

The
Political
Agents
and the
Native Raj

Dipak Kumar Chaudhuri

The second half of the 19th century witnessed two distinct identities of India: The British India and the Princely States of Native India. Two apparently contradictory impulses guided the imperial mind during this period. On the one hand, the old policy of annexation was replaced by a policy of co-operation, and Princes were assured of their dynastic and other privileges; on the other hand, in a bid to integrate the two Indias into a single politico-economic unit, it resorted to some sort of indirect rule over the Princely States. And the men chosen for this task of 'indirect rule' were the Political Agents.

The period between 1871 and 1890 was this phase of 'indirect rule' in Tripura. In 1871, for the first time ever, a Political Agency was set up in the State, while in 1890, the Agency was withdrawn. The entire period, however, turned to be a period of conflict of two opposing forces: the forces of change, represented by the Political Agents; and the forces of tradition, represented by the Tripura Raj, under Birchandra Manikya. Though reforms, cast on British model, were introduced as a conciliatory gesture, the conflict all the time loomed large in the background, taking ultimately a concrete shape over the control of finance and threatening, at one time, the very existence of the Raj. Out of this process of conflict and conciliation, at any rate, began the process of modernization of Tripura.

The present work is an analysis of this process in the history of Tripura, in particular, in the socio-economic sphere.

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**THE POLITICAL AGENTS
AND THE NATIVE RAJ**

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THE POLITICAL AGENTS AND THE NATIVE RAJ

—Conflict, Conciliation and Progress
Tripura between 1871 to 1890



DIPAK KUMAR CHAUDHURI



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Dedicated
in Memory of my *late wife*
Baikali

Preface

Tripura, today, is the smallest of the Seven-sister States of north-east India, with an area of only 10,477 square kilometres. Situated between latitudes 22.56 and 24.32 degrees north and longitudes 91.0 and 92.20 degrees east, this land-locked State is surrounded by Mizoram in the east, Assam in the north-east and Bangladesh in the north, west and south. The present Tripura is actually a successor State of the erstwhile Princely State of Tripura, which covered the present territory, plus an area of 589 square miles of plain lands in the west, known as the Chakla Roshnabad.

One of the intriguing features of Princely Tripura was that this Chakla, though formed an integral part of the State, yet, by a curious process of history, became a zemindary under the Permanent Settlement. The Rajas of Tripura were mere zeminders in relation to the Chakla, while independent in respect of the rest of the territory, which, because of its physical features, was commonly known as the "Hill Tipperah."

The term 'Tripura' in this study stands only for Hill Tipperah, while the term 'Raj' indicates the Hill Tipperah Raj. The Chakla Roshnabad had automatically been excluded from this study, as it was beyond the jurisdiction of the Tipperah Raj.

By all accounts, Tripura was a very ancient State and the Tripura Raj one of the most powerful in the region. It was the Mughals who for the first time occupied the western plain lands of Tripura and began collecting revenue from that portion. But there was no violation of the Raj in the hill. The English East India Company followed this Mughal principle of inviolability of the Raj in the hills, while exacting revenue from the plains.

As a result, the Raj in the hills underwent no change for centuries. Cut off from the outside world by the protective barriers of hills, the Rajas of Tripura maintained all their old traditions and customs in their independent territory without bothering about changes elsewhere. Thus, even in the middle

of the 19th Century, the Hill Tripura remained largely as a terra incognita of which nothing was known except that it was inhabited by wild tribes where the "cake of custom," to use the phraseology of Toynbee, reigned supreme.

But the "cake of custom" was broken late in the 19th century, when the British, in their bid to develop the resources of the Native States for the sustenance of Imperial economy, and to integrate these states into a single politico-economic unit, adopted a policy of "indirect rule" through the Political Agents. Tripura which was so long remained undisturbed, was caught into this vortex of Imperial policy.

The period between 1871 and 1890 was this period of indirect rule in Tripura, when for the first time, Political Agents were stationed at Agartala, the State capital. The Political Agents came with definite instructions to introduce reforms, to develop the resources and thereby to change the State so as to bring some form of uniformity between it and the rest of India. The century-old independence of the Raj consequently began to be threatened.

The result was a conflict between the reigning Raja, Birchandra Manikya (1862-1896), and the Political Agents. The conflict developed at two levels—political as well as ideological. Politically, it was a conflict between paramountcy and independence. Ideologically, it was a conflict between two opposing forces: the forces of change, represented by the Political Agents, and the forces of tradition, represented by the Raj. Birchandra was opposed to the Political Agents and all they stood for from the very beginning, but succumbed under pressure. Reforms were introduced in an apparently conciliatory gesture, though the conflict remained in the background. Out of this process of conflict and conciliation, however, gradually emerged a modern Tripura. The two decades of Agency rule, thus, constituted the transitional phase of this process of history.

