

*Read before the B. B. R. A. Society, on Monday, the 27th August 1928.*

## Introduction.

<sup>1</sup> Two of the documents are, as will be seen later on, of the same tenor.

Rustam Manock.

I took copies of the documents with the help of a magnifying glass, and then, later on, found, that three of the documents were published by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth about 28 years ago.<sup>3</sup> But as few copies of this book were published and that only for private circulation, and as Mr. Jalbhoy has given them in the modern spelling, I give these documents at the end in this paper with their old spelling. Mr. Jalbhoy has not published one of the documents—the third—probably because it is very faint and difficult to be deciphered. It has got still fainter now. However, I have, with some difficulty, deciphered a large part of it. The portion deciphered seems to be sufficient to tell us what it is about.

The object of the paper is three-fold:—A. To examine *Object of the* and explain the documents. B. To give *Paper.* a brief account of the life of Rustam Manock, who was a broker, not only of the English East India Company and of the United East India Company but also of the Portuguese, and most probably also of the Dutch. C. To examine the Historical events, etc., referred to in a Persian poem, entitled “Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock.”

## II.

### (A) The Documents.

I will, at first, speak of the Documents. They are the following:—

1. A letter, dated “London, the 19th August 1723”, addressed to “Our President and Council of Bombay” and signed by 17 members of the Court of Directors who speak of themselves, when signing, as “Your Loving Friends”. We have two copies of it. One, torn away a good deal, and the other, in good condition. The covers of both bear the following address: “To the Hon’ble the President and Council for all the Forces and Affairs of the English Nation at Bombay” 19th August 1724. The reason why we have two copies is explained in the letter itself, which speaks of six copies being sent to prevent loss. The covering

૩ શેઠ ખાનદાનની વંશાવલી તથા હુકમ એકવાલ, જનચોસાજીકલ દ્રી તથા ચીત્રો સાથે ઇસ્વી સને ૧૮૦૦.



address of both the copies bear seals, which say "Engl. E. Ind. Comp." (*i.e.*, English East India Company). Both the copies, which I produce for inspection, give the year as 1724. But the late Mr. Jalbhoy Seth gives, in his *Genealogy of the Seth Khandan family* (p. 12), the year as 1723. We do not know what year the other four copies gave. From the contents of the letter, I think the year 1723 is correct, because it does not at all speak of the award of 1724, and says that the Papers will be examined. So, it seems to have been sent before the award.

2. An award, dated 18th January 1724, made and signed by four arbitrators—Mathew Decker, Jos Wordsworth, E. Harrison and John Heathcote. They have ended the award as follows: "Wee the said Arbitrators have to this our award sett our hands and seals this Eighteenth day of January in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain and France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, or Anno Domini 1724". The signatories have added the words "I. S."<sup>3a</sup> after their names. This award is attested by Hervey and George Lloyd,<sup>4</sup> with the words "Sealed and Delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of".

3. The third document has got faint and is not wholly legible. It is a document from the office of the Lord Mayor. It says at the bottom: "If faith and testimony of writer and Lord Mayor

"Seal of

"put and approved

'on Fourth day of February of the Reign of our Sovereign and King of Great Britain.

1724."

This document refers to the above second document of 18th of January 1724 and seems to be a document relating to registration. It is marked in blue pencil as "Notarial Seal to the Award."

3a I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.) for the following information on the subject:

"I cannot at present find in any book with me as to what the letters I. S. after the signature in the old deed mean, but if they immediately precede the seal and follow the signature, I can conjecture that they may stand for "Ipsius Signum" — *i.e.*, "his own signature or seal", like our "འདྲིའི་མཁན་གྱི་མཁན་"

<sup>4</sup> The words "and George" are not quite clear. So, I have given them as in Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth's *Genealogy of the Seth Family*, p. 25.



4. The fourth document is indirectly concerned with the East India Company. It refers to Rustam Manock's sons who are referred to in the above two documents. It is a letter addressed to "Messrs. Framji Rustomjee and Bomanjee Rustomjee", two sons of Rustam Manock in India. It is dated "London 25th March 1725" and written by Cha Boonet, who was, before this time, at Surat in the English Factory.

I give below the substance of the above documents.

*Substance of  
the 1st document  
—the Directors'  
Letter of 19th  
August 1723 to  
the President  
and Council of  
Bombay.*

The substance of the letter of 17 Directors of the United East India Company, dated 19th August 1723, and addressed to the "President and Council of Bombay" is as follows:—

1. Received your packets and advices by ships King George, Stanhope and Salisbury.
2. We have learnt your desire that (a) the late brokers (Rustam Manock and Sons) should "give us satisfaction as to all just demands upon them", (b) that you want to give proofs about the affairs "from their (*i.e.*, the Brokers) own books and accounts" and (c) that "matters of difference that may arise" may be determined by arbitration of members chosen by both sides.
3. We learn that Framji (Rustam Manock's son) "is in custody at the Surat Durbar and Bomanjee remains confined in his house at Bombay."
4. Ship Salisbury, which arrived at Spithead the latter end of April last, brought Nowrojee from Surat and he "hath laid before us several papers and accounts which are ordered to be perused and taken into consideration."
5. Some of the papers given by him refer to "the case of Framjee in close prison" at Suart "on the application of the English Chiefs, Mr. Hope and afterwards Messrs. Cowans and Courtenay" to Momeen Cann the Surat Governor; and, on a letter by Governor Phipps, (a) Framji was first confined, (b) "then guards" were "set on his father Rustomjee's house"; (c) Framjee was forced to pay to the above Surat Governor or Nawab Rs. 50,000 and also Rs. 200 a day "for leave to supply the people



in the house with provisions and water." (d) Framjee has also been submitted to corporal punishment.

6. "However the case be" the Directors direct and order that Bomanjee at Bombay may be set at liberty and that application be made to the (Mogul) Governor of Surat to set free Framjee and to take off the guards from their father's house. The Directors added: "our desire being to end all differences amicably, for we would not have him oppressed."

7. Six letters "all of the same tenor" are given to Nowrojee, as "he intends to send them overland if any should miscarry, the rest may come safe and earlier than by shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till proper season."

The Directors, as said in their letter dated 19th August 1723

*Substance of the 2nd document,—* to their President and Council at Bombay, tried to settle the differences amicably, and the case was referred to four arbitrators, two from both sides—the United East India Company and the heirs of Rustam Manock.

The following were the arbitrators: 1. (Sir) Mathew Decker, 2. Josias Wordsworth, 3. Edward Harrison and John Heathcote. They declared their award duly signed by all of them on 18th January 1724. The following is the substance of the award:—

(1) An Indenture dated 18th November (1723) was made between the United East India Company and Nowrojee Rustomjee, then residing in London. The Indenture recited that:—

(a) "Several accounts, claims and demands had been depending and several disputes and controversies had arisen" between the United East India Company and Nowrojee, Framjee and Bamanjee "in their or one of their own proper right as in the rights of Rustomjee Manockjee father" of the above three sons.

(b) The two parties desired to bring an amicable settlement and therefore "had indifferently elected and chosen four persons to be arbitrators."

(c) Both the parties agreed to "well and truly stand to, abide, observe, perform, fulfill and keep (i.e., accept) the award."

(2) The award was made "at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, on or before the Eighteenth day of this instant January."

(3) It was agreed by the parties that the award "should be made a Rule of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining differences by Arbitration."

(4) The Arbitrators having "fully heard and examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Parties and maturely weighed and considered the same and the matter in difference between them," declared their award as follows :—

(a) On the 18th of November 1723, there was due from the United East India Company to the three brothers, sons of Rustomjee Manockjee, sums of money as follows :—

(1) Rs. 91,367 and pies 29½, by "virtue of one Bond Deed or Interest Bill, dated 15th May 1716."

(2) Rs. 51,840 by virtue of another Bond and Bill dated 4th October 1716.

(3) There were other sums due to the brothers upon other "several accounts depending between them and the United Company."

The total due to the brothers, including the above named two sums, came to Rs. 5,46,390.

(b) This sum of Rs. 5,46,390 to be paid as follows :—

(1) £1,925 "sterling money being the amount or value in England of Rs. 170,000" to be paid on or before the 1st February now next ensuing (i.e., on 1st February 1724). On that payment being made Nowrojee was to return to the United Company the above bond of 15th May 1716.



- (2) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid in Bombay on or before 1st February 1725 A.D., the brothers to pass a receipt for the sum.
- (3) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid at Bombay on or before the 1st February 1726.

On the receipt of the last instalment the brothers were to pass "a General Release." They were also to pass a Bond of sufficient penalty to indemnify the Company against all claims and demands.

This document is a kind of Registration document. It is from  
*Substance of the 3rd Document.* Sir Edward Mathew Decker, Knight, Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London. It is very faint and not very legible.

Sometime after the declaration of the award, Charles Boonet, who was at one time a leading member of the English Factory at Surat, and who, knowing the late broker Rustam Manock well, seems to have taken an interest in the case of his sons, wrote a letter dated 25th March 1725, to the brothers who were in Bombay. The substance of the letter is as follows :—

- (1) I have received several letters from you and have sent replies to some at the hands of Capt. Hide and Mr. Thomas Waters.
- (2) You did wrong in sending Nowrojee to England without a letter of Attorney "under your hands after the English Manner."
- (3) You ought to have sent with him "the original Bonds which were the most material things wanting."
- (4) I have done my best to help and advise Nowrojee. Do not tell to anybody "what methods have been taken in England relating to this business." If that was done it will "greatly prejudice the affairs."
- (5) I have settled the dispute between Nowrojee and Capt. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man-of-War (the ship by which Nowrojee went to England).
- (6) I have received from Nowrojee what was due to me. In case my Agent Mr. Thomas Waters has received that, ere this, from you, this will be returned to you.

(7) You brothers must live peacefully. There is a chance of your being appointed brokers again. But if you will fight among yourselves, you will spoil your cause.

(8) Nowrojee has worked very hard here and had fallen ill. You therefore give him a good present for his services. "Everybody here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble Company and for the good and interest of his Brothers and family."

(9) Mr. Boonet objects to the brothers deducting, as stated in their letter of 10th September 1722, Rs. 26,458 and 33 pice, given to Mr. Hope as Vice-Consul for Commission at 5 per cent. and asks that sum to be recovered from Mr. Hope with interest, as the arrangement with him was that he was to get commission on what he should collect himself, in which case he had to stand as security. Fortunately "your affairs have taken a favourable turn"; otherwise "my consulage must have been lost by Mr. Hope's neglecting my orders."

(10) The Company gave "prequisites" to its servants. "The Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception and the excusing the servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary act and designed only as an encouragement to young beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in stocks, otherwise the name of a Company's servant might cover many cargoes as Mr. Hope has done."

(11) "Recommends his new attorney Mr. Thomas Waters."

(12) Your brother has settled through me "his affair with Commodore Mathews." I have been useful to you. You likewise be useful to me.

The story of the documents, in brief, is this: Rustam Manock, an influential Parsee of Surat, who had, on account of his influence and generosity, received the surname of Seth, was appointed the broker, at Surat, of the English East India Company and then of the United East India Company. He was dismissed after some years by the Governor

*The Story of  
the Documents in  
brief.*



of Bombay against the wishes of the President and Council of Surat who wished him to be re-instated. The Companies owed him a large amount which remained unpaid upto the time of his death in 1721. He had left three sons, who had disputes with the English factors at Surat on their father's death, about the above debt. So, one of them, Framjee, the eldest, was detained in custody at his own house at Bombay and the second, Bomanjee, was confined in his own house at Surat by the Nabob or the Mogul Governor of Surat at the instance of the English factors. So, Nowrojee,<sup>5</sup> the third and youngest son, went to London to place his and his brothers' case before the Directors of the United Company. The Company sent orders here to release the two brothers and they and Nowrojee agreed to refer the matter of dispute to arbitration. The award of the four arbitrators was unanimously in favour of the brothers.

### III.

#### **Early English Trade and the East India Companies.**

I will give here, at first, a brief account of the three East India Companies, with two of which—the English East India Company and the United East India Company—Rustam Manock had come into direct contact as their broker.

India traded with the West by land-route from very ancient times. Then, the Crusades (1095 to 1291) brought Western Europe in greater contact with the East. The Italian States of Venice and Genoa had, at first, a successful trade with the East, *via* the ports of Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. After 1500, during which year, the Portuguese admiral Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, Portuguese fleets began trading with India. The Portuguese broke the monopoly of Genoa and Venice and successfully monopolized the trade with India till 1580, when Spain and Portugal were united together under Philip II, a bigoted Roman Catholic monarch, who sought uniformity of religion and tried to force

<sup>5</sup> Nowroji was the first Parsee to go to England; the second was Maniār who went in 1781.



his Roman Catholicism, here and there. His Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where the seeds of the Reformation were already sown, disliked his bigotry and revolted. The Dutch used to obtain Indian products from Portugal which, as said above, had a kind of monopoly in Indian trade. Philip, as a punishment for their revolt, stopped their intercourse with Lisbon. This stoppage deprived them from having Indian commodities. This state of affairs forced them to trade independently with the East. Their first four trade-ships, at first, went and traded with Java in 1595. In 1640, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke and its new King John IV (Duke of Braganza), on coming to throne, tried to stand against the Dutch in their capture of Indian trade. But, by this time, the Dutch had established themselves strongly in the East.

The commercial successes of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Eastern trade had opened the eyes of some English merchants of London. Later on, they drew the attention of the French.<sup>6</sup> Robert Orme gives us a succinct and interesting account of the "Establishment of the English trade at Surat"<sup>7</sup>. The very first Englishman to land in India, though not for trade purposes, was Father Thomas Stevens or Stephens who landed at Goa in 1578<sup>8</sup> in the company of a few Jesuits. He died in 1619. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to a small company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company. In 1583, the Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leedes and others by the overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Hormaz with a letter from

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<sup>6</sup> Voltaire, in his "*Siècle de Louis XIV*" criticises the tardiness of the French in scientific matters and in geographical discoveries and enterprizes. He says: "Les Français n'eurent part ni aux grandes découvertes ni aux inventions admirable des autre nations. . . . Ils faisaient des tournois, pendant que les Portugais et les Espagnols découvraient and conquéraient de nouveaux mondes a l'orient et á l'occident du monde connu." (Edition of 1878 of "*Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*" p 158 p. 4 Chap. I Introduction), i.e. "The French took no part, either in the great discoveries or in the admirable inventions of other nations. . . . They performed the tournaments when the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered and conquered the new worlds in the east and in the west of the known world." Robert Grant in his "*Sketch of the History of the East India Company*" (1813) p. XXXVI draws our attention to this criticism of Voltaire.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Orme's "*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*" (1805), p. 319 *et seq.* <sup>8</sup> V. Smith gives the year as 1579 (Smith's Akbar, p. 296).



the Queen to Akbar<sup>9</sup>. They arrived at Akbar's court in 1585. Then came, in 1603, <sup>10</sup> Mildenhall, at the head of a commercial mission, *via* Aleppo and Persia. He announced himself as a messenger from Queen Elizabeth and got permission to trade. All of these commercial adventurers came in foreign vessels.

The first English vessel that came here was Hector with Capt. William Hawkins as Commander. It arrived at Suwalli (modern Sumari) in August 1608<sup>10a</sup>. A ship, named Ascension, had left England one month before it, but it was delayed in the voyage, and, when it came in Indian waters, was wrecked at Gandevi about 30 miles south of Surat. Hawkins had a letter from King James. He arrived in Jahangir's Court at Agra in April 1609 and remained there till November 1611. Though well received at first, he was refused permission for a factory at Surat. In 1611, the English established a factory at Maslipatam. The Portuguese were powerful here at the time.

The Company had resolved to arrange for an embassy.

Sir Thomas Roe carried the first embassy from James I. He left England in March 1615, and arrived at Surat in September 1615. He was in India for 3 years and 5 months and left in 1619. Among the presents that he brought was an English coach <sup>11</sup>. Sir Thomas

is said to have suggested, that wine would be a better present for the Moghal King and his Prince. He wrote: "Never were men more enamoured of that drinke as these two: they would more highly esteem them than all the jewels in Chepeside <sup>12</sup>" Jahangir gave the necessary permission "to settle factories in any parts of the Mogul empire, specifying Bengal, Sundry, and Surat. <sup>13</sup>"

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<sup>9</sup> *Vide* Smith's Akbar (1917), p. 227 *et seq.* <sup>10</sup> *Vide* Smith's Akbar, pp. 292-94. <sup>10a</sup> Hawkins' Voyages by C. R. Markham (1878) p. 388 *seq.*

<sup>11</sup> Jahangir, in his Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge Vol. I, p. 340), speaks of driving in a Frank (firangi) carriage driven by four horses when he left Ajmer for the Deccan. That was on 10th November 1616. So, it seems that, that was the coach sent as a present by James I.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Auber's "Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company" (1826), p. 718. <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

The first English factory at Surat was founded in September 1612. Robert Orme<sup>14</sup> gives us an interesting account of its formation under Capt. Best who came to Surat with two ships of the Company. The Portuguese did all they could to prevent the establishment of the Factory but they failed. The

*The First English Factory at Surat in 1612.*

Surat merchants liked very much that the English may establish their factory there. One of them enthusiastically said: "Surat must burn all its ships, if friendship were not maintained with the English."<sup>15</sup> On the favourable representations of the merchants "Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th (September 1612) and gave pledges, on which Capt. Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty."<sup>16</sup> Orme adds: "The scope of these articles (of treaty) provided sufficiently for security of a *first* establishment. They were signed on the 21st of October (1622), when Captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the Company. . ."<sup>17</sup> From this time forward the English trade regularly advanced here. Best went home, and, on his giving a glaring report of the Indian trade, the Directors of the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send an ambassador to the Mogal Court to counteract the influence of the Jesuit priests on behalf of Portugal. Jahangir did not like the Portuguese. So, a victory won by the English over the Portuguese on 29th January 1615<sup>18</sup>, at Swally, greatly pleased him, and he, in his Memoirs, especially mentions that victory—the victory over the *Warza* (Portuguese Viceroy)—as one of the three good news that had reached him in the month Bahman.<sup>19</sup> It appears from Orme that, in 1678, the Company's broker at Surat was a Bania.<sup>20</sup>

The English had some trade at Surat from the early part of the 17th century. It was in 1666, that the Madras establishment came to be equal to that of Surat where they paid a consolidated

*English Trade at Surat.*

<sup>14</sup> Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogal Empire (1805), p. 327 *et seq.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* For the terms of the Treaty *vide Ibid.*, pp. 328-9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329. <sup>18</sup> Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 351. Danvers' Portuguese in India (1894) II, 170—71.

<sup>19</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I., p. 274.

<sup>20</sup> Orme's Historical Fragments (1805), p. 72.



duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.c. on their goods. "In addition to this import duty, a poll tax called *jaziya* was imposed on non-Muslims from 2nd April 1679." The Christians protested but "though they are *ahl-i-kitāb* or believers in the Old Testament like the Muhammadans<sup>21</sup>", their protest was of no avail. But "the Moghal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jaziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered a compromise by turning the *jaziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter (from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p.c. ) to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.c."<sup>22</sup>. Aurangzeb's farman of 26th June 1667, directed that "the English trader there (at Surat) should pay only 2 p.c. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported by them to that harbour."<sup>23</sup> This concession was granted on the recommendation of Ghiyas-ud-din Khan, the Governor of Surat, to the Wazir Jafar Khan. This was perhaps because the English had made a bold stand, as we will see later on, against Shivaji during his first sack of Surat in 1664. In 1679, the above reduced  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.c. was re-imposed and in addition 1 p.c. was added, as said above, for *jaziya*; in all they had to pay  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.c. for import duties *ad valorem*.

By this time, the English had exasperated Aurangzeb. They had sacked Hugli in 1686 and seized it in 1687. Then, the Bombay fleet, as directed by Sir John Child, attacked Aurangzeb's fleet. So, he ordered everywhere their arrest, the seizure of their factories and prohibition of all trade with them. But the English being strong at sea, harassed Aurangzeb's pilgrim ships to Mecca and also other trade-ships. The stoppage of trade led to a diminution in Mogul revenue. At last, in February 1690, peace was made. The English gave Aurangzeb Rs. 1,50,000. Notwithstanding this peace, the English at Surat were harassed by the Mogul officers. So, the home authorities, wanted to make Bombay, which had come into their hands, "the Key of India" and Sir John Child, the then President, "left Surat for Bombay on 25th April 1687, in order to be beyond the reach of the Moghals. The imperial governor of Surat disliked this retreat

<sup>21</sup> Sarkar's History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, *vide* p. 317 et seq.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 319. <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 320.



of the English to an independent position.”<sup>24</sup> A state of war ensued. Benjamin Harris and his assistant Samuel Annesley were confined in their house. There was fighting between the English and the Moghals on the Western Coast in 1688-89. Sir John Child, the President, with an English fleet captured a large number of Moghal ships. The above English officers were put in chains and kept prisoners for 16 months (December 1688 to April 1690).

At this time, the Siddee of Janjira, the Admiral of Aurangzeb on the Western coast, attacked Bombay at Aurangzeb's direction, in May 1689. Governor Child did not defend it well. So, it fell an easy prey in the hands of the Siddee, and the English had to shut themselves up in the Fort. Child sent G. Welden and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzeb on a mission for peace (10th December 1689). Aurangzeb granted a pardon on 25th December 1689. The *farman* of pardon and peace was ceremoniously received at Surat on 4th April 1690. The English officers were released and they paid Rs. 1,50,000 as fine. The English had suffered a good deal in prestige and their affairs for 1691-1692 and 1693 were bad. Early in 1694, Sir John Gayer came to India as the chief agent in Western India and Governor of Bombay. In May 1694, Annesley became the chief of the Surat factory. During the next six years, the European pirates were powerful in the Indian seas and injured the power of the English for trade on the Western coast. In 1695, Aurangzeb's own ship was plundered by an English pirate, Bridgmen *alias* Avery. The English were held responsible for this piracy and President Annesley and his assistants had to be confined. Aurangzeb, at first, thought of punishing strongly all the European factories—the Dutch, the French and the English, but, on second thought, he arranged with them for the further protection of the trade. On 6th January 1696, the English President Annesley undertook to supply an escort for his ships and he was set at liberty.

In 1697, an English pirate Kidd again brought the English into difficulties. Aurangzeb imposed a fine of Rs. 14 lakhs upon the factories of the three nations. In the end, these three nations divided their work and undertook to protect the Indian trade on the different parts of the Indian coast. About this time, on

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 336-337.



6th April 1699, the new Company, the English East India Company, was formed and Sir Nicholas Waite came to Surat, as its first President, and Sir William Norris came to India as an ambassador from the English King. In February 1701, Sir John Gayer was arrested and imprisoned by the Mogal Governor of Surat at the instigation of Sir Nicholas Waite, who, in order to undermine the influence and work of the old East India Company, whose representative Sir John Gayer was, misrepresented matters, and said, that the piracy in the Indian seas was the work of Sir John Gayer and his old Company. Sir John Gayer being made prisoner, Sir Nicholas Waite was appointed Governor of Bombay by the Home authorities. Sir John Gayer continued long in prison.

I will finish this account of the early English trade at Surat, with a brief account of the different East India Companies, formed, one after another. This account will enable us to be in a better position to determine the time of Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of two of them. (a) In 1589, some merchants submitted a memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a license of 3 ships to trade with India. The license was given in 1591 and Capt. Raymond started with three ships. This trade-expedition was followed in 1596 by another expedition. The merchant adventurers then thought of forming a regular association for trade. Queen Elizabeth, on being applied to granted, on 31st December 1600, a charter for the purpose. This association formed the London Company which was "the first establishment of an English East-India Company."<sup>25</sup> The Company was "to be managed by a governor and twenty-four Committees".<sup>26</sup> Licenses were also "issued to individuals for private trade."<sup>27</sup> "The Company formed, by degrees, factories in India, and ultimately reached such a degree of prosperity, that various attempts were made to induce the Crown and Parliament to revoke their charter, with no other object than that the petitioners themselves

<sup>25</sup> An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, by Peter Auber (1826), p. 718.

<sup>26</sup> The members were then designated as Committees (Peter Auber's East India Company (1824), p. 195). The Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company by Peter Auber, 1826, p. ix.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. x.

should be elected into an exclusive Company." But this attempt failed. In 1693, the Company failed to pay "a duty of five per cent. on their capital stock" imposed upon them in the time of William and Mary. So, their charter was revoked. A new charter was given with the condition that "it should be determinable on three years' notice."<sup>28</sup>

(b) In 1698, Great Britain, having had wars with foreign powers, was obliged to borrow money. This led to the formation of another Company called "English East India Company," chiefly formed of those who helped the Government by subscribing money for the loan for the war. The Act, permitting the formation of this new Company, provided, that the Government had the right of closing both the Companies—the new and the old—in 1711. It is said, that the Tories favoured the Old Company and the Whigs, the New Company.<sup>29</sup> As was the custom in those early times in case of private bills, that the parties must, with the permission of the Parliament, wait upon His Majesty to pray for his approval, the Governor and Committees waited upon the King at Kensington on 8th March 1699. The King sanctioned the formation of the Company, but "recommended an union of the two companies to their serious consideration, as it was his opinion that it would be most for the interest of the Indian trade."<sup>30</sup>

(c) The King's advice began taking shape in July 1702 and, "after much preliminary discussion, an Indenture Tripartite (called the Charter of Union) was passed under the great seal."<sup>31</sup> The movement took shape in 1708 and both the companies were amalgamated under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies," its brief name being, "The United East India Company." The United Company had 24 managers, known as directors, twelve to be selected from each Company. The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709 and the first 24 Directors were elected on 15th April 1709.

This United Company lent to Government without interest £1,200,000, in lieu of the right of exclusive trade for 15 years. In

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Robert Grant's Sketch of the History of the East India Company, 1813, p. xxxvi. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196. <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.



1722, the period of the exclusive right was extended upto 1733. In 1730, this right was further extended upto 1766, for which extended exclusive right, they gave to Government £200,000 and consented to charge a reduced rate of interest, *viz.*, 4 per cent. on the present and the past debts amounting to £3,200,000. The rate for the past debt was 8 per cent.<sup>32</sup> In 1744, the period of the exclusive right was again extended by 14 years, *i.e.*, upto (1766+14=) 1780, and they lent to Government a further sum of £1,000,000 at 3 per cent. In 1750, the United Company agreed to a reduction from 4 to 3 per cent. of the former loan of £3,200,000. The total sum, known as the East India annuities, amounted to £4,200,000, and the annual amount of interest at 3 per cent., which the Company received, came to £126,000. In 1781, the exclusive right of trading was continued upto 1794. In 1793, the exclusive right of trade with China and in Tea was continued to the Company till 1813, but the exclusive right for trade with India was cancelled and the right was opened to the public.

*A Few Dates  
about the Advent  
of Europeans,  
and among them,  
of the English to  
India.*

I give below a *list* of the principal events in connection with the advent of the English in India.

The Crusades which brought Europe into some close contact with the East .. .. .	1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India <i>via</i> Cape of Good Hope .. ..	1500
The first Englishman (Father Thomas Stevens) to land in India, though not as a merchant, but to work with the Jesuits at Goa .. .. .	1578
The Portuguese had a monopoly of trade with India upto .. .. .	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the Levante or the Turkey Company .. .. .	1581
The advent, <i>via</i> overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Ormaz, of the first band of English merchants—Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others—as merchants of the	

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

- Turkey Company, with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Emperor Akbar .. .. . 1583
- A few English Merchants submitted a Memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a License for 3 ships to trade with India .. .. . 1589
- The License was granted and Captain Raymond started with 3 ships. This was the first trade Expedition. 1591
- The Dutch began trading with the East .. .. 1595
- Another (second) English Trade Expedition .. .. 1596
- Few English Merchant-adventurers applied to Elizabeth for a Charter to form a Trade Association. This led to the foundation of the *first* establishment under the name of the *London East India Company* .. 31st Dec. 1600
- Arrival of Middenhall, who came by land route, as an authorised messenger from Queen Elizabeth, and who was given permission to trade .. .. . 1603
- The arrival of the very first English vessel, *Hector*, under Commander Hawkins at Suwalli (Sumari) near Surat 1608
- The arrival at Jahangir's Court of Hawkins, who came with King James' letter .. .. . 1609
- Hawkin's stay at Jahangir's Court. He was refused permission for a factory at Surat .. .. . 1611
- The English first established a Factory at Masalipatam. 1611
- The English settled at Surat for the first time after the naval defeat, at the hands of Captain Best, of the Portuguese, who had become very powerful at the Mogal Court. This was the foundation of the first English *kothi* or Factory at Surat. The *firman* of trade was given by Jahangir to Edwards .. .. 1612
- Two English Factors went with King James' letter to Jahangir, but were not successful .. .. 1613-1614
- On good reports from Captain Best about the trade with India, the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassador. He landed at Surat .. .. September 1615



An unsuccessful attempt of the Dutch to found a Factory at Surat .. .. .	1616
The first Dutch Factory founded at Surat by Peter van den Bracke, who became its first President <sup>33</sup> ..	1620
The first Dutch Factory founded at Agra with Francisco Palsaert at its head .. .. .	1621
Marriage Treaty of Charles II and Catherine.. 23rd June	1661
The English took possession of Bombay from the hands of the Portuguese .. .. .	1665
The Company's Broker at Surat was a Bania <sup>34</sup> .. ..	1678
The first London East India Company, having failed to pay "a duty of 5 per cent. on their capital stock, its Charter was revoked in the time of William and Mary." A new Charter was given, on condition, that it may be revoked in 3 months' notice .. .. .	1693
The formation of the 2nd Company, the English East India Company, the Government reserving the right of closing both the Companies in 1711 .. ..	1698
The founders of the New Company waited, according to custom, upon the King, when the King advised that both the Companies may be united .. ..	1699
The arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New Company at Surat .. .. .	1699
The movement to unite the two Companies according to the King's advice, began .. .. .	1702
The movement finally took shape and both the Companies were united under the name of "The United East India Company" .. .. .	1708
The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709, and the first 24 Directors elected on 15th April 1709. The right of Exclusive trade was given for 15 years upto 1724 .. .. .	1709

<sup>33</sup> "The Empire of the Great Mogal" (De Imperio Magni Mogolis), by De Laet, translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Bannerjee (1928), Introduction, p. IV. This work is spoken of as "a complete Gazetteer of Jahangir's India," (*Ibid*, p. vi.)

<sup>34</sup> Orme's Historical Fragments (1805), p. 72.

The Period of Exclusive trade extended upto 1733	..	1722
This Period of Exclusive trade again extended upto 1766	.. .. .	1730
This Period of Exclusive trade again increased by 14 years, i.e., upto (1766+14=) 1780	.. .. .	1744
The United Company had lent money to British Government. The interest over these Loans, which amounted to £3,200,000, was reduced from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. The total sum known as "The East India Annuities" amounted to £4,200,000	.. .. .	1750
The Period of Exclusive trade for the East India Company was further increased upto 1794	..	1781
The right of Exclusive trade with India was cancelled (though that with China and that of the tea trade was continued upto 1813)	.. .. .	1793

## IV.

**The Persian Poem, Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock, i.e., The Life Story or History of Rustam Manock.**

Now we come to the second object of our paper, viz., to give an account of the life of Rustam Manock.

For the account of the life of Rustam Manock, we have, besides some stray materials found here and there, a *The Qisseh*. Persian poem, entitled Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock (قصه رستم مانک) i.e., the History or Life-story of

Rustam Manock, written by Mobed Jamshed Kaikobad. It speaks of several historical events relating to Emperor Aurangzeb, Shivaji and the English and Portuguese factories; so, it is a contemporary historical document, which, though not of unusually great historical value, is important as a document presenting a Parsee view of the events. I will give, the Qisseh in Persian. I will give, later on, a full summary of its contents and will then examine, how far its account of the historical events is supported by historical works. I will first speak here of the Author and the Date of the Qisseh.



The author of the Qisseh is Jamshed Kaikobad. Unfortunately, Dastur Minochehr, the editor of the poem, of whom I will speak a little later on, while preparing a correct text of it, seems to have done away with its original colophon or concluding lines, wherein the author must have given, in his own words, his name, residence, date, etc. However, it is well, that Minochehr has given, in his own words, the author's name, place and date. From this, we learn that the author of the Qisseh lived at Surat, and that he wrote this Qisseh in 1080 Yazdazardi (Samanin alif. c. 590)<sup>35</sup> i.e., 1711 A.C. Jamshed Kaikobad, was, as he himself says in the Qisseh<sup>36</sup>, the tutor of Nowrozji, Rustam Manock's third son, who, as we will see later on, was the first Parsee to go to London in 1723 and whose name is often referred to in the above-mentioned East India Company's documents. We see, from the date given above, that Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his account of the life of Rustam Manock, 10 years before the death of Rustam who died in 1721 A.C.

No original manuscript in the hand of the author has come down to us. There may be, somewhere, a copy or copies of the author's own original, but I have not come across any. Several copies existed in 1845. The story of the text, as I give it, is as follows: In 1214 A.Y., i.e., 1845 A.C., Manockji Merwanji Seth, the sixth in descent from Rustam Manock, saw and possessed several copies of the original Qisseh as written by the author Jamshed Kaikobad. He requested Ervad (afterwards Dastur) Minochehr Edalji Jamaspasa,<sup>37</sup> to prepare a correct text out of the several copies then existing. Minochehr did so. In the text prepared by him, Minochehr says, that there were several copies of the Qisseh but they were found incorrect from the point

<sup>35</sup> C. in this paper means couplet. بسال ثمانین الف یزد جرد

نموده بدش ختم آن را و مرد

<sup>36</sup> c. 306. از آن است نوروز هاوشت می  
i.e., of those (three sons) Nowroz is my pupil.

<sup>37</sup> Born 1808. Came to Dasturship on 22nd February 1861 on the death of his father. Died within 8 months on 20th October 1861.



of view of the meter (bi-kāideh, c. 59); that that was due to ignorant copyists (نواقفان نقل سازندگان c. 592); that therefore, Manockji Merwanji, the Seth of the time, the head of the *anjuman* (community) of Mobads, showed these copies to several learned men who all declared them to be faulty (c. 593); that he then entrusted the work to him (Minochehr, the son of Dastur Edalji, surnamed Jamaspasana); that Manockji Seth said to him, "You prepare another Qisseh according to the old one;" and that therefore this Qisseh is one based upon the old one. Minochehr gives the year of his own work as the year *ghariji*<sup>38</sup> (غارجي), i.e., 1214 Yazdazardi (c. 610), i.e., 1845 A.C.

The revised and corrected text so prepared by Minochehr, long remained unpublished. Then, the late Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, who was the eighth in descent from Rustam Manock and was the elder brother of the above Kavasji Seth, published it in 1900, in a book which was printed for private circulation and which was entitled, શેઠ ખાનદાનની વંશાવલી તથા ટુક એહવાલ જીઆલોજીકલ ટ્રી તથા ચીત્રો સાથે (i.e., the descending line of the Seth family and a brief account with a genealogical tree and photographs). In very few copies of this publication, he has published a lithographed text, in 36 pages, of the Qisseh, as prepared by Minochehr. I am told that only three copies of the text were published. The text, which I give at the end of my paper, is a copy prepared from that publication, with my collation here and there from other copies.

The Text, as prepared by Minochehr, has been transliterated and translated into Gujarati. The transliterator and translator does not give his name, but, it appears from what is stated at the end of the lithographed copy published by Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, that the transliteration and translation were also the work of the above mentioned Minochehr. I produce for inspection a well-written copy of it, kindly presented to me some years ago, by a member of the Jassawala family, bearing, in the beginning and at the end, a stamped inscription saying "Presented by the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetjee Jassawala's family 1905." This copy bears the title આએ

<sup>38</sup> Gharij means wine. Ghariji is a cup-bearer. (Steingass) This chronogram comes to 1214, according to the *abjad* method:

$$\text{غ} = 1000 + \text{ا} = 1 + \text{و} = 200 + \text{ج} = 3 + \text{ي} = 10 = 1214.$$



ક્રીસ્તો શેઠ રસ્તમ માલુકનો નોચહેરજી દસ્તુર એદલજીનો બનાવેલો, i.e., this Qisseh of Seth Rustam Manock prepared by Manochehrji Dastur Edalji. From this Gujarati transliterated copy, a Persian text has been reproduced by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana. The original of it exists in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library. I am thankful to the authorities of the library for lending it to me to take a copy<sup>39</sup>. Dastur Erachji says in his Ms., that he has rendered the text into Persian from a Manuscript of the text written in Gujarati characters, belonging to Seth Kaikhosru Rustamji<sup>40</sup>. He says:

و از قصه که این نقل کردم آن اصل قصه در گجراتی با  
معنی نوشته نزد سیت کیخسرو رستم جی بود از آن روی در فارسی  
نقل کردم-

At the end of the lithographed copy, as given in the book published by Mr. Jalbhoy Merwanji Seth; there is a statement, that the text and its version (ma'ani), as prepared at the desire of Seth Manockji Merwanji, were examined and approved by Munshi Dosabhoy Sohrabji. This statement is followed by a certificate in Gujarati, dated 17th November 1845, and signed by Dosabhoy Sohrabji Munshi, saying that the verses and Gujarati translation are correct.

As to the Qisseh itself, as it has come down to us, and as published in the lithographed text in the above mentioned book of Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, it contains in all, 610 couplets. The first 51 couplets are something like a Preface or Introduction, not wholly from the pen of Minochehr. Similarly, the last 23 couplets in the postscript are also from the pen of Dastur Minochehr. He announces the name of the author as Jamshed (c. 45). He says to himself: "Make new (i.e., bring into public notice afresh) what is said by Jamshed. Adorn the old bride with ornaments."

<sup>39</sup> I am thankful to Mr. Furdunji Manockji Pavri, B.A., for kindly making a copy of it for me some years ago.

<sup>40</sup> On my inquiring from Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth, I am kindly informed that this gentleman traced his descent from Rustam Manock as follows: Rustam Manock—Bomanji—Khurshedji—Merwanji—Rustomji—Kaikhosru.

## V.

## Summary of the Qisseh.

I propose examining the several historical events mentioned in the *Qisseh* in the order in which they are narrated in the *Qisseh*. So, I will first give here a brief summary of the *Qisseh*, in which the marginal headings refer to the different headings as given in the *Qisseh*. For guiding the reader, I occasionally give reference to the *Qisseh* by giving its couplet, abbreviated as 'C'.

The *Qisseh* begins without any special heading. The first 51 couplets form an Introduction. Of these, the first 29 couplets are in praise and prayer of God. They seem to be the composition of the author Jamshed or an adaptation from his verses. In those times, all such writings began with praise of God; so, Jamshed's poem cannot be an exception. These 29 couplets say, that God is the maker of nine celestial orbs (huqqa, c. 5), one under another (tutuq)<sup>41</sup>, which are bedecked with stars, some of which are moving<sup>42</sup>. The terrestrial globe (muhra-i-khāk) was suspended (mu'allāq) over waters and the creation was made out of the four elements<sup>43</sup>. From the 30th to the 44th couplet, Dastur Minochehr, the revisor, asks for God's blessings upon his work, upon the soul of the author Jamshed Kaikobad who composed the poem (c. 32) and then upon himself. Then he asks himself (c. 45) to look sharp in his work. The story proper of the *Qisseh* begins from couplet 52.

Rustam was the son of Manock. He was descended from Mobads (c. 54) and was an inhabitant of Surat. He was a luminary (saraj) among Zoroastrians. He was benevolent and charitable like Hâtim (c. 56). Every year, he supplied to the poor food and clothing (c. 68). He also supported the religion of God (din-i-Khudā, i.e., Zoroastrianism, c. 72). His face was brilliant like that of Jamshed. In dignity, he was like Kaikhosru (c. 74.) He was virtuous like Faridun and illustrious like Tahmuras (c. 75). In courage he was like Rustam, the son of Zāl, the ruler of Kabul.

<sup>41</sup> Tutuq, curtain, coats of an onion; sky.

<sup>42</sup> "Harakat azān chandrā bar guzasht".

<sup>43</sup> آخشیجان "the (four) opposites, i.e., the elements" (Steingass).



and Zabul (cc. 76-78). What Rustam was to Iran in those times, he (Rustam Manok) was to all at this time (c. 79). He was the leader of Mobads and Behdins (*i.e.*, priests and laymen, c. 81). Through him, our (Parsee) people commanded respect among other communities. There were kings from the time of Kayômars upto Yazdjard, but they all are dead; but no, they are living through him (c. 85). He, one of their descendants, has pleased them in heaven by his good deeds (c. 86). He is like a king (Shah) in the country of India (c. 87). The author then prays for and blesses Rustam Manock (cc. 87-108). One of his blessings is that God may grant, that he may live as long, as the Sun, Moon and Stars shine in the sky (c. 91).<sup>44</sup> Then he prays that all his descendants (*za farz-and-i-farzand*) may always be joyful. From couplet 108 begins the narration of the events of Rustam Manock's life.

The first event described is the tax of Aurangzeb's (1) *Relieving Parsees from the burden of the Jaziya.* Jaziyeh. It is described under the following head:<sup>45</sup>

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه در زمان شاه اورنگ  
زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود و از آن جزیه پارسیانرا  
مذکور سیت رهانید

*i.e.* This, in the description of Seth Rustam Manock, that in the time of King Aurangzeb, there was the tax of jaziyeh (capitation tax) imposed upon Parsees. The above Seth got the Parsees relieved from that capitation tax.

Here again, in the commencement of this narration of the jaziyeh tax, Minochehr has added a line of his own, stating that he said what followed from what was said by Jamshed (ز جم گفتایش). The Qisseh thus speaks of the Jaziyeh: In the reign of Sultan Aurangzeb, there was the fearful (*bà nahîb*<sup>46</sup>) tax

<sup>44</sup> The maximum age prayed for in the Ashirvâd or marriage-blessings is that of 150 years. In some places, we have a blessing for a life of over one thousand years (*Hazâr sâl der bedâr*). There, the signification is that of the continuity of a long line of progeny. Here also the signification seems to be the same, because in the next couplets, he prays for continuity of joy among children and grandchildren.

<sup>45</sup> I give the heading from Dastur Erachji's Ms. wherein it is clear.

<sup>46</sup> Nahîb also means "plundering, a spoiler" (Steingass).



of *jaziyeh* on Zoroastrians. The poor, the orphans and others suffered from its oppression. They went to Rustam and prayed to be relieved from its burden. They said that the incidence of the *Jaziyeh* weighed heavily and brought distress to them and their children. They were harmed and oppressed in its collection. They requested him to relieve them from this tax. Rustam complied with their request and went to the great Diwan. He gave him a certain large sum annually and took the responsibility of annual payment ( *zummeh* ذمه ) of the tax over himself (c. 122). They all blessed Rustam for this generosity.

*Relieving the  
poor of other  
communities  
from the burden  
of Jaziyeh. c.  
134 seq.*

The next subject is that of Rustam relieving the poor of other communities also from the burden of the *Jaziyeh*<sup>47</sup>. The author says as follows on the subject:—When this act of generosity of Rustam Manock was generally known, all praised him. There were many poor of other communities (*qaom-i-digar*, c. 136) who were imprisoned for the non-payment of the *Jaziyeh*.

Their wives and children went to Rustam Manock and said that their husbands and fathers were imprisoned, because they were very poor and could not pay the tax (cc. 140-41)

که مارا نبوده توان جزیه داد  
از آن باب سختی بما بر کشاد  
که والد و هم شوهران مرا  
گرفتند در قید بس با جفا

They added, that tax-collectors (*muhasal*, c. 142) were appointed to collect *Jaziyeh* from them, i.e. (women and

<sup>47</sup> The subject is headed thus in Dastur Erachji's Ms. :

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه چندین مردمان  
از قوم جد دینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده بودند  
اوشانرا نیز مذکور سیت از بند رها نیده

i.e. This (subject) is in the matter of the description (or praise) of Rustam Manock. Several persons from the community of another religion (*jud-dinān*) were arrested by the hands of the Governor. The above Seth released them also from prison.



children) also. Again, these tax-collectors speak in a vile tone (zabūn) with them. When Rustam heard these grievances, he had compassion upon them and he told Noshirwan,<sup>48</sup> who was his deputy (or assistant, nāib, c. 150), to go to the Diwan and pay the tax for those poor people and release them from imprisonment. Several thousands (of Rupees چندی هزار c. 154) were spent and the poor freed from the tax. The poor blessed Rustam Manock

که با پسران دولت ایزدا  
با آباد دارد و زی تابقا

i. e., May God keep you and your children's wealth in plenty and may you live long.

Then the author, Jamshed, refers to a Persian book Sad-dar Nazam and says that, according to that book, one who helps the poor and relieves them from the Jaziyeh tax is blessed by God and his angels (cc. 162-65).

The author then refers to the sack of Surat by Shivaji, and to Rustam Manock's kindness to help the poor during that time of distress. He speaks of this under the following heading :

(2) Shivaji's  
Sack of Surat,  
c. 69 et seq.

ظلمانه دادن از طرف مردمان شهر سیت رستم بوقت  
شیو غنی (49)

i. e., the giving of the oppressive tax (zulmāneh), on behalf of the people of the city, by Seth Rustam at the time of Shiveh Ghani.

<sup>48</sup> I cannot identify this Noshirwan. He seems to be the same Noshirwan who is referred to, later on, as receiving Rustam Manok as his guest at Naosari.

<sup>49</sup> Dastur Erachji's copy gives the heading as follows :

در باب اینکه هر گاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکو خود  
در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوي آمده و زرتشتیان را بسیار عذیت  
رسانیده بود و بر اوشان خراج ظلمانه نهاده بود در آن وقت  
از طرف هم زرتشتیان سیت رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده  
هم را از خراج ظلمانه رها نموده بود--

The account in the *Qisseh*, of this sack of Surat, is, in brief, as follows: Once, there came upon the city (of Surat) Shiveh ghani like Ahriman. He arrested from all directions (as hostages for payment) women, men and children. He carried away also as booty silken cloth (قماش qumash) and gold and silver and household furniture (کالا) and jewellery. From such a confusion (gīr o dār گيرو دار)<sup>50</sup> there was a general flight (گریغ) in the city, in the villages and in the zillahs (ضلع). Again, he set fire here and there. Those who were taken prisoners sent a word to the city that, unless the fine of release (zulamaneh)<sup>51</sup> was paid, there was no chance of release. The people went to Rustam Manock and said (c. 184 *et. seq.*): "We are distressed and helpless from the terror of Shiveh ghani. He has destroyed all our goods and property. He has imprisoned the males of our families and he beats them oppressively. He asks from every person spurious<sup>52</sup> (or oppressively large) oppressive tax (zulmaneh). He asks from all ten thousand (deh alif) rupees. We are not in a position to give the oppressive fine, which he asks. He has come up like a Ahriman and become the enemy of the city and villages. He has an army of 50,000 soldiers and there are, at the head of the army, two persons as extorters (gīr o dar, lit. those who say, seize and hold). One is Ahujiban (آهوجيبان) and the other Divyan (ديويان). He has become the enemy of the sect of Zoroastrians. These two persons have destroyed many villages by pillage. They have carried away from every house gold and jewellery and apparel and grain as pillage, and then they have set fire to the houses. They have killed several people and have tied the hands of some over their backs. We are some of those who have run away from him." Thus describing the distress, they requested Rustam Manock to help them. Rustam was grieved to hear this and he gave Rs. 10,000 for their release (c. 216) and also supplied food, money and clothing for them.

<sup>50</sup> Lit. "Seize and hold."

<sup>51</sup> Zulmāneh seems to be a fine or ransom for the release of persons.

<sup>52</sup> Na-khelaf, dastardly, wicked, spurious, villainous. What is meant is "oppressively large".



The author then narrates the following story of King Minochehr and Aghrérās. Afrasiāb (the Turanian King), *Shivaji and Afrasiāb, and Rustam Manock and Aghrérās.* at one time, winning a victory, killed Naodar, the Iranian king, and imprisoned his wise officers. He then ordered, that they also may be killed. Then, the victorious Aghrérās interfered and asked for their release from the King, saying that they were innocent. So, Afrasiāb countermanded his order of killing them and gave them in charge of Aghrérās. Aghrérās (privately) sent a messenger to Zāl-i-Sām that he may send Keshwād with an Iranian army to set free the Iranians from his prison. The Iranians came for their relief, and Aghrérās, under some excuse, absented himself from the palace and went to the court of Afrasiāb. Keshwād restored all the Iranians to liberty and carried them to Zābūl. Afrasiāb on coming to know the true state of affairs, killed Aghrérās.<sup>53</sup> Our author then names Firdousi and quotes some of his lines. He then adds, that he mentioned this episode to illustrate the good action of Rustam Manock. In this case, Rustam Manock was like the virtuous Aghrérās, and ghani Sivaji like the wicked Afrasiāb.

(3) *The Account of Rustam Manock's Charities.*

Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's charities, &c., under the following heading:

برای آسایش و آسانی مردمان و ادا کردن کارهای کفره  
و فرضهای خویش

i.e., on (the subject of) the repose and comfort of men and on the performance of acts of charity, and one's own duty.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> This Agreras is the Agraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII, 131, Yt. IX, 22; Yt. XIX, 77). *Vide* for the above story and other particulars about this Agrérās my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," pp. 7-10.

<sup>54</sup> Dastur Erachji's text has a long heading which says: "In the matter of the work of bequests of charity" (auqaf pl. of waqf, like) the building of bridges by Seth Rustam on the banks of waters of rivers and on desolate (kharāb' places; laying out of gardens and buildings; and building of big wells everywhere for the repose and comfort of men and the performance of acts of righteousness and one's own duties."

Among the good works of Rustom Manock, mentioned under this heading, we find the following :—

1. He got some roads put in good order.
2. He got *pucca* chunam bridges built over water-courses.
3. He brought under cultivation and gardening, desolate unused (kharij) land.
4. He built great buildings with beautiful gardens with water-courses (Kāriz کاريز )<sup>55</sup> and favāreh ( فواره fountain c. 264).<sup>56</sup>
5. He built a building with a surrounding garden for the charitable use (waqf) of Zoroastrians to be used by them for marriage and Jashan occasions<sup>57</sup> (c.c. 272-74).
6. He built in the city and in the villages wells for<sup>58</sup> pure (zalah) water.
7. He got built reservoirs (hauj) for water for the cattle.
8. He got performed in the Dar-i-Meher religious ceremonies like the Vendidad, Visparad, Yasht and Hamāst (c. 280), daily Darun in honour of the Ameshāspands and Asho Farohars, Herbad, Getikharid, Naojote, Zindeh ravān.<sup>59</sup>
9. He helped the poor for the marriage of their children.
10. He helped the Dasturs and the Mobads, *i.e.*, the clergy.

<sup>55</sup> The Gujarati translator translates karez by કારિઝ

<sup>56</sup> It appears from a long description of these buildings that they were intended for his own self and not for charity.

<sup>57</sup> I think this is the place still known as the Panchayet ni wadi.

<sup>58</sup> *Vide* below for the inscription on one of such wells, at Hajira near Surat.

<sup>59</sup> *Vide* for these ceremonies, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees”.



We find in the above account of Rustam's good works, his *Anquetil Du Perron's* work of changing desolate ground into good garden ground (cc. 260-270).<sup>60</sup> I think that Anquetil reference to *Rustam's Garden*. Du Perron, in the Discours Preliminaire of his Zend Avesta (p. 361) refers to this garden. While speaking of the burning ground of the Hindus, Anquetil says : "Cet endroit

<sup>60</sup> I recently made enquiries about the place of this garden from Mr. Manockshah C. Petigara, the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat. In his letter, dated 30th July, in reply to my letter of 26th July 1929, he says : "શેઠ કારશીલ ખરજોરણ વકીલને પુછીને તથા જગ્યા બંને જોઈ આવી ત્યાં રહેતા રખેવાલને પુછીને નીચે મુજબને ખુલાશો લખી જણાવું છું :

"રસ્તમખાગ કરોને એક જગ્યા અશ્વની કુમાર આગળ આવેલી છે જે સુરત સ્ટેશનથી આશરે દોઢ મે માઈલ છે. એ જગ્યામાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાં સારાં કુસો ધાતાં હતાં તેમજ તરકારી થતી હતી. એ ખાગના માલિકનું નામ રસ્તમ હતું અને તે સુરત રસ્તમપુરાના રહીસ હતા અને પારસીઓમાં પ્રખ્યાત હતા એટલે એ રસ્તમ તે રસ્તમ માનેકજ હોવા જોઈએ એમ ધારવામાં આવે છે. એ જગ્યા આમરે ૪૦ વીંધાં છે અને તે એક વખત મરહુમ શેઠ નવરોજી બમનજી વકીલની માલકી અને કબજામાં પણ હતી અને હાલમાં એ ખાગની જમીન શ્વામી નારાયણ મંદોરના માહારાજ વડતાલની ગદીના આચાર્ય શ્રીપત પ્રસાદ ખોહારીલાલજી માહારાજના હસ્તકમાં છે. એ જમીનમાં હાલ કુલપાન કે તરકારી જેવું કશું થતું નથી પરંતુ રૂ. ૪૫૦) વારસીક સાદે ગણીને ખેતી કરવા માટે ખેડવા સાદે અપાય છે જેમાં કપાસ જીવાર થાય છે અને એ જગ્યામાં અશ્વની કુમાર મહાદેવનું મંદીર પણ છે અને લોકો ઉજાણાએ અવાર નવાર એ જગ્યામાં આવે છે અને ખાસ કરી અખર્ષ નામનો તહેવાર જે દેવાળી પણ નવમે દીવસે આવે છે તે દીને હજારો હીંદુઓ નાહવા માટે તથા દર્શન અર્થે ત્યાં જાય છે. એ અશ્વની જગ્યાથી કુલપાડા (આંકુ-એટોલનું પુલપાર) ની જગ્યા કે જ્યાં હીંદુઓના મુડદાં બાળવામાં આવે છે તે આસરે બેસે પગલાંથી દૂર છે અને એ બંને જગ્યા અમરેલીના પુલની પુરવ દીશાએ બરોબર પુલની નજીકમાં આવેલી છે. પુલની પાસે કુલપાડા ને ત્યાંથી આસરે ૨૦૦ પગલાં દૂર અશ્વની કુમાર છે : હાલ ત્યાં કોઈ ફરવા અર્થે જતું નથી મચકુ ખાગમાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાંક બંગલાઓ હતા પણ હાલ કોઈ નથી.

