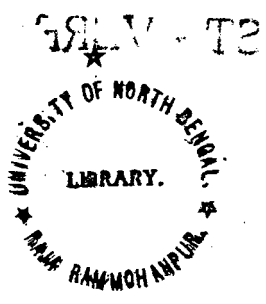


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The Reception Committee of the second Calcutta Session (1955), following the precedent laid down by the Reception Committee of the first Calcutta Session (1939), provided the entire cost of printing this volume of Proceedings and entrusted to us the heavy task of seeing it through the press.

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J. N. BANERJEE,
A. C. BANERJEE,
Local Secretaries,
P. C. GUPTA,
Jt. Local Secretary,
Indian History Congress
Calcutta Session (1955).

10th December 1956.

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MESSAGE

No. 2255—PMH/55
NEW DELHI
December 4, 1955.

DEAR DR. DATTA,

I have seen your letter about the Eighteenth Session of the Indian History Congress. I am sorry I cannot send you any long message, but I do send all my good wishes.

The coming of independence to India has opened out many fields to our people and released their energy in many directions. A subject people can never think rightly. They are too oppressed to have a balanced outlook. We are, I suppose, adjusting ourselves mentally to the new conditions that we live in and the new problems that we have to face. A process of adjustment from old to new is often a little difficult and painful. But it has to be done.

This applies to historians as much as to others, and they have to get out of the old ruts and look at the past as well as the present in a balanced and objective way. Also, if I may say so, they have to make the writing of history not only scholarly but also interesting to the reader. Heavy scholarship has its virtues but in a democratic age, we have always to think of large numbers of people and not of the small elect.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

SRI N. K. SIDHANTA

Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta

Chairman, Reception Committee

DR. MOOKERJEE, SARDAR PANIKKAR, MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

It is my privilege on behalf of the Reception Committee to accord you a most hearty welcome to this historic city and to this University, the oldest in India. Sixteen years ago—in 1939—the Indian History Congress held its session in Calcutta under the auspices of this University. This organisation of Indian historians was then in its infancy, but under the guidance of eminent Presidents it has grown into a great academic body, created a new and vigorous tradition of historical scholarship, and placed before our rising scholars an exacting ideal. During the intervening years the Indian History Congress held its session at different University centres and familiarised all parts of the country with its programme and achievement. And now, after a fairly long interval, we are fortunate enough in welcoming you in our midst for the second time.

The city of Calcutta cannot boast of a hoary past ; it arose out of marshes and jungles 250 years ago under the impact of British colonial imperialism. But its place in the history of India is assured for all time, for it is not too much to say that modern India was born in the streets of Calcutta. For two centuries it was the nerve-centre of the British Empire in the East. As in the days of old all roads in the Mediterranean world led to Rome, so in the late 18th and 19th centuries all roads in India led to Calcutta. The growth of three marshy villages into a big city was a fitting symbol of the phenomenal rise of a mighty imperial fabric. The threads of diplomacy and of war were collected by skilful, enterprising and far-sighted empire-builders in the spacious halls of the imposing Raj Bhavan built in the days of Lord Wellesley. Even then Calcutta was an important city judged by the modern standard : in 1800 the Police Commissioner estimated its population at 5,00,000. People who looked to the future rather than to the past had already begun to come here to avail themselves of the manifold opportunities open to the citizens of the growing metropolis.

Among them was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, whose mighty mind, deeply rooted in the past and deriving sustenance from ancient learning, grasped clearly the message of the West and the potentialities of the qualities represented by the new rulers of the country. During the most fruitful period of his life which he spent in this city he gave a new direction to

Indian thought and tried to switch off the Indian mind from its antiquated moorings. The foundation of the Hindu College in 1817 and of the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 may be treated as very significant landmarks in Indian history. And the abolition of Sati, in which several leading citizens of Calcutta, including Raja Ram Mohan Roy, played an effective part, prepared the ground for the attainment by Indian women of that status in social life to which they are entitled in modern civilisation. A far-reaching revolutionary spirit had already affected the best elements in Indian society, and British inspiration was unwittingly creating the weapon which would, a century later, destroy the imposing political structure reared by Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Dalhousie. Tremendous political and cultural forces were at work, and in these dramatic developments Indians had already begun to play their part.

Meanwhile new economic forces released by the Industrial Revolution in Britain had vitally affected even the remote villages of India, not to speak of commercial cities like Calcutta. Economic imperialism was merciless in its operation. The Indian trading and commercial classes gradually found themselves reduced to the position of mere shopkeepers, and cottage industries patronised by them died a violent death. India became a well-controlled granary of raw materials which sustained the new industrial life in the ruling country and assured its increasing prosperity. Calcutta, the most important centre of British business in India, thus witnessed a radical transformation in the economic life of the country which has left scars too deep to be healed by one or two Five-Year Plans.

It is not for me to make an assessment of the enduring effects of British rule in India. The Indian History Congress is the most competent body to deliver the final judgment on this controversial issue. But it appears to me that, while we must make an objective appraisal of the consequences of loss of liberty and economic exploitation which British rule meant for us, we should not ignore what we received in other spheres of life from the best minds associated with the British regime. No student of Indian history or culture who happens to visit Calcutta should fail to pay his homage to the memory of Sir William Jones and spend at least a few moments in the shrine which he founded—The Asiatic Society. It would be superfluous for me to refer in this connection to those European scholars, antiquarians and historians whose contributions to different branches of Indology are of abiding value. While the liquidation of alien rule was a natural—and inevitable—process, the treasures of the mind know no racial barrier and form a permanent part of the heritage of mankind.

The decision to establish three Universities in India, in the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, made by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, during Lord Dalhousie's regime in this country, was a recognition of the success already achieved by the policy urged by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Thomas Babington Macaulay. The fact that this momentous decision was implemented at a time when prac-

tically the whole of Northern India was in revolt against the East India Company is an indication, not only of the self-confidence of the British rulers, but also of the warm welcome which this expanded opportunity of closer contact with Western learning was expected to receive from large sections of the people. The University of Calcutta was established on 24 January, 1857, and within a few months the sister Universities of Madras and Bombay were born.

For a hundred years this University has been a centre of learning as well as a nursery of patriots. Many among the foremost leaders of the national struggle for freedom have been members of this University in the formative years of their life. Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose, who were among the founders of the Indian National Congress, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the inspired composer of *Bande Mataram*, Chittaranjan Das and Subhas Chandra Bose, who gave new directions to the struggle for freedom, and many other men and women—some remembered with respect, others unhappily forgotten—were students of this University. And the most distinguished of our ex-students living to-day is the President of the Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, whose great services to the nation extend over practically half a century, and whose interest in Indian history is evident from his acceptance of the position of Patron of the History of India Publication Committee of the Indian History Congress.

In this connection I may be permitted to refer to the great interest which this University has taken in promoting the study of History. Post-Graduate teaching in History (as in other subjects) was concentrated in the University classes in 1917, and special arrangements were made for the study of the history and institutions of the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Sikhs whose struggle for freedom occupies an important place in our national annals. At the same time a separate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture was created. A Professorship in this subject was established a few years earlier. A great impetus was given to researches in various branches of Indian history. All this was due to the far-sighted academic planning of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whose liberal concept of History was thus explained in his Convocation Address of 1911: "I take the term History in its widest sense as inclusive not only of political history and history of external relations, but also history of culture, of literature, of philosophy, of arts, and of the sciences." Subsequently, a Professorship of Mediæval and Modern Indian History was established, and a separate Department of Islamic History and Culture was created with a separate Professorship.

The achievement of freedom has increased the responsibilities and widened the scope of scholars who have devoted themselves to researches in Indian history. The changing concept of History demands the study of social and economic history in addition to political and cultural history. As a matter of fact, the evolution of history is now viewed as a many-sided social process, and a close analysis of its ramifications requires co-

operative efforts which can be organised only by bodies like the Indian History Congress. It is also necessary to bring the results of scholarly studies to the door of the common man, for History is a subject of living interest to the average citizen and should be put in words which he can understand. This adjustment between a high standard of scholarship and popular presentation is not at all easy, but if historians have claims upon the people's support, the people also have claims upon the fruits of their labour. The Indian History Congress is now engaged in preparing a *Comprehensive History of India* in twelve volumes covering the history of India from the earliest times to the present day. I hope the learned contributors to this authoritative work will not forget the growing interest of the educated classes in their theme.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to assure you once again, on behalf of the Reception Committee, of a very warm welcome in our midst. It is a matter of great regret for us that we have not been able to make satisfactory arrangements for your brief stay here. In West Bengal, particularly in Calcutta, normal conditions of life have been disturbed in a violent manner by the partition of the country and its aftermath, and it is not possible to organise any big function without encountering difficulties of different types. May I, therefore, crave your indulgence for our shortcomings and our failure to receive our distinguished guests in a befitting manner? We feel sure this session will achieve a great success under the guidance of Sardar K. M. Panikkar who not only writes history but contributes to the making of history. May this great organisation grow from strength to strength and set up a new standard for historical scholarship in this country!

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Governor, West Bengal

Chancellor, University of Calcutta

PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, MEMBERS OF
THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I deeply appreciate the honour you have done me in inviting me to inaugurate the 18th Session of the Indian History Congress in this historic city. Although I have no pretensions to historical scholarship I have a natural interest in the history of my country and I am extremely grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of associating myself with your momentous deliberations. I am sure under the able guidance of your distinguished President you will succeed in throwing new light on some of the dark corners of our national history.

I am not one of those who believe that our ancestors had no historical sense and did not leave for us authentic material for historical studies on critical lines. Their concept of history was different from ours, but they were not at all indifferent to political and social ups and downs around them and they recorded the panorama of historical evolution in their own way. It would obviously be wrong for us to interpret the past in the light of our present day ideas. We must try to look at the ancient and medieval ages through the eyes of the people of those times. I believe it is possible to reconstruct the past with a fair degree of accuracy if we really succeed in getting rid of prejudices and personal predilections. In that case the apparently inadequate and unsatisfactory historical material inherited by us will yield a rich harvest to the painstaking and conscientious historian.

I understand the Indian History Congress has launched an ambitious scheme for the preparation and publication of a "Comprehensive History of India" in twelve volumes covering the whole range of Indian history from the earliest times to the present day. It is to be hoped that this great enterprise will be successfully accomplished within a few years, so that this ancient land may have a history worthy of its traditions and its contributions to the progress of mankind. Not being a professional student of the subject, I do not share the orthodoxy of any particular school of thought and historical interpretation ; but I believe history should give an integrated picture of national development and emphasise those aspects of a nation's thought and action which exercised more than a passing influence on the march of humanity.

From this point of view, those foreign invasions and internal struggles which figure so prominently in books on Indian history are not the really

important historical facts, for the genius of India lies in harmony and not in strife. Far be it from me to suggest that we should create in our imagination an idealised picture of the past. War and massacre, intrigue and treachery disfigure the history of all countries and, despite her great spiritual traditions, India cannot claim to be an exception. But these unhappy lapses from the abiding values of life do not reveal the India which has survived so many storms during the millenniums that have passed. India lives, and will continue to live, because external vicissitudes have not affected her soul. To my mind, it would be unhistorical to ignore that creative stream of idealism which runs through Indian history. If a layman may offer any advice to experts, I would suggest that the "Comprehensive History" which is being prepared under your auspices should be written in such a way as to reveal the real strength of India and the permanent value of her contributions to human progress.

Today the historians of India are called upon to perform a very difficult task. Those European writers and scholars who were the pioneers in the field of Indology rendered a service which no Indian can forget. The Asiatic Society, not far from the temple of learning where we are assembled now, perpetuates the memory of Sir William Jones, who not only founded the science of Comparative Philology but also initiated the systematic study of Indian antiquities. It is to a British scholar-administrator, Prinsep, that we owe the first attempt to decipher the inscriptions of Asoka. The foundations were well and truly laid, and an imposing superstructure was raised later on by great scholars like Cunningham and Marshall. So far as the medieval period is concerned, the wealth of historical material buried in Persian manuscripts scattered throughout the country was rescued and brought to light through the medium of English by a busy administrator, Sir Henry Elliot. Writers like Mill, Grant Duff, Tod, Wilks and Cunningham dealt exhaustively with the history of the British period.

Some European writers may have suffered from party prejudice and racial arrogance and converted our history into a handmaid of factional or political interest, but there were others who wrote with scholarly competence and evident sympathy with a fallen people. Who could be more sympathetic to the Rajputs than Tod, or to the Sikhs than Cunningham? We have, therefore, on the whole, a precious inheritance to fall back upon. This imposes upon us the inescapable duty of maintaining the high standard laid down by the best European writers and of avoiding the defects which disfigure the writings of the worst among them. We have no clean slate to write upon; we have one tradition to follow and another tradition to forget.

In this connection, we can hardly ignore the fact that even the best among European writers on Indian history approached their task from a particular point of view which could not do full justice to the subject. They were concerned primarily with the political and military aspects of Indian history and it was quite natural for them to overlook to a great

extent the vital role played by social, economic and cultural forces in shaping the life of the people.

Admittedly, historical material revealing socio-economic and cultural developments in ancient and medieval India is not as plentiful as one could wish ; but we cannot remain satisfied with mere chronicles of dynasties and wars. Those who have devoted themselves to the exploration of the past must direct their attention to the life of the people and assign paramount importance to those non-political factors which have influenced Indian history as much as—probably more than—the stereotyped political forces. Where sources are not adequate, as in the case of the ancient and medieval periods, we cannot expect anything better than a rough outline ; even that, however, is worth having, for we are desirous of looking back to our decidedly glorious past in order to derive sustenance from it. So far as the modern period is concerned, the available materials are probably more voluminous than one generation of historians could utilise. Here, I believe, the problem is one of selection and emphasis ; and critical judgment is the quality primarily called for. I hope scholars associated with the Indian History Congress will give us a fairly comprehensive account of the people's history, so that the growing citizens of our democratic Republic may know what their ancestors lived and fought for in those spheres of human activity which count most in the long run.

This naturally brings us to the controversial question as to whether contemporary history should be, and can be, written. Obviously writers of contemporary history must suffer, at least to some extent, from a lack of perspective, for the long-term consequences of forces released during one's life-time cannot be visualised at the moment. Moreover, contemporary history naturally suffers from passions, emotions and prejudices—personal, national, racial, ideological—which affect the judgment and obscure the vision of writers and readers alike. And so far as the latest age—our own times—is concerned, documents throwing light on hidden motives and secret springs of action are not available even to the most careful and industrious historian and consequently he is compelled to base his narrative on incomplete, and probably one-sided, sources. While it is neither advisable nor possible to ignore or minimise these serious difficulties, I believe contemporary history deserves more attention than is usually given to it by historians.

This is particularly true of our own country where contemporary history has a special significance in view of the fact that it is primarily the history of our struggle for emancipation, not only from political bondage, but also from social prejudices, intellectual stagnation and economic exploitation. I may recall to you in this connection the following observations of our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the Nagpur Session of this Congress :—

“Cannot a history written with understanding and sympathy and having full record of the events as they occurred from day to day in our

non-violent struggle be of equal value to us as to others in future? It was an experiment as Mahatma Gandhi would have called it, but it proved an experiment which was successful. Who knows that the world will not some day accept that principle and adopt that strategy which Mahatma Gandhi taught and applied and with the help of which we won our freedom? To one who believes in the efficacy of that principle and who has faith in its strength and universality, this history is of tremendous value not only for this country but for the world at large which in these days of frustration and helplessness despite the great advances of science is, I fancy, looking for such guidance."

A carefully written history of our national struggle would thus be a proud record of an achievement unique in the history of the world and would provide lessons of inestimable value to other nations in their quest for peace and progress. Surely, the writing of such a history should not be postponed simply because the conventional arguments against compilation of contemporary history are not without force.

I have tried to draw the attention of this august body to the layman's point of view in regard to certain problems connected with our national history. I believe history written with understanding and sympathy can be a source of instruction as well as of inspiration. And I am sure an organisation like the Indian History Congress can serve a truly national purpose by indicating the lines on which national history should be written.

May the Source of all wisdom give you faith and vision and bless your enterprise!

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR

I feel greatly honoured by your invitation to preside at this 18th session of the Indian History Congress. Though a life-long student of history, I make no claim to specialisation or research, and therefore in a sense I have but little right to be included in the current definition of historians. But there is some value in an outside and non-specialised approach to the problems of history, in the endeavour to understand the general movement of historical forces, and to appreciate national events in the context of wider issues.

During the last half a century much progress has been made in historical studies in India. Notable work has been done on almost every period of Indian history. The history of South India, barely known 50 years ago, has now taken its legitimate place in the story of India. The former bias, based on the dependence of European scholars on the chronicles of Muslim historians, is now almost gone, and the greatness of the Pallavas, Chalukyas, Cholas, Pandyas and Ballalas and of the Vijayanagar Empire takes its place with that of their contemporary north Indian kings. Again, we know much more today about the social life of India during these great periods, and the continuing process of archæological excavations, and the collection and interpretation of epigraphical record is filling up the undoubted gaps that still exist. The history of the Marathas and the Moghuls has been studied in great detail. The earlier imbalance in the history of medieval India mainly resulting from too great a dependence on Muslim annals has also to some extent been rectified.

For some time now, Indian historical work has mainly been local, specialised and related to dynasties and kings of particular regions. Consequently Indian history has acquired a reputation of being dull and uninteresting. Indian history, if one viewed it as the growth of a people and their existence in time as a civilised community in contact with other peoples and civilisations, is an enthralling subject; but viewed from the political point of view, it is dull, confusing and dreary. The reason for this confusion and lack of sustained interest is that at no time previously to our own day did India achieve political unity. While the unity of Indian culture and its integration within a defined territorial limit has been one of the major factors of world history at least from the 6th century B.C. and was recognised as such by her sister civilisations of Greece, Persia and China, politically India was, till recently, a country of many states and warring dynasties, whose persistent urge towards unity was defeated by geographical factors. The history of India has therefore to be a history of social growth and development and not primarily a political history.

Regular dynastic histories from contemporaneous sources were written

only after Muslim rulers established their sway in north India at the beginning of the 13th century. Literary works like *Harsha Charita*, *Rajatarangini*, *Vikramanka Deva Charita* and *Prithvi Raja Vijaya*, though they contain much authentic historical material, could not legitimately be considered as histories. For the period before the Muslim invasions we have to depend on inscriptions, epigraphic records and literary compositions. With the establishment of Muslim power in Delhi, we have definite political chronicles but they deal only with warfare and domestic revolutions and are so overlaid with religious fanaticism and prejudice that their value as source books for a history of India is greatly diminished. Also, to them Indian history began only with the arrival of Islam in India. It is only during the period of British authority that histories of India as a whole came to be written. Through a study of foreign sources, Greek, Persian and Chinese, through archæology, numismatics, epigraphical researches and the decipherment of old inscriptions European scholars were able to create a chronological and dynastic framework for Indian history. But their approach to historical writing, coloured by the national histories of their countries, was purely political. Numerous dynasties were unearthed. A variety of eras adding confusion to our chronology came to light. Empires and kingdoms were re-established in their glory and Indians began to talk of the Mauryas, the Vakatakas and the Guptas as national monarchs, whose imperial traditions were continued through a succession of dynasties, to create a national entity known to us as Bharatvarsha.

But this approach of European historians suffered from a fatal defect. They could only think of history as a record of the political growth of a nation, on the analogy of Britain, France or Spain evolving into states through the activities of a dynasty, and not as the record of a people living as an integrated civilisation but under dispersed political power. They personified the states and conceived history as the biography of this collective personality. Speaking of the great French historian Michelet, Benedette Croce recalls his "fantastic idolisation of France as a physical, intellectual and moral person". This judgment is true of most national historians, Treitschke in Germany, Macaulay, Froude and Freeman in England. The school of history which the British historians developed in India, seeing India only as a geographical name and not as a political unit, could not personify her, with the result that they never went beyond the stage of local and dynastic chronicles, with no central connecting link to unify them.

The integration of Indian society and civilisation has until recent times been unrelated to political events and was certainly unconcerned with political unity. It was Dean Inge who described Hinduism as a noncorporeal state, an organisation of society above and beyond the political structure. Whether this is wholly true or not, it is undoubtedly true that a history of the Indian people cannot be written in mainly political terms.

So far we have been engaged in chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of political unity in Indian history, by tending to identify individual dynasties and empires with this ideal and by trying to create around them the image of an Indian nation, an ideal of unity which they were endeavouring to realise. It is difficult to see such a motive in our history. The unity of the civilisation, culture and society of India was assumed at all times but the unity of India as a nation is a recent concept and the attempt to read back into Indian history a permanent motivation which was not only absent, but which would have seemed to most people unnatural is at the root of our failure in the historical field.

The first requisite therefore to a re-writing of the history of the Indian people is to shed the conception of history which was prevalent in Europe until recent times, as the record of the growth and activities of the nation-state. In the particular circumstances of Western European countries it was only natural that their histories which cover comparatively short periods should have been identified with their growth and development as independent nations and should therefore have been concerned with wars and conquests and with the achievements of parliaments and ministries. But even in Europe the growing realisation of the unity of European life and culture has led to a wider conception of history, as a record of the growth of European civilisation in a world context. This school may be said to have originated with Jacob Burckhart whose lectures on history at Zurich showed how European history had a unity beyond and above the history of individual nations and that too great an emphasis on the history of states led to a falsification of perspective. Since his time and no doubt also as a result of an increasing realisation of the identity of Europe as a single unit in contrast to Islam, Asia and the fast growing communities of America, historians in Europe have to a large extent discarded the national and purely political view which had for so long dominated historical writing. In England, this tendency owed much to the personality of Acton, a truly international figure, a Catholic English aristocrat, connected as closely with Italy and Germany as with England. Acton's one ambition, as every student of history knows, was to write a history of liberty, a dream which it was not given to him to realise. But as a Catholic, and a Dalberg and as the grand-son of a Prime Minister of Naples he saw Europe as a single civilisation and he was able through the co-operative histories which he promoted to infuse into English historical studies a sense of European unity. It is significant to note that some of the most outstanding work done in England during the last quarter of a century deals with Europe and not with England. I have only to mention such names as Eileen Power, F. M. Powicke and Christopher Dawson to prove the point. On the continent of Europe the tendency has been much more pronounced. Henri Pirenne who may be considered the greatest of modern historians in his *Mahommed and Charlemagne* deals not with countries but with two confronting civilisations.

An equally interesting development is the new school of history at the University of Paris which is associated with the distinguished name of Fernand Brandel. Brandel's epoch-making work is on the Mediterranean world in the time of Philip the Second. It is a history of a basic region of political, religious, economic and cultural development, and around the sea and the countries which enclose it, the historian builds up the living picture of peoples' movements, conflict of culture and trade. The attempt is to take history away from territorial grooves and to conceive of it as something related to an integrated civilisation.

I mention these facts to show how Europe has already discarded the idea of confining history within national boundaries and enlarged it to include an entire civilisation. In India we, however, continue to cherish the old ideas and limit ourselves to the history of local dynasties, or attempt the impossible in the search for an imperial unity of India. Both, I need not say, are fraught with grave dangers. The study of local dynastic histories, without reference to the conditions of India as a whole, has led us to the exaggerations of local patriotism which is one of the most dangerous tendencies in India today. Every local historian desires to prove that his area was a leading centre of civilisation and culture from the beginning of time ; that the dynasts of his region were great empire-builders. In fact, as a result of our localised studies we have come to develop a rivalry in historical greatness. Each area has begun to boast of conquerors and *grand monarches*. The glory of the Cholas and the Pandyas is claimed by the Tamils, of the Satavahanas, Eastern Gangas, Kakatiyas and in a measure of Vijayanagar is claimed by the Andhras. The Kannadigas are not to be considered a lesser people. In fact, from one end of India to the other every region considers its own history as something specially important, which enables it to claim superiority over its neighbour. This kind of historic study exalts localism based on dynasties and helps in effect to deny the idea of Indian unity, for however much we might try, we could not establish from history that political unity of India was ever achieved before. The chasing of the will-o'-the-wisp of Indian nationhood through the labyrinth of time has thus resulted only in the creation of regional jealousies and rivalries.

No one would deny that this kind of history which concentrates on conquests and wars by local heroes develops strange feelings of superiority. But surely in India there is no such variation of talent, such differences in natural endowment, such clearly marked distinctions of character as to enable any region to claim a permanent superiority over others. And yet such has been the result of our studies in local history.

It is time we also discarded finally this attempt to build our history on monarchs and dynasties, and viewed it from the point of view of the evolution of the Indian people. As Professor Maitland observed, history today has lengthened, deepened and widened in nature and scope with the help of archæology, anthropology and sociology.

If, as I believe, the history of a people lies in their social, economic and mental evolution, through ages, then the material for it lies not merely in the discoveries of archæologists and epigraphists—though these are undoubtedly very important—but in the literary records of the people. These are continuous, produced in successive periods and reflect the mind of the period generally more than the conscious records of kings and emperors. A most distinguished military historian, Capt. Liddle Hart, pointed out to me recently the curious fact that the despatches of successful generals no less than of defeated ones, often contain distortions of fact, and imaginative descriptions of circumstances from which it is difficult to extract truth. It is of course known that *prasastis* or descriptions in praise of a ruler are seldom trustworthy in regard to facts. Literary evidence is far more dependable as reflecting the temper and character of an age. Even if the incidents narrated are altogether fictitious the circumstances described should help us to understand the life of the period. To quote only one or two instances; in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*, recurring allusions to aboriginal tribes in the Vindhya area, generally indicate that the Bhilla kings used to carry out human sacrifice to please the mother goddess. In *Sakuntala* the police inspector who is offered a *pourboire* by the fisherman invites him for a drink at a tavern—a very significant fact which clearly proves two things; that the use of intoxicating liquor was a normal habit, and that the taverns where caste *tabus* were not strictly adhered to were a feature of urban life. So far only the Vedas have been subjected to this kind of study. But I am sure that if a systematic research was undertaken in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and in the vast and almost unexplored region of Jain writings we shall discover ample material for a social history of different areas. Again, the *dharma sastra* literature which is so rich and comprehensive and practically comes up to our own time has to be studied as material for history. Dr. Kane's monumental volumes show how rich we are in this field and yet their utilisation as historical material has been very limited.

Viewed from the point of view of the continental character of our history, and the absence of a central national theme, we have, in my opinion, to reformulate the problems on which to concentrate our attention. Of course any attempt to do this does not and should not mean a neglect of political history on a regional basis as before. A few of the questions to which the historian of the Indian people now vainly seeks an answer may be stated here mainly as illustrating my point. The first and most important problem which faces the historian of India is the still uncompleted fact of the penetration through ages of a dominant culture over the vast aboriginal population. Our pre-occupation with the Aryans has led us in a measure to equate Indian social development with the Aryanisation of the country. But it is clear from every available record that from the earliest days the Aryan and the non-Aryan had mingled sufficiently to influence each other and to create a joint

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culture, which we may well describe as Hinduism. But vast areas even in northern India continued to be occupied by the aboriginal population living in their tribal organisations. A recent study by Dr. Sashi Bhushan Chaudhuri shows how widely spread was the distribution of these tribes which gradually had become Hinduised. The slow evolution of the Indian people from this vast conglomeration of tribes by the imposition of a common Hindu culture is the primary fact of Indian history and should be the subject of major research. That such Hinduisation was a slow process, which continues even today, is established by the existence of many areas predominantly peopled by the tribal groups—especially in the uplands to the south of the Gangetic Valley. The Santals, the Gonds, the Sabaras and the numerous other tribes which constitute a major section of the population of this area are, as we know from their languages, social structure, and tribal traditions, still in the main, outside the sphere of Hindu life. In the Deccan and in South India, the difference between the Aryan Hindus and the aboriginal population was less, as there was much less of Aryan penetration and the champions of Hinduism would themselves seem to have been Hinduised indigenous peoples.

Another major problem to which Indian historians have to devote their attention is the origin and development of Hindu social institutions and the extent of their prevalence. Again, we have been inclined to think in terms of the universality of Hindu laws and social institutions. This would not bear analysis. Apart from the large population of indigenous tribes, even among the communities which are accepted as orthodox, practices vary very widely. Thus for example even among some Brahmin communities in the south the marriage with an elder sister's daughter is considered orthodox while it is prohibited by every school of Hindu law. Post-puberty marriage is the rule among the orthodox Nampudiri Brahmins of the West Coast. Dr. Irawati Karve has recently established by a scientific study that kinship organisation among the Marathas shows clear evidence of non-Aryan survivals. In order to study the evolution of the Hindu people, it is necessary therefore that we should extend the scope of our researches.

Changes in ideas is another fascinating subject which is of vital importance to an understanding of Indian history. When did Indians generally begin to consider travel across the sea as something which is unorthodox? That so late as the 11th century there was no social stigma attached to sea voyages is well attested by the continuous flow of people from all parts of India to the countries of South East Asia, by the hundred years' war on the seas carried on by the Cholas against the maritime empire of Srivijaya and the Chola occupation of Kataha. In the *Katha Sarit Sagara* a very large number of stories deal with the activities of traders who sailed to *dwipantarās*. But at some undetermined date the Hindu society seems to have enforced a *tabu* on sea

voyage. Has it any connection with the Moslem-Arab control of the Eastern Seas which became effective at about this time?

Another problem that faces the student is the decadence which seems to have overtaken Hindu society in the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries. That there has been a marked decadence over large areas is well attested by facts. Our architecture, literature, scientific thought and all other spheres of activity proclaim loudly not only a decay of taste and interest, but a change of attitude which is truly remarkable. From the simple beginnings of the early temple pictures on the Bharhut railings to the more elaborate structure of the extant temples of the Gupta period we have a natural development of considerable significance, vigorous and artistic but without any touch of sensuality. But in the 9th and 10th centuries, Hindu temple architecture in North India is overloaded with sculptures the beauty of which should not obscure the sensuality and often the obscenity of the themes portrayed. The Khajuraho and Orissa temples for all their magnificence testify to a degeneration of the Hindu mind, which sought to find in Vatsyayana the themes for their artistic expression. If this architecture stood by itself it might have been possible to argue it was merely a regrettable deviation from normalcy. But the literature of the time provides even more convincing evidence of a general decadence. The direct, vigorous and humane poetry of Kalidasa reflects a contented and prosperous society. But the literature of the 9th and 10th centuries is gross and obscene to a degree and this is clearly no exception but a generally accepted fashion in all cultivated circles. The pornographic and obscene descriptions in great Kavyas written by poets of recognised respectability and virtue cannot be explained away as mere idiosyncracies of taste. The great Vastu Pala, the Prime Minister of Vira Dhavala who built one of the marble temples of Abu and was in his day a most enlightened and charitable man, was also the author of *Nara Narayaniya* in which whole cantos are devoted to erotic descriptions. Kshemendra, the celebrated Kashmirian poet, is among the greatest educators of India, a populariser of the *Mahabharata*, *Brihadkatha* and even of the *Jataka* stories and yet he is also the author of *Samaya matrika*, the theme of which is the life of a prostitute. Again Damodara Gupta, a man of the highest standing in the society of the period, is known to us mainly as the author of *Kuttini matam*, a poem of extraordinary beauty, but the theme of which is prostitution. In the *Guhya Samaja*, text considered canonical and sacred by *tantrik* Buddhists, the Buddha is pictured in amorous dalliance with heavenly maidens; and the Hindu *tantrik* literature of the period contains many rituals of worship which can only be described as unnatural and obscene. In fact, examples can be multiplied to any extent to prove that the vigour and dynamism which marked Indian life to the end of the 8th century had given place to a degeneration which has no parallel in earlier Indian history. Scientific enquiry had come to a dead stop. Varaha Mihiras, Aryabhatas and Bhadanta Nagarjunas ar

memories of the past. As Al Beruni noted, the Hindu thinkers of the period were exclusive and arrogant and unwilling to learn from or to share their knowledge with others.

It is a major problem for Indian historians to study the problem of this widespread decadence, which probably explains the surprisingly ineffective resistance to the Turki invaders from the North West. India which was able to resist and throw back the armies of the great Khalifs, the greatest military power of the time, when they tried to penetrate into Gujerat and Rajasthan, lay prostrate before the adventurers from Central Asia. The vigour which enabled the Indian people successfully to resist the Sakas, the Huns and others who overturned empires elsewhere seems suddenly to have vanished in the 11th, 12th and the 13th centuries.

I shall allude to one other problem which seems to me to require careful analysis and study. Muslim kingdoms and sultanates existed in Delhi continuously from the beginning of the 13th century to the downfall of the Moghuls in the 18th century. But leaving aside the Moghul Empire, which established a genuine administering state and exercised effective authority over North India for nearly 200 years, the extent of the authority of the Delhi sultans seems to me a subject worthy of the closest examination and study. Muslim historians have assumed on the basis of a Khalif's *fatwa* that the Delhi throne gave a legal right to the Empire of India. Following the Muslim writers, British historians also seem in the main to have accepted this doctrine. And yet the facts as we know seem to go against such pretensions. Take the case of Kalinjar. Every great Muslim ruler claims to have conquered it anew, the last to do so being Humayun. When Baber invaded India, Gwalior, with its impregnable fortification, was in the hands of Tanwar Rulers and he had in his turn to conquer it. Even in the Gangetic Valley which was directly under Delhi administration, there is some evidence to show that the authority of the Delhi sultans was not wholly effective.

Thus apart from Rajasthan and the vast area now included in Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and uplands like Chotanagpur where Muslim rulers hardly penetrated and the authority of Islam was never effective, even in the territories under the direct rule of the Delhi sultans, the spirit of the Hindu people never seems to have broken. In fact, the most significant feature of the 14th and 15th centuries is the revival of Hinduism, to the study of which but little attention seems so far to have been devoted.

We have tended to identify the political life of mediæval India with the conquering expeditions of powerful monarchs and the chaos and confusion that reigned in the interval. The history of the Hindu people who still constituted the vast majority and which reacted vigorously after a period of prostration, has been generally neglected.

There is another important fact relating to the study of Indian history to which I should like to allude. The emphasis on civilisation as the subject of historical study naturally enlarges the scope of Indian history,

for Indian civilisation spread far and wide and created in South East Asia and in Central Asia, Hinduised communities whose cultural and political achievements are legitimately a part of the wider Indian heritage. Much work has been done in this field. Now we have some idea of the expansion of Indian culture in Indonesia, Champa, Kambuja and Funan, of the history of Buddhism in China and of the great Hinduised civilisations which existed in Serindia. The opening up of this vast field of enquiry has been mainly the work of European scholars, Chavannes, Sylvain Levi, Coedes, Kern, Stutterheim, Foucher and others. Though the subject is of primary interest to us, Indians, there has been but little Indian participation in this work. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri have contributed to the interpretation of Indian achievement in South East Asia, but the basic studies have all been by European scholars. It is time that Indian scholars turned their attention to this subject and undertook research on their own. Much remains to be done not only to reconstruct the history of those areas but to establish their relationship with different parts of India, to relate the developments in Greater India to the political, economic and social conditions in the mother country, to evaluate the contribution of local peoples in the evolution of Javanese, Khymer and other civilisations and numerous other problems of a similar nature.

Also I am convinced that further and deeper study of Chinese history will help to explain many problems in India. Chinese historical material is vast. Much of it has not been explored for its bearing on India. Only in a superficial manner and as a bye-product of other studies has it been considered by Sinologists. The immense quantity of Indian literature, including a summarised version of the Ramayana belonging to the third century A.D. which Dr. Raghu Vira has brought back from China, after a preliminary visit, should open our eyes to the almost unlimited wealth which awaits any serious Indian student of Chinese history and civilisation. As at least from the third century B.C. India was known to the Chinese and further as cultural relations between the two countries were close for over 10 centuries, there is every reason to believe that a careful study of Chinese historical material will yield satisfactory results for the reconstruction of many periods of Indian history.

Indian history can only be understood in its proper setting. As the Italian scholar Luciano Petech has observed: "India and China, with Iran at their borders, are the pivots on which turns the cultural dynamism of the Far East. But this constant conflict and exchange of ideas and forms of civilisation took place for the most part on a ground where other political forces and other forms of life prevailed. The steppe belt to the north of China and India played a great part in the development of Asia as the medium through which all kinds of religious and artistic influence travelled, and as a political and military factor outrunning even the possibilities of the two major cultural powers. While it is true that the history of the civilisation of the Far East hinges on China and India, while it is

true that the world has never seen another political organisation possessing the stability and continuity of the Chinese Empire, it is no less true that the steppes and the Gobi desert were factors of prime importance in determining the development of Asian history. This holds good not only for the purely political element provided by the great, but usually ephemeral nomad empires which arose at irregular intervals, in the steppes and the desert. But the peaceful and rich caravan cities of modern Sinkiang, made wealthy by the active trade in silk which nourished on that route down to the 8th century, cities that were politically quiescent and objects of the greed of both China and the nomads, acted as essential agencies for transmitting from one to the other of the three great cultural areas the germs of reciprocal fertilisation. And in this process they developed a composite and in some ways unique civilisation of their own.

Without the steppe, without its nomad states and its caravan trade, China and India would have been limited to secondary currents of contact through South East Asia. In South East Asia, as I have already mentioned, an immense work of civilisation had been carried on for more than one thousand years ; but it was this very work, arduous and difficult as it was, which led China and India to face each other there, since the earliest ages, as two opposite civilisations, each unchangeably firm in itself, with no possibility of fruitful exchanges. For Central Asia, on the contrary, I need only recall the part played by the caravan routes of the Tarim basin in the transmission eastward of Buddhism and its artistic elements, which so deeply affected, by action and reaction, the evolution of Chinese society”.

In fact the history of India, unless it is related to the developments in Central Asia, and in South East Asia, would lose its full significance. Our vision of Indian history therefore requires to be widened, and the evolution and development of social and cultural forces in India have to be related to movements in these regions. This requires sustained research in the history of our neighbouring areas, for which we have so far been dependent on the work of European scholars. I would venture to appeal to the Government of India and to our universities for the establishment of chairs for Central Asian and South East Asian studies which are of primary concern to us in India. The Central Asian manuscripts in Delhi require to be carefully studied and edited. New expeditions have to be organised to carry on the work which was interrupted by the war ; and the knowledge obtained has to be related to Indian developments. South East Asian studies are equally important for our history, and a great deal of fundamental work still remains to be done.

Also, generally one cannot but deplore the neglect of Asian history by our universities. The key to many problems of Indian history lies in the movement of nomadic tribes from Central Asia, beginning perhaps with the Aryans themselves. The Sakas, the Yue Chis, the Huns, the Mongols and the Turks who at different times were pressing on the borders of India and who play so great a part in the history of north India

represent vital movements of Asian history and have to be understood as such if our own growth and development have to be interpreted correctly ; and yet so far as I know no serious effort has yet been made by any Indian university to make Asian history a principal subject of study, though we devote much of our time in familiarising ourselves with the European view of Western history.

The study of European history is undoubtedly important for us from the point of view both of methodology and modern developments. And yet it is a one-sided view of Europe that we are familiar with. Europeans writing their own history give an essentially distorted picture of world events. To read the standard historical writers in Europe one would think that at all times, this peninsular projection of Asia was the centre of the world and the torch bearer of civilisation ; further that history is to be interpreted as a never-ending fight between Europe and Asia, beginning, in their view, with the Persian king's attack on Greece. One of the ironies of European historical thinking is this identification of Greece with the West. Actually much of Greek civilisation developed on the Asian coastal tract, in the borderland between Asia and Europe and many Asian civilisations, notably the Islamic, claim succession to the Greeks. And yet by a bold stroke the European historians have annexed Greece to their own life, forgetting that Greece was not only practically unknown to Europe for nearly 1,000 years, and that the destruction of the Greek civilisation of Byzantium was the supreme achievement of the West during crusades. Indeed if we have to study European history, as indeed we must, it should not be on the basis of the distorted picture presented to us by European scholars who see all later history as a Homeric struggle between the East and the West. Lest I should be accused of exaggerating, I quote from a historian who takes pride in the claim that he does not approach history with any prejudice (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher). In discussing the Persian wars Mr. Fisher says : "For the next two hundred years the Persian menace was a governing factor in Greek politics. It was a rivalry between East and West, between despotism and liberty ;" the West of course always standing for liberty and the East being sunk in despotism. His whole book may be said to be an interpretation of this text when it comes to relations with Asia.

Mr. Bernard Shaw says in one of his prefaces that when he read English history he gained the impression that the English were uniformly victorious ; but that when he read French histories it was equally clear that the French led in all spheres. For us in India today to study European history from the point of view of Britain or even of Europe is to subject ourselves to subtle propaganda. What is important is to study European history objectively, to reinterpret European achievements from a world point of view and realise its significance for us. This is no doubt beyond our capacities today, but unless we devote our attention to it from now we shall be subjected to an intellectual dominance based on a distorted version of European history. In this connection I would invite attention

to the work of American scholars on European history, which though it still retains the inherited prejudices against Asia, takes a more objective view about Europe as a whole.

In conclusion, I would only make one appeal to Indian historians and that is not to lend themselves to the heresy of elevating regional glories as a result of their specialisation with certain periods or certain areas. Every region of India has contributed to the evolution of the Indian people ; every group added to our common heritage. Every part of India has its heroic period and forgetting this the historians have often contributed to the false pride resulting from the glorified self-image of our different areas. This is a most dangerous development, which the historian has especially to guard against. We are entitled to take pride in the glories of Magadha, or the achievement of the Palas or the Gurjara Pratiharas or the Cholas, Pallavas or Chalukyas or of Vijayanagar, the Moghuls or the Marathas, and yet our pride has to be that they have contributed to our common heritage. Believe me, there is no marked inequality in the intellectual or mental qualities of the different peoples of India and if at times some have been in the vanguard and others have lagged behind, in the general summing up, the contribution of each would seem to be significant. This is a point of view which I should like every student of history to bear in mind, for any other idea would inevitably lead to our ruin and disruption.

SECTION I
ANCIENT INDIA UP TO 711 A.D.

SYNOPSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

“THE PERSONALITY OF INDIA—A HISTORY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE IN INDIA”

DR. H. D. SANKALIA

Introduction :—Need of a history dealing with the evolution of material culture in India. Studies hitherto concerned mainly with dynastic and chronological problems.

Part I :—Material culture intrinsically related to geographical and economic factors.

A brief summary of Dr. Subba Rao's study of 'Geographical Factors in Indian History and Pre-History'.

Areas of attraction, areas of isolation (*cul-de-sac*) and areas of semi-isolation. Inter-action between these explains unity in diversity.

Part II :—Material Culture and Economic Factors: studies inter-dependent and cannot be discussed without adequate archaeological data.

Part III :—Evolution of Material Culture in India.

1. Houses and Settlements :—

- A. Palaeolithic period: River banks and open air sites practically all over India excepting Sindh, Saurashtra and Assam. Cave sites in Kurnool, Karnatak, Madras not yet explored.
- B. Mesolithic period: Limited evidence. Northern and Central Gujarat, Tinnevely, Mysore (?). Habitation on sand dunes around inundation lakes in North Gujarat. No traces of huts or other temporary settlements.
- C. Neolithic Period: Kashmir, South Bihar and Andhra,—particularly the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Raichur—probable sites of Neolithic settlement. Preference for granatoid hills and rock-shelters. Survival of the Polished Axe Culture into the Chalcolithic.
- D. Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages and the beginning of urbanization. Regional Cultures: Harappa or the Indus Valley; Ganga-Yamuna Valley; the Black soil (Chambal-Narmada-Godavari-Krishna Valleys). Not much data except for the Indus cities. Was the inspiration for town-planning derived from Iraq? Lime-concrete flooring at Nevasa with huts raised on timber posts.

* As Dr. Sankalia was absent no Presidential Address was delivered.

E. Early Iron Age : No city or village site fully excavated except Taxila. Early towns irregularly laid out. Chess-board plan introduced by Indo-Greeks. Houses : renewed traces of brick buildings ; remarkable uniformity in the plans of houses and sizes of bricks. Two main types : (i) The Catussāla (central court-yard) and rooms around. (ii) A verandah in front (and back ?) and living rooms in between in S. Deccan (Kolhapur). Roofing ; terraces and angular roofs covered by tiles of a uniform type. Fresh impetus for fine, well-built houses given by a prosperous Roman trade. Fortification : Rajgir, Taxila, Sisupalgadh.

2. Food, Drink and Vessels :

(i) Food :

- A. Palaeolithic : Hunters ; no exact details available, except about the contemporary fossil animals from the Godavari and the Narmada gravels.
- B. Mesolithic : Hunters, living on the rhinoceros, cattle, deer, tortoise, fish, pig in North Gujarat.
- C. Neolithic : Hunting, pastoral and incipient farming but no data as yet available.
- D. Chalcolithic and Bronze Age : Animal food as well as cereals and fruits ; wheat, barley, peas, sesamum and rye (?) and dates, melons (lemon, pomegranate and cocoanut) in the Indus Valley. Rice at Hastinapur. Among animals, pig most common.
- E. Early Iron Age : Wheat from Nevasa, rice from Kolhapur. Animal food as before.

General Comments : More detailed and scientific study of the *entire* animal remains necessary. The age at which the animals were slaughtered.

(ii) Vessels :

The earliest stages not known.

The Indus Valley pottery and pottery from other Chalcolithic cultures. Amazing richness in forms and designs in the Indus pottery. Survival of some of its common forms—bowls and storage jars—through the Chalcolithic and Early Historic Period, down to present day. Specialized types, such as offering stands or dishes and bowls with stands, straight-sided beakers, goblets, heaters almost died out with the extinction of the culture. Absence of spouted vessels.

OTHER CHALCOLITHIC CULTURES :

- i. The Painted Grey ware of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. Distinct cultural intrusions. Some new forms.
- ii. Painted Red ware of the Narmada, Tapti, Godavari, Krishna and Tungabhadra Valleys and Rangapur II. Sub-regional cultures? Dishes and bowls with stands and channel-spouted vessels ; their significance.
- iii. The painted black-and-red ware.

EARLY IRON AGE :

- i. The Northern Black Polished Ware. The Black-and-Red ware and the Megalithic pottery. The ordinary Red ware. Remarkable uniformity in certain basic types—such as dishes, bowls and small and big jars—all over India.
 - ii. The Indo-Roman period: The Mediterranean Amphora, the Samian and Red polished ware. Introduction of certain new types of pottery. The survival of all these types not traced.
- (iii) *Tools and Weapons :*
- A. Palaeolithic Period: Two distinct (?) cultural traditions in the Lower Palaeolithic:
 - i. The cutting and chopping tools.
 - ii. Digging tools.
 - iii. Tools of offence and defence (?).
 - B. Middle and Late Stone Age:

New Cultural Tradition: The origin of knives, awls, arrow-heads, chisels and pointed tools, such as borer, and drills. Evidence from Kandivali, Nevasa and Kurnool.
 - C. The Mesolithic Period: Absence of tanged or barbed arrow-heads. Scarcity of chisel types. Predominance of crescents and scrapers.
 - D. The Neolithic Period: Two main types of tools, according to the respective cultural traditions: (i) Square, shouldered-type of celts from East India. (ii) Pointed butt and convex-sided celts with oval or lenticular section.
 - E. The Chalcolithic and Bronze Age:

The Indus Valley Tools and Weapons—Simple knife, spear, dagger, chisel blades with tangs, but not sockets. Arrow-heads as in the Mesolithic without tangs but barbed. Continuity of the tanged tradition. The significance of the handled frying pan and the shovel. Their absence throughout the historical period. Reintroduction owing to European influence (?).

F. Early Iron Age :

Evidence from Taxila. Almost all the types of tools, weapons and vessels known today in existence by the 3rd-4th century A.D. The source of each of these articles and its existence in other parts of India remains to be studied.

(iv) Dress and Ornaments :

Some fine studies based on literary and sculptural evidence. (Stitched clothes with) buttons of steatite from Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro. "Shirt"-buttons of the Jhukar Period. Dress and ornaments reflect foreign influences.

(v) Conclusions :

Integrated study based on :

1. Regional folk cultures and environment.
2. Archaeological material.
3. Literary Data.
4. Comparative evidence from outside India.

ON SOME RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MAHA-BHARATA THEORIES OF KINGSHIP

DR. U. N. GHOSHA.

A highly original and ingenious interpretation of the two oft-quoted *Mahābhārata* theories of the origin of kingship (XII, 59 & 67) is given by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his well-known work *Hindu Polity* (3rd ed., pp. 82-83 and *n.*). The description of the pre-political condition of man in these two chapters, he thinks, contains a derisive reference to the *arājaka* ("non-ruler") type of polity included by him in his list of "technical Hindu constitutions." The *arājaka*, we are told, is "an idealistic constitution" with law (instead of man) as the ruler, its basis being found in "mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens." Ridiculing this constitution the *Mahābhārata* author, Jayaswal explains, observes that "the framers of this legal State found out their mistake when nobody would obey the law-without-sanction" and then "the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy." Now in the first place *arājaka* is a well-known popular expression in our ancient literature for the anarchy prevailing in a country without a king or more generally a political superior. This is the evident sense of the term in the description of *arājaka rāshṭra* in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, 2-16, and the still more vivid account of the *arājaka janapada* in *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 69, (Gaudiya recension)=73 (North West recension)=67 (Southern

recension), not to speak of the reference to the *arājaka loka* introducing Manu's account of the origin of kingship (*ibid*, VII, 3f.). In the Jaina text (*Āyāraṅgasuttam*, II, 3.1.10) quoted by Jayaswal where the term *arāyāṇi* (Skt. *arājyāṇi*) occurs in a list of evil States forbidden to be visited by a Jaina monk or nun, its natural meaning is a State without a king (Jacobi, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 138, accordingly translated it as "where there is no king"). There is, therefore, no warrant for holding with Jayaswal that the technical designation for anarchy is confined in Hindu politics to the special term *mātsya-nyāya*. In truth the description in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 59 & 67, quoted by Jayaswal refers to a passing phase, conceived by the author with striking originality, in the complex background of the pre-political condition of man. Secondly, the traditions in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 59 & 67, refer, not as Jayaswal thinks, to "the same theory", but to two different ideas and notions. The former account implies a society based upon mutual agreement of the people which is supported by their voluntary sanctions, thus affording a general parallel to the Western theory of Social Contract. In the latter account the people living in the original State of Nature are conceived to be held together by a moral principle, namely, that of righteousness (*dharma*). In their case there is no question of "a law-State" with "the citizens" obeying the law as a ruler, "an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal."

Among the recent interpretations of the ancient Indian theories of the origin and nature of kingship, the most complete and systematic is that of the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.¹ We may consider here his elaborate notice of the *Mahābhārata* group of theories on this point.

I. Bhandarkar's extraordinary view (*ibid*, pp. 136-37, 154-55) that *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, "makes the closest approach" to the theory of Hobbes and in fact is superior to the latter, does not bear scrutiny. Elsewhere (*Hindu Political Theories*, 2nd ed., pp. 247-48 n.) we have given our reasons for the view that as a philosophical principle the Hobbesian theory with its relentless logic presents the strongest contrast with the unsystematic theories of the Indian thinkers. The same remarks apply to the present comparison between the *Mahābhārata* theory and the theory of Hobbes. As regards the alleged superiority of Bhishma's theory Bhandarkar argues that while Hobbes held absolute power to have been "irrevocably transferred to the ruler" by means of "the governmental compact" (*sic*) the Hindu political thinkers down to the third century A.D. maintained that the king was still the servant of the people. Now in the first place Bhandarkar's arguments for this distinctive feature of the Hindu theory are not convincing. The conception of the king as the servant of the people because of the equivalence of the taxes to his wages is found at long intervals in the *Chatuḥśataka* work of Aryadeva (c. 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.) and the *Sukranītisāra* (between 800 and 1200 A.D.). Again the clauses relating to the king's obligation to restore stolen

1. *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, Chap. V, pp. 127-168.

property or its value to the owner which is found alike in the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛitis* involve the application of the well-known *Smṛiti* principle of the rule of law to the branch of the king's internal administration and nothing more. Moreover, the transfer of absolute power to the sovereign through the social contract in Hobbes's theory is not irrevocable, for Hobbes (*Leviathan*, Chap. 21) mentions no less than four distinct occasions when the subjects are, broadly speaking, absolved from their duty of obedience to the sovereign. In the second place it is true that *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, starts with the conception of a State of Nature resembling the Hobbesian idea of *bellum omnium contra omnes*. But this is immediately followed by the creation of a social order based upon the voluntary sanctions of the individuals, which certainly has no parallel in Hobbes's thought. Lastly and above all, Bhandarkar, while rejecting the case for conception of Divine creation of the king in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, argues that Brahmā "pointed out" Manu when approached by the people for protection, that Manu "refused to be the king when addressed by Brahmā" and that he subsequently became the ruler as a result of the people's "successful negotiations" culminating in the social contract. This interpretation is contradicted at every point by the direct evidence of the text itself. We are there told how Brahmā at the prayer of the individuals ordained (*vyādideśa*) Manu for their protection, how Manu expressed his reluctance (not "refusal") to accept the burden for fear of the difficulty of governing a kingdom and how the individuals overcame his fear by promise of their support and reward for his pains. "The contract", Bhandarkar further argues, "is not one-sided, for Manu agrees to give and actually gave protection in lieu of the tenth part of the grain and the fiftieth part of the merchandise promised by them" and further because Manu had after all to perform the duty of protection "as a stipulation of the contract on his side." Now apart from the fact that the text is completely silent about the fiftieth part of the merchandise the terms of the agreement, while charging the individuals with a number of burdens, are silent about the king's reciprocal duty of protection which appears from the context to have already been imposed upon the king by his Divine ordination. Referring to the terms of the agreement Bhandarkar further says that the individuals thereby transferred their "liberty" to a single individual, namely, the sovereign. What they actually undertook upon themselves was the payment of the king's dues and gift (in advance) of a large share of their good *karma* with exemption from all share in their evil *karma*. There is thus no warrant for Bhandarkar's somewhat confused statements that *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, refers to the theory of "the social contract" or "governmental compact" following upon "the social compact" by which individuals had lived in peace and goodwill for sometime. Incidentally we may mention the inconsistency of Bhandarkar's successive statements (*ibid*, p. 153) that the European theory of Social Contract "contains three essential factors, namely, the State of Nature, the Social

Compact and the Governmental Compact” and that all these three elements are seldom clearly present on any of its versions.

II. According to Bhandarkar (*ibid*, pp. 139-40 ; 145-46 ; 156-57) *Mahābhārata*, “XII, 72” (read with *ibid* 73 and *ibid* 68) represents two successive stages in the development of the Hindu theories of the super-human origin or essence of the king. While in the first extract the king is held to be the abode of the three Regents of the Quarters, he is regarded in the second passage as a god performing the function of five deities of whom three alone are those Regents. The truth is that the two extracts equally involve the development of the old *Smṛiti* theory of the high significance of the king’s office and function to its utmost pitch. They show in other words that not only are the king’s functions parallel to those of the gods but that he thereby becomes equivalent to them.

III. Referring lastly to *Mahābhārata*, XII, 59, Bhandarkar (*ibid*, pp. 150-52, 158-62) takes it to indicate a still further development of Manu’s theory of Divine origin of the king. Here the king, Bhandarkar explains, is “not simply created and crowned, but also pervaded and supported by Vishṇu as the Supreme Being.” In truth the above extract marks the culmination of the ancient Indian theories of king’s Divine creation and his resulting divinity. But Bhandarkar’s idea of “a close correspondence” between the State of Nature conceived by the Hindu thinker and that described by Locke is belied by the fact that “the dictates of right reason” forming the basis of this condition in the latter theory are not (as Bhandarkar thinks) “practically identical” with the *dharma* of the former theory. The former, it is evident, is an intellectual and rational principle in contrast with the latter which is a moral principle. Comparing in this context Bhīṣma’s theory with its European counterpart, Bhandarkar observes that no school of Hindu law or polity either acknowledges the king’s rule by Divine right or considers his person as divine, although it may formulate the theory of divine origin of kingship. This dictum is sought to be proved by reference to the coronation oath imposed by the gods and sages upon Prīthu in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 59, which is “the only place in ancient Indian literature” inculcating the Divine origin of kingship. “The clearest implication” of this oath, it is explained, is that “as soon as he commits a breach of this pledge, the divine contract into which he has entered with the gods and sages is forthwith dissolved, and the other party, namely, Vishṇu as Supreme Being and as the head of the gods and sages is under no obligation to pervade him, and the divine essence of the king forthwith evaporates.” Now it is broadly correct to state that the ancient Indian theory of the Divine origin of kingship not only in *Mahābhārata*, XII, 59, but also in parallel passages in other works bears no resemblance to the European theories of the Divine right of kings. Nevertheless Bhandarkar’s argument is open to exception on both positive and negative grounds. On the one hand it attaches a degree of importance to the *Mahābhārata* reference to Prīthu’s coronation oath which is not justified

by facts. On the other hand it altogether ignores the vital differences between the two sets of theories. These are, firstly, that the king in the Indian theory so far from being accountable to God alone is held in the authoritative *Smṛitis* to be subject to the law of his order with the rules of the State-law governing his rights and duties in respect of his subjects and with the inexorable law of *karma* keeping him true to his obligations ; secondly, that so far from accepting the doctrine of absolute non-resistance Manu (IX, 320-21) and Bhīṣma (*Mahābhārata*, XII, 79, 19-33, 93, 9 ; XIII, 61, 31-3) justify by reasoned argument the Brāhmaṇa's resistance against the evil ruler, Bhīṣma going so far as to advocate a total resistance by the Brāhmaṇa and to condone (if not to approve of) active resistance by the people against a tyrant ; thirdly, that the Indian thinkers so far from acknowledging the principle of indefeasible hereditary right, imply protection to be the foremost duty of the king as well as his primary title to the obedience of his subjects.²

We may consider in the last place Bhandarkar's concluding explanation (*ibid*, pp. 164-68) of a remarkable conception which the *Mahābhārata* shares with other works, namely, that of the king's paternal relationship to his subjects. Quoting a few relevant texts to which references will be made below Bhandarkar observes that this conception is an anticipation of the modern "theory of force" meaning that "government is the outcome of human aggression." It arose with the advent of royal absolutism just before the rise of Maurya imperialism and it presented as such a sharp contrast with the preceding conception of the king as "a mere servant of the State." Now in the first place the conception of the paternal relationship of the ruler to his subjects falls, properly speaking, within the province of principles of the king's government and not that of the theories of the king's nature and origin. Secondly it is true that a few *Smṛiti* texts (Manu, IV, 135-36 ; VII, 9 ; *Mahābhārata*, XII, 67, 7-11, 68-70 and so forth) contemplate the State as being founded on force so as to reinforce their doctrine of the subjects' obligation to their ruler. But the conception of the king's paternal relation towards his subjects is quite independent of the same. Ordinarily as we learn from the accompanying explanations in the relevant texts this conception carries with it the idea of the king's benevolent rule and nothing more. Such is the case not only with the texts (*Mahābhārata*, XII, 57, 3 ; 139, 102-03. *Kauṭilya*, II, 1 ; IV, 3. *Jātakas*, vol. V, p. 223) quoted by Bhandarkar, but also with parallel passages from other works, e.g., *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 178 (describing the four attributes of the world-ruler Mahāsudassana), Manu, VII, 80, and Yājñavalkya, I, 334 (enjoining upon the king benevolent rule towards his subjects), *Raghuvansham*, I, 24 and XIV, 24, *Śakuntalā*, Act V (describing the characteristics of good kings). Only in *Kauṭilya*, II, 1, this conception is presented before us

2. For references see the author's paper *On the relation between the ancient Indian and the mediaeval as well as modern European theories of the divine origin and nature of kingship*, I.H.Q., September, 1955.

in its double aspect, namely, the beneficent and authoritarian. In the third place Bhandarkar's explanation appears to us to be self-contradictory. For after drawing from the metaphor of the ruler's relation to his subjects the corollary that "the subjects were at the mercy of the king who was thus no better than a despot", he takes it to involve not "the self-seeking domination acquired by physical force" nor "the aggressive exploitation" of one class of people by another, but the benevolent rule of the strong wherein protection is freely given to ungrudging obedience. Fourthly, Bhandarkar's account of the origin of this conception is contradicted at every step by the facts of history. The conception of a quasi-contractual relation between the ruler and his subjects implying the former's obligation of protection in return for payment of the taxes by the latter certainly goes back to a few *Dharmasūtra* texts, but so far from being superseded by the idea of the king's paternal rule it may be traced almost continuously through the later *Smṛiti* literature. Fifthly and lastly, Bhandarkar misses the philosophical significance of the *Smṛiti* conception of the quasi-contractual relation between the ruler and his subjects just mentioned. Ordinarily it is intended to reinforce the principle of the king's obligation of protection towards his people. It is thus consistent with a definitely clear reference in the same *Smṛitis* to the principle of the king's authority derived from the triple conception of his origin, his office and his functions. It is only in isolated texts like those of *Chatuhśatikā* of Āryadeva and the *Sukranītisāra* that the above concept is pressed to its extreme limit so as to make the king the servant of the people receiving the taxes as his wages.

THE PLANNED STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA

PROFESSOR A. S. ALTEKAR

By Planned State we obviously have in our mind the Social Welfare State that has come into prominence only in recent times, — a State which seeks to remove the social and economic iniquities and inequalities and aims at the production of greater wealth and its equitable distribution among all its inhabitants with a view to increase their well being and raise the standard of living. I shall try to show to what extent such a State existed in ancient India.

At the outset it is desirable to point out that ancient India covers a very wide period, from c. 3000 B.C. to c. 1200 A.D. We have not sufficient materials to give a reliable picture of the Government aims and activities for many parts of this period. Our original sources are often theoretical works, written from the idealistic viewpoint; what they enunciate may not have been actually enforced in contemporary times. We have to try to ascertain the actual picture with the help of such material, often no doubt supplemented by purely historical and perfectly reliable documents.

Vedic Period

Like most other ancient States the Vedic State discharged only the essential functions of government ; it seems that it did not care even to adjudicate. Material and moral and religious welfare of the people was regarded as a desideratum ; the kingdom of Parikshit of the later Vedic period is regarded as ideal because there was a plenty of curds, honey, wheat and barley combined with the security of life and property. An Upanishadic king tells with pride how his kingdom had no libertines, drunkards or illiterate persons and how everybody followed the injunctions of religion. Education was widely spread both among men and women in the Vedic and post-Vedic period (c. 2000 to 800 B.C.). New sciences and branches of knowledge were springing forth and women suffered from no particular disabilities. Caste system was gradually emerging and the warriors and priests were often arrogating to themselves privileged position as the nobility and the Church were doing in Europe down to the 16th century. The system however was still flexible. Inter-marriages were allowed and there was no hard and fast restriction on the choice of professions. Kshatriyas and Vaisyas could become even teachers of the Vedas.

The Period between 500 B.C. and 1200 A.D.

Our sources—both literary and historical—become fairly ample from about 400 B.C. and we can now get a better picture of the State and its activities and find out how far they can be described as those of a Planned State in the above-mentioned sense of the word.

The Planned State of the modern times can carry out its plans because it has got unlimited legislative power. In ancient India the State never had such a power. The king or the State was no doubt regarded as the power which set the pattern for the society, but this was true only in a very limited sense. Our Parliament passed sometime ago a law penalising the practice of untouchability and another measure seeking to give greater rights of inheritance to daughters in their patrimony. No State in ancient India could have deemed itself competent to take these steps. Nor could it frame even a Civil or Criminal Procedure Code or even a Penal Code. In ancient India laws, if religious, were prescribed in *Smritis*, believed to be divine, and if secular, were determined by custom, which moved only slowly and imperceptibly. Governments in ancient India, as in most other contemporary countries, were powerless to bring about revolutionary changes by legislation, which are so necessary for translating into actualities the plans of a modern Planned State. It is true that kings like Asoka often issued edicts for the guidance of their subjects, but these as a rule merely proclaimed already accepted views and principles. The *Sukraniti* also expressly empowers the king to make *sāsanas* or laws, but they also usually belonged to the same category. Concrete laws illustrated by Sukra require the subjects to obey the

parents, to honour the preceptors, to cultivate good qualities, to refrain from backbiting, bribery, adultery, etc. King's policy is not to be divulged nor his vices to be babbled about. The only 'laws' of Asoka or Sukra, which create new offences or lay down administrative procedures, are those which prohibited slaughter of animals and laid down that a respite of three days may be given to persons condemned to death or required Government permission for sale of horses and elephants or prohibited the levy of taxes at rates higher than those which were legal¹.

Under these circumstances Planned State in the modern sense of the word was difficult to realise in ancient India. It was the universal belief that the State was merely to facilitate the proper performance of the duties of the different classes of people, as laid down by tradition. It was to see to it that everybody was to discharge his duties as determined by religion and custom; if this was done, society believed that spiritual, moral and material progress was bound to follow automatically².

From the *Smritis* and the great epics we get a good picture of the Welfare State as it was conceived in c. 300 B.C. The sage Narada pays a visit to king Yudhishtira and puts him a thousand and one questions about his administration, home affairs and foreign policy. From these questions we can conclude that the Welfare State was expected: (1) to help agriculture; (2) to encourage trade and industry; (3) to prevent epidemics and to protect the subjects against fires, wild beasts etc.; (4) to provide against famines; (5) to help the poor, the distressed, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the widows, etc.; (6) to develop the resources of the country; (7) to patronise learning, literature and sciences; and (8) to undertake a number of schemes which, though small at the initial stage, would eventually bring about social welfare on a wide scale.

The State in ancient India tried to achieve the above objects partly by its own exertion and partly through the agencies of religion, caste system, guilds and village communities. We shall now briefly indicate how and to what extent this was done.

The State tried to help agriculture by coming into contact with the farmers and ascertaining whether they needed good seeds, stud bulls etc. It was very particular that agriculture should not be entirely dependent upon rain only. The Mauryas, the Sakas and the Guptas took care to build or rebuild the famous Sudarsana lake in order to help agriculture by means of the canals taken out from it. King Kharavela (c. 150 B.C.) proudly points out how he had extended a canal that had been originally constructed by the Nandas in the 4th century B.C. The memory of these two canals and tanks has been accidentally preserved because the inscriptions referring to them have not been destroyed. We shall not be far wrong if we suggest that the average State in ancient India took pretty good care to construct a fairly large number of dams and canals.

1. *Sukraniti*, I, 292-311.

2. *Arthasāstra*, I. 3.

South Indian inscriptions show that the village council also co-operated with the Government in constructing, repairing and keeping in order tanks to help agriculture. Under the impulse of religion the village councils often received donations from private individuals for this purpose. Our inscriptions often refer to the compensation paid by the village councils to those persons whose lands were submerged under new tanks. Very often new plots of land were given. Village councils were helped by the Central Government by free grant of materials. More than 20 p.c. of the land revenue was returned to the villages in order to enable them to finance such and other plans of public utility. The *Arthasāstra* and the *Sukraniti* tell us that private agencies undertaking such works were encouraged in their plans by promising them exemption from taxation till such time when their profits would amount to double the investment.

There is sufficient evidence to show that the State took active steps to prevent or mitigate fires, famines and epidemics (I.S., IV. 3). Narada draws particular attention of king Yudhishtira to the necessity of active steps in this connection. The *Arthasāstra* has stringent rules for the prevention of fires ; in the hot weather cooking inside the house was prohibited ; thatched roofs were often removed ; blacksmiths were made to reside only in particular localities ; every houseowner was required to keep five water-pots, a ladder, an axe and a hook ready with him ; and it was a crime to refuse cooperation in extinguishing fires (II. 56). Famine was a constantly recurring scourge and Governments used to be particularly vigilant against them. Government revenues were mostly collected in kind and so the State store-houses were always kept full to prevent famines. Two inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C. show that special store-houses were also built at convenient distances, which could be tapped at the time of famine. The State would often prohibit export of grains when it apprehended a famine (*Medhātithi on Manu*, VII. 399).

South Indian inscriptions of the 10th and the 11th centuries show that the village councils used to take effective steps within their limited means to mitigate the evils of famines. We find one village community borrowing money from the local temple in order to help the people in distress. Another community alienated some public land in its possession in order to raise funds to help the people to tide over the difficult times and buy seeds.

To prevent epidemics several steps were taken. Doctors, as also hotel keepers and ordinary citizens, were required to report suspicious cases. The State supplied funds for maintaining or subsidising hospitals and dispensaries. Asoka had opened dispensaries and hospitals both for men and animals at several places in his empire. He had also taken steps to ensure proper supply of the necessary drugs and medicines. Big hospitals existed at Patna in the 5th century A.D., where food and medicines were supplied free to poor persons. It appears that ancient India had specialised in hospital management ; for in the 8th century A.D. when the *Khalifa* Harun decided to organise the

hospitals in his country, he imported a large number of Indian doctors to organise and man them. It is a pity that we should have so little information about the hospitals of ancient India. Recent excavations at Patna have shown that Buddhist monasteries were also maintaining hospitals and sanatoria for the relief of the diseased. Some temples and village councils of South India also maintained small hospitals during the 10th and 11th centuries.

There is hardly any writer who does not prescribe the relief of the poor and the diseased as a duty of the State or a king who does not claim to have discharged it well. The dumb, the deaf, the blind and the widow were exempted from taxation. They were further given doles to enable them to live. The spinning department of the State used to give cotton to the old, the dumb, the deaf or the widow for being spun into yarn ; the State servants would periodically visit them to take back the yarn and to pay them for it.

To develop the country's resources was always a great concern of the ancient Indian State. Roads were constructed for the purpose as a first step. Asoka points out how he had built roads and planted trees by their sides and dug wells at suitable intervals. These roads excited the admiration of Megasthenes. The excavations at Mohenjodaro and the directions in the *Arthasāstra* and the *Sukraniti* (I. 258) would show that the roads in towns and cities were also well planned. Prisoners were often employed to repair them (*Sukra*, I. 268). Ghats were built at river fords to facilitate traffic.

The State took active steps to develop forests and mines. The *Arthasāstra* emphasises the necessity of appointing a properly qualified officer in charge of the State forests, so that a good income should be derived from the sale of timber, fuel, flowers, herbs, skins, hoofs, bones, charcoal, baskets etc. The State used to offer special rewards for the discovery of new mines. They were put in charge of properly qualified mineralogists and metallurgists, who were to examine sites, old and new, analyse the ores, ascertain the possible yields and then decide whether the State should work them itself or lease them out to private individuals and companies. Usually the State itself worked out a mine, if a small outlay was required. Otherwise it was leased out, the State claiming 50 to 20 per cent of the net yield.

Waste and fallow lands were in abundance and the State used to encourage colonisation often by subsidising it. Those who brought fallow lands under cultivation were exempted from the land tax for a certain number of years.

The State in ancient India always recognised its special responsibility to patronise learning, literature and sciences. It gave liberal help to the cause of education but had no army of directors and inspectors to control or direct education. India could make remarkable progress in education and literature because there was a small class of selfless persons in society who devoted themselves religiously to the cause of learning although they

could often get only a pittance for their labours. Discharge of a religious duty was the guiding force, and not the mercenary desire to earn money or make a living. Down to the 5th century A.D. India had no organised educational institutions though the literacy among some sections of its population was as high as 75 p.c. It was the policy of the State to make *agrahāra* land grants to colonies of distinguished scholars, who used to devote their lives to education. Later on when educational institutions made their appearance, the State was equally liberal in financing them, without caring to control them. Hindu kings financed Buddhist colleges and *vice versa*. Private individuals, merchant princes and village communities also vied with one another in financing educational institutions, where scholars were not only taught free but also fed and clothed free. The effort of the State and society in having well planned scheme of education was fairly successful. Of course liberal education was usually confined to the classes and had not penetrated to the masses, at least during the later periods. Training in arts and crafts was given by guilds.

India's contribution to literature and science during the period 1000 B.C. to 1200 A.D. may well be compared with that of any other nation.

The work of developing trade and industry was accomplished in ancient India partly by the State and partly by guilds. We have already referred to the role of the State in developing forests and mines. It was an age when big industries of the modern type had not yet emerged ; industries were usually on the cottage scale and were managed by either private enterprise or by the guilds. The State used to run only a few industries connected with forests, mines and the defence forces. It had also a spinning department, which was partly used as a poor relief agency also. It was the greatest storer of corn and had perforce to take part in its disposal in the open market.

Most of the small industries were run by guilds. From about the 3rd century B.C. we begin to get references to different guilds ; guilds of stone cutters, leather, ivory and bamboo workers, braziers, jewellers, weavers, potters, oil millers, dyers, painters, cultivators, fishermen, basket makers, garland makers, mariners' caravans, money lenders etc. These guilds continued to be an important feature of trade and industry in ancient India down to the 12th century A.D. Many of these guilds were small and confined to a particular village or town. But some of them were big organisations with a membership of more than 500 spread over several towns and districts. There was a big guild of bankers, traders and transport workers in the Gangetic plain operating in several cities of U.P. and Bihar.¹ Nilgund inscription (c. 1100 A.D.) refers to a guild of 505 members ; another record of the 12th century A.D. mentions a guild whose membership was extended over 18 sub-divisions and 79

1. Majumdar & Altekar, *The Age of the Vakatakas and the Guptas*, p. 356.

districts. The executives of these big organisations wielded considerable influence ; they were allotted special seats in the royal *darbar* and were often important members of the district councils, as at Pundravardhan in Bengal in c. 500 A.D. These guilds often collected even taxes for the State as at Purigere in c. 725 A.D. These guilds had extensive properties both in cash and kind, and Governments often relied upon deposits from them to run their administration, or finance their projects. They served as banks and were often regarded as more stable than the Government of the day even by the king's relations. They had their courts to settle their disputes and also their own militia to protect their goods when in transit. The State army often included companies of guild militias.

Under these circumstances it was but natural that the State in ancient India usually left the development of trade and industry to the efficient management of the guild executives. The position of these guilds was somewhat similar to those of the concerns like the G.E.C. in America, or the Krupps in Germany or the Tatas in India.

The available evidence tends to show that the State in ancient India had to pay more attention to harmonise the interests of the consumers, the labourers and the guilds than to plan big commercial or industrial projects to be run through its own agency. A glance at the *Arthasāstra* shows that the State tried to keep scales even between the employer and the employee by laying down that the former should pay the agreed wages even when no work could be done, if it had to be stopped for no fault of the employee. On the other hand the labourer was punished if he neglected the work, or committed theft or destroyed the raw material (III. 14). It protected the consumer by preventing the guilds and merchant princes from cornering commodities and raising their prices. It regulated the prices of articles in the interest of the general consumer, but while doing so, gave full consideration to the cost of the raw materials and manufacture and the toll and transport expenditure. Fraud was sought to be minimised by making the use of stamped and standardised weights obligatory ; traders using unauthorised weights were punished (II. 19). Merchants selling adulterated goods were also severely dealt with (IV. 2). The State, however, tried to help the trade by laying out roads, by ensuring the safety of traffic, and by constructing emporia. Merchants were compensated for the loss of articles through theft in transit (IV. 13), but were fined if they adulterated grains, oils, salts, medicines etc.

It will be thus seen that the State in ancient India usually left the initiative to private enterprise and guilds in the case of development of trade and industry and contented itself by protecting the interests of the workers and the consumers.

7 The conception of the Welfare State planning the entire individual, social, commercial and industrial life so as to remove or minimise inequalities and to ensure an even distribution of national wealth is a very

modern conception ; it was practically unknown about 50 years ago. The State planning to realise that goal is therefore a new development and we cannot naturally expect to meet its exact counterpart in any ancient State. The available evidence shows that the Welfare State was accepted as an ideal by several political thinkers and the Mauryan State to a great extent planned its activities to realise that goal. The main riddle before the historian is how far to accept the *Arthasāstra* account as corresponding to actual realities. There can, however, be no doubt that purely historical evidence shows that the State was taking effective steps to help agriculture, to construct dams, canals, tanks and roads, to avert or mitigate famines, floods and fires, to colonise waste lands, to help the distressed, to organise hospitals and dispensaries, to encourage learning and literature and to foster trade and industry. It, however, did not regard itself as omnipotent but very largely relied upon the co-operation of the caste and religious traditions and organisations, guild agencies and village communities in achieving the common goal. The available evidence is too scanty to enable us to state how far each of the different States in ancient India planned these activities on a systematic scale and to what extent it was successful in its efforts.

We have an interesting but purely historical record of king Kharavela (c. 150 B.C.) giving a detailed account of the activities of his Government during the 13 years of his reign. It shows that while the king was occupied in carrying out plans of military expansion during the 2nd, the 4th, the 7th, the 8th, the 11th and the 12th years of his reign, he was busy in carrying out works of public welfare like constructing and repairing canals, laying out roads and gardens, organising music festivals, distributing cash grants, building palaces and temples during the 1st, the 3rd, the 5th, the 6th, the 9th, the 10th and the 13th years. There is thus clear evidence that the State under Kharavela spent half its time in military activities and half in activities for public welfare and prosperity. We may, therefore, be not far wrong in suggesting that many of the well organised and well governed States paid considerable attention to plan part of their activities with a view to furthering the general welfare of the population in religious, social, economic and cultural spheres and were fairly successful in their efforts.

FIVE HISTORICAL SCULPTURES FROM NAGARJUNAKONDA

DR. M. RAMA RAO

Many sculptured beams and pillars have been obtained during the course of the excavations conducted on the famous Buddhist site in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district in Āndhradēśa. Most of these sculptures contain scenes depicting the Jātaka stories or main incidents in the life of Buddha. Many of these sculptures have been identified by Longhurst but some of them have been labelled "unidentified sculptures" obviously on the ground that they cannot be explained either with the aid of the Jātaka stories or the life history of the Buddha. Many of these "unidentified sculptures" seem to be of a non-religious character and depict important events in the history of the Ikṣvāku kings who ruled from Vijapuri in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley. Such are four casing slabs and a memorial pillar containing significant sculptures. I am discussing in this paper the historical importance of these sculptures.

