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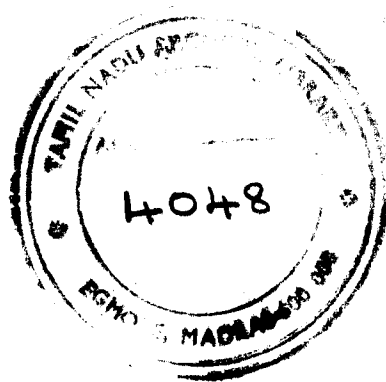
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CHARAMAKĀRA'S GIFT TO THE AMARĀVATĪ STŪPA

I. Kārthikeyā Śarma

THE Mahācaitya at the “Dharaṇīkota - Amarāvati” in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh is a veritable treasure house containing specimens of early Indian Art. From the last two centuries a rich crop of sculptures from Amarāvati found their way to the Museums of repute both Indian (Madras, Delhi and Calcutta) and Foreign (New York, London, Germany and Paris). The glorious Amarāvati Art School with its beginnings in the Mauryan times, (Circa 4th-3rd Cent. B. C.), unfolds its chapters through a galaxy of these sculptures of lime stone, which are priceless pieces in any Museum of Indian Art. But unfortunate it is! the ancient Mahāstūpa site as well as the Amarāvati Museum, have very few left-over specimens. Recent field work and research have brought to light several new facts.

That the ancient “Dhānyakaṭaka” was a renowned centre of early Buddhism. Its Mahācaitya (now popularly known as Amarāvati Stupa) enshrined the relic of the Great Master (*Śrī Dhānyakaṭakē Jina dhātu dhare bhuvī*), It equals in its sanctity to the places lived and preached by Buddha himself. We have cogent reasons to say that not only Buddhism in Andhra was Pre-Aśōkan, but the legend that Buddha visited¹ Andhra i.e. the lower Kṛṣṇa valley is no more a fiction as is supposed earlier. Helmut Hoffmann² whose studies on *Kālacakra Tantra*, opened a new chapter, has said “it seems to me, there cannot be the slightest doubt, that Buddha was supposed to have preached the Mantrayāna in general and specially the *Kālacakra Mūlatantra* at the well known and famous stupa of Dhānyakaṭaka. Buddha's pronouncement of the third vehicle is expressly paralled with the “second turning of the Wheel that of the *Mahāyāna* or “perfection of wisdom” on the mountain Grdhrakūṭa in Magadha”.

*Gṛdhrakūṭe Yatha Śāstra
Prajñāpāramitā - nayā !
Tatha mantrāṇayā prōkta
Śrī dhānyē dharmadēśa na !!
Kūṭaḥ Sthānāt Kūṭaḥ Śāstrāt
Tatra tantrāśca dēśitāḥ !*

Translation : As the instruction of the Dharma by the Teacher has been preached in the case of the 'method of the perfection of wisdom' on the Gridhrakūṭa, (Rājagriha), so in the case of the 'method of spells' at Śrīdhānya (Kaṭaka)

Latest archaeological discoveries by the author (1974-75) proved the existence of Buddhist Sanghas and monasteries of monks, a Mahācāitya, during the early Mauryan times³ (4th Cent. B. C.) and that Asoka was the first emperor who patronised the Mahācāitya by causing an inscribed *dharma stambha*, and a partial railing in granite at the last and western entrance. This sacred place had close contacts with the Mahājanapada sites - Vaiśālī, Rājagriha, Vidiśa, Ujjainī, Kauśāmbī, Rājghat and Śrāvastī right from 4th-5th Cent. B.C. is more often attested by the discovery of monastic seals, inscriptions and more recently a rich variety of NBP shards from the earliest floor levels of the Mahāstūpa.

In the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku periods (Circa. 1st-3rd A. D.), the earlier art traditions fully developed to maturity, the great stūpa, had justly been regarded as a *Cāityakanam Mahācāityasa and Cāityaṁ atyunmataṁ nānācitra sucitritam*. Ācārya Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika tenet of Mahāyānism has escalated the missionary spirit of Buddhists. All types of people vied with each other in contributing their mite for the Mahāstūpa building, its decoration and repairs or replacements of the architectural and sculptural members. The donees to this great institution were varied. From Kings and princesses of royal blood, Generals and Superintendents and other officers of the Court to ordinary house holders (*Gahapatis*), housewives (*Gharāṇīs*), businessmen (*Vanīyās*), traders, monks, nuns, Buddhist *ācāryas* to the cowherds (*Gopālakas*), perfumers (*Gadhika*) and tanners (*Charmakāra*). It was sometimes the entire townsfolk or their coopera-

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tives or corporations (*Nagar Nigama or Goṣṭhis*), that caused these improvements.

The *Pūrṇaghaṭapaṭa* (the slab carved with the over-flowing vase), the *frontis piece* illustrated here, is an outstanding gift of a tanner (*Charmakāra*). This is carved in deep relief over a rectangular slab of grey limestone measuring 4' 2" x 3' with an inscription in the lower margin mentioning the details of its donation. It was first reported to by Jas Burgess⁴ in 1881 and the record was published by Hultzsch⁵ in 1887. The text is given below which has a topical interest.

*Line-1 : "Siddhaṁ Chammakārāsa Nagaghari(ru) ya
Putasa Vidhikasa Sammatukasa Sabhayakasa Sabhātu
Kasa Putasachanāgasa Samadhutukasa sanati
Mitābhavīdhavasa Deyadhamma*

Line-2 : "Punaghaṭaka(Pu) Paṭō"

Translation⁶ :-

"Success : Meritorious gift of a slab (*paṭa*) with an overflowing vase (*Pūrṇaghaṭa*) by a tanner (*Charmakāra*) by name Vidhika, the son of a house holder Nāga, (*Nāga gharīya*), with his mother, his wife, his brothers, his son Nāga, his daughters along with his jñātis (paternal cousins) friends and relations".

This *Pūrṇaghaṭa Paṭa* stands as an outstanding and unparalleled artistic creation in the Art History of South India. Andhra's natural bounty and beauty are both symbolised here and hence perhaps (*Pūrṇaghaṭa*) stood as an *anka* (emblem) of the present Government of Andhra Pradesh. There could be no better tribute to this humble, *Charmakāra Vidika* who lived in the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku times i. e. in Circa. 2nd-3rd Cent. A. D.

The great Ācārya Nāgārjuna's greatest contribution to the Buddhist Philosophy, rather to the human society at large, is the *Mādhyamika Vāda* of Mahāyānism. The Mahācāitya and monasteries at Amarāvati-Dhānyakaṭaka were seats of learning, and Buddhist

sects such as Pūrva *Apara Saṅgā*, and *Caityaka* grew here and earned the name *Caityakanāṁ Mahācetiya* (greatest among the *caityas*), to the Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa. Acārya Nāgārjuna, according to inscriptions and literature caused the great railing to the Dhānyakaṭaka caitya at the munificence of the Sātavāhana ruler.

A remarkable sense of equality, distinguished outlook, respect and tolerance to all, irrespective of cast, creed, profession and social status, in matters of religious and cultural life of the community, could be gleaned through these artistic creations. The ancient stone carver of the Amarāvati School of Art have shown the same awe and solemnity, whether it was a lowly hut with a thatched roof or the mighty city gateway and royal palaces or storied mansions and monasteries. His chisel worked with love and joy unmindful of the cast, social status and profession, of the donee, who could well be a prince or a pauper, a general, a cowherd or a cobbler. The dhamṇakaḍa gōṣṭhī (the co-operative) which was administering this sacred institute had also shown the same equality. The architectural and sculptural donations caused by leather workers, cowherds, ordinary house holders, attendants etc., were fixed side by side with the ones caused by the ruling kings, nobles, army chiefs Buddhist monks, nuns *acāryas* and public trusts.

There is thus no distinction in matters connected with the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the *Triratnas*. All were equal and had equal share in the service of the Faith. There can be no better example of a socialistic pattern of society than the one noticeable at this early historic city of Dhānyakaṭaka, the ruins of which are replete in the present twin villages of Amarāvati-Dharanikōṭa. Guntur Dt.

Ed. Note : Caityakanāṁ Mahācetiya also yields to another interpretation, according to Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, as the Mahacaitya of the Caityakas, a school of Buddhists who flourished in Andhra, and who specialised in the construction of caityas.

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6. My translation of the record slightly differs from C. Sivarama Murthy's *Amaravati Sculptures* "Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum (Madras, 1942) P. 281 and also from Hultzsch's in J. Burghs, Op. cit., (1887), P. 91.

CHARMAKĀRA : A worker in Leather. (Monier Williams).
So includes a tanner.

(Editor)

**“ GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS DELINEATED
IN THE IKSVĀKU SCULPTURES
AT NĀGARJUNAKONḌA ”**

D. Hanumantha Rao

NĀGARJUNKONḌA is world renowned for its historical remains. Notable examples of Amarāvātī Art School pertaining to late Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku periods, have been unearthed as a result of large scale excavations carried out by a team of scholars under Dr. R.Subrahmanyam during the years 1954-60. Of great significance is the complete lay-out of a big city called *Śrīparvata* Vijayapurī,¹ dated to 3rd and 4th century A. D.

The powerful reigns of Ikṣvāku lineage had politically consolidated in the coastal Āndhra region. Economic prosperity led to rich and varied social and religious accomplishments during the time. The sculptural wealth of the period unearthed, has a special place in history of Indian art in general and Andhra Art in particular. The subject matter though primarily Buddhist in nature, had ample instances depicting social life of the people, their dress, ornaments, and articles of daily use. What is more lively and true-to-life the different scenes revealing, for the first time, certain games and amusements.

The people appear to have evinced keen interest in life and liked the lighter side of it too. A variety of pastimes, both out-door and in-door and various amusements can be gleaned through the sculptures and other artifacts. An attempt is made here to present a few.

Architectural remains in the shape of structures identified an arena (115 X 107 Metres) with an attached pavilion (25.62 X 11.89) Amphitheatre site 17, (16.46 X 13.72 m) recreation clubs, wayside rest-houses (sites 13, 18, 36, 39 A, 50, 70 etc.) and public baths,

(Site-69, 70 A and 100) where the people gathered in greater numbers for participating in several games and amusements. Some of the buildings mentioned above recall Roman and Greek prototypes. (Gladiators and Amphitheatres) The Ikṣvāku rulers had established cultural and commercial contacts with Greece & Rome. Evidences like the Roman gold coins issued by ². Tiberius (16-37 A.D.), Hadrianus (117-138 A.D); and Faustina (141 A.D), and a clay Bull imitative of these gold coin types have been found. Some of the Ikṣvāku rulers employed Scythian soldiers ³, as their personal guards, and a 'patipada' inscription ⁴, hints at a colony of Scythians existing at this place. Also an interesting depiction of an Amazonian guard ⁵, on a pillar (site-37) stands witness to this fact.

I PASTIMES & GAMES

Of great importance is the recovery of two exquisitely carved stone pillars belonging to a Royal palace. They are now exhibited in the main gallery of the Island Museum at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa. The facets of this octagonal pillar containing, significantly indeed, depictions of games that were in practice during the Ikṣvāku period.

1. Animal Fights

References have already been made to the existence of an extensive arena in the palace area which measured 115 X 107 meters. It had galleries on all the sides except at the west, which was embellished with a high pavilion. It is evident from the very location and eloquence of the structure, that this was meant for the royalty, to sit and view the open air performances taking place over the arena floor. The ground of this arena was found marked with vertical slabs, and flag posts etc., indicative of the probable nature and method of their various games. From the animal remains found at the place, it was clear that some animal fights and army exhibits of chivalry were programmed as amongst the royal games ⁶. The sculptural evidence also amply confirms the above identifications. Such depictions as elephant fight, camel fight, horse and man, (Pl. 1), ram and man fights (Pl. 2), are some of the unique art-depictions that can be seen only among the Ikṣvāku sculptures. These are perhaps the earliest known examples of Āndhra Art.

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2. Cock fights

This appears to be a widely popular game and is well attested by sculptures. A lime-stone lotus medallion⁷. (15 Cms diameter) found from Ikṣvākus is worthy of special note wherein the scene of cock-fight is effectively shown. Another example was found on one of the facets of the carved pillar referred to above, where cocks are shown fighting ferociously while the supporters or helpers of respective cocks are anxiously looking at the fight (Pl. 3). As per the canons of this cruel game the helpers should lift their respective cocks frequently and should not allow them to fight for longer periods. They often set right the knives tied to the legs of the animal and will be giving water etc., to them. Here the Ikṣvāku sculptor has exhibited his artistic skill by carving the entire scene within the limited space, exquisitely and effectively.

The arena mentioned above possibly served as the place for such out-door games. It may be recalled that Cock-fighting is a characteristic pastime of the period in this part of Āndhra-Dṛṣa. Inscriptions and literature amply refer to this game. *Mānasollāsa* the encyclopaedic work of the Western Chālukyan King Sōmeswara III (1126-1138 A.D)⁸, gives a very interesting account of the game, details the different kinds of cocks, various methods of fights, the arena etc. to a great extent. The famous interne ine war of Palanādu between the two princes of the Haihaya family (C. 1176-1182 A. D)⁹, was the result of this game. Even to-day in many of the villages of Āndhra during the festive occasions this game is played frequently and thus an attractive pastime turned to gambling on festive occasions. It was an ancient game known in Eastern Countries like India, Persia and China. In India it is said to be the most ancient out-door sport, '*Tāmrachūda yuddha*' or '*Virodha*' is mentioned by Amara in his *Kōṣa* (*Kṛukavākuḥ Tāmrachūda Kukkuḥaḥ Charanīyudhaḥ*), but concrete evidences are available to us only from 1st century A. D. In Greece it was well known even in the 5th Century B.C. The earliest evidence of this sport in India is noticed on a copper seal(?) found from Śaka-pārthian levels (C. 20-100 A. D) at Taxila where two game-cocks are engraved face to face.

An outstanding specimen of sculpture showing man-and-cock fight is also attested for the first time at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa. (Pl.4) There

no parallel in Indian Art indicating the existence of such a game.

3. Wrestling

The other interesting open sport that gained enormous attention and popularity during the Ikṣvāku rule appears to be free-style wrestling. (Pls. 5-8) Ample sculptural evidences were found at Nāgarjunakonda. The frequent depiction of bouts in various styles nearly half a dozen in number, on a facet of the pillar mentioned above indicate the remarkable insight of the artists of the said game. Their reliefs reveal that two types of wrestling were of common practices i. e., one which exhibited the strength and vigour and the other resembled the modern boxing (Pls. 9 & 10) with bouts. They also indicate the existence of world renowned wrestlers during the time. In fact the third Ikṣvāku King Mahārāja Chāntamula II appears to be a great wrestler himself or his title 'Ehāvula' prefixed to his name appears to be a colloquialised prakṛit expression standing for *bāhubala*. Wrestling is included among the sixty-four arts.

4. Game of dice

This game was quite frequently played during the Ikṣvāku period. It is well attested by the number and variety of finds. The dice are of two kinds, 1. Tabular and 2. Cubical-made of ivory, shell or terra-cotta. The marks or symbols on their facets range from one to eight. The game pieces or pawns are alike of various shapes resembling the chess pieces, and are of stone, terra-cotta and rarely ivory. We have many evidences of game-boards¹¹, also marked on the basing slabs at public places like Bathing Ghat Site-34, Burning Ghat Site 126 resembling modern *pachisi* and *chausat* etc. There are at least two open platforms made of diagonally placed bricks, one within the citadel and the other near the site-70, meant probably for playing dice. A complex identified as public Assembly Hall Site-71; had to its north a brick-built platform which, like the other two platforms mentioned above, also yielded a die. Evidently, these were public places for the people to gather and spend their leisure-hours. It may also be presumed from the foregoing that such places of recreations were mostly open air spots close to some temples or public edifices and members of the royalty took pleasure in playing dice on such gorgeous ghats. This game had a hoary antiquity. R̥gveda refers to *dyūtakrīḍa* or *akṣa* which was

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played with dice. In the Harappan sites the game is quite popular¹². Kautilya specifies the office of *Dyūtakādyakṣa* (Superintendent of dice play), who was entrusted with the collection of taxes on the earnings besides rent and licence fees for the gambling places.

II. AMUSEMENTS :

The sculptures at Nāgarjunakonda have provided us with a variety of amusements. In fact every sculptured panel at the place had contained some scene or other which attests the people's involvement in the colourful and gay life such as Music, Dance and Drinking etc.

1. Music :

This was a favourite enjoyment of the people of Ikṣvāku period. Various musical instruments like, Flute, Viṇa, Mṛdanga, Dundhubhi, Tabla, etc., are shown being played by both men and women, publicly and in their private apartments on various occasions. It would thus appear that not only the royal folk but also the commoners were fond of music.

2. Dance :

This was another amusement which is often seen in the Nāgarjunakonda sculptures. It was largely displayed by women folk but dancing scenes by men are not altogether absent. In one of the semi-circular lotus medallion over a lime-stone pillar, (Pl. 11) a group scene is portrayed quite effectively, where three female dancers, well decorated with various ornaments exhibiting a form of dance style very close to Bharatanāṭya. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* refers to *Brindagāna*, *Brindavādyā* and *Abhinayā* etc. A very close identity can be had from another representation at Nāgarjunakonda (Pl. 12). It may be seen here that a group of three male figures appear to be fully drunk, and dancing in free-style with rhythm in their steps. There is a huge pot perhaps 'amphorae' with drink and the extreme right the person is holding a smaller container while participating in the group dance. The scene recalls "*Chindulāṭa*" very common in rural Āndhra during

festivities like Poleramama and Ankamma Jataras-connected to annual propitiation of village deities. Group dancing of both sexes is also quite common and played with *dundhubhi*, cymbal and drum etc.

(iv) *Drinking :*

Was also a favourite hobby of the royalty as well as commoners during the period. Various sculptural descriptions reveal that not only men but also women took to drinking. It was also a love sport, scenes depicting a male offering wine to his female partner is a common scene in these sculptures at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa (Pl. 13). The "decline of wine" by the lady is so naturally portrayed, but from the facial expressions it appears that she is not unfamiliar to the drink. The archaeological finds like amphorae etc., revealed that certain foreign drinks were being often imported specially from Greece and Rome. A rare sculpture 14. portrays a male figure nude down to the waist and holding a drinking horn (rhyton) in his left hand is an interesting example and close to his left foot is a wine jar covered with an inverted drinking cup. The figure seems to be a representation of Dionysus (Pl. 14). The very active sea-borne trade between Roman Empire and Eastern coastal belt in the 2nd and 3rd century A. D., may account for the presence of such figures.

(v) *Life of Nāgarika :*

Certain other important sculptural descriptions portray the life of Nāgarika during the Ikshvāku period. The Nāgarika (Town man) has two private bed chambers in his inner palace, the frontal one for himself and the one behind for his consort. The scene illustrated here (Pl. 15) interestingly reveals that the Nāgarika is caught unawares by his wife, while with another lady in his chamber. The man is adjusting his attire while the lady is alarmingly running away from the bed after the entry of his mistress with a child into the scene. The house lady is astonished to see the misbehaviour of her husband, which can be seen in her facial expressions (See the *Vismaya* posture the right finger on her cheek).

Another sculptural depiction of a nobleman or perhaps a royal personage taking bath in a tub in his palace (PL. 16). The scented water is being poured into the tub. We have seen elsewhere how the royal folk had open air Bathing Ghāts also at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.

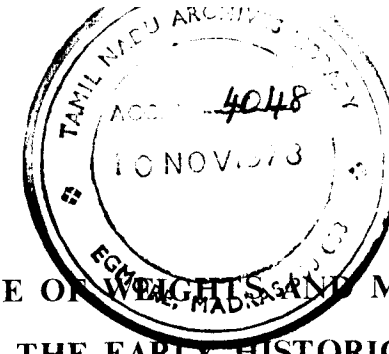
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Thus the sculptural wealth of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa is a veritable treasure-house for study of the social and cultural life of the Ikshvāku times. It gives ample proof for the antiqueness of various fine arts, sports and amusements, which are otherwise not known except through scant literary evidences. An exhaustive study of these sculptures is therefore called for. One can see in them a fabulously rich and colourful life and culture of Āndhras during 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

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EVIDENCE OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES DURING THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

300 BC - 300 AD

(With special reference to Central and Western India)

C. Margabandhu

DURING this period of 300 B. C. - 300 A. D. evidences, mainly literary and the accounts of foreign travellers, reveal the growth and development of trade and commerce in India both internal and external. Buddhist literature indicates existence of an extensive system of caravan routes (*Śārthavāhapathīs*) linking the important centres of trade throughout the country.¹

Economic groupings of various kinds were known right from vedic times.² The Law Books³ and the Artha Sastra⁴ presents a more advanced stage of this economic life in India. The Buddhist Jātakas⁵ reveal the formation and the process of development of the merchant and craft Guilds, which in later times, reached a high water mark in commercial organisation, and continued management of the guilds in a profitable and useful manner to the society. The economy of the times had a strong industrial base. Evidences show that artisans and other craftsmen were encouraged by the kings to produce and manufacture goods on a large scale. In many of the literary sources⁶ of this period there are references to corporate organised bodies of craftsmen and traders. It seems that the process of hereditary profession organised on a family basis developed into consolidated industrial and mercantile institutions during this period under study.

Sound basis for large scale trade and commerce lies in proper regulation of standard weights and measures. Early literature has

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some useful information. Jātakas⁷ reveal some notable weights and measures *ammāna* is a measure of about four bushels; *nālī* and *pattha* for weighing grains and *eatubhāga* and *āccharam* for liquids. But nowhere, any reference as to the shape, nature and material of weights have been given. Kautilya⁸ also refers to balances, weights and measures under the *mānādhyaksha* but the exact details are not found. Pāṇinī⁹ and Patāñjali¹⁰ mention, a number of different weights and measures: According to Patāñjali¹¹ weights never varied one way or the other and were uniformly used for both solids and liquids. Oil and ghee could be weighed in *khāri* and *drōṇa*. The weights included *aḍhaka*, *drōṇa* and *khāri* in ascending order besides a few minor ones. The former was 1/4th of a *drōṇa* equivalent to 16 *kuḍavas* or 7 lbs 13 ozs in weight. *Drōṇa* was four times in weight to the *aḍhaka*, but *khāri* was a measure of grain 16 *drōṇas* or about 3 bushels. Other wts. mentioned are *pāla*, *masa*, *kāṣāpāna*, *kuḍava* and *sirpa*. Patāñjali also mentions *Tailamātra* and *ghrtamatra* which imply that there were certain pots for measuring ghee and oil, but their capacity is unknown.

The weights have been studied and analysed by a number of scholars on the basis of original sources such as Manu, Yajñavalkya, Kautilya etc., but the exact details of the nature, shape of weights, measures, materials comparative usage etc. are not clear.

In later period (during Kuṣāna-Gupta times) similar references are quite common in literature and inscriptions to weights such as *pāla*, *aḍhaka*, *prastha* *drōṇa* etc. for the measurement of foodgrains. For weighing different articles Kalidasa¹² and others mention weighing balances (*tāul*) and for measuring lengths, measuring rods.

Though literature and the religious texts of the times present various systems of weights and measures, they do not bear relevant details as to the exact proportion to some fixed standards of weight viz., a set of weight ranging from smaller to bigger digits and denominations.

In this respect one has recourse to archaeological data though its material remains left over by the people of the times.

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Excavations conducted during the past two decades in a number of sites reveal objects identified as weights, measuring rods etc. datable to the Early Historic Period.

This paper is mainly concerned with a few weights and measures which have been reported from sites in Central and Western India during the time span of 300 B. C. - 300 A. D.

Weights

Weights have a long history, much earlier than coined money. Marshall points out the extraordinary profusion of weights at Mohenjādāro.¹³

During the Early Historic Period, a few sites have yielded objects identified as weights. They were of copper, stone like granite, hornblende-gneiss, pyroxene, diorite, chert, jasper and terracotta. Majority of the stone ones, indicate that they were possibly used by jewellers, who preferred hard stones for accuracy. They have been reported from Besnagar, Charsada, Eran, Kaundinyapura, Rangmahal, Salihundam, Taxila, Vadnagar etc.

Some early specimens were found from Eran¹⁴ in the levels of 600-100 B.C. They are made of jasper but their shape is not known as none have been described in detail.

Taxila¹⁵ has yielded a bulk of them made from granite, hornblende-gneiss, pyroxene, diorite and chert. They are spherical in shape, which is a normal feature of this Period, in contrast to the cubical weights reported in Proto-Historic times.

A special feature is that many among these possess a small cylindrical hole drilled into their surface perhaps an official mark of their weight standard. If the weight had to be reduced or increased this groove has been accordingly adapted and filled with lead. Interestingly some examples with lead packing in the cavities have come to light.

A regular binary sequence of ratios viz., 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 and 64 could be noted. Surprisingly enough, the average unit works out to 52.3 or 53 grams, which is the standard weight of *Kāṣāpāna*

(punch-marked coin) and one of the commonest weight unit of the Indus Valley weights. The series of weights should then be 53, 106, 212 etc. Thus the Indus ones also had a binary system as at Taxila in the smaller weights and their decimal, the succession of weights being in the ratio of 1, 2, 4, 8, 16 etc. It is evident that these weights have come down from antiquity and it is but natural that the system was employed for the silver *Kārṣapa*¹⁶ coinage in the Mauryan Empire. One of the Mauryan weights at Kaundinyapura¹⁷ is made of blue jasper and of spherical shape, finely polished, with a side rubbed off for affording base. It weighs 4 tolas or 46.48 gms. Dikshit¹⁸ states that the loss of weight may thus be said to conform to the old tola of 180 grains. Being single specimen it is not possible to say whether this weight was one of a series commonly used by jewellers in India. At Besnagar¹⁹ a solid copper piece cut into facets has been identified as weight. Otherwise, no metal weight has been reported from historical levels. A jeweller's weight in blueish milky chalcedony with a rubbed base is known from Maheshwar.²⁰ It is an unperforated arecanut-shaped piece but Dikshit²¹ considers it as '*Songati*' or a gamesman, a shape generally adopted for jewellers' weight in India. It weighs exactly one *tola*.

Many varieties of weights made of terracotta occur during the time-span of 200 B.C.-200 A.D. At Charsada²⁴, they comprise of square-sectioned pyramids of varying sizes. They belong to 300-100 B.C. Salihundam²⁵ has yielded weights of prism-shape in levels of 100 A. D.

A few sites have yielded interesting and valuable evidence for the prevalence of a standard system of weights during the first few centuries of the Christian era. They comprise of flat tablets prepared from terracotta. They are shaped in such a manner that they cannot be gaming pieces, nor can they be put to any other use, but they suggest to be weights, since they are of uniform shape, smooth and flat and quite a few of them of similar shape fit into certain standard weight of equal measure. Since they are small they could be Jewellers' weights.

Many of them have been incised with lines, dashes, divided by 2 or 4 compartments. It is not clear, what exactly they represent. No literary references can be cited.

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They occur at a number of sites such as Bhita, Nāgarjunakonda, Rangmahal, Sanghol, and Vaḍnagar. They are dateable to Kuṣāna times and continue in Gupta period fifth-sixth century A. D. in northern India. In South they are found in Ikṣvāku Period at Nāgarjunakonda.

A large number of these objects were reported from Rangmahal.²⁶ They are of different shapes and measure 3x3x1.5 cm. or 2.7x3x1.5 cm. The faces of each side is divided into four fields, a series of three short lines or dashes are made. The other faces are plain, except for three small dashes at the centre. One of the squares²⁷ has three stripes in one field and two in each of the others; the three stripes on the reverse face cover most of the surface. Another has three similar long lines on one side with the other side plain. A third one is also a square divided into six vertical fields, each having three or four small dashes in the centre, at right angles to the lines of division. The reverse is decorated in the same manner. One specific feature is, that the squares having the same number of markings are of roughly the same weight.

Identical ones at Vaḍnagar²⁸ come from levels of the early centuries of the Christian era. About two dozen terracotta tablets were found from excavations. Some are plain, square tablets without any incisions. Others have three incised lines marked on one side and are of square or rectangular shape. The largest number of tablets have been recovered in this variety of square or rectangular shape. One of the rectangular tablets bears four incisions. A few have been incised with a cross on it; others have incised dots, three segments and three horizontal lines intersected by two vertical lines producing a grid. Each rectangle of the grid has three incised vertical lines on it.

Marshall reports similar terracotta weights from excavations at Bhita,²⁹ They measure 1" sq. x 2" x 1½". They consist of square, rectangular and spherical shapes. All square and rectangular examples are incised on one side with three vertical grooves while the other side plain. Two of them are quartered by two lines each sub-division containing short incisions. They come from various levels of the Gupta Period.

Nāgarjunakonda³⁰ has yielded them in sizeable number. They are similar ones having square shape. Some of them have three lines

incised, while a few have been divided into 4 compartments having three incised lines in each. All of them belonging to the Ikṣvaku Period. The exact number and further details are yet to be published.

Sanghol³¹ in Punjab has yielded quite a large number of them. They form the explored finds. They belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The site is being excavated now. Digging revealed cultural assemblage from the Harappan period, continued right upto the Medieval times.³² Terracotta weights found here comprise of square, rectangular and long, flat types. All of them have been incised with lines, in some cases three lines. In a few square samples, the surface has been divided into 4 compartments as in other sites, and incised with three lines in each. An interesting set of square tablets were incised with three vertical lines dividing a set of three short vertical lines another has three curved lines each, instead of straight, short lines. It is not clear what exactly they represent.

Such a large number of terracotta weights suggests a full fledged system of weights prevailing in the first few centuries of the Christian era. It is not clear what exactly are the weights of these terracotta tablets; but tablets of the same incised designs were found to be of equal weights. This suggests some sort of uniformity of weights in some regions of Western India and the Gangetic Valley during the Kuṣāna-Gupta Periods. Its availability at Nāgārjunakonda indicates its use in South East India. Further evidence on this aspect may add more useful information.

The difference in shape between stone and terracotta weights has to be noted; the former are spherical in shape, while the latter are mostly flat with rectangular or square shapes with incised sides. This shows in general, the system of weights was approved by the state for use by the traders in these regions.³³

It is possible that some of the stone weights were used by the jewellers³⁴ perhaps for the sake of accuracy for which references can be found in the *Arthashastra* also.

Scale pans, Weighing scales and Measuring Pots

The antiquity of weight-system implies the existence of balances with scale-pans and measuring pots. Only Taxila has yielded scale-

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pans of copper and iron and measuring pots of terracotta. Later evidence for weighing scales comes from Śīrpūr. (Eight century A. D.).

Scale Pans

They are of copper and iron and datable to 300 B. C. to 100 A.D. They have the shape of saucers provided with two loop handles for suspension. The early ones were made of iron and have been reported at Bhīr Mound³⁵ and at Śīrkap³⁶ also. Copper scale pans come from Parthian levels³⁵ and continue to be found upto the fifth century A. D. They are hemispherical in shape with two holes for suspension. Marshall suggests that they were perhaps used for weighing medicines.

Weighing Rod

None has been reported so far during this Period. But one of the iron weighing rods has been identified by Dikṣit³⁶ at Śīrpūr datable to the eighth century A.D. It consists of a long beam of iron having a solid knob at one of its ends. He compares it to the steel yards used by the Romans and commonly found in the Western World. The earliest of its type at Pompeii is of 78 A. D. Hāla's *Gāthasaptā Śatī* refers indirectly to a jeweller's balance marked with letters or marks to signify the weight standard. It was carried by the jeweller on his shoulder. Similar evidence from contemporary sculpture can also be referred to. It consists of a single pan with a weighing rod having measured markings, which has been found depicted in sculptures at Amāravatī,³⁸ and Nāgārjuna Konda, (see the panels depicting Sibi Jātaka)—(Editor) Identical scene is also found depicted in later Gandhāra³⁹ sculptures too.

The actual remains and the evidence from literature and sculpture suggest the existence of weighing balances during the Early Historic Period.

Measuring Pots

They were of terracotta reported from Bhīr Mound.⁴⁰ One is a small vessel (3.56" x 1.93") with single compartment inside and small hole at bottom. Similar is another with interior divided into

three compartments (length 5.25") and base pierced laterally with small hole communicating with central compartment only.

The evidence is quite meagre to present a co-ordinated study of weights and measures. However, the binary system of weights at Harappa and its appearance at Taxila suggests some sort of continuity of weights since proto-Historic times.

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30. The photograph is published here *with the kind courtesy of* the Archaeological Survey of India (Regd. No. 372/63) for whom the author's thanks are due. Since the Report is yet to be published interim Report in *IAR* 1955-56. pp. 23-6 ; 1956-57, pp. 37-38 ; 1957-58. pp. 5-9 ; 1958-59. pp. 5-10 1959-60 pp. 5-10 ; 1960-61 p. 1.

But, may it be noted, that these examples were found largely associated with Jeweller's moulds, flat stones, etc. The nature of the groove shows that perhaps these objects were used by the goldsmiths for either sharpening their Tools or for shaping the metal. (Editor).
31. The photograph is published with the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Reg. No. of it is 826/60 for whom my thanks are due.
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It is therefore to this kind of balance that one of the Jatakas refers when it says "as the balance properly hung in the weighing house causes the end to swing up, when the weight is put in" When the piece of string by which the bar with scale marked on it is held it adjusted in its proper place according to the weight of the substance in the single pan at one end, the other end of the pole rises up to stand horizontally, signifying proper weight. Barret, D. *Sculptures from Amravati in the British Museum*, PL. XXVI (81).
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THE MAGHAS : A HISTORICAL RE – APPRAISAL

A. M. Sastry

THE history of the Maghas, generally regarded as identical with the Maghas mentioned in the purāṇas, who appear to have flourished in the early centuries A.D. and ruled over extensive areas bounded by Bandhogarh in the Shahdol district of the present state of Madhya Pradesh on the south and by the Fatehpur district of the present state of Uttar Pradesh on the north, remained shrouded in obscurity till recently. Terracotta sealings of the Maghas were no doubt found in the archaeological excavations at Bhita¹, situated at a distance of about ten miles from Allahabad, as early as 1911, but they could not be suitably attributed for want of knowledge about them. Even as late as the middle of the forties of the present century², the Maghas were practically unknown to historians as vouched for by the fact that the coins of some Magha chiefs from Kauśāmbī in the British Museum could not be properly identified and Allan had to content himself by noticing them as “Coins with incomplete legends”³. But shortly thereafter new archaeological data in the form of coins, inscriptions and sealings made it possible to form an outline of the history of this dynasty which now came to be accorded a place of honour in well-known historical works⁴.

One of my recent visits to Varanasi incidentally resulted in the discovery of much valuable numismatic data concerning the Maghas. Shri Murari Lal Kedia, an enlightened collector of antiquities and a familiar figure in the life of the city, showed me a few coins which, he informed me, belonged to a large hoard. When, realising their historical importance, I evidenced interest in studying them, he, through the good offices of my friends Dr. (Mrs.) Manorama Jauhari and Shri Om Prakash Jauhari, generously handed over to me the entire hoard for study and publication. As per the information supplied by Shri Kedia, the hoard was discovered at or within the proximity of Kau-

śāmbī (modern Kosam), about 30 miles from Allahabad. On a careful scrutiny it was found that the hoard, except only nine pieces⁵, contained only the coins of the Magha rulers with whom we are familiar from their inscriptions, seals and coins from Kauśāmbī, Fātehpur and Bandhogarh. There are, of course, a little over four hundred coins which cannot be definitely assigned to individual kings owing to a complete or partial absence of inscriptions⁶. Considerations of typology and fabric, however, leave no room for doubt that they, too, are the monetary issues of the Maghas. Some other new material bearing on this topic has also come to light in recent years. All this makes a through reappraisal of the history of the Maghas imperative and the following pages aim at it.