મચકુર ખાગના હાલના રખેવાલથી એમ માલમ પડે છે કે આગલા વખતમાં એ ખાગ સરકારના કબજામાં પણ ગયેલો અને સરકારે અરદેશર બહાદુરને તેનો મારો નોકરોના બદલામાં ભેટ આપેલો અને શ્વામી નારાયણ એ અરદેસર બહાદુર પર પ્રસન્ન થય. થી તેમને પાતાનો મુગટ, જેને "પાથ" કહે છે તે અરદેશરને ભેટ આપ્યો હતો કે જેના ઘાટ કાઢીઆવાડો ફ્રેશન પાથડાનો છે અને તે મુગટ હાલ પણ એ અરદેશર બહાદુરનાં કુટુંબમાં મોજુદ છે."

I beg to thank Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, and his Secretary Mr. Manocksha Petigara for all the information they have given me in reply to my inquiries about Rustam Manock. I had the pleasure of visiting Surat, as Mr. Kavasji's guest, in November 1928, when I had the pleasure of visiting several places of Surat connected with the name of Rustam Manock, and I take this opportunity to thank him for all his kindness in helping me in my inquiries.

se nomme Poulpara; il est sur le bord du Tapti, au-dessous du Jardin du Parse Roustoum, célèbre par les belles fleurs qu'il produit, et où les Habitants de Surate, Naturels et Etrangers, vont souvent prendre le plaisir de la promenade." *i.e.*, This place is called Poulpara; it is on the bank of the Tapti, below the garden of Parsi Roustam, known for the beautiful flowers which it produces and where the inhabitants of Surat—the Natives and Foreigners—go often to take promenade."

Then follow some verses in praise of Rustam and his three sons, under the following heading (4) *Rustam and his Three Sons.* (c. 298). در اولاد سیت رستم گوید <sup>61</sup>

*i.e.* This is what is said about the descendants of Rustam.

Rustam Manock had three good sons. One was Framarz, the second Bahman, and the third Naoroz. Of these three, Naoroz is my pupil (هاوشت) <sup>62</sup> and he is, like his father, handsome, good-natured and kind-hearted. May these sons be all auspicious to Rustam Manock and may there be many (farā) children (nūrdidān) in his house (khané). <sup>63</sup> He (Rustam Manock) has a virtuous, pious, handsome wife named Ratanbai. Rustam is fortunate in having such a wife (zauja) and such children. Then, the author Jamshed blesses Rustam Manock with the mention of the following past great worthies of ancient Iran, wishing, that he may be endowed with all their virtues <sup>64</sup>:

Gaiyomard<sup>1</sup>

Tehmuras<sup>3</sup>

Hoshang<sup>2</sup>

Jamshed<sup>4</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Dastur Erachji's heading runs thus: در وصف سیت رستم مانگ  
وسه فرزندانش را بیان کرده است

<sup>62</sup> Avesta hāvishta, a disciple.

<sup>63</sup> *i.e.*, May the family be blessed with grandchildren. *Nūr-dideh*, "beloved child" (Steingass. نور).

<sup>64</sup> *Vide*, for these personages, my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names (1892). (1) *Ibid.* p. 4 (Gaya Maretan). (2) *Ibid.* p. 203. (3) *Ibid.* p. 93. (4) *Ibid.* p. 153.



Āfridun (Faridun) <sup>5</sup>	Ādarbād Mārasfand <sup>19</sup>
Minochehr <sup>6</sup>	Jāmāsp (Hakim) <sup>20</sup>
Kaikobād <sup>7</sup>	Tus <sup>21</sup>
Kāus <sup>8</sup>	Zawar (Zahvāreh) <sup>22</sup>
Siāvakhsh <sup>9</sup>	Zarir <sup>23</sup>
Kai Khusrau <sup>10</sup>	Rustam <sup>24</sup>
Gushtāsp, son of Lonrāsp <sup>11</sup>	Zāl <sup>25</sup>
Isfandiār <sup>12</sup>	Kersāsp (son of) Asrat <sup>26</sup>
Bahman <sup>13</sup>	Milād <sup>27</sup>
Ardashir (Bābakān) <sup>14</sup>	Giv
Naoshirwān <sup>15</sup> (son of Kobad)	Framroz
Khusro Parviz <sup>16</sup>	Godrez, the father of 70 sons
Yazdazard <sup>17</sup>	Peshotan
Dastur Ardāi Virāf <sup>18</sup>	

(5) *Rustam's first Interview with the English. His appointment as a broker. His finding a house for them.* Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's contact with the English factory and of his being appointed its broker, under the following heading:—

در کیفیت انگریز که در ملک هندوستان به شهر سورت آمد  
و بار ملاقات شدن سیت رستم و دلال شدن او

i.e. In the matter of the English who came in the country of India to the city of Surat and the introduction of Seth Rustam with them and his becoming (their) broker <sup>65</sup>.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 99. (6) *Ibid*, p. 148. (7) *Ibid*, p. 53. (8) *Ibid*, p. 41. (9) *Ibid*, p. 196. (10) *Ibid*, p. 214. (11) *Ibid*, p. 4. (12) *Ibid*, p. 194. (13) Also known as Ardashir Darāz-dast (long-handed), identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus. (14) Artaxerxes. (15) Chosroes I. (16) Chosroes II. (17) The last Sassanian King. (18) The Visionary of the Ardai Viraf nameh. (19) The Author of a Pahlavi Pand-nameh. (20) The author of Jāmāspi. (21) *Ibid*, p. 27. (22) Brother of Rustam. (23) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names, p. 83. (24) *Vide* Bundelesh Chap. XXXI 4. (25) Father of Rustam, *Vide* Shāh-nāme. (26) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names p. 59. (27) *Vide* the Shāh-nāme for this and the next four personages. *Vide* Justi's *Iranischen Namen buch* for some of these personages.

<sup>65</sup> Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:—

در باب اینکه انگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش بهندوستان  
در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانکرا بار ملاقات شد

I will give my translation of the author's account of his first interview with the English factor and of the first house of the English factory at Surat in details: "The English (Angréz) came to Surat from their country, in splendour, with money (ganj) and coins (dinār). They came to India in ships in great caravans (*i.e.*, fleets) by the way of the great sea (c. 340). They came for noble or valuable (arj-mand) trade in the dress of great merchants. Seth Rustam visited them; the Kulah-push<sup>66</sup> (*i.e.*, the hat-wearers *i.e.*, the English), were much pleased with that visit. Within a short time, friendship (tavādād) increased between them, and, from union of colour (yak-rangi or one kind of pleasure or mode or manners), they became united in heart (yak-del) and familiar (sur-mand)<sup>67</sup>. They then made him their broker (dalāl) and entrusted to him all their work. Then, he made enquiries (taffahus) for a palatial building for the residence (bāshandeh) of the English. After many inquiries, (he found) a great building, great in height, length and breadth, as pleasant as that of the palace of Jam (Jamshed), with a large garden like the place of paradise (Iram)<sup>68</sup>, which was heart-ravishing and situated on the bank of the river and which was well ornamented and decorated. (It was so healthy that) if a sick man lived there, his malady soon disappeared; if one was tired of heat<sup>69</sup>, he recovered by living there for a week; if one complaining of an eye-complaint, went there, he recovered by its excellent air. The auspiciousness (baraqqat) of the place was such, that if a merchant, or a poor man or any man lived there and carried on his commercial business or his other trade there, God gave him success unobserved (az ghaib) and he become fortunate.<sup>70</sup> It was a beautiful place and its climate (āb o havā) was full of

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<sup>66</sup> In India, the first comers from Europe were generally known as the wearers of hats, their hats being quite distinct from the Indian turbans. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the first Baronet, in his *Kholāsseh-i Panchat*, similarly speaks of them as *topi-wālā*, *i.e.*, those putting on *topies* or hats. He spoke of Indians, as *pāgdiwālās*, *i.e.*, those who put on turbans. I remember, hearing in my younger days the word "*topi-wala*" colloquially used for Europeans.

<sup>67</sup> From *sur* banquet, pleasure, nuptials.

<sup>68</sup> Iram "the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shadād bin 'Ad, in emulation of the gardens of paradise" (Steingass).

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps what is meant is "suffered from prickly heat."

<sup>70</sup> This is an allusion to the belief that some houses are very lucky.



benefit (afādāt) and deserved praise (c. 355). This paradise-like place belonged to a merchant of Surat. His name Haji Hajaz Beg is known and famous in many places (c. 347). He (Rustam) got this large building given to the English at a high rent. He fixed its rent at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English decorated it according to their own contrivance and at their own expense. It was made, as it were, fit for royalty by many decorations. Then the secret-knowing God made the good fortune of the English very brilliant."

(b) *The Visit of Rustam Manock, in the company of the English Factor, to the Court of Aurangzeb.*

Then follows an account (c. 363) of the visit of Rustam Manock to the Court of Aurangzeb in the company of the British factor under the following heading<sup>71</sup>:

رفتن سیت رستم به ہم راه کلمه پوش انگریز بخدمت شاه  
دلی و عرض کردن او از جانب کلمه پوش بحضرت پادشاه و  
منشور یافتن از او

i.e., the going of Seth Rustam in the company of the habit wearing English to the Court (lit. service) of the King of Delhi and his requesting His Majesty on behalf of the English and obtaining a Royal mandate (manshūr) from him.

The account in brief runs as follows: In order to have an order (manshur c. 363), Rustam went with the Englishman (angrez) towards Delhi. At that time, the rule of Aurangzeb was like that of the brilliant sun (tābān khur c. 365). Rustam submitted the case of the English thus: "This man has come from the West (khāvar) to India for commerce, but the Amirs of Your Majesty's exalted court do not permit him (to live and trade) in the city. This Englishman is a good man and expects

<sup>71</sup> Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:

در باب ایفک سیت رستم مانک برای کردن \* کوتی انگریز  
در شهر سورت نزدیک پادشاه دہلی رفت و شاه را عرض کرد  
و فرمان شاهی یافت انگریز را در شهر سورت ماندن جای داد  
بیان آن

\*koti, kothi, Factory.

favour from the royal Court. He requests that, through the kindness of the King, they may give him a place where he can carry on his trade and have a store-house (*ambār-khāneh*)". Before submitting this request, Rustam had pleased the King and his courtiers with rich and rare offerings of presents (*nazraneh* <sup>72</sup> c. 380). Therefore his request was recommended for acceptance to the King by his courtiers. At that time, there was before the King, a Vazir named Asad Khān (c. 383). The King ordered him to give an order to the Englishman (*kolah-posh*). Asad Khān ordered a *dabir* (Secretary) to write out an order, that the Englishman may be allowed to have admittance in the city and to have a place for his house and factory and that his goods of merchandise were exempted from tax (*zakāt*). The King then signed this order with his seal. The King entrusted the order to his minister Asad Khān who gave it to a messenger (*chawos*) to be carried to the Englishman. The Englishman went in the direction of Surat and the Seth (Rustam Manock) went in another direction. He went out with his servants to see<sup>73</sup> different cities.

He visited Dandeh Rajpore (داندہ راجپور). Siddee Yāqoub (7) *Rustam's visit of Dandeh Rajpore, Damaun and Nao-sari and return to Surat.* (سیدی یعقوب) was the Governor (*hakim*) of the place. He welcomed and treated right hospitably Rustam Manock. When Rustam departed, he gave him a dress of honour (*khela'at*). From there, he went to Damaun where a Portuguese *pādri*<sup>74</sup> (پادری)

<sup>72</sup> This custom of *nazrāneh* played a prominent part in the administration of the Moghal Emperors. It brought in a large revenue to them. The gross revenue of Aurangzeb was said to be £90,000,000, i.e., about Rs. 130 crores. In this source of income, the *nazrāneh* played a prominent part. One can form an idea of this payment from what Tavernier paid. "Tavernier's present to Aurangzib on one single occasion amounted in value to 12,119 livres, or over £900, and this was a trifle compared with the vast sums presented by the nobles to His Majesty on his birthday and other occasions." (Aurangzib by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 126).

<sup>73</sup> *Tafarruj*, relaxation, enjoyment.

<sup>74</sup> *Padri* is a Portuguese word meaning "a Christian priest, a learned and good man" (Steingass). "The Portuguese word, *Padre*, was originally applied to Roman priests only. It is now the name given all over India to priests, clergymen, or ministers of all denominations." (Travels of F. Bernier by A. Constable (1891) p. 323, n. 1).



فرنگی) was at the head (sar) of the administration. He entertained Rustam hospitably and entrusted to him all his work (hamé kār-i-khūd). He also gave him a dress of honour (sarpāv<sup>75</sup> c. 413).

From there, he went to Naosari, where the elders (buzorgān) went out to receive him (pazireh). He entered Naosari in the company of the Anjuman (c. 415). There, he was the guest of a relative named Noshirwan<sup>76</sup>. He went to the Dar-i-Meher *urvisgah*<sup>77</sup> and had a sacred bath at the hands of a pious priest. He drank Nirangdin<sup>78</sup> and became pure internally and externally. He then went to holy Atash Behram,<sup>79</sup> and, after worshipping there, gave gifts (ashōdād)<sup>80</sup> to the Dasturs and Mobads and to the poor. He sent (arsāul namud) rich presents to the leading men (raisān) and received rich presents in return. From there, he returned to Surat where his people, the great and the small, went out of the city to welcome him. He then paid a visit to the Nawāb and opened before him the royal *farman* which the King had given in favour of the English. The Nawāb got it read by his Secretary (dabir), and, with all respects, gave it into the hands of the English. The English sent it (the farmān) to their Royal Court at home (Vilāyat, c. 427). The British King was pleased to see it and was pleased to learn that the hand of Rustam was in the transaction, and, as Rustam was the broker of the English, he was pleased to entrust work to him.

<sup>75</sup> The proper word is sar-a pa (from head to foot) "*Ser-apah*" or vesture from head to foot. (Bernier. Constable's Translation, p. 118).

<sup>76</sup> The Gujarati translator of the transliterated Gujarati text gives the name as Noshervān Meherji (નોશરવાન મેહેરજી)

<sup>77</sup> For Dar-i-Meher and Urvis-gah, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis" pp. 261-62 and 263-64.

<sup>78</sup> *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 255-57.

<sup>79</sup> *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 211-39. It was a custom, up to a few years ago, that those who went to pray before the sacred fire of the Atash Behram should have a bath before they went in. Rustam Manock had, instead of an ordinary bath, a higher or sacred bath, because he had a long travelling, when he could not observe all the required religious observances.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.



(8) *Release of the ship of Osmān Chalibī from the hands of the Portuguese, c. 432 seq.*

Then, we have an account of Osmān Chalibī under the following head :

در حکایت تجار عثمان چلیبی که بزرگ  
کشتی او از سبب جنگ شدن در دریای فرنگیان  
از دریای خود گرفته بودند

The account, in brief, runs as follows: There was a great well-known merchant at Surat, named Osmān Chalibī. Among his many ships (fulkhā), one ship (safineh) was very large and it was coming laden from Jeddah (جده). It was passing by an unbeaten path (hanjār) in the great sea. A ship of armour (armār)<sup>81</sup>, belonging to the Christians<sup>82</sup> met it and both the ships fought. Cannon (top) shots were fired by both. Many Portuguese (Farang) were killed. But, at last, turning their ship<sup>83</sup>, they (the Portuguese) captured the ship of Osmān and took all the men therein prisoners. They seized all goods and cash (naqdi) of 4 lakhs. They took the ship to the port of Damaun. Osmān who was a Turki by caste (jāt) heard this and became very sorry. Amānat Khan was then the Nawāb of Surat and Osmān lodged a complaint before him. The Nawāb summoned (ahzār) all the mansabdārs before him for consultation. The Nawāb sent for Rustam and said: "In the matter of ships, strict conditions have been made with the Portuguese through you.<sup>84</sup> Why have they violated the conditions and have captured the ship of Osmān? Rustam! the affair can be set right at your hands. The Portuguese know you and they are enamoured of your name. They accept your word; so, this affair will be set right by none but you. You get the ship of Osmān released." Rustam undertook the solution of the affair. He went home and took many valuable things to be presented to the Portuguese and started for Damaun. Many members of the

<sup>81</sup> ازمار is not a Persian word. It is persianized from English " (ship of) armour".

<sup>82</sup> Tarsā. Here, the Portuguese are meant. The word is sometimes applied to Parsees also in the sense of fire worshippers. (Steingass).

<sup>83</sup> gharab, "a kind of ship, grab".

<sup>84</sup> The Nawāb of Surat had, on behalf of the Mogal Emperors, entered into some definite terms with the Portuguese through Rustam Manock, because he (Rustam) was the broker of the Portuguese also.



Court of the Nawāb went with Rustam upto the gate of the city to bid him farewell. Rustam, at first went to Naosari and prayed before the Ātash Behrām, asking for God's blessings upon his errand. Pious Mobads also joined him in the prayer for his success. Rustam presented money to the Mobads. Then, he left for Damaun. When he arrived at the outskirts of the town, the chief (sālār), Captain Kerān (کران), came to know of his arrival. He sent a few great men to receive him. Going into Capt. Keran's court, he submitted his presents before him. Then, he went to the great Pādri (high priest) and gave him also some presents. Rustam then narrated the case of the capture of Osmān's ship and requested its release. He said: "Through me, you have given strong promises to the Moghals, that you would never capture Surat ships by force (jahd). To turn away from a promise is like turning away from one's religion (c. 493). The Christian (Portuguese) general replied: "The ship carried Turks (Turkiān) on board and those Turks showed impudence (shokhi) to our people: they came running upon our people and killed and wounded some of our people. Then it was that our people captured the ship, and making prisoners of the men on it, brought it here. Now, our superior named Vijril (ویجریل) is at Goa and I have informed him about this affair. If he gives permission, I will hand over to you the ship and its goods." Then Rustam asked his advice, as to what to do under the circumstances. Capt. Kerān suggested that Rustam may go immediately to Goa before the superior officer Vijril, and he offered to give him a letter of recommendation. Rustam started with his men for Goa, with that letter. He came to Vasai (وسئی Bassein). There was in Bassein one Captain Sarān (سران), who went outside the town to receive Rustam. Rustam explained to him what his mission was and said that he wanted to go to Goa with a letter of recommendation from Capt. Kerān. Rustam stayed at his (Capt. Sarān's) place for full one day (rozi tamām) and Capt. Sarān sent him raw (tām) articles of food <sup>85</sup> and drink for him.

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<sup>85</sup> اکل akal eating. The Portuguese officer sent to Rustam uncooked articles of food instead of cooked ones, because upto about 50 or 70 years ago the Parsees did not eat food cooked by non-Parsees.



Rustam left Bassein next morning when Capt. Sarān presented to him a suite of dress and also gave him a recommendatory letter. When Rustam reached Goa, Vijril came to know of the arrival <sup>86</sup> of their broker (dalāl, c. 528), and he sent some men of position to receive him. On appearing before him, Rustam gave him some valuable presents (c. 437). Then, Rustam narrated the object of his visit and gave him the above-mentioned two letters of recommendations. Vijril heard him patiently and asked him to have patience, and to stay there for some time. Rustam stayed there for nine months, passing his time in pleasure and prayer. During that period, he sent for, from Surat, other rich articles to be presented to some leading men at Goa. During his visit, he built in Goa a large fine two-storied (do mahlla) house with a garden round it. He then entertained Vijril with his chieftains in that house. The news of his arrival at Goa and of all the affairs reached the Portuguese King at Portugal (در پرتگال), <sup>87</sup> c. 560, who was pleased to know of his arrival at Goa. In the end, Vijril returned to Rustam Manock the ship of Usman with all its contents. Rustam was also presented with a dress of honour. Rustam returned to Surat in the above ship of Osmān Chālībī. The Nawāb of Surat was much pleased with the success of Rustam's mission and gave him a dress of honour. Then Osman Chalībī also came to Rustam and gave him a dress of honour from himself.

The Kisseh proper ends with couplet 583. The rest of it (584-610) is a post-script from the pen of Dastur Minochehr, wherein he gives the name of the author as Jamshed Kaikobad and its date as 1080 A. Y. He adds that as the existing copies of the qisseh were incorrect, and as, here and there, the couplets were not in proper meter, owing to the fault of the copyists, at the desire of Manockji Merwanji Seth, he (Minochehr, son of Edalji surnamed Jāmāspāsā) revised it, re-writing it in some places. He gives the date of his revision, as said above, by the chronogram, *ghārji* (غارجي) which gives the date as 1214 A. Y., i.e., 1845 A.C.

<sup>86</sup> It appears that Rustam went to Goa by land route.

<sup>87</sup> It seems that the matter of returning a big ship with its rich merchandise captured in a sea-skirmish was a matter of great importance. So, the Viceroy of Goa made inquiries and consulted the home authorities.



We learn from the above summary that this *kisseh*, in praise of Rustom Manock, contains accounts and references to the following events of historical importance :—

1. The *Jaziye*h or poll-tax, imposed by Aurangzib, from the oppressive burden of which Rustam released his community as a body and also poor individuals of other communities.
2. The Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of which Rustam Manock relieved his people.
3. Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat and his accompanying a member of the factory to the Court of Aurangzib to pray for concessions.
4. Rustom Manock's Visit to Dandeh Rajpuri, on the coast about 40 miles from Bombay, which was long a seat of war between Shivaji and Aurangzib, a war in which the English were, at times, associated. His visit of Damaun and Naosari.
5. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get released a ship of Osmān Chalibī, which was captured by the Portuguese.

I will speak at some length about these events, but, before doing so, I will give an account of the life of Rustam Manock, as presented by the *Kisseh* and as gathered from other sources.

## VI

### (B) An Account of the Life of Rustom Manock.

Rustom Manock was born at Surat in 1635 A.C.<sup>88</sup> He was the Birth and founder of the well-known Bombay family, known Family. among Parsees as the Seth Khandan or Seth

<sup>88</sup> I calculate this date of birth from the date of his death given by Bomanji B. Patel (*Parsee Prakash* (1878) Vol. I, p. 23). He says that he died on roz 17, mah 10, year 1090 A. Y., i.e., 30th July 1721, at the age of 86. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, in his *Genealogy of the Seth family* (p. 9) makes the same statement. So if he died in 1721 A. C. at the age of 86, we get the year of his birth as (1721—86=) 1635. Ratanji Framji Wacha in his *Mumbai no bahar* (પૃથ્વીના બહાર p. 427), published in 1874, gives the year of his death as 1088 A.Y., i.e., 1719 A. C. at the age of 83 and that of his birth as 1002 A. Y., i.e., 1633. But I accept the date given by Rustam's descendant, Mr. Jalbhoy.

family, a family some of whose members have founded several charities. It appears that the family surname, "Seth," has come into use since Rustom Manock's time. He is all along spoken of in the Qisseh as **سیت** Sett. The Qisseh speaks of him as the Luminary or Sun of the assemblies (*sarāj-i-majālis* **سراج مجالس** c. 57) of the Zoroastrians. What seems to have been meant is that he was their leader and presided at their communal meetings.

The word Sett (**سیت**) is Gujarati Sheth (શેઠ), Marathi *Signification* Sheth (शेठ). It has passed into Tamil as Seth of the word *Seth*. and into Telugu as Setti or Satti. It is an Indo-Iranian word. It is Avestaic *sraeshta*, Sanskrit *shrestha* (श्रेष्ठ)<sup>89</sup> and comes from a root, Avesta *Sri*, to be handsome (Sans. श्री beauty, prosperity). The Avestaic word *sraeshta* is the superlative degree of *sri* and literally means "the most beautiful." According to Wilson, in India, the word Seth has come to mean "a merchant, a banker, a trader, a chief merchant : often used in connection with the name as a respectful designation, as Jagat-seth. In some places, the Seth or Sethi is the head of the mercantile or trading body, exercising authority over them in matters of caste and business, and as their representative, with the government."<sup>90</sup> It seems that as a leader, not only of his own community, but of the Surat community in general, Rustam Manock came to be known as "Seth."<sup>91</sup>

The *qisseh* says, that he came down from a priestly stock (nazadash bud as tokhmeh Mobadān c. 54).

*His Family Stock.* Many priestly families of Naosari look to one Nairyosang Dhaval as their progenitor. This Nairyosang Dhaval lived in about the 12th century<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 475. <sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, in his "પારસી વીષયો" p. 39, thus speaks on this subject; "શેઠ માણિકજી ચાંદશાહના બાવા જમશેદજી ઘણાજ ગરીબ હતા, પણ પાછળથી માણિકજીશાહને ત્યાં રૂસ્તમ નામનો ઊંડો જન્મવા પછી નરીબ ખીંદ્યુ; અને સુરતની અનજીમનમાં ષોટા શેઠીયા થયા, તેમજ ષોગલ અમલદારોમાં અને અંગ્રજી ફાકીવાળાઓમાં લાગવજ વધવાથી તેવજ સુરતના પારસીઓમાં વહુલા થવા પામ્યા અને 'શેઠ'ને નામે ઓળખાતાં તેજ અટક પડી."

<sup>92</sup> Vide my Gujarati paper, entitled નેર્યોસંગ ધવલનો સતે (the Date of Neryosang Dhaval) in my Iranian Essays ( ઇરાની વીષયો ) part III, pp. 197-203). The late Dr. W. E. West, also gives the same date (Ibid pp. 192-200).



A.C., According to the genealogy given in Jalbhoy Seth's book, his descent from Nairyosang Dhaval runs down as follows : Neryosang (son of Dhaval)—Mobad—Khushmastā—Khujustā—Bahmanyār—Khorshed—Bahmanyār—Hom—Faridun—Chāndā—Rustam—Kāmdin—Faridun—Chāndānā—Jamshed—Manock<sup>93</sup>—Rustam (Rustam Manock).<sup>94</sup>

Though he and some of his near forefathers belonged to Surat, his ancestors belonged to Naosari. For this reason, he and his family took a great interest in the welfare of the priests of Naosari.<sup>95</sup>

His great grand-father Chāndānā<sup>96</sup> was the first who went from Naosari to reside at Surat.<sup>97</sup> He was in very poor circumstances when he went to live at Surat. Chāndānā and his son continued to be poor, but the family began to see better times from the time of Manock, the father of Rustam.<sup>98</sup> The family had a number of relatives in Naosari, and we will see, later on, that Rustam Manock, when he went to Naosari stayed there, at the house of a relative Nusserwanji, of whom, a copy of the Gujarati transliteration

<sup>93</sup> Manock was the adopted son of Jamshed.

<sup>94</sup> *Vide* Mr. Jalbhoy Seth's Genealogy p. 2 and the geneological tree in the pocket of the book; *Vide* Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur's ગાંધીજીના યોગાની ભગવત્સાથ વંશવલ્લી (1899) p. 189. *Vide* its rendering into English entitled "The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests" with Sir G. Birdwood's Introduction p. 189.

<sup>95</sup> His descendants, upto now, have been acknowledged as the Seth, *i.e.*, the leaders or the heads of the priestly class of Naosari. Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoyi Seth, the present male heir of the Charities Trust founded by his ancestor Manockji Nowroji, when he went to Naosari for the first time, was welcomed by the Naosari priests with an address as their leader. Therein, they said : "Not only the Naosari priests, but priests of other towns also looked to Rustam Manock's direct male heirs as leaders." For example, we find that the Godawra Mobads, *i.e.*, the Mobads of the suburbs, &c., of Surat, met on 25th May 1723, at Rustam's family house at Surat, to settle their ecclesiastical disputes, and his son Framjee attested the document of settlement (Parsee Prakash I, p. 850). Again, later on, the Sanjana priests appealed to his direct male heir, Mr. Manockji Nowrojee Seth, in the matter of the sacred fire which they removed from Naosari. The records of the Parsi Panchayat contain many references to the Seth Khāndān family having been looked at, as the leaders of the Mobads of Naosari.

<sup>96</sup> *Vide* above for the pedigree. <sup>97</sup> મુંબઈ બહાર (Mumbāi nō Bahār) by Mr. Ruttonjee Framjee Wacha, p. 427. <sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*



and translation speaks as Nusserwanji Meherji. As he was thus connected with the Naosari priests, we find Rustam Manock signing first, as a witness, an important communal document, dated 6th June 1685, relating to the Naosari Mobads and the Sanjana Mobads.<sup>99</sup> From his time forward, the principal heir of the Seth family, in direct descent from Rustam Manock, is acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naosari as their head. It appears from the genealogical tables of the Naosari priests, that the family originally belonged to the Pāvri stock of families.<sup>100</sup> Rustam Manock's great great grandfather Faridun Kāmdin Rustam was Pāvdi by surname.<sup>100</sup>

He became Navar, *i.e.*, passed through the ceremony of initiation into the class of priesthood, on roz 18, mah 2, Samvad 1731, *i.e.*, 1675 A.C.<sup>101</sup> He was aged forty at the time. At present, this seems to be a very grown up age for entry into Nāvarhood.<sup>102</sup> But, there have been occasionally cases of initiation into Nāvarhood at a grown up age.

In Samvant 1741 (*i.e.*, 1685 A.C.), the Naosari Bhagarsāth priests and the Sanjānā priests passed a mutually signed document in the matter of their sacerdotal rights and privileges<sup>103</sup>. Rustam Manock, signed the document, as a witness, at the top, being the leader of the Surat Parsees. The document is

*Rustom Manock, signatory of a communal document.*

<sup>99</sup> Parsi Prakash I, p. 19. *Vide* for this document, the Ms. note-book of Jamaspji Sorabji Dastur, in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, p. 31.

<sup>100</sup> *Vide* અથેરાના ડોલાની ભગરસાથ વંશાવલી (The Genealogy of the Bhagarsath priests by Ervad Rustom Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana), p. 188. *Vide* the English Edition by Austa Naoroz Ervad M. Parvez, with Sir George Birdwood's Introduction (1899) pp. 188-189.

<sup>101</sup> *Vide* Ervad Mahiar N. Kutar's Fahresht of Navars, published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Vol. I p. 36. The entry runs as follows :—

શ વત ૧૭૩૧ રોજ ૧૮ મા. ૨ એ. રસ્તમ ઓ. માનેક પાલક જમશેદનો ચાંદલ ફરીનો. ઓ. જમશેદ ઓ. ફરીનો ચાંદલ. Two sons of Rustam Manock—Framji and Nowroji—were not initiated, but Bahman, the 2nd son, was initiated in Samvat 1757 (1701 A.C.) (*Vide* the Fahresht op. cit. p. 77). The entry runs thus : “ન. ૬૩૧ ૧૧. રોજ ૧૬મા. ૮ એ. બેમન ઓ. બેરામ ઓ. માનેક ઓ. ચાંદનાં ઓ. ફરીન ની. ઓ. બેરામ ઓ. માનેક ઓ. ચાંદનાં અને શેરવાન ફ. રસ્તમ માનેક ચાંદનાં. Bahmanji was adopted by his uncle Behramji.

<sup>102</sup> *Vide* for this ceremony of initiation, known as Navar, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees” pp. 197-204.

<sup>103</sup> Dastur Jamaspji Sorabji's Ms. Notes in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, Vol. I, p. 31. *Vide* Parsee Prakash I, pp. 18-19.



dated: “શંવત ૧૭૪૧ના વરષે શને એજ્જરદીન ૧૦૫૪ રોજ દયમેહેર માહી આવાં છે ને દીને. It seems that, even after his death, his house at Surat was held to be, as it were, a rendezvous for parties who fought for their rights, to meet and settle disputes. We find, as said above, that the Godavra priests and laymen of villages round Surat met in his house on 25th May 1723 to settle their differences. The document of settlement was witnessed by his son Framjee <sup>104</sup>.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock built several wells for public use. When I had the pleasure of visiting Hajira, a sea health-resort near Surat in 1909 <sup>105</sup> I saw there a well bearing the following inscription in Persian, showing that the well was built by Rustam Manock :

... ۸ مانکجي پارسى کرم و اين چاه فى سبيل الله کنديدم و هرکس که آب آنچاه بخورد ثواب اين جناب باين غريب جايز گردد تاريخ يزد جرد سنه ۱۰۰۰

Translation.—(1) <sup>106</sup> Manockji Parsee, dug this <sup>107</sup> and well in the way of God <sup>108</sup>. Whoever drinks the water of this place, the righteous reward (sawāb) of that person <sup>109</sup> may be made receivable (ja'iz) to this humble self (i.e., me). The date of the Yazdajardi year 10. <sup>110</sup>.

The Gujarati inscription, which is clear, runs thus :  
ધરમ ઓ ખરયે અધાર રૂતમજી માણેકજીએ કુઓ અધાવો શંવત ૧૭૫૫ ના શરાવણ સુદ ૩.

Translation.—Andhiaroo <sup>111</sup> Rustamji Manockji got this well built out of charity. Samvat 1755, Shravan Sud 3.

<sup>104</sup> Parsee Prakash I, p. 850, col. 1.

<sup>105</sup> After writing the above I saw the well again in November 1928.

<sup>106</sup> The first words are not clearly legible on the stone, but they may be *من (ستم جي* i.e., “I Rustomji.” <sup>107</sup> Doubtful.

<sup>108</sup> Fi sabilillah “in the way of God, for the love of God, for sacred uses” (Steingass).

<sup>109</sup> The word may be *junat*, i.e., gatherer, plucker.

<sup>110</sup> The last two figures are not legible. But, in the Hindu date in Gujarati, the year is clear as 1755 Shrawan Sud. 3. This gives the corresponding Parsee year as 1068 and the Christian year as 1699. *Vide* Jalbhoy Seth's book of Genealogy, p. 9. <sup>111</sup> i.e., one belonging to the priestly class.

As said by Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel, in his "History of Surat", after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707<sup>112</sup> some of the Parsis of Naosari, were tired of the depredations of the Mahrattas in their town and of the rule of some of the officers; so, a number of them, about one to two thousand, left Naosari with their families and went to live at Surat. It seems that it was at this time. that Rustom Manock founded a quarter for them to live in and it was named Rustampura after him. A Tower of Silence was built at Surat for these fugitive Parsees. They asked for land for a Tower from Nawab Momin Khan in 1715 or 1716. They met in 1722, to confer on this subject and began collecting subscription in 1723<sup>113</sup>.

*Rustompura in Surat, founded by Rustam Manock.*

The Qisseh refers to a building with a garden, given by Rustam Manock, for the charitable use of Zoroastrians (cc. 272-74). This building with a garden seems to be that which is now known as *Panchāt ni wādi* ( પંચાતની વાડી ) i.e., the garden-house of the Panchāyet<sup>114</sup>, i.e. of the Zoroastrian public<sup>115</sup>.

*His Building referred to in the Qisseh, as given in charity.*

It appears that Rustam had made such a name, that his name was commemorated in the prayer of Dhup Nirang,<sup>116</sup> recited after his times. There is an old manuscript of the Khordeh Avesta, written in Persian character, in 1115 Yazdazardi (in Samvat 1802 1746 A.C.) i.e., about 183 years ago by Ervad

*Rustam Manock's name commemorated in the Dhup Nirang.*

<sup>112</sup> સુરતની તવારીખ, ૧૮૨૦, પાન ૫૨.

<sup>113</sup> B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>114</sup> For the word "Panchayet," vide my "History of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay" Chap. III. Vide my article, in Edwardes' Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. III, pp. 323-28.

<sup>115</sup> After writing this paper, I had the pleasure of visiting this place in November 1928. Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, a grandson of Rustom Manock, had, when the family transferred itself to Bombay, built a similar wādi or garden in Bombay, which was long known as *Panchayet ni wadi*. Latterly, it came to be known as Manockji Seth's Wadi. The old name "Panchayet ni wadi" has left its mark in the name of the lane, which first led to it. The lane is still called Panchayet Lane (Vide Mr. S. T. Sheppard's "Bombay Place-names," p. 119).

<sup>116</sup> Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 442-43 for this ceremony.



Jamshed Dastur Jamasp bin Asa.<sup>117</sup> In this old Ms. of the Khordeh Avesta, we find, among the names, after that of Neryosang Dhaval, the undermentioned three names preceding those of some Behedins: Dastur Meherji Ervad Vacha, Ervad Rustam Osta Manock, Osta Naoroz Ervad Rustam.

The first of these three names is that of the well-known Dastur Meherji Rana of Naosari. The second is that of Rustom Manock, and the third that of his son Naoroji who had gone to Europe.<sup>11</sup> (Folio 79a, ll. 2-3).

A Dutch record or Register-book refers to Rustam Manock. I am indebted for this information to Rev. Father Heras, Professor of History in the St. Xavier's College of Bombay. Finding a Parsee name in a Dutch record, he kindly drew my attention to it. He sent me at first his following translation of an extract from the book: "The Dutch Diary of Batavia mentions several letters received from India and, among them, a translation of a Benjaen letter written by Rustomjee Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Suratta." (Dagh Register 1681, p. 626).

<sup>117</sup> Born 1732, died 1786. He was a learned priest of Naosari. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 68). He is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron (1771 A.C.) in his Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 428. Anquetil, having heard of him as a great Dastur, made it a point to see him at Naosari on his way from the Island of Elephanta to Surat. Vide my "Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab", p. 52.

<sup>118</sup> The above Ms. bears the date *roz Meher mah Tir*, year 1115 Yazdazardi. It gives the corresponding other years as 1159 Hijra, 1153 Fasli, 1802 Samvat, 1667 Salivan. Vide the colophon at the end, a few pages after the 128th folio. The Ms. belongs to Mobad Kavasji Pestanji Karkaria. The scribe gives his name as Mobad Jamshed bin Dastur Jamasp bin Asaji bin Fardunji Bhagariéh. It was written in Naosari for Mobad Naoruz bin Ratanji bin Manockji Dorabji. I beg to thank Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria for kindly procuring it for me for perusal. There is one peculiarity in the Dhup Nirang, given in this Ms. The *khshnuman* of Dhup Nirang as now recited is that of Sarosh, but here the scribe says: It may be any *khshnuman* (آنچه خشنومن باشد). Then, for the *khshnuman*, recited at the end of the Nirang, the *khshnuman* mentioned is that of Hormuzd Khudai (folio 81 b, l. 3.) *هورمزد خدای ویسپ سا اردا فروش بر ساد*.

On making further inquiries from Father Heras in the matter of the extract, he thus wrote in his letter of 1st September 1927 about the title of the book: "The diary, mentioning the said Parsi, records the events of 1681. The title of the book is as follows: 'Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passereude daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1681 van Dr. F. de Haan Batavia—'s Hague 1919.'" "That reads in English: 'Diary written in the Batavia Castle by travellers to the places and all over Dutch Indies in the year 1681; (edited) by Dr. F. de Haan.' The Note in Dutch itself runs thus:

".....mitsgaders noch een translaat Benjaanse missive, door den volmagt der drie Europiaanse natien in Suratta negotierende genaemt Rustemsie Zeraab."<sup>119</sup>

Translation.—A translation of a Benjian letter written by Rustemsie Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Surat.

Now, who is this Benjaen and what is the name Rustumsie Zeraab. I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestanji Khareghat for kindly putting me in the right track by explaining the word and identifying the name. The word Benjaen is "Banian" which meant "Gujarati" and the word *zeraab*, after Rustamjee, is *shroff*. Now, Rustam as a broker was a shroff also. Jalbhoy Seth speaks of him as *श्रीश्री* i.e., shroff, and we know from subsequent events, that Rustam Manock had lent a large sum of money to the English factory. I beg to thank Father Heras for kindly drawing my attention to this book.

The new thing that we learn from this Dutch Register is that Rustam Manock was a broker, not of one or two but three nations. Though not explicitly mentioned, we infer, that the third nation, besides the two,—the Portuguese and the English—was the Dutch. From the date of the record, it appears then, that Rustam Manock was appointed a broker of the Dutch some time before 1681.

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<sup>119</sup> Dagh Registrar (1681), p. 626.



There are several writers who have referred to Rustam Manock and his sons. Two of them, Sir John Gayer,<sup>120</sup> the Agent of the Old Company, and Sir Nicholas Waite, are his contemporaries. The first was hostile to Rustam, well nigh from the beginning, because Sir N. Waite of the New Company had chosen him as his broker. Sir N. Waite, who, at first, was friendly, latterly became hostile and dismissed Rustam from his service, a step which he sought to justify.

We read the following, in a despatch of 24th April 1706, by Sir John Gayer and his Council of Surat, as given by Yule in his *Diary of William Hedges*:  
 (a) *Sir John Gayer and his Council of Surat on Rustam Manock.*  
 “Tho’ the Union affairs be at such a full stop, yet by means of Rustams bribery and one of his assistants . . . . there hath been more goods stript off, of late for account of private Shipping, who undoubtedly must bear the charge one way or other, but by such bribery he keeps all the officers fast to his Interest, and perhaps is master of so much vanity as to think that he shall at last by such means bring the Company to truckle to him; he sticks at no cost, and whatsoever the Governor bids him do he frankly doth it.”<sup>121</sup> “One of his assistants” referred to here, seems to be his *nāib* or deputy, Nusserwanji, referred to in the *Qisseh*. We gather the following facts about Rustam from this extract:

1. Rustam was an influential man at this time (about A.C. 1706) and did business also with private shippers.

<sup>120</sup> In a Gujarati Ms. of the Pahlavi Jamaspi, written on 21st January 1840, in the list of events added to the prescribed events, we find Sir John Gayer, referred to as coming to Surat in Samvat 1750 (A.C. 1694). We read the following about his arrival; “શ્રી ૧૮ ૧૭૫૦ માં હું રોજ ૫ માં ૬ રોજ શ્રી ૧૮ ૧૭૨ ૨૧૫૨ વેલાતથી આવેલા છે એ દન” (p. 301 of the Ms.) i.e., “In Samvat 1750, on roz 5 mah 6, Shajan Ger Shinor came from London.” The Shajan Ger Shinor, mentioned here, is a corruption of Sir John Gayer. The word Shinor is corrupted from Signor (Seignior, Fr. Seigneur, Portug. Senhor, Lat. Senior) i.e. Sir. *Vide* my translation of the Pahlavi Jamaspi, Introduction, p. XLII.

<sup>121</sup> The *Diary of William Hedges, Esq.*, afterwards Sir William Hedges, (1681-87) illustrated by copious extracts from unpublished records by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. III (1889), p. CV., n3.

2. He had some influence also with the Governor (Nawab) of Surat.
3. Gayer, who had differences with him, attributes that influence to bribery.

We read the following in the Diary of William Hedges<sup>122</sup> :—

(b) *Nicholas  
Waite on Rustam  
Manock.*

‘Sir N. Waite writes in a letter to the Directors (of the English Company), dated ‘Bombay Castle, 26th November 1707’, in his usual confused and almost unintelligible style: “I have not received copie of your consultation Books from Messrs. Probey & Bonnell, as told you by the Albemarle. expected to enable my fully examining their last Books of two years jumbled together, am apt to believe may not now come upon the Publick news wrote from the other Coast that certain alterations that will be made on this side, the Suratt gentlemen writes are confirm’d by the great President’s directions, Rustumjee being Broker to all their private ships, thereby setting up an opposite Interest to the United Trade, the prejudice of which the Managers may read in our Consultations was wrote the Governor and Councill of Madrass, and this year they appointed the Old Company’s Broker Venwallidass with Rustumjee to be their Brokers.” We learn the following facts about Rustam Manock from this letter, by Sir N. Waite, of 26th November 1707 :—

1. By this time, his relations with Sir N. Waite were strained.
2. Besides being broker to the European Companies, he was also the broker of the owners of private ships and this connection was taken by Sir N. Waite to be against the interests of the English Company.
3. He was appointed broker by the New United Company also.

J. H. Grose thus wrote about Rustam Manock’s son Nowrojee

(c) *J. H. Grose  
(1750) on Rustam  
Manock’s son  
Nowroji.*

“Nowrojee Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid* III, p. CV.



the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerdes,<sup>123</sup> a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas,<sup>124</sup> was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was, when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassioned their distress and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them." 124a.

Rustom Manock is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron, more than once. He, on the authority of Dastur Darab (d) *Anquetil Du Perron* (1761) of Surat, refers to the visit of Rustam Manock's son Nowroji to England. He speaks of that visit on *Rustam Manock*. having occurred about 40 or 50<sup>125</sup> years before him. When there, Nowroji was shown an old Ms. of the Zend Yazashna Sade in the Bodleian Library, but he could not read it (le Manuscrit Zend que Norouzdi, fils de Roustoum Manek, vit il y a quarante à cinquante ans en Angleterre, et qu'il ne put lire, à ce que m'a dit le Destour Darab)<sup>126</sup>. Nowroji was not initiated as a priest. He is spoken of as *osta*. So not being taught the Avesta alphabet, we can understand, why he could not read it. Had he been initiated like his father Rustam he could have read the Ms<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Yazdagard. <sup>124</sup> Khosro, the son of Hormazd.

<sup>124a</sup> J. H. Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, ed. of 1772, p. 124. The 1st ed. was published in 1766.

<sup>125</sup> The year of Nowroji's visit of England was 1724 A.C.

<sup>126</sup> Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie 2, Notices, &c., p. IX. *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Dorab, p. 7. (Parsi Prakash I, p. 29).

<sup>127</sup> According to Anquetil, there were two copies of the Yazashna at Oxford. One was showed to Rustam Manock's son Nowroji, as said above. The other was carried to England by Mr. Frazer, who had purchased it, together with a Rivāyat for Rs. 500 from Manockji Nowroji Seth, the grand-son of Rustam Manock. (Le second exemplaire de l'Izeschné conservé à Oxford, a été écrit à Surate, l'an 1105 d'Iezdedjerd, de J.C. 1735 et apporté en Angleterre par M. Frazer, qui, au rapport de Darab, l'avoit acheté avec un *Ravayet*, cinq cent Roupies (douze cent livres) de Maneckdjiset, petit-fils de Roustoum; lequel (Maneckdjiset) le tenoit du Destour Bikh" (Zend-avesta, Tome I, Partie II, p. IX). This Manockji Seth lived from 1688 to 1748 (*Vide* Parsee Prakash I, p. 36). *Vide* my Anquetil and Dastur Darab, p. 7. *Vide* *Ibid* for Dastur Bikh. Genealogical Table, p. 276.



Anquetil refers also to Rustam's garden of flowers at Surat <sup>128a</sup>.

The Qusseh has a special section for his family, headed در اولاد  
*His Family*, رستم گوید i.e., said (in the matter) of Rustam's  
 c. 299 seq. heirs. It says that Rustam had three sons,  
 Framarz, Bahman and Naoruz. The author adds that Nowroji was  
 his pupil (hāvisht). Rustam's wife was named Ratan-banoo  
 (Ratanbāi). He says: "God has given him a pious wife and  
 that beautiful lady is named Ratan-bānu" (c. 309).

Rustam died at the ripe old age of 86 on 30th July 1721.<sup>128</sup>  
 The Bombay Seth Khāndān family came into prominence,  
 since the foundation of a Trust of Religious charities by Manockji  
 Nowroji <sup>129</sup>, the grandson of Rustam Manock, and the son of Rus-  
 tam Manock's third son Nowrojee, who is mentioned in the Qisseh  
 by the author as his pupil, and who had gone to England to seek  
 redress at the hands of the Directors of the East India Company.  
 I have given above (p. 1) the genealogy of the line coming down to  
 Mr. Kavasji Seth, the present Mutwali (مستولی), i.e., the  
 administrator of the Trust and Charities, the 8th in direct descent  
 from Rustam Manock.

<sup>128a</sup> *Ibid*, p. 311 .

<sup>128</sup> Parsee Prakash I p. 23.

<sup>129</sup> This Manockjee Nowrojee Seth seems to have been a patron of Iranian literature. He got Mss. written by learned priests. (a) One of such Mss. has found its way in the Bodleian Library. I had the pleasure of seeing it, on 23rd August 1889, during my visit of the Bodleian in the company of the late Rev. Dr. Mills. It is a Ms. of the Vendidad Sadeh, written by Mobad Bhika bin Rustam in 1105 A.Y. (1736) A.C. for Manockjee Seth. The Colophon

بحسب فرموده شیت صاحب مهربان فیض (سان شیت :  
 صاحب موبد مانکجی شیت نوشتہ شد

*Vide* Sachau and Ethe's "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library" (1889). *Vide* its section D. Zoroastrian Literature (column 1106 Ms. 1936). *Vide* my Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, Appendix 2, p. 80. Another Ms. written by the same Dastur for Manockjee Seth has made its way in the India Office Library. It is a Ms. of the Yasna (*Ibid*). The same Dastur requested Manockji Seth to intervene in the matter of his dispute with the Naosari Priests (*Ibid*). *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab, pp. 7 and 79.



*The Visit of Nowroji, the son of Rustam Manock, to England referred to in an old Record of the Parsee Panchayet.*

The visit of Nowroji to England is thus referred to in an old Ms. record<sup>130</sup> of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay: “અશલથી પંચાત મધે બેશ-નારા શાહેબ લોકો હતા, તેણાના નામની ઈઆદદાશ મળી છે, તેહની વીગત. “શેઠ નવરોજી રશતમજી જે અંગ્રેજીની વેલાએત જઈ આવેઆ છે In this note, Naoroji is spoken of as one “who had gone to the Home (velāyet) of the English.

The Qisseh speaks of several events of his life which have historical importance. I will not speak of them here at any length, because I have to speak of them in separate sections. But I give below a list with dates of all the Events of his life including those referred to in his Qisseh:

The first East India Company known as the London East India Company, founded .. .. .	A. C. 1600
English Factory founded at Surat .. .. .	1612
Rustam Manock born .. .. .	1635
The first Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of which Rustam Manock relieved his people .. .. .	1664
Rustam Manock relieved the Parsees of Surat and some poor of other communities from the distress of Aurangzeb's Jaziyeh, about .. .. .	1672
Rustam Manock went through the ceremony of Navarhood (Samvant 1731) <sup>131</sup> at the age of 40 .. .. .	1675
Date of the mention, in a Dutch book, of Rustam Manock's name as a broker of three Companies, one of which seems to be the Dutch .. .. .	1681
Rustam Manock, signing first an important communal document as the head of the priestly community .. .. .	6th June 1685
The new English East India Company, of which Rustam Manock was appointed broker, founded .. .. .	1698

<sup>130.</sup> Ms. Bk. p. Vide my “History of the Parsi Panchayet” (પારસી પંચાયેતની નવારીય).

<sup>131.</sup> Vide the Firhest of the Navars at Naosari, which is now being published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, p. 36.