The present work is a study on this all important period of the history of Tripura, on which no work has been done so far. But the whole emphasis in this study is on the financial administration of the State, as the conflict ultimately developed into financial conflict, which at one time, threatened the very

existence of the Raj. Here, attempts have been made to analyse the forces of this change, and their reactions, along with the changes that followed, particularly in the socio-economic sphere.

The material used are mostly unpublished records preserved in the archives of New Delhi, Calcutta and Agartala, specially the secret annual reports, which the Political Agents sent regularly to the Bengal Government. These reports, described as the "Annual Administration Report of the Political Agency, Hill Tipperah," which dwelt on almost every aspect of the State, constitute, in effect, the only major source of information on the late 19th Century Tripura, apart from the writings of Kailash Chandra Singha and the *Statistical Accounts* of W.W. Hunter. These have of course, been supplemented by other published documents, gazetteers, service-records, newspapers, journals books and personal interviews.

In the course of my study and preparation of the work, I received assistance and cooperation from many quarters. To all of them, I shall remain ever grateful. I am particularly indebted to my "friend, philosopher and guide," Dr. Ranjit Sen, of Rabindra Bharati University who, in spite of his busy schedule, had taken all sort of trouble for me in addition to reading the manuscript. I also acknowledge my debt to the authorities and staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta, Secretariat Archives, Agartala, National Library, Calcutta, Tripura University Library, Agartala, M.B.B. College Library, Agartala and the Government Museum, Agartala. I am also very much indebted to the Director of the British Library: Oriental and India Office Collections, London, who, on my request, promptly sent me photo-copies of the relevant portions of the service records of the Political Agents of Tripura. I also remember with all humility the counsel, help and encouragement I received from my colleagues and friends, like Shyamal Sengupta, Mahadev Chakravarti, Prabhas Ranjan Bhattacharjee, Malabika Dasgupta, Bamapada Mukherjee, Ratna Das, Bithi Sircar, Sri, Mihir Kanti Dev, Sri Guruprasad Chakravarti and Sri Sukmar Das. My special thanks are due to Sri P.K. Devbarman, the

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Abbreviations

ASAR	Agartala Secretariat Archives Records
B	Bundle
GOB	Government of Bengal
GOI	Government of India
NAR	National Archives Records
P. Nos.	Proceedings Nos.
Reports	Annual Administration Reports of the Political Agency, Hill Tripura
SI	Serial No.
TE	Tripura Era
WBAR	West Bengal State Archives Records

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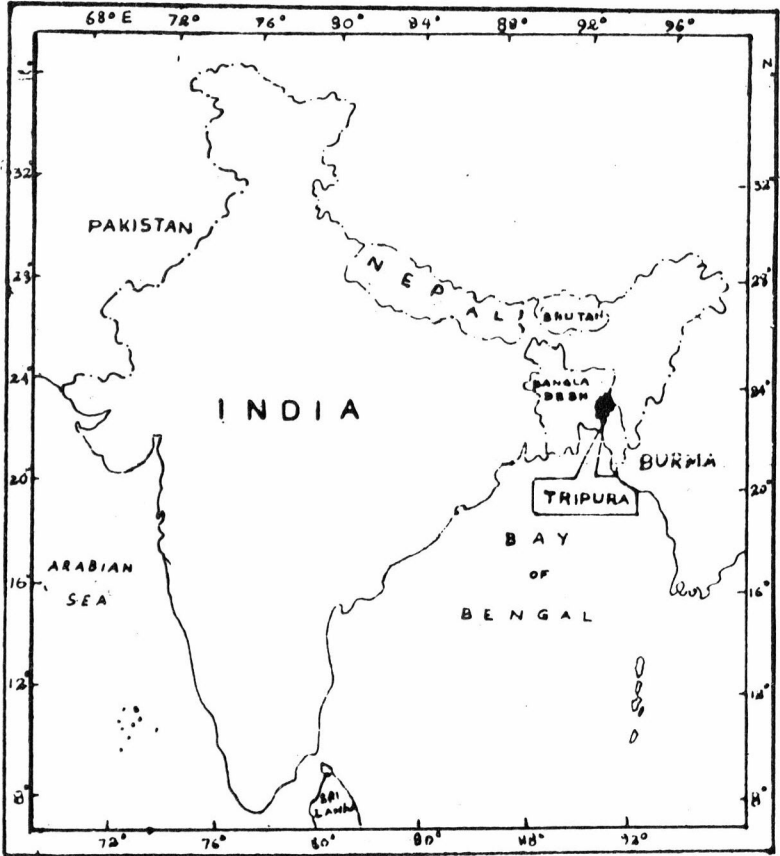
Select Glossary