The dynastic text of the Purāṇas as reconstructed by Pargiter avers in the usual prophetic vein that there would flourish in Kosalā nine wise and powerful kings well-known as Megha⁷. According to Pargiter, the dynasties mentioned here, of which Megha is one, flourished in the third century A.D.⁸ On account of the similarity of this dynastic designation with the word *magha* found suffixed to the names of some of the members of what is popularly known as the Magha dynasty the Maghas of the Purāṇas have, by common consent, been identified with the Maghas⁹. Since the manuscripts of the Purāṇas give variant readings of the dynastic appellation¹⁰, it is possible that the original reading was *Magha* and that the substitution of the medial *e* for *a* is due to the copyists. Now, according to the Purāṇas, the Meghas (or Maghas) ruled in Kosalā. In view of its mention in association with some areas of the Deccan like Mekalā and Niśādha and the Nala dynasty, Kosalā, in the present context, appears to refer to South Kosalā which comprised the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and the Sambalpur District of Orissa. The findspots of the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Maghas, on the other hand, lie between Bandhogarh in the south to Fātehpur in the north with Kauśāmbī occupying an approximately central position. Bandhogarh, which, judging from the provenance of inscriptions, formed the southernmost point of Magha kingdom, is situated at a distance of a few hundred kilometers from the northern limits of Chhattisgarh. This discrepancy must be explained away if the Maghas of inscriptions, coins and seals are to be taken as identical with the Maghas of the Purāṇas. Three alternative explanations may be suggested.

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First, possibly the dominions of some of the Magha chiefs extended as far south as Dakṣiṇa Kōsala¹¹ or touched upon its borders though, it must be admitted, no record of the dynasty has so far been reported from anywhere within or close to this area. Secondly, northern borders of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala may at one time, have extended much further than the Chhattisgarh area so as to touch upon or cover the Bandhogarh region.¹² And lastly, it is possible that the Purāṇas have erroneously referred to Kōsala instead of Vatsa or some other geographical name as the dominion of the Meghas. Such errors are not very rare in the Purāṇas. And if none of these alternatives is found acceptable, the Meghas of the Purāṇas will have to be treated as different from the Maghas of our archaeological records and a search for the archaeological records of the Meghas will have to be instituted.

The inscriptions of the Maghas are dated in years which are counted in continuation from the preceding to the following reigns. They must therefore be referred to an era. But there is no unanimity about the reckoning to which these dates belong. D. R. Sahnī¹² referred these years to the Gupta era of 319-20 A.D. and so did Fleet while publishing a Kōsam inscription of Bhīmavarman.¹³ Now the dates of the inscriptions of the Maghas range from the year 51¹⁴ to 139¹⁵ which, if referred to the Gupta era, would give 370-458 A.D. as the flourishing period of the Maghas who will have then to be regarded as contemporaries of the great Gupta emperors Samudragupta, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāragupta I and partly of Skandagupta. The Allahabad region is known to have been included within the Gupta empire at least from the time of Chandragupta I.¹⁶ The Maghas, whose records leave no doubt regarding their rule over the Kauśāmbī-Allahabad area,¹⁷ would consequently become vassals of the Imperial Guptas. But of this we have absolutely no indication in their inscriptions which contain no reference to their supposed overlords. The minting of the coins, on the other hand, clearly indicates their independent status.¹⁸ Therefore, if we were to refer the dates of Maghas records to the Gupta era, we would be landing ourselves into the absurdity of believing that both the Maghas and the Guptas ruled as sovereign monarchs over the same area during the same period. Consequently, the theory referring these dates to the Gupta era is untenable. Moreover, the Bandhogarh and most of the Kosam inscriptions of the Maghas are palaeographically and otherwise

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clearly pre-Gupta.¹⁹ The typology and fabric of the Magha coins are also completely out of tune for the Gupta Period.²⁰ The theory of D.R. Bhandarkar,²¹ K. P. Jayaswal,²² N. G. Majumdar,²³ A. Ghosh²⁴, and Kṛiṣṇa Deva²⁵ referring these dates to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of 248-49 A.D. fares no better. Barring these doubtful cases there is no evidence to indicate the prevalence of this reckoning in the Vatsa-Chēdi region at such an early date. And secondly, according to this theory also at least three Magha chiefs, viz., Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśra-vaṇa and Bhīmavaraman, whose dated inscriptions are extant, as well as probably the two Śivamaghas would become contemporaries of the powerful Gupta monarchs Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, which as pointed out above, is incompatible with established historical facts. And lastly, all the other objections against the Gupta era theory are equally applicable to this theory. Once the Gupta and Kalachuri-Chēdi areas are excluded there remains only the Śaka era of 78 A. D. to which dates of these inscriptions could be referred. And most of the historians including Moti Chandra,²⁶ V.V. Mirashi,²⁷ N.P. Chakravarti,²⁸ A.S. Altekar,²⁹ D. C. Sircar,³⁰ and a host of others³¹ are inclined to refer these dates to this reckoning. This dating is fully in consonance with all the known historical facts. The stratigraphic evidence of excavations at Bhīta and Kauśāmbī also favours this theory. At Bhīta sealings of Bhīmasēna and Gautamīputra Śivamaghā were found overlying the Maurya stratum and at the level of the floor of Nāgadēva's house which appears to have been deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kuṣāṇa period.³² In the excavations at Kauśāmbī sub-period V yielded coins of the Mitras and the Kuṣāṇas together with a seal of Kaṇiṣka. In sub-period VI Kuṣāṇa coins have been found along with those of the Maghas, whereas sub-period VII is characterised only by Magha coins to be followed by Nāga coins in later strata. The latest coins reported are those of Gaṇēndra or Ganapatināga who, according the Allahabad pillar inscription of Sumudragupta,³³ was violently extirpated by this Indian Napoleon.³⁴ It leaves no doubt that some of the Magha chiefs were contemporaries of the later members of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty while others flourished after the Kuṣāṇa period out prior to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. We have no conclusive evidence to determine if the Kauśāmbī region was included within the Kuṣāṇa empire. Even if the Kōsam inscription dated in the year 2, of Kaṇiṣka's reckoning³⁵ and his seal bearing the legend *Mahārāja*

Rājātirājā-Dēvaputra-Kanishkasya prayoge unearthed in the excavations at Kauśāmbī³⁶ are taken to prove the inclusion of Kauśāmbī within Kanishka I's empire,³⁷ it may be reasonably assumed that the hold of the Kuṣāṇas over this region ended shortly after Kanishka's reign as no post-Kanishka Kuṣāṇa inscription has been reported from this area,³⁸ and the political vacuum was filled by the Maghas. Thus all the historical facts are satisfactorily accounted for by Śaka era theory. Paleographically also Magha inscriptions are datable in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. N.P. Chakravarti has shown that the script of the Bandhogarh inscriptions "partly shows features of the Kuṣāṇa records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D."³⁹ The Kōsam records also exhibit characteristics of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. Although forms of a few letters appear to be more developed and of a few others are similar to those generally found in the Gupta records, the general paleographical appearance is comparable with the Kuṣāṇa records. D. R. Bhandarkar⁴⁰ has rightly pointed out that the so-called typically eastern Gupta forms of *ma*, *sa* and *ha* are found in a Mathura inscription of Kanishka⁴¹ and both eastern and western Gupta forms of *ma* and *ha* are met with in the Jasdan inscription of *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasēna, dated (Śaka) 127 (or 126)⁴² and that "there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta scripts." V.V. Mirashi has also shown that the forms of all the crucial letters found in the Magha⁴³ inscriptions from Kōsam may be traced in the Kuṣāṇa records. As regards Magha coin-legends, Moti Chandra has demonstrated that paleographically "They can be easily assigned to the late Kuṣāṇa period."⁴⁴ Our hoard has introduced two new points which deserve notice in this context. The form of *ha* on the unique coin of *Mahārāja* Magha is of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which, as already pointed out, is already met with even in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. The medial *i* on the coins of Śivamagha II is indicated by a curve emanating from the right end of the cross-bar of *ś* or lower down on its left. This feature is met with in the Gupta records and may therefore be taken to have developed during the period intervening between the end of the Kuṣāṇa and the beginning of the Gupta period. It would thus follow that no paleographical difficulty is involved in accepting the Śaka era theory. The mixed dialect in which the Magha inscriptions

are composed and the mode of dating followed in them⁴⁵ as well as their general form as also accord well with this theory. In short, this is the best hypothesis in the present state of our knowledge. The employment of characters similar to these of the Western Kshatrapa epigraphs also lends colour to this view. However, the possibility of an hitherto unknown local era, commencing about the same time perhaps resulting from the continuation of the regnal reckoning of the founder of the Magha dynasty, being employed in these inscriptions cannot altogether be ruled out. The final solution of this question must await future discoveries of a more precise nature. But the following historical outline is based on the assumption that the inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era.

II

The first member of the Magha dynasty known to us so far is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasēna⁴⁶ whose recorded dates are years 51⁴⁷ and 52⁴⁸ which, when referred to the era of 78 A. D., will correspond to 129 and 130 A. D. respectively. From the time of this chief we get some dated inscriptions which, supplemented by the evidence of coins and seals, afford us a fairly good outline of the history of the dynasty. But nothing whatsoever was till now known about the Maghas prior to Bhīmasēna's reign. The Kauśāmbī hoard contains a unique coin which sheds new light on the early history of the dynasty, of copper and circular in shape.⁴⁹ typologically it bears close resemblance to standardised Magha coins both as regards obverse and reverse devices. Thus, on the obverse we have three-peaked hill on left and tree within railing on right in the upper part and legged in the lower part whereas the reverse bears the figure of a bull standing to right. The accommodated portion of the legend on the obverse reads [ma] haraja [ma]. In view of the general pattern of given legends on the Maha specie not more than one letter can be expected after the second ma, and the missing akṣara can, with a fair degree of certainty, be restored as gha.⁵⁰ The coin thus appears to have been issued by a ruler named Magha who may be justifiably credited with the foundation of the dynasty which came to be christened after him even as the Bodhi dynasty was so named after its progenitor Bodhi or Śrībōdhi⁵¹ and the Gupta dynasty after its founder Gupta or Śrīgupta.

It is noteworthy that in the coin legend he is given the title *mahārāja* which, in those days, is known to have been borne by sovereign rulers. *mahārāja* Magha was, thus, an independent monarch a fact also otherwise vouched for by his exercise of the royal prerogative of minting coins. In the absence of any other evidence he is merely a name and we do not even know as to how long he ruled and who succeeded him.

The next member of the dynasty known to us so far is Bhīmasēna. He has left a variety of records like inscriptions, seals and coins which afford us much more information about him than we have about his predecessor. He was at first known from a painted inscription on the Ginja hill in the erstwhile Rewa State (now in Madhya Pradesh), some forty miles south of Allahabad, dated in the year 52 (= A.D. 130). This record gives him the title *mahārājā*.⁵² Later, another epigraph of this chief, dated in the year 51, was discovered at Bandhogarh in the Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh. In it he is given the same regal title as in the Ginja inscription; but it also prefixes to his name the metronymic Vāsiṣṭhīputra (born of a lady belonging to the Vasiṣṭha *gōtra*) which is not recorded in the other inscription.⁵³ He is also known from a circular terracotta sealing found in the excavation at Bhita. The seal bears the figure of humped bull standing to left; a crescent under its neck; in front, a woman standing with her right hand outstretched and left on hip; behind the bull, a post or thunderbolt; in exergue, strong bow and arrow and an arched hill. The legend on the back of the animal in Brāhmi characters reads [Rā]jña Vāsasu (vāsishṭhi) putrasya Śrī Bhīmasēna [sya].⁵⁴ Another clay sealing bearing the legend Rājño Bhīmasēnasya and the devices bow-and-arrow, a standard in railing on left and a *yūpa* (Sacrificial post) in railing on right is reported from Rajghat (Varanasi) and has been attributed to the same king.⁵⁵ A few copper coins found at Kauśāmbī have also been attributed to him. Although typologically these coins are somewhat different from the standardised Magha issues,⁵⁷ Bhīmasēna's association with the dynasty, which is vouched for by other evidences,⁵⁸ need not be questioned.

D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion to identify Bhīmasēna of the Bhita sealing with Bhīmavarān⁵⁹ is rendered untenable by the discovery of coins and inscriptions of both the chiefs which clearly distinguish between them and show that they were separated from one

another by a long period of time. The difference between the regal titles used in the Bhita seal-inscription and the Ginja inscription has led A. Ghosh to draw a distinction between the chiefs mentioned in these records; he calls them Bhīmasēna I and Bhīmasēna II respectively.⁶⁰ But this view is unwarranted. It is possible that the Bhita seal may refer to the earlier period of Bhīmasēna's reign when he might have assumed the lower title whereas the inscriptions which refer to him as *mahārāja* might have been set up later when he had assumed the superior title. Even such an assumption is, however, unnecessary; for we have examples of one and the same monarch using more showy titles in some records and less ostentatious ones in others without any indication whatsoever of fluctuation in his power or position.⁶¹ It is held by some that the Kauśāmbī region was at this time under the Kushāṇas and that the Magha rule was consequently confined to the Baghelkhand-Rewa area with its capital at Bandhogarh where their records have been found. This view is sought to be supported by the absence of Bhīmasēna's inscriptions at Kauśāmbī and the supposition that the Bhita sealing might have travelled to its provenance with a letter sent from Bandhogarh.⁶² But the absence of Bhīmasēna's epigraphs at Kauśāmbī is more than compensated by the discovery of his coins there which appear to indicate his hold over the Kauśāmbī area. Moreover, as pointed out above, there is nothing to indicate the hold of the Kushāṇas over this region after Kanishka. I. N. P. Chakravarti holds Bhīmasēna of the Bandhogarh and Ginja inscriptions and the Bhita sealing to be the same but suggests that "the Bandhogarh inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī but was the father of Poṭhasiri of Bandhogarh line."⁶³ This view is unconvincing as the close similarity verging on identity of his sealing found at Bhita with those of Gautamīputra Śivamagha,⁶⁴ whose Magha extraction cannot be doubted, the discovery of his sealing in association with the undoubtedly attributable Magha sealings at Bhita and the find of his coins at Kauśāmbī clearly establish his association with Kauśāmbī and the Maghas.

Bhīmasēna's known dates are the years 51 and 52 (=129 and 130 A. D.), while the earliest recorded date of the next member of the dynasty is the year 81 (=159 A. D.). Consequently while it is not possible, in the present state of insufficient information, to ascertain

the length of Bhīmasēna's regnal period, there is no doubt that his reign came to a close sometime in or prior to the year 81.

According to the Bandhogarh inscriptions Bhīmasēna was succeeded by his son *mahārāja* Kochhiputa (Kautsīputra) Poṭhasiri (Praushthaśrī). We have as many as ten inscriptions of his reign at Bandhogarh.⁶⁵ Some of these records are dated, their dates ranging from the year 86 to 88.⁶⁶ Copper coins from Bhita excavations on which the legend has been deciphered as *Prāshthaśrīya*⁶⁷ appear to belong to him. The same is true of the coins from Kauśāmbī on which the name of the issuing chief has been doubtfully read as Pushvaśrī.⁶⁸ As against this, some inscriptions found at Kōsam and dated in the year 81⁶⁹, 83⁷⁰, 86⁷¹ and 87⁷² clearly indicate that another member of the dynasty, Bhadramagha, had come to power in the Kauśāmbī region a few years prior to Poṭhasiri and was the latter's contemporary for some time. The title *mahārāja* employed for him in these records shows that he was ruling as an independent monarch. Some scholars identify him with *mahārāja* Bhattadēva,⁷³ probably son of Poṭhasiri, who is known from some inscriptions⁷⁴ to have been ruling over the Bandhogarh region in the year 90⁷⁵ and seek to explain the riddle of the overlapping of the dates (86, 87, 88) of the father (Poṭhasiri) and those (81, 83, 86, 87, 90) of the son (Bhattadēva-Bhadramagha) by assuming that the former might have permitted the latter to rule at Kauśāmbī practically as an independent ruler even in his own life time in recognition of the extension by him of the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by ousting the Kushāṇa rule from there.⁷⁶ Mirashi reads the name of the son and successor of Poṭhasiri as Bhaddadēva whom he identifies with Bhadramagha and explains away the puzzle of overlapping dates by the theory of joint rule.⁷⁷ But the theory appears untenable. The reading of the name of Poṭhasiri's son in the Bandhogarh inscription is doubtful. In case the correct reading is Bhattadēva, the difference between their names in question will suffice to preclude the suggested identification. And even if Bhaddadēva be the correct reading, why the king should refer to himself in all the four Kōsam inscriptions and coin-legends as Bhadramagha and only in two later Bandhogarh inscriptions as Bhaddadēva is inexplicable. The theory of the expulsion of the Kushāṇas from the Kauśāmbī area by Bhadramagha is negated by the discovery of the coins of *Mahārāja* Magha and Bhīmasēna at Kauśāmbī itself and of the latter's sealing in the excavations at Bhita to which reference

has been made earlier, and which clearly prove the inclusion of the Kausāmbī area within the Magha kingdom from the very beginning. Bajpai proposes to further identify Bhadramagha with *mahāsēnāpati* Bhādrabala, the father of Rājan Vaisravana, mentioned in a Bandhogarh inscription⁷⁸ and surmises that "Bhadrabala was his personal name and that after he ascended the throne he was called Bhadramagha like several other rules of the dynasty".⁷⁹ The conjecture is certainly ingenious; but its acceptance would involve us in the difficulty of reconciling the rather strange facts that while in his own inscriptions Bhadramagha is styled *mahārāja* in the inscription of his son and successor he is referred to only as *mahāsēnāpati* without any regal title. Even it is assumed for argument's sake that Bhadramagha began his career as a commander of the army under some chief it will be inexplicable as to why Bhadramagha himself did not use the title *mahāsēnāpati* and it was left to his son to unearth the long buried title and use it for his father in preference to the title *mahārāja*. It is hardly expected that a son should deliberately suppress his father's dignified status.⁸⁰ Secondly, it has also to be explained as to why the son preferred to mention his father by a name that was given up by the latter in favour of the coronation name Bhadramagha. Thus, these theories fail to provide any solution to the problem of overlapping dates.

It has been suggested by D. C. Sircar that Bhadramagha, who may have been Bhīmasēna's younger step-brother or Praushthasrī's elder step-brother, was the immediate successor of Bhīmasēna. But Praushthasrī rebelled against Bhadramagha and declared himself king in the southern part of the kingdom about the closing years of the latter's reign and later extended his authority over the Kausāmbī area also.⁸¹ It is equally likely, however, that after Bhīmasēna the Magha kingdom was parcelled out between Bhadramagha and Praushthasrī who were probably brothers, Bhadramagha exercising sway over the Kausāmbī region and Praushthasrī over the Bandhogarh area. After Bhadramagha's death Praushthasrī annexed the Kausāmbī region also as indicated by the discovery of his coins at Bhita. It is pertinent to note in this connection that no evidence of Bhadramagha's rule has so far been found at Bandhogarh. There is nothing to support N. P. Chakravarti's view that Poṭhasiri had no connection with Kausāmbī.⁸² In fact, this connection is established by his coins found at Bhita and occasionally reported from Kausāmbī itself.

Itihas IV, i.

Praushthasrī was probably succeeded⁸³ in the southern part of the kingdom by his son Kausikīputra Bhaṭṭadēva⁸⁴ who is known from a couple of inscriptions at Bandhogarh,⁸⁵ one of which is dated in the year 90 (= 168 A. D.)⁸⁶ Nothing more is known about him.

Seals disclose the existence of two rulers named Śivamagha. Two terracotta sealings from Bhita refer to Mahārāja Gautamiputra Śivamagha⁸⁷ while a clay sealing mentioning Rājan Kaustiputra Śivamagha was unearthed in excavations at Rajghat, which represents the ancient site of Varanasi⁸⁸. The difference in metronymic leaves no room for doubt that the two chiefs, though belonging to the same line as indicated by their name-ending, must be distinguished from each other. However, no attempt was so far made to distinguish the coins of the two, and all the coins giving the name of Śivamagha were indiscriminately attributed to one and the same ruler. A careful study of the coins bearing this name in our hoard clearly shows that they cannot be attributed to the same king. On some coins with this name the medial *i* of *śi* is indicated by a small vertical stroke attached to the right of the letter *ś* and joined to it by a short horizontal line which is really just an extension of the cross-bar of *ś* (A). On other pieces the vertical stroke has developed a very strong curve going on top and many a time even to the left of the letter *ś* (A or A). This significant feature leaves no room for doubt that the issues with the first form of the medial sign for *i* must be ascribed to a chief who flourished earlier than the one on whose coins we come across the second form. Accordingly, the chief represented by the first set of coins must be styled Śivamagha I and that by the second set, Śivamagha II. Both these rulers claim a fairly large number of coins in our hoard, there being 352 coins of Śivamagha I and 617 of Śivamagha II.

Is it possible to identify the two Śivamaghas of the specie with those known from seal-inscriptions? The Śivamaghas of the Rajghat sealing had the metronymic Kautsipura attached to his name. The same metronymic is found used in Prakritised form (Kochhipta) for Bhīmasēna's son Poṭhasiri (Praushthasrī) in some inscriptions at Bandhogarh.⁸⁹ It is likely, therefore, that Praushthasrī and Kautsiputra Śivamagha were uterine brothers. As we have seen above, Bhīmasēna was followed by Bhadramagha⁹⁰ in the Kausāmbī region and the latter appears to have been supplanted by Praushthasrī⁹¹ who had earlier established himself in the Bandhogarh region. As will be

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shown later, Śivamagha I of our coins flourished before Vaiśravaṇa who is the next ruler after Praushthasrī whose dated records are extant. It would thus follow that Kautsīputra Śivamagha has to be identified with Śivamagha I. Likewise Śivamagha II may be identified with the only other known Śivamagha, viz. Gautamīputra Śivamagha.

A fragmentary inscription of a Śivamagha, styled *mahārāja*, has been found at Bandhogarh⁹². In the absence of metronymic it is difficult to identify him definitely. The same is the case with *mahārāja* Śivamagha mentioned in a Kōsam inscription.⁹³ As the date portion of both these inscriptions is damaged⁹⁴, there is divergence of opinion regarding his position in the dynasty. According to some scholars Śivamagha lived before Vaiśravaṇa⁹⁵ while others argue in favour of placing him after the latter.⁹⁶ While discussing this question scholars believed in the existence of one king of this name. The now established fact that there were two Śivamaghas, a Kautsīputra and Gautamīputra, whose coins can be definitely distinguished has added new dimensions to this question in as much as we are now faced with the problem of ascertaining the chronological position of two rulers of this name. Fortunately, the hoard in question has yielded an important evidence which sheds welcome light on this issue. The present hoard contains a couple of coins of Śivamagha I (Kautsīputra Śivamagha) which appear to have been restruck by Vaiśravaṇa. While the obverse of these coins gives the name of Śivamagha (I), on the reverse we get the name of Vaiśravaṇa. On the reverse of one coin we find the last three *akṣaras* of the name, whereas the first *akṣara* is preserved on the other coin. The obverse of these coins has become flattened due to the forceful striking of Vaiśravaṇa's die on the other side. We are thus led to the conclusion that Śivamagha I intervened between Praushthasrī and Vaiśravaṇa.

Whether Śivamagha I assumed power at Kauśāmbī immediately after his brother Praushthasrī's death or after Bhaṭṭadēva cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficient information. Likewise, whether the discovery of his sealing at Rajghat indicates the extension of his authority, at least for some time, over the Varanāsi region also does not admit of a definite answer.⁹⁷ We cannot also be sure as to the length of his regnal period. But his reign certainly came to an end

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sometime in or before the year 107 (≡ 185 A.D.) which is the only known date of the next king Vaiśravaṇa.⁹⁸ Vaiśravaṇa's inscriptions have been found both at Kōsam⁹⁹ and Bandhogarh,¹⁰⁰ indicating thereby that he ruled over the undivided kingdom including both the northern and southern wings. According to a couple of inscriptions at Bandhogarh, in one of which he is given the title *rājan*,¹⁰¹ he was son of Bhadrabāla,¹⁰² who is styled *mahāsēnapati*.¹⁰³ This fact appears to have been mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Kōsam also,¹⁰⁴ which forestalls the distinction between *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa of the Bandhogarh inscriptions and *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa of the Kōsam inscription of the year 107 as suggested by some writers.¹⁰⁵ We have already seen that the identification of Bhadrabāla with Bhadramagha and Bhaṭṭadēva is unfounded. We have absolutely no information regarding the circumstances under which Vaiśravaṇa came to power. In case his restriking of the coins of Śivamagha I is, as usual, taken to indicate a forcible occupation, his accession was evidently not smooth. It is not unlikely, therefore, that, like his father Bhadrabāla, Vaiśravaṇa also was at first an army commander under Śivamagha I and at a latter date occupied the Magha throne by ousting his master. However, the restriking admits of other interpretations also, and it is equally likely that *mahāsēnapati* Bhadrabāla may have been a collateral member of the dynasty and his son Vaiśravaṇa may have ascended after Śivamagha I who preferably died without a male issue to succeed him.¹⁰⁶ We find it difficult to accept D. C. Sircar's view that "Vaiśravaṇa may have at first been the viceroy of the Kauśāmbī kings in the Southern part of their kingdom; but he latter established himself on the throne of his masters".¹⁰⁷ This view is evidently based, among other things, on the difference, between the titles *rājan* and *mahārāja*. But as pointed out earlier in connection with Bhīmasēna we need not of necessity read too much in this difference. Altekar's statement that it was during the reign of Vaiśravaṇa that the northern boundary of the Magha kingdom was pushed to Fatehpur¹⁰⁸ is contradicted by the Fatehpur hoard itself which contained some coins of Bhadramagha and Śivamagha both of whom, according to Altekar himself, flourished before Vaiśravaṇa.

Vaiśravaṇa was probably succeeded by Śivamagha II as indicated by a coin of Vaiśravaṇa restruck by Śivamagha II in the Kauśāmbi hoard. Śivamagha II was probably followed by *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman

who is known from three Kauśāmbī inscriptions of the years 122 (= 200 A. D.),¹⁰⁹ 130 (= 208 A. D.)¹¹⁰ and 139 (= 217 A. D.).¹¹¹ That he belonged to the same dynasty,¹¹² seems to be indicated by considerations of fabric and typology of his coins which are exactly similar to those of other Magha kings. The nature of relationship between him and Śivamagha II and whether he was the immediate successor of the latter cannot be ascertained in the absence of evidence on the point.¹¹³ He is the last Magha chief whose dated records are extant.

We know of a few other chiefs also who, judging from their name-ending *magha*, definitely belonged to the Magha dynasty. All our knowledge regarding them is derived from the coins and sealings left by them; but they remain shadowy figures as in the absence of epigraphic records it is not possible to determine their mutual relationship and chronological order. Vijayamagha is known from a few coins published earlier¹¹⁴ and a couple of coins in the present hoard. His name has been doubtfully read on a terracotta sealing from Kauśāmbī, now in the Allahabad Museum.¹¹⁵ In the legend on the sealing he is given the title *Mahārāja* and the metronymic Gautamīputra. If the sealing really belongs to him, he may have had something to do with Śivamagha II who also had the metronymic Gautamīputra. Lack of relevant evidence precludes greater precision on this point. Names of Jayamagha,¹¹⁶ Śatamāgha,¹¹⁷ Puramagha¹¹⁸ and Yagamagha¹¹⁹ have also been deciphered on a few coins hailing from Kauśāmbī. Published illustrations of some of these coins being very poor, it is not possible to check the veracity of the proposed readings of their legends. The difficulty is further aggravated by the fact that the present whereabouts of most of these coins are not known. Altekar read the name Pushvaśrī on a few coins¹²⁰ and suggested that "it is very probable that he was ruling at Kauśāmbī by the middle of the 4th century."¹²¹ But as pointed out above, the correct reading of the name seems to be Praushthaśrī whose coins were found in the excavations at Bhita and the Prakrit form of whose name (Paṭhasiri) appears in the Bandhogarh inscriptions. That *Mahāśānīpati* Rudramagha, known from a clay sealing reported from Rajghat,¹²² was a member of the Magha ruling family need not be doubted. But in the absence of regal title it is not possible to decide whether he was only an commander of armies or rose to the position of a king. At the moment we

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can only over that during the period to which this sealing belongs he occupied only the office of the chief commander of the army. A clay seal from Kauśāmbī gives us the name of Parnamagha who, judging from his name, undoubtedly belonged to the Maghā family. But as no title is attached to his name, it is not possible to ascertain his position.¹²³ Some other clay sealings from Rajghat afford us the names of Kṛishṇasēna¹²⁴ and Harishēṇa¹²⁵ in the genitive singular without any title prefixed to them. On the basis of the occurrence of certain devices of Magha sealings on these sealings¹²⁶ Moti Chandra hinted at the possibility of these chiefs representing a branch or the Magha dynasty.¹²⁷ Attention has, in this connection, been also invited to the name-ending *sēna* which is found in the name of another Magha chief, viz., Bhīmasēna.¹²⁸ But the occurrence of a common device alone can hardly provide a solid basis for determining the family of a personage while the absence of regal title renders all speculation in this matter unwarranted. Mirashi thinks that Balavarman, who is referred to in the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta violently exterminated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta,¹²⁹ also belonged to the Magha dynasty.¹³⁰ He also regards *Mahārāja* Lakshmana, known from a couple of copper-plate charters dated in the year 158, one found at Pali near Kōsam¹³¹ and the other at Sangrauli in the erstwhile Rewa State,¹³² as a member of the same dynasty and places him after Vijayamagha.¹³³ Since no evidence has been adduced in support of this contention,¹³⁴ it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion on this issue. The kings Nava, Navika and Dhanadeva whose existence is revealed by coins bearing devices similar to those noticed on Magha issues, are also believed by some to have belonged to the Magha dynasty.¹³⁵ But in the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to be sure on this point.

Thus we have several chiefs who are believed to have flourished after Bhīmavarman and belonged to the Magha dynasty. While the attribution of Kṛishṇasēna, Harishēṇa, Balavarman and Lakshmana to the dynasty is highly problematical and unwarranted in the present state of insufficient information, the rest undoubtedly belonged to the dynasty as indicated by their name-ending *magha* and coin-types. But in the absence of dated records even these rulers are nothing more than mere names and for more light on them we must wait for future discoveries. The only thing that can be averred with a fair degree of certitude is that the Magha authority over the Kauśāmbī area came to

an end with the annexation of this region by Chandragupta I whose dominions, according to a Purāṇic stanza which by common consensus, is taken to refer to his reign,¹³⁶ included Prayāga,¹³⁷ which is just some thirty miles from Kauśāmbī. In case it is argued that the extent of his kingdom stopped just at Allahabad and did not include any area beyond it, the Maghas might have lingered on for a few more years to be put down finally by his son and successor Samudragupta. In all likelihood the pillar bearing his inscription, now in the Allahabad fort, originally stood at Kauśāmbī. The gap between Bhīmavarman and the end of the dynasty is quite sufficient to accommodate the Magha chiefs under consideration.

The above is a brief reconstruction of the political vicissitudes of the dynasty as revealed by the extant records. It must, however be admitted that notwithstanding the considerable evidence available in the form of inscriptions, coins and sealings that have been brought to light during the last few decades our knowledge about the dynasty is far from perfect and we still have several problems which continue to baffle all attempts at a final solution. Divergent opinions, for instance, still prevail regarding the period when these rulers flourished and the era in which their records are dated although the common consensus now favours the Śaka era theory. Doubts have also been expressed as to whether some of the chiefs who are generally taken to be Magha really belonged to the Magha dynasty. The chronological position of some of the chiefs and the order of succession are also far from certain. Likewise, now and under what circumstances the rule of the Maghas came to an end cannot also be ascertained in the absence of relevant evidence. These and other allied issues can be finally settled only when fresh decisive evidence comes to light.

REFERENCES

1. *A. S. I., AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, no. 27.
2. J. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India* (in the British Museum)
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55, Pl. XXI. 4-15.

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4. See R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar (editors), *A New History of the Indian People*, VI: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 174-77; K. A. Nilakanta Sastry (editor), *Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 259-62; Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 140-43, etc.
5. These belong to Vijayanandin, a hitherto unknown king of Kausambi. For a full treatment of these coins see my paper in *Suparna* (J. Ph. Vogel Commemoration Volume, in Press).
6. The legends or their missing portions are either off the flan or worn out irrecongnisably.
7. *Kosalāyam tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ, Meghā iti samakhyata buddhimanto nav-aiva tu.*
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 73.
9. This view is, however, not accepted by some scholars, See Jagannath Agrawala in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 259, note 4.
10. *Medya* and *Medhātithi* are mentioned by Pargiter as Variants in place of *Meghā* and *Meghā iti* respectively. See *the Purana Text of Dynasty of the Kali Age*, p. 51, note 21.
11. Altekar thinks it possible that in the heyday of their glory, the Magha kings ruled over wide territories extending from Bilaspur in the south to Fatehpur in the north. *Vide JGJRI*, I, p. 159.
12. Limits of provinces are known to have changed with political vicissitudes. To cite an example, Dakshina Kosala once appears to have included a part of Vidarbha. The Senkapat inscription of the time of the Pāṇḍuvamsī king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna of South Kosala shows that the dominions of his predecessor Nannarāja reached as far as the banks of the river Varada, mod. Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvari. See *EI*, XXXI, pp. 35-36.
- 12a. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 160.
13. *CH*, III, p. 266. A. Ghosh, who distinguishes this Bhīmavarman from the Bhīmavarman of the Kāśam inscriptions of the year 130, also refers the date of this record to the Gupta era. See *IC*, III, p. 373.

14. This date is supplied by the Bandhogarh inscriptions of Bhīmasena. See *EI*, XXXI, p. 177, No. 1.
15. This is the date of one of the Kōsam inscriptions of Bhīmavarman. *Vide*, *CII*, III, p. 266.
16. The verse found in some of the Puranas according to which the Gupta scions ruled over the territory including the area along the Ganges, Prayāga, Śāketa and Magadha (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 73) is generally taken to refer to the period of Chandragupta I.
17. Several inscriptions of the Maghas have been found at or near Kauśāmbī, Magha coins have also been reported from Kōsam.
18. The argument that the the Guptas may have allowed their Magha vassals to issue coins in base metals does not carry conviction.
19. The language of the Magha epigraphs is either Prakṛit or Sanskrit influenced by Prakṛit where as Prakrit had been supplanted by Sanskrit for epigraphical purposes in the Gupta period. These inscriptions afford us season dates which went out of vogue in northern India in the Gupta age, no definite instance of any season date referable to the Gupta or subsequent age being known. Although later looking forms of a few letters figures in the Magha inscriptions, their general appearance is undoubtedly Kushana.
20. The queer shapes represented by Magha coins and the devices like tree within railing and three-peaked hill went out of vogue much prior to the late Gupta period and are not noticed in any series of coins thereafter.
21. *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173, note 3.
22. *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, p. 229.
23. *E. I.*, XXIV, p. 147.
24. *IC*, I, p. 715; III, p. 179.
25. *EI*, XXIV, p. 255.
26. *JNSI*, II, pp. 103-104.
27. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 297-304; *Studies Indology*, I, pp. 152
28. *EI* XXXI, pp. 173-176.