Date of the Inscription on a well at Hajira, near Surat, built for public use by Rustam Manock (Samvant 1755) .. .. .	1699
Sir Nicholas Waite arrived at Surat as the head of the Factory of the New East India Company and appointed Rustam Manock its broker ..	19th January 1699 <sup>132</sup>
Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, arrived at Maslipatam .. .. .	25th September 1699 <sup>133</sup>
Rustam Manock's Visit to the Court of Aurangzib with the English Ambassador .. .. .	1710
Rustam Manock's Visit of Dandeh-i Rajpuri .. ..	1701
Rustam appointed "broker for the United Trade" ..	1704 <sup>134</sup>
Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to secure the release of Osman Chalibi's ship captured by the Portuguese .. .. .	Date uncertain
Rustam Manock removed from Brokership by the Nawab and imprisoned at the instance of Waite About	1705
Rustam Manock's death .. .. .	30th July 1721
Rustam Manock's youngest son Nowroji sailed per ship Salisbury, for England, to seek redress from the United East India Company, and arrived in London .. .. .	April 1723
The date of the 1st Document, viz. the letter from 17 Directors of the East India Company to "the President and Council of Bombay", directing that Framji and Bomanji, the sons of Rustam Manock, may be at once released from confinement ..	19th August 1723
Second Document, viz., the Award of four Arbitrators appointed by the E. I. Company in favour of the sons of Rustam Manock .. .. .	18th January 1724
Third Document—The Award noted by the Lord Mayor and Alderman .. .. .	February 1724
Fourth Document—A letter to Nowroji's two brothers in India, Framji and Bomanji, from Cha. Boonet,	

<sup>132</sup> Bruce's *Annals of the Honorable East India Company* Vol. III (1910), p. 335.    <sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.    <sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 569.



in London, speaking of Nowroji's work in	
London .. .. .	25th March 1725
Nowroji died .. .. .	on 13th April 1732 <sup>135</sup>

## VII.

### (C) The historical events, mentioned in the Qisseh.

We will now examine the historical events referred to in the Qisseh-i Rustam Manock. The Persian poem Qisseh-i Rustam Manock, refers to the following historical events of the time of Aurangzeb :— I. The *Jaziyeh* or Poll tax, imposed by Aurangzeb. II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat. III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory. IV. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of an English factor : (a) The visit itself. (b) The state of affairs after the visit and on the return of the Embassy of Sir William Norris. V. Rustam Manock's visit, during the return journey from the Mogul Court, of :— (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari. VI. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get Osmān Chalibi's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

#### I. THE JAZIYEH IMPOSED BY AURANGZEB.

The Qisseh says, that the Jaziyeh-tax imposed by Aurangzeb was felt heavily by the people, both the Parsees and the non-Parsees of Surat. The Parsees as a body applied to Rustam Manock to relieve them from the tax (*zulmāneh*). Rustam complied with their request. Then, some poor people of other communities also appealed to him individually for help and he paid the taxes due by them. I will speak of this subject under two heads :—

1. Aurangzeb. His belief, bigotry and other characteristics which induced him to impose the tax.
2. The tax itself. The date, and the rate of the imposition of the tax, etc.

<sup>135</sup> Jalbhoy Seth gives the year as 1733, (ସିଂହ ଧ୍ୟାନପାତ୍ରୀ ବ'ଶାବତୀ. p. 31) but the Parsee Prakash I, p. 29, gives it correctly as 1732. The Parsee date, given by both, is *roz 2 mah 7, 1101 Yazdazardi*. The Yazdazardi year 1101 corresponds to 1732 and not to 1733.

# 1. AURANGZEB. HIS BELIEF, BIGOTRY AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS.

Aurangzeb was born, on 24th October 1618, of Shah Jehan's wife Mumtaz Mahal, in the moving camp of Jahangir, at Dahod, in the Panch Mahal, when his parents were marching with the camp of his grandfather. He was, out of the four sons of Shah Jahan, the third son, and was a Sunni Mahomedan by faith. He took an active part in the fratricidal war about the right of succession during the very life time of Shah Jahan. He gained over to his side his brother Murad, telling him, that he did not want, on the throne, Dara, who was a free-thinker and Suhja who was a Shiah ; but that he liked to see on the throne a true good Mahomedan of the Sunni belief, and that, if he gained victory over his brothers, he would go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, with the help of his brother Murad, he defeated the other two brothers, and then, going to Agra, made his aged father Shah Jahan a prisoner. Though, at first, he pretended outwardly that he wanted Murad to be enthroned, in the end, he got himself enthroned, saying, that Murad was, at the very time of the enthronement, found to be drunk. He was proclaimed king in 1658 and ruled till 1707. Shah Jahan died in 1666, continuing as his son's prisoner at Agra for 8 years.

During Aurangzeb's reign, the Mahrathas had risen in power under Shivaji (1627-1683), known later on as " the Raja of the Mahrathas." At first, Shivaji pounced upon the territories of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and then attacked the camp of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb left Delhi in 1683 to go to fight with the Mahrathas and other powers, and though he died in 1707, he did not return to the capital again from fear, lest he may be imprisoned there by any one of his rebellious sons, just as he had imprisoned his father Shah Jahan there. With an army of about one lakh of men, he took Bijapore in 1686 and Golconda in 1687, in which year the Moghal power was at its zenith. He could not successfully suppress the power of the Mahrathas. He put Sambhaji to a cruel death and took his son Sahu a prisoner. All this further enraged the Marathas, who were skilled in hill warfare and who avoided pitched battles on the plains. Most of the Deccan fortresses on the hills of



the Deccan were the work of the Mahrathas during these stormy times when they thought it advantageous to fight a guerilla warfare. Aurangzeb had to retreat to Ahmednagar where he died in 1707 A.C. His last words are said to be : " I have committed many crimes, I know not with what punishment I may be visited."<sup>136</sup> Though in the middle of his reign, he had raised the power of the Moghal empire to its zenith, at the time of his death, when the Rajputs and Mahrathas were still strong, the decline had begun.

Aurangzeb had, in his boyhood, received all the orthodox education of his time. His religious training led him to puritanism, "which", as said by *His Religious Life.* Lane-Poole, "was at once his destruction and his ruin".<sup>137</sup> He received no broad liberal education.

His own sketch of what a prince's education must be, is very interesting, and had he been given that education, perhaps, his power, and after him, that of his heirs would have continued long." Even when he was, as it were, a boy-governor in the Deccan at the age of 17, he was their king, more of the future world than of the present one, and was taking a serious view of life, instead of a self-enjoying life of a prince. In 1643, when he was aged 24 he is said to have retired for some time as a *fakir* or monk into the jungles of the Western Ghauts. Even during his conquests of the Mahomedan Powers of the Deccan, he appeared, as said by Dr. Friar, "under colour of a Fakier".<sup>138</sup> In the matter of this *fakirship*, Lane Poole compares him to Emperor Charles V of Europe. But we find this difference: Charles became, as it were, a Christian *fakir* in his old age when he was much baffled and disappointed, but Aurangzeb became a Mahomedan *fakir* in the full bloom of youth and in the midst of all the attractions of a pleasant life open to princes. It is said that when during the appearance of a comet for four weeks in 1665, he, out of some thoughts of religious penance, "only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread" <sup>139</sup> his father Shah Jahhan rebuked him for all this

<sup>136</sup> Sinclair's History of India, Chap. VI, Ed. of 1889, p. 80.

<sup>137</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 27.

<sup>138</sup> Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia (1698) p. 166, Letter IV, Chap. IV.

<sup>139</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 65.

austerity, but to no purpose. His brother, Dara Shikoh, who had gone to the other extreme and was taken to be an agnostic or an atheist, was led by Aurangzeb's austerities to speak of him as a "saint".<sup>139a</sup>

Lane-Poole thus explains his austerities of his boyhood and his subsequent successes as an Emperor: "The truth seems to be that his temporary retirement from the world was the youthful impulse of a morbid nature excited by religious enthusiasm. The novelty of the experiment soon faded away. The fakir grew heartily tired of his retreat; and the young Prince returned to carry out his notions of asceticism in a sphere where they were more creditable to his self-denial and more operative upon the great world in which he was born to work. . . . . His ascetic mind was fitted to influence the course of an empire."<sup>140</sup> Lane-Poole, who compares his life to that of Cromwell in England, thus speaks of his puritanic life: "Aurangzeb was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life — neither throne nor love nor ease, weighed for an instance in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples, while he damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great empire as to bring the lands of the heretical Shi'a within the dominion of orthodox Islām. To him the Deccan was Dār-al-Harb: he determined to make it Dār-al-Islām. Religion induced Aurangzib to abjure the pleasures of the senses as completely as if he had indeed become the fakir he had once desired to be. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water; so that, as Tavernier says, he became 'thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet, which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzib only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died; for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him; and since that time he has never had perfect health.

<sup>139a</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*



Following the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure to making skull-caps, which were doubtless bought up by the courtiers of Delhi with the same enthusiasm as was shown by the ladies of Moscow for Count Tolstoi's boots. He not only knew the Koran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts, richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medīna. Except the pilgrimage, which he dared not risk, lest he should come back to find an occupied throne, he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Even the English merchants of Sūrāt, who had their own reasons for disliking the Emperor, could only tell Ovington that Aurangzeb was a 'zealous professor' of Islām, 'never neglecting the hours of devotion nor anything which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer'." <sup>141</sup>

His bigotry and dislike of the Hindu religion led to an insurrection by the Satnāmis, a sect of Hindu devotees.

*His bigotry.* They rebelled in thousands and their life of devotion led people to think that they were invulnerable and "swords, arrows and musket balls had no effect on these men." <sup>142</sup> The spread of this belief about their power led others to join them and depressed Aurangzeb's army. It is said that, to counteract this influence, Aurangzeb resorted to holy charms from the Koran. He wrote them and attached them to the banners of his army. These charms serving as inspiring amulets encouraged his Mahomedans who in the end suppressed the revolt. <sup>143</sup>

Aurangzeb had, as time advanced, become a religious bigot and the following, that we read of him, explains the event of the imposition of the Jaziyeh tax, which his great grandfather Akbar had abolished: "Had Aurangzeb followed the policy of Akbar . . . . he might have consolidated his empire and reigned as the undisputed monarch of the whole of India . . . . The dream of Aurangzeb's life, now that he was firmly planted on the throne, was the destruction of idolatry, and the establishment of Mahomedanism throughout the length and breadth of the land . . . . Aurangzeb then began his religious persecutions. He

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, p. 136.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 136-37.



degraded the Rajputs. All Hindus, employed under government, were compelled either to embrace the Muslim faith, or lose their appointments. Idols were overturned, pagodas destroyed, and mosques built with the materials. Even, in the holy city of Benares, the most sacred temples were levelled to the ground, mosques erected in their place, and the images used as steps for 'the faithful' to tread on. Hindus were not allowed to celebrate their festivals and Jaziya, a tax on infidels that had been abolished by Akbar, was revived. All the viceroys in the provinces had instructions to act in the same manner. No tax could possibly be more unpopular than this Jaziya, and the imposition of it led to the most fatal consequences to the empire."<sup>144</sup>

He disliked wine, music and even poetry. (a) He stopped music, not only from his court, but also from his capital city. It is said, that, once, hundreds of musicians and singers, watching the time of his going to a mosque, carried a funeral procession with a number of biers raising cries of mourning. When Aurangzeb inquired what the matter was, they said to him that as he has prohibited *music*, they carried it to the burying ground for being buried. He coolly said that, they must take proper care, that it is buried deep so that it may not revive again. (b) His dislike of poets and poetry is surprizing. He said: "Poets deal in falsehoods."<sup>145</sup> That was in reference to their indulging in poetic fancies, which looked like going beyond the truth. The poets of the Moghal Courts of his predecessors really went beyond proper limits in their exaggerated praises of their royal and noble patrons; and so, his remarks may perhaps apply to such poets.

(c) Again he stopped all chronicle-writing. We know that, Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jehan, all wrote, or got written, chronicles of the events of their reigns. But Aurangzeb discontinued this practice. All the historical accounts of his reign that have come down to us were written secretly by some persons without his knowledge or after his time. This also seems to have been the result

<sup>144</sup> David Sinclair's *History of India* (Edition of 1889), p. 77.

<sup>145</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole's *Aurangzib*, p. 58.



of his puritanic views, that, in the life-time of the king, the writers were likely to flatter their royal masters.<sup>146</sup> (d) His dislike for wine was equally strong. As Stanley-Lane Poole suggests for his predecessors, even Akbar included, that "they abandoned themselves to voluptuous ease, to Wein, Weib und Gesang," the lines attributed by some to Luther, were, as it were, true for them:

Wer nicht liebt Wein Weib und Gesang

Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang.

i.e., "He who does not like wine, wife and song, remains a fool for the whole of his life." Many Persian poets sang in that tone.<sup>147</sup> But they were not right in Aurangzeb's view. Some writers, mostly Christian, doubt the sincerity of his bigotry and puritanism, but Dryden is an exception. In his play, entitled *Aurangzeb*, he expresses admiration for him.<sup>147a</sup>

His bigotry led him in 1659 to give up the calendar of the ancient Persians, introduced by Akbar and observed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. When his son Muazzan once observed the Naoroz, he wrote a letter to him and reprimanded him. He wrote: "I came to know from the representation of a disinterested person that this year you observed the Nowroz festival in the manner of the (present) Persians. By God's grace, keep your faith firm. From whom have you adopted this heretical innovation? . . . . Anyhow this is a festivity of the Majusis . . . . Henceforward you should not observe it and repeat such folly."<sup>148</sup>

Reading the accounts of his life from various sources, it appears, at times, that Aurangzeb's life presented contradictions. We admire, at times, the simplicity of his life, but are surprised on reading his letter to his son A'azar, that even at his old age, he was fond of good tasty

<sup>146</sup> Aurangzib by Stanley Lane-Poole (1908), p. 137. <sup>146a</sup> *Ibid*, p. 69.

<sup>147</sup> *Vide* my paper "Wine among the Ancient Persians", *Vide* my Asiatic Papers" Part III, pp. 231-46. <sup>147a</sup> Constable's selected publications, vol. III (1892), p. 121. In his view of Aurangzeb's life, he is said to have followed Bernier. In the words which he places in Aurangzeb's mouth. "When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat" (Act IV) he, as it were sums up his puritanism.

<sup>148</sup> Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzeb, translated by Jamshed H. Bilimoria (1908) pp. 5-6, Letter II.

food ( khichadi and biryani, *ibid.*, p. 12, Letter 10 ). Though austere in life, he was greedy of money as appears from his letter (No. 60) to his above "Exalted son," wherein he says : "To refuse the presents brought by the nobles before you is a loss to the royal treasury. Though this time I forgive you for goodness' sake you should not do so in future."<sup>149</sup> We know that Manucci is unusually strict in his account of Aurangzib ; but, even accounting for his prejudiced exaggeration, we see, from his account, a number of contrarities which would not reflect credit on the life of an ascetic.

## 2. THE JAZIYEH. THE DATE AND THE RATE OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE TAX.

We learn from the Qisseh, that the Parsees of Surat complained

*What is Jaziyeh ? The humiliating way in which it had to be paid.* cc. 109-169.

bitterly about the hardships caused by the imposition of the *Jaziyeh* and requested Rustam Manock to relieve them from these hardships. Rustam Manock relieved them. He went to the great Diwan and paid him a large sum (ganj chandi, c. 120) as a lump sum for all the Parsis. He further arranged to pay every year according to the number (mar  $\text{مرد}$ ) of his people. On knowing this, the poor of other communities also asked his help. In this case, he did not take the responsibility of paying for a whole large community, but paid taxes for poor individuals. The *Qisseh* presents a Parsee view of the hardships of the tax.

The *Jaziyeh*, pronounced in more than one way, is, according to Wilson<sup>150</sup>, "a capitation tax authorized by the Mohammadan law of conquest to be imposed on all subjects not of the Mohammadan religion." Prof. Sarkar<sup>151</sup> says : "For permission to live in an Islamic State the unbeliever had to pay a tax called *Jaziya* which means 'substitute money,' *i. e.*, the price of indulgence. It was first imposed by Muhammad, who bade his followers 'fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *Jaziya* with the hand in humility (Quran IX. 29). The last two words of this command have been taken by the Muslim commentators to mean, that the tax should be

<sup>149</sup> Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri by J. H. Bilimoria (1908), p. 62.

<sup>150</sup> Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 236, col. 2.

<sup>151</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. III, pp. 305-6.



levied in a manner humiliating to the tax-payers. As the scholars and divines of the time informed Aurangzeb, the books on Muslim Canon Law lay down that the proper method of collecting the *jaziye* is for the *zimmi*<sup>152</sup> to pay the tax personally; if he sends the money by the hand of an agent it is to be refused; the taxed person must come on foot and make payment standing, while the receiver should be seated and after placing his hand above that of the *zimmi* should take the money and cry out 'o *zimmi*! pay the commutation money.' Such being the case, the very fact of saving the people, even those who could afford to pay a tax of that kind, from the compulsory appearance and humiliation before the tax-gatherer was a righteous act. All, the rich and the poor, were saved from the possible humility of personally going to the tax-gatherer and passing through all the ritual of payment.

The early Mahomedan rulers of India levied this tax from all except the Brahmans, who, as a religious class, were exempted from the beginning by the first Mahomedan invader Muhammad Ghori (A.C. 1175-76). Firuz Shah (A. C. 1351 to 1388) taxed the Brahmans also. Akbar abolished the tax (1579 A. C.). But Aurangzeb re-imposed it "in order, as the Court historian records, to 'spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity'<sup>153</sup>. On learning of the imposition of this tax, the Hindus of Delhi mustered in force below the balcony of the royal palace on the bank of the Jumna and requested the removal of the tax, but their request was not accepted. Then, one Friday, when Aurangzeb was going to the Jamma Masjid, the Hindus mustered strong on the way and repeated the request. When they did not disperse, though asked to do so, Aurangzeb moved elephants in his front to clear his way. Some people were trampled to death in this attempt. Several writers refers to the severity of the *jaziye*.

Robert Orme says: "In order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout his

(a) Robert Orme on the *Jaziye*.

<sup>152</sup> ذمي "Zimmi, one tolerated by the Muhammadan law on paying an annual tax." (Steingass, p. 559). <sup>153</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 308.

empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword..... The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field and industry the loom ; until the decrease of the revenue drew representations from the governors of the provinces ; which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude.”<sup>154</sup>.

As to the classes of the *zimmi*, Prof. Sarkar says: “The impost was not proportioned to a man’s actual income, but the assesseees were roughly divided into three classes, according as their property was estimated at not more than 200 *dirhams* (‘the poor’), between 200 and ten thousand *dirhams* (the middle class) and above ten thousand (‘the rich’). Money-changers, cloth-dealers, landowners, merchants and physicians were placed in the highest class, while artisans, such as tailors, dyers, cobblers and shoe-makers were counted as ‘poor.’ This last class paid only when their professional income left a margin above the cost of maintaining themselves and their families.”<sup>155</sup> It is quite natural, that the question, whether sufficient margin was left to the poor to maintain themselves, being a difficult one to determine a hard tax-master would spread great hardship among the poor. The Parsees of Surat at the time were mostly weavers. It seems that, it was this class of the poor from among the non-Parsees that may have been released by Rustam Manock.<sup>156</sup>”

Even Shivaji protested, politely but strongly, in a letter to Aurangzeb, but to no effect. The letter is long, but very interesting from several points of view. So, I give here some important parts of it from the

(b) *Shivaji's Letter, protesting against the Jaziye.*

<sup>154</sup> Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 73-74.

<sup>155</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb III (1916), p 306.

<sup>156</sup> It may be mentioned that, to release, from small petty debts, the poor who have been sent to prison for debts unavoidably incurred, was considered, up to the last century, an act of great righteousness. The first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., is said to have done so in many cases.



text as given by Professor Sarkar : <sup>157</sup>. "This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor—which are clearer than the Sun,—begs to inform Your Majesty that, although this well-wisher was led by his adverse Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave,<sup>158</sup> yet he is ever ready to perform, to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him . . . . . It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty ! That architect of the fabric of empire (Jalaluddin), Akbar Padshah, reigned with full power for 52 (lunar) years. He adopted the admirable policy of perfect harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers<sup>159</sup>, sky-worshippers (*falakia*)<sup>160</sup>, *malakias*,<sup>161</sup> materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*), Brahman and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all people. So he became famous under the title of "the World's Spiritual Guide (Jagat Guru)," then Shivaji relates how Jahangir and Shah Jahan loyally followed Akbar, and adds: "They, too, had the power of levying the *jaziya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God, to be (living) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their

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<sup>157</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 325. <sup>158</sup> This is a reference to Sivaji's flight from Delhi in a basket of fruits.

<sup>159</sup> They were known as Dādu panthis (دادو پنتھی). A Dādu panthi is "a follower of the religious sect of Dādu, a cotton cleaner of Ahmedabad, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who endeavoured to establish a sort of monotheistical worship." (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 117, col. 1).

<sup>160</sup> Shivaji seems to refer to the Parsees under this name. According to Steingass, *filk* (فلق) means "a fire-worshipper". If we read the word فلق as *falaq* heaven, then *falakia* would mean heaven or sun-worshippers. In that sense also the word would apply to Parsees.

<sup>161</sup> The Sect of the Malakites.



kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety (in their reigns) and their undertakings were achieved. But in Your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden . . . . . It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain; the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled; most men lack bread at night . . . . . How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jaziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that, the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jaziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, yogis, sannayasis, bairagis, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken,—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars,—that he dashes down (to the ground) the name and honour of the Timurids! May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (*i.e.*, the Quran), you will find there (that God is styled) Rabb-ul-alamin, the Lord of all men, and not Rabb-ul-musalmin, the Lord of the Muhamadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are antithetical terms. They are (diverse pigments) used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines (of His picture of the entire human species). If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is (really) altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw (new) lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter. . . . In strict justice the *jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the point of view of administration it can be right only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or molestation. (But) in these days even the cities are being plundered, what of the open country? Not to speak of



its injustice, this imposition of the *jaziya* is an innovation in India, and inexpedient. If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy *jaziya* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."<sup>162</sup>

This Jaziya tax, with other acts of indignity, had embittered the Rajputs, who, at first, were on the side of the Moghal Emperor. Stanley Lane Poole says on this subject: "But for his tax upon heresy, and his interference with their inborn sense of dignity and honour, Aurangzib might have still kept the Rajputs by his side as priceless allies in the long struggle in which he was now to engage in the Deccan."<sup>163</sup> It was the unpopularity of this Jaziye that led to the popularity of the Mahrathas who were fighting against him. "The religious bigotry only inflamed his own puritanical zeal, and he was imprudent enough to insist on the strict levying of his poll-tax on Hindus—which had considerably helped the popularity of the Marathas in the very country where it was most important to lay aside Muhammadan prejudices. His first step on arriving in the Deccan was to issue stringent orders for the collection of the hated *Jaziya*. The people and their headmen resisted and rioted in vain. A tried officer was detached with a force of horse and foot to exact the poll-tax and punish the recusants. It is significant that in three months this sagacious officer reported that he had collected the poll-tax of Burhanpūr for the past year (Rs. 26,000) and begged the Emperor to appoint some one else to carry on the unpleasant business (Khafi Khan, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, pp. 310, 311)<sup>164</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, pp. 324-29.

<sup>163</sup> S. Lane Poole's Aurangzib (1908), p. 142.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175. The poll tax officer was called "Amin-i-Jizya,"

Dr. John Fryer, who had landed in India in 1672 and had gone to Surat after visiting various places, gives a brief account of the Parsees at Surat.<sup>165</sup> He says therein, that the Parsees, when he first landed in India abstained from eating flesh following the Hindus usage, but that when the Moslems came they took to flesh-eating. So, when Aurangzeb imposed poll-tax upon non-Moslems, they expected that, as they did not follow Hindu customs, they would be exempted, but that was not the case. He says: "On this side the Water<sup>166</sup> are People of another Offspring than those we have yet mentioned; these be called Parseys, who were made free Denizens by the Indians before the Moors<sup>167</sup> were Masters and have continued to Inhabit where they first set Footing, not being known above Forty Miles along the Sea-coast, nor above Twenty mile Inland.....where they complying with some Propositions, as not to Kill any Beasts or living Creatures, and Conform to many of the *Gentue*<sup>168</sup> Ceremonies were Entertained and allowed to live among them. Since the Moors have Subdued the Country, they think themselves not obliged by the former Capitulation, they Feeding on both Fish and Flesh; and for that reason were in hopes of exemption from the present Poll, pretending their Law agreeable to the Moors, but they would not free them from the Tax. These drink Wine, and are of the Race of the Ancient Persians."

We learn from the *Ahkam-i Alamgiri* (No.72)<sup>169</sup> that Aurangzeb was inexorable in the matter of levying the Jaziyeh. Once, Firuz Jang, suggested that, in order to increase the population of a certain place on the banks of the river Bhima, which supplied provisions for the imperial camp, "the poll-tax (Jaziya) on the Hindu residents of the place "may be abolished" . . . "The Emperor wrote: I do not accept the helpers from

<sup>165</sup> New Account of East India and Persia in Eight letters, being nine years' Travels; begun 1671 and finished 1681 (1698), p. 117.

<sup>166</sup> i.e., the river Tapti.

<sup>167</sup> i.e., the Mahomedans.

<sup>168</sup> i.e., the Hindus.

<sup>169</sup> Anecdotes of Aurangzib by J. Sarkar, 2nd ed. of 1925, p. 132.



among the infidels. Your wish for the colonising of the grain market at the tomb, and your upsetting the command contained in the text-book of the holy Quran concerning Jaziya, which is ('Chastise them till they pay Jaziya from the hand because they are humbled'), by substituting for it the words 'they deserve to be excused,' are a thousand stages remote from the perfect wisdom and obedience to the august Religious Laws which are possessed by this trusted servant aware of my sentiments." <sup>170</sup>.

The Venitian traveller Niccolao Manucci was a very harsh critic of Aurangzib's reign. But, what he (d) *Niccolao Manucci on Aurangzib's inexorableness about this tax.* says about Aurangzib's inexorableness about the imposition of this tax is supported by other authorities.<sup>171</sup> He says that the tax was imposed in 1678-1679, in spite of the opposition of "all the high-placed and important men at the Court. . . . The King stood firm, still more so because it was his purpose to spread the Mahomedan religion among those people (the Hindus). He was of the opinion that he had found in this tax an excellent means of succeeding in converting them, besides thereby replenishing his treasuries greatly."<sup>172</sup> He said to his nobles who opposed: "All my thoughts are turned towards the welfare and the development of my kingdom and towards the propagation of the religion of the great Muhammad."<sup>173</sup> Manucci says that, at last, his eldest sister Begam Sahib, entreated him to keep away from the tax, but to no purpose. She represented Hindustan to be a vast ocean and the king and the royal family as ships in it and said: "If the ships and the sailors must always try to render the seas favourable and pacific towards them in order to navigate with success and arrive happily at port; in the same way your Majesty ought to appease and soften the ocean of your subjects." With these words "she attempted to throw herself at his feet." But he disregarded her

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33. According to Sarkar, Khafi Khan, II, 279, 378, Akhbarat year 38 sheet 232 speaks of Aurangzib's strictness for the Jaziye. Vide Elphinstone's *History of India* for his severity in the matter of the Jaziye (Vol. II, p. 495.)

<sup>171</sup> *Storia Do Magor or Mogul India*, translated by William Irvine, (1907), Vol. III, pp. 288-91. <sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9. <sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.



entreaties and cooly said: "Madam, forget not that when Muhammad entered the world it was entirely drowned in the idolatry of the unbeliever, but no sooner had that incomparable prophet reached the age of discretion then he busied himself with all his strength in freeing the peoples from so dangerous a condition by establishing among them his holy doctrines. Of what methods, I beg you to say, did he make use to gain such a purpose? Was it not by that taxation?" Manucci says that shortly after, there occurred a violent earthquake and the nobles, attributing it to the wrath of God, asked Aurangzib to reconsider the matter. But he cooly replied: "It is true that the earth lately trembled, but it is the result of the joy it felt at the course I am adopting."<sup>174</sup> Then Manucci adds that, for every 25 thousand rupees that he got by this tax, the tax gatherer "must have at the least recovered one hundred thousand."<sup>175</sup>

Manucci speaks thus about the severity of the tax. "Hindu traders living in this empire are forced to pay every year in advance a personal tax, as I have once before stated (II.182; III. 51; IV. 28). In return, they are given a receipt to serve as a passport; but when they travel to another kingdom or province of this empire the said passport is of no value. On their outward and their return journey the same amount is collected. In this way the merchants suffer from the great impositions, and thus many of them and of the bankers are ruined. Aurangzib rejoices over these failures, in the belief that by such extortion these Hindus will be forced into embracing the Mahomedan faith."

Col. Tod, in his *Rajasthan*, thought that this tax was one of the causes of the overthrow of the Mogul power. He says: "To the *jezeya* and the unwise pertinacity with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam."<sup>176</sup> Tod says that

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291. <sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>176</sup> *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, by Lt.-Col. James Tod. 1st ed, I, p. 396. Third Reprint (1880), p. 338.



even the Rajpūt Rānā protested: The Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition. <sup>176a</sup>.

We find from the letters sent by the English Factors here to England in 1669, that, in April 1669 Aurangzib had issued orders "for the destruction of infidel temples and the suppression of infidel teachings."<sup>177</sup> A letter from Surat, dated 26th November 1669, says: "You have been formerly advised what unsufferable tyranny the Bannias endured in Surat by the force exercised by these lordly Moors on account of their religion; the sweetness of which the Cozzy (Kazi) and other officers finding, by the large incomes paid by the Bannians to redeeme their places of idolatrous worship from being defaced and their persons from their malice, did prosecute their covetous avengers with that frequency and furious zeale that the general body of the Bannias began to groan under their affliction and to take up resolves of flying the country. A nephew of your antient Sheroff Tulcidas Parrack was among others inveigled and turned Moor, which was a great heart-breaking to your Bannianservants and some dishonour to your house."<sup>178</sup> We read further: "Ever since the flight of the Bannians the trade of Surat hath suffered great obstruction; and 'tis the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatal consequence, to the utter ruin of it in case the King (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) doth not take some effectual healing order for the making of this breach. For most of the sheroffs and moneyed men doe think of calling (in ?) their stocks and (according to the custome of this country) burying the greatest part underground; so the bulke of trade, which is maintained and carreyed on chiefly on credit, must necessarily fail."<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>176a</sup> *Ibid*, 1st ed. I. pp. 379-80. <sup>177</sup> The English Factories in India 1668-69, by Sir Forest, p. 190. <sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 190-91. <sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, p. 197.



*The Date of  
the Imposition  
of the Jaziye.*

(a) Prof. Sarkar gives the date of the imposition of the Jaziye tax as 2nd April 1679<sup>180</sup>. (b) Dr. Fryer, in his third letter, "dated Bombaim 1675 Sept. 22"<sup>181</sup> says: "Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (the heathens) all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins making them pay a Gold Rupee an Head and the inferior Tribes proportionable; which has made some Rajaahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal Countries, and Bombaim". Thus, according to Fryer it was imposed before 1675. (c) According to Elphinstone, it was imposed some time after the insurrection of the Satnarinis, a sect of Hindu devotees at Narnol. He says: "These disturbances had irritated his temper. . . . and led him. . . . to take the last step in a long course of bigotry and impolicy by reviving the Jeziā or capitation tax on Hindus."<sup>182</sup> Now, this revolt of this sect of devotees was in 1676.<sup>183</sup> So, according to Elphinstone, this tax was imposed after 1676. The people objected but when Aurangzib resorted to harsh treatment "the tax was submitted to without further demur," in 1677.<sup>184</sup> (d) Stanley Lane-Poole does not give a certain date but says that it was "in or about 1675."<sup>185</sup> (e) Grant Duff says, that Aurangzib imposed the Jaziye, when he was in Burhanpur.<sup>186</sup> He says: "During his stay at the former city (Burhanpur), amongst other arrangements he issued orders for the collection of the Jizea, a poll-tax levied on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, which was to be as strictly exacted in the Deccan as in the northern part of the empire."<sup>187</sup> He had gone to Burhanpur in 1683.<sup>188</sup> So this means that the tax was imposed before 1683. (f) Robert Orme, gives the date as 1679.<sup>189</sup> (g) Manucci says that "it was during the

<sup>180</sup> J. Sarkar's (a) Aurangzib, III, p. 308; (b) Studies in Mogul India (1919), p. 44; (c) Ahkām-i. Aurangzib (1912), p. 12.

<sup>181</sup> Dr. John Fryer's "New Account of East India and Persia, begun 1672 and finished 1681" published in 1698, p. 144.

<sup>182</sup> Elphinstone's History of India (1841), Vol. II, p. 490.<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, p. 489.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, p. 494. Elphinstone gives this date (1677) in his list of contents, Vol. II, p. XXVI. <sup>185</sup> Stanley L. Aurangzib (1908), p. 125.

<sup>186</sup> History of the Mahrathas, Ed. revised by S. M. Edwardas (1921) Vol. I, p. 252. <sup>187</sup> *Ibid*, p. 252. <sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p. 246.

<sup>189</sup> Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire (1805), p. 74.



years 1678 and 1679 that Aurangzeb decided to impose a new tribute upon all Hindūs.”<sup>190</sup> In another place, he says: “The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzeb as an opening to oppress the Hindūs still more, since they had no longer any valiant and powerful rajahr who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindūs a poll-tax, which everyone was forced to pay, some more, some less.”<sup>191</sup> Now Jaswant Singh died in about 1678. So, we may take it, that the tax was levied in 1678 or 1679 (h) According to the Muntakhabu-l-Lubab, the tax was imposed in the Hijri year 1082, i.e., about 1672, for suppressing the power of the infidels.<sup>192</sup> (i) The Ma-āsir-i Alamgiri gives the date as 1090 Hijri, i.e. 1680 A.C.<sup>193</sup> (j) Shivaji had written a long letter to Aurangzeb against the imposition of the Jaziya.<sup>194</sup> In that letter, he says: “But in your Majesty’s reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession and the rest will do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them”<sup>195</sup> Shivaji had captured, in all, 191 forts and had himself built 126 forts.<sup>196</sup> Shivaji refers in this letter, to his visit of, and captivity in, and flight from, Aurangzeb’s Court in 1666. So, when he speaks of his capture of the forts, he speaks of re-conquests. The re-conquest of many took place in 1667-1669.<sup>197</sup> The re-conquest of Sinhaghad, Purandhar and Mahuli took place between 1670 and 1672.<sup>198</sup> So, the letter seems to have been written after the conquest of these forts which ended in about 1672. Thus, we take it that, according to Shivaji, the date of the jaziyeh was some time before 1672.

<sup>190</sup> Storia Do Mogor, edited by W. Irvine, III, p. 288.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 233-34.

<sup>192</sup> برای مغلوب ساختن کفار The Muntakhab Al Lubab of Khafi Khan, edited by Maulavi Kabir Al Din Ahmed, Part II (1874), p. 255 Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296.

<sup>193</sup> Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296, n. 1. According to Irvine Ma’asir’s date, 1st Rabi I 1090 H. corresponds to April 12, 1679. (Storia Do Mogor of Manucci by Irvine, Vol. III, p. 288, n. 2.)

<sup>194</sup> Vide Sarkar’s Aurangzib, Vol. III, p. 325q. <sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>196</sup> For a list of these forts, vide “The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, by Jagannath Lakhshman Markar (1886), pp. 103-107. <sup>197</sup> The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, by Prof. Takakhav (1921), pp. 298-312. <sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313 et seq.

Thus, we gather the following different dates from the different authors :—

1.	Ma'asir-i Alamgiri	..	..	..	..	April 1679
2.	Muntakhab-ul Lubab of Khafi Khar	..	..	..	..	1672
3.	Robert Orme	..	..	..	..	1679
4.	Manucci	..	..	..	..	1678-1679
5.	Fryer	..	..	..	..	before 1675
6.	Grant Duff	..	..	..	..	before 1683
7.	Elphinstone	..	..	..	..	1676-77
8.	Stanley Lane-Poole	..	..	..	..	about 1675
9.	Sarkar	..	..	..	2nd April	1679
10.	Shivaji	..	..	..	..	In or before 1672

I think, we may attach much importance to Dr. Fryer's statement, written on 22nd September 1675 (in his third letter from India), saying, that Aurangzib had already laid the poll tax at the time, he wrote. So, we may take it that it was imposed some time before September 1675. Stanley Lane-Poole also gives "in or about 1675".<sup>199</sup> Khafi Khan gives 1672. So, we may take it that it was imposed before 1675 and that it may be in 1672.

This jaziye tax brought a large revenue to Aurangzib. "It is recorded that the city of Burhanpur alone paid 26,000 rupees on account of this tax, and the total for all Hindustan must have been enormous."<sup>199</sup>

*Rate of the Tax.*

It fell heavily upon the poor. Authorities differ somewhat in the matter of the rate. Scott says that it was "thirteen rupees per annum for every 2,000 rupees worth of property possessed by Hindoos."<sup>200</sup> Prof. Sarkar says: "The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year for the three classes respectively,—or Rs. 3½, Rs. 6¾ and Rs. 13½. On the poor, therefore, the incidence of the tax was 6 per cent. of the gross income; on the middle class it ranged from 6 to ¼ p.c., and on the rich it was always lighter even than 2½ per thousand. In violation of modern canons of taxation, the *Jaziya* hit the poorest portion of the

<sup>199</sup> Aurangzib and the Decay of the Moghal Empire by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 125.

<sup>200</sup> Scott's Deccan quoted in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrathas revised by S. M. Edwards (1921), Vol. I, p. 252.



population hardest. It could never be less than Rs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  on a man which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price of the end of the 16th century (Ain I 63). The State, therefore, at the lowest incidence of the tax, annually took away from the poor man the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence. Secondly, all government officials were exempted from the tax, though they were the wealthiest members of their respective classes in Society.<sup>201</sup>

Dr. Fryer thus speaks of the rate : " Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (Cophers, unbelievers) all over to his Faith and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins (Brahmins), making them pay a Gold Rupee (*i.e.* a Mohor) an head, and the inferior Tribes proportionable, which has made some Rajahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal countries and to Bombaim. <sup>202</sup>

Manucci gives the rate as varying from Rs.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  on the poor to Rs.  $13\frac{1}{2}$  on merchants.<sup>203</sup> Manucci says : " Great merchants paid thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not to women ; boys began to pay as soon as they passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzeib did this for two reasons : first because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns. Secondly, to force the Hindūs to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors."<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzib, Vol. III, p. 307.

<sup>202</sup> A New Account of East India and Persia, Letter III, Chap. III, p.107.

<sup>203</sup> A recent writer Mr. Syed Hashimi (Faridabadi), in his article, "The Real Alamgir" (Islamic Culture, of October 1928, p. 627) gives the rate which approaches that of Manucci. He says : " It was levied on non-military, well-to-do male adults only, who had an income of at least 200 dirhams a year, which, at the lowest estimate, should be computed in its purchasing value as the equivalent of about 500 rupees in the terms of the present-day currency. On this income  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per annum were charged, while the maximum estimate of the tax was about Rs. 14 per annum levied on an income of more than 10,000 Dirhams a year."

<sup>204</sup> Storia Do Mogor, edited by Irvine, Vol. II, p. 234.



The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went personally to the Divan and settled arrangements to pay the Jaziyeh annually (cc. 120-22). But, when some poor people of other communities individually appealed to him for help, he asked his Naib, *i.e.*, assistant, Noshirwan, to pay the Jaziyeh, for the poor from his money (c. 150). Now as the author does not give the full name of Noshirwan, it is difficult to identify him. One Nusserwanji is referred to, later on, in the Qisseh, in the account of Rustam Manock's visit of Naosari on his return from the Mogul Court, where he had gone with the English ambassador. He is there spoken of as a relative in whose house Rustam lodged as a guest (c. 406). It is possible that both these persons may be one and the same person. We will speak of this Noshirwan, later on, in our account of the visit to Naosari. But, if these two Noshirwans are different, it is difficult to identify this Noshirwan.<sup>205</sup>

The Qisseh refers to the views of the Sad-dar Nazm on the subject of the Jaziyeh. It says that, according to the Sad-dar, a person who relieves another from the oppression (zulm) of the Jaziyeh is well rewarded for this act. God gives him a place in the Heaven. His soul is respected in the presence of Zarthosht. The Sad-dar Nazm (*i.e.*, the Book of 100 Chapters in verse) was written in 1495 A.C. by Irānshah bin Malek Shāh. It is possible that it was based on the Sad-dar Nasr (the Sad-dar in prose), which was written by three persons, Medyomah, Vardosht and Siāvakhsh, some time after the Arab Conquest.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>205</sup> One may be tempted to say that if he was Rustam's relative, he may be his grandson Noshirwan, the son of Bahmanji: But the dates make this supposition impossible. I am thankful to Mr. Sohrab P. Davar for kindly drawing my attention to the inconsistency of dates in his letter of 29th August 1928. So, we must take it that, either he was the same Nusserwanji as the one mentioned later on, or some other person.

<sup>206</sup> For a detailed account of the Sad-dar, *vide* (a) West S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXIX; (b) Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Bank II, p. 123; (c) Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundelesh by Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar; (d) Dr. Hyde has given a translation in Latin of the Sad-dar Nasr in his "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum," under the heading of Magorum Liber Sad-dar (2nd ed. of 1760, pp. 443-512); (e) The Sad-dar Bahr-i-tavil (*i.e.*, the Sad-dar in long meters), which has been translated into Gujarati by Dastur Jamaspji Minochehrji Jamaspasana



We find the following references to the Jaziyeh in the Sad-dar-Nazm's 66th Chapter, which asks one to remain steadfast in his belief on the Mazdayasnān religion.<sup>207</sup>

(a) ز بهر زر جزیره گر نیز کس  
فرومانده باشد ایا خوش نفس  
ندارد که آن جزیره بدهد بدان  
بخواهد شد از دست پیش بدان  
اگر یاریش اندر آنجا دهم  
هران جزیره اش را تو تنها دهم  
چنان دان که کردی زکشتن خلاص  
در کار گشتی تو به دین خاص  
بمینوش پاداش مژد و ثواب  
بیایبی ازین دین به بی حساب<sup>208</sup>

<sup>207</sup> The first line of the chapter thus speaks of its contents :

در شصت و شش آنکه ما دین به که آن مزدیشان بود از فره  
I am thankful to Mr. Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar for helping me to trace the reference.

<sup>208</sup> (Saddar Chap. 66 ll. 14-18) Manuscript of the Sad-dar Nazm in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. *Vide* for this Ms. the Catalogue of the Institute by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar (1923), p. 149, No. R. 61. The colophon at the end, gives the date of the Ms. as *roz Ābān, Māh Asfandārmad*, year 1103 A. Y. (i.e., 1734 A. C.). It was written in Surat in the country (balād) of Gujarat in Hind by Mobad of Broach, Herbad Kāusji, son of Padamji, son of Dastur Kāmdin, son of Dastur Faridun, son of Dastur Padam, son of Ostā Rām, son of Herbad Kahānān (کهانان) son of Mobad Shehyār (شه یار) son of Mobad Nahāryār (نهار یار). This scribe Kausji was the son of Dastur Padamji Kāmdinji, referred to in a document of 1st August 1716 A. C. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 849.)

Another old copy of the sad-dar gives us following variants in the above verse, e.g., c. (couplet) 1, l. 1 has *هم از بهر* c. 2, l. 2 has *دیش بدان* instead of *پیش بدان*, *Vide* the Ms. VII, 19 (Brelvi's Catalogue p. XXXI). This Ms. has no colophon. The chronogram gives 14th of Mohram 900 as the date. (The chronogram *شتر* (300+400+200=900) gives the Mahomedan year of the original composition, which, according to West (S. B. E. Vol. 24 Introd. p. 37), comes to 14th October 1495 A.C.





thing). There is nothing worse than this in our religion. You must break away from (*i.e.*, avoid) this money, because this money is a crime on your neck. In whatever place (or way) this money is spent, know, that there will remain no progeny (or stock) in that family. Annihilation will prevail in that place and the family will disappear by diminution.

The reason, why the Sad-dar,<sup>216</sup> written in Persia, refers to the Jaziyeh, is that Jaziyeh was a tax imposed after the Arab conquest upon the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia had to pay the tax upto the year 1882, when, after constant representations, it was cancelled.<sup>217</sup>

*The Jaziyeh  
in Persia.*

## VIII

### II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat.

The second important subject referred to by the Qisseh is that of the Sack of Surat by Shivaji. The account of Shivaji's Sack of Surat as given in the Kisseh is briefly as follows :

*The Account  
of the Kisseh  
about Shivaji's  
Sack of Surat.*

<sup>216</sup> There are several sad-dars, all mostly treating of the same subject, but one is in prose, another in verse and the third in verse of the meter called *behr-i tavil*. They all were written in the 14th or 15th century. The Sad-dar Nazm (in verse) was written in 864 A. Y. (1495 A. C.), but the prose Saddar was written long before this. For another Ms. of the Sad-dar Nazm in the Mulla Feroze Library, *vide* the Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic-Persian Mss. by Mr. S. A. Brelvi (1917), p. XXXI.

<sup>217</sup> Mr. Bomanji Behramji Patel, in his *Parsee Prakash*, Vol. I (pp. 654-66) gives a very interesting account of the work of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration fund founded in Bombay on 11th January 1855. One of the objects of that fund was to relieve the Zoroastrians of Persia from the burden of the Jaziyeh tax. The late Mr. Manockji Hataria, the agent in Persia of the above fund, had been to the Zoroastrians of Persia, what Rustam Manock was to the Zoroastrians of Surat. We find a succinct account of the incidence of the Jaziyeh in Persia, included in the above account (*Ibid*, pp. 659-66). The annual payment by the Bombay Parsees for their co-religionists in Persia came to about Rs. 5,000. The Bombay Parsees paid it regularly from about 1858 to 1881. The total they paid during these years came to about Rs. 1,09,564. Rich Parsees of Bombay had given large sums of money to be permanently invested, for the Jaziyeh to be paid annually from its interest.

thing). There is nothing worse than this in our religion. You must break away from (*i.e.*, avoid) this money, because this money is a crime on your neck. In whatever place (or way) this money is spent, know, that there will remain no progeny (or stock) in that family. Annihilation will prevail in that place and the family will disappear by diminution.

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1. Shivaji is spoken of as Shiva<sup>218</sup> ghani (غني), i.e., Shiva, the plunderer.
2. He came with a large equipage (hashm-i farāvān). The author gives the number of his followers as 50,000.
3. He arrested men, women and even milk-drinking children (kudakān shīr khur) from all four directions and detained them in prison (در حبس c. 172).
4. He carried away as booty (ghārat), from all houses in the city, silken cloth (qumās), gold, silver, household furniture (kāla) and jewellery (or articles, *ganj*).
5. As a result of this confusion of arrests (gīr o dār)<sup>219</sup>, there was a general flight (gurīgh).
6. He set fire everywhere.
7. All were stupified (satuh) by his oppression.
8. Several helpless people were imploring for forgiveness from zulmāneh,<sup>220</sup> i.e., money for ransom.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, had announced the payment of a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the purpose, before the foundation of the Fund, and his sons, later on, set apart that sum. The above-mentioned account gives one an idea of the distress which the Zoroastrians of Persia had to suffer for this tax. It was in Ramzān 1299 Hijri (August 1882), that the late Shah Nāsserud-din, after several representations from the Parsees of Bombay and England, during his visit of England, kindly cancelled the tax. Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Edwards Eastwick, who were appointed to look after the arrangements for the Shah's visit to England in 1873, and various other British officers, tried their best to help the Parsees in this matter. At last, it was Mr. Ronald Thomson, the then British ambassador at Teheran, who, with his letter, dated Teheran, 27th September 1882, addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Dinshaw Manockji Petit, Bart., sent the royal *farmān* with its translation, cancelling the tax. The *farmān* is headed: "Royal Farmān issued by His Majesty Nāssereddeen Shah, relieving the Zoroastrians of Persia from the payment of the tribute annually levied from them under the name of Jezieh." (*Ibid*, p. 662.)

<sup>218</sup> 'Ji' at the end of the name is simply honorific. Even modern writers on his life, at times, speak of him as Shiva, e.g., Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his "Shivaji and his Times" (1919).

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Gujarati ૪૨૫૬૬

<sup>220</sup> ظلمانه Steingass does not give the word, but the word seems to mean ransom, lit. a sum of money given for being released from oppression (zulm).

9. Those who were arrested sent words to their wives and children, that they were much oppressed and that they will not be free from the fetters of the unholy Shiva *ghani*, unless *zulmāneh* or ransom was paid.

10. Those to whom the errand was sent were quite helpless as they themselves were plundered and their houses burnt and they themselves were without food and dress.

11. So, broken-hearted and ashamed to ask (*pur khajal*), they went to Rustam Manock and prayed for help. They said that Shiva *ghani* has carried away some men from our houses and asks Rs. 10,000 as ransom for these men. He has come like Ahriman and has become an enemy of the city and the villages.

12. He had an army of 50,000 soldiers.

13. That army had, at its head, two leaders, one of whom is vicious (or cruel) and the other devillish. They were hostile to the Zoroastrians. They devastated the city and the villages and carried away from all houses silver, ornaments, apparel and grain as pillage and then set fire to the houses. They killed some and tied on their backs the hands of others. Among us, there are some who have run away from captivity.

14. Rustam Manock was affected by what they said. He gave the sum of ransom and also gave them food and clothing.

The sack is described by several contemporary writers—contemporary of the time of Shivaji—of different nationalities, Hindu, Mahomedan, English, French and Dutch. But the above account is from the pen of a contemporary Parsee priest, and as such, it may interest many. Now, before speaking of the Sack, I will say a few words on Surat and on the life of Shivaji.

Surat, standing on the southern bank of the Tapti, was about 12 miles from the sea. The city had a fort, but

*Surat at the  
time of Shivaji's  
Sack.*

no wall round it, at the time of the first sack. It was after the first sack that Aurangzeb ordered a wall to be built round the city. The city of Surat was, at that time, to the Western coast of India, what Bombay is at present. It was a big emporium of trade between



this part of India and the West. Again, it was the port for the pilgrims to go to Mecca. So, it was frequented, now and then, by rich pilgrims from all parts of India<sup>220a</sup> and even from Central Asia. This visit of rich pilgrims to the city added to its wealth which is said to have been "boundless".<sup>221</sup> "The imperial customs alone yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs of Rupees a year in 1666."<sup>222</sup>

It is said that, in the time of Akbar and Jahangir, the Portuguese having a good fleet of ships in the sea near it, molested the pilgrim ships and exacted ransoms from the pilgrims on them. To save themselves from this molestation, the pilgrims, before going on board the ships, took pass-ports from the Portuguese at Surat. They charged very high fees for these pass-ports. It is said that a daughter of Humayun had to give to the Portuguese a small village as the fee for her pass-port when she went on a pilgrimage. Shivaji himself, following the European powers, built up a fleet with a view to command the sea and especially with a view to command the pilgrim traffic. The population of the city in Aurangzeb's and Shivaji's time was about 2 lakhs of people living in an area of about 4 square miles. The rich people occupied, as now, the river frontage. Surat was one of the richest cities of the Empire and it "contributed something like half a million sterling (about Rs. 75 lacs) in addition to the land tax" to Aurangzeb.<sup>223</sup> From the fact of Surat having given to Shivaji during his several sacks a good deal of wealth, Shivaji is said to have called it "the key of his treasury."<sup>224</sup>

In the time of Aurangzeb, it was the head-quarters of the Parsees. The *Khulasatu-t-tawārikh*, written some time between 1695 and 1699, thus refers to them, while speaking of Surat: "The sect of Zoroastrans (Parsis) having come from Fars and taken up their abode here, keep up among themselves the practice of

<sup>220a</sup> Thomas Moore, in his *Lala Rookh*, represents the king of Bucharest coming there from Central Asia to go on a pilgrimage. This was in the time of Aurangzeb.

<sup>221</sup> Prof. Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 98. <sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> Stanley Poole's *Aurangzeb*, p. 127.

<sup>224</sup> J. H. Bilimoria's *Letters of Aurangzeb*, p. 124, n. 3.

fire-worship.”<sup>225</sup> According to the supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, written between 1750 and 1760,<sup>226</sup> Aurangzib built the rampart wall round the city, to prevent the Deccanis raiding the city.<sup>227</sup> The wall, enclosing some of the ‘purās’ (પુરા), known as the Alampanah wall, was built later in the reign of Farruksiyar.<sup>228</sup> It is said that, in the early times of the Sultans of Gujarat, Rander on the other side of Tapti was the port, but in 947 Hijri (1540 A.C.) Safar Aga (Ashgar Aga), known as Khudawand Khan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, built the city Fort, to protect the city “in order to put an end to the piracy of the Europeans who were harassing the inhabitants.”<sup>229</sup> The ports of Broach, Bulsar, Naosari, Ghandevi, Chikli, Sirbhawan and others were under the jurisdiction of the Mutasaddi of Surat.<sup>230</sup> The port of Daman belonged to the hat-wearers (the kohlā-pō-sh), i.e., the Europeans (the Portuguese).<sup>231</sup>

According to De Laet,<sup>232</sup> Surat had, at first, “a large fort surrounded with a wall of sand stone and defended by a number of warlike engines, some of which are of exceptional size”. The town was fenced on three sides by “a dry ditch and an earthen rampart with three gates, of which one opens upon the road to Variāuvv (Variāo)<sup>233</sup>, (latterly spoken of as વરીઆવી ભાગલ (Variāvi Bhāgal) a small village where travellers to Cambay crossed the river Tapti.” The second gate was the Brampori gate and the third Uonsaray or Nassaray (Naosari) gate. According to this author, a large number of cotton fabrics were woven at Naosari.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>225</sup> The India of Aurangzib, with extracts from the *Khulasatu-t-tawarikh* and the *Chahar Gulshan*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (1901), p. 63.