One of the sculptured slabs¹ depicts a scene laid before a gateway. To the left is the figure of a royal person with his left hand resting on the waist and the right hand, with the fist closed, resting on the right knee which is bent. The left leg is bent a little as if the person is leaning forward. The right foot rests on a conical elevation in the centre of the body of a seven-hooded cobra which is lying in a horizontal position. Before this person is one man with a scared look on his face and with the right index finger upraised as if threatening or warning. There are two other persons holding in their left hands a rod resting on their left shoulders with a round object wound round it. In the background are two other persons with their hands upraised. Longhurst has identified this sculpture as representing a king denouncing Brāhmanism.

There is another sculpture² similarly labelled. To the left of this sculpture is a corpulent person resembling the royal person in the above sculpture with two attendants behind one holding an umbrella. This person rests his hand on his waist catching a cloth wound round it and his right hand with the fist closed, on the right knee which is bent and whose foot is stamping down a *linga* with the protecting seven-hooded cobra lying in a horizontal position. To his right are three individuals each catching with the left hand a bent object which looks like a bow and with their hands raised up as if in approval. Behind is an individual fully robed who looks like a minister.

There is a third sculpture³ which has not been noticed by previous writers and which has been described as an unidentified sculpture. This sculpture also depicts the same incident though in a different way.

1. Longhurst, *Buddhist Remains at Nagarjunakonda*, Pl. xxxc.

2. *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxia.

3. *Ibid.*, Pl. xliia.

Though unfortunately broken in the middle this seems to be a composite sculpture showing two connected incidents. In the centre of the left half of the sculpture there is a royal person slightly stooping forward with both his hands resting on the waist, with the right leg bent at the knee and the right foot placed over what looks like a *linga* on a low platform with the protecting seven-hooded cobra in a horizontal position. Behind him are three women with their hands folded. In the background are to be seen an elephant, a horse and an empty throne surmounted by a *Dharmacakra*. The right half of the sculpture contains a person seated on a throne resembling a Bodhisattva, with his left hand resting on the waist and the right hand held at the chest in the *abhaya* pose. Before him stands the royal person with his head slightly bent and the right hand bent at the elbow and the palm opened up, as if conveying some information. The same royal person is found again sitting cross-legged at the foot of the Bodhisattva.

Several features seem to be common to all the sculptures mentioned above, the central figure who appears to be a king and the stamping down of the *linga*. Longhurst's description of "denunciation of Brāhmanism" is commonly applicable to all the three sculptures. What appears to be peculiar is that the same incident is depicted in three different ways. On one occasion the act seems to have been performed before a gateway. This gateway may be that of a city in which case the city must have been Vijayapuri, the Ikṣvāku capital, or it might be the entrance to a building in which case it might be the entrance to a Siva temple from which the *linga* might have been dragged out. It might also be the entrance to a Buddhist *vihāra* as suggested by the presence of a Bodhi tree inside the compound behind. But the people standing before the king seem to be laymen and not monks. Their faces indicate horror and one of them seems to be warning the king against the consequences of the act. They might be followers of Saivism. The second sculpture, which contains warriors and a minister, may be taken to show the official denunciation by the king. The third sculpture is more interesting. There is a prominent woman behind the king in the right half of the sculpture. Since the *Mahacaitya* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was renovated during the reign of Śrī Vīrapurisadatta and since his aunt Chāntiśrī was closely connected with it the woman may be taken to be this Ikṣvāku princess. The other half of the sculpture may be taken to indicate the sequel to this denunciation of Brahmanism, *viz.*, conversion to Buddhism, symbolically represented by the king sitting at the feet of the Bōdhisattva.

Now arises the question as to the identity of the king. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has suggested that this king is identical with Śrī Vīrapurisadatta. This seems to be reasonable. Chāntamūla I, the performer of Agnihōtra, Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamédha, could not obviously be the denouncer of Brāhmanism. His grandson Chāntamūla II does not appear to be a man of high capabilities. Purisadatta,

II, whose only known inscription records a gift made to Bhagavān, cannot also be denouncer of Brāhmanism. The only alternative is to accept Mr. Rao's suggestion.

Mr. Krishna Rao ascribes⁴ this conversion to Buddhism to the sixth year of the reign of Purisadatta on the ground that the renovation of the *Mahācaitya* and the erection of numerous buildings in its neighbourhood took place in that year. This inference does not seem to be sound and the incident has to be ascribed to another year. Almost all the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa contain gifts made for the spiritual benefit of the donors. Four inscriptions, all of them set up by Chāntiśrī, the paternal aunt and mother-in-law of the king, state that the gifts were also made for the longevity and victory of Purisadatta. One of them is dated in the 18th year of the reign and the date portion of the others is lost. But on the basis of the identity of donor and purpose they may also be ascribed to the same date. This suggests the irresistible conclusion that in that year the health and victory of the king were in doubt. Most probably he was involved in a fight in which victory and survival were at stake. This fight might have been with an enemy either internal or external. Another sculpture,⁵ not noticed so far, seems to indicate the nature of the trouble in which Purisadatta was involved at this time. This sculpture represents a battle scene. In the left half are seen an elephant with riders and a horse with a rider followed by men bearing shields. One individual by the side of the horseman is thrusting a sword through another kneeling before him. In the right half of the sculpture are many people wielding clubs and fighting with the group opposite while one warrior is kicking the horse opposite him. One individual seems to be slipping from the elephant. This individual may be identified with Purisadatta. Since the fighters in the right half appear to be ordinary men and not royal personages the whole incident may be taken to be a popular revolt. Most probably it was a revolt caused by the open and violent denunciation of Brāhmanism by Purisadatta. Evidently he was exposed to personal danger while putting down this revolt and ultimately succeeded. This explains Chāntiśrī's anxiety about the longevity and victory of her son-in-law. All the five sculptures described thus depict an important event in the history of the Ikṣvākus.

4. *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p. 112.

5. *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxiii b.

ANCIENT ROUTES IN ORISSA

PARAMANANDA ACHARYA

From the *Bhagavata Purana* it is learnt that in Eastern India there were two dynasties named Utkala and Kalinga according to names of which these two countries were called Utkala and Kalinga. Pradyumna had three sons named Haritasva or Binitasva, Gaya and Utkala and each got a kingdom in his own name. As Gaya and Utkala are linked together, it is presumed that there were routes of communication among the people. The said Purana also states that the king Vali had six sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Suhma, Pundra and Odra who were allowed to rule the countries called after their names. We do not know the boundary of these three kingdoms called Kalinga, Utkala and Odra from the Puranas, but it is certain that a greater part of these kingdoms is comprised in modern Orissa.

The legendary account of Gayasura from the Purana furnishes information that the dead body of the demon Gaya stretched from Gaya to Pithapura near Rajamahendri; his head lay at Gaya, his naval part at Jajapura in Orissa and his feet at Pithapura. From this legend it is found that the people of this area belonged to one culture. The offering of *Pinda* to forefathers at Gaya, Jajapura and Pithapura is still current among the people of India, and it is natural to think that for the pilgrims to Gaya-Jajapura-Pithapura there was a route in early days. Among these three places Jajapura in Orissa is also a central place which connects Pithapura in the south and Gaya in the north. Besides Jajapura, Srikshetra or Puri of Orissa is another famous place of pilgrimage in India. The antiquity of places of pilgrimage in Kalinga (modern Orissa) is as old as *Baudhayana Srautasutra* and *Manu Samhita* where *tirtha-yatra* finds mention. These places of pilgrimage used to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of India—from the north, west and south of Orissa—and it is certain that there were ancient trade or pilgrim routes in those days. Now-a-days these ancient routes are abandoned due to establishment of Railway lines and highways throughout India, but the study of ancient routes will be profitable for us in locating places of archaeological interest.

The following historical events in Orissa furnish us sufficient materials for the study of ancient routes in Orissa.

1. Routes to and from the North of Orissa

In the Buddhist account it is found that two merchants named 'Tapasa' and 'Bhallika' of Utkala, on their way to Madhyadesa, first gave honey to Buddhadeva at Buddhagaya. These merchants had 500 cartloads of merchandise with them. To carry 500 carts from Utkala to Magadha was only possible through a developed highway.

Then the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions the conquest of Kalinga by the Nanda king of Magadha. It is not known by which route the soldiers of the Nanda king marched to Kalinga from Magadha.

The Maurya Emperor Asoka the Great came with a large force and conquered Kalinga in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. The strength of the Mauryan army can be imagined from the number of the dead, the wounded and the prisoners. According to an Asokan inscription the number of the dead is innumerable, the wounded were 1,00,000 and the prisoners were 1,50,000. The Asokan army was no doubt more than 5,00,000 strong and one can imagine the huge preparation for the movement of such an army in those days. It is certain that the Mauryan army travelled all the way from Patna to Tosali on a highway where water supply and food stuff were probably available.

Then in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. Kharavela of Kalinga not only marched as far as Rajagriha in the north, but advanced in the west to the kingdom of the Satavahans and in the south to the kingdom of Pandya. The army of Kharavela consisted of 4 categories or *Chaturanga*. It is needless to mention that for the movement of *Rathas* a good highway is essential.

The above three events happened two thousand years ago. If we assume that Tosali of the Asokan inscriptions and Kalinganagara of the Kharavela inscription were situated somewhere near Bhubaneswar, we must also assume that in those days the Mahanadi was crossed at a place near the present Cuttack town. There are two possibilities of easy communication towards north—one on the Birupa branch of the Mahanadi and then on the Kimbhira branch of the Birupa up to the Brahmani, or on the places just east to the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala. The road from the southern bank of the Brahmani went to Jajpur, after crossing the rivers of the Kharswan and the Budha, a branch of the Baitarani. From Jajpur the road was stretched northwards up to Midnapore *via* Dhamanagar, Bhadrak, Soro, Remuna, Ramachandrapur, Garhpada, Basta, Amarda, Raibania, Gaganeswar, Kesiari and Kharagpur. From Midnapore it stretched to Garh Mandaran from where it was bifurcated, one towards Burdwan and the other towards Saptagram and Trivenighat on the Ganges. The road just below the foot of the hills up to Dharmasala stretched in the north-westerly direction up to Anandapur in Keonjhar on the Baitarani and then following the Baitarani valley it reached Khiching in western Mayurbhanj. From Khiching the road went in north-easterly direction up to Bahalda in Mayurbhanj *via* Bamanghati (modern Rairangpur town). From Bahalda it went in a northerly direction *via* Saraikela to the Manbhum district where it touched the Subarnarekha valley. From this place journey to Gaya or Patna is easy.

Now, which one of these two possible routes was in actual use, is

to be considered. A trade route can be determined by the find-spots of coins and other antiquarian remains. On the eastern route beyond Remuna no archaeological evidence earlier than 1000 A.D. has been reported. But on the western route from Dharmasala to Bahalda, there are reports on the find of coins. From Kayama hill near Dharmasala Kushan copper coins have been found. From Sitabinjh in Keonjhar situated in the Baitarani valley Puri Kushan coins have been unearthed. At Khiching and Bhanjakhia Kushan and Puri Kushan type of copper coins have been found. At Rairangpur Roman coins of Gordian type have been found. At Tentala Kushan coins and at Dundu near Bahalda silver punch-marked coins have been unearthed. There are reports of discovery of such coins in Singbhum and Manbhum districts. All throughout this route there is abundant water supply by the rivers and rivulets. From above account it seems that there were trade and pilgrim routes from the Subarnarekha valley in Manbhum, Singbhum and northern Mayurbhanj districts to the Baitarani valley in western Mayurbhanj, eastern Keonjhar up to Anandapur so far as the hill area is concerned. The rest of the route towards south of Anandapur is quite possible up to Puri. So it is suggested that this route was followed by the Nanda king, Asoka and Kharavela. I have just taken a bird's eye view, but to establish it fully further careful survey in Orissa and Bihar is necessary.

From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta we come to know that Samudragupta sent an expedition to southern India through Kosala, Mahakantara, Kalinga etc. It has been accepted that the expedition of Samudragupta started from Pataliputra or Patna. If so, then we must find out a route from Patna in Bihar to Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. The possible route is through the district of Palamau *via* Siraguja to Bilaspur. The other route from the Ranchi district is *via* old Gangpur and Raigarh to Bilaspur. Both the routes are very difficult for the movement of a large army. Samudragupta's pillar inscription indicates that his activities were centred round Allahabad or Kausambi. If we assume that Samudragupta sent the expedition from Kausambi, then the route to Kosala is quite easy. From Kosala to Kalinga there were too many trade routes *via* the Kalahandi, the Balangir and the Baud-Phulbani districts of Orissa. In Baud-Phulbani district there is the Kalinga-ghat which connects Baud with Berhampur in Ganjam. Baud can be easily reached *via* Anga valley in the Balangir district from Phuljhar area of the Mahanadi valley of the Kosala kingdom. Again, from Kosala one can come to the Ganjam district *via* western part of the Balangir and the eastern part of the Kalahandi district through the Mohanagiri-ghat. Actually there was a salt route in this area. This area even now can be called the Mahakantara. The exact relation of the Gupta kingdom with the Utkala kingdom during the expedition of Samudragupta is not clear. Recently copper plates of the Vighraha dynasty have been discovered and these documents show that

the southern Puri and northern Ganjam area of Orissa were under the Gupta rule.

The political geography of the time of Samudragupta as found in the Allahabad *Prasasti* is corroborated by the description of Raghu's campaign in the regions of Utkala and Kalinga on the eastern sea. The country of Utkala in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsam* is mentioned after Suhma and Vanga. The king of Utkala guided his army towards Kalinga. Although Utkala finds mention in *Raghuvamsam*, its political relation with Raghu remains as dubious as that of the Allahabad *prasasti* of Samudragupta. From the description of *Raghuvamsam* we are not benefited by any clear idea about the route of Raghu's campaign in Utkala.

During the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. Yuan-Chuang visited the capital of Utkala and Puspagiri monastery from Karnasuvarna first and then went to Kongada and Kalinga. From Kalinga he went to Mahakosala. He came to Karnasuvarna from Tamralipta or modern Tamluk. The capital of Ucha or Utkala was in those days at modern Jajpur. The Puspagiri monastery and the sea-port called Chelitola was situated towards south and south-east of Jajpur. But the Chinese pilgrim, instead of coming straight from Tamluk or Tamralipta to Jaipur, had to go to Karnasuvarna which was situated in a north-westerly direction of Tamralipta. From the Chinese pilgrim's route, it seems that in the early 7th century there was no good road from Tamralipta to Jajpur. The Hijili area of Midnapore district was a group of islands some 300 years ago. It is found that there are a large number of parganas having names with *Chara* endings; a *Chara* is really an island. The present name of Basta has been derived from the ancient name Vamsadachaura which finds mention in the Asankhali copper-plate of Narasimhadeva II issued in 1303 A.D. The presence of *Charas* indicates no continuous land and hence no road. Karnasuvarna has been identified with Rangamati in the Murshidabad district. That Karnasuvarna was a real geographical place is proved from the two copper-plate inscriptions of Jayanaga and Bhaskaravarman. Cunningham suggested a place somewhere near Barabazar in the Manbhum district on the Suvarnarekha. The antiquities of the Manbhum district are too many. Besides Cunningham's assistant Beglar reports the traditions of Sasanka of Karnasuvarna in Manbhum. Hewitt in his "*The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times*" (page 327) notes that the Rajas of Chota Nagpore had the hereditary title of king of Karnasuvarna. The recently discovered Midnapore copper-plates give the names of feudatories of Sasanka who were rulers in north Orissa. One Sailodbhava ruler of Kongada (modern Ganjam) mentions Sasanka in the Gupta year 300. The identification of Karnasuvarna with a place in the Manbhum district helps us in tracing the route of the Chinese pilgrim from Karnasuvarna to Ucha on the trade and pilgrims' highway from Magadha to Utkala.

In the life of the Chinese pilgrim it is stated that Harsavardhana made a march through Orissa upto Ganjam from Uttar Pradesh.

In 1023-25 A.D. Rajendra Chola of Tanjore sent an army to the Ganges. Marching in southern India his army arrived at Sakrakota, modern Chitrakota in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The army passed through the Masuni country and arrived at Yayatinagara on the Mahanadi near Sonpur of the Balangir district. Then it passed through the Odra country which was difficult for access and then reached the country of Dandabhukti situated in the western Midnapore and Bankura area of modern West Bengal. To reach Dandabhukti from Sonpur one would have to follow the course of the Mahanadi up to Cuttack and then, following the trade route through eastern Keonjhar and western Mayurbhanj, will reach the Dhalbhum area of eastern Singhbhum from where Dandabhukti is quite approachable; or one would have to go through the eastern part of the district of Sambalpur, Bonai Sub-division of the Sundargarh district and Keonjhar district and then would arrive at the trade route somewhere near Khiching in Mayurbhanj. I was able to identify 'Adinagara' or Yadinagara of the Tamil inscriptions of Rajendra Chola with Yayatinagara only on the study of the possible route of the expedition.

It seems that towards the middle of the 11th century A.D. a route was possible to Orissa from the right bank of the Ganges in Hughli through Garh Mandaran, Midnapore, Raibania and Amarda, Bansada and Remuna. On this route in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Jayasinha, the ruler of Dandabhukti, an ally of Ramapala, helped Karnakesari of Utkala who was defeated by the Ganga king Rajaraja. This account is mentioned in the *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakaranandi. Soon after the conquest of Utkala in 1111 A.D. Chodaganga spread his power upto the Ganges and established a frontier station at Garh Mandaran.

From the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, it is learnt that in 1245-1247 A.D. there was a war between the Muslim Sultan of Bengal and Ganga king Narasimhadeva I. During this war the army of Yajnagar (Orissa) followed this route from Cuttack to Garh Mandaran and thence to Lakshmanavati or Gaur. In the Asankhali copper-plate of Narasimhadeva II of 1303 A.D. a '*Rājapatha*' on the village of Vamsada finds mention. In 1351 A.D. Shamsuddin Ilias Shah of Bengal attacked Yajnagar by following this route.

In 1360 Sultan Feroz Shah of Delhi came with a large army from Jaunpur *via* Bihar and Chotanagpur to Jajnagar—Orissa. At that time the capital of Orissa or Yajnagar was at Baranasi Kataka. The following quotation from R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* (Vol. I, p. 282) will show that he had a wrong idea about the route of Sultan Feroz Shah's expedition to Orissa :

"Firoz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhakantaka. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British district of Jubbulpore. Having crossed the Mahanadi he reached the town of Banarasi. The Haihaya king of Jajnagar fled into Telengana,"

At page 258 he writes : "Jajnagar is Jujjalanagar in Chhattisgadha." Elliot and Raverty both identified 'Kara' of *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* with Kara of Jabalpur. But the text of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* is 'Sikara'. I identified 'Sikara' with 'Shikhara' of Sikharbhum in Manbhum where there is a ruling family at Panchakot (Panchet) with the surname of *Sikhara*. Sikharabhumi finds mention in Sandhyakaranandi's *Ramacharita*. One can easily come from Bihar Sharif of the Patna district through the Hazaribagh district and reach Sikharbhum of the Manbhum district. At the time of Ferozshah's invasion the king of Sikharabhumi had 36 feudatories under him. After defeating the Sikhara king Sultan Ferozshah came towards Jajnagar. Kina nagar mentioned in the text of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* may be identified with Khichinganagar, the capital of the Bhanja kings. Kina nagar was on the route of the army of Ferozshah. Thence the Sultan came to Kalakalaghat of the Cuttack district situated near the eastern border of the Dhenkanal district. Then the Sultan arrived at Benaras (Banarasi Kataka), the capital of the king Pirbhan Deo. Pirbhan Deo in Persian is really Bira Bhanu Deva in Sanskrit or Oriya.

The above account gives a direct route from Bihar Sharif to Cuttack. It seems that Ferozshah followed the ancient trade route noted above. Historian Badaoni has written that the Sarqi Sultan of Jaunpur in 1393-94 A.D. invaded Jajnagar. As a hoard of coins of Sarqi Sultans of Jaunpur has been found from the Brahmani valley, it seems that there was another route from the Ranchi district through the valley of the Brahmani.

Sri Chaitanya came to Jagannath from Nabadvipa first by the river route upto Deoghog on the Ganges and from there by land route upto Dantan in the southern extremity of the Midnapur district.

Van Den Broke's map was prepared in 1660. In this map places like Jagannath, Cuttack, Bhadrak, Balasore, Remuna, Narsinghpur, Pipli, Jaleswar and Dantan are shown on a high way. In 1766 Motte went to Sambalpur from Jaleswar and he has left a description of the places from Jaleswar to Cuttack on the way which was then known as the Badshahi Road, and the road from Cuttack to Sambalpur has been fully described by him also.

II. Route to the West

According to the traditions of the *Mādalāpānji*, Indradyumna came to Puri from the country of Malava. The special Kalinga Edicts of Asoka at Dhauli state that the Kumara used to visit Tosali from Ujjayini occasionally, and he had to travel through Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh to Orissa. The Hathigumpha inscription states that Kharavela went to Vidarbha area and it seems that he followed the route on the valley of the Mahanadi and the Anga upto the border of the Raipur district of M.P. The discovery of punch-marked and other coins from

Sonpur indicates that it was situated on a highway. The Somakuli Kesari kings came to Orissa from Mahakosala through the Anga and the Mahanadi valley.

In 1421-22 A.D. Hosang Shah of Mandu came to Cuttack cunningly disguised as a horse merchant and halted on the other side of the river Mahanadi. From Mandu in Malava to Cuttack in Orissa is a long distance and Hosang had to follow the route in the Narbada river towards east and then reached the Raipur or Bilaspur district of M.P. from where the route to Orissa in the Mahanadi valley is quite easy. In 1741 A.D. Bhaskar Pandit was escorted to Cuttack from Phuljhar in the Raipur district.

On the west, apart from the route to Cuttack through the valley of the Mahanadi after Baud, there was a route to Ganjam through the Kalingaghati, and also from near Kanker in Bastar district there was a route to Vizagapatam district through the Ampani and Parbatipurghats or the Salurghat. Another route from Phuljhar passed through the Kalahandi district upto the border of the Ganjam district through the Mohanagiri-ghat. All these routes were famous for trade in salt and other commodities with Madhya Pradesh and beyond.

III. Route to South

There are Asokan inscriptions at Dhauli in the Puri and Jaugada in the Ganjam district. It is certain that in the Mauryan days there was easy communication between these places. The land route is possible through Nayagarh and there was also a route on the land which separated Chilka from the sea and also a route on the existing trunk road to Madras. The discovery of Kushan coins at Gurbai on the strip of land between Chilka and the sea suggests a trade route in that area. In the 7th century Sasanka, Harsavardhana and Yuan-Chuang went to Kongada (modern Ganjam) through one of these routes. The area of Kongada was occupied by the Bhaumas. Chodaganga came to Cuttack area of Orissa through one of these routes in 1111 A.D. It is not definitely known through which route Ulugh Khan entered Jajnagar in 1323 A.D. The mention of Manikpatna in the tradition of Purusottamadeva's expedition to Kanchi suggests that he went through the strip of land which divides the Chilka lake from the sea. In 1624 A.D. Shah Jahan entered Orissa through the pass of Khalikot from the south and went upto Uttar Pradesh and returned by the same route.

IV. Sea Route

From the works of Ptolemy and Pliny we learn that there were a number of ports on the sea-coast of Orissa, but none of them have yet been identified. The port mentioned by Yuan Chuang has not yet been identified. The people of Kalinga carried on sea-borne trade with the East Indies. They had trade also with ports of far-off Persian Gulf and

the Red Sea. Basudeva Somayaji, the author of *Gangavamsanucharita*, has described that he came to Puri from Burwan, a port in Ganjam, by a boat and returned on the land route to Khallikota after crossing Chilka lake in a boat in the year 1762 A.D.

This is just a sketch of the history of routes covering a period of over 2000 years and I venture to suggest that the study in detail of each route will bring to light new historical materials.

ELEPHANTS IN ANCIENT INDIAN ARMY

DR. B. P. SINHA

The use of elephants in war appears to be a distinction of the military system of ancient India. The pathetic reliance on the elephants in war inspite of tragic experiences against swift-moving cavalry of Alexander, the Huns, or the later Turks is yet to be satisfactorily explained. When and how was elephant first drafted into army is not yet definitely known.

The seals discovered in Harappa and Mohenjodaro prove beyond doubt that elephants were known to the Indians of the third millennium before Christ. As the elephant appears on seals it is safe to presume that the animal was so important as to obtain a religious and sacred character. From the seals one is struck by the ability of the artist in portraying the great volume and the imperial dignity of the animal. No seal shows the animal in wild mood and one may be permitted to suggest that domestication of the animal was already an accomplished fact in those ancient days. To what uses the elephant after domestication was put by the Indus Valley people one can only imagine in view of the paucity of evidence. Recently the Harappa excavations have revealed the existence of a dominating caste and this proves the presence of a ruling aristocracy under a monarch or a priest-king. Would it be wide off the mark to imagine that such an aristocracy would have drafted the domesticated stately elephant for its ceremonial ride? Unfortunately no seal depicting such a procession or the use of the elephant in war has been discovered so far. But it is only a negative argument. It is possible that the elephant may have been used as a conveyance at first and its potentiality as a wing of the army in the field was realised later. Even when the elephant as an important wing of the army in the battle-field disappeared in the Muslim period the elephants were used as conveyance or beasts of burden and they accompanied the army. It is known that in the remote past the climate of the Indus valley was very different from what it is to-day and it was fairly well wet in those days. The use of enormous quantity of timber in the architecture of the Indus Valley people has been accepted by all. Timber may have been obtained from the Himalayan regions of the Punjab. Elephants would have in such conditions served a very useful purpose as beasts of burden or

means of carriage and transport. It is not known if the Indus valley people realised the utility of the elephant in the battle-field.

However, when the Indo-Aryans came to India the elephant was a strange animal to them. This is suggested by their earliest literature. In the Rg Veda¹ the elephant is called by the term *mṛga-hastin*, 'the animal with a hand'. Roth concludes that the compound name is a proof of the newness of the animal to the Vedic Aryans². Pischel combats this view³. By referring to the elephant as '*mṛga-cāraṇa*' the Rg Vedic Aryans took the animal to be wild and dangerous. Had the conquering Aryans the bitter experience of the dangerous and terrible nature of the elephants in their wars against the indigenous peoples? The Greek army of Alexander was quite terrified at the sight of the dangerous and wild beasts in the battlefield. But very soon the Aryans realised the utility of the animal and were ready to employ the large and dignified gait of the elephant to express their own pomp and power. Though one may doubt Pischel's view that the Rg Vedic Aryans knew how to entrap elephants by the use of tame female elephants, it is clear from the later Vedic literature that the elephant was in use. Aitareya Brāhmana refers to black, white-toothed elephants adorned with gold⁴. It was famous for its strength and virility⁵. There was an elephant keeper or *hastipa*⁶. Therefore, there is no doubt that the elephant was considered a useful animal and the lavish decoration with gold etc. proves that it must have carried on its back royal or noble dignitaries. There is no mention of the use of the animal in war. But it was quite natural that in view of the animal's strength and terrible nature when it was angry or wild, its use in war could not be far off. Its use in war was at first on a very limited scale obviously because it was costly to maintain a large force of elephants for smaller States of the Vedic period and the Aryans had taken to elephant training recently. Hence it must have been generally employed for ceremonial purposes and very sparingly for war purposes.

The Great Epic, Mahābhārata, is not a literary product of the pre-Buddhist days, but it certainly describes more ancient traditions preserved in legendry tales having a historical bearing. According to Pargiter, the Mahābhārata war was fought about 950 B.C. while some responsible and cautious historians like Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri would place the event about 500 years earlier. However, the event certainly happened a few hundred years earlier than the birth of Buddha. In the Mahābhārata war the main reliance is placed on cars (*rathas*) drawn by horses, but the elephants are also used in the war. In the battle that ensued elephants rushed against elephants, car-warriors against

1. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 171.
2. *Ibid*; *Petersburg Dictionary*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Ibid*, p. 172.
5. *Ibid*, p. 501.
6. *Ibid*, p. 502.

car-warriors. Sometimes leading Epic-princes are also seen on elephant-back. Duryodhana rode once on an elephant in the battle-field. In the Karna Parva Bhīma is seen riding on an elephant in armour of iron. But it is significant that the king of Magadha was usually mounting an elephant in the Great War. Elephant-division of Magadha is specifically mentioned and it was badly mauled by Abhimanyu. Salva, the ruler of the Mlechchhas, mounting his elephant fought the Pāṇḍavas and his elephant also fought dangerously. He was a king of Karusha, which has been identified with the southern part of Shahabad district of the State of Bihar. Bhānumat, king of Kalinga, was also in the battle-field on elephant. Bhagadatta, king of Kāmarūpa, and the chief of Dasarnas fought from elephant's back. So it may be said that in Eastern India and the forested tracks of Central India the use of elephants in war was more common or traditional than in the Kuru-Pāñcāla country, the seat of Aryan power. It is well known that Eastern India was Aryanised later and there non-Aryan or pre-Aryan traditions persisted and were mostly assimilated into Aryan culture in due course. I would not be surprised if evidences were found to show that elephants were used in war by the Non-Aryans and the idea was later borrowed by the Aryans some time later than the Ṛg-Vedic period. In this connection it may be of some significance that Indra, the prime War-god of the Ṛg Vedic Aryans who was called *purabhattā* (destroyer of the cities), was later believed to have mounted his characteristic *vāhana* Airāvata—the white elephant. We know elephant was used in breaking through forts and it also played havoc in the battle-field later on. It is also important to bear in mind that the mainstay of the Magadhan army was its elephant wing before and after Chandragupta Maurya.

There is no doubt that the elephants were used in war in India before Alexander's invasion of India. In Bhīmasena Jātaka we are told that Bhīmasena armed *cap-a-pie* mounted on a war-elephant sheathed in complete armour. The Bodhisattva stormed the city of Banaras with the help of his war-elephant. In the scene depicting war of Relics one of the chiefs among the claimants is seated on an elephant, and the same scene is depicted on the western Gateway of Sanchi showing four of the seven chiefs on elephants. So by the time Alexander invaded India elephantry had become the main element in Indian art of war. As a matter of fact it had created an impression also in neighbouring countries as well. Alexander faced an elephant division in the battle of Arabela against Darius III. This must have been borrowed from the Indian provinces of the Achaemenian empire. But Alexander was for the first time pitted against a large and dangerous force of war-elephants by Porus who relied on the elephants for victory against the world-hero Alexander and his famous swift cavalry and trained phalanx. Everybody knows the result of the battle of Jhelum. But it would be wrong to put all the blame on the elephants. The weather, the swift horse-mounted Scythian archers and superior manouvres of Alexander with

surprise elements in the strategy no less contributed to his success. At any rate Alexander and his army were deeply impressed by the array of elephants in front of the battle-line. "I see at least a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and men of uncommon mettle that the contest now lies", said Alexander. In spite of the victory in the battle the Macedonian had learnt to respect the elephant division in the enemy's line. When Alexander's troops refused to move east of the Jhelum, Alexander suspected that the rumour about the monstrous size of the elephants of the ruler of Gangaridai and Prasii could be a deterrent factor. According to Diodorus the knowledge about the multitude of the elephants of the Gangaridai made Alexander defer the expedition against them. The king of Gangaridai and Prasii maintained a force of 3000 or 6000 war-elephants. Thus it appears that the emperor of Magadha largely relied on a big elephant division in his army and somehow this threw cold water on the conquering zeal of the mighty army of Alexander, which had known no important defeat so far.

Thus by the time of Alexander's invasion the elephant division had become the main prop of Indian military system and it had superseded chariotry in this context. Porus fought Alexander from the biggest elephant's back. And in spite of the defeat of the Indian army the Indian kings and military strategists did not think it necessary to modify their view about the utility and place of the elephants in the Indian army. Chandragupta Maurya who followed Alexander and had also watched Macedonian military organisation and strategy maintained the largest elephant division known so far, 9000 war-elephants. Though it would be wrong to agree with Smith that domestication of elephants falls in the Mauryan period, there appears to be good ground for believing that Magadha invented and had a lead in technique in elephant-warfare. We have seen that from the Epic times elephants were associated with Magadhan army. By the time of Alexander's invasion the elephant division had become the most important wing of the army. It is possible that still more augmented and trained elephant division of the army of Chandragupta contributed substantially to the military successes of the emperor. It was, therefore, on the basis of experience that Kautilya opined:—"It is on elephants that destruction of an enemy's army depends." Maintaining and training an elephant was a royal monopoly and killing an elephant was a capital offence. Elephant forests were royal preserves in the Mauryan period. The Macedonian and Bactrian Greeks were very much impressed by the elephants in the army and Seleucus ceded four provinces in return for the gift of 500 elephants by Chandragupta. His army included elephants and elephants became symbol of his dynasty. His victory over Antigonos in the battle of Ipsos is attributed to the use of elephants. The Syrian emperor Antiochus III crossed the Indian borders but returned back after receiving presents including 150 elephants from Subhagasena. In war against Rome his army included elephants also. The use of elephants in the

army of Bactrian Greeks may be inferred from the evidence of their coins. Demetrius I had elephant head on his coins ; an elephant is found on the reverse of the coins of Heleokles and on the coins of Menander also elephant's head is to be seen. Thus the elephants left an enduring impression on the Bactrian Greek rulers of India. But even outside India the utility of this animal in war was realised. In war against Rome Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, used elephants which terrified the Romans. Hannibal, the great Carthaginian leader and one of the greatest generals of the ancient world, began his attack on the Roman army at the battle of Ou-et-tine by charge of elephants.

The above account shows that the use of elephant in war, rather after the defeat of Puru's army by Alexander, became more common and important and powers outside India were attracted towards this characteristically Indian element in the art of war. The Scythians and the Kuṣāṇas conquered large parts of India by the help of mounted archers on horse-back. There is no doubt that due to the Śaka conquests the importance of cavalry, specially archers on horse-back, became greater. But it is significant to note that the great Śaka Kṣatrapa Rudradāman had also an elephant division in the army as is known from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman. In the Gupta period, cavalry was a very important wing of the army and the Gupta emperors like Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I are seen on horse-back on the coins. But the elephant continued to be in use. Kumāragupta I is seen riding an elephant and slaying a lion. *Kāmandaka Nīṭisāra*, which is generally assigned to the Gupta period, refers to the four traditional parts of the army. In the post-Gupta period the elephant division of the army continued to be regarded as a very useful arm of the army. According to the contemporary traveller Yuan Chwang the army of Harṣa included a large contingent of 60,000 elephants, much larger in this sense than even the Mauryan army. Even in the post-Harsa period elephants continued to be important in the military sense. The army of the Pālas and the Senas had an elephant force under a Pilupati.

In the war against Dahir, king of Sind, the Arabs faced for the first time the imposing array of chiefs mounted on armoured war-elephants and led by their king Dahir. In their wars against Ghaznavid Turks the kings of Udabhandapur always included elephants in their armies though they were repeatedly defeated. But what is more interesting is that Sabuktigin included a demand for fifty elephants or five stables full of elephants in the treaty that he imposed on Jayapāla. Does it show that even the best cavalry leaders like the Turks appreciated some utility of elephants in war? In the large confederacy that Jayapāla organised against the King of Ghazni were included a large number of elephants besides 'an innumerable host of foot'; but the result went against the Hindus. Jayapāla's son Ānandapāla organised another confederacy to meet Sultan Mahmud in 1008 A.D. and this confederate force must have had a significant elephant force. The Hindus were on

the point of winning the war when accidentally *naphtha* balls struck the elephant on which the leader Ānandapāla was seated and the elephant fled with the rider and the Hindu army, thinking that their leader was fleeing away, broke into panic and what was probably going to be a glorious victory was thus turned into a tragic rout. In spite of the unfortunate experiences the Hindus did not abandon their hope on elephants. Prithvīrāj faced Sihabuddin Muhammad of Ghor with a large army consisting of 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants in the first battle of Tarain in 1191 A.D. and defeated the invaders. But the next year Sihabuddin returned and defeated the Hindu confederacy under Prithvīrāj, who had this time under him a larger cavalry (300,000) and 3,000 elephants as before. It would be hardly fair to attribute the defeat in the second battle of Tarain to the elephants but deny them a share in the victory in the earlier battle. Jayachandra, who had not joined the confederacy against Sihabuddin, was destined to bear the onslaught of the Muslim invader and though Jayachandra's army included 700 elephants and about one million men he was signally defeated. The Hindu kingdoms continued to have a soft corner for an elephant division down to the 15th century A.D. and the Vijayanagara army also included an elephant division. The *Sukranīti* which is placed between 14th and 16th centuries also refers to elephant force under Gajapati.

The foregoing brief account of the history of elephantry in war in ancient India would show that this arm of the army as any other contributed to successes or reverses in wars on different occasions. It is usual to attribute the defeats of the Indian forces against the Greeks or Sakas or against the Arabs or Turks later on to the failure of the elephantry against the mobile cavalry of the invaders. But it then becomes difficult to explain the success of the Mauryas against the Greeks and the desire of the Greeks, Bactrian Greeks, Carthaginians and even the Turks to possess an elephant division for themselves. In spite of the knowledge of the mounted Scythian archers the Indian emperors like Harṣa won victories with a large elephant division. And certainly Prithvīrāja won the first battle of Tarain against Sihabuddin even when the former had 3,000 elephants in his army. Ānandapāla had practically won the battle but for an accident. I would, therefore, suggest that the responsibility of the elephants for Indian reverses should be more cautiously assessed. It was no doubt true that the elephant division was a slower moving force compared to the cavalry and that the largeness of the animal made it an easier target for the archer. But it could and did create havoc in the enemy's camps by its roaring shouts and mad and furious onslaughts. Then it could accommodate a much larger number of combatants on its back than the chariot or the horse. Its real trouble was the mounted horse-archer, which largely contributed to the success of the Scythians and the Turks. The Guptas appear to have adopted this system, but it could not become popular with the ancient Indians. The real causes of the defeats of the ancient Indians against

the invaders from the north-west are to be sought elsewhere: the inferiority of Indian cavalry, the ineffectiveness of the foot soldiers, the absolute dependence on the king or the commander in the battlefield. The last-mentioned point is clear in the panic caused by Ānandapāla's forced withdrawal from the field. It may be contrasted with the composure displayed by the Greek army when Alexander lay severely injured once in the course of the Indian campaign. The thing was that while India proper was no suitable ground for breeding best war-horses, war-elephants were naturally obtainable in this country. In most of the decisive battles the Indians lost because of inferior strategy, weaker morale and chivalrous code of war ethics compared to their more resolute enemies. Traditional methods of pitched battles and bookish military arrays in face of hit-and-run tactics proved an expensive proposition. Defensive strategy against aggressive warfare was not always beneficial, especially when the enemy was resolute and often unscrupulous. Before assessing the responsibility of the elephants for the defeats of the Hindus, it should be borne in mind that it was only after cavalry had superseded elephantry in war in post-Mauryan period that most of the reverses of the Hindu arms took place.

THE MAHAMEGHAVĀHANA DYNASTY

SRI AMAR CHAND

In line 1 of the Hāthigumphā inscription, Khāravela has been styled as 'Mahāmeghavāhanena', and in another inscription¹, king Vakradeva (or Kudepasiri), probably a successor of king Khāravela, is referred to as 'Mahāmeghavāhanasya', which titles would denote that these rulers were the descendants of king Mahāmeghavāhana.

Etymologically speaking, Mahāmeghavāhana means "a person whose vehicle is "mahāmegha" or the great cloud-like State-elephant"². The possession of a superb State-elephant is one of the tests for determining the status of a king-overlord. The imperial style 'Mahāmeghavāhana' adorning the names of Khāravela and his successor goes to show that the State-elephant of the kings of the Royal family of Kalinga, of which they were descendants, was known by the name of Mahāmegha or like 'the great cloud'³.

Apart from denoting 'clouds', the word also denotes 'elephants'. In the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra⁴, the elephants of Kalinga, Anga, Prāchya and Karuśa are said to have been of the noblest breed. The Kurudhamma

1. Lunder's List, No. 1347.

2. *Old Brahmi Ins.*, p. 40.

3. The country of Kalinga, being a coastal region, is subject to heavy rains. The annual rainfall is about 75"—90", and hence, heavy dark clouds are a regular phenomenon of the country.

4. II, 20, 20. "Kaliṅgāṅga gajāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ prāchyāścheti karuśjāḥ".

Jātaka⁵ and also the Vessantara Jātaka⁶ bear testimony to the fact that a sort of religious sanctity was attached by the people to State-elephants.

The epithet 'Mahāmeghavāhana' also reminds of the god Indra. His vehicle, too, is elephant—"Airāvata", though white and not black, as those of Kalinga country. Further, he is also the master of clouds, and hence, rains⁷. Indra is also the god of all gods, and therefore, is called 'Mahendra' too. The Royal epithet 'Mahāmeghavāhana' may, accordingly, be taken to imply that Khāravela and other rulers of that house were very powerful, each of them bearing comparison with Mahendra. As a matter of fact, every Indian ruler was regarded as a representative of Indra (Mahendra) on earth. Dr. B. M. Barua opined that Khāravela's comparison with Indra is corroborated by the Royal title 'Indrarāja' occurring in line 16 of the Hāthigumphā inscription itself⁸. But what Dr. Barua read as 'Indrarāja' has been read as 'Bhikhurāja' by Drs. K. P. Jayaswal and D. C. Sircar⁹.

The personal and dynastic name 'Meghavāhana' was not unknown in ancient India. It is known to the authors of the Mahābhārata¹⁰. Meghavāhana, as a personal name, occurs in Rājatarāṅgiṇī also¹¹. In the Jaina traditions as well, the Mahāmeghavāhana kings are said to have ruled in southern India¹². The name occurs in the Jaina literature also¹³.

Apart from these, there are personal and dynastic names known in ancient India which are much akin to Meghavāhana. Such instances are :—Sātavahana or Sālivahana, of the great Andhra-Sātavahana dynasty ; Dadhivāhana, a Jain king who ruled at Champā¹⁴. Nahavāhana was another king who was a contemporary of Sālivāhana¹⁵.

It is very likely, however, as has been suggested by K. P. Jayaswal¹⁶, that Megha (or Maghas) mentioned in the Purāṇas is but a shortening from Meghavāhana or Mahāmeghavāhana, which is the high-sounding epithet whereby Khāravela and other kings of the same royal house were designated. The Meghas ruled in Kośala as late as the third century A.D.¹⁷

5. Fausboll, No. 276.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 547.

7. Cf. the 'Gova-dhana-dhāraṇa' legend ascribed to Śrī Krishṇa and Indra.

8. *Old Brāhmi Ins.*, p. 39.

9. *Select Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 211.

10. *Sabhā parvan*, Ch. XIV, 13. "Vakradantaḥ karushas cha karabho meghavāhanah."

11. D. C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ch. XIII, p. 211.

12. "Dāhina mahiyali vadḍiyya viyappa.

Māheuri mehavāhana nariṇdu-piya mahevāla rayikayiyavāla".

Nyāya Kumāra Charita, pp. 85-86. Qtd. K. P. Jain, *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XII, No. 1, July, 1946, pp. 33 f.

13. Hemchandra's Sutra. Vṛihat vritti, Adhyāya 2, 2, 3; also in *Tilakamañjari*. Pt. Sukhlalji has very kindly given the author the above references.

14. *Āvaśyaka Chārṇī*, II, p. 205 f; *Uttarādhyāna Nirukti*, p. 294 f.

15. Cunningham, *Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 374; Dr. J. C. Jain, *Social Life as Depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 393.

16. *Jour. of Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.*, Vol. IV, p. 483. "Meghā iti samākhyāta".

17. *Jour. of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, p. 32; Pargiter, *Dynasties in the Kali Age*, p. 51; Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. India*, p. 532.

TESTIMONY OF THE MALAVIKĀGNIMITRĀM REGARDING
PUSHYAMITRA SUNGA'S RELATIONS WITH VIDARBHA :
A REVALUATION

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* we find Agnimitra's *amātya* referring to Yajñasena, the ruler of Vidarbha, as *achirādhishtitarājya* and Agnimitra's *prakṛtyamitra*. This, combined with a further reference, the imprisonment of Yajñasena's brother-in-law (*śyāla*), the *Mauryasachiva*, i.e., the Minister of Maurya (probably Bṛhadratha), by Agnimitra, has led Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri to reconstruct Pushyamitra Śunga's history as follows¹ :—

“It appears from the *Mālavikāgnimitram* that the foundation of the dynasty of Pushyamitra almost synchronised with the establishment of a new kingdom in the Deccan, viz., Vidarbha or Berar. Agnimitra's *Amātya* (Minister) refers to the kingdom as “*achirādhishtita*” (established not long ago) and compares its king to a tree which is newly planted and therefore not firm (*nava-saṁroṇa-śithilas-taruḥ*). The king of Vidarbha is represented as a relation (sister's husband) of the Maurya minister (*sachiva*) and a natural enemy (*Prakṛtyamitra*) of the family of Pushyamitra. It appears that during the reign of Bṛhadratha Maurya there were two parties or factions in the Magadha Empire, one headed by the king's *Sachiva* or Minister, the other headed by the *Senāpati* or General. The Minister's partisan, Yajñasena, got the rulership of Vidarbha, while the General's son, Agnimitra, obtained the vicerealty of Vidiśā. When the General organised his *coup d'état*, killed the king, and imprisoned the Minister, Yajñasena apparently declared his independence and commenced hostilities against the ruling family. This is why he is called *prakṛtyamitra* by Agnimitra and his *Amātya*.”

To me these conclusions appear unjustified. There is nothing to prove that the kingdom of Vidarbha had been newly founded ; for the compound word, *achirādhishtitarājya*, has to be expounded not as a *karmadhāraya* but as a *bahuvrīhi*² compound referring to the *śatru*, the hostile ruler, Yajñasena. The exact words of the drama are :—

अमात्यः-शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देव

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिस्वरुढमूलत्वात् ।

नवसरोपणाशिथिलस्तस्त्रिषुकरःसमुद्भूतम् ॥ (I. 8)

For a similar situation we might refer to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*³, where however the ruler, though *nava*, i.e. newly come to the throne, is

1. *Political History of Ancient India*, Fifth Edition, pp. 372-373.
2. *Achireṇa adhishtitam rājyam yena*.
3. XVII, 24.

well established on account of the love that his people bear him. In Kālidāsa's usage, therefore, a "new" ruler need not be one who has founded a new kingdom. The ruler described in the *Raghuvamśam* belongs to the ancient dynasty of Ayodhyā. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Mālavikā is described as "Rājadārika"⁴ (literally the daughter of a ruler) and "abhijanavati"⁵ (of high and noble birth). Her brother, Mādhavasena, who is Yajñasena's cousin, has a *sachiva* and an army of his own and enjoys royal status even before Yajñasena's defeat by Agnimitra. He is a *bhūdhara* (ruler) of the same clan as Yajñasena⁶. These things could not have been said of Mālavikā and Mādhavasena, if the royalty of Yajñasena's family had been due merely to the favour of the *Mauryasachiva*. As the *pitṛvyaputra* (paternal uncle's son) of Yajñasena, who was at the same time his rival, Mādhavasena could not have been a *bhūdhara* along with Yajñasena, unless their grandfather had been a ruler before them. At least there could be no chance of Mādhavasena being endowed with royalty by the Maurya Minister, who besides being no relation of his was probably inimically disposed towards him.

It is wrong also to believe that Yajñasena has been called Agnimitra's *prakṛtyamitra* on account of being related to the *Mauryasachiva*, who was an old rival of Agnimitra's father, Pushyamitra Śunga. प्रकृत्यमित्र is a technical term borrowed from the *Kauṣīliya Arthaśāstra*, wherein an adjoining ruler is regarded as *prakṛtyamitra* and the one next to him as *mitra*, whatever their actual relations with the *vijigīshu* may be⁷; and this is the meaning assigned to it also by Kāṭayavema's commentary on the *Mālavikāgnimitram* which states, प्रकृत्यमित्रत्वं विषयानन्तरत्वादिमन्तव्यम् Yajñasena is a *prakṛtyamitra*, because as a neighbour, he is a potential enemy. That he becomes a *yātavya* enemy⁸ too, i.e. one against whom offensive action has to be taken, is due to the way he behaves. Instead of complying immediately with Agnimitra's request for Mādhavasena's release, he makes it conditional on the release of the *Mauryasachiva* by Agnimitra. One *śyāla* could thus be exchanged for the other (though would-be) *śyāla*. Offended by this proposition, Agnimitra attacks Yajñasena; Agnimitra himself is not the ruler first attacked, though Dr. Raychaudhuri has assumed that Yajñasena probably commenced hostilities against the Śungas on their destruction of the Maurya dynasty.

Dr. Raychaudhuri has utilised the *Mālavikāgnimitram* for the position of the *Mantri-parishad* during the Śunga period¹⁰. The king is said to have consulted it on matters of high policy. It was through it that the king's orders were communicated to the imperial executive officers. But here again, as in the case of the terms, *achirādhishtitarājya*

4. P. 153, S. S. Ayyar's Edition.

5. *Ibid*, p. 145.

6. *Ibid*, p. 15, Yajñasena's letter to Agnimitra. Mādhavasena is a *tulyābhijana bhūdhara*.

7. VI, 2: XV, 1.

8. S. S. Ayyar's edition, p. 17.

9. *Ibid*.

10. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, pp. 389-90.

(the idea of which too comes originally from the *Arthaśāstra*)¹¹ and *prakṛtyamitra*, is it not possible that Kālidāsa has borrowed the concept, not so much from the actual political condition of the Sunga times, as from the *Kauṭīliya* which describes the functions of the *Mantri-parishad* and assigns it a very high position in the State? The *Kauṭīliyan Mantri-parishad* considered problems relating to the ruler and his enemies, and not merely completed but also brought to perfection old undertakings. Its members were consulted personally, if present in the capital; and by means of letters, if they were at some other place. In case of emergency, consultation with the *Parishad* appears to have been the general rule, though the king reserved to himself the right of disagreeing with its recommendations¹². The *Mantri-parishad* of the *Mālavikāgnimitram* does not go beyond the data supplied by the *Kauṭīliya*, the text of which had been fully mastered by Kālidāsa and provided him with most of the *Arthaśāstra* material found in his dramas and poems¹³.

With all these facts before us, is it not proper to revalue the evidence from the *Mālavikāgnimitram*? Some of it may be useful; but we have to see that it is not misinterpreted. We have to guard also against the tendency to accept everything it says as true for the Śunga period, because many of Kālidāsa's ideas on Indian Polity have been derived from the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* and may have no factual relation to the events he dramatises. For him the *Kauṭīliya* was the *Arthaśāstra* par excellence and as much an *upjīvyā grantha* as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE ANDHRA SATAVAHANAS

B. S. HANUMANTHA RAU

A critical understanding of the accounts furnished by *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Hiuen-Tsang and *Kaliyugarājavrittānta* against the background of the religious and political developments of the 2nd century A.D. leads to the conclusion that the downfall of the Satavahanas was precipitated by a struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism. The subordinate ruling families like the Ikshvakus who posted themselves at Sri Parvata not far from Dhanyakataka and who had already become powerful took advantage of the confusion created by the religious strife. Indeed, the Ikshvakus proved to the Satavahanas what the Sungas had been to the Mauryas.

The rise as well as the fall of the Satavahanas synchronised with bitter struggles between Hinduism and Buddhism. The dynasty rose to sovereign dignity when a tide of militant Brahmanism was sweeping over entire India. Like the Sungas in the north, the Satavahanas in the south

11. VIII, 2.

12. I, 15. See also my paper, *The Kauṭīliyan Ruler*, *JGNJRI*, IX, pp. 25-41.

13. See my paper, *Arthaśāstra Material in the Raghuvamsa*, *IHQ.*, June, 1951.

seem to have derived support from the Brahmanical movement and in return promoted it to a large extent. Satakarni I, the third king in the line, performed numerous Vedic sacrifices including two Aswamedhas and one Rajasuya, whereas one of his successors, Gautamiputra Satakarni, deserved the title Ekabrāhmana by stopping the contamination of the caste system. On the other side, the Puranic form of Hinduism just then emerged and by satisfying the spiritual needs of the common man it held the masses close to the bosom of Hinduism. The natural consequence of this was the decline of Buddhism in Andhra Desa which had been its stronghold.

But the 2nd century A.D. witnessed, thanks to the efforts of Aswaghosha, Kanishka and Acharya Nagarjuna, the resurrection of Buddhism. Nagarjuna, through his Mahayanism, transformed Buddha *dharma* into a concrete religion attractive to the people. Once again, people began to flock to stupas and Buddhist monasteries. According to the tradition, Nagarjuna converted 10,000 Brahmins into Buddhism and even his contemporary 'Sadvahana' embraced that faith. There is general agreement among scholars that this 'Sadvahana' was identical with Yajnasri Satakarni, who ruled over the Deccan between 174 A.D. and 203 A.D. Again tradition would have us believe that Yajnasri caused a five-storied monastery and a mahachaitya to be built for Nagarjuna at Sri Parvata, more famous as Nagarjunakonda. Nagarjuna is credited with the construction of 108 stupas. The sculptured marble railing at Amaravati as well as "the golden age of Sri Parvata art" are ascribed to this period. Therefore, it is clear that the Satavahanas openly patronised Buddhism and there was all round Buddhist activity in the land.

These developments naturally alarmed the champions of Brahmanism and Acharya Nagarjuna, who restored Buddhism to its former dignity and prestige, became the target of the Brahmanical reaction. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives an interesting story about the death of Nagarjuna. The ambitious son of Nagarjuna's patron grew impatient of his father's longevity. He knew from his mother that his father's long life was due to the "elixir of life" administered to him by the Acharya. Immediately the prince ran to Nagarjuna with a request. Nagarjuna, well known for his generosity and truthfulness, having promised to grant his request could not go back upon his word and made a present of his head to the prince. The King was dismayed at the death of his preceptor and abdicated. Confusion followed his abdication. Hiuen-Tsang also corroborates the story. It is clear from this that Nagarjuna and his patron, "Sadvahana", became victims to a plot by the Brahmins and engulfed the country in chaos.

The death of Nagarjuna and the abdication of Yajnasri should have intensified the rivalry between Hinduism and Buddhism. Yajnasri's successors, namely, Vijayanandasri, Chandrasari and Pulomavi, were incapable of restoring order. The consequent confusion offered a

splendid opportunity for the feudatory dynasties to embark upon ambitious careers. The Ikshvakus or the Sriparvatiyas appear to have gained much power in this period. It is agreed that the Ikshvakus were the immediate successors of the Satavahanas in the Krishna valley. Their hereditary seat of power, Vijayapuri, was not far from Dhanyakataka and members of that family occupied very high positions like Mahasenapati and Mahatalavara under the Satavahanas. Their power and influence enabled them to interfere in the affairs of the Satavahana dynasty and to lead the intrigues against them.

The *Kaliyugarājavrittānta* describes the rise of the Sriparvatiyas on the ruins of the Satavahana power. The leader of the Sriparvatiyas conspired with the queen of Chandrasri and put him to death. He became a king-maker and placed Pulomavi on the throne. Then Santamula deposed Pulomavi and usurped the throne. As the author of *K.R.V.* mentioned Chandragupta and the other members of the Gupta dynasty (in this connection), scholars are inclined to assume that the story describes the rise of the Guptas. But, for the following reasons I believe that it refers to the rise of the Sriparvatiyas. (1) The opening verses of the story clearly contain the term Sriparvatiyas. The Sriparvatiyas of the Puranas were identical with no other dynasty except that of the Ikshvakus who succeeded the Satavahanas. (2) The Guptas and the Satavahanas are separated by more than 100 years. Further, the last of the Satavahana kings did not enjoy sway over Magadha. Therefore, it is not possible to connect Chandrasri and Pulomavi with Chandra Gupta. Nor can we assume that the Guptas had ever been the servants of the Andhras or *Andhrabhritiyas*. On the other hand, the Sriparvatiyas were the immediate successors of the Satavahanas and their home was not far from Dhanyakataka. (3) *Kaliyugarājavrittānta* correctly mentions the last two of the Satavahana kings—Chandrasri and Pulomavi. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the author of the *K.R.V.* was conversant with the tragedy of the Satavahana downfall and the part of the Sriparvatiyas in it. But he confused the Sriparvatiyas with the Guptas and held them identical.

Now it is plain in the light of the *K.R.V.* that the *Ikshvakus* overthrew the Satavahanas, their erstwhile overlords. So far historians agree that Vasistiputra Sri Santamula was the founder of the independent Ikshvaku dynasty. The inscriptions of Nagarjunakonda describe in unequivocal terms Santamula's ardent faith in Brahmanism. He performed *Agnihotra*, *Agnistoma*, *Vājapeya* and even *Asvamedha*. Mahasena Virupakshapati was his family deity. This description leaves no room for any doubt about his role in the Brahmanical movement which was in full swing. Overthrow of the Satavahanas being his political ambition, statesmanship demanded that he should ally himself with the powerful religious movement that despised the pro-Buddhist Satavahanas. Santamula led the discontented forces and found it very easy to pull down the Satavahanas. The performance of *Asvamedha* by

him is not merely of political significance. It hailed the establishment of Vedic faith in Sri Parvata, the erstwhile stronghold of Buddhism.

Another point also evidences the revival of Hinduism at Sri Parvata. By the time of Virapurushadatta, the son and successor of Santamula, we are informed that most of the Buddhist monuments including the mahachaitya fell into ruins. The ladies like Bapisri and Santisri renovated, reconstructed and reconsecrated those monuments. There is hardly 35 years' difference between the reigns of Yajnasri and Virapurushadatta, and the damages to the buildings in such a short time cannot be explained otherwise than as the cruel demonstration of the wrath and contempt of the Hindu revivalists. The vigorous *Vaidika Karma-kānda* of Santamula's reign lends support to this view. It is not impossible that the triumphant Brahmanism trampled Buddhism under its heavy feet.

Under the stress of such a fierce trial of strength between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the Satavahana dynasty collapsed. The last but one king of the family was Chandrasri and the Kodavali inscription issued in his second regnal year is placed by Krishnasastry in 210 A.D. According to the *K.R.V.* and the Puranas he ruled for 7 years (210—2+7=215) and his reign came to an end about 215 A.D. He was succeeded by Pulomavi who was allowed to rule for only 3 years, *i.e.*, till 218 A.D. He was deposed and probably killed by the leader of the Sriparvatiyas, Santamula, who proclaimed himself the lord of the land by about 218 A.D. Ikshvaku Santamula was the Pushyamitra Sunga of the unfortunate Pulomavi, the Satavahana counterpart of Maurya Bṛhadratha.

THE PEOPLE OF ANCIENT KASMIRA : THEIR ETHNIC AFFINITIES

DR. SUNIL CHANDRA RAY

From the remotest time up to the coming of the Muhammadans various types of people of different races, languages and cultures had come to Kāśmīra, settled in the valley and had gradually merged into a homogeneous Kāśmīrī people. It is not possible to take an estimate of the specific races who came to the valley since there is no systematic record of their infiltration. But if we look to the people of Kāśmīra we find in the very formation of their bodies, in their language and in their culture, traces of different racial characteristics.

In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. the Indo-Greek invasion of Kāśmīra seems to have taken place. Probably Demetrius and Menander and perhaps several other Indo-Greek princes ruled over portions of the valley¹. But the Indo-Greek penetration may be taken

1. Tarn, *The Greeks in Parthia and India*, p. 155; *Ptolemy*, vii, 42; *Milindapanha*, ed. Trenckner, pp. 82, 83.

to be more or less in the nature of military incursions and it is doubtful, whether during the Indo-Greek rule any considerable amount of race admixture between the Yavanas and the existing Kāśmīrian people took place. The Śakas or Scythians, due to the Yue-chi pressure arrived in India about the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. and occupied the plains of Peshawar. Sometime afterwards a branch of the Śakas might have settled over some parts of Kāśmīra². Baltistan is in the neighbourhood of Kāśmīra. The Baltis are generally considered to be the descendants of the Śakas. It is not unlikely that from Baltistan some migrations took place in Kāśmīra even in later times.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kuṣāṇa rulers had sway over Kāśmīra. The rule of Kaṇiṣka's line over Kāśmīra is attested by literary as well as numismatic evidence³. During the reigns of these Kuṣāṇas, a large number of Yue-chis must have come and settled in the valley. Settlement of Central Asian Yue-chi-like people in the valley, about the 4th century A.D. is confirmed by carved tiles discovered at Harwan.

The Hun invasion, which swept Northern India during the latter part of the 5th and the earlier part of the 6th centuries A.D. had its repercussion on the history of Kāśmīra. In fact, of all the regions of India it is in the secluded valley only, that the Hūṇas could find a ready shelter. Mihirakula's rule over Kāśmīra is testified to by Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa⁴. Kāśmīrian names like Toramāṇa, Vasukula, Hiranyakula, Kḥiṅkhila etc., indicate to a certain extent the influence of the Hūṇas in Kāśmīrian population.

The last foreign tribe from the North-West, who might have settled in Kāśmīra in pre-Muhammadan days, was perhaps the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras are generally considered to belong to the Hūṇa stock. But as their affiliation with the latter is not known for certain, it is better to regard them as a separate tribe, if not as a separate race. In the present population of Kāśmīra the Gurjaras, the Rajputs and the Jats, all hailing from the Gurjara stock, predominate. About early Gurjara settlement in Kāśmīra, no evidence is forthcoming. Gurjara occupation of Northern Punjab however left indelible mark in names of localities like Gujarat or Gujranwala. Gurjara king Bhoja's occupation of certain territories in North Eastern Punjab is also hinted at in the Rajatarāṅgiṇī⁵. From the Peheoa inscription we further learn that the district of Karnal remained under the rule of Gurjara kings Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I⁶. Gurjara

2. Cunningham records a large find of silver coins of Azes and Azilises "on the bank of the Jhelum river in the hills between Barāhamula and Jhelum". *Coins of Indo-Scythians*, p. 44.

3. Rajatarāṅgiṇī, I, 168. Kuṣāṇa rule over Kāśmīra is attested not only from the recovery of Kuṣāṇa coins from the valley from time to time, but also by the undoubted influence which the Kuṣāṇa and Kidāra Kuṣāṇa coins had over the mediaeval coinage of Kāśmīra.

4. *Si-wu-ki* (tr. Beal), i, pp. 167 sq.; R. T., I, 289 sq.

5. R. T., V, 151.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 245, 248.

emigration into Kāśmīra might have taken place from North Punjab, presumably during the Karkoṭa period, when parts of Punjab were included in the Kāśmīra empire.

During the pre-Muhammadan period, Kāśmīra had intimate links with Tibet and some people from that country might be expected to have come and settled in the valley. About the existence of the Tibetans in the ancient Kāśmīrian population there is probably some evidence. The Bhauṭtas overran the valley of Kāśmīra, according to Kalhaṇa, in the periods preceding the Hūṇa invasion⁷. A guru from Leh is said to have settled in Kāśmīra⁸. Kalhana also speaks of a caste called Kirāta who constituted an important community in the lower stratum of the society. The Kirātas evidently belonged to the Tibeto-Burman racial group.

Considerable migration of population into the territory of Kāśmīra had taken place from the Indian side too. From Kalhaṇa's evidence it seems that Kāśmīra formed a part of the far-flung empire of the Mauryas. Emperor Aśoka is said to have founded the city of Śrinagara as well as various religious establishments⁹. With the extension of the Maurya rule in the valley, it is only natural that Indian people from other parts of the Maurya empire would enter and settle in the valley. About the races and peoples who went to Kāśmīra from the plains of India in the post-Aśokan period, no definite evidence is available. But gradual and constant migration of Indian population must have taken place in Kāśmīra throughout the period of Hindu rule. This is discernible from the essentially Sanskritic culture of the valley. The poets, playwrights and pandits of Kāśmīra composed their works in Sanskrit and even in Kāśmīrian language there are many words which are Sanskritic in origin. Some of the notable persons of pre-Muslim Kāśmīra actually trace their ancestry from India proper. Abhinava Gupta's and Bilhaṇa's forefathers lived in Madhyadeśa whereas Abhinanda's ancestors hailed from Gauḍa¹⁰.

About the different races of people who entered Kāśmīra in the historic period, posterior to the days of Aśoka, a rough account at least is available. But what about those who inhabited Kāśmīra in the pre-Aśokan period? No literary or archaeological data regarding these earliest inhabitants of Kāśmīra are forthcoming. Some proto-neolithic and neolithic implements have been discovered in Kāśmīra¹¹, but they are too insignificant to throw any light on the culture and racial characteristics of their users.

In the absence of any other evidence, linguistic palaeontology may be utilised for tracing the history of the different populations who

7. R. T., I. 312.

8. R. T., III, 10.

9. R. T., I. 101—107.

10. K. C. Pande. *Abhinavagupta—an historical and philosophical study; Vikramānandadevacorita*. XVIII, 73, 79; Introduction, *Kādambarī Kathāsōra*.

11. De Terra and Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age of India and Associated Human Culture*, pp. 233, 234.

river Kabul and then spread into the plains of India and the ancestors of the Iranian speakers migrated westwards, in Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, another branch of the Aryans went to the east and occupied the Pamirs, the home of the Ghalehah languages. The Ghalehah languages possess all the Iranian characteristics present in the Dardic speech, while at the same time, these very Iranian Ghalehah languages have a few peculiarities in which they follow the Dardic language in agreeing with the Indian as against Iranian. It thus follows that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes at first lived in the Pamirs but afterwards migrated to their present habitat, Chitral and Gilgit, which lie just below the Pamirs, connected with the latter by the Dera and one or two other passes. From Chitral and Gilgit, the Dardistan proper, the speakers of the Dard languages seem to have infiltrated into the valley of Kāśmīra and developed the Kāśmīri tongue which forms today one of the principal members of the Dard group of languages.

But were the ancestors of the Dard speakers the earliest inhabitants of the valley of Kāśmīra or was Kāśmīra populated already, when they penetrated into it? The study of the language may again help us to find the answer.

Philology may be taken with some confidence as a guide in the cases of tribes whose languages are merient. When small tribes are found clinging to a dying form of speech, surrounded by powerful languages which have superseded the neighbouring speeches, and which has started to supersede this form of speech also, it may be concluded that the dying language is the original language of the land and it gives a clue to the racial affinities of its speakers. This is exactly the case with the Dardic language and for that matter with the Kāśmīri language. The Dardic languages are spoken in a territory which is bounded by the Iranian languages, particularly by the Pushtu and Ghalehah on the north-west, west and south-west, by various Indo-Aryan languages in the south and south-east, by several types of Tibetan on the east and by unclassified non-Aryan Burushaski of Hunzā-nagar on the north-east. Of these Burushaski seems to remain as the most predominant element in the Dard language whereas the influence of other languages is quite negligible. Over the whole of the Dardistan there is an underlayer of Burushaski words and phrases. At the bottom of the Kāśmīri language too, there is a small and unimportant element of Burushaski. As Kāśmīra proper is situated far away from the present habitat of Burushaski, it is evident that the speakers of Burushaski, the inhabitants of Hunzā-nagar, occupied the valley of Kāśmīra before the coming of the ancestors of the Dard-speaking peoples. In Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* there are references of a certain low class people called Niṣādas¹. Can they stand for the non-Aryan Burushaski speakers?

The conclusions arrived at after a linguistic survey of the Kāśmīri

language, seem to receive curious confirmation from a literary product of the valley. This is the Kāśmīrian purāṇa called the Nīlamata¹⁶. According to this work Kāśmīra was originally inhabited by the Nāgas. The reminiscences of ancient Nāga rule are perhaps indicated by the names of lakes and springs like Vernāg, Anantnāg, Sernāg etc. Be that as it may, the Nāgas of ancient Kāśmīra, according to the Nīlamata, were followed by the piśācas, with whom, however, their relation was anything but friendly. Last of all, men entered the valley. The piśācas were at first hostile to the human beings, but afterwards had to abandon the valley rendering it as permanent home for men. Perhaps the Nāgas were the ancient people of Hunzā-nagar, the speakers of Burushaski, the piśācas were the non-Aryan invaders, the speakers of the piśāca or Dardic languages, and the men represented the Sanskrit-speaking people of India who entered the valley in a comparatively later period and glorified themselves in their own composition, the Nīlamatapurāna.

The ethnological analysis of the Kāśmīrian people can never be complete unless and until we take an account of their physical traits both external and internal, or even to some extent their physiological characteristics. In fact only the statistics of a scientific physical examination of a large group of people of different strata of the society carried on in the same uniform method can give us some solid foundation relying upon which we can find out to a great extent the specific human races that entered Kāśmīra since the dawn of history and also ascertain the degree of their inter-mixture up to the present day. Unfortunately no systematic physical examination of the Kāśmīrian people has yet been made. The majority of the Kāśmīrian people however possess a light transparent brown skin and are usually of medium to tall stature. They are much dolichocephalic, have a well developed forehead, a long narrow face, regular features and a prominent, straight and finely cut leptorrhine nose. The same type is found among the people of Afghanistan, Chitral, Balti and Northern Punjab. The probable area of characterisation of this race therefore seems to have been between the Hindukush and the Sulaiman mountains, from where it spread into Northern and Eastern India. Linguistic evidence, as we have already seen, confirms this conclusion. This type of race which inhabits Kāśmīra, Chitral, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Baltistan and Punjab is the Indo-Afghan of Haddon¹⁷, the Nordic of Guha¹⁸, the Indid of Von Eickstedt¹⁹.

These Indo-Afghans or Nordics who infiltrated into Kāśmīra from Gilgit and Chitral are identical with the ancestors of the Dard-speaking tribes, the piśācas of the Sanskrit literature. Majority of the present Kāśmīrian people appear to be their descendants. As the racial characteristics of these Indo-Afghans from Afghanistan down to the Punjab are

16. Ed. De Vreese (Leiden, 1936).

17. Haddon, *The Races of Man*, p. 86.

18. B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the Population*, pp. 23-26.

19. L. A. Iyer, *Travancore Tribes and Castes*, p. XIV.

almost identical it may be concluded that this race had been able to preserve their racial purity to a considerable extent and their admixture with other races had been comparatively few, due probably to the inaccessible mountainous hill-locked character of their territories.

From the historical evidence however it is clear that several other races had entered Kāśmīra afterwards. Some of them might have made merely military incursions, but a few of them may be expected to have settled in the valley and mixed with the existing people. About the physical features of these races, so far as we know, the Śakas were mesocephalic, with a low head, straight eyes, a well formed straight nose and projecting chin. Though essentially belonging to the Proto-Nordic steppe folk, they were undoubtedly a mixed people, when they infiltrated in the valley. The Yue-chis were of Turki descent, who appear to have been very brachycephalic with elongated oval face, broad cheek bones, straight nose, dark Mongolian eyes, thick lips, yellowish white to coppery brown complexion, medium stature and dark hair, much on face. The Huns were a mixed Turki and Tungus people, brachycephalic, with prominent cheek bones, broad flat face, dark eyes with Mongolian characteristics, black hair, very little in the body, complexion varying from yellowish to yellowish brown and medium stature. The Western Tibetans who had an intimate relation with Kāśmīra in earlier days and who invaded Kāśmīra in the last days of Hindu rule under Rīñeana the Bhauṭṭa were apparently xanthoderm, mesorrhine and mesocephalic. The Indians migrating from the plains into the valley naturally had various racial characteristics peculiar to them about which we have no definite knowledge. How far these different races have influenced the Kāśmīri people we cannot say at present. The question can be answered only after an exhaustive analysis of the physical and physiological features of the majority of its inhabitants taken from different strata of the society.

THE VALMIKI RAMAYANA AND MANU SMRITI APPLICATION OF INTER-STATE LAW

(*Summary*)

A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR

The rules enumerated in Manu Smṛiti Adhyaya VII verses 87 to 98 have been taken as the Inter-State or International Law of the Hindus in Ancient India. These rules have been followed and applied in the Valmiki Ramayana ; and two instances of such applications are discussed viz. the alliance with Vibhishana and the fight with Vali.

NIA CHARACTERISTICS IN PALI

(Summary)

MADHUSUDAN MULLICK

Pali is generally regarded as a PIA idiom of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It is characterised by certain changes, phonetic and methodological, which are generally associated with the Prakrit of the secondary stage.

NIA stage came into existence with the simplification of a simulated double or long consonants of PIA so single or start consonants. This behaviour of the double consonants of MIA to start once may be regarded as test for the development of NIA speeches. Although Pali is an MIA dialect, traces of NIA characteristics are to be found here and there.

PROTOHISTORIC SITE OF LOTHAL (IN SAURASHTRA)

(A Landmark in Indus Chronology)

(Summary)

K. N. SASTRI

The excavation carried out by the Archæological Department of India at this site in 1954-55 have brought to light a sequence of three phases of the Harappa culture. From bottom upwards they are respectively the 'pre-defence', the 'defence' and the 'post-defence' phases. The cross-section of the mound at Lothal shows that sometime in or about c. 2000 B.C. a massive fortification wall of mud-brick was built as a defensive measure against floods or the enemy. This is 'defence phase'. The occupation of this mound by the Harappan people extends several feet below this wall and this phase has been called by the excavator as 'pre-defence phase'. The beginnings of this phase go back to about 2500 B.C. These dates have been taken from Shri S. R. Rao's 'Chart of Cultural Sequences' which was displayed in the archæological exhibition held in September, 1955, in the National Museum, New Delhi.

According to the brief report published in the "Indian Archæology (1954-55)" the beginnings of Harappan occupation both at Rangpur and Rupar are ascribable to about c. 2000 B.C. Thus Lothal is about 500 years older than the aforesaid two sites.

In the present paper I have tried to prove that since the date of the first Harappan occupation at Lothal is c. 2500 B.C., the date of the Indus civilization must necessarily be very much higher. In the opinion of Dr. Wheeler the first arrival of the mature Harappa culture, both at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, was round about c. 2500 B.C. If we accept

his dating it will mean that the mature Harappa culture arrived simultaneously at the three places, viz., Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Lothal. But Lothal represents a much decadent phase of Harappa culture ; and this phase appears several centuries later than even the 'Late Period' of the Indus Civilization, as revealed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. This confirms my views on the revised date, viz., the beginning of the 4th millennium B.C. for the 'Early Period' of the Indus civilization.

In the present paper I have also discussed the evidence of the 'lustrous red ware' unearthed at Rangpur by the Department of Archæology during the year 1954-55. I have pointed out that this 'lustrous red ware' has close affinities with the 'lustrous red ware' of the Cemetery H at Harappa, and consequently this ceramic industry was not the work of the Harappans, but some alien people who appeared on the scene when the earlier culture was languishing.

CHANAKYA'S REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY

(Summary)

S. N. ATHAVALE

In ancient Indian thought *Itihasa* was often confused or coupled with *Purana*, yet history as one separate form of literature was not unknown.

Actual historical writings of ancient India are certainly below the level, for they lack a method and they are far from accuracy.

But India produced a thinker who gave a very sound and rational view of history. It is Chanakya, the author of *Arthashastra*.

Chanakya has (i) rightly emphasised the importance of the study of history ; (ii) clearly explained the nature and scope of history, and (iii) convincingly stated the multicausal theory of historical change or social revolution. He has criticised determinism and has made his own balanced observations on the course of human affairs. His reflections on history are strikingly rational and surprisingly modern.

THE HINDU PHILOLOGISTS GAM-BOSCOED

(Summary)

SWAMI SANKARANANDA

The Indo-European Philology is an attempt of compromise among Sanskrit, Greek and other Indo-European languages. The words of the common mother have been created keeping an eye to the fact, that each of the party languages gets an equal share in the parenthood. When no such claimant party is available, the Mother-word has been created by taking some uncommon parts from each word and fusing them together.

According to the present writer the Indo-European languages were the offshoots of Sanskrit. The Sanskritic languages went to Europe with the Buddhist Monks, Indian Brahmins in Rome known as Flaman Dealis and to the Western part of Europe with the Druids, the Dravidian Priesthood.

A SHORT NOTE ON KAPALASANDHI

(Summary)

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

In this short paper an attempt has been made to bring to light the actual meaning and importance of the term Kapalasandhi, hitherto unnoticed by writers on Ancient Indian Polity. Kautilya, Kamandaka, author of Hitopadesa and Sandhyakar Nandi have discussed this technical term in their own way. According to Kautilya, this treaty was to be concluded on payment of immense quantity of money, while Kamandaka and Hitopadesa hold that it was a treaty between the equals which brought temporary peace but failed to inspire mutual confidence. We should accept Kautilya's version with regard to the actual meaning of this term.

THE DATE OF SYAMILAKA'S PADATADITAKA

(Summary)

DR. DASHARATHA SHARMA

The paper tries to fix the date of Syamilaka's *Padataditaka*, an important source for the study of not merely the history of the Sanskrit drama but also the social and cultural history of the period when it was composed. The date c. 410 A.D., put forward by Prof. T. Burrow in JRAS ; 1946, pp. 46-53, is found unacceptable and a new date, 500-510 A.D., proposed on the basis of some new identifications.