29. *JGJRI*, I, pp. 151-53; *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 41, note 2.
30. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 175.; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 163, note 1.
31. In modern historical writings an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history of the Maghas on the basis of the assumption that their records are dated in the Śaka era. *Vide A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 259-62; Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, pp. 140-43; *INC*, III, pp. 11-22. Also see G. S. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101-114; A. L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, pp. xi, 117, 126, 202-203.

Sten Konow (*EI*, XXIII, p. 247) and A. H. Dani (*Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, p. 64) also place the Maghas in the second and third centuries A. D. but they refer the dates of their inscriptions to the Kanishka era which is distinguished from the Śaka era of 78 A. D. While according to Konow the former reckoning commenced in 128-29 A. D. (*CII*, II, ii, p. xciv), Dani is inclined to place the intrusion of the Kanishka group after 144 A. D.
32. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp. 34, 51.
33. *CII*, III, p. 7, Text-line 21. According to some, the missing portion of line 13 also contained a reference to Ganapati-naga. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 264, note 1.
34. For a full summary of the stratigraphic evidence, see *EI*, XXXI, p. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* 1949-53, pp. xxxvi-xxxix; G. R. Sharma, *Excavation at Kauśāmbī* 1949-50, *MAI*, No. 74, pp. 18-23. It is said elsewhere that sub-period III. 15-III. 16 yielded Mitra coins while sub-period IV. 20 was characterised by the Magha specie. See G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī* p. 19. Two Magha coins are reported from sub-period IV. 20 or IV. 21 (*ibid.*, p. 85) Sub-period IV. 20 is dated c. 165-c. 235 A. D. and sub-period IV. 21 c. 235-c. 305 A. D. See *ibid.*, p. 21.
35. *EI*, XXIV, p. 210.
36. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 175; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1948-73, p. xxxix; G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbī* (*MAI*, No. 74), p. 19, No. 4, Pl. LII.4.

37. The inclusion of Kauśāmbī region in Kanishka's empire is generally taken for granted. *Vide JGJRI*, p. 155; *the Vākātaka Gupta Age*, pp. 42-43; etc. But it is denied by P. L. Gupta (*Papers on the date of Kanishka*, p. 116. He regards the Kushana coins found at Kauśāmbī as drifts) and K. D. Bajpai (*INC*, III, pp. 18ff.).
38. It is no doubt true that coins of Huvishka and Vasudeva have been reported from Bhita (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp. 63-65) and Kausambī excavations (*E. I.*, XXXI, p. 175), but that cannot be taken to prove the rule of these monarchs over Kauśāmbī just as the discovery of the coins of Kadphises II at Bhita is not taken as an evidence of his hold over this region (*ASI, AR*, 1911-12, pp. 62-63). These coins might have come there by way of trade or with pilgrims or travellers.
39. *EI*, XXXI, p. 168.
40. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 2.
41. *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 96ff. The date of this record was read as year 14 until Mirashi suggested to correct it to 54 and attributed it to Kanishka II (*ibid.*, XXVI, pp. 293ff. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 145-151).
42. *EI*, XVI, plate facing p. 237.
43. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 297ff.
44. *JNSI*, II, p. 103. For a detailed examination of palaeographic evidence, see pp. 103-4.
45. The dates are given in terms of years, seasons and fortnights as in the Śatavāhana and other early inscriptions. This manner of dating appears to have been given up in North India by the beginning of the Gupta age. See Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 158.
46. Some scholars do not accept him as a Magha king. *Vide* Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1963), pp. 140 ff. P. L. Gupta (A. L. Basham (ed.), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, p. 117) also does not include Bhīmasēna and his son Pothasiri in the list of Magha rulers.
47. *EI*, XXXI, P. 171, no. 1.
48. *Ibid.*, III, plate opposite p. 306 (eye-copy of the Ginja hill inscription) Bhīmasēna is also known from a Bhita seal (*ASI, AR* 1911-12, p. 51,

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- no. 87 pl. XVIII, p. 27 Rājan Bhīmasēna of a Rajghat clay Sealing (*JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411 no. 6) has also probably to be identified with him, though, it may be mentioned, the metronymic Vāsishṭputra is conspicuous by its absence on the Rajghat sealing.
49. Diam. 1.5 cm. ; weight 1.700 gm.
50. It seems that the legend is not entirely horizontal. When it could not be completed in the horizontal line below the devices, it was continued vertically on the right side where we find triangular terminal part of a letter which was probably no other than *gha*.
51. For a full discussion of this and other issues concerning the Bodhis, see Ajaya Mitra Shastri, "Fresh light on the Bodhis" *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 213-222.
52. Luders' List, No. 906; *EI*, III, plate opposite p. 306 (eye-copy).
53. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 177, No. I.
54. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, No. 27, Pl. XVIII. 27.
55. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 6.
56. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 15-16, Pl. IB. 1A; *INC*, III, p. 13, Nos. I-II. Bajpai seems to be right in attributing a few other coins also to Bhīmasēna. *Vide Ibid.*, p. 12.
57. Bhīmasēna's coins have only tree within railing on the obverse while other Magha issues have three-peaked hill associated with it. Then again the regal title, *rajan* found on the issues attributed to Bhīmasēna is generally absent on the other Magha coins. The only exception is the unique coin of Magha which bears the title *māharāja*.
58. *I. e.* the discovery of Bhīmasēna's sealing at Bhita in the same stratum which yielded a couple of sealings of Gautamīputra Śivamagha and the occurrence of identical devices on them.
59. *List of Inscriptions, of Northern India*, p. 173, note 3.
60. *IC*, pp. 179, 180-71.

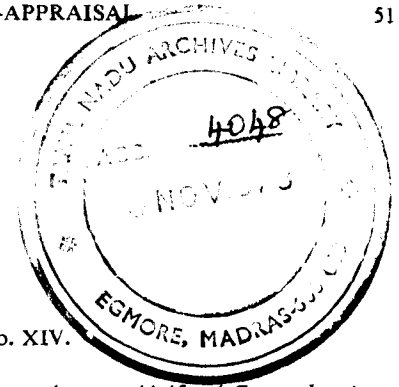
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61. Cf. the Tiger - slayer type coins of Samudragupta on the reverse of which we find the title *rājan* and Lyrist type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I on which the royal names are given without any title whatsoever.
62. *JGJRI*, I, p. 154; *The Vākātaka - Gupta Age*, p. 42; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 140.
63. *EI*, XXXI, p. 176. P. L. Gupta (*Papers on the Date of Kaniska*, ed. A. L. Basham, p. 117) also does not include Bhimasena and Pothasiri in the list of Magha Kings.
64. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, Nos. 26 and 28, Pl. XVIII. 26.
65. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 178-82, 185, Nos. II-X, XVII. Altekar's statements that the Bandhogarh inscriptions of Pothasiri number 5 (*JGJRI*, I, p. 155) is not correct.
66. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 177ff. Nos. II-IV, VI, VIII-X give the year 86, No. XVII, the year 87 and No. VII, the year 88.
67. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 66, Nos. 43 - 72. The legend is actually genitive singular form of the royal name, the correct form whereof was probable Praushthasriya. Sometimes Praushthasriya itself is wrongly taken to be the king's name.
68. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-37, Pl. xl 2-5, Altekar took the name to be the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Pushpaśrī. But at one place he spelt the name as Pushpaśrī. He attributed an alleged coin of Pushyamitṛa published by K. P. Jayswal also to this ruler. Also see G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kauśāmbi*, 1949-50, p. 90, Pl. LV. 50-51.
69. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 253-56.
70. J. S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, p. 64. Another inscription dated in the year 83 in which the ruler's name is lost but which probably belonged to Bhadramagha is noticed by Negi. See *ibid.* Another fragmentary inscription of Bhadramagha dated in the same year is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (Reg. No. I/23) Information kindly supplied by Dr. R. R. Tripathi.

71. *EI*, XVIII, p. 160. D. R. Sahni, who originally edited the inscription, read the year as 88, but D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 163) correctly took it to be 86.
72. *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101-14. For a fragmentary undated epigraph of Bhadramagha, see J. S. Negi *op. cit.*, p. 64. An earthen jar bearing the name Bhadramagha has been found in the excavations at Kauśāmbi. See *Indian Archaeology-1955-56. A Review*, p. 20.
73. N. P. Chakravarti read the second *akshara* of the name as *ita* and pointed out that its form differs from that of *d* in the same inscriptions. See *EI*, XXXI, p. 182, note 5. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, I, p. 156, note) reads it as *dda* in one record (No. XI) and *da* in the other (No. XIII) Sircar seems to agree with Mirashi as regards the first record but reads the name as Bhadadēva in the second inscription (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 176).
74. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 182-83, Nos. XI and XIII.
75. *ibid.*, p. 182, No. XI.
76. *JGJRI*, I, p. 155; *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 43. Also see *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 261; *INC*, III, p. 14.
77. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 155-56.
78. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 184-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX. He is probably mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Kauśāmbi also (Allahabad Museum Reg. No. I/6). I owe this information to Dr. R. R. Tripathi, Curator of the Allahabad museum.
79. *IXC*, III, p. 14. This identification was once proposed by Mirashi (*EI*, XXVI, pp. 267ff. *J. Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 155-56) also; but elsewhere he interprets the evidence differently and regards Bhadrabala as a predecessor of Jayabala, the Pāṇḍava king of Mekala, known from the Bahmani plates of Bharatabala (*ibid.*, pp. 230ff.), N. P. Chakravarti also indicated this possibility but rejected it as he did not concede any relationship between the Maghas and the Bandhogarh line (*EI*, XXXI, p. 171).

N. P. Chakravarti correctly read the name as Bhadrabāla which is borne out by the facsimile; but it is now generally spelt as Bhadrabala.

80. Also vide V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 231 f.
81. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 176. Sircar calls Bhadrāmāgha Kauṣīki-putra (*ibid.*, p. 176) but this, and for that matter any other, metronymic is not employed for Bhadrāmāgha in any record. Bhattadēva, son of Poṭhasiri, is the only Magha chief who is styled Kauṣīki-putra. Sircar's statement in question, therefore, appears to be based on the confusion between Bhattadēva and Bhadrāmāgha whose identity is denied by him.
82. *EI*, XXXI, p. 176. This position is also maintained by Mirashi. See *Studies in Indology*, I, pp. 231 ff. But at another place he accepts the identification of Bhattadēva, son of Praushthasri, with Bhadrāmāgha (*ibid.*, pp. 155 f.).
83. Although the relevant portion of the record in question (*EI*, XXXI, p. 183, No. 13) is damaged, it is regarded as probable by Chakravarti (*ibid.*, p. 169) and accepted generally.
84. The name was read as Bhattadēva by Chakravarti and as Bhadadeva by some other writers,
85. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 183 and 183, Nos. XI and XIII.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 182, No. XI.
87. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, Nos. 26, 23, Pl. XVIII. 26. One of these sealings is oval and the other circular and are from different dies. But they have identical devices and legends. They bear in the upper part, humped bull standing left with a crescent under its neck ! in front, a standing female figure with her right hand out stretched and left placed on hip ; and behind, a post of thunderbolt (*Vajra*). In the lower part we have strung bow and arrow and an arched hill, and across the middle of the field Brāhmī-legend *Masārāja-Gotamīputra śrī-Sivamaghasya*. Marshall doubtfully read the last but two *akṣaras* as *me*.
88. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412. In the upper part of this railing we have *Nandipada* and a couple of other symbols which are now defaced ; and in the lower part bow-and-arrow, three-peaked hill and a dumb-bell (*damaru*) ; and in the middle Brāhmī legend *Rājñah Kautsīputrasya śrī-Sivamaghasya*. This sealing has not been illustrated.



89. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 173 ff.
90. Known years are 81, 83, 86 and 87.
91. Known years are 86, 87, and 88,
92. *EI*, XXXI, p. 184, No. XIV.
93. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 159.
94. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 159 ; XXXI, p. 184, no. XIV.
95. *JGRJI*, pp. 50-51 ; *The Vakātaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 44.45 ; *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 261, etc.
96. V.V. Mirashi, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 237 ff. ; *Studies in Indology*, I, (2nd Ed. 1968 pp. 152 ff., 233. N. P. Chakravarti (*EI*, XXXI, p. 171) is inclined to place Sivamāgha earlier than Bhadrāmāgha.
97. Even if Sivamāgha I carried his arms up to Varanasi and annexed it, the Magha sway over the region must have been of a short duration as no other evidence of Magha rule has been reported therefrom.
98. *EI*, XXIV, p. 146.
99. *Ibid.* Another inscription preserved in the Allahabad Museum (Re.No.1/6) also probably contains a reference to this ruler. Information kindly supplied by Dr. R.R. Tripathi.
100. *EI*, XXXI, pp. 185-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 185, No. XVIII.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86, Nos. XVIII-XIX.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-85, Nos. XVIII-XIX. As pointed out by N.P. Chakravarti, the title *mahāśarapati* does not necessarily indicate that Bhadrabāla was an army commander ; for it was not unoften employed as a title of nobility. Vide *ibid.*- XXIII' p. 52 note ; XXXI, p. 171.
104. Allahabad Museum Reg. No. 1/6.
105. *EI*, XXXI, p. 176. It must be pointed out, however, that N.P. Chakravarti hinted at the possibility of Vaiśravaṇa of both the Kāśam and Bandhogarh records being one and the same. As to the difference between his

titles in the Bandhogarh (*rajan*) and Kesam (*maharaja*) inscriptions. he observed, "it is just possible that Vaisravana who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title *Rajan* which he replaced at a later date by that of *Maharaja*". But he gave up this alternative in favour of regarding him as a different ruler belonging only to the Bandhogarh line (*ibid.*, p. 171). He replaced him before Bhimasena (*ibid.*, d. 176). Mirashi once regarded Vaisravana of all the records as a Magha chief, but suggests a difference at another place. *Vide Studies in Indology*, pp. 152ff.; 230ff.

106. Altekar thought that Vaisravana's father Bhadrabala was probably a junior member of the ruling family and that Vaisravana might have succeeded Sivamagha as the latter left behind no heir. He also offered the alternative suggestion that Vaisravana might have ousted Sivamagha and usurped the throne for himself.
107. D. C. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity* (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar), p. 176.
108. *JGJRI*, I, p. 153; *The Vakāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. Bajpai *INC*, III, p. 15 fn.2) seems to agree with this contention but questions his other statements that the Maghas now became eastern neighbours of the Nāgas of Padmavati.
109. The inscription is preserved in the Kausāmbi Museum of the University of Allahabad. See J.S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, p. 70.
110. *IC*, III, p. 182.
111. *CIII*, III, p. 266. Fleet referred the year 139 of this inscription to the Gupta era. This view is accepted by A. Ghosh who draws a distinction between the Bhimavarman of this record and that of the year 130 who are referred to as Bhimavarman II and Bhimavarman I respectively. *Vide IC*, III, pp. 179-81. This distinction is also admitted by some other scholars. See *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 26. 1-62 But as pointed out above, there is no hard and fast distinction between Kushāna and Gupta alphabets, such a distinction does not appear justifiable.
112. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya (*Early History of North India*, p. 142) thinks that Vaisravana as also *Bhimavarman* did not probably belong to the to the Magha dynasty as their names did not end in *magha*.

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113. It is suggested by some that Bhimavarman may have been the son and successor of Vaisravana. *Vide JGJRI*, I, p. 159; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 143; *INC*, III, p. 15.
114. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 11-12, p. 1.1. 12-13.
115. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 70-77, pl. V.1.
116. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 12. Pl. III. 4; *INC*, III, p. 16.
117. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 10-11. Pl. I 11.
118. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 8, Pl. I. 2-3. Altekar does not appear to have been quite certain about the reading of the legend as will appear from the interrogation mark in the caption.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 9, Pl. IA, 4. V. S. Agrawala suggested that the first letter may have been *vu*, so that the name was probably Yugamagha. (*Ibid.*). This spelling of the name is adopted by S. Chattopadhyaya (*Early History of North India* p. 14).
120. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 136-37, Pl. XI. 2-5.
121. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 6. Also of. *JGJRI*, I, p. 160; *The Vakāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 4^s, where it is suggested that Pushuvasri came to power after Nava whose coins copy Magha coins. Also see *EI*, XXXI, p. 175, where it is said that sub-period VIII at Kausāmbi has yielded coins of Puṣvasri whereas sub-period VII has given only the coins of the Maghas. But in ancient India coins once issued continued to circulate for a long time. Therefore discovery of Praushthasri's coins in later layers poses no problem.
122. The sealing bears the symbols *nandipada* and strung bow-and-arrow in the upper part and three-peaked hill in the lower field, the legend *Mahāsēnā-patisya Rudramaghasya* occupying the central position. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 412, No. 11. K. K. Thaplyal (*Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 38, fn. 3) is tempted to read *Mahāsenaputrasya Rudramaghasya* which would mean that Rudranāḥa was the son of Mahāsenā.
123. Omananda Saraswati, *Bl. crata ke Prāchīna Mudrāṅka*, (Jhajjar, 1975), p. 153, Pl. 330.
124. On Krishnasena's sealing we notice strung bow-and-arrow in the upper

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part ; the legend *Krishnasenasya* flanked by a *yupa* on left and *sakti* on right in the center and the devices *svastika*, *nand-pada*, *srivatasa* and conch-shell in the exergue. See *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411, No. 4.

125. Harishena's sealings, numbering about a hundred, bear the same devices as found on the sealing of Krishnasena. See *ibid.*, p. 411, No. 5.
126. Bow and arrow device, standard in railing and *yupa* in railing are common on the seals of Bhimasena, Sivamagha II, Vijayamagha, Krishnasena and Harishena.
127. *Kasi ka Itihasa*, p. 73. Also see *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411: where V.S. Agrawa'a proposes to identify Bhimasena of the Rajghat sealing with that of the Bhita sealing and takes Krishnasena and Harishena as belonging to the same family as that of Bhimasena.
128. K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 41.
129. *CII*, III, p. 7, text-line 21.
130. *EI*, XXVI, p. 304 ; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 165.
131. *EI*, II, pp. 364-65,
132. *ASI, AR*, 1936-37, p. 88.
133. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 233 and note 2.
134. The date Lakshmana's inscriptions is commonly referred to the Gupta era, but Mirashi suggests to refer it to the Saka era. But palaeography appears to be different.
135. *INC*, III, p. 17 ; *Papers on the Date of Kaniska*, p. 117; K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*. pp. 40-41.
136. But contra *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 134-35 ; *The Classical Age*, p. 4.
137. *Anu-Ganga Prayagam cha Saketam Magadhams = tatha|Etan janapdan sarvan chokshiyante Gupta-vamsajah ||* Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53.

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GOAN AGRARIAN ECONOMY IN CRISIS

(1910 - 1649)

T. R. D'Sauza

HERE is an attempt at revealing certain historical developments that caused serious upheavals in the rural economy of Goa following the establishment of the Portuguese colonial rule in 1510. We propose to begin with a description of the agrarian economic interests that were represented by the age-old village communities as the Portuguese found them on their arrival. We have this opportunity also to correct certain inaccuracies that have crept into the written history of the primitive village institutions of Goa and to stress some regional peculiarities of these institutions. Our task is made easy by the information supplied in the Charter (*Foral*) drawn by the Chief Revenue Superintendent of Goa-Affonso Mexia by name, and granted by King John III of Portugal in September 1526 with the promise of preserving and protecting the local traditions embodied in the same Charter.¹

The grant of the Charter to the Goan natives was to prove an annoying and stumbling block to the colonial masters of Goa in the immediate future, but at the time of its granting the Portuguese were still to strengthen their foothold and depended upon the good-will and co-operation of the local inhabitants. However, this initial phase did not last for more than three decades. We may recall to our mind that the arrival of the Portuguese in India was the outcome of a venture that was characterised by crusading spirit and by commercial ambitions. These two characteristics of the Portuguese colonial rule made it increasingly difficult for the Portuguese authorities at Goa to abide by the Charter and to stem the tide of new economic interests that had been set free at the headquarters of the Portuguese State of India. The clash of these foreign elements with the traditional set-up shook the village communities to the core. The shock was made more severe by the fact that these foreign interests had put on the armour of Christian crusaders and were bent on disrupting the rural corporate

life of the Goan villages by removing the bottom on which they rested, namely, the Hindu way of life. We see, however, that the local institutions survived the crisis. Their survival was due in small measure to their resilience, but it was largely and ironically due to clashes between the intruding elements themselves.

The present analysis of the agrarian crisis is based on information culled from contemporary records. Many relevant records have been edited, but there are many lying in the State Archives and in private repositories at Goa and abroad. We had the good fortune of utilizing not only the records of the Goa Archives and of tapping some private sources in Goa, but we could also reach our hands to interesting source-material that is preserved in the Archives of Lisbon and Rome.²

1. *Afonso Meixa's Charter and the Pattern of Agrarian Relations*

The Charter does not require elaborate introduction. It is sufficiently known to scholars through the works of some outstanding English historians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, such as R. S. Whiteway and B. H. Baden-Powell.³ More recently, Dr. A. D'Costa of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture (Bombay) has tried to bring out the close parallelism between the stipulations of this Charter and the injunctions of the *Dharmashastras* or the classical Hindu moral codes.⁴

The Charter consisting of forty-nine clauses enumerates the village functionaries and defines their functions; It clarifies the property relations of the village inhabitants among themselves and in relation with the State; and finally, it describes some traditional practices in favour of certain individuals, groups, and villages.⁵ This Charter is the earliest detailed description left by any European of the village communities of India. He drew up the Charter after obtaining the information from the learned natives of the Tisvadi taluka, which was then the only region of Goa under the Portuguese rule, as well as from learned brahmins of the mainland, that is, of Bardez and Salcete talukas to which the Charter was made applicable once these two talukas came definitely under the Portuguese rule in 1543.⁶

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What interest us at present is only the information contained in the Charter regarding the property relations in the Goan village communities and the nature of their representation in the agrarian system during the early 16th century. It is with the help of this information, supplemented with information from other sources that we are able to present the following picture of the rural economy of Goa.

The village administration was entirely in the hands of a village council or *ganvkari*, which was made up of the representatives of each of the *wangads* or clans that claimed to descend from the first settlers of the village. Every male member of such a *wangad* became a *ganvkar* on attaining certain age, say between twelve and eighteen in most of the villages. Though the presence of all the *ganvkars* was not required for the quorum of the village council meetings, every *ganvkar* could, if he so wished, attend the meetings, express his opinions, and block the proceedings with his single *naka*, which was the way of expressing a veto.⁷

We may recall in this connexion a theory defended by H. S. Maine regarding the development of the Indian village communities, he held that "in those parts of India in which the village community was most perfect the authority exercised by the headman was lodged with the village council".⁸ Maine's contentions were branded as unwarranted generalizations, and A.S. Altekar wrote his *History of the Village Communities in Western India* with the ostensible purpose of revealing the regional peculiarities of the village communities in Western India.⁹ However, the situation that prevailed in Goa falls in line with Maine's thinking. In Goa we do not find headmen as executive heads of the village communities, though we find historians who write about them, thereby applying to Goa the situation that prevailed in the neighbouring regions of Maharashtra.¹⁰ What we see in Goa is some kind of gradation among the various constituent *wangads* of a village, a gradation which probably originated with the importance of the contribution of each *wangad* towards the development of the village during the first years of settlement. The most respected elder or elders of each *wangad* attended the village council meetings, but the representative elder of the first ranking *wangad* or *wangads* (when two *wangads* were placed as equals in the first rank) were regarded as chief *ganvkars* and were granted certain social privileges.¹¹ Beyond these privileges there were no special executive powers enjoyed by

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them, and the village administration was conducted with unanimous decisions or *nem* of the entire village council. The execution was entrusted to some officials who were hereditary, such as *Kulkarni* or village clerk, *Shanbag* or village accountant, and *parpoti* or village beadle. Some offices were farmed out. It is interesting to note that unlike the situation in the neighbouring Maharashtra or Karnataka, the offices of tax-collector or *potekar* and that of judge of petty cases or *caugula* were farmed out to those who agreed to exercise them for least payment. They were granted the offices on condition that they could be punished and dismissed if they did not act with fairness.¹²

It is obvious from above that *ganykars* alone had a say in the decision-making at the village level. However, as exceptions to the rule, some non-*ganykars* were given right in some villages to express their views in the village meetings, but they were given no voting right. These non-*ganykars* belonged to the categories of *kulacari* and *vantely*. The *Kulacari* could be compared to the *upri* tenants-at-will of Maharashtra, but the designation also included the village servants whose non-agricultural services were required for the self-sufficiency of the village and were compensated with rent-free grants of paddy fields.

Such land-grants corresponded to *tikanati begari* in Maharashtra and to *umbali* in Karnataka.¹³ but they had their own peculiar designations in Goa. The lands granted to the village servants, such as carpenter, blacksmith, potter, washerman, tanner, and so on, were called *namassy* lands, but the lands reserved for the temple servants and the ministers of cult were called *nelly* lands.¹⁴ A *vantely* was an outsider to the village and could be a *ganykar* of another village. If he was known for his skill, say in building or repairing clay levies, and if his skill was utilized by a village, he received his stipend in the village by way of a land-grant or a share in the annual profit of that village. There are rare cases of a *vantely* being awarded the rights of full *ganykars* as in the villages of Kalangut in Bardez taluka and Raya in Salcete taluka of Goa.¹⁵

The right of the *ganykars* to make grants of paddy fields did not go beyond the cases just specified, but they could always make grants of waste lands with concessional rent-rates for the purpose of bringing them under cultivation in the form of orchards, areca-groves, and palm-groves.¹⁶ However, the ownership of the paddy fields of

the village rested with all the *ganykars* jointly. It is true that Altekar in his work refers to the *khoti* system of joint ownership of land in the Konkan region of Maharashtra,¹⁷ We must say that *khoti* was only partly true of the situation prevailing at Goa, namely in the case of the *khazan* lands or reclaimed lands which required cooperative labour to maintain the clay levies and sluice gates. The *khot* was known as *kamat* in Goa, and he would sublet the *khazan* fields to individual cultivators, who formed an association known as *bhaus*. Every member of the *bhaus* was required to contribute with free labour for the upkeep of the levies and sluice-gates whenever the *kamat* ordered them to do so.¹⁸ However, most of the village paddy fields did not come under *khoti*, and these were auctioned annually or at least triennially to the highest bidding *ganykars*, or sometimes to outsiders also, provided they could find a *ganykar* to bid for them and to stand surety for them.¹⁹ This system of auctioning the village lands was an expression of joint ownership which did not allow any single individual *ganykar* to keep any definite lands for an indefinite period. In this connexion we are led again to question the assertion of Altekar that "communal ownership of lands had never existed in India".²⁰ We are told in a recent study on the "Disintegration of the Village Communities in India" that cases of communal ownership were observed in Tanjavur, Mysore and Carnatic. But the author tells us that such instances were characteristic of the villages called *agrehrah vadky*, which were originally grants of kings to Brahmins.²¹ We must say that in Goa the system was universal and embraced even the village communities which were controlled exclusively by non-Brahmin *ganykars*.²²

To conclude the narrative of the proprietary rights in the Goan village communities we could point out to some clauses of the Charter which sought to ensure the permanency and exclusivism of the existing set-up. It is important to stress this point, because it was on this issue that the village communities found themselves confronted by the new economic interests that were bent on destroying the set-up that was unfavourable to them. Clause n. 7 of the Charter determined that if the *ganykars* of a village were unable to pay their dues to the State, only the exercise of their rights could be suspended. However, as soon as they showed willingness to resume their obligations they would continue to enjoy their rights of *ganykars*. The next clause n.8

made it clear that the rights of *ganykars* could be derived only through inheritance, and the *ganykars* could not be deprived of their rights despite any sort of misconduct on their part. Even if a *ganykar* deserved punishment, he was to be punished bodily or in his possessions, but his male heirs would in no way suffer in their rights because of him. Finally, clause n.15 enabled the village community to prevent an unwanted outsider from acquiring property in the village. It stated that if a *ganykar* or some other person wished to sell his property in the village, such a sale would not be effected without a prior consent of the village council and without respecting its right of pre-emption.

II. The Uneasy Prelude

Afonso de Albuquerque was not just a conqueror. He had displayed also the other qualities necessary in an empire-builder. To conquer Goa and to retain it, he sought the goodwill and cooperation of the majority of the local Hindu population by presenting himself as their deliverer from the oppression of their Muhammadan overlords. Following the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque exterminated the Muslim inhabitants of the city and confiscated the lands that had belonged to them. But he left the Hindus undisturbed in possession of their lands, and he even appointed some prominent Hindus to collect the revenue and to exercise justice among the local people in accordance with their traditions.²³

It is obvious from the letters of Albuquerque that he was not moved by altruistic motives of helping the natives. He required their military assistance against the continuing threat of the Muslims returning, and besides, he had no other way of knowing the dues payable by them to the State. It may be noted in this connexion that even after taking the natives in confidence they had been withholding such information. A type of revenue known as *Koxivarad* which amounted to an additional one-fourth of the regular land revenue did not come to the knowledge of the Portuguese, and consequently was not paid to them, until thirty years after the conquest of Goa.²⁴

True feelings of Albuquerque about the natives can be deduced from the tone of a letter, he addressed to the King of Portugal on April 1, 1512. It makes it very clear that he would not care two hoots if, as a result of his pet-scheme of colonization through mixed

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marriages, the natives were dispossessed of their lands. He wrote; "If the Portuguese continue to marry and settle down at the present rate, it looks to me that Your Highness may have to drive out the natives of this island and transfer their lands to the Portuguese settlers. These lands are nobody's exclusive patrimony, but they all belong to the King and lord of the land."²⁵

The scanty documentation on hand does not enable us to say much about the treatment meted out to the Goan village communities during the first few decades of the Portuguese administration. But the efforts at codifying the local tradition in the form of Charter and some other instances indicate that the Government was feeling its way. It was an uneasy task for the Government to satisfy its own colonial interests without upsetting the local inhabitants. We can adduce two instances to illustrate the situation.

Firstly, a proclamation issued by King Emmanuel of Portugal on March 15, 1518 stated that all lands in the island of Goa were to be distributed among the Portuguese settlers, excepting the lands which might have belonged to native Christians prior to the conquest of Goa.²⁶ This could be explained either as a move to treat the Goans as conquered people, or as due to ignorance of the situation on the part of the King or due to misrepresentation on the part of the interested parties. It is also possible that all these elements were jointly at work. It is certain, however, that the reaction of the native *ganykars* was sharp. The king issued a new proclamation the following year revising his earlier stand and declaring that only the lands that had belonged to the Muslims would be given to the Portuguese settlers, and that none of the other lands which had always belonged to the *Canarins* (native landowners) would be taken away from them.²⁷

The second instance is a letter written by the King of Portugal to the Portuguese settlers who were in charge of the Goa City administration. The letter dated March 26, 1532, was a reply to certain complaints of the Portuguese city-dwellers. The King replied: "You have written to me about an order issued by Afonso Mexia and confirmed by the Chief Captain and Governor Lopo Vas to the effect that no Portuguese city-dweller may buy any lands or palm-groves

that belong to any one-Christian inhabitant of the island of Goa, or even if it is said to be belonging to the Crown. Your request is that I should not object to anyone selling what is his, or to anyone buying what is sold in this manner, provided the State received its dues. I have no other information than what you have written to me. I am writting to Nuno da Cunha, my Chief Captain and Governor to inform me about the motives behind the order against which you have complained." The same letter say little later "I agree with your saying that you would benefit immensely with the possession of some forest lands which you have mentioned. You also say that the *ganykars* of the villages concerned have objected to your claims. I wish to have more information on this matter before giving you a definite reply."²⁸

III. An Open Confrontation

The forties of the 16th century proved to be roaring and stormy for the Goan village communities. They initiated a new phase that was inevitable considering the nature of the Portuguese colonial rule. The growing white population at Goa, and the accumulation of capital at the commercial headquarters, were bound to upset the rural economy of Goa sooner or later. That is exactly what happend. There were Portuguese with money to invest, and the lure of unusually large sums of money swept the poor *ganykars* off their feet. When the baiting of an individual *ganykar* was not sufficient, as in the case of the village paddy fields which were distributed by public auctioning, both money and white superiority were utilized to intimidate the *ganykars* in corporation.²⁹

It is necessary to distinguish between the lay and the religious whites investing in the village lands, and it must be said that between the two, the religious carried the lion's share. The land grab became systematic and rapid after 1540 as a result of the conversion drive initiated in Goa in the wake of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. The Society of Jesus that had just then come into existence in Europe as the shock troops that led the vanguard of Counter-Reformation did not take more than a couple of years to reach Goa and to impress upon the Portuguese Catholic authorities the need of applying the principle "the religion of the King is the religion of his domains" that had been enforced in Europe. It was under their guidance

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that Goa was infected with the zeal of Counter Reformation. This spurt in missionary activity did not bring only Christ's message to India; it also brought to India the European evil of religious feudalism. What follows makes this statement clear.

The Goan inhabitants saw for the first time since the arrival of the Portuguese that crusading spirit was not just a convenient facade obscuring the primary economic motivation of the Portuguese in India. The Church and the State were working in unison to force upon the natives the sway of the Roman Catholic Church. We need not question here whether what was done is to be condemned or justified. Our interest lies in knowing the impact of that conversion drive upon the corporate life of the Goan village communities, and in this regard it can be said without doubt that the existing pattern of agrarian relations was disrupted, and so also the pattern of social relation based on it. Hindu temples had disappeared. Religious and social celebrations of the Hindus in public were banned. Hindus were made to wear a kind of dress that would distinguish them from the converts. The convert *ganykars* of whatever rank in the social hierarchy of the village would precede in affixing their signatures upon the village community records. In the villages where the convert *ganykars* were already a majority, the Hindu *ganykars* could be dispensed from attending the village council meetings or taking part in the administration of the village. The offices of village clerks were to be taken away from the Xenoy brahmins and given to converts. The Hindu artisans were forbidden to produce any object of Christian worship. Hindu sailors and fishermen were forcibly recruited to help in the State galleys. The traditional laws of succession and inheritance were modified enabling the convert females to inherit when the Hindu head of family died without a male issue.³⁰

As in case of all legislation the above legislation was not always enforced with equal zeal and strictness, but even then the success was clearly visible. The practice of Hinduism was practically banished, Christianity had been implanted and majestic Church buildings in baroque style stood in the sites of the old Hindu temples in almost every village to testify to the change. What was not so easily visible was the growing bankruptcy of the village communities as a result of their lands, labour and money being tapped generously to establish and maintain a baroque style of worship that did not suits

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the modest rural economy of the Goan villages.³¹ It may be pointed out in this connexion that the argument that the transference of the paddy fields from the Hindu temples to the Catholic Church could not make much difference for the village economy is very fallacious. It means ignoring the fact that the revenue of those lands had always supported a number of village folks connected with the cult. This was no longer the case when the foreign missionaries conducted the worship and transferred the surplus revenue to the common fund of their religious organizations.