<sup>226</sup> The Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (1924), p. X. <sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213 <sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229 <sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

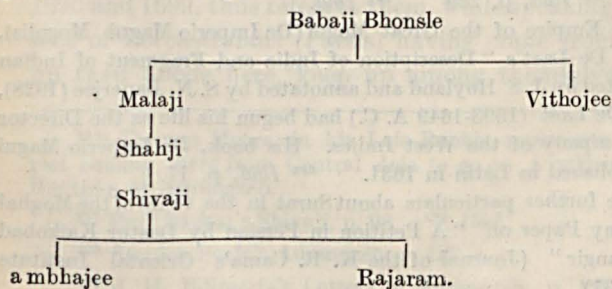
<sup>232</sup> *Vide* the Empire of the Great Mogol (De Imperio Magni Mogolis), a Translation of De Laet’s “Description of India and Fragment of Indian History,” translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee (1928), p. 17. Joannes De Laet (1593-1649 A. C.) had begun his life as the Director of the Dutch Company of the West Indies. His book, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, was published in Latin in 1631. <sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>234</sup> For some further particulars about Surat in the times of the Moghal Emperors, *vide* my Paper on “A Petition in Persian by Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jehangir” (Journal of the K. R. Cama’s Oriental Institute No. 13, pp. 67-237).



Shivaji belonged to the Mahratha race, whose country was Maharashtra (lit. the great kingdom), the country between the Central Provinces and the Arabian Sea. The Konkan was that part of the Maharashtra which ran between the Ghats and the sea. It is a very hilly country and the towering heights of some of its mountains are studded with forts which are all Mahratha forts. Ramdeo, a prince of this Maratha race, was ruling in the Deccan, when, in about 1294, Ala-ud-din Khilji invaded it. It was Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian officer of the Mahomedan kings of Bijapur, who gave military training to the Mahrathas and brought them into prominence. When he found that his master, the king of Bijapore, and the kings of other Mahomedan states of the Deccan could not stand against the large trained armies of the Moghal Emperors on the plains, he resorted to mountain-fighting. He took Mahratha soldiers under him, and, living with them on hill forts, made matters hot for the Moghal armies on the plains. Thus, the Maharathas were trained under him to hill-fighting. Shahji,<sup>235</sup> the father of Shivaji who belonged to the Bhonsle family of the Mahrathas was at first an officer in the Mahomedan state of Ahmednagar and then in that of Bijapore.

<sup>235</sup> It is said of Shahji, the father of Shivaji, that he was given the name of Shah from the name of a Musulman *pir* (saint), Shah Sharif of Ahmednagar, who was engaged by his father Malaji, the son of Babaji Bhonsle, the founder of the Bhonsle family, to pray for a son, as he had no son, though he prayed to Mahadeo and to Bhavani, the tutelary deity of the family. As the Pir's prayer was accepted Malaji gave his son the name of the Pir (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (1886) p. II.) The following tree explains his ancestry:—



He, fighting with the above Malick Ambar, distinguished himself in the war, against the Mogul Emperors.<sup>236</sup>

Shivaji was born in 1627, i.e., about 8 years before Rustam Manock. He passed his boyhood in wandering *Shivaji, before the Sack of Surat.* with Mawalis, i.e., the people of the mountain villages of Mawal near Poona. Inheriting the military pluck of his father, he headed the Mahrathas and took to plundering and conquering. He took the fort of Torna and built that of Rajgarh. He then took Poorandhar and several other forts. Thus, rising step by step, and taking fort after fort, he became a terror to the state of Bijapore under which his father was an officer. The Sultan of Bijapore suspected that his father Shahji was in league with his son. So he sent for him from his *jagir* in the Karnatic and imprisoned him in a dark stone dungeon. Shivaji was on fairly good terms, at that time, with the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan. So, he applied to Shah Jahan to get his father released. Shah Jahan got him released and appointed Shivaji to the command of 5,000. At this time, Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, but he soon left the Deccan on hearing that Shah Jahan was ill. The King of Bijapur, taking advantage of the absence of Prince Aurangzeb upon whom Shivaji counted for help, sent his general Afzul Khan against Shivaji. Shivaji is said to have proposed

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<sup>236</sup> A fanciful association connects Shivaji's descent with the ancient Persians. Orme says: "He (Sevaji) drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore," (Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme (1805) p. 6). Abu Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, says of "the chief of the state who was formerly called Rawal that he pretended a descent from Noshirwan the Just." (Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari* (1891) Vol. II, p. 268, ain 15). Thus Shivaji, who is said to have traced his descent from the founder of the Rajput class which traced its descent from Noshirwan (Chosroes I who died in about 570 A.C.), was connected with the ancient Persians. Orme's Note (Note VIII *Ibid*, p. 182) adds: "A very strange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajhpoot Rajah; for Cosroes was of the religion of Zoroaster, or the worshippers of fire, who although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained from eating beef." (For the said connection of the Rajputs with the ancient Persians, *vide* my article *ଓଡ଼ିଆର ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୋପାଦାନ ଓ ଶିବରାଜ* (Oodeypore, the Kashmir of Rajputanas in the Hindi Graphic of December 1928, pp. 18-21.)



reconciliation and both met at the fort of Pratabghar near Mahbleshtar (1659 A. C.). Students of history differ as to who was insincere and as to who first began a misdeed. Afzul Khan was killed by Shivaji, as some say, in self-defence. This victory over the King of Bijapur led to Shivaji's conquest of the whole of Konkan from Kallyan to Goa. Then Shivaji invaded Mughal territories with an army under the command of himself and the Peshwā (*i.e.*, Prime Minister) Morar Punt. His cavalry spread terror wherever it went. Aurangzeb ordered Shāista Khān, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to go to fight against Shivaji. Shāista Khān did so and took Poona. Shivaji attacked one night the house in which Shāista Khān lived at Poona. Shāista Khān was wounded but escaped. Shivaji left Poona before the Moghals could collect an army to fight against him and attacked Surat.

Mahratha writers say that Shivaji was inspired by the goddess Bhavani. Krishnaji Anant, a member (sabhasad) of the Court of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, who wrote the life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, says so.<sup>237</sup> Shivaji now took the title of Raja and cast his own coins. Then, he built a fleet of his own. It seems that, when he saw that the Portuguese, who had a good fleet in the Indian sea, issued pass-ports to the pilgrims to Mecca and charged for these pass-ports very high rates,<sup>238</sup> he also followed suit with a view to amass money. He, with the help of his fleet, stopped Muslim pilgrim ships and exacted large ransoms from them. This exasperated Aurangzeb, who, upto now, tolerated his pillaging acts as those of "a mountain rat", Shah Jahan was still alive and so Aurangzeb did not like to leave

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<sup>237</sup> His translator thus speaks of Bhavani's inspiration: "There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the visitations of the Goddess Bhavani who appeared into Shivaji on every critical occasion and the consultations of Numa Pompilius with the goddess Egeria from whom he received instructions in religion and the management of his state affairs" (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (2nd ed., 1886,), p. VI).

<sup>238</sup> It is said that in the case of Humayun's sister, the Portuguese were given a village as the price of a pass-port.



Delhi, lest, in his absence, an attempt may be made to re-instate the late king on the throne. Again, he upto now did not like to entrust a large army to any general, lest that general with that army may turn against him. But a bigoted Mahomedan as he was, he did not like Shivaji interfering with the holy work of the pilgrimage to Mecca. So, he sent a large army against Shivaji under his general Jai Singh, keeping at his court Jai Singh's son as a hostage for the good conduct of his father. Another general, Dilir Khan, also accompanied the army. In the end, Shivaji had to make peace, known as the Peace of Purandhar. Shivaji returned to Aurangzeb all the Moghul territories he had conquered. He was given certain assignments at Bijapur which brought him 1/4th of its revenue termed as Chauth (*i.e.*, 1/4th part) and Sirdeshmukhi. Shivaji then, in alliance with Jai Singh, fought on behalf of Aurangzeb against Bijapur and drew Aurangzeb's attention towards himself, and, at his invitation, went to Delhi. When there, he took indignation at his treatment by Aurangzeb, who looked at him somewhat like a prisoner. He then with the help of Jai Singh's son, left Delhi secretly having been carried out in a basket. He returned to Raigarh in December 1666. He now assumed royalty and was solemnly crowned as a Rajah in 1674. Following the custom of the ancient kings of India and of the Moghul Emperors, he got himself weighed in gold and gave the gold to Brahmans. He had a long fight with the Siddees at Dandeh-Rajpur and Janjira. He then invaded Karnatic in 1676. Returning victoriously from there, he plundered Jalna in 1679. Now, Shivaji's son, Sambhaji, following, as it were, the practice of the Moghul Emperor's princes, who, one after another in their turns, rebelled against their fathers, rebelled against his father Shivaji and joined his father's enemy Dilir Khan, the Moghul general who had attacked Bijapur. This, as it were, gave a shock to Shivaji. Aurangzeb disapproved this act of Sambhaji and ordered Dilir Khan to send to Delhi Sambhaji who, on arriving at the Court, was imprisoned there. He, like his father some years before, contrived to escape, and, though apparently reconciled to his father, was shut up in the fort of Panalla. Shivaji died soon after, on 5th April 1680, at Raigarh at the age of 53.



Shivaji is spoken of as *Ghani* in the Qisseh. The word *ghani* is Arabic and means, according to Steingass,<sup>239</sup> “Rich, wealthy, independent, able to dispense with.” Shivaji was undoubtedly a very rich man. He had amassed a good deal of wealth, by invasions, sacks and pillages. In fact, one of his objects in this sack of Surat, besides that of striking terror in the hearts of the Moghuls, was the desire to amass more wealth from this rich town. But, from the fact, that the author compares him with Ahriman or Satan, one may say that the author meant to say about him something stronger than that he was rich. In that case, we may take the word *ghani* in the sense of “plunderer” or in the sense of “an enemy.” Steingass does not give the word *ghani* in that sense but gives the word *ghanîm* ( غنیم ) which seems to have been derived from *ghani* in that sense. He says for *ghanîm*, “plunder, spoil, the acquisition of a thing without toil and trouble, taker of spoil, plunderer, enemy, foe, adversary.”<sup>240</sup> So, taking into consideration the facts of the sack of Surat as given by various writers, one can easily understand why the author of the Qisseh speaks of him as “the plunderer.” Shivaji’s fame as a great fighter who plundered the territories of Aurangzeb seems to have travelled even to Persia. In an offensive letter written by Shah Abbas II to Aurangzeb in 1664, we read : “I learn that most of the zamindars of India are in rebellion because their ruler is weak, incompetent and without resources. The chief of them is the impious *kafir* Shiva, who had long lived in such obscurity that none knew of his name ; but now taking advantage of your lack of means and retreat of your troops, he has made himself visible like the peak of a mountain, seized many forts, slain or captured many of your soldiers, occupied much of that country, plundered and wasted many of your ports, cities and villages, and finally wants to come to grips with you.”<sup>241</sup>

<sup>239</sup> Persian English Dictionary, p. 897, col. 1.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid* Dictionary, p. 897, col. 1.

<sup>241</sup> Sarkar’s Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 126.



The English had factories in Surat, Rajpur, Karwar and Hubli. Shivaji, at one time or another, sacked all these places—Surat in 1664 and 1670, Rajpur in 1661, Karwar in 1665 and Hubli in 1673. So, during all these sacks, the English had to suffer, more or less, at the hands of Shivaji. The Bombay factory was first established in 1668, seven years after that island passed into the hands of the English (1661) from the Portuguese as a part of the dowry of Charles II's marriage with Catherine. The first President of the Bombay factory was Sir George Oxenden who had made a bold stand against Shivaji in his sack of Surat of 1664. Shivaji had generally tried to be on good terms with the English, especially because he expected some help from them in his fight with the Sidees of Janjira. Though the whole of the Salsette belonged to the Portuguese, Kurla was in his hands. So, if he were not on good terms with the English, they might allow his Abyssinian foes to attack his possession of Kurla through their territories. Therefore he acted with them in a conciliatory way. As he was at first without a naval fleet, he acted in a conciliatory way with the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese also. Sir George Oxenden was the President and Governor of the Surat factory from 1663 to 1669. Then Gerald Aungier was the President at Surat from 1669 to 1677. Aungier came to Bombay in 1671 and returned to Surat in 1675. When the Governor resided in Surat, the Bombay Factory was under a Deputy Governor.

Now, we come to the Sack of Surat. There were two Sacks of Surat by Shivaji. So, the question is, which of these two is referred to by the Qisseh. I will, at first, describe in brief the two sacks and then proceed to determine which of these two, is referred to by the Qisseh. Before proceeding further, I may say here, that this city was, ere this, attacked and sacked by Aurangzeb's own rebel brother Morad, who is spoken of as "the black sheep of the Imperial family."<sup>242</sup> In November 1658, he had sent his eunuch general Shahbaz Khan at the head of 6,000 horse "to levy contribution from the rich part of Surat,"<sup>243</sup> whose rich merchants had deposited their money for safety in the fort. In the

<sup>242</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, I, p. 318. <sup>243</sup> *Ibid*, p. 323.



end, Haji Muhammad Zahid and Pirji Borah, two rich merchants of the city, arranged "on behalf of the entire mercantile community of Surat" to lend to Murad who was hard pressed with want of money 5 lakhs of rupees on Morad passing a bond for the repayment of that amount.<sup>244</sup>

Shivaji thought of an offensive against the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb who had got Poona seized by his general Shāyasta Khan. Surprise was one of the chief characteristics of Shivaji. So, he wanted to surprise Surat, the chief emporium of trade in the dominions of Aurangzeb. Again, his chief object was to amass wealth by plundering this rich city. In order to avoid suspicion, he collected his army into divisions, in two distant parts of the country—one at Kalyan and another at Dandeh Rajpur.<sup>245</sup> He further gave out that this preparation was to fight the Portuguese at Chaul and Bassein and the Siddhi (the Abyssinian chief) of Janjira. It is said that, he had, at first, sent as a spy his scout Balurji Naik, to examine the situation there. Robert Orme says<sup>246</sup> that it was said that he himself had gone to Surat in disguise and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence and marking the opulent houses. His army for the sack consisted of 10,000 Mawalis, principally led by two leaders, Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzar. Our Qisseh's statement that the army consisted of 50,000 men, seems to be the result of what was heard in the midst of a general alarm. Our author Jamshed Kaikobad may have heard this number among the alarming news of the times. The above two leaders were the two gîr-o-dars referred to by Jamshed Kaikobad in his Qisseh.

It was in the morning of 5th January 1664, that the people of Surat at first heard the news that Shivaji's army had arrived at Gandevi about 28 miles south of Surat. They began leaving the city for the villages on the other side of the river. Ināyat Khan,

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid*, p. 325.

<sup>245</sup> Orme gives the places as Chaul and Bassein. Chaul is very close to Dandeh-Rajpur and Bassein very close to Kalyan. Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire by R. Orme, p. 12. But these places were named by Shivaji as the places of attack.

<sup>246</sup> Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire (1805) p. 12.



the governor of the city, fled into the fort, leaving the people to themselves to do what they liked for their safety. "Rich men found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant."<sup>247</sup> ..... A population composed mostly of money-loving traders, poor artisans punctilious fire-worshippers and tender-souled Jains, cannot readily take to war even in self-defence. The richest merchants, though owning millions of Rupees, had not the sense to hire guards for the protection of their wealth, though they might have done so at only a twentieth part of what they were soon to lose through pillage."<sup>248</sup>

In the midst of general fight and flight among the citizens, the members of the English and the Dutch factories stood daringly to their guns. They could have retired to their ships at Swally. But, instead of doing so, they resolved to stand in self-defence at their own factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English President sent for the sailors of his ships and with about 150 Englishmen and 60 peons defended his factory. To give confidence, at least to the people of the street round his factory, he marched with his small army headed by a band of drums and trumpets, through the streets to show that he was prepared to defend his factory. His example and that of the Dutch factor "heartened a body of Turkish and Armenian merchants to defend their property in their *serai* close to the English factory."<sup>249</sup>

Shivaji, not receiving a reply to his previous night's message to the Governor, began looting. The following description of the sack by Prof. Sarkar supports all that is said in Jamshed's Qisseh about the terror of the sack. "A body of Shivaji's musketeers was set to play upon the castle, with no expectation to take it, but to keep in and frighten the governor and the rest that got in, as also (to prevent) the soldiers of the castle from sallying out upon them whilst the others plundered and fired (the houses). The garrison kept up a constant fire, but the fort-guns inflicted more damage on the town than on the assailants. Throughout Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, this work of devastation was continued, every day new fires being

<sup>247</sup> The city had, as it were, two *hākams* or governors, one who commanded the fort and the other a civil governor. <sup>248</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 99-100.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.



raised, so that thousands of houses were consumed to ashes and two-thirds of the town destroyed. As the English chaplain wrote 'Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fire, the fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud'.<sup>250</sup> The house of Baharji Borah, who was "then reputed the richest merchant in the world," and who was one of the three rich persons sent for by Shivaji before he commenced the pillage, was with all its property estimated to value Rs. 80 lakhs. It was plundered and then was set on fire.

According to Robert Orme, Shivaji collected a rich booty. "The booty he collected in treasure, jewels and precious commodities, was estimated at a million sterling"<sup>251</sup> (i.e., about a Crore of rupees). The pillage lasted four days and nights. Prof. Sarkar says, that Shivaji "shrank from no cruelty to extort money as quickly as possible."<sup>252</sup> He quotes an English chaplain, who said: "His desire for money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whips them most cruelly threatens death and often executes it if they do not produce so much as he thinks they may or desire they should; — at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both."<sup>253</sup>

Krishnaji Anant, a *sabhasad* at the court of Shivaji's second son Rajaram, who wrote a life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, thus speaks of the sack: "The people of Surat were taken unawares. The forces entered the long streets of shops near the gate of Surat. . . . . The king's forces then laid siege to merchants' houses and took away from them gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones and jewels and gold coins such as Houes<sup>254</sup> and Mohurs, and put them into their bags. They did not touch cloth, copper utensils and other insignificant

<sup>250</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 103.

<sup>251</sup> Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 12-13.

<sup>252</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106.

<sup>253</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106.

<sup>254</sup> A gold coin; the exact value of this coin cannot now be ascertained as there were various kinds of it and it is not known what particular kind is meant. (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshuman Mankar (1886); 2nd Ed., p. 24).



articles."<sup>255</sup> The booty according to this author came to "5 crores of Hones and 4,000 horses."<sup>256</sup> The panic kept off people who had run away from returning to Surat even after Shivaji's departure. It was on the approach of the Imperial army of Aurangzeb on the 17th to Surat that the people had some confidence and returned to the city. Aurangzeb, hearing of the sufferings of the people, excused for one year the custom duties of all merchants of Surat.

It is said that it was the courage and bravery of the English and Dutch factories that saved the situation from being still worse. Oxenden, the English President,<sup>257</sup> raised his English factory in the estimation of Aurangzeb and he also won the praise and gratitude of the people. Aurangzeb appreciated the help of the English and Dutch factories by ordering that they may thereafter pay 1 per cent. less on the normal import duties.<sup>258</sup>

Some time after this Sack of Surat, Shivaji assumed the title of a Raja and, as said above, built a fleet of his own, wherewith he could exert some power in the sea and exact pass-port money from the pilgrims ships going to Mecca, as the Portuguese did before that time.

*Shivaji's Second Sack of Surat.* Aurangzeb, as a bigoted monarch, did not like this impost upon his Mahomedan pilgrims, and so, sent his general Jai Singh to fight with Shivaji. After some fight Shivaji made peace and the treaty of Purandhar was signed. He then, thus becoming friendly with the Moghul Emperor, went to Agra on the promise of being well received and honoured, but was dissatisfied at the treatment given him. This dissatisfaction being openly expressed led to his being imprisoned. He fled practising a strategem and returned to Raighar in December 1666 and renewed hostilities with the Emperor. Aurangzeb ordered his officers to fight with him but the dissensions among the Moghal officers themselves could not lead to any success against Shivaji. Again, there were difficulties in the North which distracted the attention of Aurangzeb. Shivaji, on his part, wanted some years of peace, to consolidate his power. So, all these circumstances led to a peace between Shivaji and

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63. <sup>256</sup> *Ibid*, p. 64. <sup>257</sup> He died and is buried in Surat.

<sup>258</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, and his times, Ed. of 1919, pp. 117-118.



Aurangzeb in March 1668. But this peace did not last long. Both parties suspected each other and war was renewed in 1670. The tide of success was in favour of Shivaji. He reconquered, one after another, all the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzeb under the treaty of Purandhar. Among these forts attacked by him, one was that of Mahuli about 50 miles on the north-east of Bombay <sup>259</sup> which fell in August 1670 A.C. <sup>260</sup> The internal differences and disagreements between the Moghul generals, especially between Dilir Khan and Prince Muazzan, the son whom Aurangzeb suspected of being in secret league with Shivaji and of aiming at the royal throne, made matters easy for Shivaji.

At this time, Bahdur Khan, who was in sympathy with Dilir Khan, was the Subahdar of Guzarat. He heard that Shivaji was preparing for a second attack upon Surat. His proposed second sack was taken to be a more serious business than the first. The English factors wrote: "Shivaji marches now not (as) before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes."<sup>261</sup> On hearing of the report of the proposed attack, Bahdur Khan went to Surat in April 1670 with 5,000 men of cavalry for its defence. But Shivaji did not turn up at the time. He turned up in October and plundered Surat for the second time. The English factors, expecting that this was a more serious business, had sent down a large part of their goods to Swally Bunder where they had their ships. General Aungier, the then President at Surat, himself retired with his council to Swally. Between the first sack in 1664 and this second in 1670, Aurangzeb had built a wall for the protection of the city, but that defence could not stand against Shivaji's attack, because, at that time, the Governor had only 300 men for its defence against the several thousands—some say it was 15,000—of Shivaji. The attack came on the 3rd of October 1670. "After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marathas possessed themselves of the whole town

<sup>259</sup> For an account of these forts and of the association of Manohardas with one of them, *vide* my paper "A Persian Inscription of the Mogal times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana." (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137-161. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 149-173).

<sup>260</sup> Takakhav's Life of Shivaji, p. 318. <sup>261</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, 2nd ed., p. 197.



except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large new *serai* of the Persian and Turkish merchants and the Tartar *Serai* midway between the English and French houses, which was occupied by Abdulla Khan, ex-king of Kashgarh, just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of 'valuable presents'. The English factory, though it was an open house, was defended by Streynsham Master<sup>262</sup> with 50 sailors, and the Marathas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men.....The Marathas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth and other valuable goods, and setting fire to several places, so that 'nearly half the town' was burnt to the ground".<sup>263</sup> Shivaji retired from Surat at noon on 5th October 1670 and while retiring sent a message to "the officers and chief merchants saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town."<sup>264</sup>

This second Sack was followed by something like a communist rising of the poor. "The poor people of Surat fell to plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which were not ransacked. Even the English sailors under S. Master took to plundering."<sup>265</sup> It is said that "Shivaji had carried off 66 lakhs of Rupees worth of booty from Surat, *viz.*, cash, pearls and other articles worth 53 lakhs from the city itself and 13 lakhs worth from Nawal Sahu and Hari Sahu and a village near Surat."<sup>266</sup>

But this was not the only loss to Surat. This sack gave a great blow to the trade of Surat. One of the richest men of Surat at that time, the son of Haji Said Beg, referred to in the account of the first sack, resolved that he would leave Surat for good and live at Bombay. The fear of sacks in future was, it seems, more terrible than the sacks themselves. Every few days, there was an alarm of a sack from the Mahrathas, and people began running

<sup>262</sup> For this personage *vide* my paper "Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754." (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 273-97, *vide* my Asiatic Papers Part II, pp. 17-42).

<sup>263</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, 2nd ed., pp. 198-200.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201. <sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.



away. Even the foreign factors packed up their goods for their ships at Suwāli. "Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this, the greatest emporium of Western India. For one month after the second sack, the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor Government, and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shiva's coming there again."<sup>267</sup> But there was a special great alarm and scare on 12th October. Then, there were alarms at the end of November and 10th of December 1670. Then, two years after, in June 1672, in the victories of Moro Punt in the neighbouring Koli State of Ramnagar, there was again a scare because Moro Pant openly demanded a *chauth*<sup>268</sup> from Surat, threatening a visitation if the Governor refused payment (1670). Thereafter again, there were scares on the following occasions: February 1672. October 1672. September 1673. October 1674. December 1679.

Now, the question is, which of these two sacks is referred to by the Qisseh of Rustam Manock. For several reasons, I think, that it is the first sack that is referred to. *Firstly*, had it been the second sack, the applicants may have, at least, made some reference to the first sack of 1674, saying that they had to suffer the miseries of another sack within a short period of six years. *Secondly*, this second sack was not so sudden as the first. In the case of the first sack, the people came to know of Shivaji's march towards Surat, so late as when he arrived at Gandevis, about 28 miles distant. But in the case of the second sack, the matter was long talked of, though the sack itself was sudden, as Shivaji's attacks generally were. Agility was one of the chief characteristics of

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>268</sup> "It (chout) was a permanent contribution of one-fourth of the revenue, and exempted the districts that agreed to it from plunder as long as it was regularly paid." (Elphinstone's History of India (1841) Vol. II, p. 485). "Chauth is an assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment, or generally to one-fourth of the actual Government collections demanded by the Marathas from the Mohammadan and Hindu princes of Hindustan; as the price of forbearing to ravage their countries. The Chauth was collected by the Marathas through their own agents". (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, pp. 106-107.)



Shivaji which contributed to his success. The sack having been talked of some time before, the English and other factors had removed their valuable things from their factories at Surat to Suwālī where they were near their ships. So, it seems that the Parsees of Surat must have been prepared for the second sack and they must have made provision in time for their own safety and the safety of their property. So, all the distress and misery referred to in the *Qisseh* were in the first sack.

We read in the *Qisseh*, more than once, the word *Zulmāneh* ( *ظلمانه* ) as paid to Shivaji. We do not find the word either in Steingass's Dictionary or in Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms.

*Shivaji's zul-  
māneh.*

The Gujarati translator translates the word as *verō* ( *વેરો* ) <sup>269</sup> i.e. "tax, toll, impost." It seems to have come from the word *zulm* ( *ظلم* ) oppression, and means "a ransom extorted by oppression." It seems from the lives of Shivaji by different writers and from other writings also, that those who pillaged cities or villages imposed a certain sum, a fine you may call it, upon a town or village. If the town or village wished to be saved from a general pillage with its accompanying afflictions, it paid the sum as a ransom. It seems that Rustam Manock had settled the sum of Rs. 10,000 with Shivaji or with one of his officers as a ransom for his community. From the *Qisseh* itself, it seems to have been a sum for the ransom of those who were taken prisoners by Shivaji. But these prisoners seem to have been intended as hostages for payment from the Parsee community. Shivaji is reported to have justified these sacks and plunders by saying to the Nawab of Surat in 1678: "Your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country. That army must be paid by his subjects." <sup>270</sup>

A question arises, as to where Rustam Manock was during the whole time of the sack which lasted for six days? When there was this general pillage of the rich and the poor, how did he save himself, so as to be even able to give Rs. 10,000

*Where was  
Rustam Manock  
during the  
Sack?*

<sup>269</sup> P. 28 of the Ms. of Transliteration and Translation.

<sup>270</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, pp. 233-34.



as a ransom to Shivaji for his people? I think, he may have saved himself in any one of the three following ways: 1. We saw above that some of the rich men of the city "found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant."<sup>271</sup> He was a rich and influential man. So, he may have sought shelter in the fort. 2. He was the Broker of the English. So, he may have sought protection in their factory. 3. He may have defended himself, putting guards on his house.

Out of these three ways, I think he resorted to the third or last way. My reasons for coming to this conclusion are the following: (a) As a rich man, he must have possessed a strong-built house, with strong gates and he may have protected that house with his own guards, a number of which rich men in those days generally kept, and with some additional guards engaged for the time. Again, I think that it is possible that the English factory, whose broker he was, may have helped him with some of their own soldiers to serve as additional guards on his gate. The presence of a few guards, even three or four, of the English Factory at the gate might have kept away from his premises Shivaji's soldiers, especially because Shivaji had made it known to the foreign factors at Surat that he had no quarrel with them, but had a quarrel only with the Moghal rulers. We read the following in the case of a rich merchant Haji Said Beg: "Haji Said Beg.....too had fled away to the fort, leaving his property without a defender. All the afternoon and night of Wednesday and till past the noon of Thursday, the Marathas continued to break open his doors and chests and carry off as much as they could.....But in the afternoon of Thursday, the brigands left it in a hurry, on being scared by a sortie, which the English had made into the street, to drive away a party of 25 Maratha horsemen who seemed intent on setting fire to another house in dangerous proximity to the English factory."<sup>272</sup> So, if the English factory defended the property of other merchants close by, it seems most likely that they may have helped their own broker, Rustam Manock.

(b) Again, we learn from the *Qisseh* that his co-religionists went to him and implored his assistance for a ransom and that he gave a sum of Rs. 10,000 for their ransom. This shows that the place,

<sup>271</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st ed. pp. 106-107.    <sup>272</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 112.



where the petitioners went, must have been one where they could have a comparatively easy access. They could not have an easy access to him at the English Factory guarded during the sack by English soldiers. They could not have had access to the fort of the Moghal commanders, where, under fright, the Governor had taken shelter, leaving the poor subjects to their own plight.

(c) Again, we must remember that though Shivaji had come to Surat with a picked cavalry of 4,000 people, his attack was not like that of a battle. His object was nothing but loot. So, his band, having brigandage as their object, must have spread in small numbers in all parts of the city and its suburbs. Therefore, it may not have been very difficult for Rustam Manock with his guards,—his usual guards, increased perhaps for the time being, by some special guards,—to defend his house.

(d) Again, it seems that Rustam Manock, though a rich and influential man, was not so extraordinarily rich as to draw the attention of Shivaji for being plundered. We find that, before looting the city on the 6th January 1664, he sent to the Moghal governor a message in writing, the previous night from his camp in a *wadi* about a quarter of a mile outside the Burhanpuri gate, that he (the Governor) and Haji Said Beg, Baha Borah, and Haji Qasim should see him at his camp to arrange terms, for the ransom of the city from plunder; otherwise the whole city would be attacked with sword and fire. We do not find Rustam Manock's name among the rich persons sent for. So, he may not have been so rich as to draw the special attention of Shivaji for a special attack. Therefore, it seems probable, that Rustam Manock may have defended himself with his ordinary and a few extraordinary guards.

According to the Qisseh, the Parsees complained of two officers

who accompanied Shivajee. They are spoken

*The two officers of Shivaji who accompanied him in the sack, c. 190-1.*

of as “gīr ō dār” (گیر و دار). Gīr dār (گیر دار) and gīr ō bedār (گیر و بدار), i.e., “take and hold” are battle-cries.<sup>273</sup> The qisseh

says: سر لشکرش دو بود گیر و دار

<sup>273</sup> Steingass (pp. 1108 and 1109) gives the meaning as “the confused clamour or noise of combatants”. *Vide* the words *gīr-dār* and *gīr-u-bedār*. The words are something like “stand and deliver”, the clamour of the bandits.



*i.e.*, at the head of his army, there were two ‘*gir o dars*’. So, I think, we must take the meaning of the words to be persons who call out “Take (*i.e.*, capture) and hold (*i.e.*, detain) persons”, *i.e.*, leaders. As to who they were, the qisseh speaks in the following couplet (c. 191) :

یکی آهوجیبان و دگر دیویان بدش دشمن قوم ذرتشتیان

*i.e.*, “one was ‘*Ahūjibān*’ and another *Divyān*. They were the enemies of the sect of Zoroastrians.” Here it is not clear whether the words are common nouns or proper nouns. If they are common nouns, they may be taken as expressing the characteristics of the two persons who accompanied Shivaji as *gīr-o-dārs*. The first word *ahu-jiban* may be a word derived from *ahu* (P. *آهو* Pahl, *ahū*, Avesta *āhiti*, meaning filthiness, impurity), vice and *jaib* (جیب), the heart, *i.e.*, one vicious from the very heart. The second word *div yān* may be from *دیو* (Av. *daeva*) the devil, *i.e.*, one who is of devilish nature. The Gujarati translator, in Jalbhoy’s book, has translated the couplet as “તે અહુજાના નાપાક ને અદસુરત પારસી લોકોના દુશ્મન છે.”<sup>274</sup> *i.e.*, they are very unholy and ugly, (and are) the enemies of the Parsees. The translator of the Gujarati transliterated manuscript takes both the words as proper nouns. He translates : “તે અહેના એકનું નામ આહુજીબાન અને બીજાનું નામ દેવીયાન કરીને છે.” (c. 191). *i.e.*, the name of one of them is *Āhūjibān* and the name of the other is *Devyān*. But these names sound as very uncouth for Hindu names. So, if we at all take them as proper names, I think they are corruptions—the corruption arising from the mistake of the copyists. If so, what are the proper names of these two officers ?

They may be Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzur, referred to by Mr. Takakhav.<sup>275</sup> He says : “The expeditionary force consisted of 10,000 Mavalis,<sup>276</sup> including such leaders of distinction as Moropant Pingle [the Peshwa or Prime Minister of Shivaji whose full name was Moro Trimbak Pingle], Prataprao Guzur, and several subordinate officers.” Or, perhaps, they may be Mukaji Anandrao

<sup>274</sup> શ્રી યાત્રિક નવી વ શિવલ by Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, p. 106.

<sup>275</sup> The Life of Shivaji Maharaj (1921), p. 237

<sup>276</sup> Mavalis, the people of the mountain valleys of Maval near Poona.



and Venkaji Datto. We read in Shivaji's life by Mr. J. L. Mankar : "In the meantime Bahirji, a messenger from Surat, arrived and said to the king :—' If Surat be taken, immense wealth would be found.' <sup>277</sup> The king then thought that as most of his army was composed of hired mercenaries, they would not do the work as satisfactorily as required and that he had therefore rather go in person with his forces. Having formed this resolution, the king applauded Mukaji Anandrāo, the foster son of Māhārāj Shāhāji and Venkāji Datto, a Brahmin, both of whom were renowned warriors and who had resigned the service of the Maharaja and come over to the king. He placed under them a body of 5,000 horse and taking with him as also Prataprao Sarnobat, <sup>278</sup> other warriors, 10,000 horsemen, 10,000 Shiledārs, <sup>279</sup> from 5 to 7 thousand chosen Mawalis, Sirkarkūn Moropant Peishwa, Nilopant, Dhanājipant, Dattājipant and Bāl Prabhū Chitnis, he started for Surat." <sup>280</sup>

I think that it is very probable, the two named leaders of the *Qisseh* are the above Anandrao and Datto. The name Anandrao, when written in Persian characters is *انندراو*. In this name the name proper is Anand ( *آ نند* ) and Rāo ( *راو* ) is honorific. Another corresponding ending is ji ( *جي* ). So, it is possible, the name Anandji must have been miswritten and misread as Āhūji ( *آهوجي* ). As to the name Devyān, the first part Deva is the name proper. Now, the above Marāthi name Datto of the second leader can be written in Persian characters as *دتو*. By a mistake of the copyist—and such mistakes are very common—the two nuktehs or dots over the second letter 't' *ت* may have been misplaced below and so Datto ( *دتو* ) became Div ( *ديو* ). The last portions *yān* *يان* seems

<sup>277</sup> The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript, by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar, 2nd ed. of 1886, p. 62.

<sup>278</sup> Sarnobat was the description of a higher military officer. "One Naik was appointed over ten Māwalis (the people from Māwal); one Havaldār over fifty persons; one Jumledār over two or three Havaldārs. Ten Jumledārs formed one Hazāri. . . . The Hazāris were headed by a Sarnobat (*Ibid* pp. 24-25).

<sup>279</sup> Shiledar is "a horseman who provides his own horse" (*Ibid*, p. 63, n. ). <sup>280</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 62-63.



to have been added as a plural, perhaps, to express the plural form to signify their followers. The last part *bān* (بان) of the first name *Āhūjibān* seems to have been *yān* (یان), and by a mistaken change of the two nuktehs from below to above, seems to have been read *bān*.

At the end of the section on Shivaji's sack of Surat, the Qisseh *Shivaji and Afrasiāb. Rustam Manock and Agreras, cc. 219-250.* refers, as said above, to an episode in the ancient History of Iran, which occurred in the reign of Minochehr (Manushchithra of the Avesta, Yasht XIII, 131) and which is described by Firdousi.<sup>281</sup>

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock was the Agreras and Shivaji the Afrasiāb of the story. This Agreras is the Aghraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII 131, Yt. IX 22, Yt. XIX 77<sup>282</sup>). At the end of the episode proper of Agreras, the author of the Qisseh refers to some statements of Firdousi (be goftash Firdousi-*niknām*, c. 338). He quotes several lines (cc. 339-345).

The fact of Shivaji's sack doing great harm to the Parsees of Surat is attested, among other facts, by the *Shivaji's Sack and the loss of Parsee Communal documents.* fact of their losing some communal documents in the general flight. It is said that King Akbar had given a grant of about 100 bigāhs of land to the Parsees of Surat for constructing their Tower of Silence<sup>283</sup>.

<sup>281</sup> For the story in the Shah-namah of Firdousi to which the Qisseh refers, *vide* M. Mohl's *Livre des Rois*, vol. I, p. 428. Small volume, Vol. I., pp. 337-42. Vullers' ed. I., pp. 263-65. Kutar Brothers' ed., Vol. II, pp. 53-54, Dastur Minochehr's Translation Vol. I. pp. 469-70. Warner Brothers' Translation, Vol. I, pp. 366-7.

<sup>282</sup> For Agreras, *vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names, pp. 7-10 and pp. 149-50.

<sup>283</sup> *Vide* the printed accounts of the Parsee Panchayet for Samvat 1904 (1849 A.C.) for a reference to this subject by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., in an application made by him in Samvat 1847 to the Secretary to Government. There are three Towers of Silence at present at Surat; (1) Nanabhoy Modi's, built in 1735 A.C.; (2) Muncherji Seth's, built in 1771. (3) Edulji Seth's, built in 1828. Besides these, one, which is now all in ruins, was built under the leadership of Punjia Paya in 1663. Again the existence of three more is shown by the foundations now existing. It seems, from the above fact, of Akbar giving a grant of 100 bigāhs of land for a Tower of Silence, that the oldest Tower of Silence of Surat, of the existence of which we have a documentary evidence, must have been built in or about 1573 when Akbar visited Surat.

The document giving the grant was lost during this Sack of Shivaji. So, the King of Ahmednagar who possessed Surat later on, passed in 1752 a new *farmān*, confirming the first grant. <sup>284</sup>

The Qisseh speaks of several persons having been killed in Shivaji's Sack. We find the entry of one Parsi in a Disha-pothi<sup>285</sup> of Naosari. It runs thus in the list of names under Samvat 1726 (संवत् १७२६): "२८-१२. आ गोशताश आ. यान्छ राणा शेठ पा. भमसुआ करी आयेआ. सेवाना दशकरमे मारी नायेआ सुरतमां" <sup>286</sup> i.e., "(Roz) 28, (mah) 12. Ba (i.e., Behedin or layman) Goshtash Ba. Chanji Rana Sheth. Given as *pa* (i.e., पादक or adopted son) on mother's side. (He) was killed at Surat in the army of Seva (Shivaji)." The Samvat year 1726 corresponds to 1670 A.C. So, this death took place during the second sack.

## IX

### III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory.

The Qisseh thus heads, as translated from the Persian, the subject of Rustam's appointment as the broker of the English Factory: "In the matter of the Englishman coming to the city of Surat in India and (Rustam Manock's) interview with him and his becoming his broker." Then the Qisseh says: "The English (Angrez) came to Surat from their country in splendour, with wealth, *dinār* and gold. They came in ship *via* the great Sea

<sup>284</sup> Vide for this document, the Parsee Punchayet printed Account book of 1903 A.C. Samvat (1848 A.C.).

<sup>285</sup> Disha-pothi is a book (pothi) of the anniversary days (disha or divash) of the dead.

<sup>286</sup> અધોરનાન ડોલાનો ભગરમાય વંશાવલી, બનાવનાર એવદ્ રૂસ્તમખ બમાખખ દરુર મેહેરજી રાણા (૧૮૪૮, On p. 242 col. 2 of this work we find a death with this note. "સંવત ૧૭૧. -૨૬ ૭ એ મનોચેર એ. ને ચેરવાન ખુરશેદ મોવદ મુરતીઓનો મુરતમાં શહએદ પરાંમે મરાશીઆએ મારી નાખીએ. This is the record of a death at the hands of the Garassiās, who were "a class of land-holders who enjoyed lands or maintain a sort of feudal authority over them. . . . By profession these people are plunderers" (Shapurji Edalji's Dictionary).



to India with a large caravan (*karvan*, i.e., a fleet with a number of men). They came for noble trade as (lit. in the dress of) general merchants. Rustam Manock paid a visit to them. The Englishmen (*kolah posh*, lit. the hat-wearers) were much pleased with him. In a short time, there grew up reciprocal regard for each other and they came to be of one thought and heart. Then, the English made the Seth (Rustam) their broker and entrusted to him all their affairs. . . . Rustam then procured for them a beautiful, healthy house on the banks of the river, belonging to a well known man Haji Hajaz Beg (حاجی حجاز بیگ c. 357) at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English factors spent their own money over it and made several changes and decorated it.

Rustam Manock then went with the Englishman to the Court of Aurangzib to request favours or concessions for the English. The name of the Englishman is not given, but he is spoken of simply as a *kolāh-pōsh*, i.e., hat-wearer and *Angrez*, i.e., Englishman. Before submitting the request, Rustam gave rich *nazranch* and presents both to the courtiers and to the King (Sultān). According to the Qisseh, Rustam thus placed before the Emperor the case of the English: "This man has come from the direction of the West to India for the purpose of commerce, but the Amirs (Courtiers) of the court of His Majesty do not admit him into the city with kindness. This Englishman is a very good man and he is very full of hopes to have royal protection. He submits a request, that, by the kindness of the King, there may be a place of shelter (or protection) for him in the city of Surat, so that he may bring there (i.e., at the place so given) his commerce and he may also have a store-house (or factory) there." Aurangzib accepted the request and ordered Asad Khan, who was the principal *vazir* before him, that a royal order (*manshur-i shāhi*) may be given to the Englishman. The order was accordingly given.

*Facts gathered from the Qisseh about the English ambassador's visit.*

We gather, from this account of the Qisseh, the following facts:—

1. Rustam Manock was appointed a broker by the English. The date is not given.



2. Rustam got a house for them at Rs. 3,000 per year.
3. Rustam went with the English factor to Aurangzib's Court. The name of the Englishman is not given.
4. Rustam Manock gave rich presents to the courtiers beforehand and so won them over to his request.
5. Asad Khan was the Minister (Vazir) in the presence of Aurangzib.
6. The King, accepting the Englishman's request, ordered Asad Khan to issue permission for granting all trade facilities to the English.

Jamshed Kaikobad has not been very careful and accurate in giving expression in his poem to what he wanted to say about Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat. One may perhaps be misled to infer from his writing, that Rustam Manock went to pay a visit to the very first English settlers at Surat and was appointed their broker. It gives no dates of Rustam's appointment as the English Factory's broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzib. It does not give the name of the English factor with whom he went to Aurangzib's Court. The translation of the Qisseh, which Jalbhoy, has given is very faulty. The translator has taken much liberty. For example, the last couplet of the Section on the arrival of the English runs :

پس اقبال روشن نموده در آن  
جو انگریز را ایزد غیب دان

*i.e.*, The secret-knowing God made the fortune of the English brilliant in it (*i.e.*, in the building rented for them by Rustam). But the translator has rendered this verse as follows : પછી ખાદાએ-તાલાએ ઇચ્છે જનો : હાડો રોશન કીયો અને હીંદુસ્થાનના દરમેઆનમાં તે દહાડેથી કુલાહલોરા ઇચ્છે જ નગા પામ્યો. અને ઇચ્છે જ ના દલાલખી પેહેલે દીનથી શેઠ રસ્તમજ માણેકજ હતા, અને તમામ ઇચ્છે જોનો કારોબાર તેઓના હાથમાં હતા. (p. 115).

The Gujarati translation accompanying the transliteration, which I have referred to above, is more faithful than the translation



in Jalbhoy's book. In the Persian Qisseh, there is nothing about Rustam Manock being the broker of the English from the beginning. The last part in the above translation, viz: "Even the broker of the English from the first day was Rustamji Manockji and the affairs of all the English were in his hands" is altogether an interpolation; and this seems to have misled Mr. Jalbhoy Seth to say in his book, that Rustam Manock was from the very first associated with the East India Company at Surat. He says:—

એ સસતમ માણેક સુરતની ઇંગ્લેજ કોડીના શરૂઆતથીજ શરૂક હતા. તે વણ એ કોડીવાળાઓને નાણાની મોટી રકમો ધીરધાર કરતા હતા, તથા ઇંગ્લેજ લોકના વેપારમાં ઘણી સવલતા કરી આપતા હતા. સુરતના મોગલોઈ અમલદારો ઇંગ્લેજ કોડીવાળાઓને તેમના વેપારમાં ઘણી હરકતો નાખ્યા કરતા હતા. તે વીશેના બ'દોખરેતો કરવાને ઇ. સ. ૧૬૬૦માં ઇંગ્લેજ કોડીનો વડો તથા તેમના શરૂક સસતમ માણેક દીલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ ઔરંગઝેબની દરબારમાં ગયા હતા (p. 3).

Translation.—This Rustam Manock was the Shroff of the English factory at Surat from the very beginning. He lent large sums of money to these factory-men and used to give convenience to the trade of the English people. The Mogal officers of Surat put hindrances in the trade of the English factory-people. To make proper arrangements for that, the head of the English factory and his shroff Rustam Manock went to Delhi to the Court of Emperor Aurangzebe in 1660.

Most of these statements, though correct in general terms, are inaccurate in particulars. These inaccuracies are: (1) that Rustam Manock was not the broker, or, as Mr. Jalbhoy speaks of him, shroff from the *very beginning* of the establishment of the English factory at Surat. (2) His visit to Aurangzebe's Court was not in 1660. (3) Aurangzib's Court was not at Delhi during his and the English factor's visit. To properly understand the inaccuracies and determine the question of the date of his appointment as broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzebe, it is essential to know a brief history of the early advent of the English into India and of the establishment of their East India Companies which were more than one. So, I will direct here the attention of my readers to (a) a brief history of the trade of the English with the Bombay Presidency and (b) to the History of the East India



Companies given above (Section III). That brief account will help us in properly grasping the trend of some facts referred to in the Qisseh and to see, that (a) the first arrival of the English at Surat was long before Rustam Manock's time and (b) his visit to Aurangzebe's court was long after 1660 and (c) that Aurangzeb's court at the time was not at Delhi.

We find from the above-written history of the English trade at Surat and of the East India Companies, that Rustam Manock was appointed the broker of the *second* or New Company, known as the English East India Company, which was founded in 1698-99, and not of the *first* Company, known as the London East India Company, founded in 1600. At the time, when the first Company was founded, the Surat factory was not established. It was established 12 years later. Rustam Manock was not even born at the time of the formation of the first Company in 1600, or at the time of the establishment in 1612. He was born in 1635. We saw above, that the broker of the first Company in 1678 was a Hindu, a Bania by caste. The brokers of the old London East India Company were Vittal and Keshav Parekh, who continued to be the old Company's brokers upto 1703,<sup>287</sup> when they were seized and "barbarously tortured," till they paid three lakhs of rupees, by Itbar Khan, the Governor of Surat, because two ships, belonging to two Surat merchants Abdul Ghafur and Qasimbhai, were captured on 28th August 1703, on their way back from Mocha, and it was supposed that the European factories had some hand in the piracies, or, that they did not take sufficient measures, with their fleets, to keep off the pirates. The brokers of the English and French factories also were arrested, but they were soon released.<sup>288</sup>

Mr. Bomanji B. Patel<sup>289</sup> gives 1660 as the time of Rustam Manock's visit to the Court of Aurangzib in the company of an English Factor, after his being appointed broker. Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, most probably following Mr. Patel, whose aid he acknowledges in his preface, gives the same date. They do not give the authority of their statement. In 1660, Rustam Manock was a mere youth of

<sup>287</sup> Sarkar's Aurangzib, Vol. V, p. 357. <sup>288</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>289</sup> Parsee Prakash I, p. 15.



(1660-1635=) 25 years of age. A raw youth cannot be expected to go on such an important errand. So, the reference in the Qisseh must be taken as the reference to the first arrival, in about 1699, of the President and factors of the second Company, the English East India Company. We are supported in taking the event as that of the arrival of the President or chief factor of the second Company in 1699, by Bruce's Annals. John Bruce says: "While he (Sir Nicholas Waite) was President at Surat, Rustum, whom, from his first arrival, he had employed as broker, &c."<sup>290</sup> Thus, we see, that Rustum Manock was the broker of the new or second Company—the English East India Company.

The *Qisseh* says that, at the time of the visit of Rustam  
*Asad Khan* Manock at the Court of Aurangzib in company  
*in Aurangzib's* with the Englishman, Asad Khan was the Prime  
*Court during* Minister (Vaziri Asad Khan budeh pish-gāh c.  
*Rustam's Visit,* 383). His original name was M u h a m m a d  
*cc. 383, 385.* Ibrahim Qarāmānlū. Asad Khan was his title.

He was called Jamdat-ul-mulk Asad Khan. He was born in 1625-26. He was given the title of Asad Khan by Shah Jahan in the 27th year of his reign, i.e., in about 1655. He became Aurangzib's Deputy *vazir* in 1670 and full *vazir* in 1676 and continued so till the death of Aurangzib.<sup>291</sup> He died in 1716. According to Manucci, when Sir William Norris went in 1701 to Aurangzib, he saw him. We read: "After he had rested for some days he (Norris) paid a visit to the chief minister, named Asett Can (Asad Khan), secretary of the king and his counsellor, and prayed him to assist him in the business he had to bring before the court, giving him great presents in order to obtain his support."<sup>292</sup> Asad Khan promised support but to no effect and Norris had to leave disappointed.

As to the city of their interview, the *Qisseh* says (c. 364):

*The City where*  
*Rustam Manock*  
*saw Aurangzib.*

بہمراہ انگریز دستم برفت  
 بزودی رہ آن شاہ دلی گرفت

<sup>290</sup> Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, Vol. III, p. 595.

<sup>291</sup> Manucci's Storia do Mogor by Irvine, II p. 21, n. 1. Irvine's foot-notes contradict one another. In a foot-note, No. 1, on p. 300 of Vol. III, he gives the date of his being made a full Vazir as 1683-84.

<sup>292</sup> Irvine's Storia do Mogor by Manucci, III, p. 300.



i.e., Rustam went in the company of the Englishman; he rapidly took the way towards that king of Delhi.

This couplet does not say that they went to Delhi but says that they went to the king of Delhi. But the translator of Jalbhoy's book (p. 116) has mistranslated the second line as "તે પાશાહનો હુકમ લેવાને વાસ્તે દુરાહ પે શયેખના સાથે દિલ્હી ગયા" i.e., He went to Delhi with the *kolah posh* Englishman to have orders from that King. So Jalbhoy has been misled, by the faulty translation, to say, that Rustam went to Delhi (દિલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ આરંગઝેબની દરખાસ્તમાં ગયા હતા. p. 3). Mr. Ruttonji Wacha<sup>293</sup>, and Mr. Bomanji B. Patel<sup>294</sup> also make the same mistake. But we saw above in our account of Aurangzib, that he left Delhi in 1683, and, though he died in 1707, he never returned to Delhi. So, the visit in 1701 was not at Delhi.

The Qisseh does not name the Englishman who went to Aurangzib's court with Rustam Manock. He simply speaks of him as the *kolah-posh* (cc. 372-384) and as the Angrez (cc. 364, 373, 376, 380-386, 391). But, as we saw above, it was with Sir William Norris that Rustam had gone to Aurangzib. The mention of Rustom's name, as we will see later on, by Bruce in his Annal, describing Norris's embassy, shows that Rustam had accompanied Norris.

What we read in the Qisseh is, that Aurangzib ordered Asad Khan to give the English a *formān*. But in those times, a long time generally passed between the issue of the Emperor's Order and the issue of a regular *firmān*. In this case, we learn, not from the Qisseh, but from other sources, that there was a long delay. It seems that, when Aurangzib ordered a *firmān* for the President, Sir Nicholas Waite, one of the conditions was, that the English were to undertake to protect with their fleet, the Mogul ships, especially the pilgrim ships that went to Jeddah. Sir Nicholas Waite seems to have undertaken the responsibility, but the Ambassador, when he later on, went to Aurangzib repudiated it, because it was too great a responsibility. The Indian seas were infested not only

<sup>293</sup> ગુજરાતી બે દો. p. 429.

<sup>294</sup> Parsee Prakash I, p. 23.



with English pirates, against whom they can promise protection, but also with Portuguese, Dutch and other pirates. So, Sir William Norris's repudiation led to delay in the issue of the *farmān*. I will say here a few words about the embassy of Sir William Norris to enable us to properly understand the solution.