EPITHETS AND TITLES OF RULERS AS DEPICTED IN KHAROSTHI DOCUMENTS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

(Summary)

RATNACHANDRA AGARWALA

It was some years ago that A. Stein excavated about 782 *Kharosthi* documents from some Central Asian sites as *Niya*, *Endero* and *Loulan*. These records have been drafted in the *Kharosthi* script and the *Prakrit* language as prevalent in the early centuries of the Christian era in N. W. Frontier of India. The existing interesting documents throw a flood of light on the social, economic, political and religious history of the region during the contemporary times.

The *Kharosthi* documents, under review, refer to different epithets and titles as used by the rulers of the contemporary Shan Shan Kingdom. Some of these epithets bear a close resemblance with those adopted by the foreign rulers on their coins and in the inscriptional records discovered in India itself. Besides this we also notice that the scribes of these rulers of the Shan Shan kingdom were in the habit of using, very frequently, extremely grandiloquent titles for their master. For example :--

- (1) *Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahamtasa jeyamtasa dhramiasa nuava maharaya devaputrasa (No. 656).*
- (2) *Maharayasa rayatirayasa mahamtasa jayamtasa dhramiasa (sacadhamasti) dasa pracachhadevada nuava maharaya devaputrasa (No. 655).*

The beginning of all these phrases needs to be compared with the popular epithets as depicted on the coins of the Greeks etc., in India i.e. *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa*. This similarly bears testimony to the existence of close affinity between these neighbouring regions towards the beginning of the Christian Era.

It is also essential to scrutinise, in detail, some of the important epithets as *hinajha*, *jitugha*, *cakravarti*, *devaputra* etc.

MAHENJODARO AND VEDIC CULTURE

(Summary)

RAMPRASAD MAJUMDAR

Here I have made an attempt to show that the Mahenjodaro (M.) culture is allied to Vedic culture and represents the latter part of it. In defence it has been said that M. being limited in time and area cannot be expected to retain all the similar (or dissimilar) features with the Vc. but still there are many common features. (i) Vc. 'Ayas' may, acc. to Yaska, mean gold, and if it means iron it may not be impossible that iron existed in M. but got rusted and spoilt with the earth. Moreover the town was probably dug and built with iron implements. (ii) The Vedas represent both rural and urban cultures. Rural descriptions, if abounding, will rather indicate more antiquity. (iii) Vc. terms like 'Sisnadeva' etc. may represent phallus-worship. The three-headed figure of M. may represent Siva or Rudra or 'Tri-Sirsa T. Viswarupa' all of whom are Vc., Maheswar being the source of Paninian Vedanga. Sarpas and many of hybrid origin are Rsis and Aryans, which indicates more a culture than a race or better ethnos. (iv) 'go' or cow is used as mas. and fem. in Sanskrit and may compare with the bulls of M. (v) Chronological problem at any rate may easily run before C. 3000 B.C. (vi) Zebra-like figures of M. may denote horses, much referred to in Vc. lit.

Race theories are not at all scientific. Patriarchal and matriarchal references are not rare in the Vedas where Vivasvan etc. have such. Preservation of burial ashes point to Grhyasutra. Names like Yaska, Gobhila, etc., famous as authors of Vedanga, are found in the earlier parts of the preceptors' lists in the Sat. Br. and Sama Vc. Vamsa Br. respectively and are therefore very old. Polyandry, Niyoga and such other things point rather to the antiquity of the Vedas. M. may represent the 'Sindhulipi' or such out of the 64 scripts mentioned in Lalita Vistara.

GLIMPSES OF TOWN LIFE AND COUNTRY LIFE IN THE EARLY INSCRIPTIONS AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE OF BENGAL

(Summary)

TAPONATH CHAKRAVARTI

The early inscriptions and the ancient Sanskrit literature of Bengal contain a few bits of stray information about town life and country life in ancient Bengal. As at present, we find even in ancient Bengal a strange contrast between town life and country life. In the villages of ancient Bengal we find primitive simplicity of life and conservatism in thought. In the cities and towns of ancient Bengal we find a different picture,—a picture of affluence, luxury and modernism.

A NOTE ON A PASSAGE IN THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR
INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

(Summary)

BRATINDRA NATH MUKHERJI

The first compound of the line No. 26 of the Allahabad prasasti has not yet been correctly translated. The translation of the passage, Krīpan-anath-aturan-jan-oddharana-man-tradikarsh-abhy-upagala manasah, should be “whose line, Samudragupta’s mind was engaged on being initiated to the counsel of relieving (the distress of) the feeble, the poor, the orphan, the helpless and the afflicted persons.”

AN ABORIGINAL FESTIVAL OF KARAM: A HISTORICAL
AND SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

(Summary)

SARJU MAHTO

In this article the writer deals with an aboriginal method of worship of *Karma*, as was seen in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. Every possible and available source—written documents and orally conveyed legends too have been utilised by the writer. Weekly papers and some of the important English dailies are also not left untouched.

Karam, a haughty rich person, did not bow down before the God of Action, who cursed him and when Karam atoned for his previous sins again blessed him. The part played by the *Pahan* or the village-priest in such worship is described vividly and fully with the help of different shades of opinions. The preparation of Ili (ili or rice beer) and its nutritive values are also told with scientific accuracy. More emphasis has been laid on the correct account and factual representation of the facts as they are based ‘on the spot-study’ also. Lastly it will be seen that a great deal of gregarious instinct to collect together is still found among the Adivasis of this area.

A REFERENCE TO THE FUNERARY CUSTOM OF THE HUNAS IN THE RAGHUVAMSA OF KALIDASA

(Summary)

DR. BUDDHA PRAKASH

In *Raghuvamsa* (IV, 68) Kalidasa states that the valour of Raghu expressed itself in the red cheeks of the Huna ladies. Commenting on this verse Mallinatha observes that the cheeks of the Huna women were made red by beating on account of the sorrow caused by the death of their husbands. But this is nothing better than a guess. We learn from Chinese sources that the T'u-Kiue of Mongolia used to slash their faces with knives so that blood could be seen flowing with tears whenever a man died [Stanislas Julien, *Documents sur les T'on-Kiue*, J. A. (1869) P. 332]. This custom was also prevalent among the Hunas or Hephthalites and Kalidasa made a reference to it in the aforesaid verse of the *Raghuvamsa*.

SANTA'S DESCENT—A KNOTTY PROBLEM OF THE RAMAYANA

(Summary)

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

The question of Santa's descent is one of the knotty problems of the Ramayana. She is generally known as a daughter of king Dasaratha of Ayodhya but from other sources we know that she is the daughter of Lomapada, king of Anga. It has been pointed out that the different recensions of the Ramayana offer divergent views regarding her parentage. The North-Western and Bengal recensions of the Ramayana hold that Santa originally was the daughter of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya, who gave her in adoption to his friend Lomapada. This North Indian tradition of the Ramayana has been followed by a large number of celebrated writers such as Bhavabhuti, Nanda Pandita and others. The South Indian recension, however, followed by a few writers, takes Santa to be the original daughter of Lomapada, king of Anga, there being no mention or indication in it that Lomapada took her in adoption from his friend Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya. In this connection the important available recensions of the Ramayana and a few other texts of the same have been thoroughly examined. An attempt has also been made to show the authenticity of the South Indian tradition about Santa's descent from Lomapada. In support of this internal evidences and independent external evidences supplied by early Puranic and epic traditions have been cited. It has also been shown how the second and incorrect tradition about her parentage arose and how it could affect the text of the Ramayana.

MEANS AND MODES OF WARFARE UNDER THE MAURYAS AND THE GUPTAS

(Summary)

B. K. APTE

In this paper an attempt has been made to describe the means and modes of warfare under the Mauryas and the Guptas on the basis of data collected from the Arthasastra of Kautilya and the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta. The short range weapons were: sword, lance, axe, mace or club. The long-range weapons were: bow and arrow, devices for throwing stones and arrows, poison gas, protective implements. The army proper consisted of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. The modes of warfare are described by Kautilya in connection with *vyuhas*. The problems of offensive and defensive warfare were well understood.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF PANNA

(Summary)

PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Recently important antiquities have been discovered by the present writer from a village called Pānnā near Tamruk (ancient Tamralipta) in the Midnapur district of West Bengal. These discoveries consist mainly of rare terracottas and stone sculptures of the Gupta, post-Gupta and early Pala periods. The village lies on the banks of the river Silavati. Is it to be identified with the river Salalavati which, according to the *Vinaya Pitaka*, was the south-eastern boundary of the *Majjhimadesa* (Middle Country)?

MOHENJO DARO CIVILIZATION

(Summary)

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Seals of Mohenjo Daro type have been found in Ur and Kish in Mesopotamia. The Rig Veda says that Vishnu gave Urukshiti to his followers. Ur and Kish are clearly corruptions of Vedic Urukshiti. There are other indications of Indo-European migration to Mesopotamia. From all these it should be concluded that the seals were of Vedic Aryans. Winternitz says that the date of the Vedas was 2500 B.C. The seals of Ur and Kish point to a similar period. Marshall, Wheeler and Pigott say that the date of the Vedas is 1500 B.C. But Winternitz writes that Buhler has convincingly proved that the Vedas cannot be so late as 1500 B.C. The calculations of Tilak and Jacobi (in which no defects have been found) give 4000 B.C. Thus the Vedas were earlier than Mohenjo Daro for which Pigott and Wheeler give the period 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C. Traces of Siva cult in Mohenjo Daro confirm that it was Vedic civilization. The name Siva is found in the Vedas. Siva is another name of Rudra. Characteristics of Siva are mentioned in *Rudra Sukta*. *Sisnadevas* refer to those who were addicted to sexual pleasure and not worshippers of Siva. The Sakti cult is also found in the Vedas. The towns destroyed by the Aryans as referred to in the Vedas were towns belonging to the enemies of the Vedic Aryans living near them on the west, north and east. The Aryans were attacked by these enemies in all cases. It is not that these enemies were attacked by the Aryans without provocation as stated by Wheeler and Pigott. The Aryans also had towns.

SECTION II
ANCIENT INDIA, 712—1206 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. RAJ BALI PANDEY

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I regard it as a great honour to be invited to preside over this Section of the Indian History Congress in the great city of Calcutta hallowed by a glorious tradition of modern scholarship in the various fields of knowledge. History has received here its due share at the hands of a galaxy of great scholars. I am really thankful to the organizers of this session for conferring on me this valued opportunity of offering my homage to all of them departed and alive. By calling me to this office you, as customary, expect from me something about the historical problems of this period. My predecessors delivered profound and valuable addresses. I am sure I cannot rise to their heights. I do not pretend to give something very original and substantial during this short span of time at our disposal. I will, however, try to offer a few brief suggestions regarding the state of historical studies and the characteristic features of this period.

I

SOURCES OF HISTORY NOT FULLY TAPPED

I find that on the one hand the archæological and other positive materials bearing on this period are not fully available and on the other the majority of historians are hesitant and sometimes fugitive as regards the use of some other types of materials which are easily within reach from literary and traditional sources. It is true that a large number of epigraphical and numismatic data accidentally found have been utilized in the reconstruction of the history of this period, but archæological materials, particularly of this age, have not been extensively excavated and consequently are not adequately accessible. Early mediæval cities of India, which were either devastated by the vandalism of foreign invaders or were deserted due to the change of political and commercial balance are lying in ruins and mounds. The Archæological Department, perhaps, thinks that they are not archaic enough to be excavated. The contents of these unfortunate cities, which can throw ample light on the life of the contemporary people, have been neglected. A few years back the site of Rajghat near Banaras, the Vārānasi of the Pratihāras and the Gahaḍavālas, was accidentally disturbed by the railway contractors and then touched by the Archæological Department. It is very well known that this most unscientific frolic yielded materials of great political and cultural importance. I recently visited Kanauj (Kānyakubja). I found that in spite of all attempts at the effacement of the metropolis of northern India for long centuries, even the

surface of the site abounds in antiquities pertaining to this period and not much below one can expect a rich harvest. In almost every part of India the ruins of early mediæval cities are either lying unnoticed and, if noticed, have not attracted the attention of the Archæological Department and individual archæologists. Great attention is lavished on the preservation of surface monuments, but to be oblivious of the disintegrating and disappearing historical evidences lying on the surface or buried below it is simply callous from the historical point of view. The excavation of the sites of this period will not only add to the epigraphical and numismatic evidences but will also provide new and rich materials for the reconstruction of the history of this period as a whole.

Historical, semi-historical and biographical works of the period have been used with great caution and reserve. But there are still branches of vast Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa literatures which are almost untouched. Firstly, there is a huge Dharmaśāstric source of history which is either not tapped at all or touched in a very hesitant and fugitive manner. In this respect we welcome the attempts made by scholars in the 'The Age of Imperial Kanauj' published in January 1955 in the series of 'The History and Culture of the Indian People' by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, under the able editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, where they have made use of this type of evidence. The possible objections against the use of Dharmaśāstric data is that their chronology is not fixed and the texts compiled therein belong to different periods of Indian history. In reply it may be submitted that, if not the exact chronology, chronological sequence and, in the case of many works, precise dates, have been fixed with certitude. Chronological help may be derived from the monumental History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, by MM. P. V. Kane. It is quite possible to distinguish the contemporary from the traditional by discerning historians who are familiar with the history of the textual sources. This branch of Sanskrit literature, though not very helpful in the reconstruction of the dynastic history of the period, is a fertile and important source of the administrative, legal, social and cultural history of early mediæval India. It will add greatly to the sporadic and incidental epigraphical evidences on these topics.

It is true that the pure literature (Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa) of this period is not a historical document proper. But it is equally true that the entire life and culture of the people are reflected in it. As the conception of history has widened from mere dynastic and political into the human life in its more comprehensive form, we cannot ignore this extensive source of knowledge.

II

A NEW ORIENTATION NEEDED

So far our efforts were mostly centred on the reconstruction of the dynastic and political history of this period. 'The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their

'Times' by Prof. A. S. Altekar and 'History of Bengal', Vol. I, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar added the cultural superstructure to mere political reconstruction. But on a wider and all-India scale the swing from mere political to social and cultural orientation is necessary. There is no doubt that a political and chronological frame-work is foundational for any further study in the historical field. But this should not blunt our interest and appetite for more refined and elevated fields of history. The life of the people as a whole should form the subject of our study with special emphasis on his constructive efforts. Thorough investigations should be made in the economic bases of life, the organization of economic agencies controlling material life, production and distribution of commodities, trade and commerce, cultural activities, intellectual speculations, spiritual experiences etc. through which the common comforts and refinements of the people flow.

A new orientation is also needed in the technique of historiography. Collection and collation of facts for structural restoration of the past have so far been the job of the historians of this period. Analysis, interpretation, criticism and comparison have been either altogether neglected or deferred. In other words history has so far been mostly descriptive, which hardly develops insight into human affairs which is the ultimate end of history. To make history more interesting, readable and useful it must be subjected to treatments other than mere tabulation and description.

Two sub-periods :

After these few suggestions of general nature I would like to present before you a survey of the period under review. Broadly speaking this period can be divided under two sub-heads—(i) the Period of Restoration and Reformation (712-1000 A.D.) and (ii) the Period of Disintegration and Decadence (1000-1206 A.D.). Both have the features of abiding interest either for the good or the evil of the country. I propose to begin with the first sub-period first.

III

PERIOD OF RESTORATION AND REFORMATION

Political :

In the field of politics this period was an age of great restoration. The extensive and well-organized Gupta Empire had received a death shock by the Hūṇa invasions of India in the closing years of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There was a temporary restoration of the imperial power of India under Yaśodharman of Daśapur, who claimed to have ruled over the territories more extensive than the Gupta dominion. Yaśodharman's success was meteoric and his short-lived empire disappeared with him. A similar fate awaited the empires of Harṣavardhana and Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja. The real cause of the failure of these big personalities in the building up of an enduring empire was that they were not able to create a broad-based hierarchy to support their achievements, which

were succeeded by periodical anarchy. In the eighth century A.D., there was a concerted attempt at the political restoration of the country. The Pratihāras in the North, the Rāṣṭrakūtas in the South and the Pālas in the East made heroic efforts in this direction in their own respective spheres. In the North the Arabs had already a base in Sindh and there was further danger from them. But there was a new emphasis on the conception of Aryāvarta as 'a land where the Aryans live, survive catastrophies and revive and the foreigners, (in spite of their temporary military success), are not able to stay long'¹. Under the Gurjara-Pratihāras the conquests of Raghu and Rāma were emulated and the ideals of Chakravartins and Sārva-bhauma rulers revived. The dominions were consolidated and the far-flung parts of the empire were directly administered. In certain respects the political achievements of the Pratihāras were more extensive and enduring than those of the Guptas. It is, therefore, evident that the Hūṇa and the Arab invasions could not permanently damage the foundations of the political genius of India and it could reassert and revive itself.

In the domain of political thought there was not much of original thinking but there was a steady continuity and sometimes bold interpretations for the socialization of politics. Standard works on politics like the 'Sukranītisāra' and the 'Nītivākyaṃṛta' of Somadevasūri were written and the most constructive and authentic commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi flourished during this period. Only a few characteristic features of political thought will be touched here. Defining 'Nītiśāstra' (Politics) Śukra says, "As it is the root of Dharma, Artha and Kāma and ultimately leads to Mokṣa, Politics is responsible for the maintenance of all and the existence of the world"². Somadeva writes on the utility of the State: "Salutation to Rājya which leads to the fruition of Dharma, Artha and Kāma"³. This shows that the conception and the importance of the State did not suffer any diminution. As regards the institution of kingship (Rājatva) both Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi introduce a liberal attitude so far as eligibility to it was concerned. While still recognizing the old convention that a Kṣatriya alone is eligible to kingship, under the law of representation and extension they expressed the opinion that the royal title of Rājan could be conferred on any person who could afford to possess a kingdom.⁴ There is again an attempt at the secularization of Rājadharma. While interpreting this term Medhātithi says that the functions of the king are twofold—(1) dṛṣṭārtha and (2) adṛṣṭārtha. The former refers to obvious

1. आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्ति आक्रम्य आक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । मेघातिथि on मनुस्मृति, II, 22.

2. सर्वोपजीवकं लोकस्थितिकृन्नीतिशास्त्रकम् ।

धर्मार्थकाममूलं हि स्मृतं मोक्षप्रदं यतः ॥ 1. 5.

3. धर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्याय नमः ।

4. Viśvarūpa on Yajna, I. 119, quotes Manu, VII. 2. Medhātithi on Manu, IV. 84.

राजशब्दश्चायं क्षत्रियजातावक्षत्रियेऽपि जनपदेश्वरे दृष्टप्रयोगो... ।

public duties leading to tangible results and the latter to the religious duties which bring about invisibly spiritual merits. The former, further, are said to have been based not only on the Vedas but also on secular authorities, e.g., Arthaśāstra etc.⁵ Here is a proper emphasis on the practical and the secular functions of the king and the State.

In the art of State organization also there was a restoration and a steady trend. The most distinguished contemporary power of India, the Pratihāras, went beyond the system of Gupta administration in consolidating and centralizing their administrative machinery. Even the most far-flung provinces like Saurāṣṭra were under their direct administration. The feudal elements in the Gupta empire were one of its weaknesses. The Pratihāras tried to reduce it as far as possible, though not completely. A more comprehensive and better organized bureaucracy is found in the inscriptions of the Pratihāras and the Pālas than in the Gupta records. The Arabs were greatly impressed by the efficiency of the Pratihāra regime. Mas'Udi writes, "There is no country in India more safe from robbers".

In the realm of law and legal institutions considerable contribution was made. Though the creative period of law by way of composing new Smṛtis was over, constructive criticism of the epoch was still creative in spirit and tone. The great commentators, Medhātithi on Manu and Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya, flourished during this age and great strides were taken in the development of legal procedure and Hindu jurisprudence.

Social :

In the sphere of social life similar restorative and reformist tendencies were operating. The main problem of the social thinkers and the social organizers of the time was to assimilate the foreign and non-conformist elements within the frame-work of the Hindu society. The foreign elements were constituted by the Hūṇas and other allied tribes from the North-West which had entered India a few centuries earlier. The non-conformists were from the heterodox sects of Indian origin like Buddhism, Jainism etc. The social organization of this period was based on the traditional pattern of Varṇāśramadharmā and to this extent it was assertive and restorative. The social organizers, however, realized that all old forms of life could not be revived and lived. Therefore while paying homage to the past for the sake of regaining self-consciousness and self-confidence, they made the social system more elastic and accommodating by interpreting the old authorities in a liberal manner. All foreign peoples, except the uncompromising and iconoclastic Arabs in Sindh, were assimilated in the Hindu society. They adopted Hindu social system, Hindu faiths and Indian languages. We have a record from Kathiāwad according to which a Śāka poet Kapila composed a document for the Saindhavas of that area in elegant Sanskrit. The inscriptions of this period evidence that the Hūṇa girls were married in the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya families. It is already pointed out that this policy of assimilation was not possible in the case of the Arabs. With them

5. Medhātithi on Manu, VII.; quotes Kātyāyana.

the policy of resistance and exclusiveness was followed. Those who were oppressed and ravished by them were welcomed and restored to the Hindu society. Provision for such a restoration is found in the *Devalas̄mṛti*⁶ of this period. This process of the restoration of the oppressed and proselytized was continued by the Hindus till the establishment of the Muslim power in India, when reconversion was banned under Muslim Law and made a capital offence against the Muslim State. Those of the foreigners and non-conformists who could not be fully assimilated organically were given a blockwise accommodation within the campus of the Hindu society, giving rise to a number of new communities, castes and sub-castes.

Religious and Philosophical :

Very spectacular achievements were made in the field of religion and philosophy on an all-India basis under this historical process. The orthodox Vedic religion of Upaniṣadic philosophy and Brāhmanic ritualism had existed side by side with heterodox sects of Buddhism, Jainism and others. There was already a continuous process of controversion, mutual exhaustion, close contacts and final rapprochement. A synthesis was attempted during the Gupta period of Indian history. This process, however, was not fully articulate and systematized. Two great personalities, Kumārila and Sankara, flourished during this period, who gave strength, articulation and philosophy to this process. Kumārila was avowedly a protagonist of *Mīmāṃsā* and *Karmakāṇḍa* and militant against non-Vedic religious sects. He was for going 'back to the Vedas', a cry which the Hindus have uttered several times in history for self-preservation, self-purification and restoration from destruction wrought by foreign enemies.

It was, however, soon realized that mere emphasis on the past, technique of logic, revivalism of forms and rituals and conservation would not appeal to the people, who were living in changed circumstances. They needed a philosophy of life which would take stock of the long development of the racial mind and at the same time give a synthetic orientation to the thought process. 'Sāṅkarāchārya appeared on the scene to fulfil this urge of the age. He offered reverence to the Vedas but refuted the final efficacy of ritualism. He worked out a fine synthesis between the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and the *Mādhyamika* School of Buddhism and propounded the doctrine of *Advaita-Vedānta*. Under his leadership Brāhmanism not only amicably absorbed Buddhism but gave Hinduism a philosophy which has helped it through the most difficult vicissitudes of its history against the onslaughts of Islam and Christianity. This philosophical reawakening started by Sāṅkara was both preceded and followed by a large number of devotional movements pertaining to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti. These movements provided the emotional setting for the new philosophy of Sāṅkara. Sankara was a reformer and a great organizer. He on the one hand purged these devotional sects of vulgarity and on the other organized the *Piṭhas*

6 भगवन्स्लेच्छनीता हि कथं शुद्धिमवाप्नुयुः । etc. I. 2,7,12,17.

and Maṭhas throughout the country to popularise his new philosophy and religion.

Literary :

The important literary creations of the period are imbued with the same spirit of restoration and reformation. We can start with the dramatic works of the age, which, being Dṛśyakāvya, represent the popular problems and sentiments more than any other type of literary works. Our period almost starts with the dramatic genius of Bhavabhūti, the author of the *Mahāvīracharita* and the *Uttararāmacharita*. Both the works deal with the life and achievements of Rāma. The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākha-datta deals with the establishment of the Mauryan empire and the combating of its dangers. The *Pratibhāchāṇakya* of Bhīma (ninth century A.D.) is based on the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The *Anargharāghava* of Murāri (early ninth century), the *Vikrānta-Kaurava* of Saktibhadra, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata* of Rājasekhara (c. 900 A.D.) etc. all deal with the events mostly of political significance. In Indian history almost every political revival and restoration has been accompanied with the ideal of Rāmarājya or with the destructive agency of Śiva, which are the central themes of the dramas of this section of the period.

Among the Kāvya the *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara has for its theme the destruction of demon Andhaka by Śiva. The *Rāmacharita* of Abhinanda (ninth century A.D.), the *Yudhisthiravijaya* of Vāsudeva, the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* of Dhananjaya, the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta (Parimal) are as suggestive of political revival and restoration as the dramas of the period. Both the dramas and the Kāvya are not only of political significance, but also prove the existence of creative energy in the field of pure literature. Fine works on poetics and aesthetics were written during this period. Philosophy had its rich harvest in the form of numerous works written by Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain writers. The period was fertile in the field of technical and scientific literature, e.g., grammar, lexicography, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, etc.

IV

PATHOLOGY OF INDIA ON THE EVE OF MUSLIM INVASION

In spite of the best attempts at restoration and reformation it is a patent fact that, by the end of the second half of the period, Indian states fell one by one before the Turks and the Afghans from the North-West and by the first quarter of the fourteenth century almost entire country lay prostrate before the Muslim invaders. And what is peculiar regarding this process is that, once prostrate, India remained so for a long time and could not reassert herself soon and regain her independence. Many times before this India was invaded by foreigners, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians, the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas. But every time she shook off the foreign yoke quickly. She regained herself by either driving

the foreigners out, defeating and subjugating them or by gradual absorption and Indianization. This was the symptom and function of a living and active organism—a nation or a country. The condition of India on the eve of Muslim invasion, however, was evidently not a normal one. It was obviously a pathological condition. The fall of the Hindus at the hands of the Muslims was not an accident; rather, it was the culmination of a long process of internal disease and decadence in the various fields of life which made India unfit to resist a foreign invasion successfully and to regain herself soon. The pathology of the diseased condition of India is of both a great academic and practical importance. I am, therefore, tempted to attempt this task in the following lines.

Political :

Political life gradually developed a chronic psychology. In ancient India upto the fourth century B.C. there was a constant interplay of monarchical and republican elements in the body politic which kept the political consciousness alive in the people. They took interest in the politics of the State and they could be easily stirred against foreign invaders, though with varying success but never acquiescing in the foreign domination of the country. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. India saw the development of an absolute monarchy free from republican impact and traditional checks and balances which were operative in the previous centuries. The result was that the people lost contact with politics, became indifferent to political matters, turned passive and docile and accepted any dynasty or person as their rulers. Patriotism and nationalism gave place to flattery and loyalty to the ruling person which changed with him. This first applied to the internal changes of rulers. When the foreigners occupied India the people reconciled themselves to their rule. This is the deep and real cause of the acceptance and tolerance of the foreign rule for a long period after the twelfth century A.D.

Like mediæval States in Europe the Indian States also developed feudal elements based on landed aristocracy and periodical military aid to the Central Government from it. The people were loyal to the local feudal lord and their relation and loyalty to the centre diminished and gradually disappeared. The political outlook became regional and the political and military damage to the central authority did not render a shock to the people in a distant part of the State.

Centrifugal tendencies recurred several times in the past, but the ideal of an all-India imperialism brought the major parts of the country together. This ideal worked in varying degrees upto the time of the Pratihāra and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires. Subsequently, India became politically divided into a number of fragments lacking coherence and integration. The sharp division between the North and the South took place earlier under Chālukya Pulakeṣin II of Vātāpi and Puṣyabhūti Harṣavardhan of Kānyakubja. Since then this division went on deepening. The ideal of Bhāratavarṣa as a united country under one sovereign power

disappeared. The Pusyabhūtis, the Pratihāras, the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Cholas tried in vain for the political unification of the country. So long as India was free from foreign invasions from the seventh to the twelfth century except the spectacular raids of Mahmud of Ghazni, the internal divisions did not prove disastrous. But when she was subjected to organized invasions from the time of Shihabuddin Ghorī, inspite of the individual bravery of the Indian rulers and soldiers, almost all the States of India fell before the foreign armies. It has been a constant lesson of Indian history that when India was united under a strong central authority, it successfully resisted foreign invasion; when divided into mutually destructive fragments it surely succumbed before the aliens.

Another abnormal feature of the political life of this period was the development of an insular and self-complacent attitude towards politics. On the one hand India was getting internally divided into small water-tight compartments and on the other hand outside it was getting hemmed in by hostile forces. The Arabs in Western Asia and the Turks in Central Asia rose as new powers of very intolerant nature and they drove in a rigid wedge between India and the countries of Asia, Europe and Africa. The Indians lost the command of the Western (Arabian) sea to the Arabs and their movement towards the west was greatly hampered and ultimately checked. The emergence of the Śailendra empire in the east was another insulating agency on this side. The Śailendras were not so hostile towards India as the Arabs and the Turks, but they also impeded the contact of India with the countries of South-East and East Asia till they themselves succumbed to the conquering and proselytizing Arabs. As regards contacts through military invasions, India was almost free from 1024 A.D. to 1193 A.D. Two evil consequences followed this state of affairs. Firstly, India lost knowledge of the world outside and remained ignorant of the great political upheavals taking place there. Secondly, she developed a wrong sense of complacency about her strength and knowledge. Al-Beruni, the great Arab scholar, who visited India and made close observation refers to this fact: "The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs". If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their minds. He continues, 'for their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generations'. The lack of proper self-assessment reached its limit when the Indians believed that their country was invincible, their temples inaccessible and their gods all-powerful. This made them mentally unfit for preparedness and resistance against foreign invasions and other adverse shocks of life.

Military strength of the Indian States also suffered during this period. Up to the regime of the Pratihāras the Indian States, specially those which aspired after sovereignty, possessed huge standing armies well-trained and well-disciplined. The kings of Northern India were called Hayapatis (Lords of Cavalry), those of Eastern India Gajapatis (Lords of Elephantry)

and those of the South Narapatis (Lords of Infantry) and some powerful kings were called Trayādhipatis (Lords of all the three limbs). But due to the feudal character of the States, the Indian army became more and more of a militia, the central authority maintaining only a small skeleton standing army and mostly depending upon the military aids offered by the feudal lords. Under a foreign threat or invasion sometimes a huge conglomeration of feudal armies took place, but it did not prove effective against a well-organized standing army, under an able military leader. The confederated army was not used to fight under a common leader and a common discipline. Very often there was a quarrel over the choice of a common leader and sometimes there were sharp differences on this matter and due to disagreement confederating parties did not fight at all. But even when the feudal armies were confederated, they could not compare well with a properly disciplined and organized army. Huge armies of the Shahis of the Punjab and the Chāhamānas of Ajmer and Delhi gave way before Mahmud of Ghazni and Shihabuddin Ghorī. The same scenes were repeated when the Turks and the Afghans overran the North, the East, the Deccan and the South. Cavalry, the most mobile and effective limb of the army, was weakened during this period. Horses were imported in India from Arabia and Persia in a large number. When the Arabs rose as a military and political power and occupied Persia and the whole of Western Asia the free trade in horses was stopped and the supply of horses to India was greatly reduced. Indian infantry, though enormous in number, was no match to Muslim cavalry. It was scattered and routed by the speedy dash of the latter. The absence of proper leadership was another important weakness of the Indian army. The Indian military leaders were brave and heroic enough, but they lacked in strategy, tactics and relentless perseverance necessary for military success. Prithvirāja seems to be an exception. But he was not adequately vigilant and persevering, though highly heroic and chivalrous. Moreover, the Indian army fought for the king and not for the country or the nation, and, whenever the king was defeated or killed, it crashed like a house of cards without offering resistance under another leader chosen for the purpose. Under these circumstances, it is little wonder, that comparatively small Arab and Turk armies succeeded against the Indian armies.

Social :

A malady, deeper than the one in the political and military fields of life, was internally weakening the vitals of the Indian society. The ancient conception of 'Varṇa', the basis of the Indian social organization, was an organic one, which welded together numerous castes, clans and tribes of primitive times and gave a unity and purpose to the Indian society. The interplay of Varṇa and caste has been a constant feature of the history of the Indian society and every social reformer tried to revive and restate the concept of the Varṇa system, whenever it was

overpowered by the impact of the castes. During our period the concept of caste, a separatist and exclusive concept, asserted itself with all its vigour. Due to the fragmentation of India into a large number of small regional and exclusive petty States and their feudal nature the social attitude also became regional and exclusive. Political disunity was fully reflected in the body social. The multiplication and ramification of castes became a general social feature. No doubt the Hindu society was still commodious and could include within its fold all sorts of indigenous and alien groups, but its entire structure was blockwise and not organic, each block exclusive of the other. This process disintegrated the society into mutually insulated and indifferent groups. The Brahmanas got divided into ten regional blocks—the Pañchagauḍas and the Pañchadraviḍas, the Kṣatriyas degenerated into dynasties and clans, the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras split into numerous castes. The unity of the Hindu society became formal instead of real. This exercised disastrous effects upon the political and military strength of the country. Such a disintegrated society was incapable of offering a united front against an organized foreign invasion and impact. When India was occupied by the Turks, the Hindu society became more exclusive and rigid.

Religious :

In the religious life of India also the same disintegrating forces were operative. It seems that every walk of life was competing with the other in the race of division, insular ramification and exclusiveness. Dharma was an all-embracing concept in the ancient times. This split up into several main religious sects. Each religious sect became broken into a number of schools and sub-sects till the number of divisions became staggering. Dharma, which was originally an integrating and unifying force, became an instrument of disintegration. But what is worse was the development of new abnormal features. There was an over-emphasis on the cult of devotion implying the complete surrender of the individual to a personal deity. Psychologically it meant the merger of the individual consciousness with the cosmic consciousness. But it degenerated into an abnormal attitude and bred passivity, submission and loyalism towards a temporal authority whosoever it might be. The virtues encouraged were unilateral meekness, mercy, friendship, love etc. No doubt normally these virtues constitute the essence of human life. But to develop them at the cost of sterner and harder feelings and emotions of man calling for moral indignation, anger, resistance, sacrifice and martyrdom renders the society tender and weak. Similarly, the creed of non-violence overemphasised by the Buddhists, the Jains and the Vaiṣṇavas also told upon the psychology and nerves of the people who developed a deep-rooted indifference to the use of arms and war. In the beginning of the eighth century Western India capitulated before the Arabs under the false sense of non-violence, and in the beginning of the thirteenth Eastern India did the same before the Turks.

Various religious sects of morbid nature sprang up. The best influence of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, which reformed and sustained Hinduism for some time, spent up much of their force by the end of this period. Vāmamārga (Left-hand Path) and Tāntric rituals raised their heads and Dharma degenerated into formalism, obscurantism, and obscenity. Buddhism which was originally a reformist and nonconformist faith remained leftist in spirit but surpassed even the Brahmanical sects in the matters of formalism and morbidity. The Buddhist Guhya-samāja was a limit. In the Tathāgataguhyaka even Buddha is depicted as engrossed in debauchery. Everything was allowed in the religious practices of this cult. Fish, flesh, wine and women played important parts in them and even human blood and flesh were used. The great Buddhist monasteries and Brahmanical maṭhas were inhabited by armies of idlers and were converted into centres of corruption. Temple prostitution became an established institution. The Samayamātrikā of Kṣemendra and the Kuttinimataṅi of Dāmodaragupta picture a society which had lost its sense of social decorum and moral rectitude.

Literary and Intellectual :

In the realm of mind the Hindus were passing through a period of decadence. The creative period of Hindu talent was left far behind. The Hindus believed that the age of the Ṛṣis (original thinkers) was past and that they could not think or create anything new. Their only function was to try to understand, to explain, to conserve and to compile. That is why the vast literature of this period mostly consists of commentaries, digests and compilations. Even the greatest authorities of the period could not dare to express their original views which are expressed by way of interpretations or explanations. No original work was written on polity. The Dharmaśāstra literature abounds in commentaries and compilations. Even the best Kāvya of this period like the Naiṣadha are compilations of the figures of speech and rhetoric. Drama was almost non-existent. Very few technical and scientific works were written. This intellectual bankruptcy explains why the Hindus became non-plussed before foreign invasion during this period, whereas in previous ages they could find easy solutions of difficult political, social and religious problems.

The art of this period reflects all the complexities and morbidity of the social and religious life that prevailed. The pieces of art of this sub-period are the multiplications and compilations of parts and decorative motifs to a staggering extent. Massiveness replaced simple elegance. Like literary rigmorole artistic creations aim at the intricacy of combinations and computations of features. Social debauchery and erotic behaviours are depicted in stones and plastics without hesitation. Even in the best sculptural art of Khajuraho, Bhuvaneshwar, Puri and Konarak religious perversities are displayed without shame.

The dark picture of life drawn above does not mean that the invaders had a superior civilization and better morals than the Indians of the period.

In the majority of cases they (invaders) were elemental in their force and methods. They had no moral justification of their conquests and almost inhuman ferocity and vandalism exhibited by them. Our observations only explain why and how the Hindus of this period under the burden of their own civilization had lost the vitality which enables a nation or a country to repel and withstand foreign invasions and impacts. They also explain why the Hindus lay prostrate before the foreigners for a longer period than usual in previous ages.

V

VITAL SPOTS

The pathological study of this period reveals not only the symptoms and causes of the deep maladies of the Hindu society, but it also brings to light many vital spots still functioning, which saved it from complete merger and final extinction at the hands of the invaders. The most threatening phenomenon of this period was the expansion of Islam and its adoption by the most warlike and ferocious tribes of Central Asia. The armies of Islam swept over the countries from Spain to the frontiers of China and did not allow the older civilization of those countries to survive. India was the only exception. Nowhere Islam met so staunch and continuous resistance as in India. Politically India never succumbed completely. In Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa, and the South there were a number of pockets which survived the occupation of the country by the Turks. Even in northern India under the very nose of Turk rulers the petty Hindu zamindars were a source of constant trouble to them. Whenever they found a chance to rise, they made use of the situation. This constant resistance and risings against foreign power kept the hope of final liberation alive, whereas in other countries under Islam there was nothing left to revive.

The blockwise social structure of the Hindus was weak and could not repel an organized onslaught successfully. But its exclusiveness and insular blocks could survive even if some of them were attacked and annexed. Overpowered by better organized military and political forces the policy of exclusiveness and insulation was the only way out for self-existence, which the Hindus inherited from this period. So long as the Hindus were politically strong they followed, in the social field, the policy of re-conversion and restoration of the persons carried away and polluted by the foreigners. But with the weakening of the political power and the gradual expansion of the Turks in India they followed the policy of 'lost things lost' for ever. With the establishment of the Muslim rule in India under Islamic Law reconversion from Islam to other faiths became a capital offence and the Hindus could not attempt a policy of reconversion and restoration. Consequently, it became customary not to reconvert the persons converted by other religions to Hindu faith. At any rate, the

policy of exclusiveness was the only policy possible against a proselytising, uncompromising and intolerant faith which invaded India.

Like Indian society Indian religion also was not a unitary organized church but a federation of several creeds subscribing to some common doctrines and principles and having a common social background. But for the political interest of the conquering Turks, Islam could have been accepted by the Hindus as one of the sects or aspects of all-comprehensive Dharma. Even if some Indian sects or communities embraced Islam under pressure, temptation or persuasion, the rest of the religious sects survived. The conversion of a king here or a priest there could not affect the entire religious structure of India.

Attachment to a hoary civilization and a long tradition was another saving feature of the Indians against the foreign invaders. Many times it has proved a drag. But at critical moments it worked like an anchorage which kept the Hindu society to its moorings. When asked to change their religion very often Indians preferred death to conversion and underwent immense sufferings. That was the reason why inspite of about seven hundred years of Muslim rule in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Islam could not claim more than ten per cent, whereas it swept away the whole of Northern Africa, Western Asia and Central Asia completely.

These vital spots were the redeeming features of Indian life on the eve of Muslim invasion at the end of the twelfth century A.D. That is why the Indians could stand the severest hardships and atrocities and survive the most powerful pressure of a prolonged foreign domination. But the diagnosis of the pathological case reveals that the vital spots had only a surviving value and could not contest the invading forces successfully which required a more coherent and better organized society and state.

The crumbling of the political system of India before the Muslim invasions and the survival of the Hindus are the phenomena of great historical importance. They deserve closer investigation and critical analysis in their social and cultural settings. The structural study of Indian history has reached a stage when the historians should enter deeper recesses of life and depict and explain their extent, meaning and purpose.

MAHALAKSHMI OF KOLHAPUR THROUGH THE AGES

G. H. KHARE

Vitthala of Pandharpur, Mahālakshmi of Kolhapur, Khandoba of Jejuri and Bhavāni of Tuljapur are the four deities which are very widely worshipped in Mahārāstra. Considering the number of devotees Vitthala of Pandharpur undoubtedly stands first. But from the point of documentary evidence Mahālakshmi of Kolhapur probably heads the list. For no other deity has so many references been discovered in contemporary documents.

The earliest reference to this deity is perhaps to be found in Sanjan plates of the Rāstrakuta emperor Amoghavarsa dated Saka 793 (871 A.D.)¹. It is stated there that this emperor, in order to propitiate the deity Mahālakshmi for freeing his subjects from a certain calamity, cut off one of his fingers and offered it to her. Here Kolhapur, the abode of this deity, is not specifically mentioned; but the Mahālakshmi mentioned here is most probably that of Kolhapur according to the opinion of the editor of these plates². In a copperplate grant of the Kadambas of Goa³, dated Saka 960 (1038 A.D.), Sastharāja I is said to have repaired to Kolhapur and often worshipped Mahālakshmi about the year Saka 920. In two Kannada inscriptions from Shirur (Bijapur District) dated Saka 971 (1049 A.D.) and 985 (1064 A.D.) respectively Rājavarma and Mārasingha are said to have been the devotees of Mahālakshmi, who was the wife Siva and whose vehicle was simha. About this very time (Saka 980=1058 A.D.) the Silāhāras of Kolhapur began to call themselves as having received boons from Mahālakshmi.⁴ In the Soratur (Dharwar) Kannada inscription of Cālukya Vikramavarsa 16 (1091 A.D.), Mahālakshmi has been referred to as the guardian deity of the village.⁵ In the Kapil Kannada inscription of Cālukya Vikramavarsa 31 (1107 A.D.) one Sobhaneyya, the administrator of Kolhapur, together with his wife, son and daughter donated a piece of land and a house for the *angabhogas* of Mahālakshmi.⁶ About this time this deity had become so popular that two subsidiary abodes of her were created: one at Siddharāja tank near Anahilavāda in Gujarat,⁷ 400 miles north of Kolhapur, by Solanki Siddharāja, and the other at Dodda-gaddavalli in Mysore, 400 miles to the south.⁸ At both these places shrines were built for her and images of her, and of those that were in her fold, were installed. Then two inscriptions from the

1. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. 18, p. 242.

2. Moraes : *Kadamba Kula*, p. 387.

3. *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part 1, Nos. 85, 99.

4. *Archaeological Survey of Western India: Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes etc.*, p. 103.

5. *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part 2, No. 137.

6. *Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology, Mysore State, for 1927*, p. 147. Some mistakes have been committed in the decipherment of the text of this inscription.

7. *Sarasvati Purāna* (Ms. in the BORI Poona Collection), No. 420 of Vis I, folio 120.

8. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. V, part 1, Nos. 134—152.

precincts of the Mahālakṣmi temple, which are dated Saka 1104 (1182 A.D.) and 1112 (1190 A.D.) respectively, tell us that some grants were made for different types of services to the goddess and monastery attached to her temple.⁹ An inscription, again, from the Mahālakṣmi temple, which is dated Saka 1140 (1218 A.D.), informs us that the image of Mahālakṣmi had a linga over its head and a porch resembling the mountain Himālaya was erected in front of her temple.¹⁰ Then in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century, though Mahālakṣmi temples of about 35 places from Mahārāstra have been referred to, there is a specific order to the effect that no follower of the Mahānubhāva sect should visit Mātāpura (Mahur) and Kolhapur, two of the several Saktipithas in India.¹¹ In *Vividhatirthakalpa* and *Prabandhakosa*, two Jain works of the 14th century, an identical but a long traditional account has been given which points out that the goddess Mahālakṣmi was in existence at Kolhapur in the Sātavāhana period.¹² It is very difficult to believe in that account. It may at the most prove the existence of Mahālakṣmi at Kolhapur during the period of the composition of those works.

Under Muhammadan regimes in Mahārāstra, like all other Hindu deities and holy places, this deity and her temple had to suffer from a number of hardships. One of them was either the intermittent hiding of the image or its removal to insignificant places, mostly houses of the hereditary worshippers. The other was the desecration of the temple. Both these facts are fully borne out by documentary and sculptural evidence. In a period of more than 300 years of Muhammadan rule, we have the record of only two persons of note visiting Kolhapur for the *darsana* of the goddess. Caitanya, the greatest *Vaisnava* saint of Bengal, seems to have visited the place and performed *kirtana* before the goddess in *circa* 1510 A.D.¹³ Vādirājatirtha, a pontiff of the Uttarādi Mādhva Matha, also seems to have visited Kolhapur in the latter half of the 16th century.¹⁴ But these two saints addressed the goddess as Lakṣmi and Ramā respectively, meaning the wife of Viṣṇu. There are certain paper documents which indirectly suggest that the temple of the goddess was in use for other purposes, such as town-meetings, though desecrated and that a trifling subsidy of ten *hons* with intermittent withholding of the same was given for the service of the goddess from the Government revenues of the town.¹⁵ But as against these documents there is another document which clearly states that during the Muhammadan regime, though there flourished many able Hindu persons, nobody dared to reinstall the image of the goddess in its original temple and it was only on the Dasarā day, 26 Sept., 1715 A.D., that Sidhoji Hindurāo Ghorapade at the command of Chatrapati Sambhāji

9. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. 29, p. 17, Vol. 3, p. 215.

10. G. H. Khare : *Sources of Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. III, p. 18.

11. *Lilācaritra* and *Sthānapoṭhi* contain a number of references to Mahālakṣmi; *Ācārasthala Tyāgaṇṇakavāna*, p. 48.

12. Singhi *Jaina Granthamala*, No. 10, pp. 59-64; No. 6, pp. 68-74.

13. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, *Madhyalīlā*, paragraph 9.

14. *Tirthaprabandha*.

15. Unpublished paper.

Bhosale of Kolhapur reinstalled the image in its original temple after removing it from a worshiper's house.¹⁶ It is interesting to note here that this is the very year and the very day perhaps when the Vitthala image of Pandharpur was also reinstalled in its original temple. Since this year, nothing untoward has happened to the goddess or her temple as is proved by documents.

There is a controversy about the exact position of this deity in the Hindu pantheon. Vādirājatirtha and other followers of the Vaisnava sect believe that Mahālakṣmi is identical with Lakṣmi, the wife of Viṣṇu, while three inscriptions quoted above tend to show that she is the wife of Śiva. The *linga* on her head and the lion vehicle substantiate their belief. There are still others who find in her the characteristics of both Lakṣmi and Pārvatī. The *Sāktas* would give her an independent position and would include Kolhapur in the list of *saktipithas*. I am inclined to include her in the Śaiva fold, but not without difficulties. In the same way a controversy has arisen about the age of the image. Inscriptional descriptions differ from the textual ones which themselves differ from the sculptural description of the image and it has become very difficult to come to any correct conclusion.

JAINISM UNDER THE CHANDELLAS

DR. R. K. DIKSHIT

The wellknown allegorical drama of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, *Prabodhachandrodaya*, staged at the court of Kirtivarman Chandella¹, introduces us to a Digambara ascetic in Act III. He makes his appearance just as *Sānti* and *Karunā* are making enquiries about *Sraddhā*. They fail to recognise him and wonder whether he is a Rākhasa, a *Pisācha* or a *Nāraki*². *Karunā* caricatures him disparagingly,³ while *Sānti* would avoid him as an object causing pollution.⁴ The Digambara is engaged in disputation (*vāk-kalaha*) with a Buddhist Bhikṣhu and a Kāpālīka. He proves weak and succumbs to the temptations offered by the latter.⁵ He is enraptured by the touch of the Kāpālīni and eagerly drinks wine 'made fragrant by the touch of her lips'.⁷ In the end he renounces the doctrine of the *Arhats* and becomes a disciple of the Kāpālīka.⁸ The latter is jubilant at his cheap conquest and

16. *Ibid.*

1. *Prabodhachandrodaya* (Nirnayasagara Press, 4th Edn.), p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

5. He is also represented as irritable. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

tauntingly remarks to the Kāpālīni: “*Priye amulyakṛita dāsa-dvayam labdham*”.⁹

The perspective of the drama, however, is not historical but sectarian, its aim being to extoll the Vedantic philosophy and to belittle the rival creeds which are represented as the allies of *Moha*.¹⁰ Its object is clearly revealed in Act V where we are told of the discomfiture of the Lokāyatas, Saugatas, Digambaras, Kāpālikas and other Pāsandas.¹¹

The picture presented by *Prabodhachandrodaya* is vitiated and contrary to historical evidence. The Chandella kings who ruled over Jejāka-bhukti (modern Bundelkhand) from the 9th to the 14th century A.D. were, no doubt, orthodox Saivas, but they were by no means uncompromising bigots, intolerant of other creeds. There is unimpeachable evidence to show their respect for and patronage of the rival creeds of Buddhism and Jainism.¹² The former did not make much headway in Jejākabhukti, but epigraphic and monumental evidence leads us to conclude that the *pradesa* contained a flourishing Jaina community and its holy *kshetras*.¹³ Far from imposing any restrictions, the Chandella Kings even permitted the Jainas to build their temples in the capital cities of Khajuraho and Mahoba, as well as within the fort walls at Ajayagadha.

At Khajuraho, there is a compact group of Jaina temples, situated to the south-east of the village, and an isolated temple, the *Ghantai*,¹⁴ a little to the north of it. The latter as well as the Ādinātha and Pārsvanātha temples of the south-eastern group belong to the Chandella period. Others are modern structures, built on the ruins of the older ones. The most important of these is the temple of Sāntinātha. It contains a few ancient sculptures, including a standing image of Ādinātha. Cunningham saw an inscription, dated v.s. 1085, on its pedestal. Now it is hidden under the plaster.¹⁵ The Pārsvanātha temple is the largest and the finest of the ancient shrines. On the left jamb of its entrance door there is an inscription, dated Monday, the 7th of Vaisākha Sudi, 1011 (v.s.). It mentions the name of king Dhanga (*E. I.*, I, p. 136).

These temples do not differ much in style or architectural design and ornamentation from their more famous Brahmanical counterparts. Their chief importance lies in the ample material that they offer for the study of Jaina iconography. The extant images include those of all the 24 Tirthan-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13. The *dasas* are the Digambara and the Bhikshu.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

12. They styled themselves *Parama-māheśvara* in their official documents and a number of Śaiva temples built by them are still extant to prove their devotion to Him. One of these kings, Paramardi, claims to have composed a beautiful eulogy to Purāri, inscribed on a stone slab in the temple of Nīlakanṭha at Kālāñjara (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, Pt. I, pp. 313-17).

13. The Charkhari Plate of Paramardideva shows his regard for a Buddhist shrine (*E.I.*, XX, p. 131). Likewise an inscription in the Pārsvanatha Temple at Khajuraho mentions a Jaina, Pāhilla, who was held in high esteem by king Dhanga (*Ibid.*, I, p. 136).

14. So called because of the bell and chain device on its pillars, which are richly ornamented.

15. Vide Dhama : *A Guide To Khajuraho*, p. 24.

karas, identified by the inscriptions on their pedestals, or by their respective *lānchhanas*. Besides, we have representations of numerous other deities of the vast pantheon—both male and female—including the Yakshas and Yakshinis, with their varying number of heads and hands, holding various articles, and provided with their distinguishing *Vāhanas*. The sixteen auspicious symbols, and the Jaina adaptations of Navagrahas and Dikpālas, besides Apsarās, Vidyādharas, Kirtimukhas, and mythical lions and elephants also figure here. Certain Brahmanical deities such as Brahmā, Vishnu, Siva and Balarāma, with or without their consorts, and in their different forms, appearing prominently among the ancillary sculptures, show the catholicity of the age. There are other figures also which throw a welcome light on different aspects of contemporary life. All these sculptures are masterpieces of art and reflect great credit on the Chandella sculptors.¹⁶

Khajuraho did not lie in the direct route of the Muslim armies, and, therefore, its temples did not suffer much wanton destruction. Mahoba (Hamirpur District, U. P.), the civil capital of the Chandellas, however, was not so fortunate. A large number of Jaina images, complete or fragmentary, recovered from the city, shows that in former times it must have possessed several magnificent Jaina temples whose sites, too, can not be determined now with certainty. Most of these statues belong to the Chandella period, as shown by the inscriptions on their pedestals. Three images, respectively of Neminātha, (v.s. 1211), Sumatinātha (v.s. 1215) and Ajitanātha (v.s. 1220), refer to the reign of king Madanavarman¹⁷. The State Museum, Lucknow, has a good collection of statues from Mahoba.

Ajayagadha (Panna District, M. P.), the celebrated fortress of the Chandellas, also boasted of a number of Jaina shrines, which have not withstood the ravages of time. It appears that the banks of the Ajayasāgara tank, in the centre of the fort, were once lined with Brahmanical and Jaina temples. On its Western bank there is a sizeable collection of Tirthankara images mostly mutilated. Some of them contain dedicatory inscriptions. One fragmentary piece, proclaimed by the figure of a *krauncha* bird perched on its pedestal which was to have been the statue of Sumatinātha, bears an inscription to the effect that it was set up in v.s. 1331 by Āchārya Kumudchandra of the Mula Sangha, during the reign of king Viravarman. A roofless chamber nearby still houses a colossal image of Sāntinātha, set up at Jayapura *durga* (Ajayagadha) in v.s. 1335, in the reign of the same ruler. The donor of the image was Sādhu Sodhala (*A. S. I. A. R.*, 1935-

16. A number of ancient sculptures is built into the modern compound wall round these temples. A large Tirthankara image of V.S. 1215 refers itself to the '*pravardhamāna vijaya rājya*' of King Madanavarman (*E.I.*, I, p. 153). The temple of Pārsvanatha was originally dedicated to Risabhanatha, as suggested by the figure of a bull carved on the ornamental pedestal into the sanctum. The present image was installed in 1860 A.D. The main image in the Ādinātha temple also is modern.

17. Vide *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 73, *J.A.S.B.*, Pt. I, Vol. XLVIII, p. 286, and *A.S.R.*, II, p. 448, respectively.

36, p. 92). Tirthankara figures are also sculptured in bold relief, on the fort walls near the two gateways, side by side with the Brahmanical deities.

If the surviving remains are any indication, Ahara Madanpura (Tikamagadha District, M. P.) must have vied with Khajuraho as a centre of Jaina pilgrimage. We have there an unusually large collection of Jaina images, mostly belonging to the Chandella period. Most of them are mutilated, but they are good specimens of the art of the age, specially noteworthy for their lustrous polish which has not lost its shine even after centuries of exposure. The inscriptions on their pedestals contain dates ranging from v.s. 1123 to v.s. 1869. They inform us of the names of different *anvayas*, viz., Grahapati, Khandelavāla, Lambakanchuka, Paurapatta, Puravata, Medhatavāla, Golāpurva, Jaisavāla, etc.

The most remarkable of the Ahara statues is the one of Sāntinātha enshrined in a ruined temple. It is flanked on the right by an image of Kunthunātha. The one on the left is missing. The central image contains an inscription on its pedestal stating that it was installed in v.s. 1237, in the reign of Paramardideva, by the brothers Jāhada and Udaychandra. The sculptor was *rupakara* Pāpata.

The inscription also refers to 'Sahasrakuta Chaityālaya' at Banapura, as well as to a 'Sri Santi Chaityālaya' at Nandapura, and another 'Chaityālaya' at Madanesasāgarapura. The first was built by Devapāla, and the other two by Galhana, evidently ancestors of the two brothers mentioned above. Banapura (Jhansi District, U. P.), 18 miles to the west of Ahara, still contains Jaina temples of early mediæval period, as indicated by their epigraphic records. The 'Sahasrakuta Chaityālaya' enshrines the images of Sāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Arahamātha. Nandapura is not identified, but Madanesasāgarapura appears to have been the name of Ahara itself. It still possesses a large lake name Madanesa-Sagara after king Madanavarman.

Another site in Tikamagadha that deserves mention is Papasura, 3 miles to the east of the city. It has 75 Digambara temples, built at different times. Most of these buildings, as suggested by the inscriptions on the images enshrined in them, belong to XVI—XIX centuries of the Vikrama era. But Papasura was an important Jaina centre even under the Chandellas. This is evidenced not only by the architectural remains, but also by epigraphic records. The oldest structure here, now a sort of an underground cell, has three images. The central figure has no inscription, but the two side ones are dated in v.s. 1202, during the reign of king Madanavarman, whose name actually occurs on the image to the left.

Devagadha (Jhansi District, U. P.), so famous for its Gupta temple, too, must have been an important Jaina centre in the Chandella dominions. It has an extensive group of Jaina shrines and 'an enormous wealth of loose sculptures'. These shrines contain images of Tirthankaras, sometimes of colossal size, and other deities. The earliest inscriptions in these temples belong to the 9th century A.D., but some of the buildings may be even earlier. They continued to be constructed at least upto the middle of the

18th century.¹⁸ The place owned the sway of the Chandellas at least during the 11th and 12th centuries. It has yielded an inscription of the time of King Kirtivarman. It is dated in v.s. 1154 and records that his minister, Vatsaraja, who 'wrested the surrounding country from the enemy' built the fort of Kirtigiri, apparently named after his master (I.A., XVIII, pp. 237 ff).

It is not possible to describe, within the space of an article, all the Jaina monuments that existed within the extensive dominions of the Chandellas, but mention may be made of Madanpura, Dudani and Chandapura, all in Jhansi district, where temples dedicated to the Tirthankaras existed side by side with the Brahmanical shrines. Most of them belong to the 11th and 12th-centuries. Isolated Jina images of the same period have also been found at a number of places, notably at Chhatarpur. Some of them are dated and bear the names of the Chandella kings. The dominions of their Kachchhapaghata feudatories are also rich in Jaina remains.

The facts summarised above are sufficient to show that the Chandella rulers, following the noble traditions of Indian royalty, allowed the Jainas full freedom to preach and practise their religion. The latter, too, responded with great enthusiasm, and beautified the face of their *pradesa* with many a stately edifice. Some of them, indeed, deserve to rank among the best specimens of mediæval art. Jejakabhukti must have then contained a flourishing Jaina community, with a preponderance of the Digambaras.

Most of these monuments have suffered wanton destruction at the hands of iconoclastic invaders. Time and neglect, too, have taken a heavy toll. The deserted shrines were fast encroached upon by the forest and became the haunts of wild animals. That, however, proved a blessing in disguise, and saved them from the unfriendly eye. Their rediscovery by the archaeologists is a matter of recent history. The following statement of Captain Charles Strahan in respect of Devagadha is true of almost all the places mentioned above: "The jungle is the heaviest in the immediate neighbourhood of Deogarh, where the Betwa is overlooked on either bank by rocky cliffs once sacred to Hindu shrines, whose ruins display the utmost profusion of the art of sculpture, but which now hardly overtop the surrounding trees.....".¹⁹

18. *Memoir Of The Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 70, p. 2.

19. *General Report On The Topographical Surveys Of India*, 1870-71, Appendix A, Gwalior and Central India, vide *A.S.R.*, X, p. 104, n. 1.

THE PLOUGH MEASURE IN NORTH INDIA

PUSPA NIYOGI

Most of the inscriptions of Northern India during the period 10th to the 12th century A.D. record grants of land for various purposes. In such records there are relevant details about the measurements of pieces of land donated. From the evidence furnished by them it appears that a common standard of measurement was not in use throughout Northern India during the period under review. Although it may be possible to bring the different standards of measurement current in different areas to a common base, it may not be safe to rely too much on this process of equation, for it is quite possible that a unit may have been called by a common name but may have conveyed different values in different regions.

In this paper we propose to discuss only the plough measure. The plough measure was technically called '*hala*'. This measure was current in many places as shown by records connected with the different dynasties of Northern India. Some typical cases of its use may be noted here. In the Dhullā copper plate of Śrīchandradeva¹ of the Chandra dynasty of East Bengal (10th century A.D.) the term '*hala*' occurs as a land measure. It also appears in the Reu copper plate grant of Govindachandra² of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, dated 1131 A.D., the Rahan copper plate of Govindachandradeva and Madanapāla³ of the same dynasty, dated 1108 A.D., the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman⁴ of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa, dated 1109 A.D., in many of the grants of Bhīmadeva II,⁵ the Palanpur plate of the Chalukya Bhīmadeva (v.s. 1120),⁶ the Dohed inscription of the Chalukya king Jayasīmhadeva, (v.s. 1196),⁷ the Bāli inspection of Kumarapāla,⁸ the Surat plate of Trilochanapāla, dated 1151 A.D.,⁹ etc., in the inscriptions of the Chandellas of Jeja-bhukti (Bundelkhand), e.g. the Semra plate¹⁰ and the Charkhari plate of Paramārdideva,¹¹ the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Madhya Pradesh, the Koni inscription of the Kalachuri Prithivideva (κ.ε. 900), dated 1147 A.D.,¹² the Malhara plate of Jajjaladeva,¹³ etc. The use of this measure is also found in the Second Praśasti of Baijnath,¹⁴ etc.

In the Reu copper-plate grant of Govindachandra,¹⁵ mentioned above,

1. I.B., Vol. III, p. 165.
2. I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 249.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 14.
4. E.I., Vol. XX, p. 105.
5. I.A., Vol. XVIII.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
7. I.A., Vol. X, p. 158 (1881).
8. A.S.R., W.C. 1907-8, pp. 54-55.
9. I.A., Vol. XXXI, p. 255.
10. E.I., Vol. IV, p. 165.
11. A.S.I., 1929-30; E.I., XX, p. 125.
12. E.I., XXVII, p. 277.
13. F.I., Vol. I, p. 38.
14. *Ibid.*
15. I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 249.

the term 'hala' can be traced in the expression 'haladagāṅge', the meaning of which is, however, not very clear. From the interpretation offered by Dr. Hoernle it may be suggested that 'hala' here signifies a plot of cultivable land, measuring in the present case 10 'halas' suitably irrigated.¹⁶

In some inscriptions the land measuring one 'hala' is called 'bhū-hala', e.g. the Bhāṭērā plate of Govindakeśava¹⁷ and a copper plate grant of Mahārāja Yaśovarmadeva.¹⁸

That 'hala' definitely means a plough is clear from the expression 'halavāha' which is used in the Bombay Asiatic Society copper plate of Bhīmadeva II,¹⁹ which means that much of land which could be ploughed with one plough,—thus a plough measure of land. The same expression was used by the Paramara king Dhāravarshadeva in one of his inscriptions.²⁰

This is clear also that the plough as specified in the Bāli inscription of Kumarapāla²¹ means the extent of land that could be traversed in a day by one plough.²² The same information is furnished in an inscription of Dhāravarsha of the Paramara dynasty, which seems to describe one plough measure of land as being equivalent to an area that could be cultivated with one plough in a day. The Hathal plate of Dhāravarshadeva²³ refers to an area of land that could be tilled with two ploughs in a day. These references show in a specific manner that a plough measure of land was conditioned by time factor. It meant only that much of land which could be cultivated with a single plough in one day only.

In this connection it may be noted²⁴ that the term *hara* is still used in Gujarat where it means not a land measure but a measure of grain.²⁵ It is also used to denote current measure of corn in Kathiawar. A suggestion has been made that 'hara' is only another form of word 'hala', and that as the name of a measure the word may have originally been connected with the plough measure, measuring a fixed quantity of grain produced "by the use of the *hala* or plough". In short, the suggestion is that, originally the word 'hara' denoted the same thing as a plough measure but later it may have come into use as the name of a measure of grain or corn only.

It seems that 'haele' is only a local variation of the word 'hala' denoting a particular land measure. The word 'hala' in this form is found in the Sānderāv stone inscription of Kelhanadeva,²⁶ of the Chahamanā dynasty of Sambar. Like the word 'hara' mentioned above the term 'haele' may also be connected with 'hala' in which sense

16. *Ibid.*

17. E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 285.

18. I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 345.

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 108.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. LXI, p. 50.

21. A.S.I., W.C., 1907-8, p. 545.

22. In Pānini the area cultivated with one plough is called 'halya' (IV. 4. 97).

23. I.A., Vol. XVIII, p. 193.

24. I.A., Vol. LII, p. 249.

25. *Ibid.*

26. E.I., Vol. XI, p. 46.

Dr. Bhandarkar interprets the former. The inscription in which it occurs mentions that the donor, Analadevi, granted one 'haele' or 'yugamdhari' and that some *rathakāras* also granted another 'haele' of 'yugamdhari' which Bhandarkar takes to mean 'jvar corn'. Thus it appears that the term 'haele' is used in this record as a measure of corn. If its connection with 'hala' is assumed, one 'haele' of 'yugamdhari' will mean one 'haele' of jvar corn, which was the yield of a plot of land cultivated with one plough. It is evident, therefore, that in some places what was originally a plough measure had a tendency of being converted into a measure of the yield of the soil. What is actually yielded by a piece of land cultivated with one plough came to be called by some word originally connected with the name of the plough measure such as 'haele', 'hara', etc. The corn measure thus used represents a definite quantum which is represented by the yield of a piece of land cultivated with one plough, nothing more, nothing less.

It is difficult to say when the word 'hala' was first used as the name of a land measure, although it is known to have been in extensive currency in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. The use of the word 'hala' in the sense of a land measure is found in Pānini,²⁷ Patanjali²⁸ etc. Bāṇa, the author of *Harshacharita*,²⁹ shows familiarity with the use of the word in the sense of a land measure as is evident in the passage where he refers to the bestowal by Harsha of "a hundred villages delimited by a thousand ploughs." The passage seems to show that the extent of land given away in 100 villages measured 1,000 ploughs, i.e. as much land as could be tilled with that number of ploughs.

There is difficulty in ascertaining the exact area that could be cultivated with one plough. Soil was of different qualities in different regions; the capacity of the plough depended on the variable character of the soil. As the grades of soils were of different degrees the extent of land indicated by the plough measure could not have been the same everywhere. Then again, the size of the plough may not have been the same everywhere.³⁰ There may have been different sizes of the plough in the same locality also. Thus the Harsha stone inscription of the Chahamana king Vigrharāja, dated A.D. 917,³¹ refers to a big plough³² which clearly indicates that ploughs of different types were used. The size of the plough must have been an important factor in the determination of the extent of land cultivated with its help.

27. IV. 4. 97. In Panini the area cultivated with one plough is called 'halya', cf. 'dvi-halya', 'tri-halya' cited in *Kasika*.

28. *Bhashya*, I. 1. 72.

29. *Harshacharita*, English translation, p. 203.

30. A bigger unit is called 'parama-halya' by Patanjali (*Bhāshya*, I. 1. 72).

31. *E.I.*, II, p. 116.

32. Cf. Patanjali's *Bhashya* (I. 1. 72)—'parama-halya'.

THE PARASÜRAMESVĀRA TEMPLE OF BHUBANĒSWAR

SUSHIL CHANDRA DE

Bhubaneswar needs no introduction to scholars of ancient Indian art. It is one of the most important archaeological sites not only of Orissa, but also of India, where antiquities beginning from the 3rd century B.C. right upto the modern period can be found clustered within the compass of a small townlet. There are hundreds of temples in and around Bhubaneswar ; among them only a few, like Lingaraj, Muktesvara, Rājārāni etc. are known to visitors outside. But there are some others which, though not widely known, are no less important than the more wellknown and famous temples. The Parasurāmesvara temple standing unostentatiously in close proximity to the Muktesvara temple is one of such monuments.

Though small in structure and devoid of impressive grandeur the temple is very important to scholars pursuing the course of Orissan art during the medieval period. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the earliest group temples extant in the Bhubaneswar area ; it is in good state of preservation ; its date can be accurately fixed to a degree with the help of the inscriptions on its walls and the sculptural and iconographical features of the figures carved in relief on it and its architectural shape is most interesting in the study of the evolution of temple architecture in Orissa. Though so important, very few scholars have paid due attention to it ; mostly it has been casually treated in comparison with other famous temples of Bhubaneswar. I propose to deal with different aspects of the temple, namely, architecture, sculpture, iconography and epigraphy, to impress on the readers the real importance of this temple.

Architecture :

Among the earliest group of temples of Bhubaneswar, Parasurāmesvara is in the best state of preservation. Here we find a fully developed *sikhara* type of temple. This presupposes long experience of the Orissan artists in the art of temple-building though, unfortunately for us, we have not yet come across any temples which might be assigned to the Gupta period. So we are not yet in a position to pursue the course of architecture in Orissa in the beginning stage, that is, 4th to 6th century A.D.

However that may be, Parasurāmesvara temple presents an advanced stage in the Orissan temple architecture. Still, compared with the latter temples like Lingarāj, Brahmesvara, Anantavāsudeva, Rājārāni, etc. it lacks many of subdivisions of different parts of the body of the temple. The following are the special architectural features of the temple which are also the characteristics of other contemporaneous temples to be found at Bhubaneswar.

(a) The temple is of the *tri-ratha* type. Its *rāhā pāga*, or the central

pilaster, sharply projects out presenting the shape of a shallow buttress. The angles of the pilasters have not been softened or rounded as in later temples.

(b) The cube of the *sanctum cella* consists of three horizontal sections instead of five, as in case of later temples. We miss here *bāndhanā* consisting of three or five mouldings which divides the *Jāngha*¹ into two parts, upper and lower. In the absence of *bāndhanā* there is only one *Jāngha*, which, unlike that in later temples, is all plain excepting the niches.

(c) The *barandā*, or crowning part of the *Jāngha*, is found to consist of five or seven or even ten mouldings in later temples. But in this it consists of two mouldings, one projecting and the other recessed with a frieze of amorous couples.

(d) Though it is of the *tri-ratha* type, two intermediary pilasters, the *anu-ratha pāgas* above the two side-niches are in the process of evolution. Thus the temple shows predilection for the *pancha-ratha* type of later temples.

(e) The *sikhara* or *gandi* consists of five planes or *bhumis*, each consisting of four mouldings. The *bhumi amlas* at the corners in each fourth moulding separates one plane from another.

(f) The vertical section above the side-niches are divided into two sections in the approximate proportion of 2:1. The broader portion is ornamented with various *chaitya* window motifs, while the narrow portion consists of miniature temple designs with figures inside. This shows that, by the time the Parasurāmesvara temple was built, the architects had not only formed their idea of *pancha-ratha* type of temples, but were also thinking of *sapta-ratha* type of temples.

(g) The curvature of the *sikhara* starts in a slow and gradual manner from above the *barandā* up to the neck portion, presenting a small symmetrical structure.

(h) On the body of the later temples we find lions projecting out into the air at different heights. Here such lions are absent. In place of the squatting figures in the recess between the *āmalaka sila* and the top of the *sikhara* in later temples we have here four lions in four corners.

These are the special features of the temple that help much in the study of the evolution of temple architecture in Orissa. Next, we may consider the features of the porch attached to the temple. Rectangular porches constitute one of the characteristics of the early temples of Orissa, and subsequently, about a century later, they were substituted with porches with pyramidal tower, as we find in case of the porch of the Muktesvara temple. The roof is sloping in two tiers with a narrow recessed band with perforations to let in air and light. This type of roof was probably adopted from the *do-chali* (two thatches) system of thatching houses, specially big ones, current in many parts of Orissa. The roof is supported

1. It is termed *barandi* by Ganguli. Vide Plate II facing page 110 in Ganguli's *Orissa and Her Remains*.

by the side-walls and two rows of three pillars each inside. But in some temples approximately contemporary with the Parasurāmesvara, the porch, though of the same type, is not supported on pillars, as in case of the temples at Gandharadi in Baudh, where the "roofs are constructed of massive slabs on cantilever principle".² The porch of Vaitāl and Sisiresvara temples of Bhubaneswar are also not supported by pillars. The *Jagamohana*, or the porch, is lighted by two perforated windows on the north and south and by two grills containing dancing figures on the western wall. The projection of the roof beyond the walls provides some protection to the sculptures on the walls of the porch.

Sculptures :

The temple is most copiously carved from top to bottom, excepting the plain portion *Jāngha*. The sculptures can be broadly classified under the following heads: *chaitya* window motifs, arabesque scrolls and creepers—animal figures—human figures—deities and representation of mythological stories.

As regards the style, we may say that carving is mostly crude and coarse but all the same, the figures are lively and vigorous. Naturalism and simplicity characterise the sculptures of this temple, but sculptures gradually get more and more sophisticated with touches of artificiality and sensualism as we proceed towards later temples. It may be noted here that all the sculptures are not coarse or crude in execution ; there are some which can stand comparison with the masterpieces of Orissan art of later temples. For example, the mother and child figure on the top of the niche to the proper left of the main niche in the southern facade is an exceedingly charming figure which, in expression of motherly love, surpasses any of its proto-types in other temples. Similarly the figure of Natarāja on the western facade can be called a masterpiece unexcelled by any of later temples. There are many such figures which can claim superiority over their prototypes in other temples.

Chaitya window motifs :

The walls of the *sanctum* and the porch are copiously ornamented with various designs of *chaitya* window motif. The temples of the Gupta or post-Gupta periods, like those at Bhumara, Deogarh, brick temples at Rajim and Sirpur, etc., have this motif on their walls but to a limited extent. Here the artists seem to have used all their ingenuity to carve out the motifs for ornamenting the walls.

The *chaitya* window motifs have all beaded border ; some have a round or oval medallion inside with projections on two sides. Some have one medallion in the centre with two small medallions on two sides. The motifs adorning the vertical sections of the tower above the side-niches have three sunken panels, some shaped as trifoliate arches. The medallions

2. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 75.

contain human figures, deities, mythological stories, lotuses, *kirtimukha*, etc. The round medallion on the western facade contains the fine Natarāja figure and the one below it contains the representation of the story of Rāvana up-lifting the mount Kailās. In another medallion on the southern facade above the central niche, the story of Siva's taking poison is depicted.

Mythological stories :

In the medallion just above the roof of the porch on the western facade is depicted the story of Rāvana up-lifting mount Kailās. Rāvana is represented with three faces and ten hands, but most of them are damaged. One of the faces has escaped damage. Rāvana is wearing a crown on the head, *kundala* in ears and has a terrible-looking face. He is up-lifting the mount Kailās with eight hands, while with two of his remaining hands he is exerting pressure on the ground. On the top Pārvati is seen clasping Siva tightly out of panic. On two sides Ganesa and Kārtikeya are standing alert to strike. Some *ganas* are seen flying away in panic. The sculptor has depicted the whole story within a short space in a masterly way and what is more, he has been able to reflect the emotions of panic and alertness on the faces of the tiny figures. There is a similar panel in Ellora where the story is depicted in a different way.³

The story of Siva's drinking poison churned out of ocean has been depicted in another medallion on the southern wall of the *sanctum* just above the central niche. Here Siva is standing in an inclined pose with an umbrella in the left hand. His right hand with a cup is stretched out and Bhudevi is pouring poison into it out of another pot. On the two sides two females are looking at the scene with a feeling of deep despondency as clearly indicated by their poses. The one on the right side with her hands clasped above the head is evidently Pārvati, while the other might be her attendant. There is a small child with his hand extended upwards in between Bhudevi and Siva. He might be Kārtikeya. The expression on the face of Bhudevi is sober and reserved, while that of Siva is of indifference.

On the western wall of the *Jagamohana* the story of Pārvati's penance in water (?) is represented in a rather crude fashion. Pārvati is standing in waist-deep water with a lotus (?) on her right hand. Her left hand is resting on the hip region. She has two attendants on two sides ; the one to her right is holding a flower basket with her right hand and a flower in her left. The other figure is completely damaged. The figures are crudely shaped.

On the eastern facade of the *sanctum* there is a frieze depicting Siva's marriage. It is just above the figure of Kārtikeya. Siva and Pārvati are seen standing in the middle with right hand of Siva joined to the left of Pārvati by nuptial sacred thread. Pārvati has been represented as bending

3. Vide plate LIII, Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I.

down with bridal shame. To her left are two standing female figures with a sword in one hand. To their left, two females are dancing. To the left of Siva is seated Agni with rosary in his right hand and *kamandalu* in the left. He is seated on a raised platform; near his foot are to be found a *ṣurna kumbha* and the figure of Ganesa. Next to him, Brahmā with four hands is found kneeling. Two of his hands are folded to form a cup as if to receive or give something. With another hand he seems to pour out something into a pot. Surya stands next to him. One of the remaining two figures is probably a *rishi* with a rosary in the right hand, while the other one is a dancer. Of all the figures, Pārvati's pose and expression is most impressive despite the crudeness of carving. It may be noted here that in a frieze of another temple nearby of the same age, or a little earlier than the Parasurāmesvara temple, the marriage procession of Siva attended by Brahmā, Vishnu, Agni, Nārada and others is depicted. So this frieze is naturally a continuation of the earlier one. This leads to the assumption that both the temples are either contemporary or the former one is slightly earlier than the Parasurāmesvara temple. Marriage of Siva has been depicted in a frieze of the Badami cave No. I.⁴ In the Badami cave frieze we find Vishnu, Indra and a number of *rishis* attending the function, but here they are absent. In their places we find Agni and Surya; the former seems to be acting as the priest.⁵

Presence of Ganesa at the marriage of Siva and Pārvati is quite interesting. His presence can hardly be explained if we take him to be the issue of Siva and Pārvati, or a creation of Pārvati as stated in some mythologies. It appears that Ganesa was from the beginning an independent deity associated with all auspicious ceremonies as at present.