<i>Aalong</i>	A prison where only hill people were kept
<i>Abadi</i>	Arable
<i>Abkari</i>	Excise
<i>Abwab</i>	Cess levied in addition to land revenue
<i>Adalat</i>	Court of justice
<i>Adda kar</i>	Chowkidari tax
<i>Ain</i>	Act
<i>Aman</i>	Winter rice crop
<i>Amla</i>	Government officer
<i>Ani</i>	A special cess collected at the rate of one anna per rupee of the jama from the peasants of Udaypur.
<i>Anna</i>	One sixteenth of a rupee.
<i>Aus</i>	Summer rice crop.
<i>Bandobast</i>	Arrangement
<i>Ban Kar</i>	Tax on forest produce
<i>Bara Gharia</i>	Twelve oldest Thakur families
<i>Barat</i>	Special payment order issued by the Maharaja's office
<i>Bari</i>	Tribal village
<i>Barkandaz</i>	A footman or follower carrying arms.
<i>Batta</i>	Special allowance of soldiers when on active service.
<i>Bepari</i>	Wholesale trader
<i>Bigha</i>	Measurement of land, usually one-third of an acre
<i>Binindia (Binandia)</i>	A carrier of royal message and also a collector of Family Tax in hills.
<i>Braduri</i>	A company (of soldiers)
<i>Brahmatra</i>	Rent-free land granted to Brahmins.
<i>Chakla</i>	Circle
<i>Chan</i>	Thatching grass.
<i>Chandni Bhatti</i>	The area of a shop in the market.

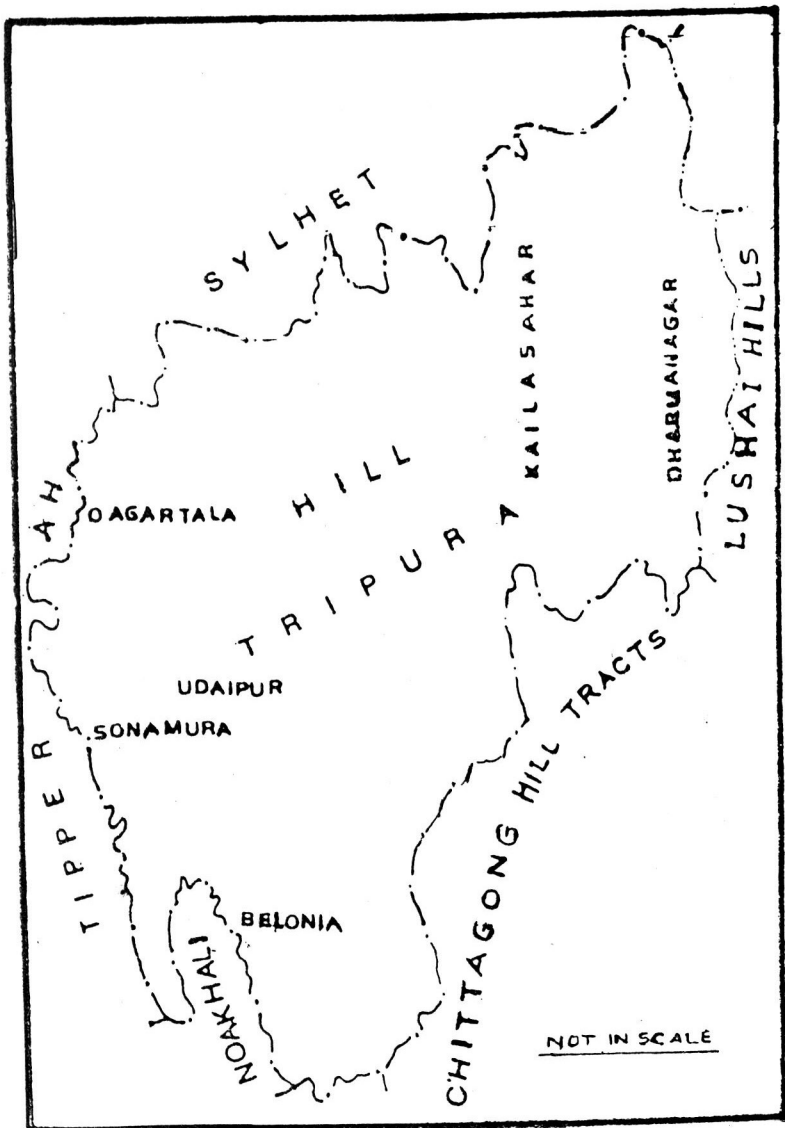
<i>Chankola</i>	The Place in the river toll station where chan was kept for purposes of export, measurement and tax.
<i>Chauth</i>	One-fourth of a produce due to the State.
<i>Chowdhury</i>	Headman of the tribal village in Tripura.
<i>Chowkidar</i>	Night watchman in a village.
<i>Chuari</i>	Retail trader
<i>Darogah</i>	Police officer of sub-inspector rank.
<i>Dar Taluk</i>	An intermediary right between the holder of a taluk and the cultivating raiyat.
<i>Devatra</i>	Rent-free land for the maintenance of deities and temple.
<i>Diwani</i>	Power of civil government, particularly revenue administration
<i>Doal</i>	The elephant-catching field in Tripura.
<i>Durbar</i>	Royal court.
<i>Dusserah</i>	The fourth and last day of the Durga Puja.
<i>Fauj</i>	Army.
<i>Ganja</i>	A narcotic smoking preparation
<i>Ghar-chukti kar</i>	Family tax paid by the hill people
<i>Ghat</i>	River toll station
<i>Gomasta</i>	Village agent of a superior landholder.
<i>Hakim</i>	A Muslim physician dealing with indigenous medicine
<i>Ijara</i>	Farmed revenue holding
<i>Ijaradar</i>	Revenue farmer
<i>Jangal abadi</i>	Clearing of forest for purposes of cultivation
<i>Jiratia praja</i>	A tenant who was a subject of British India, but owned land for cultivation in Princely Tripura.
<i>Jola</i>	A Weaver.
<i>Joom</i>	Shifting cultivation
<i>Joomia</i>	Shifting cultivator.
<i>Jote</i>	Agricultural land of property.
<i>Jubaraj</i>	The crown-Prince.
<i>Kabiraj</i>	A Hindu physician dealing with ayurvedic medicine.