We referred to religious feudalism imported into Goa. It must be recalled to mind that the city of Goa had not become only a political and commercial capital of the Portuguese State of India, it had also become the headquarters of nearly half a dozen of Religious Orders engaged in conversion work in different quarters of the Portuguese eastern empire.³² Each of these Religious Orders had more than one sumptuous house in the city. These houses were teeming with friars, because the boom of vocations was caused by the possibility of escaping military service and gaining cheap economic protection. The impact of this influx upon the village economy was ominous. Village lands were being grabbed in a number of ways, particularly by promoting pious behests, in order to provide foundations that would guarantee the upkeep of every new institution that was established. To make matters worse, the lands were acquired by the Religious Orders in Goa for supporting their houses abroad. Thus, for instance, the Jesuits had purchased lands in Goa to support their missionary efforts in Mozambique, Cochin and Japan. It was the same story with the other religious organizations.³³ In order to be convinced of the magnitude of the land grab one need only scan the land title deeds of the various Religious Orders in the *Papers of the Suppressed Convents* [*Papeŕes dos Conventos Extintos*] in the Historical Archives of Goa.³⁴

Large consolidated plots of land were a novel feature in the village agriculture. The Religious orders employed local labour, but they did not as a rule sublet their lands. They cultivated the paddy fields, and particularly their palm-groves along more scientific lines.³⁵ Their large holdings and their large yield was not to the liking of the village *ganykars* who continued to claim hereditary powers in the village administration while large tracts of the village land had gone and

were going out of their control. Even their former tenants at will were becoming *mundkars* or semi-serf bound to the palm groves owned by the Religious houses.³⁶ In these circumstances, the foreign investors, who were known as *khuntkars*, refused to respect the administrative exclusivism of the *ganykars* and found ways of infiltrating into the village councils as *ganykars*. The protests of the *ganykars* against the violation of their privileged rights evoked Government response and brought about a number of legislative enactments from 1604 onwards declaring that the *khuntkars* could not validly buy the rights of *ganykars*, but this legislation was not applied with retrospective effect.³⁷ The intrusion of the foreign elements was not easy to stop, because following the entry of the North Europeans into the Portuguese eastern trade preserve, the Portuguese trade prospects became bleaker year after year. The Portuguese settlers of Goa were forced in such a situation to find more secure forms of investment for their Capital. There were only the lands which belonged to the village communities. Hence, the land grab initiated by the Religious Orders was continued by the Portuguese laymen.

Conclusions

One thing which the Goan natives had common sense to do was to minimise the shock of social disruption by accepting Christianity *en masse* in most of the cases.³⁸ But there was nothing else they could do forestall the pressure of money. If their ruin was not complete, it was due partly to the divided ranks of the moneyed elements and partly due to the interests of the State.

The Portuguese laymen were angry with their poor show in comparison with what the organized and cocentrated capital of the Religious was doing. Their frustrated anger took the form of loud denunciations of the clerical successes. The Portuguese settlers of the Goa city wrote to the King of Portugal in 1603 in the following terms : "If this State of India is lost, it will be solely because of the Society of Jesus. If Your Majesty would permit us, we could show how their income amounts to half of that of the public exchequer. They are absolute masters of a great part of this island [of Goa], most of which they have bought, and at this rate there will be no house or palm grove left which will not belong to them within ten years from now. The Portuguese settlers find themselves impoverished, because they have no lands to invest on. and whatever capital they had they

have lost it in the sea. The income which the Fathers derive from their property in Salcete alone should be sufficient to maintain all the Religious Orders that we have here."³⁹

It was in response to repeated complaints of this nature that several royal and viceregal orders were issued to control the establishment of new Religious Houses and to check the acquisition of more landed property by the existing ones.⁴⁰

Also the interests of the State came to the rescue of the village communities as a result of the land grab by the *khuntakars*, the village communities were becoming unable to meet the growing demands of the State, which was always short of funds and had developed the habit of milching them out of the village communities.⁴¹ The white *khuntakars*, particularly if they were Religious, were not so emenable and did not easily yield before pressure. It was, therefore, in its own best interest that the Government interfered with determination to arrest the process of alienation of the village lands. This was done by a decision of the Public Revenue Council in 1649, declaring that all proprietary rights upon the village lands rested with the Crown and the *ganvkars* were mere lease holders with no right to make grants of lands or to alienate them in any way on their own.⁴² The validity of such a decision could be discussed, but the prevailing circumstances justified the measure as a lesser evil to be chosen. The decision paid rich dividends to the State exchequer during the period that followed, and at the same time checked the influx of the foreign elements into the rural economy of Goa.

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2. Large bulk of our information for the present study is drawn from the Historical Archives of Goa, and I am thankful to Dr. V.T. Gune, its Director, for his generous assistance. I wish to record also my debt of gratitude to Mr. Mariano Dias for lending me some 17th century village community records in his collection. In Lisbon I concentrated on the documents of the Overseas Historical Archives (=AHU) which is rich for the 17th century history of the Portuguese overseas dominions. The missionary reports I consulted in Rome are the Jesuit reports of the Jesuit Roman Archives (=ARSJ) which contain a mine of information for the socio-economic history of Portuguese India. The documentation for the 16th century is being edited by J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, 13 vols. (Rome, 1954-76) in progress.
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8. H.S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, (London, 1887), 122-23.
9. A.S. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India* (Madras, 1917), 1-2, 10.
10. Whiteway, Baden-Powell, and A.D'Costa have all referred to *headmen* in the village communities of Goa. This term has often been mistakenly identified with *Patils* in Maharashtra. For clear meaning we quote from ARSJ, Goa 32, II, fls. 689-90: "All the *ganvkars* are equal in power and none of them can individually do anything regarding the administration of the village". The document is an anonymous report sent in 1599 describing the origin and functions of the *ganvkars* in the village communities of Salcete.
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22. At least half the number or more villages of the Bardez, Salcete and Tisvadi talukas of Goa were run by non-Brahmin *ganvkars*.
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24. Cunha Rivara, V. doc. 799: *Coxivarado* is described in this document as a voluntary contribution and it was based on this definition that F.N. Xavier and others who studied the system of land revenue prevailing at Goa explained the term as derived from Konkani *khuxi*, meaning *will* and *vrat* or contribution. It is quite probable that the term has to be interpreted as derived from *kusavrti* or tax on grass lands or forest lands.
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31. AHV : India, Caixa 13, doc. 110 : It is a memorandum submitted to the King of Portugal by the General Assembly of the village communities of Salcete on 29. xii. 1643. They say in it that the people have contributed between six and nine thousand *xerafins* for the construction of each of the 24 Churches of that taluka. Cf. also F. N. Xavier, BHC, 130 ff.

32. J.N. da Fonseca, *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* (Bombay, 1878), 220 ff.
33. HAG : *Monções 19C*, fls. 734v-736v ; *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda* [Proceedings of Public Revenue Council], IV, fls. 109v-110v ; ASRJ : *Goa*, 35, fls. 252-57.
34. HAG : MSS. 824, 3038, 3029, 3026, 7888 may be more usefully consulted.
35. F.N. Xavier, *BHC*, II, 45-55 : re-print of a booklet published by a Jesuit on the art of taking care of coconut trees.
36. HAG : MSS. 3038, 3041 contain several specimens of contracts of *munda*. A *mundkar* was given a hut to live in, plus a small sum of money which he did not have to repay as long as he continued living in the property of the landlord (≡bhatkar). The duties of the *mundkar* were to drive out cattle that could harm the newly planted palm trees, to guard the property, and to manure the trees with ashes he produced. He could not leave the land without repaying the loan and without a prior notice of three months. Cf. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S.N. Sen (New Delhi, 1949), 271: Referring to a farm of the Augustinian monks at Goa, he wrote: "many poor Christians and Idolaters, who live in wretched cottages under coco-trees, to make them fruitful, man's breath helping them to bear, without hopes of ever removing with their family from the place where they were born, because if they go to another place, their masters bring them back by force, worse than if they were slaves".
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41. Cf. *supra* n. 31; HAG: *Monções 54*, fls. 50-57.
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VIJAYANAGAR PAINTINGS

AT KANCHI

K. V. Raman

THE art of painting which was cultivated by the Pallava kings in a distinct manner reached the zenith of glory under Rāja Rāja Chola, the great, whose excellent specimens are to be seen every day at the Great Temple, Thanjavur. Subsequent to this period, the art seems to have suffered a set-back for want of patronage. But the art received a fresh impetus during the Vijayanagar epoch when a great spurt in the painting art was noticeable in many of their temples. Numerous specimens are available at places like Somapalli, Lepakshi, Hampi, and Anagondi. Kānchipuram, which received ample patronage from Vijayanagar monarchs in architectural and sculptural spheres did not fail to attract the Vijayanagar painters also. Very good specimens of paintings in the Vijayanagar style are to be seen in the Jain Temple at Tirupparuttikunram (at the outskirts of Kānchi) and Varadara jasmami temple. The paintings in the latter place are comparatively less known, but are worthy of our notice.

The paintings are found on the outer walls of the *garbagrha* and also the corridor walls around the central shrine. The wall space is divided into a number of crudely drawn compartments in which are accommodated the painted panels. The figures are large-sized and bold, but much defaced and darkened. Traces of human vandalism are clearly seen.

The subject-matter of the paintings is religious. It is limited in range. Scenes from the *sthalapurāna* of the temple, figures of Alvars and āchāryas, as well as the presiding deities of various Divya-Desas or sacred Viṣṇu temples are portrayed. Most of the paintings contain labels in the old Tamil and Telugu scripts datable to the 16th century A. D.

The majority of the figures are those of the presiding deities of the 108 sacred Viṣṇu shrines. The labels above them mention details like the place-name, the name of the deity, the sacred Tirtha etc. Places beyond Tamil Nadu like Naimisāraṇyam, Ahobilam (Plate I) Tiruvananthapuram and Rettai-Tirupati (Plate II) are also included. Scenes from the *sthala-purāṇa* like the Gajendra Varada, rescuing the elephant from the crocodile and Varadaraja emerging in the resplendent *Punya-koti vimāna* etc., are portrayed in an interesting manner. At a few places Nammālvār, Mudal Ālvārs, and ācārya Rāmānuja are painted with their characteristic poses. Nammālvār is seated in the yogic posture and on either side of him are shown in smaller scale, all the other Ālvārs (Plate III). Paintings of deities like Ranganatha of Śrīrangam, Tiaukkoilua etc., are portrayed in large size. Besides these, there are also paintings of Dasavataṛas.

Much of the colour scheme has become dull and in many places are seen only in patches. Still, in some places the original brightness of the colours, especially in the golden ones is retained. The distinguishable colours are red, yellow, light green and white. Light yellow has been used for the body complexion of the Ālvārs and ācāryas while light green or blue for the body complexion of the deities. Red has been used for garments while golden colour has been used for the jewels, necklaces etc.

The background is adorned with the simply drawn flowers, creepers and trees in white pigments against dark background. Ornamental exaggeration in depicting flowers and clouds is noticeable. The paintings are of course conventional and in a few places much stylised. But the majority of them are in good form displacing clarity of conception and neat execution.

Many of the figures have the feet directed to one side and therefore shown in half or three-fourth profile a characteristic feature of the Vijayanagar and the Nayak style. But many other figures are shown in their frontal profile. The figures have somewhat pointed nose and longish eyes. In a few panels like the Gajendrā Varada scene, there are attempts to show movement. But otherwise there is none of the graceful or rhythmic dynamism of earlier day paintings many of the features noticed in the Vijayanagar sculptures characterise of these paintings also such as their fondness

to exhibit a variety of jewellery, elaborate folded draperies like hard, flat, curves, heavy foldings showing the flesh folds of the neck, belly etc. The theme and style of the figures, their dress, headgears are similar to the sculptural traditions found in the Vijayanagar maṇḍapas of the 16th century. They also show unmistakable kinship with the well-known Vijayanagar paintings of Lepakṣi and Tirupparuttikunram. That was the age when religious themes were given graphic visual representation for the masses to behold. The painting served this purpose admirably. The colour-schemes finer would have attracted the common folk and led them to visualise the aspects of iconography and religion.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

Plate I:

Nine forms of Narasimha (*Navanārasimha*) as shown at Ahobilam are painted with bilingual inscriptions mentioning 'Hiranyavadhā nimitvartham Navanārasimhe prahladuniki Pratyakṣan'. The forms include *Ugra* (furious), *Sanmya* (benign) and yogic forms. In one depiction he is shown in a combined form with Sudarṣana having 16 hands. In another, he is shown seated in the Mahārājalīla form. Other forms like Lakṣmi-Narasimha, Yoganarasimha, Ugra-Narasimha, Samhāra-Narasimha (killing Hiranyakṣa) are depicted.

Plate II: The two presiding deities of Rettai-Tirupati (i.e. Two Divyadesas) are shown. The place is very near Alvar-tirunagari, the birth-place of Nammālvār in Pandyānādu (Tirunelveli District)

Plate III: This is a fine depiction of Nammālvār or saṭagopa the most important among the 12 Ālvārs or Tamil Saints. He is seated right hand (8n *Vyokhyāna mudra* and the left in the *dhyāna*. He is shown in the seated form under a *prabhavali*. At the bottom the other Ālvārs are shown standing in a row. They are shown in smaller proportions to highlight the importance of the central figure.

THE GĀUNDAS IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA

T. Venkateswāra Rao

Many autonomous local bodies flourished in Andhra during the period of the Chṛḍa,¹ Chālukya,² Kākatiya,³ Redḍi⁴, and Vijaya-nagara⁵ kings. The local bodies, which were responsible for the growth and development of local self-government in medieval Andhra,⁶ were of four types, known as the Village, the *Agrahāra*, the Town and the *Nāḍu* (district) with four kinds of assemblies called the *Ūru* (an assembly of the people), the *Mahājanas* (an assembly of the Brāhmins), the *Nagara* (an assembly of merchants) and the *Nāḍu* (an assembly of the people of several villages). Dr. G. S. Dikshit aptly remarks that the people governed themselves by means of their assemblies in villages towns and sub-divisions or groups of villages during the medieval period.⁷

The terms used to describe the village assembly were *Uru* or *Urivāru*⁸ (the people of the village), *Prajalū*⁹ (the people), *Samasta-prajalū*¹⁰ (all the people), *Gāuṇḍas*¹¹ (farmers), *Māhajanas*¹² (Brāhmins) and *Aṣṭādaśa-praja*¹³ (the people of the 18 castes). The part played by the *Gāuṇḍas* in the village administration is described below.

Gaundas or Farmers

The term *Gāuṇḍa* is used to denote both farmer and headmen. The assembly of farmers in a village was known as the *Gāuṇḍas*. The following are a few examples:

(1) An inscription from Kāmbadur (Anāntapur District) of A.D. 883 states that the *Gāuṇḍas* and Brāhmins of Beldugonde gave some land to the Āditya temple when *Kura - Gāuṇḍa* was the *Perggade*¹⁴ (headman). In this example, while *Gāuṇḍas* were farmers, *Kura-Guṇḍa* was the headman of the village Beldugonde, because the

inscription describes different assemblies of the people of the place, such as, the *Gāuṇḍas* and the Brāhmins.

(2) An epigraph from Gunimōrubāgal (Anantapur District) of A.D. 936 mention that an assembly consisting of *Gāuṇḍas* and a few others made some land for the upkeep of the Tank.¹⁵

(3) A record from Kambadur of A.D. 965 registers the fact that the hundred and six *Gāuṇḍas* of the village were ordered by the illustrious Poḷalchōradēva to take care of the Beldugunde tank.¹⁶ In this example, the village assembly consisted of 106 farmers who were put in charge of the tank for the benefit of the village community.

(4) An undated epigraph from Kārumañchi (Kurnool District) mentions a gift by the *Gāuṇḍaprajas* to god Bhōgēśvara.¹⁷ *Gāuṇḍa-prajas* may mean wither people who were farmers (*Gāuṇḍas*) or *Gāuṇḍa* and the people. Here *Gāuṇḍa-prajas* meant definitely as assembly of the *Gāuṇḍas*. Hence, Gaundaprajas, in this context, were an assembly of farmers.

(5) Another undated inscription from Karshanapalle (Chittoor district) refers to a land gift to a person (named) by the *Gāuṇḍas* of Muttukūru.¹⁸

(6) An epigraph from Aṭakalaguṇḍu (Kurnool district) of A.D. 1370 states that the *Gāuṇḍaprajas* of the village were acting witnesses to some transaction (named).¹⁹

The village assembly in contemporary Karnāṭaka was also known as the *Gāuṇḍas*. For example, an inscription from Kogaḷi (Bellary district) of A.D. 992 registers the fact the *Mahajānas*, the *Gāuṇḍas* and the five *maṭhas* were exempted from *viḷḷi* (compulsory labour) in king's service.²⁰ In this example also, *Gāuṇḍas* denoted farmers, because the inscription describes the assemblies of the different sections of the people, such as *Nakaras* (merchants) *Gāuṇḍas* (farmers), *Mahajānas* (Brāhmins) and *Panchamatha* (monastery). Thus the *Gāuṇḍas* meant an assembly of farmers.²¹

Gaunda or Headman

The chief executive of the assembly of the *Gāuṇḍas* in a village was the *Gāuṇḍa*. He was the pivot of the village administration. He

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conducted the activities of the village and promoted its welfare. He acted both as a representative of the people and agent of the government. The rent free *inam* land was his mainstay. His office was both acquired and hereditary. Sometimes, it was conferred on an individual who founded a new village. There were instances of there being more than one *Gāuṇḍa* in one place. The following are a few features of the *Gāuṇḍa* or headman.

1. Gifts were made in the presence of the *Gāuṇḍa*, because he looked after the public gifts made for the benefit of the village community. An undated record from Baddimakala (Kurnool district) states that while Jñānaśiva-Bhātara was in charge of the *dēva-bhōga* lands and Appaṇa was the *Gāuṇḍa*, a certain Kāgisetti made a gift to the temple of god Kāmēśvara.²² In this example, Appaṇa was the headman of the village and an important function of the headman was to protect the gifts and supervise the management of the property of the temple in co-operation with the trustee of the *dēva-bhōga* lands (lands gifted for the service of god in the temple). An inscription from Basar (Adilabad district) of A. D. 1147 mentions that *Danḍanāyaka* (a ranking Military official) Mallidēvarasa granted some land, paddy and oil to the god Abhinavakēśavadēva in the presence of five *Gāuṇḍas*.²³ In this case, the five Gaundas were acting as the headmen of the village.

2. The *Gāuṇḍa* had a voice in the collection of taxes. An undated epigraph from Bichaganipalle (Anantapur District) registers that Mummaḍi Redḍi, the agent of Pedirājaya and the *Gāuṇḍa* (headman) and *Sēnabēva* (accountant) of *Utukuru* granted exemption to the Bestava (fishermen) community from fishing taxes.²⁴ Another undated record from Karumañchi (Kuruweel District) mentions that the *Gāuṇḍas* and the assembly of the people of Kārumañchi made a gift of a portion of the dues payable to the Liṅgāda Vīras to the god Bhōgēśvara.²⁵

3. The *Gāuṇḍas* undertook to protect the rights and privileges of the village community. An undated inscription from Kirikera (Anantapur district) states that four *Gāuṇḍas* (named) undertook to privileges (not mentioned) pertaining to Eraḍukere²⁶ village.

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4. The *Gāundas* obtained privileges and honours from the kings probably for the service rendered to the village community. An undated record from Mānōpalli (Anantapur district) mentions that Chērayya and other *Gāundas* of Eraḍumūru obtained the *bittuvāta* (a tax-free gift) from the Neḷamba Pallava king Ayyapadeva for the upkeep of the tank and certain privileges.²⁷ An inscription from Niluru (Anantapur District) of the reign of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarma - Satyāsraya records that the king remitted certain taxes due from the *Gāundas* (named) and granted them umbrella and other honours.²⁸

5. The *Gāundas* kept under their central the village militia. They protected the village from attacks of enemies and rewarded those who helped in protecting the village. An undated record from Karshanapalle (Chittoor district) states that the *Gāundas* of Muttukūru granted some wet land to the son of deceased here.²⁹ An inscription from Embadi (Chittoor District) of the Bāṇa Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa registers the fact that the king gave some wet land (five kuḷa in sewing capacity) to a certain *Gāunda* on the occasion of a cattle-raid.³⁰ An epigraph from Dēsirdedḍi (Chittoor district) of the 10th century A. D. refers to the grant of land made in memory of a person who died in company with the *Gāunda* of Eḍeyūr in a village battle.³¹

6. The *Gāundas* made gifts of land to temple. A record from Kambadur (Anantapur district) of A. D. 883 mentions that the *Gāundas* and the Brāhmins of Beldugonde granted some land to the Aditya temple.³²

7. The *Gāundas* organised the public works of the village by collecting funds from both the public and the government. They also made gifts either individually or with other local bodies. They looked after the construction or maintenance of tanks, temples, water-sheds or feeding houses. An inscription from Manepalli (Anantapur District) of the reign of the Nolamba Pallava king Ayyapadēva states that Chōrayya and the *Gāundas* and *Pannasigas* of Eraḍumūra obtained the *bittuvāta* (a tax free gift) from the king for the upkeep of the tank.³³ An epigraph from Madakasira (Anantapur district) of A. D. 950 records that *Gāunda* Kāḍiyanna and Paḷḷikāra Tuvaṇṇa were each

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granted 3 *Kaṇḍugas* of wet land for repairing the Oḷageṛe tank in the presence of the assembly of the four villages, namely Chirupi, Chintakuṇṭe, Chirayaveḷalu and Vuḷuvaṭṭu.³⁴ An undated record from Lavanūru (Cuddapah district) mentions that Pēla-Nambayya and a certain *Gāunda* constructed tanks and a court house.³⁵ An inscription from Gunimērubāgal (Anantapur district) of A. D. 936 states that certain *Gāundas* and others made some land for the up keep of the temple.³⁶ An epigraph from Kambadur (Anantapur district) of A. D. 965 registers the fact that the hundred and six *Gāundas* of the village were ordered by the king to take care of the tank.³⁷

8. The *Gāunda* was the village megistrate with powers to settle cases. The *Gāundas* settled their disputes with the co-operation of other local bodies. An inscription from Gunimērubāgal (Anantapur district) of A. D. 936 state that the *Gāundas*, the Mahājanas and the Saiva teacher Varuṇa Siva Bhaṭāra of the temple of Neḷambōsvara joined together to settle the question of the distribution of lands below certain specified tanks.³⁸

9. The assembly of the *Gāundas* and others acted as witness to the village transactions. A record from Aṭakalagundū (Kurnool district) of A. D. 1370 refers to the Asankhyāta-Mahāgaṇas and the *Gāundaprajas* of the village as witness to the sale of land, when Linga-jīyya sold his *vṛitti* lands to Nāga-jīyya of Dēvanabaṇḍa.³⁹

From the examples cited above, it is evident that the village community was compact local body in medieval Andhra. The *Gāunda* and the assembly shared the responsibilities of the local government and promoted the welfare of the Village.

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SOCIO-POLITICAL ROLE OF THE SUFI SAINTS IN THE DECCAN DURING THE BAHMANI PERIOD

Md. Suleman Siddiqi

THE sufis in India have played a significant role as preachers of universal humanistic values of the Islamic creed and as social reformers. By virtue of these two qualities specially during the Bahmani period they were a political force as well. According to Prof. K.A. Nizami : "Considered in its broad cultural perspective it was through the medium of mysticism that the Muslim cultural groups adjusted itself with the local milieu and all those social and linguistic barriers which had separated the South from the North began to yield to pressure of new all India trends."¹

Historical Background

While enough material is available to give a clear idea of the Muslim arrival and settlement in the western and coastal areas of India, there is a dearth of evidence on the presence of Muslim population in the Deccan, especially during the period preceding the change of capital by Muhammad bin Tughluq from Delhi to Deogir in 727/1327 A.D. The shrines of the sufis particularly at Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Gulberga, Bijapur, Penukonda and Tirchinopoly belong to a period before 727/1327 A.D. and give indications of the presence of pockets of Muslim settlements in this region.²

First Centres of Chishti, Qadiri and Junaidi Saints in the Deccan ;

It has been reported by various modern authors that the Chisiti order was introduced into the Deccan by Burhanuddin Gharib,³ one of the close disciples of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya (B 635 A.H—

1238/725 A.H.—1325 A.D.) of Delhi. However, there is some evidence to believe that there were certain Chishti sufis at work in the Deccan prior to the arrival of Burhanuddin Gharib. Haji Rumi (d. 555 A. H./1160 A.D.) and Shaikh Sufi Sarmast (d. 689 A.H./1290 A.D.) seem to have arrived in the Deccan with large number of companions in five hundred planquins, at the close of the 7th century Hijra. The former settled at Bijapur and latter at a place called Sakr in Shahpur.⁴ Amir Khurd informs us that Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya deputed two of his young disciples, Khwaja Azizuddin and Shaikzada Kamaluddin, grandson of Shaikh Fariduddin, to Deogir and Malwa respectively prior to the conquest of the Deccan by Mu'hammad bin Tughluq. Both the disciples worked successfully for the propagation of Chishti mystic doctrines.⁵ Apart from these saints, Muntajibuddin Zar Baksh (675-709/1276-1309 AD.) and later his elder brother Burhanuddin Gharib (d. 738/1337) arrived at Daulatabad with large number of disciples including those of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya.⁶

With the arrival of these saints and their disciples, Daulatabad virtually became the centre of mystic activity. They must have definitely exercised immense influence upon the common masses in the social and cultural fields of the pre-Bahmani Deccan.

Prior to the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, there were sufis of other orders at Daulatabad and Gulberga. There are indications of the presence of Qadiri saints in the Deccan prior to the arrival of Bandagi Muhammad Ghouth (d. 923/1517 A.D.) who is reported to be the founder of Qadiri order in India.⁷ "Saba-e-Qadiri" is the name of the seven Qadiri sufis in the same chain of ancestry who lived in the Deccan during the pre-Bahmani and Bahmani period. References to the "Saba-e-Qadiri" are available in the genealogy table of a Qadiri saint at Bijapur, Miran Syed Abdul Hasan who died in 1045/1635 A.D.⁸ This genealogy goes back to Syed Ruknuddin Abu Yousuf Hajiul Haramayn, who was the seventh in line of descent from Syed Abdul Qadir Gilani, the founder of Qadiri order. His descendants worked for the propagation of Qadiri mystic doctrines during the Bahmani period. Besides this family, the saints of Nimatullahi family who arrived at Bidar during the reign of Ahmed Shah Bahmani (1422-1436 A.D.) and the saints of Multani family who arrived at Bidar during

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the reign of Allauddin-II Bahmani (1436-1458 A.D.) were preaching Qadiri doctrines prior to the arrival of Bandagi Muhammad Ghouth North India.¹⁰

Syed Allauddin Juwari Junaidi (666-734/1267-1333 A.D.) who died at Daulatabad, was the famous khalifa of Hazrat Qiawamuddin of North. He left behind a number of khalifas in the Deccan; thus leaving a lasting impact on the political, social and cultural life of the Bahmani Deccan.¹¹

These sufis, their khalifas, disciples and family members along with others who migrated to the Deccan during the Bahmani period came to play a dominant role in the social, cultural and political life of the Bahmani period.

Socialistic Ideology of the Sufi Saints:

The Bahmani rulers and the sufis adopted a policy of tolerance. They worked and endeavoured for the establishment of cordial social relations, peaceful co-existence and integration.

One of the ideals of the sufi saints of the Deccan was to strive for the abolition of all discriminations and inequalities from the contemporary society. Keeping this in view the sufis of the Deccan like their predecessors of north received people of all classes—rich and poor—without any discrimination of caste or creed. "The eagerness of the sufis to establish a direct contact with the common man and share the joys and sorrows of his life led to the growth of a new medium of communication called proto-urdu or Deccani. The khanqahs became variable centres for the exchange of views between men belonging to different religions and speaking different languages. Thus the Muslim mystics in the Deccan as elsewhere in India became a symbol of harmony and humanism."¹²

Taken as a whole, the sufi movement, apart from providing moral strength to the Bahmani kingdom, worked for the moral, spiritual and social uplift of the people. It checked levities and social vices and created a favourable atmosphere for cultural reapproachment between various cultural groups in the Deccan.

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**Relations with the Bahmani Rulers
and their Impact on the Masses :**

Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah who ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., had profound respect for Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Burhanuddin Gharib, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi and Ainuddin Ganj-e-Ilm.¹³ His coronation was prophesied by the venerable Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi.¹⁴ In keeping with the prophesy of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, the coronation of the first Bahmani Sultan was performed by Hazrat Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi (670-781/1271-1380 A.D.) the Sultan's preceptor, in the mosque of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji, at Daulatabad.¹⁵ As a preceptor and patron of Alauddin Hasan and his successors Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi occupied an eminent place. Rafiuddin Shirazi informs us that Alauddin Hasan and his mother had intimate relations with the saint.¹⁶ On almost all the ceremonial occasions his presence and prayers were sought. It was he who crowned Muhammad Shah-I and his successor and girded the sword of state. The king was enjoined to wear a coarse shirt, a girdle and a turban made from the head-gear of the saint and this ceremonial attire became the coronation robe for the early Bahmani kings.¹⁷ It is an unparalleled incident and a rare moment in the history of the Deccan where state and religion were in such a perfectly harmonious relationship both in its scope and depth, as there were during the time of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah.

Alauddin's faith in the sufis was so implicit that he would not dare to plunge himself into any action without guidance from them. The propitious moment arrived when Alauddin Hasan was given the glad tidings of victory by Uwais Qarni¹⁸ in a dream. When Alauddin took field after this divine exhortation, news came to him about the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The king's joy knew no bounds as he bowed in thanks to his lord and gave valuable presents and gifts to all holymen, including Shaikh Ainuddin Ganj-e-Ilm, Moulana Moinuddin Harwi (teacher of Prince Muhammad) who were called in the royal camp at Sagar.¹⁹

The relationship of sufis and state underwent a revolutionary change under Muhammad Shah-I (759-776/1358-1375 A.D.). The relations which were hitherto based on an unparalleled harmony started showing signs of strain, changing in process several traditions

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and getting reset into a somewhat different pattern. The causes of the change were not apparently one-sided. Nevertheless, the positive action undermining the saints was for the first time taken by Muhammad Shah-I.

He made it a point to visit Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi every year from Gulberga to Kodchi to obtain saint's blessings.²⁰ The saint, observing the hardships borne by the king and his men in travelling, decided to settle down in Gulberga. The news of saint's migration and permanent settlement at Gulberga was so pleasing that he at once wrote a sanad giving all the jagirs from Kodchi to Gulberga in the saint's name. The saint declined the offer; but on king's insistence accepted the jagir of Kodchi.²¹ On his arrival at Gulberga he was accorded a royal welcome. The saint settled not very far from the Gulberga Fort where the king constructed a house for him.²²

Muhammed Shah in 763/1362 A.D., before marching against Nagdev of Veluputtum approached Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi for blessings. On his return after achieving success he sent 1/5 of the booty to Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi.²³ Similarly on his return after a victory over Vijayanagar he went to offer thanks to Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi.²⁴ In the light of these guiding factors, the mystic status of Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi may be appraised. He must have definitely held a supreme position in the social strata of the society. The contemporary and later literature recognises him as "*Marja-e-Ahl-e-Islam, Saheb-e-Nagin-Taj-Qutb-e-Dawran bin Mohammed Siraj*", "*Qutbul Aqtab Bandagai Maqdoom Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi*", "*Qutbul; Anam Ghouth al Islam wa Qutbul Aqtab Asl*".²⁵

Bahram Khan, the Governor of Daulatabad, finding the Sultan away from the capital plotted against Muhammad Shah-I, joining hands with Kumb Deo, a Maratha, and supported by the Chief of Berar and Raja of Buglana.²⁶ But on the arrival of royal forces Bahram Khan and Kumb Deo fled without opposing them and rushed to saint Shaikh Zainuddin Dawood²⁷ (701-771/1302-1369 AD) for his blessings and advice. Having blessed, the saint advised them to flee into the forest with their families.²⁸ Muhammad Shah followed the fugitives in vain and was touched to the quick when he learnt that the saint had blessed them. From the day of his coronation his relations with the saint Zainuddin were troubles. Thus on his return

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he called all the holymen to come in person to owe him allegiance. Zainuddin Dawood ignored the summons saying the Sultan was a drunkard and did not follow the Divine law. The Sultan then sent a message to the saint asking him to come in person to the court or give an assurance of loyalty in writing.²⁹ The saint narrated the story of a Syed, a scholar and an eunuch who were taken prisoners by infidels, who asked them to bow before idols. The Syed and Scholar did but the eunuch refused to bow before idols and said that he had been a sinner all his life and was neither a Syed nor a Scholar to atone for his sins by other virtues.³⁰ The Shaikh observed that he was like him and was resigned to the will of God and did not care for the Sultan's resentment. Muhammad Shah commanded him to quit the city of Daulatabad. At once the saint took his praying carpet and walked to the shrine of his pir Burhanuddin Gharib and sitting at his grave said, "where is the man who dares to drive me hence". The Sultan admiring the saint's word sent the following message: "I am submissive to me". The saint replied, if the Sultan like his father observed religious laws, prohibited wine in his kingdom, stopped drinking wine in public and permitted judges to execute the laws of faith against criminals no one would be more dear to him. The saint also gave him the title of Ghazi. The king was delighted with this title and commanded it to be added to his titles. He ordered the wine shops to be closed and promoted strict observance of religious laws and as a result of that, dacoity and robbery vanished from his kingdom. It is said that no less than 8000 heads were received from all over the country and in seven months, the country was cleared of thieves.³¹

The event has several mystic and socio-political implications. Zainuddin Dawood offered protection to a party which had challenged the sovereignty of the ruler and tried to overthrow him. It implied Zainuddin's confirmation of this action against the State on the one hand and disregarded Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi's³² patronization of the State on the other. Zainuddin Dawood was an orthodox Chishti, adhering properly to the principals of his silsilah, whereas Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi had deviated from the traditions of his silsilah, out of the excessive love for the ruler which resulted not only in the moral disintegration of the ruler but also in moral decay of the society, which was violating the fundamental laws of shariah. However, the submission of the ruler to Zainuddin Dawood and his decisions to

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enforce the laws of shariah more strictly and purify his own self, is a significant instance of the influence of the sufis on the State on one hand and the social transformation in the society in all aspects on the other. A challenge emanating from a Chishti centre, which commanded great love and reverence from the people could not be accepted so easily. This incident apart from the social and moral significance throws light on the character of the Sultan and it shows the extent of prestige and influence enjoyed by the saints during this period. by the Sultan on the one hand and among the social strata of the Bahmani society on the other.

