran</b>	... 12, 13.
<b>Lakhmi Chand</b>	48.	<b>Madhu Singh</b>	... 56.
<b>Lakhmi Das</b>	... 89.	<b>Madra Desh</b>	... 119, 161.
<b>Lakote</b>	... 220.	<b>Magadha</b>	... 74.
<b>Lakshmana</b>	... 160.	<b>Mahabharata</b>	... 84, 159.
<b>Lala Musa</b>	... 247.	<b>Mahakala</b>	... 118.
<b>Lal Beg</b>	... 105.	<b>Mahanadi</b>	... 16.
<b>Lal Singh</b>	... 217.	<b>Mahan Singh</b>	... 170, 176, 227.
<b>Langas</b>	... 219, 220, 221.	<b>Mahant</b>	... 128.
<b>Lashkar Khan</b>	... 6, 7, 8, 11, 15.	<b>Mahavagga</b>	... 74, 76.
<b>Lava</b>	... 160, 161, 168.	<b>Maithan</b>	... 110.
		<b>Majnun Khan</b>	... 23.
		<b>Makhan Singh</b>	... 197.

	Page.		Page.
Makhawal	... 109, 133, 140, 146, 156, 169.	Mokham Chand (Diwan)	... 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 203, 213.
Malta	... 226.	Mokham Chand (Mul Raj's Kar- dar)	... 221.
Malwa	... 33.	Mongir	... 22.
Mandhata	... 42.	Mori	... 90
Mandi	... 181.	Moses	... 84.
Mangrotha	... 219.	Moshan Fani	... 99.
Manja	... 180.	Moti Ram	... 188, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202.
Manjhi Sahib	... 173.	Mritya	... 72.
Man Singh	... 34, 37.	Muchukunda	... 42.
Manu	... 41, 83.	Mughalgarh	... 133.
Mari	... 177.	Muhammad	... 79, 145.
Masson	... 239.	Muhammad Ak- bar Khan	... 237, 238, 239, 240.
Matsya Purana	43.	Muhammad Amin Diwana	... 7.
Mau	... 54.	Muhammad Azim Khan	... 189, 200, 201, 228, 229.
Maya	... 73, 86.	Muhammad Baki Khan	... 7.
Mazari	... 206, 207.		
Mecca	... 76, 77, 145.		
Medina	... 76.		
Mian Khan	... 125.		
Michni	... 232.		
Midnapur	... 12, 13.		
Mihrali	... 18.		
Mir Alim Khan	235.		
Miswari	... 197.		
Mithankot	... 207.		
Mitha Tiwana	227, 242.		
Mit Singh	... 189.		
Mohan	... 90.		
Mohmands	... 235.		





Page.	Page.
Nanaka Chan-	0
drodaya ... 66.	
Nanakpanthis ... 170.	Orissa ... 12, 16, 17.
Nand Chand ... 121.	Oudh ... 8.
Nand Lal ... 154.	
Nandurbar ... 19.	P
Nankana ... 88, 173.	
Narayangarh ... 173, 178.	Pabbajjasutta ... 74.
Nariman ... 60.	Paendi Khan ... 106.
Nasipur ... 44.	Pahari ... 56.
Nau Nihal	Pakholi ... 194, 196.
Singh ... 232, 239.	Pakrota ... 56.
Nazar Bahadur 12.	Pandava ... 75.
Nepal ... 200.	Pandavaman-
Niamatulla ... 3.	dapa ... 41.
Nidhan Singh ... 181.	Pandits ... 72.
Nihangs ... 170.	Pandus ... 117.
Nijamat Khan... 121.	Paris ... 71.
Niranjani ... 170.	Patala ... 72.
Nirankaris ... 170.	Pathan ... 136, 143,
Nirmalas ... 170.	155, 172, 194, 195,
Nizamuddin ... 5, 6, 25, 33,	199, 221, 229, 235.
37, 38, 44.	Pathankot ... 54.
Nowshera ... 228, 229.	Patiala ... 177, 178.
Nurpur ... 54, 56, 142.	Patna ... 23, 108,
Nuruddin	119, 143, 173.
Jahangir ... 54.	Pattan ... 19.
Nurul Hakk ... 35.	Patti ... 181.
Nutkani ... 207, 219,	Pavan ... 71.
221.	

	Page.		Page.
Peshawar	... 182, 199,	Rai Hardas	... 51.
	200, 201, 208, 226,	Rai Rayan	... 49, 50, 51.
	228, 229, 231, 232.	Rai Singh	... 50.
	235, 237, 239, 240,	Raiwind	... 169,
	243, 247.	Rajagaha	... 74.
Phillour	... 179, 180,	Rajaori	... 180, 181,
	189, 192.		182, 183, 184, 188,
Phula Singh	... 200.		193.
Phulkian	... 177.	Raj-Joni	... 153.
Pir Muhammad	236.	Rajsuya	... 161.
Pir Panjal	... 183, 189.	Rajputana	... 9.
Pir Roshanai	... 34.	Rama	... 80, 92, 160.
Pirs	... 78.	Ramanand	... 86, 87.
Plato	... 84.	Ramanuj	... 86.
Pope Honorius	85.	Ramayana	... 84, 92.
Porus	... 248.	Rambagh	... 203.
Pran Sankali	... 75.	Ram Chandra	... 92.
Puna	... 10.	Ram Das (Guru)	90, 91, 92,
Punch	... 188, 196,		93, 94, 98, 102.
	199.	Ram Das (son of	
Purukutsa	... 42, 43.	Sawan Mal)	... 212.
		Ramdaspur	... 91.
		Ram Dial	... 176, 188,
			189, 192, 193, 194,
			196, 197, 198.
		Ramnugger	... 11.
		Rampur	... 91.
		Ram Rai	... 108, 112.
		Ram Singh	... 129, 181.
		Rang Ram	... 212.
<b>R</b>			
Radha Kishan	... 212.		
Rae Selra	... 220, 221.		
Raghu	... 160.		
Rahimabad	... 191.		
Rohtas	... 1, 4, 194.		
Rahu	... 191.		
Rai Bolar	... 08.		