<i>Kani</i>	Measurement of land : about two and a half kani is equal to one acre.
<i>Kar</i>	Tax
<i>Karta</i>	The title of the nobility of Tripura.
<i>Kayemi</i>	Permanent
<i>Khas</i>	Directly under government without intermediaries.
<i>Khedda</i>	An enclosure for wild elephant trapping.
<i>Khillut</i>	Robe given to honour a Prince
<i>Khotgari</i>	The duty for permission to land at the toll station, for purposes of assessment of articles to be exported.
<i>Khuski mehal</i>	Farm for the collection revenue on forest produce removed by land.
<i>Kisty</i>	Instalment.
<i>Lahar</i>	Jungle track
<i>Lakh</i>	1,00,000
<i>Maharaja</i>	Great king
<i>Maharajakumar</i>	son of a reigning king.
<i>Mehal</i>	Revenue paying area.
<i>Miadi</i>	Of long term duration.
<i>Mufossil</i>	Area away from capital or headquarters.
<i>Muktub</i>	Institution imparting religious instructions to Muslim students.
<i>Munsif</i>	Judge in a Subordinate court.
<i>Nazar/</i>	Presents made to the superior on special occasions.
<i>Nazarana</i>	
<i>Niyamabali</i>	Rules
<i>Pahari Adalat</i>	Hill Court
<i>Pathsala</i>	Elementary vernacular school.
<i>Phousdar (Faujdar)</i>	Commander of the fauj.
<i>Raj</i>	Kingdom.
<i>Raja</i>	King
<i>Rajaswa</i>	Revenue
<i>Rajkumar</i>	Prince
<i>Raiyat</i>	Royal proclamation
<i>Sadar</i>	Headquarters
<i>Sarkar</i>	Large territorial division.

