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GLIMPSES OF HARIYANA

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PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF KURUKSHETRA,
KURUKSHETRA

954.421

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75454 दिनांक: 6.5.88
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PRINTED IN INDIA BY
T. PHILIP, AT THE KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY PRESS,
KURUKSHETRA

To
THE PEOPLE OF HARIYANA



"The very name Hariyana Commemorates the People who gave our Country its dominant culture. Here were sung the first hymns of our Aryan fore-fathers. This was the land of the Mahabhartta. Begining with Kurukshetra, some of the great battles of our land have been fought in this region. But the people of Hariyana have been as much men of peace as warriors. They have proud achievements to their credit as agriculturists and craftsmen."

Shrimati Indira Gandhi

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Received free from Gazetteer unit, Ministry of Education, N. Delhi. Price - Rs 20.00

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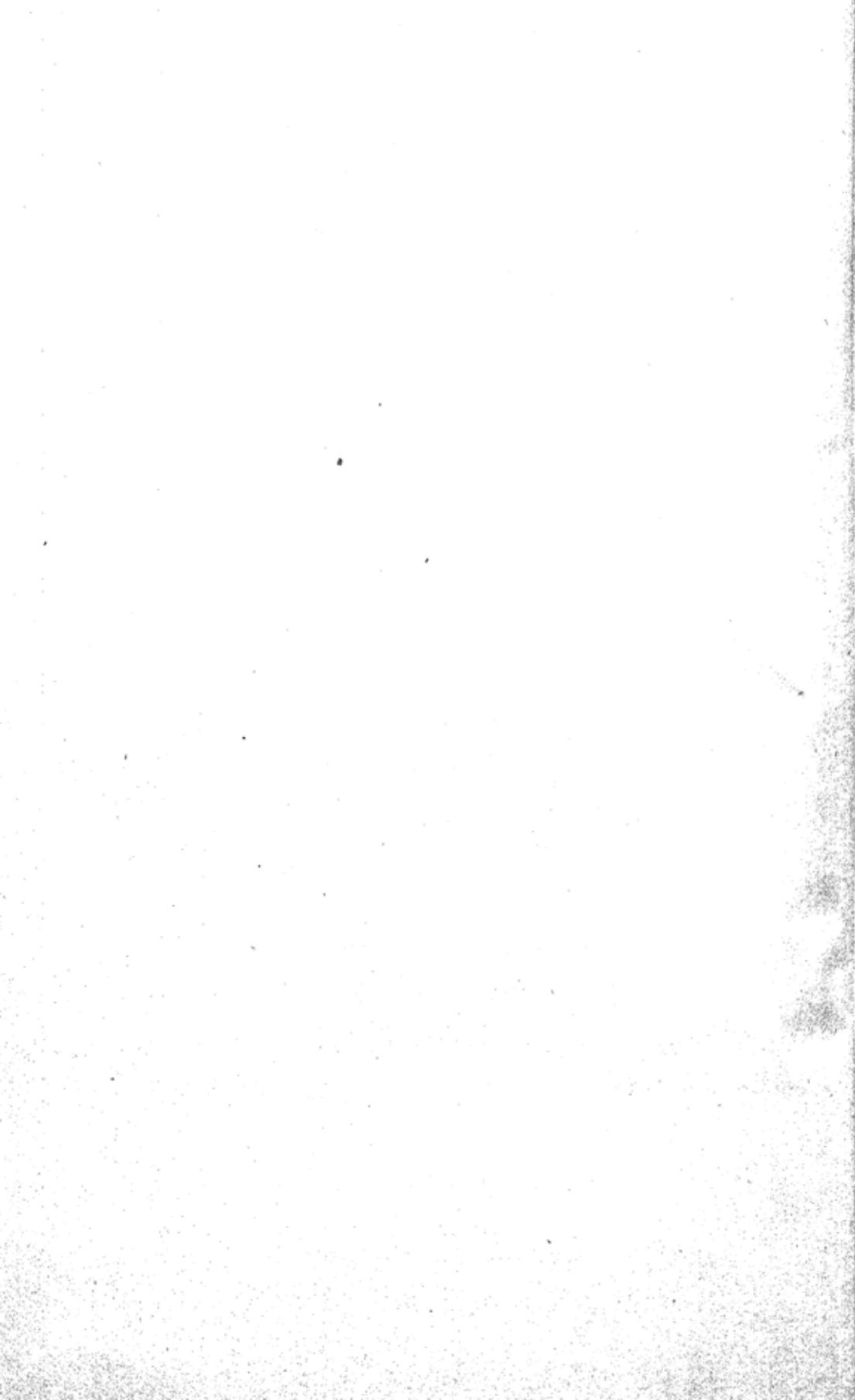
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FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write a foreword for 'Glimpses of Hariyana' published by the Kurukshetra University. There is no denying the fact that the history of India begins with the history of this region, which rightly claims the honour to be the earliest habitation of man. In 1915, Dr. Guy E. Pilgrim discovered some remains of human skeleton in the lower Shivalik hills. After a scientific examination of them, he concluded that one and a half crore years ago, early man lived in the Pinjore region round about Chandigarh (*Records of Geological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, 1915). This find confirms the Indian tradition that Hariyana was the martix of creation or the 'northern altar' where Brahma performed the pristine sacrifice from which the creation arose. Subsequently, this region also served as a cradle of civilization. India saw the dawn of Vedic civilization here. The bulk of the *Rgveda* was composed on the banks of the sacred Sarasvatī. Lord Krishna recited the Song Celestial (*Bhagvad Gītā*) at Kurukshetra. The message of the *Gītā* has been shattering the shell of ignorance and releasing the spirit of man from inaction and cowardice from ages immemorial.

Besides its historical and cultural importance, Hariyana is a very important region from the view-point of geopolitics. It constitutes the gateway to the heart of India, formed by the Shivaliks in the north and the desert of Rajasthan in the south. On the defence of this region has depended the independence of this country from time immemorial. The invaders were checked and fought on the battle-fields of Panipat, Karnal, Kunjpura and Taraori. Historical evidences would bear testimony to the fact that the people of Hariyana met the challenge of the invaders heroically. One example would be sufficient. Timur was opposed by the people of Hariyana for one full month and he had to fight two battles a day to proceed further.

Possessed of unusual love for freedom, the people of Hariyana are well-known for their valour, unflinching courage and manliness of spirit. They are ever-ready to sacrifice everything to keep up their country's honour. Simple and straightforward, these people in times of peace work the plough with as much skill as they wield the sword in times of crisis. The heroic deeds of the *jawans* of this region during the Chinese and Pakistani aggressions have won the admiration and gratitude of the entire nation.

Self-reliance and hard-work are what the present times require; and the people of Hariyana have repeatedly proved that they are always capable of rising to the occasion. As a check against faltering in the

(ii)

future they should keep their past history before them. For this purpose, *Glimpses of Hariyana* will be of utmost value. It will serve to focus the attention of the people on the broad trends of the historical and cultural evolution of Hariyana, which possesses an individuality of its own within the larger framework of Indian civilization.

Kurukshetra
March 1, 1967

D. C. VERMA
Vice-Chancellor

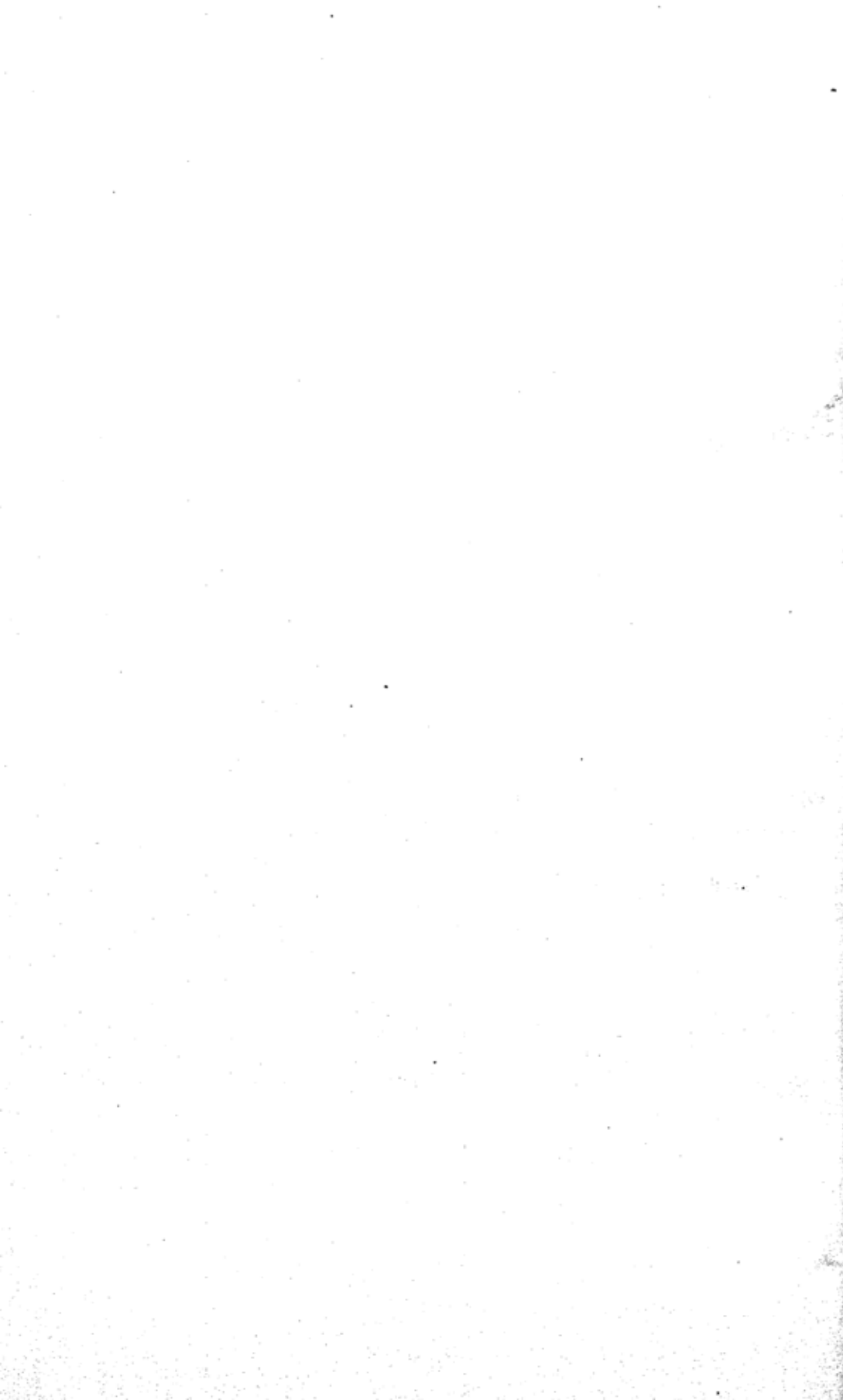
P R E F A C E

The present publication entitled 'Glimpses of Hariyana' is a collection of articles relating to the manifold aspects of the history and culture of this region from the pens of experts and specialists. However, there is a thread of unity binding them in a coherent narrative of the historico-cultural evolution and formation of Hariyana. Side by side, the presentation of the various topics is lucid and fluent, so as to make easy and interesting reading for all types of readers. Special attempt has been made to combine scholarly approach to popular interest.

The idea of publishing this volume emanated from the Vice-Chancellor, Shri D. C. Verma, I.A.S., (Retd.) who is sincerely devoted to the well-being and uplift of this region and is deeply conscious of the role that this University is to play in this process. He was of the view that the publication of a small volume of this sort would create a sense of individuality among the people of Hariyana. In fact, the emergence of Hariyana as a state within the Indian Union has fulfilled a long cherished wish and vision of the people of this region. From every point of view, Hariyana has had its own distinct socio-cultural personality having individual traits and characteristics. But, it is necessary to create an awareness of this personality in the minds of the people. For this purpose, the publication of a mass of literature relating to the history and culture of this land would be required. The present book marks the beginning of the preparation of this type of literature. It is hoped that, in course of time, it would be possible to bring out more comprehensive volumes relating to this subject. The present book will serve its purpose if it helps to foster a consciousness of socio-cultural unity and individuality in the minds of the people of Hariyana.

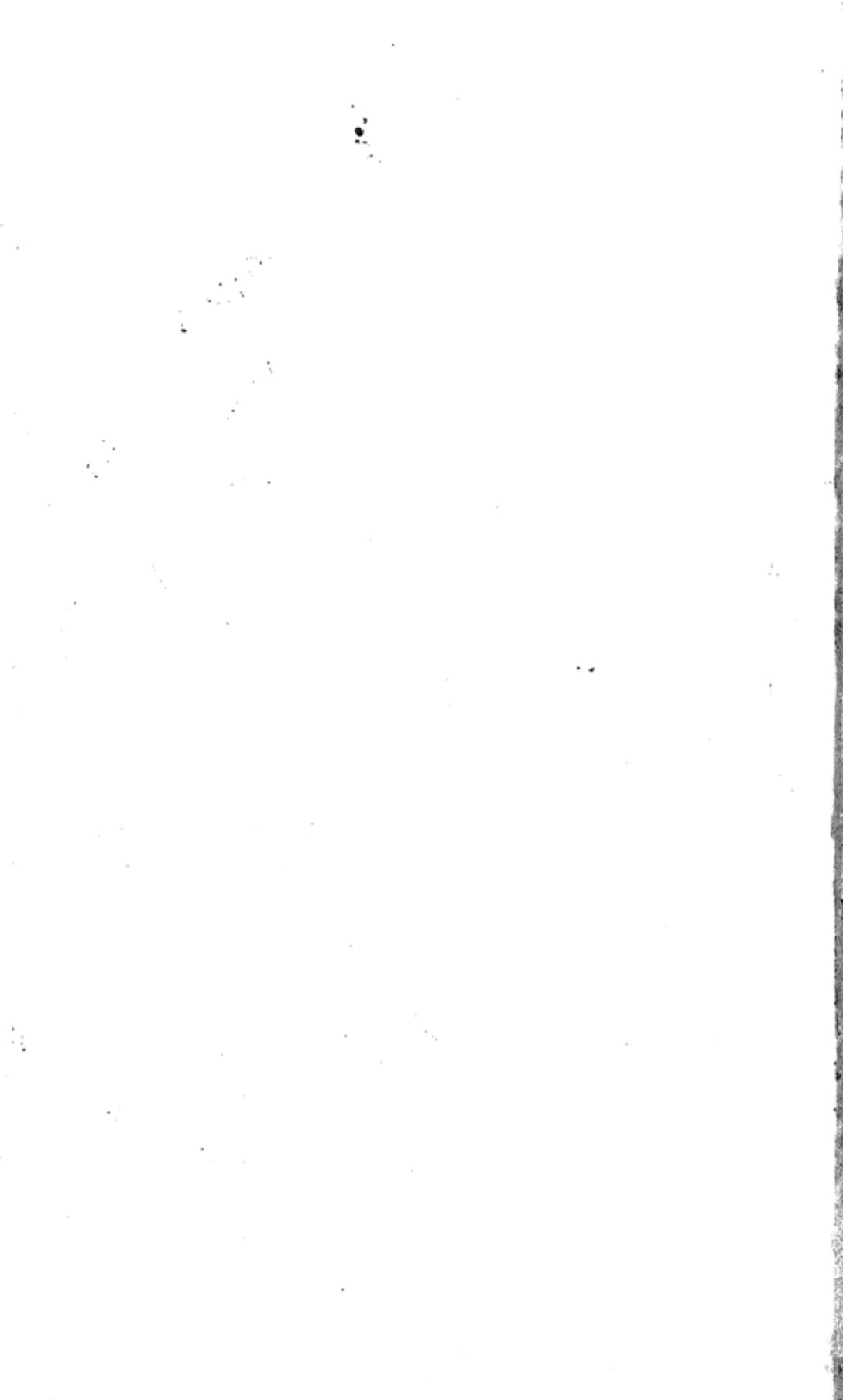
It is my pleasant duty to offer my sincere gratitude to Shri D. C. Verma, Vice-Chancellor, Kurukshetra University, for encouraging me to bring out this volume and contributing a valuable foreword to it. I am also indebted to Dr. K. C. Yadav, Dr. H. R. Gupta, Dr. D. Awasthi and Shri M. P. Singh for contributing their writings to it. In particular, I offer my thanks to Dr. K. C. Yadav for taking pains in seeing the book through the press.

Editor



HARIYANA PRĀNT







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I

HARIYANA—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The Panjab-Reorganization Bill passed by the Indian Parliament on September 10, 1966 bifurcated the bilingual state of Panjab and made provision for the setting up of the new state of Hariyana comprising the districts of Gurgaon, Mahendragarh, Rohtak, Hissar, Karnal and some parts of the Sangrur and Ambala districts¹. Having an area of 43,887 square kilometres and a population of 7,599, 759 souls the state of Hariyana came into existence on November 1, 1966.

Name Hariyana : Its Origin

The Origin of the name Hariyana is a matter of controversy which admits of diverse interpretations. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* says that Hariyana is probably derived from *Hari* (green) and is reminiscent of the time when this was a rich and fertile tract². A. Seton³ also subscribes to this view. F. Wilson opines that "Hariyana is so called because it was formerly a green forest (*Haryalban*)"⁴. *The Hissar District Gazetteer*, on the basis of an oral tradition, attributes the name to Raja Harishchandra, who is said to have come from Oudh at some undefined period and peopled this part of country⁵. It also gives a second view that it stems from the word *Hari* (slain) in allusion to a tradition of great slaughter of Kshatriyas by Parashu Ram on twenty one different occasions⁶. *The Settlement Report of Hissar* says that this name is derived from *Hariban*, a wild plant with which the area was formerly said to be overgrown⁷. Maharaj Krishan, the author of *Tarikh-i-Zillah Rohtak* tells us that this region was previously inhabited by robbers and dacoits and the name is derived from the act of robbery (*Haran*) on the part of these people⁸. Dharnidhar in his book *Akhand Prakash*⁹ says that this word comes from *Haribanka* connected with the worship of *Hari*, the Lord Indra. Since the tract is a dry one, its people worship Indra (*Hari*) always for rain. Girish Chandra Avasthi traces its origin from *Rigveda* where *Hariyana* is used as a qualifying adjective with the name of a King, Varuraja. This king, he says, ruled over this tract, and, as such, the region came to be known

1. This was based upon the recommendations of the Punjab Boundary Commission, vide their Report, dated May 31, 1966, para 136, point 3, p. 49.

2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, p. 54.

3. *Foreign Political Consultations* No. 34, July 22, 1809 (N.A.I.).

4. *The Punjab Notes and Queries*, No. 547, I, p. 67.

5. *The Hissar District Gazetteer*, p. 5.

6. *Settlement Report of the Hissar District*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Cited by Bhagvan Dev, *Vir Bhumi Hariyana*, pp. 2-3.

9. Cited by Dr. Shankar Lal Yadav, *Hariyana Pradesh Ka Lok-Sahitye*, pp. 57-58.

as Hariyana after him¹⁰. Acharga Bhagvan Dev says that this name has been derived from *Ihar*, the Lord Mahadeva, who was worshipped and is being worshipped even today very popularly by the people of this area.¹¹ Maha-Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana was of the opinion that this word was a corrupt form of *Iharidhankya*, a term often used for this region in the ancient literature¹². Pandit Bhagvaddutt holds the view that the word has come from the *Dasharna*—the place having ten forts which has been used for this region in the *Mahabharata*¹³. Dr. Buddha Prakash says that since this region was inhabited by the Abhiras during the post-Mahabharata period, it came to be called after their name: *Abhirayana*=*Ahirayana*=*Hirayna*=*Hariyana*¹⁴. Prof. Vasudeva Saran Aggarwal¹⁵ also looked eye to eye with Dr. Buddha Prakash on this point.¹⁶ Dr. Hari Ram Gupta is of the opinion that this region being the earliest home of the *Aryas* was called *Aryana* or the abode of the *Aryas*, like *Ludhiana*, the region of the *Lodhis*, and *Bhattiana*, the home of the *Bhattis*.¹⁷

All these views are based on traditions and conjectures, which are, unfortunately, not very old. None of these accounts goes beyond the 19th century. Under such conditions nothing can be said with certainty. But if a provisional hypothesis is to be accepted for the time being then I would like to stick to the oldest of all the views, that is, *Hariyana* derives its name from its *hariyali* (greenary).¹⁸

Boundaries

Although *Hariyana* has been changing its name and political boundaries like all other provinces of India from time to time, its geographical boundaries are fixed. They are the Shivaliks in the north and the river *Yamuna* in the east. The *Aravalis* running south of *Delhi* and through *Gurgaon* district upto *Alwar*, and farther on the desert of *Bikaner* form its south-western boundary. To the west it is bounded halfway by the *Ghaggar* and for the rest by the line drawn across *Sirhind* in northerly direction to the *Shivalik* ranges. This fact is testified by *The Punjab Administration Report, 1892-93* thus: "A line drawn through *Sirhind* from north to south marks the *Punjab* from *India* proper. That

10. G. Avasthi, *Ved Dharatal*, p. 779.

11. Bhagvan Dev, pp. 42-80.

12. Quoted by Dr. Shankar Lal Yadav, p. 59.

13. Quoted by Bhagvan Dev, p. 38.

14. *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1.

15. For Prof. Aggarwal's views see Dr. Shanker Lal Yadav, p. 59.

16. For details see Vatsyayana, *The Kamsutra*, IV, 4, 4; Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 91; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret, II Edition) pp. 300-1; Kripal Chandra Yadav, *Ahirwal Ka Itihas*, p. 1.

17. This view was expressed by him in the course of a discussion.

18. *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 34, July 22, 1809.

is why the city of Sirhind is called the head of India (Sar and Hind). To the east of it is the Hindi-speaking area and to the west the Punjabi-speaking region."¹⁹

These natural boundaries produced, in more or less isolated conditions, a distinct culture, a special mode of living, and a different linguistic pattern. And these factors gave a sort of individuality to the region which can be seen to exist even today in as good a form as it existed in the ancient and medieval times. In the earlier days of the 19th century the British, out of sheer ignorance of the land and the people of this region, picked up the popular name Hariyana and assigned it to a small district comprising some parts of the districts of Rohtak, Hissar and of the states of Jind and Patiala after the year 1820.²⁰ This was a folly on their part. The whole region, and not this district alone, has been called Hariyana from time immemorial. The *Skandapurana*,²¹ the Palam-Baoli Inscription of Vikram Samvat 1337²², the Ajmer Museum Chauhan Prashasti of the mid-12th century,²³ the Delhi Museum Inscription of 1328,²⁴ *Jait Ram Vani Granth*,²⁵ etc., bear testimony to this historical fact.

After some time the British Government realized that they had done a mistake. Hence in 1837 they undid the mistake by liquidating the district and transferring its villages to the newly-created district of Bhattiana, etc.²⁶ But the British writers of that century, for the reasons best known to them alone, chose to stick to this mistake. In all their writings they have taken Hariyana as a district bearing this name between 1820 and 1837 and not the popular Hariyana Pradesh. For instance, *The East India Gazetteer* (London, 1828)²⁷, *Final Report on settlement of the Sirsa District* (1879-83),²⁸ *Hissar District Gazetteer* (1882),²⁹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Panjab (1908), and alphabetical series^{29a} all speak of the same old district of Hariyana which was "a tract of country.....lying between 28°30' to 30° N and 75°45' and 76°30' E, chiefly in the eastern half of Hissar district but also comprising parts of Rohtak district and of the States of

19. *The Punjab Administration Report*, 1852-93, p. 14.

20. *Sirsa District Settlement Report*, 1879-83, para 26.

21. Maheshwara Khanda, Kumarika Adhaya, 39, Sh. 127 ff.

Dr. D.C. Sircar thinks that this section of the *Skand Purana* is an interpolation of the medieval days. See *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIV, p. 25; *Journal Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 8-11; *Studies in the Ancient and Medieval Geography of India*, p. 202.

22. *Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica*, p. 35.

23. Dashrath Sharma, *History of the early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 74.

24. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

25. p. 395. Jait Ram lived in the eighteenth century.

26. *Sirsa District Settlement Report* Para 26.

27. Hamilton, Vol. I, pp. 669-70.

28. pp. 20-30.

29. p. 5.

29a. Vol. I, p. 222; Vol. XIII, p. 53.

Jind and Patiala."³⁰ Not to speak of these British writers, many modern historians even today draw the same conclusion on the basis of the above mentioned works. A distinction must be made between the Hariyana Prant and the Hariyana district of the 19th century.

Physical Features

Hariyana is a broad level plain standing nearly on the water-parting between the basins of the river Indus and the Ganga. It is formed almost entirely of alluvium. In the whole of the region, excepting the flood plains of the Yamuna and the Ghaggar, locally called the *Khadar*, the alluvium is of the "old type" containing sand, clay, silt and hard calcareous concentrations about the size of nuts, known as "kankars". In the *Khadar* the deposits of the alluvium are of the "Recent type". They consist of coarse-sand and some silt regularly deposited by the rivers and small mountain stream of the Indo-Ganga water-shed.³¹ This process appears to be still going on in this region.

In the south-western parts of the Hariyana-plain a great deal of wind-blown sand stands piled up in the form of sand dunes. These dunes are sometimes many feet high and go beyond miles in length. The alluvium is covered by sand and the region is as bad as a desert. The only parts useful for cultivation and production in this region are the places where due to some reason or the other sand does not collect. Such places are locally called "Tals."³²

In the southern most parts of the Hariyana-plain, a number of hills appear here and there. They are the parts of the Delhi-system of the Aravalli ranges and are called Alwar and Ajaibgarh series. The hills of the eastern Ferozepur Jhirka and Rewari Tehsils belong to the Ajaibgarh series and comprise the soft slates and subordinate bands of siliceous lime stones. The hills along the western border of the Ferozepur-Jhirka, Nuh tehsil and Mahendragarh district come under the Alwar series and are formed of quartzite, grit, conglomerate and lime stones.³³

Rivers and Streams

THE YAMUNA. Although no big river flows through Hariyana, the region is fortunate in having the river Yamuna on its eastern boundary with the Uttar Pradesh. Even though the supplies in this river are meagre as compared to other big rivers of India, it does provide irrigation for large tracts in districts Karnal, Hissar, and Rohtak through the Western Jamuna Canal. It also charges the sub-soil water all along the border.

30. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, p. 53.

31. *Settlement Report of the Sirsa District*, para 5.

32. *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 6.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Besides that, there are many small rivulets which flow with usually enough floods in the rainy season but always dry up in the hot season and indeed seldom last beyond October. These rivulets, though notoriously known for their flood havoc during the rainy season, add up to the prosperity of Hariyana. They bring a great deal of rich clay with them and leave it behind at the places where they pass through. The result is that farmers get very luxuriant crops of wheat, gram and sugarcane on their fields. Besides that, sub-soil water is found alongside these rivulets and provides great irrigational facilities and thus keep their courses free from drought and famine.³⁴

THE GHAGGAR. The Ghaggar rises in the outer-Himalayan ranges between the Yamuna and the Sutlej. It enters the plains as a rapid and variable mountain torrent, passes near Ambala and, after a south-westerly course of about 70 miles chiefly through the Patiala district of the Punjab, where it is joined by the united streams of the Saraswati, Markanda and other numerous hill torrents, which cross the Ambala district between the Yamuna and the Sutlej, bends to the west through Hissar district and the Bikaner Division of Rajasthan where it is finally lost,³⁵ some 290 miles from its source.³⁶

From the appearance of the Ghaggar valley and the numerous remains of towns and villages which stud its banks all the way down to Bhawalpur, it is evident that at one time it conveyed a much larger volume of water than at present and probably was the channel of a perennial stream. It has been identified with the Sarswati by some and the Drishadwati by others. The latter seems to be more correct.³⁷

THE SARASWATI. It was a great river in ancient days. The *Rigveda* calls it a river *par excellence*. It is regarded as the first of the Vedic rivers.³⁸ In the ancient period of our history it was a much bigger river and joined the Arabian Sea.³⁹ But today it is a very small rivulet. It rises in the outer-Himalayan ranges between the Yamuna and the Sutlej. In most of its course it has no defined bed. But in its lower reaches in the district of Karnal, it becomes useful to the rice lands. Its floods, however, rarely extend to any distance. It carries no silt and its banks are usually high and steep. It ultimately joins the Ghaggar in the district of Patiala and dries up with it near Bhatner in Rajasthan.⁴⁰

34. *Ibid.*

35. It is lost near Bhatner.

36. See *Sirsa District Settlement Report*, para 5 and *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 1915, pp. 6-9 for details.

37. *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 8.

38. *Rigveda*, 11, 4, 16.

39. *Ibid.*, VI, 61, 2 and 8; VII, 95, 2.

40. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1918, pp. 5-8; *Sirsa Settlement Report*, para 5.

THE MARKANDA. A rivulet of the Indo-Ganga water-shed, it flows across the Ambala and Karnal districts. It is distinguished from the rest of the hill-streams by its extensive flooding and by the heavy deposits of silt. Sand is more rarely deposited and as a rule only in the vicinity of the banks. Its surplus water finds its way into the Sanisa Jhil where it joins the Saraswati.⁴¹

There are four rivulets of the Mewat hills—the Sahibi, Indori, Dohan and Kasavati. The Kasavati and Dohan are not so important.

THE SAHIBI. The Sahibi rises in the Mewat hills near Manoharpur and Jitgarh, about 70 miles north of Jaipur. Gathering volume from a hundred petty tributaries, it forms a broad stream along the boundary of Alwar and Patan and crossing the north-west corner of the former below Nimrana and Shahjehanpur, enters Rewari above Kotqasim. From this point it flows due north through Rewari and Pataudi to the Jhajjar Tehsil. Flowing through Lohari and throwing off branches into Patauda and Kheri Sultan it again passes through the Gurgaon district till it finally enters Rohtak at the village of Kutani. On reaching this point it divides into two branches which again reunite near Sondhi, Yakubpur and Fatehpur. From here the reunited stream turns to the north again and going a few miles more through the district it passes into the Delhi territory where it is made to meet the Yamuna through a channel.⁴²

THE INDORI. It rises near the old ruined city and fort of Indore perched on the Mewat hills, west of the town of Nuh of the Gurgaon district. After a few miles it divides itself into two branches. The main branch goes off north-west and joins the Sahibi on the southern border of the Rewari Tehsil; while the collected waters of a number of feeders of the north branch pass three miles west of Taoru, spread over the low lands around Bhora and ultimately fall into the Sahibi near Pataudi. This is the end of the Indori.⁴²

Geology and Minerals

Excepting calcareous concentrations, slates, foundary sands and salt peter, there is no other mineral in the whole of Hariyana except Mhendragarh district. Though Mahendragarh has not been geologically investigated thoroughly, yet large number of minerals are reported to occur in the area. Some of the important minerals in the area are iron ores, calcite, lime-stone, asbestos, barytes, beryl, copper ores, comelian, garnet, mica, etc. Out of these, iron ore, calcite, lime stone and kankar are being quarried at present.⁴³

41. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1918, pp. 5-8.

42. *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, 1910, para 5.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 1915, p. 9; *Rohtak Settlement Report*, 1873-76, p. 8; *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1883-84, p. 2; *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 9; *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 59-65.

Climate

Although Hariyana lies almost 300 miles north of the Tropic of Cancer, its climate is more or less tropical. Since it is customary to divide the whole year into three seasons in India everywhere—the cool season from November to February ; the hot season from March to early June ; and the rainy season from June to October, let us study the climatic conditions of Hariyana season-wise.

To start with the winter season, Hariyana remains under the influence of cool outblowing land winds throughout the season. But the Himalayan mountain walls protect the region as they do the rest of India from the icy-blasts from central Asia. Hence the temperature remains low—the mean January temperature at Hissar is 56°F. The general anti-cyclonic conditions of winter months are sometimes interrupted by the feeble cyclones which give a little rainfall to the region. Summer months experience hot weather with desiccating hot winds (*loo*) and occasional dust-storms. The climax of the season is reached in May and June when the region is hot like a furnace. About the middle of July the monsoon clouds begin to appear and the humidity increases rapidly till a thunderstorm announces the advent of the rains.⁴⁴

The rainfall pattern of Hariyana has been affected considerably by the region's continental location and nearness to the subtropical upper air high pressure of Thar desert. This results in low rainfall and variation at different places. The districtwise rainfall (average of five years 1958-62) is as follows⁴⁵ :—

<i>District</i>	<i>Rainfall in inches</i>
Ambala	47·16
Karnal	29·15
Jind	22·95
Rohtak	19·51
Gurgaon	19·18
Mahendragarh	18·87
Hissar	17·83

About 80% of the over-all rainfall in Hariyana falls between July and September. There is a pronounced rainfall peak in the months of July, August and September. There is a little amount of rain during the winter season by the cyclones. It is 3 to 4 inches in the upper parts and less than an inch in the lower ones.

Agriculture

Hariyana is essentially an agricultural state. About nine-tenths of the entire population depend on agricultural pursuits for their existence.

44. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 16-17 provide a very interesting account of the climatic conditions of the district.

45. *Report of Hariyana Development Committee*, 1966, p. 46.

A little under three fourths of the total land area of Hariyana is cultivated, about 41 percent sown every year and further 31 percent lying temporarily fallow. About 35 percent of all the land sown is irrigated. The total yield of foodgrains is about 24,39,300 tons a year or 1.9 lbs. per head per day.⁴⁶

Cattle Wealth

Hariyana is known throughout the country for its milch and draught cattle and claims the honour to be the home of the two of the best Indian breeds of cows and buffaloes. This is because its soil and climate are eminently suited for the breeding of good stock and the people of this area are good breeders. The region has vast potentialities for the development of dairy industry and, given proper guidance and direction, it can well become the Denmark of India.

The People

The people in Hariyana, excepting a few lower castes, are the descendants of the Aryan race. They profess many religions. According to the 1961 census, 67½ lakh people in this region are Hindus, 5 lakh Sikhs, 3 lakh Muslims, 26 thousand Jains, 85 hundred Christians and 7 hundred Buddhists.⁴⁷ Every religion is further divided into castes and sub-castes. Among the Hindus the important castes are Ahirs, Brahamans, Bishnois, Gujars, Jats, Khatis, Malis, Rajputs, Rors and Harijans. The Sikhs have Jats, Khatri, Aroras, Tarkhans and Harijans among their ranks. Among the Muslims, the Meos (2,16,800) form the bulk of the population, and other castes, such as Ranghars, Gujars, Lohars, Rangrez, etc., number only a few thousand. Despite this diversity of religions and castes, there has always been a remarkable communal homogeneity in Hariyana.⁴⁸

The people of Hariyana speak many dialects of Western and Rajasthani Hindi, the chief among which are the *Mewati*, *Ahirwati* and *Bangru*. The *Mewati* is spoken in some parts of the Gurgaon district. This region is called Mewat.⁴⁹ The *Ahirwati* is spoken in the district of Gurgaon and some parts of Mahendragarh and Rohtak.⁵⁰ The *Bangru*, most important of all the dialects of this region, is spoken in the districts of Rohtak, Hissar Mahendragarh, Jind and Karnal.⁵¹

46. *Ibid*, pp. 23, 192-93, 208-9.

47. See *Punjab Boundary Commission Report*, 1966, pp. 105-36.

48. For details see Chapter XIII.

49. For full information see Grierson, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 44; Manoria, *Rajasthani Bhasha aur Sahitya*, p. 34.

50. For details see Grierson, Vol. IX, pt. II, pp. 3, 43, 49-51; Kripal Chandra Yadav, *Ahirwal ka Itihas*, Chapter II.

51. See Grierson, Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 63, 66; Dr. S. L. Yadav, *Hariyana Pradesh ka Lok Sahitya*.

The people of Hariyana are hard-working. They are full of daring, impetuous valour, unflinching courage, patient endurance of fatigue, high aspirations and manliness of spirit. In times of peace they are first rate agriculturists and craftsmen, and in times of crisis they are equally good soldiers. Indian Army is proud of its Hariyana-Jawans. No numerical superiority of the enemy no stroke, no shot, no shell can make their hearts quail.

KRIPAL CHANDRA YADAV

II

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT HARIYANA

The word Hariyana occurs in the Delhi Museum Inscription dated 1328 A. D. which refers to this region as a very heaven on earth and includes Delhi (Dhillikā), founded by the Tomaras, in it.¹ The Palam Baoli Inscription calls this territory Hariyāṇaka and states that it was first ruled by the Tomaras.² It appears that the word *hariyāṇā* or *hariyāṇaka* was of *deśī* origin and signified a country of greenery and vegetation. Its Sanskrit counterpart is *bahudhānyaka*, meaning a country yielding bountiful harvests of corn, which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* as well as the legends on ancient coins, especially those of the Yaudheyas. It is also likely that this word is derived from *Hari*, the name of God Viṣṇu, for the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva states that the ruling family of this region was known as *Harivaṁśa*^{2a}. But a more probable etymology is *Ābhīrāyaṇa* = *Ahīrāyaṇa* = *Hirāyaṇa* = *Hariyāṇā*. Since in the post-Mahābhārata period the *Ābhīras*, modern *Ahīrs*, became prominent in this region, it came to be known by their name. The hub of this area is the valley of the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, Ghaggar and Chitang. These rivers and their numerous feeders do not follow a normal course, as other streams, but at some places lose themselves in sand and a few miles away reappear and sometimes form ponds and lakes. There is almost an incessant struggle between the dusty winds of the deserts and the vitalising currents of these rivers. Hence, rightly, their streams, ponds and lakes, going under various names, have been deified as veritable divine beings, worthy of worship and pilgrimage, and thousands of people go there for ablutions in the expectation of religious merit and heavenly bliss.

The geopolitical situation of the Sarasvatī—Dṛṣadvatī region is mainly responsible for its sanctimonious conception. It constitutes the gateway to the citadel of the Gangetic Valley, formed by the Himālayas in the north and the Aravalis in the south, with the great desert of Rajasthan, prolonged seaward by the salty and tidal marsh of the Rann of Cutch, in the west. The land between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himālayas below Simla provides a passage from the North-West which leads to the entrance of the Gangetic plain at Delhi on the Yamunā. Naturally, therefore, this gateway is the key to the security of the North Indian plain and on its defence has depended the independence of the

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34

2a. *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva (ed. Sunder Lal Shastri, Varanasi, 1960) p. 15

तत्र सुकतिनो हरिवंशजन्मनः चण्डमहासेनस्य नपतेः सुनुः मारदत्तो नाम राजा ।

country from ages immemorial. It is significant that this region is littered with ancient battlefields like Kurukṣetra, Taraori, Panipat, Kunjpura and Karnal where the fate of India continued to be decided for centuries without number. That is why it is *Karmakṣetra* and *Dharmakṣetra*, the land adored with libations of blood and the region requiring an immense sacrifice on the part of the people. Every inch of this territory is a holy place and a pilgrimage, where people have been coming from all parts of the country with a religious motive and a burning faith in the sacredness of its soil. This religious sanctity enshrines the military importance of this region, and its spiritual association encases the material advantage that ensues from its proper protection. A region, on the security of which the destiny of millions of men depends, cannot but be the land of highest religious purity and cultural significance.