Sir William Norris left England in January 1698, arrived at Masalipatam on the East coast in September, and landed in state on 24th December 1698. He did not land at Surat, because, there, the old Company, the London East India Company, of which the new Company, the English East India Company, was a rival, was powerful, and, at the time of his arrival, no representative of the new company had as yet arrived to receive and help him. The proposal for his ambassadorship was made by the new company.<sup>295</sup> He sent a notice from Masalipatam to the Court of Aurangzib, giving information "of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the king of England, with the object of promoting trade and good relations; and, in due course, he received intimation that the various permits and mandates had been readily granted by the Mogul, so that he and his train could travel safely and unhindered to the camp. The permits, however, were long in coming, and this delay was caused, not only by the great distance but also, so Sir William (Norris) suspected, by intrigues and bribery, conducted by the old Company's agents."<sup>296</sup>

Waiting long, the Ambassador gave up the thought of going direct from Masalipatam to the Court of the Mogul Emperor and proposed going *via* Surat, where, by this time, *i.e.*, June 1699, the New Company had sent its officials. He was led to change his first plans and to take this course, because the new Company's local (*i.e.*, Masalipatam) agents did not help him heartily to go to the Mogul Court from Masalipatam. He quarrelled with Pitt, the Local President of the New Company there, and left for Surat. After four months' passage, he arrived at Surat on 10th December 1699. The Mogul's Men of War saluted him and he received the honour of a State entry into the city on the 26th of December.

<sup>295</sup> An article, entitled "The Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib" by Mr. Harihar Das gives us a succinct account of Norris's Embassy, wherein we find Sir Nicholas Waite referred to as helping Norris. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 271 seq.)

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 272-273.

Sir Nicholas Waite had, by this time, come to Surat as the first President of the New Company. He at first helped Norris who left Surat for the Mogul's camp on 27th January 1700. During his stay at Surat, Norris was annoyed at the conduct of the officials of the Old East India Company, and, among them, of "Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, the Old Company's chief representative in India, who was then in Surat."

We thus see that Sir Nicholas Waite, who was the first President of the New Company and who had "from his first arrival at Surat", appointed Rustam Manock his broker, must have come to Surat in the first half of 1699. Thus the appointment of Rustam Manock as broker was also in 1699.

*Dates of SIR WILLIAM NORRIS's visit to India as English  
Ambassador:—*<sup>297</sup>

The Formation of the New English East India Company	.. .. .	1898
The Company found recognition by the King after the customary visit from its founders	6th April	1699 <sup>298</sup>
Sir William Norris left England	.. January	1699
Arrived at Masalipatam	.. 25th September	1699
He heard that the New Company's officials (Sir Nicholas Waite and others) had arrived at Surat	.. June	1700
Left Masalipatam for Surat after 11 months' stay	.. .. . August	1700
Arrived at Surat	.. .. . 10th December	1700
Made State Entry at Surat	.. 26th December	1700
Started from Surat for Aurangzib's Camp.	27th January	1701
Arrived at Aurangzib's camp at Parnello (Panalla) which was besieged	.. .. . April	1701
Formally received by Aurangzib	.. 28th April	1701
Left Aurangzib's camp disappointed	.. 5th November	1701

<sup>296a</sup> *Ibid* p. 274. <sup>297</sup> I give the dates mostly according to Harihar Das (Journal of the Indian History, Vol. III, pp. 271-77). Sarkar (Aurangzeb, p. 355 seq.) gives 16 months for Norris's stay at Aurangzeb's camp—27th January 1701 to 18th April 1702. <sup>298</sup> *Vide* above.



Detained at Barhanpore for two months at the direction of Aurangzib who sent him there a letter and a sword for the English king. Left Barhanpur .. .. about 12th February	1702
Arrived at Surat after a month's march.. 12th March	1702
Left Surat for homeward journey .. 5th May	1702

## X.

**Bruce's account of Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of the English Ambassador and affairs after the return of Sir W. Norris' Embassy.**

- I will speak of the whole subject of Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court under two heads:
- i. Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court with the English Ambassador.
  - ii. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the English Ambassador to England.

**I. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court with an English factor.**

Rustam Manock had, as a man of influence and as a broker of the Company, accompanied the Ambassador, Sir William Norris, to the Mogul Court. As John Bruce's *Annals* give us a good account of W. Norris's Embassy, and as Bruce mentions several times Rustam Manock in his account, I summarize here, in brief, Bruce's account of the Embassy and his references to Rustam. I will, at first, speak of Sir Nicholas Waite, who had appointed Rustam Manock the broker of his Company, and who was much associated with the work of the Embassy to the Mogul Court.

Nicholas Waite was appointed its first President at Surat by the new English Company. He was, at first, in the service of the old (London) East India Company at Bantam in Java and was dismissed from their service. On the occasion of the appointment, he received the honour of Knighthood. His council was to have 5 members besides himself. His first assistant, to be known as "the Second

*Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New English Company.*

in Council" was not appointed at first, but the choice was to be made from Mr. Stanley or Mr. Annesley or Mr. Vaux, all of whom were dismissed by the old Company. The other members were Benjamin Mewse, Bonnel and Chidley Brooke. "Under them, were appointed three Merchants, three Factors and eighteen Writers."<sup>299</sup> Sir Nicholas Waite reached Surat on the 19th January 1700. Mewse and Brooke had arrived on the 16th November 1699.<sup>300</sup>

Sir William Norris was appointed Ambassador to the Mogul Court at the instance of this Company by the King. He was to "solicit and acquire privileges for the English Company or nation"<sup>301</sup> He was "vested with discretionary powers",<sup>302</sup> but the Company's general orders were conveyed to him through Sir Nicholas Waite.<sup>303</sup> The Company issued a general order "that their Presidents, or Consuls, alone, were entitled to grant passes to country vessels, or to make applications, through their Ambassador, to the Native Powers, for grants or privileges to the English Nation."<sup>304</sup>

After landing at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite began quarrelling with the factors of the old Company and directed the old Company's flag at Swally to be lowered. The Mogul Governor at Surat took this act as an interference in his and the Mogul Emperor's authority and ordered the flag to be re-hoisted at once.<sup>305</sup> "If the first act of Sir Nicholas Waite was violent, it was succeeded by one still more intemperate."<sup>306</sup> He "without waiting for the arrival of Sir William Norris at the Court of the Mogul.....addressed at once a letter to the Mogul, accused the London Company of being sharers and abettors of the piracies.....and 'of being thieves and confederates with the pirates'"<sup>307</sup>. He, declaring himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation, represented, that "he was accompanied with a squadron of four men of war, sent by the King of England, to be employed, under his directions, in capturing and punishing the pirates, and obliging them to make restitution of the vessels and property which they had taken from the Mogul's subjects."<sup>308</sup>

<sup>299</sup> John Bruce's *Annals of the Honorable East India Company from the Establishment.....to the Union of the London and English East India Companies* (1810), Vol. III, p. 287. <sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, p. 334. <sup>301</sup> *Ibid*, p. 325.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>303</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>304</sup> *Ibid*, p. 327. <sup>305</sup> *Ibid*, p. 336. <sup>306</sup> *Ibid*, p. 337

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>308</sup> *Ibid*.



Bruce gives some other instances of Sir Nicholas Waite's violent temper and conduct:—Sir William Norris landed with Mr. Norris, the Secretary, at Maslipatam as Ambassador on 25th September 1699 and wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat asking for “copies of all Phirmaunds (farmāns), or privileges, which had been granted to the English.”<sup>309</sup> While describing events of 1700-01, Bruce says of Sir N. Waite: “Whatever merit may be assigned to this Agent of the English Company for his zeal, it was chance, not prudence, that prevented his bringing ruin on himself, and on his opponents.”<sup>310</sup> Bruce, proceeding further, says that Sir N. Waite hired a house, on which he hoisted the English king's flag, to get permission for which he had to give a large present to the king.<sup>311</sup> This seems to be the house, which, according to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock procured for the Company, at the rent of Rs. 3,000 per year. The fact of Sir N. Waite's hoisting the English King's flag upon it explains why he had to secure, as said by the Qisseh, a palatial building at such a high rent. When he wanted to hoist the King's flag, the house must be worthy of the name of the British king. Then, Sir Nicholas Waite's misrepresentations at the Mogul Court led to restrictions on the liberty of the servants of the old Company. There arose, therefore, correspondence between both, the President of the old Company at Surat and Sir N. Waite, each accusing the other. Both parties now and then bribed the Mogul Governor of Surat. At length, both requested Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay, to go to Surat to settle the dispute.<sup>312</sup> The main point of dispute with the Mogul Governor at Surat was the question of damages, about Rs. 80 lacs, for a merchant ship of Hassan Ammed on its having been captured by English pirates in 1688. In November 1710, Sir John Gayer appeared at Surat. The Mogul Governor demanded from Sir N. Waite, that he may guarantee that no damage was done to the merchants' vessels by the ships of the old Company. Waite refused to do so, unless the Mogul Governor undertook to stop the old Company from trading. Under these circumstances of dispute between the agents of the two companies, the Mogul Governor of Surat seized the letters that had passed between Colt and Gayer.

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<sup>309</sup> *Ibid*, p 344      <sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, p. 370.      <sup>311</sup> *Ibid*, p. 370.      <sup>312</sup> *Ibid*, p. 372.



While these disputes were going on, Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, who had landed at Maslipatam and had tried to go from there to the Mogul Emperor's camp as Ambassador but had failed, came to Surat in December 1700. He was as intemperate as Waite. On coming to Surat, he got the British Union flag dismounted from the old London Company's ship. Sir J. Gayer got it hoisted again. By this time, news came from England that the old Company's claims were considered and that it was to be continued as a Corporation. This news set up the spirit of the officers of the old Company, to the effect that, at least, both the Companies were "on a state of equality. It was to retrieve the affairs of the English Company, shaken by this event, that Sir William Norris, at the great expense of a thousand gold mohurs to the Governor, five hundred to his son, and three hundred to two of his principal officers, obtained permission to make his public entry into Surat."<sup>313</sup> Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite continued taking unworthy proceedings against the officers of the old London Company and went to the extent of imprisoning some of the officers and of getting Sir John Gayer and the members of his Council confined by the Mogul Governor.<sup>314</sup> A short time after, Sir N. Waite was reprimanded by his Court of Directors for his conduct as Consul for having removed the old London Company's flag from their factory at Swally.<sup>315</sup> Then "Sir Nicholas Waite, without authority from Sir William Norris..... addressed a letter, in his Consular character, to the Mogul, requesting, as the London Company were to be dissolved, that a *Phirmaund* with the same privileges which had been granted to them might be conferred on the English Company."<sup>316</sup> Among the various privileges which he asked, were included "liberty of trade, and to settle factories to any ports in the Mogul's dominions; to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search;—to have license to hire or build a house and warehouses."<sup>317</sup> This statement of Bruce confirms all that we read in the *Qisseh*. The *phirmaund*, referred to by Bruce, as asked for by Waite, seems to be the *farmān*, referred to in the *Qisseh*, as asked by the English Factory through Rustam Manock.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375. <sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79. <sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397. <sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.



Sir N. Waite had sent letters to Sir W. Norris at Masalipatam "by daily hircarrahs"<sup>318</sup> saying that he was making preparations at Surat for his reception.<sup>319</sup>

Sir W. Norris left Muslipatam on 23rd August 1700 and arrived at Swally near Surat on 10th December 1700. Sir N. Waite had offered to give Rs. 10,000 to Sir W. Norris and "credit for a lac and a half, which he had borrowed, as the stock in hand was exhausted by the investment" (p. 402). Sir W. Norris left Surat for the Mogul Emperor's Court on 20th January 1701 "with a retinue of sixty Europeans and three hundred Natives." He arrived at Kokely 66 kos from Surat on 8th February, reached Bancolee on 14th February where he was informed by Sir N. Waite that Sir John and the London Company's servants had been seized by the Mogul officers. He arrived at Gelgawn near Aurangabad on 19th February, at Damondavee on the 21st February, Brampore on 3rd March and at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzib's camp, on 7th April 1701 (pp. 405-6).

In one of his letters to the Court of Directors at home, Sir N. Waite refers to his house at Surat and says that "the house which he had hired, as a Factory, was commodious, and situated nearer to the Custom-house, than that of the London Company."<sup>320</sup> This seems to be the house, which according to the Qisseh, Rustam had rented for the English factory, at Rs. 3,000 per year.

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<sup>318</sup> 𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰 har-kara, (of all work, an outdoor servant employed to go on errands.....messenger, courier" (Steingass). The word has latterly become hal-karah, Parsi-Gujarathi. 𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰, I think originally it is Avesta han-kāra from han, 𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰 Gr. Sym, syn, together with, and kara 𑂔𑂗𑂢𑂰, work. The word would mean "one who makes all joined together." King Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru) is spoken of as han-kerena i.e., "one who made all together into one". This seems to be a reference to the establishment of a Postal Department. A har-kareh (properly speaking, han-kareh), a messenger, a postman, being one who brings distant places into a closer contact. Cyrus, who is spoken of by some, as being the same as Kai Khusru, is known to have established the system of couriers, or a kind of postal department in his dominions. His postmen were these har-karehs or han-karehs. The letter 'n' can be read in Pahlavi as 'r'. Hence 'hankareh' has become har-kareh.

<sup>319</sup> Bruce's Annals III, p. 401. <sup>320</sup> *Ibid*, p. 407.

There arose, at times, some differences between the Ambassador Sir W. Norris and the Consul Sir N. Waite, because the latter wished that Sir W. Norris, when at the Court of the Mogul, may use all his influence against Sir John Gayer and his officers who were imprisoned, but Sir W. Norris did not like to be unreasonable. Again, Sir N. Waite hesitated to advance indefinitely for the expenses of the embassy, money which had, in a short time, amounted to Rs. 3,55,179.

Sir W. Norris went in a procession to see the Emperor on 28th April 1701. By this time, Sir Nicholas Waite had created a bad impression about him at home. The Directors of his English Company "disapproved of the intemperence of Sir Nicholas Waite, in his interferences with the Governor of Surat, which had augmented the oppressions Sir John Gayer and President Colt had experienced, without serving any useful purpose."<sup>321</sup>

We learn from Bruce's Annals<sup>322</sup> that Sir William Norris, whom *Places touched by Rustam Manock on his way with the Ambassador to the Mogul Court.* Rustam Manock had accompanied passed through the following places after leaving Surat on the 26th January 1701 :

Arrived at—

1. Kokely, 66 miles from Surat, on 8th February 1701.
2. Bencolee 14th February.
3. Gelgawn near Aurangabad 19th February.
4. Damondavee 21st February.
5. Brampore 3rd March.
6. Parnella, the Camp of Aurangzeb, 7th April.

The date of the Embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb comes to, as we saw above, about 1701<sup>321</sup> A.C. The author of the Qisseh gives no dates of all the events. Other later writers give the date as 1660. Mr. Ratanji Framji Wacha gives the date of Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court as 1029

*The date of the visit of Rustam and the Ambassador to the Mogul Court. Error of three Parsi writers.*

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, p. 446. <sup>322</sup> Vol. III, p. 404 *et seq.*

<sup>323</sup> *મુબઈની બાહાર* (1874), p. 429.



Yazdajardi, i.e., 1660 A.C. Bomanji B. Patel follows suit and gives the same year.<sup>324</sup> Jalbhoy Seth, Rustam Manock's descendant, also gives the same date,<sup>325</sup> following Mr. B. B. Patel, whose help he acknowledges. But all seem to err. Rustam died in 1721 aged 86. So, the event of the visit as given by these three Parsi writers, viz., 1660, must be taken as having occurred 61 years before his death, when he was aged only 25. The date is erroneous, because the event occurred late in his life, after the sack of Surat and after Aurangzeb imposed the Jaziyeh tax as described in the Qisseh. Again, the age of 25 is too young for Rustam to have acquired all the necessary influence at Surat to be appointed a broker and to go as an influential personage, with the English envoy to the Mogul Court.<sup>325</sup>

Sir William Norris's Embassy at Aurangzib's Court failed, because various reasons interfered in the complete success of the Embassy, though the Ambassador stayed long and spent a good deal of money on the upkeep of his camp and on presents, properly speaking bribes, to the Mogul officers. The principal point of failure was the insistence on the part of the Emperor that the Ambassador should give a guarantee for the safety at sea of Pilgrims' and Merchants' vessels. So the Ambassador left the Mogul Court at Panella on 5th November 1701. The various factories expressed their displeasure at the failure of the Embassy in receiving proper *farmans*. Among the faults of the Ambassador, one was said to be his disrespect to Asad Khan, the Prime Minister (*vazir*) at Burhanpore, where he did not pay the customary visit to him. Some time before the Ambassador's departure, 'the Mogul's Ministers . . . sent by Rustum the broker, the obligation required by the Emperor, for the Ambassador's signature, which he refused, on the principle that, if granted, it would bring an incalculable demand on the English Company which must ruin their affairs.'<sup>325a</sup>

<sup>324</sup> Parsee Prakash I, p. 23.

<sup>325</sup> શેઠ ખાનદાનની વંશીવલી (Genealogy of the Seth Family) p. 3.

<sup>325a</sup> Bruce's Annals, Vol. III, pp. 468-9.



The Ambassador, while returning, was stopped after three days' march, on the ground that he had left without the Emperor's *dusticks*<sup>326</sup> or passes, those that he had already with him being those of inferior officers. He was asked to wait for two days, but, at the end of the period, not hearing from the Court, he proceeded further and arrived at Burhānpore on 14th November 1701 and left it on 22nd November. But he was shortly compelled to return to Burhānpore. On 28th November, he learnt "that orders had been sent to Surat, for the seizure of the property of the old London Company and the persons of their servants"<sup>327</sup>. On 2nd December, "he was informed, that, at the recommendation of Gazedee Khan (the Mogul's Chief General) the Phirmaunds would be granted, and a demand was made of a sum of money, for the intercession of this officer."<sup>328</sup> On the 4th February 1702, he was informed by Gazedee Khan, "that he had received a letter and sword from the Emperor, for the King of England, with a promise, that the Phirmaunds should be sent in a short time."<sup>329</sup> He left Burhānpore for Surat on 5th February 1702. In connection with this matter, we read as follows:—

"Rustum, the broker, was detained by the Emperor's orders, but was directed by the Ambassador, not to sign any obligation, or give any further sums of money, on account of the Embassy. Sir William Norris, at this time, promised to Gazedee Khan, that should the Phirmaunds be granted (besides the two-thousand three hundred gold mohurs, which he had actually paid to him) he should be farther remunerated with a lack and a half, and his brother, with twenty thousand rupees."<sup>329a</sup> The mention of Rustam's name several times by Bruce in the account of Norris's embassy to the Mogul Court, clearly shows that the unnamed *kolah posh* or *Angrez* of the Persian Qisseh, in whose company Rustam Manock went to the

<sup>326</sup> دستک *dastak*, lit. "a little hand"; a pass, passport, permission (Steingass). I think the word may be a corruption or contraction of *dastkhat* (دستخط) handwriting, signature.

<sup>327</sup> Bruce's Annals, III, p. 471. <sup>328</sup> *Ibid*, p. 471. <sup>329</sup> *Ibid*, p. 471.

<sup>329a</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 471-72.



Mogul Court was Sir William Norris. The detention of Rustam Manock by the Emperor shows that he was held to be a prominent member of Sir W. Norris's Embassy. Sir William Norris reached Surat on 12th April 1702 and "on the 18th waited on the new Governor.....and obtained permission for Nicholas Waite to go out of the city, in which he had been confined since the Ambassador left the Court." <sup>330</sup>

Sir William Norris left Surat with 13 persons of his retinue for England on 29th April 1702, paying Rs. 10,000 for his passage on a special ship. His brother, Mr. Norris, who was the Secretary of the Embassy, and 14 others of his suite went on board another ship which carried cargo of Rs. 60,000 for the Company and Rs. 87,200 for Sir William Norris. Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite did not part on good terms. Sir William "declined to deliver to Sir Nicholas Waite, a copy of his diary or papers, though he gave up his horses, camel, oxen and elephant, to be sold, on the Company's account." <sup>330a</sup> From the time when the Ambassador left the Mogul Court, Sir Nicholas Waite began to charge in his dispatches to his English Company, the Ambassador of "imprudence of his conduct..... but promised to obtain the Phirmaunds through the means of the broker, without the condition of Security-Bonds," <sup>331</sup> which wanted to throw the responsibility of acts of piracy on the English Company. Here again we see that Rustam Manock was an influential personage in the eye of the English factory. Sir Nicholas Waite in his report, after referring to the causes of the failure of the Embassy, said that the Embassy had cost, in all, Rs. 676, 800 "and that the Phirmaunds still remained to be purchased." <sup>331a</sup>

## II. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the Ambassador's return to England. Rustam's association with those affairs.

During this time, some attempts were made at home to unite the two Companies. The attempts came to maturity in 1702-1703. More earnest measures were made, with the despatch of new Men-of-War to suppress the pirates. "The Court hoped, that this measure

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, p. 472. <sup>330a</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 472. <sup>331</sup> *Ibid*, p. 477. <sup>331a</sup> *Ibid*.

would counteract the misrepresentations to the Mogul Government, which Sir Nicholas Waite had so improperly made; that the London Company had been secretly connected with the pirates.”<sup>332</sup> Sir Nicholas Waite received a formal intimation of the Union of the two Companies whose separate stocks were to cease to exist from 22nd July 1702. He “was required to use his best endeavours to relieve Sir John Gayer, and the London Company’s servants, from the restraints under which they had been placed.”<sup>333</sup> In case, the Mogul Government pressed for compensation for the depredations by the pirates, “he was directed to retire with the English Company’s effects, to Bombay, that Island being now the joint property of both Companies.”<sup>334</sup>

During this interval, “though several months had elapsed since the Embassy left Surat, for Europe, . . . . . Sir Nicholas Waite continued to ascribe to Sir William Norris, the failure of the negotiation, and to raise the hopes of the Court, that he would procure the Phirmaunds through the interest of Gazedeer Khan.”<sup>335</sup> He was against the Union of the two Companies, but, when formal intimation of the Union was conveyed to him, he accepted the position and “assumed a formal civility to Sir John Gayer, which was returned, as formally; neither, evidently, placing any reliance on ceremonies to which each submitted.”<sup>335a</sup>

Sir John Gayer notified the Union “to the (Mogul) Government of Surat, as an event which, he trusted, would draw away all future opposition of English interests:—this act of duty was interpreted, by Sir Nicholas Waite, to be unfriendly to the interests of the English Company, and to it, he ascribed the stop which has been put to the Phirmaunds passing the Mogul’s Great Seal.”<sup>336</sup> He then consulted the other Presidencies, “whether he should take any further steps to obtain the Phirmaunds, because the estimated expenses of procuring them, would amount to the sum of Rs. 3,20,000, and he did not know whether they could be carried to the separate stock of the English Company, or to the United Stock; meantime, that he revoked the powers given to Rustum, the broker, to defray these charges, even should he be able to obtain the Phirmaunds. In reply, those Presidencies

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 493. <sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 512. <sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513. <sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 519.  
<sup>335a</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20.



gave it as their opinion, that, as the Phirmaunds would apply to both Companies, now United, they did not consider the expenses, as any reason for precluding him from soliciting them, as they were grants of so much importance to the trade of India." <sup>337</sup>

Sir Nicholas Waite, after being informed of the Union by the Court in England, had, as said above, "expressed his resolution to observe a friendly intercourse with Sir John Gayer and his Council.....but that Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended, in obtaining the Ambassador's pardon from the Mogul." <sup>338</sup> The pardon was for his want of courtesy in leaving the Mogul Court without passports from the Emperor—an act for which he was detained at Burhānpore. Bruce thinks "that further negotiation for Phirmaunds, was a pretext, only; as the obtaining them would not have answered the purposes for which they were solicited" <sup>339</sup> "Consul Pitt, and the Council at Masulipatam, still continued under the deception that Sir Nicholas Waite would be able to obtain the Phirmaunds." <sup>339a</sup>

On the foundation of the United East India Company, Sir John Gayer was re-appointed "General and Governor of Bombay," <sup>340</sup> Mr. Burinston, Deputy Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President at Surat. "To prevent the recurrence of animosities, the Consular powers of Sir Nicholas Waite were revoked, as being from the Union, no longer necessary." <sup>341</sup> Sir John Gayer was ordered to go to "the seat of Government at Bombay." <sup>342</sup> From 22nd July 1702 "all charges were to be defrayed by the United Stock." <sup>343</sup> Further, "it was ordered, that an exact account should be taken of the sums which had been extorted from the London Company, as compensation for the piracies; but if the Phirmaunds had not been obtained by Sir Nicholas Waite, all farther negotiation respecting them was to terminate." <sup>344</sup>

"When the Court (of Directors), towards the close of the season, were informed that the Phirmaunds had not been procured, they held it to be a fortunate circumstance, because it would

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid*, p. 520. <sup>338</sup> *Ibid*, p. 520. <sup>339</sup> *Ibid*, p. 521. <sup>339a</sup> *Ibid*, p. 522.  
<sup>340</sup> *Ibid*, p. 531. <sup>341</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>342</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>343</sup> *Ibid*. <sup>344</sup> *Ibid*, p. 532.

prevent the payment of the large sums demanded for them, which must have embarrassed the English Company, and might have protracted the final settlement of the Union, which both Companies were solicitous to complete, previously to the lapse of the prescribed seven years.”<sup>345</sup> As to the brokers, it was ordered that “the leading rule must be, to check all combinations among their brokers, and to endeavour to recover from them all debts incurred either in the sales of European, or the purchase of Indian produce.”<sup>346</sup>

In spite of the Union, differences between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite continued. The former’s invitation to the latter for presence, when the inventory of the Dead Stock of the London Company was taken, was refused. One of the grounds for doing so, was that “Sir John Gayer, by notifying the Union to the Governor of Surat (the Phirmaunds not having been obtained) had brought on a misunderstanding, which might be prejudicial to the English Company’s affairs.”<sup>347</sup> We find from the proceedings of the next year (1704-5) that “the most decided approbation was given to Sir John Gayer and his Council,”<sup>348</sup> by the Court at home and there was “the most marked disapprobation of Sir Nicholas Waite’s conduct.”<sup>349</sup> Again, Sir N. Waite was censured for not assisting in the taking of the inventory of the Dead Stocks of both Companies.<sup>350</sup> During this year 1704-5, the Home authorities, at first, were in doubt, whether Sir John Gayer was released by the Mogul Governor or not. So, to provide for the contingency or his still being in prison, they “provided, that should Sir John Gayer remain a prisoner at Surat, when the instructions arrived, or for three months subsequently to that period, then Sir Nicholas Waite instead of being President at Surat, should act as General (of Bombay), provisionally, and employ his utmost efforts for the release of Sir John Gayer, and for recovering the Security-Bonds extorted formerly from President Annesley.”<sup>351</sup>

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid*, p. 532.      <sup>346</sup> *Ibid*, p. 533.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid*, p. 542.      <sup>348</sup> *Ibid*, p. 556.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid*.      <sup>350</sup> *Ibid*, p. 557.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*, p. 564.



The Mogul Governor of Surat, not being able to know “whether  
*R u s t a m* Sir John Gayer, or Sir Nicholas Waite, was the  
*Manock deput-* chief officer of the United Company.....  
*ed by Sir N.* demanded evidence of the fact from both. Sir  
*Waite for a pri-* John Gayer, on this emergency, requested Sir N.  
*rate visit to* Waite to send an agent from the English Com-  
*the Governor.* pany, to meet one from the London Company, that they might  
together wait on the Governor, and state to him, that Sir John  
Gayer was the General of the United Company.”<sup>352</sup> But, instead  
of complying with this request, Waite “sent Rustum, his broker,  
privately to the Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had  
been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir  
John Gayer must be confined, and a proper guard placed over  
the London Company’s Factory, if the Mogul Government  
intended to recover money for the damages done by the  
pirates, amounting to eighty lacks of rupees; and, at the same  
time, seconded this iniquitous proceeding, by sending him a bribe  
of twenty-seven thousand rupees.”<sup>353</sup>

The Mogul Governor, taking this to be true, “asked Mr. Bonnell,  
and another Member of the English Company’s  
*Sir John Gayer’s* Council, whether, Sir John Gayer<sup>354</sup> should be allow-  
*confinement.* ed to go to Bombay (as he was no longer General),  
the English Company would become bound for the debts  
due by the London Company:—Sir Nicholas Waite.....  
preferred the expedient of refusing to become bound for  
the debts of the London Company and left their General to his  
fate:—the immediate consequence was, that Sir John Gayer and  
the London Company’s servants, were kept in more close con-  
finement.”<sup>355</sup> “Mr. Burnstone, the Deputy Governor of Bombay,  
and Commodore Harland who commanded the men of war, on  
hearing of this event not only remonstrated but addressed letters  
to the Governor of Surat, assuring him that Sir John Gayer was,

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid*, p. 565. <sup>353</sup> *Ibid*, p. 565.

<sup>354</sup> Sir John Gayer’s arrival at Surat from England has been thus given  
in a Gujarati Jamaspi; “મંત્ર ૧૭૫૦ માહે રોજ ૫ માહા રહે રોજન રેર રોગુર વેલાતય  
આવેઆ ઉ આવેન” i.e., In Samvat 1750, on roz 5, mah 6, Shajan (i.e., Sir John)  
Gayer Signor (i.e., an European gentleman) has come to-day from London.  
(Vide my Pahlavi Translations, Part III, Jamaspi. Preface, p. XX.)

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid*, pp 565-66.

in fact, the General of the United Company in India, and that the reports of Rustum, and of Sir Nicholas Waite, were not only in opposition to the orders which had been received from the Court of Managers, but absolutely false, and, therefore, demanded that Sir John Gayer might be released."<sup>356</sup> Sir John Gayer's confinement was ordered for three years. Alarmed at this letter, the Mogul Governor asked Sir N. Waite to pass "a Bond of Security that he would immediately proceed to Bombay, and, in the event of any of the Surat ships being taken, deliver them up."<sup>357</sup> Both, Sir John Gayer and Sir N. Waite, wrote letters to the Court of Managers in England against one another.

Then, when, according to the above bond, Sir N. Waite asked from Commodore Harland for a ship to come to Bombay, the latter refused. So, he came to Bassein by land and then took a country vessel for Bombay where he arrived in November 1704. He took up the Acting Governorship of Bombay and sent a long report about Bombay to London. In it, he reported that he "had nominated Rustum to be broker for the United Trade."<sup>358</sup> Then, in one of his reports, he said "that, in future, a Factor or two, and a few Writers, would be perfectly sufficient for the management of the United Trade at Surat, as Bombay must be made the centre of their power and trade."<sup>359</sup> This is the beginning of his attempts to give Surat, a second place of importance, and Bombay, of which he was now Governor, the first place. At this time, the Dutch, retiring from Surat to Swally, had threatened to harass the trade, unless the Security Bonds for the protection of the Surat Trade from the pirates were returned to them. The bonds were returned to them. Sir N. Waite could not similarly force the return of the Security Bonds from the English, because, he had no sufficient force to blockade the river at Surat. However, he obtained "a promise from the Governor to deliver up the Security Bonds and to use his influence to obtain a new Phirmaund."<sup>359a</sup> Commodore Harland, not pulling on well with Sir N. Waite, retired from Bombay on 29th January 1705.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 566. <sup>357</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 569. <sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 570. <sup>359a</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.



In 1705-6, the affairs of the United Company, had, in no way, improved. The English Company seems to have been forced to consent to the Union. It was after some years after the first Union, that both the Companies were to cease as separate concerns with separate management. So, the English Company's Directors, at times, sent instructions opposed to the Union. Sir N. Waite continued the use of his influence for strict measures for Sir John Gayer's confinement. The Directors of the English Company encouraged Sir N. Waite in his attempts to hold and grasp further powers for himself and the English Company.<sup>360</sup> It appears that, at this time (in 1705-6), "the Governor of Surat was equally indisposed against all the European Companies."<sup>361</sup> "Six Dutch ships had arrived off Surat, and blockaded the port, on which the (Mogul) Governor ordered the Members of the English Council to be confined within the city, and supplies of provisions and water withheld from the shipping."<sup>362</sup> Again, "the Mogul's army in December 1705, was within three days' march of the Coast, opposite the island of Bombay,"<sup>363</sup> and Sir Nicholas Waite was "in an alarm for the safety of the Company's property."<sup>364</sup> Again, the Mahrathas "in April 1706 invested the City of Surat, for nine days."<sup>365</sup>

By this time, there arose a friction between Sir Nicholas Waite and Rustam. "While he was President at Surat, Rustum, whom, from his first arrival, he had employed as broker, continued, from interested motives, attached to his views; but after he assumed the office of General at Bombay, this cautious Native, discovering that his object was to make that Island the centre of trade explained to Mr. Bonnel and Mr. Proby, the English Company's servants at Surat, that Sir Nicholas Waite had promised to give him fifty thousand rupees, to use his influence with the Governor, to keep Sir John Gayer confined, which sum was to be paid to him, individually, by advances, on the prices of the Company's goods, to that account. When Sir Nicholas Waite was informed of this conduct of Rustum, he dismissed him from the English Company's employment, notwithstanding the United Trade

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 586. <sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593. <sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 594. <sup>363</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*



was then indebted to him 1,40,000 rupees, and the separate Companies 5,50,000 rupees and if the Surat Council had not prevailed on the merchants to take their bills, the whole property of the English would have been seized.<sup>365a</sup>

“This state of affairs between Nicholas Waite and Mr. Proby, would not but produce animosities:—the former began by protesting against the conduct of the latter and of Mr. Bonnell, and they retaliated, by declaring, in their letters to the Court, that it was impracticable to procure regular investment, under the contradictory orders which Sir Nicholas Waite sent to them, and, in fact, it was impossible to execute them; and, therefore, unless Rustum should be restored they neither could be responsible for the Company’s property, nor their own liberty. Under such an administration it may be easily supposed that neither the stock of the United Company could be safe, nor their investments forwarded; and farther, to second their application in favour of Rustum, Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell accused Sir Nicholas Waite of procuring goods, at cheaper rates for himself, than for the Company, and of having purchased one hundred and forty four bales of indigo, on his private account, contrary to the positive orders of the Court.”<sup>366</sup> While affairs were in this state at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite reported to the Court, that Bombay was weak in the matter of soldiers and that fresh European soldiers may be sent.

Coming to the year 1706-7, Bruce speaks of “the consequences of the unwise proceedings by which Sir Nicholas Waite endangered the existence of the Company’s trade and Settlements and the weakness of the Court of Managers in still permitting him to continue in office.”<sup>367</sup> The Mahratha armies were hovering about Surat. The Dutch fleet blockaded Surat and secured a release from their Security Bonds and Sir Nicholas Waite was continuing his oppression of

<sup>365a</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 595. <sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 596. <sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 614. The members of the Court of the United Company were, for some time, spoken of as Managers, those of the London Company as Committees, and those of the English Company as Directors.



the London Company's servants. His conduct "had nearly ruined their affairs."<sup>368</sup> Waite complained, that "Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, the Surat Council had embezzled the Company's property, inindigo, to the value of eleven thousand rupees, and given credit to the accusations of Rustum, the broker, against him. . . . Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, in reply, asserted that Sir Nicholas Waite had been guilty of fraud, in making an overcharge in the purchase of the Company's goods, to the amount of thirty-five thousand rupees, and that he had promised this sum to Rustum, the broker, if he would use his influence with the Governor, to detain Sir John Gayer, and the London Company's Council, in confinement."<sup>369</sup> This passage shows that the relations between Sir N. Waite and Rustam Manock continued to be a estranged.

*The Council of the United East India Company transferring itself to the quarters rented by Rustam.*

By this time, the United Council (*i.e.*, the Council of the United East India Company) was formed as follows :—

Mr. Bendall (Old London Company's Servant) President.  
Mr. Proby (New English Company's Servant) Second

Mr. Wyche (London Company's) . . . . . Third.

Mr. Boone (English Company's) . . . . . Fourth.

Sir Nicholas Waite did not approve of these nominations. The United Council, immediately on appointment, removed to the English Company's factory at Surat, which Rustam had secured for the English Factory for Rs. 3,000 per year. They also "requested the Court's protection against the malicious representations of Sir Nicholas Waite, under whose orders they regretted they had been unfortunately placed."<sup>370</sup> Sir N. Waite, in his representation to the Court, asked for more Officers and Writers. He also asked for more soldiers, as he had to hire Topasses.<sup>371</sup>

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid*, p. 619. <sup>369</sup> *Ibid*, p. 619. <sup>370</sup> *Ibid*, p. 620.

<sup>371</sup> "Portugeze Topaz, perhaps from the Hindustani Topi, a hat. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India : in the early history of the Company, these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers ; hence, this term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula." (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 525.)

President Pitt of Madras, in one of his general reports to the old Company at this time, disapproved of the Union of the two Companies, but added: "But that, considering the conduct of Sir Nicholas Waite, and the license which had been given him, to continue his unjustifiable proceedings, which had nearly brought the Company's trade on the West Coast to a stand, it was fortunate, perhaps, that the Union had taken place; for such had been his absurd violence, that Mr. Brabourne would not accept the office of Deputy Governor of Bombay, because he would not serve under a man, whose behaviour he represented to be so absurd, that the civil servants of the Company, in that quarter, had declared they would rather be private sentinels at Fort St. George than serve as Second in Council under Sir Nicholas Waite."<sup>372</sup>

In 1707-8, Sir Nicholas Waite, who hitherto was encouraged "in his narrow and selfish projects of continuing himself in power; and retaining Sir John Gayer and the London Company's oldest and best servants in confinement"<sup>373</sup> was dismissed from the service. They "appointed a new General and Council at Bombay, four of whom were to constitute the President and Council at Surat. The general instruction given to this Council was, to lay aside animosities of every kind and to exert their best endeavours for the liberation of Sir John Gayer and his Council."<sup>374</sup>

"The Managers of the United Trade, and the Committees of the London, and the Directors of the English Companies, adopted measures to prepare for their foreign Settlements for the Award of Lord Godolphin, which, it had been enacted should be completed before the 29th September 1708. The Court of Managers, under the circumstances, appointed a new General and Council at Bombay:—Mr. Aislabe, formerly in the London Company's service, was nominated to be General; Mr. Proby, Second in Council."<sup>375</sup> This Council which was to consist of seven persons in all, were "to select four of themselves to be President and Council at Surat."<sup>376</sup> Then "the Court of the London Company notified to Sir John Gayer, that Sir Nicholas Waite had been

<sup>372</sup> Bruce's Annals, Vol. III, pp. 625-26. <sup>373</sup> *Ibid*, p. 636. <sup>374</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 640-41. <sup>376</sup> *Ibid*, p. 641.



dismissed from the service of the United Company; lamented his long confinement at Surat,<sup>377</sup> and informed him that Mr. Aislable. ... had, with his Council, received the most positive orders to use every effort for his liberation. .... The Court of the English Company softened, as much as they could, to Sir Nicholas Waite, the event of his dismissal, by informing him that the Court of Managers had thought fit to '*discontinue*' him from being General at Bombay."<sup>378</sup>

A short time before this dismissal, and some time after the death of Aurangzib, when his sons fought against each other, and when the Mahrathas, under 'Som Rajah' (Sahaji) on the one hand, and the Arab fleets on the other, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mogul Power, were asserting their powers, Sir Nicholas Waite, as General at Bombay, and the Company's Agents at Surat were continuing their reciprocal animosities.<sup>379</sup> Sir Nicholas Waite wanted to bring the trade from Surat to Bombay and the Surat factors opposed him in this attempt. We saw above that it was this attempt and this opposition that had led Sir N. Waite to remove Rustam from his brokership. The Factors at Surat complained, that "they had been obliged to contract debts, on the United Company's account, to the amount, this season (1707-8) of 48,000 rupees."<sup>380</sup> Under these circumstances, "any application for a Phirmaund was impracticable."<sup>381</sup>

We gather the following particulars and date  
*Dates about* about Rustam Manock's association with the  
*Rustam from*  
*Bruce's Annals.* East India Company on the authority of John  
 Bruce's Annals :<sup>382</sup>

January 1700.—Rustam Manock appointed broker of the New English East India Company. In 1698, the Private Merchants of England had "renewed their former application to obtain from Parliament an Act for creating a New East India Company. The Act was passed in 1698. News of the formation

<sup>377</sup> The confinement was not in any prison but in his Factory. He was not allowed to go out. <sup>378</sup> Bruce's Annals III pp. 641-642. <sup>379</sup> *Ibid*, p. 650.

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid*, p. 650. <sup>381</sup> *Ibid*, p. 651. <sup>382</sup> Annals of the Honorable East India Company from their Establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the Union of the London and English East India Companies, 1707-8, by John Bruce, Vol. III (1810).

of the new Company arrived at Fort St. George on 28th October 1698. Sir Nicholas Waite, who was appointed the first President of this Company at Surat, arrived off Bombay on 11th January 1700. He arrived at Surat on 19th January 1700. As he employed Rustam as broker from the very time of his arrival at Surat, we arrive at the latter end of January 1700, as the date of Rustam's appointment as broker.

20th January 1701.—Rustam Manock left Surat for the Mogul Court in the Company of Sir William Norris, the Ambassador from the English Court. Sir William Norris had landed at Masalipatam on 25th September 1699. From there, he went to Surat and arrived there on 10th December 1700, and left Surat for the Mogul Court on 20th January 1701. Rustam accompanied him.

7th April 1701.—Sir William Norris and Rustam Manock arrived at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzeb's camp.

28th April 1701.—Sir William Norris went to Aurangzib's Court in a procession and paid a formal visit to pay respects. It was during the interval between 7th April, the date of arrival at Parnella, and 28th April, the date of the formal official visit, that Rustam Manock must have made the presents from the Ambassador, and, perhaps, from himself also, as said by the Qisseh, to the Prime Minister and other Officials of the Court. It was at this visit that Rustam Manock seems to have interpreted the desire of the Ambassador and asked for a farmān, etc.

5th November 1701.—Sir William Norris remaining at Parnella for about 7 months, left the Mogul Court to return to Surat.

8th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam detained on the road, after 3 days' march from the Emperor's camp, on the ground, that Norris had left the camp without a pass from the Emperor himself, the one that he had being from an inferior officer.

14th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam reached Burhānpore.

22nd November—Both left Burhānpore, but were obliged to return at the instance of the Governor of Burhānpore.



5th February 1701.—Sir William Norris left Burhānpore for Surat, but “Rustam, the broker, was detained at the Emperor’s orders.” Rustam seems to have been detained by the Emperor, because being an important personage of the Embassy, he may be nearer the Court to receive final orders about the *farmān*, etc.

February-March 1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite “revoked the powers given to Rustam, the broker, to defray the charges” of obtaining *farmāns*.

1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite informed the Court of Directors that “Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended in obtaining the Ambassador’s pardon from the Mogul.”<sup>383</sup> This pardon refers to the fault of the Ambassador having left the Court suddenly without a pass from the Emperor.

1704.—When Sir John Gayer was appointed the General of the United Company, Sir Nicholas Waite “sent Rustum, his broker, privately to the (Mogul) Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir John Gayer must be confined<sup>384</sup>” and he sent to the Governor a bribe of 27,000 rupees. Thereupon, Mr. Burniston, the Deputy Governor of Bombay and Commodore Harland, sent assurances to the Governor “that the reports of Rustum and Sir Nicholas Waite.....were absolutely false.”<sup>385</sup>

November 1704.—Sir Nicholas Waite reported to the Court at Home that he had also “nominated Rustam to be broker for the United Trade.”

1705.—Some time after his being Governor of Bombay, when he tried to make Bombay the Headquarter of the United Company, he dismissed Rustam “from the English Company’s employment notwithstanding the United Trade was then indebted to him 1,40,000 Rupees and the separate Companies 5,50,000 rupees.”<sup>386</sup> The Surat Officer, Mr. Proby, protested and wrote: “Unless Rustam should be restored, they neither could be responsible for the Company’s property, nor their own liberty . . . . and further, to second their application in favour of Rustum, Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnel accused Sir Nicholas Waite of procuring goods at cheaper rates for himself than for the Company.”<sup>386(a)</sup>

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid*, p. 520.    <sup>384</sup> *Ibid*, p. 565.    <sup>385</sup> *Ibid*, p. 561.    <sup>386</sup> *Ibid*, p. 595.

<sup>386(a)</sup> *Ibid*.

We learn from the Qisseh that Rustam Manock had asked for several privileges on behalf of the English and they were granted. Some of the subjects of these privileges, referred to in Bruce's Annals, are the following :

*Subjects referred to in Rustam Manock's Qisseh confirmed by Bruce's Annals.*

- (1) House for the English Factory.
- (2) Warehouses.
- (3) Free ingress into and egress from the city.
- (4) Presents to the officers of the Mogul Court.
- (5) The Farmān or order of temporary concession.

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock secured a palatial house for the English Company at Surat, with an iram-<sup>387</sup> like garden (c. 347) on the bank of the river (Tapti). It was a place for residence as well as a place for trade. It was rented from Haji Hajaz Beg for Rs. 3,000 per year (c. 359). This is the house referred to in Bruce's Annals more than once. It is "the house which he (Sir Nicholas Waite) hired"<sup>388</sup> and on which he wanted "to hoist the King's flag,"<sup>389</sup> to get permission for which Sir N. Waite had to give a large present to the Mogul King.<sup>390</sup> We learn from Bruce that there was, as it were, a battle of flags between the two rival East India Companies. At first, the old Company had hoisted the King's flag. Sir W. Nicholas contrived to get it dismounted. This offended, not only the officers of the old Company, but also the Nawab or Governor of Surat, because the dismounting was done without his permission. The old Company re-hoisted the flag. This desire on the part of Sir N. Waite to hoist the King's flag on his factory supplies the reason, why he wanted, and why Rustam Manock secured for him, a really good large house. According to Bruce, Sir N. Waite desired to have in the *farman* from the Emperor, the "liberty of trade, and to settle Factories in any ports in the Mogul's dominions;—to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search; to have license to hire or

<sup>387</sup> "dda م)" iram, the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shaddad bin 'Ad in emulation of the gardens of paradise". (Steingass.)

<sup>388</sup> Bruce's Annals III, p. 370. <sup>389</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.



build a house and warehouses”<sup>391</sup> The question of the house seemed to have been so important that Sir N. Waite, in one of his letters, to the Directors, said, that “the house was commodious, and situated nearer the Custom-house than that of the London Company.”<sup>392</sup> Just as the Qisseh speaks of this act of hiring a house as the very first act of Rustam Manock after being employed as broker, Bruce speaks of Sir Nicholas Waite’s removal of “the flag of the London Company” and that of hoisting “the King’s flag” on his newly rented house as “the first measure of Sir Nicholas Waite” after his arrival at Surat.<sup>393</sup>

This house is the house, now owned by the heirs of the late Dr. Dossabhoy Cooper, who was an Honorary Surgeon to H. E. the Viceroy. I remember that, when I once paid a visit to Dr. Dossabhoy, about 10 years ago, he spoke, with some pride, of being the fortunate possessor of the house of the English East India Company. There is no doubt that Dr. Dossabhoy’s house is the house of the English Factory. On my making inquiries about the subsequent history of the house, through Mr. Cowasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, Dr. Dossabhoy’s son, Mr. A. Dossabhoy Cooper, wrote to Mr. Cowasji Vakil in his letter dated 6th July 1928: “It (the house) belonged before our purchase to some relations of the Nabob of Cambay, who must be blood relations of the Surat Nabob family. It seems to have changed ownership by marriage dowry.....It was purchased by father from one Mirza Bakuralli *valad e* Mirza Mogul Beg.....I cannot say whether Haji Hajaz Beg was related to the above (Mirza Mogul Beg), but it looks likely. I also cannot clearly identify the building secured for factory by one Rustam Manock of Surat for Rs. 3,000 per annum..... But if the building was hired for English it can be none other than the one we now possess.”<sup>394</sup>

Dr. Dossabhoy, the father of the present owners,  
*The Tablet on* put up on the house a tablet with the  
*the House at* following Inscription in English and Gujarati :  
*present.*

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<sup>391</sup> *Ibid*, p. 397. <sup>392</sup> *Ibid*, p. 407. <sup>393</sup> *Ibid*, p. 370. <sup>394</sup> After the above correspondence I had the pleasure of seeing the house again, and I think it is the very house rented by Rustam Manock for the English East India Company’s Factory.

“The English Factory originally built in A.D. 1618 under a treaty made with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) son of the Emperor Jahangir, through the ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, it withstood a siege by the Marathas under Shivaji in A.D. 1664, and was again attacked by the Marathas in A.D. 1703. It ceased to be used for its original purpose after Surat was annexed by the British in A.D. 1800.”

### “અંગ્રેજોની કોડી.”

આ કોડી જંગીર બાદશાહના શાહજહાં ખુરમ (શાહજહાં) ની સાથે અંગ્રેજોના એલચી સર થોમસ રોની મારફત થયેલા તહતામાની રૂએ પ્રથમ સને ૧૬૧૮માં બાંધવામાં આવી હતી. આ કોડીને સને ૧૬૬૪માં મરાઠાઓએ ગાવાજીની સરદારી હેઠળ ઘેરો ધાલ્યો હતો જે ઉઠાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો. આ કોડીને મરાઠાઓએ સન ૧૭૦૩માં ફરીથી ઘેરો ધાલ્યો હતો. અંગ્રેજોએ સુગતને પોતાના રાજ્ય સાથે સન ૧૮૦૦માં જોડી દીધું ત્યારથી આ ઈમારત કોડી તરીકે વપરાતી બંધ થઈ.

The inscription, which is put up very recently is altogether faulty. The house had nothing to do with Khurram or his father Jahangir. The embassy of Thomas Roe at his court was not a success. The late owner, Dr. Dossabhoy, seems to have mixed up the later Embassy of Sir William Norris to the Court of Aurangzeb with that of Thomas Roe to the Court of Jahangir.

Rustam Manock applied for permission to have warehouses (ambar-khāneh c. 378). He prays that both, the factory for business trade (kār-i tojārāt) and the warehouses may be on the same place. We find from Bruce's Annals that Sir Nicholas Waite, in his letters, asks for “a license to hire or build a house and warehouses.”<sup>395</sup> An inspection of the house, even at present, shows us that by the side of the house and connected with it are large commodious warehouses.

During his visit to the Mogul Court with the Ambassador, Rustam Manock pleads for the privilege of free ingress and egress for the Factors at Surat. He complains (c. 375) that the nobles of the Court of His Majesty do not permit a free ingress into the city (of Surat).

ولی دخل ندہند این را بشہر  
امیران درگاہ والا بمہر



We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Nicholas Waite, in one of his very first letters, asks for "free ingress and egress for himself and Council without search."<sup>396</sup> It seems that, to a certain extent, they had an "ingress and egress," but they had always to pass through a search by Mogul Custom House officers. They prayed, through Rustam Manock, for a privilege to be saved from this search, as they had now and then to go to their ships at the Swally bunder.

We learn from the Qisseh, that before going into the presence of the Emperor, Rustam Manock (on behalf of

(4) *Presents to the Officers of the Mogul Court.*

the English) gave large presents (nazrāneh o tohfa-i setorg c. 379), and thereby pleased all the courtiers as well as the king (Sultān). These gifts and presents made way (rāh kard) for the acceptance of his requests for privileges. We find the following references to the presentation of gifts and presents to the Emperor and his Court officers in the Annals of Bruce :

(a) "His (Sir Nicholas Waite's) opinion was that the Ambassador might give to the Mogul, and his ministers, besides the presents, a sum not exceeding two lacks of rupees :—he then enumerated the principal officers of the Mogul, to whom portions of this sum were to be offered ; seven of whom must be bribed high, to conciliate them to the interests of the English Company. In conducting the negotiation, he cautioned the Ambassador, if he expected to succeed, not to dispute with the officers of the Mogul, on the ceremonies or precedence, to which Ambassadors in Europe were habituated, because, in the Mogul Empire, such forms could not be admitted."<sup>397</sup>

(b) Sir William Norris, when at Damondavee on 21st February 1701, on his way to the Mogul Court, "received authority from Sir Nicholas Waite, to pay such sums as might be necessary to obtain the privileges, it being advisable to give any amount for them, before the arrival of Dr. Davenant (a Factor of the rival London East India Company), who might counteract the whole of the negotiation ; and to induce the Mogul to accede to his requests, he was empowered to offer six thousand maunds of lead, per annum, at six rupees per maund."<sup>398</sup>

<sup>396</sup> Bruce's Annals, III, p. 397. <sup>397</sup> Annals, III, pp. 403-04. <sup>398</sup> *Ibid*, III, p. 405.