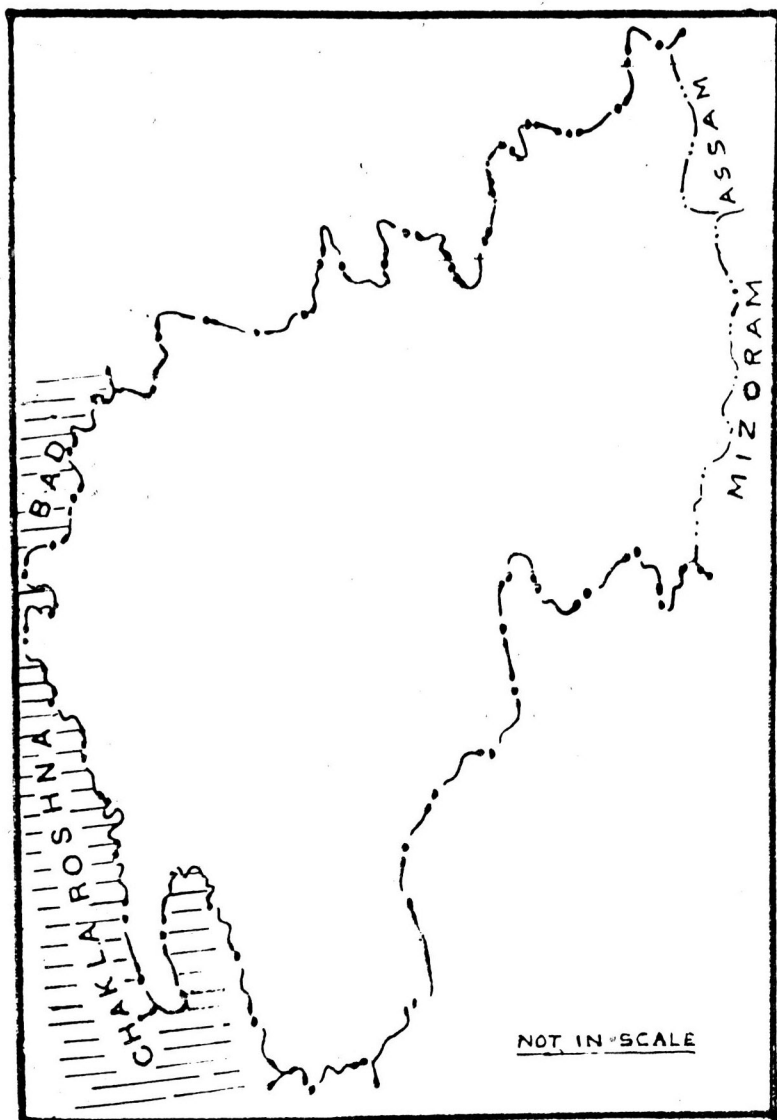
<i>Sarshu</i>	Mustard
<i>Sati</i>	Burning of a widow or of widows on the husband's pyre.
<i>Taluk</i>	Landed estate
<i>Talukdar</i>	Holder of the landed estate
<i>Thakur</i>	Title of the nobles of Tripura
<i>Thana</i>	Police outpost
<i>Til</i>	Oil-seed
<i>Tuccavi</i>	Agricultural loan.
<i>Tyethung</i>	System of forced labour in the hills, under which hill people were to act as coolies of king's officers
<i>Tussuldar (Tehsildar)</i>	Collector of revenue of a particular circle.



MAP 1 : India : Location of Tripura



MAP 2 : Hill Tipperah Raj (Tripura Today)



MAP 3 : Princely Tripura with Chakla Roshnabad

INTRODUCTION

Princely Tripura: A Historical Retrospection

In the second half of the 19th century the volatile political map of the Indian sub-continent was finally crystalized into two distinct identities: the British India, and the Princely India. The Princely India contained nearly 600 States,¹ and covered a total area of about 538,138 square miles,^{1(a)} or nearly one-third of the sub-continent. Its population was about one-fifth of the total population of India.

The States of Princely India were broadly divided into two categories: the First Division States, and the Second Division States. This distinction was made according to the Salutes of Gun. The First Division States were entitled to a Salute of Gun, which was denied to the Second Division States. The former were also allowed full powers in internal administration, with their own laws, own administration, own army and the police. The rulers of these States had absolute powers of life and death over their subjects. The rulers of Second Division States had no such privileges.

The State of Tripura had been a Princely State of the First Division category, with 13 Gun Salutes. Though it was very small and economically insignificant, yet it was awarded the superior status because, it was ruled by one of the oldest of Indian dynasties, and because, the Tripura Raj had, for generations, been a great stabilising force in an area abounded with hill tribes.

Unique Features of Princely Tripura

Princely Tripura had a number of unique features which were not to be found in any other Princely State of India. *First*, it was ruled, almost uninterrupted, by a single dynasty, known

as the Manikya dynasty, from at least 15th century. *Second*, its rulers had no treaty relations with the British, and had never paid any tribute, except a token *nazarana*, on the occasions of succession to the throne.² And *finally*, its rulers had a dual status. The territories of the State were clearly divided into two distinct parts: the hills in the east, and the plains in the west. In the hill portion, commonly known as the Hill Tripura (Tipperah), the rulers were independent Rajas, with their own administration, laws, and the army and the police. But in the plains, known as the Chakla Roshnabad, the same Rajas were mere zemindars under the Permanent Settlement. As zemindars, the Rajas were under British jurisdiction; but as Rajas of Hill Tripura, they were beyond the pale of British jurisdiction. This anomaly in the status of the rulers of Tripura was aggravated by the anomalous position of the Chakla Roshnabad. The Chakla was a part of British India; but at the same time, it was an "integral portion of an impartible Raj."³ And because it was an "integral portion" of the Tripura Raj, the normal zemindary rules were not applicable to it. Thus, on the one hand, it could not be auctioned like other zemindaries, even in default of Government revenues, because it was "impartible;" on the other hand, it was always beyond sale, because none other than the Rajas of Tripura could acquire its proprietorship. It was the zemindary of a specific Raj, and the succession to the zemindary was always dependent on the succession to that Raj.