This land is known by a variety of names like Uttaravedī, Brahmadevī, Kurukṣetra, Samantapañcaka, Sarvapañcaka etc. The last-mentioned name signifies the territory whose perimeter on each of the four sides measured five *yojanas*³. This region abounded in forests and ponds, the retreats of sages and ascetics, and teemed with towns and villages inhabited by industrious and prosperous people. The *Purāṇas* and the Epic mention a belt of seven forests in it consisting of Kāmyakavana, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sītavana, whose names correspond to the sites of modern Kamoda, Amin, Vyasasthali (Bastali), Pharal, Sajuman, Mohana, and Sivana. Besides these places, Pṛthuvana stands for the territory of present Pehova and Śālavana is represented by modern Salon. The sacred ponds of this region are the Pṛthūdaka tank at Pehova, Phalgu tank at Pharal, Parasir tank at Bahlolpur and the Sthāṇu, Sannihiti and Kurukṣetra tanks near Thanesar, besides many other small tanks spread over the whole area and associated with epic events. The four points of pilgrimage of this region are marked by Yakṣa shrines : Arantuka in Pṛthudaka or Pehova, Rantuka or Tarantuka in Thanesar or Taraori, Kapila near Kaithal with his wife Ulukhalā at Pundri and Macakruka near Jakhala. The texts mention an inner and an outer circle of pilgrimages which include Puṇḍarīka (Pundri), Sarpadevī or Sarpidadhi (Safidon), Kapiṣṭhala (Kaithal), Pṛthūdaka (Pehova), Sthāṇu vaṭa Thanesar, Phalakivana (Pharal), Vimala (Vimalasara at Saga), Pāriplava (Bal), Dakṣāśrama (Dachor), Śalukina (Salon), Varāhatīrtha (Baras or Barara), Yugandhara (Jagadhari), Bhūtālaya (Buria), Rāmahr̥da (Ramra), Lokoddhāra (Ladwa), Gavāmbhavana (Gohana), Sangini (Sinkh), Mānuṣatīrtha (Manasa), Rudrakoṭi (Radaur), Nāgaahr̥da (Nagadu), Pāṇikhāta (Panipat), Pavanahr̥da (Upalana), Sapta-Sārasvata (Magna) etc. This outer ring of pilgrimage encompasses an area of forty-eight *krośas* or about three hundred miles.

3. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, XXII, 16

आ समन्ताद् योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः।

Indian traditions regard this region as the matrix of creation and civilization. It is the site of northern altar where Brahmā performed the pristine sacrifice from which the creation arose. It is the region where the Āryas lived from the very dawn of humanity, as the following prayer to Sarasvatī, contained in the *Rgveda*, shows :

“Guide us, Sarasvatī, to glorious treasure : refuse us not thy milk, nor spurn us from thee.

Gladly accept our friendship and obedience : *let us not go from thee to distant countries*”⁴.

In the *Rgvedic* period the territory of the Dṛṣadvatī, Sarasvatī and Apāyā, later known as Kurukṣetra, on account of the association of the kurus, is associated with the Bharatas, whose kings are said to have kindled the sacred fires there⁵. In the Āpī hymns Sarasvatī is mentioned with Bhārati, the glory of the Bharatas. In the *Vājasneyī Samhitā* the Bharatas appear in place of the Kuru-Pañcālas⁶. The Vedic poets wax eloquent over the Bharata kings Divodāsa and Sudās. The latter was a mighty conqueror and a paramount ruler, about whom the *Rgveda* says :

“Come forward, Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudās's horse to win him riches.

“East, west and north, let the king slay his foemen, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship”⁷.

Sudās is said to have defeated a confederacy of the Ajas, Yakṣus and Śigrus on the Yamunā⁸ and an assemblage of the Yadu-Turvaśas, Bhṛgu, Druhyus, Pakthas, Bhalāṇas, Alinas, Śivas, Viśāṇins, Purus and Anus, led by Simyu, Purodās, Purukutsa, Kavaśa etc., on the Ravi⁹, and ranked as the undisputed emperor of the Saptasindhu region. But his successors were not equal to the task of maintaining his empire and the Puru king Trasadasyu worsted them and wrested the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī region from their kingdom. Eventually the Purus and the Bharatas mixed and merged into one people, but the Kurus and Pañcālas exercised relentless pressure on them and the former occupied their territory.¹⁰

4. *Rgveda*, VI, 61, 14

सरस्वत्यमि नो नेषि वस्यो माप स्फरीः पयसा मा न आ धक् ।

जुषस्व नः सख्या वेश्या च मा त्वत् क्षेत्राण्यरण्यानि गन्म ॥

5. *Rgveda*, III, 23

6. *Vājasneyī Samhitā*, XI, 3, 3

7. *Rgveda*, III, 53, 11

वप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्र मुञ्चता सुदासः ।

राजा वज्रं जह्वन्तव प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥

8. *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 19

9. *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 8—13

10. Buddha Prakash, *The Rgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization*, pp. 100-110

Though the word *Kuru* occurs in the *Rgveda* as component of the names of some persons like Kaurayāṇa and Kuruśravaṇa, the Kuru tribe is not expressly mentioned in it. But in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* the Kurus figure as a very prominent people, who gave their name to Kurukṣetra and made it the home of Vedic culture. According to the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, its speech was best and purest and its mode of sacrifice was ideal and perfect.¹¹

Paurāṇika tradition ascribes the virtual reclamation of the Sarasvatī-Dṛśadvatī region to the Kurus. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* states that King Kuru ploughed the field of Kurukṣetra with a ploughshare of gold drawn by the Nandī of Śiva and reclaimed an area of seven *krośas*. Side by side, he laid down the code of conduct for its people based on the practice of the eight virtues of truthfulness (*satya*), austerity (*tapas*), forgiveness (*kṣamā*), compassion (*dayā*), purity (*śauca*), charity (*dāna*), composure (*yoga*) and continence (*brahmacharya*). Combining manual labour with moral advance, he remarked that by cultivating the land he was developing the eight virtues.¹² His body, hands and head, was the source of material prosperity as well as spiritual uplift. This Kuru king is the symbol of thousands of people who dedicated themselves to the task of raising the economic and cultural standard of their country. Giving it the form of a myth, the *Vāmana Purāṇa* says that Viṣṇu divided the right and left hands of King Kuru into one thousand parts so that the one became the many and his industry became the endeavour of millions. This Kuru code of conduct stressing intense physical exertion and associating it with deep moral fervour and profound spiritual transformation is the corner-stone of Indian culture as adumbrated in the *Bhagavadgītā* and other texts.

The *Mahābhārata* knows Hariyana as the land of plentiful grains (*bahudhānyaka*) and immense riches (*bahudhana*). The account of the expedition of Nakula relates that he advanced on Rohtak (*Rohitaka*), full of horses, cattle, wealth and crops and blessed by the god Kārttikeya, the generalissimo of the army of the gods, and had a severe contest with the Mattamayūras. From there he marched to the other end of the region comprising the deserts and reduced the city of Sirsa (*Sairīśaka*)¹³. Then

11. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* XXV, 10; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 5, 13; *Altareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 30; *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* III, 126.

12. *Vāmana Purāṇa* XXII 24-25

राजाब्रवीत्सुरवरं तपः सत्यं क्षमां दयाम् ।
कृषामि शौचदाने च योगं च ब्रह्मचारिताम् ॥

13. *Mahābhārata* (Cr. ed.) II, 29, 3-5.

ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाश्चधनधान्यवत् ।
कार्षिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥
तत्र युद्धं महद्भूतं शरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः ।
मरुभूमि च कात्स्नर्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥
शैरीषकं महेच्छं च वशे चक्रं महाश्रुतिः ॥

he plunged into the Panjab and fought with the Śibis, Trigartas, Ambasthas, Mālavas etc. Many features of this account agree with those of Yaudheya coinage. On these coins we find the figure of Kumāra Kārttikeya, showing that he was the tutelary god of these people. As the peacock is the vehicle of this god, it is prominently depicted on these coins. It may, therefore, be presumed that the Yaudheyas had a special regard for the peacock which seems to underlie the epithet *Mattamayūra* used for the people of Rohtak in the *Mahābhārata*. Besides this, the name *Bahudhānyaka*, given to this region, also occurs on the Yaudheya coins. Thus it appears that the aforesaid account of Hariyana in the Great Epic refers to the period of the ascendancy of the Yaudheyas.

It has been stated above that on account of its strategic position Hariyana occupied a key position in the political history of India from very early times. The stability of the empires of northern India depended on a firm control over it. In the Maurya period it naturally formed part of the Magadhan empire as the discovery of northern black polished ware at Sugh and the pillars of Aśoka at Topra and Hissar and his stupas at Chaneti and Thanesar indicates. After the break-up of the Maurya empire, the inroads of the foreign peoples, like the Bactrians, Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Kuṣāṇas, spread confusion in North India and threw Hariyana in the melting pot. The inscriptions in Kuṣāṇa characters on the pillars from Amin, lying in the temple of Thakurji on the west bank of Surajkund, as well as the coins of that period, found at several places, are instances in point. But soon the Yaudheyas, representing an old Indo-Iranian clan, rose up and repelled the rule of the Kuṣāṇas from the region between the Sutlej and the Yamunā. Their coins and seals, found abundantly over this region, reveal that Sunet and Rohtak were their seats of power and they had an oligarchical—cum—republican type of organisation. In weight and fabric Yaudheya coins agree with the Kuṣāṇa pieces showing that they replaced them after the overthrow of their rule. The worship of the warlike Skanda indicates their martial vigour and bellicose spirit, which stood them in good stead in the struggle with formidable rivals.

In the first half of the fourth century Candragupta I and Samudragupta reconstituted and consolidated the Magadhan empire and in that process annexed Hariyana also. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription expressly states that the Yaudheyas submitted to Samudragupta and eventually their kingdom formed part of the Gupta empire. But the folk-culture of Hariyana continued to flourish and exercise a fascination in the fashionable circles of the metropolitan centres. We learn from a contemporary text that the drummers of Rohtak used to attract crowds of hundreds by their folk-music, played in Yaudheya tunes to the accompaniment of lutes, set with sheets of bronze, in the bazars of distant Ujjain.¹⁴ It is

14. *Caturbhāṇī* (ed. V.S. Agrawala and Motichandra), p. 168

अथे नु खलु रोहितकीर्तयैर्दगिकैः कौस्यपत्रवेणुमिश्रैर्यथैकत्रयैरुपगीयमान etc.

significant that the folk—culture of the Yaudheyas not only maintained its identity but also made its mark on the life of the whole country in the Gupta period.

In the sixth century the Gupta empire broke down. About 510 the Hūṇas, led by Toramāṇa, swooped from the North-West and sacked cities and religious establishments from Sanghol in Ludhiana district to Kauśāmbī near Allahabad. Obviously they passed through Hariyana leaving some settlements, like Jaula, which bears the name of their ruling clan, called Jau(b)la or Jaula, there. From Kauśāmbī the Hūṇas moved towards Eraṇ in Madhya Pradeśa, on the one hand, and marched on Kāśī and Pāṭaliputra, on the other. For well over a couple of decades they were paramount in India. But in the thirties the Vardhanas of Mandasor rose under Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana and ousted the Hūṇas from the Indian plains, pushing them into north-western retreats. The successor of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, named Dravyavardhana, ruled as the paramount sovereign from Ujjain, assuming the title of mahārājādhirāja. After a reign of about a quarter of a century his empire crumbled and his feudatories became assertive. The later Gupta ruler Mahāsenagupta occupied eastern Maḷwa and the Kalacuri king Śankaragaṇa pounced upon Ujjain, from where he issued his Abhona plates dated 596-7 A.D.¹⁵ Sometime, towards the latter part of that century, the Vardhana house of Thanesar, called Puṣpabhūti, also rose in prominence. The first two rulers of this house, Naravardhana and Rājyavardhana, were ordinary feudatories, but the third ruler Ādityavardhana enhanced his power by marrying Mahāsenaguptā, probably the sister of Mahāsenagupta of the later Gupta dynasty, who, as said above, conquered eastern Malwa. Ādityavardhana's son Prabhākaravardhana further expanded his realm and followed a bold policy, which made him the paramount ruler of the Panjab and the North-West. Instead of antagonising the Maukharis of Kanauj at the instance of the later Guptas, he made friends with them and married his daughter Rājyaśrī to their prince Grahavarman. The Maukharis also assisted him in his struggle against the Hūṇas by despatching their powerful elephant corps, which "threw aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas", as the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena states.¹⁶ With their support, Prabhākaravardhana not only vanquished the Hūṇas but also tightened his grip over the Indus region and asserted his influence over Gandhāra and put down the turbulent Gūjjaras.¹⁷ Besides this, he inflicted a defeat on the ruler of Lāṭa and dealt a shattering blow to the power of the later Guptas.¹⁸ We may presume that just as the Maukharis helped Prabhākaravardhana in

15. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 94-95

16. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 200, verse 11.

यो मौखरेः समितिषु द्रुतहृणसैन्यावल्गद्वष्टाविषटयन्नुत्तुवारणानाम् ।

17. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. Jivānanda p. 342

हृणहरिणकेसरी, सिन्धुराजज्वरः, गूर्जरप्रजागरः, गन्धाराधिपगन्धद्रिपकूटपाकलः

18. *Ibid.*, लाटपाटवपाटचरः मालवल्हमीलतापरशुः

crushing the Hūṇas, similarly the latter assisted them in liquidating the later Guptas, who were a constant thorn by their side. The fact that Prabhākara-vardhana broke off with the later Guptas, who were his relatives and with whom his family had old friendship, shows how greatly he prized the alliance and cooperation of the Maukharis of Kanauj who were on the road to imperial greatness in northern India. Yet, after defeating the later Gupta ruler of Malwa, he took his young sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta under his patronage and treated them affectionately in his court.¹⁹

Under the Vardhana rulers Hariyana, then called Śrīkaṇṭha janapada, on account of its association with a Nāga chief Śrīkaṇṭha,²⁰ reached the peak of progress. In the early seventh century the court poet of Harṣavardhana, Bāṇa, and the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Chwang, gave adequate details of its people and their pursuits, which enable us to form a clear idea of its economic, social and cultural set-up.

The secret of the prosperity of this region was the fertility of its soil which its people skilfully exploited. In it one could see the people working on the ploughs everywhere. The ploughshares clearing the mushroom growth of land-lotuses excited the tumult of bees which seemed to be singing the excellence of the soil²¹. Wells and wheels supplied water to the crops²² and barns were full of high heaps of harvests²³. Rippling fields of wheat, paddy, mung, masha and sugarcane filled the horizon²⁴; orchards and gardens of plaintains and pomegranates greeted the eyes²⁵; shady fruit-bearing trees lined the highways²⁶. The cattle wealth of the country was immense. Herds of cattle, tinkling with bells, tied round their necks, filled the countryside,²⁷ herdsmen were seen sprawling on the backs of buffaloes and singing in leisurely and jubilant moods;²⁸ camels were trudging here and there and droves of mares wandered freely like deer;²⁹ herds of sheep grazed around and cows clashed with arjuna trees to reach the ponds to drink

19. *Ibid.*, p. 412

20. *Ibid.*, p. 319 एतावता कालेन क्षेत्राधिपतिः अश्व मन्नान्ता एव लब्धव्यदेशस्य देशस्य नागतस्ते श्रोत्रोपकण्ठं श्रीकण्ठनामा नागोऽहम् ।

21. *Ibid.*, p. 257 स्थलकमलबहुलतया पोत्रोन्मूल्यमानमृगालैः उद्गीतमेदिनीसारगुणैरिव कृतमधुकरकोलाहलैः हलैः उल्लिख्यमानक्षेत्रः ।

22. *Ibid.*, p. 258 उद्घातवटीसिच्यमानैः ।

23. *Ibid.*, p. 257 अपूर्वपर्वतकैरिव खलधानधामभिः विभज्यमानैः शस्यकूटैः संकटसीमान्तः ।

24. *Ibid.*, p. 258 उर्वरावरीयोभिः शालीयैः अलंकृतः । पाकविशराकराजमाधनिकारकिमीरितैश्च स्फुटितमुद्गफलकोशीकपिशितैः गोधूमधामभिः स्थलीपृष्ठैः अधिष्ठितः ।

25. *Ibid.*, p. 260 शाककन्दलश्यामलितग्रामोपकण्ठकाश्यपीपृष्ठः पदे पदे । P. 261 दाडिमीनां वनैः विलोभनीयोपनिर्गमः ।

26. *Ibid.*, p. 261 पथिकलोकलुप्यमानपिण्डखजूरैः ।

27. *Ibid.*, p. 259 अबहुवदितघटावटीरदितरमणीयैः ।

28. *Ibid.*, p. 258 महिषपृष्ठप्रतिष्ठितगायद्गोपालपालितैश्च ।

29. *Ibid.*, p. 262 स्वच्छन्दचारिणीनां वृद्धानां वृद्धैः विचरद्भिः आचितः ।

water.³⁰ Monkeys and parrots³¹ and birds and bees had their heyday in groves and gardens.

In that country of gaiety and plenty the people were good-natured, hospitable and magnanimous, devoted to their duties and shunning confusion of castes or cadres.³² They adhered to meritorious conduct, abhorred false doctrines³³ and avoided sin and sacrilege³⁴. Healthy in body and spirit, they knew no disease, epidemic or premature death³⁵ and led a life of fruitful activity and high ideals.³⁶

The capital of that region was the splendid city of Sthānviśvara (Thanesar) about which Bāṇa says :

“Sages entitled it a hermitage, courtezans a lovers’ retreat, actors a concert hall, foes the city of death, seekers of wealth the land of the philosopher’s stone, sons of the sword the soil of heroes, aspirants to knowledge the preceptor’s home, singers the Gandharvas’ city, scientists the great Artificer’s temple, merchants the land of profit, bards the gaming house, good men the gathering of the virtuous, refugees the cage of adamant, libertines the Rogue’s Meet, wayfarers the reward of their good deeds, treasure seekers the mine, quietists the Buddhist monastery, lovers the Apsaras’ city, troubadours the festival congress, Brāhmaṇas the stream of wealth.”³⁷

In this city of richness and variety people followed diverse avocations with profit and success, as the above description shows. Busy bazaars, well-equipped emporia, elegant temples, splendid palaces, artists’ studios, sculptor’s workshops, colleges and schools and religious meets and social get-togethers characterized the composition of this city. People followed the Śaiva cults combined with Vedic sacrifices and tinged with popular fetishes. If in houses and hermitages Brāhmaṇas practised the Vedic rituals, in temples people worshipped Śiva and other gods and in wayward retreats occultists performed their horrid rites.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 261 गोकुलावतारकलुषितकूलकीलालैः ।

31. *Ibid.*, p. 260 बीजलग्नशुकचंचूरागाणामिव समारूढकपिकुलकपोलसन्दिग्धमानकुसुमानाम् ।

32. *Ibid.*, p. 257 असंकीर्णवर्णव्यवहारस्थितिः ।

33. *Ibid.*, p. 264 यत्र त्रेताग्निधूमाश्रुपातजलक्षालिता इव अजीयन्त कुदृष्टयः ।

34. *Ibid.*, p. 265 क्षिप्रमानयूपदारूपरशुपादित इव व्यदीर्यत अधर्मैः ।

35. *Ibid.*, p. 266 वृषविवाहप्रहतपुण्यपटहपट्टरवत्रासिता इव न उपासपन् अपमृत्यवः ।

36. *Ibid.*, p. 257 पुण्यकृतमधिवासो वासवावास इव वसुधामवतीर्णः कृतयुगव्यवस्थः ।

37. *Ibid.*, p. 268—9 यः तपोवनमिति मुनिभिः, कामायतनमिति वेश्याभिः, संगीतरालेति लासकैः, यमनगरमिति शत्रुभिः, चिन्तामणिभूमिरिति अर्थिभिः, वीरलेत्रमिति रास्त्रोपजीविभिः, गुरुकुलमिति विद्यार्थिभिः, गन्धर्वनगरमिति गायनैः, विश्वकर्ममन्दिरमिति विशानिभिः, लाभभूमिरिति वैदेहकैः, यत्स्थानमिति वन्दिभिः, साधुसमागम इति सद्भिः, वज्रपञ्जरमिति शरणागतैर्विदगोष्ठीति विदग्धैः, सुकृतपरिणाम इति पथिकैः, असुरविवरमिति वातिकैः, शाक्याश्रम इति शमिभिः, अप्सरः पुरमिति कामिभिः, महोत्सवसमाज इति चारुणैः वसुधारेति च विप्रैः अगृह्यत ।

About the women of this city Bāṇa observes : "Their eyes are a natural wreath, the garland of lotus leaves are a mere burden. The images of their curls in the convex of their cheeks are ear-pendants that give no trouble. Their cheeks alone give a perpetual sunshine. Their voices alone are their sweet lutes. The gleam of their lips is a more brilliant cosmetic. Their arms are the softest of playfully smiting wands."³⁸

Like Bāṇa, Hsuan Chwang has also given a glowing description of the Sthāṇvisvara region. He said that it was above 7000 *li* (3 *li* = 1 mile) in circuit and its capital, with the same name, was above 20 *li* in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile, the crops were abundant and the climate was warm. The rich families vied with each other in extravagance. The people were greatly devoted to magical arts and highly prized outlandish accomplishments : the majority pursued trade and few were given to farming (the pilgrim's observation and experience were confined to cities only). Rarities from other lands were collected in the country. There were three Buddhist monasteries with above 700 professed Buddhists, all Hīnayānists. There were also above 100 Daiva (Brahmanical) temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. The capital was surrounded for 200 *li* by a region called *Fu-ti* (*Dharmakṣetra*) meaning the 'Place of Religious Merit.'³⁹

The death of Harṣa in 647-8 A. D. unleashed a storm of fissiparous forces which engulfed the whole of North India. What became of Śrīkaṇṭha or Hariyana is not precisely known, but it appears that people from the North, Hūṇas and Turks, hovered over it in course of their sallies into the Panjab. Hence towards the end of that century we find Yaśovarman of Kanauj campaigning in Śrīkaṇṭha, Marudeśa and Kurukṣetra⁴⁰ in course of his conquests calculated to resuscitate the empire of Kanauj. This king consolidated his hold over the North-West and appointed a special officer, called Udīpati, there to control the Turks, as his title *pratītatikina* in the Nalanda Inscription indicates. But Yaśovarman's empire proved short-lived, for King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kaśmīra, who did not relish his paramountcy over the Panjab, openly broke off with him at the instance of the Turki Śāhī princes, who had taken refuge in Kaśmīra, and marched on Kanauj at the head of a vast army and inflicted a smashing defeat on him. The kingdom of Kanauj from the Yamunā to the

38. *Ibid.*, p. 270—2

प्रमदानां चक्षुरेव सहजं मुण्डमालामण्डनं भारः कुवलयदलदामानि । अलकप्रतिबिम्बान्येव
कपोलतलगतान्यविलब्धाः श्रवणावतंसाः.....कपोल एव सततमालोककारकाः.....वायवेव मधुरतरा
वीणा.....अश्वरकातिनिसर एवोज्ज्वलतरोऽङ्गरागो निर्युगो लावयकलंकः कुपंकुमको, बाहव
एव कोमलतमाः परिहासप्रहारवेगलता निष्प्रयोजनानि मृणालानि ।

39. Thomas Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, pp. 314—16.

40. *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, verses 434.

इयं जन्मि पिउवहा पण्डवेण विदियं पुरा मुवय-सत्त ।

चिरमुसिओ सिरिवण्डोवअण्डमग्गे पड्ढ तम्मि ।

Kālikā came under the control of the Kaśmīri monarch "as if it were the courtyard of his palace."⁴¹ But the end of Lalitāditya quickly followed and his weak successors could not maintain his empire. Hariyana again fell a victim to political anarchy.

In the latter part of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth we find the Pāla emperor of Bengal, Dharmapāla (c. 770—810), holding a *darbār* at Kanauj on the occasion of the installation of his nominee Cakrāyudha in place of Indrāyudha, and inviting, among others, the king of Kuru, to attend it⁴². Whether this meant the assertion of Pāla paramountcy over Hariyana or the Kuru country we do not know, but Dharmapāla certainly gave it a colouring of his imperial dignity. However, the dream of empire, entertained by the Pālas, was soon shattered, when the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, (c. 795—833) advanced on Kanauj, dethroned Cakrāyudha, and made it the seat of his empire. Soon afterwards, he defeated Dharmapāla and siezed the forts of the kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Matsya etc. Obviously, he occupied Hariyana also, which formed a part of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra empire till its end. The Pehova inscription⁴³, dated 276 Harṣa era or 882 A.D., recording an agreement, voluntarily entered into by some horse dealers, whereby they and their customers undertook to pay certain tithes and taxes for the maintenance of temples and sanctuaries, shows that this region was included in the empire of Bhoja of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra dynasty. Likewise, another inscription from that place, recording the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara family, descending from Rājā Jaula, shows that this region was under the effective sway of Mahendrapāla of that dynasty. During this period the princes of the Tomara family, Pūrṇarāja, Devarāja and Gogga, took service under the Pratihāras and initiated a line of powerful feudatories who became independent during the dismemberment of the Pratihāra empire. One of the Tomara rulers, Anaṅgapāla, founded the city of Delhi and made it the capital of Hariyana, a fact which lends colour to the claim of the people of Hariyana Prānta that Delhi in fact belongs to them and should be included in their state. The successors of Anaṅgapāla, Tejapāla, Madanapāla, Kṛtapāla, Lakhanapāla and Pṛthvīpāla, were rulers of note. In the twelfth century the Cāhamāṇa ruler Arṇorāja (1133—51) defeated the Tomaras by invading Hariyana or the Haritānaka country mentioned in his Ajmere Museum Praśasti. However, Bīsaladeva Cāhamāṇa finally conquered Delhi and Hariyana about 1156⁴⁴.

41. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, IV, 145.

किमन्वत्कान्धकुब्जोर्वी यमुनापारतोऽस्य सा ।

अभूदाकालिकातीरं गृहप्राङ्मुखवद्गरो ॥

42. *Bhāgalpur* Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 304 Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāla, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 243.

43. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 186 ff.

44. Daśaratha Śarmā, 'The Tomara Kingdom of Delhi' (in Hindi), *Rājasthāna Bhārati* pp. pp. 17-24.

During the period of Pratihāra rule Hariyana reached the peak of progress in trade, art and culture. We get a graphic picture of its life in the *Yāsastilakacampū* of Somadeva, written in the tenth century.

Somadeva says that the Yaudheya country, meaning the Hariyana region, was like an ornament of the earth and was replete with all requisites of good and happy life⁴⁵. Its people, having all objects, necessary for the pursuit of religion (*dharmā*), material gain (*artha*), bodily pleasure (*kāma*) and spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*), lived as it were in a heaven⁴⁶. Its villages were full of cattle-wealth, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, camels, horses⁴⁷. Abundance of irrigation works rendered them free from the vagaries of rains (*adevamātrka*). Their well-watered fields of black soil (*kṛṣṇabhūmayāḥ*), settled by subjects of all the eighteen categories, were green with harvests and gardens⁴⁸. They yielded such bouncing harvests that the farmers were unable to thrash and stack them properly⁴⁹. The bulk of the people consisted of working classes, artisans and peasants (*nakṣatradviḥ*) who were hospitable and magnanimous (*atithiprārthanāmanorathāḥ*). However, the burden of taxation on them was high which they had to bear without demur (*bhartṛkarasambādhasahāḥ*). Yet they were devoted to their rulers and were devotees of Kārttikeya, the generalissimo of the gods⁴⁸. Their villages and settlements were devoid of rocks or stones and cleared of thorns or bushes and were so near to each other as to be within the reach of cocks (*kukkuṭasampātyāḥ*)⁴⁹. Their ladies, robust and handsome, laden with ornaments and dressed in tight garments, worked in farms and fields and attracted the notice of the travellers⁵⁰. The peaceful and contented life of the people was proof against social frictions so that the order of castes and callings was quietly maintained and people respected the *varṇāśrama dharma*⁵¹.

The metropolis of the region was Rājapura, perhaps, modern Rajpura, near Ambala. Its high mansions defied the mountains of snow.

45. *Yāsastilakachampū of Somadeva* (ed. Sundar Lal Shastri, *Vārāṇasī* 1960) p. 8. अस्ति खल्विह भरतक्षेत्रे चतुर्वर्गमार्गोपकरणप्रसूतः समस्तप्रशस्तमहीबलयालङ्कारभूतः सुरलोकमनोरथाभिधेयो यौधेयो नाम धाम सम्पदो जनपदः ।

46. *Ibid.*, गोमण्डलवन्तः, महिषीसमाकुलाः सगन्धर्वाः अविकल्पप्रधानाः करभोरवः अज-संजनितविस्ताराः ।

47. *Ibid.*, p. 9. प्रतिपन्नकृष्णभूमयः समाश्रितप्रकृतयः, सुलभजलाः हलबहुलाः प्रपञ्चितारामाः क्षेत्रप्रतिष्ठा ।

47. *Ibid.*, p. 11

लवने यत्र नोप्तस्य लूनस्य न विगाहने ।

विगादस्य च धान्यस्य नालं संग्रहणे प्रजाः ॥

48. *Ibid.*, p. 10 सुरेश्वरसेना श्व स्वाम्यनुरक्ताः ।

49. *Ibid.*, p. 10 निष्कण्टकमहीभागाः विगतोपलसीमानः कुक्कुटसंपात्या सन्ति ग्रामाः ।

50. *Ibid.*, p. 10 वयस्यस्कनकमयकङ्कणाः पीनकुचकुम्भदर्पश्रुटकञ्चुकाः शालिवप्रेषु दान्त्यः क्षणं गोपिकाः पान्थसार्षेण नयनोत्सवं कुर्वन्ते ।

51. *Ibid.*, p. 11 भजन्ति सांकर्यमिमामि देहिनां न यत्र वर्णाश्रमधर्मवृत्तयः ।

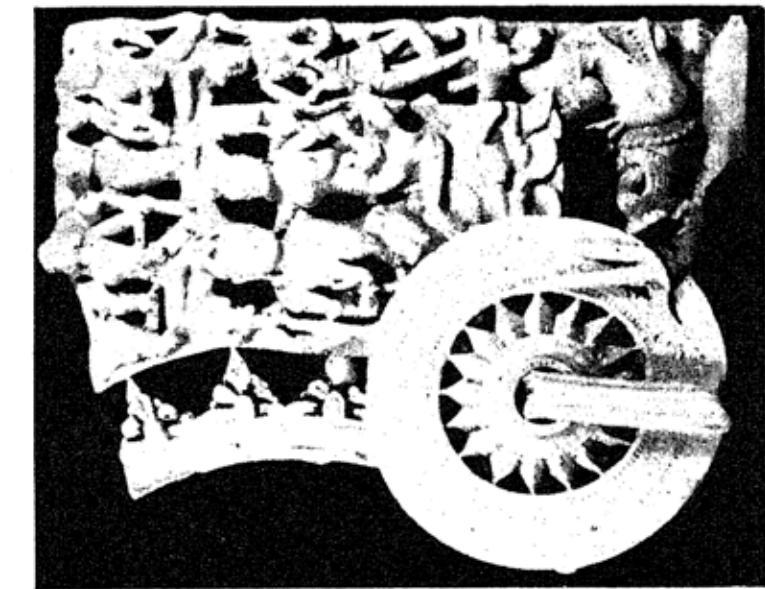


PLATE I : ŚIVĀ-PĀRVATĪ

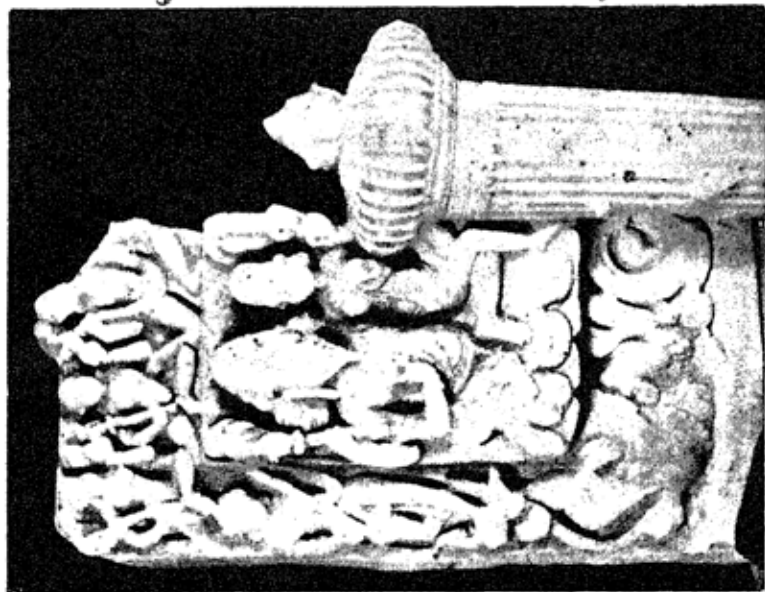


PLATE II : BRAHMĀ - SĀRSVATĪ



Its temples spoke to the skies and their golden turrets talked to the divine beings⁵². In them the figures of lions, set with jewels, gave impression of real ones⁵³, and the paintings on pillars and walls were superb. Big mirrors adorned the walls of these sanctuaries, inlay work executed there presented a multicoloured atmosphere, playing fountains and ponds, full of ducks and swans, added to the romance of their surroundings, and chirping birds, replying to the bells of the flag-standards, filled the air with soft notes. The city was protected by a rampart and a moat cordoned with iron chains⁵⁴. Its people enjoyed the gay festivals, like Cupid's Carnival, and were exuberant with festivity and rejoicing.

This description gives a picture of the gaiety, affluence and splendour of the people of Hariyana region in the Pratihāra period. The remains of the numerous temples and sculptures of that age, specially the Brahmā-Sarasvatī and Śiva-Pārvatī images, reproduced in the plates given here, show Indian art at its best. That Thanesar was a centre of lithic art is manifest from the remark of Bāṇa that sculptors were busy chiselling and carving stones there for building purposes. The aforesaid Pehova inscriptions refer to the construction of the shrine of Viṣṇu during the reign of Mahendrapāla. Recently some pieces of sculpture belonging to some Viṣṇu temple have come to light in Pehova, which throw a flood of light on the art and iconography of the Pratihāra period. Whether these sculptures belong to the temple, referred to in the said Pehova inscription, cannot be precisely said, but it goes without doubt that they pertain to some prominent Viṣṇu temple of the Pratihāra period raised in that city. Plates I and II reveal a massive disc and mace respectively, which a big figure of Viṣṇu was shown holding in hands. The size of these objects suggest that the said figure must have been of appreciable dimensions. On both sides of the figure there were panels depicting Śiva-Pārvatī and Brahmā-Sarasvatī. Plate I shows Śiva and Pārvatī reclining on the Nandī. One hand of Śiva touches the left breast of Pārvatī and the right arm of Pārvatī rests on the right shoulder of Śiva. The bull, raising his head joyously, looks on. The features of the divine couple are well modelled and chiselled and their expression is marked by a unique composure and serenity. The makara below emits a scroll which consists of attendants in various poses. Plate II shows Brahmā and Sarasvatī in a similar pose. Brahmā has three heads and a protuberant belly and seems to be in vitarka mudrā. The central face is bearded. The full beard and moustache give a grandeur to the burly face. The whole composition is characterized by grave profundity and equilibrium. The erotic pose does not lead

52. *Ibid.*, p. 12 अप्रत्नरत्नचयनिचितकाञ्चनकलश विचित्रसिचयोल्लोचैः ।

53. *Ibid.*, p. 11 अटनितटनिविष्टविकटसटोत्कटकरदिरिपुसमीप संचारचकितचन्द्रभगविलोचन-
रुचिविकचकुवलयोपहारिभिः ।

54. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

परिखावलयालङ्कृतमाभाति समन्ततः पुरं रम्भ्यं ।

आयसनिगडनिबद्धं सुरहरणभयादिव जनेन ॥

to a sensual expression. The figure is stamped with deep integration (*yoga*) coupled to creative dynamism. The row of attendants invests the scene with a cosmic fullness. In both these sculptures the limbs are well shaped, the lineaments clear and the faces mature and expressive. What impresses the onlooker in them is that natural exuberance is synthesized with spiritual expressiveness. Plate III is another figure of Śiva and Pārvatī found on the bank of the river Sarsuti three miles from the Kurukṣetra railway station. Here the tranquil composure of Plate I is replaced by a trenchant agitation expressed through the curving and upraised neck of the elastic figure of the bull and the wavy bends of the limbs of the god and the goddess as well as the mobile turns of the drapery. However, the faces are wrapt in rapturous concentration. Plate IV is a graceful figure of a contemporary man of culture and taste. His limbs are well-shaped and proportioned. He wears a necklace and *ekāvalī* and bracelets and holds a lotus flower in his right hand and bends the left one towards the knee to support the bend of the loin cloth which gently curves along the knees above the pleats of the tight fastenings on the two thighs with the embroidery looking like a linear button-design marking the front. The end of the girdle hangs in a lappet between the thighs. An elaborately embroidered *uttariya* of creeper design waves across the left arm and, touching the shins, is thrown over the right part which is unfortunately broken. The whole pose of the figure is instinct with a dramatic quality and an aesthetic dynamism. Its grace, balance and elegance reveal the finesse, taste and culture of the people of that age. The stone seems to have melted into softness in the hands of the artist and enabled him to mould it into a mellifluous human figure.

The aforesaid specimens⁵⁵ of the art of Hariyana show that in the ninth and tenth century it saw the moontide splendour of art and culture during Pratihāra-Tomara rule. The classic traditions of Indian art were cultivated and developed at its principal centres, Pehova and Thanesar, into a potent medium of aesthetic creativity. Here we are not handicapped by that exuberance, commercialism and imitation that characterize the large-scale manufacture of iconic figures and decorative motifs in later Indian art. Everything is natural, simple, graceful, yet fulsome, vigorous and expressive. This art is an index to the cultural advance of Hariyana in ancient times.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

55. I am indebted to my research scholar Shri Kishore Kumar Saksena M.A., Dip. Arch., an enthusiastic and painstaking investigator, for photographing the figures and preparing the plates reproduced here.