Iconography :

Iconography of the deities sculptured in relief on the walls of this temple including the porch is no less interesting and important. It helps in the study of the iconographical features of the deities in Orissa and also to approximately fix up the date of the temple under reference and also other temples immediately following it. It is not possible to deal with all the deities, so only the features of a few are given below.

Siva—Natarāja : Unfortunately the image is badly damaged except the face which is expressive of calm and meditative attitude of mind. The figure had ten hands, in the upper two of which was held a snake, as in case of the Natarāja figure of the Badami cave. One of the right hands is shown in *simhakarna* pose, another in *danda-hasta mudrā* while the third holds a snake. The lowest one resting on the right thigh is exhibiting some *mudrā*, probably *suchi* pose. One of the left hands holds an object looking like the head of a *trisula*. Another hand holds some object which is broken, one next to it is exhibiting *abhaya mudrā*. The lowest

4. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 25, pl. IV (a).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

one is resting on the thigh. There is no bull, or figure of Pārvati or *apasmāra puruṣha* below the feet.

Natarāja Ardhanārisvara Siva : Very seldom do we find ardhanaṛisvara Siva in dancing form. In one sunken panel on the southern wall of the porch is carved a fine figure of Natarāja ardhanaṛisvara. The lower part is unfortunately damaged. The figure is six-handed, with *jatā mukuta* on the head. The body is decorated with usual ornaments. In one of the right hands is held an object which is broken (it is probably a *vinā*) ; in another, a rosary. Of the other two hands, one is shown in *simha-karna* pose, while the last one rests on the knee. In the left hands are held a mirror, a *damaru* (?) and the tail of a snake. The last one rests on the thigh. Siva is clothed with a tiger-skin. The *apasmāra-puruṣha* is lying prostrate below the feet with his face turned up. There was another figure in dancing attitude in the left corner, but it is broken.

Umā-Mahesvara : The panel containing *Umā-Mahesvara* figures is next to the above panel towards left. Siva is four-handed with *trisula* and a flower in the right hands. One of the left hands rests on the thigh while the other is not visible. The right hand of Pārvati is resting on the left shoulder of Siva. Both of her hands are clasped. A snake is coming out of the hole of the right *kundala* of Siva. Below are to be found their vehicles, bull and lion.

Siva with Chakra : In the next left panel is to be found a figure of standing Siva with four hands. Its face and upper part of the upper right hand are completely gone. In the lower right hand is found a round object which might be citron fruit. There is a *chakra* in the upper left hand and a lotus bud in the lower left hand. He is flanked by a female figure, probably Pārvati, in the left and a short pot-bellied figure with *trisula* emblem on the crown in the right side. Siva with *chakra* is not commonly found. He has *chakra* as his weapon in his *Triṣuradahana* or *Triṣurāntaka* or Harihara aspects. But here Siva is represented in neither of these forms.⁶

Vinā-vādana Siva : In a small medallion above the left niche of the eastern facade of the *sanctum* is to be found a figure of *vinā-vādana* Siva. He is represented as playing on *vinā* with two hands, with Pārvati sitting to his left. Siva is holding a flower in his upper right hand and is embracing Pārvati with the corresponding left hand. The right hand of Pārvati is placed in his left thigh and there is lotus flower in her left hand. The figure differs in details from those of *vinādhara* Siva given in Rao's *Iconography*.⁷ Here Siva is neither standing nor has he *parasu* and *mriga* in his hands.

Devi Images :

Mahisamardini : There are two figures of Mahisamardini in two medallions, one in the southern facade and the other in the northern

6. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 115, 189, 334.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 289 ff.

facade of the *sanctum*. That on southern facade is four-handed holding sword and *sula* in the right hands, and a shield in the upper left hand. With the lower left hand she is pressing down the face of the demon, Mahisa, who is carved as a buffalo. The *sula* on the right hand has been thrust deep into his body. The figure of Mahisamardini in a medallion of the Siva temple at Bhumara has similar weapons, the only difference being that Devi holds the tail of the demon with one of her left hands, while in the present case she is pressing down the face with that hand.⁸

Mahisamardini on the larger medallion in the northern facade is six-handed. She has sword, *sula* and a pointed dagger in her right hands, shield and bow in her two left hands. With the remaining left hand she is pressing the face of the demon Mahisa. A short-statured man in the left corner is thrusting a *sula* into the body of the demon.

Simhavāhini : Two medallions, one in the northern and the other in the southern wall of the temple, contain figures of Simhavāhini Devi, the earliest form found in Orissa. She is seated in *lalita* pose with rosary in the upper right hand, while the lower one is in *varada mudrā*. In the left hand are held sword and pot. The lion is sculptured as lying at the bottom.

Kārtikeya : He is represented as two-handed with a round fruit in the right hand and *sula* in the left hand. In the big niche of the northern facade he is shown as sitting in *lalita* pose with his peacock at the feet, while in a medallion he is seated on the back of the peacock.

Ganesa : He is represented as sitting and standing, with two or four hands. In the central niche of the southern wall the big figure of Ganesa is four-handed. Unfortunately two of its right hands are gone ; in the two left hands he is holding axe and sweet-meat pot. It is noteworthy that his vehicle, mouse, is not in the scene. The figure of Ganesa in the lintel has a flower and a rosary in the right hands and axe and sweet-meat pot in the left hands.

Vaishnava Images :

Curiously enough, there are two Vaishnava images, one in the south and another on the northern wall of the temple. The one in the southern wall is that of Lakshmi-varāha. The figure is in *ālīdha* pose with two hands clasped at the breast. The upper right hand holds *padma* and left lower hand, a *chakra*. Lakshmi is seated on the right elbow with a lotus in her right hand.

The other four-handed figure in the northern wall is seated in *dhyānāsana*. In his upper right hand he has *chakra* and the other is in *varada* pose. In the upper left hand is held a *chakra*, while the object in the lower left hand is not clear.

There are many other interesting iconographical features, which cannot be dealt with within the scope of this paper. Only a few important

8. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 16, pl. XIV (a).

ones have been described. It may be noted that there are figures of *Sapta-mātrikā* and *ashtagraha* in the northern wall of the porch and the lintel of the temple. The *ashtagraha* increased to *navagraha* in later temples.

Date of the Temple :

The architectural, sculptural and iconographical features indicate that the temple belongs to the latter half of the seventh century. The paleography of the characters in which names of the planets on the lintel are carved indicates the same date. Dr. Panigrahi has discussed the subject at length and has assigned the temple to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.⁹ I have closely examined the characters which exhibit a tendency to slight curve at the ends. This feature became common in the characters of 8th and 9th century A.D. Thus I am inclined to assign the temple to the latter half of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century.

THE CULT OF DEVARAJA IN KAMBUJA AND IN INDIA.

DR. B. N. PURI

The cult of Devarāja or Royal god, called in Khmer *Karatun Jagat ta Raja*, has engaged the attention of a number of scholars.¹ It is suggested by Bosch² that Central Java was the place from where this cult spread in Champa and Kambuja. Java got its Agastya cult from Kunjara-Kunja in southern India. It is difficult, in the words of Dr. R. C. Majumdar³, to form a clear and precise idea of this cult which seems to be the designation of the *linga* (of Siva) representing the essence of the royal authority. Being conceived as divine and regarded as the tutelary deity, it was placed in a temple on the top of a mountain, or on the summit of a pyramid construction representing Kailāsa, the abode of the gods. On the other hand there are also indications that it was not merely a particular *linga*, but it symbolised a ritual or ceremony which was Tāntric in character. The institution of this cult for a particular purpose and its continuation even in the time of the Buddhist emperors Suryavarman I and Jayavarman VII, suggest its politico-religious importance. Though it started with the setting up of a *linga* on a raised pyramid symbolising the essence of royalty, it seems to have developed certain other phenomena of a religious nature, namely, the apotheosis or deification of ancestors and certain

9. *J.A.S.B.*, (1949), Vol. XV, pp. 109 ff.

1. Melanges. S. Levi, pp. 200-202; BEFEO. XXXIV, pp. 611-616; Bosch : BEFEO. XXV, p. 391; TBG. LXIV, pp. 227ff; Coedes : *Les États* etc., pp. 177-178, and other references; Majumdar : *Kambujadesa*, pp. 77 and other references; Chatterjee : *Indian cultural influences in Cambodia*, pp. 78-79 sq., and other references; Bagchi : *Indian Tantric Texts in ancient Kambuja*, IHQ., Vol. V, pp. 754-69; Vol. VI, pp. 97-107; Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, pp. 117ff; *JA*. 1949/50, supp., pp. 64ff.

2. Ref. cit.

3. Ref. cit.

other personalities. We propose taking into consideration the cult of Devarāja and its allied phases.

The Sdok Kok inscription⁴ is very important in this respect. It refers to His Majesty Paramesvara Jayavarman II installing, on his return from Java, a Royal god (called *Karatān Jagat tā Raja* in the Khmer text and Devarāja in the Sanskrit text, also called Siddhi) at Mahendraparvata. The performance of *pujā* was entrusted to his Guru Siva Kaivalya. The king had invited Hiranyadāma, a Brahmin from *Janapada* (probably India), who performed a ritual according to *Vrah Vināsikha*, and he taught *Vrah Vināsikha*, *Nayattora*, *Sammoha* and *Sirascheda* to Siva Kaivalya, and taught him how to perform the ritual of the Royal god. A solemn vow was taken by both the parties to the effect that only the family of Siva Kaivalya, and none else, should perform the worship of the Royal god. The priest Siva Kaivalya initiated all his relations in this worship, and the family continued to enjoy this position for 250 years. We learn from this record that the Royal god resided in all the capitals where successive kings took him as their protector. The purpose of installing this Royal god in the form of *linga* was that Kambuja might no longer be dependent on Java. From Mahendraparvata the king returned to Hariharalaya and Devarāja was also taken over there. In the time of Yasovarman the Royal god was taken from Hariharalaya to Yasodharapur. Vamasiva, a grand nephew of Siva Kaivalya, installed the *linga* in the central mountain erected by the king. The same preceptor installed another *linga* more than two cubits high at Bhadrappattana and an image of Bhagavati at Bhadravāsa. The members of the family were all priests of the Royal god; some were Acarya or Acaryahoma, officiating as priests in all sacrificial ceremonies. During the time of Harsavarman I (Rudraloka) and Isanavarman II (Paramaloka) all the members of the family officiated as priests of the Royal god. In the time of Jayavarman IV (Paramasivapada) the king left Yasodharapur for reigning at Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker) and the Royal god followed. Isanamurti, grand nephew of Vamasiva, as head of the family was the chief Acarya. He installed a *linga* at Rausi. In the time of Harsavarman II, Atma Siva, nephew of Isanamurti and head of the family, was the priest of the Royal god and Acaryahoma. Rajendrarvarman Sivaloka came back from Yasodharapur and he brought the Royal god with him. Atma Siva continued as priest and Acaryahoma and erected temple at Stuk Raus and installed the god. In the time of Jayavarman V (Paramaviraloka) Sivācārya, grand nephew of Atma Siva, was the head of the family and priest of Royal god. Sivavarman I (Nirvānapada) sent troops against the people who devastated the temple of Bhadrappattana at Stuk Raus. He restored the temple which belonged to the family and installed the statues of Sankara Nārāyana and Bhagavati. Sadāsiva, nephew of Sivācārya, was the preceptor of the Royal god and head of the family, and he had married the younger sister of the queen, and was conferred the title of Jayendrapandita. He conti-

4. Majumdar : *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 151, pp. 362ff.

nued in the time of Udayadityavarmadeva. The king gave him a *linga* of two cubits and some profits. During the reign of Jayavarman V (Paramaviraloka) two strangers, Brāhmana Sankarsa and his son Mādhava, installed a Siva *linga* at Anrem Lon.

Analysing the movements of the Royal god, Dr. Coedes suggests⁵ that the Royal god resided in all the capitals. His sanctuary erected on a natural or artificial mountain marked afterwards the centre of the Royal city: the Bakheng in the first city at Angkor, the grand Pyramid at Koh Ker, the Phimenakas, the Baphuon, and the Bayon at Angkor Thom. Coedes further points out that at the actual site of Koh Ker near the great tank Jayavarman IV constructed the grand Pyramid in seven stages which formed the pedestal of a Royal *linga*, called Tribhuvanesvara in the Prasat Thom inscription of this ruler dated in the year 843 of the Saka Era. The god made him king of kings (*kritva sakamase sa bhupatimatim*). This god was known as *Kamraten an Jagat ta rajya* in another inscription in Khmer recording donations by two dignitaries in the same year to this deity.

The Mebon inscription⁶ of Rajendravarman, edited by Finot, adduces some more interesting details in connection with this cult of Royal god. It refers to the construction in the middle of the Yasodhara tadāka dug by his uncle Yasovarman, the temple under the name of Mebon. In the four corners he placed the statues of his parents under the traits of Siva and Uma, and those of Visnu and Brahma, and in the centre the Royal *linga* known as Rājendresvara. In the Pre Rup inscription⁷ of the same ruler, dated in the Saka year 883—961 A.D., there is a reference to the construction of the temple known by this name and its dedication to *linga* Rājendrabhadresvara—the national divinity. Another *linga* was erected under the name of Rājendravarmanesvara symbolising his prototype and as if it had been his royal substance. Other images set up in this temple were those of Visnu Rājendravishvarupa in memory of one of his remote ancestors, a Siva Rājendravarmanesvara in memory of his predecessor Harsavarman II, and an image of Umā in favour of his aunt Jayadevi, mother of the last ruler, and in the end the eight forms of Siva. This interesting phenomenon of associating the ancestors and the deification of their statues along with the Royal god is a very important phase in connection with this cult which has to be taken into consideration⁸. This is not a solitary instance of apotheosis. In fact there are a number of inscriptions which suggest that statues of gods were set up in imitation

5. *Les états*, p. 177.

6. Majumdar : *Inscriptions*, No. 93, pp. 193ff.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 97, pp. 232ff.

8. Curiously we find this phenomenon in other countries as well. In the Seleucid realm when Seleukos was murdered in 281 B.C., his son did as much for his father as Ptolemy II had done for his. The tomb of the old king at Seleuci was constituted a temple and a cult was officially instituted for him as a god. With him each of the following kings was in his turn associated; one priest served the founder and his deified successors and one the reigning king (ERE, Vol. IV, p. 527).

of the features of the parents of the donors, and some statues were actually named after the donors. Another form of apotheosis was to describe a king by a posthumous title, indicating that he had gone to heaven of his divine patron, such as *Parama Visnuloka* or *Buddhaloka*. The relation of this cult with Buddhism has also to be assessed in the light of this posthumous Buddhist title.

The word *Devarāja* which is used in the records associated with this cult and of which the Khmer equivalent is *Karatan Jagat ta raja*, has some special significance. It does not necessarily mean the god king or the king as god. Prof. Thomas has discussed the etymology of *Devaputra* in an exhaustive paper⁹. He refers to the common belief that the designation *Devaputra*, 'god-son', applied in India to the kings of the Kushan dynasty was copied from the ancient Chinese title, 'T'ientzu', 'son of heaven', but such a belief would appear fallacious upon consideration of the relevant historical facts. It is an Indian term not invented by, or for, the Kushans. He has also referred to the Indian doctrine concerning *Devaputra*. Here he draws attention along with Levi¹⁰ to Chapter XII (*Devendrasamaya-parivarta*) in the *Suvarnaprabhasottam sutra* where the question is actually asked why kings are called *Devaputra*. The answer given is that before being born as a man he was abiding among the gods (deva) and that because the Thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance, therefore he is 'god-son'. The theory of the divine origin of the king is also noticed in the *Manusmriti*¹¹.

Now the word actually used for the Royal god in Kambuja records is *Devarāja*, and not *Devaputra*. To me it appears that both should be taken as synonymous terms. The Royal god assumes the form of a *linga*; in other words, he is Siva personified in this form. According to the Lexicons¹² *Devaputra* is also the name of Siva. So the identity of this *Devarāja* with the *Devaputra* of the earlier period in India appears to be established. We find that *Devarāja* is the name of a number of rulers in India and Candragupta II is surnamed *Devarāja* in the Sanchi record of Amrakardava¹³. The royal essence blended in the divine essence in the form of a *linga*; in other words the divine nature of the king is also noticed in the adjoining countries of Champa and Java, as referred to by many scholars. In the Dong Diong inscription¹⁴ from Champa, kings are referred to as gods dwelling upon the earth (*Bhuvi samsthitah suraganah*), and in the Yong Tikuh inscription of Indravarman I¹⁵, he is said

9. *B. C. Law Volume*.

10. *JA*. No. 314 (1934), pp. 1ff.

11. *kathem manusyasambhuto raja devas tu procyate
kena ca hetuna raja devaputras tu procyate.
api vai devasambhuto devaputrah sa ucyate
trayastrimsair devarajendvair bhago datto nripasya hi.
putravam sarvadevanam nirmito manujesvarah.*

12. Monier Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 493, col. 3.

13. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1262.

14. Majumdar: *Champa*, Ins. No. 31A; Finot, BEFEO., f. IV, p. 83.

15. *Ibid*, No. 23. v. 3.

to have the *Vigraha* or body of Candra, Indra, Agni, Yama and Kubera. In the Po Nagar inscription¹⁶ we find that kings' feet were worshipped even by Brahmanas and the Changal and Dinaya inscriptions of Central Java present a similar phenomenon¹⁷ suggesting a mysterious connection between the God Bhadresvara and the reigning dynasty. The Royal god was supposed to be the eternal prototype of the mortal kings. The intermediary between the god and the ruler was always a Brāhman ; in Kambuja it was Hiranyadama who initiated Siva Kaivalya into the mystery of this god cult, in Champa it was Rishi Bhrigu and in Central Java, sage Agastya.

The deification of royalty was the next step in this cult. There are a number of instances of statues of ancestors being set up in temples, and deities were also named after the ancestors. The Loley inscription¹⁸ of Yasovarman dated in the Saka year 815 mentions in the Khmer portion that the divinities in four temples were respectively known as Indravarmesvara, Indradevi, Mahipatisvara and Rajendradevi. The first two were named after the parents of the king and the last two after those of his mother. The Prah Eñkosi inscription¹⁹ of Jayavarman V dated in the Saka year 890, 892 mentions the endowments of Indralaksmi which included an image of her mother installed by her. The Phnom Sanke Kon inscription²⁰ contains an order of Suryavarman asking Mratan Khlon Sri Viravarman to inscribe on a stone pillar the donation by prince Sri Viravarman, his wife and his deceased mother then united with the god Kanlon Run. The Prah khan stele inscription²¹ of king Jayavarman VII mentions his dedication of two golden images of Nātyesvara (dancing Siva), and an image of his father. In verse 34 of that record we find that the image of Bodhisattva Lokesvara was the figure of his father and bore the name Jayavarmesvara. We also notice in the Bayon inscription²² that in lieu of a gold *linga* of *Devarāja*, the central sanctuary sheltered an enormous statue of Buddha in stone—a Buddhist substitute of the ancient *Devarāja* or a Saivite Deva king, and at the same time a statue apotheosis of the founder king of which the traits are found without doubt at the summit of all towers under the name of Bodhisattva Lokesvara sāmāntamukha (facing all the directions). We, thus, notice that it is not only Siva but Buddha also who figures as a *Devarāja* or a substitute of it. In fact we also find instances of Vishnu statues being set up by donors after their names. The Prasat Kok inscription²³ refers to the installation of an image of Vishnu, called after him Visnurapa, and built with his own features by a person named Visnurava. It thus appears that there were two forms of the union of the divinity with the royalty. Either

16. *Ibid.*, No. 36.

17. Chabra : *JASB*, Vol. I, pp. 31ff; Chatterji, p. 82.

18. Majumdar : *Inscriptions*, No. 70, pp. 138ff.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 11, pp. 284ff.

20. *Ibid.*, No. 132, pp. 340ff.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 178, pp. 475ff.

22. Coedes : *Ref. Cit.*, p. 295.

23. Majumdar : *Inscriptions*, No. 58, pp. 70ff.

the king named the god after his name such as Bhadresvara, Indravarmesvara etc. or he is given a posthumous title such as Parama Visnuloka or Buddhaloka etc. indicating that he had gone to heaven of his divine patron.

This second phase was well known in India. The setting up of statues named after the donors and those of the dead kings was well known in India. We find that there was a *Devasālā* in which the statues of the Kushan rulers including those of Chastana were set up at Mathura. The *Rajatarangini*²⁴ mentions Sura founding the temple of Visnu called Suryavarmasvāmin. A Gurjara Pratihāra inscription²⁵ mentions the construction of a Visnu temple by Alla and the deity is called Vaillabhata-svamin after his father. Similarly a statue of the god Prithvisvara was named after a Brahmin minister Prithvisena²⁶. In southern India as well the temples and the deities were sometimes named after the founder. King Vijayaditya founded a temple of Vijayesvara and the two queens Lokamahadevi and Trailokyamahadevi founded temples of Lokesvara and Trailokyesvara²⁷. There is also a reference to a Sinda ruler of Kurgod²⁸ named Racamalla who was favoured with the epiphany of Siva. After death he went to Salokya in Siva's heaven, and subsequently appeared in the form of a *svayambhu* (self-created *linga*) in Kurgod ; a sanctuary was raised and he was worshipped under the name Racamallesvara. In the *Pratimā Nātaka*²⁹ of Bhasa there is reference to statue of Dasaratha added to the statues of his predecessors in the *pratimā* (statue) hall. It is thus clear that even this phenomenon could be noticed in India.

In one record³⁰ a general offers to the king the booty he has captured asking him to present it to his subtle ego who is Isvara, dwelling in a golden *linga*. According to the Sdok Kok inscription, King Udayadityavarmān II consecrated the *linga* Jayavarmesvara when his *guru* Jayendrarman, in whose honour the emblem was so named, was still alive³¹.

Lastly, we have to take cognisance of the Tantric rites performed by Hiranyadama in connection with this sacrifice and the reference to certain Tantric texts in the Sdok record. Nothing is known about Vināsikha, Nayottara and Sammoha, but *sirascheda* might imply the offer of the head of the propitiator to the god either in reality or in a faked form. The head offering motif is well known in India. The magic role of decapitation, real or in simile, is noticed at Pattadakal, as pointed out by Prof. Vogel³². The deity to whom this offering was made was always

24. V. vv. 23ff.

25. Bhandarkar's List, No. 35; cf. Rajor Inscription, *EI*, Vol. III, p. 26, referring to the god *Lacchukesvara* after the name of the mother of the donor named *Lacchuka*.

26. List. No. 1270.

27. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff.

28. *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 279-81.

29. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 100.

30. Majumdar : *Inscriptions*, No. 139, p. 344; cf. no. 148a, p. 614.

31. Ref. cit.; cf. The Bantey Srei inscription mentioning Yajnavara who installed an image of Vagisvari (Sarasvati) and those of his two Vidyagurus. (No. 108, pp. 281ff.).

32. BSOS, Vol. VI, pp. 539ff.

a goddess as we find in the stories of king Sudraka and the hero Viravara in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as well as in the *Hitopadesa*³³. The late Mr. Hira Lal³⁴ has referred to certain sects who used to cut off their heads and tongues in a *mandapa* especially erected for the purpose with a religious fervour worthy of a better cause. It appears that in Kambuja statues of certain female divinities were also set up. These included the goddess Durgā and also the Buddhist goddess Prajnāpāramitā.

It thus appears that the *Devarāja* cult was a simple form of Siva-Sakti worship in which were combined the deification of ancestors and also local deities. In one Khmer record there is reference to the dedication to the god named '*Kamraten jagat vnam Brahmana*', i.e. the god of mountain of the Brahmanas. It originated with the conception of king as a symbol of the divine spirit called *Siddhi* so as to bring about a unification of the country and to secure its immunity from foreign danger. The deification and veneration of kings subsequently followed. The veneration of ancestors and relations is bound up with certain psychological and religious tendencies which are prevalent in many other countries. It has been pointed out by Elliot³⁵, that "in all eastern Asia the veneration of the dead is the fundamental and ubiquitous form of religion. The beliefs combined with the Indian doctrine that the deity is manifested in incarnations, in the human soul and images afford a good theoretical basis for the worship of the *Devarāja*." The church and state were closely linked together. The temple of Bayon, in the words of this celebrated writer, was truly national, almost a Westminster Abbey, in whose shrines all the gods and great men of the country were commemorated. As regards the statues of the Sanjakas, they were more war memorials than a part of this cult. In the light of these observations it may be suggested that the *Devarāja* cult was a synthesis of so many beliefs common in many countries, specially in India, of which the main aim was to bring about the unification of the country by giving a divine form to the king and venerating him. In its wake followed the deification of ancestors, even those not necessarily belonging to the Royalty. This cult continued to enjoy the patronage of both Brahmanical and Buddhist kings.

33. *Ibid.*, and Penzer, Vol. IV, pp. 173-81.

34. *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, p. 144.

35. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 117.

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I.

(Summary)

BALCHANDRA JAIN

The author introduces a stone inscription of the time of Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I, which was discovered by him in last April from village Karitalai in Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. The 13 line inscription is in Sanskrit in Nagari characters of middle of 10th century A.D. Its object is to record the construction of a well in the heart of the city of Somasvamipura (modern Karitalai) by minister Somesvara, who was probably a grandson of Bhami or Bhumi.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the earliest and contemporary record which describes the conquests of king Yuvarajadeva I. It informs us that he had conquered the kings of Gaudas, Kosalas, South and Gurjaras. It never mentions his victories over Kasmira and Himalayan countries as stated in Bilahari inscription and which was doubted by the scholars. Yuvarajadeva's victory over the Gurjaras is a new information.

The inscription again informs that Somesvara served as a minister, also in the court of Yuvarajadeva I.

JATASANKARA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

(Summary)

BALCHANDRA JAIN

The author edits in this paper a stone inscription which was discovered from Jatasankara in Damoh sub-division of Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh many years ago and is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The inscription refers to a dynasty of Visvamitra gotra in which were born Ganda and Vaddhada. The latter was succeeded by Vijayapala whose son Bhuwanapala defeated the great hero Kai. Bhuwanapala's successor, Harsharaja, is stated to have defeated the kings of Kalachuris, Gurjaras, Sasahas and Deccan. The latter's son Vijayasimha was a virtuous man devoted to Bhumbhukadeva (Hanuman) and is said to have scattered the Deccan forces of Jangapa close to Mahagadha, fought at Chittor, conquered the Delhi armies and driven away the Gujaras to Godaha.

The author thinks that the dynasty is that of the Chandellas of Jejabhukti and has tried to identify these kings with Ganda, Vidyadhara, Vijayapala, Kirtivarma, Sallakshanavarma and Jayavarma respectively.

SOME MASTERPIECES OF MEDIAEVAL ART OF RAJASTHAN

(Summary)

U. C. BHATTACHARYA

In this paper an attempt has been made to draw attention of scholars to a few superb art-specimens collected for the Rajputana Museum at Ajmer from the various old sites. As many of these fine sculptures can be chronologically assigned to the 12th Century A.D. and are actually found out from places which were included in the Chahamana Empire, there is every justification for a conclusion that during the palmy days of the reign of the three later Chahamana Emperors Vigraharaja-Visaladeva, Somesvara and Prithviraja III, the art of Rajasthan received a special impetus. Probably due to the liberal patronage of these great monarchs the artists were encouraged to produce really unique pieces of exquisite workmanship. Indeed a glorious period of all-round artistic activities was ushered in, the trend and tradition of which lingered on even when the Chahamana sovereignty came to an end in the year 1192 A.D.

A NOTE ON THE CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF JAIN AUTHOR JINSEN

(Summary)

D. P. SHARMA

A serious controversy has arisen in identifying the contemporary sovereigns of the Jain author Jinsen, mentioned in his work *Harivansa puran*. The controversy is based on the meaning of the words Avanti, saurya and Jaivarah. The present writer has pointed out that Avanti is the name of the eastern king, who can be identified with king Avanti-varman of some records. He again holds that sauryas are the Pratiharas the leader of whom, king Vatsaraja was the ruler of the west and that Jaivarah is not the name of a fifth king, but a second name or Viruda of Vatsaraja, as Mahabara seems to be a viruda of Nagbhata I. Wardhman where the book was completed and its ruler Nanna Raj have been identified with Bhayana (in Bharatpur district) and its ruler Nanna Raj, known from an inscription from the said place.

RARE SCULPTURES FROM UCHCHAITHA

(Summary)

KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA

In this paper an attempt has been made to present the possibilities of archaeological evidence in Mithila, which had been hitherto unexplored by scholars.

Recently two sculptures have been found in Uchchaitha, P.S. Benipati, district Darbhanga, which are very important and rare ones. One presents the image of Vishnu possessing peculiar symbols, which we may safely ascribe to the southern (Karnatic) influence upon the Mithila School of Art. The Karnatas of Mithila, it may be remembered here, had completely revolutionized the old culture of Mithila. Another sculpture, a very fine specimen, presents unique features which have practically no resemblance with any image found in this part of India.

SECTION III
MEDIEVAL INDIA, 1206—1526 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

V. S. BENDREY

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful indeed to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me in electing me to preside at this Section. There was much agitation in my mind, whether I should undertake this great responsibility. Although I had the great privilege to serve the Congress in the organization of its First Session at Poona, I was for various reasons unable to participate actively in the subsequent annual Sessions of the History Congress, except perhaps those held in Calcutta and Cuttack in 1939 and 1949 respectively. Again, my diversion, since 1949, from the political sphere of our national history to the critical study of the "Life, Writings and Philosophy of Tukaram, the Great Saint of Maharashtra", has kept me out of touch with the various and important research activities in the field of the political and social history of our motherland. In view, however, of the fact that, having been connected actively with the starting of this great activity in the field of our historical knowledge, I could not but think myself duty bound to respond to whatever call for service was made on me by the Congress. I must, in these circumstances, beg to be excused for not giving you, my learned colleagues, the customary review of the achievements made by learned scholars in research and co-ordination of the historical material of the early medieval period with which our Section is mostly concerned. I am, however, taking this opportunity to impress upon you the urgent need of our free nation for co-operation with research scholars in the field of technical, industrial and other applied sciences, arts and crafts indigenous to this country. The need is very great indeed, because in the absence of the requisite chronological data and linguistic aid to understand correctly the background of the stages of the experiments described in the old works, the valuable material is either being lost sight of or not being used or even detected by these brother scholars for obvious reasons. All these practical findings and conventions of our past generations are the results of their long acquaintance with the qualities of the different soils, constant changes in and variation of our climatic conditions, and particularly the social and religious structure of our nation.

The Indian and British historians had in the past concentrated their attention mostly on the part played by religion and philosophy in the life of ancient and medieval India, perhaps to the neglect of the long and practical story of Indian realism. It is true that works on scientific subjects of the medieval period are almost rare, if compared with the numerous works obtainable on religious, political and social matters. But the same is the case in the modern times also. In howsoever small number such works may be available, their importance is very great, especially as the definite purpose they serve is factual and full of realism.

The history of science is now being increasingly and widely recognized as an element of cardinal importance in the history of human civilization. An abundant literature still exists, although a major part may have been destroyed in the course of time. But whatever material has been brought to the notice of the public, it clearly indicates that our past generations have laid foundations in the sciences such as Mathematics, Engineering, Medicine, Chemistry, as also have developed the Arts and crafts, of which even the present generation has reasons to feel proud. The remarkable advance made by the observers of nature and the manner in which this knowledge has been applied for agricultural and other purposes are still matters of admiration of our present scientists. Only very few works have yet been edited, but most of the edited texts have not been examined critically or studied usefully for experimental purposes. Even in the field of our religion and philosophy, I do not think that sufficient material has been published as yet, much less has it been critically produced and rationally interpreted. On the strength of this scanty data, attempts were made chiefly to assert the claim for antiquity, and in some instances the priority, of the various achievements in the social and religious structure of our life. Our publishers were also quite content to rely on one copy or the other, and never cared to get them critically edited and scientifically examined before publication except perhaps a few. All the published material represents really a small fraction of all that has yet been preserved and is likely to be available, if a serious attempt is made by research scholars. A superficial survey of the particulars noted in detailed catalogues of Sanskrit and other manuscripts will give evidence of the existence of a large amount of ancient Indian literature dealing with the practical affairs of life, technical arts and crafts, and specific sciences. Apart from such works as deal directly with scientific subjects, much information useful for the history of sciences and arts can be made available from the old literary, folkloristic and other miscellaneous works. No doubt, the constant mixture of science and philosophical theories in the old works tended to obscure the important issues discussed. But what was a serious handicap to the development of the old sciences on the modern lines and inventions was the traditional belief fostered during the past two centuries or so, and in the British regime in particular, that nearly all old writings were unscientific, unreal or imaginary ones. Even the scholars, who worked on these problems, often interpreted such works by theories and hypotheses of primitive type.

A mere glance at the contents of the catalogues of the Sanskrit and other old manuscripts in the various Indian and foreign depositories will convince that the advent of the Muslim power in India, no doubt, divided the attention of our scientists and other writers and thus checked the cultural growth of our old activities to some extent just to allow assimilation of the foreign Islamic culture and skill. But the Muslims came to stay in this country permanently and mixed among the local people and adapted themselves to the local conditions of life freely. There was,

thus, no attempt to substitute their own traditions and culture for suppressing the indigenous arts and architecture, commerce and industries. The mixture of the two cultures, on the other hand, has no doubt proved very beneficial. But the British regime was an altogether different story. The Britishers not only segregated their own people from the local gentry and prevented them from creating any permanent interests in the land, but the British administration naturally had to discard all local efforts, whether good or bad, and to substitute their own thought and culture even in the local petty industries and other walks of life. They had solely to rely on the British home manufactures and industries for the supply of all the necessaries of life to the people according to their own liking and fashion. This they were compelled to do simply because of their inability to adapt themselves to the masses or the cultural traditions of the country which they were sent to administer. Whatever appreciation of Indian arts and crafts the English travellers and scholars may have expressed, the administration never allowed the local arts and crafts or industries, however small, to develop freely. Naturally, therefore, Indians themselves not only lost sight of their own cultural achievements but so developed an inferiority complex that they hated the old modes and manners of life and felt proud of their new European ones as the best, in spite of their inconvenient nature and unsuitability to the Indian climate and society. Thus the political atmosphere under the British rule was quite detrimental to the progress or even to the maintenance of the cultural activities of the indigenous character. Hence it is no wonder if we have by now lost all interests in the old traditions and works on various subjects, and adapted ourselves to the English thought and machinery.

In the absence of the knowledge of the existence of the useful material and of the sources from which it can be obtained, there has been a belief current among the people that business secrets were not being divulged to posterity for the benefit of the country. This belief was so much ingrained in the minds of the people that they could not but think of the old practices and knowledge as completely lost. It is quite improbable that a businessman would easily give up his trade secret to his neighbour seeking to stand in competition with him sooner or later. In fact, in the present modern times also, such trade secrets and monopolies have been given special protection by law. Firstly, such an approach for information was misdirected, and secondly, it was prompted not for further study or research, but only for imitation and profit. Even in the linguistic and cultural subjects, we have to learn ourselves and secure guidance from experts only after establishing our zeal and industry for the work. Higher proficiency is often gained by self-help and not by exclusive dependence on somebody's guidance. Unless the learner creates an atmosphere of confidence and carries on search for useful material from the works left by experts in the form of notes for self-guidance or as a collection of information for use in general, no headway can be made to understand the actual experimental stages reached at different times in the various practical achievements of

the past. Although many manuscripts have been lost in the course of time, many are still available, but to unearth them an earnest and intensive effort is necessary.

Unfortunately, the scientists are not usually Sanskritists. Their collegiate education in scientific subjects indirectly prohibits learning of Sanskrit, as working knowledge of German or some other European language has been prescribed a compulsory prerequisite for a degree or diploma examination of the Indian Universities. Thus a sort of cleavage has grown up between higher education in modern science and a knowledge of Sanskrit. The result has been extremely unfortunate, almost adverse from the cultural point of view. All our source books for the study of Indian culture are written in Sanskrit or in a language immediately derived from it. If scholars of progressive ideas trained on modern lines, from whose ranks our leaders of thought and action are to be expected, are ignorant of this language, Indian culture cannot exercise that degree of influence on our future life and policy as we all desire. On the other hand, if the persons who are repositories of Sanskrit learning are entirely cut off from modern movements and currents of thought, and remain completely ignorant of modern arts and sciences, their interpretation of Indian culture is bound to be defective and will not command that respect which otherwise they would have received for their learning and scholarship. This state of things requires to be remedied and the present time is certainly a good opportunity for action in this respect. We must, therefore, keep in view the cardinal fact that future India must be built on solid foundations of the culture and civilization of her past, and for this we must make all possible effort to revitalise it and to see that there is not the slightest tendency to break the link with the past.

The disability of the scientists and technicians to understand Sanskrit or languages immediately derived from it, is further intensified by the peculiar way in which the titles are given to such scientific treatises and works in Sanskrit. Unless one goes through the manuscript itself, it is hardly possible for him to make out the subject matter of its contents. Often, such books are named after the writers' names. Again, to arrive at the necessary chronological data requires a specialized study by itself. One has to devote himself to this study, as also to the study of calligraphy, before he is able to understand the historical background necessary for ascertaining the stages of progress of the practical experiments recorded in such manuscripts. All these disabilities on the part of the present-day scientists have kept the treasure of information of various experiments of the past far away from their view.

We are a free nation politically. We need not suffer any more from the inferiority complex. We have to strive hard to achieve our independence in the industrial, commercial and other fields of life. We are concentrating on the development of our industries and arts and crafts by utilising our own manpower, raw material and talent. Search for our raw material and experiences gained in the past in its utilisation for the benefit

of our country are greatly needed at this moment, as we cannot hereafter afford to depend on other nations and be at their mercy for the supply of the daily necessities of life. We had been using our raw material and adapting all that was needed from other countries in the past before the British advent in this country. We had the requisite knowledge of the qualities and usefulness of various products of our land. We have grown in our country what we did not by importing foreign seeds and thus got ourselves enriched with all such products and showed our readiness for assimilation of knowledge and culture even from countries of different creeds and religion. It is now necessary to re-establish our independence in the same way for our industries, commerce, arts and crafts. To achieve this, experiences of our past generations are valuable assets and will save us a lot of time on re-experimenting and cost. It is very costly to adopt foreign methods and material to suit our soil, raw material and climate. On the other hand, if we have all the knowledge of the past, on the basis of that knowledge we can take advantage of the modern inventions made in other parts of the globe and improve our industries. If we are to stand in competition with the rest of the world and establish our superiority in different walks of life, we must improve our sciences and techniques, not by adopting but by adapting ourselves to the material advance made since the time the progress of our cultural activities was obstructed as the result of the dominance of foreign culture and rule. The immediate need of our motherland is that scientists and technicians on whose talent and efforts we are to rely for our advancement, must know where we stand in respect of our scientific and technical development and what is our raw material.

I have already pointed out some of the disabilities of the scientists and technicians which made it difficult for them to work for collecting or taking stock of all such knowledge and practical experiences of the past generations. These disabilities can, no doubt, be removed, but it will take some time. The language difficulty can be removed by a change in the University regulations, but the scientists and technicians could not be expected to study historiography at the sacrifice of their energy and time required for investigations in their own subjects. Their research in these Sanskrit and other manuscripts will remain imperfect if the geographical and historical background is not interpreted or revealed to them correctly. Similarly, linguistic and contactual interpretations require a specialized study of the political and social history of the ancient and mediæval times. These preambles are necessary since neither scientists, nor historians of sciences, could be expected to have a sufficient previous knowledge of the sciences in which ancient and mediæval Indian scientists and technologists played their part. This involves an examination of the concrete environmental factors of geography, hydrology and the social and economic system which was conditioned by them; though it cannot leave out of account questions of intellectual, climatic and social conditions. Lack of historical perspective and incapacity to think of the past as a living element of concrete

thought will handicap the scientists in their research work in their own subjects. The geographical background is perhaps the vitally important part of information for research workers on scientific problems. In short, there is an urgent need for equipping the scientists with the necessary apparatus with which they can safely enter into the field of research in their own province.

Who is to prepare this apparatus? Who could tell the science scholars what exactly the Aryan and pre-Aryan races did in the various historical periods, ancient and medieval in particular, for the development of science, scientific thought and technology? Are not the research scholars in science and technology justified in counting upon our co-operation and assistance in this respect? Are we not required to take stock of the stages of the civilization and mark the cultural advancement during the different periods of political and social history? There should be no different opinion if this onerous task of equipping the science workers with the requisite background and knowledge of the existence of the material is thrown on the shoulders of the historical research workers. A vast and scattered literature on the scientific and technological subjects does exist. It has never been properly and fully digested either by the historical research scholars or by the scientists. The University teachers had to devote their attention to teaching and could have hardly been expected in the past to play any part for the advancement of learning and original work. Whatever small attempt was made by European and Indian writers is mostly the comparison of the antiquity or priority of the various achievements in the field of science, art and technology. Here the difficult problem of chronology continued to prevent the appearance of a clear picture. Scholars of political history were naturally inclined to take notice of any such works and subjects as presented them with an evidence for antiquity or priority in comparison with other provincial or continental achievements. Some of these works have been translated. But often we are, with this scanty and partial data at our command, inclined to decide upon the origin or imitation of the scientific or technological achievements, either under the influence of the previous and numerous notices taken of such subjects in other countries or through some racial prejudices without going deeper into the history of the development of that particular subject-matter from the point of view of the science in general. There was some justification for limiting our search for scientific works to the determination of antiquity or priority, but, in future, we cannot afford to narrow down the scope of our search for the literature on scientific subjects. Even if any interest in antiquity or priority is not maintainable, would that be any the more reason for minimizing the value of the study of the manuscripts for scientific research purposes? In fact, due to our partial attention to or perhaps the gross neglect of the works on sciences, we are unable to demonstrate our traditional link in the development of the scientific and other achievements, nor can we

recognize what was borrowed from other nations for the advancement of our arts and sciences. Now that the racial and continental differences are being narrowed down as the result of the scientific advance, and especially the way in which the scientific knowledge is being disseminated, the questions of priorities over other nations should receive secondary importance. Superiority in scientific achievements alone will in future count for the scientific and technological progress of any country. It is certain that no people or group of peoples has had a monopoly in contributing to the development of science and technology. The scientific achievements have, therefore, to be mutually recognised. Apart from this fundamental change in the viewpoint in the evaluation of old manuscripts for study, there are many factors which require some notice. Like grammar, the books dealing with practical sciences are the records of the experiments carried out long before the time of bringing them into a compass of one volume, and hence it is difficult to imagine exactly how long the experiments were being tried and confirmed so as to reach the stage of recording them. The fact that many works are being traced is itself a clear evidence that many works must have remained quite unknown to historians even now. Again those, who recorded these achievements, were not the real authors of all these inventions. Because of the negligence of men who will not write such things themselves, the original authors could not be identified. No man can tell who was the first author of or what incident led to an invention, particularly of the periods, ancient and medieval. Hence the historian of science and technology, who wishes to evaluate the contribution of the different cultures cannot avoid the endless task of trying to establish clear priorities. His conclusions are bound to remain for ever subject to revision. Where physical difficulties are apparent, we must refuse to be carried away by vague generalities and demand concrete proof. Until such a proof is forthcoming, the alternative of independent invention or convergence must be preferred. It is true that diffusion of knowledge is more responsible for cultural development than independent invention, but occasional inventions cannot, in the face of the evidence, be ruled out. It is, therefore, hazardous to draw conclusions as regards the origin or imitation, or antiquity or priority, of any scientific or technological achievement on the strength of some rare find of the ancient or medieval period. To arrive at a convincing conclusion regarding priorities or otherwise, an intensive study of the scientific and artistic development in the different periods of time must be made. Such a practical finding will no doubt confirm the theories drawn from the ancient literature. But as I have pointed out this comparison of priorities or antiquities is of no material importance in this present need of our free nation for study of our scientific and technological achievements. For this purpose, a greater collation of the manuscripts with more critical editing of important works dealing with science is required. Dependence on the translation of old works by the

present-day linguists alone may lead to an entirely unjustified belief in the knowledge and use of the particular achievement. Without the co-operation of a scientist and a historian fully conversant with the conventional meanings and uses of words of the period to which the manuscript belongs, accuracy of translation cannot be vouchsafed.

The historical research students, who are already working on the treasure of the material of the ancient and medieval periods, can without much difficulty mark out such literature as would be useful for research in science, and bring it to the notice of the scientists for their consumption. Simple notices are already appearing in the catalogues, no doubt, but in many depositories the whole stock of such manuscripts has not been completely listed, and in some the process of collection of more manuscripts is going on. Many depositories have no catalogues maintained of their collections. There are also innumerable family collections, many of which are yet unknown. But the historical and linguistic scholars do approach all such places for their study and have practically to look into the whole collection for the selection of the material useful for their study or subjects. They are well equipped with the requisite knowledge to identify the manuscripts correctly and to fix the chronological data and authorship with the geographical background and the influence under which the author worked. A mere notice of the works likely to be useful for science research will hardly attract scientists on account of their disability to understand them. Again there are references in our old literature on other than the scientific subjects, which serve as a definite and direct evidence for constructing historical account of one or the other scientific or technological achievement or for establishing the fact that a particular achievement was or was not current in a particular period. Traces of importation of different seeds, medicines, articles of consumption, and such other things, considerably assist the scientists to fix age and degree of deterioration of plants, etc. All such information must be drawn up in detailed monographs giving all the apparatus required for the scientists to understand the problem offered either in old works or in the stray references from our ordinary literature. Such monographs will no doubt stimulate science research scholars to undertake further investigations in the subjects. It would, therefore, be inexcusable if the monographs were to be subjected to inaccuracy or misrepresentation. In these circumstances, if the historical research workers are called upon to give priority to the much needed co-operation in the present urgent call for rebuilding our nation, I am confident that they will very well recognize the need and respond to the call for duty to our motherland.

When I lay special stress on the present need for examining our literature and works on sciences and arts, I do not mean in any way that modern India should be a replica of the ancient or medieval times, nor should my emphasis on the subject be misunderstood that this importance has not been recognized by scholars as yet. I am quite aware

that some work had been done in the past, even before our freedom. There were and are Indian and British scholars, who have written several such monographs and edited some works in original. The object, however, in such attempts was either a comparison of antiquity or priority of a particular science or scientific achievement or supplementation of the knowledge of the existence or otherwise of the scientific development while dealing with the history of sciences of one country or the other. But even now there is a general tendency among our historical scholars to discard all such material as is not useful for our political or social history. I must at the same time admit that some scholars from India and abroad have of late been publishing some papers showing scientific development of particular objects, and that their efforts have been duly appreciated by the experts of the Welfare Departments of Government. Perhaps, to indicate the nature of such articles, I might give an instance in Dr. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, whose scholarship and voluminous work is too well known all over the world. Among his numerous articles on chronology, you will find an article on "Migration of Paper from China to India", another on "History of Ink Manufacture in India", three papers on "Gunpowder, Firearms and Fireworks", about 15 papers on "Gandha Sastra", more than 20 on "History of Plants of Medical and Nutritive Value", and so on. Some of these illustrate new finds, and the rest give a succinct story of the various products from references traceable in the sources, both Indian and foreign. But with all the detailed information supplied, the scientists expect further aid by way of reliable translation of the sources quoted. This demand is genuine, and it is based simply on the disability experienced by them to understand the contemporary uses of words and conventional meanings.

There are many ways of writing the history of sciences. But except for anecdotal treatises, no attempt appears to have been available in which the growth of science or technology has been treated as a whole. There are such works as "Brihatsamhitā", "Abhilāshārthachintāmani", which deal with more than one science or art, but they are a sort of collection of information current at the time. In the absence of such a compendium of work on sciences and arts, it is necessary to add some elucidation just to indicate the nature of the material available on arts and sciences.

The specimens of old sculpture or architecture are found in almost all provinces. But those in the north-east and the Deccan are too well known and greatly admired even now. Uniformity of art visible in all of them convinces one of the fact that there must have been definite guiding principles then current, recorded either vocally or in writing. The material used such as chunam, long and heavy stone, polish of the black stone and the artistic work on the massive Gopuras and temples themselves are yet the wonders to the engineers and artists of the present day. Even if any written expositions of this art and architecture have

not survived or rather are not traced, there is no doubt that the art must have been handed down from generation to generation or by tradition. But in fact, several manuscripts on Shilpa are being brought to light and some have already been published. In Maharashtra alone, the late Shri K. V. Vaze, an engineer by profession, after retirement, secured several such old manuscripts and published some of them. The preparation of material for buildings, idols and other purposes is treated to some extent under "Kalpa". Therefore, if any art or science is not represented in works so far traced, we need not treat the absence of such a record as a want of treatises on these subjects in the past. An instance or two might support this statement. Many of you may have seen the hill-forts of the Deccan. Looking to the uniformity in their construction, many wondered how this art was developed without any guiding principles having been laid down on the subject. In the Marathi and Kanarese literature of later than 1600 A.D., nowhere could we find even the various names of the kinds of such forts, much less any details of the dimensions of the walls, towers, doors and other parts prescribed. For generations together, we have practically forgotten all about the art and even of the kinds and names of the forts. On enquiry, however, it was found that the subject has been treated in several Sanskrit manuscripts such as "Akasha-Bhairava-Kalpa", "Abhilāshārtha-chintāmani". The former gives detailed dimensions and is certainly a great advance over the latter, as the improvement made in the art during the lapse of some centuries since the writing of "Abhilāshārtha-chintāmani" is fully represented in "Akasha-Bhairava-Kalpa". In this treatise, even the qualities and strength of the various kinds of strongholds and details of the dimensions of walls, towers, doors have been defined and curiously enough these appear to tally perfectly with what is left at present in the ruined forts. There are works available on the various branches of Shilpa. But Shilpa is also preserved in villages by vocal record passed on from generation to generation. While I was in Tanjore in 1952 for some research work, I happened to notice a local artist shaping a cow on a tower of a temple. Another figure of a cow was already complete. Its lifelike posture could not but be admired. It fully resembled similar artistic pieces of work on the ancient and medieval Gopuras and temples. I enquired of the artist whether he was working on any set dimensions or principles and whether any manuscripts containing instructions have been preserved in his family. He replied in the negative. But he at the same time actually began repeating some verses, the Sanskrit of which was not likely to be understood for his corrupt pronunciations. After he did so, he explained to me how he came to fix the sizes of the cow-figures. The dimensions were according to the height and distance at which the figures were set up from the seer's view. I asked him what he was repeating. He told me that they were the verses taught to him by his father, which in turn his father got from grandfather. This is the reason why

uniformity in the art is clearly visible and so striking when one looks round the Gopuras and temples in the Tamil country. Similarly in Bahul, Poona District, a village carpenter gave sizes of the supporting beams and strength of different local trees according to some verse he cited. These instances are sufficiently convincing of the fact that the verses were composed by some artists after their experience of the developed arts as noticed and practised by them. These verses may be a part of the works on the subjects either known or yet unknown.

Those who have seen the ancient irrigational works in the two Kaveri districts must have been convinced of the scientific treatment given to the construction of the canals there. The system is well maintained till today. It is not known whether any written record is available or traced, but it cannot be believed that such a vast project could have been carried out without some guiding principles at their command by one talented or skilled labourer of one school. Our Puranas give a story saying that the Kaveri would not yield to marry Sindhu as her other sisters did, although she was overgrown. But after great persuasion she allowed her small bunch of hair to be given to Sindhu. You can easily imagine that the story is fully illustrative of the fact that the water of this great river was wholly diverted for irrigational purposes and only a small fraction of it was let out to the sea, which is a physical fact even today.

There are many works on agriculture so far traced, and many more are being brought to light as the result of search for them. Many are yet to be recovered. Some of the manuscripts on agriculture have already been published. I need not dwell on the availability of such manuscripts particularly in regard to this subject. These manuscripts deal not only with crops or cultivation of jarib and kharif crops, but also treat subjects subsidiary to agriculture such as water-finding, digging of wells, plantation of trees, maintenance of orchards and gardens, treatment of seed for improving its productive value, manures, improvement of soil, treatment of waste land for cultivation, maintenance of cattle, cattle-breeding, medicines for curing diseases of cattle, crops, trees, milching, storing of seeds, and so on. It is believed that once something is written in the name of a Rishi or as God's commandment, it was considered as final and no further changes should generally be acceptable. Such was not really the case. You are already aware that succeeding Smriti-granthas gave some justification for introducing changes or improvements on the strength of the then current practices over the preceding ones. Similarly in the commentaries on "Brihatsamhitā" and other old works adverse comments on the previous findings are met with giving details of the new experiments then acceptable. In the same way, treatment of the subject differs from province to province. The processes given for increasing the productive value of the seed, and other practical hints regarding the distances between the different kinds of trees while planting them and so on, were utterly lost sight of by our agriculturists for

the last century and a half ; but the impetus given by the freedom of our nation confirms that the remedies suggested, though prompted by the experiences of foreigners, are but to be found in their indigenous form in the ancient and medieval literature. Agricultural experts will no doubt be profited if they peruse these old works and seriously examine them critically with a view to improving the soil and increasing the quality and quantity of the produce. All that is to be expected from the study of such information is the effort for modernising the useful raw material for agricultural purposes with a view to improving its value and quality. However, many manuscripts still remain unnoticed and none of the works published have yet been taken due notice of by the agriculturists. But for more material, serious attempts by our research scholars are necessary in the interest of our mostly agricultural country.

If there be any science on which much thought is given and numerous works made available in Sanskrit and other local languages, it is the medical science and chemical technology subsidiary to it. A few works have been published and these are being relied upon by our practitioners. A large amount of material can still be recovered from family and other sources, especially foreign manuscript libraries. No serious attempt to trace them has yet been made. Now that the Aryoshadhi medicine is being given full recognition by our Government, it is hoped that the medical practitioners will stimulate the studies of the manuscripts available in different museums and archives, and concentrate their attention on making further search for those manuscripts which have not as yet been brought forward. This branch of science is particularly in the hands of the Sanskrit-knowing practitioners and except for pointing out the whereabouts of any manuscripts, our assistance is not really needed. Unfortunately, however, this branch of science is in the hands of people whose vision has been narrowed down in the past by the discouraging circumstances under which they had to lead their profession. But a change in the outlook of our Government may encourage the scholars trained specially in research and experimental work whose experience in foreign medicine has been systematically progressed, to avail themselves of the knowledge of the various uses of the herbs, medical plants, and other material, and develop the science on the right lines to suit the modern requirements. The medical profession in the indigenous medicine, though discouraged by the British Government, was nevertheless allowed to continue. The literature on this subject continued to grow. The Vaidyas, who inherited the profession, possessed and preserved their family records as far as possible. Again, under the old family system, each family comprised of a large number of persons. There was, therefore, a necessity of preparing and administering medicines for all ordinary ailments by the family heads themselves. Thus, even in such families, though not directly connected with the medical profession, records were being maintained of all such remedies as have been brought to their notice from time to time. The Vaidyas themselves, instead of administering a ready-made mixture, used to give prescriptions leaving

the persons concerned to obtain the articles and prepare the medicines according to the instructions given. Among such notes, references of the results obtained in comparison with other medicines tried are also given. Even in the official records, preparation of medicines and different kinds of Bhasmas, with the information who prepared them and how, are noted with the details of the cost incurred. These records of practical experiments should be investigated into seriously and the different formulas recorded should be compared and analysed with a view to get the methods suggested for the preparation of medicines modernised without lowering the degree of effectiveness secured under the old methods. These works and records on medicines deal under Rasāyana with many problems of chemistry, metallurgy, herbs and their preservation, qualities of food, uses of birds, insects, blood, flesh and bones of certain quadrupeds, for medicinal purposes, thus giving some biological, botanical and zoological information also. In fact, the medical science of the ancient and mediæval periods not only dealt with the human body and medicine for human ailments, but it included remedies for the diseases of animals, birds and beasts alike. This is the branch of the science which is most essential for human life and to make our country independent of the dominance of European medicines, scholars with modern training and knowledge of advance made in the world should be attracted to research on our indigenous medicines. In order, therefore, to stimulate them to undertake this important research, we should give them all possible co-operation so far as the unfolding of the old treasure of knowledge for their study is concerned.

I might mention the advance made in Alchemy. Several people talk of it and many assure of the results of their experiments. Whatever be the merit of the question scientifically, one has to accept that though the product is incomparable with real gold so far as its density and softness are concerned, its success as a formula for changing colour of metals is unquestionable. And as such, this invention is extremely valuable at least for counteracting the importation of artificial gold, which has attracted the people so much.

Next in importance from the Indian point of view are Astronomy and Astrology. Many works have been published and many are available in manuscript form. The application of astrology for determining meteorological forecasts was developed to some extent. Perhaps this side of the science is still very important. If the present meteorological findings are also examined astrologically and some definite conclusions are arrived at, they may prove of great import. There are many other purposes for which this science is put to use. But a search for manuscripts was not made by the astrologers as all of them were more or less concerned with their profession and were not zealous about further research. Manuscripts on this subject are likely to be available in ordinary families also, as all families of olden times had to take aid of the astrological findings in many walks of life.

Works on Mathematics have already attracted the attention of

scholars. There are some treatises on military equipment and training elephants and horses, as also on other sciences and crafts. Textile and other industries are very old in this country. Several guilding and polishing systems are found under Kaipa. Smithy, both in iron and copper, is perhaps the largest industry in the rural life. I do not think that it is necessary here to refer to all such arts, crafts and sciences. I must, however, mention here the great importance of the manuscript works in Persian by writers in India on various subjects. These are equally instructive and useful. I have already pointed out that we have gained much by the Muslim art and skill. As I intended to deal with one aspect of the subject, namely, the need for co-operation of historical research workers with the scholars of science and technology, and as my appeal is to my colleagues interested in the activities of this Section, it is unnecessary for me to give a list of books already published, or of the works unpublished, on the scientific and technological subjects, or to discuss the merits and demerits of theories propounded in them.

I trust that the historical scholars will give more attention towards stimulating the studies of the subjects that may be helpful in solving our present day problems. The most urgent problem that confronts us is to shape the life and character of the people in such a way that they may have the vitality to grow freely in a disciplined manner and create the human material of which any nation can be proud. The solution of this problem lies hidden in the vast mass of our old literature and we have only to bring this particular part thereof to light, with the necessary guiding geographical and historical background for further study of the scientists for the benefit of our country. In other words, we have already attempted in the past to bring to the notice of the world the priority or otherwise of certain sciences and arts, but now the present need of our free nation calls for our concentration on the history of literature, on science and technology of the ancient, mediæval and modern historical times. I have no doubt that the scientists will then immediately recognize the importance and will pay their special attention to bring the experiments of the past up-to-date by adapting the advances made since then all over the world in the natural and applied sciences and technology, thus bringing Indian civilization and culture to the same level of respect and admiration as in the past.

I thank you for the patient hearing you so kindly accorded to me. My only object was to indicate the nature of search required on our part for extending our co-operation to the scientists and technicians to enable them to study the history of sciences and to get themselves benefited by the experiments carried out in the past and bring the level of our scientific development to stand the modern inventions and uses. My appeal to you is, therefore, for accepting this additional burden on your already burdened shoulders with your own equally valuable national work, by taking notice of all manuscripts dealing wholly or partially in scientific subjects, and thus enabling our brother research scholars in science and technology to study the various problems of our life to the advantage of our motherland.

A MEDLÆVAL EXPERIMENT IN TOTALITARIANISM

SRI RAM SHARMA

Ala-ud-Din presents the spectacle of a mediæval king strutting about almost in modern trappings. Though the idea of a ruler exercising 'sovereign' authority in his State must have been foreign to his age, Ala-ud-Din did exercise what would today be described as sovereign authority. Custom, tradition and religion effectively assigned to all individuals their specific sphere of action. The rulers were no exception. His predecessor on the throne of Delhi, Jalal-ud-Din Firoz, would not have dared to claim any special privileges for the king.

Ala-ud-Din was made of sterner stuff. He had treacherously murdered his uncle, benefactor and king in order to ascend the throne. When once he had seated himself there, he soon discovered that there were others who, whether inspired by his example or otherwise, were anxious to play the game he had found so profitable. He was driven to devise methods for preventing successful rebellion. When the Mongols camped in Delhi his anxiety became all the greater. He decided upon so completing his measures as to make him safe both against internal rebellion as well as foreign enemies.

Barni records that every time Ala-ud-Din embarked upon a campaign of controlling the activities of his subjects, he called his advisers together. It has even been suggested that Ala-ud-Din was merely a tool in the hands of others in these matters and that he contributed nothing to these discussions himself. The first 'conference' was followed by the imposition of such a harsh regime on the 'nobles', that they could have hardly inspired its decisions. Howsoever welcome the humiliation of nobles may have been to the theologians, it is difficult to believe that they could have been instrumental in devising such uncanonical, such 'unlawful' measures. Hindus were the main targets of his policy ; they could not have given him advice against themselves. It is thus difficult to imagine who these 'conferrers' could have been to lead Ala-ud-Din in this novel path. Theologians could certainly have inspired a campaign against drinking but these regulations were not confined to matters of prohibition alone. Yahya suggests quite a different reason for Ala-ud-Din embarking upon a policy of prohibition. He is said to have executed one of his bosom friends one evening. The order was issued when Ala-ud-Din was drunk. He discovered his mistake next morning and gave up drinking himself and imposed prohibition on his subjects. It is interesting to note that contemporary records do not give even a single name of these advisers. It may well be questioned whether they really existed at all. It may be more correct to hold that, pressing upon most classes of his subjects, as these measures did, they may have been more the results of Ala-ud-Din's own inventiveness than inspired by unknown advisers.

When all his regulations were in force they aimed at controlling *the*

social life and economic activities of the larger section of his subjects. It has been suggested that the measures controlling economic activities were confined to the capital alone. The contemporary accounts and later compilations do not, however, bear this out. It seems more probable that there was no distinction made between the capital and the rest of the Khilji territories. Of course, his regulations could apply only to the settled territories directly governed by his own administrators.

The first set of regulations controlled social life ostensibly of the 'nobility'. They were forbidden to extend or accept hospitality from one another. No matrimonial alliances could be made without obtaining royal permission. Manufacture, transport, sale and taking of intoxicants were prohibited. Ala-ud-Din himself set an example to usher in the new dispensation. The entire royal stock of wines and liquors was publicly destroyed; drinking vessels followed suit. When stills were installed in private houses or wine transported from elsewhere in secret, the Sultan always managed to 'receive information' and his officers acting on it made a public example of the offenders. But 'drinking' had become too serious a hobby with the 'higher' classes of society to be easily shaken off. Imprisonment, flogging, heavy fines failed to cure either the offenders or the panderers to this vice. It was finally decided that private manufacture for personal use in the privacy of one's home was permissible, but neither its sale nor its use in public or in parties was to be allowed.

Either along with the enforcement of prohibition or separately, another set of orders was issued. All 'grants' of land are said to have been resumed. This included grants made to theologians, scholars and pious men. *Jagirs* held by the public servants and army officers and other ranks are also supposed to have been all resumed. But *jagirs* continued to be granted hereafter under Ala-ud-Din. One of the complaints against Muhammad Tughluq is that he resumed the *jagirs* of the descendants of those who had been originally granted *jagirs* by Ala-ud-Din. Firoz Shah Tughluq is said to have restored all the Alai *jagirs* to the descendants of those to whom they had been originally granted. We read of the grants of *jagirs* to Ala-ud-Din's officers by the emperor. Ala-ud-Din may have preferred payment of official salaries in cash. But to assert that he resumed all the *jagirs* granted in lieu of payment of salaries seems to be wrong and the assertion is not supported by contemporary authorities. He resumed '*Inam, Malik and Waqf*' grants. These were all rent-free holdings held without any obligation of public service attached to them. There is nothing to indicate that assignment of land revenue in place of payment of cash salaries was discontinued.

The wording of the order, as it has come down to us, seems to indicate that the classes which had hitherto acted as intermediaries for the collection of land revenue for the State were also dispossessed of whatever 'rights' they had in the land. This is indicated by the fact that Ala-ud-Din is said to have introduced the assessment of land revenue by measurement and collected it in cash at rates fixed per *biswa*. If the new assessment had

been enforced, there would have been no room for such traditional functionaries as *Muqdam*s and *Chaudharis* who seem to have been lumped together here as *Khots*. But both the suggestions are open to doubt. The village functionaries, we are told, continued to discharge their public functions, but were not paid for the performance of their official duties in rent-free lands. Reading between the lines, it seems that Ala-ud-Din, probably correctly, held that the functionaries were being paid otherwise and their enjoyment of rent-free lands was a recent and unauthorised usurpation.

They were compelled to pay land revenue for the land that they held. A percentage of the collection, as at present, seems to have been a more normal method of remunerating them and may have continued. Some 10,000 holders of rent-free lands are said to have been reduced to penury as the result of these orders.

In order to secure that all these regulations were successful and the social life of the 'higher' classes was effectively regulated, Ala-ud-Din set up a corps of informers who seem to have acted so effectively that all social intercourse came soon to be stifled. Not a word was said, nor a movement made, without the king's receiving accurate information thereof. To add to the effectiveness of his system, Ala-ud-Din started, it is said, confronting parties concerned with an accurate account of what they might have said to each other. Such effective demonstration soon had its reward. The 'nobles' ceased to have any social life. 'No one', naturally, 'had even the time to pronounce the word rebellion'.

Either the success of these measures or the alleged necessity of paying for a large standing army at a lower scale of expense led to Ala-ud-Din's attempt at controlling all the economic activities of his subjects. As discussion below will show, the rates were not lowered probably by more than 20%. The salary of the soldiers remained substantially what it was before. Barni cites Rs. 234 as the salary of the soldiers before Ala-ud-Din is alleged to have lowered it, but it remains the same after the so-called reduction of salaries as well. The first step in the new economic policy was fixation of prices. This was accompanied by rationing. The two could not be successful without securing the essential supplies. So Ala-ud-Din set about doing everything that was needed to make his scheme successful. So far as the control of prices was concerned, a very comprehensive list of rates was drawn up. Wheat, barley and rice seem to have been the three types of food grains in common use. Along with them were the common pulses, lentils, grams, and their prices were fixed at 5 *jitals* a maund (of 12 seers) for unhusked rice, grams, 4 *jitals* a maund for barley and 7½ *jitals* for a maund of wheat. The second group covered such requirements for the kitchen as oil, ghee, salt and sugar. The price was also fixed. Another group of essential commodities was formed by various types of cloth. Here again a detailed tariff list was drawn up covering some nine different kinds of cloth. Then came cattle. Cows, goats and mules seem to have been in common demand; their prices were also fixed.

Probably to complete the picture, the prices of slaves, handsome boys, serving girls and concubines were also fixed. That this was thought necessary is an interesting comment on the court culture in medieval India.

Horses were mounts for the army, carriers of men and beasts of burden. The last class carried the lowest price ; ten such horses could be bought for one good army mount. Horses were graded in prices which ranged from 10 *tankas* to 120 *tankas*. This must have left a very large margin to sellers.

In order to enforce these prices, buying and selling in various commodities was confined to special markets. There was a market for food grains, another for cloth and a special market for horses. Buying and selling elsewhere was prohibited.

Prices could be artificially manipulated by short measure. Weights and measures were, therefore, fixed and selling short was made a very serious crime.

Prices could not be maintained long if the supplies fell short. Arrangements were made, therefore, to keep every one of the commodities controlled in sufficient supply. Corn and food stuffs formed the first essential commodities. Here it was decided to introduce variations. The *Dooli* formed the main field of supply for the capital and its suburbs. It was decided to levy land revenue in kind in place of cash. How cash demands were converted into demands in kind has not been explained by contemporary writers. It is, however, reasonable to assume that in this area assessment in cash may have been entirely given up and one half of the produce accepted as land revenue in kind. This 'collection' was stored in huge granaries and formed the reserve. The second source tapped, again, lay in the activities of the collectors in areas where land revenue was collected in cash. The collectors almost became purchasing agents for the Government. They insisted on prompt payment of land revenue in cash. Naturally the cultivators were obliged to sell their produce under pressure. Now the purchasers nearest at hand were the registered corn-merchants bound to keep the corn market in good supply at proper prices. They would naturally offer the cultivator a price which would keep them going. As in the recent experiment in rationing and price control in India, the price for procurement was naturally lower than the selling price ; but as this was the only price obtainable the cultivator was bound to accept it. There were no other buyers and no chance of securing cash for payment of land revenue in any other way.

The corn merchants and collectors of revenue between them kept the markets well stocked. The huge stock the Government built up was released to keep down the prices when, on account of scarcity, they threatened to shoot up. The Government stocks acted as the guarantors of prices.

The cloth market required to be supplied differently. Here supplies were of two types, cloth in common use and fine cloth. The first variety

of cloth was sold unrationed at controlled prices ; the distribution of the fine variety was regulated by permits issued to persons of substance for needs proved to the satisfaction of the issuing authorities. Here the object was to prevent re-sale at a profit. Merchants from Multan seem to have specialised in cloth trade. They were entrusted with the duty of keeping the cloth market well stocked. Fine variety of cloth had to be purchased from various places. They were, therefore, given advances for the purpose of purchasing such cloth in various manufacturing centres and keeping the central market at Delhi and possibly some other markets outside, in supply. It has been suggested, but wrongly, that these merchants were put to great loss, if not greater inconvenience, as they were compelled to purchase cloth at rates available and sell it cheaper. There is nothing to indicate that this was so. Fine cloth only was controlled by permits. There is no reason to believe that Ala-ud-Din was so much interested in the supply of finery to his public servants as to fix very cheap prices for it. If any thing, all indications are to the contrary..

Cloth and corn both had to be transported. It seems that means of transport were also registered and their tariff controlled.

Horses formed a very important 'commodity'. Ala-ud-Din abolished profiteering by middlemen in this trade. The horse breeders could sell them to users only. All speculative traffic in horses was straightaway abolished. All sales were to be effected in the market places. It is impossible to believe that horses were permitted to be sold in the horse market at Delhi alone. Direct dealings between horse breeders and users seem to have been permitted outside the capital.

Afif has suggested that Ala-ud-Din gave very large amounts of money to merchants and gave them allowances in order to help them in making his policy successful. To make this huge superstructure stand firmly a large number of civil servants were needed. Ala-ud-Din appointed the requisite number under a Superintendent of Markets. He was given the necessary staff, consisting of agents, messenger boys, mounted soldiers and clerks. Three separate reports of prevailing prices were submitted to the emperor by the Superintendent of Markets, by Collectors of sales tax and by informers. Surprise checks of transactions were made, it is said, several times a day sometimes. Bogus purchasers, masquerading as ignorant boys or rustics, were sent to the market to tempt the merchants to take advantage of their apparent ignorance and thus overcharge them or give them short measure. If they succumbed to the temptation they were severely punished for their crime. It was the duty of the Superintendent of Markets to maintain supplies and secure that all the regulations were strictly observed. His failures or the failures of his subordinates were severely punished.

Ala-ud-Din's system of assessment and collection of land revenue was as much an essay in public finance as in controlling the peasantry. The State's demand was fixed at one-half of the gross produce to be paid in cash at so much per *biswa*. The medieval chroniclers were not

administrators and understood the intricacy of assessment and collection of land revenue as little as men of letters do today. When Akbar levied land revenue in cash, he had to make a series of experiments. He did ultimately devise a system where cash rates were made applicable to cropped area every season. But these rates varied with crops. Ala-ud-Din seems to have levied cash rates fixed by measurement without any of those elaborate calculations with which the *Ain-i-Akbari* has made us so familiar. His cash rates seem to have been based on area rather than cropped area. They do not seem to have varied with the crop. They probably represent what later on came to be called the *Nasq* assessment and what Muslim rulers elsewhere had levied as *Kharaj*. But the half of the gross produce left to the cultivators had to bear the burden of the *jizya*, a grazing tax and a house tax. No wonder the result was that the cultivator was left to live from hand to mouth. He had no money to spare for anything but the bare necessities of life. He was lucky if he and his family could subsist on what was left to them.

The rate of land revenue and other dues indicate the limits within which the lowering of prices could have taken place. The revenue demand had been fixed in cash at half the purchase price of the total produce. If the new *lowered* price was half the normal price, the peasant would have had to sell all his produce to pay the land revenue alone. Ala-ud-Din had not intended foregoing either the *jizya*, the grazing tax or the house tax. He must, therefore, have left a margin for the payment of these dues. Not only the peasant must live on his produce. Ala-ud-Din could not have desired that land should go out of cultivation, as it certainly would have been, if he had left nothing to the cultivator. Despite the tall talk of the contemporary writers and still taller talk of their modern interpreters, Ala-ud-Din's revenue assessment made it impossible for him to lower prices considerably. The definite statement that he charged land revenue at one-half of the gross produce is more reliable than the vague statement that he cheapened necessities of life in order to have an army at a lower cost. The *jizya*, the grazing tax and the house tax must have taken at least another one-fourth of the share of gross produce left to the cultivator. It would have been hard to live on about one-third of the gross produce left to him if the normal prices had been maintained. Any considerable appreciation of money would have entirely wiped out the peasant's share of the produce and could not be and was not attempted. Ala-ud-Din had not much margin to play with prices. If he had lowered them by about 10 per cent he would have thereby increased his demand in cash to about 56 per cent. By lowering prices by another 10 per cent, the land revenue would have formed 60 per cent of the entire produce. If we add our conjectural 12½ per cent for house tax, *jizya* and grazing tax at the increased rates the State demand would have amounted to another 15 per cent, leaving only 25 per cent to the cultivator. Anything less than this would have hardly supported a peasant and his family. Even Ala-ud-Din could not have made it possible for them to live on less.

We must hold, therefore, that there was no substantial lowering of prices of corn at least under Ala-ud-Din. This is borne out by the rates which are said to have prevailed under Firoz Shah Tughluq. Wheat, barley and grain fetched almost the same price which they did under Ala-ud-Din.

But Ala-ud-Din aimed at creating '*Bai Zari*' in the kingdom. There was to be no surplus wealth in hands other than his. Much less was there any scope for spending the surplus wealth. The 'nobles' had been forbidden social intercourse among themselves. The old hereditary revenue-collecting classes had seen their remuneration cut considerably by the resumption of their revenue-free lands. The *malik*, the *inam* and *waqf* lands had all been resumed, leaving their erstwhile holders to hard work. He ground down the peasant by an abnormally high land revenue accompanied by several other taxes. In the beginning of his reign, he had bought loyalty by showering his gold indiscriminately in all directions. But the moment he felt safe, all the known benefactors of his large-heartedness were made to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. He tried to render everybody helpless so that there was no time, in the language of the medieval chroniclers, to even utter the word rebellion. His regulations controlled all classes of society in almost all their activities. The Hindus were selected for further humiliation ; this was curiously the only part of his policy with which the canonists—the men of law—were in sympathy. He would not allow them to wear fine clothes, nor ride good horses or live well.

Ala-ud-Din seems to have founded a new class of civil servants. So many of them were there now ; 100,000 surveyors and assessors, probably an equally large number of informers. Those engaged in more orthodox governmental duties must have formed another large block. He had 87,000 masons and labourers. He is supposed to have maintained a large standing army, though for how long we do not know. He expected efficient and honest service from his public servants ; if it was not forthcoming, woe betide them who were the offenders. His successor released 17,000 imprisoned public servants after his death.

But totalitarian methods as well as totalitarian aims usually fail in the long run because those who undertake them cannot always provide for their being capable of keeping a watchful eye on the entire population all the time. Ala-ud-Din failed conspicuously here. Towards the end of his reign he seems to have become almost fatuous. It is not surprising that both power and authority slipped through his fingers. His system must have come to an end much before his own end came. It failed because it could not perpetuate itself. It failed, as it was bound to fail, because it was not founded on anything except fear. It failed because it failed to gain any loyal supporters.

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF THE LAST TWO LODI SULTANS OF DELHI

S. H. ASKARI

The period covered by the reigns of Sikandar Lodi and his successor represents a stage in the history of Bihar which, though somewhat confused and complicated, was marked by many significant developments, worth the attention of even those interested in the general history of India. Bihar played an important part in the history of Hindustan. This period witnessed the last ineffectual attempts of Husain Shah Sharqi, from his retreat in Bihar, to recover his lost kingdom and Sikandar Lodi's spirited actions which restored the Delhi suzerainty over this part of the country. He made the Raja of Tirhut a tributary ruler again, and compelled the powerful king of Bengal to sign a non-aggression pact with him. There was an extensive colonization of Muslims both north and south of the Ganges, the remains of which can still be seen in the ruins of habitations and inscriptional stones of buildings now extinct. But by far the most remarkable and distinctive feature of the period was the rise of the Afghan Confederacy, led at first by the Nuhanis, who, for a short time, succeeded in establishing a kingdom extending from Bihar to Kanauj and Sambhal. The Farmulis shone at their best in Saran and Champaran and the Surs, led by Farid Khan, a protege of the Nuhanis, had also their rise in this period. The eventual triumph of Farid as Sher Shah was a triumph of Bihar and an all-India affair.