These peculiarities of the Princely Tripura and its rulers were, however, not the outcome of any policy of the British. On the contrary, these were the ultimate results of a long historical process which started with the Mughal invasion of Tripura, during the time of Emperor Jahangir.

Legacy of the Past

The traditional history of Tripura, like that of other countries, was full of myths and legends. But it is established beyond doubt that Tripura was a power to be reckoned with since the 15th century. It fought regularly with the Sultans of Bengal for the control of the Chittagong—Sylhet region. It reached the height of its glory and power in the middle of the 16th century, when at one time, its territories "stretched from

the Sundarbans in the West, and Burmah in the East and South, and Kamrup in the North."⁴ Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, has referred to Tripura as an Independent State, adjacent to the *Bhati* provinces,⁵ whose ruler Bijay Manikya commanded an army of two lakhs, men and a train of a thousand war elephants.⁶

But the decline of Tripura as a powerful State set in when the Mughals cast their coveted eyes on it. Tripura was famous for its elephants, and these attracted the attention of the Mughal Emperors for purposes of both war and grandeur. According to the Rev. James Long's version of *Rajmala*,⁷ it was Emperor Jahangir, who demanded elephants and horses⁸ from Raja Jasadhar Manikya (c. 1613-1623), as tribute to the Emperor. Jasadhar did not make any response to this demand, and this led to the Mughal invasion of Tripura. The Subahdar of Bengal, Nawab Fateh Jung, led the Mughal army into the hills and defeated Jasadhar, who was then sent to Delhi as a prisoner. Udaypur, the capital of Tripura, was made the seat of Mughal garrison, and placed under the command of Mirza Nurullah.⁹

The damp and moist climate of the hills of Tripura, however, made it difficult for the Mughal army to occupy Udaypur for long. Soon the army establishment came down to the western plains of Meherkul Comillah. For two years and a half, the Mughal troops plundered the lands, chastised the old zemindars of the Tripura Raj, placed Muslim zemindars in some parganas, and collected revenue, "until a dreadful plague caused them to leave the country."¹⁰

The Mughals were however, immensely aware of the importance of the institution of the Raj, as a stabilizing factor, in the Indian body politic. As Ranjit Sen¹¹ has put it, for more than two hundred years the Mughals had battled against the Raj, conquered it, but not destroyed it, as they had adopted the principle of the inviolability of Raj as an institution. Following this principle, though they conquered the Tripura Raj, they did not destroy it. Jasadhar Manikya was offered his throne again on condition of paying tribute in horses and elephants. But he declined and preferred to remain in exile.¹²

The nobles of Tripura, at this stage, raised one of the kinsmen of Jasadhar Manikya to the throne, who took the title of Kalyan Manikya (c. 1625-1659).¹³ He also refused to pay

tribute to the Mughals. The result was repeated Mughal attacks on Tripura, which he successfully repulsed. But ultimately, he was defeated in 1658, by Shah Shuja of Bengal. Tripura, for the first time, was entered into the Mughal revenue roll, under the name of Sarkar Udaypur, at an annual *jama* of Rs. 99,860.¹⁴ The settlement was, however, made for the western plains only. The Mughals showed no interest to the hills, as they did not yield any land revenue. This was, in any case, the beginning of the process of separating the plain lands from the hills of Tripura.

Tripura's vitality, by this time, had already been sapped by the continuous warfare with a far superior and resourceful Mughal army. To this were added the evils of fratricidal quarrels and palace intrigues, which plagued Tripura after the death of Kalyan Manikya. Even then, the Rajas of Tripura, on occasions, tried to shake off the Mughal domination. Thus, it is said, that Ramdeva Manikya led an expedition to Sylhet in 1682, but was soon engaged by Shaista Khan. He ultimately made peace by presenting three elephants to the Emperor.¹⁵

The next Raja, Ratna Manikya II¹⁶ succeeded, to some extent, in recovering the lost glory of Tripura. It was during his reign that Raja Swargadeva Rudra Singh of Assam sent two diplomatic missions to the Court of Tripura for enlisting the Raja's support to build a confederacy of Hindu Princes against the Mughals.¹⁷ But the mission remained unfulfilled because of the death of Raja Swargadeva. Ratna Manikya himself was murdered by his step-brother,¹⁸ Ghanashyam, who usurped the throne in 1712, and ruled for two years as Mahendra Manikya.