PLATE III : ŚIVĀ-PĀRVATĪ

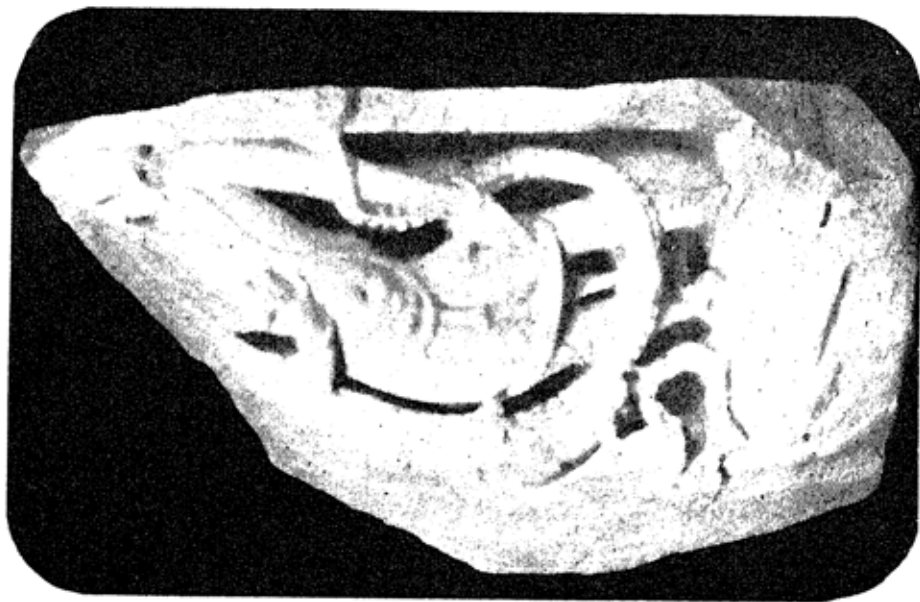


PLATE IV : A NINTH CENTURY STATUE

III

THE DYNAMIC CULTURE OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

The philosophy of dynamism of the epic age in Hariyana is expounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*, a part of the *Mahābhārata*. This work is a synthesis of many doctrines and creeds but its core is essentially the enunciation of the heroic cult. It consists of a dialogue between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa on the eve of the Great Battle. As the rival armies stood in array and the glittering chariot of Arjuna, drawn by fiery white steeds, lumbered towards the enemy, he was struck with remorse at the prospect of the killing of his relatives and friends for the sake of material gain and thought of retiring from the battle in order to save them. But his friend, philosopher and guide, Kṛṣṇa, who was driving his chariot, egged him on to fight without caring for the consequences, since it was his sacred duty and moral obligation. The dialogue between these two persons, just on the eve of a great battle, when the two armies were ready to pounce on each other in a deadly encounter, is instinct with a dramatic quality, literary charm, logical subtlety and fatalistic determination, that do not have any other parallel.

Arjuna shrinks from the battle in order to save his kinsmen and relatives from the holocaust. His argument is that if the members of his family are killed, the traditions and virtues (*dharma*) of the family will disappear and pammixia and promiscuity (*adharma*) will overtake it with the result that the women will lose their chastity and mate with degenerate people. This mixture and contamination of blood is a sign of decadence and amounts to hell. In such situation the rites for the dead are ignored, the offerings of cakes are not made to them and all the duties and dictates of the family and the community (*kuladharma*, *jātidharma*) are thrown overboard. This is a state of terrible degeneration in a family or tribe which should be avoided at all costs, even at the expense of one's own rights and claims. (I, 40-43). In these words Arjuna expounded the tribal morality in terms of which individual rights are secondary to the integrity of the community.

Kṛṣṇa had a different sociological perspective. He did not think in terms of family, tribe or community but conceived of a broader society in which occupational classes cut across tribal boundaries and overrode family loyalties. In such society one had to be true to one's calling rather than one's family only and extend one's loyalty to one's class instead of confining it to the tribe. Class and calling, transcending family and tribe, demand a different sort of morality which consists of the performance of one's duty towards them even if they conflict with the

interests of the latter. This morality also develops a traditional outlook with its own independent values and virtues of dedication and detachment.

The system of family and tribal relationships presupposes a cult of ancestor worship according to which the manes reside permanently in the other world and require their descendants in this world to propitiate and satisfy them with offerings and oblations in return for which they would enjoy happiness and peace. On the other hand, the organisation of classes and callings implies a conception of transmigration of souls according to which they pass from one birth (II, 22) to another in response to their actions and do not need any presents or ceremonies from their offspring. Kṛṣṇa is an upholder of the latter individualist view and accordingly insists upon the meticulous and sincere performance of one's duty as the basis of a meritorious life and the condition of a happy future. But this individualism has a socio-economic context of the dictates of callings and obligations of classes based upon professional integrity and steadfastness. According to it man is bound by the traditional morality of his class rather than the consideration of family or tribe. Arjuna is a kṣatriya or a warrior first and a Pāṇḍava afterwards. His primary obligation is to act as a warrior and acquit himself of his duty to fight on the battlefield, when the occasion for it arrives, rather than to think of his kinsmen, relatives and associates and brood over his duty to save their lives by sacrificing his own interests and retiring to a life of abnegation and asceticism.

In a society, having a professional structure in place of a tribal configuration, vocational morality assumes a traditional character. Social classes are coeval with economic functions and embody the scales of values and ideals associated with them. The Gītā insists that the four classes of priests, warriors, farmers and traders and servants are based on quality (*guṇa*) and action (*karma*) so that there is sufficient mobility and resilience in them (IV, 13), but, side by side, the duties and obligations enjoined by them are binding on the individuals belonging to them and deserve to be discharged with unquestioning sincerity and absolute dedication. The duties of these classes are prescribed in terms of their natural characteristics (XVIII, 41). The natural duty of the Brāhmaṇa is to lead a life of discipline, restraint and penance, to practise forbearance and simplicity, to devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge and science and to profess faith in the reality of being (*āstikya*) (XVIII, 42). The natural qualities of the warrior are valour, prowess, perseverance, skill, steadfastness in war, generosity and sovereignty (XVIII, 43). The work of the *vaiśya* is agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade and that of the *śūdra* is to serve others (XVIII, 44). These duties have to be performed by the members of these classes heart and soul, since one's own duty, though inferior, is better than that of others, though of high character (XVIII, 47). A person, performing his duty, does the righteous thing, though the same

may be sinful (XVIII, 48), while one, shirking it, incurs sin, though desirous of merit. Thus, a warrior should not shrink from fighting in a battle, especially when it is for a righteous cause (II, 31), for it is only by luck that such occasions present themselves to him and open for him the door of heaven (II, 32). Failure to fight such a battle entails not only bad name, but also leads to heinous sin (II, 33). Only that man lives who enjoys good name and fame, while he, who is the object of calumny and disrespect, is no better than dead (II, 34). No anguish is greater than that of being condemned by others and being the target of their taunts and flings (II, 36). Hence, from the worldly point of view also, no less than from the moral angle of vision, the warrior should fight to the finish on the battlefield. In every respect, he is a gainer; if killed, he attains heaven, if successful, he enjoys the earth (II, 37).

By nature man must act. Nature goads everybody to action (III, 5). It is not possible to undertake the journey of life without action (III, 8). The world is a bond of action (III, 9). Even God is perpetual dynamism. If he were to become static the whole world may come to an end (III, 24). Thus, it is not feasible for man to shirk action. Those, who avoid bodily action, but concentrate on it mentally, are guilty of hypocrisy (III, 6). A person, who abstains from taking food, avoids it physically, but continues to have its mental enjoyment (II, 59). Likewise, the physical abstinence from action does not mean its cessation on the psychical plane. Therefore, the best course is to do away with the hypocrisy of renouncing action, and act in conformity with the code of conduct pertaining to ones' station in life. Only that person fares well in life who discharges his duty and performs his function with utter disregard for result or outcome. This dedication to action with obliviousness of consequence is the highest standard of *Yoga*. An outlook of equanimity on success and failure is called *Yoga* (II, 48). He, who is neither elated by victory nor depressed by defeat, is a true *Yogin* or a *Sthitaprajña* (II, 56). Such a person is devoid of all emotional attachments to objects of action; he is free from irritation or infatuation, greed, desire or lust; he is utterly forgetful of ends and is concerned only with means; for him effort is the goal, walking is reaching, movement is rest. In his action, there is no sense of beginning or end (*anārambha*), it is spontaneous, incessant and fluent, just in line with natural processes and universal cycles, which go on without any consideration of goal or objective. This approach to action is necessitated by the fact that though man has the freedom to act, he has no control over the consequence of his action, as it depends on a variety of factors besides himself (II, 47). The *Gītā* view of detachment agrees in some respects with the injunctions given in the *Dissertations* (III, 24, 85-8) of Epictetus and *De Clementia* (II, 5, 4-5) of Seneca.

Disinterested action involves a training and discipline of the mind and the taming and control of senses and emotions (III, 7). One has to

seek the refuge of reason and subordinate the senses to its rule (II, 68). In particular, one has to curb the urges of anger and lust as, they are the greatest enemies of man (III, 37) inasmuch as they make him think all the time of the result of action and thereby divert his attention from its proper performance. They surround the mind of man as smoke screens the fire or filth blurs a mirror (III, 38). Hence, it is necessary to eradicate them by extending the sway of reason over the senses and control their operations through it. Knowledge combined with devotion, reason coupled to faith, are the instruments for promoting the rational approach and subverting the emotional standpoint. Through them comes that mental equipoise that enables one to do one's duty in a detached spirit. Therefore, a man of action has also to be a man of knowledge and faith.

To inculcate the ideology of fighting for its own sake or action for the sake of action, the Gītā adumbrates a philosophy of determinism bordering on fatalism. According to it, the universe moves by its own momentum. Nature, including man, works by its own imperatives and orientations, and there are impersonal forces driving man towards specific fields of action. The whole scheme of being, consisting of the birth and death and appearance and disappearance of multifarious forms, is an inexorable and irrevocable process. It is personified in the macrocosmic form (*virāṭrūpa*) of God, which embraces and encompasses the whole expanse of space and span of time. His infinite existence without beginning, middle or end is made of countless arms, legs, mouths, eyes and others bodily limbs (XI, 16). In his cosmic aspect (*viśvarūpa*), the sun and the moon are the eyes (XI, 19). He is birth of those, who are to come, and death of those, who live (X, 34). He is the upholder and protector of the world as also its destroyer and changer (X, 33). He is the ideal of perfection in every category of being, animate or inanimate, abstract or concrete. (X, 21-31). All actions are being performed within the expanse of his body. The warriors, assembled on the battlefield, fight and kill each other as parts of his bodily process. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra together with the groups of kings, Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa as well the heroes on the Pāṇḍava side, hasten towards his terribly burning jaws and are being crushed to pieces there by an inner irresistible drive (XI, 26-27). As rivers, flowing with the pressure of their waters, hasten towards the sea, or as masses of moths, flying in response to an inner incentive, burn themselves on the flame of lamp, similarly the warriors and soldiers, fighting under the impulsion of history, rush towards his gaping mouth to meet death (XI, 28-29). His flaming tongues seem to be licking with fire the whole world on all sides and his refulgence seems to be burning the entire creation (XI, 30). This terrific form of the cosmic being is Time or Death, which is out to consume the world (X, 32). The soldiers and warriors, assembled at Kurukṣetra, are predestined to die and are doomed to perish irrespective of the will or wish of individual combatants. Their leaders and commanders are only instruments, operational causes, (*nimittamātra*)

to execute the cosmic will (X, 33). Their duty consists only in carrying it out with complete resignation and dedication. The substance of this imagery of the macrocosmic being and the philosophy of universal organicism, implicit in it, is that history unrolls itself as a natural impersonal process and wars are fought in response to unavoidable situations and the duty of a soldier and warrior is to take part in them without questioning or hesitation and considerations of victory and defeat or success and failure. They have to discharge the duty, they owe to their class and calling, without the least care of consequences and in disregard of the affiliations of family or friendship. Even if the brother, relative, teacher, elder, friend and the near and dear ones are arrayed on the opposite side, they have to be fought with and killed with complete equanimity, detachment and nonchalance. This is the high watermark of the heroic ideal.

We have seen that the Gītā is a stirring testament of war and an inspiring scripture of heroism, but, side by side, it is also a sermon of peace and non-violence. Among the qualities of a good man (*abhiyāta*), it includes non-violence (*ahimsā*), truth (*satya*), affability (*akrodha*), sacrifice (*tyāga*), peace (*śānti*), absence of backbiting (*apaiśuna*), compassion (*dayā*), ungreediness (*aloluptva*), softness (*mārdava*), bashfulness (*hrī*), straightforwardness (*acāpala*), dominating spirit (*teja*), pardon (*kṣamā*), firmness (*dhṛti*), purity (*śauca*), friendliness (*adroha*) and modesty (*nātimānitā*) (XVI, 2-3) and states that a man of such qualities heads for salvation (XVI, 5). How then it is possible that a soldier fighting and killing others on the battle-field can be a votary of non-violence (*ahimsā*)? The Gītā resolves this dilemma in two ways. Firstly, it says that all good qualities, including non-violence, are the corollaries of non-attachment. Non-attachment is the greatest virtue and attachment is the greatest vice. One, who is free from attachment, is devoid of all vices, and he, who is attached to things, is the home of all sins. A person, who has no bias or prejudice for or against the issue of any endeavour, is not touched by the taints associated with it. On the other hand, he, who is engrossed in the cares and anxieties of fruits and results, partakes of the blemishes pertaining to them. Accordingly, the hero or warrior, who fights the battle, thinking that fighting alone is his duty, and is devoid of the feeling of malice or rancour for his adversary and is, likewise, immune from partiality or favouritism for his collaborator, is not polluted by the sin associated with killing. On the other hand, the truant, who desists from the physical acts of injury, but harbours rancour and hatred for others and wishes ill to them, is guilty of the heinous offence of violence. The nature of action depends on the motive underlying it: an act is an offence only in proportion to the *mens rea* of the person doing it. Thus, non-violence is a mental attribute meaning the absence of malice and hatred rather than the abstinence from bodily injury.

Secondly, there is a difference between righteous war (*dharmayuddha*) and egregious war (*asurayuddha*). A war for the vindication of right and eradication of wrong, fought in accordance with the established canons, without the feeling of malice and hatred, when all other alternatives have failed, is righteous and brings merit and beatitude. It is resorted to as the last recourse and its motive is beneficent. It is in the nature of social surgery having a noble purpose. When the surgeon cuts the limb of a patient, he does so with a gentle intention though the operation may cause pain to the latter and may even prove fatal. Similarly, when the judge passes a death sentence on a criminal, he has the well-being of society at heart and is not dubbed as an abettor of the offence of murder. Likewise, when the righteous warrior offers and takes blood in battle with the idea of removing evil from the body social, his motive is pure and he performs an act of merit, though it may cause loss of limb and life to a large number of persons, some of them being quite faultless. From this point of view, the warrior acts merely as a social surgeon and performs a useful operation with a good purpose. Though fighting and killing, he maintains his nonviolent disposition and does not incur the sin of violence or *himsā*. In this way, war (*yuddha*) and non-violence (*ahimsā*) are not antithetical but complementary.

It is clear from the aforesaid discussion that the Bhagavadgītā expounds a comprehensive philosophy of dynamism current in ancient Hariyana. It seeks to provide a philosophical foundation to the profession of arms and invests the warrior with a respectful position and a noble status. Side by side it canonizes his professional integrity and injects an intensity of purpose into it. It enjoins on the warrior to stake his all in fighting and not to flinch or falter even in the face of tremendous odds. The hero, idolized by it, is identical with the martyr, whom Toynbee describes as a soldier who takes it upon himself to bear witness to the supreme value and the absolute obligation of military virtues in a situation in which his only means of giving his testimony is to sacrifice his life on a forlorn hope (*A Study of History*, Vol. V, p. 378). By inculcating detachment and dedication of the highest degree and preaching a determinism and organicism of a subtle type, it couples war to fatalism and thereby makes it deadly and enhances its destructiveness. But, by joining the idea of righteousness and goodness to it, it assuages its malevolence and makes it an instrument of social justice and welfare. That this philosophy was professed by the warriors of India is manifest from the fact that the army of Poros carried with it a portrait of Herakles or Kṛṣṇa and followed his message contained in the *Gītā* as J. N. Banerjea has shown. (*Paurāṇika and Tāntrika Religion*, p. 25). Not only this army but countless generations of soldiers must have derived their strength and inspiration from it.

IV

THE BHĀDĀNAKAS OF HARIYANA

The Bhādānakas are mentioned in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara, together with the Ṭakkas and the inhabitants of Marudeśa, as the speakers of Apabhraṃśa.¹ The *Skandapurāṇa* refers to them distinctly from the Tomaras and states that their kingdom comprised 1,00,000 villages.² The *Sakalatīrthastotra* of Siddhasenasūri puts them between Kanauj and Harṣapura and mentions Siroha and Kammaga as the chief Jaina pilgrimages in their country.³ According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, Siroha was a big town on the route from Daulatabad to Delhi.⁴ On the basis of these references Professor Daśaratha Śarmā writes that "the Bhādānaka territory should have comprised the tract including the present district of Gurgaon, a part of the Alwar State and the Bhiwani Tehsil of the Hissar district."⁵ It is also likely that the Bhādānakas had their seat of power at what is known after their name as Bhādavāsa or Bhadāvās, a village five miles to the south of Rewari. That the Bhādānakas were an important power in Hariyana is manifest from many references to them in the records of the Chauhans. In the Bijolia Inscription of the Chauhan king Vighraharāja IV *alias* Bīsaladeva there is a reference to his clash with the Bhādānakas and conquest of their kingdom, as Professor Śarmā has very aptly shown.⁶ Again, the Chauhan monarch Pṛthvirāja III is said to have measured swords with these people and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, a poetic account of which is given by Jinapatisūri.⁷

The question arises as to who these Bhādānakas were. Professor Śarmā suggests that they were probably "the Ahirs, who are known to have been intimately connected with Apabhraṃśa and even now preserve the tradition of having fought against the Chauhan rulers Bīsaladeva and Pṛthvirāja III."⁸ But, apart from the fact that their territory included Ahīravāṭi, which derives its name from the Ahirs, we have no evidence to connect the Bhādānakas with these people. The fact that the whole of

1. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (G. O. S.) p. 51. सापञ्चशप्रयोगाः सकलमनुवृत्तकभादानकाः ।

2. A.B.L. Awasthi, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, part 1, p. 51.

3. *Catalogue of Mss. at Patan* (G.O.S.), I, p. 156, verses 22-27.

4. *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (S.J.G.), p. 95.

5. Daśaratha Śarmā *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 92.

6. *Epigraphia India* vol. XXXVI, p. 105 verse 19.

भादानत्वं चक्रे भाद्रानपतेः परस्य भादानः ।

यस्य दधत्करवालः करालतां करतलाकलितः ॥

7. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

Hariyana is named after the Ahirs,⁹ but has a population consisting of many castes and tribes, shows that it is not necessary that a region or locality, called after the name of the Ahirs, must be inhabited only by these people. Thus the residence of the Bhādānakas in and near Ahīrvāṭī cannot be the conclusive proof of their being Ahirs.

The Bhādānakas are obviously connected with the ancient Bhadras who were an important people of Hariyana. In the *Mahābhārata* these Bhadras are bracketed with the Rohitakas and Āgreys, the people of Rohtak-Agroha, as well as the Mālavas, the modern Malvais of Malva, living between the Ghaggar and the Sutlej in East Panjab. They are said to have constituted republics or oligarchies which Karna conquered in course of his expeditions recorded in the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁰ We may locate these Bhadras in the Rewari-Bhiwani region where the village of Bhadvasa seems to attest their existence.

The Bhadras have an unmistakable relation with the Madras. At some places in the *Mahābhārata*, *bhadra* and *madra* are interchangeably used as variants. For instance, the Adyar Library Manuscript, no. XXXV B, 131, and the Bombay Government Collection Manuscripts no. 235 and 469 of the *Mahābhārata* read *bhadra* in place of *madra* in the line *Śibitrigartayaudheyā rājanyā madrakekayāḥ*.¹¹ Likewise, in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (II, 3, 73, ; v, 4, 67) *bhadra* and *madra* are synonymous. Professor Przyluski suggests that *bhadra* is merely a variant of *madra*. To quote him, "it is tempting to consider the variation *bh/m* as a simple graphic confusion."¹² This confusion may be due to the fact that the capital of the Madras, Śākala, was also known as Bhadrāṅkara or Bhadrapura. In the itinerary of the famous physician Jīvaka Kaumārabhṛtya, given in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, we read that he travelled from Takṣaśilā to Bhadrāṅkara, where he passed the summer, and thence repaired to Udumbara, where he cured a sick-man; from there he reached Rohitaka (Rohtak) and then went to Mathurā.¹³ In the *Mahāmāyūrī* the Yakṣa Śaila is said to have been worshipped at Bhadrapura which, evidently, represents Bhadrāṅkara and which Fleet plausibly identifies with Śākala, the capital of the Madras.¹⁴ Besides this, the

9. Buddha Prakash, 'Glimpses of Ancient Hariyana', *Hariyana Research Journal*, vol. 1 (1966) part I, p. 1.

10. *Mahābhārata*, III, 254, 2.

भद्रान् रोहितकैश्चैव आग्नेयान् मालवानपि ।

गणान् सर्वान् विनिर्जित्व नीतिकत् प्रहसन्निव ॥

11. *Ibid.*, II, 48, 13.

काश्मीराः कुन्दमानाश्च पौरकाः हंसकायनाः ।

शिबिनिर्गतयौधेया राजन्या मदकेकयाः ॥

12. Jean Przyluski, *Ancient peoples of the Panjab*, p. 3.

13. Jean Przyluski, 'Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le *Vinaya* des Mūlasarvāstivādins', *Journal Asiatique* (1914) p. 493.

14. J.F. Fleet, *Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes* (1905) p. 164.

ancestor of the Madras, Vyūṣitāśva, is said to have been married to Bhadrā Kākṣivati. According to tradition, Vyūṣitāśva suffered from pthysis and died as a result of cohabitation with his wife. But, in cosequence of a divine favour, she bore by his corpse seven sons, three of whom were Śālvas and four Madras.¹⁵ A parallelism has been traced between the legend of Bhadrā, the mother of the Madras, and that of the princes Media, the mother of the Medes.¹⁶ Thus, it is likely that the name Bhadrā, borne by the eponymous mother of the Madras, may also be responsible for their being called Bhadrās.

It follows from the above discussion that Bhadrās and Madras originally represented one and the same people. These people were most probably a branch of the Indo-Iranian tribe called Mādā and Mede—the names *madra*, *madda*, *mada*, *mede*, *matienoi* being variants of the same name.¹⁷ Sometimes *madra* appears in the form of *madrakāra* in which the suffix *kāra*, Pushto *kor*, is also an Iranian word meaning an army or a people.¹⁸ The name of the presiding deity of the Madra capital Śākala or Bhadaṅkara, Kharaposta, is also an Iranian word. Thus, H.K. Deb is right in holding that the Madras/Bhadrās were an Indo-Iranian people.¹⁹

The name of the Madras/Bhadrās is not found in the *R̥gveda*. But it becomes prominent in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Pāṇini (VII, 3, 13; IV, 2, 108) mentions two divisions of the Madras, Aparamadra, inhabiting the Gujrat region between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and Pūrvamadra, settled in the Gujranwala and Sialkot districts between the Chenab and the Ravi. Their capital Śākala, situated on the bank of the Āpagā, is the same as modern Sialkot, lying along the Ayek. Their realm was known as the home of beautiful women. They had the custom of selling their women and marrying them in consideration of the bride's price.²⁰ Their social organisation was marked by the mobility of social classes. Among them a barber could become a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra could become a Kṣatriya and vice-versa. There was also no cut and dry distinction between the freemen and the slaves.²¹

15. *Mahābhārata* I, 112, 33.

सा तेन सुपुत्रे देवी शबेन मनुजाधिप ।

त्रीन् शाल्वोश्चतुरो मद्रान्मुतान् भरतसतम् ॥

16. Jean Przyluski, 'Nouveaux aspects de l'histoire des Scythes', *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* Vol. 42 (1937) p. 218.

17. Buddha Prakash, *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab*, p. 32.

18. J. Charpentier, 'Some Remarks on Pushto Etymology', *Acta Orientalia* VII, p. 188.

19. H.K. Deb, 'Mede and Madra', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (1925), p. 205.

20. *Mahābhārata*, I, 1229.

21. *Ibid.*, VIII, 45-61.

In Prakrit *dr* becomes *ll* with the result that Madra becomes Malla and Bhadra becomes Bhalla.²² Vāmana says that the Prakrit forms Malla and Bhalla were used for villagers. Thus, it appears that whereas the aristocratic classes called themselves Madra and Bhadra, the rustic folk were known as Malla and Bhalla. In course of time, these names were used for different peoples or different sections of the same people.

The Mallas became the Mālavas. The *Mahābhārata* records a tradition that the hundred sons of the Madra King Aśvapati, born of the queen Mālavī, came to be known as the Mālavas.²³ They and their associates, the Kṣudrakas, are placed in East Punjab, in the *Mahābhārata*.²⁴ Their modern descendants are the Malav Sikhs of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotla. As a result of the rise of Poros and the invasion of Alexander in the fourth century B.C., their brethren beyond the Ravi were pushed southwards in the Chenab—Ravi Doab. In the second century B.C., the Indo-Greeks pushed them down from there into central and eastern Rājasthāna, where they settled in the Jaipur-Tonk region. From there they moved into the Mahi Valley in Gujarat and the Betwa and Śiprā Valleys, called East and West Malwa after their name.²⁵

Like the Mālava branch of the Madras, that branch of them, which was known as Bhadra/Bhadana/Bhādānaka, settled in Hariyana in the region of Rewari, Bhiwani, Gurgaon and a part of the Alwar state. They were an important power as is clear from the references of the *Mahābhārata* cited above. In the post-Harṣa period they assumed particular prominence and were mentioned along with the Tomaras and other powers. In the period of Chauhan expansion they were a dominant people of this region and, as such, had to face several encounters with them. Lastly, they were engulfed in the Chauhan empire of Prthvīrāja III. What became of them after the defeat of Prthvīrāja by Shihābuddīn Ghūrī should be the subject of further research.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

22. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, 294.

23. *Mahābhārata*, II, 297, 60.

मालव्यां मालवा नाम शाखताः पुत्रपौत्रिण्यः ।

भ्रातरस्ते भविष्यन्ति क्षत्रियास्त्रिदशोपमाः ॥

24. *Ibid.*, VII, 19, 6; VIII, 7, 15.

25. Buddha Prakash, *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab*, (Panjabi University, Patiala, 1966) pp. 31-52, specially 51-52.

STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF HARIYANA AGAINST THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

On June 24, 1206, Qutbuddin Aibak sat on the throne of Delhi and inaugurated Muslim rule in North India. The Turks of Central Asia, professing the religion of Islam in a fanatic and militant form, became masters of a country the teeming millions of which believed in diverse cults collectively described as Hinduism. In spite of relentless pressure and ruthless persecution, accompanied by pacific and persuasive propaganda as well as the prospect of privileged life in society and the state, a vast majority of people offered an unflinching resistance to the alien conquerors and their creed and showed a dogged persistence in shunning their contact and maintaining their exclusiveness. Hence, justifiably, a Turk administrator reported to Sultan Alauddin that "if the Hindus do not find a mighty sovereign at their head, nor behold crowds of horse and foot with drawn swords and arrows threatening their lives and property, they fail in their allegiance, refuse payment of revenue, and excite a hundred tumults and revolts."¹ Alauddin himself was firmly convinced that "the Hindu will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalman"². Hence the administrative experts and political theorists of the Sultanate period held that, besides the demonstration of awe-inspiring majesty and terror-striking military power, the economic impoverishment and material suffering of the Hindus should be ensured through a planned and calculated policy of the state. Since the bulk of the Hindus lived in the countryside and practised agriculture and also acted as the grist to the treadmill of resistance and insurgence, the crippling of the peasantry through exorbitant taxation and paralysing exactions was identified with the maintenance of the government and the safeguarding of law and order. Thus, by the very logic of its being, the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi became a system of political tyranny and economic exploitation.

Though the Sultanate was verbally Islamic, it was virtually Turkish. Its history is a record of Turkish rule with two Afghan interludes. Hence, to quote Professor Habib, "it seems ironical giving the name of Muslim period to a time, when the Musalmans of India, by the unfortunate fact of their birth, were excluded from all high offices"³. A Hindu convert to Islam, like Imaduddin Raihan, might rise to a position of eminence, but to retain it in the face of Turkish aristocracy was an impossible task.

1. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* (Calcutta 1862), p. 268.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

3. Muhammad Habib, "Presidential Address" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Bombay, 1947).

The cancellation of the appointment of Jamal Marzuq as the mutasarrif of Kanauj by Iltutmish⁴ and that of Kamal Mahiyar as that of Amroha by Balban⁵ on the ground that they were Indian Muslims illustrate the general policy of the state laid down by men like Barani in his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* and other works⁶ and expressed by Balban in his open remark, "as I am a descendant of Afrasiab, I will not allow any low-born person to occupy a high place; when I happen to look at a low-born person, my blood begins to boil". Barani informs us that Balban did not condescend even to grant an interview to a famous rais Fakhar Barni, though he even lavishly suborned the court officials for that purpose, merely because he did not claim an illustrious foreign ancestry⁷. Of course, the Indian Muslim was preferred to a Hindu, as is clear from the fact that after a battle the Hindu prisoners of war were pounded under the feet of elephants whereas the Muslims were spared⁸, but he was considered inferior to a Turkish Muslim in matters of government service and social status. Thus, it cannot be said that the rank and file of the Indian Muslims had any particular penchant for Turkish rule, though, of course, they preferred it to Hindu rule.

In the atmosphere of hostility, mentioned above, the Turkish rulers had one concern, namely, the curbing of the recalcitrant elements and rooting out the possibilities of their rebellion through sheer use of force. For this purpose they deliberately adopted a policy of squeezing and impoverishing the people so that they may not think of rebellion at all. Alauddin and his advisers bracketed wealth and revolt together and held that the snatching of the one meant the quelling of the other. Accordingly, he fixed fifty percent of the produce as the land revenue, besides other taxes like Jiziya, house tax, grazing tax etc., and men like Barani waxed eloquent at the suppression of the peasantry and the utter helplessness to which they had been reduced by the policy of leaving to them bare sustenance and taking away from them everything else in the form of kharaj and other levies⁹. When four years after the death of Alauddin, Ghayasuddin Tughluq came to the throne, he reiterated his revenue policy and ordered that "there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither, on the one hand, they should become arrogant on account of their wealth, nor, on the other, desert their lands in despair"¹⁰. His successor Muhammad bin Tughluq went a step further and enhanced the taxes beyond the lower limits of bare sustenance with the result that the people left their fields and fled and the enraged Sultan 'hunted them down like

4. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

6. *Sources of Indian Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 515-17.

7. Barani, p. 34.

8. Amir Khusrāu, *Miftahul Futuh* (Aligarh, 1954), p. 22.

9. K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (Allahabad, 1950), pp. 241-252.

10. Barani, p. 433.

wild beasts'¹¹. This revenue policy remained the leit-motif of the agrarian system of the Mughal empire also unto the last.

Another step to keep the peasantry down was the lowering of the prices of goods. Of course, this measure brought some solace to the people, especially of the cities, and enabled the government to maintain large armies within the means at their disposal, but it also gave another turn to the screw of the oppression of the peasants. The Sultans vied with each other in lowering the prices and considered it the true index to the goodness of their administration. It is clear from a remark of Shams-us-Siraj Afif that the lowering of prices was attempted through coercion under Alauddin. Therefore, he rejoiced to note that under Firoz Tughluq the price level remained low without any pressure.¹² Likewise, Abdullāh in his *Tarikh-i-Daudi* says that whereas Alauddin used force in keeping prices low, Ibrahim Lodi exercised no pressure to that end.¹³

Added to high taxation and low prices was the freedom to loot the barns and hamlets given to the soldiers on march. Under most of the Sultans this loot was legalized and a tax called *Khums*, corresponding to one fifth of it, was levied on the looters. Besides this, the Iqtadars, Zamindars, Khuts, Muqaddams and Amils maintained themselves on the earnings of the poor peasants and for that purpose intensified their oppression of them by virtually acting as plunderers.

Another way to strike terror into the hearts of the common people, particularly the Hindus, was to maintain a magnificent and majestic court and to impose humiliating restrictions on their conduct and activities. Barani makes Balban dwell on the benefits of a majestic court, which fills the people with awe and cowers them down. Alauddin adopted the traditional outlook in forbidding the Hindus to ride on horseback, carry arms and dress elegantly. The idea was to infuse an inferiority complex into the bulk of the people so that they may harbour no thought of revolt or uprising and suffer the miseries and privations, to which they were subjected in a planned manner, in a submissive and fatalistic spirit.

What was the response of the people to this oppression and suffering? Did they merely raise their empty hands in despair or resign to the dictates of an inexorable destiny to seek repose in the thought that the world with its comforts and miseries is illusory and the real heaven of happiness lies in the realm of the spirit which can be attained only through the patient acceptance of suffering? Some people undoubtedly adopted this attitude and joined the ranks of sadhus and saints, but others occasionally burst into revolts and rebellions and dashed with the might of the empire in desperate fury. By and large, the people did not reconcile

11. *Ibid.*, p. 479-80.

12. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* (Calcutta 1890), p. 294.

13. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Bankipur Mss.), folios 223-24,

themselves to the tyranny and bigotry of the rulers and struggled to overthrow it time and again. Here we want to pass under review the people's struggle against the state in Hariyana.

Hardly had Shihabuddin Ghuri turned his back on India than uprising flared up on all sides. Rashiduddin says that from all quarters in India reports of rebellion reached the court (*az atrāf vilāyat-i-Hindūstān shikāyat mī rasīd*). Soon afterwards the Ghurid empire faced dissolution with the result that Qutbuddin and his successors had the opportunity to entrench their hold in North India.

Hariyana was peopled by sturdy peasant-cum-warrior clans, like the Jats, Ahirs, Meos, who easily turned the ploughshares into swords in the kaleidoscopic turmoil of revolts, risings and invasions. As soon as the government showed any sign of disruption, these people were up in arms to fish in troubled waters and smash the fabric of Turk rule. On the death of Qutbuddin Aibak in November 1210, when his son-in-law and governor of Multan and Uch, Nasiruddin Qabacha revolted from his son or adopted son Aram Shah and declared himself independent, the turbulent Hindus of the Panjab and Hariyana threatened the central authority and "alarmed the stoutest hearts among the Muslims."¹⁴ Within a year of his rule, Aram Shah was deposed and Shamsuddin Iltutmish enthroned at Delhi. He soon addressed himself to the situation in the Panjab and straightened its affairs by defeating Tajuddin Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni, who asserted his claim to the empire of Hindustan and had overrun the Panjab, at Taraori on January 25, 1216, and worsting the recalcitrant Nasiruddin Qabacha near Mansura in 1217.¹⁵ However, the Khokhars continued to be a source of trouble.

The death of Iltutmish unleashed a storm of revolt and intrigue which shook the fabric of the Sultanate. Hindu dynasts rose atmost in every part of the country and reduced the government at Delhi to a shadow. The Chauhans, led by Bhagavat, captured Ranthambore and made an alliance with the Kharaparas who have been identified with the Khokhars.¹⁶ Bhagavat's son Jaitrasimha claimed to have defeated the rulers of Malwa, Gujrat, Marwar and also the Turuṣkas.¹⁷ who evidently stand for the Turk rulers of Delhi. Jaitrasimha's son Hammira asserted his sway over the whole of Rajputana while Rawal Samarasimha of Mewar claimed to have lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land high out of the Turuṣka sea. The people of Mewar were also under the influence of and worked in alliance with the Chauhans as is clear from the fact

14. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 51.

15. Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Maasir*, Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 241; Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, tr. K.K. Basu, p. 17

16. *Indian Antiquary* (1879), p. 63.

17. cf. Chirwa Inscription, *Indian Antiquary* (1928).

that in 1248 Balban is said to have undertaken an expedition both against Ranthambore and Mewat,¹⁸ in course of which one of his leading generals was killed. The Jadon Bhatti Rajputs of Mewat, representing, of course, the Yadavas of ancient times, commenced a sort of guerrilla war against the Muslims. They are referred to as the Hindu rebels of Kohpaya or the foothills,¹⁹ and are also called Mewatis or Meos obviously after the name of Matsya given to this region and its people in early times.²⁰ These Jadons or Mewatis, led by a chief named Malka, made a dashing raid on Hansi and carried away cattle which they distributed as far as Ranthambore.²¹ Thus, it is clear that the whole of Mewat and Hariyana was in the throes of a popular upheaval.

It is well known that Raziya came to the throne on the crest of a popular movement at Delhi against a junta of bureaucrats. Hence a group of Turkish nobles, particularly Altigin, the Amir-i-Hajib, Iltuniyah, the superintendent of Bhatinda, and Kabir Khan, the governor of Lahore, conspired to overthrow her. Side by side the Qarmatis and Mulhids led by one Turk Nur spread disorder in Delhi. At first she succeeded in foiling the designs of the insurgents but ultimately fell into the hands of Iltuniyah and eventually married him. Meanwhile the nobles raised to the throne one Bahram. Iltuniyah and Razia raised an army, in which the Khokhars figured prominently, for the capture of Delhi, but were defeated. In the movements, following the defeat, the Hindus, who were active in Hariyana, imprisoned and assassinated them near Kaithal on December 12, 1240.²² These events of the reign of Razia show that the Khokhars as well as the Meos and other Hindus were assertive at that time.

The rule of Bahram and Mas'ud saw the preponderance of Turkish nobles, particularly 'the Forty', and the rounds of Mongol invasions. The next ruler Nasiruddin Mahmud was purely a creation of this body with Balban as the key figure. Hence, the antagonism of Turk vs. Indian reached a high pitch and crystallised into the conflict of Balban and Imaduddin Raihan. Ultimately the former triumphed and the brief spell of Indian ascendancy came to an end. As a result, there was an omnipresent discontent and revolts flared up on all sides. In November 1246, the Sultan marched to recover the Panjab and, from the bank of the Chenab, sent Balban to chastise the Khokhars and other Hindu tribes of the hilly region. In October 1247, he lashed at the Hindus of the Gangetic doab

18. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 213.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

20. K.C. Yadava, 'Mewat Shabda ki Utpatti', *Hariyana Research Journal*, I (1966), pp. 77-79. The name of Machari 22 miles to the south of Alwar and 90 miles to the west-north-west of Agra bears the name of ancient Matsya (A.C.L. Carlile, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 1871-72, 1872-73, p. 77).

21. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 313.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

and, two years later, fell upon the turbulent peoples of Mewat. These events make it plain that in the forties the Panjab and Hariyana were in a state of revolt and strife and had shaken the yoke of the Turks.

However, the said measures proved abortive and the rebellious people continued to create trouble in all quarters. In particular, they spread disorder and looted the property of the Musalmans in Bayana, Hariyana and the Siwalik region. In 1257, one of their leaders named Malka plundered a caravan of camels and slaves en route to Hansi and distributed them among the Hindus from Kohpaya upto Ranthambore. On January, 20, 1260, Balban marched on Kohpaya and campaigned for twenty days in the hilly tracts and undulated terrain. He plunged in the montane region and reduced the fortresses perched on high cliffs which Minhaj compared to Alexander's Wall. He issued a proclamation that he, who would bring the head of a rebel, would get a silver *tanka*, while the captor of a living prisoner would be rewarded with two pieces. Lured by the promise, some daring Afghan soldiers brought the heads of as many as hundred Hindus each. 250 important persons were imprisoned, 142 horses were captured and 60 bags containing 60,000 tankas were received as tribute.²⁴ The victorious army reached Delhi and a colourful ceremony was held near the *hauz* and two days later the rebels were crushed under the feet of elephants. To quote Minhaj "the blood-shedding swords of the Turks made four Hindus of every two ; many hundreds of Hindu rebels were flayed with knives and their stuffed skins were ordered to be hung on the city gate."²⁵ Later in the year, those, who had taken to flight, again began to infest the highways and plunder the wayfarers. Balban collected knowledge of their haunts and surprised them by a forced march and slaughtered 12,000 of their men, women and children. But even this severe treatment could not curb or quell the rebellion of the people which rather spread like wild fire. By the time of the accession of Balban, the whole of Mewat was in flames and the Doab was the cockpit of revolts and risings. The Hindus organised themselves in bands to wage an incessant guerrilla war against the Turks. Barani has given a graphic account of their raids and depredations. He observed that at night they often swooped on the capital, destroyed houses and property and subjected the people to intense suffering. They had swept off the residences in the neighbourhood of Delhi so that big jungles had appeared round it. As a result of their plunder, routes and highways lost all traffic and banjaras and pedlars stopped their itineraries. For fear of their raids, people did not sleep soundly at night. The western gates of the city were closed after afternoon prayers and nobody dared to move about in the evening or go to Hauz-i-Shamsi for recreation. Many Mews entered inside the city-walls, reached the Hauz at the time of the evening prayers and

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-14.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

pestered the water-carriers and maid-servants stripping their clothes and making them naked. Ever since the death of Iltutmish the upsurge of the Mews and other rebels of the doab was on the increase. Hence, in the very first year of his reign, Balban addressed himself to the Mew problem. For one year he got the jungles round the capital cleared, then established police stations in the countryside and built a fort at Gopalgir and combed the territories of the Mews. That the operations against the Mews were very taxing is manifest from the fact that one lakh of the Sultan's own men were killed in them²⁶. From this the severity of the Mew menace can be easily guessed and the extent of the rebellion can be conveniently inferred.