The history of Bihar is ultimately connected with the last phase of the Sharqi-Lodi struggles. The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, virtually founded in 796=1394, extending from Kanauj to Bihar, and at one time from Sambhal to Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, fell before Bahlol Lodi in 994=1479, shortly after it had attained its greatest extent. During our years' truce with Bahlol, Hussain Shah Sharqi led successful expeditions in Orissa *via* Tirhut, which was over-run, and exacted tributes from the Hindu rulers there. This had greatly increased his wealth and fame. In 993=1478 he had marched to Badaun and Sambhal and taken the government of the latter places from Mubarak Khan, son of Tatar Khan, whom he sent as a prisoner to Saran in north Bihar. He then marched on Delhi, but the fourth truce was patched up and was this time broken by Bahlol Lodi who attacked Hussain in the rear, captured his *regalia* and after defeating him several times sent him flying first to Panna and eventually to Bihar. Jaunpur was occupied and placed in charge of Mubarak Khan Nuhani, the father of his more famous son, Darya Khan. Hussain Shah made another futile attempt in 1486 to recover his kingdom, marched to Jaunpur, and drove Mubarak Khan to Majhowli, on the Sandak, the rendezvous of the Lodi officers. This brought back Bahlol from the west and he ejected Hussain Shah from Jaunpur and followed him along the Ghagra as far as Haldi in Balia district and pursued him to the

confines of Bihar. Having made his eldest surviving son, Barbak Shah, an independent ruler of Jaunpur in 1486 and instructed him not to interfere with Hussain in his estates on the other side of the Ganges, including Chaund and Bihar, he returned to Delhi and died in 1489 after nominating his favourite son, Nizam, to succeed him on the throne of Delhi.

Nizam assumed the crown of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Shah Lodi at Jalali on 17th Shaaban, 894. He sent Ismail Khan Nuhani on an embassy to his elder brother, to patch up a treaty on the lines laid down by their father. But the instigation of some of the Afghan chiefs and the secret intrigues of the exiled king of Jaunpur whetted the ambition of Barbak who advanced to Kanauj to wrest the sceptre of Delhi from Sikandar. He was, however, worsted and fled to Badaun, but subsequently submitted and was pardoned and restored to the kingdom of Jaunpur. At the same time some trusted Omrahs were settled in the neighbouring regions to keep Barbak steady and to watch over the activities of Hussain Shah who was still a force in Bihar.

Hearing at Delhi of a formidable rebellion by the Hindu Zamindars and the Bachgotia Rajputs led by Joga who in 898=1492-3 had assembled a lakh of men and caused the flight of Barbak to Bahraich and of Mubarak Khan Nuhani to Jhusi where he was captured by Raja Bhed Chandra of Panna, suggesting the latter's complicity with Hussain, the Sultan of Delhi advanced eastward. Joga and his men were surprised on the Gumti and sent flying for refuge with Hussain Shah. The Delhi ruler sent a conciliatory message to Hussain Shah Sharqi, then in his fort of Chaund in Shahabad district, that he respected him as his uncle and would leave him in possession of his existing estates, but would like that he chastised Joga himself or banished him. The unwise ex-ruler of Jaunpur sent an insulting reply through his envoy, Mir Syed Khan, that Joga was his servant but if the silly boy-king persisted in his folly he would receive a good shoe-beating. Coming out of Chaund Hussain gave battle but was defeated at Katghar (Rai Baraili district) and put to flight. Barbak was reinstalled at Jaunpur.

On his return the Sultan of Delhi had hardly spent a month in Awadh region when news reached him of the recrudescence of trouble in Jaunpur owing to the incapacity of Barbak Shah who was again driven out by the local Zamindars in favour of Hussain Shah. This time Barbak was not spared but arrested and put in chains and the separate eastern kingdom was extinguished and annexed to Delhi. The government of Jaunpur was placed in charge of Jamal Khan Saranghani, the first patron of Farid Khan Sur, in 899=1493. In the same year the emperor marched towards Chunar, still in possession of Hussain Shah Sharqi, whose Omrahs put up a fight but were defeated and driven within the fort. The Chunar fort being strong and impregnable, Sikandar Lodi did not take the risk of delay in besieging it, and proceeded against Rai Bhed Chandra, the Gaharwar ruler of Panna in Rewa, who submitted and was confirmed in his possession of Kantit in Mirzapur district. But he soon took alarm and fled away from the Sultan's

camp. He was not pacified even by the Sultan's sending his private property to him. The Sultan then went to Daimau, south-east of Baraili, where he married Sher Khan's widowed wife.

Next year, in 900=1494, the Sultan of Delhi again marched towards the south-east with a view to chastising Rai Bhed. The latter's son, Bir or Nar Singh of Bhat, tried to check the advance, but was routed and the Rai himself died during the course of his precipitate flight to Surguja. The campaign in the difficult barren and rocky country, where there was acute scarcity of essential provisions, cost the Sultan much and entailed the loss of most of his cavalry and he was compelled to fall back on Jaunpur for supplies and repair of his army. Lakhim Chand, another son of Rai Bhed, and other chieftains sent a message to Hussain Shah, then in Bihar, that the crippled resources of the Sultan of Delhi and the loss of his entire cavalry provided the much sought-for opportunity of turning the table upon him. Hussain collected an army in Bihar and marched with 100 elephants on his old capital. Sikandar Lodi hastened southward to Kantit, crossed the Ganges, and was joined 18 *Kos* (30 miles) beyond Benares by Salivahan of Bhatta or Bhatghora, a brother of Raja Bhed Chand, who had been won over by Khan Khanan Nuhani, and there in a well contested battle was again defeated and compelled to flee towards Patna. Being closely pursued he took the route to Bihar Sharif. Waiting for 9 days for the whole army to join him, Sikandar Lodi marched towards Bihar at the head of one lakh troops. The demoralized ex-Sharqi king, leaving Malik Kandoo in charge of Bihar fort, fled to Khalgaon, where he was courteously received by the Bengal king with whom he was connected by matrimonial alliance. The emperor of Delhi detached from his camp at Deobar a force which drove out Malik Kandoo and then the province of Bihar was annexed to Delhi in 901=1495.

Leaving Mahabbat Khan with several Omrahs in charge of the Bihar citadel, the emperor returned to his camp at Darweshpur, near Maner. Soon he left his camp in charge of Khan Jahan Formuli and advanced in all haste towards Tirhut. The "Rai of Tirhut" came and submitted to his authority and offered some lakhs of tankas in tribute and presents. The Sultan left there Mubarak Khan Nuhani to receive the tribute and returned to his camp at Darweshpur. Thereafter he went to Bihar Sharif to pay his respects to the shrine of the celebrated 14th century saint, H. Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, and distributed money among the Fakirs and paupers there. He then returned *via* Patna where Khan-i-Jehan died on 16 Shawal, 901, and his son, variously named as Ahmad or Khusru Khan, received the title of Azam Humayun. Then the emperor ordered the army to be equipped afresh for the Bengal expedition. Sultan Alauddin of Bengal sent an army under his son, Prince Danyal, to oppose the advance of the imperialists, sent from Qutlughpur and led by Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nahani. Neither party wished to go to extremes and a treaty, subsequently ratified by the two Sultans, was signed at Barh whereby in addition to mutual assurance of non-aggression against the respective but unspeci-

fied dominions, the Bengal ruler gave an undertaking not to harbour the enemies of the empire. On his return Mubarak Khan Nuhani died in the township of Patna and the government of Bihar was confided to his son, Darya Khan Nuhani. The emperor, then at Zutlughpur, south of Maner, returned to the camp at Durweshpur and entrusted the government of that side of the country to Azam Humayun. During his stay in Bihar an acute scarcity of grain faced the people and the army, and the emperor ordered complete abolition of the transit customs on grain and this remained in force till the time of Akbar. Some time after the emperor set out for Saran, "a dependency of Bihar", and dispossessing the zamindars of some of the purganahs there, assigned them in *Jagirs* to his own men. Thence he returned to Jaunpur where he stayed for 6 months.

It has been supposed that Saran was an unconquered territory and remained in undisturbed possession of the Hindu Zamindars till the reduction of the district by Sikandar Lodi. It certainly formed a part of Sharqi Hussain Shah's dominion; otherwise he would not have sent the dispossessed Governor of Sambal, Mubarak Khan, to Saran to be kept a prisoner there. The newly discovered two beautiful Arabic inscriptions on black-basalt stone at Narhan on the Gogra in Raghunathpur Thana of Siwan sub-division (Saran), one recording the erection of a congregational mosque by Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal and the other belonging to a mausoleum of a warrior saint and a Syed built in 906, suggest the existence of a considerable Muslim population in that region. Cherand in Chapra mufassil Thana, where also a Jam-i-Musjid was erected by Hussain Shah of Bengal in 909, had Muslim Sufis and scholars in Tughlaq times as we find from reference in a *Malfuz* of a Balkhi saint. Amarpur, near Darauli (Saran), has a magnificent three-chambered many-domed (royal) mosque with massive walls, part of which has been swallowed by the Gogra, the other part being in possession of the Hindus now who give no clue to the inscriptional stone the place of which is empty. History tells us that Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, on his return from Eastern Bengal, gave up Bihar to Malik Bir Khan who reduced the Hindu Zamindars to subjection. There is still a strong belt of Muslim population in Siwan Sub-division of Saran and the ruins of old habitations, traditions and Muslim names of villages now with non-Muslim population have also their own significance.

A more effective hold of the Muslims on Saran and Champaran was admittedly established under the Lodis. Among the 53 Omrahs of Sikandar Lodi historians include the name of Hussain Khan Formuli, "Naib of Saran". He was the most important of the 5 sons of Khawajagi Shaikh Sayeed Farmuli, and along with Darya Khan Nuhani, his uncle Sher Khan, Omar Khan Sarwani etc. had attached himself to Sikandar Lodi while he was still prince Nizam Khan. Two Afghan historians have recorded the wonderful feats of valour performed by Hussain Formuli, Darya Nuhani and Ibrahim Sarwani, in the service of their princely master in overwhelming the numerous hordes of the recalcitrant chieftains, Tatar Khan and Saef Khan. Shaikh Rizquallah Mushtaqi (Hindi surname Rajan) has told

us further that Miyan Hussain Formuli, the Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran, which were called *Jalkhet* or field of water, had taken many thousands (?) of villages from the Hindus besides those comprizing his *Jagir*. Notwithstanding the high flood of the Gandak he and his incomparable commander, Mughula Kararani, crossed the river and surprised the Raja of Champaran in his fort on the other side and the 200 years old Hindu state ceased to exist and much booty including a great quantity of gold was captured. One may make allowance for the highly exaggerated figures given by the poetic author, but the account cannot be summarily rejected as we find corroboration of some facts from other sources. Either the growth of power and prestige and also territorial possession of the Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran or some kind of connection with the popular and revered Bengal king excited the suspicion of the Afghan suzerain of Delhi who, as both Nizamuddin Bukshi and Ferishta tell us, despatched Haji Sarung with some troops in that quarter in 915=1509 with order to win over the Naib's (Governor) troops and, if possible, to seize his person. Miyan Hussain Farmuli scented the danger and escaping to Bengal sought refuge with Alauddin Hussain Shah.

The other chief noble of Sikandar Lodi was "Musnad-i-Ali Darya Khan Nuhani, the *Muqti* of Bihar". We are told by Rizquallah that he was loyal and continued his hold on Bihar even when on the return of the emperor from Jaunpur (after another campaign in Rewa as far as Banda and the forced realization of the defalcated revenue from the Governor of Jaunpur in 905 which gave rise to a conspiracy of the nobles in favour of Prince Fateh Khan, a son of Bahlol Lodi) as many as 22 Omrahs proved faithless, the only other exception being Jamal Khan Sarang Khan, *Muqti* of Jaunpur. The same author gives a brief account of what appears to have been another determined attempt on the part of Hussain Shah Sharqi to recover Bihar possibly with the help of the Bengal King. "In a very short time Hussain invaded Bihar"; Darya Khan "sought no outside aid" and "sallying out of the fort gave the fight in the plains, remained there in the night, and next day re-entered the fort". Sultan Hussain used to ride out from his camp and opened his assault. Darya Khan withstood the assault wherever it was most formidable even if he had to break open the wall of the fort, extorting the admiration of the aggressor. "For two months he protected the fortress with his own force" and when "the royal force arrived in the vicinity, Sultan Hussain withdrew". Though uncorroborated there is nothing improbable in this new information. But Rizquallah goes further and says that "When Sultan Sikandar Lodi died, the king of Bengal and the Raja of Orissa made hostile move, Darya Khan remarked: 'What of that if the Sultan is dead? I am still alive and I have always been here while the Sultan was far away in his own place. Go and fix the gate against Bengal on one side and against Orissa on the other; let him—who dares come to this side, come. No body should move from his place.'"

Against these boastful words, if spoken at all, may be set some facts furnished by epigraphic and numismatic evidences. Bhagalpur was defi-

nately within the jurisdiction of the Bengal Sultans as is evident from Muzaffar Habshi's mosque inscription of Champanagar, dated 897, and Bonhara (Banka) and Mulnachak (a Mahalla of Bhagalpur) mosque inscriptions of Hussain Shah dated 908 and 912 respectively, for they mention the officers and their titles. The same may be said about Monghyr where Hussain Shah's son, Daniyal, built a vault over the shrine of Pir Shah Nafah in 903 when Sikandar Lodi was still present in the East. The mosque inscription of Hussain Shah at Barh (Patna Dt.), dated 916, at Charand (Saran) dated 909, and at Narhan (Saran) are devoid of names of Bengal officials, but Begu Hujjam's mosque in Patna City was originally erected by Khan-i-Azam Nazir Khan, apparently an official of Hussain Shah, in 916. These lend weight to the theory that the withdrawal of Sikandar Lodi from Bihar was followed by the reassertion of Bengal supremacy over Saran in the north and up to Patna on the south. The coins of Hussain Shah and of his son, Nasrat or Nasib Shah have been found in Tirhut and there is a definite historical evidence about Nasrat's invasion of Tirhut. A mosque built by him at Begusarai was swallowed by the river but the inscriptional stone has been discovered.

One might infer from these evidences that the rule of the Bengal kings extended to Saran and even beyond in the north and to Patna in South Bihar. But it is significant that out of the 39 villages in Patna district which bear Darya Khan's name more than half lie in the eastern part of it. A *Malfuz* of a 15th-16th century Sufi saint, Syed Muhammad Qadri, refers several times to the powerful "Hakim-i-Bihar",—Darya Khan, and says that when he learnt about the work of the saint among the Kols in the Aurangabad sub-division of Gaya district from his men who had been sent to purchase horses at Sasaram, he erected for him a mosque, a *Khanqah* and a villa (*kushk*) at 'Narahna' near Amjhar. Perhaps the incident of the powerful Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran who fled for refuge to Bengal to escape the wrath of Sikandar Lodi provides a clue and suggests some sort of dependence of the Afghan chief of Bihar on, or some kind of political friendship with, the Bengal King. It is difficult to accept that the great Nuhani Governor of Bihar whose name and that of his father are still borne by so many villages had no hold on Patna and its eastern portion. Did he as a good Muslim raise no objection to a pious neighbouring Muslim king, revered as a descendant of the Prophet, erecting Houses of Worship, beyond his jurisdiction, for catering to the needs of a growing population of fellow-Muslims? Perhaps Sikandar Lodi was much too busy in the west to turn his attention towards the veiled disaffection and disservice of the Afghans in the east. As for the coins, the mention of the mint towns which are all in Bengal is significant.

The matter grew worse under his son and successor, Ibrahim Lodi, whose conception of absolute sovereignty and haughty, suspicious and cruel nature proved so galling to the warlike, arrogant and independence-loving Afghans of other tribes. Rizqullāh says that he was very unfair in

his dealings with his own uterine brother. He withheld his assent to the division of the empire, and would not leave Jalal to rule in Jaunpur or leave even Kalpi to him as settled by Malik Adam Kakar. With the help of Darya Khan Nuhani and others, most of Jalal's officers, particularly Azam Humayun, were won over and the name of the Sultan began to be read afresh from Jaunpur to Bihar. But the arbitrary recall of Azam Humayun from the spirited siege of Gwalior when the fort was about to fall and his unjust imprisonment along with that of Miyan Bhowa, the powerful and scholarly *Wazir* of Sikandar Lodi, and assassination of P. Jalal, sent a thrill of terror into the hearts of the Omrahs. Syed Khan Lodi was done to death, Kabir Khan Lodi was put in chains, and the same treatment was to be meted out to the son of Daulat Khan, Governor of the Panjab. But he scented the Sultan's intention and fled westward.

But many of the Afghan nobles who were prodigies of valour and sensitive about their power and prestige were not irreconcilable to their sovereign, the symbol of Afghan unity. Even Islam Khan Sarwani of Kara, who defeated the imperialists at Bengarma, accepted the mediation of the saintly Raju Bukhari and offered his allegiance on the release of his father. But the Sultan would not relent and his *Farman* to Darya Khan Nuhani, Governor of Bihar, Nasir Khan Nuhani of Ghazipur and others to exterminate the rebels was carried out. Islam Khan was killed and his ally, Sayeed Khan, fell a prisoner into the hands of Darya Khan's troops. Hasan Farmuli, the ex-Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran, appears to have returned from Bengal and offered his services to his Afghan suzerain. But he and Maruf Farmuli, who had served Sikandar Lodi as supreme commander, were sadly disillusioned when they were placed in subordination to Miyan Makhan, a favourite of the Sultan, who was not only to command the expedition against Rana Sanga but also to dispose of the powerful Farmuli chieftains. They were ever on their guard and, if Rizqullah is to be believed, the eastern Afghans "inveigled Masnad Ali--Darya Khan, Governor of Bihar, whom also the Sultan wanted to make afflicted", into doing so. The old but still valorous Hussain Farmuli gave a bit of his mind to Miyan Makhan and opined that their master had lost his senses. He even temporised with the Rana at Toda and left Miyan Makhan to be defeated by the Rajputs. But 'the Rustam of the age' soon repented his disservice, fell suddenly upon and broke through the ranks of the Rana and captured 15 elephants and some hundreds of horses which he sent to the Sultan through his brother, Miyan Taha. The Sultan offered him Sambhal, Chanderi, or his old *Jagirs* in Saran and Champaran. He unwisely chose Chanderi "to wreak vengeance against the Rana". But his ungrateful suzerain sent secret instructions to, and even heavily bribed, the Shaikh Zadhas of Chanderi who fell upon Miyan Hussain at night and killed him. This fresh instance of the Sultan's malice, injustice and unwisdom produced the same effect in the East as the alarming report of Dilawar Khan to his father, Daulat Khan, did in the West. The Nuhanis and others rallied round Darya Khan who served as the Governor of Bihar from 1495 to 1524

and were ready to shake off the yoke of the Delhi Sultan. Darya Khan was still deliberating over his plans when death overtook him.

Darya Khan must have died shortly before the open rebellion of the Afghans against Ibrahim Lodi in the eastern provinces which, according to Dr. Qanungo, occurred in 1521. It is difficult to find support for this definite assertion although others have also accepted it. We do not know the date of Darya Khan's success against Islam Khan in the region of Lucknow, nor of the Rana's victory over Miyan Makhan, or Hussain Farmuli's murder at Chanderi, nor that of the death of Miyan Bhowa and Azam Humayun etc. But we get a clue in what we are told about the precipitate flight of Dilawar Khan who covered the distance between Delhi and Lahore in 6 days and Daulat Khan sending him and Ahmad Khan Sarbani with betel leaves and mangoes soaked in honey and their arrival at Kabul after 10 days. They enjoyed the festivities in connection with the betrothal of Kamran. After making a full report of confusion and revolts they requested Babar to invade India. This occasioned the fourth invasion of Babar which occurred in 930 or 1524. The open revolt of the eastern Afghans, shortly after the death of Darya Khan Nuhani, must have occurred in 929-30.

That Darya Khan Nuhani was amongst the earliest patrons of the celebrated Farid Khan Sur is evident from the expression in Hilsa inscription "*Bar-Awurdah-i-Darya Khan Zangi Hud Nuhani Khas Khail*", i.e., "brought out or elevated by Darya Khan" etc. The advancement of the great Sur in the service of Darya's son and grandson is well known, but two relevant incidents linking his name with Darya himself have been mentioned with slight variations by the authors of the *W.M.* and *T.D.* They say that when Farid went to Agra he had at first no sympathetic response from Ibrahim Lodi, despite the efforts of Daulat Khan. He was told to return to Bihar "where Darya Khan was engaged in collecting forces". According to Rizqullah who does not mention the subsequent grant of a *Farman* by the Sultan, his brother, Nizam, presented him, on his return, with the sword and turban of their deceased father and then both of them went to Darya Khan. The latter said: "I give you the fort of Chaund; take it, if you can". Farid accepted the offer and was provided with a small contingent. After defeating Muhammad Khan Sur he returned to Darya Khan. The author of *T.D.*, however, rightly mentions Sultan Muhammad instead of his father and puts the incident after the battle of Panipat. One day Darya Khan asked his cousin, Daulat Khan Nuhani, son of Sher Khan, to undertake the work and he found him hesitant. Farid did the work and got the title. The author of *T.D.*, however, tells us that by the time Farid returned Darya Khan had died but the promised title was awarded by his son and successor, Bahadur, entitled Sultan Muhammad, especially because Farid had killed a tiger with a stroke of his sword.

The authors of *W.M.* and *T.D.* also say that one day Sultan Muhammad Nuhani, seeing Sher Khan engaged in an extra prayer (*Nimaz-ichāst*), remarked: "You have taken Sasaram and the fort of Chaund and

now you are praying for having Bihar also which is in my possession". Sher Khan replied: "When you become the king of Delhi, I shall get Bihar". Ahmad Yadgar also mentions this incident, but rightly substitutes Khawaspur Tanda for Chaund. The defeat of Muhammad Khan Sur and temporary occupation of Chaund by Sher Khan was a much later event. The versions of Abbas Sarwani and Niamatullah are more detailed and correct.

But Rizqullah gives some new and useful information about Bahar Khan who had asserted his independence and established his short-lived dynasty in Bihar and perhaps thought of making a bid for the prize of Delhi sovereignty also. We are told that the Omrahs who had fled from the court of Ibrahim Lodi at Agra gathered around Bahar or Shahbaz Khan who had soon a force of one lakh at his disposal. Fateh Khan, son of Azam Humayun, went with 10,000 men from Jaunpur and joined him. He assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad and brought the whole country from Bihar to Sambhal in his possession. The *Khutba* was read in his name for two years and some months. The Sultan sent Mustafa Farmuli, the son-in-law of Miyan Muhammad Farmuli, with Firuz Khan Sarang Khan and other Omrahs at the head of a large force against him. Miyan Mustafa devastated Ghazipur and drove out its Governor, Naseer Khan Nuhani, who had accepted Sultan Muhammad as his king. Miyan Mustafa entered Bihar and encamped on the Son, but died soon after. Firuz Khan and Shaikh Bayazid Farmuli, the brother of Miyan Mustafa, who were also encamped there heard that the forces of Sultan Muhammad had reached a certain place. They moved out hurriedly and pursued that force up to Kanpur (Arrah district). Fateh Khan, son of Azam Humayun, and Naseer Khan were on one side and Firuz Khan and Bayazid were on the other side of a great river. Sheikh Bayazid opened the offensive after crossing the river and routed Fateh Khan. He pursued him upto Kanpura which was laid waste. But the men of his army having plundered the booty began to disperse. Nasir Khan was still standing on that side with his standard fixed on the ground, before him the men of the royal forces had put forward excuses and melted away. They included 22 chiefs. He had 30,000 horse around him. He maintained his stand. In the meantime Sheikh Bayazid was told that Firuz Khan and his whole force had fled away. He expressed surprise at this success of the enemies whom he had beaten. He then turned towards Naseer Khan but despite his three attempts he could not dislodge him from his place. Then his men took the reins of his horse and made him withdraw from there. Sheikh Bayazid proceeded to Bhojpur. When he arrived on the bank of the Ganges, news arrived that Daulat Khan Lodi who had brought Babar Badshah to India had died. This happened in Jan. 1526.

There is no reference in *W.M.* to the issuing of coins though all other authorities mention it. Nizamuddin and others agree about the strength of the Afghan confederates of Sultan Muhammad of Bihar and they extend the limit of their sway up to Sambhal. The duration of such ascendancy,

as is indicated by the mention of the name of the Bihar Sultan in public prayer for 2 years and some months, is very probable. Ferishta's and Nizamuddin's "some months" and Niamatullah's "for some time" are vague. Ferishta and Nizamuddin would limit the recital of the *Khutba* to the territory of Bihar and its dependencies. Babar writes: "Kannauj with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghans, such as Nasir Khan Lohani, Maruf Farmuli, and a number of other Amirs, who had been in a state of open rebellion for two or three years" before the death of Ibrahim. They elected Bahar Khan, the son of Dariya Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of "Sultan Muhammad". It is significant that Babar received a letter from "Jalal Khan, "son of Bihar Khan Beheri", on April 1, 1529, implying that Sultan Muhammad had died some time before.

As for the fight between the Lodi imperialists and the Eastern Afghans, we get very meagre information from Niamatullah, Nizamuddin, and Ferishta. The former says: "Naseer Khan Nuhani headed the revolt, fought against the imperial forces and being defeated returned to him (Sultan Muhammad of Behar). . . . Sultan Ibrahim sent a numerous force to repel Bahadur (Bihar) Khan. When the two armies met, a desperate action took place. They remained engaged in hostilities for some days. In the meanwhile Dilwar Khan came from Lahore to the Sultan's court," etc. Nizamuddin observes: "During this time (when the *Khutba* was being read in the dominion of Bihar and its appendages in the name of Bahar Khan) the Sultan's forces fought many a battle with them and were resisted and withdrew." Ferishta writes: "Naseer Khan Nuhani was defeated by the Sultan's army. For a few months they read the *Khutba* in the name of Sultan Muhammad. They fought several times with the imperial forces and came out victorious. At this time, Ghazi Khan (?), son of Daulat Khan, came from Lahore to the court of the king." Babar, a first class authority, practically corroborates the essentials of Rizquallah's account. He writes: "Sultan Ibrahim had sent Mustafa Farmuli and Firuz Khan Sarang Khani, with several other Amirs, against the rebellious Lords of the *Purab* (East). Mustafa Khan had some well-fought and desperate actions with the rebels, and had given them several severe defeats. He had died, however, before the defeat of Ibrahim (at Panipat, April, 1526) and Shaikh Baiyazid, his younger brother, had assumed the command of his forces while Ibrahim was yet on the throne". The Sultan's difficulties in the East made him requisition the services of the powerful Governor of the Panjab who sent his son to the court. The threatening attitude of the Sultan made him apprehensive. He escaped to Lahore and thence, as directed by his father, wended his way to Kabul to invite Babar.

RAJA GANESA—A MYTH

BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTI

Raja Ganesa—who he was and what he was? That is a question historians have not answered as yet. They have only fumbled. The whole thing, therefore, deserves a review.

According to the tradition Ganesa drove out an Iliyas Shahi Sultan of Gauda-Pandua and put his own son on the throne. This son embraced Islam and was known as Jalaluddin. Soon after this the father put the son into prison and ruled for some seven years. Then he died and Jalaluddin once more sat on the throne and continued to rule. Strangely enough, this is a story contradicted by all available evidences.

The coins of the Iliyas Shahi Sultans show that they had an uninterrupted sway till the year 817 A.H. (1415 A.D.). Then in the year 818 A.H. (1416 A.D.) we have the coins of Jalaluddin Mohammed Shah. So a part of the tradition is corroborated. It is also supported by the correspondence of two contemporary Muslim saints, Nur Qutb Alam of Pandua and Asraf Jahangir of Jaunpur (*Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. LXVII). But it only says, "How exalted is God! He has bestowed, without apparent reason, the robe of Faith on the lad of an infidel and installed him on the throne of the kingdom over his friends". We do not get the name of this lad or that of his father. The coins show that the lad was named Jalaluddin. But as to the name of his father we are left completely in the dark.

Then we find a clear mention of the event in 'Vālyalilā' of Krishnadas. There we are told that *Graha-Paksmaksi-Sasadhrngmite Sake Ganeso Yavanan Jitva Gandaik-chhatradhrgabhut*. But though believed to have been composed in the 15th century, the antiquity of the work is highly doubtful. Moreover, the date given (1329 S.E.=1407 A.D.) is definitely wrong. The Sultan of Gauda-Pandua was then Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah and at least two more of his line ruled after him.

Then comes another work which is certainly of the fifteenth century. We are speaking of Raimukut's *Smrtiratnahār*. There we get the name of "Jallālādinripati", but not of his father. Dr. R. C. Hazra, relying on a misprint in the *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the A.S.B.*, has tried to show that in the word '*Gajadantah*' there is reference to Ganesa (*I.H.Q.*, 1942). But Sri D. C. Bhattacharya has re-examined the Ms. and found that the word there is '*Jagadatta*' as originally read by M. M. Sastri (*Pravasi*, 1360 B.S.). So that does not help us in finding out the name of Jalaluddin's father.

As we come to the sixteenth century we get two chroniclers referring to the incident. Nizamuddin in the *Tabqat-i-Ākbari* and Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Ākbari* relate the story in detail and both of them give the name of Jalaluddin's father. But it is Kans and not Ganesa.

Coming to the 17th century we get three works: *Twarikh-i-Feristā*, *Bayar*, and *Mirat-ul-asrar*. Everywhere the name is Kans. It is the same

even in *Riyad-us-salatin*, written in the 18th century. It has been suggested by the supporters of the name Ganesa that in the Persian Mss. *gaf* has been read as *kāf* by mistake. So Ganesa or Gans has become Kans. But how can the same mistake be made by all? May be, there was a mistake in *Tabqat-i-Ākbari* and other Muslim chroniclers have followed the wrong spelling. But though largely dependent on collected materials many of them had also the resource of some independent authority. Feristah, for example, has often referred to one Arif Quandahari. Even the author of *Riyad* laboured hard to collect local traditions and also examined a few inscriptions. So the same mistake (Kans for Ganesa) cannot have continued for centuries. We may rather say that Ganesa is a nice drafting of the name by Hindu genealogists. The first author to come forward with this emendation was late Mr. Durga Charan Sanyal. He quoted as his source of information a *Ms.* which has never come to light. He was soon followed by late Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava Nagendranath Basu. His source of information was a *Kulapanjika* of doubtful authority. The whole thing appears to be a big fun when we find that Mr. Sanyal held up Ganesa as a Varendra Brahman and Mr. Basu claimed him as a Kayastha. The evidence in support of them both is equally unreliable. All we like to say is that the soul of Ganesa may rest in peace along with those of these two scholars. His ghost should not trouble us any more. The father of illustrious Jalaluddin was Kans or Kansa and not Gans or Ganesa.

Let us now consider the second part of the traditional account. The question is: Did Kansa ever ascend the throne? We have already quoted from the letter of Nur Qutb Alam. That tells us of the lad and not of the father. Nizamuddin and Abul Fazl give the same story. Feristah, about two hundred years after the event, writes: "When in 787 Shamsuddin died Kans raising aloft the banner of kingship seized the throne". A century later, the story becomes: 'Raja Kans who was a Zemindar of Bhaturia, attacking him, slew him and usurped the throne' (*Riyad-us-salatin*). These later fabrications cannot be accepted as true when those are contradicted by the contemporary account of Nur Qutb Alam. The father of Jalaluddin did not usurp the throne for himself but for his son. Curiously enough we get no coin of Jalaluddin dated 819 A.H. or 820 A.H. This has led to the story that Ganesa imprisoned his son and ruled himself. According to the tradition he ruled for seven years. But we have got the coins of Jalaluddin dated 821 A.H. So there is a gap of two years only. It may be noted that neither Nur Qutb Alam nor the chroniclers of the 16th century speak anything about this second usurpation. The story we get is the creation of Hindu genealogists or scholars like Messrs Basu and Sanyal and of those who have followed them blindly. Kans never became a Raja or a Sultan.

Here we must explain the find of so many coins of Raja Danujamardana Deva and Raja Mahendra Deva. These coins are in Bengali Script and dated 1339 and 1340 S.E. (820 and 821 A.H.). The coins of Jalaluddin reappeared again in 821 A.H. and continued up to 835 A.H. The historians

have identified Raja Danujamardana with Ganesa. As to Mahendra, the identification was not so easy. Therefore, they concluded that Ganesa must have had another son, Mahendra. Then the story was easily got up ; Ganesa put his eldest son (Jalaluddin) into prison but he was himself very old and so placed his second son Mahendra on the throne. In the eagerness for getting an evidence of coins they have conveniently forgotten that even by doing so they cannot give Ganesa a reign period of seven years as it was according to the tradition.

Danujamardana and Mahendra are names not quite unknown to the historians of Bengal. Jiva Goswami in his '*Vaisnava Tosini*' writes: "*Tato Danujamardana ksitipa pujiyapadah kramat uvasa navahattake sa khila Padmanabhakrti*". Jiva Goswami was an inhabitant of Chandradwipa (modern Barisal) in East Bengal. He writes again of Padmanabha's grandson Kumara that he migrated to East Bengal owing to some turmoil (*kancit drohamāvāpya vangalāyam sangatah*). According to the tradition there was a king of Chandradwipa named Mahendra. Was he the same as king Mahendradeva of the coins? There is nothing against this identification. Danujamardana and Mahendra were most probably kings of Chandradwipa. We know that the sway of the Muslim Sultans of Gauda-Pandua did not extend over south-east Bengal even by the end of the fifteenth century. At least there is no proof to the contrary. There beyond those mighty rivers reigned a Hindu dynasty. Sometimes their sovereignty extended far beyond the region. We find that the coins of Danujamardana and Mahendra were minted at Chattagram, Suvarnagram (Dacca) and Pandua. They had an extensive kingdom, we must say. It was not impossible for them to measure their arms with those of the Sultan of Gauda-Pandua. Curiously enough in a genealogical account, quoted by late Mr. S. C. Mitra in his *Jasohar Khulnār Itihās*, there is a statement about Mahendra :

*Yavananca durikrtya Kansakulam nihatya ca
Panduvayam devarajyamanenaiva pratisthitam*

We cannot vouch for the authenticity of the account, the *Ms.* of which has never come to light. But the mention of *Kamsakula* is highly significant. All the Hindu genealogists tell us that it was Ganesa and his son who usurped the throne of Pandua. Why will the author of this particular genealogy prove an exception? He speaks of Mahendra fighting against both the Muslims and the descendants of Kamsa. That Jalaluddin had something to do with the king of Chandradwipa is clear from the evidence of the coins also. Jalaluddin was the first of the Mussalman Sultans whose coins were minted at Fateyabad, i.e., modern Faridpur. This proves that Raja Mahendra extended his kingdom rapidly when there was a trouble at the court of Gauda-Pandua. He went further when Jalaluddin was on the throne. It was the time when the new Sultan had to withstand the attack of Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. Thus weakened and exhausted, Jalaluddin could not repel the attack from the south-east. So Mahendradeva occupied Pandua at least for the time being. But it was at best a

temporary occupation only. Jalaluddin soon marshalled his strength and drove away the Hindu invaders. Mahendradeva had to beat a hasty retreat and the territory up to Faridpur passed into the hands of Jalaluddin. An inscription bearing his name has also been discovered in Dacca district. The prowess of the Devas of Chandradwipa was eclipsed for ever.

We, therefore, come to the conclusion :

- (1) Raja Ganesa is a myth.
- (2) The name of Sultan Jalaluddin's father was Kans or Kansa.
- (3) Within two years of coming to the throne Jalaluddin was driven out by Mahendradeva, a king of Chandradwipa.

THE BHAGIRATHPUR INSCRIPTION OF KANSANĀRĀYANA
DATED L.S. 403 (OR 394?)

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

The Bhagirathpur Inscription turns over a new leaf in the hitherto obscure history of Mithilā in the middle ages. It helps us in ascertaining some important problems of chronology and dynastic history of Mithilā under the Oinwāras, who succeeded the Karnātas in 1324-5 (sic.). We have a solitary epigraphic evidence of the Oinwāra dynasty.¹ Its chronology is still in a state of flux and we have to depend mostly on literary and traditional sources.² From the cultural point of view, the history of Mithilā under the Oinwāras (c. 1324-1529) is very important as it was under the patronage of this dynasty that poets and scholars of repute like Chāndeswara, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati, Rucipati, Vardhamāna, Paksadhara etc., flourished. Various treatises on Nyāya and Dharmasāstra were written and compiled.

The present inscription was discovered in a village, Bhagirathpur, in the district of Darbhanga. Dr. Brajkishore Varma of Bahera was kind enough to send a copy of the epigraph and in the meantime the whole text came out in the local newspaper. This is the second inscription of the Oinwāra dynasty. Kansanārāyana of this inscription was the last king of the dynasty and was a contemporary of the Hussain Shāhi kings (Alauddin Hussain Shāh and Nasrat Shāh) of Bengal. The present record gives a definite date of Kansanārāyana and as such affords a reliable data for a study of the then history.

It is inscribed on a stone door-frame and refers to the construction of a Matha or temple, made under the instructions of Anumati Devi, daughter-in-law of Harinārāyana, wife of Rāma (Rupanārāyana) and mother of Kansanārāyana. In all there are seven lines. It is in Maithili script. At

1. Vide *Kandāhā Inscription* by K. P. Javawal in *JBORS*, XX, Pt. I, pp. 15-19.
2. Writer's paper, *The Oinwāras of Mithila*, *JBR*, XL, Part II, June 1954.

places some letters are blurred. Mādhava is the composer of this *prasasti*. The genealogy, given therein, is as follows.

Harinārāyana (-Bhairavendra or Bhairavasingh)
Daughter-in-law-Anumati Devi (Wife of Rājā Rāma Rupanārāyana)
|
(Son)
Kansanārāyana

There is no room for any doubt that this Kansanārāyana was the last king of this dynasty. It is known to us from various sources that Bhairavasingh had the '*viruda*' "Harinārāyana". He was a powerful king and has been called "*Mithilāprijhviswarena*" by Vardhamāna.³ Himself a man of charitable disposition, he made princely donations and gifts to various persons.⁴ He was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadra who had the '*viruda*' "Rupanārāyana", which is also corroborated by the present record. His fame attracted persons from outside. He is said to have ruled upto 1496 if not more. Kansanārāyana was his son and successor and was also known by the name of Lakṣmināthadeva.

Since the name 'Kansanārāyana' is very common and is occasionally used by the earlier Oinwāra rulers, it is likely that the present record may give rise to suspicion in certain quarters who always try to push back the recorded dates. In this case the point is crystal clear. A song of Vidyāpati is ascribed to one 'Kansadalanārāyana'.⁵ Here we have to remember that this was the '*viruda*' of Dhirasingh, who is also known as "Ripurāja Kansadalanā Pratyaksa Nārāyana".⁶ He was also known as Hridayanārāyana.⁷ Dhirasingh was the son of Narasinghdeva while Kansanārāyana of the present inscription was the grandson of Harinārāyana and son of Rāma Rupanārāyana. Naturally the point of pushing back the date on this assumption or on other grounds does not stand.

We have a reference to Kansanārāyana in a song in Locana's *Rāgatarangini*,⁸ which makes him a contemporary of Nasrat Shah of Bengal (1519-1532). Kansanārāyana was the greatest patron of Maithili songs after Sivasingh and was himself a poet of repute.⁹ In the song referred to above, he mentions Nasrat Shāh. According to the present inscription, Kansanārāyana's name was a terror to the Muslim kings. Mithilā, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, though enjoying internal autonomy subject to payment of regular tribute to Delhi or Bengal as the case might be, was sandwiched between the two rival Muslim powers of Delhi and Bengal. We have various references in the Muslim sources that Mithilā

3. Asiatic Society MSS. of *Dandaviveka*—Introductory Verse 5. He is called 'Harinārāyana' in the colophon of "*Anarghavāghava-Tikā*."

4. *Nepal Notices*, p. 112, Introductory Verse I of *Mahādāna Nirṇaya*.

5. Mitra-Mazumdar, *Vidyāpati*, Song No. 216.

6. *JASB* (N.S.), XI, p. 426.

7. Grierson, *I.A.*, 1885, p. 196; 1889, p. 58; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, X, 47.

8. *Rāgatarangini*, Paldeva Misra (Ed.), Darbhanga, Samvata 1991.

9. Dr. J. K. Misra, *History of Maithili Literature*, Vol. I, p. 220.

was attacked by them from different sectors. Hussain Shāh Sharqi, just after strengthening himself, had crushed the now virtually independent landholders of Tīrhut and had devastated and plundered that province. There is no doubt that he held complete sway over Tīrhut as we find him deporting Tātār Khān Lodi to Sāran in Tīrhut¹⁰. When the Lodi-Sharqi contest for the supremacy resulted in the former's occupation of Jaunpur, Hussain remained in the eastern portion of his kingdom (H. 888-900), having chosen Biharsharif as his capital and ruling over Bihar and Tīrhut with a revenue yield of five crores of Dam.¹¹ After the absorption of Jaunpur kingdom, the Lodi empire extended upto the confines of Bihār. The kind treatment meted out to Hussain Sharqi by Alauddin Hussain Shāh of Bengal excited Sikandar Lodi's suspicion. He moved upto Tugluqqur (Tīrhut?) on Bengal's frontiers in 1495. Soon a treaty was signed between the two. Sikandar conferred the districts round Tugluqqur on Āzam Humāyun, while Bihār became the *iqṭā* of Daryā Khān Lohāni¹². Sikandar Lodi is said to have defeated the king of Mithilā and exacted heavy tribute.¹³ We further learn that Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyana of Mithilā was a contemporary of Sikandar and had some personal relations with him.¹⁴

It appears that just after the withdrawal of Sikandar Lodi Hussain Shāh of Bengal again invaded Tīrhut and extended his sway upto Sāran.¹⁵ The kingdom of Mithilā had fallen into pieces and we find that the Champāran king was subdued by Mian Hussain Farmuli.¹⁶ Probably it was after the reconquest of Tīrhut that Hussain Shāh of Bengal proceeded against the kingdom of Āssām. The Muslim historians have mentioned a number of rulers as having been overcome¹⁷ and one such ruler is Rupanārāyana.¹⁸ Both the editors of *Cambridge History of India* (Volume III) and *History of Bengal* (Volume II) are silent on the identification of most of these names. Rupanārāyana of this list was no other than Rāmabhadra Rupanārāyana of Mithilā and certainly a feudatory of Bengal ruler and not otherwise as held by Sir Jadunath.¹⁹ The vassal status of Rupanārāyana is thus evident and it may be conjectured that Kansanārāyana, after his accession, certainly without success, attempted to regain his independent status. This attempt at regaining independence might have emboldened the court poet to attribute such hyperbolic expressions to the reigning monarch. There is nothing unusual in this as the court poets have been doing so since time immemorial. Kansanārāyana's assertion of independence might have been the cause of Nasrat's invasion of Mithilā. Nasrat conquered and annexed it to his own kingdom. We are told that the

10. Wolsley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 255-56.

11. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, 286.

12. Sir J. N. Sarkar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 145-46.

13. Ranking's Translation of *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. I, pp. 415-17; Cf. Elliot, V, 95-6.

14. Bibhākara's "*Dvaitaviveka*".

15. *JASB*, 1874, 304. Cf. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, pp. 133-46.

16. S. N. Singh, *History of Tīrhut*, p. 88.

17. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 272.

18. *Riyaz*, p. 134.

19. Sarkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 147, fn.

Tirhut king was put to death.²⁰ The event must have taken place before 1527 as the Sikandarpur inscription of his commandant is dated in that year. On all counts it is clear that Nasrat defeated Kansanārāyana and established his sway in that territory.

The composer of the *prasasti*, Mādhava, is also one of the leading poets of Mithilā. We have a reference about this poet in a Maithil anthology, "*Rasikajivana*" of Gadādhara Bhatta of Mithilā.²¹ Himself a Maithil, he has quoted profusely the verses of Maithil poets. In Gode's list, Mādhava's poetry is quoted in Folio 12. Mādhava might have been a court poet of Kansanārāyana. Thus the present inscription adds a new name to the already existing list of a galaxy of Maithil writers. Hence viewed from literary standpoint, it is an important discovery.

AN INTERESTING COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM BHINMAL

(Summary)

R. C. AGRAWALA

The present paper deals with the text and the contents of an undated mediæval copper-plate grant from Bhinmal, ancient Srimāla, and the birth place of the Sanskrit poet Māgha. The existing plate begins with an introductory phrase in the praise of Siva and refers to certain grants made in favour of three Brahmins in the reign-period of Mahārājādhirāja Sri Devapāla, son of Sri Kānhadadeva. The exact identification of these royal personages is a very knotty problem, for there is utter absence of their clan-name or any other epithet in this inscription. This much alone has been cited, in the existing inscription, that Devapāla was the ruling emperor of the *Srimāla-mandala*. In fact this inscription is very important because of the specific reference to Devapāla as the ruling emperor and as the son of Kānhadadeva. It is open to the scholars of Rajput history to throw some light on the problem and to handle the question of the identification of Devapāla and his father (who has been addressed simply as Sri Kānhadadeva). Some phrases in the Sanskrit text too are quite obscure and cannot be interpreted with certainty.

20. CHI. III, 272.

21. P. K. Gode, "*Rasikajivana of Gadādhara Bhatta*" in the *ABORI*, XII, 396-9. Cf. Dr. J. B. Choudhury, *Rasikajivana of Gadādhara Bhatta*, Cal., 1944. Also Hardatta Sharma, "*Some unknown Sanskrit Poets of Mithila*" in *Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

THE BENGALI ERA

(Summary)

TRIDIBNATH ROY

There is a controversy about the origin of the Bengali Era. By ordinary calculation it seems to have started from the 14th, 15th or 16th April, 594 A.D. The important monarchs who ruled over the eastern portion of North India at that time were (1) Harshavardhana, (2) Sasanka, (3) Bhaskaravarman. Harsha ascended the throne in 606 A.D. and was born in 590 A.D. Moreover, he had an era of his own. So we may discard him. Sasanka might be the king who started the era. But he never used it in his inscriptions, he used the Gupta era instead. So we may leave him aside. Bhaskaravarman occupied Bengal after 619 A.D. So he cannot be the man.

San is an Arabic term for 'era'. So this era may be an adaptation of the Hijira. K. P. Jayaswal held the view that Akbar started it. Akbar started the Ilahi Era from the date of his accession, 563 A.H. If we calculate from that date then there remains a discrepancy of one year. Moreover, Akbar was the sovereign of North and Central India. Bengal defied his authority and his era was discontinued from the time of Shah Jahan. So his era cannot be the speciality of Bengal.

By back calculation we get 901 Hijira. Then Hussain Shah was ruling in Bengal. He ascended the throne between 1493 and 1494 (899 or 900 A.H.). He might have adopted the Hijira and calculated it according to solar calendar from the new century of Hijira.

THE INVADING TURKS, THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR RULERS

(Summary)

ASIT KUMAR SEN

The invasion of the Turks from the North-West took the Indian Kings by storm. They, due to their parochial outlook, failed to understand the political significance of the invasions that came sporadically but consistently, and ultimately reduced India to submission. The people fought and resisted, suffered and shed blood; the Kings amassed wealth and submitted at the earliest possible opportunity. The conquerors with their political insight came to know of the weakness of the ruling caste, but at the same time learnt to respect the rights of the commoners. The leaderless masses failed to check the tide of invasion, but canalised its course to more fruitful paths.

THE FORT OF BARABATI

(*Summary*)

S. C. DE

This paper deals briefly with the history of the fort of Barabati (whose remains are still found at Cuttack) which figures very prominently in the annals of Orissa. The earliest reference to the fort is to be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY OF GOA

(*Summary*)

G. S. DIKSHIT

The paper gives a brief account of the system of village administration in Goa.

SECTION IV

MEDIEVAL INDIA, 1526—1764 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Fellow Workers, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first pleasant task is to offer my grateful thanks to the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress from the core of my heart for the kindness and generosity they have shown to me in asking me to guide the deliberations of Section IV (Mughal India). My humble contributions to the study of this period certainly do not deserve this recognition. Aware of my own limitations I felt greatly embarrassed and hesitated for long whether I should accept the onerous task. At the same time I felt that the offer of the Congress was a command and I could hardly disobey it. It was, again, a call to service. I could not but respond to it. I offer a cordial welcome to this distinguished galaxy of scholars assembled here from different parts of India, and I hope that the guidance of my illustrious *purvasuris* and the co-operation and forbearance of my fellow workers in a common field of endeavour would enable me to discharge my duties successfully.

At a time when the Muse of History is sometimes ridiculed and derided as a useless mummy at the risk of grave peril to posterity it is imperatively necessary to ponder over the function of History and to emphasize that while historical studies and historical research cannot satisfy the primeval and material needs of life, they are certainly not the luxury of scholars, and that they do constitute a sure means of emancipating man from the bondage of time, race and environment, and a solid basis of learning from the past and of formulating plans for advance in future. It would be a grim tragedy if the educated citizens of free India, devoid of the fruitful training and the rigid discipline of History and lacking the noble inspiration and the sober wisdom of the humane spirit of humanistic lore, would float in the troubled waters and roaring eddies of modern times, by cutting themselves adrift from the moorings of the past. When free India is struggling uphill to stand on her own legs and to reconstruct her life in different spheres,—political, social, economic and cultural,—on national lines and by discarding what is called the legacy of British imperialism, it is absolutely necessary to know the real genius of her life in the past and to ascertain carefully which should be retained and which eschewed. A very great responsibility attaches to the present and future architects of India in this respect as a wrong clipping in this formative period of her history might do positive harm to the growth of the country on rational, constructive and useful lines. There is an underlying unity throughout History, but since Mughal rule constituted the immediate basis of British rule, it is very necessary to understand the Mughal period in all its bearings.

In the following pages I would humbly lay before you a few ideas of mine regarding the reconstruction of the history of this important period and the fresh avenues of research to fill up gaps in our knowledge for your kind consideration.

The house of Mughal history in which we, its architects and masons, are now living, and which we are trying to reconstruct, repair, extend and beautify as a sacred task, has been built up gradually during the last 200 years or so. Bands of scholars, European and Indian, dead and alive, have laboured hard to make source materials accessible to scholars and to write general works on the period as a whole and special monographs on the individual emperors and particular aspects of their reigns. As a result of these it may be said that the main thoroughfare of political and administrative history of the Mughals in India has been levelled and straightened up, the dynastic chronicles and the chronology have been fixed, the story of kings and their ministers and their wars has been written and a fairly detailed and accurate picture of the administrative institutions, civil and military, has been drawn. Such an idea might have led Mr. M. S. Commissariat to make the optimistic observation at the Hyderabad session of the Indian History Congress in 1941 that "the present position of studies in the Mughal period of Indian History may be regarded as eminently satisfactory."

But I make bold to submit that complacency is the greatest bane of research. Without minimising the magnitude, the importance, and the value of the vast storehouse of knowledge of our period garnered by strenuous efforts and selfless devotion of scholars during well nigh two centuries, without forgetting the deep debt of gratitude which Indo-Moslem studies owe to numerous European and Indian savants and scholars, we have every justification to be self-introspective and ask ourselves, "To what use are we putting this rich legacy of historical literature? What are we doing to enrich it still further?"

It has sometimes been said that the biographical phase of Mughal historiography is over and that the time for having a well-documented, comprehensive and general history of the Mughal Empire has come. While one may be inclined to accept the second part of the above view, it may be worth while to ask, 'Have we really enough of biographies?' Even the need of revising the existing monographs and biographies on the first six Great Mughals, on Sher Shah Sur and on his successors has been emphasized only recently by some of my predecessors. Descending down the scale, it may be desirable to have biographies or biographical notices of all important personalities,—like imperial princes and noble statesmen and ministers, generals, *subahdars*, *qazis*, *sadrs*, *ulemas* even local officers, if possible, and famous ladies—in the Mughal Empire in all the Decanni kingdoms and Vijayanagar, among the Rajputs, Sikhs, the Marathas, the Jats, the Bundelas etc., the Agents, the Presidents and Governors of the various foreign companies, the principal merchants or business magnates, religious preachers, saints, writers and poets, artists,

painters, musicians, architects and others. It is true that the value of the notices of all such persons will not be uniform. But this will form the beginning of a detailed and up-to-date dictionary of Mediaeval Indian Biography on the lines of *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

In the field of institutions, civil and military, the picture already obtained is not quite clear and full in all respects. Sir J. N. Sarkar has pithily but significantly observed that the Mughal government represented "the Perso-Arabic system in the Indian setting". But besides these three elements Persian, Muslim and Indian, the Central Asian legacy, both Turkish and Mongol, in all its ramifications,—the intellectual and philosophical background, the political, social, legal and military institutions, require to be thoroughly explored for a proper understanding of the spirit and working of Mughal institutions. Dr. R. P. Tripathi has discussed the philosophical and theoretical background of Mughal Kingship from this angle. It may also be possible to have an analytical study of *all* influences on Mughal administrative institutions.

The role of the Mughal Emperor, constitutional and practical,—his relations with the nobility, the Church and the Ulema and contemporary potentates and his influence on the life of the people—requires a separate monograph. Abul Fazl writes: "The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great and small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time." (Ain 72). A critical account of the subject on the basis of a synthetic study of *all* sources in the light of this statement of Abul Fazl is a desideratum.

A survey of the life of the Mughal court, as an adjunct of the Emperor—its organization, its etiquette, its ornamental and useful sides,—may be drawn. Further its changing political shades and tempers in different reigns may be critically studied for the revelation of many underlying forces and influences in the Mughal state. Mughal policy under Shahjahan often vacillated between the two extreme points represented by his two sons, the pacifist Dara and the militant Aurangzeb, backed up by their respective adherents. The constructive policy and work of Mirza Raja Jai Singh was largely undermined by the machinations of the anti-Jai Singh party in the Mughal Court. The rivalries of the Iranis and the Turanis in later Mughal Court politics are well known. But a connected narrative of Mughal Court politics—the existence of various coteries, groups and parties and their influence on general events and policy of the Emperor, from Babur onwards,—is sure to prove interesting and instructive.

The subject of Mughal nobility, as of any aristocracy, is one of great interest. Whether we regard the peerage as a political factor of the first importance, holding the balance in political crises, and playing the part of King-makers; whether we regard it as a part of the machinery of the semi-military administration of the Mughal Empire; whether we

consider it as a part of the social structure, occupying the upper slopes of the feudal pyramid, at the apex of which stood the king and at the base, the masses ; whether we consider the nobility as an economic factor of the greatest significance, forming collectively the most important consuming class (for certain classes of goods) in the country, controlling and influencing production and distribution, or as a cultural force, the Mughal nobility deserves our closest study and observation. Apart from its constitutional aspect, so ably discussed by Sir J. N. Sarkar, and its military aspect, delineated by Mr. Abdul Aziz, an analysis of its strength and weakness, hopes and aspirations, follies and squabbles, and the review of its achievements and failures will focus attention on the problem of the relation between service and self-interest and indicate the extent of political and administrative morality of the highest classes of the society. The bankruptcy of the Mughal aristocracy, once the pillars of the state (*arkan-i-daulat*) became a matter of despair to the thoughtful student of Mughal history in the eighteenth century. Hence it is not merely a topic of academic interest but has for us a practical significance, in suggesting ideas for the reorganization of public services and public life at the present time. It is high time that such a study be attempted now.

With the exception of Sir J. N. Sarkar's succinct and excellent work on *Mughal Administration*, most of the other works are limited in scope, content or chronology. Dr. R. P. Tripathi's historical survey of *Some Aspects of Moslem Administration* comes down to Akbar only, while Ibn Hasan's analytical study of *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* and Dr. P. Saran's *Provincial Government of the Mughals* come up to Shah-jahan (i.e. up to the middle of the 17th century). The system of government and the working of institutions, civil and military, during the long reign of Aurangzeb and the changes, if any, introduced by him or occurring in his time as a result of the application of Islamic principles, the political and military developments and their effects, economic and social, mentioned in a general way by Sir J. N. Sarkar and Mr. Faruqi would require a separate survey. The gradual deterioration and the working of the Mughal administrative machinery in all aspects during the decline of the Empire in the first half of the 18th century also requires to be studied.

The study of the system of police administration in theory and practice in mediæval India under the Mughal and the Maratha, Vijaynagar and the Deccani Governments with reference to all extant case histories and available records is not merely of academic interest. It is highly practical and purposeful and pregnant with valuable lessons for any scheme of reorganization of the police system in free India. Incidentally an enquiry into the origins and implications of the *ghatwali* tenures and 'police jagirs' will be highly valuable and informative.

Espionage has been an inseparable instrument of government in every age in every country. Sir J. N. Sarkar has drawn a brief but an account of the functions of the Mughal reporters, public and secret. But there is no connected picture of the working of the same from reign

reign. The operation of the *dakchauki* should also be studied in this connection. The *Adab i Alamgiri* of Munshi Abul Fath Qabil Khan tells us how Aurangzeb, the Deccan Viceroy, lamented to Wazir Mir Jumla that there was no chance of the fulfilment of the hopes of the successful working of the *dakchauki* in the Deccan, partly because of the obstruction of the jagirdars between Indur and Burhanpur and partly because of the lack of sincerity of the men of the *dakchauki*. From the *Haft Anjuman* of Udairaj Munshi we know that the couriers on whom Jai Singh depended for news about the movement of the Bijapuris (1665—66) were "liars, pro-Deccanis and greedy of gain.....(and) acted as the enemy's spies". The failure of Aurangzeb's Deccan campaigns is sometimes attributed to wrong information given by spies. Further, the espionage system as organised and practised by the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Deccani Sultanates, Vijaynagar, and the foreign companies of India during the period should also be studied. Incidentally whatever references to inter-state espionage are available should be collected.

The subject of Law and Justice probably requires greater exploration than what has been attempted. The role of the Emperor and the *Qazi*, the *shiqdar*, the *munsif*, the *subahdar*, the *diwan*, the *faujdar*, the *kotwal* in judicial administration with reference to all available case histories recorded in Persian chronicles, literary sources, foreign travellers' accounts and European factory records requires to be estimated throughout the period and in different regions. Similarly the relation between the *Qazi-ul-Quzzat*, the *Sadr us Sudur*, the *Mir Adl inter se* and the nature and the scope of their respective jurisdictions require to be more thoroughly investigated.

Attention should also be devoted to legal studies of the period with special reference to secular law, administrative law and administrative justice. The Central Asian and Chinese legal heritage should be carefully studied with reference to the *Tureh* or *Yasi* or the institutions of Chenghiz Khan (to which Babur frequently alludes in his memoirs) and to the civil, criminal and military regulations of the Institutes of Timur. Reference may also be made to the administrative laws and *qanun-i-shahi* of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. Objection is sometimes made to the statement that Sher Shah's aim was to create a secular spirit in the state and keep religion in the background on the ground that the idea was far too advanced for him. But is it not a fact that under him talented men were appointed judges and that civil judges were not necessarily *ulemas* and *faqirs*? Abbas tells us that the laws of Sher were made "both from his own ideas and extracting them from the books of the learned". This phase of substantive legislation of Sher developed further under Islam Shah. Badaoni refers to a code of regulations extending to approximately 80 sections of paper containing directions for every case of difficulty and which all were obliged to follow rigidly. Further Islam Shah sent "written orders to all the Sarkars containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion and all political and civil questions entering into the minute

and essential detail and dealing with all regulations which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction." Badaoni further significantly observes: "All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not, so that there was no necessity to refer any such matter to the Qazi or Mufti nor was it proper to do so". What is this if not secularisation at least in a limited field? The subject really requires a thorough study.

In the field of land revenue administration, Moreland's *Agrarian System of Moslem India* requires revision and supplementing. It is a happy sign that attention of scholars has already been drawn to this subject. Questions and problems like the question of ownership of land, the position, rights and obligations of the raiyat, in times of peace, war and famines, the state in relation to agriculture, the policy of agricultural improvement, the origins and analysis of the various land tenures, require a close scrutiny in view of the vital importance of the subject for the life of the people. It is usually said that the *Zamindari System* is the gift of the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis. How can this be reconciled with references to *Zamindars* in the chronicles and other works of the Mughal period? Other sources of revenue like customs, mints, inheritance etc., also require scrutiny.

The political and social ideas of the various authors and the conceptions of the principles of public administration during this period, as gleaned from chronicles, administrative manuals, literary works and foreign travellers' accounts, may be usefully studied to form a picture of political and social theories, and a survey of statecraft and administration, apart from the ideas of a particular writer like Abul Fazl.

Military organization of the Mughals has been studied by Dr. Paul Horn, Mr. William Irvine and Mr. Abdul Aziz, while that of the Marathas by Dr. S. N. Sen. The imperative need of a new monograph on the art of war in the period under review was suggested by Dr. Raghuvir Singh in 1953. Sir Jadunath Sarkar with his indomitable zeal, is engaged in the preparation of the military history of India and this will of course cover our period as well. Nevertheless an independent monograph on military history of India during the age of the Mughals, with emphasis on the organisational side, tactics, and strategy, in Central Asia and India, as compared to other contemporary armies, Indian and foreign, with which they had to fight, the various martial classes of India with their characteristic methods and traditions can hardly be delayed in free India.

A comprehensive history of diplomacy in the period under review, as practised by the Mughals, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Deccanis, the Persians and the European powers should also be studied along with the art of war and military strategy. The *Haft Anjuman* tells us of the veteran Mirza Raja Jai Singh I's diplomacy in proposing to Emperor Aurangzeb the desirability of using Shivaji as a loyal and powerful Mughal watchguard in the Deccan, and suggesting how the Siddis of Janjira and

Danda Rajapuri were to be eluded to forsake their strongholds by offer of favours and rewards to allow Shivaji to capture them on behalf of the Mughals. Aurangzeb pursued the policy of breaking the two bones by knocking them together against the Afghan tribes in the N.W. Frontier. His *casus belli* against the Deccani Sultanates of Golkonda and Bijapur did not consist merely in political imperialism or religious differences but because they looked up to the Persian Shia King for inspiration and guidance. The reactions of Mughal diplomacy on other powers, both Indian and extra-Indian, and the beginnings and genesis of the 'policy of force' as applied by the European Companies' Agents and factors against the Indian powers should also be studied. In fine, a detailed and critical history of diplomacy in Mughal India would largely be a history of international relations in India and Asia during the period.

In a dynamic age of conscious national awakening and regeneration, of conservation of national heritage and of constructive advance in the crisscross of internal and external factors, the Muse of History is no longer satisfied with mere political affairs but demands from its votaries due study of the social, cultural and economic conditions of the country. Reconstruction of our history, therefore, requires, besides an objective and rational attitude, unbiassed by any pseudo-national, chauvinistic, parochial or partisan sentiments, a re-orientation of outlook on the part of the historian, a change in emphasis and in interpretation of the facts of history. The historian must not merely dilate on the glamour of kings and courts, or magnify the clatter of arms in the camps of contending armies or be lost in the labyrinth of diplomatic intrigues of political juntas or party coteries, but he must also probe into the working of the mind and the *manus* of the common man and recount the story of his weal and woe as well.

The writing of a history of the people and economic history in general during the Mughal period in some aspect or other—the village, education and literature, culture and religion—has been emphasized almost every year by successive Presidents of this Section. These suggestions, taken collectively, are quite comprehensive in themselves and I do not propose to say anything more than this that a study of society and culture in Mughal India on the lines of Mr. Kunwar Ashraf's similar work on the Turko-Afghan period but based on *all* classes of sources and including a survey of Hindu-Moslem relations should be undertaken at no distant future.

I would, however, draw the pointed attention of scholars and research workers of this period to the imperative necessity of writing a correct and comprehensive economic history of Mughal India. Broadly speaking, the two companion volumes of the late Mr. W. H. Moreland, written respectively in 1920 and 1923 represent even now the last word on Indian economic history of this period. With all deference to Mr. Moreland's scholarship and research acumen, it has to be admitted, firstly, that his approach is not dispassionate. In the preface to *India at the death of Akbar* he admits that he has tried to "state the past in terms of the more familiar

present" and that in giving numerical estimates he is "not so sanguine as to hope" that he has escaped all "the dangers attendant on this form of political arithmetic". Mr. Moreland's thesis, indeed, was to prove certain points of view. Secondly, the scope of the two works is limited; they come down to 1658 only. The economic development of the whole momentous reign of Aurangzeb of fifty years, marked by significant developments,—the greatest extension of the Mughal empire, the rise of the Marathas, the long Deccan wars, the consequent beginnings of administrative decline, the growing interest of foreign merchants in territorial settlements (e.g. the Dutch in Malabar, the English in Bombay, the French in Pondicherry) have been left untouched. Thirdly, the sources utilised by him were also limited. He himself admitted that his two works were sketches rather than definitive treatises, or finished pictures, because he had not utilised the records of the Portuguese administration and the Jesuits, the Vernacular literatures and the collections in Indian libraries. In 1923 he observed, "There is still a wide scope for research in the history of this period, not only among the Dutch records, but in literature which is within the reach of Indian students and which they are in the best position to interpret". Since then fresh materials have been discovered in the light of which even Dr. R. K. Mukherji's economic survey of the period requires revision. But Mr. Moreland's call has not yet been answered. Will it be done now? The preparation of a comprehensive and objective picture of economic conditions of India during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries (roughly c. 1498-1757) is highly desirable in the formulation of economic planning for free India and should no longer remain the despair of Indian scholarship.

The task of reconstruction of the history of our country on sound rational lines cannot be adequately performed without intensive regional or local investigations of materials relating to different spheres,—political, military, social, economic and cultural. Indeed the preparation of a comprehensive history of India and that of regional and local histories should proceed simultaneously on parallel lines. Bengal, Assam, Malwa and Oudh have already attracted the attention of scholars, but other areas and sub-areas in Northern India,—Bihar, Orissa, Jaunpur, Rohilkhand, the Punjab, Gujrat etc. should now be taken up.

As regards the systematic study of Muslim rule in the Deccan and of the general history of the Deccan, I would humbly suggest that not only the history of each of the offshoots of the Bahmani Kingdom, Ahmadnagar, Khandesh, Berar, Bijapur and Golkonda, but also the history of the various succession states (kingdoms and petty principalities) of the crumbling kingdom of Vijayanagar should be studied on the basis of *all* available sources. Moreover, besides political history, their institutions, civil and military, their socio-economic conditions, the state of religion and culture, the lives of important personalities, and European settlements, where established, in these kingdoms should receive due attention of the research scholar.

Of the various nationalities of India during this period, critical and valuable studies have been made of the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas. But there are no similar up-to-date studies about the Rajputs and the Afghans. Messrs. Ojha, Reu, Banerji and Sharma have shown the possibilities of more intensive work on Rajput history. The almost virgin field of the state records and archives of the different Rajput houses including those of Jaipur, if allowed to be tapped, would unearth a rich mine. Works on the Afghans, who had made a gigantic bid for supremacy in Northern India in the pre-Sur period, are even less than those on the Rajputs.

There are many references to various tribes and peoples of the period, the Bundelas, the Gonds, the Kolis, the Kathis, the Bhils and the people of Jharkhand and others in the Deccan. The metrical *Aurangnamah* while describing Mir Jumla's advance against Shuja tells us of the hillmen inhabiting the "Barjanganl" i.e. extensive or terrifying woods of the Kharagpur hills of Monghyr, and of the hilly regions south-east of the district. Collection of all such references will be a rich harvest to the students of History and Anthropology.

About the activities of the various European nations who came to trade with India and neighbouring countries, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French have been dealt with. But the activities of the Danes, the Germans, the Venetians, the Swedes, and the Muscovites (Russians), though not so significant as the first four, certainly deserve the attention of scholars.

Geography is regarded by competent critics as an indispensable basis of historical studies. But few books of the type of *India of Aurangzib* by Sir J. N. Sarkar (1901) exist in the field, though original sources are not lacking in this respect. From the *Manasamangala* of Vipradasa (1495 A.D.) and the *Chandi* of Mukundaram (1566), it appears that the river courses in mediæval Bengal were different from what they are today. The *Alamgirnamah* and the historical poem *Aurangnamah* by "Haqiri" tell us that the Saraju, the Gandak and the Kosi met the Ganges further east of their present confluence with the Ganges. John Marshall tells us that a sandy *char* intervened between the city of Patna and the river. Instances can easily be multiplied. Hence I would humbly draw the attention of all scholars of this period to the necessity of writing a Mediæval Indian Historical Geography and a Mediæval Indian Gazetteer giving location of place names, and topographical details, tracing the courses of rivers and boundaries of provinces and changes therein, by collating references to these in Persian chronicles and letter books, gazetteers, despatches, foreign travellers' accounts and records of the foreign companies and powers, literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources, with the help of contemporary maps (e.g. of De Barros, Peter Van den Broecke and others), the Bengal Atlas of Major James Rennell and the Government of India survey maps etc.

The geographical position of India projecting southwards from the centre of Asia to the Indian Ocean influenced her history from times immemorial. A 'Greater India' had once been established beyond the hills and across the oceans in Ancient India. With the decline of India's maritime power, her overseas commercial and colonial connections also slackened. Her relations, commercial and cultural or otherwise, with Persia, Arabia and West Asia in general, Abyssinia, Egypt, the East coast of Africa and Madagascar and the islands in the Indian Ocean, with Arakan, Pegu (Burma), Malay Peninsula, the East Indies, and S. E. Asia, China and Japan in the Far East during this period of decline of Indian maritime and colonial enterprise should be studied. At the same time the study of the influence of India in particular and of Asia in general on the tastes and fashions in Europe to which a significant reference has been made by Sardar Panikkar in his *Asia and the Western Dominance* (1953) will be highly instructive.

Ladies and Gentlemen! I have endeavoured to give a bird's eye view of the house of Mughal Indian history and of the gaps in its walls and fortifications. The legacy we have inherited from our predecessors is rich and fruitful. Now, their mantle has fallen on us, and we have to carry forward the blazing torch of knowledge.

But have we acquitted ourselves in this onward march satisfactorily? I fear that the fact has to be conceded that the rate of progress should have been more rapid than what it has been.

During a period of 16 years (1938-54* excluding 1942, when no session was held), the total number of papers of this section published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress is 218 i.e. 14 papers a year on an average. It is for us all to judge whether this is a satisfactory number, considering the vastness of our country, the long range of the period covered by this Section, and the nature and number of subjects or problems to be discussed. An analysis of these 218 papers shows the nature of their contents as follows: Political 73, Administrative 17, Socio-economic 14, Cultural 30, Naval or maritime 3, Military 5, Foreign Companies or Powers 7, the Deccan (including the Marathas) 29, Sikhs 5, Rajputs 5, East Indies *nil*, General (including source material) 30.

The Bulletin of research theses and dissertations published in 1955 by the National Archives of India, though admittedly not exhaustive, shows that out of a total number of 300 items, only 29 relate strictly to the Mughal period. The proportion of contributions to the Mughal period to those in the British period is 1 to 10. A further analysis of these 29 works completed or in course of preparation shows the distribution as follows: Political 5; Administrative 1; Socio-economic 4, Cultural *nil*, Military *nil*, Naval or Maritime 1, Foreign Companies or Powers 6, the Deccan (including the Marathas) 5, Sikhs 1, Rajputs 2, East Indies 1, General (including source material) 3. True, there are other journals or organs which contain

* The figures for 1953 and 1954 are based on the list of Summaries of Papers and not on the Proceedings.

valuable articles. But a time has certainly come when more output, better planning and co-ordination of research are necessary. Subject to the necessary limitations of such estimates, based on imperfect data, they roughly indicate the broad trends of research work carried on by scholars in this period.

The student of Mughal history has got to be a student of world history and a linguist. The canvas of his painting has to be set against a background of world panorama and the colours he uses must be sufficiently variegated to produce a pleasing effect. But the main hurdle is the language problem. He must be conversant with at least Persian and English, and with Dutch, Portuguese, and French, besides the regional languages of different areas of India where necessary. Few individual scholars can afford unaided to drink at the fountain-head of all these sources in original even during a whole life time. Dr. A. L. Srivastava bewailed (1952) the growing decline in historical scholarship in Persian. Then is the prospect bleak for Mughal Indian historiography?

I humbly submit that the Government and the Universities have to come to the rescue of the researcher likely to be marooned in the uncharted and unknown ocean of original materials. Apart from the future of the India Office Library, the Government of India may procure transcripts or photostats or microfilmed copies of all Persian MSS and Dutch, Portuguese and English records relating to India from the Libraries of England and Europe. This may be done in a planned way and a definite planning of acquisition may be launched. A Corpus Indo-Moslemaica or a consolidated body of such records, catalogued and classified according to subjects and periods may be regarded as a desideratum. If the Government does not do this the next alternative is for the Universities to procure such copies of records as may be required by the individual research scholars for their respective theses. As far as my information goes the University of Calcutta is doing this. Such a scheme of acquisition of original source materials from abroad will ultimately lead to national economy by obviating the necessity of Indian scholars of this period of history going abroad for research purposes.

A planned programme of authentic editing and translation of Persian mss. dealing with the period from Babar to Shah Alam is another imperative necessity. Just as the *Bait ul hikma* of the first century of the Abbaside rule, by translating the treasures of literary and scientific materials procured from the vanquished nations helped to produce the age of original contributions to world culture during the mediæval period, just as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in the 19th century revealed through the efforts of scholars, European and Indian, the majesty and wealth of ancient Indian civilization, so there must be established an All India Translation Bureau of source materials in different languages either in extenso or in summaries, but preferably in the former. Under its auspices and guidance the regional cultural or research societies, institutes or associations and the Universities, separately or in collaboration, may take up the work of transla-

tion of records, according to a circulated scheme of editing, publication and translation, under the supervision of University professors, helped by a staff of competent scholars and assistants. This will also keep the brilliant University products usefully employed in learning the methodology of research and after the completion of their apprenticeship they may be engaged as teachers or research guides. The Universities should institute schools of foreign languages where research scholars may pick up adequate knowledge of one or more languages as may be necessary.

Scholars working on Persian sources for their research work may be encouraged by award of suitable financial aids by the Government or Universities to edit, annotate, translate and publish them. These would be valuable bye-products of research and make increasing source materials available to the growing numbers of research students in future.

Side by side with the undertaking of new works, attention should also be turned towards the work of re-editing and re-publishing many of the existing editions of source materials. The beginning made in this direction as regards revision of Blochmann and Jarrett's edition of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Dr. Phillot and and Sir J. N. Sarkar, of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians* by Mr. Hodivala (*Studies in Indo-Moslem History*) and Prof. Muhammed Habib (vol. 2) has got to be continued in the near future. The importance of such revisionist studies of source materials cannot be gainsaid in view of discovery of fresh materials and extension of the bounds of knowledge which were unknown to the original editors. Again, many of these works have become rare and out of print and are no longer available for study except in standard libraries. A scheme of re-issue of such works (preferably with annotations where necessary) is another imperative need of the hour. The numerous articles, papers and translations of source materials of the period, published by its master architect Sir Jadunath Sarkar and now lying scattered in various journals, commemoration volumes and similar publications should be printed in a handy volume.

This brings us to the question of having a bibliography of the period. Prof. S. R. Sharma did a great service in publishing his *Bibliography of Mughal India*. It must, however, be admitted that any bibliography, however comprehensive and authentic at the time of publication, will require revision after some time. As such annual or periodical bibliographies will be necessary. A move in this direction was made by Mr. B. A. Fernandes a few years back, but his *Bibliography of Indian History and Oriental Research*, based on journals, should be annually or regularly published to be useful as a handmaid of research. Would it be too much to expect a *Journal of Mughal Studies* like the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and the *Journal of Roman Studies*?

Valuable source materials,—records, *farmans*, *sanads*, chronicles, correspondence, *bayaz* or scrapbooks etc., coins, inscriptions, and monuments, lie hidden or un-cared for in every nook and corner of this vast country and await the eager and discerning eyes of the researcher. There are also

private, sometimes unknown, libraries and collections lying at the risk of loss or disposal as waste paper. Hence intensive regional surveys of records of all kinds—mss., monuments (temples, mosques, churches, cemeteries), epigraphs and coins should be undertaken under the auspices of Universities and colleges, and research scholarships endowed, reconnaissance and exploratory excursions organised, and records studied or acquired to save valuable treasures from obliteration by the ravages of time, climate, insects, pests, and by the vandalism of men.

Many scholars who are employed as teachers, do not find adequate facilities for research work. Research is not a rough and rude plant, which can grow un-cared for like weeds on rocky or unproductive soil. It is a delicate and tender sapling that requires the constant care of an expert gardener to grow to a mighty tree. It is the bounden duty of the Government and the Universities to provide the proper atmosphere and offer facilities to the research worker, and afford him ample leisure for the fulfilment of a life's mission.

Will this eminent All-India association of historians do something by appealing to the Governments and Universities to help the toiling scholars in different ways with a view to accelerating the cause of historical research?

A NOTE ON INDO-BRITISH COMMERCE IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY

DR. B. K. MAJUMDAR

The early expeditions of the East India Company were known as "separate voyages", because for each venture a separate fund was raised; the subscribers bore the entire expenses and enjoyed the whole of the profits. This arrangement was fraught with difficulties. Accordingly in 1612 A.D. joint-stock enterprises came into being. Another interesting feature was that they were directed more for participation in the spice trade in the East Indies than for trade with Indian peninsula. Anyway, it is just possible to get an insight into the commodities carried in ships—the amount of profit made as also the prices of goods in India from the letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East.