	Page.		Page.
Ranjit Singh .....	170, 172,	Saiyed Khan ...	34.
	176, 178, 180, 182,	Sakiyas ...	76.
	185, 188, 189, 190,	Salim ...	2, 50.
	193, 197, 198, 200,	Salin Khan ...	7, 28.
	201, 203, 204, 209,	Sam ...	60.
	210, 213, 227, 228,	Sama ...	101.
	242, 243, 244, 245.	Samanji Khan ...	21.
Raon ...	179.	Sanaur Desh ...	161.
Rasulnagar ...	176.	Sanganir ...	10.
Ravi ...	78, 100,	Sangarh ...	219.
	102, 169.	Saniwal ...	178, 191.
Rawalpindi ...	243.	Sankaracharya ...	84, 85.
Richard ...	145.	San Padre ...	246.
Riddhi ...	132.	Sansar Chand ...	179.
Rig Veda ...	41.	Sapta Sringa ...	117.
Rishi ...	162.	Sarai Banga ...	50.
Rishiswaras ...	72.	Sarbuland Khan ...	211.
Rome ...	82.	Sarwar ...	6.
Roshanais ...	34.	Satis ...	72.
Rupar ...	133.	Satjoni ...	153.
Rustam Khan ...	130.	Satlej ...	105, 106,
			109, 127, 147, 156,
			169, 176, 178, 179,
			180, 181, 192, 203,
			224.
<b>S</b>		Satrughana ...	160.
Sacæ ...	83.	Satruvidara ...	160.
Sachcha Padshah ...	109, 133.	Sawan Mal ...	175, 205,
Saddik Khan ...	23.		206, 207, 209, 210,
Saheb Chand ...	121.		211, 212, 213, 214,
Sahib Singh ...	211.		215, 216.
Sahsmul ...	11.		
Sain ...	181.		
Saiyed Badakhshi ...	21.		

[ XVIII ]

	Page.		Page.
Scamander	... 145.	Sher Khan	... 28.
Seerohee	... 10.	Sher Muham-	
Seeve-(Sibi)	... 220, 221.	mad	... 182.
Sehar	... 32.	Sher Shah	... 1, 4, 26.
Sela	... 76.	Sher Singh	... 197, 210,
Selasutta	... 76.		222, 223.
Ser-ul-Mutakh-		Sheikhowal	... 242.
erin	... 109.	Shekhupura	... 178.
Shaham Khan	13, 15, 21.	Shiv Dial	... 198, 202.
Shahdera	... 227.	Shujabad	... 215.
Shahidganj	... 137, 140.	Sialkot	... 88, 178,
Shah Jahan	... 2, 51, 52,		188.
	184.	Siddhi	... 132.
Shah Mansur	... 19.	Sihwan	... 44, 45.
Shah Muham-		Sikandar	... 6, 7, 8, 9.
mad	... 182.	Sikandar Lodi	... 27.
Shah Shujah	... 184, 185,	Simla	... 202, 245.
	231.	Simois	... 145.
Shaikhani	... 232.	Singh	... 116.
Sharafuddin		Sirhind	... 133, 139,
Husain	... 21, 22.		146, 147, 173.
Sharif Khan	... 19.	Sita	... 160.
Shamsuddin		Sivanabhu	... 73, 75.
Khan	... 237, 238,	Sivapur	... 40.
	240.	Sodi	... 90, 121, 160,
Sharakpur	... 88.		161, 162, 169, 173.
Shash Fath-i-		Sodi Rai	... 90, 161, 162.
Khangra	... 51.	Solankhi	... 219.
Shastra Nama		Sori Lunde	... 219.
Mala	... 152.	Sri Chand	... 89.
Shergarh	... 184.	Srikot	... 197.



	Page.		Page.
Triveni	... 118.	Wakiat-i-Jahan-	...
Troy	... 145.	giri	... 48, 49.
Tunnote	... 220.	Wakil	... 38, 39.
Turan	... 25.	Wakilus Salta-	...
Turbela	... 196, 197.	nat	... 1, 37, 38.
Turistan	... 233.	Walla Sahib	... 173.
Turk	... 86, 136, 154.	Wani	... 141, 173.
Turkistan	... 99, 104.	Wazirabad	... 65, 188,
			201.
		Wazirat	... 39.
		Wazir Khan	... 19.
<b>U</b>		<b>Y</b>	
Udaipur	... 18.	Yadus	... 221.
Udasis	... 89, 170, 173.	Yar Muhammad	201, 228.
Usbegs	... 234.	Yatis	... 72.
		Yoga	... 87, 112,
			118.
<b>V</b>		Yusafzais	... 35, 36, 197,
Vaitala	... 121.		198, 228, 229,
Vallabha-			231.
Acharya	... 47, 87.	Yuti	... 221.
Veda	... 72, 161,		
	162.	<b>Z</b>	
Vedi	... 65, 160,	Zabbar Dost	...
	161, 162, 169, 173.	Khan	... 196.
Vichitra Natak	116, 152.	Zain Khan	... 34, 35, 36.
Vikramaditya	... 65.	Zend	... 221.
Vishnu Purana	83.	Zira	... 176, 191.
Vishweshar	... 47.	Zubdatut Tawa-	...
Vritasura	... 159.	rikkh	... 35.
Vyasa	... 84.		
<b>W</b>			
Waddi	... 173.		
Wakalat	... 39.		

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