In 1288, Malik Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji usurped power and got Kaiqubad murdered. Two years later he himself ascended the throne. During these changes the people again became assertive. The Sultan chafed at the sight of the Hindus passing by the ramparts of the royal palace and blowing conch-shells and ringing bells as they went to the Jamuna to take their morning bath. With impotent fury, he cried "What is our defence of the faith that we suffer there Hindus, who are the greatest enemies of God and of the religion of Mustafa, to live in comfort to, go to the Jamuna by the side of my palace, practise idolatry and preach heresy and sacrilege and do not flow streams of their blood²⁷". Under the next ruler Alauddin also the Hindus remained restive, for we find the Kotwal Alaulmulk exhorting him to quell the rebellion of the Hindus in the various *aqlims* and safeguard the Sultanate from the Mongol onslaughts²⁸. When Alauddin was besieging Ranthambore a *coup d'etat* was attempted at Delhi and an obscure Sayyid named Shahinshah was raised to the throne by the rebels led by Haji Maula. It led the Sultan to ponder over the causes of the recurrent rebellions against the Sultanate four of which he had seen with his own eyes. After deep thought he concluded that prosperity bred rebellion and it was necessary to impoverish the people to preserve the integrity of the state. Barani writes that he ordered his officials to frame such laws by which the Hindus could be quelled and wealth and affluence drained from their houses. His view was that the Hindus should not possess so much wealth as to enable them to ride on horseback, bear arms, dress well and live comfortably²⁹. To this end he increased the revenue to half the produce besides grazing charges and other dues, reduced prices of produce and imposed numerous embargoes on the Hindus. These oppressive measures irritated the people and their strong reaction became manifest as soon as the Sultan breathed his last. Eventually the work of Alauddin came to naught and Shaikh Bashir Divana summed up his rule as baseless saying that "for some years people saw

26. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 56.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 287, 291.

that all his plans were succeeding according to his desire, but, in reality, God was deliberately delaying his punishment³⁰."

After a brief and ineffectual reign of Shihabuddin Umar, Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah came to the throne and rescinded the harsh enactments of Alauddin. He reduced the revenue, lightened the taxes, remitted the arrears and lifted the controls. As a result, gold, silver, wealth and property began to make their appearance outside each house in every lane and locality³¹. In every house drums began to sound and the traders had their heyday. The Hindus became so wealthy and affluent and so inebriated with prosperity as to lose consciousness of even their hands and feet. Those of them, who were highly disgraced, were devoid of food, lacked clothing and had no respite from the fear of the cudgel and the sword, began to dress in fine draperies, ride on horses, carry bows and arrows³². In course of time, they unfurled the banner of opposition and revolt. Under the influence of his beloved Hassan, known as Khusrau Khan, a superficial convert to Islam, their position became stronger than ever before. Ultimately, with the help of the Hindus, Khusrau Khan encompassed the murder of his imperial paramour and put an end to Khalji rule by ascending the throne himself on April 15, 1320. The accession of Khusrau Khan was in fact the inauguration of Hindu rule in Delhi. Five days after his coronation idol worship was introduced in the palace³³. Under his rule, the Hindus, inflated by pride and privilege, began to use Qurans for seats, and installed idols in the niches of mosques.³⁴ They were the recipients of the principal favours and were lavishly rewarded with subsidies and rewards.³⁵ All around there was an upsurge and uplift of the Hindus and a renaissance of their rites and religion.³⁶ A ban on cow-slaughter was promulgated and it was desired that the Musalmans should also venerate the bovine breed.³⁷ Evidently, the Hindu ascendancy under Khusrau Khan was the culmination of the reaction to the oppression of Alauddin. Steeled by tyranny, they asserted themselves under Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah and emerged triumphant under Khusrau Khan.

To nip the rise of the Hindus in the bud, the Turkish nobles invited Ghazi Malik Tughluq from Dipalpur and Lahore. He also played a diplomatic game and in some way, not known to us, enlisted the support of the Khokhar chiefs, Gulchand and Sahijrai, evidently by holding out some promise.³⁸ Thus the Khokhars under Tughluq fought with the

30. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

37. Ibn Batuta, *Ajaib-ul-Asfar* (France 1926), p. 200.

38. Esami, *Op. cit.*, pp. 380-81.

Bradon under Khusrau Khan. At last Khusrau Khan was overthrown and executed and the shortlived ascendancy of the Hindus also melted into thin air; Ghazi Malik came to the throne under the title of Ghayasuddin Tughluq and suppressed the Hindus through severe repression.

The establishment of Tughluq rule inaugurated another bout of the repression of the people. Barani rightly remarked that the advent of Ghayasuddin Tughluq seemed as if Alauddin had returned from the grave.³⁹ The new ruler passed orders that the Hindus should be left with only so much that they neither nurse rebellion nor leave farming. Yet strict action was taken in recovering the wealth dispensed by Khusrau Khan from them.⁴⁰

After a rule of less than five years, Ghayasuddin died as a result of the fall of a roof in Delhi in February 1325. His son and successor ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Tughluq. He was generous as well as ruthless, learned but unrealistic, utopian and tyrannical. Under the impact of rationalism (maqulat)⁴¹, he antagonised orthodox Muslims and even supported and promoted many Hindus, but, to execute his fantastic schemes of conquests, he was driven to adopt drastic financial measures, which told heavily on the people and goaded them to revolt. At first, he showered unstinted favours on foreigners and appointed them to high officers,⁴² which further alienated the people, as is clear from the criticism of men like Barani. Besides this, these foreigners were more concerned with the accumulation of fortune than the discharge of their duties.⁴³ Hence, the administration began to break down and revolts flared up on all sides.

Barani writes that the people, high and low, began to hate the Sultan on account of his repressive policies and crippling exactions and rose up in revolt.⁴⁴ The first uprisings were led by Malik Bahadur Garhasp in Delhi in 1326-27 and Bahram Aiba in Multan in 1327-28. In 1328-29, Turmashirin invaded India and carried fire and sword upto Badaun⁴⁵. Badauni says that the Mongols retreated at the approach of Tughluq army, but Firishta writes that the Sultan fopped them off with the presents of wealth and jewels⁴⁶. These disastrous developments induced Muhammed to follow the old policy of terrorising and impoverishing the Hindus through exorbitant taxation. Badauni writes that the Sultan decided that since "the people of the doab were in revolt the revenue of that province should

39. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 425.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

42. Ibn Batuta, *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

43. Muhammad Ashraf, 'Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I (1935), p. 179.

44. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 478.

45. Abdur Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* (Calcutta 1868), I, p. 227.

46. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Nawal Kishore Press), p. 134.

be increased from ten to twenty⁴⁷. Barani states that the Sultan thought that the revenue of that region he raised "from one to ten and twenty."⁴⁸ Besides this, some other crushing levies (abwab), like the house tax were also imposed. Cattle were branded for taxation purposes. These imposts, realised with ruthless harshness, broke the back of the people and stung them to revolt. "The Hindus burnt their barns and drove their cattle."⁴⁹ They formed themselves into groups of ten or twenty and took shelter in jungles near tanks. The majority of the people fled away and became untraceable. Collectors (Muhassils) and accountants (barwatdaran) returned empty-handed.⁵⁰ The infuriated Sultan marched into Baran (Bulandshahr region) and destroyed the people. "Barns were made of the dead and rivers of blood flowed. People were hung alive on the towers of the rampart. Jungles were invested and the refugees were hunted out."⁵¹

The revolt went on spreading and engulfed Hariyana. In 1343, the ryots of Kuhram, Sunam, Kaithal and Samana rose in rebellion. They refused to pay taxes, abandoned agriculture, deserted the villages and took to highway robbery. They grouped themselves in bands (mandals) and lashed out at the administration. The movement spread up to Kangra also. The Sultan himself marched against them, decimated their mandals and deracinated them from their land. He transported the Berahas, Mandaharas, Jiwans, Bhattis and Manahiyans, the Jat and Rajput tribes of this region, to Delhi and converted them to Islam.⁵²

Thus the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq was a miserable failure and in an autobiographical tract he was forced to admit that the breakdown of the administration reached such a state that every person desired to wear the sacred thread again.⁵³

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq at Thatta in Sind unleashed a storm. The villagers rose to rob the wealth, slaves and women of the people. Even food and water did not go down the throats of people, for fear of plunder and rioting.⁵⁴ As the army left the city, the Mughals attacked them in front and the local people pounced on their rear. In Delhi Ahmad Ayaz put up a young pretender on the throne. In this situation the nobles advised Firuz to assume sovereignty on March 23, 1351. He marched on Delhi, righted the wrongs of the previous reign, withdrew the obnoxious and oppressive imposts and followed a policy of laissez-faire. In particular, he promoted agriculture by digging

47. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* p. 228.

48. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 473.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

50. *Ibid.*, folio 288.

51. *Ibid.*, folio 289.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 484.

53. Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 174-76.

54. *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, pp. 532-33; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* p. 44.

canals, planting groves and squaring up the revenue with the produce, and also gave an impetus to trade by rescinding the tolls and other taxes and setting up Karkhanas. Afif says that he paid special attention to the problem of unemployment.⁵⁵ Hence, it is no wonder that the people, Muslims as well as Hindus, hit by the oppression and tyranny of the preceding reign, heaved a sigh of relief,⁵⁶ and peace and plenty returned to the land. The Sultan did not emulate the exploits of ancient heroes like Alexander and fought only when absolutely necessary. His only action in the Panjab was the conquest of Nagarkot in 1360 from Raja Rup Chand and a march to Thatta and thence to Gujarat whereafter he renounced war.⁵⁷ Nevertheless he was a fanatic and puritanical Muslim and rode roughshod over the little liberties that the Hindus enjoyed in the matter of religion. Afif says that he burnt alive a Brahman, who had converted a Muslim lady, in open court⁵⁸, and imposed the jizya on the Brahmans not caring even for their fast into death in protest.⁵⁹ He himself writes that he imposed a ban on the construction of new temples and got the newly built temples of Malwa near Okhla, Salehpur and Gohana demolished and their priests, who spread idolatry, killed.⁶⁰ Side by side he also suppressed the Shias and pantheists, enforced purdah and suppressed the customs and ceremonies which smacked of Hindu influence. The people, tired and tortured with the excesses of the former times, were in no mood to rise in revolt.

On the death of Firuz on September 20, 1388 his grandson ascended the throne under the title of Ghaysuaddin Tughluq II, but Raja Sangara of Nagarkot sheltered his disgruntled uncle Nasiruddin Muhammad and enabled him to fight with him. On February 19, 1389, Ghayasuddin II fell a victim to the dagger of his cousin Abu Bakr. Soon a serious rebellion broke out at Samana. The rebels murdered the governor Khurshid and sent his head to Nasiruddin at Nagarkot and invited him to come and be crowned in April 1389. However, the royal forces defeated him and also routed his son Humayun Khan at Panipat. In spite of these reverses, the authority of Nasiruddin was acknowledged in Multan, Lahore, Hissar, Hansi and other districts north of Delhi.⁶¹ Throughout the realm the Hindus refused to pay the poll tax and the zamindars withheld the payment of taxes;⁶² houses were burnt, roads closed and disorder spread in the country.

55. Afif, *Op. cit.*, 33.

56. Barani, *Op. cit.*, p. 547.

57. Afif, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

60. *Futuh-i-Firozshahi* (Aligarh University), p. 11.

61. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 190.

62. *Tarikh-i-Mubaraakshahi*, tr Basu, p. 147; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol I, p. 245.

On August 31, 1390 Nasirudddin Muhammad deposed Abu Bakr and himself ascended the throne, but the Khokhars of West Panjab rose under their formidable leader Shaikha who captured Lahore. Nasiruddin died in January 1394 and his son and successor Humayun Khan also passed away in March 1395. Nasiruddin and Nusrat Khan reigned, resided and quarrelled in the same capital. In the pell-mell, Shaikha Khokhar again occupied Lahore and the flood of Timur's invasion swept across the Panjab and Hariyana.

Sharfuddin Yazdi⁶³ writes that at the time of Timur's invasion the region round Delhi was dominated by the Hindus who freely worshipped their idols. In Hariyana people had taken to robbery and plunder and it was difficult for the caravans to pass along the routes.⁶⁴ The Jats were assertive and infested the forests whence they pounced on the passers-by. At Mung thousands of them opposed the armies of Timur. The people of Samana, Kaithal and Asand, all Hindus, burnt their homes and advanced towards Delhi. So many Hindus encountered the invaders in the Panjab that one lakh of them were captured and killed.⁶⁵ These references show that at the time of Timur, the authority of the Tughluqs was rudely shaken in Hariyana and the Hindus were up on their toes throughout its length and breadth.

The invasion of Timur exposed the hollowness of the Sultanate. Many local chiefs rose up to take advantage of the situation. At Bhatnair and Tohana both Hindus and Muslims opposed him to save their life and property. On his return journey he had twenty conflicts with the Hindus in the Siwaliks.⁶⁶

After the return of Timur also the people of Hariyana continued to give trouble to the Delhi court and time and again armies were sent to crush and reduce them. For instance, in 1327, royal armies had to be sent to Mewat and Bayana. This period is marked by the rise of the famous guerrilla leader Jasrat Khokhar and the Afghan leader Bahlul Lodi. While the Panjab was the theatre of the remarkably struggling career of Jasrat, in Hariyana the Jats and Meos rose. In 1424 a famine strung the Mewatis to rebellion. Mubarakshah hastened towards them from the Doab, but the people of Mewat, following scorched-earth tactics, fled to their mountainous stronghold which Firishta calls Panjahar⁶⁷. The Sultan returned baffled to Delhi intending to visit next year. But, when the royal troops marched next year, the people adopted the same strategy. Their chiefs Jalal Khan and Qadr Khan, called Jallu and Qaddu, grand

63. Sharfuddin Yazdi, *Zafarnama* (Calcutta 1885), Vol. II, p. 15.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

66. Mir Khwand, *Rauzat-us-Safa*, VI, 104.

67. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 204; Firishta, I, p. 165; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, p. 270; S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 405.

sons of Bahadur Nahar, laid waste the country and retired to the fortress of Indur, which the sultan besieged. On the fall of that citadel, they fled to Alwar, where they sued for peace. In 1426, the Sultan passed through Mewat again on his way to Bayana, where he brought the refractory Muhammad Khan Aubadi to the knees. Soon afterwards, Muhammad Khan escaped from the prison, collected most of his followers in Mewat and attacked the royal garrison of Bayana and once again occupied the fortress⁶⁸. During the reign of Muhammad Shah the Mewatis again became turbulent and began to plunder upto the walls of the royal capital. The Mewati Khanzadas invited Mahmud Khalji of Malwa to ascend the throne. He felt tempted and started from Malwa and, entrenching his power in Nagor, Hansi and Hisar Firoza, arrived near Delhi in 1440. With the help of Bahlul Lodi, the Sultan succeeded in staving off the menace. Under the next ruler, Alauddin Alam Shah, Ahmad Khan Mewati was in possession of the territory from Mahoti near Mathura upto Sarai Lado near Delhi. The disintegration of the Sultanate reached such a stage that a poet was constrained to remark that the Emperor of the World ruled only from Delhi to Palam⁶⁹.

The fifteenth century did not witness the persecution of the Hindus on religious grounds evidently because the Sultanate remained shaky and unstable. Hence, in it, we do not hear of the large-scale demolition of temples, desecration of idols and execution of Brahmans. As a result, men like Kabir and Nanak could cavil at both Hindus and Musalmans and preach a synthetic religion with impunity. But the return of stability and consolidation in the early sixteenth century under Sikandar signified the restoration of the old policy of persecution. Unlike Kabir and his contemporaries, the Brahman Bodhan was executed simply because he said that "Islam was true, but his own religion was also true"⁷⁰. Mathura and Banaras and other places witnessed a revolting outburst of fanaticism and Nizam-uddin was constrained to state that "Sikandar's bigotry in Islam was so great that in this regard he went beyond the bounds even of excess."⁷¹ The nemesis did not take long in coming.

The Lodi ruler Ibrahim (1517-26) was destined to preside over the liquidation of the Sultanate. Under him, authority was divided among several chiefs. In the Panjab, Daud Khan acted as a virtual sovereign. The Rajputs under Rana Sanga were riding high. Daulat Khan, Alam Khan and Rana Sanga all encouraged Babur in his designs on Delhi.⁷² In 1519-20, Babur led five expeditions in the Panjab, crowned by that of November 17, 1525, which resulted in his victory at Panipat on April 12, 1526 and put him on the throne of Delhi.

68. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 207.

69. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 7; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, p. 5.

70. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, I, 182.

71. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, I, 335.

72. *Baburnama* (Leyden and Erskine), p. 287.

Babur's notes on Indian affairs form the epitaph of the Sultanate. In spite of well over three centuries of almost unbroken rule, the famished Indian peasant wore *langoti* and ate *khichri* and frequently shifted his hamlet and village⁷³ to avoid the wrath of nature and the tyranny of the state. He lost all sense of pleasure, his genius was stunted, his mind was snubbed, his heart became rude, he lacked in politeness and was wedded to custom and tradition.⁷⁴ In cities there were no baths or colleges, no arrangement of lighting, no good restaurants and no trace of mechanical invention.⁷⁵ The Sultanate had left the people derelict and decadent.

The above survey clearly shows that in the Sultanate period there was a perpetual struggle between the ruling aristocracy, mostly Turk and Afghan, and the common people, mostly Hindu, with a sprinkling of Muslim converts in the cities. It is wrong to suppose that the people meekly submitted to the tyranny of the rulers in the political, economic and religious forms. Again and again, they rose and struggled to overthrow it so that the history of this period can be fully understood in the context of this protracted struggle.

BUDDHA PRAKASH

73. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

VI

TIMUR'S INVASION OF HINDUSTAN AND THE RESISTANCE OFFERED BY THE PEOPLE OF HARIYANA

Amir Timur, the king of Samarkand, is considered to be one of the greatest conquerors that world has ever produced. After conquering most of the countries of central and western Asia he launched a fierce attack on India in the year 1398. Accompanied by well-chosen cavalry of 92,000 strong he left Samarkand in March 1398¹. He crossed the Indus in September and passed through Panjab, destroying the cities and villages on his route².

From Panjab Timur passed into Rajasthan. Here he did not meet any opposition during his march across the desert till he reached a place called Bhatnir, modern Hanumangarh in the Bikaner Division. The Rajputs of this place gave a tough fight to Timur, but they were overpowered and destroyed by him. After that Timur left Rajasthan in November 1398 and marched towards Hariyana along the valley of the river Ghaggar³.

Timur in Hariyana

Timur's first halt in Hariyana was at a place called *Kinar-i-Hauz* (bank of a tank or a lake), which was probably the Annakai Chhamb, a lake below the town of Rania⁴. After having relaxed at this beautiful spot for a day, Timur marched towards Firozabad⁵ and occupied the town without meeting any opposition. From here the invader went to Sarsuti (modern Sirsa). The Hindu inhabitants of the town, "the eaters of hog's lard", could not think of opposing the invader and they fled enmasse. But they were pursued and several thousands of them were cut to pieces ruthlessly⁷. After a brief stay at Sirsa, Timur went to Fatehabad, a considerable town near Hissar, which was founded by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He took it without any opposition by its inhabitants⁸.

1. Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, Vol., II, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*

3. For his march through Panjab see K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 16-21.

4. Yazdi, Vol. II, p. 77; *Hissar Distt. Gazetteer* (1915), pp. 19-20.

5. See *Settlement Report of the Sirsa District* (1879-83), para 21, p. 26 for identification of this lake.

6. This place is called Firozabad Harni Khera now-a-days. It is about 12 miles west of Sirsa. The town was founded by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 354; Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubark Shahi*, p. 126.

7. Yazdi, Vol. II, p. 77; *Mulfuzat*, Elliot, III, pp. 428-29.

8. Price, *Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammadan History*, Vol. IV, pp. 247-48; *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 19-20.

From Fatchabad Timur went to Ahruni, a small town in the Sarkar of Hissar Firoza⁹. The town was inhabited by Ahirs, a race of Kṣhatriyas who trace their origin from the ancient Yadus¹⁰. The Ahirs opposed Timur, but they were soon overpowered. Their "village was destroyed and not a house was left standing"¹¹.

Opposition by the Jats

From Ahruni Timur went to Tohana, a considerable town near Narwana. The region around Tohana was populated by Jats, a brave and self-respecting people¹² about whom Timur says", a robust race.....as numerous as ants and locusts, a veritable plague to the merchants and way-farers"¹³. The further marches of Timur were checked by these Jats at every step. They gave very tough opposition to him at Tohana¹⁴, Rajabpura¹⁵, Kitala¹⁶, Samana¹⁷, Himmatpur¹⁸, Majra¹⁹, Udepur²⁰, etc. But to stand before an organised, well-trained and well-equipped army was not an easy job. The hundreds and thousands of Jats fell fighting and Timur advanced over their corpses towards Kaithal.

Entry into Karnal

After leaving the district of Hissar Firoza, Timur entered into Karnal district and marched via Munk, the modern Akalgarh, to Kaithal. He killed the Hindu population of the villages lying on his route and destroyed their places²¹. From Kaithal Timur marched through Aṣandh to Tughlaqapur, which was said to be inhabited by "fire-worshippers." This place was also called "Salun". It is identified with modern Salwan²². After destroying the people and their places Timur marched to Panipat where

9. For details of this place see Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret-Eng. tr), II, p. 298; K.S. Lal, p. 22.

10. Elliot, *Races*, II, p. 133.

11. Yazdi, Vol. II, P. 79.

12. K. S. Lal, p. 22, on the authority of Timur himself writes that the Jats were Muslims. This is a mistake on the part of Timur. The Jats had not been converted to Islam by that time. See *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 19-20.

13. *Malfuzat*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 429.

14. Yazdi, Vol. II, p. 79.

15. *Malfuzat*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 429.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 19-20.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. See *Malfuzat*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 429

22. Price wrongly identified this place with Safedon. It is Salwan. See Denzil Ibbetson, *Settlement Report of Karnal District*, para 75, pp. 21-22.

23. See *Malfuzat*, Elliot, III, p. 431.

24. *Ibid.*

he reached on December 3, 1398. The people of Panipat deserted the town in obedience to orders from Delhi²⁵. Timur plundered the town and he took 160,000 standard maunds of wheat from here²⁴.

On December 4, 1398 Timur marched six kos from Panipat and encamped on the banks of "the river of Panipat, which was on the road". This could have been no other river than a branch of the Yamuna then flowing under the town of Panipat in the channel of the "Buddhi Nadi"²⁵. He then marched via Kanhi Ghazin to Palla on the Yamuna²⁶. From here he despatched his troops to various directions in Hariyana to bring in supplies of grain. It took his men practically a week to collect enough material to last for a few months during the war with the Imperial power in Hindustan²⁷. When the supplies had been brought, Timur launched an attack on Delhi and defeated Sultan Mahmud and Mulla Iqbal on December 16, 1398²⁸.

Estimate of the Resistance

Timur remained on the soil of Hariyana nearly for one month. During this period he had to fight the people of this region constantly and regularly almost twice a day. The Jats in particular and other non-Muslims in general gave a very stiff opposition to the invader at every step. Hundreds of thousands of the people of Hariyana died while defending their motherland. But the most distressing thing was the passivity of the Delhi government. While the unarmed masses of Hariyana were opposing the Central Asian invader, the king of Delhi never thought of sending his armies to help them in fighting the invader effectively, but on the contrary he asked the people not to stage any opposition to the invader and flee away for their lives. For instance, when the people of Panipat wanted to oppose Timur, it was the Delhi Government which advised them not to do so and leave the city at once²⁹. Under such circumstances the people of Hariyana, despite heavy sacrifices and sufferings, could not play their part well.

MAHENDRA PAL SINGH

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. For details of the fighting at Delhi see *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 158; Nizamuddin, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, P. 255; Yahya, p. 172.

29. *Malfuzat*, Elliot, III, P. 431.

VIII

HARIYANA DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

Bounded by the Shiwaliks in the north, the river Yamuna in the east, the Aravalli ranges and a part of the Thar desert in the south, the river Sutlej in the west, Hariyana comprised the Sarkars of Delhi, Rewari, Hissar-Firoza and Sirhind¹ during the Mughal Period. Owing to its geographical situation this region occupied a very important position in the history of that period. It was here at the battle-field of Panipat that Babar laid the foundations of his Indian empire.

The First Battle of Panipat

Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions Babar made a forceful attack on India in the last days of the year 1525 A. D. He passed through the Panjab without meeting any opposition and reached Ambala in the early part of 1526². From this place Babar marched via Shahabad along the Yamuna near Alahar in tahsil Pipali and thence followed the river bank to Karnal. There he heard that Alauddin, whom he had sent on towards Delhi, had been defeated by Ibrahim, and that the latter had advanced to Ganaur. After a short stay at Gharunda, Babar led his army to Panipat, which he selected for the battle field. He arrayed his army about two *kos* to the east of the city, with his right flank resting near the walls. Ibrahim Lodi took up a position at the same distance to the south-west of the city. For a week nothing more than skirmishes occurred. On 21st April, 1526 A. D., Ibrahim Lodi's forces advanced to attack but they were utterly routed and were pursued by Babar's army to Delhi while he himself remained encamped for a week to the west of Panipat. He considered the spot a fortunate one, treated the people well, and made Sultan Mahmud Angluli, who had assisted him with troops, governor of Panipat.³

In this battle Ibrahim Lodi was slain. His tomb lies between the tehsil and the city of Panipat. The British Government had erected a plain platform over it, with a short Urdu inscription. It was one of Sher Shah's dying regrets that he had never fulfilled his intention of erecting a tomb to the fallen monarch.⁴ In this battle Sanghar, the founder of the Phulkian family of Patiala, and Vikramaditya, the last of the Tomara dynasty of Gwalior were also killed, while fighting on Babar's side.⁵ After the

1. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari* (tr. Jarret-II Edition), Vol. II, pp. 291-301.

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its own Historians*, Vol. IV, p. 243.

3. *Tarikh-i-fierishta*, Vol. II, p. 43; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 250, 290; Vol. V, pp. 26, 34.

4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 108.

5. *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. II, p. 389.

battle, Babar laid out a garden and built a mosque and a tank on the spot where these two commanders fell. The name of the garden is "Kabuli Bagh".⁶ One of Babar's buildings bears an inscription containing the words "Binai Rabiul Awwal 934 Hij."⁷

Revolt of the People

Although Babar had occupied the throne of Hindustan by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the people of Hariyana in particular and Hindustan in general did not submit to him meekly. In 1529 the Mandhar Rajputs of the Nardak region in Hariyana rebelled under their chief Mohan and defeated the local Mughal troops. Babar took a serious note of this rising and at once sent a huge army to Nardak. After a ferocious fight that lasted for several days, the people of this region were defeated. Babar killed hundreds of the 'rebels' and burnt their villages.⁸

After Babar's death, (26 December, 1530), Humayun assumed the kingship of Hindustan and ruled for a decade till he was defeated and expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri in 1540. After Sher Shah's death Humayun again took the Indian empire from his weak successors, but he died soon after on January 26, 1556. At this time Humayun's 13 year old son Akbar was in the Panjab and he proceeded at once towards Delhi in order to meet the Afghan army under the great Hindu general Hemu, a Bania of Rewari in Hariyana.⁹

Hemu's Struggle with Akbar

Hemu, after the death of Humayun, occupied Agra and Delhi¹⁰ and marched towards Panipat to attack and destroy the Mughals.

Akbar was alarmed when he heard of the heroic deeds of Hemu. At the instance of his guardian Bairam Khan he made up his mind to fight Hemu. With a huge army he left Panjab and came to Thanesar.¹¹ He arranged his army 10 miles north of Karnal, and then marched to Panipat, 2 kos to the west of which Hemu was encamped. The formidable force of Hemu under his able guidance and with full support of the local

6. There is a controversy among scholars as to how this name was given to this garden. Some say that when Babar saw this plain ground he said that the spot was "Qabil-i-Bagh" (fit for a garden), and hence this name. Others say that since this garden was laid out on the pattern of the gardens in Kabul, it was given the name kabuli-Bagh. Colebrooke gives another interesting reason. He says that Babur gave this name to the garden after the name of his favourite queen Kabuli Begam. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol., XIII, p. 279.

7. Ibbetson, *Settlement Report of Karnal*, p. 26.

8. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 40.

9. Abul-Fazl, *Akbar-Nama* (Eng. trans-Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 617; Rahim, *History of the Afghans in India*, p. 130; Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, p. 448; Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 190.

10. Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. II, p. 30; Nizamuddin, *Tabqat-i-Akbar*, Vol. II, pp. 121-122; Abul-Fazl, Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

11. Abul-Fazl, Vol. II, p. 60; Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, p. 38.



population had in the beginning wrenched the hearts of the Mughals with fear. But after a week's skirmishing, Akbar sent a detachment round the city to take Hemu in the rear and himself advanced to attack. Hemu fought heroically and there was every possibility of his carrying the day when unfortunately an arrow struck his eye and he fell unconscious in the *howdah* of his elephant. His men took him to be dead and fled away.¹² Thus ended the second battle of Panipat in A. D. 1556 in which Akbar was victorious.

Akbar and Hariyana

Probably owing to the opposition offered by the people of Hariyana, Akbar did not like them throughout his life. As a matter of fact, he took delight in seeing them suffering. An evidence to this effect is furnished in the following account of Nizamuddin which he gives in his book *Tabqat-i-Akbari* (1567 A.D.) :

"When the Emperor arrived at Thanesar, there was an assemblage of *jogis* and *sanyasis* on the banks of a lake called Kurukshetra. This is a sacred place of the Brahmans and on the occasion of the eclipses, the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion and people were bestowing their gifts of gold, silver, jewels and valuable stuffs upon the Brahmans. Many of them threw them into water and the *jogis* and *sannyasis* were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the emperor seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *sannyasis* were between 200 and 300 in number and *jogis*, who wear only rugs, were 500. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by emperor's orders, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes and went to support the *sannyasis* who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued and many were killed. The emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *jogis* were defeated and the *sannyasis* were victors."¹³

Jahangir and Shah Jahan

Hariyana enjoyed peace and prosperity under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Under their regimes a number of roads were repaired, *sarais* were erected at every stage and a *minar* (brick pillars, 24 feet high) and a well made at every *kos* for the use of travellers. But the conduct of Aurangzeb, by provoking discontent among the Hindus, hastened the collapse of the Mughal empire.

12. Abul-Fazl, Vol. II, pp. 58-66; Shasmululema Maulana Azad, *Darbar-i-Akbari*, p. 184.

13. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, P. 318.

Religious Tyranny of Aurangzeb

The history of Aurangzeb is full of tyrannical and oppressive acts towards Hindus. An example of his oppression of the people of Hariyana will not be out of place here. During his reign he destroyed the shrine of Kurukshetra. The Champion of Islam "built a castle on the island in the lake called Mughalpur from which soldiers could fire upon any venture on pilgrims who came to bathe there¹⁴."

These tyrannical oppressions led to a number of Hindu upsurges. The Satnamis of Narnaul (Hariyana) rose in rebellion in A.D. 1672 to save their faith. They put up such an irresistible front that the hearts of the strongest of the strong among the Mughals gave way and their whole army stood terror-stricken for quite a long time. Though five thousand Satnamis fell fighting in the battle of Narnaul, they damaged the power and prestige of the Mughal emperor quite considerably¹⁵.

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughal rule in India ceased to exist to be an effective force. None of his successors proved to be worthy of the great responsibility and Delhi soon turned into a mere cockpit of warring powers. Hariyana suffered a lot during this period owing to the *gardis* (hurly-burly) of the Jats, Rohillas, Sikhs, and Marathas, as well as due to the foreign invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali.

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14. *Arch. Survey Report*, Vol. XIV, P. 96.

15. Fani, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, pp. 251-52; Mustaid Khan, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 128; Jadu Nath Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 161-163.

IX THE SATNAMIS OF NARNAUL

During the medieval period the Bhakti¹ movement spread in different parts of India. This movement came into Hariyana in the 16th Century. Its leader in this region was Birbhan, native of a small village called Bijasar in the pargana of Narnaul². Like all other saints of the Bhakti movement he taught his people the age-old idea of one Supreme Being. He spoke against idol worship, caste system, blind faith, superstition, ritualism, and the like. He laid much emphasis on purity and wished his disciples to imbibe it in their lives. His followers were called Satnamis³, *Sadhs*⁴ or *Mundiya*s⁵. This sect was founded in 1543⁶. In fact it was an off-shoot of Raidasi sect founded by the great saint Raidas⁷.

Regarding the components of this sect, Mohsin Fani says : "Goldsmiths, carpenters, cobblers and other people of low professions joined the ranks of this sect"⁸. The Satnamis were brave people. Khafi Khan writes about them : "Though they dress like faqirs, most of them follow agriculture or trade on a small capital. Following the path of their own faith they wish to live with good name and never attempt to obtain money by any dishonest or unlawful means. If any one tries to oppress them, they cannot endure it. Most of them carry arms"⁹.

Satnamis and Aurangzeb

As seen above, the Satnamis were a religious sect. They had nothing to do with politics. During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir they lived peacefully in their villages. But Aurangzeb disturbed them. His

1. According to Hindu scriptures there are three paths of knowledge (*Jnan*), action (*Karma*) and devotion (*Bhakti*) for the attainment of salvation. The former two being very difficult to follow, the latter was followed by the people in great number. Whenever the society and religion degenerated, leaders came to reform them through the cult of *Bhakti*. For details see Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, *Shrimad Bhagwat Gita*, Introduction, pp. 58-59; *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 539.

2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 297.

3. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al-lubab*, II, p. 252.

4. Fani, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, p. 291; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 297.

5. Fani, P. 291, says, "The Baragis are also called Mundiya's".

6. Sir Jadunath Sarkar p. 297 ; Dr. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, P. 342, on the basis of a recently found MS in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society London (*Hindi-Satnam Shahai : Pothi Giyan Bani Sadh Satnami*) gives A.D. 1657 as the date of the foundation of this sect. But this does not seem to be a correct date. The sect of Satnamis was in existence in the days of Akbar even. The traditional stories of relationship between Akbar and the Satnami-leaders which are current even today in the pargana of Narnaul bear testimony to this fact.

7. Fani, P. 251.

8. *Ibid*

9. Khafi Khan, p. 252.

oppressive policy alienated Satnamis. They always opposed the tyrannical deeds of Aurangzeb and his officials. In the revenue records of the early years of Aurangzeb's reign the Satnamis are mentioned as turbulent and rebellious people¹⁰.

Revolt

In 1672 the Satnamis came in direct conflict with Aurangzeb's government. So started the quarrel that one day a Satnami peasant of Narnaul had a hot dispute with a foot-soldier (*piada*) who was on the watch duty of government fields in that locality. The soldier struck the Satnami peasant with his club. The Satnami raised a cry and soon many Satnamis assembled on the spot. They beat the soldier so much as to reduce him almost to a corpse¹¹.

When the *Shiqdar* of Narnaul came to know of this happening he sent a body of soliders to arrest those men. But the Satnamis, on the contrary, beat these soldiers too and snatched away their arms¹².

The news of these catastrophes spread like fire in the region around Narnaul. Hundreds of thousands of Satnamis collected and showed determined will to fight against the religious oppression of Aurangzeb. In the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar: "The quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzeb himself. An old prophetess appeared among them and declared that her spells could raise an invisible army at night; that the Satnamis fighting under her banner would be invulnerable to the enemy's weapons; and that if one of them fell eighty others would spring up in his place"¹³. This raised the morale of the Satnamis. Their number at that moment was estimated to be over five thousand¹⁴. Tahir khan, the Faujdar of Narnaul, underrated the danger and sent out troops in small parties which were successively defeated. "These initial victories", says the same writer, "only raised the confidence of the rebels and confirmed the tale of their magical power"¹⁵.

Thus encouraged, the Satnamis plundered several villages and, when, at last, the Faujdar of Narnaul himself came out to oppose them, they routed him with heavy losses and siezed the town¹⁶.

The rebellion then took threatening proportions. The victorious Satnamis plundered the town of Narnaul, demolished its mosques and

10. Irfan Habib, p. 342.

11. Manuri, *Shahjehan-Nama*, p. 148; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 253.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 299.

14. Fani, p. 251; Mustaid Khan, p. 128.

15. Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 299.

16. *Ibid.*

established their own management in the district "holding it by means of out-posts and collecting the revenues from the peasants"¹⁷.

Now the rebellion did not remain restricted to the Narnaul region only but the disaffected Hindu elements in the territories contiguous to Narnaul also came out to join hands with the Satnamis to counteract the tyranny of Aurangzeb. Several Rajput chiefs and other zamindars came to fight¹⁸.

Alarm in Delhi

When the news of the uprising of the Satnamis reached Delhi, a great panic spread throughout the city. The grain supplies became scanty and superstitious stories demoralized the imperial army¹⁹.

Aurangzeb at once sent a large army under "great rajas and experienced generals" to crush the Satnamis. So great was the panic and alarm in the country that when this army reached near Rewari they lost heart and fled away *en masse*²⁰.

This roused Aurangzeb. On March 15 he sent another force comprising 10,000 strong under the command of Prince Muhammad Akbar, accompanied by such experienced generals and commanders as Radandaz Khan, Yahya Khan, Dabi Khan, Kamaluddin, Pevot Mewati, Iskander Bakhshi, etc.²¹ To boost up the morale of his army and counteract the spell of the Satnamis, Aurangzeb, who had the reputation of being a living saint (*Alamgir Zinda Pir*), wrote out 'hymns and magical figures with his own hand and got them sewed on the banners of his forces'²².

When the royal forces reached in the vicinity of Narnaul, the Satnamis left the town and came out to attack them. "In spite of their poverty in war-material, they enacted the scenes of the great war of the Mahabharata"²³. The Satnamis fought gallantly, but being superior in number, arms and equipment, the royal army soon overpowered them. Yet the satnamis would not effect a retreat and stood where they were till all of them were cut to pieces. "Very few of them escaped."²⁴ The casualties on the Mughal side were also great. In the words of Mustaid Khan, "most of the royal *Amirs* and soldiers died in the battle"²⁵.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Mustaid Khan, p. 129.

22. Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 300.

23. Mustaid Khan, p. 129.

24. *Ibid.* pp. 128-9.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 129. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 301, gives the total number of deaths in the Mughal ranks to be 200.

Emperor Aurangzeb felt very jubilant over this success and bestowed handsome rewards on his nobles and commanders who accompanied the forces to Narnaul. Radandaz Khan was given the title of *Shuja Khan*, and all other officers received promotions and robes of honour²⁶.

This is in nutshell the heroic story of the struggle waged by the Satnamis of Narnaul against the religious oppressions and tyrannical acts of Aurangzeb.

MAHENDRA PAL SINGH

26. Mustaid Khan, p. 130.

HARIYANA-SIKH RELATIONS FROM 1763 TO 1774 A.D.

Suraj Mal, the most famous and greatest of the Jat Rajas of Bharatpur, was accidentally killed on the 25th December 1763 in a battle with Najib-ud-daulah, the Mir-Bakhshi of the Mughal empire. His youthful son Jawahir Singh and the entire Jat nation determined to avenge themselves upon the slayer of their chief. Jawahir Singh made preparations on a large scale in the course of the following year. He also hired the services of the Marathas and the Sikhs.

These activities of the young Jat Raja gave Najib a fright. Anticipating that the storm must burst upon him, Najib sent his envoy Meghraj to Ahmad Shah Abdali in Kandahar appealing for help and protection. Meghraj passed through the Panjab in September-October along the foot of the northern hills via Jammu, as the direct road through Lahore had been closed by the Sikhs. Najib then tried to pacify Jawahir Singh, but with him it was a question of honour and prestige, and so he stuck to his resolution. He marched upon Delhi early in November and besieged Najib-ud-daulah in the city. This offered a chance to Sikhs, as Najib's estates in Saharanpur, Meerut, Bijnor, etc., lay unprotected. The *Buddha Dal* under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered the Ganga Doab.

The Sikhs swept over the major portion of this rich territory and displayed a great alacrity in searching for loot, even piercing to the remotest villages situated at the foot of the hills. Najib was besieged in Delhi. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan at the head of a detachment of 6,000 offered the intruders only nominal resistance and then quietly retired. This visitation of the Sikhs is numbered among the most terrible ones which ever befell this unfortunate country².

Sikh-Jat Alliance Against Najib-Ud-Daulah

Jawahir Singh who had besieged Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi early in November, 1764, prolonged the siege on account of the lukewarmness of his friend Malhar Rao. This made Jawahir-Singh seek assistance in another quarter. He invited the Sikhs, who

1. *Selections from the Peshawa's Daftar* (hereafter abbreviated as S.P.D.), Vol. XXIX, 73.

2. Williams, *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IX. January 1875, pp. 26-7; Rahmat, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* 84-5.

were plundering the Ganga Doab, to Delhi and concluded his negotiations with them, promising to give a large sum of money and taking twelve to fifteen thousand of them in his pay³. "The Sikhs arrived (early in January, 1765) at Barari Ghat, 7 kos from the city. The river on that side was fordable. Jawahir Singh crossed it, and went to interview the Sikhs. But here his relations with them did not become friendly. They prevented the driver of the elephant ridden by Jawahir from coming to the assembly of interview. More than a hundred Sardars, as arranged, came and interviewed (him). The sitting of the conference commenced with a prayer, which in their terminology is called Ardas. In it they said, "Jawahir Singh, the son of Surajmal, has come within the shelter of the Khalsa Jee and becomes a Sikh of Nanak. He is demanding redress for his father's blood." This behaviour was disliked by Jawahir Singh. They also drove out the huqqa-bearer of Jawahir Singh with insult and abuse. "But he was in the utmost need (of Sikh assistance) and bore all this. It was settled (that) the Sikhs would prepare for fight and form trenches in the direction from which they had come, namely the north of the city; the Subahdar (Malhar) and Jawahir Singh would fight as before from the eastern side; while the Sikh horsemen would scour the country on the west so as to cut off provisions from the city totally. The fighting went on in this way for twenty days."⁴

Sikhs' Sudden Retirement from Delhi

When the fighting was still going on in Delhi, news reached the Sikhs that the Abdali had crossed the Indus and was approaching towards Lahore by forced marches. Thus Sikhs as a consequence suddenly retired to the Panjab even without asking leave of Jawahir Singh. They remained busy fighting in Panjab till the retreat of Ahmed Shah in March, 1765. Ahmed Shah left Najib-ud-daulah as his plenipotentiary and dictator at Delhi.

Sikhs Reenter Hariyana

In September 1765, the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar and decided to plunder Hariyana. In consequence they marched thither and after passing through Sirhind divided themselves into two bodies. The *Taruna Dal* crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered Saharanpur district, while the *Buddha Dal* consisting of 25,000 horse under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Tara Singh, Sham Singh and other sardars attacked Najib's jagirs in the country north of Delhi.⁵

3. Father Wendel, *History of the Jats*, 97; but 20,000 according to Miskin, *Tazkira-i-Tahmas Miskin*, 264.

4. It will be interesting to note that Alha Singh's soldiers numbering 1,000, under Bhola Singh fought on the side of Najib-ud-daulah on this occasion. Karam Singh, *Maharaja Alha Singh*, 232; Nur-ud-din *Tarikh-i-Najib-ud-daulah*, 82b-83a.

5. S.P.D., XXIX, 99 and 102; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (hereafter abbreviated as C.P.C.), I, 2533 A.

Najib with 10,000 soldiers was busy in reducing rebellious villages in the Bhiwani and Rohtak parganahs and had succeeded in impressing his power on the Narnaul side. On hearing that the Sikhs were levying blackmail on his country, he advanced towards them and met the situation with such skill and persistence as was to be expected from the leading Muslim general of the time after Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Rajah of Bhatner and Amar Singh, grandson and successor of Alha Singh, also marched from their places to join Najib-ud-daulah against the Sikhs.⁶

Najib-ud-daulah himself wrote a letter to the Emperor Shah Alam II, then residing at Allahabad, on the 3rd November, 1765 and described the Sikh depredation and his own measures for defence thus: "The infidels (Sikhs) having with all malevolence advanced as far as Panipat and Satluj, proposed proceeding directly to Shahjahanabad. But upon his sending forward his tent to Mahaldar Khan's garden and collecting a number of new and old troops, they perceived that they had not then an opportunity of putting their designs into execution. And so, after ravaging and plundering the circumjacent villages, they retreated. Their retreat was also due to the fact that the time for the celebration of the Chak⁷ was near at hand. As they are under no apprehension of troubles from any quarter, they are determined to come this way after that festival. To the writer it appears to be a very difficult matter to punish them. It can be effected only by the blessing of God and His Majesty's auspices. As far as it lies in his power, he will not be negligent in giving proofs of his fidelity and attachment. With this view he has assembled all his forces from the different districts, and, having left the city, has encamped on the frontiers in order that the enemy may be struck with terror and also that his troops may all be together."⁸

The Sikhs on the west side of the Jumna, after ravaging a part of Najib's territory and the imperial dominion, returned to Amritsar. Soon after the Diwali celebration they made for Hariyana and commenced plundering Najib's villages. Najib-ud-daulah, who had anticipated this irruption and had been making preparations since their last departure from his country, marched to oppose their advance, and met them near Shamli, 12 miles east of Karnal.

After having fought for two days furiously, the Sikhs crossed the Jumna with all their baggage and camp in the darkness. In the morning not one horseman of them was left⁹.

6. *S.P.D.*, XXIX, 99 and 102; Nur-ud-din, 100; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii, 396.

7. To celebrate at Amritsar the Diwali festival which fell on the 14th October.

8. *C.P.C.*, ii, 2735 A. Also *Cf* 2735 C and 2735 D, all dated November 3, 1765.

9. Nur-ud-din, 100b-106a; *Cf. S.P.D.*, XXIX, 102, dated 19th December, 1765.

The Plunder of Rewari

After the battle of Shamli the *Taruna Dal* advanced towards Delhi, and joined the *Buddha Dal* in the neighbourhood of Kharkhauda, 20 miles east of Rohtak and one day's march from Delhi¹⁰.

Jawahir Singh, the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur, was already hard-pressed by the Marathas. He, therefore, could not bear the onslaught of the Sikhs. Consequently he sought for peace and opened negotiations with them through his wakil Ram Kishore Ahir. He paid them a subsidy of 7 lakhs of Rupees in order to bring their marauding activities to an end, and hired a body of 25,000 of their horsemen to fight the Marathas on his side. Jassa Singh, Tara Singh, Sham Singh and two other sardars remained there, while the others spread over the country of Najib-ud-daulah and again began to desolate villages in the main Doab. Najib pursued them as far as the Sonapat district and then they retired towards their homes¹¹.

Jawahir Singh and the Sikhs concerted a plan of action and it seems to have been decided to divert the concentration of the Maratha forces from the Jat kingdom's frontiers by attacking their ally Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur. The Sikhs consequently marched thither and decided to plunder the rich town of Rewari on their way. Below we give the interesting account of the plunder of Rewari in the words of Nur-ud-din: "The Sikhs, by forced marches at night, made a raid on Rewari, 48 kos from Dehli, and close to Mewat. They plundered and burnt it and took prisoners (for ransom). This town had been flourishing for a long time past and was included in the jagir of Rajah Nagar Mal Khatri, a high civil officer of the Emperor. The Amil of the place on behalf of Rajah Nagar Mal was totally off his guard. He now shut himself up in a mansion and, with a few hundred foot-soldiers that he had, fought all the day, and at night, by reason of his knowledge of the country, effected his escape from it (though) in utter ruin, and went to the territory of the Jat Rajah where Nagar Mal himself was. The ryots of Rewari were plundered to the extreme; only the people who reached Gokulgarh (a fortlet), constructed by the zamindar of that place, and standing half a kos from Rewari, remained safe."¹²

The Sikhs then entered the territory of Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur, and joined by Jawahir Singh's forces began to loot the villages and towns unopposed, and sacked Kot-Putli. Dulerai (the Bakhshi) and Jai Chand were away from Jaipur to lay siege to the fort of Kanaud held by Ratan Singh Khangarot, a rebel chief against Jaipur. The Sikhs encamped seven or eight kos distant. The Sikh forces were overwhelming and Madho Singh in helplessness appealed for Maratha help on promising a daily allowance of Rs. 5,000 by way of expenses. Sindhia's

10. S.P.D., XXIX, 21; Nur-ud-din, 106 b.

11. S.P.D., XXIX, 121, 177 and 197. Wendel, *History of the Jats*, 108 b (Fr. Ms.).

12. Nur-ud-din, 106b-107a and S.P.D., XXIX, 121.

contingent was at once bought off by the Jaipur Rajah. Jawahir Singh patched up a truce with Madho Singh and returned to his country taking the Sikhs with him.¹³

In December, 1767 the Sikhs again turned their attention towards the country of Najib ud-daulah across the Jumna. After much fighting and plundering they returned in March 1768. On the retirement of the Sikhs from the Doab to their own territories, Najib went to Aonla where he celebrated the marriage of his son Kalu Khan. The Sikhs finding him absorbed in these nuptial festivities, again spread in the pargana of Karnal and Panipat and ravaged the imperial domains. Thereupon Najib moved from Aonla by forced marches, arrived at Delhi and then marched towards the Sikhs to exert himself to expel them as usual. He fought many battles with them but was defeated. The Sikh leader Jai Singh (Jassa Singh) wrote a letter recalling all the Sikh bands then in Bharatpur with Jawahir Singh.¹⁴

Having defeated Najib, the Sikhs marched towards Delhi and menaced the imperial city, "committing hostilities and depredations in those very quarters." Musavi Khan, the King's agent, had scanty forces with him and possessed no sources to draw succour from, and was, therefore, not sufficient strong either to defend the fort of Delhi or to undertake an expedition.¹⁵

Najib-ud-daulah was so much shaken in his determination and his utter weakness against the Sikhs unfolded itself in so glaring a manner that he thought of seeking his political salvation by making a pilgrimage of Mecca or by retiring into some obscure retreat¹⁶. He openly confessed himself beaten in a letter addressed to the Queen-mother of Shah Alam II, and recalled his agent Sultan Khan, troops and goods from Delhi, leaving the royal family and the city to their fate¹⁷.

The sudden desertion of the capital by Najib deeply disturbed the mind of the Emperor. Moreover, it elevated the spirits of the Sikhs so highly that they now wanted to play the role of king-makers by offering to escort Shah Alam to the imperial capital. There was, however, no unity among the Sikh chiefs, and every one of them wished to be the king-maker and hence the Emperor declined to give himself up to them.

A Marathi despatch dated the 29th December, 1763, written by Sadashiv Ballal to Vishvasrao Lakshman, says that Najib again fought

13. Khuswaqt Rai, *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 104; *S.P.D.*, XXIX, 99, 102, 121, 127, 197.

14. He wrote: "What are you doing there? I have repeatedly written to you to chastise Najib, but you have not done it. So I have now come here. You join me from his kingdom." *S.P.D.*, XXIX, 143.

15. *Ibid.*, *S.P.D.*, Vol. XXIX, 143.

16. *C.P.C.*, ii, 847.

17. *Ibid.*; *S.P.D.*, Vol. XXIX, 147.

with the Sikhs but was defeated¹⁸. This is the last battle of this period fought between the Sikhs and Najib-ud-daulah which we have come across in the contemporary records.

Having overpowered all their enemies, the Sikhs obtained possession of the Panjab and Hariyana extending in the east from the bank of the Jumna, running from Buriya to Karnal, in the west as far as the Indus from Attock to the vicinity of Bhakkar, and in the south from the neighbourhood of Multan and Sind to the foot of the Siwalik hills and in the north up to the boundaries of Bhimbar, Jammu and Kangra, interspersed here and there with some petty independent chiefships. Some learned persons, out of hatred for the sovereignty of the Sikhs, commemorated the date of this event by the following chronogram which gives the year 1768 A.D. "Jahane Kharab Shudah."¹⁹

After doing that much the Sikhs concentrated their attention chiefly on two objects : (i) fighting or quarrelling with the Mughals, the Marathas, the Jats, the Rohillas, the Nawab of Oudh, the English, the Durranis, the hill rajas and, (ii) plundering the People of the Upper Ganga-Doab and Hariyana, the richest parts of the country²¹.

Attack on Hariyana Again

Taking advantage of the illness of Najib-ud-daulah, who held the charge of Hariyana then, the Sikhs launched their raids into this territory in January 1770. They arrived near Panipat on the 4th January plundering and ravaging the country as they went. Najib's son Zabita Khan, however, tried to oppose them, but he could not carry out his plans properly²¹. The Sikhs plundered every village between Panipat and Delhi²². They remained plundering the Jat territory of Bharatpur for a couple of months. Raja Jawahar Singh, the son and successor of Surajmal, had died (1768), and his successors Rattan Singh and Nawal Singh could not do their job well. The Sikhs came out of the Jat country in November.

Plunder of Panipat District

After the expedition into the Jat country, the Sikhs spent their time in managing their own domestic affairs until their attention was called to Delhi where a favourable situation had arisen for them. Amir-ul-Umara Najib-ud-daulah, the Mir Bakhshi of the Mughal Empire, who had been in supreme charge for many years past not only of the imperial capital, but also of the Emperor's mother and the Crown-prince during Shah Alam II's

18. S.P.D., XXIX, 223.

19. Forster, *A journey from Bengal to England* (1782-3), I. 324-5.

20. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp. 36-37.

21. *Imperial Records, Calendar of Records of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal*, p. 98, Paragraph 259.

22. *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, July-September 1915, p. 37.

absence, died on the 31st October, 1770²³. Zabita Khan, his eldest son, succeeded to his estates situated mostly in the upper Ganga Doab in Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Meerut districts, in the northern part of Rohilkhand especially in Najibabad district and in the district of Panipat.

No sooner was the news of the removal of the strong hand of Najib-ud-daulah known to the Sikhs, than they carried several plundering raids into the neighbouring district of Panipat. The Sikh attacks on Zabita Khan's territory and the impending danger from the Marathas had a great effect on the Rohillas inasmuch as they united the family of Najib-ud-daulah²⁴.

This tract, in which were situated the cities of Sonipat, Panipat and Karnal, had become a prey to complete anarchy in the third quarter of the 18th century. It formed a sort of no man's land between the Sikh and Maratha powers, coveted by both but protected by neither. It fell a victim to every freebooter who happened to come that way²⁵.

In April-May 1772 the Sikhs attacked and defeated Mughal Ali Khan, the Governor-Designate of Sarhind. Mughal Ali's defeat was a great offence given by the Sikhs directly to the Mughal Emperor. The easy-going and pleasure-seeking court of Delhi swallowed the bitter pill without showing any sign of their displeasure. But the success of the Sikhs alarmed Janko Rao, the Maratha Chief, stationed at the capital. At the head of a strong force he marched from Delhi into Panipat and Karnal districts.

23. Vansittart, the Governor of Bengal, wrote about him in a despatch to the Court of Directors on the 28th March, 1768—"He is the only example in Hindostan of at once a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity, and strength of mind. Experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education, and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defect of his birth and family. He is now about sixty years of age, borne down by fatigue and sickness." Quoted in Keene, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 91-2.

The Nawab Wazir of Oudh while intimating Najib-ud-daulah's death to the Governor of Bengal wrote :—

"Najib-ud-daulah who was a Sardar of character, sense, and much penetration has died." *C.P.C.*, iii-473.

Francklin in his *Shah Aulum*, on p. 33, writes about him thus :—

"Najeeb Al Dowla, who had been placed at the head of the administration at Delhi, continued in that situation with great credit to himself and benefit to the state. An able politician, a valorous soldier, and pleasant and affable in his manners and demeanour, he gained the confidence of the Delhians, and his influence was found sufficient to uphold the royal authority which it still retained."

24. *C.P.C.*, iii, 469; Hamilton's *Rohilla Afghans*, 166; *Imperial Records*, Bengal Select Committee, 29th December 1770, pp. 212, 803.

25. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Punjab, i. 303.

His movements caused consternation among the Sikh chiefs of the cis-Sutlej who believed that the Maratha chief was coming to punish them. Raja Amar Singh was so much frightened that he removed his treasures from Patiala to Bhatinda for the sake of safety.

The Maratha general, however, showed no signs of hostility, and did not advance farther than Pehowa, a place of pilgrimage situated sixteen miles beyond Thanesar on the banks of the sacred Sarasvati river. The purpose of his visit apparently seems partly a religious bath in the holy stream and partly to find out if the Sikhs were up to any other mischief. His return to the capital after a short while gave a sigh of relief to the Sikh chiefs of the neighbourhood²⁶.

Sikh Disturbances near Delhi

The Sikhs appeared early in 1774 in the royal domain near Delhi. The Mughal court could not summon up courage to oppose them; and the Sikhs advanced to the suburbs of the capital. On the 18th January 1774, "the Sikhs devastated Shahdara till midnight, and departed with fifty boys when there still remained an hour and a half of night²⁷". Side by side the Gujars²⁸ also carried on their nefarious business of robbing the people the whole night. The Emperor decided to buy them off. He invited the Sikhs to enter his service with a body of 10,000 horse and offered to allot to them the district of Shahbazpur for their support. He also sent khillats for the Sikh chiefs.

This proposal had not yet materialised when Abdul Ahad Khan, a leading noble in the confidence of the king, obtained for himself the faujdari of Sarhind in the name of Prince Farkhunda Bakht and appointed Samru his deputy. Samru's appointment had been made for two considerations. The Emperor wanted to prevent him from joining other rebels and he was thought the fittest person to punish the Sikhs. Samru was granted rescripts for the districts of Sonipat and Panipat, and was authorised to possess himself of whatever territory he could wrest from the Sikhs, in particular from Gajpat Singh of Jind, whose territory lay quite adjacent to the districts under his charge.

Samru took charge of his post early in July at the head of nearly 2,000 soliders, some of whom were Europeans with five pieces of cannon, a considerable quantity of ammunition and six elephants. He garrisoned Gharaunda which had been evacuated by the Sikhs who assembled at Karnal. The Sikhs hovered about Samru's camp, and gave him the

26. *Rajas of the Punjab*, 38.

27. *Delhi Chronicle*, 273.

28. The country from Wazirabad, a small village on the banks of the Jumna, a little above Delhi, extending as far as Sohna, consisting of parganash Palam, Najafgarh Badshahpur, Faridabad and Palee Pakul (?) were inhabited chiefly by Gujars. Hamilton, i. 409.

greatest trouble. In an open engagement he was defeated. Samru maintained a precarious position until September, 1774, when he resigned his post. He wrote to Abdul Ahad Khan that from the territories granted to him for the support of his troops he could realize Rs. 5,000 from Panipat, Rs. 3,000 from Samalkha and a little sum from Gharaunda. This sum was inadequate to meet his expenses. The civil and military officers appointed by him in charge of various districts had been paid Rs. 6,000 from his personal fund. He requested him to send some one to take charge of them.²⁹ Just about this time, upon the request from the Governor of Bengal, Samru was dismissed from the service by the Emperor.

This is in short an account of the Hariyana-Sikh relations from 1763 to 1774 A.D and their bearing on the contemporary political situations in India.

HARI RAM GUPTA

29. C.P.C., IV, 1026, 1097, 1152, 1184, 1195, 1298, 1262.

HARIYANA UNDER GEORGE THOMAS

Early Life and Career of Thomas

Among the most notorious adventurers in northern India towards the end of the 18th century was George Thomas, an Irish, known in Hariyana as *Jahaz Sahib*. He was born about the year 1758. The poverty of his parents left him uneducated and compelled him to leave for India to earn his livelihood. He served in a ship as a cabinboy, or as some affirm, a common sailor, and landed at Madras in 1780. Having spent some years in Carnatic with the Poligars, a landless class of chiefs inhabiting the jungle and mountainous districts, he became discontented with his position. Five years later he went to Madras and got enlisted in the Nizam's army as a private gunner. He gave up this job six months afterwards, and in 1787 appeared in Delhi where he sought service under the celebrated Begam Samru, who held the fief of Sardhana in Meerut district.

Above six feet in height and extraordinarily strong, he was at once employed by the Begam who was an excellent judge of character. His ability and bravery soon won him the confidence of the Begam. She married him to a slave girl whom she had adopted. He was also promoted to the command of a battalion in her army. In 1789 Shah Alam II invested the fort of Gokalgarh, a little to the north-west of Rewari, then under the charge of Najaf Quli Khan, a rebel courtier of Delhi. Begam Samru, with George Thomas, was in attendance upon the Emperor. One night Nazaf Quli attacked the imperial army unexpectedly, when they were dissipating themselves in debauchery, and defeated it. The Emperor would have been taken prisoner, if George Thomas had not been there. The Begam on realizing the delicacy of the situation ordered Thomas with 100 men and a six pounder gun to rescue the Emperor; whilst the Begam rode in a palanquin, reached the scene of battle and commenced the fight. After a desperate conflict, Nazaf Quli was beaten and the Emperor saved. For this signal service the Begam was rewarded with the title of "His most beloved Daughter"; and Thomas received a rich khillat.

As the Sikhs were frequently invading the Doab, the Begam, to protect the territories placed under her charge by the Emperor, appointed Thomas in the civil and military administration of an extensive tract with his seat at Tappal in Aligarh district. This duty he performed admirably and the Sikh incursions into his territory considerably decreased.

In 1792 Thomas was thrown out of the Begam's favour by the intrigues of a rival named Le Vaisseau, who commanded the artillery of the Begam, whom he married. Thomas raised the standard of revolt. The Begam at once marched against him, besieged Tappal and forced Thomas to surrender. In view of his past services, the Begam generously spared his life and allowed him to depart unmolested.

When leaving Tappal he had only fifty pounds with him. But he was not to remain unoccupied. His immense strength and energy, daring intrepidity, considerable foresight and gigantic form soon attracted to him a band of desperadoes. He took to plunder and increased the number of his followers to 250 mounted men. With this body he marched to Anupshahar where he was employed by Appa Khande Rao Hari a feudatory of Sindhia in 1793. He sent Thomas to serve under Bapu ji Malhar, the Maratha governor of Saharanpur.

James Skinner who knew him personally writes about him thus : "His manners were grave and gentle, and he was courteous to all. He was frank, generous and humane, though subject to sudden ebullitions of temper, in which he committed acts of which he quickly repented, and as soon atoned for. His conduct to the families of all who fell or were disabled in his service, was a convincing proof of his generosity, and the devoted attachment of his personal followers is the best evidence of their appreciation of his character."¹

Struggle with the Sikhs

In the last decade of the 18th century the Sikhs in the cis-Sutlej territory tried to overthrow the power of the Marathas in that region. They also interfered with the affairs of the Maratha governor of Saharanpur. The Governor sent George Thomas to set the Sikhs right. George Thomas obeyed his immediate boss promptly and crushed the Sikhs in the district of Saharanpur. After doing that he went to Hariyana. Early in 1798 he reached Karnal where a body of Sikhs had gathered in rebellion against the Maratha rule in that district. Here four successive actions were fought, in which both sides sustained heavy losses. Thomas's artillery always proved superior to the tactics of the Sikhs who did not possess this arm. In this fight Thomas lost 500 men and the Sikhs nearly twice as many. Peace was then concluded, and in accordance with the terms of the treaty, the Sikhs evacuated the place.

1. Francklin (ed), *Memoirs of George Thomas*, pp. 1-6; Compton, *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan from 1784 to 1803*, pp. 109-13; Grey and Garret, *European Adventurers of Northern India*, pp. 34-42; *European Adventurers*, p. 217; Keene, *Hindustan under Free Lances*, pp. 75-80; Meerut District Gazetteer, pp. 157-58; Fraser, *Military Memoirs of Lt. Col. James Skinner*, Vol. I, pp. 210-9; *Dilliyethil Raj Karnen*, Vol. II, pp. 4, 48, 119, 128, 129, 130; *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 23 Nov. 1798, No. 5 [N.A. I, Delhi].

After this, Thomas marched into the Doab to join Bapuji against a Rohilla chief, who, at the instigation of the Sikhs, had crossed over the Ganga and created troubles in the Maratha country. But before Thomas's arrival Bapuji had defeated him. A body of Sikhs had reached there by this time to assist the Rohillas; but, finding Thomas ready to oppose them, they retired without any fighting. Bapuji, thereupon, returned to his seat of government at Saharanpur.

Shortly afterwards some differences arose between Bapuji and George Thomas. In order to counterpoise Thomas's energy and activity he enlisted a body of Sikhs in his service. These Sikhs worked upon his fears against his formidable subordinate and widened the gulf between the two. This led to the outbreak of hostilities, and an engagement took place at a ford on the Jumna. This time the country people joined the Marathas against Thomas, and commenced plundering his camp; but he forced them to give him a passage².

Thomas as Raja of Hariyana

Appa Khande Rao committed suicide by drowning himself in the Jumna in 1797. His death was a severe blow to George who was now left without a patron. Soon afterwards he was taken in service by Bapuji. After employment of about a year or so differences arose between him and his master. Bapuji dismissed him and the lands granted to him were resumed. Thomas was again left without a master and without the means to feed and pay his troops numbering 3,000. He took to the profession of a freebooter, and began plundering towns and cities in the neighbourhood of Delhi.⁴ His constant successes gave him an idea of setting himself up as a sovereign over some territory.

Consequently, before the close of 1798, George Thomas carved out an independent principality for himself in a tract always covered with green grass, and for that reason called Hariyana. It was no man's land and tempted none on account of its wild and barren nature. Thus Thomas occupied this region with ease. He was no more a freebooter now, but Raja of a kingdom which was bounded in the north by the territories of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, in the north-west by the country of Bhattis, in the west by Bikaner to the south by Jaipur, in the south-east by Dadri, in the east by districts adjoining Delhi, and in the north-east by Rohtak and Panipat. The territories possessed by Thomas were oval in shape, extending to the north as far as river Ghaggar, to the south up to the town of Beri, in the east to Maham and in the west to Behadara. They measured eighty kos from north to south, and the same distance from east to west. There were 800 villages in all including several important towns such as Hissar, Hansi, Bhiwani, Fatahabad, Tohana and Georgegarh, now known as Jahazgarh and

2. *Memoirs of George Thomas*, pp. 79-80, 82; Compton, pp. 135-6.

brought him an income of Rs. 2,86,000 per year. Hansi,⁴ which stood nearly in the centre of this territory, was his capital. Situated on a hill, this place could easily be defended. Thomas repaired the fortifications and established a gun foundry and a mint and issued coins in his own name. In order to remove the scarcity of water he sunk thirty wells and encouraged traders and merchants to settle there.

Fight with the Raja of Jind

Thomas's impatient and impetuous nature and restless energy would not give him any peace. In the cold weather of 1798, finding himself free, he started a campaign against Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, who had not liked Thomas's establishing himself in his close neighbourhood.

The cause of this invasion given by William Francklin, the historian and biographer of George Thomas, is that Bhag Singh of Jind "had, from Mr. Thomas's first entering the province, behaved towards him in a hostile manner, for which Mr. Thomas now determined to retaliate."⁵

This charge against the Raja of Jind may be true, as George Thomas was a man of very ambitious nature. The existence of his independent principality in his neighbourhood was not a thing of pleasure for the Sikhs, and was indeed a source of perpetual danger and constant menace. He himself says: "At length, having gained a capital and country bordering on the Seik territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of planting the British Standard on the banks of the Attock."

Griffin assigns another reason. He says that "in 1797, he (George) made overtures to the principal Sikh chiefs inviting them to join him in a combined resistance to the Mahrattas, and the conquest of northern India; but they regarded him with suspicion for his selfish aims were barely concealed and they thought that to help him would only be to resign their own independence."⁶

Bakhtmal describes some other incident which brought about this catastrophe. He writes that one Hasan Khan complained to George that he had been dispossessed of a village (Kasohan) received by him from the Raja of Patiala as a jagir by Khushal Singh, a courtier of the Raja, and that the Raja had refused to interfere. He offered George Rs. 7,000 if he would restore him his estates. Thomas took the money, and seized the village. As the village was situated near the city of Jind, Bhag Singh

4. Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, folio 295b, says that Almas Beg of Hansi invited George to occupy Hariyana with his head-quarters at Hansi. Thomas took the hint, and built a fort at Hansi.

5. *Memoirs of George Thomas*, p. 137.

6. *Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 76.

felt alarmed and expressed his displeasure. This enraged Thomas and he decided to attack Jind.⁷

An opportunity offered itself soon to George. In the winter of 1798 Shah Zaman invaded the Punjab and the Sikhs got busy to oppose him. In view of the weak position of the Sikhs, George laid seige to Jind.⁸

In conformity with his usual tactics, Thomas decided to take Jind by storm. In November 1798, he suddenly appeared before the walls of the town. The Sikh garrison, numbering 3,000, offered him a bold resistance. In a fierce conflict Thomas was driven back with a loss of 400 men. Sudden and unexpected as defeat was, it did not dismay Thomas. Just a few miles away from Jind he reorganised his troops, returned to the place and laid siege to it expecting to compel the garrison to surrender.

Sikh Chiefs Unite to Oppose Thomas

On hearing of the siege of Jind, the Raja of Patiala and the neighbouring Sikh chiefs of Karnal district were greatly perturbed in their own personal interest. At this time Shah Zaman had invaded the Panjab, and the rumours ran that he was bound for Delhi, which created great alarm in the minds of the Sikh chiefs whose territories lay on his way.

Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, "an indolent, weak-minded man", could not decide what to do, and invited the neighbouring Sikh chiefs to Patiala for consultation. On the 29th November, a letter arrived from Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal stating that he could not come as he was going to Jind to assist Bhag Singh. On the 5th December another letter from him announced that he encamped at Kole on his way to Jind and was there waiting for Bhika Singh, Diwan Ramdial, Sawan Singh, Shyam Singh and Mamu Khan and other sardars. Raja Sahib Singh in reply stated that owing to Shah Zaman's approach everybody was apprehensive, otherwise many chiefs would have gone to Jind.

On the 8th December, Lal Singh informed Sahib Singh of his arrival with Bhika Singh 7 kos from Jind. He asked the Raja to send reinforcements immediately, observing that if Thomas took Jind he would invade Patiala afterwards. The Raja was alarmed, and consulted his sister Bibi Sahib Kaur, a woman of masculine and intrepid spirit. It was settled to send Tara Singh.

On the 10th December, Didar Singh arrived at Patiala from Jind. He was sent by Raja Bhag Singh to press Raja Sahib Singh either to march

7. Bakhtmal, *Khalsa Nawab*, pp. 174-75.

8. At this time the town of Jind was about three-fourths of a mile long, and half a mile broad. It was surrounded by a brick wall without a ditch. Hamilton, *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan*, Vol. I, p. 464.

himself or to send Bibi Sahib Kaur at the head of a strong force to assist him. He stated that Bhika Singh, Mehtab Singh and Bhai Lal Singh had joined Bhag Singh and lay encamped at Kedala, five miles from Jind. The garrison with the assistance of Lal Singh made a sally, and Bhika Singh endeavoured to cut off the working party of the besiegers. Thomas's army opened fire upon them, and the Sikhs fled away to their respective places. Four horses and many of the besiegers were killed and wounded in the trenches. At one of the batteries they had given way; but later on they were forced to retire.

On the 11th December, a letter came from Raja Bhag Singh urging Sahib Singh to come to his relief. The Raja consulted Bibi Sahib Kaur. She offered to take the field herself, and requested him to furnish her with Rs. 10,000.

On the 13th December, when Bibi Sahib Kaur was ready to march to Jind, Raja Sahib Singh came to her. He expostulated with her saying that all were full of apprehension on account of Shah Zaman's invasion, and at such a juncture it was improper for her to go. Bibiji replied that Raja Bhag Singh's house was as his own house; he had put off going and forbade her to go; who then could go as none of the old officers there. After a long discussion it was decided that Chaudhari Jaswant Singh should be sent for. Suddha Singh Jamadar was immediately despatched with a letter to Manjha.

On the 14th December, it was reported that Jind was in danger of falling into the hands of George Thomas. In consequence, Bibi Sahib Kaur immediately marched to that place with some troops.

On the 16th December Lal Singh's letter arrived. It stated that he had cut off some of Thomas's supplies, and killed and wounded many of his people. The Raja remarked that the great difficulty to encounter against George Thomas was his artillery; but his supplies could be cut off. He wrote to several Sikh chiefs to assist his sister in the campaign.

Bibi Sahib Kaur, along with Tara Singh, was joined on the way by Baghel Singh, Dip Singh and Hira Nand, the last being accompanied by 200 horse. As soon as this party came within the striking distance Thomas subjected them to heavy artillery fire, and attacked them so vehemently that they fled back. Thomas pursued them driving them through their own camp, which consisted of straw huts. All the encampment was set on fire and plundered by Thomas's men.

On the 25th December, Lal Singh invited Raja Sahib Singh to proceed to Jind with troops and artillery. The courtiers advised him to remain in the capital to give confidence to the people who were alarmed because of Shah Zaman's presence in Lahore.

By that time the troops of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, and Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thanesar had arrived at Jind. So after a few days Bibi Sahib Kaur rallied Sikh troops under her command, and returned to the contest with a force of about 9,000. She succeeded in occupying two posts of Thomas in which "many of his best men were cut to pieces."

This proved the turning point in the course of the siege. Thomas's difficulties began to increase on all sides. Supplies of provisions ran short. Country people, who so far had remained neutral, now turned against Thomas, and began to harass his men. The number of his troops was daily decreasing, while that of the Sikhs was increasing.

Thomas persisted in his attempt at continuing the siege till the end of February, 1799, when he decided to raise it. By that time the number of Sikhs had grown to 10,000 and Raja Sahib Singh had also left Patiala to join his sister with several pieces of artillery.

After a blockade of three months George Thomas suddenly retired from Jind and hurried to Hansi. He was pursued by the Sikhs. The peasants rose on all sides and checked his progress. Frequent attacks were made on his flanks and rear and he was given a hard time. In order to relax the efforts of his pursuers Thomas adopted a trick which did him no good. He gave out that he was not going to Hansi; but was bound for Jaipur. This had no effect on his enemies, and they continued the pursuit.

It was the turn of the Sikhs to deceive Thomas. They gave up the pursuit, and by a different route managed to get between him and Hansi hoping to intercept him, and encamped at Narnaund, situated in the centre, of Jind and Hansi, the distance between two places being about 25 miles. Thomas with his usual practice decided to take the offensive. For this purpose he marched all night, and at dawn fell upon the Sikh camp. The Sikhs, who were unprepared for the attack, could not hold their ground. The tents, baggage, howdahs of their elephants, their bazar, 100 saddles and about 200 horses fell into Thomas's hands. He might have seized their artillery and elephants also, had not his soldiers got out of control by dispersing on all sides in search of plunder.

The Sikhs being discomfited fled back to Jind. To their disappointment they found the doors of the town closed upon them by Bibi Sahib Kaur who scolded and taunted them for their cowardice. Then she got ready to take the field in person to show how to fight. The Sikh chiefs felt extremely humiliated for "being exceeded in spirit by a woman". They resolved to resume their offensive with the determination either to conquer or to perish in the struggle.

Hot weather had now begun and Thomas returned to a place where he had securely deposited his heavy baggage. The Sikhs came to attack him, and at night encamped at a short distance from him. At that late hour they held a council of war deliberating upon the tactics they should employ. Just then their camp was attacked by a large band of robbers who created a great alarm by sounding trumpets in the same way as Thomas did. The Sikhs thought that they had been attacked by the full force of George and they were seized with a panic. Consequently they abandoned their camps and galloped away with great precipitation⁹.

Both sides were now tired of war. After some time George Thomas opened negotiations for peace through his Diwan Udai Chand on the terms that each party should remain in possession of their territories possessed before the siege of Jind. The termination of hostilities satisfied all except Raja Sahib Singh who refused to ratify the treaty. But Bibi Sahib Kaur signed it on behalf of Patiala in spite of the remonstrance of her brother. This enraged the Raja who immediately imprisoned his sister. Thomas could not tolerate the humiliating treatment meted out to a lady of remarkable prowess and threatened the Raja with dire consequences. The Raja fearing from war being dragged to his own territory set her free¹⁰.

More Aggressions

In 1799 Qmaruddin, the nawab of Rania, invited George Thomas to undertake an expedition in the Bikaner territory. George acted promptly and he led a marauding expedition through Budhleda and the Bhatti region (Hissar) into Bikaner in the course of which he realized a considerable sum of money as blackmail. In the same year he went to the assistance of Ambaji Anglia who was at that time engaged against Lahwa Dada who was in revolt against the Sindhia.

After doing that Thomas took a marauding expedition into the Sikh territory. He was opposed by a superior body of the Sikhs and, therefore, returned to Georgegarh through Kaithal, Jind, Sonipat and Panipat.

9. An article entitled "Patiala and General Perron". published in the Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, vol. xviii pp. 341-8, states that on this occasion the Sikh army was disunited and demoralised, and that "the Nabha army held aloof; and Karam Singh Shahabadia fled on receipt of 5,000 asrafs". Cp, *Punjab State Gazetteers*, xvii, A. p. 342; *Raj Khalsa*, ii, p. 44.