The Qisseh says that Aurangzib, on hearing Rustam Manock on behalf of the English, ordered his minister Asad Khan, that a *manshūr*, i.e., a royal mandate, might be given to the *kolah-posh* (Englishman). Asad Khan ordered a writer (*dabir*) to prepare a farman permitting the English to have (a) egress into the city of Surat, (b) a mansion and store-house (*makān o sarā*)<sup>399</sup>, (c) an exemption from custom duties (*ba mal-i tojārat zakātash ma'af*. c. 388). The *farmān* was prepared and the king put his jewelled seal on it (*bar ān mohr-i khūd kard Shah ba nagīn* c. 389). The king gave the signed document to his *Dastur*, i.e., minister, who sent it to the English (*Angrez*) at the hands of a messenger (*chawash*). The Englishman was pleased when he received the *farmān* and turned with permission (*as razāyash be taft*, c. 391) towards Surat. He took the way towards Surat and Rustam went in another direction. Now, the last part of this account is not on all fours with what had happened according to the English account. It seems that what was given was not a regular *farmān*. A *farmān* was promised, but not actually given but some temporary concessions seem to have been provisionally granted. We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Edward Littleton, "Consul for the English nation in Bengal" had made all possible efforts "to assist the Embassy of Sir William Norris and to purchase temporary grants, to carry on trade till the Phirmaund could be obtained"<sup>400</sup>

## XI

### 5. Rustam Manock's Visit, during his Return Journey from the Mogul Court, to (a) Dandā Rajpuri. (b) Daman and (c) Naosari.

According to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary privileges for the English, parted from the Englishman who went direct to Surat. He, before returning to Surat, visited the following places: (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari.

<sup>399</sup> The word *sarā* means "a house, an inn." The Gujarati translator translates as "a warehouse" (ગુજરાતી ટ્રાન્સલેશન, c. 386.)

<sup>400</sup> Annals, III, pp. 414-5.



These visits are briefly referred to in the *Qisseh*. The visit to Naosari was from a religious point of view, *viz.*, to pray, before the Atash Behram, the Fire-Temple of the first grade, for giving thanks for his successful mission to the Mogul Court. The visit to Dandeh-i Rajpuri may be either from the point of view of being useful in some way to the English Company, whose broker he was or from his own personal point of view as a financier, merchant, or broker. This place, situated on the sea-coast at the distance of a few miles from Bombay, played a very important part in the history of the Moguls, the Mahrathas and the British. Rustam's visit of Daman may, most probably, be from the point of view of his being a broker of the Portuguese. So, I will speak here of Rustam's visit to these three places.

(a) Dandeh-i Rajpur, c. 394.

According to the *Qisseh*, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary permission from Aurangzib for the English, parted from the Englishman, who went direct to Surat. He went, at first to Dandeh-i Rajpur, where he was welcomed by Yāqub Khan. This place is not much known nowadays, but, at one time, the history of Aurangzeb and Shivaji, of the English and the Portuguese, of Yaqub and other Sidis,<sup>401</sup> was all associated with this place. Again, at one time, the history of Rajpur, Dandeh Rajpur, Janjirā, Bombay and the Western Coast of India was closely connected. So, I will speak here on the history of the place, which will make us understand the probable cause of Rustam Manock's visit of the place.

The name of the place is written a little differently by different writers. The *Qisseh* writes it as Dāndeh-i Rājpur (داندۀ راجپور). Khafi Khan speaks of it as Dandeh Rājpurī (دندۀ راجپوری) or Dāndā Rajpuri (داندۀ راجپوری).<sup>402</sup> Grant Duff speaks of it as "Dhunda Rajepoor."<sup>403</sup>

<sup>401</sup> Africans and especially the Abyssinians were known by this name.

<sup>402</sup> Muntakhab-al-Lubab by Maulavi Ahmed. Bengal Asiatic Society, Ed. (1874), Vol. II, pp. 113, 1.5, 224, 1.3 &c. Elliot's History of India Vol. VII, p. 289.

<sup>403</sup> History of the Mahrathas 2nd ed. by Edwards I., p. 155, 1st. ed, p. 73.

It was at this Dāndeh Rajapuri, one of the two places—the other being Kalyan—where, before his Sack of Surat, Shivaji “mustered his forces in two concentration camps ..... with the ostensible object of a campaign against the Portuguese at Cheul and Bassein and a final struggle with the Abyssinians at Janjira. The real motive for this concentration of his forces, however, was a sudden march upon Surat and the sack of that emporium of trade on the western coast.”<sup>404</sup>

Rajpur or Rajapur is the country, now known as the country of the Nawab of Janjira. The Dandeh-i Rajpore  
*Its Situation.* is the Fort of Rewadanda which is at some distance from Janjira. It is spoken of as Dandeh-i Rajpur, perhaps to distinguish it from the place, known as Danda on the sea shore, at the northern foot of the Pali Hill near Bandra.

The history of Rajpur, Dandeh-i Rajpur and Janjira is very much connected. Janjira is a rocky island on the south of Bombay at a distance of about 45 miles.<sup>405</sup> Rajpur or Rajpuri is on the mainland separated by a creek known as the Rajpuri creek. It is about half a mile east of Janjira, which, as it were, guards the Rajpuri creek and the town and district of Rajpuri. The place known as Danda, and more commonly known as the Dandeh-i Rajpuri, is about 2 miles on the south-east of the town of Rajpuri. “But these two towns (Rajpur and Dandeh) are regarded as one place and formed the head-quarters of the land-possession of the Seedis, covering much of the Northern district of Colaba. From this tract, were drawn the revenue and provisions that nourished the government of Janjira.”<sup>406</sup> The English opened a Factory at Rajpur in 1649, with a view to capture the pepper and cardamom trade that passed through it.

<sup>404</sup> The Life of Shivaji Maharaj by N. S. Takakhav (1921), p. 237.

<sup>405</sup> It was the invasion of Bombay by the Habsis (Abyssinians) of Janjira, that Rustamji Sorabji Patel is said to have repelled in 1692 (History of the Patel Family by Bomanji B. Patel). One of his descendants Rustomji Kavasji Patel, in his petition dated 25th July 1833 to the then Governor, Earl of Clare, said on this subject: “Also when the Seeddees took possession of the whole of Bombay, my ancestor Rustom Dorab Patel fought on the side of the English and was actually for three days in charge of the Government of the island” (Parsi Prakash I p. 21 n).

<sup>406</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 331, Chap. XI.



We read the following in Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab<sup>407</sup>

*Khafi Khan  
on Danda-Raj-  
puri and Janjira.*

"When the Imperial Government became friendly with Bijāpūr, the Kokan, which had belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, was granted to Adil Shah in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijapur.

Fateh Khan, an Afghan, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijapur and he posted himself in the fort of Danda-Rajpuri,<sup>408</sup> which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Janzira<sup>409</sup> upon an island in the sea, about a cannon shot distant from Danda-Rajpuri, in a very secure position, so that if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place."

Dr. John Fryer speaks of it as a "Strong Castle, . . . . environed about by the sea, but within Shot of the Main,<sup>410</sup> which Siva<sup>411</sup> with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The Mogul succouring it by sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim."<sup>411</sup>

*The History  
of Dandeh Raj-  
pur*<sup>412</sup>.

Janjira, Rajpur and Dandeh Rajpur were, in the early part of the 16th century, held by the Sultans of Ahmednagar, and one of the Siddee (Habsi or Abyssinian) chieftains of Ahmednagar was appointed the Governor of Dandeh Rajpur in the early part of the 16th century. But with the fall of the Ahmednagar Sultanate in the 17th century, the Siddee ruler became well-nigh independent. In 1636, the Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged

<sup>407</sup> Muntakhab-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289 et seq.

<sup>408</sup> "Dand and Rajpuri are close together near Janjira". *Ibid*, p. 256, n. 1.

<sup>409</sup> "Janzira, the island, but it is more commonly known under the Marathi form 'Jinjara'. *Ibid* p. 289, n. 2.

<sup>410</sup> i.e., Mainland. <sup>411</sup> Shivaji. <sup>412</sup> "A New Account of the East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being nine years' Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681," by John Fryer, M.D. (1698), p. 173.

<sup>413</sup> *Vide* Sarkar's Shivaji, Chap. X. For an account from the Mahratha point of view, *vide* Takakhav's Shivaji Maharaj (1921), Chap. XXVIII.

the Siddee of Janjira <sup>414</sup> as its representative in that part of the country, on condition, that he protected the trade of Bijapur and especially the pilgrims going to Mecca. There was no hereditary succession, but, on the death of a Seedee ruler, the next officer in charge of their fleet came to the *gādi* of the district. Being excellent mariners, their commander was acknowledged as admiral by the Bijapur Sultanate, and, on its fall, by the Mogal Empire. During these early times, the seas were infested by pirates—pirates of all nationalities—English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, etc. The Sidee of Janjira was expected by the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur and, later on, by the Mogul Emperors, to protect their trade from these pirates. <sup>415</sup>

The Siddee Commander of this island, Yaqut Khan, had once attacked Bombay in about 1682 and it was at this time that the Parsee Patel, Rustamji Dorabji, known as Rustam Gendral (corrupted from General), is said to have helped the English in defending Bombay. <sup>416</sup> Some time after 1694, there appeared in Indian waters, an English pirate, named Henry Every. He captured Futtch Mahmood, a ship belonging to Abdool Gufoor, a rich merchant of Surat and also the Ganj Suwaia, belonging to the Mogul Emperor, <sup>417</sup> which carried a grand-daughter of Aurangzeb returning from the pilgrimage of Mecca. So,

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<sup>414</sup> The word originally is Jazireh جزیره "island" or perhaps it may be Pers. zanjireh زنجیر i.e., "Ringlets or circles formed on the surface of water" (Steingass). There were more than one Janjira on the Western Coast of India, e.g., Suvarndurg Janjira, Ratnagiri Janjira, Wijayadurg Janjira (J. L. Mankar's *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (1886) p. 106).

<sup>415</sup> *Vide* for these pirates and the Siddhis' work, "The Pirates of Malabar and an English woman in India two hundred years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, 1907. Col. Biddulph says: "The Seedee of Janjira, who styled himself the Mogul's Admiral, received a yearly subsidy of four lakhs for convoying the fleet, a duty that he was quite unable to perform against European desperadoes." (Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 8).

<sup>416</sup> *Vide* "The Parsee Patels of Bombay. Their services to the British Government" by Bomanji Byramjee Patell (1876), p. 7 *et seq.* One cannot speak with certainty about the dates. Perhaps this attack was the same as that of 1694.

<sup>417</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Muntakhab -ul-Lubab by Khafi Khan.



Aurangzeb ordered the Siddee of Janjira to march on Bombay, and take the English prisoners. President Annesley and the rest sixty-three in all were placed in irons and remained so for eleven months. This was in about 1695 or 1696.

In 1648, Shivaji captured some of the forts of the Rajpur territory of the Siddee. But the fort of Dandeh *Shivaji and Dandeh-i-Rajpur.* Rajpuri and some adjoining territories remained in the Siddi's hands. The Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled at Janjira from 1642 to 1655. He was succeeded by Fath Khan, who, in 1659, tried to reconquer his forts from Shivaji when the latter was engaged in war with the Bijapur army under Afzal Khan. In 1660, when Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur attacked Shivaji in his Panhala fort, Fath Khan invaded Konkan. But Shivaji, sending a large army against him, took the fort of Dandeh-i Rajpur in 1661 (July or August) and attacked Janjira, but, not having a good fleet, failed. In the end, not having any succour from Bijapur, Fath Khan made peace with Shivaji and gave up Dandeh-i Rajpur by the treaty of peace. But the peace was short-timed, because the Siddi, the maintenance of whose people of Janjira depended upon the produce of Rajpur territories, could not do without the possession of Dandeh-i-Rajpuri.

By this time, Shivaji had built a fleet of his own to protect his coast territories and secure captures of sea-trading ships. The Kolis, the Angrias, the Vaghers formed its crew. Two discontented Siddis—Masri and Daulat Khan—also took service in his fleet. With the help of this fleet, Shivaji not only carried on further conquests, but began trading himself with some Arabian and other ports. In February 1663, he prepared two ships for trade with Mocha. In 1665, he sent his trading vessels even to Persia and Basra. In February 1665, Shivaji sent a fleet of 55 ships to co-operate in the attack on South Canara. He then began plundering Mogul ships going to Mecca from Surat, which was then spoken of as Dar-ul-hajj, *i.e.*, the city of pilgrimage. So, the Moghal Emperor's general, Jai Singh, sought, in 1665, the alliance of the Siddhi, who was strong in fleet.

In 1666, when the Moghal Emperor invaded Bijapur, one Siddhi, named Sunbal or Sombal fought on the side of the Moghal army. When Shivaji made peace with the Moghal Emperor by



the treaty of Purandhar, it was arranged that, if Shivaji conquered Janjira, he was at liberty to retain it. "Shivaji offered to attempt the conquest of Janjira for the Emperor."<sup>418</sup> In 1669, Shivaji attacked Janjira with great force and, in 1670 Fath Khan being much hard pressed and not receiving any help from Bijapur was on the point of surrendering it, accepting the bribe of a Jagir, &c., from Shivaji but his three Abyssinian slaves disliked this surrender, roused the Siddi subjects for revolt and, imprisoning Fath Khan, applied to Adil Shah at Bijapur and to the Moghal Emperor for help. Aurangzib wrote to Shivaji to withdraw from Janjira, and the Siddi fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to that of Delhi, and Siddi Sanbal, one of the leaders of the revolution, was created imperial admiral with a mansab and a jāgir yielding 3 lakhs of rupees. His two associates, Siddi Qasim (Yākūt) and Siddi Khairiyat were given the command of Janjira and the land dominions respectively. The Siddi fleet was taken into Mogal service on the same terms as those under Bijapur. The general title of Yaqut Khan was conferred on successive Siddi admirals from this time."<sup>419</sup> This revolution of the overthrow of Fath Khan took place in 1671.<sup>420</sup>

In the meanwhile, in 1670, Shivaji had arranged to seize Surat with the help of his fleet and started, but he ceased proceeding further, hearing that the Killedar of Surat, who had offered to help him was playing a fraud. In March 1671 Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprized Shivaji's Marathas when they were in the deep enjoyment of their Holi festival and re-took Dandeh-i Rajpur. Yaqut reconquered also the other seven forts taken by Shivaji. In September 1671, Shivaji sent messengers to the English at Bombay to seek their aid in his attempt to reconquer Dandeh-i Rajpuri. The Council at Surat dissuaded the authorities at Bombay from helping Shivaji, because they thought that his possession of this fort near Surat would be a threat to their naval power. In 1672, Aurangzib sent a fleet of 36 ships from Surat to help the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpur. This fleet destroyed a large part of Shivaji's fleet, six ships of which he sheltered in the harbour of Bombay. The English winked at that,

<sup>418</sup> Sarkar's *Shivaji*, 1st ed. p. 344. <sup>419</sup> *Sarkar's Shivaji*, pp. 341-42.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid* p. 342 n. Sarkar thinks that the date given by Khafi Khan is wrong.



and, lest they may incur the displeasure of Aurangzib, pretended and represented, that they themselves “had attached them as compensation for the plunder of their Rajpur factory in 1660<sup>421</sup> (by Shivaji).” At this time, both Aurangzib and Shivaji courted the favour of the English to have the help of the English fleet at Bombay. Aurangzib’s fleet appeared near Bombay in January 1673 with that view, but the English preferred neutrality in order to watch events. But at last they were, as it were, driven to take sides.

In August 1673, the French sold 80 ships and ammunition to Shivaji. They had similarly helped him in 1670 by selling him 40 guns during the seige of Pehderla. Now, there came the Dutch on the scene. Their commodore, Rudolf Van Gaen, offered, in March 1673, the help of their fleet of 22 ships for the capture of Dandeh-i Rajpur, if Shivaji gave them the help of 3,000 soldiers, whereby he can capture Bombay. But Shivaji refused this arrangement, especially because he disliked the Dutch.

In 1673, the Mogul fleet of 30 ships under Sanbal returned from Surat to Dandeh-i Rajpur, and, on 10th October, entering Bombay harbour, landed parties on the Pen and Nagotha river banks to destroy the Mahratha villages there. In 1674, the Siddi applied to the English to bring about a peace between him and Shivaji. In March 1674, Siddi Sanbal attacked the Mahrathas near Ratnagiri, but the Mahrathas were victorious. In 1675, Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack on Dandeh-i Rajpuri and laid a siege, which, at the end of the year, was raised on the arrival of Sanbal’s fleet. It was laid again in 1675. But Sanbal’s fleet compelled him to raise it in the end of 1676. In May 1676, Siddi Sanbal, having quarrelled with Aurangzeb, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan. It was this Qasim (Yaqut Khan) who had forced Shivaji’s general Moro Pant to raise the siege of Janjira in December 1676. But still Sanbal did not deliver up his fleet to Qasim. In 1677, Qasim was again ordered from Delhi to give up the fleet but he disobeyed the order. At one time, when both these admirals were in Bombay, the English interfered and settled their affairs and “Qasim was installed as admiral at the end of October”<sup>422</sup> (1777). He continued the fight

<sup>421</sup> Sarkar’s Shivaji p. 347    <sup>422</sup> *Ibid* p. 353.



against Shivaji and, in April 1678, returned to Bombay to rest during the Monsoons. His fleet was anchored at Mazagon. Shivaji, coming from the land side, tried to set fire to the fleet but could not do so, as the Portuguese refused to let his men pass through their territories. In October 1678, Shivaji again sent his admiral Daulat Khan to bombard Janjira. Siddi Qasim could not go at once to relieve the island as he was without money from the Mogul authorities at Surat to pay his men. But, in February 1680, he went out from his Bombay anchorage. In March 1680 the English entered into an agreement with Shivaji to remain strictly neutral and not to allow the Siddi's fleet to be sheltered in the Bombay waters during the Monsoons.

In the meantime, some circumstances had begun rising to create some differences between Shivaji and the English. In April 1672, Shivaji had an eye upon the rocky Island of Kenneri (Khanderi),  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles in length and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile in breadth, about 11 miles south of Bombay and 30 miles north of Janjira, with a view to erect a fort there, which may, to some extent, act as a counterpoise against the rocky fort of Janjira. The English President at Surat objected, as that may affect and endanger the trade from Bombay. Both, the English and the Siddi, appearing there with their fleets, Shivaji stopped the fortification. But, later on, in August 1679, Shivaji renewed that project and, on 15th September, his admiral, known as the Mai Nayak (مئی نایک) i.e., the chief of the Sea (Aràb. *mae*=water), took possession of the island with 4 small guns and commenced fortifying it. The Deputy Governor of Bombay protested, saying that Kennery belonged to Bombay, but the protest had no effect. So a fight began. A sea-battle was fought on 18th October 1679 between Shivaji's fleet and the English fleet. Though the English lost several ships through the cowardice of some English soldiers on board, in the end, they were victorious and Shivaji's fleet ran and took shelter in the Nagothana creek. At the end of November, a Siddi fleet joined and helped the English in bombarding Kennery. But the cost of money and men (Englishmen) in the continued naval fight was so heavy, that the English thought, on 25th October 1679, to withdraw honorably and, either settle matters with Shivaji or throw the burden of fight upon the Siddi of Janjira and upon the Portuguese of Bassein whose



foreign trade was likely to be endangered by Shivaji's occupation of Kennery. The English were especially apprehensive of an attack, in reprisal, by Shivaji upon Bombay itself. The apprehension came to be true. Shivaji sent 4,000 men to Kallian Bhimri (Bhiwardi) with a view to land in Bombay *via* Thana. The Portuguese who then occupied that part of the country prevented their passage. So, Shivaji's troops marched to their port of Panvel opposite Trombay in October 1679. The Deputy Governor of Bombay was prepared to fight boldly but the authorities of the Surat Headquarters thought it advisable to settle the dispute with Shivaji, and, in the end, Shivaji was permitted to fortify Kennery. The English ships were withdrawn from Kennery in January 1680. Then the Janjira Siddi occupied and fortified Underi, which is close to Kenneri and is about a mile in circumference,<sup>423</sup> on 9th January 1680. Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan attacked Underi but to no purpose. "Underi continued in Siddi hands throughout Shambhaji's reign, and neutralized the Maratha occupation of Khanderi, the two islands bombarding each other."<sup>424</sup>

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock was very hospitably received at Dandeh-i-Rajpur by Sidee Yaquba *The Siddis*. (سید ی یعقوب c. 395). He is spoken of as a Siddee. So, I will speak here of these Siddis, who played a prominent part in the history of Central India. From Orme's account about these people, we gather the following particulars about their arrival and rise in India: They were natives of Abyssinia. At first, they came to India as traders and adventurers, and it was a king of Viziapore in the south who exalted them by giving them high posts. "The natural courage of these people, not unmixed with ferocity, awed the envy of their rivals.....At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had, under his jurisdiction, a considerable extent of the sea coast to the north and south of Gingerah, when Sevagi got possession of Dunda Rajapore."<sup>425</sup> Later on, after some fight with Shivaji, they

<sup>423</sup> The two islands are known as Annery Kenneri (अनेरी कनेरी)

<sup>424</sup> Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st p. 362, 2nd p. 321.

<sup>425</sup> Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme, p. 56.

gave their services with their fleet to Aurangzib, but they "reserved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatsoever they might recover from their former fiefs, now lost to Viziapore." <sup>425a</sup>

*Some Dates about the Siddi's Rule at Rajpuri, Dandeh and Janjira.*

The Siddis settled at Rajpur and Janjira.	Early 16th Century.
One of the Siddis appointed Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri by the Ahmednagar Sultanate.	Early 17th Century.
Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged the Siddi ruler as its representative in that part of the country	.. 1636
Shivaji captured all of the Siddi's forts on the mainland except Dandeh-i Rajpuri	.. .. 1648
Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled	.. .. 1642 to 1655
Siddi Fateh Khan tried to regain his forts from Shivaji, when Shivaji was fighting with Afzal Khan.	1659
Fath Khan invaded Konkan when Shivaji's fort of Panhala was besieged by Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur	1660
Shivaji conquered Dandeh-i Rajpuri and attacked Janjira but failed	.. .. 1661
Fath Khan, hard pressed, made peace with Shivaji, formally ceding to Shivaji Dandeh-i Rajpur	.. 1661
Shivaji built his own fleet and began trading with Arabian ports	.. .. 1663
Shivaji prepared his ships to co-operate for an attack on Canara	.. .. 1664
Shivaji traded with Persia, Basra, &c.	.. .. 1665
Shivaji sent a fleet of 85 frigates for the conquest of South Canara	.. .. February 1665
Jai Singh, the Mogul general, sought alliance with the Siddi to withstand Shivaji's attacks on Mogul Pilgrim ships from Surat to Mecca	.. .. 1665
A Siddhi general, named Sanbal, fought on behalf of the Moghal Emperor against Bijapore	.. .. 1666
Shivaji attacked Janjira	.. .. 1669

<sup>425a</sup> *Ibid* p. 57.



Shivaji started with his fleet to capture Surat but stopped half way .. .. .	1670
Revolution at Janjira. Fath Khan, who was on the point of surrendering it, was imprisoned by his people who then sought for help from Adil Shah of Bijapore and from Aurangzib .. .. .	1671 <sup>426</sup>
Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprized Shivaji's Mahrathas during their Holi festivities and re-took Dandeh-Rajpur and other forts ..	1671
Shivaji asked the help of the English at Bombay for his proposed reconquest of Dandeh-Rajpur but was refused .. .. .	1671
Shivaji began fortifying Kenneri island but was stopped by the English and the Siddis .. ..	1672
Shivaji's fleet defeated by Aurangzib's fleet that had come to help the Siddi .. .. .	1672
Mogul fleet appeared in Bombay waters peacefully .. .. . January	1673
The Dutch offered help of fleet to Shivaji for capturing Dandeh, if Shivaji gave help of 3,000 men to them for capturing Bombay. Shivaji refused .. March	1673
The French sold 80 guns to Shivaji .. .. August	1673
A Mogul fleet of 30 ships, under Sambal, came towards Bombay side, and, entering Bombay waters, destroyed Mahratha villages at Pen and Nagothana .. .. .	1673
The Siddi attacked the Mahrathas at Ratnagiri, but with no success .. .. .	1674
Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack upon Dandeh-Rajpur and laid siege on Janjira but not successfully .. .. .	1675
Janjira again besieged unsuccessfully .. .. .	1676
Siddi Sambal, having quarrelled with the Moguls, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan .. .. . May	1676

<sup>426</sup> Sarkar says that the date was 1674 and that Khafi Khan's date 1671 is wrong.

The English interfered between the quarrels of the two admirals and Qasim (Yaqut Khan) was installed as Admiral .. .. .	October	1677
Qasim Yaqut in Bombay waters with his fleet at Mazagon .. .. .	April	1678
Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan bombarded Janjira .. .. .	October	1678
Shivaji renewed the project of fortifying the Kennery island .. .. .		1679
A sea-battle, fought between Shivaji and the English. English victorious, and Shivaji's fleet fled to Nagothana .. .. .	18th October	1679
The Siddi and English fleets bombarded Kennery ..		1679
The English, to prevent further cost and loss of Englishmen in the naval fight, stopped fighting further .. .. .		1679
Shivaji arranged to attack Bombay via Thana and Panvel .. .. .		1679
Qasim (Yaqut Khan), who could not go out earlier for want of funds, left Bombay waters to attack the Mahrathas .. .. .	February	1680
Agreement between the English and Shivaji that the English were not to allow the Siddi's fleet in Bombay waters during the Monsoons and that Shivaji may hold Kennery .. .. .	March	1680
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi	9th July	1680

Siddi Yaquba, or Yaqut, referred to in the *Qisseh* is the Siddi Qasim, otherwise known as Yaqut Khan.

*Yaquba* c. 395. It seems that, either the author of the *Qisseh*, Jamshed Kaikobad, or his copyists, misread the last letter ت 't' for ب 'b'. Such misreadings are not unusual. So, Yaqut became Yaqub and then Yaquba for respectability's sake. He was appointed, at first, the Governor of the adjoining rock-fort of Janjira and, later on, in 1677, admiral and Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpur, which he had re-captured from the hands of



Shivaji. We gather the following about him from Khafi Khan.<sup>427</sup> He, Siddi Sanbal and Siddi Khairyāt, were three Abyssinian slaves of Fath Khan, the general of Bijapur who held Danda-Rajpuri and Janjira. When he was hard pressed by Shivaji who attacked these places, Fath Khan was, as said above, on the point of surrendering these places to him but these three slave officers who managed the affairs of the island resolved to revolt against Fath Khan and to take him prisoner and defend the position (1671 A.C.). Siddi Sambal died some time after, declaring Siddi Yaqut as his successor in chief power, and "enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience."<sup>428</sup> Khafi Khan thus speaks of Yakub Khan "Sidī Yāqūt was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks."<sup>429</sup> Some time after, he re-conquered Danda-Rajpuri from the hands of Shivaji when the latter had retired to a little distant place to celebrate the Holi Holidays.

In the Akham-i-Alamgiri, *i.e.* the Anecdotes of Aurangzib, he is spoken of as the Thānahdār of the place. We read: From the news-letter of Machhli-Bandar (Maslipatam), the Emperor learnt that Siddi Yaqut Khan, the *thanahdar* of Danda-Rajpuri, had inserted a petition under his own seal in the news-letter stating that if the Collectorship (mutasaddi-gari) of Danda-Rajpuri were conferred on him, he would render far better service than his predecessors in increasing the prosperity of the place and in sending the imperial Customs revenue. Across the sheet of the news-letter, the Emperor wrote: "For a long time I have known of this aggressive and self-willed spirit of Siddi Yaqut Khan."<sup>430</sup> Prof. Sarkar says: "All the Siddis (Abyssinians) holding charge of Danda-Rajpuri after 1660 bore the title of Yaqut Khan from the Mughal Government, and acted as the Mughal admirals on the Bombay coast. Khafi Khan often narrates their history (II, 225-228, 453-54). Danda Rajpuri is a town on the Bombay

<sup>427</sup> Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Muhammad Hashin Khafi Khan (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289) says, that each of the three Siddi officers had 10 well-trained Abyssinian slaves under them. <sup>428</sup> *Ibid*, p. 290. <sup>429</sup> *Ibid*, p. 290. <sup>430</sup> Anecdotes of Aurangzib (English translation of Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan), by Jadunath Sarkar, 2nd Ed. of 1925, pp. 124-25, No. 66.



coast.....facing the island of Janjira which was the stronghold of the Abyssinians.....One Siddi Yaqut was collector of Danda-Rajpuri in 1702 (U.A. 455)".<sup>431</sup>

We find from the history of this time, that as said above, there was a Revolution at the place in 1671, which brought in Siddi Qasim, as Yaqut Khan to power. Some time after, he was asked by Aurangzib to attack Bombay and drive away the English from there. Grant Duff, in his "*History of the Mahrathas* while speaking of the events of 1689 A.C. says: "About this period the attention of the Emperor was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by individuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized."<sup>432</sup> This was no uncommon measure, for Aurangzib to adopt when any of the Moghul ships were taken, and he more than once threw the President at Surat into confinement; on the present occasion the Siddee was ordered to drive them from Bombay. Yakoot made a descent upon the island, and possessed himself of Mazagon, Sion and Mahim, but could make no impression on the fort. The attack, however continued, until the English appeased Aurangzib by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and the humblest submission. The Seedee quitted the island after he had remained upon it nearly a year."<sup>433</sup> We read as follows on the subject: "The invasion of Bombay by the Sidi is described in a letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors of January 25, 1698. The Sidi landed with 20,000 men, seized the small fort at Sivri (or Sewri), plundered Mahim, and hoisted his flag in Mazagon fort, which had been abandoned. By February 15,

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<sup>431</sup> Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 125. <sup>432</sup> "The English traders began at that time to assert themselves and to claim the right of fortifying their 'factories' or commercial stations. Aurangzib's hostile attitude was also due in part to the action of the Interlopers who began about 1680 to trade with the East in open opposition to the East India Company. The Mughals were unable or unwilling to distinguish between the rival companies, or indeed between English merchants and English pirates like John Avery and held the President and Council responsible for all the acts of their countrymen in the East." (Foot-note of the Editor of the revised Edition of 1921 of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.)

<sup>433</sup> Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrathas*, revised by S. M. Edwardes (1921), Vol. I, pp. 274-75.



1689, he was master of the whole island, except the castle and a stretch of land to the south of it. From April to September 1689, Bombay was in very sorry plight. In December, Child despatched two envoys to Aurangzeb to sue for peace, the request for which was aided indirectly by certain external political factors ; and finally in February 1690, the Emperor granted a new *firman* to the Company, which had to pay him Rs. 1,50,000 in satisfaction of Mughal losses, and to promise to expel 'Mr. Child, who did the disgrace.' The Sidi finally left Bombay on June 8, 1690, nearly a year and a half after his first landing at Sivri.<sup>434</sup>

We gather the following facts from the above account of the Siddi's attack of Bombay :—

1. The Siddhi's sack of Bombay occurred early in January 1689. (The Despatch informing the Directors is dated 25th January 1689).
2. The Siddhi who attacked Bombay was Yāqut Khān.
3. Child, the chief factor at Surat, sent two envoys to the Court of Aurangzib to sue for peace in December 1689.
4. Aurangzib was won over "by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and humblest submission." In "the humblest submission" must be included rich presents to the King himself.
5. Aurangzib thereupon issued a firman in favour of the English.
6. The Siddi's occupation of Bombay lasted from early in January 1689 to 8th June 1690.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went there for enjoyment (tafarrurj). But, one cannot understand, why Rustam Manock should part company from his English factor and go for enjoyment to such an out of the way place like Dandeh Rajpuri, about 40 miles from Bombay by sea. We find from the above account in some details that the history of the place shows that the English had a factory there and that they had some hand in the operations there between Shivaji and the Siddi. So, it seems that Rustam Manock had gone there for some business as a broker of

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid*, p. 275 n. 1. Copied with some alterations and omissions from the Bombay City Gazetteer, by S. M. Edwardes, Vol. II pp. 83-85

the English factory at Surat. Yâqût had just come to power there and so Rustam went to him for business (*vide* above p. 243).

(b) **Rustam Manock's Visit to Damaun.**

According to the Qisseh, Rustam went from Dandeh-i-Rajpuri to Damaun. It does not say why he went there. But he must have gone there, not for any sight seeing, but on business. Rustam Manock was, besides being the broker of the English, also the broker of the Portuguese. In the Qisseh, in two places he is spoken of as the broker of the Portuguese. So, he seems to have gone there for business. The welcome extended to him by the Portuguese Government during this visit and the second visit after the capture of an Indian ship of Surat by the Portuguese and the welcome extended to him at Goa itself, when he went there later on, show that he was officially connected with the Portuguese. So, it appears that he went to Damaun on business and not on pleasure.

(c) **Rustam Manock's Visit of Naosari.**

Rustam's visit to Naosari on his way to Surat from Damaun was not for any business purpose, or for pleasure, but for a religious purpose. He had gone on an important errand, and so, on its success, he went to this town, which was on his way to Surat to offer thanksgiving to God at the fire-temple there. We find ancient Iranian kings observing such a custom.<sup>434a</sup> He had, at first, a sacred bath. With the orthodox, a long journey, wherein one cannot observe all religious rites and ceremonies, necessitated such a bath.<sup>435</sup> He had a bath of the kind and then he went to the Fire-temple,<sup>436</sup>

<sup>434a</sup> *Vide* my Gujarati paper on the History of the Fire Temple of Adar Gushoop, in my Iranian Essays, Part I, pp. 125-148.

<sup>435</sup> *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 149-51. *Vide* Tacitus' Annals (Bk. XV 24) for some religious scruples for travelling by water among the ancient Iranians.

<sup>436</sup> The Naosari Fire-temple, at this time, was that for the sacred Fire of Iranshah, which is now located at Udvara. This Sacred Fire was carried there in about 1516 and remained there till about 1741. (*Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates" pp. 87-88.) The present Sacred Fire at Naosari was installed on 2nd December 1765 (Parsee Prakash I, p. 45).



to offer a thanks-giving prayer for his successful mission to the Mogul Court.<sup>437</sup>

Sir Streynsham Master who visited Surat in 1672 refers to Naosari. In his account of his visit of Surat, given in a letter, dated Bombay January 18, 1671, (*i.e.* new system 1672), addressed to England he gives an account of the Parsis. The letter is given in full by Col. Henry Yule in his diary of William Hedges.<sup>438</sup> Therein he says about the Fire :

*Sir Streynsham Master on the Fire-temple at Naosari.*

“At the said place of Nausaree their Chief Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought (with) them from their Owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it so constantly supplied; they had a church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and do feed upon them.”<sup>439</sup>

According to Capt. Hawkins, the river on which Naosari stands (the river Purna) was much navigable in former times. With the help of this river-communication, Naosari commanded a great calico trade. While referring to the gates of Surat,

*Hawkins on Naosari and its river.*

<sup>437</sup> For some particulars about this town which is the Head-quarters of a large class of the Parsee priest-hood, *vide* my paper on “The Petition of Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jahangir” (Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13, pp. 181-82). The District of Naosari contained the towns of Mulere and Salere. The Mahumudi coins of Gujarat were struck at Mulere. We read: “The Mahmudis were the coins of the independent Muslim kings of Gujarat. After its conquest by Akbar, the coinage of rupaiyas was introduced at the royal mints of Ahmedabad and some time after of Surat. The coinage of Mahmudis was continued by Pratap Sah at the fort of Mulher till 1637; his Mahumudis were struck in Akbar’s name. Five mahumudis made two rupees.” (The Empire of the Great Mogol, by J. S. Hoyland (1928), p. 29, n 42 translated from the Dutch work of De Laet, and entitled “Description of India and Fragments of Indian History.”)

<sup>438</sup> The Diary of William (afterwards Sir William) Hedges, by Colonel Henry Yule. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II (1888), pp. 222-255.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*, p. 315.

Hawkins says: "A third (gate leads) to Nonsary (Naosari), a town 10 *cose* (kos) off where is made a great store of calico having a fair river coming to it."

The Qisseh says that, when Rustam Manock, on his way from Aurangzeb's Court of Surat, went to Naosari after visiting Dandeh-Rajpuri and Damaun, he lived at the house of a relative (khish c. 406), named Noshirwan. Who was this Noshirwan? The Gujarati translator adds the name Meherji after his name and gives the name as Noshirwan Meherji. So if we take the name as given by the translator as correct, who was this Noshirwan Meherji? There were several persons of the name of Noshirwan Meherji, known during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721):—

1. One Noshirwan Meherji Patel is referred to (in a document dated 26th September 1686), in the matter of the dispute between the priests and the laymen of Naosari.<sup>440</sup> The visit to Naosari was in about 1701 A.C. So, one may say that, perhaps, it was at this Noshirwan Meherji's that Rustam Manock was a guest. But one thing may be suggested against this view. It is, that it appears from the document, that Noshirwan Meherji was a layman (Behedin) and Rustam Manock was of a priestly family. So, how can they be related to one another? But we know that though the priestly class did not give their daughters to those of the laymen class, they took theirs in marriage. So possibly, this relationship was that caused by the marriage of a son of Rustam Manock's stock of family with a daughter of Noshirwan Meherji's stock of family.

2. Again there was another Noshirwan Meherji (Chāndnā) living during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721). One may object to this name on the ground that Rustam Manock belonged to the sect of the Bhagaria priests while Noshirwan Meherji (Chāndnā) belonged to the opposite sect of the Minocher Homji priests. But, it may be said that the relationship by marriage between the two families may have been made, before the sacerdotal schism, which took place in about 1686. So, it is very likely that

<sup>440</sup> Parsi Prakash I, pp. 19 and 845-46.



the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh, whose hospitality at Naosari Rustam Manock accepted was this Noshirwan Meherji. He may have been related to Rustam Manock by marriage.

3. There lived at Naosari a third Noshirwan Meherji during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721). He is Noshirwan Meherji referred to in the Bhagarsath Genealogy by Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana.<sup>441</sup> But this person died in Samvat 1735 (1679 A.C.).<sup>442</sup> So he cannot be the host of Rustam Manock in about 1701 A.C. when Rustam visited Naosari.

From all these considerations, I think, that the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh is the second of the three Noshirwan Meherjis referred to above. Again, the family tradition says, that this Noshirwan Meherji's family was pretty well off and had some property in Surat.<sup>443</sup> So, there is a greater probability of this Noshirwan receiving Rustam Manock as his guest.

## XII

### **Rustam Manock's Visit of Goa to get Osman Chalibee's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.**

Of all the places on the Western coast of India, Bombay and Goa were said to be the most important. So, even the French had an eye upon Goa, later on.

A French officer, Stanislas Lefebvre, is said to have reported: "Bombay et Goa sont sans contredit les deux pointes les plus essentielles de la côte occidentale de la Presq'île de l'Inde."<sup>444</sup> Goa was in the time of Rustam Manock, as it is even now, the centre of Portuguese power and rule. From very early times, its excellent position on the Western coast of India attracted

<sup>441</sup> અધોરનાન દોળાની ભગરસાથ વંશાવલી p. 118. *Vide* its English version "The Genealogy of the Naosari priests" issued for private circulation by Naoroz Parvez, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, p. 118. I am thankful to Mr. Mahyar N. Kutar for suggesting to me this name.

<sup>442</sup> *Vide* the above Gujarati Genealogy, p. 244, col. 1.

<sup>443</sup> I am thankful to Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria of Naosari for this information. *Vide* also the Navar Fehrest compiled by Ervad Mahyār N. Kutār, Vol. I, 29. Nāvar, No. 235, mentions this name. He is spoken of as Suratio, i.e. of Surat.

<sup>444</sup> Quoted by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha, in his paper, on "The English and their Monuments at Goa" Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII p. 109.

different conquerors to this part of the country. It was visited by the Arab traveller Ibn Batuta in the 14th century.<sup>444a</sup> In 1469, it passed into the hands of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan. Then, it passed into the hands of the Bijapur kings. In 1510, a Portuguese fleet under Albuquerque captured it. It was re-captured for a short time by the king of Bijapur, but Albuquerque reconquered it shortly after. The early traders spoke of it, on account of its wealth, as "the Golden Goa" (Goa Dourada) and said: "Whoever had seen Goa need not see Lisbon."<sup>445</sup> The Portuguese based their dominion in India on conquest by the sword. They laboured to consolidate it by a proselytizing organization which throws all other missionary efforts in India into shade."<sup>445a</sup> It is the "old Goa" that is referred to in the Qisseh. It was in about 1759, that Panjim or New Goa was founded. Now the story of the capture of a Mahomedan ship by the Portuguese is briefly as follows :

There was at Surat, a merchant, named Osman Chalibee.

*The Event of  
the Capture of a  
Ship by the  
Portuguese.*

His ship, while returning from Jedda, was captured by the Portuguese. The Nawab of Surat sent for Rustam and requested him to get the ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

Rustam complied with the request. He, at first, went to Damaun, but the Governor of the place referred him to the authorities at Goa. So, he went to Bassein and from there went to Goa. The Governor-General of Goa referred the matter to the Home authorities at Portugal, and, in the end, the ship was released and handed over to Osman Chalibee through Rustam. Now, who was this Osman Chalibee ?

<sup>444a</sup> The Travels of Ibn Batûta, by Rev. Samuel Lee (1829), p. 164.

<sup>445</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th Ed., Vol. X, p. 706, col. 2. The Missionary efforts of the Portuguese reminds one of their "Inquisition" at Goa. Dr. Fryer speaks of it as "a terrible tribunal" and says of a place known as the "Sessions house" as "the bloody prison of the Inquisition" (Fryer's New Account of India and Persia, Letter IV, Chapter II, pp. 148 and 155). Niccolao Manucci refers to the town of Bassein, which is referred to in the Qisseh and says that there was an Inquisition there also. (Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, translated by William Irvine, Vol. III (1909), p. 181.

<sup>445a</sup> *Ibid.*



The merchant, Osman Chalibi, for whose ship Rustam Manock went to Goa, seems to be a descendant of the family of a celebrated Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was driven, in 1554, by a great storm to the shores of Gujarat and was forced to touch Damaun, from where, some time after, he went to Surat. On making inquiries at Surat, if there were any descendants of Osman Chalibi there at present, I learn that no trace can be found of them. But there still exists at Surat a masjid bearing Chalibi's name. Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, a leading Parsee of Surat, in reply to my inquiries wrote to me thus in his letter of 24th July 1928 : " I am sorry I have not been able to get any useful information on the point. It may, however, interest you to know that there is still a musjid existing in Sodagarwad<sup>446</sup> locality, behind the City Municipality, which is known as Chalibini Masjid.<sup>447</sup> It is being managed now by a Mahomedan gentleman, aged about 80 named Sumadbhai Ahmedbhai Misri. I made due inquiries from him, but, he too, though advanced in years, has not been able to give any information regarding the Chalibi family or Usman Chalibi mentioned, in your letter."

Baron Von Hammer speaks of one Chalibi as "Sidi Al Chalebi, Captain of the fleet of Sultan Suleiman."<sup>448</sup> Reinaud also speaks of him as Sidi Ali-Tchelebi. He seems to have been the founder of the Chalibi family of Surat. He was called by others, and he spoke of himself as, Capudan, *i.e.*, Captain, from a similar Portuguese word. M. Reinand refers to him in his *Géographie d'Aboulféda*.<sup>449</sup> Besides being a great admiral, he was somewhat of a scholar, a poet and a writer. He had published a book of his travels called *Merât-ul Memâlik*, (*مراة الممالك*) *i.e.*, Mirror of Countries.<sup>450</sup> An extract from this

<sup>446</sup> *i.e.*, the street of merchants. <sup>447</sup> *i.e.*, the Mosque of Chalibi.

<sup>448</sup> Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 35. (November 1834) p. 545.

<sup>449</sup> *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, traduit par M. Reinaud (1848). Tome I et II. Introduction p. CLXV.

<sup>450</sup> *Vide* Dr. Rieu's Catalogue of Turkish MSS. p. 120, for an account of this author of *Merât-al-Memalik*.



work is published in the Transactions of our<sup>451</sup> Society, which, for some time, had ceased to be published here and were published in London, at the time, when our original Society of Bombay became a branch of the London Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>452</sup> M. Silvestre de Sacy has referred to this work and given a few particulars about this admiral and author.<sup>453</sup> The account in our Journal is from the pen of the celebrated orientalist of the time, Joseph Hammer of Vienna. It was read on 31st October 1815, and is entitled, "Notice and Extracts of the Miritolmemalik (Mirror of Countries) of Sidi Ali Capoodawn." This work was first translated into German by M. de Diez, the Prussian envoy at Constantinople in 1815, under the title of *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* (i.e., Memorable Events of Asia). Then M. Morris has translated this work into French from the German of M. de Diez in the *Journal Asiatique*.<sup>454</sup>

He has also written another work on a nautical subject under the title of Mohit ( *محيط* ) i. e. ocean. This work was finished by him at Ahmedabad in December 1554.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, published in London, 1820, pp. 1-14. <sup>452</sup> For this early history of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, *vide* my "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of View," p. 2. <sup>453</sup> "Journal des Savants" de Mars 1821, quoted in *Journal Asiatique*. (Tome IX pp. 27-8).

<sup>454</sup> "Miroir de pays, ou relations des Voyages de Sidi Aly fils d' Housain, nommée ordinairement Katibi Roumi, amiral de Soliman II (*Journal Asiatique* 1826, Tome IX, pp. 27-56, 65-97, 129-174, 193-217, 280-299). For the references to M. de Diez and M. Morris, *vide Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>455</sup> *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, p. 545. For the reference to Ahmedabad, *vide* p. 545. Mr. Mancherji P. Kharegat, to whom I had sent the article on Mohit, hoping that it may interest him from the point of view of his study of Iranian calendar, has kindly drawn my attention to an interesting fact, and I give it below in his own words as it may interest others also. "The article on Mohit.....has been very interesting reading for various reasons, but especially, because it has cleared up a point, *viz.*, why the peculiar arrangement of the Kadimi Calendar, in which the days are numbered, instead of being divided into months, is called Daryā-i Nauroz. I knew that both Mulla Firuz and Cowasji Patel had said, that it was because mariners used it in that form, but they had given no authority; and I was inclined to regard their remarks as mere guess-work. .... But the article in question proves, beyond doubt, that, at least, upto the 16th century, the Yazdagardi Calendar was actually used in this form by sea-farers; the present article also shows that they were inclined to substitute the Jalali calendar for it even then.



Hammer thus speaks of this Sidi Ali : " The Author, Captain of the Egyptian fleet of Soleimaun, the great Ottoman emperor, had received orders to carry fifteen Turkish ships from Bassora down the Persian Gulf and up the Arabian to Suez. But not being well acquainted, as it seems, either with the monsoons or with the coast of India, he lost his way and his fleet and was obliged to make his way overland from Guzerat, by Hind, Sind, Zaboulestoun, Bedakhshaun, Khottaun, Toorān, Khorasaun, Khowarezem, Kipjak, Pak, and Asia Minor to Constantinople."<sup>456</sup>

According to what Sidi Ali says of himself in his book, he " had made from his youth nautics and seamanship the principal object of his studies and endeavours. He was a witness to the glorious conquest of Rhodes, and afterwards accompanied in the western seas the late admirals Khaireddin (Barbarossa) and Sinaun Pashaw on all their expeditions, completed in that way the course of his naval acquirements, and composed many works on nautics and astronomy."<sup>457</sup> His " father and grandfather were both employed at the arsenal of Ghalata in the rank of Kiayas, and distinguished themselves as exquisite, skilful seamen."<sup>458</sup>

I give below some particulars about this admiral, as collected from the Notice of M. de Diez in German, as translated by M. Morris in French.<sup>459</sup> His name was Sidi-Ali bin Housain. He was also called Katib-i<sup>460</sup> Roumi. He lived during the reign of the Ottoman Emperors, Soleiman I (1519-1566) and Soleiman II. In his youth, he was somewhat of a poet. So, he took the name of Katib-i Roumi to distinguish himself from a Persian poet who was known as Katibi Adjemi. He commenced his voyages in 1553. He was appointed admiral of Egypt in that year and was asked to take the Turkish fleet from Aleppo to Bussora and then from there to Suez through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. While passing through the Persian Gulf with his 15 ships, he came across a Portuguese fleet of 25 ships at the island of Hormuz.

<sup>456</sup> Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, London (1820), Vol. II, p. 1. <sup>457</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>459</sup> Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX; p. 29 seq.

<sup>460</sup> Katib designe un employé dans la chancellerie (*Ibid.*, p. 30).

He was victorious in the fight. Seventeen days after, he met, on Arabian coast, another Portuguese fleet of 34 ships which ran away after a short fight. Adverse winds drove him away from Arabian coast. Then he was overtaken by a heavy storm and was forced to proceed to the coast of Gujarat and to land at Daman,<sup>461</sup> which was in the hands of Sultan Ahmed and was governed by Malik Asad. This commandant, on hearing his account, told Sidi Ali to be on his guard, lest he may be again attacked by the Portuguese. At Damaun, he met some sailors of the merchant boat from Kalkun ( کالکون )<sup>462</sup>. This name is written in another place as Kalout ( کلوت ).<sup>463</sup>

The Mahomedan Governor of Damaun advised him to proceed to Surat, which is spoken of by him as Sourriat ( سوریته ). A large number of the people of his fleet took service among Indian troops, because they could not return by sea. The admiral himself went to Surat with some of his people. He had only few ships with him and he was again attacked by the Portuguese fleet there. But the Portuguese could not capture him. At this time, the Ottoman Empire was powerful; so, as its admiral, he commanded great respect wherever he went. He met Emperor Humayun and gave him much information about astronomy. Some Indian kings wished to keep him under their services. Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat wanted to engage him and to give him the country of Berdedj ( بر دج ).<sup>464</sup> Shah Hassan Mirza of Sind wanted

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 32, 82.

<sup>462</sup> Journal Asiatique, Tome IX; p. 82.

<sup>463</sup> Hammer gives for the first name, Calcutta. Transactions op. cit. II, p. 4. This is a mistake for Calicut. He gives, a little later on (*Ibid*), the name properly as Calicut. Perhaps, the mistake may not be his own, but of the Press in London, where our Journal was then published. As to the two different names, Kalkun ( کالکون ) and Kalut ( کلوت ), it is properly observed by the translator, that the correct word is Kelkout ( کلکوت ), i.e., Calicut (on doit, sans doute, corriger dans les deux endroits et écrire Kelkout ou Calicut) (Journal Asiatique. Tome IX, p. 82, n. 1). This correction is justified by the fact that the king of that country is referred to as Sameri ( سامری ) i.e., Zamorin.

<sup>464</sup> Jour. Asiatique IX, p. 94. This name seems to be Broach. The letter dal seems to be a mistake for vāv. So, the name may be read Barouj ( بروج ), i.e., Broach.



to keep him and offered him Governorship of Lahori or Diouli Sind.<sup>464a</sup> Humayun himself offered him large sums of money if he took his service. One of the Uzbek Khans offered him Bokhara when he went there. But his love for his country and attachment to the Royal house of Ottoman led him to refuse all these offers. His only great ambition at the time was to have another fleet from King Soleiman, and command it again to fight with the Portuguese. On his return journey, he passed through Sind, Hind, Zabulestan, Badukhsan, Khotan, Transoxania (Mawarannehr), the desert of Kiptchak, Khowarezm, Khorassan, Persia, Kurdestan, Bagdad, Adrianople. Soleiman was at the time at Adrianople. He was away from Turkish territories for 3 years from 1553 to 1556.

This admiral Sidi Ali was also known as Chalibi. Haji Calfa (Haji Khalfa), who lived in the 17th century and who wrote in 1645 a bibliographic Dictionary, speaks of him as Chalebi (چلبی).<sup>465</sup> Chalebi seems to be a common family name.

According to Sir Edwin Pears<sup>466</sup>, Chilibi is the designation of the "Superior.....of the Mehlevhi Dervishes, who resides usually at Konia, the ancient Iconium." *Chalibi, a Designation.* "The act of girding on the sword of Osman, the founder of the dynasty" on the coronation day, "belongs by right" to these superiors.<sup>466a</sup> According to M. Reinaud,<sup>467</sup> there was, in 1553, an admiral of the Ottoman Emperor Soliman, named Sidi-Ali-Tehelebi. The Ottoman fleet under him, while chasing the Portuguese, who were at that time very powerful in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf, the two seas which the Musulmans considered as an appendage of the cradle of Islamism (comme une dépendance du berceau de l'islamisme<sup>468</sup>), was overtaken by great storms (horrible tempêtes) and forced by adverse winds to touch the coast

<sup>464a</sup> *Ibid*, p. 131. <sup>465</sup> *Vide Journal Asiatique*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

<sup>466</sup> *Forty Years in Constantinople. The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears*, 1873-1915 (1916), p. 175. <sup>466a</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>467</sup> *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, traduite par M. Reinaud (1848), Tome I and II. Introduction; p. CLXV. <sup>468</sup> *Ibid*.

of India. This Chalibi, besides being an admiral, was a great scholar and an enthusiastic searcher after knowledge.<sup>469</sup>

From the above account, the principal fact which we gather is this, that a Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was all along harassed by the Portuguese in his voyage, was driven to the shores of Gujrat by a monsoon storm. By the time he came here, his fleet was all shattered or well-nigh annihilated. He had, left with him, some ships, but they were not worth seafaring and were also not in a position to fight with the Portuguese who were sure to harass him further. So, he thought of returning to Constantinople by land. He returned with a few men, and most of his crew and sailors took service here. He himself says in his above-mentioned work: "As my men heard of this intelligence [*viz.*, that the Portuguese fleet was coming], some of them remained at Daman, attaching themselves to the service of Melek Esed [the Mahomedan Governor of Daman on behalf of Ahmedshah] and some, preferring the land to the sea, sunk their boats, and went by land to Surat. I, with the few that remained attached to me..... proceeded to Surat by sea.....The faithful inhabitants of Surat rejoiced at our arrival.....They expressed their hopes that by Ottoman fleets Guzurat would soon be added to the Ottoman empire, and regretted only that our arrival had happened in a time of internecine discord and civil war."<sup>470</sup> Thus, it appears, that the Siddis who played, later on, a great part in the naval warfare on the Western shore of India, and the Chalibeas, were both the descendants of the brave sailors of the fleet of Siddi Ali Chalibi.