During the last years of his life the saint was invited by Nasir Khan Farooqi, the ruler of Khandesh, who wanted to offer several villages and the parganas by the way of 'nazr' which the saint declined. However, the saint agreed to name the place of his camp on the side of Tapti river as Zainabad, and another village to be established after the name of his pir Burhanuddin Gharib as Burhanpur on the other side of the river.³³ His visit is a testimony to the fact that the king had greatest regard for the saint, and also that the saint exercised his influence in certain parts of the Farooqi kingdom also.

Muhammad Shah loved to be in touch with the sufis and this gave him an ample opportunity to exercise a good influence over all the communities, who were also devoted to the saint. He felt happy and proud in the company of ulama and sufis like Moulana Nizamuddin Barni, Hakim Zaheruddin Tabrizi, Shaikhul - Mashaik Zainuddin Dawood, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi and A'inuddin Ganj-e-I'Im. He appointed teachers in the various parts of the kingdom and gave scholarships to students.³⁴

As it is evident now, the above mentioned sufis played a considerably important role both in the social, moral and political spheres during the first fifty years of the Bahmani kingdom. Therefore it may be discerned unmistakably that the sufi world in the Bahmani kingdom was not just confined to the holy precincts of the shrines and monasteries. It expanded and opened up to harmonise itself with the socio-cultural and political environment of the day.

There appears to be a vacuum in the field of sufi thought in the Deccan throughout the twenty-two years following the deaths of

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Zainuddin Dawood, and Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, although there was a network of the disciples of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. Burhanuddin Gharib, Zainuddin Dawood, Alauddin Khondmir Junaidi, Ainuddin Bijapuri and Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, operating over the various parts of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Telangana regions. These sufis confined themselves to the expansion of the influence of their orders, devoting themselves to the pursuit of mystic knowledge and contributing to mystic literature. While the courts were getting crowded with ulama, scholars, muftis and Muslim jurists instead of sufis, the rulers were getting interested in the problems of comparative Fiqh and Hadith.

Feroz Shah Bahmani ascended the throne in 800/1397 A. D.³⁵ It is difficult to read the mind of Feroz Shah. He was found surrounded by ulama, sufis and scholars of high eminence. He seems to have taken interest in the problems of Fiqh, both Shia and Sunni, Taf Seer, mysticism and problems of Kalam.³⁶ However, such theoretical interest in Islamic Studies does not help in understanding his religious personality or describing him as an orthodox Shia or Sunni. It has to be noted, however, that during the past years the Shias of Iraq and Iran had slowly made their way into the Bahmani kingdom. It was because of his broader religious outlook and his desire to have learned and eminent scholars in his capital, that ulamas of Iran like Moulana Lutfuddin Sabzwari, Hakim Hasan Gilani, Syed Muhammad Garzuni and others settled in his kingdom.³⁷ It was during this period that the great vacuum in sufi atmosphere of the Deccan was filled by the most outstanding figure of Chishti order, Khalifa of Nasiruddin Chirag, Syed Muhammed Gesudaraz (721-825 AH/1321-1422 AD) of Delhi,³⁸ who gave the Chishti order the momentum of an organised spiritual movement. The traditions of the order to which he had associated himself, demanded total rejection of all earthly ties and contacts with the rulers and bureaucracy. But the Bahmani capital Gulbarga, and its own allurements were difficult to ignore. The saint left Delhi in 801 AH/1398 A. D. and arrived at Daulatabad in 803 AH/1400 A.D.,³⁹ where Izdul Mulk, the Governor of Daulatabad, presented 'nazr' on behalf of Feroz Shah requesting him to settle down at the Bahmani capital Gulberga.⁴⁰ On his arrival at Gulberga Feroz Shah gave him a royal welcome. Feroz Shah was interested in discussions on various problems and aspects of religion

which should have led him to maintain a balanced attitude towards the sufis, the sunni and shia ulama. A careful observer cannot overlook the fact that the high academic discussions on various issues of religion could be of least interest to the masses of those days. The masses were traditionally followers of one sufi or other. The relations between the king and the saint which were extremely intimate in the early stages, seem to have grown strained and short of absolute confidence in the subsequent years. The factors responsible for this situation varied. One major reason could be the unprecedented popularity of the saint among the people of all shades and his hold over them, which appear to have relegated the kings unrestricted authority into background. Secondly, the family rivalry between Ahl-al-Sharia and Ahl-al-Tariqa might have also influenced the attitude of the king towards the saint.

The way in which the institution of Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz was at work was definitely significant both from social and political angles, as the saint in his eighties was able to enchant the minds of the people through effective means and methods. Firstly, there was the traditional expansion of the network of the order by admitting persons into it and conferring khilafat on the disciples of high moral and academic calibre.⁴¹ Secondly, the celebrations of several a'ras (death anniversary) round the year was another occasion which attracted huge congregations.⁴² The saint had important relics of various holy personalities of Islam, which were shown to public on special occasions.⁴³ The saint also organised a madrasa of advanced learning where education in various branches of Islamic Studies was imparted. The saint personally imparted lessons in Tafseer, Hadith, Sulook and sometimes also taught Kalam and Fiqh.⁴⁴ Along with this the saint and his son Syed Akber Hussaini (d. 802/1409 A. D.)⁴⁵ were busy in producing enormous mystic literature both in prose and verse, in Persian, Arabic and Deccani languages. According to a tradition he is supposed to have been the author of one hundred and five works.⁴⁶ These factors were strong enough to make him adored. His Khanqah had therefore become a new focus of public attention, a new centre of the elite in the city, and his academy could generate dynamic social force among the masses. On the other hand, Feroz Shah was short of such a device. His court was full of ulama. It was the court academy which in my opinion brought the ruler into a clash with the

saint. Here, the king seems to have been strongly influenced by Mir Fazlullah Inju, though the formal relation between the king quite undisturbed at least till 810/1407 A. D.

The victory achieved by Feroz Shah in 809/1407 war against Vijayanagar, produced a feeling of political solidarity on the one hand and a secular approach in the mind of the king on the other. It is in this context that the king's action regarding the shifting of the khanqah of the saint to a remoter place from a closer proximity to the fort should be studied. The king lodged a formal complaint of the hubhub of the people around the khanqah as causing disturbance to him and that saint should therefore shift over to some other place outside the city. The saint did not dishonour the desire of the king and subsequently moved to a place where his shrine now stands.⁴⁷

At a moment when the influence of the saint among the masses and the elite was at its peak, the saint's compliance with the royal order by shifting the khanqah should have, its own bearing on the people as well as on the political atmosphere.

Ahmed Shah, the brother of Feroz Shah, right from the beginning maintained a close relationship with the saint. He was quick to come to the rescue of the saint. He constructed a house for the saint on the newly selected spot.⁴⁸ In 818/1415 A. D. Feroz declared his son Hasan Khan to be his heir apparent and successor. After the end of this ceremonial function he sent the prince to call on the saint for his blessings. The saint refused to give blessings and said that the crown was decreed to descend upon his brother Ahmed Khan by the will of providence, and it was in vain for him to bestow it on another.⁴⁹ In 820/1417 A. D. Feroz Shah marched against Vijayanagar contrary to the wishes of the saint and suffered a defeat.⁵⁰ These misfortunes were constantly on the mind of Feroz Shah, and he fell ill. The nobles reminded Feroz Shah of Ahmed's close relationship with the saint. The king issued orders to blind Ahmed Khan. Ahmed Khan along with his son Alauddin came to the khanqah of the holy Syed for his advice and blessings. Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz took the turban from Alauddin's head, divided it into two parts, and tied one round the head of the father and other round the head of his son; then extending his hand over them predicted

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sovereignty to both.⁵¹ Ahmed Shah was chased by the royal army which he defeated, and entered the palace. He was well received by his brother Feroz Shah, and Ahmed declared himself as the king.⁵² Within a few days Feroz Shah died on 11-10-825/28-7-1422 A. D.⁵³ and, subsequently, on 16th Ziqad 825/1422 Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz also left for the heavenly abode.⁵⁴

The first major event of the reign of Ahmed Shah was apparently the shifting of the capital from Gulberga to Bidar. Not much attention has been paid to the sociopolitical cause which might have been behind the shifting. The reasons for the change have been discussed by Prof. H. K. Sherwani⁵⁵ to a considerable length, which appear to be quite convincing. Here it may be noted that Ahmed Shah, who was a devotee of Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz, should presumably have had a desire to retain Gulberga as his capital where his preceptor and benefactor was at rest and where a magnificent fort and several other palatial buildings were constructed by his predecessors.

Apart from the physical and political features as discussed by Prof. H. K. Sherwani and Dr. Yazdani,⁵⁶ the valuable Bahmani documents and manuscripts preserved in the various branches of the sufi family of Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz, and the *Burhan-i-Maa'thir* of Syed Ali Tabataba provide some more information, which add and elaborate the arguments of Prof. Sherwani. Syed Ali Tabataba⁵⁸ specifically informs that after the death of Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz, Ahmed Shah did not have any faith in the Mahasikh's of Decan and hence did not have any liking for them. The events relating to the spiritual succession (sajjadgi) soon after the death of the saint need to be observed carefully. On the saint's death Syed Asghar and Syed Safirullah claimed sajjadgi and the matter was referred to the Sultan for the first time. The Sultan made the parties settle the matter among themselves and put the terms of settlement in black and white. Subsequently, based on the will of the saint and the agreement among his successors, he issued a farman, which was not properly adhered to by the parties.⁵⁸ Under these circumstances it may be that the monarch lost any hope from the successors of Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz.

Besides the absence of a strong sufi institution, one has to examine the other factors which were working in the Bahmani society

and which led Ahmed Shah to look beyond India to have Niamatullah Shah Kirmani at Bider. Another development was shia influence which had slowly but constantly made its way into the Bahmani capital.⁵⁹ Niamatullah Shah Kirmani (731-834 A.H./1330,1431 A.D.)⁶⁰ a renowned scholar and saint, was respected by both sunnis and shias alike. Though he could not succeed in getting Niamatullah Shah Kirmani to the Deccan. Ahmed Shah had the blessings of the saint and was admitted to the Niamatullah order. But around 830/1426 A.D. his grandson Shah Nurullah⁶¹ and in 834/1431 A.D. the saint's son Shah Khalilullah and his son's Shah Habibuddin Muhibullah and Shah Muhibuddin Habibullah reached Bider. This family developed close matrimonial relations with the royal house and played a significant role in the Bahmani politics.⁶² Tabataba informs us that Ahmed had profound knowledge and deep insight in the secrets of mysticism.⁶³ During the reign of Ahmed Shah and the later periods the sufi institution in the absence of a dominating mystic figure was losing strength in favour of the state, and till the end of the Bahmani period we do not come across any dominating mystic figure.

Relations with the Masses-Muslims :

The main purpose of the establishment of monasteries was to inculcate "community spirit among the mystics" and to build up the moral and spiritual culture of the people.⁶⁴ Thus these monasteries were also centres of social and cultural activities, besides being a place for sufi practises. Hospitality was one of the most important aspects of the life of a Chishti sufi. The monasteries had an "open kitchen" in the sense that any one could be fed irrespective of his being a disciple. The Shaikhs seem to have quoted the following tradition in this regard : "If any one visits a living man and gets nothing to eat, it is as if he had visited the dead".⁶⁵ If nothing is available, the Shaikh would at least offer water to the visitor.

The khanqahs of various sufi saints in general, but the khanqah of Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz in particular, were places of attraction not only for the Muslims of Gulberga but of the other parts of the Bahmani kingdom. At his khanqah a great number of disciples congregated. He issued special instructions to his disciples

in maintaining strictest discipline towards their pir. In one of his works he states, "A murid should be a pir worshipper, and should regard the pir as the manifestation of divine illumination."⁶⁶ A murid must hate all those persons who are not respectful to his pir.⁶⁷ He should be pure at heart. If he serves anybody he should not take anybody into his obligation. He should have his subsistence properly earned.⁶⁸ A murid should not feel shy of coming from a low family. He should keep his eyes set on higher spiritual values.⁶⁹

One of the letters of Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz addressed to Malik Azizuddin and Malik Shahbuddin is very significant as it explains the ideas of the saint in respect of determining the attitude of his disciples towards the rulers.⁷⁰ It indicates that the teachings of the saint to his disciples were never harmful to the institution of kingship as such. These are some of the indications of the monastery of Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz which went a long way in developing the moral outlook of the Muslims who came to him.

Relations with Non-Muslims :

Besides the Muslims, Hindus were also allowed to enter the Chishti monasteries without any inhibition or fear. We find references of well known yogis holding arguments and discussions with the Shaikhs.⁷¹ Thus, it was in their monasteries that Shaikhs and their disciples came into close contact with different kinds and classes of people. In fact "the sufis were the first among the Muslim intellectual elite to come into contact with Hindu masses and thus indirectly with individual features of Hindu mysticism especially the yoga".⁷²

Visits of yogis are mentioned in the accounts of Syed Muhammad Gesudaraz.⁷³ He had an open mind. In one of his meetings Gesudaraz had long discussion, elaborating the importance of reliance on God. He further stressed before a yogi, that the pursuit of mundane interest will lead to destruction, whereas simplicity alone will bestow salvation.⁷⁴ Gesudaraz in one of his works states, "I have met their learned men, they came to me challenging and disputing. I have read their Sanskrit books and know their mythology. I spoke to them about it. I told them of their belief they freely accepted. I told them of my belief. I gave them arguments and preference." They were astonished.⁷⁵

His mind was responsive to other influences. At one place he states "The human seed is just the same, prophets, saints, abdal, autads are from one seed, so are kafirs, hypocrites, thieves, etc."⁷⁶

Prof. Mujeeb states⁷⁷ "The devotional character of Hindi songs and the appeal which the language made to the sufis brought Hindus and Muslims closer together than any other influence. By the time of Gesudaraz Hindi devotional songs had come to occupy a very significant position in 'sama'. Gesudaraz was of the opinion that true lovers and holders of right path are those people who constantly recited Quran, performed Muraqiba and heard Sama regularly.⁷⁸ Some one enquired from Gesudaraz as to why sufis were more fond of Hindavi songs. He replied that each language had its own quality. He further remarked that Hindi was a simple and soft language, and there were certain sentiments which can be best expressed in this language in a most polite and humble way."⁷⁹

It was perhaps, because of this social contact with the Hindus that we find the Chishti Shaikhs narrating stories from Hinduism to explain the essentials of their own order and religion to the uneducated and illiterate classes.

This was one of the most significant features of the flexibility and liberality in the outlook of the sufis. "As their khanqahs where the only place where people of different shades of opinion, professing different religions and speaking different languages met. These khanqahs became the veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved."⁸⁰

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2. A study of the various sources of the medieval Deccan history, reveal that following saints were at work in various parts of the Deccan :

i) Syed Shah Momin-597/1200, Daulatabad.

Itihas IV, I

- ii) Shaikh Shaheed—671/1272, Bijapur.
- iii) Shah Ali Pahalwan—672/1273, Kurnool,
- iv) Pir Maqsood—700/1303, Daulatabad.
- v) Pir Jamuna—703/1303, Bijapur.
- vi) Syed Ali Shaheed—705/1305, Bijapur.
- vii) Tajuddin Munawer—732/1331, Bijapur.
3. For biographical notice, see ; Amir Khurd, *Siyarul Auliya*, p. 278. Abdul Haq, *Akhbarul-Akhyar*, pp. 93-4. Azad Bilgrami, *Raodatul-Auliya*, p. 14. Ghulam Ali, *Mishkatun-Nabowah*, Mss, *Mishkat-18* Raonaq Ali, *Raodatul-Aqtab*, p.45.
4. Mohd. Bashiruddin. *Waqiat-e-Mamlakat-e-Bijapur*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 42. Mohd. Ibrahim, *Raodatul-Auliya-e-Bijapur*, pp. 17-20. Abdul Jabbar, *Mahbub-Zilminan Tadkera-e-Auliya-Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 460.
5. Amir Khurd, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
6. Prominent among them were : Amir Hasan Sijzi, author of "Fawaidul-Fuad" (d. 736/1335 A.D.) ; Shaikh Kamal Khujandi, Shaikh Fakhruddin, Pir Mubarak, Karwan (d.738/1337 A.D.), Kamaluddin Samana, Kaka Sad Baksh. Ruknuddin Kashani, author of 'Nafaisul-Anfas', Syed Yousuf-Syed Raja, father of Syed Mohd Gesudaraz.
7. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims*, pp. 64, 97, Tirimingham, *Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 58. K. A. Nizami, *Religion & Politics in India during 13th Century*, p. 229. M. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, p. 129.
8. Ghulam Ali *op. cit.*, *Mishkat-18*, Mss. Miran Ahmed Syed Shah Mur-taza Qadiri; *Tadkera-e-Mashooq-e-Illaha*, p. 37.
9. Bandagi Mohd. Ghouth is 10th in line of descent to Abdul Qadir Gilani, founder of the Order.
10. Mohd. Mufid Mustaoifi, *Jama-e-Mufidi*, pp. 30-43. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, L. R., 1936, E.G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature*, p. 463. Ghulam Ali, *op. cit.* *Mishkat-29*, Mss. Mohd. Karimuddin, *Makhzanul Karamat*, p. 258.

11. Mohd. Jamal Qiwam, *Qiwamul-Aqaid*, Ms, Ch. III. Prominent among his disciples were (i) Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, Hazrat Ainuddin Ganjul-Ilm (author of *Atwarul-Abrar*), Shaikh Fariduddin Qattal, Minhajuddin Tamim Ansari, Ibrahim Sankane.
12. K.A. Nizami, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
13. Author of 125 works, important of which is "Atwarul-Abrar" See T.N. Dware, *A Short history of Persian Literature*.
14. For his visit to the saint's khanqah and his blessings, see Syed Ali Tabataba, *Burhan-e-Naasir*, p. 12; Mohd Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-e-Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 274; Mohd Qiwam, *op. cit.*, Ms. Ch. III.
15. Rafiuddin Shirazi, *op. cit.*, Fol. 6-8, Mss, Isami, *Futuhus-Salateen*, p. 479
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.* H.K. Sherwani *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 37, Ch. II. f.n. 83, p. 46.
18. One of the Taabai (Those who have met the companions of Prophet Muhammad).—see Shorter *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers., p. 557.
19. Tabataba, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. also Genealogy, Mss, Raoda-e-Shaikh Collection, Gulberga.
20. Ghulam Mohd. *Siyar-e-Mokhdooni*, Ms, p. 186.
21. Document dated 776 A.H., pertaining to the division of Jagir of Kodchi among his descendents. Also see, Document, The Saint's 'Wasiatnama', Raoda-e-Shaikh Collection, Gulberga.
22. Shaikh Sirajuddin was a saint of Junaidi order, but also had 'Ijazar' in Chishti order. This seems to be the first instance where one finds regard for the king by a Chishti saint manifested in three ways: firstly, he allowed the king to call on him; secondly, he moved to Gulberga; thirdly, the most unusual is acceptance of jagir, though unwillingly, yet quite against the Chishti traditions.
23. Briggs, *History of the rise of Muhammedan Power in India*, p. 302.
24. *Ibid.*

25. Document, *op. cit.*, and Hurmuz Jung, *Asarus-Salaf*, p. 27.
26. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
27. A senior khalifa of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib and also his spiritual successor.
28. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p.323. Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55. Raonaq Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 203. Saqqaf, *Hadiqa-e-Rahmani*, p. 94.
29. Briggs, *Ibid.*, p. 324.
30. Briggs, *Ibid.*, p. 325. Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Raonaq Ali, *op. cit.*, p.205.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Shaikh Zainuddin Dawood and Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi are contemporary to each other.
35. Bilgrami, *Ibid.*, p. 56. Rounaq Ali, *Ibid.*, p. 206.
36. Tabataba, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
37. Tabataba, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 143
38. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
39. Shirazi. *op. cit.*, Mss., pp. 1-9. Briggs, *Ibid.*, p. 363. Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Nizami, *Gesu-Daraz*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 1115.
40. For a biographical notice, see Aminuddin Abul Faid Minallah, *Shawamilul-Jumal-Fi-Shamallil-Kumal*, pp. 290-2, Mss., Raoda-e-Shaikh Collection, Gulberga. Syed Shah Ghulam Ali, *Mishkatun Nabowwa*, Mss, Raoda-e-Buzarg Collection. Gulberga. Mohd. Ali Samani, *Siyar-e-Muhammadi*. Syed Mohd. Hussaini, *Jawamiul-Kilam*, Mss. Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlawi, *Akhbarul Akhyar*. Moulana Abdul Aziz, *Tarikh-e-Habibi*. Syed Minallah, *Tabsiratul Khawariqat*. Jahanuma Ali Shah, *Tarikh-e-Muhammadi*. Qadir Khan Munshi, *Tadkeratul-Qadiri*, Mss.

39. There is a controversy on this date. Several authors have given different dates, as 805/1402 AD and 815/1412 AD. For a correct date see Syed Akber Hussaini, *Jawamiul-Kilam*, Syed Minallah, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Samani, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
40. Minallah, *Ibid.*, Samani, *Ibid.*
41. Out of the 42 persons on whom khilafat was conferred, about half were at Gulberga and the rest were working in different parts of the Bahmani kingdom. Samani, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 141, 142. Ghulam Ali, *op. cit.*, Mishkat-19, Mss. Syed Minallah, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.
42. Samani, *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78. Syed Minallah, *Ibid.*, pp. 104-6,
43. Some of the relics are still preserved in the Dargah of the saint, and at the khanqah of Abul Minallah Hussaini of Bider.
44. Samani, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76. Following books were studied in his institution by various people, "*Qootul-Quloob*", "*Adabul-Murideen*", "*Kitab-al-Misbah fi-al-Nahw*", by Abul Fath Nasir al-Mutanizi (d. 610/1213) on philosophy. "*al-Kafiya*" by Ibn Hajib (d. 647/1249) on Arabic Syntax. *Tamhidat-e-A, inul-Qudat*, and "*Fususul-Hikam*".
45. The exact number of Syed Akber Hussaini's works is not known. He seem to have compiled more than 10 works. Aziz Waizi, *Tarikh-e-Habibi*, pp. 63, 70, 59.
46. K. A. Nizami, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 1115. Syed Minallah, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 105, mentions the number as one hundred and twenty five.
47. This should have taken place between 810/1407 and 812/1490 A.D. as Syed Akber Hussaini, saint's eldest son, died in 812/1409 and his shrine stands on the selected spot. It was a practice prevalent among most of the Chishti saints that they were buried at the place of their residence.
48. Mohd. Sultan, *Armogan-e-Sultani*, p. 52.
49. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
50. *Ibid.*, Syed Minallah, *op. cit.* p. 94
51. Briggs, *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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52. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
53. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 396.
54. Samani, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
55. H..K Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 810.
56. Dr. Yazdani, *Bider - Its History and Monuments*, pp. 1-2.
57. Tabataba, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
58. See document 'Ahednama' dated 15th Safar, 825 A. H. See document of Mahmood Shah Bahmani 9th Zilhij. 892 A. H. Raoda-e-Buzurg Collection, Gulberga.
59. Sherwani, *op., cit.*, pp. 146-7.
60. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, 1936. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. II, pp. 634-35. Syed Shah Ghulam Ali, *op. cit.*, Mishkat-20, Mss.
61. Tabataba, *op. cit.*, p. 64 on his arrival Ahmed Shah went out of the city to receive him and having caused a mosque and village to be erected on the spot, caused it to be called Niamatabad and Shah Nurullah was created 'Malikul-Mashaikh' giving him precedence over all the *Mashaikh* of the Deccan including descendants of Gesudaraz.
62. Tabataba, *Ibid.*, Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 418 ; Browne : *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, p. 480 ; Mustaufi, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
63. Tabataba, *Ibid.*, p. 54.
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65. *Ibid.*, p. 56
66. Syed Mohammed Gesudaraz, *Khatima*, para 97, p. 66.
67. *Ibid.*, para 90, pp. 63-64.
68. *Ibid.*, para 117, pp. 79-80.

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MUGHAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE MARATHA LEVIES
(CHAUTH, SARDESHMUKHI, MOKASA, BABTI AND S HOTRA)
FROM THE MUGHAL PROVINCES OF THE DECCAN (1707-1800).

M. A. Nayeem

IN this paper an attempt is made to bring to light for the first time a series of Mughal documents in Persian from the State Archives of Hyderabad relating to the working of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* system within the Mughal provinces of the Deccan. The system resulted in the functioning of dual Mughal-Maratha land revenue administration within the Mughal provinces—a unique system, hitherto not noticed by any historian¹. Further, the documents throw light on the various aspects of administrative system prevalent in the Mughal provinces of the Deccan and provide us useful statistical data with regard to the division and sub-divisions of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* for the study of economic history.

A selection of twenty Mughal documents,² out of scores of such types of documents, is presented here to highlight the importance and usefulness of these valuable documents preserved in the *State Archives of Hyderabad*. The set of official documents relating to the provincial Mughal administration of the Deccan are in the na-

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1. It was brought to light for the first time in my paper : "Economic Consequences of *Chauth* & *Sardeshmukhi* and working of the system in the Mughal Provinces of the Deccan (1707-1795 AD)" read at the seminar on the Socio-Economic problems of the Deccan History held in March 1976 at Poona and organized jointly by the Indian Council of Historical Research and Dept. of History, University of Poona. See this paper of mine in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1977.
 2. For the nature and period of these documents see *infra* f. n. 34.

ture of *Qabuliyat* or *Iqrarnama*³, *Kaifiyat-i daftar*⁴, *Yaddasht Tashkhees Jamabandi Chauth*⁵, *Yaddast*^{5a}, *Muchalka*⁶, *Ta'ahud*⁷, *Kaifiyat*⁸, *Rozeena*⁹, *Daul jamabandi*¹⁰, *Parwana*¹¹, *Inayatnama* or *Nawazishnama*¹², *Haqiqat*¹³, and *Jama Wasil Baqi*¹⁴.

3. *Qabuliyat* or *Iqrarnama*—A document of acceptance (Documents I & II *infra*).
4. *Kaifiyat-i-daftar* (or *Kaifiyat*) : Statement or note of the office (Documents VI, IX & X *infra*).
5. *Yaddasht tashkhees Jamabandi Chauth* : Memorandum of investigation and fixation of assessment of *Chauth*. (Document IV *infra*).
- 5a. *Yaddasht* : Memorandum (Document V & XIV *infra*).
6. *Muchalka*—A written obligation or agreement, a bond. It is commonly applied to a counterpart covenant on the part of the proprietors or cultivators of land, agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the government—*Wilson's Glossary*, 551f (Document VII *infra*).
7. *Ta'ahud*—Agreement bond. (Document VIII *infra*).
8. *Kaifiyat*—Statement or note (Documents IX & X *infra*).
9. *Rozeena Wasul* — Document of daily accounts and receipts (Document XI & XII *infra*).
10. *Daul Jamabandi*—A document giving estimate, assessment and fixation of land revenue with the measurement of land etc. (Document XIII *infra*).
11. *Parwana*—Royal orders issued to the officials concerned with assignments, cash salaries etc. (Document XV *infra*).
12. *Inayatnama* or *nawazishnama* —Letter. (Documents XVI & XVII *infra*).
13. *Haqiqat*—Office statement (Document XVIII *infra*).
14. *Jama Wasil Baqi*—Statement showing gross revenue, actuals and balance outstanding. *Azamul Atiyat*, 135, (Document XVIII *infra*).

For different terms used in these documents and the official procedure adopted in their writing please see *Siyaq-Nama* of Munshi Nand Ram, Nawal Kishor 1879; *Usul us Siyaq* of Mohd. Ismail, Hyderabad, 1290 H; also see *Siyaq-i-Deccan* and *Azamul Atiyat* of Nawab Aziz Jung Bahadur; Dr. M. Momin Mohiuddin : *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughals* and *Mustehlahat-e-Deccan* by Aziz Jung.

For the nature of these Mughal documents see f.n. 34 *infra*.

Historical Background

In 1707 Prince Azam Shah at the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan *Subedar* of the Deccan granted to Raja Sahu the right of realising *Chauth* and *Sardesmukhi*¹⁵ for the first time from the six Mughal provinces of the *Deccan*¹⁶. The Marathas were to get one-fourth or 25% of the total revenues of the Mughals as *Chauth* and ten percent as *Sardeshmukhi*. Altogether the Marathas were to get 35% upon the total collections of the Mughals including receipts of all types of cesses (*abwabs*)¹⁷.

15. For the historical background of the institutions of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* readers may refer to Dr. Surendranath Sen : *Military System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1928, 28-53 and *The Administrative System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1923, 97-100. For the text of the *farmans* issued by the Mughal emperor granting these levies to the Marathas see Dr. A. Pawar : 'Some Documents bearing on Imperial Mughal Grants to Raja Sahu (1717-24)', *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* XVII, Dec. 1940, 204 ff.
16. The six Mughal provinces of the Deccan were i) *Subah* Khujistabunyah Aurangabad, (ii) *Subah* Khandesh, (iii) *Subah* Berar (*Balaghat* & *Payn Ghat*), (iv) *Subah* Muhammadabad Bidar (v) *Subah* Darul Zafar Bijapur, (Bijapur & Bijapuri Karnatak) and (vi) *Subah* Furkhundabunyah Hyderabad (including Karnataka *Balaghat* and *Payn Ghat*). For the nature of the administration of the Mughal empire see Dr. P. Saran : *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Appendix B to Ch. III, 83-109. For complete details of the divisions into sarkars and pargana of these provinces with their revenues see *India of Aurangzeb* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, (XXXII to IV and 143-167). See also Md. M. Junedi : *Hayat-e-Asaf*, 457-474.
17. Khafi Khan : *Muntakhab ul Lubab*, II, 786. The different heads of revenue on which the Marathas claimed and obtained the *Chauth* & *Sardeshmukhi* were :

(i) Land revenue collected by the *amins*, *Kroris* and *Shiqdars*.

(ii) *Sair* from the *Khalisa* or government lands and from the Jagirs. *Sair* denotes the remaining of all other sources of revenue accruing to the Mughal government, in addition to the land tax, from variety of imposts, as customs, transit duties, licences fees, house tax, market tax, etc. *Hobson Jobson*, 725 f.

To realise these levies the Marathas introduced their *Kamaishdars* (revenue collectors) in the Mughal territory. They directly collected *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Zamindars and Jagirdars of every pargana¹⁸. This arrangement lasted from 1709 to 1713. When Nizam ul Mulk was appointed *Subedar* of the Deccan in 1713 he refused to carry out the arrangement made by Daud Khan Panni.

Nizam ul Mulk wrote orders to the *faujdars* and *ziladars* directing them to oust the *Kamaishdars* of Raja Sahu from several places dependent of Aurangabad¹⁹. This repudiation resulted in hostilities between the Mughal and the Marathas. In 1715 peace was concluded and Raja Sahu was appointed as Mughal mansabdar of 10,000 horse rank. Nizamul Mulk was recalled from the Deccan, and Syed Hussain Ali was appointed *subedar* of the Deccan. The new governor to strengthen his own position, engaged the services of an old Maratha veteran Brahman named Shankerji Malhar (formerly Sachiv of Rajaram)²⁰. He was sent as an ambassador to Raja Sahu, and between Shankerji on one side and Balaji Vishwanath on the other, arrangements were made for the restoration of the grant of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the six provinces.

(iii) *Abwabs* collected by *faujdar*, *shiqdar* *Ziyafat*. *Abwah* means the taxes imposed in addition to the regular assessment of land—*Siyaq e-Deccan*, 41. See for more details *Wilson's Glossary*, 4. See *The Land Tax of India*, Trans. of *The Futawa Alumgeeree*, by Neil B.C. Baillic, London 1853, XI.

(iv) *Rahdari*, imposed at the rate of half a rupee/one rupee, for each bullock cart on the Carvans of merchants. Khafi Khan, II, 786. For the internal transit duties see—Saran: *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1526-1658), 325.

18. Khafi Khan, II 625 f, 742 f. Gulam Ali Bilgrami in *Khazana-i-Amera* (p. 41) states that in every pargana one *mokasadar* was appointed for the collection of *Chauth* and *naib-Sardeshmukh* for collecting *sardeshmukhi*.

19. *Ibid.* 742 f.

20. M. G. Ranade & K.T. Telang: *Rise of the Maratha Power & Gleanings from the Maratha Chronicles*, 121.

In 1718 Hussain Ali Khan made an agreement with Raja Sahu. He delivered a *sanad* granting the right of *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, under his seal to the *Vakils* of Raja Sahu and made no delay in writing for a royal *farman* in confirmation of his *sanad*. He introduced the agents of Raja Sahu everywhere. And he settled that Balaji Vishwanath and Jairamji, two of the highest officers of Sahu, should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangabad as deputy and *Vakil* of the Raja, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them. However, emperor Farrukh Siyar refused to ratify the agreement of Hussain Ali with Sahu.²¹

Rafiuddarajat who reigned for a few months granted the royal *farmans* confirming the grants to the Marathas. The *farmans* for *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* are dated 3rd and 15th March 1719 respectively²². The Maratha revenue collectors were re-introduced in the Mughal provinces for the collection of *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*.

During the second viceroyalty of Nizam ul Mulk there was no change in his attitude towards levies. To consolidate his position, after the battle of Shaker Kheda, Nizam ul Mulk tried to whittle down the Marathas' right to *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan. However, the Mughal emperor's *farmans* granting the right of *Chauth* and

21. Khafi Khan, 787 f. For the terms of the Treaty see G.S. Sardesai: *New History of the Marathas*, II, 41. At the State Archives Hyderabad, there is a copy of *Iltemas* (petition) under the seal of Yado Rao, *Vakil* of Raja Sahu praying for the grant of a *farman* for the *sardeshmukhi* of Mughal provinces of the Deccan. Though the document is undated, it appears to be of Muhammed Shah's reign. But since *Chauth* is not mentioned and only *sardeshmukhi* is mentioned it may be said to be of Bahadur Shah's reign (1707-12). Because, during Bahadur Shah's second regnal year (1707-08) Tara Bai had submitted similar petition and probably to counter her petition Sahu also must have sent this petition. The *Vakil* of Sahu states in the *Iltemas* that Sahu had agreed to pay the *Peshkash* of Rs. 1, 17, 19, 392/121- to the Emperor for the grant of *Sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan and undertook to restore peace and tranquility in the provinces and agreed to guarantee improvement in the land revenue.

22. Grant Duff, *A History of Mahratas*, I 372 f. For the controversy over which emperor, Rafiuddarajat or Muhammed Shah issued the *farmans*, see A.G. Pawar, *op. cit.*, 209.

sardeshmukhi to the Marathas, Nizam ul Mulk was helpless. He tried to compromise with Raja Sahu by modifying the terms of the Mughal *farman* with regard to the mode of collection of the levies. His policy was directed towards ousting the network of Maratha revenue collectors stationed in each *mahal* and every district of the six Mughal provinces. That is, he tried to abolish the functioning of the dual Mughal-Maratha land revenue administration within the Mughal territory. To begin with Nizam ul Mulk tried to get the *subah* of Hyderabad exempted from the direct collection by the Maratha collectors.

Following this policy, after the battle of Palkhed early in 1727, when Raja Sahu sent his Pratinidhi to the Nizam to negotiate a peaceful settlement, the Nizam proposed that he would make cash payment of the *Chauth* dues and that the Maratha collectors stationed at different places should be withdrawn. Sahu was almost on the point of accepting the proposal, when Peshwa Baji Rao remonstrated with him strongly on the implications of the said proposal. Consequently on 13th October 1727 Sahu declared war upon the Nizam²³.