10. Foreign Political Proceedings, 24th December, 1798, No. 24; 11 January, 1799, Nos. 28, 30, 33; 25th January, 1799, No. 18; *Memorirs of George Thomas*, pp. 87-94, 137-40; Compton, pp. 137-42, 158-60; Bakhtmal, pp. 172-9; Gyan Singh, p. 960; Khushwaqt Rai, p. 175; Muhammad Hasan, pp. 165-9; Bute Shah, 296 a-b.

It may be interesting to point out that Lord Wellesely asked Thomas about this time to supply him an account of the state of the Panjab. Thomas replied that he would be glad to do so; but as he had forgotten English, he would write the Memoirs in Persian (Keene, *Fall*, p. 235 f.n.).

Meanwhile there were some disturbances in his territory but they were soon brought under control.

The End

Thomas's growing power was a cause of jealousy and apprehension to Sindhia and his general Perron. Thomas was asked to subject himself to the authority of Sindhia. This Thomas declined to do. The refusal ultimately resulted in a quarrel between the two powers. General Perron's army defeated Thomas in the battle at Beri near Georgegarh. He abandoned all his conquests and retired to the British territory in the year 1801, where he died soon afterwards.¹¹

This is in a nut-shell the story of the rise and fall of this adventurous Irish man.

HARI RAM GUPTA

11. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 29-30

HARIYANA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1803-1858 A.D.)

The region of Hariyana was acquired by the East India Company on December 30, 1803¹ from Daulat Rao Sindhia whose ancestors had occupied it in the days of the decline of the Mughal empire. The region was included in the Presidency of Bengal and a resident was appointed to superintend its affairs.²

People's opposition

Possessed of unusual independence of character, the brave and self-respecting people of Hariyana did not accept the new masters regarding whom they had heard that they were no better than usurpers and plunderers. Consequently, the Meos, Gujars and Ahirs of Gurgaon, the Jats and Ranghars of Rohtak, the Bhattis, Ranghars, Pachhdas, Bishnois and Jats of Hissar and the Sikhs of Karnal opposed them tooth and nail.³

The British authorities at Delhi took a serious note of the rebellious attitude of the people. They sent out movable columns to crush them. Karnal was the first region to be tackled. Col. Burn routed the Sikhs and others who had assembled under the leadership of the chief of Thanesar in the end of 1804. In March 1805 an amnesty was proclaimed to all on condition of peaceable behaviour, but Raja Gurdit Singh of Ladwa was expressly excluded from this amnesty, and in April of the same year the British forces marched upon his fort of Karnal, and captured it.⁴ The regions of Gurgaon and Rohtak were reduced after a constant struggle of about a decade. How much harassment did the people of these regions cause to the British can better be described in the following words of Metcalfe. Those were the days, he observed, "when the force at Delhi was not sufficient to keep in awe the neighbouring villages; when the resident's authority was openly defied within a few miles of that city; when it was necessary to draw a force from another district, and employ a battalion of

1. Vide the Treaty of Sirji-Arjangaon, dated Dec. 30, 1803. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, Vol. IV, pp. 42-46.

2. Dhram Bhanu, *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces*, pp. 81-82; Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, p. 88.

3. In the words of an important contemporary authority, C.T. Metcalfe, the inhabitants of Hariyana were "a considerable class of people more accustomed to command than to obey and ready to wince under the slightest restraint." Kaye, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, p. 55.

4. For details see *The Settlement Report of the Karnal District* (1872-80), pp. 21-22.

infantry with guns, and a squadron of cavalry, to establish the authority of the Government in the immediate vicinity; when the detachment was kept on the alert by bodies of armed villagers menacing the pickets, and when sepoys who strayed were cut to pieces; when it was necessary to disarm villages and when swords were literally turned into plough-shares; when every village was a den of thieves, and the city of Delhi was parcelled out into shares to the neighbouring villages, of which each co-partnership monopolised the plunder of its allotted portion; when a company of infantry was necessary to attend the officer making the revenue settlement and even that force was threatened with destruction, and taunted with the menace of having its muskets taken as playthings for the villagers' children; when to realise a single rupee of the settlement then purposely concluded on the lightest terms, it was necessary to employ a battalion of infantry with guns; when to subdue a single unfortified village a force of five battalions with cavalry and artillery was deemed necessary; and when the villagers instead of awaiting the assault, sallied forth against this force and for an instant staggered the advancing columns with the briskness of their attitude."⁵ It was with great difficulty and suffering that the British subdued these people.

Hissar was taken next. To subdue its people a military fort was built at Hansi and a strong body of troops was stationed there. Mirza Ilias Beg was appointed *nazim* of the district by col. Ochterloney. The Bhattis under Khan Bhadur Khan of Fatehabad and Nawab Zabta Khan of Rania caused a lot of trouble, defeated Ilias Beg and slew him. Unable to restore order, the British authorities gave the tract to the local chiefs, the nawabs of Jhajjar, Loharu and Doojana, one by one, but on account of the serious opposition of the people they "resigned their uncomfortable position". How the people united together to oppose their enemies is very well described by A. Seton. "Attacks (on them) were consistently rendered abortive by the local practice of assembling by the beat of the *tamuk* or alarm-drum of all the armed inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. As every town and every village was provided with this aid to sedition, the magic effects of its sound in attracting the armed men of the province to the common rallying point can easily be conceived"⁶.

The people of Hissar gave much trouble to the authorities. In fact, from 1808 to 1810 there appears to have been no government at all in this district.⁷ At last, in 1810, Edward Gardiner was sent with a big force to restore order. He was accompanied by Col. James Skinner with a cavalry force. The British forces' first operation was to capture the town of Bhiwani, the garrison of which gave a tough fight to them. Khan Bahadur opposed the British at Fatehabad and Nawab Zabta Khan at

5. Kaye, *Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, p. 55.

6. *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 34, July 22, 1809 (N.A.I.).

7. For details see *Hissar District Gazetteer* (1915), pp. 33-34.

Sirsa but both were defeated and expelled from their territories which were confiscated.⁸

Early British Administration

As stated above, the region of Hariyana was annexed to the Presidency of Bengal just after its inclusion in the British empire. A resident was placed at Delhi to superintend the affairs of this region. He was helped by his assistants, who varied from three to seven from time to time⁹.

The whole region was divided into several sub-districts from the point of view of administrative convenience. These divisions were called *tahsils* and officers called *tahsildars* were made incharge of them. Each *tahsil* was further divided into several *zails* comprising a few villages. Each *zail* was put under the charge of a headman known as *zaildar*. He was usually a prominent *lambardar* and served as a link between the villages and the *tahsildar*. In the villages the administration was entrusted to the care of the headmen called *lambardars* or *muqaddams*. Their main duty was that they, along with the *patwaris*, should help in the collection of land revenue. The village *choukidar* worked¹⁰ as a peon and guard.

Besides these arrangements of direct administration by the resident, a great part of the region was assigned to the local chiefs for administration. They were eight *rajas*, four *nawabs*, three *sardars*, one *thakur* and one *begam*. As far as their internal matters were concerned, they enjoyed full autonomy. They were under the political superintendence of the resident and enjoyed powers and privileges on condition of fidelity and military service to the British¹¹.

Law and Order

In the early years of the British rule there was a lot of chaos and disorder in the region.¹² A strong body of police was recruited and detachments were posted in different parts. The practice of the Regulation Provinces, where the Police were supposed to inquire into crimes, whether they were reported or not, was not in vogue in Hariyana¹³. "Thus one

8. *Ibid*; *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 45, July 22, 1809 (N.A.I.).

9. Spear, p. 88. The residents at Delhi were as follows :-

Ochterlony (1803-6), Seton (1806-10), Metcalfe (1810-18), Ochetrlogy (1818-21), Fraser and Eliot Ross, (1821-25). Afterwards residents and commissiars: Metcalfe (1825-27), colebrook (1827-29), Fraser and Hawkins (1829-30), Martin (1830-38). Afterwards agents : Fraser (1832-35), Metcalfe (1835-53), Fraser (1853-57). See *Punjab Govt. Records*, vol. I, pp. I-II.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90; Thomson, *The life of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, pp. 118-119.

11. For details as to how these chiefs came into existence and their powers and privileges, see Aitchison's *Treaties etc.*, and *District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports* of the different districts.

12. *Foreign Political Consultation*, No. 34, July 22, 1809.

13. Spear, p. 92.

great source of interference with the organic village unit," says spear, "was avoided"¹⁴. Yet with the active cooperation of the village-people, the British authorities were successful in reducing the crimes and establishing law and order in the region.¹⁵

The Administration of Justice

The administration of Justice fell into two parts : that of the city of Delhi and the countryside. In the city there were three courts for civil cases. The lowest court for petty suits of the value Rs. 100 was conducted by three Indian commissioners, a *qazi*, a *mufti* and a *pandit*. The second court was for ordinary suits. The cases here were heard by the assistants. The third or the highest court was the resident's own which chiefly heard appeals from the lower courts.¹⁶

The criminal adjudication was conducted by the resident and his assistants. The Jails were run on very modern bases. Capital punishment was unknown.¹⁷

For the administration of justice in the villages, the village *Panchayats* were considered as the right agencies. They were really such and maintained perfect justice and equality in their villages. They trained the stronger and helped the weaker against any oppression. "The *Panchas* were gods" and no injustice could be expected from them. In the words of a British Government official : "Injustice or partiality is not charged to these tribunals."¹⁸

Besides administering justice, the *Panchayats* rendered valuable help to the needy members of the village communities. In the words of T. Fortescue, civil commissioner of Delhi : "No instances occur of a proprietor being driven from the village by oppression or violence of one or any number of other shares; on the contrary, it is observable that they tender each other the most friendly and essential aids when in distress. They will supply cattle, till the lands themselves, contribute money when a sharer has been really unfortunate and they will assist him in the disposal of his produce in providing seed, bullocks, and implements, should they be satisfied with him. This feeling.....is extended to the widow and necessitous family of a deceased sharer and its effects scarcely surpassed."¹⁹

Charles Elliot, a high British official in the upper parts of India wrote of these *Panchayats* in 1824: "I cannot call to recollection a

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

15. Thompson, pp. 120-22.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

18. *Punjab Govt. Records*, Vol. I, Delhi Agency and Residency Records, 1807-1857, p. 121.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

single instance, during ten years' experience..... of a Panchayat being convicted of bribery and the common phrase "*Panchayat men Purmesur*" imposed respect upon the arbitrators and stamped their decisions."²⁰

But these Panchayats, despite Metcalfe's great liking for them could not go on for long and the British courts took their place partly in 1820, when the territory was divided into districts with collectors as agency of giving justice above the Panchayats, and completely soon after the year 1833, when the territory was transferred from the Bengal Presidency to the newly formed North-Western Provinces.

New Administrative Set-up

By the Charter Act of 1833, the North-Western Provinces was formed, as stated above, with Agra as its headquarters. Under the new arrangement the Hariyana region was made one of the six divisions of the new province under the name of *Delhi Division*. Its headquarters was placed at Delhi. It comprised the districts of Panipat, Hariyana,²¹ Delhi, Rohtak and Gurgaon.²² Each district was placed under a magistrate-collector. The districts were further divided into tehsils. The executive officers of the tehsils had judicial powers too. Thus the village *Panchayats* lost their place in the society.

End of the village communities

The village communities in Hariyana were a remarkable institution. By their wonderful proceedings they had been preserving their old culture from time immemorial. How they worked is graphically described by Metcalfe in these words: "The village communities are like *little republics*, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; Hindu Pathan, Mughal, Marathas, Sikh, English are masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves; a hostile army passes through the country; the village community collect their cattle within their walls and let the army pass unprovoked; if plunder and devastation be directed against themselves and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance, but when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupation. If a country remains for a series of years the scene of continual pillage and massacre, so that the villages can not be inhabited, the villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the place of their fathers, the

20. quoted by H.R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol I, 319.

21. Out of sheer ignorance, the British authorities gave this name to a district comprising some part of Hissar, Rohtak and modern district of Jind.

22. *Statistical Returns in Home Public Proceedings*, No. 22, Jan. 18, 1847 (N.A.I.)

same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands will be reoccupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not the trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success."²³

Despite the efforts of Metcalfe in the early part of the 19th century to preserve this ancient institution, the village communities died down soon owing to the individualistic approach of the British revenue system, the development of the courts, the advent of new administrative machinery, etc. The village communities and the village *Panchayats* were built up according to the requirements of the people and under them "they felt themselves secure and happier". Their destruction brought social instability and the people felt insecure and unhappy.^{23a}

Revenue Administration

Agriculture was the chief means of economy of the people of Hariyana and land revenue was the chief source of income of the Government. As such the British authorities directed their attention towards the peasants and their agrarian conditions as soon as they assumed the Government. At the very outset they declared that "from the earliest time to the present period, the public assessment upon land has never been fixed and, according to established usage and custom, the rulers have exercised a discretionary and despotic authority.....the tenants and cultivators of the soil have been exposed to rapacity and oppression. The Government had therefore decided, in order to induce the cultivators to feel secure, and extend their efforts, to make a three years settlement with them to be followed by a second for the same period, and then by one of four years."²⁴ Truly speaking, this was not transformed into a working reality by the authorities. In accordance with the Regulation IX of 1805, Metcalfe, riding on his elephant and surrounded by a band of troopers, toured the region in 1807 and made a settlement for one year and thereafter triennial settlements were made. As time elapsed and conditions became settled, longer settlements were made with the better villages. By 1820 there were settlements ranging from three to twenty years. The assessments were very heavy; less than 50 per cent of the gross produce remained with the peasant. The payment of the revenue in kind was replaced by prompt payment in cash.²⁵

23. C.T. Metcalfe, Minute of the Board of Revenue, November 17, 1830.

23 a. Romesh Chandra Dutt, *Economic History of India*, Vol. II, p. 89.

24. *Settlement Report of the Rohtak District*, pp. 101-3.

25. *Ibid.*, *Punjab Government Records*, Vol. I, Delhi Agency and Residency Records, p. 19; Spear, p. 86.

The British settlements literally ruined the peasantry in Hariyana. They were not enforced with the consent of the people. On the other hand, "when the settlement was made the headmen were imprisoned till they agreed to the terms offered and, having accepted them, till they furnished security for payment."²⁶ The poor farmers, when they could not afford to pay the revenue which their village headmen had agreed to pay under compulsion, had to visit the jail 4 to 5 times "in a matter of a few years."²⁷

The mode of collection of land revenue was as extortionate as the assessment was oppressive. "The collections were made in February and September, long before the harvest". To site an example of oppression, in a small tract in Karnal "136 horsemen were retained for the collection of the revenue, while 22 sufficed for the police duties of the same tract."²⁸

In the pargana of Karnal, to escape ruination, "the inhabitants of some villages, nearly in mass, had abandoned their lands and homes and migrated to distant parts."²⁹ A painful picture of the condition of the people of the Sonapat pargana is drawn in *The Settlement Report of the Delhi District*. The nine villages of Pabasara, Chidy Yusufpur, Chasanali, Ghyaspur, Sunpara, Pabnera, Patti Brahmanan and Begha, which were settled in 1826, were completely deserted by 1842.³⁰ The revenue reports of those days are full of such remarks as "this village is entirely abandoned ; half the villagers have run away ; only five families are left in this village."³¹

A report from the Karnal district revealed many interesting facts regarding "the principles of the early settlements" of the British. The village of Chatra Bahadurpur, which had been assessed for Rs. 860, was made to pay Rs. 1,400 ; Malba Mazra, assessed at Rs. 2,180, beat Chatra Bhadurpur, Kishanpur assessed at Rs. 4,1309 was inhabited by a few *zamindars* only and they were all intolerably crushed by poverty ; and Atael, which suffered more than any of these villages on account of over-assessment, was deserted completely by its inhabitants.³² A similar tale of over-assessment and ruination of villages by previous settlements is told in John Lawrence's report on the settlement of the Rewari pargana of the Gurgaon district, which he gave in 1836.³³ Though he effectuated reduction in the district, the oppressed peasantry did not feel comfortable relief. In the district of Rohtak, says the settlement report of the same tract, "the injudiciously heavy revenues have greatly retarded the progress of the district."³⁴

26. *Settlement Report of the Karnal District*, p. 46.

27. *Ibid.*, 7 p. 47.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Settlement Report of the Delhi District*, p. 141.

31. *Settlement Report of the Karnal District*, p. 48.

32. *Settlement Report of the Delhi District*, p. 48.

33. Dowie, *The Punjab Settlement Manual*, p. 10.

34. *Settlement Report of the Rohtak District*, p. 138.

The ruthless destruction of peasants' economy by the British went on continuously in the region of Hariyana till 1857 when the entire peasantry rose up against the British to put an end to their oppressive rule once for all.³⁵

The Uprising of 1857

The British rule of half a century from 1803 to 1857 produced a great deal of discontent and disaffection among the people. Their destruction of the village communities, the *Panchayats* and natural leaders brought social instability in the society; their economic policy of exploitation caused pauperization of the masses; the work of the Christian missionaries, who were supported by the British Government officials, caused consternation in the minds of the people. The regular visitations of the terrible famines and deadly epidemics had made the life of the people intolerably unhappy and miserable. These and many other factors prepared the ground for revolt in Hariyana. It only required a spark for the bursting forth of a great conflagration. This was provided by the sepoys at Ambala and Meerut on May 10, 1857 and at Delhi on the 11th.

On hearing the news of the catastrophes at Ambala, Meerut, Delhi, etc., the people of Hariyana rose *en masse* and opposed the British Government tooth and nail. The role of the people in the uprising has been dealt with in details in the next chapter and need not be repeated here. In spite of good fighting the people were subdued by the British after the fall of Delhi on September 20, 1857.³⁶

Aftermath of the Uprising

After the petering out of the Uprising, the Hariyana region was separated from the North-Western Provinces and tagged with the Punjab in February 1858 as a political punishment for the participation of its people in the Uprising.³⁷

The civil administration of the region was remodelled after the Punjab plan. The old Delhi Commissionership and Political Agency and the Delhi Judgeship were abolished. In each district the Deputy Commissioner or district officer was vested with the powers of a magistrate and collector

35. There is no grain of truth in the statement of Spear, p. 108, that in 1857 the villages of Hariyana observed "passivity and a waiting on events. The villager, while he thought the Government was not so bad as to be worth rising against, was also sure that it was not good enough for him to raise a *lathi* in its defence." In fact he raised his *lathi* against the British Government. See Chapter XIII for details.

36. For details of their risings see my papers in the *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 43-57, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 37-42 and *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, pp. 657-63.

37. *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 365 [N.A.I.]; *File R/199* [State Archives, Patiala]; *Settlement Report of the Delhi District*, p. 158,

and civil judge. The districts were formed under two divisions: the Delhi division comprising the districts of Delhi, Gurgaon and Panipat with divisional headquarters at Delhi and the second one called Hissar division comprising the districts of Hissar, Sirsa and Rohtak and a portion of the Jhajjar state with divisional headquarters at Hissar. Each division was placed under a commissioner.³⁸

The judicial system in vogue in the Punjab was introduced in Hariyana too. Besides bigger courts, the small cause courts or *tahsilec* courts were established in every district.³⁹

The educational machinery was also reorganized and it was placed under the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.⁴⁰

From February 1858 to November 1966 Hariyana remained attached with the Punjab.

Kripal Chandra Yadav

38. File R/199 ; *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 365.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 365.

XIII

ROLE OF THE PEOPLE OF HARIYANA IN THE UPRISING OF 1857

The military insurrection, which started at Ambala and Meerut on May 10, 1857, became a political movement on May 11, and turned into a popular uprising when it entered into the region of Hariyana on the 13th. The people of Hariyana opposed the British tooth and nail. A district-wise account of their activities is given below.

Gurgaon District¹

On the 13th May 1857 the mutineers of Meerut and Delhi attacked Gurgaon.² The deputy commissioner of the Gurgaon district, W. Ford, along with four or five clerks and some other officers, fled away to Mathura via Bhondsi, Silani and Palwal, picking up the custom officers of all these places with him, and thus leaving no symbol of the British authority to be seen anywhere throughout the length and breadth of the district.³ That meant a complete political vacuum and led the people to believe that the British rule had ceased to exist. Consequently, the flame of rebellion flared up in the most virulent form in the whole of the district, more particularly, in Mewat.⁴

The Mewatis rose up at once in great numbers. Their natural leaders and chaudharies addressed letters to Bahadur Shah acknowledging him the emperor of Hindustan and began to conduct the 'intizam' of their villages and localities in accordance with his instructions.⁵

In the last week of May, when almost the whole of the rural Mewat had come under the rule of emperor Bahadur Shah, the urban Mewat still owed allegiance to the British through their "native officials" and wealthy persons, on whom the favours had been showered by the government earlier. Large gatherings of Mewatis attacked such towns. They did not meet any opposition at Tauru, Sohna, Ferozepur-Jhirka, Punhana and Piningwan, and easily reduced them to subjection. A great deal of plundering and destruction also took place. The town of Nuh proved to be a hard

1. In 1857 the district of Gurgaon had an area of 1,938 square miles and a population of half a million. It was bounded to the north by the Rohtak district; to the west and south-west by the states of Alwar, Nabha and Jind, to the south by the district of Mathura, to the east by the Yamuna and to the north-east by the Delhi district. Kaye and Malleeson, *A History of the Sepoy war in India*, VI, 139.

2. File R/191 (State Archives, Patiala); Jawala Sahai, *The Loyal Rajputana*, 260; Mead, *The Sepoy Revolt*, 97-98.

3. Jawala Sahai, 260.

4. *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 5.

5. File R/269; *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, 118; *Sultan Akbar*, June 10, 1857.

nut to crack. The local police and the "loyal Khanzadas"⁶ gave a stiff battle to the Meos. But soon they were overpowered by the superior numbers of the latter. The Khanzadas suffered heavy casualties.⁷ After the Khanzadas of Nuh, the Rawat-Jats of the region near Hodal and the Rajputs of Hathin, "who were supposed to be on the part of the (British) Government", were attacked by a large gathering of Surot Jats of Hodal, Pathans of Seoli and the Meos. The fight continued for several months and the 'loyalists' suffered heavy losses.⁸ On receipt of the s.o.s. signal from the Rawats, the British authorities Delhi despatched a small force to Hodal to help their supporters. The loyalists and the British troops fought well, but they were completely routed by the Mewatis.⁹

In the middle of June Major W.F. Eden, the political Agent at Jaipur, happened to pass through Mewat at the head of a big contingent force comprising about 6,000 men and 7 guns. He was going to Delhi, but finding Mewat, intervening between him and Delhi, in a "most deplorable state of anarchy," he thought it advisable to settle it before going to Delhi, for its "turbulent population" could at any time pose a serious danger to the forces before Delhi.¹⁰

Major Eden's contingent force met stiff opposition at the hands of the thousands of armed men from the villages between Tauru and Sohna. Had he not been in possession of the artillery guns, his force would have experienced heavy losses.¹¹ He destroyed many villages. He halted at Sohna for three days. Four and thirty European officers came down from Mohana and joined him there. After that, his force moved towards Palwal and remained between that place and Hodal for a long time. But sickness, discontent and growing spirit of revolt among his troops obliged him to return to Jaipur in August, 1857.¹²

The departure of Major Eden's force led to further deterioration in the situation. Even the fall of Delhi on September 20, 1857 did not effect any improvement in the situation. Consequently, on October 2, a strong column of 1500 men with a light field battery, a few 18 pounder-guns, and 2 mortars, was sent under Brigadier-General Showers to punish the turbulent Meos, Gujars, Ranghars, Ahirs and 'the rebel princes'; and to

6. They are an allied caste of the Meos, and consider themselves to have sprung up from the Rajputs of the Yadava clan. For details see Sharaf-ud-din, *Muraqqa-i-Mewat*, 79-134; *Alwar District Gazetteer*, para 18, p. 168.

7. *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 5-6.

8. *Ibid.*

9. The *Gurgaon District Gazetteer* records this episode thus (at PP. 5-6): "Suddenly a strong hostile force of mutineers appeared. British troops had to retreat and many Mewatis were surprised and killed."

10. Jawala Sahai, 258-59.

11. Jawala Sahai describes it thus, "Major Eden's artillery opened fire in different quarters, burnt villages and destroyed a number of the Meos."

12. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 440-52, Dec. 18, 1857 [N.A.I. Delhi].

settle the Gurgaon district. Throughout the month of October, the Brigadier-General laboured hard to realize his aims. He seized the nawabs of Jhajjar, Dadri, Farrukhnagar and the Raja of Ballabgarh, dispersed their troops and took their forts.¹³ In the settlement of Mewat, his work was shared by Clifford, the assistant collector of Gurgaon. Clifford's sister was "stripped naked at the palace, tied in that condition to the wheels of gun-carriages, dragged up in the 'Chandni Chowk' or silver street of Delhi and then, in the presence of King's sons, cut to pieces." Clifford "had it on his mind that his sister, before being murdered, was outraged by the rebels." Naturally he had a fire of revenge burning violently in his heart. He burnt village after village and destroyed the countryside with fire and sword. In his own words, "He had put to death all he had come across, not excepting women and children."¹⁴ But he could not carry on his ruthless campaign for long, for he was killed by the Meos of Raisina and Muhammadpur.¹⁵

Brigadier-General Showers carried fire and sword far and wide. All the villages between Dharuhera and Tauru were indiscriminately burnt and their inhabitants were shot down ruthlessly. At the deserted town of Tauru some 30 person were killed.¹⁶ A few miles short of Sohna, his column met a stiff resistance at the hands of the inmates of a Meo village who killed about 60 sepoy of General Showers' column in a hand-to-hand fight. Describing the strife of a brave Mewati, an eye-witness observes: "A Mewati, a huge fellow, armed with shield and sword, was put up half way down the khud (pit) at our feet. Twenty shots were fired; but no, the bold fellow held steadily on, springing from rock to rock, descending to the bottom of the den, and then mounting the opposite face". "The braveman," who put up this heroic show for quite a long time, was ultimately put to death by the Guides.¹⁷

The column, having cleared the area around Sohna and Tauru and leaving it in the charge of a Gorkha detachment of the late 22 N. I. under Captain Drummond, went to Delhi via Ballabgarh.¹⁸ An account of his experiences in the district of Gurgāon by Brigadier-General Showers is worth noticing: "From the time I entered the Gurgaon district, I was in enemies' country, that in all encampments and during every march I was exposed to the attacks of the enemies' horsemen.....I had to anticipate attack from every village that I passed, where I had to be continually on the alert against an enemy."¹⁹

13. *Punjab Government Records*, VII-II, 209.

14. Griffiths, *Siege of Delhi*, 96-97.

15. *Punjab Government Records*, VII-II, 209; *File/R* 188, p. 19; *File R/194*, pp. 89-90.

16. Ball, *History of Indian Mutiny*, II, 58.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 59

18. Ball, II, 59; *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, January 31, 1858.

19. *File R/191*.

In the third week of November 1857, Captain Drummond received intelligence through the "native officials" of Sohna, Hathin, and Palwal that "several thousand Meos and a few hundred cavalry were congregated about Kot and Rupraka" and had been attacking the "loyal Rajput villages" for several days. Besides, they were also intent on plundering the Government treasury at Palwal.²⁰ Captain Drummond, with a small force comprising a detachment of Hodson's Horse, another of Tohana Horse, and some 120 men of the Kumaon battalion, at once proceeded to Rupraka. On the way, he was reinforced by a company of the 1st-Panjab Infantry (Coke's) from Ballabgarh.²¹

Captain Drummond's force burnt all the Meo villages on the Sohna-Rupraka route and destroyed their crops. Panchanka, Geopur, Malpuri, Chilli, Utawar, Kot Mugla Mitaka, Kululka, Guraksar, Malluka, Jhanda, etc., were among these unfortunate villages.²² When the column reached Rupraka, 3,500 Meos and others drew up in front of the village, and gave them a tough fight. Though the Meos fought heroically, and lost 400 men, the day went to the British who possessed superior fire power.²³ The action at Rupraka, says Captain Drummond, was very important in the way that "not only have the Meos been defeated, their villages and property burnt and destroyed, but the friendly Jat villages, who have hitherto been kept in a state of siege by constant aggression on the part of their enemies, are relieved."²⁴

On November 27, 1857, another rebel force commanded by a Meo leader Sadar-ud-din attacked the pargana of Pininghwan.²⁵ A British force under Captain Ramsay from Palwal and Gurgaon was despatched at once to meet the danger. The force reached Pininghwan on November 29.²⁶ But the rebels were then at a small village called Mahun. They made for that village next day and reached there at 7 A.M. The Meos took the defensive in the village. Exchange of shots continued till mid-day. Then the British troops bombarded the village with guns. Three Gorkha regiments advanced upon the village from three directions, and they seized the village in a short time.²⁷ The entire village was destroyed by fire. They cut down 28 Meos in the village including Sadar-ud-din's son, and 42 more in the neighbouring villages.²⁸ Making an assessment of the whole affair, Macpherson, the Joint Magistrate of Gurgaon, and the chief actor in the action at Mahun, observed :

20. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, Jan. 29, 1858.

21. *Ibid*; *Records Intelligence Department* (N.W. Provinces), II, 220.

22. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, Jan. 29, 1858.

23. *Ibid*; *Records Intelligence Department*, II, 220.

24. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, Jan. 29, 1858.

25. *Delhi Division Records*, Military Department, Case No. 1 of 1858, Report by Mr. Macpherson, Joint Magistrate of Gurgaon [State Archives, Patiala].

26. *Ibid*.

27. *Ibid*.

28. *Ibid*.

"Altogether I look upon it as a most successful affair, I should say about 70 rebels killed.....The whole number of the rebels assembled was so small that their resistance was to me a subject of the greatest surprise."²⁹

Having crushed the last of the risings in Mewat, the column effected its retreat, but not before making a clean sweep of the villages and people suspected to have taken part in the rebellion. The villages of Shahpur, Bali Khera, Kherla, Chitora, Nahirika, Gujar Nagla, Baharpur, Kheri, etc., were set on fire and wiped out of existence³⁰. After sometime, many more villages in the neighbourhood of Pininghwan met the same fate for assisting the rebel leader Sadaruddin and refusing to pay revenue to the British Government.³¹

The landed property of several of the villagers, chaudharis and lambardars was confiscated in accordance with the Act XXV of 1857 and of 1858 for their rebellious acts and failure to extend any help to the British at the time of sore need. The villages of Jharsa, Kheri, Jalalpur, and Davela in the Jharsa pargana and Shikrawah and Ghaghus Kheri in the pargana of Nuh, suffered confiscation of the entire landed property of theirs. Bhaktawar Singh of Jharsa and Udampur, Ilahi Bax of Badshahpur and Dhanuspur, Mirkhan of Naurangpur and Abu of Bhora and Binola in the Jharsa Pargana, Brijia Nand of Shahjahanpur, Ramjas and Hamza Ali of Chhajunagar, Jaffar, Nurkhan, and Ghariba of Rasulpur in the Pargana of Palwal got their shares of landed property confiscated³². Besides that, 235 persons were hanged and many more got long term imprisonments for taking part in the rebellion. Heavy fines were imposed on the individuals and rebel villages.

Besides the Mewatis, the Ahirs also played a significant role under their leader Rao Tula Ram of Rewari.³³

Rohtak District

The civil population in the district of Rohtak³⁴ and especially the small communities of Ranghars, the Muslims of Rajput origin living in the midst of sturdy Jat population showed, signs of great disaffection³⁵. The chief reason for this type of behaviour was that from among them a

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *File R/194, PP, 240-41* : Statement of the landed property confiscated during the Mutiny.

33. For details see my book *Rao Tula Ram—A Hero of 1857* (Published by Rao Tula Ram Smarak Nidhi, Rewari).

34. The district of Rohtak had an area of 1,811 square miles with half a million souls in 1857. It was bounded to the north by Karnal, to the east by Dujana and Delhi, to the south by Gurgaon, and to the west by Hissar and Jind. Kaye and Malleeson, VI, 140-41.

35. Kaye and Malleeson, VI, 410-41.

considerably large number of people had been serving in the irregular regiments of the East India Company. All these regiments were disaffected. The Sepoys of these regiments who came home on leave brought disaffection along with them to their villages.

Although seething with the fire of revolt in their hearts, the people did not break into revolt until May 24, 1857 when Tafzal Hussain, an emissary of emperor Bahadur Shah came to Rohtak with a small force. Deputy Commissioner Loch and tahsildar Bakhtawar Singh gave a fight to the Delhi force ; but they proved quite unequal to the task of encountering them. Loch fled to Gohana with thanedar Bhurekhan ; and tahsildar Bakhtawar Singh also behaved in the same way. Not only these officials, but all the Europeans and "loyal officers" fled away from the district. The rebels burnt the office, kacheries and bungalows of the British officials. They destroyed the records, plundered the Mahajans and Baniyas and set the prisoners free from the district gaol. After the accomplishment of all these acts, Tafzal Hussain returned to Delhi with the Rohtak treasury amounting to Rs. 1,10,000. On his way, he attacked the town of Sampla, and burnt all the European buildings. The custom bungalows at Meham, Madinah and Mandaunthi were burnt.³⁶ The whole of the district plunged into a flood of rebellion. The Ranghars, Rajputs, Jats and even low caste people, like Kasais, etc., played a prominent role. In the words of Kaye and Malleon : "There can be little doubt that the sympathy of the people, from noble to peasant, was enlisted on behalf of the representative of Moghuls."³⁷ Even the mafidars of the British Government, who enjoyed rent free tenures and several other privileges, stood against their master. File R/131, preserved in the State Archives at Patiala, gives a long list of 59 mafidars who chose to stand against the British. They belonged to nearly all the castes living in the district.

When Tafzal Hussain left Rohtak, the district came in the grip of lawlessness. The Settlement Report of Rohtak gives an exaggerated account of the faction fights among different Jat clans ; but no incident is of communal strife between Hindus and Muslims. The British authorities took a very serious view of the whole situation. Deputy Commissioner Loch was given the 60th N.I. from the Delhi field force to reduce the district. The corps reached Rohtak on May 31 ; but Loch could not realize his aim with its help, as it was in a semi-mutinous state and ultimately revolted on June 11, and made its way to Delhi.³⁸

On July 23, 1857 emperor Bahadur Shah issued a farman to the people of Rohtak expressing his "anxious concern for the welfare and comfort of his subjects." He advised them that "one man is not to

36. *Settlement Report of Rohtak district*, 37.

37. Kaye and Malleon, VI, 140-41.

38. *Settlement Report of Rohtak district*, 39.

stretch out the hand of violence against another, and that all are to continue in full subjection to the authority of the peaceful landholders, who are known to be the well-wishers of the State."³⁹

In the beginning of August, reports came in the Delhi camp that the Ranghars were collected in great force under the leadership of Babar Khan.⁴⁰ Besides that, a considerable body of the 'rebels from Delhi' had stolen a march in the direction of Rohtak. It was feared that they might greatly impede the advance of siege train which was then on its way to Delhi from Ferozepur, and create other havocs in Hariyana.⁴¹

To check this force from aggravating the situation in the Rohtak district, Lt. W. S. R. Hodson was sent with a small force comprising 6 European officers, 103 men of the Guides, 233 of Hodson's Irregular corps and 25 of Jind horse, 360 in all by Major General Wilson, commanding the Delhi field force in the early hours of the 15th August.⁴² Hodson reached Kharkhaudah, a considerable village about 20 miles from Rohtak at about 12 o'clock the same day.⁴³ The village gave a tough fight to the lieutenant and especially the "leave men of the irregular corps who had taken refuge in one of the strong buildings belonging to a lambadar of the village right in the centre of the town."⁴⁴ The sepoys fought well under the inspiring leadership of Risaldar Bisarat Ali, a man lately decorated with the Order of Merit. Even Hodson admitted: "They fought like devils".⁴⁵ But their superior number and fire power overpowered and destroyed the rebels.⁴⁶ The British suffered considerable losses on their side.⁴⁷

Hardly had Hodson finished this encounter, when intelligence reached him that Rohtak had become the rallying point of a considerably large number of rebels and that they were determined to oppose his advance at any cost.⁴⁸ He at once left Kharkhaudah and reached Bohar. Then after a short halt and respite he pushed on for Rohtak, where he reached at about 4 o'clock the next afternoon.⁴⁹

39. *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, 19.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Forrest, *Selection of letters, despatches, etc.*, I, 352. Hodson says, "A party of the enemy...moved out from Delhi by the Najafgarh road with the avowed purpose of threatening our communication with Sonapat, GTR or of marching to attack Hansi and the Raja of Jind."

42. Forrest, I, 352; Cave Brown, *Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, II, 37.

43. Forrest, I, 352; Hodson, *Twelve Years of a Soldier's life in India*, 265.

44. Forrest, I, 352.

45. Hodson, 265.

46. Cave Brown, II, 37 gives the number of rebel sepoys killed as 26 including Risaldar Bisarat Ali Khan.

47. Forrest, I, 352.

48. Cave Brown, II, 38.

49. *Ibid.*

There he formed his men just outside the town and rode forward with two officers and a few sowars to reconnoiter.⁵⁰ But soon his movements were checked by the enemies who had collected in considerably large numbers inside a fortified building in the vicinity of the old civil station. Hodson effected retreat and made a fresh attack after a short-while with full force. Leaving two armies to the right, and the same number to the left, with orders to take up defensive positions, he made a dash at the main gate with the remaining force.⁵² But the Indian sepoy repulsed his attack successfully. Nor could they make an entry from any other side.⁵³ Hodson withdrew his men to the open space in the Kacheri compound near the junction of the roads coming in from Delhi, Bohar and the town of Rohtak and stayed there for the night.⁵¹

On the other hand, when the British column was relaxing in the night, Babar Khan, the chief of the Ranghars, was busy collecting a cavalry force on the Hansi road.⁵⁵ He returned to Rohtak in the early hours of July 17 with some 300 Ranghar horsemen belonging to different irregular cavalry regiments. He launched a fierce attack on Hodson, who was already alerted by many "loyal people" of the town who had supplied him with not only information regarding the activities of Babar Khan but also rations and other required commodities.⁵⁶ A large body of horsemen dashed up the road from the town at speed, followed by a mass of infantry men armed with swords and matchlocks, certainly not less than 900 or 1,000 in number.⁵⁷ A fierce fight took place. After a short-while, the Indians left the open field and retired to bushy hides in close proximity of the town and here, "under shelter they incessantly poured in the galling fire."⁵⁸

As long as the Indians were in that position, the British cavalry could cause little harm to them. The only hope lay in drawing them out. To effect this, Hodson sent out "one troop to the right, second to the left... and placed the rest in the centre, pushing the guides to the front."⁵⁹ Thus disposed 'they defied their enemies' efforts to outflank them, presenting a front where ever they appeared. Hodson then ordered his troops to retire slowly and alternately. The manoeuvre succeeded. On seeing the cavalry retiring, the Indians rushed on them. When he had drawn them out about three quarters of a mile in the open, Hodson ordered his party to

50. Forrest, I, 352-54.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Cave Brown, II, 38.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Forrest, I, 352-54.

55. *Ibid.*, I, 352-55; Hodson, 267-68.