During the first voyage sent out by the Governor and the Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies the merchandise carried by the fleet under Captain Lancaster (Feb. 13, 1601 A.D.) consisted of the following articles¹:—1. Iron. 2. Tin (wrought and unwrought in bars). 3. Lead. 4. Different kinds of cloths including Devonshire Kersies. 5. Presents to be given to the Kings, comprising (a) a belt of

1. *Court Minutes*, Oct. 8, 1600.

girdle, (b) a case of pistols, (c) some plumes, (d) looking-glasses, (e) platters, (f) spoons, (g) toys of glass, (h) spectacles, (i) drinking glasses of all sorts, (j) an ewer of plain silver.

From a letter² addressed from Surat on August 30, 1609, a detailed account of prices of Indian goods and of English commodities vendible in India can be obtained. Some of them are :—

Articles	Where found	Prices
Indigo	Biana near Agra	40 to 60 Mamoodie ³ per maund.
Indigo	Ahmedabad	25 to 30 mam. per maund.
Cotton wool	Do.	40 to 60 mam. per candy.
Linen	Comorin	6 mam. (prices also vary).
(This excellent sort of linen had a good market in England for sheeting)		
Large pepper	Surat	8 or 9 mam. per maund.
Quilts of all sorts	„	price reasonable.
Aloes	„	8 or 9 mam. per maund.
Opium in great abundance	„	80 or 120 mam. per maund.

English goods vendible in India

Cloth of all kinds	Some 200 or 300 cloths may yearly be vended here and at Agra for 4, 5 or 6 rials, or some dearer per <i>covid</i> .
Quicksilver	50 to 63 <i>Kintals</i> would be sold about 4 or 5 mam. per seer.
Red lead	9 or 8 rials per <i>Kintal</i> .
Vermillion	Some 20 <i>Kintals</i> would sell about 7 mam. per notile or somewhat better—“a very good commodity”, price depending upon goodness and largeness.
Drinking glasses and looking glasses of all sorts.	Some reasonable quantity would be sold to good profit.

Concerning monies, weights, and measures in use in the seventeenth century the East India Company's records reveal valuable information. The *Candy* was equivalent to 20 maunds. The maund was of two sorts—the small maund—27 lbs. English, the great maund 32½ lbs. English. The weight called a seer was approximately 11 oz. The measures of Surat were again of two sorts, both called *Covids*. The monies of the country's stamp are all mamoodies, each being of value about 11d. English.⁴

By the time the Dutch and the English were engaged in commercial rivalry the Moghul sovereignty in India had taken root. India's prosperity was increasing due to good government ever since the time of Akbar. The prospects of foreign trade seemed assuring. In the early Moghul period, nay throughout that period, specially till the death of Aurangzeb, economic conditions remained stable, and India continued to maintain a brisk foreign trade with countries of Asia and Europe. India

2. East India Company's Records, Vol. I (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London), 1896 : Letter No. 11, pp. 28-34.

3. An Indian coin worth about one-fifth of a rial of eight or somewhat less than an English shilling.

4. East India Company's Records, Vol. I, p. 34.

in this period possessed a number of well developed harbours. The chief ports were :—

1. Lahori Bander in Sind.
2. Gujrati ports like Surat, Broach and Cambay.
3. Bassein and Dabul in the Ratnagiri district.
4. Ports like Nagapattam, Musalipattam on the east coast.
5. Malabar ports like Cochin and Calicut.
6. Bengal ports like Satgaon⁵, Sripur, Sonargram and Chittagong.⁶

These ports were often the scenes of activities of foreign merchants—Portuguese, Dutch and English. The customs duties fixed by the State in those days are stated to be moderate. “At Surat these were 3½ per cent on money either gold or silver. No merchant was allowed to carry any quantity of silver out of the country.”

The resources, organisation and enterprise of the English merchants, their supremacy at sea, their subsequent hold on Bengal, when compared with the corresponding weakness of the Moghul command over the sea and the low tone of Indian politics incidentally explain, to a large extent, the great destiny that Indo-British commerce opened by Elizabethan seamen was to bring in.

MAHARAJA MAN SINGH—FROM BENGAL'S POINT OF VIEW

DR. H. VEDANTASASTRI

Maharaja Man Singh occupies a prominent place in the annals of India during the mediæval period. His sphere of action embraced entire Hindusthan, from Afghanistan in the west to Bengal in the east. He was the main prop of Emperor Akbar's conquests. Bengal is one of the Subahs he conquered for Akbar and ruled on his behalf and his connexion with Bengal has been judged, and not wrongly, from the politico-military point of view.

He ousted the insurgent Afghans under Qutlu Khan from Bengal, broke the backbone of the rebellious Moghul *jagirdars* and brought under subjugation the refractory *Bhuians*, for which he had to wage a long campaign. His military success did not go in vain. He was invested with the Governorship of the province. Thrice he ruled Bengal—twice under Akbar and once under Jehangir. He founded a new capital of Bengal at

5. “Saptagram, situated on the Saraswati . . . grew up to be an important port and took the place of Tamluk. The new port maintained its importance till the beginning of the 16th Century . . . even upto the middle of the 16th Century large vessels used to sail into Satgaon with merchandise and during the reign of Akbar the city brought an income of Rs. 30,000.”

6. “During this period (16th Century) to the south-east of the delta, another port Chittagong (Chatigaon) had risen into importance. Chittagong attracted foreigners more than any other port as long as Gaur remained the capital of Bengal. After the fall of Gaur towards the end of the 16th Century, Chittagong also lost its former importance.” (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *Calcutta Past and Present*, p. 2).

Agmahal, which was named Rajmahal as well as Akbarnagar by him, and which became capital for the second time under Shuja.

What was the effect of his conquest on the life of the people of Bengal and in which light they took his administration is a matter to be judged by historians ; but tradition, both literary and cultural, has bequeathed a mixed memory. Writers on the careers of Isha Khan, Pratapaditya, Chand Roy, Kedar Roy and others of their class, who championed the cause of Bengal's independence, have taken Maharaja Man Singh as an agent of Mughal Imperialism ; on the other hand, writers attached to the princely house of Krishnanagar have welcomed him as a hero. Thus Bharat-chandra, the court-poet of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Krishnanagar, in the mid-eighteenth century, has eulogized the Maharaja with the following :—

“ধন্য রাজা মানসিংহ গোড়বঙ্গ-উৎকল-অধিপ”

(Blessed is Raja Man Singh, the ruler of Gauda, East Bengal and Orissa.)

Is it mere self-aggrandisement that led Bhabananda Mazumdar, the founder of the aforesaid princely house, and others following him, to adhere to the Raja? Or is there anything more than this in their loyalty to Man Singh?

I believe there is. The Pathans of Bengal might have been acclimatized, but they did not bid good-bye to bigotry altogether. Ousted from Bengal, they settled in Orissa with the permission of the Raja. But soon after the death of their chief Isha Khan, the unruly Pathans revolted and seized the temple of Jagannath, which was in the possession of the Raja. The enraged Raja hastened to the spot and routed the enemy. Thus it is not unlikely that the Raja was held to be a great champion of Hinduism by a good number of chiefs of Bengal and it is quite likely that this trait of the Raja's character served to popularise him in Bengal.

And really the Raja was a staunch Hindu and a defender of his faith. Thus writes Mr. N. S. Solanki :—

“This olive-complexioned, shortlived prince, the guardian angel of Hinduism, was the living embodiment of progressive and dynamic currents of Hinduism. His sound education and polished manners had ridden him of general narrowmindedness, bigotry, superstition and short-sightedness that beset our Rajasthan.”

And we shall soon see that this spirit the Raja inherited from Bengal and her New Faith, that out-stripped its borders and made a considerable headway in the land of Mathura.

The age of the Raja was the age of religious upheaval, and the Raja did not fail to take advantage of this. It is in this age that saint Tulsidas produced his unique epic, and the Raja was, so writes V. A. Smith, a friend and an admirer of the Goswami. His patron Akbar, too, propagated a new faith, Din Ilahi *alias* Tauhid Ilahi, and the Raja was requested by the Emperor to embrace the new faith ; but loyal as the Raja was to the

cause of his master, he was equally loyal to the faith of his forefathers and the Emperor had to desist from his attempt.

Wherefrom did he imbibe this spirit of staunchness and catholicity? To meet this question Mr. Solanki writes:—"Kumar Man belonged to the Vallabhi *sampradaya*, the cult of Krishna. When one sees frescoes of religious places on the walls of his dining room in the palace of Ajmer, one is easily led to the conviction how deep was his religious sentiment, that he could not take his meals without casting a glance at those frescoes".

What Mr. Solanki says about the frescoes is true; but what he says about the religious affiliation of Kumar Man is wrong. He was, no doubt, personally acquainted with Vithal, son of Vallabhacharyya, but certainly he did not belong to that sect.

By the time the Raja had his influence felt in spheres military and political throughout Hindusthan, the Neo-Vaishnavism of Bengal had made considerable headway. Originally founded by Sree Madhavendra Puri in the mid-fifteenth century, it reached its culmination in Lord Chaitanya, the Great Master, whose spiritual heirs were the Goswamis of Vrindavan. "Akbar was induced", writes Growse, in his *Mathura*, "to pay a visit to the Gossains in 1573 and the Raja, who bore him company, expressed a desire to commemorate the visit and do honour to Krishna, by the erection of four temples, which were constructed in due course many years later."

One of the four temples is Rupa Goswami's temple of Govindaji. Rupa was the accredited head of the aforesaid Vrindaban Gossains. The architect of this temple, writes Growse, was Govindadas of Delhi, who was commissioned by Raja Man Singh. *Sadhanadipika*, a work of the 17th century by Radhakrishna Goswami, also clearly affirms that the temple of Govindaji was erected by Maharaja Man Singh. The date of construction is 1590 A.D.

The tablet set in the temple also points to the same direction. It lays down that the temple was erected in 1512 Saka (*i.e.*, 1590 A.D.) by Maharaja Man, a follower of Rupa and Sanatan.

The said Vrindaban Goswamis numbered six:—

(1) Rupa, the leader of the community, at one time Chief Secretary to the independent Nawab of Bengal.

(2) Sanatan, the elder brother of Rupa, at one time the Prime Minister of the said ruler.

(3) Jiva, a nephew to them, the greatest philosopher of the day.

(4) Raghunath Das, son of a wealthy Zaminder of Bengal, who bore the title of "Raja".

(5) Raghunath Bhatta, a scholar and son of a scholar of Bengal, who settled at Benaras.

(6) Gopala Bhatta, a scholar from the Far South.

Krishna Das Kaviraja affirms in his *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* (III. 13) that Raghunath Bhatta had the temple of Govindaji constructed by his own disciple. From this it appears that Raja Man was a disciple of his. *Anuragavalli*, composed in 1696 by Manohar Das, says that out of the six

Goswamis only two acted as Gurus—the two Bhattas. Persons hailing from Bengal were to be initiated by Raghunath Bhatta whereas others by Gopala Bhatta. But *Bhaktiratnākar*, a work of the eighteenth century, speaks of a notable exception ; it says that Srinivasa Acharyya, the greatest leader of the subsequent period, was initiated by Gopala Bhatta, though he hailed from Bengal. I believe the case of Raja Man was likewise an exception, he being initiated by Raghunath Bhatta, a Bengali, though he belonged to Rajasthan. Thus Maharaja Man Singh did not belong to the Vallabha *sampradaya* as it is argued by Mr. Solanki ; on the contrary, he was a follower of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism, having been initiated by Bhatta Raghunath, one of the six Vrindaban Goswamis. And it is through the intercession of his Guru, who, according to Krishnadas Kaviraj, dedicated himself to Govindaji, that he constructed the seven-storied temple of Govindaji at Vrindaban.

Thus it was from the Bengal school of Vaishnavism that Raja Man imbibed his spirit of devotion and catholicity and this is the principal feature, over and above his “sound education and polished manners”, to quote Mr. Solanki, “that had ridden him of general narrow-mindedness, bigotry, superstition, and short-sightedness that beset Rajasthan”. This fact appears clearer when we think of the narrow-mindedness of his colleague, Raja Mahes Das, *alias* Birbal, whose hostility towards the Sikhs has been recorded by Vincent A. Smith.

Thus the relation of Maharaja Man with the State of Bengal, which he thrice administered on behalf of the Mughals, should be viewed from two aspects :—political or politico-military as well as religious. The religious inspiration derived by him from his connection with Bengal did not die with him, so ingrained it was in his royal house of Jaipur. We find clear-cut evidence of the same when we take into account the following two facts :—

(1) During the regime of his descendant, Raja Jai Singh Sawai (who died in 1743), the savants of the above-mentioned school scored two victories, one in the vicinity of Jaipur and the other at Murshidabad, in two religious controversies held under the auspices of the said Raja.

(2) During the expeditions of Ahmed Shah Abdali, Govindaji of Rupa, Madanmohan of Sanatan, Radha Damodar of Jiva as well as Gopinath of Madhu Pandit were carried to Jaipur. Of these, three are being worshipped still there, and the other one, Madanmohan, was taken to Karauli, when a Raja of that State married a princess of the House of Jaipur. The Raja also embraced the faith of the family of his consort.

THE PUDUKKOTTAI PLATES OF SRIVALLABHA AND VARATUNGARĀMA

DR. K. K. PILLAY ·

The interpretation of certain details relating to the Pudukkottai plates is still open to doubt, and this paper seeks to examine the controversial issues connected with them. These plates, which profess to have been issued by the Pāndyan rulers, Srivallabha and Varatungarāma, in the year Saka 1505¹ (1583 A.D.), record the grant of Pudukkottai and a few neighbouring villages to a group of Brahmins. The gift was made at the request of one Tirumalarāja, who is described as the right hand of Virabhupati, the Nāyak governor of Madurai. Apparently, this grant was given soon after the battle of Vallaprākāra, fought by Virabhupati (Virappa Nāyaka) against Venkatarāja, the Vijayanagara suzerain, who was assisted by Achyutappa Nāyaka, the governor of Tanjāvur. The undermentioned points connected with the plates are attempted to be clarified here.

(i) Is Venkatarāja, mentioned in the inscription, identical with Venkatapati I, the Vijayanagar emperor, who ruled between 1586 and 1614 A.D.? It may be mentioned here that certain historians² of Vijayanagar speak of Venkatapati Rāya I as Venkatapati II, because they consider Venkatadri, Achyuta Rāya's son, as Venkatapati I. But this slight discrepancy can be settled easily because Venkatapati the emperor (1586—1614 A.D.) was the first crowned sovereign who bore that name, and consequently he alone is entitled to be considered as Venkatapati I.

A more serious doubt arises from the fact that the Pudukkottai plates speak of the Vijayanagara suzerain merely as Venkatarāya, without any title. Nor does the inscription describe his political status. But this circumstance, too, is explicable. This grant was given in 1583 A.D., and it is known that his accession to the throne occurred later. Venkatarāya was the Viceroy of the South in 1583 A.D., and was crowned as emperor only in 1586 A.D.³ That is the reason why the plates speak of Venkatapati merely by his personal name while they advert to Aliya Rāmarāja as emperor.

(ii) It has been argued that the known facts do not indicate any ostensible reason for Venkatapati attacking the Madura Nāyak. Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar holds⁴ that Virappa Nāyaka was found, both before and after 1583, to be consistently loyal to the Vijayanagar overlord. Virappa's Krishnāpuram inscription of 1577⁵ acknowledges formal allegiance to the emperor Srirangadeva Mahārāja, while in his Shermādevi inscription

1. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, pp. 62-84.
2. See, for example, The Rev. H. Heras : *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 301.
3. The Dalavay Agrahāram Plates of Venkata I dated 1586, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 159.
4. R. Satyanatha Aiyar : *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 80-81.
5. A.R.E. 16 of 1912.

of 1578⁶ Virappa speaks of himself as the agent of Srirangadeva Mahārāja. In the later inscriptions, too, beginning from the Dalavāy Agrahāram Plates of Venkatapati I of 1586 down to Sriranga's Shermādevi inscription of 1594,⁷ several epigraphs show Virappa's tacit acknowledgment of the Vijayanagar emperor's supremacy.

It has been, however, pointed out that Virappa's subordination to Vijayanagar is clear from his records only up to 1578 A.D. and that his inscriptions from that date down to 1586 A.D. do not refer to his recognition of any overlord at all, as they were issued in his own name. But this by itself does not constitute a convincing proof of his disloyalty. Obviously, the omission of the name of overlords in the inscriptions of subordinates alone cannot be considered as indicating the independence of the latter.⁸ Nor does the formal acknowledgment of supremacy provide positive proof of goodwill on the part of the vassal. It is probable that sometime after he had firmly seated himself in his position, the distant Madura vassal began to entertain the ambition of becoming independent and availed himself of a suitable opportunity to rebel against the emperor. Perhaps Virappa Nāyaka's speedy subjugation of the revolt of Māvali Vānādarāya as well as the effective measures taken against him inspired confidence in the mind of Virappa and prompted him to withhold the usual tribute to Vijayanagar.⁹

(iii) On the ground that evidence of Virappa Nāyaka's rebellion is lacking, Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar doubts whether the Pudukkottai plates are not ascribable to the period of Muttu Virappa Nāyaka (1603—23 A.D.).¹⁰ In that case the reference to the battle in the plates must have had a bearing on the imperial war of succession fought in the south in 1616. The obvious chronological impediment to this assumption is attempted to be overcome by casting a doubt on the authenticity of the date entered in the Pudukkottai plates. Mr. Aiyar is inclined to identify the battle of Vallaprākāra with that of Toppur¹¹ which occurred in connection with the above-mentioned war of succession fought between the party supporting Sriranga Cokkarāya who was appointed as his successor by Venkata II (1586—1614 A.D.) and that led by Jagga Rāya who favoured the accession of a pretender. But it is important to remember that the battle of Toppur was fought after the death of Venkāta; therefore, it is not possible to associate the Venkata of the Pudukkottai plates with this war. Moreover, Achyutappa Nāyaka had abdicated by 1614 A.D., while the Toppur battle was fought in 1616 A.D.¹² Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, while concluding on the basis of valid reasons that the battle of Vallaprākāra was fought by

6. A.R.E. 663 of 1916.

7. A.R.E. 187 of 1895.

8. V. Vriddhagirisan: *The Nāyaks of Tānjore*, pp. 39-40.

9. Rev. H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, p. 285.

10. R. Satyanatha Aiyar: *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 101.

11. *Ibid*, p. 103.

12. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's note No. 13 on p. 103 of R. Satyanatha Aiyar's *History of Nāyaks of Madura*.

Venkata I in order to check the growing independence of the Madura Nāyaka,¹³ surprisingly ascribes its date posterior to 1586 A.D.¹⁴ Obviously this does not fit in with the known data.

Though it is clear that the battle of Vallaprākāra is different from that of Toppur, the circumstance that Vallam is located very near Tanjāvur, hardly four miles from it, causes another doubt. Vallam was situated in the northern outskirts of the dominion of the Madurai Nāyaka and not within it. If the Vijayanagar suzerain undertook a campaign against Virappa, normally the attack would have been delivered within the territory of the Madurai Nāyaka. The other possibility is that Virappa, anticipating an attack from the Vijayanagar suzerain, forestalled him by proceeding north and meeting the opponent at Vallaprākāra. However, the normal course for Virappa Nāyaka would have been to remain within his territory in order to resist the invader with greater ease. A more probable explanation is that ambitious Virappa attacked first Achyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjāvur, to whose help Venkatapati came and encountered the rebel force at Vallaprākāra.

(iv) A pertinent question which arises in this connection is why all the literary works which speak of the achievements of Achyutappa Nāyaka and of other Tanajāvur Nāyaks are silent about this battle. Neither the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Sāhityaratnākara*, *Sangitasudhā* of Raghunātha Nāyaka nor the *Raghunāthābhyudaya Nātakam* of Vijayaraghava Nāyaka makes any reference to the battle of Vallaprākāra.¹⁵ True, they were all panegyrics devoted exclusively to the praise of their patron sovereigns. But if Venkatapati was successful in the campaign, as has been claimed by the inscription, Achyutappa, who was his vassal and collaborator in the battle, had every reason to be proud of the achievement, and it would have normally found a place in the record of his glories.

On the other hand, it is important to observe that these literary works were none too accurate in their narration of events. There is a remarkable discrepancy in the accounts found in the *Raghunāthābhyudayam* and *Sāhityaratnākara*. For instance, *Raghunāthābhyudayam* refers to Raghunātha's victories in the early battles which he had fought with Muhammadans on behalf of Venkatapati, his suzerain, while the *Sāhityaratnākara* is absolutely silent about them. Thus it is idle to expect these quasi-historical or non-historical compositions to provide accurate historical data.

(v) Perhaps the most difficult problem connected with the Pudukkottai plates is faced in respect of the identification and determination of other details connected with the Pāndya kings, Srivallabha and Varatungarāma, the donors of the grant. There is an apparent incongruity in the data furnished by the inscription. Verse 19 states that on the death of Ativira-

13. R. Satyanatha Aiyar : *History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 99, n. 9.

14. *Ibid*, p. 103, p. 13.

15. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar : *Sources of Vijayanagar*, p. 305. Note, however, that the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, the *Raghunāthābhyudaya Nātakam* and the *Bahulasva-charitam* furnish accounts of the battle of Toppur.

rāma Pāndya, Srivallabha, his younger brother, was anointed king. Verse 42, on the other hand, mentions that the gift was made in the 21st year of Ativirarāma Srivallabha. The two statements are irreconcilable. It seems difficult to agree with Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's view¹⁶ that the reading, "*tridivam-gate*", is not quite secure. Clearly, the reference to the anointing of the younger brother leaves us in no doubt regarding the content of the verse in question. On the other hand, there are found Ativirarāma's inscriptions dated far later than s. 1505. For instance, the Kuttālam inscription of this king in his 42nd year of s. 1527¹⁷ proves that he must have ruled till A.D. 1605. Obviously, therefore, the reference in the plates to the demise of Ativirarāma was a mistake.

In this connection it may be observed that there is evidence of one Srivallabha having succeeded Ativirarāma. Besides the Pudukkottai plates the details given in the Jesuit source indicate that in 1608 A.D. Robert de Nobili, the Missionary, was in correspondence with Srivallabha, the Pāndyan king.¹⁸ The solution of the riddle seems to be this. In the 21st year of Ativirarāma, Srivallabha must have been crowned as a co-king and must have thereafter ruled in a part of the Pāndya dominion. This practice was by no means unusual among the later Pāndyas. But the death of Ativirarāma must have been entered in the plates by mistake. It is, however, inexplicable how such a grave error appeared in an avowedly contemporaneous document.

As for Varatungarāma, the cousin of Ativirarāma and Srivallabha, figuring as the joint donor of the grant, the explanation is not difficult. It is found that Varatungarāma figures in several inscriptions of Ativirarāma either jointly issuing grants with the principal ruler or authorising gifts himself on behalf of the king.¹⁹ After his coronation in 1587 A.D. we find him issuing his own inscriptions; his name was not thereafter associated with that of his cousin Ativirarāma. But even after the formal coronation Varatunga appears to have occupied a subordinate position and to have been ruling the regions covered by the modern Tenkāsi and Srivilliputtur taluks under the king, Ativirarāma. Apparently Ativirarāma Srivallabha was older than Varatungarāma and hence this arrangement.

(vi) Finally, what was the result of the battle of Vallaprākāra? The Pudukkottai plates state that the army of Virarāja (Virappa) was destroyed and that the army of Achyutarāja fled away. The huge host of Venkatarāja played its valiant part in the battle but the inscription is silent as to whether the emperor secured the victory or not. Tirumala Nāyaka, the faithful lieutenant of Virappa Nāyaka, succeeded in killing the renegade, Basavarāja, who, deserting him, had gone over to the emperor's side. The inscription adds, cryptically though, that after the battle, Tirumalarāja

16. K. A. N. Sastri: *Pāndyan Kingdom*, p. 251 n. See also A. R. E., 1912, Part II.

17. A.R.E., 405 of 1917.

18. Rev. H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 392 and n. 2.

19. For example, see A.R.E., 482, 595, 596, 597 and 598 of 1917 and 591 of 1926.

collected for himself all the horses in the battlefield. It is not uncommon for poetic language to cast a halo of mystery over adverse occurrences. There is little doubt that in this case Virappa Nāyaka was defeated ; otherwise the epigraph would have glorified even a partial victory. But apparently the emperor and his ally, Achyuta Nāyaka, did not fight the battle to the finish. If the version given by the inscription is trustworthy, Achyuta's force was driven away by Virappa's army. Perhaps Tirumalarāja felt elated that the horses of the fleeing armies fell into his hands and requested the Pāndyan kings to bestow the grant.

MUTHUKRISHNAPPA NAYAKA AND THE REVIVAL OF SETUPATI RULE

(*Summary*)

S. NATARAJAN

This paper describes the various factors that should have influenced Muthukrishnappa, the Nayak of Madura, to revive the rule of the Setupati in the Marava country. The failure of the system of government by commission and the anarchy that had set in induced many powerful chieftains to assert their authority. The Portuguese also now gained a political supremacy and the audacity which characterised their action in their dealings with the 'Tuticorin king' and Ariya Perumal showed that the Paravas under the influence of the Portuguese might be a source of danger to the Madura Kingdom. The Portuguese activities added to the difficulties in collecting the taxes. The Madura king also wished to make Ramnad a military outpost to check foreign invasions and to put down rebellions of the Poligars of the farther South. Above all, the pilgrims who used to visit Rameswaram found it quite impossible to reach their destination safely and there were frequent supplications from them for the restoration of order in the land.

CHHATRASAL BUNDELA IN THE IMPERIAL SERVICE

(Summary)

BHAGWAN DAS GUPTA

This paper deals with the career of Chhatrasal Bundela in the service of the Mughal Empire between 1670 and 1707. It is based on the contemporary Court *Akhbarats* and Persian texts and the letters of Chhatrasal.

It summarises briefly the early struggles of Chhatrasal Bundela with the Mughals in Bundelkhand between 1670 and 1707, with special reference to his occasional submissions to the imperial authority. The account of these early struggles of Chhatrasal as given by Lal Kavi, the poet of *Chhatra Prakash*, was not considered very authentic and trustworthy. During my research on Chhatrasal Bundela, I came across some letters of Chhatrasal, written to his son Jagatraj. These letters yield copious information about the early stages of the war of independence which Chhatrasal started in Bundelkhand after his return from the Deccan in 1671. They corroborate the account given by Lal Kavi.

Then in my study of contemporary Persian sources and specially of the collections of *Akhbarat—Darbar-i-Mualla*, I discovered that nearly all the Mughal Faujdars, who attempted to suppress the 'sons of Champat' and whose names are mentioned by Lal Kavi and Chhatrasal, were posted in Bundelkhand between 1670 and 1707. Thus the historicity of *Chhatra Prakash* is further confirmed. These *Akhbarats* also make references to the occasional submissions of Chhatrasal and his service in the Deccan with the imperial army.

SECTION V

MODERN INDIA, FROM 1765 A.D.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROF. R. V. OTURKAR

FRIENDS,

I thank you for having asked me to preside over Section V this year. I must frankly say that I did not ever think that I would be called upon to do so. I am a devoted pilgrim, attending the History Congress sessions year after year and gathering such inspiration and information as I could with a view to use it in my work of teaching the under-graduate and post-graduate classes ; or you may even describe me as a Maratha, gathering the annual customary loot by attending the sessions and presenting it in the Durbar of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, where my Guru Mahamahopadhyaya Potdar continues to be the Peshwa ! He sends his sardars and soldiers in far off directions. I may incidentally add that it is our annual practice in the B. I. S. Mandal to call a public meeting when we go back from the conference, and present before the people first hand information on the annual session of the Indian History Congress. Once again I thank you sincerely for the honour done to me and without further wasting time in these introductory remarks apply myself to the task you have assigned to me.

Brother delegates, Section V begins with the year 1765 and ends with such recent events which have become a part of History. So far we have not fixed up the other end of the period. It is not possible for us to get a clear historical perspective and judgement of events which have taken place only recently. I suggest that we may conveniently regard the year 1950, i.e. the year in which we became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, as marking the end of the period to be covered by Section V. In fact 26th of January 1950 is bound to be an epoch-making date in the history of India for more reasons than one. It is true that the flow of time is continuous. There is neither halt nor repose, and hence any day or date is bound to be arbitrary ; but I hope it will be generally acknowledged that the year 1950 is a suitable year where we can halt and look back with a view to get a correct perspective of how we got our independence and how and why our frontiers shrank from Attock to Amritsar. In this connection, I think it my duty to make a few observations as regards the work of writing the History of Freedom Movement in India. Everyone knows that the Government started the work in December 1952 by appointing an Editorial Board consisting of eminent historians in the country. The appointment in the first instance was for three years. We are told that a sum of Rs. 370245—4 As. was spent over the work up to the end of August 1953. The work had just started. There were hopes that it would take shape ; but suddenly, the Government have come out with an announcement that the Editorial Board will be dissolved, so soon as its triennial period would

be over! There are of course the customary complimentary remarks with which the Editorial Board has been honoured and an expression of satisfaction that much useful source material has so far been collected. Any way the Government thought that whatever so far had been done was enough! Why? One may ask. I am reminded of the mission that Lord Curzon as Governor General of India had sent to Tibet under the leadership of Sir Francis Younghusband. The mission had to make an honourable retreat without even having the opportunity to see the Lama. Dr. Vincent Smith commented on the incident by saying that the mission was a success, because so much geographical information was gained as a result of its visit to Tibet. I wonder whether the compliments that the Government of India bestowed upon the Committee were not of a similar nature, and that there were no other reasons why the Editorial Board was dissolved. As students of History we ought to learn from our mistakes and therefore we are entitled to get a detailed account, throwing more light on the subject. Further than that I shall not say. Before I leave this topic I shall only request the Government to utilise the labour of so many scholars who worked for the last three years, by publishing the source material that the different State sub-committees might have brought to light. The Bombay Committee has been able to acquire an autobiographical sketch of a revolutionary, Shri Damodar Chaphekar who participated in murdering Mr. Rand at Ganeshkhind in Poona towards the close of the last century. The document is very valuable and is sure to throw much useful light on the trend of the times.

I was considering the duration of the period that Section V should cover and I say that it is possible to fix up 1950 as the other end of the period. What should be the starting year for the study of Section V which deals with Modern Indian History? When does Modern period begin in the study of Indian History? The year 1765 is I think not so very satisfactory. Perhaps it is accepted as a suitable date because it was close to the year of the third battle of Panipat which left Abdali victorious and exhausted and the Marathas defeated and driven south of the river Chambal, leaving them engrossed in settling their own affairs at home and thus making the ground clear for the gradual ascendancy of the British. Before we could accept any such incident or incidents as worthy of being looked upon as epoch-making, it is necessary to define the concept of modernism, as the determining test for dividing History into epochs mediaeval and modern. For a student of World History mediaevalism is associated with the influence of religion as the dominating consideration directing human society. During that period the status of a person was determined by the social group to which he belonged. The wages and remuneration were determined by custom and the individual had no separate existence except as a corporate member of the society. On the other hand modernism is associated with secularism instead of religious enthusiasm, competition in place of custom, contract in place of status, and emergence of the rational individual enjoying freedom to develop his personality. Modernism is also

associated with other things such as the inauguration of the machine age, increasingly more difficult struggle for existence and dictates of machinery subordinating human dignity to the exigencies of economic needs. If we examine the events of Indian History on the tests of modernism stated above we have to come to the conclusion that modern period ought to begin much later than the year 1761. It is the British rule in India and the alien capitalism that brought about, as has been said by Karl Marx, the only social revolution in India. The credit of having ushered in the Modern Age in Indian History goes to Raja Rammohan Roy who with his study of comparative religion, translation of the Vedas, emphasis upon the study of English, abhorrence of violence, insistence upon constitutional and democratic methods to be followed in realising our political aim, really laid the foundation on which his successors worked and enabled them to reach an important stage in the evolution of India in 1947, namely, of course, the Independence of the country. It is by no means the final goal. It is only truism to say that freedom is not a negative concept. It is positive. We have to feel our way towards the realisation of true democracy and a higher standard of life, banishing poverty and unemployment from the land and making the people fit for acting as a spearhead of establishing an era of peace in this world. It is not relevant to our purpose to postulate upon the present day trends. I am here concerned in saying that Modern India begins with the life and times of Raja Rammohan Roy, or which is very nearly the same, the end of the Maratha rule in 1818. With all my attachment to the study of Maratha History I must say that the Marathas as well as the Mughals were mediaeval in their outlook. It is even a greater mistake to think that Modern India begins from Babur. There are not a few authors of Indian History who have described the period from Babur to the present times as the modern period of Indian History. Modern period may have commenced in Europe towards the end of the XV century with the Renaissance and the discovery of America, but it is wrong to think that in India also it begins with the accession of Babur to the throne of Delhi or the arrival of the Portuguese on the South Indian coast. As the sun does not shine at the same hour in all lands, so is there a necessary time lag in the progress made by human societies in different regions. There is hardly anything modern in the Mughal and the Maratha rule in India. Nor is it correct to begin our History of Freedom Movement in India from 1857. The spirit of sacrifice and resistance to the alien rule shown by those that rose in 1857 are beyond a shadow of doubt; but theirs was an effort at revival rather than renaissance, much less any attempt at bringing about re-formation. It indicates the last desperate effort for regaining what was lost rather than a positive effort of laying down the foundation of Modern India.

So far with regard to the consideration as to wherefrom Section V may begin and where it may end. Modern period of Indian History has received less than justice at the hands of Indian Historians. Ancient period has its stalwarts like Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the late Dr. Beni

Prasad, Prof. Altekar, Dr. Ghoshal, Dr. Raichaudhari and a few others. Mediaeval India also has its stalwarts in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and amongst recent workers, Prof. S. R. Sharma, Principal Sharma and Dr. Ashirvadi Lal. Amongst the writers on Modern India there is none if any who possesses the eminence of these mentioned above. Years ago the late Mr. K. C. Dutt wrote his 'India under Early British Rule' and 'India under Victorian Age'. There is Major B. D. Basu writing on the 'Rule of Christian Power in India'; but Dutt dwelt mainly, if not exclusively, upon the economic aspect of British Rule in India and the book of Basu reads more like nationalist propaganda than a digest of the events in the 18th and 19th centuries. Books by English authors are there. To mention only two of them we have a book by P. E. Roberts and another by Thompson and Garrett. But they are more a history of the British in India, rather than a history of India under the British. We must carefully distinguish between the two, and aim at writing the History of the Indian people depicting the stages of religious, social and political awakening amongst them and the economic transition through which this sub-continent has passed during the period of about 150 years of British rule in India, ending with the year 1947. Undoubtedly no history with the necessary perspective could be written before 1947. Time has come when a savant of Indian History should come forward to present the story of 'How India Wrought for Freedom,' *i.e.* an evolution of Indian life from Raja Rammohan Roy to Mahatma Gandhi. In this connection, I should like to urge upon the need of collection and classification of sources, as also of carrying on research on many select topics of the period. This is a vast field and years of close application to work would be required before we can present a rough outline of the nature of this period. I have recently come across one such effort by Shri S. B. Chaudhari. The book is entitled 'Civil Disturbances During the British Rule in India (1765—1857)'. It is an attempt to sift and study the historical records with a view to bring about a consolidated picture of the series of riots in Bengal, South India and Bombay mainly, during this period. Bombay Government has published a descriptive catalogue of the Secret and Political Dept. Series, prepared by Dr. V. G. Dighe. It deals with the period from 1755 to 1820. It is desirable that efforts along similar lines have to be pursued in all States, to enable us to get a fuller picture. In this connection I cannot but emphasise strongly the need of bringing the India Office records from their present location in London to India. The unwillingness of the British to part with the rich treasure appears to be not so much an indication of the love of scholarship. It is perhaps a remnant of Imperialism that is still found lingering in many a field. There is no doubt that our study of Modern India would be incomplete without the information contained in the India Office Records. To have to go to London for studying the India Office Records is not less absurd than to have to go to England to appear for the Indian Civil Service Examination, a practice which we had to submit to, under the imperial rule of the British.

Mr. V. S. Bendre, a scholar of Maratha History who is presiding over Section III this year, has brought 45 closely typed volumes of material throwing light mainly on Maratha History ; and even then he avers that he could not do justice to the work as the time at his disposal was very short. No study of Maratha History could be complete without going through those volumes. If Shri Bendre could bring material covering 45 typed volumes on Maratha History how much valuable material there must be in the Records which have to be examined to enable us to understand the nature of Modern Indian History? I can here only wish success to the efforts pursued by our Education Minister Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Rise of Indian nationalism in the 19th century is a fascinating subject of study that has so far not attracted the attention it deserves. Cambridge Volume dealing with this period is concerned more with the administrators and their administration and less with the people over whom they were ruling. British rule in India has often been described as bureaucratic—a sort of mechanical rule in which the officers carefully carried out the orders of their superiors. The whole machinery was geared up to a profit and loss account in the early days of Company's rule over India, and the policy did not materially differ even later. Financial considerations and strict adherence to rules and regulations were the two supreme considerations that dominated the policy of rulers. Through the whole of India there was one rule, one policy, one set of rules and regulations, and a common steel frame of civil servants employed after their passing the same examination. This led to the rise of a reaction among the people, that was almost identical in different parts of the country. Use of English language and the development of post, telegraph and railways led to a mutual exchange of experiences. It further led to the desire as also the possibility of coming together for a common purpose. In other words the whole of India began to think politically as one nation, because of the commonness of rule and policy all over the country. Rise of early nationalism was in fact the direct outcome of this experience.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency in some quarters to attribute the early awakening of the Hindu society to the use of English language mainly. As an instance I may refer to Sardar Panikkar's well-known work 'Asia and Western Dominance'. The learned author, who is also the President of this session, writes :

"The mining of ancient fortress of Hindu custom was a major achievement for the reason that it was uniformly spread all over India. Had the education been through the Indian languages, the emphasis of the movement would have been different from province to province according to the development, flexibility and character of the language used. No doubt the reformation of Hinduism would still have come about but it would not have been on an all India basis. There would have been no master plan of change and instead of the Hindu community being unified, it would have split into as many different units as there are languages in

India and would have repeated the pattern of Europe with its conglomeration of mutually hostile units within the same Christian community. From this development India was saved by the common medium of education which Macaulay introduced into India'. (Page 332).

This line of reasoning deserves a careful scrutiny. In my humble opinion, too much is being attributed to the existence of the common language and too little to the environments that called forth a common effort. It is indeed the commonness of grievances all over India, which the people experienced under the British rule, their bureaucratic form of Government and unwillingness to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards the people, that is responsible more than anything else, for the 'master plan' and the 'uniformity' with which the awakening came over in India. Commonness of the language undoubtedly facilitated the master plan, but surely did not generate it. The learned author further cites the example of European nations, which with their emphasis on regional languages only presented Europe's development through fragmentation, in spite of the fact that they possessed a common Christian culture and Latin tradition. This is a fallacious line of reasoning. Europe's development was through fragmentation, because the political problems in each region were different. At present there is a talk of the Union of Europe. Supposing that political conditions were to point towards the need of forming such a Union, can we seriously argue that differences in languages would prevent its realisation? Only ten years back, Muslims in India used the regional languages Sindhi, Punjabi, Bengali and Urdu. But these differences in language did not prevent the growth of Muslim nationalism. Mr. Jinnah himself could not speak in Urdu and yet he could lay the foundation of Pakistan. In the 15th and the 16th centuries there was in India a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, leading to the rise of the Bhakti school of thought all over India. Chaitanya, Narasinha Mehta, Meerabai and Tukaram, Kanakdas and Purandardas spoke different languages but had the same message to give unto the people. All these instances should go to prove that uniformity of language is a convenience and even a great convenience, but not a necessary condition for any 'master plan' or 'uniformity' of development. I am emphasising all this, because it is being seriously argued in some quarters that linguistic regionalism would lead to the break up of Indian nationalism. This is simply not true. The genius of the people is expressed through their language and any effort to discourage or check it deliberately would lead to frustration and reaction. India is a Union of States historically, politically and constitutionally; and the unity can best be promoted by creating an air of confidence for the units to realise their own free growth. Any effort to thwart the regional progress by providing artificial checks and balances based upon fear and suspicion only indicates a mediaeval outlook and an undemocratic approach. I do not propose to deal with this point further as it would be going beyond History and dealing with the present day political problems. Not that it should be an anathema to a historian. On the contrary, it is the duty of the students of History to

present their own conclusions throwing light on present day problems without fear or favour. I only want to point out that English language is not the cause, but only an instrument of Indian nationalism. Switzerland persists as one nation inspite of the existence of tri-linguism in that country.

Having earned our independence we the students of History have to come out, to play our part in the great work of nation building that is at present going on. Economists are helping government by examining the first and the second Five Year Plans. Scientists are taking up their work in the national laboratories, physical and chemical. Political thinkers are discussing the framework of Indian constitution threadbare and pointing out its pitfalls. What is our duty, one might ask. In my opinion, we have to play a very important part by presenting a synthetic and faithful picture of India that is Bharat. At present we have come to know each other only through the medium of English language and through an unbalanced presentation of events of Indian History. An average school boy knows Bengal through a reference to Siraj-ud-daullah and the battle of Plassey, or Carnatic through the numerous ruling dynasties that existed in pre-British days. As has been very graphically put by Sardar Panikkar, the books on Indian history read more like telephone directories than a narrative of the evolution and growth of the people living in those places. True picture of India is one of unity in diversity **अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु**. It is necessary to understand the glory that is Gurjar, romance that is Rajputana, beauty that is Bengal, valour that is Punjab, spiritual greatness that is Karnatak and a sense of realism that is Maharashtra. I do not mean that the characteristics mentioned above are a monopoly of any region, by no means so ; but we certainly ought to understand the true greatness of Gujarat, Andhra and Tamilnad. It is necessary that we should make a federal approach to the study of Indian History and come out with regional History of India written in several volumes, each depicting the cultural greatness of one region. Every region has a historical tradition of its own, though all possess a commonness of outlook that is essentially Indian. The present scheme of writing history chronologically has its purpose, but as the writers writing the later volumes of Indian History, that is being published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, a very laudable effort that deserves to be sincerely congratulated upon—will have to write an account of the post-10th century period, the stream of Indian History will be found divided in many divisions, each of which possesses a characteristic of its own. To take no notice of it would only court failure. I think we have to study India that is great through a proper appraisal of the great personalities, like Rajendra Chola, Satyashraya Pulakesin, Siddharaj Jayasinh, Rana Pratap and Maharaja Ranjitsingh. This is a task which deserves to be taken up and carried on by a co-operative effort.

Secondly, our study of World History is heavily weighted in favour of Europe. More than two-thirds of the portion of an average book on

World History is devoted to the events of European History. This must be changed and our study of the subject ought to be evenly balanced. Particularly as we are becoming 'One World' and as Asia is coming into the picture, it is necessary that we should be better acquainted with the History of Afghanistan, Arabia, Persia, China and Indonesia. Such histories ought not to be mere translations of either English or Persian books on the subject. Scholars should have an opportunity to go and acquaint themselves with the spirit of the people, collect first-hand information by paying visit to the centres of culture and learning, and establishing friendly relations with the people there. I visualise before me a scheme of *Glory That Is . . . Series*, in which each book would be entitled, *Glory That Is Afghanistan, Persia, China, etc.*, and would present a story of that country. In this connection, I venture to suggest that Government should appoint mature students of History in their foreign embassies and assign to them the work of writing a true history of that country. While ambassadors and diplomats would be busy in their day to day work—an ambassador is often described as 'a man to lie'!—students of history would pursue their task of acquainting themselves with the spirit of the people and presenting it in an unbiassed but sympathetic manner to the people of India.

One word of caution more, before I conclude. We must guard against a tendency of 'Suppressio Veri' if not 'Suggestio Falsi' that is noticed in some quarters for serving political ends. A student of History has a sacred task and he should guard against being swayed by political considerations. In a democratic government, run along parliamentary lines, where parties will come and go out of power, the danger of a politician playing havoc in the field of history is very great. A socialist might describe Shivaji as the leader of peasants against zamindars, a Hindu Mahasabhitte might describe him as the champion of Hindus against Islam and a Congressite would appear anxious to be rather apologetic about him and regard him as a mistaken patriot! If the Educational Inspector were to dictate to the teachers standards for judging historical events along party lines, it would indeed be an evil day for the History teacher. His is a life of poverty and simplicity and he has courageously to say to the politicians 'Please Hands off History'. In the words of Polybius, we might say 'if we write false history to please our friends and to win favour, we shall be no better than politicians'. Whatever else history may be, it is not a justification of the present day policy of political parties. I am saying this, because Government these days are dictating the pattern of History writing, calling upon the authors not to quote Taimur's intention of invading India and to suppress the story of Muslim vandalism at Warangal and to write more about Taj Mahal, Mumtaj, Diwan-i-khas and such other sweet and delicate things. Saints have a past and sinners have a future, and we must learn to look courageously into ourselves if we are to understand the true trend of History. Let us ascertain facts, understand the trend of events and interpret and present every event, great and small, good or bad, in such

a way, as would promote the understanding of the general trend, that we unmistakably see in the course of human life that is running through ages. Thank you.

COL. BAILLIE'S CHARGES AGAINST LORD HASTINGS

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI

Colonel Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, is remembered in Oudh history as a masterful figure who dominated the local government in the early part of the 19th century. His power reached such limits that ultimately he was removed from Lucknow by the authorities at Calcutta. He avenged himself on Lord Hastings by bringing serious charges of extortion alleged to have been practised in Oudh. The charges are extremely interesting and they deserve some attention, for hitherto they have been ignored by the historians. The charges throw a lurid light on British interference in Oudh, and illustrate the extent to which Oudh was exploited by the Company's servants in India.

In his evidence¹ before the Committee of the House of Commons and before the India House, Baillie sought to make out the following charges against Lord Hastings:—

1. That Lord Hastings had falsely stated that the Nawab of Oudh had, during the Nepal War, voluntarily offered a loan of more than two crores of rupees as the price of his emancipation from the subjection in which he was held by the Resident.
2. That Lord Hastings had falsely stated that there was an understanding between the late and present Nawabs on this matter.
3. That Lord Hastings had falsely said that the present Nawab had made a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees or any sum.

In order to evaluate these charges, it is necessary to consider the facts which show that Baillie was no less guilty than Hastings. Baillie tried to establish his innocence by means of the following arguments, even though they are not convincing.

*Firstly,*² Baillie said, that the Nawab was "reluctant" to give any loan.

*Secondly,*³ he asserted that he was compelled by Lord Hastings to press for the loans.

*Thirdly,*⁴ the loans were at last given "*with reluctance*", and obtained "*by persuasion*", "*for voluntary it was not.*"

*Fourthly,*⁵ as Baillie alleged, "the financial difficulties of the Company's government were made known to me by the Governor-General him-

1. Vide *Oude Papers*, p. 1024 etc.

2. Letter from Baillie, Lucknow, Jan. 10, 1815.

3. Vide Baillie's evidence before the Committee.

4. Baillie alleged that they were detained "at his earnest solicitation."

5. In October 1815, Baillie met Hastings at Kanpur.

self in person." Baillie further alleged that the Governor-General himself took the initiative in suggesting the practicability of loans from the Nawab.

Fifthly,⁶ the Nawab knew nothing about the Nepal War. "*He could know nothing of them*," claimed Baillie.

Sixthly,⁷ A Muslim who cannot charge interest will not, said Baillie, think of granting a loan.

Seventhly,⁸ the first loan may have been given willingly, but the second loan was "forced".

Eighthly,⁹ Lord Hastings' Summary did not appear till 1823, and Baillie asserted that his evidence before the Committee had been given in 1822.

Ninthly,¹⁰ Baillie alleged that Lord Hastings had made gross misstatements in defence of the loans.

Lastly,¹¹ all the negotiations with the Nawab were "in point of fact most arduous and vexatious".

The defence put up by Lord Hastings is no more than just plausible. He reported¹² to the Court as follows:—

"His Excellency the Vizier, at a conference which I held with his excellency, tendered to me as a proof of his friendship, and of the cordial interest which he feels in the prosperity of the affairs of the honourable company, an accommodation of one crore of rupees in the way of loan. I deemed it to be my duty, in consideration of the actual state of the public finances, and the public demands, arising out of the prosecution of the hostilities with the Nepaulese, and the eventual necessity of supporting, by military preparation, our political views with relation to Saugor and Bhopaul, to accept the offer....."

This reasoning would have been cogent, if there had not been another loan from the Nawab. It was clear from the evidence of all concerned that the second loan was the result of persuasion. Whether it was forced or not is immaterial, because the Nawab was too powerless to be in a position to oppose the demands. The Nawab, in fact, had to make a general offer in true Lucknow style that "his *Jan Mal* (life and property) were at his Lordship's command."¹³ In short, there is no dearth of evidence to show that some amount of pressure was applied on the Nawab.

The Nawab himself wrote, "You mentioned yesterday the necessity of a supply of cash for the extraordinary charges of the Company. As for a crore of rupees, I shall certainly furnish, by way of loan, but beyond that sum is impossible....."¹⁴

6. Vide *Oude Papers*.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Baillie's evidence before the India House.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Baillie cited a number of misstatements.

11. Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors, Feb. 8, 1826.

12. Letter to Court, August 15, 1815.

13. Letter from the Nawab (*Oude Papers*).

14. Letter from Baillie, Jan. 10, 1815, to Mr. Ricketts.

The apologists of Lord Hastings sought to defend his action on various grounds. Sir J. Doyle made out the following points¹⁵ :—

1. Hastings's summary was written without the aid of original documents, and so it could not be looked upon as an official paper. It was also printed without his express sanction. But, it would be apparent that "as a statesman, a financier, or a soldier, no Governor General ever stood so deservedly high as that nobleman."

2. At the time of the Nepal War, the Company's finances were 'much embarrassed.' Serious fears were entertained that the drafts of the Company could not be satisfactorily met. While these embarrassments prevailed, it was suggested that help might be obtained from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

3. The Nawab himself made an offer of a crore of rupees for the service of the Company. At that time, "Col. Baillie was not present." "The Nawab observed that he would most readily give the money, and he hoped the Company would receive it as a free gift." In other words, the gift was "free and voluntary".

4. The second loan was the result of negotiation, but no force was used in any manner. The Nawab gave the loan in a "*friendly and liberal spirit*," and the question of extortion never arose in this case.

5. Col. Baillie's own conduct was liable to criticism.

Col. Baillie made an elaborate defence of his own conduct in the Court of Proprietors, for he was also a Director of the Company. His speeches and papers deserve some attention in this connection. His arguments were as follows :—

1. Certain statements of Lord Hastings were not correct.

2. The demands for money were made through him.

3. Sums demanded were of "considerable magnitude."

4. Baillie said that he had himself informed the Nawab that the Company "desired no portion of his treasures."¹⁶

5. At first a crore of rupees was mentioned, but Lord Hastings "intimated to me that he thought that a larger sum" was needed.

6. It was Lord Hastings' summary¹⁷ which, Baillie said, obliged him to publicise his own charges.

7. The financial embarrassments were not so great as to have warranted or justified the demands on the Nawab.¹⁸

8. "So far was the Vizier from coming spontaneously forward with an offer of this loan, that I make bold to say that he never even dreamt of such a demand being made upon him".

9. Even the first loan was obtained from the Nawab by the expressed desire of Lord Hastings, for it was not voluntary at all.¹⁹

15. Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors.

16. Letters from Col. Baillie to the Wazir.

17. Baillie alleged that the Summary of Lord Hastings contained false charges against him.

18. This was only a personal opinion of Col. Baillie.

19. *Oude Papers*.

10. There were difficulties in the negotiation for the second loan. The second loan was not the work of *three days* only, as the first was, "*more than a month was expended on it.*" At first, the Nawab could be prevailed upon to advance only Rs. 50 lakhs, and it was after a protracted negotiation that the offer was raised.

11. The Nawab²⁰ had demanded that a bond should be given to him that "*no further demands should be made upon him.*" The Nawab had stated, "As I have now given a crore of rupees, and formerly gave a crore and eight lacs, it is impossible for me to give any more, and I trust that I should be exempted from all future demands. Let me have satisfaction upon that point".

An objective study of the evidence on the subject would amply show that Lord Hastings' action in Oudh amounted to nothing less than extortion. All talk of the Wazir's "zeal for the interest and prosperity of the British power in India" is unconvincing! The fact is that the Wazir was no free agent. Even when he was later recognised as the king of Oudh, he remained a puppet in the hands of the Company's authorities in India. His so-called voluntary offer was no better than a case of simple extortion, for the offer was made evidently under persuasion, pressure and earnest solicitation.

The Oudh loans had no justification moral, legal or otherwise. The ruler was not bound to relieve the distress of the Company. Under the existing subsidiary treaty, he was not required to offer financial assistance to the Company. If other allies of the Company were not called upon to pay, there was no reason why the Nawab at Lucknow was alone to grant crores of rupees to the British. The fact is that the Nawab was a weak and dependent prince, so it was deemed easy to exploit him in the interest of the Company. It was known that the Nawab was helpless against any kind of treatment. In addition to this, the culture of Lucknow made the Nawab more servile and polite than was strictly necessary otherwise. His willingness to part with his "*Jan*" and "*Mal*" for the sake of the Governor General is an illustration of his Lucknow humility which was fully exploited by the Resident and the Governor General.

Assuming that the financial situation was extremely unsatisfactory during the Nepal War, one cannot justify a levy on the Nawab of Oudh. Either a costly war was a blunder, or money should have been found from legitimate sources like the money market or from taxation. Lord Hastings found it easier to get crores by way of forced loans which were not to be repaid in the foreseeable future, and whereof even interest was not to be paid on the plea that the Nawab could not act against the dictates of the Quran by accepting interest.

The evidence makes it clear that Baillie was directed to negotiate the loans by the Governor General. Whether Baillie was a willing party or not is immaterial, for he acted under instructions from Calcutta. What

20. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

is most peculiar is that he made no objections or criticisms while he was still in office at Lucknow. He brought his charges against Hastings when the latter had already published his criticism of Baillie's conduct, and when Baillie had already been removed from his office of Resident. Thus, it is clear that Baillie's vendetta was entirely due to his desire for vengeance. His imputations were inspired by personal rancour and malice.

The question arises as to whether the Nawab had any ulterior motive in offering a free gift to the Company. There is no adequate proof of this, but the probability is that a secret motive was actually there. It appears that the Resident had made himself a nuisance to the Nawab by a 'system of reform' concealing under that specious title a system of usurpations and encroachments of the Resident on the power and authority of the Nawab. The Nawab, who stood in terror of the Resident, may not have been unwilling to secure patronage of Lord Hastings as the only source of deliverance from the Resident's dictation. The loans gave an excellent opportunity of conferring a favour on the Governor General, which would give the Nawab confidence to appeal to him against the Resident's tyranny over him. Hence the Nawab was as willing to grant, as the Resident was unwilling to ask, the desired accommodation for the Company's Government.

This is clear in a way from a letter²¹ written by Col. Baillie to Mr. Edmonstone: "Shall I tell you anything of my trip to Cawnpore to meet the Governor General? I had better not, I believe; for I have nothing pleasant to communicate. I was desired to propose to the Nawab that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company of a crore of rupees: his Excellency did so accordingly, and his proposal was graciously received. To reconcile a proposal like this with all my original disinterestedness, was an effort of diplomatic effrontery, you must admit; but mark the sequel and admire. His Excellency has proposed in return that Lord Moira should propose to his Excellency to put a stop to the system of reform;" This amounts to a confession that the Nawab was making an offer of loans as a price for his emancipation from subjection to the Resident's "system of reform" which must have been irksome to the Nawab. This system of reform gave Baillie an immense range of patronage, and the immediate control over the civil, as he already had over the military, administration of Oudh.

The first loan was thus very probably given for a definite purpose. But, the Resident was not immediately removed and it appears the Nawab was made to retract his charges against the Resident. So, it was natural that the second loan should not be willingly given. He complied reluctantly when he was told that the Company's need was supreme. The Nawab's consent was secured through the influence of a personal letter from Lord Hastings.

21. *Oude Papers*, p. 1027.

Can it be that the Governor General at last sought to placate the Nawab by dismissing Baillie from office with the sanction of the Council at Calcutta and the Court of Directors? The point cannot be proved, but the inference is natural under the circumstances. It may be that the Governor General who had in the beginning thought highly of the Resident later changed his mind after receiving information about his misuse of authority. In any case, dismissal was something which the high-handed Resident could not have silently endured, and so he started the campaign against the forced loans.

The exasperation of the Resident was already great, because he saw that after the arrival of Lord Hastings in India he did not find himself so important a man at Lucknow as he had felt himself to be before. Long accustomed to absolute power, he was naturally angry at his abrupt removal from power. It is thus easy to understand the apparent tenderness which he suddenly developed for the Nawab even though he had himself behaved most highhandedly towards him before.

It is a fact that the Resident was the autocrat of Oudh. So it was hardly surprising that the Governor General removed him from his situation. But, it would be more correct to blame the system rather than the person holding the office of the Resident. Subsidiary system meant an unlimited control over the affairs of the dependent prince, and it was under this system that the Residents acted like the real rulers at the courts to which they were sent, backed as they were by subsidiary troops, liable to be moved against the unfortunate prince who dared to dispute their wishes, or call in question their supreme power of interference in State affairs. The loans are only an index of the helpless position in which the prince of Lucknow found himself under the Company's control.

Lord Hastings' complicity in the so-called extortions was not censured by the Company. It was agreed that the loans were not tantamount to 'extortion,' even though they might have been obtained by persuasion. It was also agreed in the Court of Proprietors that the noble Marquis "*came out of the transaction free from blame.*" It was suggested that even if he had extorted the loans from the Wazir, he had done so "from patriotic motives, and for the advantage of his country."

THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA, 1899—1901

(A sketch by Lord Curzon)

DR. SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA

Lord Curzon came to India as Viceroy and Governor-General in December 1898 at the early age of thirty-nine. Though young in age, he soon established a firm grip over the administration and began to dominate the whole show in a manner unprecedented in the past. A man of indomitable energy but sensitive in nature, Curzon was quick in his judgment of men with whom he came in contact in the course of the duties of his exalted office. In his weekly private correspondence with Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, he freely gave expression to his views, some of which were very strong and might be resented by those who were the subject of the viceregal comment or by their friends and relatives even at this distance of time. Incidentally, they also reveal the character and nature of Lord Curzon himself, who stood at the apex of the system.

Within six months of his assumption of office, Curzon wrote a confidential letter to Hamilton upon the inner life of a reforming Viceroy in India.¹ The methods of government here were characterised by him as cumbrous, dilatory and verbose. The want of proper supervision in many departments was shocking and the detachment and independence of local Governors and Governments a serious challenge to the Viceroy's authority and control. The Viceroy was intent on remedying these imperfections. "But", to quote his own words, "the old horse kicks a little under the bit or the spur—for it is now the one and now the other—and chafes at a restraint or an incentive which it has never before known". The Viceroy in the past, Curzon complained, had apparently rarely looked into any department except his own, and as for his Lieutenant Governors, &c., he had left them to pursue their own sweet wills. The mechanism of Government which was conducted in India by means of correspondence had been "kept carefully oiled by long-worded periphrasis and mutual compliment"; and so the wheels have gone round and round "until one day some undetected flaw has resulted in an explosion or a disaster which the very processes that called it into existence have again been utilised to hush up and condone".

In the opinion of Curzon, the military department and the army headquarters had been the chief sinners. Their loquacity on paper, headed and stimulated by the Military Member,² was appalling. "There is a slight, perhaps an inevitable, friction between the two departments and whilst they will conspire to gloss over an irregularity in which both have for years indulged, they will, if a difference arises between them wrangle

1. Letter dated 28 June, 1899.

2. Sir Edwin Collen.

over it for a decade". Curzon's comments upon all these proceedings were frank and, in his opinion, never discourteous, though they somewhat ruffled the old Sir Edwin Collen³ and his men. Curzon described Collen as "a dear old boy of courtly manners and a perfect gentleman". But he was an incarnation of the system in which he lived his sedentary and virtuous departmental life for a quarter of a century. But the young Viceroy feared that his methods distressed Sir Edwin Collen immensely. Collen implored the Viceroy not to be disrespectful to his methods and his men, and, when he detected an irregularity, to send for him or them ("as though the Viceroy had time for this !") and to give them an opportunity of personal explanation--anything rather than pass a comment on it which might fall under the eyes of others. Curzon had information that Collen moaned in half-suppressed accent to his bosom friends about "new brooms and a parliamentary training" and wondered why what was good enough for Lord Dufferin (who, according to Lord Curzon's information, never did a stroke of work that he could avoid and had nearly all his papers initialled by his private secretary) was not good enough for the new Viceroy.

Collen, in the opinion of Curzon, was courtly but querulous and was "rather in a cross bench frame of mind". He slumbered away the greater part of his time in a country retreat about nine miles from Simla and arrived once a week on a 'staid pony' for meetings of the Council. It was a "striking illustration of an intelligence and a character flattened out and attenuated by a quarter of a century of officialism". The consequence was that, in the department, matters moved at a snail's pace and it was very difficult to accelerate the rate of speed.⁴

Curzon speaks of General Sir William Lockhart, the Commander-in-Chief, as an old friend, who would sooner in any matter take the Viceroy's side than go against him. But he hated being bothered or questioned or fussed, detested administrative business of any kind and was miserable at meetings of Council where he rarely uttered a word. His opinion was in the custody of his Adjutant-General, Nicholson,⁵ who was said to write his minutes and despatches. The Commander-in-Chief was shy and unassuming and extraordinarily sensitive, although large-minded in every other respect. Curzon, while hoping that he would keep in successfully with Lockhart, considered that rather skilful steering would sometimes be required, since there were "voices at his elbow" constantly murmuring opposite things.

Sir Clinton Dawkins, the Finance Member, who at Curzon's request had come to India for a period of one year only to help the Viceroy to inaugurate a "sound currency policy involving large departures from previous practice", was supposed to be strong at the Viceroy's side and was "invaluable both from his experience and common sense". But his prede-

3. The Military Member of the Governor-General's Council.

4. Letter, dated 30 August 1899.

5. William Gustavas Nicholson, C.B., Brigadier-General, R.E.

cessor, Sir James Westland⁶ was not in the good books of the Viceroy. Curzon speaks of him as "urbane and agreeable in intercourse". But his notes and minutes were "almost ferocious in their truculence" and he had a "helter skelter way opposing everything that involved the spending of a few rupees".⁷ Westland was dubbed by Curzon as a "glorified accountant". He was most truculent on paper and "snapped your nose off before you had looked at him". The range of his experience was wide, but his outlook was, in the opinion of Curzon, narrow rather than statesmanlike; where imperial considerations did not apply, "his point of view was that of a cashier and not that of a statesman".⁸

Sir E. F. Law, who succeeded Sir 'Clinton Dawkins as Finance Member, was previously known to Curzon under whom he served in the Foreign Office in London. Though Curzon had formed a high opinion of his financial abilities, he was described by the Viceroy as "an abrupt un-taking and imperious sort of man: not beloved by his surroundings: and better when working in subordination, or with a board of equals than in a situation where he would be the head of a department and could play the petty tyrant". His wife, a Greek lady, was, according to the Viceroy's information, "the terror of the European embassies" in London.⁹ But Curzon was rather intent on having him as Finance Member in preference to other persons whose names were suggested in connection with this appointment. His independent and rather aggressive manner, the stubborn and almost adamant personality—both traits of his character previously known to and hated by Curzon, the Viceroy said, he had learned to tolerate. The one criterion to which Curzon attached great value was loyalty. Though not an attractive and agreeable personality, "I think", wrote Curzon, "Law is already, and, if he came here, would all the more be, bound to me by sufficient ties of loyalty" to render any other feature of minor importance. Another important consideration in connection with this post was the knowledge and experience of finance of as high a standard as could be procured.¹⁰

Certain other names suggested in this connection were rejected by Curzon outright. James Finlay of the Indian Civil Service, who was the Secretary of the Finance Department at the time, was not considered to have the requisite authority and prestige. Nor did he impress the Viceroy as having the quality of mind that would be of great service to the Government. The names of persons without training in financial administration were not seriously regarded by him, for not being a financier himself, the first desideratum with him was that he should have as Finance Member somebody who was.

Curzon's comment on Sir James Mackay (later the first Earl of Inchcape), whose name was suggested for appointment as Finance Member

6. Finance Member, 1893-1899.

7. Letter, 23 February 1899.

8. *Idem*.

9. *Idem*.

10. Letter, 19 July 1899.

may be of some interest. "As regards Mackay", he wrote, "I like what I know of him myself". He had always struck the Viceroy as both capable and agreeable, and Curzon had little doubt that Sir James Mackay would be a more pleasanter colleague than Law. But the Viceroy doubted whether his business career in India would be considered as giving him the requisite financial weight and authority, while the retiring Finance Member, Sir Clinton Dawkins, held that his very extensive share in the B.I.S.N. Company, which had a great deal to do with the Government, constituted a fundamental disqualification against his appointment to the post.¹¹ In this connection Curzon consulted confidentially a gentleman in Calcutta,¹² who was "unquestionably the leading commercial authority there and the more trustworthy exponent of the views of that class". The opinion of this gentleman who was a personal friend of Mackay, having known the latter for more than twenty years, was quoted verbatim by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State: "Sir James is an able man. But I do not think that he has personal knowledge of any subject except steamers. Upon the currency question his knowledge is superficial and is regarded as such by the mercantile people in India. He is also supposed to work very much in his own hand in various matters. I have no hesitation in saying that his appointment to the position of Finance Minister would not command the confidence of the mercantile community in Calcutta and in India generally; and in fact, I think, it would be received with ridicule". Curzon considered the above opinion on Mackay to be 'representative and honest and unbiassed', for it tallied with what the Viceroy had heard from other quarters in India. He feared that Sir James Mackay would not receive the confidence and backing of the commercial community, without which no Finance Member could get on in India.

Sir Thomas Raleigh, the Legal Member, seemed to show no aptitude for affairs outside his own department and could hardly be regarded as a factor on one side or the other. Lieut. Col. Gardiner, then a temporary Member, was too new and would be too short-lived in Council to exercise much influence. Charles Montgomery Rivaz, therefore, rather held the scales with perhaps a slight inclination towards the Governor-General. Though deficient in initiative, Rivaz, according to Curzon, seemed to take a level-headed and unprejudiced view of most questions.

Lawrence,¹³ the private secretary to the Viceroy, who knew all the "old Indians" personally and was equally acquainted with their merits and foibles, was very useful in keeping them in a good temper and "pouring in the opportune drop of oil". Curzon, in this letter, referred to what he considered to be the personal idiosyncrasies of the members of the Council. But he assured the Secretary of State that he had experienced little or no difficulty in carrying his policy through Council, which, after all, was in the long run more important.

11. Letter, 19 July 1899.

12. Name not mentioned.

13. Walter Roper Lawrence, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Curzon's opinion of the Secretaries was, on the whole, good. He thought that he had 'flustered' the Military Secretary¹⁴ somewhat by the constant discovery of irregularities for which he, or rather, the system was partly responsible. But he appeared to be a sensible man, and the Viceroy got on with him very well. H. S. Barnes, the acting Foreign Secretary, worked exceedingly hard and showed both judgment and capacity. He was a hard worker and a man of quick intelligence. He interpreted the Viceroy's ideas with a good deal of facility and was, probably to a man like Curzon, a rather more helpful co-adjutor than Cunningham,¹⁵ although he had not got "either the departmental experience, the social charm or the great personal popularity of the latter".

The real fault of the system here, wrote Curzon, was the want of continuity in the personnel of the department. A young man, brought in from outside, was at once put in charge of a section of the office and was expected forthwith in his notes to suggest a policy to the Government of India. The consequence was that, for a couple of years, he experimented at the expense of his superiors and wrote, in all probability, "the most inconceivable trash". Curzon referred to a young man who, on his appointment to a vacant place, began firing off at once about Persia and Tibet. The Viceroy stopped his premature activity and urged him "to learn before he began to teach".¹⁶

The Secretaries, in general, formed a loyal body of men and were enthusiastically on the Viceroy's side in his campaign against departmental noting. Their loyalty was perhaps partly due to the fact that their future to a large extent was dependent on the Viceroy. But Curzon, on the whole, "derived from them very practical and willing assistance".

Curzon had formed his own opinion of the Governors and Lieutenant Governors. The abuse that resulted, in one case, from the presence of a "weak but amicable Governor" at Bombay¹⁷ was accentuated in Madras by a Governor who ruled a Crown colony where he was a petty king and who "transplanted to Indian soil theories of his former station".¹⁸ Among the Lieutenant Governors, Sir John Woodburn was a high minded and conscientious man, without strength of character and will and was somewhat "discomposed with the fall of the Municipal Bill¹⁹ to which he had pledged himself with wholly superfluous emphasis". Both Sir John Woodburn in Bengal and Sir William Mackworth, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, appeared to "squirm a little at the apparition of a youthful Viceroy who asks questions, hazards doubts and is not content to leave them alone". Sir Arthur Macdonnell, Lieutenant Governor of the North West Province and Oudh,²⁰ ran his own show with great ability and kept

14. General Maitland.

15. Sir William John Cunningham, K.C.S.I.

16. Letter, 31 May 1899.

17. Lord Sandhurst.

18. Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, formerly Governor of Trinidad, Natal and Ceylon.

19. Known as the Mackenzie Bill.

20. The United Provinces.

the Viceroy carefully informed of what passed in his province. Sir F. W. R. Fryer, the Lieutenant Governor of Burma, was dismissed as "lazy and long past his prime".

Though in his letter, dated 28 June 1899, Curzon spoke about the "great ability" of Sir Arthur Macdonnell, he was unsparing in his criticism of Sir Arthur, when his name was suggested for the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst. "As to his ability", wrote the Governor-General, "there is no question. But you can have no conception of the extent to which a man is disliked, as it appears to me by the entire service. His manners are so bad, his rudeness so extreme, his conduct to his officers so inconsiderate—these adjectives are mine, those in vogue here are much stronger--that there would be wailing and gnashing of teeth at his elevation. It would be followed, I am told, by general resignation among those who would prefer to retire than serve under such conditions and with such a chief. There may be exaggeration in this. But I only tell you exactly what I hear: and it is a fact that in his own Government an excellent man has already left because of his refusal to remain under Sir A. M."²¹

Curzon was rather critical of the parsimonious habits of the members of his Council. In a letter, dated 26 July 1899, he wrote to Hamilton, "I regret to find that the old obligations of free expenditure in hospitality and entertainment are dying out: and that the modern Councillor is induced to wrap his salary in a napkin of another description—like the man in the scriptural parable". The Councillors would even go to the extent of shirking the outlay on house rent, sending their wives away and living at the club or sharing a bachelor establishment with other men. Mackenzie Chalmers, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, had, Curzon reported, attracted a good deal of obloquy by living exclusively in the club both at Calcutta and Simla and taking every thing of his salary away. Sir Edwin Collen, the Military Member, would not bring down his wife to Calcutta. He preferred to club with another man. Such was also the case with Charles Montgomery Rivaz, who did not bring his wife to Calcutta in the winter of 1898-99. Up in Simla, few of them entertained save in the most modest degree. The Collens were almost always away at Mashobra, nine miles distant from headquarters (which again was a fruitful cause of long delays attending any reference to the military department) and practically did no entertainment at all. It could hardly be said that any of the others fared better in this respect. Curzon frankly told Thomas Raleigh, who succeeded Chalmers as Law Member, that he must not imitate his predecessor and induced him to take a house at Simla. But Raleigh also was contemplating to live in the club in Calcutta, a proceeding from which Curzon was determined to take steps to wean him. Denzil Charles Ibbertson, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who was appointed in the Viceroy's

21. Letter, 24 March 1899.

Council as a temporary Member on a salary of Rs. 80,000, as against Rs. 50,000, per annum, which he was getting as Chief Commissioner, made enquiries if he would be permitted to live in the club. The Viceroy replied to these enquiries "with an emphatic no". Even the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. S. A. Lockhart, and his wife seldom showed inclination for hospitality, and the doors of "Snowdon", their residence at Simla, long remained closed under the regime of these "quiet and saving" occupants. Curzon regretted that in spite of the handsome stipend (equivalent to that of the Secretary of State for India) which the members of his Executive Council were drawing, the old traditions of hospitality were more honoured in the breach than in observance.

The Viceroy was prepared to go to the extreme in order to prevent such economy on the part of the members of the Council. His parting hours at Simla in 1899 were marked by what he described as a "rather amusing though regrettable exchange of shots" with Sir Arthur Charles Trevor, then a senior Member of the Council. Hearing that Trevor had left his daughter back in England and that he had come alone to economize, Curzon spoke to the Councillor through mutual friends about his strong views in the matter. But the old Councillor informed the Viceroy, through his private secretary, that he preferred to retain the matter within his own discretion and that the salary and pension of a Member being inadequate, he proposed to economize during the remainder of his stay in India. Curzon detested the idea of a "probable saving on the part of the old curmadgeon of some £ 6,000-£ 7,000" by this method. He informed Trevor that having enforced his views upon other Members of the Council it would be impossible for him to acquiesce in a single exception. To this the old Councillor answered obscurely hinting at resignation. Curzon "devoutly" wished that Trevor should seriously contemplate this step rather than claim liberty of action. "Can you comprehend the stupidity and parsimony of a man", the Viceroy wrote in wonder, "who tells you plainly that as he is drawing near to the end of his career, he is going to stinge, and retire from India with his pockets as full as he can fill them?" But the high-browed Viceroy could not congratulate himself upon his success in the attempt to regulate the social dispensation of his recalcitrant colleague. In spite of viceregal protests, Trevor took up his quarters in the Calcutta Club. Curzon considered this to be an act of defiance and was full of detestation for a Councillor who, in his opinion, was "a man of ability and departmental nagger" and no longer had the freshness or the ideas of youth. In vain did the young and imperious Viceroy sigh for a strong and capable and vigorous man who would help him to carry a burden, "the weight of which, even if it became easier, never became less".²²

Curzon was much disgusted with the conduct of James Tisdall Woodroffe, the Advocate-General of Bengal, who on his appointment to the

22. Letters, 28 December 1899 and 30 August 1899.

Legislative Council as an additional member, claimed independence of judgment with regard to measures introduced by Government in the Legislature. Curzon held strongly to the view that the Advocate-General was in exactly the same position in relation to the Government of India as that occupied by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in the British House of Commons. These eminent officers of the British Government are invariably consulted about legislation and in debate in the House of Commons the Government is always entitled to appeal to them for legal assistance and support and is, of course, sure of their vote. But to Curzon, Woodroffe appeared to have entered the Council with the idea of posing as a sort of tribune of the people and he was inclined to claim the privilege of criticizing and attacking the measures introduced by the Government of India of which he was the principal legal adviser. The idea that the Advocate-General, who claimed specialized knowledge of many aspects of life in this country, could "fall upon a Government Bill and smite it heap and thigh before an astonished and admiring crowd",²³ was intolerable to the Viceroy, who prevailed over Woodroffe to resign his position in the Legislative Council.²⁴

THE POST-MUTINY RAIJ-MELS OF ASSAM—AN ASPECT OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

K. N. DUTT

The 'Raij-Mels'¹ or assemblies of the common people under leadership of religious dignitaries, respectable landholders or other influential villagers are still popular institutions in rural Assam for social and religious purposes and sometimes even for ventilation of common economic or political grievances. The last few decades, prior to independence, of intense political agitation in the country for the attainment of independence have of course brought forth changes in the character of the leadership and also in the level of intelligence of the common people and in the nature of problems facing them. In the post-mutiny period of the nineteenth century we hear of many such 'Raij-Mels' or 'Mels' being held in different parts of the Assam Valley Districts, notably in the districts of Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong. These were organised for the purpose of resisting imposition of new taxes or enhancement of the land revenue by the alien British Government in Assam.

The Phulaguri Uprising :—

In the early records of the British Government in Assam we find reference to the institution of the 'Mel' being a recognised feature in the

23. Letter, 1 March 1900.

24. Letter, 22 March 1900.

1. "Raij" means the people and "Mel" assembly ; Ryot-Sabhās of later growth are of the same nature.

administration of Assam and the authorities looked upon it with favour.² The authorities did so so long as these 'Mels' could be used as instruments for enforcement of administrative measures. But occasion for a crucial test of the authorities' attitude towards this popular institution arose as early as 1861 when the peasant population of the Phulaguri area in the Nowgong District, mostly tribals, vehemently protested through their 'Mels' against the prohibition of poppy cultivation in that year and rumours of imposition of taxes on incomes and on betel-nuts and 'Pan'. The prohibition of poppy cultivation, however well-intentioned the measure might be, was not welcomed by the people because it affected their economy all on a sudden and they did not know how otherwise to restore their economic balance. The repeated expressions of popular fears against possible new imposts were not attended to by the haughty and inefficient Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong, Mr. Sconce.³ The result was the uprising at Phulaguri in October, 1861, which was characterised as a riot by the British administrators but is still remembered by the people of the locality as the 'Phulaguri Dhawa'⁴ or the Phulaguri battle. We have the following official account of this affray. "Mels" or village assemblies were held day after day to discuss the new and most obnoxious orders, and were attended by large numbers of the people. The police endeavoured to disperse these meetings and arrest the ringleaders, but found themselves powerless in the presence of such vastly superior numbers, and on October 18th, Lieutenant Singer, the Assistant Commissioner, was sent from Nowgong to enquire into the matter. This unfortunate young officer called upon the villagers to disperse, and, when they failed to do so, ordered the police to deprive them of their clubs. One of the constables was assaulted as he was endeavouring to carry out this order and Lieutenant Singer, when coming to his assistance, was felled to the ground by a blow from a thick bamboo. He was deserted by the police, who incontinently fled, though the firing of a single musket was subsequently enough to make the crowd fall back, and was afterwards cruelly murdered at the instigation of one of the ringleaders who said, "The Saheb did not come to redress our grievances but to put us in bonds; he is still alive, kill him". The Deputy Commissioner on receiving news of the murder sent out a few men from the detachment of twenty-four sepoy of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry who were stationed in Nowgong, but himself remained behind to protect the treasury. An application was despatched to Tezpur for re-inforcements, and Colonel Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Assam, who happened to be there, ordered across fifty sepoy, and then proceeded by steamer to Gauhati to bring up eighty more, some of whom were landed at Tezpur. No further opposition was encountered

2. Judicial Proceedings, Nos. 446-48, May, 1862.

3. Letters issued to Government, Vol. 6, pp. 57-58. Also letter dated 28th November 1861 from native Doctor Dumru Tewari to Commissioner. Letters Received from Misc. Quarters, Volume No. 26.