After the war the issue was resolved through the Treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon of 6th March 1728 between Nizam ul Mulk and Sahu²⁴. But the terms of the treaty do not mention anything about Nizam's proposal of cash payment. However, study of archival documents reveal that the system of cash payment of *Chauth* dues for the *subah* of Hyderabad was implemented forthwith from the year 1137 F (1727)²⁵.

Following this arrangement of 1727 Nizam ul Mulk devised and organized an administrative machinery for the collection of *Chauth* from the *subah* of Hyderabad. For this purpose he created a new post

23. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, II, 95. Mir Abu Turab Mir Alam: *Hadiqatul Alam*, II 133—141, Yusuf Mohd. Khan: *Tarikh-e Fathiyya in Eighteen Century Deccan* by Setu Madhava Rao, 25.

24. *ibid.* 99

25. Document No. IV, V & VI *infra*.

of *Tahsildar Chauth*²⁶. Different officials in the Mughal service were entrusted with the collection of *Chauth*.²⁷ The usual practice was to assign the collection of *Chauth* on contract (*ijara* or *ta'ahud*) for a specific period of a few years²⁸.

To ensure prompt collection of *Chauth* the *tahsildar* generally engaged *sehbandi* troops (irregular infantry) on nominal payment. For this purpose the Mughal government allowed service charges of 7% of *Chauth* amount as *sehbandi* and *haq-i-tahsil* to the collector²⁹.

For the collection of *Chauth* and its regular flow into the Mughal treasury, Nizam ul Mulk compelled all the *tahsildars* of *Chauth* to execute a formal bond of surety called *muchalka*. It contained the terms of the service, amount of *Chauth*, service charges and their deductions, details about the administrative divisions of the districts for which *Chauth* was to be collected; in case of Jagir or *Khalisa* lands, the name of the jagirdar etc. and the period with specific years. This *muchalka* or the *qabuliyat* with the petition of the prospective *tahsildar Chauth* then reached the office of the *Diwan* for orders. The *Diwan* then endorsed the petition for the issuance of a *sanad*³⁰ in case of approval. Before the *sanad* could be issued the *Yakil* of the principal (*muwakkil*) had to execute a surety bond (*muchalka*, *ta'ahud*) and deliver it in the office of the *Diwan*³¹.

The system of paying in cash was restricted only to the *subah* of Hyderabad; while in the remaining five Mughal provinces the

26. Document No. C11, C36, C29 (Omclan) *State Archives, Hyderabad*, hereinafter abbreviated as S.A.H.).

27. Document No. C201, C456, C801, (S.A.H.).

28. Document No. C7 (Mal, 19, 1164 F., S.A.H.).

29. Document No. C41, 31, 48. (S.A.H.).

30. *Sanad* is a grant, a diploma, a patent: a document conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges, rights to revenue from land etc.

31. See *Siyaq-e-Deccan* and *Persian Epistolography and Chancellery under the Mughals*, *op. cit.*

Marathas appointed their own collectors and made collection. However, for the *Khalisa* or government lands in all the six provinces cash payment of *Chauth* was made by the government and Maratha collectors were not allowed to collect the levy in this territory³².

Nizam ul Mulk standardised the assessment of *Chauth* by the *Jamabandi - Chauth* made in 1138-39F (1728-29) throughout the Mughal provinces of Deccan. The fixation of the assessment of *Chauth* was arrived at by first making the general *Jamabandi* (fixation) of land-revenue and taking into account the *tankhwah Kamil* (total salary) of the Jagirdars. When the *Jamabandi Chauth* was made it was found that the then existing assessment was considerably low in many cases. As such Nizam ul Mulk enhanced the rate of collection of *Chauth* by 2 1/2 annas per rupee (i.e. 15.6%) excluding the expenses of the *sehbandi*. The enhanced rate was effected from the beginning of the year 1138F (1728) and the difference in then existing rate was recovered from the Jagirdars and the Zamindars³³.

On this basis *Chauth* was collected even after Nizam ul Mulk's death in 1748 and during the reign of Salabat Jung (1750-61) and Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1804), with slight modifications³⁴.

32. Document No, 333, 344 (S.A.H.).

33. Document V, *infra*. In some places of extreme south like Jinji, Tanjavur etc. where *Jamabandi* was not implemented the disparity in the *Jama* figures for the collection of *Chauth* & *Peshkash* from the *Zamindars* continued - see my paper "Mughal Documents Relating to the *Peshkash* of the *Zamindars* of South India", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Dec. 1975.

34. The documents discussed here though belong to the reigns of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I (1724-48), Salabat Jung (1750-61) and Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II (1761-1803) they are in fact Mughal documents. Nizam ul Mulk, Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan were appointed by the Mughal emperors as *subedars* or governors of the Mughal provinces of the Deccan. *Khazana-i-Amara* op. cit., 37, 71; S. Md. Ali Hussain: *Tarikh-e-Rahat Afza*, 107, 275. Hence these documents and all those belonging to the times of Asaf I, Salabat Jung and Asaf Jah II may be designated as Mughal Documents. The administration they carried out was in the capacity of Mughal governors. They acknowledged over-lordship of the Mughals but were in fact autonomous for all purposes. They collected *peshkash* on behalf of the emperor and remitted to the emperor. In this regard see my paper: "Mughal Documents Relating to the *Peshkash* of the *Zamindars* of South India (1614-1752)" *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Dec. 1975.

The proceeds of *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* which the Marathas collected from the Mughals was divided among themselves into the following shares³⁵.

1. Babti³⁶ .. 25%, reserved for the Maratha ruler;
2. Mokasa³⁷ .. 66%, granted to the Maratha sardars for maintaining troops;
3. Sahotra³⁸ .. 6%, granted to the Pant Sachive (Minister) and
4. Nadgaunde³⁹ .. 3%, awarded to various persons at the ruler's pleasure.

These divisions of *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were the internal administrative arrangement of the Marathas. The Mughals or their officials in the Deccan were not concerned with these divisions. Nor any reference to these divisions was made in any of the Mughal *farmans* or *sanads*⁴⁰.

35. Sen; *Administrative system of the Marathas*, 242, f.

36. *Babati*, corruptly *Babti*-that which is according to the *babat*, or account. The share of the public revenue, especially those arising from *Chauth*, which was appropriated by the Maratha rule, *Wilson's Glossary*, 65.

37. *Mokasa*-Grant of villages for administration on temporary basis - implying tenure subject to service. In the present context it was applied to the remaining portion of the *Chauth* after deducting the *Babti*, *Sahotra* and *Nadgaunde* i. e. 66%. was called *mokasa*. This was called *Ain Mokasa* or simply assignment - *Wilson's Glossary*, 546, 561. However, its meaning and implications are different in these documents, discussed below.

38. *Sahotra* is the perquisite of 6% given to a public officer - Pant Sachive (Minister).

39. *Nadgaunde* (*Nargauna*) - the head revenue and police - officer of a district in the Maratha provinces, corresponding to the *deshmukh*. *Wilson's Glossary*, 587.

40. For the text of the *farmans* & *sandas* see Dr. Pawar, op. cit.

However, surprisingly enough, we find mention of these divisions and payment by the Mughals on their account in the Mughal documents from the time of Nizam ul Mulk.⁴¹ In the documents we do not find mention of *Nadgaunde*; but *Kaodana* is mentioned.⁴²

Besides *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, mention of the following divisions are found with specific amount against each item⁴³; *Mokasa*, *mokasa-Chauth*, *babti*, *sahotra*, *nisf-mokasa* (half-*mokasa*) and *nisf-sahotra* (half-*sahotra*). Further, from the places where the Marathas made direct collections, they claimed from the Mughals an additional amount towards *Karkuni* against each levy except in the case of *Sahotra*.

The documents are dated 1185F (1776) onwards. Two documents though dated 1185F, states at every page on top that the rates and amounts are according to the prevailing practice during the times of Nizam ul Mulk (*Mua'faq Ma'amul Bandegan Hazrat Muqfarat Ma'ab*) and furnish details from 1140F (1730) onwards. Some documents are dated 1194F (1785) onwards but they mention claim of the arrears with retrospective effect from 1190F (1780) and 1191F (1780-81). This is due to the fact that in the year 1191F (1780) Nizam Ali Khan had stopped payment of one-fourth portion of *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* and the payment was resumed after the Treaty of Yadgiri of 5th June 1784. By this treaty the Nizam had agreed to pay arrears with retrospective effect.⁴⁴

In the documents half-shares of *Chauth*, *mokasa*, *sahotra*, *babti* and *sardeshmukhi* are mentioned with out any explanation.⁴⁵

41. Documents IX & X. *infra*.

42. Document No. 899 (S.A.H.). Nasercruddin Hashimi in *Tarikh-e-Atiyat-e-Asafi* (p. 43) says that *Kaodana* (fodder was collected for payment to the Peshwa.

43. Document No. 899 to 1199. *Nadgaunde* is not mentioned in these documents anywhere. But we find mention of *Narkondi* (expenses towards fodder etc.)

44. Document No. 1072/21- (S.A.H.). For the Persian Text of the Treaty see M. Sirajuddin Talib: *Nizam Ali Khan*, II, 237.

45. None of the Maratha sources mention anything about these *nisf-mokasa* etc. They are recorded here for the first time. See f.n. 73 *infra*.

The study of the documents reveal that the terms *Chauth*, *Mokasa* or *mokasa-chauth* has been used synonymously one for the other in a careless manner. Some documents mention in the caption 'Balance of *Chauth*, *babti*, *sahotra* and *sardeshmukhi*' but the text of the same documents giving fuller details of the amount no mention of *Chauth* is made; instead *mokasa* is mentioned. These details mentioned in the documents, some of which are Persian translations of Marathi, go against the administrative principles of the Maratha government. As *Chauth* and *Mokasa* cannot be equated nor one could be called for the other. *Mokasa* constituted only 66% of the total amount of *Chauth*.

The documents furnish minute details of the amount of *Chauth*, *Mokasa*, *Sahotra*, *babti* and *sardeshmukhi* as due from each *subah*, *pargana* etc., with year-wise amount collected, balance due etc

All the disputes relating to the Maratha levies discussed here and to which these documents pertain were resolved after the battle of Khurdla through the Treaty of Khurdla dated 9th Ramazan 1209H (30th March 1795). Nizam Ali Khan agreed to clear all arrears of the Maratha levies and agreed to consider the *Chauth* of the *Subah* Muhammadabad Bidar as the *Watun* or private hereditary property of the Peshwa Nana Farnawis⁴⁶.

The *Chauth* system came to an end on 17th Dec. 1803 when the Marathas renounced its claim on Nizam through the Treaty of Devgaon with the British⁴⁷.

46. Sirajuddin, *op. cit.* 182; Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, 240 f, 260 f.

47. Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, 361.

CALENDAR OF MUGHAL DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT I

*Sanad be dehant*¹ (*Sanad* be issued). *Qabuliyet* of Mohammad Yusuf, Qiladar Devarkonda, 24 Rabi-ul-Avval 1168 H (1755 received in the office, *thankhwah* Rs. 2,500/- *Kamil*² of pargana haveli Devarkonda *subah* Hyderabad. Getting *thankhwah* of Rs. 366/- for collecting *Chauth* on *ijara* (Contract) of five years, 1164 to 1168 F, without *haqe-tahsil*³ accept. Agreed that the *Chauth* will be paid every year in two instalments. Orders for the issuance of a *sanad* for the collection of *Chauth* anticipated.

DOCUMENT II

(*Sanad be dehant*)

Mansabdar Abu Sai'd submitted in the office *Qabuliyat* with his seal about that *Chauth* of his Jagir, *Maoza* Manwaram, pargana Elgandal, *Subah* Hyderabad. Amount Rs. 323/4/- from 1164 to 166 F, agreed to pay this amount. And agreed to pay without any excuse in the Government treasury. What are the orders for the issuance of a *Sanad*.

1. On the top of the document is the endorsement of the provincial *Diwan* (Chancellor of the Exchequer) of the *Subah* Deccan for the issuance of the *Sanad* (letter of appointment) to Md. Yusuf as *tahsildar* of *Chauth* on contract basis.

For the working of the revenue administration and *Diwani subah* see Dr. Noman Ahmed Siddique: *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals (1700-1750)*, 67 ff; Dr. P. Saran, *op. cit.*, 189, 282, 234.

2. *Kamil* means entire, perfect, complete, in revenue terminology it implies fixed or standard or actual revenue, *Wilson's Glossary*, 396.
3. *Haqe-tahsil* is the service charges or the commission allowed to the collector of the revenue, (here *Chauth*.) It was usually 3 to 6%. In this case, Md. Yusuf had agreed to forego this commission, as he was in receipt of *thankhwah* or salary as *ijaradar* or contractor of *Chauth*.

Itihas VI. i.

DOCUMENT III

(*Sanad be dehant*)

Nasib Khan, *tahsildar Chauth* Jagirs pargana haveli Warangal etc. *Subah* Farkhundabunad Hyderabad. Additional service *Amanat*⁴, *Faujdar*⁵ etc. Appointed due to the transfer of Ibrahim Yar Khan. Submitted for orders for the writing of the *sanad*. Rs. 19,170/6/ Fixed Total (*Muqqarara Kamil*)⁶.

Fixed 3 *Mahals*

Haveli Warangal-Jagir Khawaja Burhan Qiladar-Rs. 5500/- (*Kamil*)

Jagir Qildar Jamiath Nigah dasht Ahsham

Rs. 2,500/- Rs. 3,000/-

Pargana Venkat Konda

Rs. 9,503/9 (*Kamil*)

Mir Badruddin Mohd. Jaffar Ahmad Ali Khan

Qiladar Talikonda Qiladar Wallad Kunta Hyderabad.

Rs. 2,331/13 Rs. 4,166/10/6 Rs. 2,960/4/6

Mohd. Fazle Ali etc. Malangor Jagir Muqtar Qiladar paragana same

Rs. 44/13 Rs. 4,166/10/6 (*Kamil*)

DOCUMENT IV

(*Manzoor shud-sanctioned*)⁸

Yaddasht Tashkhees Mahalat Chauth Jagir

Mubariz Khan⁹ etc. *Mahalat subah* Furkhundabunad, Hyderabad, 1139 F.

4. *Amanat* was the holder of a deposit or charge, a trustee, a guardian—*Wilson's Glossary*, 32.
5. The office of a magistrate or head of police, or criminal judge. *Faujdar* *ahwabs* were the cess levied for the support of the *faujdar*—*Wilson's Glossary*, 247. See Dr. P. Saran for the duties & titles of the *faujdar*, 2098 f.n. 5, 228f.
6. *Muqqarara* means established or fixed. For *Kamil* see *supra* f.n. 2
7. Infantry garrisons. See *Mustehlat-e-Deccan* by Aziz Jung, 109
8. The endorsement on top of the document by the provincial *Diwan* implies approval of the amount mentioned in the document with regard to the general *jamabandi* and fixation of *Chauth* amount. The endorsement also gives sanction to the enhancement in *Chauth* amount by two and half annas per rupee which was found to be less during the assessment made on the orders of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I. The documents give details of the investigations made for the assessment of revenue of the *mahalats* of the jagir of the Mubariz Khan and few other jagirdars of *subah* Hyderabad.
9. See f.n. 12, *infra*.

1976

Nine *Mahals*Fixed *Thankhwah Kamil*¹⁰ Rs. 8,42,790/8/6.Fixed *Jamabandi* Rs. 1,29,883/2/-Fixed *chauth* (as per the contract) Rs. 32,470/12/6Actual (*Asl*)¹¹ Previous Enhancement Rs. 4,289/18/-

Rs. 28,181/4 Two and Half annas per rupee

Jagir Mubariz Khan Bahadur¹² Rs. 4,289/8pargana Kohir etc. Jagir Khajam Quli Khan Bahadur,¹³
Three *Mahals*.Five *Mahals* Fixed *Thankhwah Kamil*
Rs. 3,32,720/1/9.Fixed *Tankhwah Kamil* Rs. 4,82,189 Jagir Khajam Quli KhanFixed *Jamabandi* Rs. 70,025 Rs. 396,35/2/3Fixed *Chauth* Rs. 17,506/4. Mohammed Iqtiyar Rs. 135/3/6.

10. The document also enlightens us about the basis of *jamabandi*. It is noticed that for the *thankhwah Kamil* of Rs. 842796/8/6 the assessed revenue for payment as the *jamabandi* was fixed at Rs. 129883/12/- i.e. it works out to one - sixth (approximately) of the *thankhwah kamil*. But this was not constant. In the same document it will be noticed that in the case of the jagir of Lutufullah Khan the *jamabandi* of Rs. 10423/8/- was about half of that of the *thankhwah Kamil* which was Rs. 27880/12/7. Evidently there was no fixed rule or ratio for fixing the *jamabandi* on the basis of *thankhwah Kamil*.

11. *Asl* means original—here implying the existing or old rates of assessment before enhancement was made.

12. After the victory of Nizam ul Mulk in the battle of Shaker Khera in 1724 he tried to reconcile and treated with consideration and honours were accorded not only to the supporters of former *subedar* but also to the kit and kin of Mubariz Khan who fought against him in the battle. As such in 1137F (1726-27) Nizam ul Mulk granted the title of Mubariz Khan to Khawja Mahmud Khan son of former Mubariz Khan Imadul Mulk who died in the battle of Shaker Khera. He gave the title of father to the son and granted a jagir in fertile area—*Hadiqatul Alam*, 137.

13. Khajam Quli Khan was Turani army chief and fought on the side of Nizam ul Mulk in the battle of Shaker Khera—Yusuf Hussain Khan: *Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I*, 15).

Asl

Rs. 15,506/4/6

Jagir Muhammed Tahir

Jagir Lutfullah etc. Pargana

Rs. 4,000/-

Odemari, Sarkar Bhongir

Qila Kolas (*Ahsham*)

Rs. 18,147/12

Mahal as per *Ta'ahud*.*Thankhwah Khamil* Rs. 27,880/12/13 Fixed *Jamabandi*Fixed *Jamabandi* Rs. 10,423/8 Rs. 495,43/10.Fixed *Chauth* Rs. 2,605/- Fixed *Chauth* Rs. 12,358/10/6*Asl* of*Asl* of

Previous	Enhancement	Enhancement	Previous	Enhancement
year			year	

Rs. 2,316/6	Rs. 2,000/-	Rs. 289/8	Rs. 10,358/10/6	Rs. 2,000/-
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DOCUMENT V

Orders¹⁴ issued for the enhancement of two and half annas per rupee (*do wo Neem anna siree rupiah*) according to the *Jamabandi Chauth* (assessment and fixation of the *Chauth* amount) without *sehbandi* 1138F. (1728).

Yaddasht (Memorandum) regarding the amount of Rs.44182/2/- of *Chauth* from the *pargana* Kulpak etc. *mahalat* mentioned below, of the jagir of Shahamat Khan¹⁵ for the last year 1137 F. as a

14. The endorsement on the top of this document are the Royal Orders (*Amar-e-Aali*) sanctioning revision or enhancement in the rate of collecting *Chauth* according to the *Jamabandi* (assessment) of revenue and recovery of arrears at the revised rate without the expenses of *sehbandi* for the year 1137 F.

15. The document relate to the collection of *Chauth* at enhanced rate from the jagir of Shahmet Jung. His original name was Khawja Ahmed Khan. At the time of the battle of Shaker Khera he crossed over to Nizam ul Mulk from Mubariz Khan's camp. After the battle, Nizam ul Mulk honoured him with the title of Sahmet Jung and granted the rank of 5000 *Zai* and 2,000 horse and was given Jagir of Kulpak, to which this document is concerned.—Md. Junaidi: *Hayat-e-Asaf*, 240; Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, 164

result of enhancement of two and half annas per rupee with the expenses of *sehbandi*¹⁶ for the current year, 1138F., '*bilmuqta*'¹⁷ has been assigned to me.

I accept and write that I will pay this amount in instalments into the treasury of Furkundabunad (Hyderabad).

Whatever amount the former *Tahsildar Chauth* Jagat Singh, now dismissed, has collected as per the *tumar paper*¹⁸ will be taken into account, with the signatures of the *Zamindar* and will be deducted. These few lines are written as an agreement *ta'ahud* (contract) to remain as a testimony (*sanad*).

Written on 11 Shahban 1141 H (1J32). One *Mahal* each for the following parganas :

Kulpak, Rajkonda, Teekmal, Vemalkonda, Udemhari, Narikonda, Shah Nagar, Eroyal, Kotamal and Narkoyal.

Fixed *Chauth* : Rs. 44122/-

Enhancement

Rs. 49219/10/3	40902/10/19
From 1st Zighada 1141 to the end	From 1st Zilhijja 1141
of the month—Rs. 11,000/-	to the end of the month
	Rs. 11, 122/2-

16. *Sehbandi* was the irregular infantry engaged to enforce the collection of *Chauth* or any other revenue. Mughals paid 7% of *Chauth* amount towards the *sehbandi* expenses, *Azamul-Atiyat*, 97

17. *Bilmuqta*—stipulated—implying jagir held at a fixed rate. *Wilson's Glossary*, 134, 506. Also *Farhang-e-Osmania (Istehlahat-e-Asnadi)* by Mir Lutfe Ali Asif Abulullah, 254.

18. *Tumar*—a roll, a record, a register an account. *Tumar-i-Jama*—the sum total of the land revenue according to register, the recorded standard assessment of the land revenue—*Wilson's Glossary*, 842.

DOCUMENT VI

“Write the *Sanad*”¹⁹

The balance of Rs. 15,036/4/- stipulated for the year 1137 F. (1728) is due from the pargana Kohir, *mahalat* jagir Mubariz Khan Bahadur. Khawja Mohammed Ashraf, *tahsildar Chauth* having been transferred Mubariz Khan Bahadur be appointed to the responsibility of collecting *Chauth*.

Agreed for the 7% charges towards *sehbandi* and *haq-i-tahsil* and to all that agreed to and entered by the former *tahsildar* in the *awarajat*.²⁰ As per the receipt the amount will be credited in the treasury of Hyderabad.

What are the orders for the issuance of the *sanad* ?

Five *Mahals*.

Rs. 5,23,947/7

Jagir Hamidullah Khan Bahadur Rs. 4, 82, 158/7/-

Pargana Kohir	Pargana Kotpalli	Pargana Dawadur
Rs. 1,62,158/6/-	Rs. 54,527/-	Rs. 40,955/8/3
Pargana Hatnoor	Pargana Telwar	
Rs. 1,62,234/7/-	Rs. 1,08,403/13/-	

19. The document is the *Kaifiyat-e-daftir* submitted on the transfer of Khwaja Muhammad Ashraf, *tahsildar Chauth* seeking orders for the appointment of Mubariz Khan as the *tahsildar of Chauth* for his own jagir. Mubariz Khan agreed for the terms and conditions which the former *tahsildar* had entered. The document gives details of the other jagirdars and *mahals* within the jagir of Mubariz Khan from whom they had to collect the *Chauth* on a commission of 7% as *haq-i-tahsil* and *sehbandi* charges. The provincial *Diwan* approved the note and ordered for the issuance of the *sanad* in the name of Mubariz Khan.

20. *Awarjat* is the plural of *awarija*—a diary, a ledger, an abstract account of receipts and disbursements—*Siyag-e-Deccan, op. cit.*, 96; *Wilson's Glossary*, 63.

Deduction – Jagir of Hamid Ali Khan, Rs. 41,189/8/-

Balance Rs. 1,81,045/8/-

Fixed *Mahal bilmuqta* (stipulated) Rs. 15,506/4/-

16 Shaban, 1140 H. (1728)

DOCUMENT VII

“I, am Gopal Pandit, *Vakil* of Mubariz Khan Bahadur.²¹

The *Chauth* of paragona Kohir etc. *subah* Farkhundabunyad, Jagir of of my principal (*Muvakkil*) has been given on contract (*ta'ahud*) to my principal (Mubariz Khan). Hence, I agree that after the investigation of *Jamabandi* of the *mahalat*, the amount which the *tahsildar Chauth*, Muhammed Ashraf used to collect will be credited into the treasury of Hyderabad, after deducting the *haq-i-tahsil*. These few lines are like a *muchalka* (agreement) as proof for the future. Dated 9 Rajab 1140 H (1727).

DOCUMENT VIII

“I am Gopal Pandit, *Vakil* of Mubariz Khan Bahadur.

The stipulated (*bilmuqta*) amount of Rs. 15,506/4/- for payment to Raja Sahu towards *Chauth* from the paragona Kohir etc. *subah* Farkundabunyad, *mahalat* Jagir of my *muwakkil* (Mubariz Khan) has been settled last year 1137F (1724). The amount for the year 1138F (1725), as per the contract of my principal, without deducting charges towards *haq-i-tahsil* has been deposited in the treasury, in instalments,

21. As already mentioned above the procedure was that before a *sanad* could be issued from the office of a *Diwan*, the concerned person in whose name the *sanad* had to be issued or his representative (*Vakil*) had to sign and submit a *muchalka* (agreement). Thus this document is the *muchalka* for the issuance of a *sanad* mentioned above in the document VI. See *Siyaq-Nam*, 67, 76.

indicated below. These few lines are by way of a bond (*ta'ahud*)²² as proof for the future.

Pargana Kohir <i>Mahal</i>	Pargana Neknur <i>Mahal</i>	Pargana Kodur <i>Mahal</i>	Pargana Mabtoor	Pargana Kotpally
upto the end of Rajab 1141F. Rs. 3,500/-	upto the end of Ramzan Rs. 3,500/-	upto the end of Zighada Rs. 400/-	upto the end of Moharram Rs. 4,000/-	upto the end of Rajab 1141F Rs. 4,000/-

DOCUMENT IX

Details of *Chauth*, *sardeshmukhi*, *babti*, etc.²³

Taxes (*abwabs*) of Rao Pandit Pradhan, from the beginning to the different dates, of paragona haveli Pattan etc. *subah* Khujistabunyad Pargana Haveli Pattan, Sarkar *maskur* (same, cited above).

22. After the execution and submission of the *muchalka*, the concerned person, in whose name the *sanad* had to be issued was supposed to execute a *ta'ahud* (bond) — (See *Siyaq Nama*, 50, 62). But as evident from this document the *ta'ahud* also was executed by the *Vakil* of Mubariz Khan. It is also evident from the document that before the *ta'ahud* was executed the *Vakil* had already credited into the Government treasury the amount towards *Chauth* in instalments. It also states that the amount towards *haq-i-tahsil* has not been deducted for the instalments credited which is against the agreement mentioned in the *qabuliyat* cited above.

23. This document is a *Kaifiyat* and earliest document, recorded so far, giving details of division and distribution of the amount of *Chauth*, *Sardeshmukhi*, *Mokasa* etc. Though it is dated 1185F (1775-76) but it states on almost every page that the details mentioned are in accordance with the practice prevalent during the times of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I. It gives full details of the Maratha levies as due from the paragona haveli Pattan in *subah* Khujistabunyad Aurangabad. The documents provide very valuable data of twelve years period and furnishes details of the distribution of the *Chauth* amount into various divisions.

From the document it is also evident that the terms *Chauth* and *mokasa* has been used synonymously – a very unusual and unique feature.

Details

From the beginning of 1158F to 1169 F. As during the times of *Hazrat Maghfarat Ma'ab* (Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I) 12 years Fixed as per the following details :

From the beginning of 1170 to 1184 F. As per Rao Pandit Pradhan Rs. 100/-

Fixed as per the following details :

Rs. 112/8/-

Jamabandi *Sardeshmukhi*
Rs. 100/- Rs. 12/8

<i>Sarkar</i> ²⁴	<i>Chauth, balti & Sardeshmukhi</i>	<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Nazar & Kaodana</i> ²⁶	<i>Mokasa & Bakti</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
77/8/-	35/-	72/-	13-13-9	17/15/9	9/9/-

*Mal*²⁵ *Abwab* *Chauth & balti* *Jamabandi*
Rs. 67/8 Rs. 10/- Rs. 100/- Rs. 100/-
Deduct as follows
Abwab Rs. 10/-
Rs. 90/-
Deduct *Sarkar's* share Rs. 22/8 *Nazar-Kaodana*
Rao Pandit Pradhan

24. *Sarkar* here implies Mughal Government under the *Subedar* of the Deccan. And the amount under this head means share of the Government in the revenue.

25. *Mal* is a fixéal term, here implying revenue derived from the land. *Wilson's Glossary*, 306.

26. *Nazar and Kaodana*. *Nazar*, a gift, a present. Here implying present made to the *subedar* of the Deccan. *Kaodana* is fodder for the horses.

Mokasa Bakti
Rs. 22/8 Rs. 5/10 Deduct
Sardeshmukh
Rs. 99/-
Rs. 76/9/3
Deduct *Mokasa & Bakti* Rs. 17/5/3
Mokasa-Bakti
Rs. 13/3/3

Pargana Dawarvadi

From the begining of 1158 F to 1168 F.				From the Beginning of 1169F to 1184 F,			
Rs. 110/-				Rs. 130/-			
<i>Ain</i> ²⁷	<i>Abwab</i>	<i>Chauth & balti</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>	<i>Ain</i>	<i>Nazar</i>	<i>Chauth & Bakti</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
68/5	9/4	110/-	10/-	67/6/3	8/4/9	100/-	10/3
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 10/- <i>Abwab</i> Rs. 9/4 Rs. 90/12 Three fourth share of the <i>Sarkar</i> Rs. 68/11 <i>Chauth & Bakti</i> Rs. 22/11 <i>Chauth Bakti</i> Rs. 17/- Rs. 5/11				<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 10/3 Rs. 89/13 Deduct <i>Nazar</i> Rs. 8/4/9 Rs. 81/8/3 Deduct share of the <i>Sarkar</i> Rs. 62/6/3 <i>Chauth & Bakti</i> Rs. 19/9			

27. *Ain* means specific sum or value - reveuue originally fixed or standard assessment of the land. *Siyaq-e-Deccan*, 134, *Wilson's Glossary*, 21; See also *Usul-us-Siyaq*, 75

From the begining of 1185F to 1187F

Rs. 100/-

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Chauth, balti & Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 69/7/9	Rs. 30/4/3
<i>Ain</i> <i>Abwab</i>	<i>Chauth & balti</i> — <i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 60/7/9 Rs. 9/4	Rs. 100/- Rs. 10/1/3
	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 10/1/3
	Rs. 89/14/9
	<i>Abwab</i> Rs. 9/4
	Rs. 80/10/9
	Deduct <i>Sarkar's</i>
	share Rs. 60/7/9
	<i>Chauth & balti</i> Rs. 10/1/3
	Rs. 20/3/-

Pargana Sandwara

Details from the begining of 1140 F to 1168 F.

Mal

Rs. 100/-

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Chaharum²⁸, balti and Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 69/3/3	Rs. 28/2/9
<i>Ain</i> <i>Abwab</i>	<i>Chauth & Balti</i> — <i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
61/2/3 8/4	Rs. 100/- Rs. 8/2
	Deduct <i>Abwab</i> Rs. 8/4
	Rs. 91/12

<i>Rusum-i-Zamindaran²⁹</i>	Deduction as follows
Rs. 2/7	Rs. 10/9
	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> — <i>Rusum-i-Zamindaran</i>
	Rs. 8/2 Rs. 2/7
	Rs. 81/3

23. *Chaharum* (one-fourth) implying *Chauth*.

29. *Rusum-i-Zamindaran*. It was the perquisite granted to the Zamindars usually 2 to 5% for the collection of the revenue. Zamindars here means *deshmukh* *deshpandia*, *sardeshmukh* and *ganungo*. *Azam ul Atiyat*, 81 f, *Siyaq-e-Deccan*, 60.

Itihas IV, i.

Deduct three-fourth share of *Sarkar*

Rs. 61/2/3

Chauth & balti

Rs. 20/9

Chauth *Balti*

Rs. 15/9 Rs. 5/-

Rahdari

Rs. 100/-

Deduct *Sehbandi* Rs. 24/-

Rs. 76/-

Sarkar
Rs. 44/13/9

Chaharum, Balti and Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 29/213

Chauth & Balti *Sardeshmukhi*

Rs. 76/4 Rs. 8/11/3

Deduct as follows :

Sardeshmukhi - *Rusum-i-Zamindar*

Fixed 10%

Rs. 6/11/3 Rs. 2/-

Rs. 67/4/6

Two shares of the *Sarkar*³⁰

Rs. 44 13/4

Chauth etc. One share Rs. 22/6/9

Chauth - two shares *Balti* - one share

Rs. 14/10 Rs. 7/7/9

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Rs. 2/-

30. The distribution of the amount of *Chauth* and *balti* appears to be not a fixed ratio as evident from this document. At this point, it is clearly mentioned that the total amount (here Rs. 6, 714/6) was divided into three portions. Two shares (Rs. 44/13/4) were towards the Mughal Government ; while one share (Rs. 22/6/9) was towards *Chauth*. That is, 33-1/3% towards *Chauth* as against the sanctioned percentage of one-fourth. Again out of the one-third portion, two shares were towards *chauth* (Rs. 14/10) and one share (Rs. 7/7/9) towards *Balti*. That is, *Balti* was allotted at the rate of 33-1/3% as against the traditional rate of 25%.

1976

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M.A. NAYFEM

From the begining of 1169F to 1184F.

Mal (Revenue)

Rs. 109/-

Ain Havaladari³¹ per hundred

Rs. 100/- Rs. 6/-

per hundred

Rs. 3/-

Sarkar

Chaharum, babti & sardeshmukhi

Rs. 33/12

Rs. 76/6

Chauth & babti Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 107/10

Rs. 12/8

Deduct as follows :

Sardeshmukhi

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Rs. 9/10

Rs. 2/14

Rs. 96/8

Deduct three shares of the Sarkar³²

Rs. 72/6

Chauth & babti

Rs. 24/2

Mal

Chaharum, babti & sardeshmukhi

Chauth & babti

Chauth

Babti

Rs. 18/16

Rs. 5/-/6

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Rs. 2/14/-

31. Havaladari—the office or tenure of a Havaladar—a charge made to the villages for the expenses of subordinate revenue officers sent to watch or to attach the crops. *Wilson's Glossary*, 317.

32. Here three shares of the revenue i.e. 75% has been deducted towards Sarkar's account while 25% towards Chauth & babti which is in order as per the Mughal grant.

Rahdari

Rs. 100/-

Sarkar

Chaharum, babti & sardeshmukhi

Rs. 38/5/6

Rs. 59/-/6

Chauth & babti

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 100/-

Rs. 8/13/6

Deduct as follows

Rs. 11/7/6

Sardeshmukhi

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Rs. 8,13/6

Rs. 2/10

Rs. 88/8/6

Deduct two shares of Sarkar

Rs. 5/-/6

Chauth & babti

One shares

Rs. 29/8

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Rs. 2/10/-

From the beginning of 1188F to 1188 F.