56. Cave Brown, II, 38.

57. Hodson, 267-68.

58. Cave Brown, II, 39.

59. *Ibid.*

halt and charge. The Indians never expected this and the sudden attack disorganised their efforts. The Guides, being in the rear, as they retired, launched a fierce attack on the enemy and took a heavy toll. As the situation warranted, the Indian force again made a retreat. Hodson did not follow them. And that was the end of the indecisive battle of Rohtak where both the parties broke without gaining victory on each other.⁶⁰ Hodson tells his story thus, "Unfortunately I had no ammunition left and, therefore, could not without imprudence remain so close to the town filled with matchlock men, we marched quietly to the north of the town and encamped near the first friendly village that we came to."⁶¹ On the 14th, the rebels evacuated the district of Rohtak and went to Bassi, six miles from Hansi in considerably diminished number.⁶² On the other hand Hodson left Rohtak for Delhi, leaving the district and its important towns, such as Kharkhaudah, Sampla, Sonapat, Meham, Gohana, etc., under the care and watch of the Raja of Jind and some local chaudharis.⁶³

Hissar District

In the district of Hissar⁶⁵, the uprising of the troops, stationed at its chief towns of Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa, set the ball of rebellion rolling in the last week of May 1857. There was quick reaction among the civil population and they threw themselves heart and soul into the rising.⁶⁶ "The district villagers," reports an eye-witness, "created unheard of mischief⁶⁷"—killed the European officials, their women and children, plundered their bungalows, destroyed the offices, kacheries, gaols and so on, looted the Mahajans, Baniyas and other 'loyal elements' and destroyed all that belonged to the British.⁶⁸

Muhammad Azim, the Assistant Patrol of Bhattu, who happened to be a prince of the royal family of Delhi, proclaimed the end of the British rule and established his authority on behalf of emperor Bahadur Shah

60. Forrest, I, 352-57.

61. Hodson, 267-68.

62. Forrest, I, 352-67.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *File R/131* contains a long list of such local chaudharis tahsil-wise who extended all sorts of help to Lt. Hodson with money and material and later on held their local places for the British. They were afterwards handsomely rewarded for these services. These loyal persons did not belong to one or two particular castes or communities, but to many, such as Jats, Ranghars, Mahajans, Bhats, Brahmans etc.

65. The district of Hissar, with an area of 3,540 square miles and the population of 400,000 souls, in 1857, was bounded by the Patiala state in the north, the Jind state and the Rohtak district in the south and south east, and the Bikaner state on the west. Kaye and Malleeson, VI, 139.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Dr. Minas' Narrative, vide Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, 1857-58, p. 713.

68. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 100-103, 25 Sep. 1857; *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 35; Kanhiya Lal, *Muharba-i-Azim*, 1857, 196-99; Chick, 706-7; Jawala Sahai, 290-91.

throughout the length and breadth of the district.⁶⁹ At Hansi, Hukam Chand, his nephew Faqir Chand and friend Meena Beg played a prominent role. They addressed letters to Emperor Bahadur Shah and offered services of men, money and material to him.⁷⁰

In the first week of June, Prince Muhammad Azim, alongwith a strong force from Hariyana, went to Delhi and offered his services to emperor Bahadur Shah. But his absence from this important region proved very harmful. General Van Courtlandt, the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur, at the instance of Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, marched for the reduction of Hissar district, with a force of 550 men and 2 guns. Captain Robertson acted as a political officer with the column.⁷¹ His column was reinforced by some 120 men of the Kashmir Raj at Malaut, a big village near Sirsa.⁷²

The force did not meet any hindrance until they arrived at Udha, where Nur Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Rania,⁷³ opposed them with a force of 3 to 4 thousand strong on June 17. A desperate battle was fought by the Nawab and his followers, but they were defeated with about 530 men killed.⁷⁴ Nawab Nur Muhammad Khan with his followers effected escape, but he was caught while passing through the Ludhiana district and condemned to death by hanging.⁷⁵ On June 18, the village of Chatravan, where Captain Hillard and his brother-in-law were killed, was attacked. The villagers were ruthlessly butchered and the village was burnt to ashes.⁷⁶ Again the column had hardly measured a few miles after Udha, when another force of the Bhattis comprising several thousand strong gave a tough fight to the column at village Khirka, on the left bank of the Ghaggar river on June 19. But they also met the same fate as their brothers had met at Udha and lost as many as 300 men.⁷⁷ Thus, overcoming the stiff opposition that they met and destroying the villages they passed through, the column reached Sirsa on June 20.⁷⁸ Here General Vancourtlandt received second reinforcement consisting of 800 men and 2 guns from the Raja of Bikaner.⁷⁹ With fire and blood the general resettled the region of Sirsa in a little more than a fortnight.

69. Chick, 714-15; Jawala Sahai, 290.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 35.

72. *Ibid.*

73. The state of Rania was confiscated by the British Government long before the outbreak of the mutiny. The present nawab and his relatives used to get a monthly pension as under :—Nawab Nur Muhammad Khan Rs. 200 per month; grand mother of the Nawab Rs. 100 per month; mother (1) Rs. 50; Gohar Ali (uncle) Rs. 125; other relatives Rs. 1,031. See *Foreign Secret Consultations*, 204-07, 9 July 1857.

74. Dr. Minias' Narrative, vide Chick, 710-12.

75. *Foreign Secret Consultation*, 78, 25 Sept., 1857.

76. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 35-36.

77. Chick, 710-12; *Foreign Secret Consultation*, 54, 31 July, 1857.

78. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 35-36.

79. *Ibid.*

The civil organisation of the region was reestablished and soon the situation reverted to its former state.⁸⁰

General Vancortlandt, along with the field force, left Sirsa on July 8.⁸¹ Meeting opposition at the hands of the villagers, where he passed through, the General reached Hissar via Fatiabad on July 17. General massacre of civil population in and around Hissar, especially of the Bhattis, Ranghars and Pachads and other low caste Muslims, went on for many days. The house of Muhammad Azim in Hissar was completely destroyed and his Begam was made captive.⁸² On knowing these developments, Emperor Bahadur Shah sent Prince Azim to Hissar from Delhi with a big force consisting of 1500 cavalry, 500 infantry and 3 guns.⁸³ The arrival of the Prince in this territory was hailed by the people and several thousand of them collected round him in a short time. Meanwhile, General Vancourtlandt, leaving a strong garrison force under Capt. Mild May at Hissar, went to Hansi, where the situation was deteriorating. Order was soon restored in Hansi after the General's arrival. The General had hardly settled at Hansi when a fierce attack was launched on Hissar by Prince Azim in a bid to recover his wife. In a bloody battle, in which 300 rebels lost their lives, the garrison force was overpowered; but meanwhile the reinforcement arrived from Hansi and Prince Azim had to flee for his life, losing the battle.⁸⁴ On September 2, the rebel forces attacked Tosham, the headquarters of the tehsil and killed all the government officials—tehsildar Nandpal, thanedar Pyare Lal, Qanungo Khazan Singh and plundered the treasury and the loyal bankers.⁸⁵ The rebels proceeded towards Hansi. General Vancourtlandt advanced to meet them. On August 6, he met an insurgent force at village Hajimpur near Hansi. He subdued the rebels and burnt the village.⁸⁶

But this, in no way, affected the strength of the rebels whose ranks were further swelled by the rebels of the 10th Light Cavalry of Ferozepur and a number of Jhajjar Sowars.⁸⁷ The force was stationed at a considerable village Mangala. This caused some anxiety to General Vancourtlandt. He sent a strong force under Capt. Pearse to meet the rebels on September 10, 1857.⁸⁸ A heroic struggle was waged by the rebels under the inspiring leadership of Prince Azim. But the superior fire power of the British defeated them. Their loss was 400 dead; whereas the loss of the British side was quite negligible when compared to that of the

80. *Ibid.*

81. Dr. Minas' Narrative, vide Chick, 712.

82. *Ibid.*, 712-14.

83. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 36.

84. Chick, 714; *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 36.

85. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 36.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Chick, 714-15.

88. *Ibid.*

enemy.⁸⁹ The village of Mangala was burnt down.⁹⁰ On September 30, Prince Azim fought the last battle with the British forces at Jamalpur but again he was a loser.⁹¹

Prince Azim left Hissar along with his followers and moved down to district Gurgaon, where Rao Tula Ram was struggling against the British in Ahirwal⁹². He formed union with the Rao and fought a desperate battle against the British at Narnaul on November 16, 1857⁹³. Nothing was heard of him after the fall of Narnaul.

Soon afterwards the work of persecution started in the whole of the district. Nearly 133 persons were hanged and their properties were confiscated⁹⁴. Hukam Chand and Faqir Chand of Hansi, who had given up the slogans of revolt against the British ever since General Vancourtlandt had entered the district, and had been serving the British cause with fullest loyalty in the revenue department, were arrested on the discovery of their earlier letters sent to emperor Bahadur Shah. Both of them were hanged and their entire property was confiscated. Besides, the proprietary rights of seven villages, Mangali, Jamalpur, Hajimpur, Udha, Chatravan, Khirka, and Jodhka, were forfeited, while heavy fines were imposed on many more⁹⁵.

Panipat (Karnal) District

The district of panipat⁹⁶, which was considered then to be "the most turbulent district in the North West Provinces,"⁹⁷ did not give as much trouble as was expected during the uprising. Being on the Grand Trunk Road between Karnal and Delhi, it was always the foot-fall of the British army, marching to and from Delhi and Panjab, that resounded in the ears of the civil population of the district.⁹⁸ Besides that, all the important towns of the district were heavily protected by the forces of the Patiala and Jind chiefs.⁹⁹

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 36.

91. *Ibid.* Chick, 716.

92. Ahirwal literally means the 'home of the Ahirs'. It corresponds to the Rewari tahsil and the adjoining parts of the Mahindragarh district, Rohtak district, and Alwar district. See Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, PP. 3, 43, 49-51.

93. Chick, 716.

94. *Ibid.*, 716; *Hissar District Gazetteer*, 36.

95. *Ibid.*

96. The District of Panipat, with an area of 7,336 square miles and a population of 400,000 souls in 1857, was bounded on the north by Ambala, on the south by Rohtak and Hissar, on the east by the Jamuna, and on the west by the states of Patiala and Jind. See Kaya and Malleeson, VI, 139.

97. *Ibid.*, VI, 150.

98. *Ibid.*

99. The Maharaja of Patiala came to Thanesar with 1500 men and 4 guns on May 15. On the 16th, he returned to Patiala leaving behind 4 guns and 1,100 men at Thanesar, 150 of them were sent to Karnal with Captain Macandrew. On 17th, Raja of Jind sent 400 men to Karnal. Nawab Kunjpura gave 350 men, *Punjab Government Records*, VIII, I, 27-28.

The civil population rose in almost every big village. Commenting on the state of the district, Capt. Macandrew informed the Government of India on June 1, 1857: "I find the country...considerably disorganised; the revenue and police officers are in the state of flight; many of the zamindars and big villages are quite refractory."¹⁰⁰

The villages of Rohan, Kukeor, Karawari, Shah Partik, Rulowdh, Jagdishpur, Sandhu Kalan, Murshidpur, Malik Sunder Lal, Malik Khairi, Fazilpur, Kuberpur, Sultanpur, Pattee Musalmanan in Sonapat Tehsil and Turuf Rajputana, Sunarai, Bursut, Surut, Orlana Khurd were some of the prominent villages in other parts of the district who refused to pay land revenue and defied the British rule.¹⁰¹

To bring the people to order, a force of about 250 troops was sent from Karnal under Captain Hughes of 1st Panjab Cavalry on July 13, 1857. This force was checked by a force of the Jats comprising 900 matchlockmen and many mounted sowars at village Bulleh, 25 miles from Karnal. After a fierce fight that lasted a short while, the Jats compelled the enemy to flee away. Captain Hughes did not give way to despair at his failure. He at once despatched a messenger to Karnal for reinforcements to give a fresh fight to the enemy. Meanwhile he encamped in the jungle at a short distance from the town. But during the night the Ranghars flocked in from the neighbouring villages. They numbered about 3,000 and, under shelter of the small jungle and the banks of a canal, they kept up a harassing fire. Captain Hughes could not stand the enemy-pressure and at the day-break of July 14 effected his retreat. Meanwhile the reinforcements, comprising two guns of the Nawab of Karnal and his cavalrymen and 50 sowars of the Patiala raja, arrived. Coming up unnoticed by the enemy, they suddenly opened fire on their hideouts. After much loss, the Ranghars fled away.¹⁰²

The village of Bulleh was re-attacked. The Jats took up the defensive in a strong building, the double barrickades of which could defy any enemy without artillery. The fire of guns of the British force caused considerable damage to the building and its inmates coming in the open launched an attack on the enemy. The British cavalry, by a flank manoeuvre, got between the rebels and the town-people with speed and completely encircled them. In the grim battle that ensued, nearly 100 Jats fell and the day was lost. The losses of the British side were comparatively less. The cavalry lost in all two native officers and three troopers. Fifteen persons were wounded and several horses were killed. Captain Hughes' own horse received three wounds.¹⁰³

100. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 162-3, June 26, 1857.

101. All these villages suffered heavy losses and destruction. See *File R/227* for details.

102. Cave Brown, II, p. 37.

103. *Ibid.*

The villages around Bulleh were sacked and made to pay the arrears of revenue and heavy fines.¹⁰⁴ But this was in no way a lesson to the insurgents. Hardly had the British force left Karnal, when they again started their rebellious activities. A huge force assembled at the village of Julmana and gave fight. At the instance of the commissioner of the cis-Sutlej Division, Lieut. Pearson attacked the rebel force. But so strong was their position that he failed to register a victory over them. He asked for reinforcement but could not get any owing to the further deterioration of atmosphere at Panipat and Ambala.¹⁰⁵

The situation still worsened with the outbreak of the mutinies at Phillour and Jullundur in the second week of June 1857. The Deputy Commissioner of Panipat received the intimation on June 8 that "the rebels (from Jullundur), being a numerous body, might be expected to march upon Ambala or Patiala, in either of the cases Thanesar was pretty sure of a visit from them." The Maharaja of Patiala took an alarm at it and in the words of the deputy commissioner of Thanesar, "There was not a Patiala soldier, horse or foot left in Thanesar district on the night of June 8." Under such circumstances, Lieut. Pearson was called back leaving Julmana as it was. But the Jullundur mutineers proceeded to Delhi and did not attack any of these places.¹⁰⁶

The danger thus averted, attention was redirected on the refractory civil population, more especially the Pargana of Kaithal which had become disorganized. On June 15, Lieut. Pearson set out on the tour of settling this pargana. He subdued all the villages without meeting any stiff opposition. Captain MacNiel, the deputy commissioner of Thanesar advanced towards the Ladwa tehsil and attacked and destroyed the refractory villages.¹⁰⁷

Towards the western side the trouble was still brewing. The Ranghars collected in great numbers, attacked the thana of Asundh and captured it without meeting any opposition at the hands of the police stationed there. On hearing of this, Lieut. Pearson advanced towards Asundh with a strong force. But so strong was the position of the Ranghars in that region that he could not dare to attack them; on the contrary he was attacked and pushed back by them.¹⁰⁸

Taking the Patiala force and all other available troops with him, Captain MacNiel assumed the work of subduing Asundh, Julmana and other refractory villages. He left his place on July 16 via Karnal. The situation had greatly changed by then. General Vancourtlandt was successfully reducing the district of Hissar and the Rohtak district was

104. *Ibid*; Cave Brown says that Rs. 100 was the fine imposed on the village of Bulleh.

105. Mutiny Report of the Thanesar district, *Punjab Government Records*, VIII-I, p. 31

106. *Ibid*.

107. *Ibid*.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

already restored. The village of Asundh was stormed and captured without any opposition on the part of its inhabitants. It was subsequently burnt to ashes.¹⁰⁹ Then the villages of Julmana and Chatur also met the same fate. Many more villages were attacked and reduced. All the refractory villages gave in.¹¹⁰

Ambala District

In the district of Ambala, there were clear signs in the beginning as if the civil population would rise *en masse* against the British. But the strict measures applied by the authorities with the support of the troops of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and other petty chiefs helped them in nipping the revolt in the bud, except in a few cases.

There was a rising at Rupar under the leadership of Sardar Mohar Singh. He was a Kardar of the Ex-ruler of Rupar, Sardar Bhup Singh, who had been deposed for helping the Sikhs against the British during the Anglo-Sikh wars.¹¹¹ He was a popular figure in and around Rupar. People looked to him for guidance and advice and more particularly at such critical times as during the mutiny. He openly preached sedition and asked people to throw off the British yoke as the same had been done in other parts of India.¹¹²

Although no definite evidence is in hand regarding his conspiring with the potentates of the nearby states, he was supposed to have instigated many persons of high rank and some hill chiefs too, that of Nalagarh being noteworthy among them.¹¹³ Things went on like this till the month of June when the vaguely disaffected sepoys of the 5th N.I. came from Ambala to Rupar. Soon Sardar Mohar Singh established communications with them and planned to rise in open revolt.¹¹⁴

Captain Gardiner, officer commanding the 5th N.I., however, smelled revolt and cautioned his men to refrain from any such activity. But the sepoys refused to listen to him and openly insulted him.¹¹⁵

The captain reported the whole matter to the authorities at Ambala, who asked him to arrest Sardar Mohar Singh and send him to Ambala for trial. But only Gardiner knew how difficult was his job. The sepoys declared "their intentions to protect him (Sardar Mohar Singh) and swore he should never be taken prisoner."¹¹⁶

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Punjab Government Records*, VIII-I, p. 39; Cave Brown, 1, p. 212.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Punjab Government Records*, VIII-I, p. 36.

114. *Ibid.*

115. Cave Brown, I, p. 212.

116. *Ibid.*

This happening further deteriorated the situation. Sardar Mohar Singh took the offensive and attacked the tehsil headquarters. But he was defeated by the police and the jagirdari levies of the Singhpuria Sardars.¹¹⁷ The vanquished Sardar retired to an earby jungle. Soon after, the 5th N.I. was recalled to Ambala.¹¹⁸ The troops had hardly left the station of Rupar, when the police apprehended Sardar Mohar Singh and sent him to Ambala for trial. Here he was tried along with his three followers, was found guilty and executed.¹¹⁹

The whole population of the district sympathised with the rebels' cause. When the Jullundur mutineers passed through the district on their way from Rupar to Delhi in the month of June, they received whole-hearted support from the people. This fact has been admitted by Forsyth, the deputy commissioner, thus : "One fact was evident to all engaged in the pursuit that the population had decidedly not enlisted themselves warmly on the part of the Government, not a man turned out who was not compelled to do so through the fear of the loss of his Jagir and in many instances information collected to deceive was all that we could obtain".¹²⁰ He cited some such examples. "The Mir of Garhikotah," he said, "showed great lukewarmness, and I fined him one thousand rupees for his conduct."¹²¹ The Pathans of Khizarbad and the villages of Ferozepur, Naraingarh, Thuska and Govindpur were heavily mulcted¹²² (for rebellious behaviour)."

The British authorities of the district were, as a matter of fact, surprised to see the indifferent and unsympathetic attitude of the people—the peasants, zamindars and even the Banias and the Mahajans throughout the district. In the words of Forsyth, "On this occasion the wealthy bankers of Jagadhari displayed a spirit of disloyalty and closefistedness unworthy of a class who owe all their prosperity to the fostering care and protection of the British Government".¹²³ These people were heavily punished by the British.

By November 1857, the British were successful in crushing the popular upsurge in Hariyana.

Kripal Chandra Yadav

117. Levies at Rupar numbered 128 foot and 49 sowars. See *Punjab Government Records*, VIII-I, p. 41.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

119. *Ibid.*

120. Report of the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala, vide *Punjab Government Records*, VIII.I, p. 41.

121. The Mir fell under suspicion in consequence of a letter supposed to have been written by his son-in-law, Abdul Husain, from Muzaffar Nagar in the month of September. This led to the search of his fort, where a large quantity of gun-powder, sulphur, etc., was found. In the month of June, he entertained and helped the Jullundur mutineers. Consequently, his fort was dismantled by the order of the Chief Court and heavy fine was imposed upon him. See *Punjab Government Records*, VIII-I, p. 42.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

RAO TULA RAM—A PIONEER FREEDOM-FIGHTER OF INDIA

Rao Tula Ram was an important pioneer freedom fighter of India. He waged a significant struggle against the British from 1857 to 1863. Thus he forms a link with the valiant Indian revolutionaries of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Tula Ram was an *Istamarardar* of about 87 villages in the pargana of Rewari, nearly 50 miles south-west of Delhi. He harboured a great deal of ill-will towards the British Government, who had reduced his ancient state¹ of the annual value of Rs. 20 lakhs to a petty *Istamarari* jagir worth Rs. 1 lakh annually² in 1803, when his grand father, Tej Singh, did not render whole-hearted support to the British during the Anglo-Maratha strife.³ To this discontented chief, the news of the outbreak of mutiny at Meerut and Delhi in May 1857 was a glad tidings. His joyful reaction is described in one of his letters to emperor Bahadur Shah thus : "Thanks to God, the Almighty, that after the prayer of day and night, the much desired day has come, that is, the whole country has come under the empire of Your Majesty and I am extremely pleased to see these days full of happiness."⁴

Emperor Bahadur Shah sent a *shuqqa* bearing his signature to Tula Ram asking for help.⁵ In pursuance of the royal *shuqqa*, Tula Ram started his activities. On May 17, he went to the tahsil headquarters at Rewari with four to five hundred followers and deposed the tahsildar and thanadar. He appropriated the cash in the tahsil treasury amounting to Rs. 8,364 and 27 Paisa⁶, took all the government buildings in his possession and proclaimed, under sanction of emperor Bahadur Shah, his rule over the

1. The state of Rewari was carved out of a jungle-jagir in the year 1555 by one Ruda Singh, who obtained it from the Mughal emperor Humayun for his meritorious services during the latter's encounter with the Surs. After ten generations the state was forcibly taken possession of by the British in 1803 for the failure of its ruler Rao Tej Singh to render help to them during the Anglo-Maratha strife. Tej Singh was allowed to retain 87 villages as an istamarari jagir in perpetuity. Tula Ram was the grandson of Tej Singh and succeeded to the paternal jagir in 1839 on the death of his father Rao Puran Singh. For details see author's books *Rao Tula Ram*, pp. 1-14 and *Ahirwal Ka Itihas*, chapter IX and paper : 'History of the Rewari State (1555-1857)', *Journal of the Rajasthan Institute of Historical Research*, April-June 1965.

2. *Mutiny Papers*, Bundle No. 34, document No. 12 (N. A. I. Delhi).

3. *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 21.

4. *Mutiny Papers*, Bundle No. 34, document No. 34, petition of Rao Tula Ram to Emperor Bahadur Shah (Persian), without date.

5. *Mutiny Papers*, Bundle No. 34, document No. 3; document No. 12, without date.

6. *File R/192*, pp. 281-3 (State Archives, Patiala).

parganas of Rewari, Bhora and Shahjahanpur consisting of 360, 52 and 9 villages respectively⁷. He made the headquarters of his government at Rampura, a small fortified village, 1 mile south-west of Rewari.⁸

His Administrative Arrangements

After the assumption of the rule of these parganas, Tula Ram was confronted with two intricate problems : first, preservation of law and order, and, second, collection of revenue. For the solution of both these problems a big force was necessary. This required money ; but, the treasury was empty. After much thinking he at last solved this knotty problem. This was the time of rabi harvest. Crops had been cut, but not yet harvested. Grain and fodder could be easily obtained from the peasants. If this opportunity was lost, no land revenue could be collected afterwards. Tula Ram seized the opportunity with both hands. He organized the revenue department, and, with whatever little money he had with him⁹, he collected a small force and successfully realized the revenues of the current harvest alongwith past arrears. He also took donations and loans from the Mahajans of Rewari. Thus, he collected one and a half lakh of rupees in his treasury by the end of June 1857.¹⁰

With this money he enlisted a big force consisting of about five thousand men. It was organized into two regiments of artillery, four battalions of infantry, two risalas of cavalry and a few companies of police. Gopal Dev, his own cousin, managed his military affairs¹¹. Besides that, he set up a large workshop in the fort of Rampura and manufactured a fairly good number of guns, gun-carriages, and other small arms and ammunitions.¹²

With the help of the newly raised force and police, Tula Ram maintained law and order of the highest degree in the state of Rewari. He repulsed the attacks and plundering expeditions of the rowdy and goonda elements who were hitherto kept in check by the British Government and had risen up to take full advantage of the disturbed situations to serve their selfish ends and criminal propensities. W. Ford, the deputy commissioner of Gurgaon, speaks highly of the administrative arrangements of Tula Ram. "I should respectfully bring to the notice of the Government", he said, "the great benefit which the town of Rewari and its neighbour-

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. Man Singh, *Abhirkuldipika* (urdu-Delhi 1900), p. 169; *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, p. 256. Hakim Ahsan Ullah Khan, standing a witness in the trial, said: "Tula Ram sent an agent of his own with the petition that he had been managing territory but that the collection of the current harvest had been expended among the army".

12. Hodson, *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life*, pp. 331-2. *Bombay Overland Times* in its issue of November 1857 spoke very highly of the brass guns which were manufactured in the gun foundry of Tula Ram at Rampura.

hood derived from the attitude assumed by Rao Tula Ram, since the plundering of Mewattees were thus kept at a distance and life and property reserved and order preserved on the Jeypur border". He frankly admitted that "society received many benefits even when this rebel was in arms against the Government."¹³

A Quarrel with the Nawab of Farrukhnagar

Nawab Ahmad Ali of Farrukhnagar wanted to have Bhora pargana under his rule¹⁴. For that purpose he instigated some Meo and Rajput villages to decline to acknowledge the authority of Rao Tula Ram. Tula Ram attacked and destroyed these villages.¹⁵ Finding his indirect attempts to seize Bhora foiled by Tula Ram, Ahmad Ali directly came to the front. He sent his soldiers to Bhora under his uncle Zafar Yar Khan who drove away the soldiers of Tula Ram and occupied the town. When Tula Ram heard of it, he sent a big force under his cousin Gopal Dev on August 13, 1857¹⁶. He was assisted by the cavalry of the Nawab of Dadri¹⁷. First Gopal Dev tried to convince the Nawab's men of the illegality of their stand. But, finding it effectless, he attacked them; "killed some, wounded others and routed the rest" of the Nawab's troops. Besides, he took away in plunder the property belonging to the Nawab, such as horses, treasures, tents, etc., of the value of 25,000 rupees.¹⁸

As Tula Ram was too strong to be opposed by the force of arms, Ahmad Ali devised some other plans to avenge his insult. He, along with his relative Ghulam Muhammad Khan, instigated some zamindars of Rewari to refuse the payment of revenue to Tula Ram. The zamindars complied with their dictates. After that, they instigated some Risaldars to make a petition against the Rao to emperor Bahadur Shah that he stopped people from joining the Royal Army and that he collected money from the Mahajans and others for the emperor, but put it in his own coffers. They also hired some zamindars of Rewari to lodge protest against the depredations of Tula Ram¹⁹.

A careful study of Tula Ram's activities proves all these charges

13. *File R/180*, pp. 47-53.

14. The Nawab, showing his legitimate claims over the Bhora pargana, wrote to emperor Bahadur Shah: "My ancestors had the management of the whole of this part of the country and more particularly of this very section of it (Bhora)". See *Foreign Consultations*, Nos. 581-84, August 6, 1858 (N.A.I. Delhi).

15. *Curgaon Settlement Report*, p. 26; *Foreign Consultations*, Nos. 581-84, August 6, 1858.

16. *Foreign Consultations*, Nos. 581-84, August 6, 1858: Ahmed Ali Khan to emperor Bahadur Shah, dated August 14, 1857.

17. *Ibid.* Some Rajputs of Qasim to Thakur Bishal Singh, etc., of Farrukhnagar, dated August 31, 1857.

18. *Ibid.* Ahmed Ali Khan to Emperor Bahadur Shah, dated August 14, 1857.

19. Khawaja Hasan Nizami, *Ghadar Ki Subah Aur Sham* (i.e., diaries of Munshi Jiwan Lal and Muin-ud-din), pp. 175, 216-17.

to be entirely baseless and false. He spent the money that he collected from the people on his big army, gun foundry and factory of small arms and ammunitions²⁰. He also helped the rebels at Delhi with rations and money. He sent 45,000 rupees to the king²¹. With regard to the charges of lawlessness, depredations, etc., it may be pointed out that his "clean administration" has been much praised by his enemies even.²²

When indirect measures failed, the Nawab himself made a petition to the king that Tula Ram was harassing him. He even levelled the charge of his begams being insulted by him. An entry in the diary of Munshi Jiwan Lal on July 31, 1857 mentions a letter being written by Tula Ram to Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the relative of the Nawab. It read thus : "Are you intoxicated that you think the English are going away from Hindustan? They will most assuredly return and would destroy you."²³ That such a letter could not have been written by Tula Ram is obvious. In the first place, Tula Ram and Ghulam Muhammad Khan were not on speaking terms. Secondly, Tula Ram himself was following an anti-British policy and he could not advise others to be loyal to the English. Thirdly, the Nawab had been adopting deceitful practices even in the past, while no such charge could be substantiated against the Rao. Hence it is a forged letter.²⁴

Help to Emperor Bahadur Shah

Besides the maintenance of law and order in his territory, the Rao made strenuous efforts at rendering all possible help to emperor Bahadur Shah and the rebels waging war against the British in Delhi. He sent monetary help to the emperor at an hour of sore need. He sent in Rs. 45,000 through General Bakht Khan ten days before the fall of Delhi.²⁵ The money was sent at such a critical time that non-payment of the salaries to the sepoys had caused great insecurity and anxiety. But his small sum could hardly improve the situation. There was a dispute among the soldiers on the distribution of this amount. The king in anger took up his cushion from the throne, threw it down and said, "send the horse harness, the silver howdahs and cushioned chairs to Mirza Mughal that he may sell them and pay all with the proceeds".²⁶ Tula Ram also supplied the Delhi forces with large quantities of commodities they needed. Jiwan Lal says that in August there was a

20. *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, p. 256; Man Singh, *Abhirkuldipika*, p. 139.

21. Also see the subsection entitled 'His help to Emperor Bahadur Shah' in this Chapter.

22. *File R/180*, pp. 47-53.

23. Khawaja Hasan Nizami, pp. 193-4; Munshi Jiwan Lal's diary, dated July 31, 1857.

24. Even Dr. S. N. Sen (*Eighteen Fifty Seven*, 91) was misled by this forged letter and he said : "Tula Ram was playing a doubtful game".

25. *Trial of Bahadur Shah*, 256.

26. *India Office, Home Miscellaneous*, 725. quoted by Spear, *Twilight of Mughals*, p. 209.

scarcity of opium in army, consequently, many soldiers died. On August 24, 1857, King Bahadur Shah sent a request to Tula Ram to send some opium to Delhi, which might have been supplied by him, though we have come across no further reference to it.²⁷ Besides, Tula Ram sent two thousand sacks and forty three carts of grain for the rebel forces at Delhi.²⁸

Tula Ram paid frequent visits to the Delhi Durbar. His presence at the Durbar was reported by Jiwan Lal in his diary of July 20.²⁹ Another visit of him was reported on July 26.³⁰ Emperor Bahadur Shah duly acknowledged his meritorious services and confirmed the grant of the lands under his occupation.³¹

Brigadier-General Showers' Attack

After the fall of Delhi, Brigadier-General Showers led out a column of 1,500 men with a light field battery, two 18-pounder guns and two small mortars on October 2, 1857, "to settle the Gurgaon district, to attack and destroy Rao Tula Ram and his followers and to raze his fort at Rewari".³² On October 5, the column reached Pataudi, 37 miles south-west of Delhi. At this place they had a light skirmish with the reconnoitring party of Tula Ram's forces. In the words of Hodson, who accompanied the column: "They fired at our advance and bolted at speed".³³

On receipt of the intelligence from the reconnoitring party, Tula Ram took a serious view of the whole matter. It was a bad sailor, he thought, who did not put into port when he saw a storm brewing. He clearly foresaw that a fight with the British forces in the mud fort of Rampura, under the changed circumstances after the fall of Delhi, would result in the complete destruction of his power without inflicting any serious loss on the British. So he left his fort before Showers' arrival.³⁴

The column reached Rewari on October 6. The fort of Rampura was taken without any opposition. It was found armed with 12 guns and

27. Khawaja Hasan Nizami, p. 225.

28. *File R/192*, 281-3.

29. Khawaja Hasan Nizami, p. 175.

30. *Ibid.*, 177.

31. *Mutiny Papers*, Bundle No. 34, documents No. 2/3 (Persian).

32. *Punjab Government Records*, VII-II, 131. Capt. Hodson, who accompanied the column described Tula Ram's position thus (in a letter written to his wife from Bullabgarh on October 3, 1857): "Go on tomorrow through Gurgaon to a place called Rewari where one Tula Ram, a farmer of Government revenue in better times, but who now affectionates independent authority, has collected a force round his fortlet of some four to five thousand men and shows fight". Hodson, p. 328.

33. Hodson, p. 328.

34. See my article: "Battle of Narnaul", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, August 1965, p. 658.

mortars "all in position at the ramparts ready loaded".³⁵ Captain Hodson was surprised to see the military preparations of Rao Tula Ram. He wrote to his wife thus : "He was evidently a clever fellow; and had adroitly and promptly contrived so as to be first in the field should our power have ceased. We found extensive preparations and large workshops for the preparation of military equipment of all kinds, guns, gun-carriages, gun-powder, and materials of all kinds. He had already done much and in a couple of months his position would have been so strong as to give him the command of all the surrounding country as well as the rich town and entrepôt of Rewari, close to the walls of his fort.....Had our empire fallen, he would have mastered all the surrounding villages and districts and probably extended his power on all sides and formed his 'raj' like that of Patiala, and Jind".³⁶

Immediately after the occupation of the fort of Rewari, Brigadier-General Showers sent a messenger to Tula Ram telling him that "if he would come in and give himself up, as well as his guns and arms, he should be treated on his merits." But Tula Ram turned down the inducement.³⁷ Showers stayed at Rewari for a week and settled the villages around it. He left this place on October 12³⁸. Loaded with immense booty he went to Jhajjar and Kanond and again passing through Rewari returned to Delhi in November 1857.³⁹

At Showers' approach to Rewari, Tula Ram had retired to Jaipur territory in Shekhawati.⁴⁰ There he was joined by the Jodhpur Legion⁴¹, which was on its way to Delhi to fight against the British. On hearing the news that Showers had gone back, Tula Ram along with the Jodhpur Legion reoccupied Rewari and Rampura.⁴²

Lt. Col. Gerrard's Attack

This caused an alarm in Delhi. The British authorities immediately organized a strong column under the command of Lt. Col. Gerrard, "an

35. *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXI, December, 1857, p. 574.

36. Hodson, p. 331.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 331-2.

39. Holmes, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 395 ; Malleeson, *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*, p. 319.

40. Jawala Sahai, p. 219.

41. The Jodhpur Legion was a contingent force of Jodhpur. They broke out on August 21, 1857 at Andia and Abu. They joined the Thakur of Awah and defeated the Jodhpur forces and those of the British under general Lawrence. After a while they quarrelled with the Thakur and left Awah for Delhi. But before they could reach Delhi, the city had fallen. They were greatly disappointed. It was in that confused and dejected state that they met Tula Ram and Samad Khan and got inspiration to fight against the British. See *Narrative of Events regarding the Mutiny in India of 1857-58 and Restoration of Authority*, 11, pp. 291-3.

42. Malleeson, p. 319.

officer of conspicuous merit"⁴³ and despatched it to punish Tula Ram. Tula Ram's agent conveyed this news to him at Rewari. As this place was not fortified now, he retired to Narnaul, a strategically better place⁴⁴, 30 miles to the west of Rewari. Here he was joined by two other rebels of note, Abdus Samad Khan of Jhajjar and Prince Muhammad Azim of Bhuttu.⁴⁵ The Jodhpur Legion was already with him. Thus Narnaul became a "rebels' den", containing a large multitude of them numbering above 5,000.⁴⁶

Gerrard reached Rewari on November 13.⁴⁷ After a day's rest here, he proceeded to Narnaul via Kanond (Mahendragarh).⁴⁸ He reached the latter place in the evening and relaxed there for the night. Here in the night he was joined by Hariyana field force⁴⁹ comprising 23rd Punjab Infantry, Patiala Infantry, and Hariyana Infantry⁵⁰. Gerrard's own column consisted of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, the 7th Punjab Infantry, Cookworthy's Troops of Horse Artillery, Gillespie's Heavy Battery, the Carabineers, the Cavalry of the Guides, and the Multani Horse⁵¹. The whole column marched from Kanond to Narnaul, 20 miles away, at about 1 A.M. on November 16⁵². The sandy nature of the ground made the march difficult. The guns could only be dragged along with difficulty and the infantry had to halt again and again to give them time to come up⁵³. The column reached Nasibpur, a small village, two miles north-west of Narnaul at twelve o'clock, and halted there for a little rest⁵⁴.

The Battle of Narnaul

Hardly had the British forces rested for a while at Nasibpur, when they saw a little cloud of dust rising over a sloping ground at their front⁵⁵. It was an Indian force advancing to pounce upon the British after having abandoned their strong fort in the centre of the town. It was really a blunder on the part of the Indians to have become impatient and chosen

43. *Ibid.*, Jawala Sahai, p. 219 ; Holmes, p. 396.

44. "Narnaul was a very strong place", observed Kaye and Malleeson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, IV, p. 77. "It lay under a hill about 400 feet high.....it was covered in front by low walls forming admirably defensive covers". The ground to the right and left were admirably adapted to the movements of cavalry and infantry.

45. Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, pp. 718-19.

46. *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3 ; *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXII, January 2, 1858, p. 18.

47. Malleeson, p. 319 ; *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 216-17.

48. *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3 ; Kaye and Malleeson, IV, pp. 76.

49. *Foreign Secret Consultation*, Nos. 15-17, January 29, 1858.

50. *Ibid.*, Nos. 21-27, January 28, 1858.

51. *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3 ; Kaye and Malleeson, IV, p. 76 ; Jawala Sahai, p. 219.

52. Kaye and Malleeson, IV, p. 77.

53. Holmes, p. 396 ; Jawala Sahai, p. 219.

54. Holmes, p. 397.

55. *Ibid.*

to take the offensive instead of awaiting an attack by the British, "for so strong was indeed their position", says Malleeson, "that had they had the patience to await attack, Gerrard would have found that all his work had cut out for him"⁵⁶.

The British forces alerted themselves and speedily stood on guard in obedience to their Commander, Col. Gerrard; "23rd Punjab Infantry in the right, Artillery in the centre and Patiala Infantry on the left"⁵⁷, supported by the Multani Horse on the left, the First Bengal European Fusiliers and the 7th Punjab Infantry on the right, and the Guides and the Carabineers in the centre⁵⁸. The action began a little before 12 o'clock⁵⁹. The first Indian charge was irresistible and the British forces scattered before them like chaff before the wind. The Patiala Infantry and the Multani Horse on the British left were completely disheartened⁶⁰. The whole of the right flank fled away. At this juncture the Guides and the Carabineers came to their rescue and saved the situation⁶¹.