Mr. Edalji B. Patel refers to later Chalibis, named Ahmad and Saleh Chalibi.<sup>476a</sup> Mr. Jahangir Burjorji Sanjana, who had, at one time, lived long at  
*A later Chalibi.* Surat, wrote on 17th August 1928, in reply to my inquiry, that there was a local tradition prevalent at Surat of a later Chalibi named

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<sup>469</sup> After writing the above, I have come across an interesting account of Konia in the Illustrated Weekly of the Times of India of 10th February 1929 (p. 24) from the pen of Dr. L. Dudley Stamp. According to this writer, Chalibi Effendi was the head of the "Order of the Whirling Dervishes of Konia." <sup>470</sup> Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 4-5.

<sup>476a</sup> The History of Surat (in Gujarati, 1890), pp. 63-64.



Mohammed Saleh Chalibi. He was a great merchant and possessed many ships. He had great influence with the kings of Delhi. It was he who had built the Daria Mahal, latterly owned by Mr. Burjorji Modi.”<sup>471</sup>

According to Anquetil du Perron, who was for several years at Surat, the Chalibis, of whom he speaks as Tche-libis were Arab merchants (Marchands Arabes<sup>472</sup>).  
*Anquetil on the Chalibis.* Anquetil Du Perron refers to the dissensions among the family of the Nabobs of Surat, wherein, the European factors took one side or another. The Dutch were on one side and the English on the other. In these dissensions, the Chalibis were on the side of Nawab Miachan (Mia Khan), who was supported by the English.<sup>473</sup> Anquetil refers to the Chalibis as being very powerful.<sup>474</sup> Anquetil also speaks of the Chalibi as the Admiral of Surat.

Some of these Chalibis were known in the West also. We read: “Widely scattered Shia communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Chelebi of the Bektashi”.<sup>475</sup> “The Bektashi sect is reputed to have been founded by Haji Bektash, who is represented as a fourteenth-century Anatolian saint, mainly famous as having consecrated the original corps of Janissaries.”<sup>476</sup>.  
*A Chalibi of the west.* The family title has also come down. In 1914, Jemal Efendi was the Chalebi and he “claims to be the actual descendant of Haji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is

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<sup>471</sup> I give here the result of his inquiries in his own words : દંત કથા એવી છે કે મોહમ્મદ સાલેહ ચલેબી એક મોટા સોદાગર હતા ને તેણીની જહાઝ હતાં અને દોહલી સુધી તેવણી સાખ હતી, ને સુરતનો સુબો બદલવો હોય, તો સુરતથી ચાર પાંચ માણસ દોહલી લખી મોકલે તો સુરતનો સુબો બદલાઈ જાય. બરબારજ મોદીનો દરોયા મેહેલ છે તે અસલ તેણે બાંધેલો તેમજ મ્યુનીસીપાલીટીની પછવાડે મસજદ છે તે ચલેબી મસજદની નામની શેહેરમાં મશહુર છે. તેમજ તેની સાથે મોટી જમીન છે તેમાં નાખુદાવાલાએ વાડી બનાવી છે. તેમજ મોટી કુવા હોય (વિ. છે. તેવણી આલાદનો કોઈ નથી. I think that, perhaps, the nakhūdāwālā referred to here was some one of the descendants of the above followers of the above great Turkish Nākhodā or Captain.

<sup>472</sup> Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre (1761) Tome I, p. 278.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid*, p. 283. For an account of these disensions, *vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab p. 27 seq. <sup>474</sup> *Ibid*, p. 350.

<sup>475</sup> Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, by F. W. Hasluck, Vol. I, p. 161, <sup>476</sup> *Ibid*, p. 159

hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Chelebi taking precedence of his eldest son".<sup>477</sup> Some pronounce the name as Zelebi <sup>478</sup>.

The Kisseh speaks of Rustam Manock going to the Captain Kerān (کرتان کران) of Damaun. This name occurs in several places (cc. 479, 482, 502, 511). The Gujarati translator takes these words to be a proper name (c. 484). If so, who is this Captain Kerān. I wrote, on this subject, to Mr. Dhanjishaw Cawasji Dhanbhura, who has founded, recently, near the village of Devka, in the vicinity of Damaun, a Parsee colony of middle class Parsees, who have built their bungalows there on the beautiful sea-shore. He is the Abkari contractor of the Portuguese Government of Damaun and is in a position to make full inquiries. He has kindly procured for me the following list of the Governors of Damaun from 1559 to 1718 :

#### NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS OF DAMON.

- 1559 D. Diogo de Noronha.
- 1581 D. Filippe de Castro.
- 1581 Martin Affonso de Mello.
- 1593 D. Duarte Deça.
- 1607 Rui de Mello de Sampaio.
- 1673 Manoel Furtado de Mendonça.
- 1678 Manoel de Lacerda.
- 1698 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1698 D. Antonio de Menezes.
- 1702 João de Sousa Montenegro.
- 1705 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1709 Antonio da Silva Tello.
- 1710 Agostinho de Four Barbosa.
- 1713 Manoel Pereira de Castro e Abreu.
- 1718 Bertholameu de Mello Sampaio.

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<sup>477</sup> *Ibid*, p. 162.      <sup>478</sup> *Ibid*, p. 163.



This list of governors does not contain any name like Karān. So, I conclude, that it is not a proper name, but simply a designation. Captain Kerān seems to "mean the great Captain." The word Keran, I think to be Pers. gerān گران the great. In those times, there was the practice—and that practice prevails even now to a certain extent—of speaking about officers, not by their names, but by their designations; perhaps one may take the word to be the Indian word Karāni (कराणी), who is a person who has something to do with the ship. In that case, one may take the word from P. kerān کران *i. e.*, shore or bank. There is a Parsi family, known as Karāni, because the founder followed the profession of a karāni.

The Qisseh, while speaking of the ruler of Goa, says that his name was the great Vijril (cc. 499, 506, 528, 533, 535, 558, 562, 566):

ولی در گوا سرور ما سترگ  
بود ویجریلش بنام بزرگ

This word Vijril (ویجریل) also does not seem to be a proper name. In the list of the Viceroys or governors of Goa, as given by Dewan Bahadur Ranchodbhai, <sup>479</sup> we do not find a name like that of Vijril. So, I think, that this word is an Indianized form of Viceroy. We find that, even Emperor Jehangir, in his Tuzuk, when he speaks of the Viceroy of the Portuguese at Goa, does not speak of him by his name, but as Warzā <sup>480</sup>, a corruption of Vice-rei or Vico-rei, the Portuguese words for "Viceroy". So, Vizril seems to be a form of Vice-rei or Vico-rei.

The Qisseh speaks of Rustam giving presents also to the Pādris or priests at Damaun. In those times, the *pādris* were very powerful. Besides attending to their ecclesiastical matters, they also attended to political matters. We find that, at times, being powerful in the Mogul Court, they exerted their influence in

<sup>479</sup> स्पेन अने पोर्तुगल (Spain and Portugal) 1916.

<sup>480</sup> Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 274.

favour of their country of Portugal. In Goa itself, we find, that, at times, its archbishops acted as Viceroys <sup>481</sup> and, at times, they acted as colleagues in commissions, appointed to rule. For example, we find in the Commission of 1691-93, the Archbishop of Goa as a colleague of two other officers.<sup>482</sup> In 1717, the Archbishop Primate, Don Sebastioe de Andrade Persanha ruled as Governor of Goa.

### XIII.

#### LATER EVENTS.

The Documents, referred to above, refer to later events—events after the death of Rustam Manock. The differences, which Rustan had with Sir N. Waite, continued, even after his death. Rustam and his transactions were misrepresented and his sons had to suffer for these. Their transactions have been, on the authority of the one-sided letters sent by the English factors opposed to him, misrepresented, and later writers have been misguided. For example, Col. Biddulph has been so misguided. We find the following reference in his "Pirates of Malabar": "A Parsee broker, named Bomanjee, was under arrest for fraud; Matthews demanded his surrender. The Council placed Bomanjee in close confinement in the fort, to prevent his being carried off. Matthews promised Bomanjee's sons, he would take one of them to England, and undertook to make the Directors see things in a proper light."<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>481</sup> *Vide* the List of Viceroys of Goa given by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhod-bhai Udairam in his Gujarati book, named Spain and Portugal (1916), p. 265 seq. <sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270. <sup>483</sup> "The Pirates of Malabar and an English-woman in India two Hundred Years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, p. 196. *Vide* my contribution on the subject in the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Bombay of 28th Nov. 1908. (For the contribution in connection with "Annesley of Surat and his times" *vide Ibid.*, 22nd Nov. 1919). I remember writing to Col. Biddulph, at the time when his book was published, drawing his attention to the true state of affairs, and he kindly wrote in reply that he would make the correction if he published another edition of his book. Bomanjee had our sons. In the end, Matthews, instead of taking one of the sons, took Bomanjee, brother to London.



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Col. Biddulph refers to one Matthews in the above passage. Charles Boonet, who was the factor of the Surat Factory and who had gone to England, in the post-script of a letter, dated 25th March 1725, addressed to Framjee and Bomanjee, the two elder brothers of Nowrojee who had gone to England, refers to the settlement of an affair between Nowrojee and commodore Matthews. Biddulph's Matthews is the same as this Matthews. Who was this Commodore Matthews and what was the affair between the two? I give below an account of Matthews, which seems to show that the affairs may be in respect to Commodore Matthews helping the brothers and especially in the matter of the costs of conducting Nowrojee to England. Nowrojee was the first known Parsee, or, perhaps, the first known non-official Indian to go from here to England from the Bombay side, and so, he required all possible help and advice in the voyage and in England. I think, that had it not been for the help of Matthews, perhaps Nowrojee would not have gone to England. Col. Biddulph seems to have done some injustice to him and to the sons of Rustam Manock. The decisions in the cases of both justify the positions they had taken up. I give below this account of Matthews, as given by Col. Biddulph in his *Pirates of Malabar*.

Commodore Thomas Matthews was asked in 1719<sup>484</sup> to proceed to East India with a strong fleet to suppress the pirates of Madagascar. For his "brutal manners", he was nicknamed "Il Furibondo". He disregarded many of the orders of the Directors of the East India Company and came to Bombay on 27th September 1721. Though he was sent to the East to suppress piracy, it was suspected, that he was in league with the pirates. The ship Salisbury, in which, later on, Naorojee, the son of Rustam Manock, went to England, was in his squadron when he left England, but, being disabled in a storm, was delayed at Lisbon and followed him later. On coming to Bombay, he began quarreling with the Governor (Charles Boone). The Angaria<sup>485</sup> at Gharia infested the sea with his piracy and the

<sup>484</sup> The Pirates of Malabar, by Col. John Biddulph, (1907) p. 169, *seq.*

<sup>485</sup> There was a line of Angarias. The first was Conajee (Kunhojee) Angaria. Then Manajee, his illegitimate son; then Sakhaji, Sambhajee and Yessaji (Biddulph's Pirates of Malabar).



English and the Portuguese jointly moved against him, marching, at first, towards Chaul which was in the hand of the Portuguese. The object was to attack Angaria's position on the coast of Colaba. "On the 30th October, a seven days' fast was ordered, to secure the Divine blessing on the undertaking, and the chaplain was directed to preach an appropriate sermon."<sup>486</sup> Matthews was in command in this joint expedition, which ended in failure. Governor Boone, who ruled for 6 years, was succeeded by Phipps on 9th January 1722. In Boone's regime, a good wall was built round Bombay. When all ships fired salute to the Governor, Matthews did not do so. He aimed at private trade for his own benefit and sailed for Surat. A short time after returning to Bombay, he sailed for Madagascar. He had begun helping all those with whom the East India Company had a quarrel. From Madagascar he went to Bengal, and then came to Bombay, where he commenced quarrelling with the Governor and Council. Col. Biddulph speaks, as said above, of the help he gave to Rustam Manock's son, Bomanji, and adds: "He told the Council that they were only traders, and had no power to punish anybody. The Crown alone had power to punish. He (Matthews) represented the Crown and was answerable only to the King of England."<sup>487</sup> In the end, it was not Bomanji's son that Matthews took with him to England, but it was his brother. "From Surat also he carried to England the broker's son, Rustamji Nowroji to worry the Directors."<sup>488</sup> He arrived in England in July 1724. That, then, we must take also as the date of the arrival at England of Nowrojee who accompanied him. The Salisbury was the ship in which Nowrojee is said to have sailed. That ship joined, as said above, a ship of Matthew's squadron. On his arrival, the Directors, on reports from here, complained against him (Matthews) for misbehaviour before the naval authorities who asked for witnesses, but the same not being produced, the charge against him was dropped. Then, the naval authorities court-martialled him in December 1724. The Court was "unani-

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<sup>486</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175.    <sup>487</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 196-197.    <sup>488</sup> *Ibid*, p. 199. The proper name is Nowroji Rustamjee Manockji (Rustam Manock), but as it often happens, even now, European writers, following the European method of nomenclature, mention the father's name first. *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet (p. 40), for a reference to Nowroji's visit to England.

mously of opinion, that the said Captain Matthews hath in all respects complied with his Instructions, except that of receiving Merchandise on board before the late Act of Parliament." However, the Court found him guilty of sending his "men irregularly to Merchant Ships.....(and) Resolved that he be Mulcted four Months' pay."<sup>489</sup>

In a letter of Sir Nicholas Waite, dated "Bombay Castle, March 3rd, 1706-7," to the New United Company, Sir Nicholas defends himself against the charge hurled against him, that it was he who had got Rustam Manock imprisoned. He says: "Yet after Rustomjee was dismissed and to obviate out Charge of Indigo over valued &ca. joined with Sir John<sup>490</sup> to corroborate what he had often asserted home, that he had been detained by my bribing the Government when in Suratt: which if fact why was the French and Dutch under restraint or Sir Jno<sup>490</sup> &ca. not free and at liberty since my coming hether 9 ber 1704, to leave that City and Embarke when and where they pleased."<sup>491</sup>

Col. Yule, while giving an extract from Sir Nicholas Waite's letter, dated 3rd March 1706-7, to the New Company, speaks of him as "malignant, wrong-headed, and muddle-headed Sir Nicholas Waite."<sup>492</sup> Governor Pitt in his letter dated 19th September

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<sup>489</sup> Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 200. Col. Biddulph seems to have been much influenced by the papers sent from the Indian factories to England, and thus, to have done some injustice both to Matthews and to Rustam Manock's sons, Bomanji and others. The above decision of the Court-martial, as given by himself, shows that Matthews, however hot-tempered he may have been, was working constitutionally, and so, he was found innocent. As to the injustice done by him to Rustam Manock, the letter from the Directors of the East India Company proves this.

<sup>490</sup> Sir John Gayer.

<sup>491</sup> The Diary of William Hedges (1681-87) by Colonel Henry Yule (1887) Vol. II p. CXLVI.

<sup>492</sup> The Diary of William Hedges during his agency of Bengal (1681-1687) by Col. Yule (1888), Vol. II; p. CXLV.



1706 says : " If your selves did hear what character in this place there is given of Bombay, and the person that is att the head of your Affairs there, you wou'd not blame his (Mr. Brabourne's) refusal, <sup>493</sup> for I have hearde severall say that he had rather be a private Centenell in Fort St. George then to serve as Second under Sr. Nicholas ; and if itt be true, what all say that come thence, I can make no other judgement (I wish I may be mistaken) then that he'll ruine all, and yett I hear he's the New Company's Saint."<sup>494</sup>

We gather following particulars about Bahmanji, the second *The sons of* son of Rustam Manock. In 1723, *i.e.*, two years *Rustam Manock* after his father's death in 1721, he came to Bombay *referred to in* to seek redress for his brother Framji, who was *the Documents.* confined at Surat by the Mogul Governor, Moumin Khan, at the instance of the English factors. On his coming to Bombay, he also was confined at his house by the officers of the East India Company here. He was ordered to be released in 1724 at the instance of the Home authorities.<sup>495</sup> It seems that, since his release, he continued to live in Bombay. In 1739, we find him and his brother Framji as two signatories—the others being 22 Hindus and 5 Mahomedans—to a Memorial to the Government that in view of the Mahratha incursions on Bombay, better steps be taken for its protection and "the wall may be fortified". The people of Bombay had already subscribed a sum for protecting Bombay by a good wall, and they said that, to bring up the sum to the required amount of Rs. 30,000, an extra cess of one per cent. may be charged for the time being.<sup>496</sup>

In 1742, he took an active part in Bombay in collecting money for a Tower of Silence at Bharthana near Surat.<sup>497</sup> He is said to have been a man of great influence among the East India Company's officers here.<sup>498</sup> He was a member of the then Parsee Panchayet of

<sup>493</sup> He was desired to be the Deputy Governor under the New United Company. <sup>494</sup> *Ibid*, p. CXLVII.

<sup>495</sup> *Vide* Document No. 1 for particulars.

<sup>496</sup> Parsee Prakash I, pp. 853-54 *Vide* Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I. (1885), Introduction p. V.

<sup>497</sup> Parsee Prakash I, p. 36.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid* p. 87, n. 2.

Bombay, in the regular foundation and administration of which he is said to have taken an active part.<sup>499</sup> He went through the ceremony of Navarhood in Samvat 1757, i.e., 1701 A.C.<sup>500</sup> He was adopted by his uncle Behram and so, in religious ritual, his name was mentioned as Bahman Behram. We find the entry about his Navarhood in the Naosari Fahrest (Samvat 1757) as follows : રોજ ૧૬ મા. ૮ એ. બેમન એ. બેરામ એ. માંનેક એ. ચાંદનાં એ. ફર-દુન ની. એ. બેરામ એ. માંનેક એ. ચાંદનાં અનોશરવાન ફા. રશતમ માંનેક ચાંદનાં I give my translation amplifying the abbreviations in full : Translation.—Roz 16, mah 8, (Samvat 1757). *Ervad*<sup>501</sup> *Beman Ostâ Berâm ostâ Mâneck. osta Chāndnā, osta Fardun* (in the) *nayat* (of) *Ostâ Beram ostâ Maneck, Ostâ Chāndnā anosharavān Farmeyashna Rustam Maneck Chāndnā.*

As to the eldest son Framji, he took an active part in the affairs of the Parsees at Surat and of Bombay (Parsee Prakash I, pp. 510, 850, 853). As said above, he was one of the Parsee memorialists to Government asking for a fortified wall in Bombay.

As to the youngest Nowroji, the pupil of the author of the Qisseh, on his return from England, the visit of which is referred to in the documents, he settled in Bombay. The Nowrojee Hill in Bombay commemorated his name. In his visit of England, he is said to have been accompanied by his sister's son Bhikhaji Kharshedji Wāchā (P. Prakash I, p. 86, n. 1). He died on 13th April 1732.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>500</sup> *Vide* the Navar Fehrest (નવસારીની વડી દરેખે હુરમાં થયલા નાવરોની કહેરેસ્ત), compiled by Ervad Māhyār Naoroj Kutār, vol. I, p. 77. Entry No. 632.

<sup>501</sup> For this and other technical religious terms used in this passage of the Fehrest, *vide* the Introduction of the above Fehrest; *vide* also my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees.”



## APPENDIX I.

## A FEW IMPORTANT DATES.

- (1) *Dates of a few important Events connected with the Trade of the West with the East, and connected with the History of India, before and during the times of Rustam Manock.*

The Crusades, which first brought the West into	A. C.
closer contact with the East .. .. .	1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama discovered the sea-route to India, and began trading with the East, thus breaking the monopoly of Genoa and Venice which traded by the land route .. ..	1500
Mahmud Bigarhâ of Gujarat (reigned 1459-1511) lost his fleet in a battle with the Portuguese, fought off Diu <sup>502</sup> .. .. .	1509
Goa captured by the Portuguese .. .. .	1510
Baber proclaimed King at Delhi after the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat .. .. .	1526
Accession of Humayun to the throne at Delhi ..	1530
Akbar born .. .. .	1542
Humayun, returning from his flight to Kabul, reconquered India .. .. .	1555
Akbar appointed Governor of Punjab .. .. .	1555
Akbar came to throne .. .. .	1556
Overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which gave "a serious blow to the prosperity" of Goa, which did business with it .. .. .	1565
Father Thomas Steven, the first Englishman to land in India, landed at Goa, though not for trade (Died 1619) .. .. .	1578
Portugal united with Spain under Philip II, a bigoted Catholic Monarch. This Union weakened Portugal.	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a Charter to a small Company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company .. .. .	1581

<sup>502</sup> Vide Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed. (1916), p. 133.

This Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others to the East, by the overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Hormuz, with a letter from Elizabeth to Akbar .. .. .	A. C. 1583
They arrived in Akbar's Court .. .. .	1585
Philip II's Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where seeds of the Reformation were first sown, revolted against his bigotry. So, Philip, to punish them for the Revolt, stopped their intercourse with Portugal from where they received the commodities of the East. So, the Dutch, being thus deprived from having Eastern commodities from Portugal, began trading independently with the East .. .. .	1594
Private Dutch trading Companies united to form "The United East India Company of the Netherlands" <sup>503</sup> .. .. .	1602
Englishman Middenhall came to India, <i>via</i> Aleppo and Persia, at the head of a Commercial Union .. .. .	1603
Akbar died .. .. .	1605
William Hawkins, commanding Hector, the first English ship coming to India, arrived at Swally near Surat .. .. .	1608
Hawkins arrived at Jahangir's Court at Agra with a letter from King James .. .. .	1609
The English established a Factory at Maslipatam .. .. .	1611
The first English Factory in Surat .. .. .	1612
Aurangzeb born .. .. .	1618
The people of Denmark sought trade with India and "founded a settlement at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district" (Later on, they occupied Serampore near Calcutta, but, in the end, sold their Indian settlements to the British and left) .. .. .	1620
Shivaji born .. .. .	1627
Rustam Manock born .. .. .	1635
The English founded a Factory at Vizhingam in Travancore .. .. .	1644

<sup>503</sup> Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed., p. 163.



The Establishment of the East India Company in Madras .. .. .	A. C. 1658
Murad, a son of Shah Jahan, attacked Surat, to have a big loan from the rich men of the city. November	1658
Aurangzeb imprisoned his father Shah Jahan and came to throne. (Ruled from 1658 to 1707 for 60 years) .. .. .	31st July 1658
Formal grand Coronation Ceremony of the enthronement of Aurangzeb .. .. .	5th June 1659
Aurangzeb abolished ancient Persian Calendar ..	1659
Shivaji killed Afzul Khan .. .. .	1659
Bombay given as dowry to Charles II. The cession was intended as "check on the Dutch power" ..	1661
Aurangzeb received the first of the Foreign missions or Embassies, the last being in October 1667 .. .. .	February 1661
Shivaji's First Sack of Surat .. .. .	1664
Treaty of Purandhar between Aurangzeb and Shivaji .. .. .	1665
Shah Jahan died .. .. .	1665
Shivaji's flight to Raigarh from Aurangzeb's Court .. .. .	1666
Bombay given by Charles II to the East India Co. ..	1668
Temporary Peace between Aurangzeb and Shivaji ..	1668
War again renewed .. .. .	1670
Second Sack of Surat by Shivaji .. .. .	1670
Imposition of Jazieh by Aurangzeb .. .. about	1672
Shivaji solemnly crowned .. .. .	1674
Shivaji died .. .. .	5th April 1680
Rustam Manock signs, as leader, a communal document relating to the Naosari and Sanjana priests. 6th June	1685
Establishment of the East India Company in Bombay .. .. .	1687
Moghal Power at its zenith .. .. .	1688

	A. C.
Calcutta founded .. .. .	1690
Aurangzeb died .. .. .	1707
Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his Qisseh .. .. .	1711
Rustam Manock died .. .. .	1721

(2) *A few dates about the English Factories in India.*

The first English Factory or Trading Station established at Surat .. .. .	1608
English Factory at Surat, "confirmed by Imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612" <sup>504</sup> .. .. .	1612
King James sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to Jahangir .. .. .	1615
Sir Thomas Roe left India "He failed to obtain the Treaty which he asked for" <sup>505</sup> .. .. .	1618
A site given to the British at Madras, by "the Raja of Chandragiri, in consideration of a yearly rent" and a Conveyance was made "in favour of Mr. Francis Day," a Member of Council in the Agency at Masalipatam .. .. .	1640
English Factory at Rajapore opened .. .. .	1649
English factory of Rajapore sacked by Shivaji .. .. .	1661
Bombay ceded to the English by the Portuguese .. .. .	1661
English factory at Surat withstood Shivaji's first sack. .. .. .	1664
English Factory at Karvar sacked .. .. .	1665
Charles II leased Bombay to the East India Company for £10 a year. The transfer was made to Sir George Oxendon who was Governor of Surat from 1663 to 1669 .. .. .	1668
Aungier, governor of Surat Factory, from .. .. .	1669-1677
English Factory at Surat about to be sacked second time by Shivaji .. .. .	1670
Aungier came down to Bombay from Surat .. .. .	1671

<sup>504</sup> V. Smith's "The Oxford Student's History of India" 6th. ed., p. 164.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid.*



	A. C.
English Factory at Hubli sacked .. ..	1673
Aungier returned to Surat .. ..	1675
Bombay became the Head-quarters of the British in Western India in the time of Sir Josia Child ..	1683

(3) *A few dates about Bernier, who visited India in the time of Aurangzeb.*

Francis Bernier born .. ..	1620
Charles I. began to reign.. ..	1625
Bernier's travels in Europe .. ..	1647-50
Bernier passes Doctor's examination .. ..	1652
Bernier visits Palestine and Syria .. ..	1654
Goes to Egypt .. ..	1656-58
Reaches Surat in the end of 1658 or beginning of ..	1659
Engaged as Physician by Dara at Ahmedabad. March or April ..	1659
Dara, having been compelled to run away, Bernier places himself under the protection of a Mogul noble ..	1659
Restoration of Charles II. .. .. May	1660
Bernier at Delhi .. .. 1st July	1663
Bernier travels with the Noble in Aurangzeb's suite to Kashmir, starting on 14th December .. ..	1664
Arrives at Lahore .. .. 25th February	1665
At Allahabad on .. .. 6th December	1665
Bernier and Tavernier part company .. 6th January	1666
Bernier at Golconda .. ..	1667
Meets Chardin at Surat .. ..	1667
Embarks at Surat for Persia .. ..	1667
At Shiraz on .. .. 4th October	1667
Continues in Persia .. ..	1668
At Marseilles .. .. April-May	1669

French King grants License for publishing his Travels	.. .. .	25th April	A. C. 1670
Visits England	.. .. .	.. .. .	1685
Died	.. .. .	.. 22nd September	1688

(4) *A few dates relating to Aurangzeb.*

Aurangzeb born	.. .. .	24th October	1618
Imprisoned his father and came to throne.	.. .. .	31st July	1658
Grand formal Coronation	.. .. .	5th June	1659
Issue of Islamic Ordinances, e.g., the cancelling of Naoroz	.. .. .	.. end of June	1659
Suleman Shelko, son of Dara, brought to Court in chains	.. .. .	27th December	1660
Murad murdered	.. .. .	.. 4th December	1661
Went to Mukteshwar to suppress brothers' rebellion in Bengal	.. .. .	13th November	1659
Returned to Delhi	.. .. .	13th February	1660
The first of the Foreign Ambassadors Mission arrived	.. .. .	.. February	1661
Started for Kashmir	.. .. .	8th December	1662
Returned from Kashmir to Delhi	.. .. .	.. January 19,	1664
Shah Jehan died	.. .. .	.. .. .	1665
Another Enthronement on Shah Jahan's death	.. .. .	.. March	1660
The Hoarding of the reigns of 3 Emperors which were removed from Agra to Delhi were brought back to Agra in 1,400 carts	.. .. .	.. May	1666
The Court returned to Delhi where it remained for 7½ years (two years in this period Dec. 1669 to Oct. 1671 were spent at Agra)	.. .. .	.. October	1666
Imposed Jazieh	.. .. .	.. about	1672
The Visit of the English Ambassador with Rustam Manock at his camp	.. .. .	.. about	1701
His Death	.. .. .	.. .. .	1707



A. C.

- (5) *A few important dates about the Rule of the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpuri, which was visited by Rustam Manock, and the adjoining country.*

An Abyssinian colony of Siddis at Rajpur and the adjoining country .. .. Early in the 16th Century.

One of them became the Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri under the Ahmednagar Sultanate. Early in 17th Century.

When Ahmednagar fell, the Siddi became somewhat independent and was recognized by the Bijapore Sultanate as its representative .. .. 1636

Yusuf Khan Seedi ruled at Janjira .. .. 1642-55

He was succeeded by Fath Khan .. .. 1655-57

The Revolution .. .. 1670

Fath Khan imprisoned by the Siddis for offering to surrender to Shivaji, and the Siddi fleet transferred from the overlordship of Bijapore to that of the Delhi Emperor .. .. 1670

Siddi Sambal created Admiral and Siddi Qasim and Siddi Khairyat, commanders of Janjira and land territory of Rajpur, respectively. The title of Yaqut Khan conferred on successive admirals .. .. 1671<sup>506</sup>

Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, re-captured Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Shivaji's hand during the Holi festival .. .. March 1671

Siddi Sambal, the admiral, returned to Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Surat .. .. May 1673

Siddi Sambal attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan in the Ratnagiri district .. .. March 1674

Siddi Sambal removed from Admiralship by the Moghal Emperor and Siddi Qasim (Yaqut Khan) appointed Admiral and governor of Danda Rajpuri .. .. May 1676

Siddi Qasim (Yaqut) compelled Shivaji to raise the Siege of Janjira .. .. December 1676

<sup>506</sup> Prof. Sarkar says it was in or after 1674.

Siddi Sambal had not delivered as yet the fleet to Yaqut. Both met at Bombay and came to blows and, finally, through the mediation of the English Council, the quarrel was settled and Qasim was installed as admiral .. .. .	October	1677
Qasim left Bombay with the fleet .. .. .	November	1677
Qasim returned to Bombay with his fleet for rest during the Monsoons .. .. .	April	1678
Shivajee sent 4,000 men to Panvel, to burn from there Qassim's fleet. They failed .. .. .	July	1678
Siddi Qasim plundered Shivaji's Alibag coast country .. .. .		1678
Siddi Qasim inactive in Bombay, for want of funds from the Mogals at Surat to pay his men, &c. .. .. .		1679
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi (Henneri) .. .. .	9th January	1680
Qasim burnt many villages at Pen .. .. .	February	1680
Qasim joined the English in the attack upon Shivaji's island of Kenneri .. .. .	November	1680



## THE PERSIAN TEXT OF THE QISSEH OF RUSTAM MANOCK

BY MOBAD JAMSHED KAIKOBAD.

## بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان

این قصه سیمت رستم مانک باشنده بشهر سورت

تصنیف موبد جمشید کیقباد

بنائید یزدان و پروردگار	یکی قصه نو کنم آشکار
که جز نام او هیچکار انصرام	نگردد بخوبی و نیکی تمام
خدایکه آرنده چرخ برین	نکارنده اختران و زمین
چو چاچی کمان حقه سبز را	ز پشت دوتا ساختش داورا
چنان حقه کردن طبق بر طبق	بیاراستش نو بتان توطق
نگار کواکب بر آنها نکاشت	حرکت ازان چند را برکداشت
چو از مهر و ماه و ز بهرام و تیر	ز اورمزد و ناهید و کیوان پیر
کمی و فزونی گیتیش داد	ز گردان شان شرو نیکیش داد
ابر مایها مسهره خاک را	معلق نمود ایزد برتورا
ابا او مکان و جهان و زمان	نمودش هم از قدرت خود عیان
بکرد از موالید آباد ارض	شعاندرو از مه و هور ارض
همه بنده مخلوق و هم کاینات	مر از آخشیمان بکردش ثبات
ز یک قطره آب منی جسم و جان	بواطمه شد از قادر غیبدان
پدیده آورید از عدم در وجود	ز ناچیز چیزی هویدا نمود
که او هست بر هستی خود کمال	خدایکه بشچون و هم بی همال
خداوند زادی و هم راستی	نفور از هوايض و از کاستی
خدایکه هر دو جهان پایدار	توانا و پانا و آمرزگار

خدایکم پاکست و فیروزگر  
 خدایکم هر وسپ آگاه راز  
 خدایکم بر هر کسان مهر کثیر  
 خدایکم پاینده پروردگار  
 خدایکم جان داد و هم عقل و رای  
 خدایکم ویژگیست با داد و دین  
 خدایکم آرنده عرش برین  
 خدایکم سفلا و فر شونتاست  
 خدایکم دایم بود بی زوال  
 خدایکم جز خوبیش نیست کار  
 خدایکم عامست هر روز و شب  
 خدایکم آیتن و بی نیاز  
 ازان داور پاک هر دو سرا  
 که از یاری او سرانجام کار  
 خدایا کن از کرم لطف زیاد  
 فزون شد عیان نظم این گفته  
 ز تو التجا دارم ای کردگار  
 ازیرا بده دانش افزون مرا  
 بود زهنما هر که را عقل و هوش  
 ازان بر من افزا خود را نکو  
 ره بنده کی ام نمایی نکو  
 خجل کشتم از کده خود و ناه  
 که تو آفریننده ما بنده ام

خره و ریومند و هم دادگر  
 ز فهم و ز دانش بود کارساز  
 خدایکم هر بنده را دستگیر  
 هم او بنده را جرم آمرزگار  
 پذیرنده عذر و مشکل کشای  
 همو عادلست و هم او پیش بین  
 برو فرش بفهاد تابان ترین  
 گراگر گرو آچم و ورسناست  
 رحیم و عظیمست و هم پر نوال  
 بجز نیکیش نیست اندیشه باز  
 نه یگذره خواب و خورش و طلب  
 توانا و داناتر و کارساز  
 بخوایم مدد اندرین ابتدا  
 رسد با مراد دلم آسکا  
 بجمشید بن موبد کیقباد  
 بکن رحم بر روح آن ایزدا  
 که این نظم من به شود آبدار  
 که پایان شود خوب این ماجرا  
 بدارین می یا بدش کام خوش  
 فزا نیز اندر دلم بس اشو  
 دل تیرکی ام ز آبش بشو  
 به بخشا خدایا من پر کناه  
 کنم تو به نزدت که شرمنده ام



عفو کن خطای من پر ملال  
 خرد بشکفا چو کل سنبلیله  
 پر از گلشن رنگها خرمی  
 ز نام خدا زود آغاز کن  
 عروس کهن را بزور طراز  
 ز دنیا بعقب تو خواهد شدن  
 بگیتی بماند ز تو یادگار  
 رساند ترا بهره آفرین  
 ز ایزدان بر آید همه کام تو  
 ترا حرمت افزاید اندر جهان  
 بپاشد جهاندارت پشت و پناه

ز انعام لطف تو ای ذوالجلال  
 کشا قفل فواد من از کلید  
 که سازم یکی قصه رستمی  
 کفون ناظم این نظم پرداز کن  
 سخن گفته جمشید را نو بساز  
 که داند که فردا چه خواهد بودن  
 کرایین داستان از تو شد آشکار  
 بر آنکس که بهدین بخواند مرا این  
 بماند که تا جاودان نام تو  
 شوی نامور در کهان و مهان  
 بدرگاه ایزدان شوی بیگناه

### این بیان در باب وصف و بخشش سیت رستم مانک

شنیده بودی دیگر این هم شنو  
 خردمند و داناتر و نامدار  
 کرا نمایه دار و نیک و کاردار  
 نورزیده اند دشمنی باکسان  
 نگو نیت و خلق و هم راستگو  
 بود متکالش زینهاریان  
 یتیمان و بیچاره را پروران  
 بلند حرمت و آصف و پاکجان  
 بقدر داری و فرزانیکی  
 رفیع اقتدارست و بخت منیر  
 سلیم الطبع داد و شیرین زبان  
 ستوده شدش هر بجای و مکان

کفون قصه سیت رستم شنو  
 که او پور مانک ز بی یادگار  
 نژادش بد از تخمه موبدان  
 دل پاک و ویژه تن و مهربان  
 که باشنده در شهر سورت هم او  
 سراج مجالس زر قشтіان  
 همش گره و باصر سروران  
 هم او مردم دیده مزکیان  
 همش کان لطفست و مردانکی  
 قدر دان غربا و روشن ضمیر  
 مبارک خصال و فصاحت بیان  
 ملاذ نیازان و هم بیکسان

بود چشم دانائی و هم زلال  
 که از بخشش و نیکیش بیکران  
 سخی همچو حاتم بود این زمان  
 دهد هر کسی را زر و سیم و مال  
 بهر سال در خانه بیچارگان  
 دهد هر کرا خرج باید که چند  
 از آن غله و کسوت پر ز زر  
 هم او میکند پشتی دین خدا  
 زر و سیم را برره دین به  
 هم از چنین کار و کردار اوی  
 که جمشید شاه در رخ روشنش  
 چو شاه آفریدون بخلتش نکوی  
 بفروزانگی و بهمت همش  
 که در پیشگاه کیان پور زال  
 سر پهلوانان ایران زمی  
 بایران بدش وصف در آن زمان  
 که شانش درین حال فرخنده پی  
 بهندوستان سرور موبدان  
 ز فرمان ایزدان بهر شهر و ده  
 بسی نامی و نامور نیکقام  
 که در قوم دیگر از و فخر و قاب  
 ز کاه کیومرث تا یزدگرد

هم از کنج احسان و دریا نوال  
 هر جاست مشهور آوای آن  
 عیان و نهان بر کهان و مهان  
 نوازش کند بیحدش با نوال  
 رساند همه خورد و پوشیده شان  
 بمقدارش هر سال بخشد که چند  
 شود جان شان شاد و ایمان تر  
 بهر کار کفره کند جان فدا  
 نماید تصرف بس آن مردم  
 تعجب شود هم ز دیدار اوی  
 بشوکت چو کیخسرو و همنش  
 چو تهمورزش کام و هم نامجوی  
 بشان جهان پهلوان رستمش  
 بد و نامبردار با برز و بال  
 بدش هم سر زابل و کابلی  
 درین گاه کند وصف این هر کسان  
 سر این رستم مانکست نسل کی  
 بدش هم سر بهدینان وردان  
 شد ستش اکابر ابر که و سر  
 شدش نامبردار اندر انام  
 همه بهدینان راست بس جاه و آب  
 بده خسروان و یلان نبرد



مرآن خسروان کیان مرده اند  
 که او هست زان شاه ویلان سرشت  
 ازیرا که زان شاه ورا کود کار  
 که در شهر بندش تو کوی که شاه  
 الهی ز بلیات دوران ورا  
 که تا بر فلک انجم و ماه و هور  
 مُخلّد بداریش پر نو جوان  
 کفی دشمنانش نگرسار و خوار  
 ز دولت ز ابناش پشت قوی  
 همیشهش پر از عقل و روشن ضمیر  
 بهر شهر هر جای دادیش نام  
 کلام دعا این بنادا وصول  
 خداوند کیتی نگهدار باد  
 هم امشاسفندان پناهش بباد  
 سپهرش مدد کار پاینده باد  
 ز فرزند فرزند او نیکنام  
 بر شاه و میران و بر انجم  
 همیشهش بهر جاش فیروزگر  
 بتن زورمند و بجان نفدرست  
 بپای و صافی و در بندگی  
 همه زند و وستا بروز و شبان  
 خرد آسئیده و کوشو سرود  
 دفع از تنش دیو پتیاره باد

نمرد آنکسان بل از و زنده اند  
 از و شاد مانند شان در بهشت  
 بکودست پیدا درین روز کار  
 بیودست بافر و با دستکاه  
 بمحفوظ داری و شادش بقا  
 بود سازی عمرش درازی و سوز  
 بکنج و مراد دلش با امان  
 ورا بخت بیدار پاینده دار  
 بداریش با شوکت خسروی  
 بداری درخشان چو بدر مُنیر  
 بدادیش تا جاودان شاد کام  
 برستم بدرکاه ایزدان قبول  
 مدامش بداراد با ناز و شاد  
 اشوفر و هران یاد کاهش بباد  
 بهر سال دولت فزاینده باد  
 بماناد دایم ابا شاد کام  
 بهر کام باداش بالا سخن  
 بنادا فزونتر بفضل و هنر  
 بماناد دایم به بهدین چست  
 فزونتر بباداش تا زندگی  
 بماناد سر این ورا بر زبان  
 بهر روز بادا بچانش فزود  
 زبس گرفته اش دیو ناچاره باد

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه در زمان شاه  
اورنگ زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود ازان  
جزیه پارسیانرا مذکور سیت رهانیده

دیگر داستان مر این وصف نو  
که در دور سلطان اورنگ زیب  
ازان هر غریب و یتیم و کسان  
پر از جور جزیه همه دردمند  
بفریاد و زاری بگفتند شان  
ز جزیه بما بس ستم میرسد  
پریشان و حیران نماید فزون  
بداریم ای رستم امید ازان  
رهانی و هم داد گیری بما  
چو بشنید رستم بگفتار شان  
برای رهانیدنش جست کار  
که رفتش بدیوان میر بزرگ  
گرفتش دگر نیز بار گران  
که از سویی خود دادنش سیم و زر  
رهانید شانرا ز ظلم کران  
نجاتی چو شان یافت از جزیه خویش  
که ای رستم نیکنام بزرگ  
ز اقبال تو خانمانهای ما  
ز فرخ تنش نیز جزیه تمام  
خدا دارد آبادت اندر عوام  
بگویم ز جم گفته‌هایش شنو  
بزرگشتیان جزیه شد بانهبیب  
بدودند حیوان ز ظلمش بجان  
بدرگاه رستم فراز آمدند  
که ای رستم مانک پاک جان  
زن و بچه را درد و غم میرسد  
کند مردم آزاریش پر زبون  
که از جزیه ظالمان زمان  
کفی چاره جان ما از عطا  
بخاطر بیاورد رحمت کران  
به تدبیر نکو پر از یادگار  
بداده ورا کفج چندین سترک  
ابر دمه خویش از طرف شان  
پذیرفت هر سال چندی بمر  
معافش کنانید هر جزیه شان  
همه کس دعا کوشدش صد زبیش  
رهانید ما را ز رنج سترک  
برستند و ورنه مکانهای ما  
نمیداد و بوده بسختی مدام  
تسلل دولت رسد تا قیام



که از تو برستیم و یا بیم امان  
چو از کفج ما را خریدی و باز  
چنان کرد احسان بر ما هم  
رویم بر مکان خود از شاد دل  
زر خست گرفتش بس آنگاه تمام  
شوی نامور در کهان و مهان  
پر از مهر آزاد کردی بنماز  
دبی حال رخصت اگر ما هم  
شویم در حقت در دعا مشغول  
برفتند با آفرینها کلام

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه چندین مردمان  
از قوم جد دینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده  
بودند اوشان را نیز مذکور سیت از بندرهای نیده

چو آوازه بخشش رستم این  
ثنا خوان شدند هر کسش جابجا  
وزان پس بسی مرد قوم دیگر  
بدر بار حاکم ببودند قید  
زن و نور دیدان شان پر زار  
بیاورد شان داد خواهی که ما  
که ما را نبوده توان جزیه داد  
که والد و هم شوهران مرا  
مُحَصِّل بما نیز بکذاشتند  
و بی مایه زر نباشد برم  
طلب هم بکیوند هر روز روز  
بر ما ازان رستم بس ایذاست  
کرم ساز و هم دستگیری ما  
ز بهر نجاتی ما چاره جوی  
در افواه عالم شده بآفرین  
ز بهمت یلندش تعجب بسا  
که بودند غربا و ناچار تر  
مران نیز از جزیه بودند صید  
بر رستم مانک نامدار  
گرفتاریم بس بسختی که ما  
ازان باب سختی بما بر کشاد  
گرفتند در قید بس با جفا  
ز بهر زر جزیه بکماشتند  
کزین جایی حاکم بداده بهم  
مُحَصِّل بگوید زبون تا هذوز  
کسی جز تو غمخوارمانیست راست  
زر جزیه ایم استعانت نما  
باند جهان نیست جز این نکوی

که بیچاره و ناتوان لاغریم  
 چو بشنید رستم ازیشان سخن  
 ز نظر کرم بخشش بیش را  
 بفرمود او را که از کنج گیر  
 برو هر چه باشد مر او را بلیغ  
 بکن راضیش این هم را ز قید  
 پس آن موجب حکم سازید کار  
 چو فارغ شدند آن هم از جفا  
 ز عزت بر سیت ایستاده شان  
 که با پسران دولت ایزدا  
 که ما از ایذا و بلای سترک  
 هم پس اجازت زسیتش بخواست  
 وزانجا بخندان و نازان براه  
 ز جمشید ای رستم نیک کار  
 که در نظم صدر نوشت اینچنین  
 که از ظلم جزیه رهاند کسی  
 دهد خاص او را خدای جهان  
 بزرگشت اسفتمانش روان  
 ازیرا ازین گرفت برترین  
 مراد دلت هم برآرد بزود  
 شود یار تو ایزد امشاسفند

شکم پر نشد هم ز مزدوریم  
 بیآورد لطف کرانش بتن  
 بنوشیروان نایب خویش را  
 زرش چند باید بدیوان امیر  
 زر جزیه ایشان بده بیدریغ  
 رهاکن که افتاده اند همچو صید  
 زر جزیه اش داد چندین هزار  
 شتاب آمدند شان ز روی صفا  
 هزاران دعا در حقش برده شان  
 بآباد داراد و زی تا بقا  
 رهاکشم از لطف توای بزرگ  
 وداع کرد شانرا ارادت ز راست  
 شدند آن همه کس بآرامگاه  
 کلام تو این خوب رایاد دار  
 کتاب بود در ره پاکدین  
 بیابد مر او مژد نیکی بسی  
 بلند تر بمینو کرو ثمان مکان  
 بسی جاه یابد پر از شادمان  
 ز ایزدان بیای بسی آفرین  
 بدارین ازین فیض یابی فزود  
 نماید فروهر پناه بلند



در باب اینک هرگاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکرو خود  
 در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوی آمده بود و زرتشتیان  
 را بسیار عذیت رسانیده بود و براوشان خراج ظلمانه  
 نهاده بود در آنوقت از طرف هم زرتشتیان سیت  
 رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده هم را از خراج ظلمانه  
 رها نموده بود

ز کوش خرد بشنو و هم نگر	بگویم مر این داستان دگر
بخشم فراوان چو اهریمنی	که آمد بر شهر سیوه گنی
ز هر چهار طرفش گرفتند و برد	زن و مرد با کودکان شیر خورد
نبودند شان جز خدا دستگیر	نمودند در حبس شان چون اسیر
ببردند غارت زهر بیت انس	قماس و زر و سیم و کالا و جنس
بشهر و بده و بزله بلیغ	وزان کیر و دارش فتناده گریغ
ز ظلمش ستوه آمدند بر تن	برافروخت آتش بهر جایها
مراز ترس زر داده ظلمانه بس	فتادند در عاجزی چند کس
بگویانش بر نوردید و زنان	به بند افتاده بودند آن کسان
رسد ظلم مارا بس از بد تنی	که از بند ناپاک سیوه گنی
نباشد زدست بد و بد نهاد	نجاتی بجز ظلمانه بداد
بماتم فتادند اندر سرا	چو بشنید آنها همی ماجرا
ز غارت هم از سوز خانه بتوش	که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش
شکسته بودند حال شان پر خجل	همه باقی خویش پژمرده دل
بر رستم مانک داد خواه	به بیچارگی شان بزاری و آه
که از ظلم سیوه گنی باهراس	همه آمدند و نمود التماس

شد ستیم زخمی و بیچاره حال  
 گرفتندش هر مردم خانه ما  
 بهر مرد ظلمانه نا خلف  
 بما هیچ طاقت نباشد که آن  
 چو اهریمنی آمدش بدتری  
 ابا اوسپاه هست پنجم هزار  
 یکی آهوزیان دگر دیویان  
 همه موضع و سرزمین هر دو مرد  
 زر و زیور و جامه و دانه‌ها  
 ازان پس دران خانه آتش زدند  
 دران چندتن را هم از جان بکشت  
 ببردند همچون اسیران به بند  
 فکادند در زاری و هم نیاز  
 وزانجا چو ما چند بگریختیم  
 بسی رنجیم پر ز درد و غمش  
 بورت آمده‌ایم وز اقبال تو  
 بدانیم تحقیقیم نا امید  
 که بیچارگان را تویی چاره ساز  
 ازان رستما دستگیریم کنی  
 که تاجاودان نام نیکت ازین  
 وزین پس بماند سخن یادگار  
 دگر هم همی داستان زند  
 که از کنج خود داده بود زالطافات  
 که تاراجش اسباب ما کرد و مال  
 ز ستم نهایت زندش فرا  
 نموده بخوابد زر ده الف  
 زر ظلمانه بدادیم توان  
 شده دشمن شهر و ده یکسری  
 سر لشکرش دو بود کیر و دار  
 بودش دشمن کل زرتشتیان  
 ز غارت زیادت بویرانش کرد  
 ببردند غارت ز هر خانه‌ها  
 بسوزاد و تاراج کرده شدند  
 کسان چند را بسته دست و پشت  
 بسی رنج و ظلمش درانجا کشند  
 جز ایزد کسی یاری شان نساز  
 درین چند زخمی هم آمیختیم  
 بامید برهیم ازین ماتمش  
 پر امید داریم ز املال تو  
 نکردنده باز از حضور سعید  
 بوی مستدامت غریبان نواز  
 رهایش کن از بند اهریمنی  
 بماند هم کس کنند آفرین  
 نباشد که چون رستم نیککار  
 چو رستم ماثوبت که کس نه کند  
 هم بندگان را نمودش نجات



ز هر گونه دشواریهای کران  
 همی چند گفتارهای بزار  
 بخاطر برآورد رحمت کران  
 کزین نیکویی خواهد ماند ابد  
 ازین دو یک از غیب آید عیان  
 همی دولت کیستی پر عفا  
 که این زر نموده بکس پایدار  
 چنینست دنیای دون کاروبار  
 بدل آنچنان کرد اندیشه کار  
 رها نید شانرا پر از ظلم ابس  
 پس آنکه باقبال رستم هم  
 کنون جم بگوید درینجا چنین  
 چو بدکار افراسیاب درشت  
 دران حین هم چند دانا کسان  
 همان هر یکی را بکردن زدند  
 بآن وقت اغریث نیک کار  
 که باشد همی یکسر بیگناه  
 ازین گفته اغریث افراسیاب  
 نمودند شان را به بند حبس باز  
 بس اغریث از رحمت اختتام  
 بطلبید کشواد را با خدم  
 رها نید ایرانیان را ز قید  
 بحسب نوشتش بیامد مراد  
 رها نید او از بلای کران  
 چو بشنید آن رستم نامدار  
 که این مردمانرا بباید رها  
 که دو چیز ماند مر از نیک و بد  
 ز بعد گذشتن بمردم بسان  
 با امروز باشد بفردا فدا  
 نگورند چرخ هم برقرار  
 ازان به که نیکي بود یادگار  
 بدادش بران مبلغ ده هزار  
 همرا بدادش خور و نقل و لبس  
 نمود آفرین و شدند آن رسته  
 که بعد از مینوچهر شاه کزین  
 شمه نوذر تاجور را بکشت  
 گرفتار بردند همراه آن  
 نمودش اشارت که بر هر شدند  
 بشم آمده خواسته زینهار  
 مکن جان شان را تو هرگز قبا  
 بدل مهر آورد و کشت از عتاب  
 سپرده باغریث سرفراز  
 پیغامی فرستاد بر زال سام  
 که او آمده با سپاه عجم  
 ببرد آنکه افتاده شان همچو صید  
 رسیدش بایرانیان (رو برو)