Mal

Rs. 100/-

Sarkar

Chaharum, babti & sardeshmukhi

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 69/8/6

Rs. 28/1/6

Rs. 8/-

Ain

Abwab

Chauth & babti

Rs. 60/4/6

Rs. 9/4/-

Rs. 100/-

Deduct abwab as follows

Rs. 9 4

Rusum-i-Zamindaran

Deduct as follows

Rs. 2/6/-

Rs. 10/6

Sardehsumkhi

Rusum-i-Deshmukh

Rs. 8/-

Rs. 2/6

Rs. 80/6

1976

Deduct three shares of the Sarkar
Rs. 60/3/6

*Chauth & balti*³³
Rs. 20/10

Mokasa *Balti*
Rs. 15/8/1 Rs. 5/2

DOCUMENT X

Details³⁴ of *Chauth*, *balti* and *sardeshmukhi mahalat* Pattan etc. *subah* Khujistabunad, for 1185F according to the practise prevalent during the times of *Bandegan Hazrat Maghfarat Ma'ab* (Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I)

Rs. 44,550/6/-

Sardeshmukhi *Chauth & balti*
Rs. 13,144/8/9 Rs. 31,305/13/3

Pargana Pattan
Rs. 3,909/13/6

33. Here the division of *Chauth & balti* amount (Rs. 20/10/-) has been made into about three shares for *mokasa* (Rs. 15/8/-) and about one fourth share for *Balti* (Rs. 5/2). This is in accordance with the traditional practice of the division, as mentioned above.
34. This is a *Kaifiyat*, similar to the previous document and relating to the same pargana Pattan of *subah* Aurangabad; but giving details for years 1185 to 1190 F. (1775-1780). It is evident from the document that out of the total amount of Rs. 44,550/6/- about 30% was towards *sardeshmukhi* and the remaining for *Chauth and balti*. The document give valuable details, important from economic point of view. The document furnishes details as per the *dual* (a document giving estimates of the revenue) and gives figures due to the increase in the amount of *sair* (revenue from all other sources except land revenue) upto the year 1190 F. It is also evident that the Government was kind and considerate in these collections as considerable amount was exempted due to the poor financial conditions of the people—probably due to some natural calamity.

Itihas IV, i.

As per the previous *daul* Enanced *sair* upto Jamadiulavval 1190F.
Rs. 2,07,786/9/ Rs. 3,143/4/-

Rs. 27,752/15/3 Deducted due to the poor financial conditions
Rs. 2,73,156 of the people.

Rs. 1,26,336/- Deduct.

Nazar for royal appearance³⁵ Other account
Rs. 6,00,000/- Rs. 66,336/-

*Patta*³⁶ *Nazar*
Rs. 4,186/- Rs. 7,954/-

Pargana Pattan

Deduct
Regarding

*Sader*³⁷ *Patti sarbasta*³⁸
Rs. 45,949/- Rs. 4,933/-
Rs. 3,310/-
Rs. 1,46,820/14/9

Deduct Rs. 31,366/10/-

*Chaldu*³⁹ *Madiya*⁴⁰
Rs. 53,010/7/6 Rs. 510/7/-

35. Amount presented when the provincial governor visited the place.

36. *Patta*—a place where people of different business communities live. *Patta Patti* is the revenue received from the *Patta*. *Siyag-e-Deccan* 67. *Patti* signifies occasional or extra imposts or cess—*Wilson's Glossary*, 665

37. *Sader*—here it seems to imply Government revenue. The meaning of *Sader* as amount allotted towards stationery etc. (*Siyag-e-Deccan*, 106) does not apply, as this meaning has no relevance to the contents of the document.

38. *Pattisarbasta*. It is the revenue fixed on a *maoza* for payment. *Siyag-e-Deccan* 50.

39. *Chaldu* - *Chaltu* - land in cultivation. *Wilson's Glossary*. 154

40. *Madiya* - *Madi* - a rice field, a garden bet. *Wilson's Glossary*, 495

*Sipai*⁴¹

Rs. 800/12/- Rs. 11,554/3/9

Deduct *Sehbandi Sair*

Rs. 792/1/9

Rs. 1,14,662/2/3

Deduct regarding *Sair*—share of *Chauth* & *Sardeshmukhi*, as per the papers received— Rs. 1,517/13/6.

As per the papers of Pandit Pradhan As per the papers of

Rs. 1,284/7/6

Harmaji Naik

Rs. 233/6.

Rs. 34,816/6/5

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 10,211/15/9

Chauth & balti

Rs. 24,604/2/6

Pargana Pattan

Mal

Rs. 2,56,000/-

Rs. 27,756/15/3 Deduct due to the poor conditions of the people

Rs. 2,28,248/0/4

Rs. 1,26,336/- Deduct

Nazar

Rs. 60,000/-

Siwai

Rs. 66,336/-

Rs. 11,312/9/-

Fixed

Sardeshmukhi per hundred and ten rupees ten.

Rs. 9,264/11/0

Chauth and balti

Rs. 92,647/5/9

Deduct *Abwab* Rs. 9,388/14/-*Sredehi*⁴²

Rs. 810/-

*Sersad*⁴³

Rs. 30,000/-

41. *Siwai* - Revenue derived from all taxes except those raised from land, and exclusive of customs and transit dues - *Wilson's Glossary*, 78042. *Sredehi* - Cash amount fixed/collected/granted at the rate of per village. *Azamul-Atiyat*, 92 f, *Tarikh-e-Atiyat-Asafi*, 4243. *Sersad* means per hundred.

Rs. 8,569/14

Rs. 8,3258/7/9

Rs. 20,814/8/-

Sair Rahdari Rs. 9,509/13/-As per the previous *daul*

Rs. 6,366/9/-

Enhanced upto Jamdi-ul-avval 1190 F

Rs. 3,143/4/-

Deduct share of *Chauth*, *sardeshmukhi* & *balti* as per the papers received Rs. 1,517/13/6.

As per the papers of Pandit Pradhan

Rs. 1,284/7/6

According to the administration of Harmaji Naik.

Rs. 233/6

Rs. 739/15/-

Deduct *Sehbandi*

Rs. 792/1/6

Rs. 7,199/14/-

Fixed

Rs. 3,479/10

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 614/15/9

Chauth & balti

Rs. 2,864/10/3

Marda (or *Maljā*)

Rs. 574/1

About villages.

Rs. 1,111/6/9

Ain

Rs. 543/11/6

*Chathavan*⁴⁴

Rs. 30/5/6

Rs. 377/2/3

Fixed two shares

Rs. 577/10/9

Sardeshmukhi per hundred rupees ten*Mokasa & balti*

Rs. 1,074/-

fixed one-fourth

Rs. 269/12

44. *Chathavan* means one sixth. It is the share of the *Sarkar* or the Government collected on the basis of six annas per *bigha* of land in the category of *Bhant Maniya*. *Bhant maniya* is the land given as honoraria for *sephaguri* (guarding or protecting) of the villages, cultivation etc.—*Azamul Atiyat*, 71 f. *Siyaq-e-Deccan*, 54.

<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> ⁴⁵	<i>Mokasa & balti</i>
One-sixth share	<i>Ain</i> two shares
Rs. 60/6/3	Rs. 362/8
	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
	Rs. 60/6/6
<i>Chathavan</i>	
Rs. 30/5/6	
Fixed <i>Chauth & balti</i>	
Rs. 15/2/9	
<i>Rahdari</i>	
Rs. 5,444/6/-	Rs. 6,236/7/6
Deduct due to war	
Rs. 44/14	Rs. 4,995/8/-
Fixed on	Rs. 2,724/13/3
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> per hundred and ten rupees ten.	<i>Mokasa & balti</i>
Rs. 454/2/-	Rs. 4,541/6/6
<i>Kishtighat</i> ⁴⁶	
Rs. 211/3/-	
As per the papers of Pandit Pradhan	As per Sarkar's officials
Rs. 168/9/6	Rs. 42/9/6
Fixed	Rs. 56/12/6
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> ⁴⁷	<i>Mokasa & balti</i>
Rs. 42/9/6	Rs. 205/4/-
One-eight share	Rs. 5/-
	One-fourth share Rs. 59/7/6

45. Note here unusual distribution of *Sardeshmukhi* as one-sixth portion of the total amount of *Chauth & bati* (Rs. 362/8/-). No explanation for this is given.

46. The amount against *Kishtighat* implies taxes collected at the check-post of *Kishtighat* on the river Ganga (Purna). See document XVI *infra*.

47. Note here the distribution of *Sardeshmukhi* into one-eight share. No explanation is given.

<i>Kotwali</i> and <i>faroy</i> ⁴⁸ etc.	Rs. 4,621/10/-
Share as per rules	Rs. 800/12/6
<i>Nazar</i>	<i>Masaleh</i> ⁴⁹
Rs. 129/-	Rs. 34/6/3
<i>Zabtee</i> ⁵⁰	<i>Sredhra</i> ⁵¹
Rs. 20/8 6	Rs. 18/4/-
<i>Pattiahangaran</i> ⁵²	<i>Ziyafat</i> ⁵³
Rs. 159/-	Rs. 178/-
<i>Zar-e-Beechak</i> ⁵⁴	<i>Mal-e-Zabtee</i>
Rs. 145/15/9	Rs. 36/-
<i>Chathavan</i>	
Rs. 79/10	
<i>Kotwali</i>	<i>Faroy</i>
Rs. 1,610/8/6	Rs. 1,385/10/3
<i>Chathavan</i>	<i>Kaulana</i> ⁵⁵
Rs. 224/-	Rs. 1/-
Fixed	Rs. 1,201/89/-

48. *Kotwali* and *Faroy* etc. *Kotwali* implies taxes or cess collected by the *Kotwal* (Chief police officer or a superintendent of markets) - *Wilson's Glossary*, 464. *Faroy* etc. implies other taxes which come under the per-view of *Kotwali* - *Farhang-e-Anand Raj*, 891.

49. *Masaleh* - implying various materials used in the preparation of anything. Here implying expenses towards the preparations. *Farhang-e-Anand Raj*, 333.

50. *Zabtee* - implying revenue confiscated.

51. Same as *sredhi* - see f.n. 42, *Supra*.

52. *Pattiahangaran* - implies cess (*patti*) collected from the blacksmiths (*ahangaran*).

53. *Ziyafat* was the entertainment tax.

54. *Zar-e beechak* - revenue or cost calculated after taking into account all the expenses incurred on any article etc. - *Farhang-e-Anand Raj*, 521.

55. *Kaulana* - *Kaulawan* - the cost or fees of procuring a *Kaul* (agreement or contract) - *Wilson's Glossary*, 423, *Siyag*, 49.

Sardeshmukhi per hundred and ten rupees ten-after deducting
Chauth & balti
 Rs. 3,494/13
Chathavan Sader
 Fixed one-fourth
 Rs. 327/- Rs. 873/8/6

Pargana Dawarmeri

Rs. 32,223/2/9
 Rs. 700/- Deduct due to the poor condition of the public.
 Rs. 4,811/- Deduct *Nazar* to the Sarkar.
 Rs. 33,712/2/9
 Rs. 7,405 Deduct regarding *Siwai*.
 Rs. 25,307/2/9
 Fixed Rs. 7,652/6/9

Sardeshmukhi *Chauth & balti*
 Rs. 11,300/9/9 Rs. 3,951/3

According to *Mal*

Rs. 39,000/-
 Rs. 700/- Deduct stoppage
 Rs. 10,216/-

*Nazar-e-Sawari Mubarak*⁵⁶ Regarding *Siwai*
 Rs. 48/1/- Rs. 7,405/-
Nazar *Nazar*
 Rs. 1,028/- Rs. 2,330/-

Expenditure of *sadar* *Patta*
 Rs. 3,213/11 Rs. 1,146

Rusum-i-Zamindaran
 Rs. 2,280/-

Rs. 25,085/-
 Rs. 7,581/12/-

56. Present given to the Nizam when he visited the place.

Sardeshmukhi per one hundred and ten rupees ten.
 Rs. 2,280/7
Chauth & balti
 Rs. 22,804/9/-
 Rs. 1,599/4 *abwab*

*Srisad haft rupia*⁵⁷ *Srideh*
 Rs. 1,508/4/-

13 *Maoza*
 Rs. 7/-per *maoza*
 Rs. 91/-

Rs. 21,205/5
 Fixed *Chaharrum*
 Rs. 5,300/5
 Rs. 222/2/9
 70/10/9

Sair rahdari
 Fixed

Sardeshmukhi *Chauth & balti*
 Rs. 20/2/9 Rs. 202/-

Pargana Sandwara fixed one-fourth.

Rs. 12,619/8/-
 Rs. 244/7/3 deduct due to the poor conditions of the public.
 Rs. 5423/ deduct
 Rs. 12,375-/5

Nazar Sarkar *Siwai*
 Rs. 2,500/- Rs. 2,923/-

Havaldari previous
 Rs. 424/8 Rs. 212/4

Pargana Sandwara

Siwai
Rusum-i-Zamindaran *Nazar*
 Rs. 190/- Rs. 200/-
 About *Ain* *Sadar* etc.
 Rs. 300/- Rs. 1,593/4

57. *Srisad haft rupia* means per hundred seven rupees i.e. 7/-.

Rs. 6,952/8/9

Rs. 1,043/14/-

Sardeshmukhi per hundred
& ten rupees ten. *Chauth & balti*

Rs. 613/15/3

Rs. 1,449/13/9

Mal

Rs. 12,500/-

Rs. 244/7/3

Rs. 12,255/8/9

Deduction due to poor conditions of the people.

Nazar Siwai

Rs. 2,500/-

Rs. 6,832/8/9

Rs. 5,423/-

Rs. 2,923/-

Fixed

Rs. 2,043/4

Sardeshmukhi for one hundred
and ten rupees ten

Rs. 621/2/3

Chauth and balti

Rs. 6,211/6/6

Rs. 520/4/9 deduct *abwab**Srisad*

Rs. 7/4

Rs. 5,691/10/3

Srideh

10 (Villages)

Rs. 70/-

Rs. 1,420/12/-

deduct one fourth

Pargana Sandwara Sair Rahdari etc.

Rs. 119/8/-

Rs. 37/14/-

Sardeshmukhi

One sixth portion

Rs. 10/13/-

Chauth & balti

Rs. 108/11/-

fixed one fourth Rs. 27/10/-

Itihas VI, i.

DOCUMENT XI

*Rozeena Wasul*⁵⁸—*Chauth, Balti, Sahotra, Sardeshmukhi*, Rao Pandit Pradhan *Mahalat*, except *makhta maoza*⁵⁹ Rudra, Pargana Khotgir and *maoza* Sherpur etc., *dehat*⁶⁰ pargana Endnur, sarkar Nanded, *subah* Muhammedabad, from 1197 F to 1198 F (1787—1789).

Annual statement as per the letter (*Inayat Nama*) with special seal in the name of Raja Shankar Rao Bahadur, dated 1st Shavval 1202 H (August 1788). Following details as per Raja Shankar Rao Bahadur.

Rs. 4,742/12

Maoza Rudra pargana Kotgir

Rs. 1,356/-

Maoza Sherpur etc. pargana Endnur

Rs. 2,393/12

Chauth
Rs. 1,000/-
(*Jumla*)⁶¹

Balti
Rs. 220/8

Chauth
Rs. 600/-

Balti
Rs. 1,316/11

*Ain**Karkuni*⁶²*Ain**Karkuni*

One-fourth

Rs. 187/8

Rs. 33

Rs. 550/-

Rs. 50/-

Rs. 3,29/3
Rs. 985/8

58. *Rozeena Wasul* or the document giving details of daily receipts. But actually it does not give daily accounts. It is an Annual statement furnishing accounts of the Maratha levies for the years 1197 - 1198 F. The statement is based on the letter of the *Diwan* in the name Raja Shankar Rao Bahadur. The document gives details of the Maratha levies relating to the sarkar Nanded, *subah* Muhammedabad, Bider with the amount of one-fourth of the total levies stopped and with-held by the Nizam due to the dispute already mentioned above.

59. *Makhta* means land held at a fixed rate. (*Wilson's Glossary*, 134, 506) *Maoza* is small village.

60. *Dehat* means small village.

61. *Jumla* means sum, total, aggregate.

62. *Karkuni* from *Karkun*, meaning a clerk, ascribe. *Karkuni* here implies office expenses incurred towards the collection of the Maratha levies. The rate of *Karkuni* was not constant, as will be evident from the document, it varied for different types of Maratha levies. For the total amount of Rs. 224/8 of *Balti* the *Karkuni* was Rs. 33/- i.e. about 15%. For the total

One-fourth ⁶³	One-fourth	One-fourth	
Rs. 250/-	Rs. 55/-	Rs. 150/-	
	Balance	Rs. 450/-	
	Rs. 165/6		
<i>Sahotra</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>	<i>Sahotra</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 50/-	Rs. 537/8	Rs. 100/-	Rs. 1,175 (<i>Jumla</i>)
One-fourth	<i>Ain</i>	<i>Karkuni</i>	One-fourth
Rs. 12/8	Rs. 437/8		<i>Ain</i>
Rs. 37/8		Rs. 100/-	<i>Karkuni</i>
	One-fourth		
	Rs. 1,341/6		Rs. 93/12
	Rs. 403/2		Rs. 881/4

DOCUMENT XII

*Rozeena Wasul*⁶⁴—*Chauth*, *babti*, *sahotra*, *sardeshmukhi* Rao Pandit Pradhan Petah Jalalpur and Srikanda pargana *Khariyat* Kolas, sarkar Nanded, *subah* Muhammedabad Bidar. Petah Srikanda—From the beginning of 1195F as per the letter in the name of Raja Shankar Rao Bahadur dated 12 Rabi I 1203 H. (9th Dec. 1788).

amount of Rs. 600/- of *Chauth* the *Karkuni* was Rs. 50/-, i.e. about 8.3%. For the total amount of Rs. 537/8 of *Sardeshmukhi* the *Karkuni* was Rs. 109/- i.e. about 18%. No *Karkuni* for *sahotra* was charged. The *Karkuni* was paid by the Mughals or the Nizam to the Marathas at places where the Marathas themselves collected the levies directly. That is in all five *subhas* of the Deccan except that of *subah* Hyderabad. Where the Nizam took the responsibility of collecting and paying cash to Marathas.

63. The one-fourth here signifies not *Chauth* but one-fourth of the *Chauth* amount stopped or withheld by Nizam Ali Khan for the *subah* Muhammedabad Bider only due to the dispute over their settlement. The documents gives details of the Maratha levies due to the Marathas less one-fourth withheld by the Sarkar which had to be remitted the Sarkar.
64. This document is similar to the previous one and only a portion of the document is given here. It will be noticed that the term "*mokasa-Chauth*" has been used in the document. The deductions of one-fourth in this document are one-fourth of the *Chauth* amount withheld by the Sarkar. The rate of *Karkuni* here differs with that given in the previous document.

Iitias IV, i.

<i>Mokasa - Chauth</i>		<i>Babti</i>
Rs. 1,050/- yearly		Rs. 983/5
<i>Ain</i>	<i>Karkuni</i>	<i>Ain</i>
Rs. 950/-	Rs. 100/-	Rs. 933/8
		<i>Karkuni</i>
		Rs. 50/-
Deduct one-fourth		Deduct one-fourth
Rs. 282/8		Rs. 95/14
Rs. 787/8		Rs. 287/10
<i>Sahota</i>		<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 100/-		Rs. 900/-
Fixed yearly		<i>Ain</i>
One-fourth Rs. 25/-		Rs. 825
Rs. 75		<i>Karkuni</i>
		Rs. 75/-
		Deduct one-fourth 229/-
		Rs. 675

DOCUMENT XIII

Details⁶⁵ as per the *daul Jamabandi* of *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* etc. of the pargana Fathekherd, sarkar Muhammednagar, *subah* Berar, Balaghat of the year 1184F (1774).

Rs. 35,000/-

Deduct <i>sardeshmukhi</i> etc.	Rs. 8,793/3	
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>	<i>Mokasa</i>	<i>Babti</i>
Rs. 25/12/-/5	Rs. 4,710/10	Rs. 1,570/4
	Rs. 25,207/12/6	

Collected by the former <i>gumashtadar</i> of	Balance
Pandit Pradhan	Rs. 18,842/12
Rs. 7,365/6	

65. This document is "*Kaifiyat-e-daul Jamabandi* of *Chauth*, *sardeshmukhi* etc." Though on the top of the document it is clearly mentioned "*Chauth*" but the contents, while giving details of the amount against each levy, do not mention *Chauth*, instead *mokasa* has been mentioned. That is, the two terms have been used synonymously. It mentions only *sardeshmukhi*, *mokasa* and *babti* as due from the pargana Fathe kherd, sarkar Muhammednagar, *subah* Berar Balaghat. That is, *sahotra* was not claimed from this place nor *Karkuni* even though these were collected by the *gumashtadar* of Rao Pandit Pradhan.

DOCUMENT XIV

(*Chahurrun* stopped by the Sarkar—deduct and remit as per the receipts)⁶⁶

Usual *mokasa*, *babti* and *sardeshmukhi* including *Karkuni* of paragana sarkar Kankarti, Muzaffer Nagar, *Subah* Muhammedabad concerning Rao Pandit Pradhan. As described by Gopal Pandit, *Vakil* of Zamindar pargana (same), in the presence of Saveraji and Aundup Rao, *gumashta wakil* of Rao Pandit Pradhan and Bhavani Shankar *Gumashta* Kapat Rao, who was present in the court of the Nizam. The details submitted were for the years 1192 to 1193 F.

Rs. 21,400/-

The details submitted about *Chauth* by Krishna Rao was according to the practise prevalent during the times of *Hazrat Ma'aghfarat Ma'ab* (Nizam ul Mulk) were pertaining to the years 1191 to 1193 F. and were agreed upon.

66. On top of the document (*yaddasht*) is the endorsement of the *Diwan-e-subah* ordering his revenue officials to deduct one-fourth share, stopped by the *Sarkar*, and to remit to the treasury. The document though furnishes details of the account for the year 1191 to 1193 F but states that these were in accordance with the practise prevalent during the times of Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I i.e. during the period 1134-57 F (1724-48).

From the document it is evident that the pargana Kankarti in the *subah* Muhammedabad was under Sarkar's control who gave on contract to Zamindar without payment towards the Maratha levies. Hence, the Marathas themselves collected the levies directly from the Zamindars. But in 1193F when the Zamindars refused to pay the levies, they were confiscated by the Sarkar and were assigned to another person.

The document mentions amount against *mokasa* and *Chauth* is not mentioned. The amount of *Karkuni* for Rs. 5000/- of *mokasa* is given at Rs. 250/- i.e. 5%, only. Whereas for *sardeshmukhi* Rs. 50/- as *Karkuni* for an amount of Rs. 400/- is given; i.e. at the rate of 12.5%. So, there was no constant rate for paying *Karkuni* and the Marathas charged the Sarkar as they wished.

Rs. 2675/- (*Wajib* ⁶⁷ for there years)

These *mahalats* (cited above) were during the period, under the control of the *gumashtadar* on behalf of the Sarkar (Nizam) on *ta'ahud* (contract) and without the payment of usual *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* to the Sarkar. Hence the *Kamaishdars* of Rao Pandit Pradhan use to collect directly from these Zamindars the usual amount towards *Chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*.

In 1193F the *zamindars* refused to pay the *chauth* etc; as such the *mahals* were confiscated by the sarkar. And they were given on contract to Gulam Raza Beg.

About 1192 F

Rs. 10700/-

Mokasa with *Karkuni*

Rs. 5250/-

Babti with *Karkuni*

Rs. 5000/-

Mokasa

Karkuni

Rs. 5000/-

Rs. 250/-

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 450/-

Sardeshmukhi

Karkuni

Rs. 400/-

Rs. 50/-

Details for 1193 F. same as last year.

DOCUMENT XV

Draft of the *Parwana*⁶⁸ dated 7 Jamadiulavval 1198H (1783) in the name of Raja Tej Singh. *Jagirdar* of Narsi, *mahalat subah* Berar -

67. *Wajib* means right, proper, necessary.—*Wilson's Glossary*, 882. Here it may imply the due amount for payment to the *Sarkar* or the Government.
68. During the times of Nizam Ali Khan the Marathas complained and claimed higher amount of *Chauth* on the basis of high *hasil* and desired periodical re-assessment of the *Jama* and *Jamabandi Chauth*. Nizam Ali Khan appointed *amil*s for investigating and verifying the *Jama* and *hasil* figures. In order to avoid any suspicion and to be fair and frank Nizam Ali Khan deputed one Maratha official to accompany his *amil* during the investigation and this *parwana* or royal orders pertains to a such practise.

Salighat, which was under the administration of late Fazil Beg Khan. As per Nizam's orders for the purpose of investigating (for the *Jama-bandi*) the revenues of *Chauth*, *sardeshmukhi*, *bahli*, *sahotra*, Mir Mohsin Ali Khan Bahadur is being sent on behalf of the Nizam's government. And from the side of Pandit Rao Pradhan Rao Jevaji has been appointed to accompany Mir Mohsin. Hence it is written that the *amil* be instructed to meet these two persons who will investigate the accounts giving the report of Mahadev Rao. If you do not act as advised by the Nizam, your Jagir will be confiscated and reduction in the military rank would be made as per the *muchalka*.

Copies of this *parwana* were also sent to the following persons: Himmat Bahadur, Jagirdar Pargana Charthana; Fathullah Khan, Jagirdar Kalamnoori etc. Jagirdars of pargana Mankoli Neloran Mustafa Khan etc. Jagirdars of pargana Veloor vidya panchgaon.

DOCUMENT XVI

Copy of *Nawazish Nama* (letter) with the seal of Azam ul Umara⁶⁹ in the name of Shankar Rao Bahadur dated 1st Zighada 1199H (August 1785).

From the *maruza* (petition) of the *Vakil* of Rao Pandit Pradhan it is noted that the affairs of *sardeshmukhi*, pargana haveli Nanded, *subah* Muhammedabad, along with *sair* and tax (*Mahsool*) of Kishtighat⁷⁰, river Ganga for the year 1192F has not been settled. After deducting one-fourth share, as per the rate of the *bazar nirq*⁷¹ of the *maoza* Wandigaon, has to be collected by the *sardeshmukh*.

This has been considered as the *sardeshmukhi* and *qasbe* haveli Nanded has been given to the *deshmukh* for residing there since olden days. But this has not been carried out. Hence it is written that as

69. Musheer ul Mulk Azmul Umara Arastu Jah Ghulam Syed Khan—Minister of Nizam Ali Khan from 1781 to 1804.—Mir Mahmud Ali: *Asaf Jah Sani*, 134.

70. Kishtighat - pass at the ghat of river Ganga (Purna).

71. *Bazar Nirq* - market rate.

per the usual procedure, the *sardeshmukhi*, including *sair* and tax collection at Kishtighat, river Ganga, may be settled, after deducting one-fourth share which is with-held by the Sarkar from 1191F.

The amount to be paid to the *Kamaishdars* is in accordance with the market rates (*nirag-e-bazar*).⁷² The *haveli* and the *thana maoza* Wandigaon be handed over to the *Kamaishdar* of *Sardeshmukhi* and inform the Sarkar.

DOCUMENT XVII

Copy of *Nawazish Nama* (letter) with the seal of Azamul Umara Bahadur in the name of Shankar Rao, about the amount of Rs. 3247/8/- in lieu of *Chauth*, *Bahli*, *Sahotra* and *Sardeshmukhi* of Rao Paudit Pradhan including *Karkuni* regarding Peta Jalalpur and Peta Srikonda pargana villages Kolis, sarkar Nanded, *subah* Muhammedabad. Deduction of *Chauth* has been stopped by the Sarkar (Nizam) from the beginning of the half year 1192F to 1194F. The particulars are detailed below regarding the administration of late Govind Naik Bhonk and in lieu of *Mahalat* concern *tankhwah* be given, with the consulation of Ganpathi Rao Sobraji Pandit, Gumashti Vakil of Rao Pandit Pradhan.

Rs. 7,330/-

Half year 1192F	From the beginning of 1193F to 1194F
Rs. 3,332/- yearly	Rs. 3,332/-
Fixed half-yearly Rs. 1,666 - stopped Rs. 2,082/1	Due (<i>Wajib</i>) for two years Rs. 6,664/-

Rs. 6,247/8

Peta Jalapur	From the beginning of 1193F
Rs. 3846 4/-	Rs. 1,538 8

72. From this document it is evident that in cases where the *sair* (transit duty) relating to the Maratha levies was not paid at the time of actual passing at the Kishtighat, the arrears were claimed later, on the basis of the market rates prevailing on the various articles.

Half-year 1192F
Rs. 1,538/8 yearly
Fixed Half-year Rs. 769/4
Deducted Rs. 961/9/-
Stopped by Sarkar

Rs. 2,884/11/-

<i>Mokasa</i> - Chauth with the <i>Karkuni</i> - Rs. 2,250/-	<i>Babti</i> with <i>Karkuni</i> Rs. 396/-
Half-year 1192F. From 1193F to Rs. 900/- yearly 1194F. Rs. 900/-	Half-year 1192F From 1193F to Rs. 158/8 1194F Half-year fixed Rs. 118/8 yearly Rs. 79/4 <i>Wajib</i> for two years Rs. 317 One-fourth deducted Rs. 99/1

Rs. 1,667/8 <i>Sardeshmukhi</i>	Rs. 297/3 <i>Sahotra</i>
Half-year 1192F From 1193F to Rs. 425 yearly 1194F Half-yearly Rs. 425 yearly Rs. 212/8 <i>Wajib</i> for two Rs. 265/10 deducted years Rs. 850/-	Half year 1199F From 1193F to Rs. 55/- 1194F Rs. 55 Fixed half yearly Rs. 110/- <i>Wajib</i> Rs. 27/8 for two years

Rs. 796/14 From the beginning of 1193 to
1194F
Patta Sarikonda Rs. 1793/8
Rs. 4,483/12 *Wajib* for 2 years Rs. 3,587/-
Half-year 1192 F.
Rs. 1,793/8
Half Rs. 876/12
One-fourth deducted Rs. 1,120/10

Rs. 3,362/13

Itihas IV, i.

<i>Mokasa</i>	<i>Babti</i>	
Rs. 2,625/-	Rs. 953/12	From 1193F to
Half-year 1192F	Half-year 1192F	1194F
Rs. 1,500/-	387/8	Rs. 387-yearly
Half (<i>nisf</i>) 775/-	Half (<i>nisf</i>) Rs. 191/4	<i>Wajib</i> for two
Rs. 1,968/12	Rs. 239/11	years Rs. 774/-

<i>Sahotra</i>	1193 to 1194F	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>
Rs. 150/-		
Half year 1192 F.	Rs. 60/- <i>Saal</i>	Rs. 750/-
Rs. 60/- <i>Saal</i> (year)	Rs. 120/- <i>Wajib</i>	Rs. 300/- Half year 1192F
Rs. 30/- half	for 2 years.	Rs. 150 half
Rs. 37/8 ($\frac{1}{4}$ th deducted)		Rs. 187/8/- ($\frac{1}{4}$ th deducted)
Rs. 112/8		1193 to 1194 F.
		Rs. 300/-
		Rs. 600/- <i>Wajib</i> for 2 years.
		Rs. 562/8.

(Copy of this letter was received in the office of *Diwan* on 11th
Rabi II 1203H)

DOCUMENT XVIII

Arrears of Rs. 9557/10/- towards *Chauth*, *Sardeshmukhi*,
Sahotra and *babti* as due from different dates to 1196F from pargana
Ourad, *Subah* Muhammedabad, *mahal* jagir Raja Santaji Rao
Pandra, Maoza Ourad pargana Kotgir, *maoza* Shapur, *dehat* pargana
Endur, Sarkar Nanded, *subah* Mohammedabad.

Arrears of *maoza* Ourad, etc. and the following parganas *subah*
Nanded Muhammedabad.

Rs. 5,849/12

Received from the former Jagirdar, Rs. 435/-

1976

<i>Babti</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi & sahotra</i>		
Rs. 35/-	Rs. 400/-		
	Rs. 5,849/4		
<i>Maoza Ourad, Pargana Kotgir</i>	<i>Maoza Shahpur etc</i>		
	pargana Endur		
Rs. 2,886/4	Rs. 2,963/8		
<i>Mokasa</i>	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i>	<i>&</i>	<i>Babti</i>
	<i>Sahotra</i>		
1194 to 1196 F.	1195F	Rs. 1,987	
Rs. 1,000 <i>Kamil</i>	Rs. 465/10		
Fixed <i>Mahal</i> 3	<i>Sardeshmukhi - Sahotra</i>	1194F-Balance 1195F	
Rs. 3000/-	Rs. 417/-	Rs. 50/-	Rs. 987/-
One-fourth with-held	One-fourth with held	(except one-fourth)	
Rs. 750/-	Rs. 10966		
Rs. 2,250/-	Rs. 328/2	Rs. 17/8	
	<i>Karkuni</i>	Rs. 100/-	2nd Rajab 1202 H.

Sarveraji Pandit, *Gumashta* of Rao Pandit Pradhan submitted *iltemas* (petition) stating that an amount of Rs. 6247/8/- towards *Chauth, sardeshmukhi, babti* and *sahotra* with *Karkuni* are due from Peta Jalalpur and Peta Sarkunda, Kolas village, Sarkar, Nanded *subah* Muhammedabad from the beginning of half-year 1192F. to 1194F. This was not received by the late Govind Naik Bhonk, *gumashtadar* of Rao Pandit Pradhan. Raja Shankar Rao, son of the late *gnmashtadar* has submitted details of receipts and expenses with his seal and has submitted account papers and has credited the amount, after deducting the one-fourth share of the Sarkar as per the bills of the *Kamaishdars*. Orders are solicited for the issuance of a *sanad*.

The endorsement on the top of the document is for the issuance of a *sanad* by Azmul Umara Bahadur for Rs. 6240/8/- with the signature of the Nizam.

DOCUMENT XIX

Balance of *Chauth, babti, sahotra*, etc. of Rao Pandit Pradhan, *mahalat, subah* Muhammedabad as per the translation of account papers in Marathi (*bandhay hindvi*) from the beginning of 1191 F to 1198F. as due from the Jagirdars and should be directed to pay.

Rs. 10,9281/12/3

Rs. 99,605/5/6

Qhiyamul Mulk Bahadur

Rs. 2964/9/9

Mokasa - 1198 F

Rs. 941/-

Babti - 1197 to 1198F

Rs. 2,633/9/9

Ashjaul Mulk Bahadur

Rs. 3,665/1/-

Pargana Haveli Bidar

Pargana Ankhele

Rs. 633/8

*Sardeshmukhi**Sardesh- Sahotra Babti*
mukhi

Jalalpur

Rs. 2,353/-

Rs. 2953/-

Rs. 345/- Rs. 11/4 Rs. 277/4/-

Mokasa

Rs. 1,687/-

Babti

Rs. 296/1

Sahotra

Rs. 501

Sardeshmukhi

Rs. 318/12

Pargana Azamul Umara Bahadur

Khan Bahadur

Pargana Ousa etc.

Jurrat Jung.

Rs. 4,902/-/6

Rs. 4,945/1/-

Mokasa

Rs. 1,964/10/6

Babti

Rs. 1036/5/9

Pargana Nanded.