Mahendra Manikya was succeeded by his brother, Dharma Manikya II (1712-33).¹⁹ He also defied the Mughals, stopped paying any tribute, and chastised most of the Mughal zemindars from the plains of Tripura.²⁰ But he became a victim of palace intrigue. Jagatram Thakur, a nephew of the Raja, and a great grandson of Raja Chhatra Manikya,²¹ made a conspiracy with Mir Habib, the Naib of Murshid Quli II, the Governor of Dacca, to occupy the plains of Tripura, in order to enforce his claims to the throne. He, of course, promised to pay up the arrears of tribute. According to Azad-al-Husaini,²² when Mir Habib placed the project before Murshid Quli, the latter decided to "conquer Tippera and put down idolatry there." Accordingly,

Mir Habib launched a three-pronged attack against Tripura from Dacca, Chittagong and Jaintia, and after a series of engagements, finally occupied the plains of Tripura in 1729.²³ Dharma Manikya fled to the hills.²⁴

Thus, the whole kingdom of Tripura, except the hill portion, was annexed to the Bengal Subah. Jagatram Thakur was installed to the throne as Raja Jagat Manikya. A *faujdar* was posted at Comillah, both for his protection and collection of revenue from the plains. When the matter was informed to the Nawab Shuha-ud-din of Bengal, he renamed the plains of Tripura as "Chakla Roshnabad" (Chakla means circle, and Roshnabad means the land of light).²⁵ Jagatram was given the zemindary rights over the Chakla.

Dharma Manikya, meanwhile, went to Murshidabad, and with the help of Jagat Seth, regained his throne, and obtained the zemindary right over the Chakla Roshnabad, at a *jama* of Rs. 50,000.²⁶ Thus the original Raja was brought back to the throne in 1733, by Shuja-ud-din, but a completely new chapter began in the history of Tripura. Henceforth, the Rajas of Tripura remained independent only within the confines of the hill portion, but zemindars under the Bengal Nawabs in respect of the plains. The "Independent Tripura" from that time onwards meant only "Hill Tripura." It was, however, not a zemindary Raj; the zemindary and the Raj were two distinct identities. But a practice grew up over the years under which both the succession to the zemindary in the plains, and to the Raj in the hills, were attested in the same one *Sanad*. The State of Tripura henceforth came to be divided into two distinct parts.

The political history of Tripura between the death of Dharma Manikya in 1733 and the advent of the English in Tripura in 1761, was one of continuous palace intrigues over succession on the one hand, and conflict with the Bengal Nawabs over the revenues of Chakla Roshnabad on the other. The Nawabs now began to control the succession, changing one Raja after another, with a view to ensure a regular remittance of revenue, while punishing them for being defaulters. In this period of uncertainties, as J.C. Datta²⁷ observes, the Tripura Raj was, indeed, converted into a simple zemindary.

There were three puppet rulers in this period between 1733

and 1748, about whom nothing is virtually known. They were Jaya Manikya, Indra Manikya, and Bijay Manikya. The latter was made Raja by the Bengal Nawab, with a monthly salary of Rs. 12,000, on condition that he would send all the revenues to Murshidabad. But when he fell into arrears, he was sent to Delhi as a prisoner, where he died in confinement.²⁸

After Bijay Manikya, Jubaraj Krishnamani, the brother of Indra Manikya, asserted his legitimate claim to the throne. But his claim was challenged by one Samser Gazi, the zemindar of Dakshiniki, who took possession of the Chakla Roshnabad by force, and promised to pay, Nawab Alivardi Khan, a huge amount of revenue. The Nawab was hemmed in by the Maratha raids in Bengal, and badly needed money, and as such, disregarding all the principles of the 'inviolability of the Raj,' he accorded recognition to Samser Gazi (1748). Samser captured Udaypur, forced Jubaraj Krishnamani to retreat to the hills, and set up a puppet ruler, under the title of Lakshaman Manikya. Later he began to rule Tripura in his name. He ruled for 12 years. But in later years the outcry against his oppression became so great, and his payment of revenues so irregular, that Nawab Mir Qasim arrested him and put him to death in 1760.²⁹

Mir Qasim now brought back the old Raj family of Tripura. Jubaraj Krishnamani was recognised as Raja Krishna Manikya, with the zemindary rights over the Chakla Roshnabad (1760). But soon a quarrel broke out between him and Mir Qasim, over the payment of revenue of the Chakla, when the latter sought the help of the English East India Company to punish the Raja. With that Tripura, for the first time, came face to face with British Imperialism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The number is approximate, as there is no consensus about it. According to *Butler Report* of 1929, the number was 562 only. W. Lee Warner put the number at 600 (*The Protected Princes of India*, London, 1910).
- 1a. This figure is from P.L. Chudgar, *Indian Princes under British Protection*, (Reprinted), New Delhi, 1986, p. 4.
2. Bir Chandra Manikya was the last ruler of Tripura who actually paid *nazarana* or succession duty in 1862. But later, the practice

was to pay a *Nazar*, which was touched and then remitted.