چو اغریث آگاه ازین ماجرا  
 شده از نهان چاره جستش فرا  
 که رفتش ابا چند مردانه آب  
 بهشپک بهانه بافراسیاب  
 درانگاه رهانیده کشواد گرد  
 همه قید یا ترا بزابل ببرد  
 چو زمین کار آگاه شد افراسیاب  
 باغریث آورد او بس عتاب  
 بزودی جواز از میان برکشید  
 بزد بر جگر گاه و شکمش درید  
 دو پاره نمودش ابا ذوالفقار  
 نقش را بخاک افکند خوار  
 ایا دانشی مرد بسیار هوش  
 چو اغریث در جهان نیک کوش  
 بیاب نیکوی چه شیرین کلام  
 بگفتست فردوسی نیکفام  
 که تخم بدی تا توانی مکار  
 سجوی بجز نیکوی زینهار  
 بکیتی دران کوش تا بگذری  
 سرانجام نیکیت با خود بری  
 همی کفج و دینار و خانه بلند  
 نخواهد بدن سر ترا سودمند  
 اگر چرخ گردان کشد زین تو  
 سرانجام خاکست بالین تو  
 چودانی که این است ناپایدار  
 همان به که نیکی بود یاد کار  
 که اغریث از کار خود نیکوی  
 بهشت برین یافت با خوشروی  
 وز ابتر بورزیدن افراسیاب  
 کشد تا حشر در جهنم عذاب  
 امائل این داستان آن جهت  
 بدادست تا اندرین جاگهت  
 چو اغریث آن سیت رستم بمهر  
 ز بند گنی سیوه ناپاک چهر  
 همه را رهانید از دست خویش  
 فرستاد زاده بهشتش به پیش  
 چنین بخشش و هم مثبت چنان  
 نه کس بر غریبان کفد بیگمان  
 کزین کار کرده بجاوید نام  
 به نیکی بمانده عیان والسلام



درباب اینک سیت رستم مانک بهر جای چایا و پولهای  
نوبنا کرده و باغها و ایوانهای نو ساخته بود و بکار  
ثواب و نیکوی فرض خود را ادا کرده بود

دگر کار اوقات رستم به بین  
که از جای راه تبه مردمان  
بران جایهای ده پر خراب  
ز سنگ و ز کچ جسد ها را به بست  
کزان یافت راحت همه مردمان  
دیگر بود خارج و ویران زمین  
دران بوستان و چمنهای خوب  
چنان باغ و ایوانهای شهی  
که باغ ارم را فرامش کند  
بماند دران کر کسی دردمند  
ز کلهای رنگین دران کونه کون  
ابر شاخ اشجارش مرغان سرود  
چنان اندران باغها بوی نغز  
دران است کاریز فوارها  
کزان بوی باغات و آرای کاخ  
که نو نو مکانها دران جمله باغ  
برافراشت آن کرز کچ بارخام  
بر آینه ها و ز بلورینه ها  
چو فردوس بزم نشین کاه او  
برش کن ز جانت هزار آفرین  
بحیران بودند آمد و رفتگان  
به پیشه و هم بر لب رود آب  
ز کار محکم بمهراب پست  
برستند از سختی بیکران  
بکردش بران باغها چون نکین  
مکانهای زیبا بکردش عجب  
نمودش چو فردوس منزلکھی  
زدیدار آن جان و دل خوش کند  
ز فضل خدا باشدش سودمند  
باشجار ثمرش بود بی نمون  
نمایند دایم بیالا فزود  
کزان بوی میکرد آسوده مغز  
عجایب تماشای کلزارها  
بود پیر یکبار برنا شماخ  
درخشنده صحنش که چون شپراغ  
چو کوهری رنگ و نقشش تمام  
ز قم خواب اندوده اسباب جاش  
تو کوی که انجم سرشته درو

برای خودش داشت و هم‌رهان  
 نمایند هم شادی و جشنگاه  
 بی‌باغ فراخ و بجای سترک  
 برای نهادست زرتشتیان  
 کند کار شادی و جشن کران  
 بنازند و بازند بآن جایگاه  
 دران باغ یابند هرکس امان  
 بشهر و بده و بدشت سترک  
 بهر جا متیفش مرات المثل  
 کفانید حوضهای خورده‌اش بره  
 چو وندید و ویسپرد و یشت و هاست  
 همان مستمر تابعاً بود بس  
 هم از نیت هراشو فردهران  
 کفانید با وندیداد ویزش  
 چه گیتی خریدی و هم نوزودی  
 بسی کرد و هم می‌کنش فرض خویش  
 ز شادی پوران شان بد به بیم  
 همان از کجا کرد شادی بتوش  
 ز کنج خودش داد و شان ساخت کار  
 که شادی پوران غربا نمرد  
 بهر حال با آب میداشت شاد  
 نموده و داده حقوقات شان  
 بدادش خلعات و پشمیز بیش

ز کوهر درخشانتر ایوان آن  
 دران باغ تجار و میران شاه  
 چو مذبور دیگر مکان بزرگ  
 بکار وقف کرده آنرا عیان  
 ازان یکسر ادنی و عالی بران  
 به یشتند هم ایزدان را بگاه  
 برفته بکار خود آرند شان  
 دیگر از برای ثواب بزرگ  
 به بنداش چاهای آب زلال  
 بایوانها آب‌خور یکسره  
 دیگر کار گرفته در مهر هاست  
 بران دایمش راغباً بود بس  
 که هر روز از نیت ایزدان  
 درون و میزد آفرینکانش  
 ازین جز همه کارها بی‌بردی  
 چه دیگر که زنده روان کار کیش  
 دیگر آنکه بد بر غریب و یتیم  
 که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش  
 بران هر کس آنرا زر بیشمار  
 چنین کار و بارش بهر سال بود  
 دیگر دستور و موبدان را براد  
 بشرط بهی کیش خدمات شان  
 ابر کلاه ته‌نیت خانه خویش



تیزیش ابر داشته مزکیان  
 همیشه بودش پیشم راستی  
 بکرده فدا بر ره دین روان  
 بماندیش دور از ره کاستی  
 نورزیده هرگز ره بدترا  
 خواسته هرگز  
 بهر جاش آورد پیمان بجا  
 بهر کارها کرمه میکرد زود  
 کزان در جهان نیکنامی فزود  
 بفردا همان کار نسیارده  
 کمر بسته زودش بجا آرده

### در وصف سیمت رستم و سه فرزندانش را بیان کرده است

بگوید جم کیقباد این چنین  
 که دادست سه کوهر بی بها  
 که بخشش یزدان برستم به بین  
 ابر یکدیگر بر قر و کیمیا  
 بچو خورشید پر نور و یزدان پرست  
 از آنها فرامرز فرخنده بی  
 چو سرو دیگر بهمن وه منش  
 سیم هست نوروز فرخنده نام  
 سه پورانش مسطور چون ماه و هور  
 از انست نوروز هاوشت من  
 بشان پدر داردش خوب چهر  
 مبارک کند ایزد ابذان و را  
 بدادست ایزدان و راجفت پاک  
 دل پاک و هم راست کفتار نیک  
 سعادت عیان اندرست سیمت را  
 بدادش چنین زوجه نیک بی  
 بدارین کزان ماندش دل خوشی  
 که بخشش یزدان برستم به بین  
 ابر یکدیگر بر قر و کیمیا  
 بعلم و ادب دانش برترست  
 که مهتر نکو خوی مانند کی  
 زهی حشمت و مکنت و به کش  
 تن نورمند و زهی پاک کام  
 بسا معروفی یافته در دیور  
 فزون پر شکوه بهره عقل و فن  
 وفا و نکو سیرت و علم و مهر  
 بکاشانم نور دیدان فرا  
 که هست آن رتن بافوی زیناک  
 زهی نیک خلقت و کردار نیک  
 که پرورد کار زمین و سما  
 هم ایان چنان هوشمند و چو کی  
 که اقدام ابناست پس مروشی

کزین دولتش تا ابد پایدار  
 ثناکوی جمشید اکنون چنین  
 که شان کیومرث و هوشنگ شاه  
 چو جمشید و تهمورس پاک جان  
 چو شاه آفریدون فرخ کفاد  
 زهی دستکاه چو مینوچهر و زو  
 ببادا چو کاوس و هم کیقباد  
 چو کیخسرو و سیاوش پراشو  
 چو کشتاسپ لهراسپ و اسفندیار  
 متانت دهنده بهی کیش را  
 بوی چون شه اردشیر کزین  
 ببادا چو نوشیروان قباد  
 چو پرویز خسرو بوی ارجمند  
 ببادا بشان شه یزدگرد  
 چو دستور اردای ویراف پاک  
 بشان آذرباد ماراسفند  
 چو جاماسپ داننده رمزها  
 چو طوس و زوار و زریر دلیر  
 بشان یل رستم زال سام  
 چو کرشاسپ اسرت جهان پهلوان  
 چو میلاد و کیو و فرامرز کرد  
 چو کودرز بهفتاد پور نکو  
 بشان پشتون اشو در جهان  
 ترا آفرینها بروز زیاد  
 بمباند بفروزد پوران قرار  
 ابر سیت رستم کند آفرین  
 بوی نام بردار و پر عز و جاه  
 ببادا هم رسم را پروزان  
 پر آباد کیتی و دشمن زناده  
 بواد و کنان زیر دست عدو  
 نکهبان مردم و آزادی داد  
 تن پاک و احراز شرعی بشو  
 ببادا عدوان دین رازدار  
 ببادا چو بهمن سعادت فرا  
 ردان را بخواننده و اهل دین  
 نماینده عدل و بخشش و داد  
 بفر فرادان و قدر بلند  
 بواج و نکو سیرت و نیک مرد  
 بوی محتبی و رخ تابناک  
 کفنده ببادا عبادت و بند  
 خردمند تر باد و عاقل ترا  
 بهمت قوی باد و روشن ضمیر  
 جوانمرد ببادا و هم نیکقام  
 ببادا ز بن برکفنده بدان  
 بوی کام یابنده و دستبرد  
 فروئی فروزد یابنده شو  
 بوی دیر زیونده و شادمان  
 ابا نور دیدانت آمین بواد



درباب اینک انگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش  
بهندوستان در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانک را  
با او ملاقات شد

ز جمشید این داستان دکر	بابواب انگریز بشنو مکر
که از ملک خود آمدش چوبفر	بسورت ابا کنج و دینار و زر
بکشتی ز دریای آب بزرک	برهند با کاروان سترک
بملبوس سوداگری بلند	بسوداگری آمدش ازجملد
باو سیت رستم ملاقات کرد	کله پوش ازان خوش زیادات کرد
تودد فزودش بایام چند	زیکرنکی یکدل شد و سورمند
پسش کرد دلاله خود سیت را	هم کار و بارش سپرده ورا
ازان پس بباشنده انگریزیان	نموده تفحص عالی مکان
پس از جستجوی مکان بزرک	بلند و فراز و دراز سترک
بسی خوشنما همچو ایوان جم	بباغ فراخش چو جای ارم
کشای دلان بر لب رود بار	بود پر ز آرایش و پر نکار
که ماند درانجا مریضی اکر	بزودی شود درد آن دورتر
کر از مرض گرمی کس عاجز بود	بران هفته ماندنش به شود
کس از درد چشم ارکند بس فغان	شود به ورا از هوا خوب آن
برکات آنجای بد همچنان	که تجار و باکس غریب و کسان
دران مانده سوداگری کار خویش	کند یا دیگر پیشم کار خویش
ورا داده از غیب پروردکار	فهمندی و هم شده بختیار
چنین جای رنگین و آب و هوا	پراز بس افادات و وصف و ثنا
یکی بود تجار سورت درون	ببودش همان جا چو جنت نمون
که نام ورا حاجی حجاج بیخ	عیانست و مشهور جای بلیخ

کله پوش را آن مکانش بزرگ دهانید او از کرایه سترگ  
 که در سال مبلغ آن سه هزار مُعین نمودش کرایه بکار  
 کله پوش پس حسب تدبیر خویش بپاراست آنرا ابا صرف بیش  
 که کویا شده آن لایق شاهوار درخشان ز آرایش بیشمار  
 پس اقبال روشن نموده دران مر انگریز را ایزد غیبدان  
 در باب اینک سیت رستم مانک برای کردن کوتی  
 انگریز در شهر سورت با انگریز نزدیک پادشاه دہلی رفت  
 و شاه را عرض کرد و فرمان شاهی یافت و انگریز را در شهر  
 سورت ماندن جای داد بیان آن

پس از بهر منشور سلطان ہند  
 بہمراہ انگریز رستم برفت  
 دران حین شاہی اورنگ زیب  
 کہ میوانش یکسر بزرین لباس  
 بشوکت زیکدیگر عالیتر  
 ازان یکسر شان نوشیروان  
 ہم از زر و زیور ہم لشکرش  
 ہم فیلسوف کامل و عاقلان  
 بنزدیک آن شاہ پر جاہ و فرا  
 بہمراہ کلاہ پوش رستم رسید  
 پس از سوی انگریز چون داد خواہ  
 کہ مرد از بہر بہرہ سودا کری  
 ولی دخل زد ہند این را بشہر  
 کہ بودہ شریف از شہ روم و سند  
 بزودی رہ آنشاہ دہلی گرفت  
 بدہ ہمچو قابان خور بانہیب  
 خردمند و چالاک و مردم شناس  
 دلاور تر و بانکو کوہرا  
 بودہ بزم آراستش باسران  
 بپاراست بودند نزد دارش  
 ببودند صفہا کشیدہ بآن  
 ظل امیرانش والا کوہر  
 باآداب و تسلیمہای سزید  
 باآواز عرضش نمودہ بشاہ  
 بہند آمدست از رہ خاوری  
 امیران در کلاہ والا بہمراہ



بر امید ظلّ شاهی برتر است  
 دهد جاش در شهر سورت پناه  
 هم انبار خانه بران داردش  
 ز نظرانه و تحفهای سترک  
 نموده بودندش بسادل خوشا  
 بپرداشت شان عرضش و راه کرد  
 نمودند و پذیرفت شاه جهان  
 وزیر اسد خان بوده پیشگاه  
 بقام کلمه پوش ده بیشکی  
 بنویس فرمان شه بر حریر  
 دهد دخل و جای مکان و سرا  
 نباشد مزاحم و مانع کسان  
 نمودست شه ز الطافات صفاف  
 بران مهر خود کرد شه بانگین  
 زدستش بانگریز چاوش برد  
 شده خوشتر و از رضایش بتافت  
 وزانسو بجای دیگر سیت رفت  
 بخند متکذاران بشادی بهر  
 رسیدش بآرام و عیش و سرور  
 شیدی یاقو با نام آن نامور  
 هم او کرد مهمانگذاری فرا  
 بدادش یکی خلعت زرنگار

همی مرد انگریز نیکو تر است  
 گذارد چنین عرض کز لطف شاه  
 که کار تجارت دران آردش  
 به پیش همی عرض سیت بزرک  
 بزرگان و میران سلطان را  
 ازان چونکه عرضش بر شاه کرد  
 سفارش بر شاه از طرف آن  
 پس آنکه بنزدیک اورنگ شاه  
 بگفتش که منشور شاهی یکی  
 دبیری پشش خواند و گفتش وزیر  
 که در شهر سورت مر انگریز را  
 که سازد مکان خودش اندران  
 بمال تجارت ذکاتش معاف  
 نوشته چو فرمان شاهی چنین  
 همان را بدستور خود را سپرد  
 چو انگریز فرمان شاهی بیافت  
 زانجامر او راه سورت گرفت  
 برای تفرّج انواع شهر  
 ازان سیر تا داندی راجپور  
 دران حاکمی بود باداد و فر  
 بسی عزّتش داد مر سیت را  
 بوقت روانه هم آن طرفدار

زدل شاد و روی چو کل بشکفید  
 بودش نامبردار و نگو تری  
 فزون حرمتش داد و خرم شده  
 پسندش شده گفته رستما  
 هم کار خود را سپرده بار  
 بداد و نمودش وداع با و قر  
 شدندش پزیره بزرگان پیش  
 بیامد مر او با فر و آفرین  
 نبودش درانجای پر نیکخو  
 ازان پس همان نامور رستما  
 برفت و ز دست رو پاک راه  
 هم از شست اندام خود یکسرین  
 برفتش بشوکت زدل تابناک  
 خدای جهان راستایش گرفت  
 یلایق اشو داد کردند شان  
 سوال غریبان بر آورد پیش  
 نمودندش ارسال با وصفها  
 ریک یک شدند تازه روی و خوشا  
 برفتش بسورت بآرامگاه  
 چه خویشان و بیگانگان و سترک  
 باوشان بشهر آمدش پوز نور  
 نمودند یکسر ابادل خوشا

وزانجای پیش سوی دمن رسید  
 دران پادری فرنگی سری  
 ابا او ملاقات رستم شده  
 هراچم بگفتش سخنها و را  
 پیش از نوازش و بس عذر و رو  
 کرانمایه خلعت یکی پوز زر  
 ازانسو چو نوساری آمد به پیش  
 بهمراه انجمن پاک دین  
 یکی نام نوشیروان خویش او  
 بخانه خودش برد مهمان و را  
 بجای در مهر اورویسگاه  
 شده پاک از شرب نیر نکدین  
 بدرگاه آتش و هرام پاک  
 بخواندن بآتش نیایش گرفت  
 وزان پس بهر دستور و موبدان  
 فزون صرف کردند در راه کیش  
 بو هر رئیسان کران تحفها  
 بر رستم هم آمد ازانجا بسا  
 وزان پس ازان سو به پیمود راه  
 هم اهل سورت چه خورد و بزرک  
 پذیره شدندش مرا ز راه دور  
 فزونتر بر رستم ثنا و دعا



وزان پس بد ز بار نواب رفت  
 با نکریز فرمان شه داده بود  
 چون نواب فرمان شاهی بدید  
 پیش مر حباداد مر سیت را  
 چو اندر عدالت دبیرش بخواند  
 بهوشیاری و زیرک رستم  
 پیش باز بردست انکریز داد  
 کلمه پوش آنرا فرستاده زود  
 بآن شاه اینگلیس چون آن رسید  
 ز دانش رستم ز کیفیتش  
 بدانست که هست دلالت ما  
 فزودش بسا آب و حرمت و را

سخنهای راه درازی گرفت  
 همان را بفرد یک او بر کشود  
 بسر بر نهاد و قبولش کزید  
 ابو همتش کرد افزون دعا  
 فراوان ازان هر کس حیران بماند  
 بکردند یکسر دعا و ثنا  
 همان شاهی منشور شوکت زیاد  
 بر شاه خود در ولایت خود  
 ز خواندش شده شادمانش مزید  
 شفیده عجب ماندش از همتش  
 سپرد از حضور خودش کارها  
 کزان شد بهندوستانش بپا

در باب اینکه در دریای حد قرنکیان با کشتی پر مال  
 تاجار عثمان چلیبی را با فرنکیان جنگ شده بود ازان سبب  
 فرنکیان کشتی عثمان چلیبی را گرفته در ملک خود بردند  
 آنرا رستم مانک رها نید

بسورت بوده تاجر احترام  
 بکار تجارت بودش استوار  
 بودش از کُلکها شقیته بزرگ  
 ز هنجار دریا باب کران  
 که ارمار ترساشدش ز و بود  
 ز هر دو طرف قوپ بکذاشتند

که تاجار عثمان چلیبیش نام  
 همش نام مشهور در هر دیار  
 ز جدا پراز بار نقد سترک  
 می آمد رسیدش بلا ناکهان  
 بر انکیخت جنگ بیکدیگر او  
 دران شعلها آتش افراشتند

ولې شان ببودند زور آوران  
 گرفتند کشتي عثمان در آب  
 هم را گرفتند و کردند بند  
 بد از چار لک روپيه افزونتران  
 ببردند شان کشتيش زود تر  
 به بندر نهادند لنگر کران  
 شده واقف از بن بتا سر بسر  
 شده مغمومش چون شنيد اين براه  
 که خان امانت بد او نیکنام  
 بکشتي خود داد خواهي نمود  
 بنزدیک خود جاي داده نشاند  
 شنيد و در انديش افتاد ازو  
 بخواندند و احضار کشتند بيش  
 وزان پس بمشورت شانرا نشاند  
 که بايد درينجاي رستم زياد  
 بياورد مرسيث را در جناب  
 نشاندش بر خودش با عز و جاه  
 بگفتا که بشنو تو اين ماجرا  
 بمعرفتت ساخت پيمان سنک  
 چرا لا ايماني کفد حال بيش  
 ببردند ترسا و نسازند بزم  
 که از تو همي کار گردد درست  
 کفد جان فشاني بفايت بسا

بمردند چندين فرنک اندران  
 ازان آخرش شان زکردان غراب  
 دران هر که تيجار و مردم بودند  
 هم مال و نقدي عثمان دران  
 بد آن يکسر مردمان مال و زر  
 بر بندر دمن آورد شان  
 ازان پس به عثمان رسیده خبر  
 بد از ذات ترکيش بس کيفم خواه  
 دران حين نواب ملجاي عام  
 بر او بدر کاه رفتش بزود  
 چونواب اورا بديد و بخواند  
 ز آهستگي يکسري گفته او  
 ازان بعد بمنصب داران خویش  
 باوشان سخنهاي کشتيش راند  
 ز اندیشهها کرد نواب ياد  
 ز ارشاد اورفت مردم شتاب  
 ميان بزرگان دران بارکاه  
 پيشش در حضور هم سیت را  
 که از بهر کشتي هم با فرنک  
 چرا بشکند آن فرنک عهد خيش  
 که کشتي عثمان با جبار و رزم  
 ازان رستما اندر زين کار تست  
 که شان مي شناسند يکسر ترا



گفد استجاب شان سخنهاي تو جزت از دكر اين نكردد نكو  
 ز تصدي كشيده و از تدبيرات غراب چليبي بيار از نجات  
 ز نواب چون اين شنيدش سخن قبولش نمود اندران انجمن  
 اجازهت ز نواب رستم بخواست بگشتش از انسوزانديشه راست

در باب اينكه سیت رستم مانك براي رها نیدن كشتي<sup>۶</sup>  
 عثمان به بندر دمن رفت

چو آمد بكا شان آن نيك بخت بزودي براه سفر بست رخت  
 بسي تحفه ها بهر اهل فرنگ كرفتش بهمراه خود بيد رنگ  
 بچندين كسانهاي خدمتگذار گرفته راه دمن آن نامدار  
 در انوقت همراهش تجاركان بزرگان درگاه آمانت خان  
 برفتند شان تا بدرهاي شهر گرفتند آغوش يكسر بهم  
 پس از كرده پدرو د آن سیت را بگشتند شان باز هر يكسرا  
 چو رستم از انجا به پيمود راه بيد آمد بنوساري قصبه كاه  
 بآتش و زهرام بفهاد سر مراد خودش خواست زو سر بسر  
 نيایش آن با عبادت خدا نمودش ابا موبدان صفا  
 هم اوشان همي خواست يكسر دعا كه بافتخ باز آردش ايزدا  
 نمودند شانرا فزون شادمان ز داده زر و سيم حرمت كران  
 كسي آمده كرده نزدش سوال همان وقت ميكرد بر شان نوال  
 ازان هر غريبان و خورد و بزرگ شدند شادمان بآفرين سترگ  
 پيشش از دل شاد زانجا برفت بمردم خود راه دمن گرفت  
 بردشت آن چون رسيدش دمان خبر شد بسالار كپتان كران  
 كه رستم بيايد بدمن بكار همان وقت آن سرور نامدار

پذیره فرستاده کردند چند  
 بشوکت ورا یکسر مهتران  
 پیش سیت راداده عزت نشاند  
 پیش او ازان بعد بس تحفهها  
 بد آنجا دیگر پادری بزرگ  
 ازان خاطر آن پادری وکران  
 بزرگان آنجا برش از جمند  
 ببردند نزدیک کپتان کران  
 بشیرین زبان گفتگوی براند  
 نهادش ابا آفرین و ثنا  
 ورا نیز هدیه بدادش سترک  
 بکشتند شاداب و بس شادمان

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک با سردار فرنگی دمن

برای کشتی عثمان چلیبی گفتگوی کرد

بر او پیش عرض کشتی براند  
 که از بهر فریادی آن غراب  
 ز بهر رهان کشتیش آمدم  
 بل از عذر خوابی کفم عرض باز  
 ازیرا که با اهل مغلان شما  
 که کشتی سورت و غیره ز جهد  
 نباید کسستن چنان بند و بست  
 زاول تاخر همه قصه خواند  
 بروت آمدم کان بیابم شتاب  
 نه از سویی او جنگی اش آمدم  
 که از داده کشتی کفم سرفراز  
 نمودست قول محکم بما  
 نگیریم هرگز نکشتیم ز عهد  
 که از دین بکشتن چه پیمان شکست

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک را سردار فرنگی

برای کشتی جواب داد

ورا داد سالار ترسا جواب  
 نمودند شوخی با هلان ما  
 بکشتند مردم ما چند شان  
 پس آنگه کشتی شانرا ز جنگ  
 که بودند آن ترکیان در غراب  
 دوان آمدند شان بمردان ما  
 بچندین کس هم زخم کردند شان  
 گرفتند مردم ما بیدرنک



نمودند آن هر کسان را به بند  
ولی در گووا سرور ماسترک  
ازین ماجرایش خبر کرده ام  
چو ارشادش آید ز گووه ورا  
ازان پس بکپتان کران گفت باز  
که از مهربانیت باشد چنان  
کنون مشورت اندرین باب تو  
برستم چنان پاسخش باز داد  
بگووه بر ویزریت برو  
بی ارشادش هرگز نیایی مراد  
نوشته دهم خوبیت نامه  
بزودی شود کار تو بیکمان  
پس آغاز ترقیم کردش بزود

در باب اینکه سردارد من رستم مانک را نامه نوشته  
داد آن نامه گرفته سیت رستم بگووه نزد ویزریل که حاکم  
گووه بود رفت و کشتی عثمان را از دست اوشان رهانید

چو رستم ز کپتان کران نامه یافت  
ر پیموده راهش بس از قروآب  
بد انجا سر نام کپتان سران  
ز عزت پسر سیدش خیر افیت  
ازان پس برش سیت رستم زیاد  
کزین سوزنم سوي گووه روم  
از انجا بمردم خود در بتافت  
بیامد درون و سیّ اش شتاب  
بمردم پذیره شدش نزد آن  
دگر گفت کاینجا چرا آمدت  
هم باب کشتی عثمان کشاد  
برسله ران از توصل شوم

پسش در گلستان خود سیت را  
 ببودند اثمار انواع دران  
 بماند اندران سیت با شاد کام  
 بشرب و آقل برش اجناس خام  
 مدار ابرسی کرد از حرمت کران  
 ز انواع خورده طعام و شراب  
 چو بیدار از آرام در بامداد  
 پسش خواست رخصت ز کپتان سران  
 در آنکاه یکی خلعت زر نگار  
 بآن نامه پر سفارش هم او  
 بس از لطف او را وداعش نمود

مکان داد کو بود بس خوشنما  
 باشجار الوان خوشبو تران  
 بآرام بگذاشت روز تمام  
 بمولش فرستاده بودند قام  
 چو نوروز شادی ازان بود دران  
 بشب اندران جاش خوش کرد خواب  
 شده ذکر ایزدان نمودش زیاد  
 که باید کنونم بگووه روان  
 بدادش ابا رستم نامدار  
 نوشته بدادش ز عز نکو  
 پسش رفت زانجا بر گووه زود

### در باب اینکه رسیدن رستم مانک بگووه و خبر رسیدن سردار گووه و یزریل را از آمدن رستم

چو آن سیت در حد گووه رسید  
 که دلاله ما سیت رستم زیاد  
 شدش شادمانتر خبر زین شنود  
 که نزدش پذیره هم کس روند  
 برفتند شان پس بر او دمان  
 چو رستم بدرگاه و یزریل رسید  
 بزرگی بداده بر خویش خواند  
 پس اشیاء تحفه بویزریل که بود

بویزریل شد اطلاعش پدید  
 ز سورت بیاید برین جای داد  
 ابر مهتران کرد ارشاد زود  
 ز بس حرمت و عزتش آورند  
 ابا حشمتش آوریدند شان  
 بخواندش و را بآبروی سزید  
 بجا مرتبه دادش او را نشاند  
 بمردم خود آنکه آورده بود



برش آن همه سیت نظرانه کرد  
 پس اخبار و احوال آن سر فراز  
 که چون تصدیت تادرینجا کشید  
 بگفتش که ای صاحب سروران  
 که تاجار عثمان چلبی بنام  
 غرابش ز دریای اهل فرنک  
 بسا مال و نقدی بود اندران  
 ازان آمدم کان غراب بزرک  
 پیش هر دو آن نامه سروران  
 مطالع نمودش شتاب از کشاد  
 برستم بگفت از تسلی بسا  
 صبر کن بایزدان تو گل بدار  
 پیش داد ابوان شاهوار  
 بنه ما سیت اندر انجا بماند  
 بیاراند از سوی سورت هم او  
 بدیکر بزرکان و هم سروران  
 وزان پس برافراشت کاخ بلند  
 ابا دو محکم بلند و فراز  
 گفانید کار منقش بران  
 دران کرد بس زیب آرایش  
 هم از مخبل اسباب کاه نشین  
 به نزهت گرفتش ازان پاک مرد  
 پی رسید و از رنج راه دراز  
 چه کار افتادت که اینجا رسید  
 ضرور آمدن افتادم ازان  
 بسورت بود تاجر احترام  
 گرفت آوری دند مردانه همک  
 که کشتی بزرگست با مردمان  
 بیایم ز لطف تو کرم سترک  
 بدست و را داد در آن زمان  
 بخندید و شد شاد اندر نهاد  
 که مانی درینجا ابا دل خوشا  
 که آرد مراد تو پروردگار  
 بباشیدن رستم نیک کار  
 بعیش و عبادت شهورش براند  
 بسا تحفه کونه کون نکو  
 نمودند نظرانه یکسر همان  
 دران گووه آن رستم ارجمند  
 همان ساختش با دلانهاد راز  
 شده زان بتابانش چون کوهران  
 ز کار بلورین و آینه ها  
 باندود وزان شد چو یکسر نکین

بپیرامون آن کاخ باغ بزرگ  
 بطلبید ویزریل را پس دران  
 بزرگی بس افزود دایش ازان  
 چواین ماجرایش بشاه فرنگ  
 همان پادشاه و بزرگان او  
 پس آورد ویزریل برسیت مهر  
 ابا یکسر مردم و مال و زر  
 بحین وداع خلعت پر ز زر  
 بجز آن دیگر خلعت و هدیها  
 پس افراشت رختش از انجای زود  
 روان کرد کشتی بدریای آب  
 بکشتی چورستم به بندر رسید  
 بدربار نوابش آمد شتاب  
 پیوسید احوال کشتی ورا  
 چو بشنید نواب یکسر بیان  
 بدانش و بر همت سیت را  
 هم انگه یکی خلعت شاهوار  
 بر خانه خود آمدش در زمان  
 پس این مژده نزد چلیپی رسید  
 برستم بیامد همانگه شتاب  
 چو جنت بنا کرد سیت سترک  
 بخوردن ابا سرور و مهتران  
 نمودند بس آفرین یکسران  
 شده در پورتکال باوصف و هنک  
 شدند یکسر زان خوش و تازه رو  
 بداده همان کشتی اش پر ز بهر  
 سپردش کزان سیت شد شاد تر  
 همش داد او را کرانمایه تر  
 بسیت آمدند از دیگر جا بسا  
 زویزریل رضا خواستش با درود  
 بیاورد در بهر سورت شتاب  
 کنانید لنگر بجای سزید  
 زدیدش شده شاد و بس داد آب  
 بگفتش بر او هم ماجرا  
 عجب ماند از کار رستم عیان  
 بسی آفرین کردش و موحبا  
 برستم بدادش بعز و وقار  
 زدیدارش یکسر شدند شادمان  
 بدیدش برسیت رفتن سزید  
 بخانه خودش برد باجاه و آب



بپرسیدش اخبار یکسر و را بیان کرد از اولین آخر  
 ز گفتار رستم شنیده چلیب شده شاد و حیران بماند و عجیب  
 بزودی یکی خلعت پر ثنا برستم بدادش ابا تحفه  
 ز بس قصه یعاتش هم از تشرفات نمود عجزش با دعا و صفات  
 باکرام موفور آن سیت را وداع کرد و رفتش پر از دل خوشا  
 چنان از امورات رستم زیاد به نیکی و خوبی و بخشش و داد  
 بهر سرور و حاکم و تاجران شدش شوکت و آب و حرمت کران  
 شد اینجا ز امداد رب افتها مراین قصه رستم مانکا  
 ازیرا بپرداخت ابن نظم را که تاجاودان خوبی رستم  
 برادی و نامی و همت بلند غریب پروری و اساس ارجمند  
 بدانند هر مردم خاص و عام کنند یاد نیکی رستم مدام  
 تمام شد این قصه سیت رستم مانک باشندده بشمهر  
 سورت بروزمبارک رشن راست بهاه خرداد سنه یک  
 هزار و دوصد و پنجاه و دو یزد کردی این قصه را در سال  
 یکم هزار و هشتاد یزد کردی موبد جمشید کیقباد که باشندده  
 سورت بود تصنیف کرده بود و کاتب و مالک این قصه  
 ایرج دستورسهراب جی بن دستور کاوس جی مهر جی  
 رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری و از قصه که این نقل کردم آن  
 اصل قصه در کجراتی با معنی نوشتم نزد سیت کیخسرو  
 رستم جی بود ازان روی در فارسی نقل کردم -

تمام شد

**DOCUMENT No. 1.<sup>1</sup>**

OUR PRESIDENT AND  
COUNCILL OF BOMBAY.

LONDON, *the 19th Aug<sup>r</sup>. 1724.*

Wee the Court of Directors of the United Company Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies send this to acquaint you That by the King George lately arrived, and the Stanhope which came in Sometime before Wee have received yo<sup>r</sup>. severall packets and Advices giving us an Account of our Affairs under your Management with the reasons of your proceedings. We observe in Yo<sup>r</sup> Letters by y<sup>e</sup> King George, That the Governour of Suratt and the Merchants think it very reasonable, that the late Brokers should give us satisfaction as to all just Demands upon them, which as you have wrote us is what you desire, and would be content with the proof of even from their own Books and Accounts, and to submit any Matters of difference that may arise To the Determination of the Merchants of Suratt to be mutually chosen by the said Brokers and you, for them to conclude and settle the same.

We find in the Letter by the King George That Fframjee is in Custody at the Suratt Durbar, and Bomanjee remains confined to his house at Bombay, former Letters gave us yo<sup>r</sup>. reasons, why you did not then think it proper to let him go off the Island.

The Salisbury Man of War which arrived at Spithead the later end of Aprill last brought Nowrajee from Suratt, he is since come up hither, and hath laid before us severall papers and accounts which are Order'd to be perused and taken into Consideration.

Among other papers he gave us one Entituled the Case of Framjee in close prison at Suratt, wherein he represents, That this was occasion'd by the English Chiefs Mr. Hope & afterwards Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Cowans & Courtneys application to Momeen Caun the

<sup>1</sup> In reading some words which are not legible, I am helped by the copies printed by Jalbhoy about 40 years ago. Some missing letters where they are not legible are put in brackets by me. As to the year at the top, it is 1724. After the printing off of the above papers, I have seen some extracts which Mr. Kavasji Seth has sent for from the old records in England and I find that the year in the Extracts also is 1724 and so the matter requires a consideration other than the one given by me above in the Section (Section II a) of Documents. I give at the end a fac-simile photo of this first document.



Suratt Gov<sup>r</sup>. and by a Letter delivered to him wrote by Governor Phipps on which Framjee was at first confined, then Guards set on his Father Rustumjee's house, after this Framjee was forced to pay Momeen Caun at times Fifty Thousand rupees, and also Two hundred rupees a day for leave to supply the people in the house with provisions and Water, and besides all these hardships he has undergone Corporall punishments.

We are apt to think this Case is greatly aggravated or at least that the Governor proceeded to rigorous treatment to Oblige Framjee to come to a fair Account according to the Custome of the Countrey, which was at first civilly desired to be done without any Compulsion, and ought to have been Comply'd with.

But however the Case be, We have at Nowrajee's request consented and agreed, and do hereby direct and Order That you do give leave to Bomanjee, if he do yet remain at Bombay to go to Surat whenever he pleases without delay, and That you do Yo<sup>r</sup> Endeavour by proper application to the Governor of Surat to get Framjee released from Confinement, and the Guards taken off from his late Father's house. Our desires being to end all differences amicably for We would not have him oppress.

We have at Nowrajee's desire given him Six Letters, all of the same Tenor with this, That as he intends to send them overland, if any should Miscarry, the rest may come Safe and Earlier than by the Shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till the proper Season by which you may Expect an answer to your Letters now before us, We are

Your Loving Friends

E. HARRISON.

ABRA ADDAMS.

JOHN DRUMMOND.

WILLM. AISLABIE.

WM. BILLERS.

WM. GOSSEHN.

RICH<sup>d</sup>. BOULTON.

ROB<sup>t</sup>. HUDSON.

CHAN CHILD.

JOS. WORDSWORTH.

JOHN. GOULD.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN ECCLESTON.

EDW<sup>d</sup>. OWEN.

JOHN BANCE.

BALTZAR LYETE.

JOS. WORDSWORTH (JUN<sup>r</sup>).

MATHEW DECKER.

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<sup>1</sup> There are at the end some three letters, which Jalbhoy reads (Jun).



**DOCUMENT No. 2.**

TO ALL PEOPLE to whom these Presents shall Come Wee Sir Mathew Decker of London Barronet Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote of London Esquires send Greetings WHEREAS in and by One Indenture bearing date on or about the Eighteenth day of November last and made or mentioned to be made Between The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies of the one part and Nowrojee Rustumjee of Surat in the East Indies (but then and now residing in London) Merchant of the other Part Reciting that severall Accounts Claims and Demands had been depending and several Disputes and Controversies had arisen between the said United Company and the said Nowrojee Rustumjee as well on the behalf of himself as Framjee and Bomanjee his Brothers in themselves or one of their own Proper right as in the right of Rustumjee Manackjee Father of the said Nowrojee, Framjee and Bomanjee to whom they are Representatives AND RECITING that the said partys having a Desire that an amicable End might be made of all Matters in difference between them had indifferently Elected and Chosen us to be Arbitrators of in and Concerning the premises and had agreed that wee the said Arbitrators should and might finally Determine all Differences Controversies Disputes Claims and Demands between the said Partys or either of them upon any account whatsoever IT WAS WITNESSED by the same Indenture that it was thereupon Covenanted and agreed by and between the said Partys thereto and the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Did for themselves and their Successors Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brother at Surat that they the said United Company their Successors and Assigns should and would for and on their parts well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fullfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the premisses so as the same was made and put in writing under our hands and Seales respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India House in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of the Instant January AND the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Did for himself and in the behalf of his Brothers their



and each of their Executors and Administrators Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies their Successors and Assigns that he the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brothers their and each of their Heirs Executors and Administrators should and would well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fulfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the Premises so as the same was made and Put in writing under our hands and Seals respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India house in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of this Instant January AND it was thereby Declared and agreed by and between the Partys thereto that the said submission and the award to be made by the said Arbitrators in Performance thereof Should be made a Rule of his Majestys Court of Kings Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining Differences by Arbitrators as in and by the said Recited Indenture duly Executed by the Partys thereto reference being thereunto had may more at la (...) appear<sup>1</sup> Now Know Ye that wee the said Sir Mathew Decker Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote having taken upon us the burthen of the said Award and fully heard and Examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Party and duly and Maturely weighed and considered the same and the Matters in difference between them Do Declare that it Appears unto us that there was due at or upon the Eighteenth day of November last from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee and to the said Framjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Called Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Sons of the abovenamed Rustumjee Manackjee Ninety One thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenty nine Pies and a half upon or by Virtue of One Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the Seal of the said Company bearing date on or about the Fifteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen and that there was likewise at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee

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<sup>1</sup> The words in this line are not legible now, but Mr. Jalbhoy Seth who read them in 1900 gives them as "at large appear".



Rustumjee Fifty one thousand Eight hundred and Forty Rupees upon or by Virtue of one other Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the seal of the said Company bearing date on or above the fourth day of October One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen AND it further appears unto us the said Arbitrators that there was at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee upon severall Accounts depending between them and the said United Company so much as in the whole with the Money due on the abovementioned Bonds Deeds or Interest Bills as aforesaid make together Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees which said Five hundred Forty Six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees wee Declare to be the full of all that Can to the time aforesaid be Claimed or demanded of or from the said United Company by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee either in their own right or in the right of either of them or as they or either of them are Representatives or Claim under their abovenamed Father or otherwise howsoever and accordingly wee do award the said Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees to be accepted by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee in full satisfaction of all Demands between them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November and wee award the same to be paid in the Manner and form and at the Place hereafter mentioned (that is to say) Wee award that the sume of Nineteen thousand One hundred and twenty five Pounds Sterling money being the amount of Value in England of One hundred and Seventy thousand Rupees be well and truly Paid or Caused to be paid by the said U(nited) Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee on or before the first day of February now next Ensueing and that upon such Payment the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do deliver up to the said United Company to be Cancelled the B(ond her)ein before Mentioned to be dated on or about the Eighteenth day of May One thousand seven hundred an(d.....een)<sup>1</sup> whereon as above mentioned is due Ninety one thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenety Nine pies and a half and the said other Bond herein-

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<sup>1</sup> Jalbhoy gives "Sixteen".



before mentioned to be dated the fourth day of O(cto)ber (?) One thousand seven hundred and sixteen whereon as above mentioned<sup>2</sup> .....

.....do further award that the said United Company do on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year (of Ou)r Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty five Engli(sh) stile well and truly Pay or Cause to be paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay in the East Indies the further su(m of) One hundred Eighty Eight thousand one hund(red an)d Ninety five Rupees upon Payment whereof wee do Award and Direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall him(self sig)n and also Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and (Boma)njee Rustumjee to sign a Receipt of acquitta(nce) of and for the said One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees AND wee do further De(clare an)d award the said United Company well and truly to Pay or cause to be Paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay aforesaid on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty six English Stile the further Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees being the residue of and in full Payment and satisfaction for the Sume of Five hundred and forty six thousand three hundred and ninety Rupees so due and Owing from the said United Company in the whole as abovementioned upon Payment of which said last Mentioned Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees wee do award that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall Sign Seal and Deliver and likewise Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee to Sign Seal deliver to or to the use of the said United Company and their Successors a General Release of and from all Claims Accounts and Demands whatsoever between them and each of them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November last past And wee Do Award and direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do and shall also Sign Seal and Execute unto and to the use of the said United Company a Bond of Sufficient Panalty

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<sup>2</sup> Jalbhoy gives, as read in 1900, "is due fifty one thousand eight hundred and forty Rupees and we."

Conditioned for the saving harmless and indemnified the said United Company and their Successors of from and against all Claims and Demands that shall or may be made upon the said United Company or their Successors for or in respect of the said Sumes of Money so paid in Pursuance of this Award and from and against all Actions Suits and Damages that Shall or may happen to or be at any time or times Commenced or Prosecuted against the said United Company or their Successors for or by reason or in respect of their having made such Payments as aforesaid or any of them or otherwise howsoever in relation thereto IN WITNESS WHEREOF wee the said Arbitrators have to this our Award Sett our hands and Seals this Eighteenth Day of January in the Eleventh year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain France and Ireland defender of the Ffaith E<sup>1</sup> .....opez (?) Domini 1724.

Sealed and Delivered.

MATHEW DECKER,

I.S.

(being first Duely stampt)

JOS. WORDSWORTH,

I.S.

in the presence of

E. HARRISON,

I.S.

STR. HERVEY (?)

JOHN HEATHCOTE,

I.S.

GEORGE LLOYD (?)

(The Document bears a Seal on the left hand margin. The words Honi and Mal are distinctly read; the other portions are torn off. So, the Seal seems to bear the inscription "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.")

<sup>1</sup> Jalbhoy gives these words as "or Anno".

<sup>2</sup> For the reading of these two letters which seem to be I.S. and are put within a circle, *vide* above (Section IIA Documents).



**DOCUMENT No. 3.<sup>3</sup>**

1. TO ALL to whom these Presents shall come. We Sr Edward Mathus
2. Knight Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London Send Greeting
3. KNOW YE that on the day of the . . . . . of the King Majesty of Court (?)
4. holden before us in the Chambers of the hall ? of the said City personally (?)
5. . . . . and appeared . . . . .
6. wellknown and worthy of good credit (?) . . . . .  
and by solumn oath wh . . . . .
7. upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God there and there C . . . . .
8. solemnly declare . . . . . and depose (?)  
that . . . . . was . . . . .
9. Sr Mathew Decker of London Baronet Josias Wordsworth E(dward Harrison)
10. and John Heathcote of London Esquires Severally sign seal and (de)liv(er)
11. and Deeds Deliver our originall instrument of . . . . .
12. the Eighteenth day of January last and purporting to be . . . . .
13. . . . . the East India Company in England, and Nowrojee . . . . . (?)
14. of Surat . . . . . and that he the said . . . . .
15. . . . . and Delivery thereof did . . . . . his
16. Bond and the said Nowrojee (?) did further declare . . .
17. . . . . that the said writing (?) . . . . .
18. . . . .
19. or that he the said . . . . .
20. the said Originall Instrument and the same Exactly to
21. the same in Every respect.

In Ffaith and testimony of . . . . .

. . . . Lord Mayor . . . . .

. . . . . Seal of . . . . .

. . . . . put and appeared

on fourth day of February

of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord

. . . . . King of Great Britain . . . . .

Dated 1724.

(Here there is an illegible signature)

<sup>3</sup> This document is referred to by Jalbhoy.

**DOCUMENT No. 4.**

MESSRS. FRAMJEE RUSTUMJEE AND BOMANJEE RUSTUMJEE.

I have received yor<sup>r</sup> Several Letters, and have returned answer to some of them by Capt<sup>n</sup>. Hide and last by Mr. Thomas Waters ; And I think you did wrong to send Newrojee to England without a Letter of Attorney from und<sup>r</sup> yor<sup>r</sup> hands after the English maner, neither did you send by him the original Bonds, which was the most material things wanting—I have to the utmost of my power helped and assisted Newrojee in yor<sup>r</sup>. affair, and have been of greater service than any body cou'd have been here, as I beleive Newrojee will do me the justice to signify to you—whatever Newrojee hath done in this concern hath been by my advice, he always consulted with me, and I have told him what was necessary and proper to be done—And as I have said to Newrojee that if he or you tell any body what methods have been taken in England relating to this business it will greatly prejudice the affairs.

Newrojee. & Capt<sup>t</sup>. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man of War have had some dispute (the particulars Newrojee will acquaint you with) which dispute I have made an end of here, and they have given a General release to each other.

Yor. Brother Newrojee hath paid the money due to me for consulage and Interest, and I have given him a receipt for the same—I have likewise agreed with Newrojee that in case my Attorney in India should have received this money from either of you, Mr. Thomas Waters sha(II pa)y back the money to you, with Interest according to the Custome of India and I have write to Mr. Waters & ordered him so to do—I have advised Mr. Newrojee, and so have several Gentn.<sup>1</sup> here, that you three Brothers shou'd live amicably and peaceably in all yor<sup>r</sup>. affairs, because in a very short time Its to be hoped the hon<sup>ble</sup>. Company will employ you all jointly as their Broker, as is promised by my own, and Newrojees good Friends here, but if any dispute happens among you then you will ruin yor<sup>r</sup>. business—Since Newrojees comeing to England he hath been very ill, but he hath taken great pains in this business, and every body here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction

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<sup>1</sup> Gentlemen.



of the hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, and for the Good and Interest of his Brothers and Family; therefore you ought to make him a handsome present for his long and fatiguing voyage & Good Services.

In yo<sup>r</sup>, account dated Sept<sup>r</sup>. 10th 1722 You have deducted Thirteen hundred Twenty Two Rupees 59 pice<sup>1</sup> for Commission on Twenty Six Thousand Four hundred Fifty Eight Rupees 33 pice at 5 p. Cent to Mr. Hope as Vice Consul, this I can't allow, therefore I hope you will recover it with Interest. For I promised Mr. Hope only on what he shou'd collect himself, by which means I understood he was Security, whereas had not yo<sup>r</sup>. affairs taken a favourable turn, my consulage must have been lost, by Mr. Hopes neglecting my orders—I have ordered my Attorney to receive back from Mr. Hope whatever he has so fallaciously charged in former Accounts, and I hope for yo<sup>r</sup>. assistance as I shall readily serve you in England.

I understand Mr. Hope has not Credited me for the Williams consulage and some other Ships on pretence that they belonged to Companys Servants, the Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception, and the excuseing the Servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary Act and designed only as an encouragement to Young Beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in Stocks, otherwise the name of a Companys Servant might cover many Cargo's as Mr. Hope has done, this I hope you will enquire into and clear up for me.

I come now to recomend to you Mr. Thomas Waters, whom, I have made my Atto(rney) if he applies to you for yo<sup>r</sup>. assistance in mine or his own affairs, I flatter myself you will give him what you are able — I recomend you to the divine providence, and am

Yo<sup>r</sup>. very Loveing.

Mr. WATERS, Mr. INNES, Mr. }  
LAMBTON, MR. LOUTHER are all my }  
Friends, whom I desire you will }  
assist as occasion serves.

CHAR BOONET.

LONDON *March 25 1725.*

Yesterday your brother concluded his affair with Commadore

<sup>2</sup> In this document the word pice is written in small types above the figure.

Mathews, which considering the nature of your bil of Exchange is very wel made and end of and I do not think of least service I have done your family, I hope you wil exert your selves in like manner for me.

CHAR BOONET.



Our President and  
Council of Bombay

London the 19<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>r</sup> 1724

Wee the Court of Directors of the United Company  
Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies  
send this to acquaint you That by the King George lately  
arrived, and the Star Hope which came in sometime before, wee  
have received yo<sup>r</sup>. severall packets and Advices giving us an  
account of our Affairs under your Management with the  
reasons of your proceedings. We observe in yo<sup>r</sup>. Letters by King  
George, That the Governour of Surat and the Merchants  
thinks it very reasonable, that the late Brothers should give  
us satisfaction as to all just Demands upon them, which as  
you have wrote us is what you desire, and would be content  
with the proof of even from their own Books & Accounts, &  
to submit any Matters of difference that may arise To the  
Determination of the Merchants of Surat to be mutually  
chosen by the said Brothers & you, for them to Conclude & settle  
the same.

We find in the Letter by the King George That Framjee  
is in Custody at the Surat Durbar, and Bomanjee remains  
Confined to his house at Bombay, former Letters gave us yo<sup>r</sup>.  
reasons why you did not then think it proper to let him go  
off the Island.

The Salisbury Man of War which arrived at Spithead  
the later end of Aprill last brought Novrajee from Surat, he is  
since come up hither, and hath laid before us severall papers and  
accounts, which are Ordred to be perused and taken into Considera-  
tion.

Among other papers he gave us one Entituled the Case of  
Framjee in Close prison at Surat, wherein he represents, That this  
was occasion'd by the English Chief M<sup>r</sup>. Hope & afterwards M<sup>r</sup>.  
Cowans & Courtneys application to Momcen Cawn the Surat  
Gov<sup>r</sup>. and by a Letter deliver'd to him wrote by Governor Sherris  
in which Framjee was at first Confined, then Guards set on his  
Father Rushmjee's house, after this Framjee was forced to pay  
Momcen Cawn at times Fifty Thousand Rupees, and also Two  
hundred Rupees a day, Leave to supply the people in the Island w<sup>th</sup>  
provisions & Water, and besides all these Hardships he has undergone  
corporall punishments.



We are apt to think this Case is greatly aggravated —  
or at least that the Governour proceeded to rigorous treatment  
to Oblige Frampce to come to a fair account according to the  
Custom of the Country, which was at first civilly desired to be  
done without any Compulsion, and ought to have been Complied  
with.

But however the Case be, We have at Nowrajes request  
consented & agreed, and do hereby direct & order That you do give  
leave to Comanche, if he do yet remain at Bombay to go to Surat  
whenever he pleases without delay, & That you do y<sup>e</sup> Endeavour  
by proper Application to the Governour of Surat to get Frampce  
released from Confinement, and the Guards taken off from his  
late Fathers house. Our desires being to end all differences amicably  
for We would not have him Opprest.

We have at Nowrajes desire given him Six Letters, all  
of the same Tenor with this, That as he intends to send them  
overland, if any should miscarry, the rest may come safe and  
Earlier than by the Shipping directly from hence, for they will  
not sail till the proper Season, by which you may Expect an  
Answer to your Letters now before us, We are

Your Loving Friends

John Eccleston	Harrison
Edw. Owen	Abigail Williams
John Baug	Wm Drummond
Elizabeth Tyeb	William Aulabie
R. Mortworth	Wm. Billers
Mallen Decker	John Borton
	Robt Hudson
	Charles Child
	John Mortworth
	Wm. Guallard