4. Account supplied by Sri Padmasing Deka, B.A., Mouzadar.

and the Deputy Commissioner proceeded to Phulaguri and held a judicial investigation into the causes of the riot.⁵

The account further says, "The whole occurrence seems to have been mismanaged, and to have been viewed by the local authorities with unnecessary alarm. . . . Rightly or wrongly the villagers had formed the idea that they could not get a hearing from the Deputy Commissioner and prior to Lt. Singer's death the mistake was made of attempting to coerce a dangerous crowd with an insufficient force". In fact the villagers had been discussing means for an appeal to higher authorities in case their grievances were not redressed by the Deputy Commissioner. On the day of the occurrence the people had mustered strong at Phulaguri in the hope that the Deputy Commissioner would personally come to the place of their meeting and hear their grievances. But the Deputy Commissioner failed in his duty, belittled the people's clamour for redress of grievances and tactlessly sent his young Assistant to deal with an irritated crowd. The 'mel' turned into an infuriated mob and armed with bamboo sticks and clubs they challenged the police force led by Mr. Singer.

The leaders of the Mels were arrested and put on trial for rioting and causing the death of Mr. Singer. The accused were first tried by Capt. Comber, Deputy Commissioner of Darrang, and then by Mr. Agnew, Judicial Commissioner of Assam who recommended to the Sadar Nizamat Adawlat the award of capital punishment to Narsing Lalung, Sambar Lalung, Lakon Kosh and Suren Koch, transportation for life to Seesing and Bahoo Dom, 14 years' rigorous imprisonment to Monee Cacharee and Moira Sing, and 3 years' to Lahoo Chutia.⁶ The Bengal Government also reviewed the conduct of Lt. Sconce, the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong, and reduced him to the rank and pay of an Assistant Commissioner and transferred him to Kamrup.⁷

The Jaintia Rebellions :—

The risings in the Jaintia Hills of Assam in 1860 and 1862 resemble in many respects the Phulaguri Uprising. The Jaintia Hills had been incorporated in the territories of the E. I. Company in 1835 when the Jaintia Raja was pensioned off. Judging the temper of the Syntengs who lived in these hills—a tribe allied to the Khasis, the British saw that their administration was as light as possible in the initial stages. It was in 1850 that a thana was established at Jowai, the headquarters of these hills, and in 1860 it was decided to impose a house tax. The people forthwith rose in rebellion, but the revolt was stamped out by the employment of a large force of troops which was then in the Hills. Quickly thereafter in 1860-61 the levy of an income tax was announced by the Government. The hillmen resented this obnoxious impost, though according to the official account only 310 persons were liable to be assessed for this new

5. *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. VI, Nowgong.

6. Judicial Proceedings, 446-48, May, 1862, Letter No. 50-A dated 22nd March, 1862.

7. Judicial Proceedings, 446-48, May, 1862, Letter No. 891 dated 31st May, 1862.

tax. They held deliberations in their village assemblies and decided once again to resist and revolt. The rebellious people stormed the stockade at Jowai and burnt down the thana. Troops were again requisitioned to suppress the rebellion and an indecisive guerilla warfare followed. It was not till November, 1863, that the last of the insurgents had surrendered.⁸

The Syntengs like other hillmen were impatient of restraint of any kind and they resented interference with their accustomed mode of life, particularly when this interference took the shape of taxation without accompanying ameliorative measures. The official account of the risings says, "The Syntengs had never been conquered and had no conception of the resources of the Indian Empire. . . . As long as the people were left to their own devices, they had no excuse for giving any trouble, but they were prompt to resent anything so offensive as taxation". And it was on taxation and increasing income from revenue that the British authorities were more bent during this period of their administration of Assam.⁹ The accounts that follow testify to this policy.

Agrarian Outbursts in 1868-69 :—

In 1869 the rates of revenue in the Assam Valley districts were doubled all round. There was consequently great discontent amongst the people and this discontent found expression through the 'Mels', especially in the districts of Kamrup and Darrang. We have reference in the old records to one such 'Mel' of several thousand persons having assembled in a place called Gobindapur in Bazali in the Kamrup District and a police officer was penalised for not having taken steps to disperse the crowd as directed by the then Sub-Divisional Officer of Barpeta, Mr. Campbell.¹⁰ There is reference to another such 'Mel' having assembled at Patharughat in the Darrang district where the crowd besieged the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Comber, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Driberg, and District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Weldon. These officers are said to have been shut in in a bungalow but no extreme measures were resorted to on either side.¹¹ Patharughat became famous for its resistance to revenue enhancement later in 1894.

Henceforth the 'Mels' came to be looked upon with suspicion by the authorities as fomentors of disaffection, and the police were freely employed to disperse these popular associations as in the opinion of the authorities they threatened the tranquillity of the districts by their protests against Government measures for enhancement of the land revenue or imposition of new taxes. The Government would not stop taking advantage of the temporary nature of the revenue assessments and kept on enhancing them

8. *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. X, pp. 51-53.

9. Proceedings relating to the Jaintia Risings are found in *Selections of Records of the Government of Bengal*, Vol. XXIX.

10. Letter No. 113 dated 16th April, 1869, from Commissioner, Assam, to Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

11. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 320.

every ten years or so. The peace of the province had not been seriously disturbed since the consolidation of British authority in the mid-decades of the century and the British administrators believed that peace had brought prosperity to the people at large and augmented their capacity to pay. One such administrator was Mr. W. E. Ward who had compiled the Assam Land Revenue Manual of 1886. He became Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1891 having already officiated in that capacity for short terms before, and from his knowledge of the revenue affairs of Assam, he had come to hold the view that the people's capacity to pay had not been taxed to the fullest extent in the matter of revenue assessment and accordingly devised new Assessment Rules at greatly enhanced rates. He seems to have given no consideration to the fact that this was the sore point of the people and any enhancement of revenue would create extreme disaffection amongst them. When therefore in 1893 it became known to the people of the Assam Valley that Mr. Ward was formulating proposals for the reassessment of the Valley districts increasing the rates from 70 to 100 per cent, there was a great uproar. The people were in no mood to bear any enhancement whatever.¹² Numerous memorials began to be addressed to the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner himself against the proposed reassessment even before the Chief Commissioner submitted final proposals of reassessment to the Government of India in November, 1893.

The 'Mels' of 1893-94 :

The 'Mels' began to voice popular feelings of resentment in almost every district of the Assam Valley with particular intensity in the Districts of Kamrup and Darrang where the people soon organised a campaign for non-payment of revenue and enforced the decisions of the 'Mels' by boycott and excommunication of any one who paid in revenue at the increased rates. On the other hand the Chief Commissioner ordered the enforcement of the proposed reassessment rates even before the final orders of the Government of India on his proposals were received. The orders passed by the Chief Commissioner were that the "pattas for the lands held by the Ryots were to be issued and the revenue for the year 1894 was to be realised at the proposed enhanced rates in anticipation of the sanction of the Government of India, the ryots being informed that if the Government of India reduced the rates, the excess amount realised at the first instalment on each patta would be deducted from the demand of the second instalment".¹³

The people in general viewed these orders with great disfavour and discontent and at places in Kamrup and Darrang even with contempt. The people could view them in no other light than as means of exploitation of their resources and impoverishment of their condition. A series of 'Raij-Mels' or Mels of the populace therefore began to be held from

12. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 286.

13. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 286.

one end of the country to the other. It is astonishing to see how the masses of those days spontaneously rose in revolt against the foreign rulers of the land. They demanded withdrawal of the unjust orders which affected their economic stability as based upon the land and agriculture. The political agitation of later days under educated leadership was not then known. Nor had the people the means to fight a battle for independence with arms and weapons. In the estimation of the rulers the Assamese had already become a timid race. The deterioration in valour of the people had already attracted the notice of writers. Writing in 1809 when Assam was still independent, but on the road to decline,¹⁴ Buchanan Hamilton had said, "Hitherto the Assamese had been a warlike and enterprising race while the princes had retained the vigour that in the East is not commonly retained for so many generations". The Assamese historian Gunabhiram Barua of the late nineteenth century said in the same vein, "In course of time the Ahoms gave up the manly and armstrong character of Kshatriyas and imbibed the lipstrong traits of the Brahmins". The Ahoms, it hardly needs be said, were typical Assamese.

REVOLTS AT RANGIYA, LACHIMA AND PATHARUGHAT

At Rangiya: But notwithstanding the apparent deterioration of racial characteristics not unusual in a subject population, the agrarian revolts of January, 1894, in parts of Assam proved that the Assamese had not lost all their virility and strength to resist injustice even by facing bullets.¹⁵ They had indeed 'outgrown', as stated by the then Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, Mr. R. B. McCabe, "the characteristics associated with the name of Assamese, that is to say, a disposition at once apathetic and law-abiding".¹⁶ We have the following account of the disturbances in Kamrup from this officer's report. On December 24th, 1894, some irritated people of the locality, mainly tribal Kacharis, had looted the Rangiya 'Hat' in the Kamrup district. On the 30th December a crowd estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000 persons assembled at Rangiya and made threatening demonstrations throughout the night, declaring that they would destroy the thana, post office, Tahsil Kutcherry and the Tahsildar's house. An Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Reilly by name, was present there with police and military, but he was unable to arrest the leaders. On the 6th January, 1894, the Deputy Commissioner proceeded to Rangiya from Gauhati. The police force being insufficient to preserve the peace in the excited situation of the time, a list was made of the principal headmen and notice served on them under Section 17 of Act V of 1861 to act as special constables. Many of these, as it transpired later, were employed not only in preserving the peace but also in realising the revenue from

14. Assam came under British occupation in 1826 as a result of the Treaty of Yandabu at the close of the First Burmese War.

15. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, Nos. 220 to 344 give an account of the revolts at Rangiya, Lachima, and Patharughat.

16. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 252.

the unwilling ryots. Mels were still being held at Rangiya and other places, especially in the area comprised by the Tahsils of Patidarrang, Nalbari, Baroma, Bojali and the Mouzas of Upar Barbhag and Sarukhetri, which were all situated in a compact block and where the inhabitants had decided on one common course of action, that is, non-payment of revenue at the increased rates. Attachment of property was obstructed, betrayers were penalised by the Rajj. One Bijoy Choudhury who had paid Rs. 25/- (land revenue) was fined a similar sum.¹⁷

Towards the evening of the 10th January an assembly of several thousand persons said to represent all the mouzas of the Rangiya Tahsil including men from Nalbari and Hajo collected together and encamped in the fields close to the thana where several men implicated in the riot of the 24th December, 1893, had been imprisoned. Mr. McCabe's report of the incidents is as follows:—

Bundles of formidable lathis were ostensibly paraded—a significant hint that the mob did not intend to allow itself to be dispersed without offering resistance. I sent out a message declaring my willingness to receive a deputation of the headmen, but the only answer vouchsafed was that I could come and speak to them myself accompanied by Mr. Reilly, and without a guard. I went out and read them my order of the 10th instant,¹⁸ prohibiting the assembly of mels and called on them to disperse. In reply, shouts were raised "We won't pay the revenue at the enhanced rate," and, as I turned to leave, there were cries of "Dhar, Dhar!" (Seize him!). At 5 P.M. a guard arrived with Rs. 34,000 treasure from Tumbulpur, which was placed in the thana, where the 15 accused in the riot case of the 24th December, 1893 were confined. As the mob drew closer to the thana, and showed no intention of dispersing, sentries were posted round the building and its approaches.

My guard was too small to warrant my attempting to disperse the people in day-light, and I thought it preferable to await the night, when there was a chance of their spirits being less heated.

Towards 9 P.M. I received information that a plan had been made to force the thana, release the prisoners, and loot the treasure, and, on proceeding to reconnoitre, I found that the mob had picketed sentries all round their camp, and had attempted to open communication with the prisoners. They had also forcibly occupied several houses in this outpost. It was now necessary to clear the mob away from the precincts of the thana, and I assembled 10 men of the 13th B.I. and 8 police with Mr. Reilly, Assistant Superintendent of Police. We charged down on the mob and in their first scare the people started to move off, but as our force got separated, the ring-leaders called on the mob to make a stand. Finding me alone, a body

17. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 253.

18. The order prohibiting assembly of 'Mels' is said to have been promulgated that same day.

of about twenty men attacked me with lathis, and I had to draw my revolver in self-defence. I fired four shots over their heads, and, a few sepoy running up, we succeeded in half an hour in completely dispersing the crowd. The military maintained perfect discipline and did not show the slightest scare.

The Armed Civil Police were somewhat wild and let off their rifles in the air with the idea of keeping up their spirits. We arrested several members of the mob, who, of course, stated that the ringleaders had forcibly kept them there, and would neither allow them to go and pay revenue, nor return to their homes.

The guard was kept under arms, and Mr. Reilly and I visited the sentries four times that night. At dawn I sent messengers to Gauhati and Darrang. I have ordered 15 sepoy, 13th B.I., to proceed here at once, and have asked the Deputy Commissioner, Darrang, to let me have 20 Frontier Police. I do not anticipate any further trouble or forcible opposition on the part of the ryots, but I cannot leave the tahsil offices without a larger guard than that hitherto sanctioned.

Mr. McCabe mentions in his Diary a significant fact. He says that on the 8th he had addressed the mob for a considerable time explaining "their folly" in refusing to pay the increased revenue, and had asked them to send their influential men (*dangar manuh*)¹⁹ to confer with him. But they replied, "We are all *dangar*".²⁰ To McCabe the demeanour of the people had appeared to be extremely insolent, to the people McCabe's persuasions had no meaning if he could not accede to their demand—'Briddhi Khajana dibo nawaru'—"We can't pay the increased revenue". Thus a democratic expression and assertion of the popular will was met by domineering arrogance of a rule that was hardly anything but autocratic.

The authorities did not expect that the suppression by force of the demonstrations at Rangiya, the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders, and the indignities they were subjected to by being forced to build a lock-up for themselves and do other menial works—though they were under-trial prisoners and respectable citizens, would put an end to the disturbances which were widespread and serious. A detachment of the 44th Gurkha Rifles was called out from Shillong and the Military and Frontier Police and the Volunteer Force were requisitioned to quell the disturbances. The Tahsil Kutcherry at Rangiya was completely stockaded and entrenched. Orders were issued for the attachment of all the licensed guns in the Rangiya, Nalbari, Baroma, and Bajali Tahsils, these being the centres of disaffection. Respectable citizens, appointed special constables, were sent out "as Missionaries to exert their local influence in inducing the ryots to obey order and to follow constitutional measures only in bringing their grievances to the notice of Government". These measures were bound to

19. *i.e.*, big men.

20. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 258.

bear some fruit. There were some black sheep and intimidation forced some others to pay in their revenue.

At Lachima :—But 'Mels' were still being held in other areas—at Nalbari, Baroma and Bajali, and the leaders exhorted the ryots not to pay revenue. In the Baroma Tahsil the 'mel' appointed their own dak peons to carry orders from one village to another, and organised a corps of 'lathials' to oppose attachment of property. On the 21st January, 1894, stiff resistance was encountered at Lachima in the Sarukhetri Mouza of the Barpeta Sub-division by the Sub-Divisional Officer Madhab Chandra Bardoloi. Here a section of the infuriated ryots under the influence of the 'mels' severely assaulted the Mouzadar and a Mandal when the latter tried to realise some revenue. The Mandal was so severely injured that he died a few days afterwards. Some 75 men arrested in this connection and brought to the camp of the S.D.O. had to be released when about 3,000 men surrounded the camp and threatened to burn the rest house there. At midnight when the crowd had dispersed the S.D.O. retired to Barpeta despatching an urgent requisition for assistance from the Deputy Commissioner. Next evening the Deputy Commissioner arrived at the spot with a contingent of sepoy and armed police. The S.D.O. returned soon after and measures were adopted to arrest the leaders. By the 25th January 59 of the principal offenders according to the official report were secured and all were employed in building a lock-up for themselves. In the afternoon a crowd of 6,000 men approached the camp and presented a letter demanding release of the prisoners. The letter was signed '6,000 ryots'. The Deputy Commissioner was in no mood to treat with the ryots. Apprehending that the camp might be stormed he ordered his men to charge the crowd with fixed bayonets. After some tussle the crowd dispersed. The S.D.O. then began making investigations in order to punish the rioters who had caused the death of the Mandal, and other leaders of the 'mels'. People still remember the barbarity with which the authorities here sought to be revenged upon the refractory ryots. Among the arrested men were respectable leaders of society—Gossains and men of light. It is said that such men were yoked to the plough and made to plough like bullocks. Military Police were sent to places like Baroma and Bajali and everywhere penalties were inflicted and indignities were showered on the ring-leaders. Official accounts do not of course make mention of these 'third degree methods' adopted by the Police but memories of these still survive in the minds of old inhabitants of the localities concerned.

At Patharughat :—Things took a serious turn also in the Mangaldoi Sub-division of the Darrang District. On the 24th January, 1894, Mr. Ransom, S.D.O., Mangaldoi, telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner, J. D. Anderson, that ryots in the Sipajhar Tahsil were assembling in 'mels' similar to those in Kamrup. These 'mels' were attended by enormous numbers of people from the Mangaldoi and Kalaigaon Tahsils. Next day the S.D.O. called out the Volunteers of his Sub-division under

Lt. Davidson. On the 26th the Deputy Commissioner left Tezpur for Patharughat with a posse of sepoy, constables and armed Civil Police under the command of Mr. Birington, Superintendent of Police, reaching there the next day. On his way he saw notices on wayside trees inviting all and sundry to attend a 'mel' at Patharughat in the name of the 'raij' as the Deputy Commissioner was coming and might be induced to lower the re-assessment rates. On the 28th a great crowd of thousands of people gathered near the rest-house at Patharughat. The Deputy Commissioner met the people in the open space before the rest-house while Mr. Birington accompanied him ordering his people to stand to arms. The Deputy Commissioner told the people that the Government of India had just sanctioned some reduction in the rates of assessment only in the case of Faringati lands, and that they must not hold any more 'mels' and that if any such 'mels' were held they would be dispersed by force. The people remained firm and without in any way assaulting or abusing the Deputy Commissioner simply refused to budge. Birington was then ordered to disperse them and the advance section of the vast assembly was pushed back by the police and sepoy to a large plain nearby where the assembly had gathered. The ryots were excited at the sight of fixed bayonets. Shots were also fired over the heads of the crowd. Some of them got round to the back of the sepoy. Others came forward with sticks in hand and threw clods of earth at the police. This was too much for the guardians of peace and order. Birington drew up his men in battle order and with the Deputy Commissioner's order opened fire on the crowd. The crowd pressed forward in spite of volleys of fire and drew back only when scores of people lay dead or injured on the ground. After this a show of force was made round about the country, for, the Deputy Commissioner thought, "the sight of even a few Europeans may be useful in repressing any further tendency to riot". In his report to the Commissioner the Deputy Commissioner regretted the loss of life on this day but added that "the lesson inflicted was a very severe one and I can only hope that it has been effectual".²¹

As a matter of fact the resistance of the ryots broke down after this frightful show of force by the authorities. Meanwhile on the 27th January, 1894, the Chief Commissioner had intimated from Calcutta that the Government of India had sanctioned reduction of rates in respect of Faringati lands only. The ryots sullenly accepted the decisions of the Government of India. By the end of January reports were received from Nowgong, Goalpara and Lakhimpur that people were accepting pattas and paying in revenue. The Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar reported that some obstruction to take pattas at enhanced rates was made at first in the Sadar Tahsil but it soon practically subsided. Things quieted down in Kamrup and Darrang too and the ryots lost their battle. A new technique of fight against Imperial Britain that wrought the economic ruin of India was

21. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 277.

soon to develop under a superior leadership that could beat hollow the pretensions of British politicians to hold India in bondage.

The Role of the Mels :—

The 'Mels' in Assam undoubtedly played an important role in making the people conscious of the utter neglect and indifference with which their rights and claims were viewed by the foreign rulers. The 'Mels' had also given a foretaste of what the giant 'Mass' could do, as it actually did in 1921 and 1942 under the Congress Movement, to shake the foundations of the imperial structure of Britain in India, when raised from its stupor by a great leader of men like Mahatma Gandhi.

Writing about the 'Mels' in 1894 in his report to Government McCabe said,—

"The ordinary village Panchayat, originally constituted as an authority on social matters, has developed into the mel, or assembly, not only of the members of a village but of the whole of the inhabitants of even one or more Tahsils. These mels are governed by the leading Dolois or Gossains and by the principal landholders of the District. I can only compare the authority of these mels to that wielded by the 'Vehmgericht' or to come to more modern times, by the Nihilists. The unfortunate ryot who has to pay his land revenue is met by the Tahsildar on the one side who says—'If you do not pay your property will be attached', and on the other side by the Raij, i.e., the embodiment of the orders of the mel which states, 'If you do pay you are cursed and excommunicated'. He has therefore to face loss of property on the one side or social ostracism on the other. On every occasion that I have met with the poorer class of ryots they have expressed their eagerness to pay their revenue, but added in awe-struck voices, 'How can we disobey the Raijer Hukum?'. The question has therefore simply developed into the point : Which is the paramount authority, the mel or the Sarkar?"²²

These observations make it clear that if British paramountcy was to be preserved and the authority of the British rulers to be maintained in Assam the Mels must be crushed and they were actually crushed by force.

Mr. McCabe in his reports to Government took credit that he succeeded in putting down the demonstrations and disturbances in Kamrup without any loss of life and the Government also duly commended his action. But he admitted in his reports that firing had to be resorted to on different occasions. The whole of the diary of his proceedings and his confidential communications to Government which might give the actual picture are however not available. On the other hand from local accounts²³ it would appear that there was considerable loss of life at Rangiya also and a large number of people were injured. The people dispersed only when there was great scare and consternation created amongst them. The ruth-

22. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, No. 252.

23. Account supplied by the octogenarian Shri Nandeswar Buzar Barua of Dohora, Rangiya,

lessness of the authorities in enforcing their orders prevented the people from coming out later with their list of the dead and injured. At Patharughat in the Mangaldoi Sub-division of the Darrang District the loss of life admitted in the formal reports of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Anderson, was only 12.²⁴ But a report appeared in the *Englishman* of the 12th February, 1894, from a correspondent at Margherita, Assam, that the number of people killed at Patharughat was 36. The Chief Commissioner of course sent a contradiction to this report as also to the further report of the paper that police were being employed in Assam to collect revenue. But there is hardly any doubt that both these reports were grossly underestimated. The actual number of casualties, dead and injured, must have been very heavy. Local accounts²⁵ put the number of dead at not less than 150 and that of the injured at more than 200. Some corroboration of these unofficial figures is probably found in the following demi-official letter which Anderson who was having qualms of conscience, wrote to the Chief Commissioner on the 7th February, 1894:—

“The worst thing about the riots of Sunday week (28th January, 1894) was of course the dreadfully big butcher’s bill. That was due entirely to the extraordinary pertinacity with which the rioters still attacked the police after the firing had begun. I have sent in my official report some days ago, and perhaps the less I say about the business till that has been considered, and my evidence in the riot case which has been instituted is recorded, the better.

I hope I shall see you on your way up the river. I should like to tell you viva voce exactly what happened”.

Anderson wrote in the same strain to Godfrey, Commissioner of the Assam Valley, and begged for his steady backing, and thanked him for “sticking up” for him.

The Patharughat affray was rightly called a ‘Doli-Ran’ or battle with clods of earth by the village poet who composed verses in the Purana style describing the incidents in what he called the ‘Doli-Purana’. From all accounts it would appear that the people who assembled in a huge ‘Raij-Mel’ at Patharughat on the 28th January, 1894, were resolved not to budge an inch before the Deputy Commissioner who had personally come to the spot promised them the concession they demanded. The military and the police attempting to push them back and disperse them by force simply irritated them. The people were accustomed to believe that the will of the ‘Raij’ i.e., the people as a whole, must prevail, and they had come in their thousands to show that they were the ‘Raij’ and they expected the Deputy Commissioner to acknowledge the fact and give his assent to their demands. What was required was tact and wisdom on the part of the Deputy Commissioner to deal with such a grim determination displayed by the people. But the Deputy Commissioner and

24. Assam Secretariat Proceedings, September, 1894—Home A, Nos. 277, 279.

25. Account supplied by Shri Dineswar Sarma of Mangoldoi from memories of eye-witnesses.

his men including the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Birington, appear to have been seized with fear lest they might be wiped out by the mob and opened fire on them in a spirit of cruel vengeance for not obeying Government orders. The helpless people who had come to ask for bread received only stones and bullets. They had no weapons to retaliate. In a state of desperation they could only throw at their opponents the bamboo sticks that they were accustomed to carry about them and clods of earth from the ground where they assembled. It was thus that the brave people of Patharughat with many leading Muslims amongst their leaders, gave their blood for a cause which they believed to be just and popular.

Anderson, the author of this black chapter of British administration in Assam, managed to escape official blame and strictures with the backing of his white superiors, Godfrey, Miletus and Ward. In a demi-official letter of 29th April Anderson was informed by P. G. Miletus, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, that no blame could possibly attach to him for his action and that his action would continue to receive the Chief Commissioner's support. The Government of India accepted the Chief Commissioner's view. Anderson was however transferred to Chittagong.

The indignities and humiliations suffered by respectable individuals at the hands of the police and the fact that they were made to work like common convicts when under trial, were of no consequence to the alien Government. That respectable leaders of society were compelled to be special constables and employed like ordinary revenue peons in the task of attachment of property of their co-villagers and realisation of revenue did not at all strike the conscience of the self-conscious rulers. The 'mels' organised the ryots to be united in their demands for withdrawal of the unjust enhancement orders. Funds were collected by small subscriptions from the ryots to appeal to the Viceroy and the High Court against these orders. Numerous memorials and representations were already pending before the Government of India. By pressing for the execution of those orders even before they were validated by the final approval of the Government of India and even in the face of country-wide popular discontent and protest, the authorities in Assam showed extreme callousness and indifference to the people's distress, and by their authoritarian attitude of suspicion and distrust, and their intolerance of popular associations organised by the people themselves forced a situation upon the innocent peasants in which the latter were often compelled to make violent demonstrations against unreasonable and arrogant officers. The authorities then conceived their plan of suppressing these demonstrations and breaking the people's determination to resist constituted authority on a footing of war against the people. The people's view of constituted authority was that it should be amenable to reason and responsive to popular wishes. Even from their own reports it would appear that the whole procedure adopted by the authorities to suppress the 'mels' was high-handed in the extreme.

Comments in the Press and Platform :—

These high-handed procedures adopted in connection with the so-called 'Assam Riots' found publicity in the newspapers in Calcutta. The *Statesman* of the 8th March, 1894, reported that all the prisoners—25 in number—of the Rangiyahat looting case were detained in hazat for a month and a half and made to work like convicts though by law undertrial prisoners were exempted from work, and that they were undefended and prosecution witnesses were not cross-examined. Of the accused 5 were acquitted, 1 was at large and the rest convicted to various terms of rigorous imprisonment. Of the convicted 3 were Muslims and the rest Hindus. The Government of course made an attempt to explain away these facts. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 28th March, 1894, reported that respectable persons in Assam were appointed special constables for the purpose of realising revenue and religious dignitaries or Gossains and dolois arrested in connection with the riots were employed in doing earth-work to fortify the Tahsil Kutcherry. These reports were also characterised by the authorities as distortion of facts.

The Government of India began to call for reports and explanations on various aspects of the disturbances when the Hon'ble Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh gave notice of a series of questions to be put on the 29th March, 1894, on the Assam riots in the Imperial Legislative Council of the Viceroy. The following are the questions put and the answers given by the Government of India on the basis of information supplied after due deliberation by the Government of Assam.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE RECENT ASSAM REASSESSMENTS TO BE
PUT BY THE HON'BLE DR. RASH BEHARY GHOSH AT THE COUNCIL
MEETING ON THE 29TH MARCH, 1894.

1. Whether the Chief Commissioner of Assam originally proposed an increase of land revenue in revising the assessments in the Assam Valley districts, amounting on an average to nearly 70 per cent, and in a large number of cases to about 100 per cent?

2. Whether the ryots of the affected districts submitted memorials complaining of the excessive character of the increase, and whether the Chief Commissioner of Assam rejected those memorials and confirmed the rates originally fixed by him?

3. Whether, after the rejection of those memorials, and about four months before the final orders of the Government of India were passed, the Chief Commissioner did not reduce the increase in the rates to about 50 per cent., in a large number of cases, and an average of about 40 per cent?

4. Whether the Chief Commissioner did not pass orders for the realisation of the revenue according to the revised scale of rates while the appeals submitted to the Government of India against his orders were still pending?

5. Whether the Chief Commissioner did not disallow the prayer of the ryots for the postponement of the realisation of the increased revenue till the final orders of the Government of India were passed?

6. Whether, as stated in the newspapers, a large number of gosains, or religious dignitaries of the Hindu religion, and other respectable persons in the Kamrup District, were confined in the lock-up at Rangia, and were while so confined, employed on earthworks as a form of out-door labour?

7. Whether the Government revenue in the lower districts of the Assam Valley is not now being realized by the agency of the respectable inhabitants of the place, who have been appointed special constables for the purpose of realizing Government revenue?

8. Whether the Government of India will be pleased to lay on the table papers showing :—

- (a) the cause or causes of the recent ryots in the different places in Assam ;
- (b) the places where such riots occurred and the circumstances under which the police used arms for the purpose of suppressing the riots ;
- (c) whether, as stated in the newspapers, ball cartridge was used by the police ;
- (d) the number of people killed and wounded in each place ; and
- (e) the places, if any, where police fired upon the crowd without the authority of the Magistrate?

ANSWERS

First question:—The answer is that in some cases the increase, as originally proposed, was 100 per cent, but on the average the increase was 53 per cent.

Second question :—The answer is in the affirmative.

Third question :—The answer is 'Yes' : the Chief Commissioner, having observed the operation of the rules, reduced the increase from an average of 53 per cent to an average of 37 per cent.

Fourth question :—The answer is 'Yes'.

Fifth question :—The answer is 'Yes' : the ryots having been at the same time informed that full credit would be given to them for payments in excess of whatever rates might be finally fixed by the Government of India. I may add that the Government of India have reduced the increase from an average of 37 per cent. to an average of 32·7 per cent., and have limited the maximum enhancement on an individual holding to about 50 per cent. on the previous rental.

Sixth question :—Certain prisoners, arrested for rioting and confined in the Rangia lock-up, have been employed in constructing temporary houses for themselves, the accommodation afforded by the lock-up being insufficient. But on this point further detailed enquiry will be made.

Seventh question :—The answer is 'No'. Special constables have been appointed under the Act to assist in preserving the peace, but not for collecting the revenue.

Eighth question :—The Government of India have reported on the occurrence to the Secretary of State and intend to publish the correspondence for general information after the despatch shall have reached the India Office, that is, within about a fortnight. It may, however, be said that the reductions ordered by the Government of India had been communicated to the people before the riot at Mangaldai and that the police in firing on the mob acted in self-defence and in the dispersion of an illegal assembly.

The Bengalee of the 28th April, 1894, commented as follows :—

"It is a matter of general complaint that the answers given to questions asked in Council are vague and unsatisfactory. The questions are asked ; but the Government gives as little information as possible. Sometimes the information is positively misleading, and we have a notable case in the answer which was given to a certain question put by the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose regarding the Assam riots. Dr. Rash Behary Ghose asked whether the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup realised rents from the ryots through the agency of respectable inhabitants who have been appointed special constables. The answer of the Government was a positive denial of the suggestion contained in the question. We are in a position to say that the answer was misleading and inconsistent with the facts of the case. We have received the following letter on the subject :

'Dear Sir,—The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behary Ghose put some questions in the Viceregal Legislative Council concerning the Assam riots. It is amusing to see the answers made by the Government. In answer to question No. 7 of the Hon'ble Doctor,—whether the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup realised rents from the ryots through the agency of the respectable inhabitants of the district, who had been appointed special constables,—the Government gave a flat denial of the whole affair.

I have got hold of some of the parwanas as issued by the various tahsildars of the district, ordering the special constables, whose names appear on the back of the parwanas, to realise rents from the persons whose names appear in the body of the parwana. Immediately after the questions were put in the Council, the Deputy Commissioner issued an order to all special constables to return him the parwanas. It was with difficulty that I have been able to collect these parwanas. The people won't give them to our men, such is their fear. You may use the parwanas in any way you like'."

The Government of India wanted the Assam Government to explain their position with regard to these comments and the Chief Commissioner of Assam did his best to justify his actions. It came to light that Ganga Ram Das and Uday Chandra Barua, Tahsildars of Chutiapara and Hajo,

issued parwanas to special constables to collect revenue, but the Chief Commissioner was disposed to attach no blame to them or to the Deputy Commissioner, McCabe, under whose order the parwanas were issued.

THE OFFICE OF THE COMMERCIAL RESIDENT UNDER THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

DR. HARI RANJAN GHOSAL

In my article: "Commercial Residency of Patna," published in the *Journal of Indian History* (Phil., 1941), a brief indication has been given of the importance of the office of Commercial Resident under the English East India Company. A somewhat more detailed account has been given of the position, status and importance of the Commercial Resident in another article of mine entitled "Cheap the Magnificent", published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (September, 1946). And references to the emoluments, position and private trade of the Commercial Residents are to be found also in my paper entitled "Records relating to the Company's Commercial Residencies", published in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* (January, 1955). But much more remains to be said about the Commercial Resident, his character and conduct towards the weavers and other classes of persons connected with Company's investment, and the immensely important and lucrative nature of the office.

It may be noted at the outset that prior to 1787 different systems of providing the Company's investment had obtained at different times, or at the same time, in the different factories within the Bengal Presidency, such as the system of contract, or of agency, or a combination of both, the employment of *dalals*¹ or *gomastas*², the immediate advances to the weavers direct, or ready money purchase in the market³. On 23 July, 1787, Lord Cornwallis's Government passed a number of regulations for the provision of the Company's investment⁴. Accordingly Commercial Residents stationed throughout the Company's provinces in Bengal were to supervise and provide the investment, not as contractors, nor as salaried servants, but as agents. Of course, the term "commercial agent" or "commercial resident" had been used even before 1787. But after the enactment of the regulations of that year the area under the jurisdiction of a Commercial Resident came to be called "Commercial Residency", which comprised a head factory and a number of subordinate stations under it. The regulations of 1787 were followed by similar other rules, which were all re-enacted with some modifications under Regulation XXXI of 1793. The fundamental principle established by the regulation was "that no person shall be compelled to work for the Company ; and that those who may engage in their employ

1. Middlemen.

2. A class of inferior servants.

3. Harington, *Laws and Regulations*, III, p. 595.

4. *Ibid.*

shall always be at liberty to relinquish it, after performing the engagements into which they may have voluntarily entered."⁵

From an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette*,⁶ dated 1790, it appears that there were in the whole of the Bengal Presidency then nineteen Commercial Residencies, namely, one in Bihar, one in Benares and seventeen in Bengal proper. These were: Benares, Chittagong, Kumarkhali,⁷ Boalia,⁸ Cossimbazar, Jangipur, Dacca, Colaghar,⁹ Harial,¹⁰ Haripal,¹¹ Khirpai,¹² Lakhipur,¹³ Malda, Midnapur, Patna, Radhanagar,¹⁴ Rangpur, Santipur and Sonamukhi.¹⁵ The Commercial Residency of Benares, it may be noted, had been established early in 1788 with a view to obtaining "through the channel of agency a substitute for the Oude cloths provided previous to this period by contract in the Dominion of His Highness the Vizier."¹⁶ At first the mode of providing the investment adopted by the Commercial Resident of Benares was that of contract with *dalals*. But this system continued for a year only. Subsequently the investment was provided partly by contract and partly by ready money purchase.¹⁷ The jurisdiction of the Commercial Resident of Benares extended upto Allahabad in the west and Azamgarh in the north. In 1803, however, two new Commercial Residencies were established for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, viz. (i) Mau and Azamgarh, and (ii) Etawah and Kalpi. And the jurisdiction of the Commercial Resident of Benares was limited to the district of Benares and adjoining territories.

There were thus in 1803 twenty-one Commercial Residencies in the Bengal Presidency, of which as many as seventeen were situated in Bengal proper. The reason is obvious. Piece-goods and raw silk, the two most important items of the Company's investment, were supplied chiefly from this province. Piece-goods formed by far the greatest item; and almost all the Commercial Residencies supplied cotton piece-goods in greater or less proportions. Silk piece-goods were obtained principally from Malda, Jangipur, Cossimbazar and Benares, and in smaller quantities from Kumarkhali, Santipur and Radhanagar. Next in importance to piece-goods was raw silk, the most extensive supply of which was obtained from Boalia. The other residencies which supplied this article were Kumarkhali, Cossimbazar, Jangipur, Radhanagar, Malda, Rangpur, Harial and Santipur. After 1813, when the demand for piece-goods in foreign markets fell off rapidly, the greatest part of the Company's surplus revenue was invested in raw

5. *Ibid.*

6. Seton-Kerr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, II, p. 41.

7. In Nadia district.

8. Rampur Boalia.

9. In Hooghly district.

10. In Rajshahi district.

11. In Hooghly district.

12. In Midnapur district.

13. In Noakhali district.

14. In Midnapur district.

15. In Bankura district.

16. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 18 April, 1803.

17. *Ibid.*

silk. During the last decade of the eighteenth century the Company invested quite a good amount in sugar, which was supplied principally by the residencies of Rangpur and Benares, and in smaller proportions by those of Radhanagar, Santipur, Sonamukhi and Patna.¹⁸ But after 1801 the sugar market became rather dull and heavy for some years.¹⁹ After 1813, however, the demand for Bengal sugar in foreign markets appreciably increased, and the demand continued for years. The other articles of investment supplied by the Commercial Residents were mainly gunnies and gunnybags, saltpetre and *san* (hemp). Great efforts were made from 1809 to grow an improved species of hemp in Bengal. But none of the Commercial Residencies of Chittagong, Lakhipur, Dacca, Kumarkhali, Cossimbazar, Malda, Golaghar and Patna, where experiments were made for this purpose, answered the Company's expectation.²⁰ In 1815, therefore, the investment on account of hemp was practically discontinued. The Company's investment of saltpetre was obtained chiefly from Patna, under which there were several subordinate *aurungs*.²¹ Some saltpetre was obtained also from the residencies of Benares, Etawah and Kalpi, Mau and Azamgarh, Patna and Malda. The Reporter General of External Commerce observed in 1803 that the saltpetre manufactured in the vicinity of Fraukhabad was "the best in India."²²

Under the agency system as finally established in 1787 advances were generally issued to the weavers, sugar manufacturers, gunny-makers and saltpetre-makers. The Calcutta Board of Trade in their general instructions to the Commercial Residents of 22 March, 1787, wrote: "The fundamental principle of the mode of agency is that goods intelligently and reasonably provided be received to the Company at their real cost". But the system of advances was not always found sufficient to ensure the supply of the investment. Recourse was therefore had to the system of ready money purchase in some of the Commercial Residencies, *e.g.*, in Patna and Benares. Moreover, the old *dalali* system was not altogether dispensed with. For the supply of raw silk the Company had a number of silk factories in the province of Bengal where paid workmen were employed for silk-winding, the silk-winders in some of the factories, such as Malda and Cossimbazar, being graded according to their merit and skill and paid differently.²³ But besides the factory-wound or filature silk, a supply of raw silk was obtained also from private silk-reelers either by furnishing advances to them or by ready money purchase. But in 1826 the Court of Directors entirely prohibited the supply of Bengal-wound silk, as it was called, "except under very particular circumstances".²⁴ The bulk of the Company's sugar was supplied by contractors. The Company, however,

18. *Vide* Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 15 & 18 April, 1803.

19. Extract of Commercial Gen. Letter from Court, 30 June, 1802.

20. Beng. Board of Trade (Hemp.), Copybook of Letters Issued, 1809-15.

21. Out factory.

22. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 18 April, 1803.

23. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 13 March, 1818.

24. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 9 January, 1827.

had some establishments for sugar manufacture where sugar was made under the personal supervision of the Commercial Residents. Thus high class sugar was made in the Ghazipur factory under the Commercial Resident of Benares, and at Kanchannagar and Surul factories under the Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi.²⁵ Some sugar was also made in the Company's factories at Patna and Santipur. In 1803 the Court of Directors remarked that Santipur grain sugar was "remarkably good in quality".²⁶

The number of subordinate factories under a Commercial Residency depended on the productivity of the area covered by the Residency. Under the Commercial Residency of Haripal there were towards the end of the eighteenth century as many as fifteen out factories. Lakhipur had nine subordinate *aurungs* and Patna eight, of which five were cloth factories and three saltpetre factories. An idea may be formed of the extent of business in the Commercial Residencies from the account that the average number of weavers employed in the *aurungs* of Lakhipur during the five years ending 1800 was about 4,300 a year.²⁷ Three to four thousand was the average number of workers employed at each of the silk factories at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From 1807, however, the supply of raw silk was doubled in some of the factories in accordance with the Court of Directors' instructions. In that year, on the death of Mr. Frushard, who as a private agent had supplied considerable raw silk to the Company for twenty years past, his factory at Ganutia (Birbhum) was purchased and placed under the Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi. The Ganutia factory, during the six years ending 1813, supplied on the average more than six hundred maunds of raw silk per annum. But by far the largest quantity of raw silk was obtained from the Commercial Residency of Boalia.

The Commercial Residents had in a general way to keep an eye on the work of the several thousand workers employed by them. They were of course assisted by a host of subordinates like *dewans* and *gomastas*. *Barkandazes* were employed for escorting goods and treasure from one factory to another, or from the head factories to the Presidency. And sepoy were posted at the factories for the purpose of guarding the treasure and goods during all seasons of the year. At times additional guard was requisitioned for the purpose. In spite of this, however, there are references in the records to the Company's treasure being looted on the way, or their out factories being plundered by bands of freebooters. The Commercial Resident of Malda in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated 25 June, 1794, wrote that the *kuthi* at Ramganj had one night been suddenly attacked by a band of armed *fakirs*, numbering three to four hundred, and that altogether cash and cloths worth Rs. 3,710 had been carried off.²⁸

The Commercial Residents were civil servants of the East India Com-

25. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 11 November, 1793.

26. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 15 April, 1803.

27. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 24 August, 1801.

28. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 1 July, 1794.

pany, though they were paid commissions and not salaries. The office was transferable, but usually a person was preferred to be in the same station for a long period. Indeed it is worthy of note that John Cheap, the Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi, was permitted to be in the same station for forty-one long years, that is, until his death in 1828. A document of 1818 contains the names of the Commercial Residents of the several stations which were as follows :²⁹

Boalia	John Addison
	J. W. Grant
	(Assistant)
Benares	Charles Sweedland
Kumarkhali	} Henry Williams
&	
Harial	
Cossimbazar	H. W. Droz
Dacca	H. A. Williams
Etawah & Kalpi	J. Money
Haripal	R. Richardson
Jangipur	The Hon'ble A. Ramsay
Lakhipur	Robert Brooke
&	} Charles Mackenzie
Chittagong		(Assistant)
Malda	G. Chester
Patna	Francis Legros
Radhanagar	William Watts
Rangpur	E. Barnett
Santipur	E. Majoribanks
Sonamukhi	John Cheap

The commissions paid to the Commercial Residents were at the rate of 5 per cent of the gross value of the goods supplied. During the five years ending 1813 the Commercial Resident of Boalia drew on the average a yearly commission of Rs. 57,185.³⁰ That was the highest amount drawn by a Resident. The lowest was Rs. 9,443 drawn by the Commercial Resident of Chittagong.³¹ The average commission drawn by the Commercial Resident of Dacca was Rs. 13,373 only which is to be explained by the fact that the cloth investment at the Dacca Residency had by then remarkably fallen off owing to the rapid set back in the demand for Indian muslins in the British market. On the other hand, the highest commission drawn by the Commercial Resident of Boalia was due to the vast supply of raw silk from his Residency. In addition to the commissions drawn, the Residents were allowed to remunerate themselves by carrying on private trade.

29. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 24 April, 1818.

30. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 23 July, 1817.

31. *Ibid.*

They usually invested in cloths, raw silk and indigo. John Cheap, for example, was for a considerable time associated with a private English merchant named Erskine, who lived at Elambazar. They together dealt in indigo, shellac, *garahs*, raw silk, etc.

The Commercial Residents were thus doubly remunerated which generally enabled them to live in a pompous style, such as judges and magistrates could not afford. The famous John Cheap maintained a huge paraphernalia in his residence attached to the head factory of the Sonamukhi residency at Surul. He had sixty house-servants; and deer used to run about in his pleasure ground. It is not for nothing that he came to be styled 'Cheap the Magnificent'. The Residents enjoyed a unique position by reason of the fact that they had generally great influence, not only over the weavers and other classes of persons they directly dealt with, but also over the local people as a whole. John Cheap used to hold unofficial court at Surul and frequently arbitrated in disputes amongst the villagers. The law gave him no power, but public opinion supported him. And his decisions were "speedy, inexpensive, and usually just."

There is no doubt that after the enactment of the Weavers' Regulations in 1787 there was some improvement in the position of the weavers. Previous to that the oppression of the weavers had been common and often severe. In his letter to the Board of Trade, dated 29 July, 1794, John Cheap writes: ". indeed the former mode of conducting business in this *aurung* (Sonarundi)³² was so oppressive that there are but few youngmen in that division who weave, their parents having given up teaching them, preferring their being employed in the fields to the risk of their suffering what they themselves have felt." Yet even after 1787 the relations between the Commercial Residents and the weavers were not always cordial; and there are even references in the records to the maltreatment of weavers after 1793. In his letter to the Board of Trade, dated 29 June, 1794, Cheap writes that on his assumption of the office of Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi he had great difficulty in dealing with the weavers for a considerable time. "At Soonamooky", he writes, "the people would not for a long time have anything to do with written engagements and the same happened at Pattersayer."³³ It was then that I tried the experiment of dismissing the weavers from the Company's employ, but so far from being considered as a punishment, it was eagerly embraced by the head weavers, who not only went away themselves but had influence sufficient to prevent others from coming near me." Very often the weavers, whenever they had any common grievances against the Company, combined amongst themselves. References to the combinations of weavers in the Commercial Residencies of Sonamukhi, Dacca and certain other areas may be found in the records of the last decade of the eighteenth century.³⁴ The Residents had to use their utmost influence to break up such combinations.

32. Subordinate station under Sonamukhi.

33. Patrasayer—in Bankura district.

34. See my article: Trade Union spirit amongst the weavers of Bengal, etc. in *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, 1951.

Oppression of the weavers by the Company's inferior servants took the form of illegal exaction of money from them, and also beating and whipping them for alleged misconduct. Added to that there was the fact that the weavers were not paid adequate prices for their fabrics. British private traders and foreign merchants used to pay good prices to the weavers and were less scrupulous than the English Company about the quality of the fabrics. But the weavers in engagement with the Company were not allowed to work for them before completing their engagements. Besides, the weavers were subjected to penalties in case the quality of their fabrics were not up to the required standard or they were unable to fulfil the contracts in time. Sometimes the weavers felt so disgusted that they left their houses and looms and went into voluntary exile.³⁵

Sometimes the Commercial Residents gave rather too much attention to their private trade, with the result that the Company's business was somewhat neglected. They were no doubt called upon by the Board of Trade to explain their conduct in such cases. Misappropriation of public money on the part of the Residents sometimes occurred. Henry Williams, the Commercial Resident of Kumarkhali, was dismissed on this charge.³⁶

Most of the Company's cloth factories were wound up by 1819-20. Some of the Commercial Residencies were, however, retained for the investment of raw silk. These were finally closed down after 1835 ; and the office of the Commercial Resident was abolished.

COMPLICITY OF THE MAHARAJAH HOLKAR WITH THE MUTINEERS

B. N. LUNIYA

His Highness the Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II was ruling in Indore when on the 1st of July 1857 the Mutiny broke out at Indore, Mhow and later on at Mahidpur, Agar and other places in Central India. At many places the sepoy revolted against their British officers and commanders and succeeded to a great extent in wiping out the traces of British military stations and cantonments. At Indore sepoy and gunners of the three companies of Holkar's army, led by Saadat Khan, an officer in Holkar's cavalry, attacked the Residency at about 8-30 A.M. on the 1st of July 1857. Bans Gopal, the commandant of Holkar's army, also joined Saadat Khan. Thrice pickets at the Residency were formed by Colonel Travers to attack the mutineers. But treason had done its work so effectively that thrice the formation was broken. In spite of the gallant charge by Travers supported by a few loyal sepoy, the British failed to stop the advance of the mutineers on the Residency. Realising the situation desperate Durand, the then A.G.G. at Indore, placing the ladies on gun

35. See my *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency*, p. 25.

36. Extract of Commercial Gen. Letter from Court, 11 June, 1823.

wagons, moved out of the Residency with the remaining Europeans and followed the road to Sehore. It was then half past 10 o'clock.

In the morning of the 1st of July the Indore Residency was attacked and in the night of the very date, the regular troops at Mhow, fourteen miles away from Indore, broke out into revolt. They shot dead their Colonel and Adjutant, Platt and Fagan respectively. The cavalry troopers likewise killed their commandant Major Harris. Then the mutineers of Mhow and Indore joined hands. Some days later British cantonments near Indore, Mandleshwar and Bhopawar were also destroyed by the mutineers. Troopers at Mahidpur, an important military station in the Holkar State, also mutinied and so did the troops at Agar and Dhar. Within three months the whole of Central India including the State of Holkar was ablaze with the fire of Mutiny.

The conduct of Holkar at this critical period has raised a controversy. There is a group of scholars who argue that he was disloyal to the British. Durand, the A.G.G. at Indore, suspected in distinct terms the loyalty of Tukoji Rao Holkar. On the other hand, there are those who consider that his loyalty was unimpeachable and that the doubts cast upon that loyalty were insulting to his family and name. And then, there are those who believe still that he was a watcher of the atmosphere and sitting on the fence.

While exploring the Government records rooms of the ex-Holkar State I came across nearly a thousand letters and reports in the Modi script about the Mutiny period (1857-58). They throw a flood of light on the Mutiny within the jurisdiction of H. H. the Maharaja Holkar as well as in other States adjoining the Holkar State. A few of these letters indicate that Tukoji Rao Holkar was not favourably inclined towards the British. He was a pro-mutineer and was in communication with the Peshwa Nana Sahib, Tatya Tope and others. The following facts will make it clear.

There is a letter in the Government records written by the agents of Nana Sahib to the Maharaja Holkar. It is dated 22-10-57. They had been staying in Indore incognito for three months and were transmitting to the Peshwa Sarkar once every day written information about all the happenings in Holkar's State and his capital. They urged Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar in this letter that "For the sake of the revered name of Ahilya Bai it would be better if after reducing the Mhow cantonment to ashes, you send your troops (to Peshwa); otherwise the Peshwa will be very angry....."

Before the outbreak of the Mutiny the Maharaja expected some trouble in his army; the presence of the Peshwa Nana Sahib's agents in his own capital for some months probably with his own knowledge is enough to infer that he expected the outbreak of the Mutiny. Being a Maratha Chief he desired to further the cause of the Peshwa secretly and avoid active assistance to the British. On the 15th of May 1857, when Colonel Durand had paid a visit to the Maharaja Holkar at Lal Bag Palace and "applied to the Maharaja for the aid of his troops in the event of a Mutiny breaking

out at Mhow", "promising every assistance" the Maharaja Holkar tried to explain the incapability of his troops by telling Durand that "his men could not cope with the regular troops" of the British Government, and that "he had little ammunition" to spare. Even Malleson in his book "History of Indian Mutiny," Vol. III, accepts this version that Holkar knew already the fomenting of some troubles in his army before the outbreak of the Mutiny and "told Durand that he mistrusted his own troops".

If the Maharaja knew that "the control of his troops was slipping out of his hands" he could have disbanded his sepoys or taken drastic disciplinary measures against the suspected ones to restore confidence. Instead of adopting any such measure he issued orders to enlist a pretty large number of young men for his army, especially Wallayatis and Mewatis, and provide them with adequate arms not only for Indore but for all the districts of his State such as Rampura, Bhanpura, Jirapur, Sunel, Mahidpur, Tarana, Depalpur, Petlawad, Chikhaldia etc. (Vide the Maharaja's Barnishi, inward and outward register, Letters No. 4848 A and 4848 B. dated 5-6-57 Jyestha Suddha 13th Friday, recently discovered in Government records).

To equip some of these new soldiers adequate ammunition was taken out from Hinglajgarh, a very old impregnable and well defended hilly fortress of the Holkar State. In a confidential letter No. 48 dated 2-7-1858 it is clearly stated that "three thousand shells and lead (weighing six maunds and some seers, Rampura Taul) from the fort of Hingalajgarh" were taken out "at the time of the revolt". To conceal this it was given out that "the magazine in the fort was blown up" and the "whole place was levelled to ground". (Vide the letter of Shri Shiv Chand Kothari to Bakshi Kuman Singh discovered in the Holkar's Barnishi of 1858). Later on official orders were issued "to put the gun carriage factory in working order" and Nakhala Singh Golandaz was sent "with the necessary staff to Parda in order to commence the manufacture of shells". Recently a letter has been discovered in which it is stated that in the Ratnagiri district Maharaja Holkar had distributed a sum of Rs. 15000/- for the preparation of an army and ammunition and Lee Warner points out that the Maharaja Tukoji Rao had gone out on a hunting expedition, but in fact to supervise the casting of cannon. All this was without the knowledge of the British Government, as we find no mention of these facts in the British records.

Outwardly, the Maharaja gave out that he was short of arms and ammunition for the protection of the British and consequently on the 5th of June, 1857, he sought the assistance of the British Agent at Indore to write to Lord Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay, to provide military supplies for his troops—2000 fusils, 300 pairs of pistols and 4 lakhs of gun caps. The British Agent had then endorsed the Maharaja's request with this remark that, "if these arms can be spared even to half the amount named, a thousand fusils, Holkar would be gratified and I have taken upon myself to order that they receive forty rounds per gun for each battery, the ammunition being drawn from Mhow Magazine".

There is no trace anywhere in the records so far discovered how, where and when such vast ammunition was used by Maharaja Holkar. But it is recorded that the day prior to the Mutiny at Indore the Maharaja's troops were provided with the ammunition recently obtained from the British Government and it was given out that they looted the Magazine. The same story was repeated at Mahidpur, an important military station of the British, within the jurisdiction of Maharaja Holkar.

All this enables one to infer that—

1. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar was expecting some military troubles against the British.
2. He had acquired and collected enough arms and ammunition to support materially the anti-British elements.
3. He allowed secretly the use of his arms and ammunition by the mutineers.

When the British had succeeded in suppressing the Mutiny a good deal, it seems that the Maharaja withdrew his indirect support to the anti-British elements and issued confidential orders for the replacement of certain ammunition taken out from Hingalajgarh. Had the Maharaja used this ammunition against the mutineers there was no reason why he should have ordered for its replacement in 1858. If the Maharaja had used all this ammunition for the protection of the British officials and their Government he would have certainly referred to it while claiming territorial rewards for all that he had done for the British during the Mutiny period. Conspicuous absence of such a reference in the whole of the voluminous correspondence of Maharaja Holkar for territorial reward confirms the fact that instead of using this ammunition in the interest of the British Government, it was secretly used against it. It appears that under the pretext of the above-mentioned shortage Maharaja Holkar had equipped himself well for fighting with those means in which the British had distinct advantage over the Native Princes and the so-called mutineers.

Besides this, instead of prohibiting recruitment from the classes of *Mcwatis* and *Wallayatis* who were then planning the revolt all over India against the British and swelling the ranks of the mutineers, the Maharaja Holkar himself recruited fresh sepoy from these classes and provided them with military equipment.

When the Maharaja's troops actually attacked the Indore Residency, he was within his palace approximately one and a half miles away from the Residency. He neither set out for the Residency to control and withdraw his troops nor opened negotiations with the British Resident and his officials for protection. Within an hour of the outbreak of the Mutiny Saadat Khan, the ringleader of the mutineers and cavalry officer of his army, had ridden into his presence to report that he had attacked the Residency, and wounded and killed Europeans. Instead of arresting and sentencing him to death for his crimes the Maharaja allowed him to go away to his house and boast of his deeds among the members of his family.

Malleson states that the Maharaja remained in his palace in Indore till the 3rd of July, 1857, in constant communication with the mutineers and then visited them at Residency and conversed with Saadat Khan and Bans Gopal—the ring-leaders and commandants of the mutineers—and the Subedar of the 23rd Native Infantry whose hand was red with the blood of his commanding officer.

When the Mutiny had spread all over Central India, Nana Sahib and Tatyā Tope entered the southern Madhya Bharat with a vast force to seek material help from the people and the princes. Though Maharaja Holkar did not offer outwardly any substantial material help to the Peshwa and Tatyā Tope, he maintained close contact with them as is evidenced from the letters of Hari Trimbak, a person in Holkar's confidence. These letters are also discovered in Government records of the Holkar State.

Thus the presence of the agents of the Peshwa in Maharaja Holkar's capital town, their letters to him, Maharaja Holkar's expression of his inability in clear terms to safeguard the British Government and its interest and officials, getting arms and ammunition from the British and allowing the mutineers to carry them away before the outbreak of the Mutiny, fresh recruitment of Wallayatis and Mewatis for his army, secretly providing mutineers with ammunition at other places, his passive attitude at the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Indore and Mhow, his release of Saadat Khan, the ring-leader of the mutineers, his contact and conversation with the mutineers and their leaders on the 3rd day of the Mutiny,—all these, when viewed simultaneously, indicate that Maharaja Holkar was not only furthering the cause of the so-called mutineers but definitely strengthening their hands against the British. He was not free from complicity with the mutineers. Malleson also remarks that "his conduct bore a very suspicious appearance." Instead of interfering actively on behalf of the British he was watching the turn of events, encouraging the mutineers, and waiting to throw his lot with the party which would emerge victorious.

INDORE SUCCESSIONS, 1833-34 & 1843

DR. HIRA LAL GUPTA

With the establishment of the British Empire in India on sound foundations and assumption of paramount position on the political stage of India by 1818, the East India Company declaredly put on the garb of a guardian power lording over every allied and dependent State with airs of unchallenged supremacy which went on casting their lengthening shadow on the map of India like a many dimensional phenomenon. The so-called responsibilities of a self-made guardian were sought to be zealously fulfilled to promote his own interests on the plea of general tranquillity. This guardian was eternally vigilant, meticulously careful, supremely cautious and extraordinarily active whenever succession questions cropped up in Indian States or *Dewans* were to be appointed. Expressions of this attitude were found in Indore when Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar died in 1833 and again in 1841-43 when the deteriorated condition of Hari Rao Holkar disturbed the political equilibrium in the State.

Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar expired on October 27, 1833, and a minor son of Bapu Holkar was adopted as his successor by his widow, Gotma Bai, on the advice of her mother-in-law, Krishna Bai, with the supposed sanction of her husband before his death.¹ This arrangement looked like a spontaneous and unopposed act of the Holkar Government in which the people of the State seemingly acquiesced. But the British Resident, W. B. Martin, in his communication to the widow of the late Maharaja, mentioned that the British Government would not be bound to support the arrangement if it would appear to be illegal, objectionable or contrary to the wishes of the majority of the chiefs and their followers.² The installation of the young chief took place on January 17, 1834, under the style and title of Maharaja Martund Rao Holkar.³ As he was not adopted with his knowledge and in his presence, the Resident doubted the fact of adoption and wished to see a change. He, therefore, refused to attend the installation ceremony. It was only after a good deal of persuasion by Madho Rao, the representative of the *Durbar*, that Captain Robinson, the Acting Resident, attended the ceremony in his personal capacity as a spectator and not in his official position as Resident.⁴ Neither he participated in any ceremony nor presented a *Khillaut* on that ceremonial occasion, nor gave any pledge of British support to him.⁵ This delay in installation ceremony, lack of Resident's enthusiasm in the succession of Martund Rao and non-performance of *Khillaut*-presentation ceremony might have produced an adverse impression on the people opposed to the claims of Martund Rao.

1. A letter from W. B. Martin, Resident at Indore, to W. H. Macnaughten, Secretary to the Government, 27th February, 1833, No. 165. This Bapu Holkar was the son of Buaji Holkar.

2. Political Consultation, December 12, 1833, Nos. 55 and 56.

3. P.C., February 6, 1834, No. 67.

4. A letter from Captain Robinson to Macnaughten, 11th January, 1834.

5. *Ibid.*

Soon after the accession of Martund Rao troubles arose in the State. The throne became a bone of contention. One of the women belonging to the household of the late Maharaja gave birth to a son of whom His Highness was alleged to be the father.⁶ Though the birth of this posthumous child did not dictate a change in the political arrangement in the State, it did lead to the creation of a group in the State upholding his claims to the throne. Another claimant to the throne appeared on the scene in the person of Hari Holkar, cousin of the late Maharaja and son of Ithujee, the eldest illegitimate brother of the late Jaswant Rao Holkar. This nearest surviving male relation of the late Maharaja was then a prisoner in the fort of Mahesur.⁷ He had fought for the State in the battle of Mahidpur and hence enjoyed the support of a section of the army of Indore.⁸ Martin observed that although Hari Holkar could have no legitimate claim to the inheritance of his late cousin which, according to the maxims of Hindu Law, belonged, of right, to the adopted son, yet if no regular adoption had been made and expediency was the only guide to determine succession, then the mature age of that descendant from a collateral branch of the late Maharaja's family might perhaps have suggested the propriety of conferring it on him.⁹ But the Governor General considered it unwise and inexpedient to pronounce an opinion on the relative superiority of the rival claimants and allowed the decision to be left to the general voice of the country.¹⁰ Hence, instructions were given to the Acting Resident to abstain from exerting British influence to maintain the existing order of things if it was opposed to the general wishes of the people and to maintain an arrangement which might be unequivocal and consonant to the general wishes.¹¹

This attitude of indifference and rigid non-interference adopted by Lord William Bentinck might have given some encouragement to the rival group to try their luck. Accordingly a body of about 500 armed partisans of Hari Holkar caused tumult and confusion in the State. They occupied the fort and town of Mahesur, effected forcible release of Hari Holkar from the prison on the night of the 22nd February, 1834, and proclaimed him as the head of the State.¹² This upset the Indore *Durbar* and impelled it to make repeated requests to the Resident for interposition.¹³ But the appeals fell on deaf ears. The British Government remained an indifferent spectator of the melodramatic struggle for power so long as it did not disturb the general tranquillity of the country and decided to recognise the man in power without fighting for any party. According to this policy the Resident was asked to continue to recognise Martund Rao so long as he could maintain his authority and transfer recognition to Hari Holkar

6. P.C., January 10, 1834, No. 49.

7. P.C., December 12, 1833, No. 55.

8. P.C., December 12, 1833, No. 56.

9. *Ibid.*

10. P.C., January 10, 1834, No. 49.

11. *Ibid.*

12. P.C., April 3, 1834, Nos. 98 and 100.

13. *Ibid.*

if he succeeded in subverting the existing Government and establishing his ascendancy.¹⁴ This policy of natural selection, complete non-interference and recognition of the *de facto* ruler strengthened the hopes of Hari Holkar to succeed in his attempt. He intensified his campaign for power, won over a part of the army and successfully foiled all attempts of the *Durbar* to suppress him. So great was the anarchy created in the State that the Indore *Durbar* was left with no other alternative but to send a deputation to wait on Hari Holkar and win him over by an amicable adjustment of the dispute.¹⁵ But Hari Rao refused to receive the deputation. He was not inclined to accept any concession short of succession to the throne. This excited greater commotion and disorder.¹⁶

In this critical situation Krishna Bai and Gotma Bai sought British protection and help against the insurgents to end disorder in the State.¹⁷ But the Acting Resident, instead of rendering any assistance, advised them to give up the struggle injurious to the State which would otherwise terminate in humiliating defeat and disaster and to repair the error committed in adopting Martund Rao by inviting Hari Holkar to assume the reins of government.¹⁸ He was confident that on the implementation of his plan normal condition would return to Indore.¹⁹

The Indore *Durbar* bowed to the inevitable reluctantly. Hari Holkar ascended the throne on the 17th April, 1834.²⁰ Captain Robinson attended his installation ceremony and recognised him as successor to the late Maharaja. Thereafter, on the approval of his suggestion by the Governor-General, he conferred *Khillaut* on the new ruler of his choice.²¹ Martund Rao had to relinquish his claims to the throne and was pensioned off. This policy of studied non-interference in the affairs of Indore, where British interests were not at stake and little or no advantages were expected, was a positive source of encouragement to the rival group to muster strength and fight for power with success by armed threat and intimidation. This policy was not adopted by Lord William Bentinck consistently in all cases of succession disputes which cropped up during his regime.

Hari Rao Holkar expressed gratefulness to the British Government for his elevation to the *gaddi* and recognition as Maharaja. He showed great regard for the Resident and appointed the *Dewan* on his advice.²² But growing British interference in administration and death of his infant son soon made him unhappy and sullen. By the 10th article of the treaty of Mandasore, which governed British relations with Indore, the Maharaja was absolute in his internal affairs. But the interfering disposition of Resident Bax put him to great humiliation and irritation as he was pre-

14. P.C., April 3, 1834, No. 101.

15. P.C., March 13, 1834, Nos. 30 and 31.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. P.C., April 3, 1834, No. 106.

20. P.C., May 23, 1834, Nos. 36 and 39.

21. *Ibid.*

22. P.C., July 13, 1841, No. 46.

vailed upon to introduce certain changes in the administration of his affairs against his wishes.²³ The chagrin thus created was so great that an ambitious subordinate officer named Bhawanidin took advantage of the vexed state of his mind and usurped the authority of the *Dewan* with impunity in 1834.²⁴ Thereafter he was appointed as *Bakshi* which remained his substantive post. In this way the ministry established on the advice of Mr. Bax was practically overthrown after his departure. On various false pretexts the *Bakshi* replaced old servants of the State by creatures of his own in order to make them the instruments of his rapacity.²⁵ He made dupe of the ostensible minister Appaji Lal and embezzled the money of the State. Lt. Col. Wade condemned the administration of Indore under the *de facto* minister as highly irresponsible and injurious to the State. When their flagrant conduct was discovered both of them were suspended on the advice of the Resident. For a long time there remained no responsible minister in the State. Narain Rao Phalsighar, an old and tried officer next to the *Dewan*, carried out the functions of Chief Minister.²⁶ The anxiety of the Maharaja for what was done in his State and what might be done in future by the new Resident must have had adverse effect on his health.

During his period of administration lasting for about six years the Maharaja remained very much attached to his son-in-law Raja Bhaw who rendered every help to him in his last years of infirmity and distress.²⁷ Owing to constant interference in his administration he had lost all zest in it. The State could not enjoy perfect peace. The dissatisfied people went underground and continued to give occasional trouble. Persons jealous of Raja Bhaw's growing influence tried to deprive the Maharaja of his company but could not succeed.²⁸ Worried by troubles and anxieties the Maharaja kept an indifferent health.

In 1840 when Hari Rao Holkar fell seriously ill and Lt. Col. Sir C. M. Wade, Resident of Indore, and his associate, Lt. Col. Borthwick, interviewed him in the palace, he spoke to them so despondingly of the state of his health as if he had lost all hopes of his recovery.²⁹ Convinced of his precarious condition from his emaciated appearance and feeble voice, the Resident sent for the Residency surgeon Dr. Bruce, who had attended him on previous occasions, to examine and report his exact condition for transmission to the Governor-General in Council.³⁰ As the Maharaja had no son or direct heir to succeed him the quest for a successor engaged the attention of the Paramount Power. The Maharaja's favourite wife Ghaina Bai being far advanced in gestation, the Resident expressed his view that if she would give birth to a son he would be the natural

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. P.C., April 5, 1841, No. 34.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

and legal heir and, failing that, the task to decide succession would devolve on the British Government.³¹ In case adoption was permitted, choice would lie between Martund Rao who was then living in Poona and Raja Bhaw for whom the Maharaja had a very soft corner. Of those two claimants Martund Rao was likely to be more popular as his deposition was neither conducive to good government of the State nor was it justified in any way. But the Maharaja had no friendly feeling for him. He was not expected to adopt him as he was the person who had kept the Maharaja out of his inheritance for some time.³²

The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, did not consider it necessary to take up the question till the issue of the Maharani's pregnancy was known. However, he expressed his opinion that he would be guided by the usages of the Holkar family in deciding the claims of the competitors to the chiefship and if any delay occurred in arriving at a decision, the existing ministry would continue to function under the guidance of the Resident.³³ But, on the medical report of Dr. Bruce that there was no immediate danger to the Maharaja's health, the question of succession was shelved till opportune time for it arrived.³⁴ The Maharaja's condition so appreciably improved that he paid a visit to the Residency and talked in a tone of vivacity and good humour.³⁵

In June, 1841, the Maharaja again fell ill. His health was so much impaired that the people about the palace and the court began to anticipate more than on any former occasion an early fatal result. Dr. Bruce also perceived alarming state of his health and reported that he would not live more than a month. The Maharaja too felt hopeless of recovery and awaited his inevitable fate.³⁶ Therefore, it was considered an appropriate time for making necessary provision for succession. By that time the hope of getting a son from his favourite Maharani had disappeared as she had given birth to a daughter.

Several members of the Maharaja's family and the high dignitaries of his State expressed their anxious desire that the Maharaja should nominate his daughter Sukao Bai, wife of Raja Bhaw Phansia, as the successor and appoint her father-in-law Rewajee Phansia as Regent.³⁷ But Gotma Bai revived the claims of Martund Rao whom she had adopted and who was deposed and was living in Poona as an exile on a pension of Rs. 500/- per mensem. The Resident felt that recognition of his pretensions would revive old disturbances and intrigues which had marked the period subsequent to his deposition and it would not be desirable to encourage a tendency which it was the duty and interest of the Paramount Power to prevent.³⁸ The claims of Sukao Bai were doubtful. She was the daughter

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. P.C., April 5, 1841, No. 35.

34. P.C., April 5, 1841, No. 48.

35. P.C., April 19, 1841, No. 62.

36. P.C., July 13, 1841, No. 45.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

of a concubine named Herka Bai. Although history recorded several instances of succession going to the illegitimate branch of the Holkar family still it was considered difficult to recognise her without exciting troubles in the country. Another alternative was to appoint the infant daughter of the Maharaja by his wife Ghaina Bai as his successor.³⁹ The members of the royal family had divided interests. They were engaged in intrigues to carry out their schemes. By their conduct they were doing serious injury to the stability of the administration and the authority of the Maharaja. Under these circumstances, submitting his report and a genealogical table of the Maharaja's family, the Resident asked for definite instructions for his guidance to tide over the impending crisis.⁴⁰

On the 19th June, 1841, when the Resident had a private interview with the Maharaja in the presence of Raja Bhaw, he advised Hari Rao Holkar to express his wishes with regard to the future conduct of the affairs of his State so as to enable him to ensure stability to his State after his death.⁴¹ But the Maharaja viewed the subject quite recklessly and did not say anything beyond giving vague and indefinite expressions that he owed everything to the British Government and would look to them to do whatever they pleased. When asked to give definite replies, he talked in an eccentric manner and seemed to elude close enquiry into the subject about which he was either indifferent or reluctant to avow his real wishes.⁴² Therefore, the Resident left the Maharaja in disgust requesting him to send Raja Bhaw to him for some important talks and decided to send Captain Trevelyan to him at some other time to read his mind.⁴³

Captain Trevelyan called on the sick Maharaja on the 23rd June. He found him better disposed and much more agreeable to suggestions than before. The Maharaja suggested the name of Narain Rao Phalsigar for the office of *Dewan*. With regard to adoption he promised to intimate his choice after making necessary selection from amongst the three boys of the Holkar family whom he had already summoned for making a selection.⁴⁴ The Resident had full confidence in the high functionaries of the State that they would abide by his decision, but he feared the turbulent character of the army. Therefore he was keen on getting some arrangement made for succession so that wild aspirations of ambitious people might be repressed, fears of a disputed succession be allayed, uncertainty be removed and chances of an armed revolt be avoided.⁴⁵

On receipt of this information from the Resident the Governor General authorised him to recognise an adoption duly made either by the Maharaja or by any other person empowered by him to adopt after his death. But

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. P.C., July 13, 1841, No. 46.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

succession of a female was ruled out as it was considered to be inconsistent with the usages of the State.⁴⁶ Fearing that Martund Rao might revive his claims to the *gaddi* and become a source of trouble, the Bombay Government was asked to take precautionary measures to check his probable designs and guard against any commotion likely to disturb the peace of Malwa. The Collector of Poona was instructed to watch his movements and report any inclination which he might evince to get back power. It was declared that any move on his part to advance his claims to the throne would result in the forfeiture of his pension.⁴⁷ Within the palace it was believed that Krishna Bai and Gotma Bai were carrying on directly or indirectly clandestine correspondence with him and that they would oppose any attempt of the Maharaja to settle succession before his death in order to create confusion after his death and advance the pretensions of Martund Rao with the help of the adherents of the old Government of his time.⁴⁸ Therefore, the Maharaja was advised to take expedient precaution to prevent the concoction of any intrigue and foil all probable designs of persons suspected to be the supporters of Martund Rao.⁴⁹ In view of some trouble brewing up in the palace, the mother and widow of Malhar Rao Holkar were sent to Mahesur where they were less likely to create, encourage or fan any disturbance on the demise of Hari Rao Holkar.⁵⁰

In the mean time the Maharaja selected Khande Rao,⁵¹ the eldest son of Bapu Holkar, a zamindar residing in the Jotsi Khera, for adoption as his heir and successor and sent Raja Bhaw to the Resident to seek his approval and support. Bapu Holkar was one of the nearest descendants of the Holkar family and his son was an intelligent lad of good temperament, cheerful and conciliatory disposition, pleasing manners and steady habits.⁵² This declared intention of the Maharaja was hailed with great satisfaction by the people. It was likely to afford strong security against recurrence of disorder and turmoil similar to those which had occurred on the death of Malhar Rao Holkar.⁵³ On the 2nd July, 1841, the Maharaja performed a formal ceremony of adoption and relieved himself of the load of care which had oppressed him with regard to the future of his State.⁵⁴ On the 9th August, 1841, he sent a *khureeta* to Lord Auckland showing friendly disposition and seeking his approval for the boy selected for adoption.⁵⁵ On the recommendation of the Resident the Governor General accorded sanction to Khande Rao.⁵⁶

46. P.C., July 13, 1841, No. 47.

47. P.C., July 19, 1841, No. 48.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. P.C., April 19, 1843, No. 125. This Bapu Holkar was the son of Ithuba Holkar.

53. P.C., July 19, 1841, No. 48.

54. P.C., July 19, 1841, No. 49 and 50.

55. P.C., August 30, 1841, No. 57.

56. P.C., April 19, 1843, No. 126.

In the third week of September, 1843, the Maharaja's health again worsened. He despaired of his recovery, called his relations and favourites around him and gave them directions regarding the arrangement for his property and care of his interests after his death.⁵⁷ The Resident heard that on the Maharaja's death the rival party favouring Martund Rao would advance his pretensions to the *gaddi* and would not allow the claims of the adopted son to go undisputed.⁵⁸ This made the Maharaja apprehensive of the safety of Khande Rao's life after his death. He doubted whether he would be allowed to succeed.⁵⁹ The partisans of Martund Rao remembered with bitterness the past political happenings in Indore when Hari Rao Holkar had deposed Martund Rao Holkar and forced him to renounce his claims to the throne and quit the State on an imaginary plea of the people's desire for a change. They would desire repetition of the same course to seat Martund Rao on the *gaddi* again. Fearing recurrence of anarchy and bloodshed in Indore the Resident sought instructions from the Governor General about the attitude to be adopted in the grave emergency.⁶⁰

On instructions from Lord Ellenborough, the Resident assured the Maharaja of British earnestness to honour engagements and to protect his adopted son so long as he would remain faithful to the British.⁶¹ Assured of this support of the Paramount Power to his adopted son, Maharaja Hari Rao Holkar died peacefully on October 24, 1843, in his forty-eighth year. Before his death Sir C. M. Wade attended on him with Dr. Bruce. He summoned the officers of the State before him and instructed them to act faithfully in the event of the Maharaja's death and look only to Majee and to himself for orders.⁶² Khande Rao ascended the throne with British concurrence.