3. On 24th March 1809, the Sadar Dewani Adalat, while giving its verdict in the succession case between Ramganga and Durgamani, declared that Chakla Roshnabad was "an integral portion of an impartible Raj."; See K.C. Singha, *Rajmala* Vol-I (Reprinted), Agartala, 1984, p. 143.
4. *Memoranda on Indian States 1936* (corrected up to 1st January 1936), Published by Authority, Delhi, 1937, p. 290.
5. The low land between the rivers Hooghly and Meghna has been described by Muslim historians as *Bhati* province, which included present 24 Parganas, Khulna, Jasohar, Faridpur, Bakhargunge, and part of Dacca district.
6. Quoted in K.C. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
7. *Sri Rajmala* was the court-history of the Rajas of Tripura, originally written in Sanskrit as *Rajratnakar*, and later in Bengali. The copy of *Sri Rajmala*, which the Rev. James Long analysed was, however, lost. According to the Rev. Long, it was the oldest specimen of Bengali, having been compiled in the 15th century. Long's *Analysis of the Rajmala or Chronicles of Tripura*, was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1850, Vol. XIX, Calcutta, Reprinted, Agartala, 1923, p.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 18; it is strange that the Emperor wanted horses, because, though Tripura was abounded with elephants, horses were not found in the State.
9. J.N. Sarkar (ed.), *The History of Bengal*, Vol. II, University of Dacca, Dacca, 11nd Impression, 1972, p. 301.
10. The Rev. J. Long, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
11. R. Sen, *Metamorphosis of the Bengal Polity (1700-1793)*, Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta, 1987, Chapt. IV : Raj.
12. The Rev. J. Long *op. cit.*, p. 13, Jasadhar Manikya later died in Brindavan, at the age of 72; also see K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98.
13. Kalyan Manikya's father's name is not known. The *Rajmala* described him as descendant of Gangã Fa; in other accounts, he was merely described as a kinsman of Jasadhar Manikya.
14. K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
15. J.N. Sarkar (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 377.
16. It was once believed that Ratna Manikya I was the first Raja of Tripura to assume the title of Manikya. Previously he was known as Ratna Fa. He recovered the throne with the help of the Sultan of Gaur. As a token of gratitude, he presented the Sultan a valuable

ruby and one hundred elephants. The Sultan, in return, bestowed the title 'Manikya' on him. It was thought that the incident took place in 1279 AD. But later evidences suggest that he came to the throne at a much later date, probably in 1464. See, K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

17. S.K. Bhuiyan, (ed.), *Tripura Buranji*. Guwahati, 1939, p. XII, (Introduction).
18. K.C. Singha, *Rajmala Ba Tripurar Itibritta*, Vol-I, Agartala, 1984 (Reprinted), p. 110 (in Bengali).
19. Dharma Manikya I came to the throne probably in 1431, and ruled upto 1462.
20. The Rev. J. Long, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
21. Chhatra Manikya ruled between 1661 and 1667. Before accession to the throne, he was known as Nakshatra Roy. The fratricidal quarrel between him and his brother Govinda Manikya was immortalised by Poet Tagore in his works—"Visarjan," and "Rajarshi."
22. Azad-al-Husaini's work *Naubahar-i-Murshid Quli Khan*, was translated by J.N. Sarkar, and published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. LXIX, Sl. No. 132, Calcutta, p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 4; K.C. Singha has put this date at 1732 (*op. cit.*, p. 114).
24. K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, p. 115; According to Azad-al-Husaini, Dharma Manikya was taken to Dacca as a prisoner, and detained in the fort of Dacca "in a good place and supplied with food and garments." (*op. cit.*, p. 4).
25. K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, p. 115; also see Salimullah, *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, quoted in J.N. Sarkar, *East Bengal 1728-29*, published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. LXIX, Sl. No. 132, Calcutta.
26. K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
27. J.C. Datta, *An Introduction to the History of Tripura from Monarchy to Democracy*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 17.
28. K.C. Singha of course, does not subscribe to this view. According to him, it was a deliberate ploy to belittle Bijay Manikya by his rivals, the descendants of Krishnamani, who had circulated this information. But the information is found in the *Analysis of Rajmala* by Rev. J. Long. *op.cit.*, p. 21.
29. For details of Samsar Gazi, see K.C. Singha, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-30.

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