A graphic picture of the whole engagement between the Indian cavalry and the Guides and the Carabineers has been given by Kaye and Malleeson⁶² and T.R. Holmes⁶³. "The enemies (Indians) met the shock of the Guides and the Carabineers right gallantly", remarked Holmes⁶⁴. "It was gallant conflict" said Kaye and Malleeson, "and never did the enemy (Indians) fight better. There was neither shirking nor lurching. Never was there a charge more gallant and certainly never were the British cavalry met so fully or in so full a swing by the rebel horse"⁶⁵.

This most violent action did not last long, for the English fire—their heavy artillery and the horse guns having steady aims—was too much for the Indian cavalry and footmen coming straight on the British deployment and they had to fall back⁶⁶. The Guides and the Carabineers, under the cover of the artillery fire, made a desperate attack and broke the order of battle of the Indians. Just then the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, swooping upon the weak Indian artillery, captured some of their guns.⁶⁷ This encouraged the British cavalry at right and they pressed hard through the Indian ranks and successfully overpowered them on the right and in the centre.⁶⁸

56. Malleeson, p. 319; Holmes and Jawala Sahai also agree with him.

57. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, January 28, 1858.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Records of the Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3.

60. Malleeson, p. 319.

61. Kaye and Malleeson, IV, pp. 79-80.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Holmes, p. 397.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Kaye and Malleeson, IV, p. 80.

66. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, January 28, 1858.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, August 1965, pp. 657-63.

But soon the situation took an unexpected turn when Col. Gerrard, the British Commandant, was mortally wounded by a musket ball.⁶⁹ The British troops were demoralized. Taking full advantage of the circumstances, the Indians dashed in resistless sweep upon them. The British could not stand the charge. The Multani Horse in bewilderment fled away.⁷⁰ The Indian cavalry recaptured its lost guns and inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. The right and the left wings of the British forces were thrown into confusion.⁷¹

Taking a serious view of the whole affair, Major Caulfield, the new British commandant, ordered his artillery to start heavy bombardment on the Indian troops and led his cavalry and infantry men straight with full force into their front ranks. The Indians fought back furiously and stuck to their ground. But British artillery fire broke their backbone and split the Indian force into two parts—one engaged in the close quarter battle and the other fleeing back to go out of the range of the British guns. Meanwhile, Kishan Gopal and Ram Lal, the two best Indian commanders, received musket shots and died. This disheartened the Indians and they beat the retreat.⁷²

The British resumed advance in the same previous order until they came to the dry bed of a monsoonish stream flowing between Nasibpur and Narnaul. The British guns were unable to cross the stream owing to sand, so they diverged to the right and took up a position near the horse artillery guns, whilst the 23rd Punjab Infantry and Patiala Infantry along with other units of the cavalry crossed the stream and advanced towards the Indian camp.⁷³

The heavy artillery shelling and infantry fires confused the Indians and they ran pell-mell in all directions. Mostly, they retreated to the town and hid themselves in the buildings. The pursuit of the fleeing soldiers was quick and inexorable and they were very soon driven out of the city after a little fighting.⁷⁴ The Indians lost the day and, when the sun went down⁷⁵, there remained none in Narnaul except heaps of corpses here and there. Rao Tula Ram and General Samad Khan effected escape.

On the Indian side, the number of the dead in the battle of Narnaul was supposed to have gone beyond many hundreds, Rao Kishan Gopal,⁷⁶

69. Holmes, p. 397; Malleeson, p. 329.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 272-3.

72. *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3.

73. Stafford's Report, vide *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 21-27, January 29, 1858.

74. Malleeson, p. 320.

75. *Records of the Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3, 277.

76. Man Singh, p. 208.

Ram Lal,⁷⁷ Samad Khan's son⁷⁸ and many other top-ranking officers were killed in the action.⁷⁹ The British took 9 Indian guns and many other standard arms.⁸⁰ The total loss on the British side was 70 killed and 45 wounded.⁸¹ They lost their commanders, Col. Gerrard and Capt. Wallace; while Lieuts. Graije, Kennedy, Peaise and Hamphreys were wounded in action.⁸²

The battle of Narnaul was undoubtedly one of the decisive battles of the Indian revolt of 1857. The English felt jubilant over their success in this battle,⁸³ for it resulted in the complete rout of three powers, Rao Tula Ram of Rewari, Samed Khan of Jhajjar and the Jodhpur Legion. It marked the close of the crucial period of struggle in the Delhi division and northern Rajasthan and the restoration of the British supremacy in this region. "It was truly the last bright glow of the great extinguishing conflagration".⁸⁴

Tula Ram in Rajasthan

After the fall of Narnaul; Tula Ram entered Rajasthan. In the absence of relevant documents, it cannot be said with certainty as to what motives led him to enter Rajasthan and move from one Rajput court to another.

Man Singh in his book *Abhirkuldipika* gives a vivid description of the Rajasthan tour of Tula Ram,⁸⁵ but he keeps silent over the discussions that took place between the Rajput princes and Tula Ram. Probably the discussions were such as could not possibly be recorded without incurring the wrath of the British authorities. However, a letter written to the forces and the Maharaja of Alwar by the Sadars and officers of the Army of Martyrs stationed at Narnaul (Tula Ram being one of the seniormost commanders of this army)⁸⁶, in November, 1857⁸⁷, throws some light on this knotty problem. It asked Maharaja of Alwar to aid the rebels and gave him a severe warning against rendering any help to the British.⁸⁸

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Records of the Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXXII, p. 18.

82. *Records Intelligence Department*, II, pp. 272-3.

83. *Foreign Secret Consultation*, No. 1951, January 21, 1858.

84. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, August 1965, pp. 658-63.

85. Man Singh, pp. 136-9.

86. Chick, pp. 718-19; Jawala Sahai, p. 219; *Ambala Division Records*, Political, R-188, p. 21. Jawala Sahai says: "Though disheartened in the extreme, they (the Jodhpur Legion) gained courage by addition of Rao Tula Ram of Rewari".

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 15-17, January 29, 1858. Letters from the officers of the Rebel army at Narnaul to the address of the officers of the Alwar Government, without date (received by the Alwar-officers on November 12).

Tula Ram might have conveyed the same message to other chiefs of Rajasthan too.

First of all Tula Ram went to the Raja of Bikaner, who, instead of giving a hearing to the Rao, asked him to quit the Bikaner state immediately.⁸⁹ Disguised as a trader, he moved towards Jaisalmer. Here he carried on trade in partnership with one Jaithmal Shahukar, a local trader under a fictitious name of Dangali Gosain. He met the Maharaja too and had a discussion with him. But the Bhatti prince proved no better. On getting emphatic no from him, Tula Ram proceeded to Jodhpur. The British intelligence was all these days chasing him very tightly. But managing to remain out of their reach somehow or the other, he reached Jodhpur early in 1858. Although the Rathor Chief Takht Singh was a staunch friend of Tula Ram, he too like the chiefs of Bikaner and Jaisalmer, gave a cold reception to him and asked him to leave his state "instantly" lest he should be in some trouble.⁹⁰

Accompanied by his relatives Harshai and Tara Singh, besides some attendants, Tula Ram moved down to Kotah and Bundi. He met the Hada princes of both the states. They showed their unwillingness to tender any help to him.⁹¹ Tula Ram could very easily conclude from their negative behaviour towards him that it was a folly to expect anything from the "loyal chiefs" of Rajasthan. They had undoubtedly decided to remain a "rock of strength to the British power" during those critical days.⁹²

He joins Tantya Tope

The failure of Rajasthan mission did not dishearten Tula Ram. He went to Kalpi, the strong-hold of the rebels, and reached there in the early months of 1858. He was welcomed by Nana Sahib. The details of his visit at the court of Nana are vividly described in *Abhirkuldipika* thus: "When this news (of Tula Ram's arrival) reached Nana Sahib, he sent an officer with the message to the effect that it would be very nice of him (Tula Ram) if he stayed at Kalpi. Tula Ram, alongwith his friends and followers, went there and was warmly received. He was given a separate house to live in, right in the centre of the town. Sepoys were posted to guard his residence. During his several days' stay at Kalpi, he participated in all the important discussions that took place in the special councils of war".⁹³

On seeing the capabilities of Tula Ram, Tantya Tope gave command of a troop to him. We do not actually know what part did he play in

89. Man Singh, p. 136.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*

92. Chaudhuri, p. 235.

93. Man Singh, p. 136; *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, August 1964, p. 473.

the long fight that Tantya Tope gave to the British, but it is certain that he was always with him. His presence with the troops of Tantya Tope and Shahzada Feroze was reported by C.B. Saunders, the Commissioner of Delhi Division, to William Ford, the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon, when the forces of Tantya and Feroze had approached within a short distance of Delhi frontiers.⁹⁴

Three Years in disguise

On April 7, 1859, at about midnight, Tantya Tope fell into the hands of the British. He was tried by a military court, found guilty of waging war against the British power and was hanged to death. Truly, the uprising petered out in India with the death of Tantya Tope. Accordingly, Tula Ram decided to go out of Hindustan to enlist the support of other countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Russia, etc., to fight out the British imperialism. But soon the British authorities got wind of his plans through one Ahmad Ali, who used to attend general meetings along with Sayyad Jamal Ali, one of the loyal persons whom the Rao had selected to accompany him in his mission abroad. Consequently, posters bearing photos of Tula Ram were circulated to all the ports to facilitate his arrest.⁹⁵ Besides that, the security measures were tightened. In the last week of June 1858, Tula Ram felt that a trap to arrest him was closing around from all sides. It was not safe to remain at one place for more than a day or so. Therefore, he moved village to village. As a result of the extraordinary care and alertness no harm could be caused to him.⁹⁷

Meanwhile, the proclamation of Queen Victoria, promising unconditional pardon amnesty and oblivion of all offences against the British Government to all except those who directly or indirectly took part in the murder of British subjects, was issued on November 1, 1858.⁹⁶ In response to it, Tula Ram sent a petition to the Governor-General, Lord

94. *File R/180*, p. 27.

95. Man Singh, p. 137. He says that it was one of the decisions of the council of war of Tantya Tope, etc., that, "some intelligent and brave chief be sent to Iran and Russia. There could come a great help for the people of India from outside. It was believed that the great calamity could be removed by the help of some king of note and he would get us our own right (independence)". He further adds, "Then the Rao Sahib (Tula Ram) volunteered himself saying: 'I shall do this work and as far as possible, shall bring help'".

96. Man Singh, 137; *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, Part II, August 1964, p. 473.

97. Man Singh, p. 137.

98. The clauses relating to the terms of pardon to the rebels read thus: "Her clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been and shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects.....To Those who have willingly given assylum to murderers knowing them to be such or who may have acted as leaders or instigators.....To all others in arms against the Government we here promised unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion of all offences against ourselves".

Canning on December 24, 1858, stating that he considered himself "an offender, but as he looked upto the Government as his protector, he begged to solicit that an inquiry might be directed to be instituted and that he as well as his followers pardoned". He agreed to surrender only when an order of pardon was received by him.⁹⁹ After necessary verifications made by the Lt. Governor of Agra, it was stated on January 15, 1859, that "being apparently a leader and instigator of rebellion, the chief is excluded from the amnesty and, as such, will be put on his trial whenever apprehended. But if he surrendered at once his life is guaranteed to him and his case shall on enquiry be decided".¹⁰⁰ But Tula Ram did not surrender unconditionally. Hence the petition was cancelled by the British Government.¹⁰¹

Self-imposed Exile

Having received a negative reply from the Governor-General, Tula Ram gave final touch to his original plan of leaving India. Disguised as a Marwari trader he left Bombay for Iran in April 1862 on a ship via Bushire.¹⁰² On crossing the territorial waters, the Rao and his followers dressed themselves as Arabs. He reached Bushire safely but had to give up the onward journey to Tehran by ship for fear of arrest as the searching eyes of the British had come to know of his identity and moves. So the journey from Bushire to Tehran was taken on horse back via Shiraz and Ispahan.¹⁰³ On his arrival at Tehran, Tula Ram was received well and the Persian Government provided for all his expenses. From there he carried on negotiations with the Russian embassy and even wrote letters to the Russian Government.¹⁰⁴

Finding the Shah of Iran not in a position to extend any help, Tula Ram moved down to Afghanistan in the winter of 1862 with a view to have a talk with Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Kabul for rendering some help. Besides that, there was a fairly large number of fugitive mutineers from India, who had taken refuge in the Kabul valley, and they

99. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Persian, No. 37, August 16, 1859.

100. *File R/180*, p. 29.

101. At the time of writing the petition, Tula Ram was at a village in the Bikaner state (*Foreign Consultation*, Persian, No. 37, August 16, 1859) and as per his desire, the reply was sent to his mother at Palhawas, near Rewari, who sent it on to Tula Ram. Tula Ram was not prepared to surrender unconditionally.

102. Man Singh, pp. 139-42. Mr. Bhatnagar in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, August, 1964, p. 473, says regarding his exit from India, "The account of the escape of the Rao to Iran is perhaps more interesting than that of Subhas Chander Bose in 1949; particularly so, when we compare the two periods and the prevailing circumstances".

103. *Ibid.*

104. Man Singh, p. 160. I tried to make a search for this letter in Russian Archives through Dr. V.V. Balabushevichi, Head of the Indian Department, Institute of Asia, USSR, Moscow, but it was not traceable anywhere. Mr. I. Bhatnagar, though he does not quote the source, confirms the above statement in his article in *Journal of Indian History*, August 1964, p. 474.

could be of utmost help in case the Amir would be willing to give some support.¹⁰⁵ But he did not get any help.¹⁰⁶

Death

In the middle of 1863 Tula Ram felt indisposed. As a matter of fact, hard work, constant worries, and different climates had told upon his health and he became very weak. In the month of August, he developed a serious stomach trouble. The Amir deputed two royal physicians for the treatment of the Rao, but all their skills and efforts failed to cure him of the chronic dysentery. After a long and painful illness, bravely borne, he died on Bhadon 11, 1920 V.S. (September 23, 1863) at a young age of 38.¹⁰⁷ The Government of Afghanistan showed all courtesy and consideration to the deceased. The Amir addressed a royal farman to his subjects that "all the people of Kabul irrespective of caste, creed or religion should accompany the funeral procession of the Indian Raja".¹⁰⁸

The story of Tula Ram is that of heroism, valour, patriotism and self-sacrifice. With four to five thousand Ahirs, Jats, Rajputs and Ranghars, he struggled hard against the superior British forces for two years from 1857 to 1859. He lost the battle as had done even those who commanded far greater and stronger resources and armies. But, of all the fighters of 1857, Tula Ram is the solitary example of pursuing the same goal until the last breath. He was the first Indian to plan the overthrow of British imperialism with foreign help, when the great revolt petered out.

KRIPAL CHANDARA YADAV

105. Man Singh, p. 160.

106. Dost Muhammad Khan had signed a treaty of friendship with the British at Peshawar on January 26, 1857. How sacred he considered this alliance can be understood by a study of his assertion: "I have now made an alliance with the British Government, and come what may, I will keep it till death". Fraser Tijter, *Afghanistan*, p. 207. He kept his word till his death. Secondly, he was in open hostility with Iran on the question of Herat and looked up to the British assistance for the maintenance of his hold over it. Hence, he could not help India against the British in any way.

107. Man Singh, p. 168.

108. *Ibid.*

SOCIO-CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY IN HARIYANA IN THE MODERN TIMES

The three main communities, the Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh, have been living like brothers in Hariyana from the beginning of modern times. This helped in fostering a sense of unity and cultural homogeneity among the three communities.

Before partition (1947), the Sikhs numbered only a few thousand in Hariyana and they had been considered a part and parcel of the Hindu community. The Hindu and the Muslim also stood on quite brotherly footing. The contemporary evidences show that from the socio-cultural point of view both the major communities were so strongly blended and intermingled that one could hardly be distinguished from the other.¹ For example, the Muslim-Rajputs professed social, cultural and ritual customs of the Hindus. They avoided sagotra marriage, retained their Brahman purohits who gave them protection thread (Raksha Bandhan) at Siloni and the barley seedling to be worn in the turban at the Dushera festival.² Muslim Gujars were also like that. They could be hardly distinguished from their Hindu counterparts. Their women wore Hindu garments (Ghaggara), avoided gotra in marriage, did karewa, and employed Brahman purohits in most of their social and religious ceremonies.³ Above all, the Meos presented a striking example of a happy combination of Hinduism and Islam. They celebrated Holi and many other festivals. They and their women wore dresses in the old Hindu style. On the occasion of marriage, birth, death and other ceremonies, Hindu customs and usages were followed.⁴

Both the communities worshipped the common village deities. Women in general played an important part in this respect. A Muslim woman, who had not made offerings to the small pox goddess (Sitala mata), would feel that she had deliberately risked her child's life. On special occasions she fed Brahman priests. Similarly a Hindu woman would regularly make offerings at the shrines of Muslim saints on every Thursday and at the time of a marriage in the family.⁵

Even where the population was almost wholly Muslim, the Hindus lived there as good neighbours. Though every Muslim village had its

1. For details see my paper on this subject in *The Spokesman* [Weekly-Delhi], Sept. 12, 1966, p. 7.

2. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, p. 91.

3. Ibbetson, *Glossary of castes and Tribes of the Punjab.....*, Vol. II, P. 307.

4. Abdul Rashid, *Ashlah-i-Mewat* [urdu], pp.2-38.

5. *Census Report of India*, 1911, Vol. XIV, Panjab, pt. I, p. 174.

mosque, acknowledged Sharah and solemnised marriages according to the rites of the holy Quran, the Brahmans were frequently employed as agents for arranging betrothals and other such purposes. The same was the condition in the Hindu villages where Hindus lived peacefully with the Muslim minority. The Muslim faqirs and pirs were equally respected by them. Both communities were closely drawn towards each other and generally lived in love except when the feelings of the minority community were injured by killing a cow or obstructing the Moharram procession. How these small incidents went to spoil the communal harmony can be seen from the following incident that took place at Rewari (district Gurgaon) in the spring of 1838. The British commissioner of the division granted permission to the Muslims to slaughter cow at Rewari. "The rage and indignation of Hindus knew no bounds", They vainly approached the authorities to undo it. Finding the British officials quite impervious, they returned home and waited in ominous peace until the festival of the Moharram came round six weeks later. The Hindus "suddenly rose and attacked the Muslim procession with all manners of weapons, bricks, stones and even dead pigs and dogs". The confusion and tumult which ensued were tremendous and desperate affray and loss of life would have been the result, had not the strong police force checked them.⁶ But such incidents had no lasting effect on the communal harmony and the heat and acrimony subsided in a natural way after some time.⁷

Disintegration by the British

The British dreaded such a communal homogeneity. In accordance with the old Roman dictum 'divide and rule' they strove to disintegrate them to render it "impossible for them (Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) to enter into a general combination". For this purpose they picked up the points of difference and rivalry among them and fanned them to a dangerous extent⁸.

During the uprising of 1857, the British tried their level best to inflame the feelings of antipathy among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. But the news of the outbreak of the revolt flared up the nationalistic feelings of the people. Communal harmony prevailed everywhere. And if a thin wall of antipathy was created by the British somewhere sometime by their false propaganda, it was soon demolished by the presentation of true facts by the Indians.⁹ A study of the events would bear testimony to it.

The efforts of Emperor Bahadur Shah in this direction and their positive effects on the region of Hariyana are too well-known to be

6. Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, II, pp. 91-94

7. *The Spokesman*, Sept. 12, 1966, p. 7.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 51-55, March 4, 1859 [N.A.I.].

described here. The chiefs of this region left no stone unturned to foster a congenial communal atmosphere in their respective states. Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh gives details of his efforts to emperor Bahadur Shah thus: "Although I, in my heart, profess the Hindu religion, still I follow the dictates of the Muhammedan leaders and am obedient to the followers of that creed." How free was he from the communal prejudices can be seen from the following assertion: "I have gone so far as to erect a lofty marble mosque within the fort (of Bullabhgarh). I have also made a spacious Idgah...close to my park."¹⁰ Besides that, the Jat raja had appointed many Muslim officials to the responsible posts in his administration. The Muslim chiefs of Jhajjar, Dadri and Pataudi had also behaved in the same vein with their Hindu subjects and had given them many high posts in their states.¹¹

These chiefs, with an exception of the nawab of Farruknagar, who had a long quarrel with Rao Tula Ram of Rewari,¹² had reached mutual understanding in 1857. The Muslim chief of Dadri helped Tula Ram in suppressing his co-religionist Ahmed Ali, the nawab of Farrukhnagar, who, instead of waging war against the British, was fighting his neighbours in furtherance of his personal interest. A letter of Muhammad Bakht Khan, the Lord Governor General at Delhi, shows that the Rajput ruler of Nimrana, and the Muslim rulers of Jhajjar and Pataudi at one time agreed to follow Tula Ram, the Hindu chief of Rewari, through thick and thin.¹³

This understanding was by no means confined to the princes only. The people also had mutual understanding among themselves. In the district of Gurgaon the masses, with an exception of a few anti-social elements, which normally try to take advantage of such situation everywhere, worked with a nationalist spirit. The "loyalists" were attacked by the "rebels" irrespective of caste, creed or religion. For instance, the Meos attacked and killed the "loyal khanzadas", their own brethren at Nuh.¹⁴ Next, the Rawat Jats of Hodal village and the Rajputs of Hathin "who were supposed to be on the side of the (British) Government" were attacked by a large gathering of the Surat Jats of Hodal, Pathans of Seoli and the Meos.¹⁵ On another occasion, the Meos joined with Ahirs under the leadership of Rao Tula Ram and attacked the Rajputs of the Bhora Pargana who were disturbing the Rao in the 'intizam' of his territory at the instigation of the selfish ruler of Farrukhnagar.¹⁶ In Panipat district is found a good instance of the Muslim Ranghars coming to the rescue of their Jat brethren of the village of Bulleh when they were attacked by

11. *The Spokesmans*, September 12, 1966, P. 7.

12. *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 51-55, March 4, 1859.

13. *Mutiny Papers*, bundle No. 2, document No. 34 without date (N.A.I.).

14. *Gurgaon District Gazetteer*, pp. 5-6.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Foreign Consultations*, Nos. 581-86, Aug. 6, 1858.

a British force under Captain Hughes on July 14.¹⁷ In Hissar Hindus and Mnslims assembled and fought under prince Muhammad Azim. The rising at Sirsa has been often interpreted by many people as to have taken communal turn. In the words of Majumdar "At Sirsa the rising took a communal turn. The Hindus fled and the Muslims plundered not only the treasury but also the town and the neighbouring village."¹⁸ Perhaps Dr. Majumdar has based his account on the statement of Dr. Chaudhari, who draws upon almost the same conclusion on the false authority of Chick.¹⁹

In the second week of November all the leaders of Hariyana—Prince Muhammad Azim of Bhattu, General Samad Khan of Jhajjar, Rao Tula Ram and his cousin Kishan Singh of Rewari and Ahmed Ali (Risaldar) commandant of the Jodhpur Legion—assembled at Narnaul under a common banner, irrespective of caste, creed or religion, and gave a tough fight to the British on the battle field of Narnaul on November 16, 1857.²⁰

The British saw great danger in the communal homogeneity among the Indians. In consequence, they strained every nerve to disturb it. This ultimately resulted in great communal differences among the various communities. There were communal riots and quarrels. The Muslim league was formed and the demand for Pakistan came up. But Hariyana remained unaffected and except for a few minor quarrels here and there, there was never a serious trouble over any question among the different communities.

After Independence

Immediately after August 15, 1947, a wave of bloody riots which, unfortunately, spread throughout Northern India, spread in different parts of Hariyana too. But very soon such great national leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru came in and appealed to the good sense of the people. Consequently, normalcy returned to the region after a short while. A good number of Muslims, especially the Meos, gave up the idea of going to Pakistan²¹.

Hundreds of thousands of Hindus and Sikhs came into Hariyana from Pakistan. Their exact numbers districtwise were as follows²² :—

District	No. of displaced persons settled
Hissar	1,27,657
Rohtak	1,23,644
Karnal	2,50,471
Ambala	1,88,892
Gurgaon	84,587
Mahendragarh	4,944

17. Cave-Brown, *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*, II, p. 37.

18. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, pp. 144-45.

19. Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellin*, p. 714.

20. See my paper, *The Battle of Narnaul*, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, 1965.

21. Shri Ram Sharma, *Hariyana Ka Itihas* (urdu), pp. 143-46.

22. *Census Report of India, Panjab*, 1951, Vol. VIII, pt. 1A, p. LXVI.

From socio-cultural points of view, the displaced persons, who settled in Hariyana, were quite different from the original inhabitants of this region. But as the human nature is, the close association of these two communities resulted in the integration of their cultural traditions, social customs and behaviour. Representatives of all the major religions, Hindusim, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, etc.²³ and different sects and castes live like brothers in the state in the present times.

Kripal Chandra Yadav

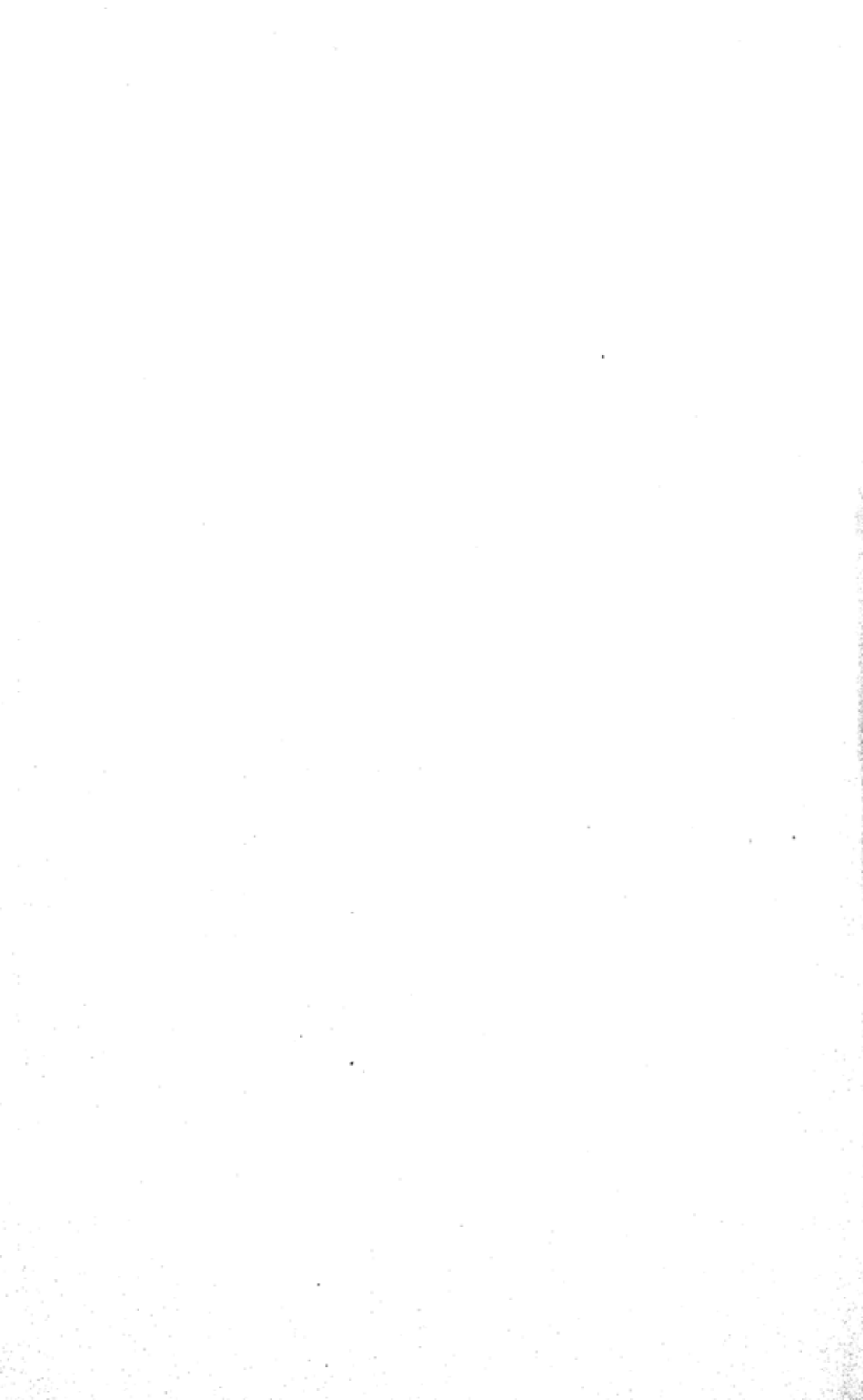
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23. According to the 1961 Census there are 671 lakh Hindus, 5 lakh Sikhs, 3 lakh Muslims, 26 thousand Jains, 85 hundred Christians and 7 hundred Buddhists. *Punjab Boundary Commission Report*, 1966, pp. 105-36.



APPENDIX



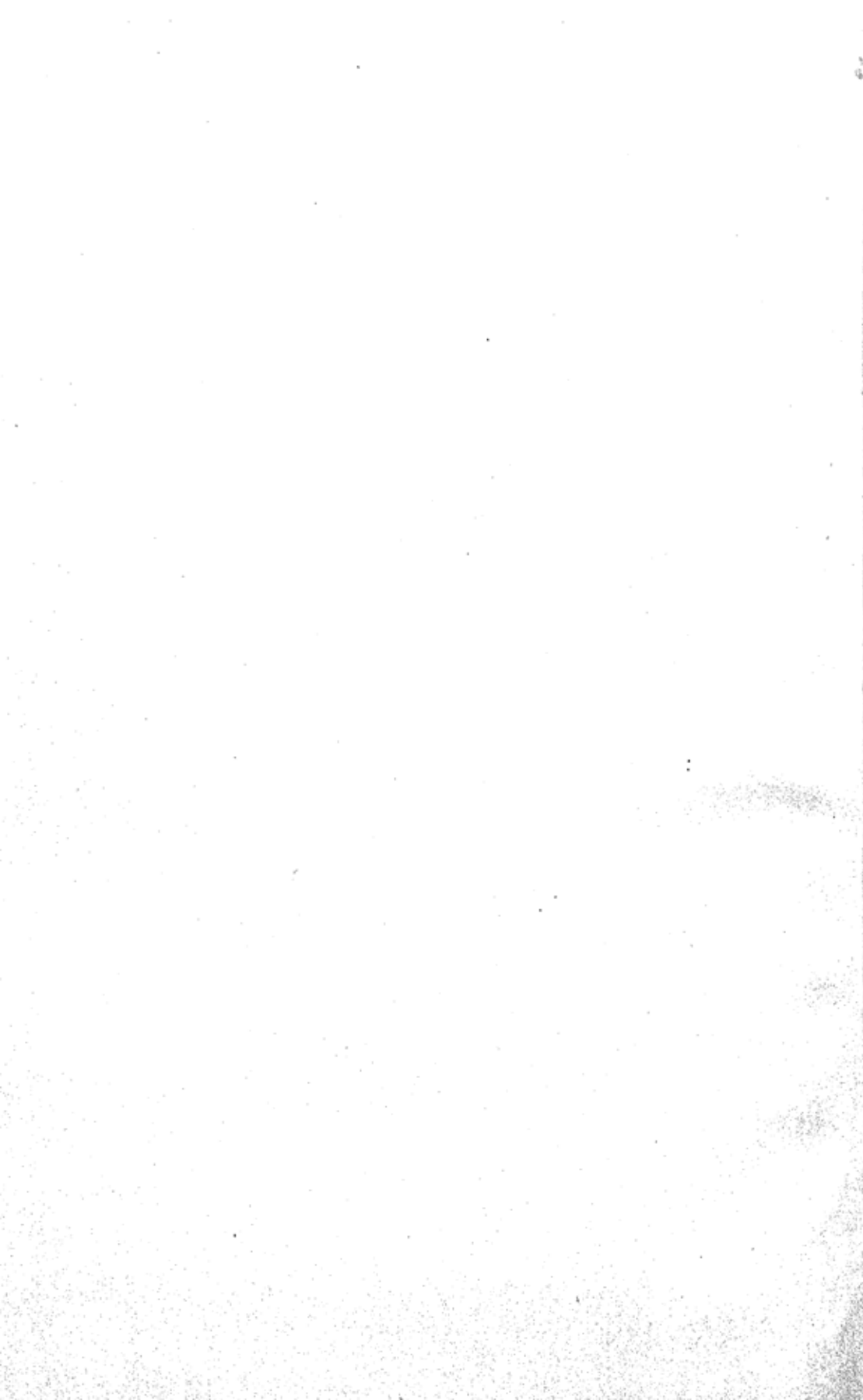
APPENDIX

SOME FACTS ABOUT HARIYANA

Area		Production of Crops		
In Sq. meters	43,887	Foodgrains		
In Sq. miles	16,945			
Population		Area	Production	
		(Hectares)	(Metric tons)	
Total	7,599,759	Rice	174,000	252,000
Urban	1,307,680	Jowar	288,610	51,000
Rural	6,292,079	Bajra	789,140	286,260
		Maize	92,000	93,000
		Wheat	725,000	924,000
Units		Other Crops		
Division	1	Sugar-cane	144,000	678,000
Districts	7	Potatoes	4,000	61,600
Tehsils	27	Cotton		
Inhabited Villages	6,690	American	101,100	31,860
Uninhabited Villages	343	Cotton Desi	73,500	19,940
Towns	62			
Classification of Land				
	Hectares	Co-operatives		
Forests	22,000	Number of Societies	10,196	
Net available for cultivation	477,000	Membership	824,000	
Other uncultivated excluding fallow land	153,000	Owned Funds	... Rs.	13,12,000
Fallow Land	190,000	Working Capital	... Rs.	36,02,000
Net Area Sown	3,487,000	Animal Husbandry		
Total Area	42,99,000	Livestock Population		
Area Sown more than once	1,089,000		(in lakhs)	
Total Cropped area	4,577,000	Cattle	22.53	
		Buffaloes	16.59	
		Sheep & Goats	6.99	
		Others	3.36	
Irrigation		Total	49.47	
By	Net area under Irrigation (hectares)	Veterinary Institutions		
Government Canals	1,008,000	Veterinary Hospitals	121	
Tanks	2,000	Permanent outlying Dispensaries	95	
Wells	209,000	Artificial Insemination Centres	14	
Other sources	2,000			
Total	1,221,000			

Gaushalas	76	Technical Institutions		
Gosadans	2			
Sheep and Wool Extension Centres	44	Level of Courses	No.	Intake
		Degree	1	120
		Diploma	6	960
		Junior Technical Schools	2	120
Industries				
No. of Factories registered	1,221	Health		
No. of Working Registered Factories	1,117	Total Institutions		
No. of Workers	68,015		Rural	Urban
		Allopathic Hospitals	3	53
		Primary Health Centres	71	15
		Dispensaries	89	49
		Total	163	117
		Ayurvedic/Unani Hospitals	2	—
		Dispensaries	139	1
		Total	141	1
Electricity		Beds	Rural	Urban
No. of electrified villages	1,221	In Allopathic Institutions	947	3,558
General Consumers :		In Ayurvedic and Unani Institutions	20	—
Domestic	200,756	Total	977	3,558
Commercial	52,123			
Industrial Consumers :				
Small	8,065			
Medium	717			
Large	97			
Cottage	57			
Agriculture Consumers	15,561			
Bulk Supply Consumers	24			
Public Lighting	168			
Total	277,568			
Education		Roads		
Primary Schools	4,414		Length in Kilometers	
Middle Schools	658	Metalled	4,829	
High Schools	428	Un-metalled	3,416	
Higher Secondary Schools	133	Total	8,238	
Arts & Science Colleges	39			
Teachers Training Colleges	5			
University	1			
Extension Service Centres	1	Income		
Extension Service Units	1			
J.B.T. Units	201	Per Capita Income	Rs. 540	

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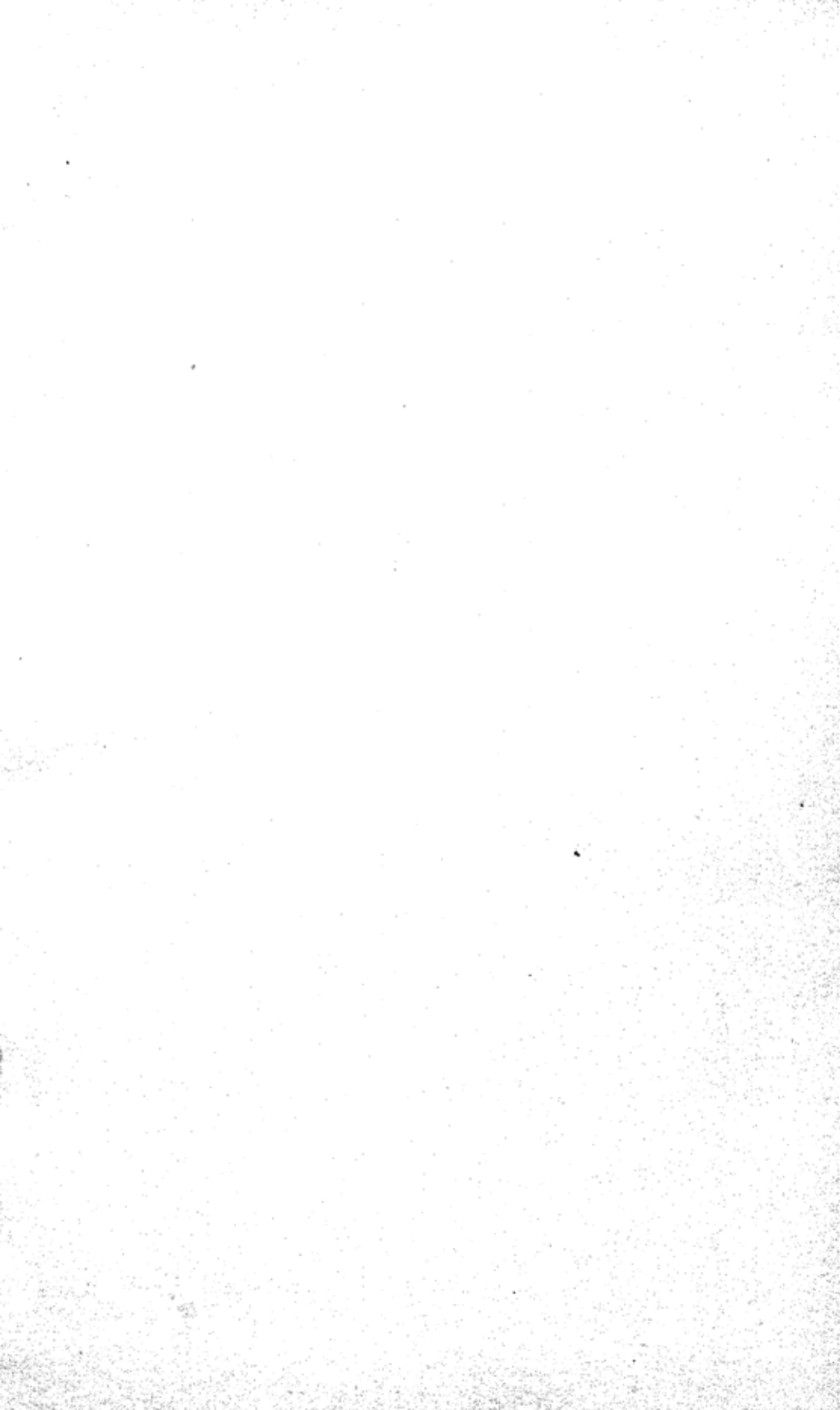
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