In these two cases of succession falling within a short period of less than ten years the policy adopted by the British Government was not a consistent one. On the first occasion a successor adopted by the mother and the widow of Malhar Rao Holkar, with his supposed sanction but without the prior permission of the Resident, was not recognised and another claimant was allowed to disturb the peace of the State and fight out his claims. But for the Resident's conduct in the affair and indirect encouragement from him he might not have succeeded. On his success he was joyfully recognised. In this case a policy of allowing the process of natural selection to operate and of recognising the principle of the survival of the fittest was adopted. No interest was shown in the man who was adopted without the previous sanction of the Paramount Power. In another case the successor adopted by the Maharaja before his death and with the consent of the Governor General was recognised. But for the

57. P.C., October 7, 1843, No. 112.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. P.C., October 7, 1843, No. 115.

62. P.C., January 27, 1844, No. 103.

enthusiastic support to the adopted son, the succession would not have gone undisputed. Thus the attitude of the British Government in the two cases was a clear expression of hypersensitiveness of the Paramount Power to see that succession of an adopted son depended wholly on British recognition which could be refused if the Paramount Power was not satisfied with the person selected for adoption.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW'S INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF HYDERABAD

NANI GOPAL CHAUDHURI

When Azim-ul-Umara, the Minister of Hyderabad, died in 1804, Mir Alam who had been Minister for the English affairs for a fairly long time under Azim-ul-Umara, was recommended for the post of Minister by the Governor-General.¹ The Nizam, Sikandar Jah, appointed Mir Alam as Minister, though the appointment was not to his liking. It must be said to the credit of Mir Alam that he was the fittest person in Hyderabad to fill the post. But the Nizam's dislike for him was due to the fact that before his appointment he had all along been a strong supporter of the British alliance. After his appointment any appearance of intimacy or of friendship between Mir Alam and the Resident was sufficient to excite the jealousy of the Nizam. Mir Alam was aware of the necessity of conciliating both the Nizam and the Company and of securing their confidence. But he soon came to realise that it was impossible to secure the confidence of both the parties at the same time ; if he relied on one party, he must lose the confidence of the other party. The support which he got from the Company's Government at the time of his appointment and his intimacy with the British Resident caused him great trouble.

There had always been an anti-British party in the court of Hyderabad since the ascendancy of the British influence in that State. This party, of which Raja-Mahipatram was a prominent leader, was in favour of severing the alliance with the English Company. It may be mentioned here that Raja Mahipatram had always been in favour of maintaining the alliance with the English before he became one of the leaders of this anti-British party. Mahipatram was the *peshkar* of Raymond, the French Commander of the Nizam, and during the time when Raymond's corps was being disbanded (1798) he sided with the English and their regiments in disarming the French troops and for this he incurred the displeasure of his former master. He had tried to remove from the Nizam's mind the suspicion which he entertained about the intention of the Company's Government and advised him to cultivate more friendly relations with the Company's Government and its representative at Hyderabad.² It is evident from what

1. Persian Letter (Received), No. 162, 27th July, 1804.

2. Secret Consultation, 14th Nov. 1805, No. 38.

has been stated that Raja Mahipatram was not an enemy of the English in the beginning, rather he was a strong supporter of an alliance between the Company's Government and the Nizam. It was his personal rivalry with Mir Alam that pushed him to the party which opposed Mir Alam's policy of maintaining the alliance with the British.

The Nizam was desirous of appointing Raja Mahipatram to the post of *peshkar*³ with an extensive political authority so that he might have him always by his side. Mir Alam was jealous of the influence of Mahipatram over the Nizam and he wanted to bestow the situation upon Raja Chandu Lal, *Kurrorah*⁴ of the city of Hyderabad. But as it was beyond his power to prevent Mahipatram from being appointed *peshkar*, he sought the help of Russell, the British Resident. He requested Russell to recommend to the Nizam the return of Mahipatram to Berar where he had been in charge of the civil administration. But the British Resident was unwilling to interpose his authority in removing Mahipatram from the capital, for, he thought, if the Nizam succeeded in introducing Mahipatram into the administration of Hyderabad he would promote the interests of the Company's Government with greater success than any other person who could be selected to fill up the post. Though Chandu Lal was as good a friend of the British as Mahipatram, the former did not possess the confidence of the Nizam like the latter.⁵ As Mahipatram was fortunate in having the confidence of both the Nizam and the Company's Government, the Resident was quite agreeable to his appointment as *peshkar* under Mir Alam. In this position, the Resident thought, Mir Alam and Mahipatram would vie with each other for the favour of the Company's Government and each would serve as a check upon the other. But Mir Alam did not like that Mahipatram should be appointed *peshkar* under him for two reasons. First, Mahipatram had very intimate relations with the Resident and he might in course of time cast Mir Alam into shade. Secondly, the Nizam, who was not favourably disposed towards Mir Alam, might remove him and install Mahipatram as his Minister. Mahipatram also refused to accept the post of *peshkar* under Mir Alam. Mahipatram's refusal to accept the post of *peshkar* might be due to his ambition of supplanting Mir Alam with the active support of the Nizam and, if possible, with the tacit consent of the Company's Government. But Russell, the British Resident, was of opinion that if Mahipatram succeeded in effecting the removal of Mir Alam and getting himself appointed Minister, he might incline towards the Nizam, who was not in favour of the British alliance, and thus the British influence in Hyderabad would become precarious.⁶ So, it appears from the sentiments of the British Resident as expressed in official despatches that he would have supported Mahipatram, if he remained satisfied with the post of *peshkar*, but would have opposed him if he aspired after the post of

3. *Peshkar* was the designation of the Finance Minister of Hyderabad.

4. *Kurrorah* was the Head of the Excise Department.

5. Secret Consultation, 14th Nov. 1805, No. 38.

6. Secret Consultation, 9th Jan. 1806, No. 74.

Minister by effecting the removal of Mir Alam whose devotion to the cause of the furtherance of the British alliance was above suspicion.

Mahipatram's influence over the Nizam created for him a number of enemies in the Court of Hyderabad and Ragotim Rao was one of them. He possessed a predominant influence over the Begums of the Nizam and was exerting that influence to the prejudice of Mahipatram. Though the Begums could not make the Nizam hostile towards Mahipatram, they succeeded in lessening to a great extent Mahipatram's influence over the Nizam. It was the opportune moment for Mir Alam to gain power for himself and remove Mahipatram from Hyderabad. A *wajib-ul-arz*,⁷ defining the authority which the Minister required for conducting the affairs of the State, was prepared and carried to the Nizam by the Begums. Mahipatram tried his best to foil the attempt of Mir Alam in gaining power by persuading the Nizam to alter the *wajib-ul-arz* in such a way as to render the document completely nugatory. But being backed by the Begums, Mir Alam remained adamant, rejected the altered document and insisted that the *wajib-ul-arz* 'should be ratified in the terms that he had originally suggested'. The Nizam agreed to it and ratified the *wajib-ul-arz* in its original form as desired by Mir Alam. Having been foiled in his attempt to obtain the post of Minister, Mahipatram tried to secure the post of *peshkar* for himself and this was also opposed by Mir Alam. Eventually Chandu Lal, the nominee of Mir Alam, was appointed to it. Mir Alam urged the Nizam to send Mahipatram to his station in Berar and the British Resident, who perhaps thought that the presence of Mahipatram at Hyderabad city would be detrimental to the influence of Mir Alam over the Nizam, supported it.⁸ During the struggle for influence over the Nizam between Mahipatram and Mir Alam, Sydenham, the successor of Russell at Hyderabad, came to realise that if Mahipatram succeeded in obtaining the post of Minister he would incline more towards the Nizam than towards the British. In that case, Mahipatram might be instrumental in severing the connection between the Nizam and the British, which the Nizam also cherished in his heart. This consideration might have induced the British Resident to support Mir Alam who had proved his faithfulness to the British by supporting the alliance between the English Company and the State of Hyderabad. Mahipatram, who had been up till then a well-wisher both of the Nizam and the British, came to the conclusion that the Company's Government would neither remain neutral nor would support him in his attempt to obtain the post of Minister, nay, would not even allow him to stay near the Nizam. This conviction perhaps led Mahipatram to join the anti-British party in Hyderabad.

Mahipatram left Hyderabad for Berar where he had been in charge of the civil administration. Even from Berar Mahipatram carried on clandestine correspondence with the Nizam and tried to effect a new breach

7. *wajib-ul-arz* literally means 'a written petition'.

8. Secret Consultation, 15th May 1806, No. 42, para 17.

between the Nizam and his Minister by creating in the Nizam's mind a conviction that the Company's Government was his worst enemy and that the Minister was a mere tool in the hands of that Government. Mahipatram had his adherents in the Court of Hyderabad in the persons of Ismail Yar Jung and others who were also trying to achieve the same object. As a result of these machinations Mir Alam again lost the confidence of the Nizam, and the British alliance with Hyderabad was on the point of dissolution. Sir George Barlow who had continued so long the neutral policy of Lord Cornwallis (during his second administration) had to decide whether that policy should be pursued any longer or should be given up. In a masterly minute he discussed what would have been the consequences if he followed the policy of non-interference in that critical situation in Hyderabad. He says, "No arguments are required to demonstrate the danger of leaving in their present condition of ostensible solidity but real decay the foundations of our alliance with the State of Hyderabad, not only in the event of a renewal of war, when the aid of the resources and forces of that State would be claimable by treaty would that aid be withheld, but that portion of our troops which constitutes the subsidiary force of Hyderabad would be virtually placed in the country of an enemy, and consequently be exposed to all hazards of such a situation, without the advantages of the occupation of posts, the establishment of depots, or the security of communication with the Company's territory."⁹ There were, therefore, two alternatives before him: either to abandon the alliance or to replace it on its just and proper foundation.

Sir George Barlow next discussed in the same minute as to whether the Company's Government was bound on principle of justice to dissolve the alliance, if the Nizam was averse to its continuance. On this point he remarks, "It was a convention between the two States to combine in perpetuity their interests, to concentrate their strength for the mutual safety, and for the maintenance of peace and to participate in the hazards, and in the eventual advantages of unavoidable war. The provisions of the alliance were not conditional, but absolute. It became interwoven in the system of the respective Governments. It became complicated with the relations which both Governments separately and conjointly bore to the other States, and new relations, new interests, new obligations of public faith, and honour have been engrafted on it and have grown up with it. Each party virtually resigned its rights to abandon the alliance by a separate act of will, because the reverse of this proposition would render either State the arbiter of the interest, the honour and security of the other."¹⁰ But there is nothing whatsoever in the wordings of the treaties between the Nizam and the Company's Government to indicate that the alliance between the two parties was absolute and that each party resigned its right to abandon the alliance. In fact, the history of the world affords no example of any treaty in perpetuity. Sir George Barlow was very eager to maintain the

9. Secret Consultation, 23rd Oct. 1806, No. 106 (Barlow's minute).

10. *Ibid.*

alliance in order to further the British imperial interests as also to prevent any weakening of the position of the Company in India.

This motive of Sir George Barlow became very clear in his discussion about the consequences which would follow if the Company agreed with the Nizam in the dissolution of the alliance with Hyderabad. He says, "It cannot be necessary to point out in any detail, the complete change in the whole system of our political position in India, nor the extent and magnitude of the dangers which would follow the dissolution of the alliance with Hyderabad. It appears evident to me, that the very foundation of our power and ascendancy in the political scale of India, would be subverted. It would be the sequel and the instrument for the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations * * * The power and resources which we have now a right to command for our support and security, would be turned against us * * * The territorial acquisitions of the Company under the treaty of Hyderabad must be abandoned."¹¹ Though the dangers to the Company's territory in India consequent upon the dissolution of the alliance with Hyderabad have been a bit exaggerated, yet there is a kernel of truth in it. If Hyderabad was allowed to sever its alliance with the Company, the other States bearing the same political relations with the Company would demand the same right of withdrawal from the alliance and if their demand was met, the whole edifice of the Company's political ascendancy which was being gradually built up on the basis of the Subsidiary Alliance system would consequently collapse. The territorial acquisitions of the Company under the subsidiary alliances had to be given up. The political vacuum thus caused would be filled in by the Marathas who with the resources of Hyderabad and other States at their command could strike hard blows at the Company's territory. It was this imperialistic motive which lurked in the mind of Sir George Barlow when he endeavoured to strengthen the slackening alliance with Hyderabad.

Sir George Barlow proposed adoption of 'measures calculated to replace the alliance on its just and proper foundations.' He was aware that the adoption of such measures would mean a deviation from the policy of non-interference in the internal administration of Hyderabad, but that deviation was necessary for preventing a great and impending danger. The mode in which he proposed to intervene, was to request the Nizam to dismiss Mahipatram and his associates and to entrust the management of the State to persons who would support the alliance. But the name of Mir Alam was not to be mentioned as that would be a direct and positive demand upon the Nizam.¹²

Sydenham, the British Resident, waited on the Nizam in his palace and presented to him a memorandum on several measures calculated to restore confidence and harmony between the Company and his State. The memorandum consisted of six articles all of which were ratified by the

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

Nizam on the 4th December, 1806. The measures proposed were as follows :—

(i) That Mahipatram should be dismissed and that Ismail Yar Jung, who was the intimate associate of Mahipatram, should be removed from his station and ordered to reside at his native place.

(ii) That persons, who were in the confidence of the Nizam as well as of the Company's Government, were to be appointed to the charge of the districts and command of the troops which had been then under the control of Mahipatram.

(iii) That no alteration should be made to the just proposals of the Company and that they should be immediately complied with. (This article was ratified by the Nizam with the remark that 'just proposals made in accordance with treaty' would be approved and complied with.)

(iv) That all representations and petitions to the Nizam should be conveyed through Mir Alam.

(v) That all acts which might be performed by the Minister in accordance with the stipulations of the *wajib-ul-arz* should be ratified by the Nizam. In the event of any difference between the Nizam and his Minister, the British Resident would take upon himself to reconcile such difference.¹³

Before the ratification of the memorandum, a show of resistance to Barlow's attempt to obtain influence over the Nizam was staged by the anti-British party, but it was foiled by the counter-movement made by the Resident. He issued secret orders to the Commanding Officer of the subsidiary force to hold in readiness for immediate movement. As soon as the news of this arrangement reached the ears of the anti-British party, their tone entirely changed and Ismail Yar Jang came to Mir Alam to implore his mercy.

After the ratification of the memorandum the Minister requested the Nizam to dismiss Mahipatram from Berar and appoint Govind Baksh, brother of Chandu Lal, to his post. Raja Govind Baksh took with him two battalions of the subsidiary force for the purpose of obtaining complete and tranquil possession of Berar.

13. Secret Consultation, 8th Jan. 1807, No. 2.

THE 'OFFICIAL BLOC' UNDER MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS (1910-20)

S. K. SRIVASTAVA

Introduction

In its early stages the Indian Legislature, or to be more precise, the Governor General's Council, for law making purposes, was merely an expansion of his Executive Council. The non-official element was first introduced in the Legislature by the Indian Councils Act of 1861, which provided for the appointment of twelve additional members to the Council, half of whom were to be non-officials. The power and functions of the Legislative Council were, however, rigorously restricted. The business of the Council was, in fact, confined strictly to legislation, and in that regard too, numerous limitations were placed. Consequently until the introduction of a quasi-elective principle into the Indian Legislature in 1892, the fundamental principle of the constitution was not departed from. The principle was that "So far as legislation is concerned the Government consists of the Governor General or the Governor, his ordinary members and the additional members, whether nominated by him or elected, subject to his approval, and all form but one component and indivisible part of Government for the purpose of making laws and regulations."¹ Owing to the very restricted field of action allowed to the Legislative Council and having a standing majority on its side, the Executive did not yet deem it necessary to deprive the official members of their liberty of expression or freedom of judgment. All members of the Legislative Council, official and non-official, were free to speak and vote according to their personal conviction. The officials and non-officials of the Legislature co-operated as one body and the feeling hardly arose that the non-official members formed an Opposition. For the members of the Executive Council alone, it was considered proper that, when a matter came before the Legislature as a Government measure they should all support it. But upto the year 1892 the convention was not applied to the "Additional" official members, as on looking up the proceedings of the Legislative Council one finds that when divisions were recorded official members were, on several occasions, as much divided among themselves as the non-officials.

The factor responsible for the emergence of an 'Official Bloc' was primarily the introduction of a quasi-elective principle into the Indian Legislature in 1892 and the chain of events emanating therefrom. The new class of elected members, who did not wholly owe their seats to the Government, naturally considered themselves more free to press the public point of view and to criticise the Executive more strongly than the nominated members had been accustomed to do. At times they also succeeded in obtaining support from the directly nominated non-official members in their

1. Note by Sir V. B. Iyengar to the Government of India, Nov. 22, 1908, on the proposed enlargement of the Legislative Council etc.

criticism of the Executive. The official members who came in the Legislature as representatives of their respective provinces would occasionally speak for their province and often voiced views which were, in good many cases, opposed to the views adopted by the Central Government. Under the circumstances, the Government, still working on the assumption "that no administration which did not possess sufficient power to carry on whatever measures it considered to be for public interest could remain at the head of affairs among the different Indian Nationalities,"² thought that voting, when there was any, could not be left to the balance of argument as it was often likely to go against it. It apprehended that some of the official members might be won over in open debate on certain questions by non-official members, thus placing the Treasury Benches in a minority in the Legislature. And being anxious to have its own way, the Government laid down the convention that all official members of the Legislative Council, ordinary, as well as additional, were in honour bound to support it in debate and voting alike.³ The official members of the Legislature were thus compelled to form a distinct group of their own on the simple principle of their common allegiance and fidelity to an all-powerful Executive of which they were the servants. Thus arose the 'Official Bloc' in the Indian Legislature.

The Government of India defending its action on the flimsy constitutional plea that the Indian Government owed its responsibility to the British Parliament which was the supreme authority, and maintaining that it could not accept an adverse majority vote in the Council as a decision bringing it a release from this responsibility, in reality took this unconstitutional step for primarily political considerations. Failing to meet the political aspirations of the people the Government could not always expect to win honest support in the Legislature for its policy. So the Executive wanted to have a standing majority by its side in order to show to the world outside that it duly respected the verdict of the Legislature and the policies it adopted and the measures it promulgated were not autocratic but rather had the sanction of the Legislature.

The effect of the creation of the 'Official Bloc' was that a 'Government party,' so to say, was set up in the Legislature, and being in permanent majority it dominated the proceedings of the House and dictated its decisions. The non-official members, finding the official members arrayed against them in a compact bloc which they could scarcely hope to convince or defeat, leaned towards a stronger criticism of the Government. The spirit of co-operation which had been manifest upto the year 1892 now gave way to a spirit of opposition.

2. *Report on Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, p. 117.

3. Official Members "are not expected to ask questions or move resolutions, or to intervene in debate or even to rise to points of order without Government approval. . . . When a division is taken the official members always vote by order in support of Government." *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, p. 55.

Protests were consequently made against the continuance of such a state of affairs, both inside the Legislative Council and outside, by non-officials as well as officials. Sir P. M. Mehta and Sir G. Evans condemned the practice in the Council and a distinguished Indian jurist, V. B. Iyengar, criticised it in strong terms in a minute. On the floor of the Council, Sir Evans declared: "We should be careful to maintain the position assigned to us in the constitution and not to abdicate our functions or allow the Executive to make laws when we only register them." Sir P. M. Mehta maintained that a distinction ought to be drawn between the position of the ordinary official members and the additional official members, for the latter had a larger freedom of action. But speaking for the Government, Sir James Westland ruled out such a hypothesis, pointing out that he could not concede this in respect of Government measures.

THE MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

With the coming into force of the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1910, the Government of India, instead of lifting the ban placed on the freedom of the official members in the Legislature in view of the numerous protests which had been voiced against the system, further tightened its hold on them by disallowing them the little freedom of expression which they still enjoyed in the matter of finance. Though the Legislative Council was enlarged and its powers were increased, the old idea that Legislative Councils in India were merely the Government in their legislative aspect survived in the Government of India Act, 1909, section 63 (*i*), which reads thus: "For purposes of legislation the Governor General's Council shall consist of the members of the Executive Council with the addition of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under this Act." The persistence of this idea was, according to the framers of Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the main reason why the 'Official Bloc' was retained under the Minto-Morley Reforms with peculiar rigidity. Its authors have remarked that "Non-official members have long since enjoyed the right of introducing legislation; but the view that law-making was still primarily the prerogative of the executive government which is amenable to Parliament has so far endured that it has been the exception and not the rule for Government to leave its official members free to speak and vote as they choose even on private members' business." Lord Morley's argument in favour of retaining an official majority in the Central Legislature further buttresses this notion. He declared, "While I desire to liberalise as far as possible the Provincial administration I recognise it an essential condition of the policy that Imperial supremacy shall in no way be compromised. I must therefore regard it as essential that Your Excellency's Council, in its legislative as well as in its executive character, should continue to be so constituted as to ensure its constant and uninterrupted power to fulfil the constitutional obligations that it owes to His Majesty's Government. . . .

To secure the required relations I am convinced that a permanent official majority is absolutely necessary."⁴

But a deeper motive was at work beneath this seemingly plausible notion that the 'Official Bloc' continued to be maintained in the Legislative Council merely because the Act still regarded the Legislature as part of the Government. The new reforms had given the members the power of moving resolutions and the more important right of dividing the Council upon them. With a standing official majority of only 4 in the Legislative Council, the Government apprehended that if they released their hold upon the votes of officials, some of them would occasionally be won over by non-official members in the course of the debate, leaving it in a minority. If this contingency arose frequently, the Government would find it difficult, in spite of some support which it might obtain from the non-official ranks, to push through the Legislature some of its proposals, disapproved by the non-officials, and to defeat those brought forward by them but disapproved by it. No doubt, resolutions, even if they were passed against the wishes of the Government, could not force it to give effect to the demands made in them as they had merely a recommendatory character. Yet, if a good many resolutions were recorded in the Council in opposition to the policy of the Executive with the support of some of its official members, the Government would be placed under a moral obligation to take action on them. The Government was not willing to place itself under any such obligation. Consequently, it preferred the quiet but unfailing support of the officials under its control.

Once the proposition was laid down, from whatever motives, that a standing official majority was absolutely necessary, it followed as a matter of course from it—at least the Government thought so—that the Government should see to it that this majority steadily and permanently clung fast to it and acted strictly in response to its orders and intentions. Very soon this control assumed such vast dimensions that the official members came to be bound to support the Executive and to vote for it irrespective of their personal opinion and regardless of the merits of any question. They were denied the right to put questions or to move resolutions, and in many cases, they were not allowed even to intervene in the debate except with the previous approval of the Government. In financial matters too the official members were no longer permitted to uphold the views of their Provincial administrations if they happened to be opposed to the views of the Central Government as expressed in the Financial Statements. On what is known as 'Government business' the control of the Executive over the official members was still more profound. The view taken in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that there was, of late, a tendency to treat more matters as open questions is not verified by the proceedings of the Legislative Council. For, during the whole period, the official members were never, except on one occasion in 1918, explicitly given a free hand

4. Secretary of State's Reforms Despatch to the Government of India, No. 27, 1908.

and there is no single recorded instance when an official cast his vote against the Government. And what was the kind of resolution on which, for once, the Government permitted an open vote in the Legislature? On the 5th of March, 1918, Sir Srinivas Sastri put forward a resolution that the Secretary of State be requested to include certain subjects such as Indian History, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit among the subjects for the Indian Civil Service competitive examination. Speaking for the Government, Sir James Du Bouly generously remarked: "Government considers that the question be left to an open vote, official members being at liberty to speak and vote as they please". Firstly, neither the resolution involved any important matter of policy nor did it raise any controversial issue; it merely concerned a few of the small number of our countrymen going for the Civil Service Examination held in England. Secondly, the wording of the resolution was quite non-committal; its acceptance would in no way have bound the Government of India to any definite line of action as it contained a simple recommendation for requesting the Secretary of State to consider the proposal; he could easily have dropped the matter if he did not approve of it. Thirdly, it is all the more interesting to note that the officials were allowed a free hand in the matter after the Government had practically accepted the substance of the resolution by promising to communicate the views of the Legislature on this topic to the Secretary of State in due course. Consequently, the concession which the Government made to the official members was as unreal as insignificant. Beyond this solitary instance, the official members were never allowed the fundamental privileges of free discussion and open vote, granted to every member in a Legislature, even on resolutions which were accepted by the Government. The natural inference, therefore, is that there was no relaxation in the control exercised by the Executive on official members in the latter years of the period 1910-20.

It cannot be gainsaid that some of the official members would have supported certain non-official measures and entered the lobby against the Government if they possessed the liberty to do so. An incident which occurred in 1913 throws much light on this matter. Public men, in our country, had been demanding separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of justice. In 1908, Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member, eventually declared in the Imperial Legislative Council that the Government had definitely made up its mind to accept this reform, though he made it clear that the Government proposed to move very cautiously in the matter. But as nothing was practically done in this direction of separating the judicial and executive functions during the next five years, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee moved a resolution in February, 1913, reiterating the demand. Yet in spite of the unanimous support of the non-official members, it was bluntly rejected by the Government. However, an important fact has been recorded by Mr. Banerjee in his book *A Nation in Making*, that Sir Fleetwood Wilson, who presided on the occasion in the absence of the Governor-General, came up to him

where he sat and said: "Mr. Banerjee, if I had two votes, an official and a personal one, I would have given the personal vote in your favour." Such instances indicating a conflict between official discipline and individual conscience, which raged in the minds of many official members, are numerous.

The continuance of the system which made the officials speak and vote at the bidding of the Executive, while it deprived them of their privileges as members of a Legislature, greatly facilitated their task in the Council. In the case of Government measures which were adequately supported by the member-in-charge, they had very little to do except to record their votes for them when the time came. In those matters alone which seriously concerned his Department, Central or Local, would an official member support the mover by a short speech. Nor were the officials destined to play any significant part in the discussion on private business. After a resolution or a private Bill had been moved and supported by a few non-official members, one of the members, of the Executive generally, explained the attitude of the Government in the matter. When the position of the Executive had once been indicated in the House official members had only to bow down to it, and to applaud it by arguments they could find in its support. Yet, on many occasions they remained quiet waiting for a division to be called. Only when some controversial matters or important questions of policy were being debated just one or two of them opened their lips to endorse the remarks made by their colleague on the Executive and to repeat their arguments. Therefore, the part assigned to official members in the Legislature was by no means very significant though, doubtless, they performed the very important duty of registering their votes for the Administration. The Government evidently cared only for their votes, and having secured them once for all, it would not bother itself whether they played their due part in the debate or not.

We have already noticed earlier how the creation of the so-called 'Official Bloc' led to the formation of artificial and antagonistic divisions in the Imperial Legislative Council. The continued existence of the 'Official Bloc' after the Reforms of 1909 further embittered the relations between the official and non-official members of the Legislature. The invidious distinction, which the convention regarding the 'Official Bloc' perpetuated by the assigning of a permanent weightage to the official members over the work of the Council, was keenly felt by non-official members. It was, no doubt, highly irritating and disappointing to them to find decisions being repeatedly recorded against their unanimous stand and regardless of the merits of the questions merely at a hint from the Government. Naturally, they felt that the privileges which had been offered to them under the new Reforms were thus rendered quite ineffective and unreal. Their presence in the Legislature seemed to them to be of little consequence. Even Malik Umar Hayat Khan, who so often found it convenient to side with the officials, resented such a procedure

and made bold to declare in the Council: "Now there is one very serious thing which is felt by many a non-official heart, and that is that our existence here makes very little difference. I think the cause of it is the pre-arrangement of what is to be done; and when a man is urging and making a speech he thinks that he is talking to a wall and his best arguments would not have the least effect. The other has been, I think, the wholesale refusal of good and bad amendments. I think this can be easily remedied. If the non-official members were near the mark and by accepting their suggestions no injury done to the administrative machinery, then I think suggestions should be accepted. This will go a long way to show that we are not only part and parcel of the Government, but are of some use to them." But the Government knew best the use to which such suggestions were to be put and it is no wonder that it paid no heed to the matter.

Public opinion, both inside the Legislature and outside it, had been up against such a system; the Government was also alive to the evils which it had been perpetuating. Yet the pitiable part of it is that it was not willing to do anything substantial to rectify the situation. It was not until the year 1918 that His Excellency the President drew the attention of the Council (on March 22) to a practice (which the Government inaugurated during that year) of official members taking a large share in the debates and the proceedings of the Council. Expressing his regret that this practice had not been adopted earlier, he recognised officially for the first time that "From the point of view of the Government of India, it is undoubtedly a waste of manpower and brain capacity that we should place a number of distinguished officials on the Imperial Council and refuse them to avail ourselves of their knowledge and experience in our debates."⁵ In the same speech His Excellency recognised publicly the evils which had attended the maintenance of an invulnerable 'Official Bloc' by alluding to the disaffection of the non-official members with the remark: "It is a constant source of irritation to the non-official members on the floor that they are up against a silent phalanx of votes. Much of this soreness would, I feel sure, be removed if non-official members on the floor of the Council Chamber found they had to deal with men in flesh and blood, of like passions with themselves, and not silent voting automata finding their way with machine-like precision and unflinching accuracy into the Government Lobby." But it was meaningless to ask the official members to take greater part in the debates unless they were given the liberty to speak according to their personal judgment and power to act upto it. It would have been most ridiculous for an official member to speak in the debates according to his individual judgment as long as he was denied the corresponding right to exercise it freely in voting. No official could regard it as in keeping with his position to support non-

5. *The Gazette of India*, March 30th, 1918, Pt. VI, p. 720.

official views because he favoured them so long as his vote was pledged for the Executive.

CONTROL EXERCISED BY THE 'OFFICIAL BLOC' OVER THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE

How effectively the Executive employed its permanent majority to overcome opposition, and to thwart public opinion, can be easily realised on looking up the proceedings of the Legislature. Such measures, among others, as the Press Bill of 1910, the Continuation Bill of 1911, the Indian Tariff Bill of 1911, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1913, the Indian Income Tax Amendment Bill of 1918, the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill of 1918 and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1919, were passed by the Legislature in the face of strong and concerted non-official opposition and all amendments proposed on them by non-official members were rejected by the Executive with the help of its official majority. Of about 200 resolutions which were moved in the Council by the non-official members during the eleven years, 1910-1920, only 30 were acceptable to the Government, most of them being accepted only after they had been amended to conform, more or less, to its wishes, while some of them were merely of a formal nature. Over 50 per cent of the resolutions were rejected, while a large proportion of those withdrawn were dropped because the Government was frankly hostile to them. Any proposal made by non-official members, to which the Executive was opposed, had absolutely no chance of success in the House. Among a host of others, the Government conveniently rejected the following commendable resolutions, in spite of the great support they evoked from the non-official benches, simply because the Executive did not favour them. These resolutions demanded the reduction of the working expenses of railways which had been mounting steadily in spite of repeated protests in the Council (1910 and 1915); the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty (1911); the holding of a substantial portion of the Gold Reserve in India (1911); the increase of import duty on sugar in order to afford some protection against foreign competition to Indian sugar industry (1911 and 1913); the separation of judicial and executive functions (1913); the State management of railways (1915); the retention of the rate of salt-tax at Re. 1 per maund, which it was proposed to be increased by 4 as. a maund (1915); the investigation of the causes of Indian anarchism (1917); the adoption of a scheme of compulsory free education (1917 and 1918); the acceptance of a policy of total prohibition with a view to checking the growing evil of intemperance (1918); the appointment of Indian members for representing the country at the Imperial Conference on the recommendation of the elected members of the Legislative Council (1918); the raising of the grants made under the head "Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments" by 50 lakhs in order that effect may be given to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission (1919). Numerous resolutions

were moved from year to year asking the Government to spend larger sums on education and sanitation and to provide larger funds for the development of irrigation ; but practically all of them were rejected, though later on the Government showed some inclination to move in these directions when it could spare funds for such nation-building objects. The Government also voted down two very reasonable resolutions, couched in the most moderate terms, which Sir Srinivas Sastri introduced in 1918 on the subject of Indianisation of Services. The first one proposed to the Government to recommend to the Secretary of State that the recruitment for the Public Works Department and the Railway Engineering Services, excepting, of course, the proportion of seats reserved for Royal Engineers, be made within a reasonable period of time wholly in India. The second recommended, (a) that immediate steps be taken to ensure that Indians were appointed to the great majority of posts recruited in India, and (b) that the educational qualifications prescribed for admission into Services should be sufficiently high and the same for all candidates irrespective of their creed or race. It is thus clear that the control exercised by the 'Official Bloc' in the Indian Legislature during the period 1910-1920 was perfect. No proposal, howsoever good, could be adopted by the House against its wishes, while it could carry any measure which it chose in spite of unanimous opposition at the hands of non-official members.

MAURITIUS RECORDS ON THE FRENCH AND THE THIRD MYSORE WAR

B. SHEIK ALI

There are certain records relative to Tipu Sultan in the Archives of Port Louis, Mauritius. He, being desirous of securing foreign aid, was actively in correspondence with the French authorities both in India and overseas. The records in Mauritius which reveal the French policy towards the Third Mysore War consist of the letter of Cossigny to Governor of Pondicherry, De Fresne, dated April 28, 1791, and the reply of Governor Cossigny to two letters of Tipu dated June 7, 1791, one addressed to the French commander at Pondicherry and the other to Tipu direct.

Despite the fact that Tipu had strongly urged the French to assist him in the war, they had remained neutral. According to these records, he had initiated a war against the English at a wrong moment. Cossigny wrote to De Fresne, "The Prince is badly counselled but he will take profit of good advice that we will give him."¹ The advice the French gave to Tipu was to win over the Marathas at all costs. The French

1. Letter of Cossigny to the Governor of Pondicherry, No. 93, Series A, Vol. 8.

Governor at the Isle of France urged him neither to spare money nor energy in dissolving the Confederacy. Tipu had written him two letters requesting for a force of 5,000 troops.² In reply Tipu received a letter which said, "Do not engage in big battles, but attack your enemies as often as possible to fatigue them. Do not allow them to have food or fodder Write to the Marathas and the Nizam ; tell them your interests, that your enemies are also theirs The time has come to get rid of all those enemies. Otherwise they would put all the princes in jail as they have done before Make big monetary sacrifices, trust in what I tell you what is the use of money? I hope your fame will surpass your father's. Your father showed the way to Delhi. It is for you to go there and show yourself full of glory to the whole of Asia."³

The French Governor thus evaded the main issue of assistance to Tipu and indulged in advising him that no efforts should be spared to win over the Nizam and the Marathas. He was informed that the French were also doing their best to disengage the two other Indian powers from the coalition. "I have got good news from the Marathas and Nizam Ali Khan. I answered them according to your interests."⁴ The Governor did not categorically refuse to help either. He mentioned, "The French are making big preparations of war since one year. I cannot now tell you everything about it but be sure that they (the French) have understood what you told me."⁵

The reason given in these records for the evasive policy of the French is their awareness of the fact that Cornwallis commanded the resources of three Presidencies besides those of his confederates. Even though they were conscious of the military abilities of Tipu, the two sides were greatly unequal. Cossigny wrote about Tipu, "He is quite intelligent and knows quite a lot of things, but he is ambitious and longs for glory. He is quite gifted for war and takes his position in a country he knows very well. He works hard and detests pleasure. This is quite all right, but Cornwallis also is a big man and he has gathered at this instance the strength of four presidencies. It is very much against the prince who has recently established his power, who is more feared than loved and who is of a different religion from most of his subjects. In his position I think he must be afraid to commit his fort to the hazard of a battle."⁶

These were the considerations that weighed with the French to avoid entanglement in the war. They knew that Tipu would lose the war and they did not like to join the losing side. Hence the only solution they thought of was to urge Tipu to detach his Indian neighbours from the war at all costs. They did not think that it was a very difficult task ;

2. *Ibid.*

3. Cossigny's letter to Tipu Sultan, June 7, 1791. No. 101, Series A, Vol. 8.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cossigny to De Fresne, dated 28 April, 1791, No. 93, Series A, Vol. 8.

according to them, the dissolution of a confederacy was quite an ordinary Indian trick.⁷

Another cause of French indifference towards Tipu was their belief that he was not very keen on securing their aid. Cossigny felt that Tipu knew well the French position and he had still made a request for help only to frighten the Marathas and the Nizam. He wrote, "In a way, I am sure that he (Tipu) does not positively expect such help, and since I know the politics of the Sarkar of Tipu, I think he has dictated those letters with emphasis in his darbar and copies of them must have been sent to the Marathas and the Nizam and to all other Indian princes. If it was otherwise, it would be a big mistake to imagine that the demand would be so easy to execute."⁸ Therefore the French authorities at Mauritius did not expressly deny the help but replied that they had reported to their superiors at Paris and that there was some hope that the French King would consent to his request.⁹ Cossigny wrote to Tipu, "If I get some orders, I will not lose any time, but it is impossible for me to leave the post which is entrusted to me. Though there are some troops in Mauritius, I cannot dispose of them on my own will. Moreover, the difficulty of the transport of troops over such a long distance prevents me from taking any positive step."¹⁰ Tipu was further informed, "You must be sure that one cannot prepare for the war in a day. If the king were to act very quickly, the forces could not be sent before one year. Until that time resist the English and make sacrifices to win over the Marathas to your side."¹¹ But the revolutionary events in France did not permit these promises to be fulfilled and Tipu was later informed that the French would remain neutral.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Cossigny to De Fresne, dated June 7, 1791, No. 98, Series A, Vol. 8.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, No. 101.

11. *Ibid.*

A NOTE ON BYAVA BAHIS OF DASTRI RECORDS,
JODHPUR (1719—1919 A.D.)

(Summary)

DR. G. N. SHARMA

One of the most important parts of the *Dastri* Records is *Byāva Bahi*—ledgers regarding marriages of Royal princes and princesses of Jodhpur. They are nine in number, from V.S. 1776 to 1976 (1719—1919 A.D.), each consisting of about 500 folios. They are in a fairly good state of preservation.

The *Bahis* under review are of immense value to the students of cultural history of Rajasthan. They supply a rich store of information regarding the social, economic and political history of Rajasthan. They afford a scope for the study of the matrimonial alliances entered into by the Rathors with other Rajput rulers. They furnish an adequate picture of social customs relating to marriage ceremonies of the Royal family of Jodhpur.

Bahi No. I, for example, is very important as far as it furnishes new facts of history. No historian of our age has given any reference to the marriage of Sawai Jai Singh with Bāi Suraj Kunwar, the daughter of Ajit Singh. Here we find a graphic account of the marriage. We also trace out, with the help of a clue given in the *Bahi*, the political implications of the marriage. The *Bahi* stands as an important document preserving the details of the administrative system of Maharaja Ajit Singh. In this respect also it gives us information for the first time. Similarly, here in the *Bahi* we find an exhaustive account of prices of articles and names of costumes, customs, and ornaments worn during those days. In brief, these *Bahis* fill up important gaps in the social, economic and administrative history of Rajasthan. On account of being contemporary to the events mentioned in them they are most authentic and accurate.

A STUDY OF DELHI DIVISION RECORDS (1857—1859) OF SIMLA RECORD OFFICE

(Summary)

KRISHAN LAL SACHDEVA

On the basis of the Delhi Division Records (1857-1859) of the Simla Record Office, an attempt has been made in this paper to throw new light on political conditions, Persian intrigue at Delhi, Mutiny in Delhi—especially in the rural parts of Delhi, capture of Goorgaon and Rohtak districts, occupation of Jhajjar, British revenge on the population of the Delhi Division, the miserable plight of the Royal family, the spoilation of the Red Fort, the forced eviction of the “natives” from Delhi City, services of Maulvi Rajub Ali, compensation for the English sufferers, administrative changes, agricultural policy of the Government, economic conditions, prices current in those days, medical aid, geographical information, educational conditions, proposal for a Central College for Delhi, establishment of *Tehseel* Schools, unpopularity of one per cent village school cess, defective system of education, rich personal collections, prevalence of Urdu and Hindi languages, Master Ram Chander’s eminence, the greatness of Ghalib, religious conditions, pro-Christian policy of the Government, anti-Christian attitude of the people and social conditions, especially kinds of dresses and ornaments of the people. These are some of the special features of the article. The story of British revenge on the innocent inhabitants of the Delhi Division has been lucidly traced out. A detailed account of the Mutiny in rural parts of Delhi, which has been hardly touched in any work so far, has also been narrated on the basis of these records. Of course the most predominant feature of these records is the light which they throw on the Mutiny in the Delhi Division.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESS TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLT OF 1857, ESPECIALLY IN MADHYA BHARAT AND BHOPAL

(Summary)

DR. K. L. SRIVASTAVA

The paper is based on some original documents and some standard books. The article depicts the part played by the Press in the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857, especially in Madhya Bharat and Bhopal. While considering other causes of the Revolt of 1857 one cannot ignore this important cause.

EARLY REBELLIONS AGAINST COMPANY RULE IN
BAGHELKHAND (1802—14)

(Summary)

KAMESHWAR JHA

The paper deals with certain sporadic movements that occurred in Baghelkhand (Vindhya Pradesh) which is covered with deep impenetrable forests and inhabited by a race—the Baghelas, who had migrated from Gujarat—famous for its valour and impetuous bravery, in the early years of the 19th century, *i.e.* at the advent of the British in Bundelkhand (1802).

When the mutual bickerings and internal divisions among the descendants of Chhatrasal and the invasion of Ali Bahadur had broken the back of the Chiefs of Bundelkhand, the state of Rewa (another name for Baghelkhand), which was as large as the whole of Bundelkhand, managed to maintain its independent position and was very little affected.

The treaty of Bassein (1802) which had subordinated all the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand to the will of the Company's Government was looked upon by the Raja of Rewa and his dependants with great suspicion. Nevertheless, the interference of the British in the affairs of this State seemed inevitable.

So that the British may not push forward towards the east and remain engaged in dealing with the turbulent elements in Bundelkhand, the king of Rewa would seem to have secretly incited the rebels, given them refuge (*e.g.* Gopal Singh of Kotra—old Ajaigarh State, 1807-10) or let them pass through his territory (Pindaris—1812).

But before any thing solid could be done, the British encroachments by way of laying posts, protecting and defending territories, stationing the British troops in the dominion, began to be felt. This was pinching to the sturdy Rajput Chiefs of this area and reactions followed.

“Itar Ka Raysa”, an original manuscript in Bagheli dialect by Choba Ram, made available to the Vindhya Pradesh History of Freedom Movement Committee by Thakur Mahabali Singh of Itar, throws a flood of light on the rebellion of 1813 in Sengran (Maugang Tehsil of Rewa dist.) and has been used here for the first time.

The purpose of this article is also to draw attention of scholars to the heroic folk-songs extant in Central India on the brave deeds of these early warriors of the Freedom Struggle.

A PIONEER OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT :
GAJULA LAKSHMI NARSU SETTI

(Summary)

Y. VITPAL RAO

The Madras province and especially the Andhras are proud to have pioneers in the Freedom movement even before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny. Gajula Lakshmi Narsu Setti of the 19th century, belonging to a merchant family settled in Madras, carrying on flourishing trade in indigo, cotton and Madras kerchiefs, strove in a peaceful but effective manner against the encroachments on civil liberties of the Indians by the East India Company's Government. He was responsible for the starting of Chennapatna swadessangha and a paper called the Crescent. The main aim was to acquaint the Government with the real condition of the people, to hold frequent conferences and deliberations, to present Mahajars to the Company's authorities in England.

In all his efforts he got the unstinted support of the famous Madras Barrister and Advocate General, John Bruce Norton (1815-1883), who had a good knowledge and understanding of Indian matters and accurate appreciation of the native races, their feelings and virtues. The services of Lakshmi Narsu for the freedom movement could be seen in protesting against the Caste Disabilities Removal Act, compulsory Bible teaching in schools by Christian missionaries and irregularities of the Company's rule. He was undaunted by the cold treatment that the Crescent had received in the hands of the Company's Government. He showed personally to a Member of Parliament by taking him round some places inhuman punishments and penalties meted out to the ryots who fell into arrears. Lakshmi Narsu's Mahajars and letters were given due attention in Parliament.

Though he was haunted by the C.I.D. and the Police and though his trade was impaired, he never gave up his work. His non-violent attitude won the admiration of the British Government who conferred on him the C.S.I. But the merchant did not change his attitude.

He also gave timely advice to the ruler of Mysore and paved the way for the rendition of Mysore. He also relieved the distress of the Queens of Tanjore and the family of the Nawab of Carnatic.

He has become immortal by his services to the cause of the fight for freedom and liberties of the people in a non-violent way, in a way anticipating the non-violent trend of the Great Leader, the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. The activities of Lakshmi Narsu were all-embracing and he laid the foundations for what is called the Public Opinion, the bedrock of any good government.

BHAI RAM SINGH

(Summary)

KRIPAL SINGH

Bhai Ram Singh was one of the most influential and most trusted courtiers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Bhai Ram Singh was revered as religious head and he never attended the court without being called by the Maharaja.

Bhai Ram Singh wielded a great influence in the court of the Maharaja. He was consulted on important occasions like marriage ceremonies, arrangements for festivities etc. He knew the use of country medicines and whenever the Maharaja fell ill, the medicines were prepared in consultation with him.

Bhai Ram Singh continued to wield considerable influence after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was universally respected during the reigns of Maharaja Sher Singh and Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Bhai Ram Singh was in favour of friendly relationship with the English. After the first Sikh War he was the first signatory on behalf of the Lahore Darbar in both of the treaties dated 9th March and 16th March, 1846, with the East India Company. Major Henry Lawrence, the Resident, often consulted him in administrative matters.

He died in 1846. According to Mufti Ali-ud-din, a contemporary writer, he took very keen interest in the welfare of the poor.

THE OUDH AKHBAR

(Summary)

K. SAJAN LAL

This paper is based on the study of two issues of the *Oudh Akhbar* of 1866.

The *Oudh Akhbar* was a weekly of 28 pages of large size, 13'6" × 9'6", published on Tuesdays.

This paper surpassed its contemporaries in the art of news-reporting. It gives details not found elsewhere. Day-to-day news items of Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar have been reported. The writer has utilised a few such items to show how much valuable material the *Oudh Akhbar* supplies to the students of history on Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar.

A SHORT REVIEW OF ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS
BETWEEN 1774—82

(Summary)

S. N. BAJPAI

This paper deals with the situation in Maharashtra after the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao I, the treaty of Surat, the treaty of Purandar, causes of renewal of war, formation of quadruple alliance, etc.

A DILETTANTE ON RECORDS IN BENGALI

(Summary)

JAMINI MOHAN GHOSH

The author argues, on the basis of his long experience of dealing with Bengali records relating to the land systems etc., that Bengali records should be preserved and not destroyed with the abolition of the Zamindari system as being unnecessary, that Professors and students of local colleges in district towns should be allowed proper facilities to study these records, and that the State Government should be approached immediately for help for this purpose.

APPENDICES

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

ANNUAL REPORT, 1955

At the very beginning I have to note with deep regret and sorrow that Rev. H. Heras, S.J., a distinguished historian and an eminent member of the Indian History Congress, left this world on the 14th of December, 1955. His death means a great loss for all students of history. May his soul have eternal peace in Heaven!

Though overburdened with numerous engagements I ventured to accept Secretaryship of the Indian History Congress relying on co-operation and assistance of my friends, the members of the Indian History Congress, who have been very kind to me. I have tried my best to serve this organization in my own humble way. But I am fully conscious of various limitations for which I crave indulgence of my esteemed colleagues.

The report of the Committee, set up for the control and management of the Comprehensive History of India scheme, will be presented to you by its Secretary. I would fervently appeal to all to make earnest efforts for publication of the volumes planned in this scheme.

At Waltair session of the Indian History Congress, the Executive Committee passed a resolution that the Maharaja of Jaipur be requested to grant the necessary permission to the Indian History Congress to publish a selection of records from Maharaja's Archives edited by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, and in case the permission was not available the manuscript was to be returned to Dr. J. N. Sarkar and the Seth Duggar Committee was requested to consider the publication of papers from the *Gulgule Daftar*. A quotation was also obtained from the printers for the printing of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's volume. I regret no progress has been made since then for various reasons. Recently Dr. G. S. Sardesai wrote a letter to Dr. P. C. Gupta in this connection and we intimated to him that the funds would be made available for the work in view as soon as we hear from him.

I am glad to let you know that notwithstanding many handicaps, we have been able to publish the Proceedings of the Session 1953. To bring out volumes of our Proceedings is indeed an onerous and difficult task, particularly because of lack of funds. I have appealed to the Government of India for financial assistance in this respect, and I hope it will receive favourable consideration at their hands. In that case it would be possible for us to bring out another arrear volume (that of the Ahmedabad session).

The total number of our members is 344, including one Patron and 50 Life Members. We got no new life members this year.

The Treasurer will give you an idea of the financial position of the Association. Our total income from membership fees is not sufficient to meet the expenses of the printing of the Proceedings. This has, however, only been possible owing to the generosity of the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust who have again very kindly made a donation of Rs. 2,000 towards its publication. I am grateful to Dr. N. P. Chakravarty for his kind assistance in securing this grant.

Annual membership fee has been raised to Rs. 15 and life membership fee to Rs. 200. But our financial position still remains very unsatisfactory. The Executive Committee may kindly consider some measures to improve

it. I would like to submit that, in view of the growing work of the Association, it is almost impossible to carry on the Secretary's work with the help of only a part-time typist.

We are profoundly grateful to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, for kindly inviting us to hold this session at Calcutta. I am also indebted to Dr. J. N. Banerjee, Dr. A. C. Banerjee and Dr. P. C. Gupta for making the necessary arrangements for the session of the Congress. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, President of the Indian History Congress, to our Vice-Presidents, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane and Dr. S. N. Sen, and also to Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar and Dr. R. C. Majumdar and other Members of the Executive Committee for the kindness and help I have received from them.

Calcutta,
30th December, 1955.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1954

As I was elected Treasurer at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress, my term of office began from January 1, 1955. The auditors, Pal & Roy of Calcutta, audited the accounts for 1954 and submitted their report on the 8th June, 1955. They took no fees for the work.

The accounts of 1954 are herewith presented with the auditors' Balance Sheet. It shows that in the year 1954 Rs. 3,230 came from subscriptions (for 323 ordinary members), Rs. 1,400 from life membership (for 14 members), and Rs. 1,000 from Donation for publication and Rs. 18-10-0 from miscellaneous sources and bank interest. The total income amounted to Rs. 5,648-10-6. The expenditure during the year amounted to Rs. 6,834-8-6. So there was an excess of expenditure over income by Rs. 1,185-14-0. This reduced the fund Account of the year 1953 which stood at Rs. 6,180-4-9 to Rs. 5,003-6-9 plus Rs. 60 as advance (from membership fee paid in advance). Rs. 210 was paid to Sri K. K. Bose, the Secretary's typist, as his travelling expenses for attending the History Congress session for official work, Rs. 699-7-9 was cash in hand, and Rs. 4,153-15-6 in the current account with the Imperial Bank of India. This includes Seth Duggar Fund. This is hardly a satisfactory position for the Congress with one unprinted volume of the Proceedings in arrears.

The total amount in fixed deposit with the State Bank of India, Allahabad, is Rs. 2,880.

Calcutta,
30th December, 1955.

B. P. SINHA
Treasurer

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE*

The Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at Calcutta at 3-30 P.M. on the 30th December, 1955.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar presided.

The following members were present :—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar	Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh
Dr. S. N. Sen	Dr. J. N. Banerjee
Dr. R. R. Sethi	Shri S. K. Saraswati
Dr. P. C. Gupta	Dr. S. P. Sen
Dr. M. Rama Rao	Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar
Dr. A. C. Banerjee	Dr. K. K. Datta (<i>Secretary</i>)
Dr. Moti Chandra	Dr. B. P. Sinha (<i>Treasurer</i>)
Dr. A. D. Pusalker	

1. Minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were confirmed.

2. The Secretary's report was read and approved.

3. The report of the Secretary of the History of India Publication Committee was read and approved.

4. The Statement of Accounts of the History of India Publication Committee was submitted and approved.

5. The Statement of Accounts for 1954 was considered and approved with some changes.

6. The Budget Estimates for 1956 were considered and approved.

7. The following office-bearers were elected for 1956 :—

<i>President</i> ...	...	Sardar K. M. Panikkar
<i>Vice-Presidents</i> ...	...	Dr. N. P. Chakravarti
		Dr. S. N. Sen
<i>Secretary</i> ...	...	Dr. K. K. Datta
<i>Joint Secretary</i> ...	...	Dr. R. R. Sethi
<i>Treasurer</i> ...	...	Dr. B. P. Sinha

8. The following Presidents were elected for 1956 :—

<i>General President</i> ...	Dr. N. N. Law
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Sectional Presidents :—

Section I (Ancient India)—Dr. Ramchandran, Joint Director General of Archaeology.

Section II (Medieval India)—Dr. Sukumar Roy.

Section III (Modern India)—Dr. R. R. Sethi

9. S. N. Datta & Co., Chartered Accountants of Patna, were appointed to audit accounts for the year 1955.

10. The President, Sardar Panikkar, was requested to speak to the Education Minister, Government of India, for grant, and also to select members of a deputation to meet the President, the Prime Minister and other distinguished personalities for becoming Patrons of the Association.

The President was further authorised to form a Committee to approach some persons for funds.

* Printed subject to confirmation at the Annual Meeting, 1956.

11. The following resolutions were accepted for submission to the Annual Business Meeting :—

(a) Resolution of Dr. B. P. Sinha :

“Resolved that the Indian History Congress views with grave concern, that in some States History is being made an optional subject in the Matriculation or its equivalent examination. This Congress appeals to the Government of India and the State Governments concerned to take necessary steps to give History its proper place in the Secondary Education curriculum”.

(b) Resolution of Dr. S. P. Sen :—

“Resolved that the Indian History Congress Association requests the Government of West Bengal to set up a Central Record Office in Calcutta for the furtherance of research in Modern Indian History.”

(c) Resolution of Shri Bimala Prasad Mukherjee :—

“The Indian History Congress Association expresses its disappointment at the dilatory progress of the publication programmes of the Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, and of the National Archives of India, Ministry of Education. The Government of India is requested to take necessary steps for expediting publication.”

12. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. A. C. Banerjee, and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad were elected members of the History of India Publication Committee. It was decided that, pending the election of new office-bearers by the reconstituted Committee the old office-bearers will continue to function.

13. The Executive Committee recommended to the Business Meeting that the invitation of the Allahabad University to hold the next Annual Meeting of the History Congress at Allahabad be accepted with thanks.

Calcutta,
30th December, 1955.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Abstract of Cash Receipts & Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1954.

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RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS				
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Opening Cash Balance			618	2 9	By Salary		650	0 0
Bank withdrawals:					Printing & Stationery		653	9 9
Imperial Bank of India			5,455	9 3	Postage & Stamps		297	11 3
Subscription	3,230	0 0			Publication Expenses		5,168	11 6
Life Subscription	1,400	0 0			Accountancy Charges		50	0 0
Donation for Publication	1,000	0 0					6,820	0 0
Collection Charges	8	14 6			Advance		100	0 0
Advance	30	0 0			Bank Charges		14	8 0
Miscellaneous			5,668	14 6	Bank Deposit:			
			9	12 0	Imperial Bank of India		4,118	6 3
			11,752	6 6	Cash in hand (as certified)		699	7 9
							11,752	6 6

Income & Expenditure Account for the year ending 31st December, 1954.

EXPENDITURE				INCOME				
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
To Salary			650	0 0	By Subscription		3,230	0 0
Printing & Stationery			653	9 9	Life Subscription		1,400	0 0
Postage & Stamps			297	11 3	Donation for Publication		1,000	0 0
Publication Expenses			5,168	11 6	Miscellaneous		9	12 0
Accountancy Charges			50	0 0	Collection Charges		8	14 6
			6,820	0 6	Balance—being excess of Expenditure over Income transferred to Fund Account		5,648	10 6
Bank Charges			14	8 0			1,185	14 0
			6,834	8 6			6,834	8 6

PAL & ROY,
Chartered Accountants.

APPENDICES

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1954.

FUND & LIABILITIES				PROPERTY & ASSETS			
	RS.	A. P.	RS.	A. P.		RS.	A. P.
Fund Account :							
As per last accounts ...	6,189	4 9			Advance ...	210	0 0
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income during year ...	1,185	14 0			Cash & Bank Balances :		
			5,003	6 9	In hand (as certified) ...	699	7 9
			60	0 0	In Current Account with Imperial Bank of India ...	4,153	15 6
			5,063	6 9		4,853	6 9
			5,063	6 9		5,063	6 9

We report that we have examined the above Balance Sheet of the Indian History Congress as at 31st December, 1954, and the above Income & Expenditure Account and the Abstract of Cash Receipts & Payments for the year ending on the same date with the Cash Book of the Congress and the papers maintained in connection therewith. We further report that the above Balance Sheet and the annexed Cash Abstract and Income & Expenditure Account have been drawn up in accordance with the books and papers of the Congress and the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the Cash Book of the Congress.

2, Church Lane, Calcutta,
Dated the 8th June, 1955.

PAL & ROY,
Chartered Accountants.

DRAFT BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR 1956.

INCOME

<i>Revised Estimates for 1955 :—</i>	Rs.	Rs.	<i>Estimates for 1956 :—</i>
Life Membership fee ...	200/-/-		200/-/-
Membership fee ...	4,000/-/-		4,000/-/-
Sale of Proceedings ...	100/-/-		150/-/-
Interest in fixed deposit ...	40/-/-		40/-/-
Donation for Publication ...	2,000/-/-		
	6,340/-/-		4,390/-/-

EXPENDITURE

Establishment ...	700/-/-	700/-/-	
Printing of Proceedings of Waltair Session ...	4,000/-/-	8,000/-/-	(Ahmedabad & Calcutta Sessions Proceedings).
Postage & telegrams etc. ...	400/-/-	500/-/-	
Stationery ...	50/-/-	50/-/-	
Printing of circulars etc. ...	300/-/-	300/-/-	
Bank Commission ...	30/-/-	30/-/-	
Audit Charges ...	30/-/-	30/-/-	
Miscellaneous ...	200/-/-	100/-/-	
	5,710/-/-	9,710/-/-	

Note :—(1) The total amount of Reserve Fund in fixed deposit is Rs. 2,884/-.

(2) The Estimates were circulated to the members subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

B. P. SINHA,
Treasurer.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING*

The Annual Business Meeting of the Indian History Congress Association was held at 11 A.M. on the 1st January, 1956, in the Asutosh Hall, Calcutta University.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar presided.

The following members were present :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mr. K. M. Ahmed. | 34. Sri Tarit Kumar Mukherjee. |
| 2. Sri S. N. Athavale. | 35. Dr. R. C. Majumdar. |
| 3. Dr. A. C. Banerjee. | 36. Sri Bimala Prasad Mukherjee. |
| 4. Dr. J. N. Banerjee. | 37. Sri Prabhas Chandra Majumdar. |
| 5. Sri Sobhan Bose. | 38. Sri M. R. Majumdar. |
| 6. Dr. Radha Govinda Basak. | 39. Dr. G. M. Moraes. |
| 7. Sri Dilip Kumar Biswas. | 40. Maharajkumar S. C. Nandy. |
| 8. Dr. Moti Chandra. | 41. Dr. N. K. Sinha. |
| 9. Sri R. N. Choudhury. | 42. Sri T. Balakrishna Nayar. |
| 10. Sri N. G. Chaudhuri. | 43. Miss Puspa Niyogi. |
| 11. Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri. | 44. Dr. Roma Niyogi. |
| 12. Sri Ajoyendra Krishna Dev. | 45. Sri M. M. Nagar. |
| 13. Sri G. S. Dikshit. | 46. Sri R. V. Oturkar. |
| 14. Sri K. N. Dutt. | 47. A. B. Pandya. |
| 15. Dr. H. L. Gupta. | 48. Prof. D. V. Potdar. |
| 16. Sm. Renu Ghosh. | 49. Sri L. R. Pendharkar. |
| 17. Dr. P. C. Gupta. | 50. Sri S. S. Patwardhan. |
| 18. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. | 51. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar. |
| 19. Sri Parmeshwari Lal Gupta. | 52. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad. |
| 20. Sri B. R. Grover. | 53. Dr. M. Rama Rao. |
| 21. Sri Dilip Kumar Ghose. | 54. Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao. |
| 22. Sri K. K. Ganguli. | 55. Dr. G. C. Raichaudhury. |
| 23. Dr. Mehdi Hussain. | 56. Dr. Sukumar Ray. |
| 24. Sri V. G. Hataalkar. | 57. Dr. M. L. Ray Chaudhury. |
| 25. Dr. P. M. Joshi. | 58. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir
Sinh. |
| 26. Sri E. R. Kapadia. | 59. Dr. S. N. Sen. |
| 27. Sri K. S. Khanna. | 60. Dr. R. R. Sethi. |
| 28. Sri G. H. Khare. | 61. Sri V. S. Suri. |
| 29. Sri Krishna Lal. | 62. Sri Vasudeva Rao V. Subhadar. |
| 30. Sri A. N. Lahiri. | 63. Swami Shankarananda. |
| 31. Mrs. Bela Lahiri. | And others. |
| 32. Sri P. C. Mustafi. | |
| 33. Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar. | |

1. Resolutions of condolence on the sad death of (1) Dr. J. Allan and (2) Rev. H. Heras were moved from the chair and passed, all standing.
2. Prof. Gallante, Cultural Attache to the Italian Embassy, read a message.
3. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting held at Ahmedabad were confirmed.

* Printed subject to confirmation at the Annual Business Meeting, 1956.

4. The General Secretary placed the Annual Report of the Association for the year 1955.

Resolved that the Report be accepted.

5. The Treasurer presented the Budget Estimates for the year 1956.

Resolved that the Budget Estimates be adopted.

6. The Secretary, History of India Publication Committee, read his Report, which was accepted.

7. The Budget Estimates of the History of India Publication Committee for 1956 were presented.

Resolved that the Budget Estimates be accepted.

8. The President reported the names of office-bearers for 1956 as elected by the Executive Committee :—

<i>President :</i>	Sardar K. M. Panikkar.
<i>Vice-Presidents :</i>	Dr. S. N. Sen.
	Dr. N. P. Chakravarty.
<i>Secretary :</i>	Dr. K. K. Datta.
<i>Jt. Secretary :</i>	Dr. R. R. Sethi.
<i>Treasurer :</i>	Dr. B. P. Sinha.

9. The President reported the names of the General President and the Sectional Presidents for the 19th Session as elected by the Executive Committee :—

General President : Dr. N. N. Law.

Sectional Presidents :—

Section I (Ancient India) : Dr. Ramachandran.

Section II (Medieval India) : Dr. Sukumar Ray.

Section III (Modern India) : Dr. R. R. Sethi.

10. The Indian History Congress Association elected the following members to the Executive Committee :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar. | 8. Sri K. N. Dutta. |
| 2. Prof. D. V. Potdar. | 9. Dr. A. C. Banerjee. |
| 3. Dr. N. K. Sinha. | 10. Dr. Moti Chandra. |
| 4. Sri S. K. Saraswati. | 11. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar. |
| 5. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghbir
Sinh. | 12. Prof. Gurty Venkat Rao. |
| 6. Dr. P. C. Gupta. | 13. Mr. K. M. Ahmed. |
| 7. Dr. G. C. Raichaudhuri. | 14. Dr. G. M. Moraes. |

11. The President reported that the Executive Committee had recommended for adoption by the Indian History Congress the invitation of the Allahabad University to hold the 19th Session of the Congress at Allahabad.
Resolved that the invitation be accepted with thanks.

12. The following resolutions passed by the Executive Committee were placed before the Association and accepted.

Mover : Dr. B. P. Sinha.

“Resolved that the Indian History Congress views with grave concern, that in some States History is being made an optional subject in the Matriculation or its equivalent examination. This Congress appeals to the Government of India and the State Governments to take necessary steps to give History its proper place as compulsory subject in the Secondary Education curriculum.”

Mover : Dr. S. P. Sen.

“Resolved that the Indian History Congress Association requests the Government of West Bengal to set up a Central Record Office in Calcutta for the furtherance of research in Modern Indian History”.

Mover : Shri Bimala Prasad Mukherjee.

“The Indian History Congress Association expresses its disappointment at the slow progress of the publication programmes of the Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, and of the National Archives of India, and request them to take necessary steps for expediting publication”.

13. The election of the following as members of the History of India Publication Committee by the Executive Committee was reported.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Dr. S. N. Sen.
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.
Dr. A. C. Banerjee.

14. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair and to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, the Reception Committee and the Local Secretaries.

January 1, 1956.

K. K. DATTA,
Secretary.

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1955

In my report for the year 1954 I referred to a statement, dated the 17th December, 1954, received from Orient Longmans Ltd., saying that out of 25 chapters in the volume 5 had been finally passed for press and the remaining 20 were in different stages of proof reading. I also placed before the Publication Committee and the Ahmedabad session of the Indian History Congress machine proofs of the entire text which I had received from the publishers. It was naturally expected that the volume would be ready for the market in a few months' time. Unfortunately very little progress was made in printing during the first few months of the current year. On the 18th March, 1955, I wrote to the publishers: "It appears that progress of work is very slow. We were led to expect that the volume would be ready by March, 1955, but now we find that only five chapters have been printed. Dr. Sen is very anxious that better arrangements should be made for expediting publication." As no reply was received a reminder was sent on the 28th March, 1955; still no reply came. I wrote again on the 22nd April, 1955: "Dr. Sen wants me to remind you that we were told at first that the volume would be ready by October, 1954. The anticipated date of publication was then shifted to March, 1955. As things stand today we cannot feel assured that printing will be completed even in the course of another year". In reply to this the publishers admitted in their letter dated the 22nd April, 1955, that "the Printers have not kept up to schedule." Dr. Sen wrote a letter to the General Manager, Mr. Adam, on the 25th April, 1955, in which he said: "I am sorry to find that the volume has made no progress since December, 1954. When we met last I suggested that galley proofs should be sent to the contributors at once and you agreed to do so. You also promised to send Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. C. Banerjee a copy each of the printed formes so that the former might refer to them while editing the next volume and the latter might arrange immediately for the preparation of index. I regret to find that your office has paid no heed to these requests and this omission is bound to delay publication even when the volume is in print the Editor has complained that he is not getting proofs regularly. Mr. S. K. Saraswati told me that he had not got the proofs either." No reply was received to this letter (Mr. Adam was then reported to be in England), but a letter dated the 12th May, 1955, from the Production Manager said that "the delay has so far been unavoidable" and that no "firm date" of publication could be promised. In his reply dated the 16th May, 1955, Dr. Sen said: "I regret I cannot agree that the delay so far has been unavoidable. I am unable to understand why the printed off files could not be sent to Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. C. Banerjee and why the galleys could not be sent to the contributors when Mr. Adam had promised to do so in December, 1954. I personally explained both to Mr. Adam and to you that the delay in publication has been reacting on our patrons and the members of the History Congress in general but I am grieved to find that my earnest representation seems to have made no impression on your Company and the work has been suffered to remain at stand-still since December last. I note that you are not prepared to give a definite publication date and I do not think your assurances to do your best will carry much weight with the Publication Committee or the History Congress in view of the last two years' experience."

These facts were reported by me to the members of the Publication Committee in my letter dated the 20th May, 1955. The situation was discussed thoroughly by the Committee at its meeting held in Calcutta on the 7th August, 1955. In accordance with a resolution adopted at that meeting members of the Committee saw the Production Manager and Assistant Manager of Orient Longmans Ltd. and after a long discussion they were assured that the difficulties connected with printing would be removed immediately and prompt steps would be taken to publish the volume as soon as possible. But a few weeks later, on the 19th September, 1955, the Production Manager wrote to me that the press where the volume was being printed was "unable to do any further work" and the formes were to be removed to another press where work would begin "next week." Our advice was not sought for in regard to the selection of the new press. After several enquiries I was informed by the Production Manager, through his letter dated the 14th December, 1955, that only 3 formes had been removed from the old press and the remaining 81 formes could not be "recovered without legal action." Moreover, block-making and printing of Greek coins and captions have not been completed. In these circumstances there appears to be no prospect of the publication of the volume at an early date.

It may be added that we have received an offer from Longmans (London) for purchase of 1,000 copies of the volume at special concession rates. The Committee accepted this offer after discussion with the Production Manager and Sales Manager of Orient Longmans Ltd. in August last.

So far as expenses are concerned, the office establishments in Calcutta and Delhi cost us Rs. 125/- only per month during the current year. Postage and the travelling allowances paid to three members of the Committee for attending the meeting on the 7th August, 1955, are the only other items of expenditure.

December 29, 1955.

A. C. BANERJEE
Secretary.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ACCOUNT

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Details of Expenditure Incurred between 1st April, 1954 and 30th March, 1955.

	Establishment	Postage & Stationery	Rent	Bank Charges	Miscellaneous	Audit Fee	Equipment	Total
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Delhi Office ...	300 0 0	8 12 0	—	—	14 12 0	50 0 0	—	373 8 0
Calcutta Office ...	550 0 0	19 4 0	100 0 0	1 10 0	—	—	422 0 0	1,092 14 0
Madras Office ... (account rendered)	—	11 3 9	—	2 4 0	42 0 0 (Rly. Ins.) 75 0 0 (Packing) 100 0 0 (Services for preparing list of record) 22 14 0	—	213 5 0. (Godrej Almirah)	466 10 9
	<u>850 0 0</u>	<u>39 3 9</u>	<u>100 0 0</u>	<u>3 14 0</u>	<u>254 10 0</u>	<u>50 0 0</u>	<u>635 5 0</u>	<u>1,933 0 9</u>

*Statement of Account of the History of India Scheme under
Indian History Congress Association for the period from
1st April, 1954 to 31st March, 1955.*

	Dr.		Cr.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Opening Balance			75,520	2 3
Sale of Furniture			460	0 0
Refund of Library Security (adjusted by Madras Office)			20	0 0
Imperial Bank Account	3,565	9 9		
Fixed Deposit Account	70,000	0 0		
Delhi Office Advance Account	35	14 0		
Indian History Congress Account	6	5 0		
Calcutta Office Advance Account	457	2 0		
Establishment Account	850	0 0		
Postage and Stationery Account	39	3 9		
Bank Charges Account	3	14 0		
Miscellaneous Account	254	10 0		
Audit Fee Account	50	0 0		
Equipment Account	635	5 0		
Rent Account (Calcutta Office)	100	0 0		
Cash in hand	2	2 9		

	TOTAL ...	<u>76,000</u> <u>2 3</u>	<u>76,000</u> <u>2 3</u>
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ASSETS

With Imperial Bank Account :			
	Rs.	A. P.	
Current	3,565	9 9	
Fixed Deposits	70,000	0 0	
With Indian History Congress	6	5 0	
With Delhi Office Advance Account	35	14 0	
With Calcutta Office Adv. Account	457	2 0	
Cash in hand	2	2 9	
TOTAL ...	<u>74,067</u>	<u>1 6</u>	

BANK RECONCILIATION STATEMENT

	Rs.	A. P.
Balance as per Cash Book	3,565	9 9
Add cheques issued but not yet cashed :—		
Ch. No. 93861 ...	21	10 9
Ch. No. 93862 ...	50	0 0
Ch. No. 93863 ...	75	0 0
Ch. No. 93864 ...	700	0 0
	<u>846</u>	<u>10 9</u>
	<u>4,412</u>	<u>4 6</u>

Advance with M/s. Orient Longmans 35,000 0 0

Sd/- BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress Account No. 2.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ACCOUNT

HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Details of Expenditure Incurred between 1st April, 1954 and 31st March, 1955.

	Establishment RS. A. P.	Postage & Stationery RS. A. P.	Rent RS. A. P.	Bank Charges RS. A. P.	Travelling Allowance RS. A. P.	Writers' Remuneration RS. A. P.	Total RS. A. P.
Delhi Office	125 0 0 100 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	225 0 0
Calcutta Office	250 0 0	17 14 3	200 0 0	1 12 0	—	—	469 10 3
Dr. B. Prasad	—	—	—	—	206 9 0	—	206 9 0
MM. D. V. Potdar	—	—	—	—	313 10 0	—	313 10 0
Dr. A. D. Pusalkar	—	—	—	—	258 9 6	—	258 9 6
Dr. V. Venkataramanaya	—	—	—	—	—	75 0 0	75 0 0
	<u>475 0 0</u>	<u>17 14 3</u>	<u>200 0 0</u>	<u>1 12 0</u>	<u>778 12 6</u>	<u>75 0 0</u>	<u>1,548 6 9</u>

APPENDICES

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*Statement of Account of the History of India Scheme under
Indian History Congress Association for the period from
1st April, 1955 to 30th November, 1955.*

	Dr.		Cr.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Opening Balance			74,067	1 6
Interest accrued on Fixed Deposit Receipts			1,050	0 0
Imperial Bank Account	2,536	13 3		
Fixed Deposit	70,000	0 0		
Delhi Office Advance Account	35	14 0		
Calcutta Office Advance Account	987	7 9		
Indian History Congress Account	6	5 0		
Establishment Account	475	0 0		
Postage and Stationery	17	14 3		
Rent	200	0 0		
Bank Charges	1	12 0		
Travelling Allowance	778	12 6		
Writers' Remuneration	75	0 0		
Cash in hand	2	2 9		

 75,117 1 6

 75,117 1 6

ASSETS

With Imperial Bank Account :				
	Rs.	A. P.		
Current	2,536	13 3		
Fixed Deposits	70,000	0 0		
With Indian History Congress Account	6	5 0		
With Delhi Office Advance Account	35	14 0		
With Calcutta Office Adv. Account	987	7 9		
Cash in hand	2	2 9		
TOTAL	73,568	10 9		

BANK RECONCILIATION STATEMENT		
	Rs.	A. P.
Balance as per Cash Book	2,536	13 3
Add cheques issued but not yet cashed :—		
Ch. No. 93862	50	0 0
Ch. No. 93872	500	0 0
Ch. No. 93873	100	0 0
	650	0 0
	3,186	13 3

 3,186 13 3

Advance with M/s. Orient Longmans	35,000	0 0
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Sd/- BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress Account No. 2.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
HISTORY OF INDIA PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

BUDGET ESTAMATES FOR 1956-57

		Rs.	A.	P.
Office Expenses (Calcutta and Delhi) ...	...	3,000	0	0
Travelling Expenses ...	...	2,000	0	0
Payment to Editors and Contributors ...	...	5,000	0	0
Postage and Stationery ...	...	200	0	0
Miscellaneous (Incd. Furniture) ...	...	500	0	0
Provision for Vol. III ...	...	35,000	0	0

Total ... 45,700 0 0

BISHESHWAR PRASAD,
Treasurer,
Indian History Congress Account No. 2

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OFFICE-BEARERS :

<i>President :</i>	Sardar K. M. Panikkar, New Delhi.
<i>Vice-Presidents :</i>	Dr. P. V. Kane, Angre's Wadi, Bombay-4 Dr. S. N. Sen, 6 Ekdalia Place, Calcutta-19.
<i>Secretary :</i>	Dr. K. K. Datta, Warden's House, Patna College Compound, Patna-5
<i>Joint Secretary :</i>	Dr. R. R. Sethi, 28 Queensway, New Delhi.
<i>Treasurer :</i>	Dr. B. P. Sinha, Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, Patna.

MEMBERS ELECTED BY INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION :

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Professor, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
2. Dr. P. C. Gupta, 125 Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta-29.
3. Dr. A. C. Banerjee, 5 Jadu Mitra Lane, Calcutta-4.
4. Dr. J. N. Banerjee, 28 Monoharpukur Road, Calcutta-29.
5. Dr. S. P. Sen, 5A Motilal Nehru Road, Calcutta-29.

6. Dr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, Curzon Road, New Delhi.
7. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, 77 Shanwar Peth, Poona.
8. Shri S. K. Saraswati, 6/1, Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25.
9. Prof. A. S. Altekar, Department of Ancient Indian History, Patna University, Patna.
10. Dr. M. Rama Rao, Nizam's College, Hyderabad, Deccan.
11. Dr. Moti Chandra, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
12. Dr. V. G. Dighe, Secretariat Record Office, Fort, Bombay.
13. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.P.
The Palace, Sitamau P.O., Madhya Bharat.
14. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, 118 Shivaji Park, Bombay-28.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

GENERAL PRESIDENT AND SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS FOR 1955.

General President :

Sardar K. M. Panikkar.

Sectional Presidents :

- Section I: Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, Poona.
- Section II: Dr. Rajabali Pandey, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
- Section III: Sri V. S. Bendre, C/o. Bharat Itihash Sansodhak Mandal, 313A Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
- Section IV: Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Professor, Ranchi College, Ranchi.
- Section V: Prof. R. V. Oturkar, 774 Parsi Colony, Bombay-14.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
CALCUTTA SESSION, 1955

LIST OF MEMBERS

PATRON

1. Sri Harekrushna Mahtab, Cuttack.

LIFE MEMBERS

1. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, *Poona*.
2. Shri Jahangir K. Seervai, Warden Road, *Bombay*.
3. Prof. A. S. Altekar, Patna University, *Patna*.
4. Shri Manibhai Dwivedi, Research Scholar, Navasari (Western Rly.)
5. Shri Thakur Batuk Singh, Deputy Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Central Secretariat, South Block, *New Delhi*.
6. Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Curator, *Hyderabad* (Deccan).
7. Prof. A. B. Pande, Dept. of History, Banaras Hindu University, *Banaras*.
8. Shri I. B. Patel, Frenny House, Sitla Devi Road, Mahim, *Bombay*.
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