Rs. 1,045/1

<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 1900/-	<i>Sahotra</i> Rs. 100/-	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 680/-	<i>Mokasa</i> Rs. 3900/-
		<i>Sahotra</i> Rs. 64/13	<i>Narkonda</i> Rs. 25/15
Dilawaruddowla Siddi Abdullah Khan Bahadur Pargana Chincholi <i>Ain Mokasa</i> Rs. 18,325/-		Azeemullah Khan Pargana Nilanga etc. Rs. 2,030/- Dehat pargana Naib Jagir Nelana Nanded Rs. 508/- Rs. 1,400/-	
Talib Jung Bahadur		<i>Mokasa Babeti Mokasa Sardesh-</i> Rs. Rs. Rs. <i>mukhi</i> 250/- 330/- 1,250/- Rs. 150/-	
Haveli Bidar Rs. 511/12		Mir Qasim Ali pargana Seram Rs. 276/-	
<i>Sardeshmukhi - Sahotra</i> Rs. 488/- Rs. 93/14			
Ghulam Mohd. Khan Pargana Kodur <i>Mokasa</i> Rs. 408/10		<i>Babeti</i> Rs. 35/-	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 251/-
		Asad Ali Khan, Maoza Kohur, pargana Aingar. Rs. 117/6	
Mohsinuddoula Bahadur Rs. 604/8		<i>Mokasa</i> Rs. 81/-	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 36/6
Qasba Ahsad pargana Udgeer <i>Mokasa</i> Rs. 300/-	<i>Mokasa</i> Rs. 304/8	Ahtezatul Mulk Bahadur Maoza Bewarguin. pargana Odgir	
<i>Nisf Babeti</i> ⁷³ Rs. 25/-	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 278/8	<i>Nisf Mokasa</i> Rs. 544/-	<i>Nisf Babeti</i> Rs. 293/-

73. Here the document mentions *nisf* (half) shares or portions of *Babeti* and *mokasa*. Mention of *nisf-desmukhi* is mentioned in the documents of Aurangzeb's reign—*Parwana* dt. 2 Rabi. II of 47th R.Y. (1704). Here *nisf-desmukhi* implies that two persons shared equally the *desmukhi* a village. Document No. I/19/456, Inayat Jung Collection, National Archives of India.

Shariyaruddaula Qiladar, Qila Aingar	<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 223/4
<i>Mokasa & Babeti</i> Rs. 919/-	Khawaja Qalander Khan, Qiladar, Qila Mudkhan Rs. 627/-
Qhush Rengam Khan, Maoza Ellora Pargana Aingar.	<i>Mokasa & Babeti</i> <i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 375/- Rs. 292/- Dawar Jung Bahadur, Maoza Nala Pargana Gulbarga
<i>Sardeshmukhi</i> Rs. 45/-	<i>Sahotra</i> Rs. 10/-

ASPECTS OF AWAKENING IN THE 19th CENTURY ANDHRA*

M. Pattabhirama Reddy

IN tracing the beginnings of the awakening in India, we have to remember the socio-economic conditions, which gave rise to an intellectual ferment in Europe. The birth of the modern age witnessed the growth of manufacturing and trading towns, the break-down of economic feudal system, the geographical discoveries and the corresponding influx of colonial wealth, the growth of vernaculars and their national literatures, humanism and the scientific spirit. None of these symptoms of modern civilisation appeared on the Indian sub-continent before the advent of the European merchant companies and the subsequent British conquest of India. There is an element of truth in the statement of John Stratchey that "of all the great imperialisms the British contained the greatest proportion of constructive elements".¹ One hundred years before John Stratchey wrote the above words, Karl Marx in his articles on India observed that Britain produced "the greatest, to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia,"²

Side by side with the destructive consequences of Imperialism, Marx pointedly mentioned the inevitable regenerating role of Britain "The British were the first conquerors superior, and therefore inaccessible to Hindu Civilisation."³ Among the elements of regeneration, he mentioned political unity, the free press, the establishment of private property in land, the building up of an educated Indian middle class and the regular rapid communication with Europe through steam transport.⁴ He foresaw that the regenerating role of imperialism, which was superior to the feudal civilization of India, would be evident from the introduction of machinery into the locomotion of the country and all those industrial processes necessary for the up-

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keep of railway locomotion, the forerunner of modern industry. "And before long", he concluded, "modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary division of labour upon which rests the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power."⁵

It is true that the British rulers were not destined to liberate the masses from poverty, but they had to lay the material foundation of a new society, in their own enlightened self interest.

The basic premises of a material society were created by dragging individuals, groups and minor states through fire and blood, but then that was inevitable to break up the old impediments to a national market. There were, no doubt, flourishing towns with thousands of weavers and craftsmen and merchants who catered to the luxuries of the Mughal rulers, their satraps and retinues of parasites, but their prosperity was ephemeral and not based on independent productive units. They were the appendages of the military camps and the compradore merchant princes that subordinated the national interests to their own narrow self-interests. It is a hypothetical question whether these towns would have developed a bourgeoisie capable of effecting a social revolution in the immediate future, without the intervention of foreign imperialism. The Mallayas, Vijrivoras⁶ and Jagath seths of the rising Indian bourgeois society, had in their class the germs of a new economic order, but the political system that thwarted the development of reproductive forces was the major stumbling block which could be removed only by a modern ruling class like the British East India Company. Neither the compradore merchants nor their political sovereign of the Indian sub-continent, not to speak of the moribund zamindars, poligars and farmers of revenue ever thought of venturing on the high seas in the foot-steps of the Europeans for exploring the possibilities of independent development. The printing press which disseminated knowledge and revolutionised thinking in Europe right from the second half of the fifteenth century, came to be used in India three centuries later, though the first book was supposed to have been printed by Jesuits in the middle of the sixteenth century in Cochin.⁷ It was the foreign ruling class which created the material premises for the awakening of Indians.

Among the British administrators, who sowed the seeds of progress and set in motion an agrarian revolution in Andhra was Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827). Out of the nearly fifty one years he spent in India, (Madras Presidency), he was in charge of the administration of the Telugu districts for fourteen years. Author of the famous Ryotwari System, which in course of time replaced the Cornwallis Zamindari system, Munro had become a father figure to the peasants. His most revolutionary reform was what may be called the agrarian enfranchisement of the peasantry. He broke down the monopoly of the upper caste poligars and allowed any peasant, who had labour power and the livestock, to cultivate as much land as he could. Never before him, the lower castes, and the scheduled castes could come forward with a demand for lands. The rule of law, which Munro proclaimed legally emancipated the poor peasants, to the extent of owing their own lands, without fear of the upper caste elders, but in course of the evolution of agrarian relations the peasants were destined to be pauperised; the lower caste peasants suffered degradation under the cruel domination of the upper caste headmen and their cunning accountants. In the matter of removing legal and social impediments to proprietorship of lands, Munro earned the gratitude of the millions of Telugu peasants. His catholicity persuaded him to plead for employing Indians in responsible jobs much against the prevailing opinion of the British bureaucrats.⁸ His arguments in favour of Indian personnel for maintaining the affairs of the village community and the spread of education among the people, at the beginning of the nineteenth century could not however persuade his country men to trust Indians with power even in the lower rungs of the bureaucracy. Long before the Andhra intellectuals acquired the courage and knowledge to propagate modern ideas of social reform, Munro helped to prepare the material premises for the social awakening of Andhras. What Charles Philip Brown and Mackenzie did for Telugu literature and Indology in the first half of the nineteenth century evokes the respect and admiration of scholars and patriots to-day in Andhra. Their achievements together with the agrarian and administrative reforms of Munro, surely make them the fore-runners of Telugu renaissance.

When Sir Thomas Munro returned to India in 1814 as Special Commissioner his views on the improvements of the conditions of the

people were of great significance for the further reforms contemplated by the British government. As principal collector of Cuddapah for seven years he had ample opportunities of coming into contact with the common people in the villages. No other British administrator had sympathised with the lot of the peasants and studied the basic desiderata of the institutions and economic life of the ryots. It was this knowledge that stood him in good stead during the great debate in England on the administrative reforms for India in the House of Commons, where he gave evidence before the committee that produced the famous Fifth Report (1812). The committee of enquiry was so impressed by Munro's deep knowledge of the Indian polity that he was sent out as special commissioner to suggest reform of the judicial system. He proposed the revival and revitalisation of the village panchayat. He was the first advocate of employment of educated Indians in responsible positions in the district administration. Munro wrote: "The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends; they propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them from office as much as possible; but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge. Our books alone would do little or nothing; dry sample literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people."⁹ He emphasised the same point in a letter to Canning. "Our present system of government by excluding all natives from power and trust and employment is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school books can do in elevating their character."¹⁰

The glimmerings of public spirit engendered by the liberal attitude of Munro had not a little to do in raising hopes among a microscopic minority of Telugus. Vennalakanti Subba Row (1784-1839) who was employed as interpreter in the Sadar Adalat Court in Madras appears to have been the first Telugu gentleman who drew the attention of the Madras government to the deplorable state of education in the Madras Presidency, in a letter he wrote to the Madras School Book Society on 22 November 1820.¹¹ He made several suggestions for improving the methods of English instruction in Indian schools.¹²

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Sir Thomas Munro, governor of Madras (1820-27) issued an order establishing a committee of public instruction. Among the steps taken to improve the state of education were the establishment of a Normal School for training teachers in Madras, 20 collectorate schools in the district towns and 61 Tahsildari schools in the Taluk headquarters. English was taught only in the Zilla Schools. It was only after the central government in Calcutta decided to make English the medium of instruction and official language in 1835 that there was a fillip to promotion of English education among the people of Andhra.

George Norton who was advocate general at the Madras supreme court from 1828 was known for his liberal outlook on the problems of Indians. He encouraged public spirited Indians like Enugula Veeraswamy, Verubakam Raghava Charyulu and Komalswaram Srinivasa Pillai, to establish the Hindu Literary Society; he delivered a series of lectures on the history and public administration of the country, and taught his associates the rudiments of public spirit.¹³ Prominent citizens of Madras led by George Norton submitted a memorandum to the Governor Elphinstone in 1837 requesting him to start an English college, for imparting modern European knowledge of arts, humanities and sciences. The memorandum was signed by seventy thousand people of Madras and other towns. The governor endorsed their views on 12th December, 1838, recommended the starting of a university college, and set up a University board for the purpose on 2nd August 1839, with George Norton as Chairman, and prominent citizens like Raghavacharlu and Sreenivasa Pillai as members. On the recommendation of the Board, the Madras University school for higher education came into existence on 14th April, 1841.¹⁴

Thanks to the public spirit generated by Subba Rao, Norton and Veeraswamy, the large endowments left behind by the well known South Indian merchant Prince Pachayappa Mudaliar, were rescued from corrupt trustees and made available for humanitarian purposes, especially for starting schools. About eight lakh rupees were estimated to be the value of the Pachayappa's endowments. George Norton played a leading part in getting a court decree for placing this enormous fund in the hands of a legally constituted Trust Board.

The next stage in the development of public spirit in Madras is associated with the life and work of Gajula Lakshminarasu, a rich

merchant. He learned English and participated in the debates organised by the literary society in Madras. He amassed enormous wealth by exporting textiles to several countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. Inspired by the speeches of Norton and the Patriotic activities of his associates, he decided to contribute his mite towards the amelioration of the conditions of the people. It was with this object in view that he started the Madras Native Association in 1844. He purchased a press and a journal called 'Native Circutar' which was called 'Crescent' under his management and he appointed an Englishman, Harley as its editor. The first issue of this paper appeared in October, 1844. The 'Crescent' boldly criticised the anti-Hindu propaganda that was carried on by Christian missionary news-papers like 'Native Herald' and 'Record'.¹⁵ On 9 April 1845, Lakshminarasu organised a conference of Hindus in Madras, to protest against the proposed amendment to the Hindu law of inheritance which would confer heritable rights on individuals who were converted to Christianity. This new regulation was contemplated by the Madras Government, to help the European missionaries, who were engaged in proselytization. Another largely attended public meeting was held in the Pachayappa's school on 7th October, 1846, under the chairmanship of Lakshminarasu, and it was resolved to send a mammoth petition to the company directors in England, detailing the grievances of the people and proposing changes in the laws.

The inhabitants of Madras had petitioned the Governor Lord Moira as early as 8 October 1813, praying to be relieved from the payment of duties on salt. They remonstrated by adopting violent methods against the oppressive tax collectors.¹⁶ The memorial of the native inhabitants of Madras¹⁷ requests the governor to prevent the missionaries from building a church in the midst of the Hindu residential locality. Another memorial¹⁸ prays for setting a native inhabitant as a justice of the peace. Several petitions drew the attention of the government to the activities of Christian missionaries who taught bible lessons to Hindu students.¹⁹ The Madras Native Association, led by rich native merchants, and English educated upper caste Hindu intelligentsia highlighted the grievances of the villagers, the ryots, artisans and craftsmen in regard to oppressive taxation, as well as the need for administrative reforms especially, in the judicial and police departments. They pointed out to 'the judges of the

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supremecourt exercised their power and authority in a high-handed manner to the detriment of the Hindus."²⁰

On 10th June 1853 they prefaced their petitions with the following words. "That the grievances of your petitioners arise principally from the excessive taxation, and the vexations which accompany its collection, and the inefficiency, delay and expense of the company's courts of law, and their chief wants are the construction of roads-bridges and works for the supply of irrigation and the better provision for the education of the people. They also desire a reduction of public expenditure and a form of local government more generally conducive to the happiness of the subjects and the prosperity of the country".²¹ The petitioners of the Madras Native Association represented the conditions of the ryots under the Ryotwari system, especially, the way in which the peasants were compelled to cultivate more lands than their resources permitted them and the tortures perpetrated by revenue authorities in the course of collecting arrears of revenue.²² They pointed out that the steep fall in the prices of grains, hit hard the peasants who had to pay their tax in cash. The corrupt Tahsildar and his cruel henchmen harassed the ryots day in and day out. The Tahsildar's police powers aggravated the tyrannical methods. The Torture Commission appointed by parliament exposed the inhuman tortures the ryots were subjected to by the petty officials and the village munsiffs. The three hundred page report entitled "Conditions and requirements of Madras" submitted to the Board of Control in England by Norton on 1 February 1854 is an indictment of the entire administration of the Company authorities and their servants in India. It emphatically endorses in a more systematic manner, the criticism made by the Madras Native Association earlier,

Sir Arthur Cotton, the architect of the Krishna - Godavari aqueducts strongly pleaded for modernizing India by the introduction of technology and science, and the widespread diffusion of knowledge among all sections of people. He drew the attention of his countrymen to the utter neglect of irrigation and the deteriorating economic conditions of the peasants. He held this comparison responsible for such a distressing state of affairs.²³ The revolt of 1857 had not stirred the zamindars, and the disarmed poligars in Andhra. Except in Hyderabad, where there was some commotion among the Muslims, the Andhra people suffering under various social and economic disabilities

were not inspired by the great revolt. In a few towns like Masulipatnam, Rajahmundry, and Cuddapah, the district authorities had to report against a few strangers and stragglers, but the middle class merchants and petty Telugu officials had no inkling of what had actually happened. Prominent gentlemen of most of the Andhra towns openly demonstrated their loyalty to the government by presenting address to the governor and expressing gratitude for the blessings of peace and order created by the British rulers.

Not a decade passed without the ravages of famines and epidemics which took a toll of millions in the villages. The Famine of 1876 left behind decimated towns and depopulated villages, and the bones of the peasants disfigured every patch of land in Andhra, thus exposing the real nature of the white man's burden, super-imposed over Indian poverty and backwardness. The public men of Madras and Andhra petitioned for mercy. They did not have even a semblance of the revolutionary spirit that was then sweeping over western Europe between 1848 and 1871. They were still ignorant of the rudiments of nationalism. Some sections of Merchants and intelligentsia, however brought into existence the Mahajana Sabha of Madras in 1884 and its first conference was held in the Pachayappa's Hall, from 29 December to 2 January 1884. It was a representative gathering of 100 delegates from all parts of the Madras presidency. The Secretary, P. Ananda-Charlu, a lawyer, and a future president of the Indian National Congress, stated that the Sabha has affiliated to itself a number of associations in the presidency. According to him the conference was convened to create "mutual understanding between the ruler and the ruled on the one hand and the various sections of the ruled on the other hand for their were already "clear and visible signs of misunderstanding on the land." He further remarked that the Mahajana Sabha would shape the renovated national spirit along right lines. He wanted similar conference held in different mofussil towns "to aid in developing a national feeling."²¹ Papers were read at the conference on the constitution of the legislative council, the separation of the judicial from revenue functions; the conditions of the ryots, etc. It was decided to print the proceedings and to send them to the Secretary of State and members of Parliament. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century a number of Telugu journals, like Bhasha Sanjivini, Vivekavardhini, Lokaranjani, Purushardhapradhayani Rasikollasum, Andhra

Prakasika highlighted the economic distress of the people resulting from inequitable taxation, defective and corrupt administration, imperialist wars financed by the Indian tax payer, racial discrimination, the miscarriage of justice in the law courts, rising prices, heavy land revenue demand, neglect of irrigation and a host of other grievances. The documents published in the first volume of the 'Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh' together with the samples of extracts translated from Telugu news papers by Mr. Gustav Oppert and others reveal the wide range of grievances articulated in the columns of the Telugu periodicals of the period.²⁵ But the editors of these periodicals, had no knowledge or understanding of the working of imperialist state apparatus, or the socio-economic roots of the problems that faced the Andhra people. Even the tallest of the leaders like Viresalingam, the father of the modern Andhra awakening in the nineteenth century was unaware of the several writings of Ram Mohan Roy, or the great social democratic traditions of the European reforms. In fact their thinking was conditioned by the Victorian liberalism of the British ruling class, and did not reflect the patriotic teachings of Gokhale or Tilak. Viresalingam was a firm believer in British sense of justice and freedom from foreign imperialism was beyond the call of his strivings. His contributions to Telugu literature, his pioneering efforts in the cause of women's uplift and social reforms, have given him a lasting place in the history of modern Andhra people.

To sum up, the awakening of the Andhra Intelligentsia in the nineteenth century was the result of the material conditions created by the British Government. Britain as an unconscious tool of history introduced the elements of modern civilisation in the interests of imperialism. While preparing the ground for a national market, the British ruling class carried out far reaching agrarian changes which uprooted an old order without creating a new one. The Indian middle class of merchants and English educated intellectuals were minor partners in the managements of the new administrative and commercial apparatus and the police state. The disarmed old ruling class in Andhra was degenerate and functioned as a parasitic prop of the imperial government. The British Civil Servants encouraged missionary efforts at proselytisation and the beginnings of resentment among the Indians were feeble attempts at a resistance by means of petitions, and the ideological reaction was in the form of social reforms. The leaders of social

reform tried to reinterpret Indian scriptures in defence of their stand, but rarely invoked the classics of modern humanism and scientific rationalism that inspired the leaders of the French Revolution. The Andhra intellectuals in Madras, Rajahmundry, Vizianagaram, Kakinada, Masulipatam and Nellore, generally craved for the blessings of British Rule and rarely gave a thought to the economic roots of the imperialist system that produced famines and wars. They thought that loyalty to and faith in British rule would benefit their class, and the fate of the millions in the villages was not their concern. They were even inferior to Sir Thoms Munro, Mackenzie, Chatless, Philid Brown, Sir Arthur Cotton and George Norton in their understanding of the basic needs of the rural masses. The services of these liberal administrators were fruitful of better results than the ill-informed petitioners of Madras and Rajahmundry. Our nineteenth century patriots and reformers, neither forget their colonial moorings nor imbibed the rational ideology of the conquerors, who represented at the time a superior civilisation in the contemporary world.

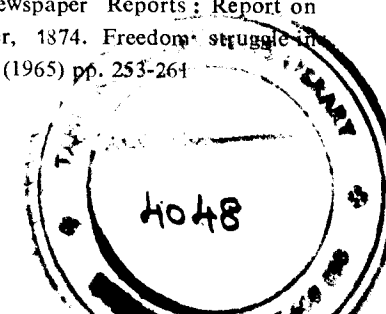
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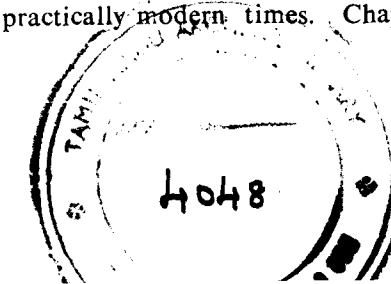
Sri C. Sivaramamurti, *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature*, published by National Museum of India, New Delhi, Price : Rs. 250/-

This epoch-making book on "Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature" by Sri C. Sivaramamurti, a leading scholar in Sanskrit, sculpture, and allied fields, in our country, is a land mark in the evolution of the literature on this subject. The book is a result of three years of intense and total dedication towards the study of the subject by Sri Sivaramamurti, as a result of a fellowship granted to him by the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund.

The theme chosen by the author namely, Nataraja, with his cosmic dance, is the very core on Indian Art, thought and culture. The scope of the subject is as vast as Indian cultural history itself, and is practically inexhaustible. Nataraja is just not a mere symbol for the Lord at Chitsabha, or the great gold hall at Chidambaram, and not a mere favourite and fascinating model for the sculptor in stone and metal. He is the very heart of a great concept of Indian culture, that spread not merely all over our country but also beyond its frontiers all over Asia.

The author had to cast his net far and wide to gather the material for this work. He has painstakingly collected photographs from India, Europe, United Kingdom, America, Pakistan, Ceylon and other countries. He has spared no pains to gather also difficult photographs from Vietnam, Indonesia and other places.

The book is divided into 15 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the concept of the Lord of Dance. Chapter 7 discusses the vedic roots of the concept of Lord Nataraja. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 discuss Natya, the significance of Siva's dance, and the Karanas presented by Siva and by Vishnu. Chapter 6 discusses the dance of the Dikpalas and others. Chapter 8 and 9 portray Nataraja in ordinary and hymnal literature, while chapter 10 discusses him in epigraphs. Chapter 11 gives us a masterly discourse of Nataraja from the Silpa text. Chapter 12 is a short chapter on the aesthetic beauty of the concept. Chapter 13 gives a complete and exhaustive evolution of the Nataraja form in sculpture, painting etc. from the earliest times to practically modern times. Chapter 14 discusses



the concept of Lord in forms found in Indonesia, Bali, Cambodia, Champa, Thailand, Central Asia, Nepal, Ceylon, etc., while chapter 15 gives a descriptive account of the various spots specially associated with the Lord and their importance.

The author has done full justice to the theme in his various chapters. Of special importance and interest are his detailed and erudite description of the various Karanas found in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjavur. This series of dance panels is an unparalleled and magnificent expression of the devotion of Raja Raja, the great Chola emperor, to the Lord whom he has described as *āḍavallān*. The temple also has the most magnificent *magnu opus* of Lord Nataraja in metal in the South.

The author has also dealt exhaustively with all the literature mainly in Sanskrit on Nataraja, and has with his customary skill and scholarship woven the texts in the body of his book. His chapter on the holy places associated with the Lord, is specially interesting and quite informative.

The book also contains nearly 300 and more photographs, colour pictures, line drawings etc.

Viewing the book as a whole, one is left some what breathless, at the epic immensity of this ennobling task. The subject is so splendid in its sweeping greatness and dignity. Its background is the unfathomable mystery of the cosmic dance, spanning the measurelessness of space and time. It has been dealt with, by one of our greatest scholars, in a manner befitting the theme, that even a perusal of the book leaves one elevated and uplifted.

The book is verily the magnum opus of Sri Sivaramamurti who has devoted his entire life time to iconography and specially to the bronzes and sculptures on Nataraja.

The printing is excellent; the photographs have been superbly reproduced; and the arrangement of the photographs illustrating the descriptions given in the text have been done in a very useful and artistic manner. The bibliography at the end is probably the last word on the subject and the index is quite useful.

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Quite unusual in books of this kind, Sri Sivaramamurti has also added as an appendix the 'sahasranamavali' of the Lord of Chidambaram at the end of the book.

Though, the transliteration of Sanskrit verses and words is in internationally accepted Roman script, spelling, and diacritical marks, one who is accustomed to reading Sanskrit in Devanagari wistfully misses 'the script of the angels' in reading the languages of the Gods.

The book is a monumental one and as aptly described by Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, in her fore-word, it is a monument to Indian scholarship.

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N. Ramesan.

Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray : *Mughal Court Painting*, Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1975 price Rs. 265/-, pp. 133 + bibliography + 33 plates

Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray's wide interests cover from the history of the Sikhs to the medieval paintings, from the Buddhism to Nationalism, starting from his now legendary and monumental work in Bengali, *Bangaleer Itihas* (1949). This book is certainly an addition to the knowledge of the period precedent to the British take over of India as well as to the thesis of mixed cultural heritage of India.

Attracted first towards this rich heritage as a teacher to lecture his students, years of study and travels after his premature retirement from the University of Calcutta, have afforded him leisure and opportunities to study the paintings in original lying scattered in all parts of the globe. It is this experience, away from the class rooms, that perhaps has enabled Prof. Ray to look beyond the narrow technicalities of the paintings and regard these as products of the society rather than of few stray individuals lost in their glory and transcendence.

Contrary to layman's opinion, Prof Ray opens his book with the statement that "this art was organized and patronized from beginning to end by the Emperors themselves primarily and secondarily by the nobility..." (p.3). As a result, "themes or subjects were selected not by the artists themselves but by their Imperial master..." (Ibid). Prof. Ray concludes that "...Mughal painting was a court art..."

While ascribing the pre-Sultan period art as "articulation of collective will and psyche, of collective ideas and creeds..." (p.4), Mughal paintings was "a departure from this collective community tradition..." (p.4). Then he lays out the common theme that the Mughal paintings, although distinguishable from Akbar to Shah Jehan, are different from the contemporary Deccani or Rajasthani style. This does not ofcourse mean that an artist employed in the Mughal court would not be able to paint in his own style. The voluminous *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* has been cited by Prof. Ray as evidence of this (pp. 5-6).

With the beginning of the disintegration of court atelier at the time of Shah Jehan, the painters had to seek refuge in the courts of different Hindu Rajas. In the Mughal court, they had been accustomed to present descriptive-narrative themes with accentuation of men and things in dramatic forms. In the Hindu courts, they had to paint the moods, in which the figures appeared as mere symbols. Gradually, these artists introduced their own Mughal traditions which took a new form. Thus, Prof. Ray disputes the claim of Coomaraswamy that Rajasthani and Phadi paintings were examples of popular art—a statement (p.7) which is yet to be accepted. If the Rajasthani and Pahadi courts had maintained the early pre-Sultanate heritage, within their own norms and themes, Prof. Ray's contestation requires further proofs. Outside the Mughal court, the *bazar* art continued to have a high degree of specialization and was patronised by lesser nobles and local zamindars, who connived at the under-hand practice of copying of masters by lesser known artists.

Even with the process of Indianization, Persian heritage, rather than the Arab, had dominated the Mughal court. As a result, Islamic myths and legends of Iranian and central Asian origin, were favoured by the Mughals and the thematic contents of the Mughal paintings show these attachments very clearly.

In case of portraiture, Prof. Ray feels, that although it was practised in Irano-central Asian tradition, yet from about 1572 onwards, the Mughal court introduced "elements from contemporary European painting and of actual copying of European masters of the Renaissance period..." (p.13). That it was not a one-way process was shown by Prof. Ray in pointing out to Rembrandt's unsuccessful copying of modes and manners of Mughal court painting, a kind of statement which will hardly satisfy European art critics. And, although Mughal court paintings strongly retained its Iranian element, yet Prof. Ray justly refused to accept the term the "Indo-Persian" to the Mughal court painting.

From the 14th to the end of 16th centuries, West Indian Jaina manuscript paintings have been influenced by the Irano-central Asian traditions in colour, in the appearance and treatment of physiognomical features and dress etc., although these were hardly patronised by the Sultans of Delhi—a kind of process that continued even upto the

first two Mughal Emperors, who "had no clear appreciation of the social and cultural problems which they were faced with in India" (p.17). Because of the short time at their disposal and the politico-military problems they faced, Babur and Humayun had no such time and only with the accession of Akbar, the settled era began, when the Mughals did not look themselves as colonials, while three centuries of Islam had been able to draw Hindus and Muslims together for economic interests. The Epic needed more Hindus to sustain it. Even assuming the brief rule of both Babur and Humayun and the multitude of problems faced by them, it may be pointed out that Prof. Ray's formulations of "problems" are difficult to accept. The "Indianization" and the employment of Hindus had reached its apogee in the region of Muhammed Bin Tughluq, starting much earlier, which led the contemporary historian Ziauddin Barani to criticise him and Alauddin Khalji. Nor Akbar's period, at least first fifteen years, were years of peace and settlement; Prof. Ray is however justified in pointing out that what is happening in Bengal or Gujarat is not an index of North India (p.19). But that does not bring out the cultural "mix" that has been going on almost throughout the century preceding Akbar.

Prof. Ray then set out to find the reasons for the disintegration of the court ateliers, in which, besides personal contributions of the Mughal Emperors he looks beyond. When Akbar sat on the throne, the Irano-central Asian tradition, a heritage of the Mughals and the Indian version of the Sultanate, were before him. With the beginning of the *Hamza* project (about 2400 large size paintings), the Mughal painting was born, and Irani school and Delhi school, current in the 17th and 18th century India, symbolised the two directions of the Indian paintings. The seven artists, commissioned by Humayun at Kabul, represented the miniature painting school of Iran and the Mughal court now faced the problems of evolving its own form and style, all the while, keeping the Irani school at its side. Similarly they faced the problem of the Renaissance European paintings, which from the 1580's onwards at least, became familiar in the Mughal court. "Mughal court painting was thus an active and positive response, at a refined and sophisticated level, of the contemporary Indo-Muslim society, to the major civilized social forces at work at Mughal court..." (p.28). This new tone however was not set up by Humayun, who learned painting, forcing Akbar to learn it as well, in

the studio which he established at Purana qila. But then, Humayun was a follower of classical Persian painting. In view of the statement made earlier by Prof. Ray, that the Mughal court painting was directed by the Emperors, this new tone then must be the handiwork of the Emperors as well. In explaining the plates much latter, Prof. Ray, sought to bring about a compromise between the two different statements, thus determining a complicated response system of the society, which by his earlier formulations, was absent.

In the traditional Indian art, artists are submerged in the collective will of the community and thus remain anonymous, with no sense of originality ascribed to them by the society. Consequently the artists in the traditional Indian society occupies a lower position, which continued till the beginning of 16th century, by which time, the artists began to sign their works. The Mughal *Hamza* paintings do not bear any signature, but by 1570, the names began to appear. That Jahangir could distinguish the artists from their paintings (whether he actually did has not been proved) not only suggests the influence of Renaissance art, the individuality of the artist, but also a departure from the previous Indian tradition. This was not wholly due to the Iranian influence. Prof. Ray feels that this, severance of the individual artist from its community tradition which was a hallmark of Renaissance art, made its impact in Mughal India, where portraiture of human beings, despite the difference in treatment and media, reached the same kind of consciousness. This consciousness of the individual in Mughal art was secular—"the consciousness of the man as the central theme in the Universe of being" (p.38)—without the relation of man to God. But then, while Renaissance art originated from the social situation of medieval Europe, Mughal culture was a court based, without any democratic bourgeois clientele. Nourished by romantic Persian poetry and its images, like *Shahnama*, the Mughal revival was a super-imposition—a reflection of the high drama and colourfulness, of the romance of the lives of the Emperor and their high-sounding titled nobility. One may of course contest to Prof. Ray's assertion that from Babur to Aurangzeb, they had only the romantic view of life (p.39).

An analysis of the list of the artists shows that a large majority were Hindus coming from Gujarat, Gwalior, Delhi, Lahore and

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Kashmir and from the lower order of the Hindu society, from such occupational caste groups as water-carriers, palanquin-bearers etc. The rest of the artists were Muslims, out of which, the majority were converted Muslims while the rest, a fraction, are from central Asia. The award of honours and individuality to the Hindu artists of lower social order by the Mughal Emperors gave them a status seldom enjoyed in the traditional Indian society. Their recruitment from different subcentres presents a complicated problem. With the introduction of paper-making since the second half of the 16th century, textile painting was gradually given up and new processes were introduced.

The Indian contact with Irano-central Asia has been seen at least as early as ninth century, first by the sea-route and then by land. The West Indian manuscript paintings as well as Rajasthani and Pahadi schools seem to have inherited the features. In the celebrated work of Khandalvala and Moti Chandra (*New Documents of Indian Painting—A Reappraisal*, Bombay, 1970), this has been well established. Their work shows that two hundred years preceding the Mughals, considerable manuscript paintings have been done all over Northern India, most of which, thematically speaking, belong to the Jain tradition. The large majority of these were patronised by the rich trading and commercial classes as well as by the rich landowners. With the beginning of paper painting, new colours and surer lines attracted the eye. The new facial and physiognomical features came to be inherited from the Mongol type. Finally, the feeling for nature enters from the middle of the 15th century. With such a relation in the background, Akbari art was less dominated by Iranian school in comparison to Humayun and was far more Indian in culture. That the projection of such a culture by Akbar, in the midst of his manifold and sometimes dangerous, was because, as Prof. Ray asserts, of Akbar's "grand and total vision and design which was to give to India, as an authoritarian and Imperial ruler and within a feudal social system, a new and composite Indian culture" (p.54). By that, he inherited Asoka; but while Jahangir followed it without understanding, the rest of the Emperors became more averse to it.

Prof. Ray then goes on to describe the trends of the art of painting in Iran and Iraq in the fourteenth to the end of sixteenth century—a chapter (No. 11) would have been interesting to the layman

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The Mughal paintings is urban and is the manifestation of a new urban culture introduced into India by the Muslim ruling classes. It "reflected the urban character of Indo-Muslim society at its highest level" (p.119). It was limited "to those circles alone which were urban, formal, courtly and aristocratic....the entire populace was thus outside the purview of the patrons, the artist and their products" (p.120)—a statement which seems contradictory to the social response that Prof. Ray so interestingly brought about. But, it had the "fusion of Iranian, classical and early medieval Indian and Renaissance European traditionsMughal painting is thus an entity by itself with an identity of its own: it is a creative interpretation in response to a challenge of the times and space it belonged to, and is therefore socially valid and culturally and historically significant" (p. 124). Prof. Ray then concludes his eminently readable and provocative book by stating that it was eclectic school of art - a statement that may again sound con-

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K. C. Yadav (ed.) : *Autobiography of Dayananda Saraswati*, 1976, pp, 108, price Rs. 25/-.

The intellectual and social attitudes in contemporary India have been often described as ambivalent and self-contradictory. An explanation of this phenomena in terms of either polarity or continuum of tradition and modernity overlooks the fact that the roots of this dilemma do not lay exclusively in the processes of social change in contemporary India but also stem from the social and intellectual developments during the colonial rule. An understanding of the contemporary society, its social practices and intellectual attitudes, therefore, calls for a detailed analysis of their historical roots in the 19th century.

The historiography of the 19th century intellectual developments has oscillated between excessive adulatory or contemptuous debunking of our early modernizers. The pioneering work of Prof. Sushoban Chandra Sarkar on the "Bengal Renaissance" was the first scholarly endeavour to place them in their proper historical context and thus to point out their weakness and limitations. Further advance and those lines have been made by Barun De, Asok Sen and Sumit Sarkar in their brilliant essays on Ram Mohan Roy, young Bengal and Vidya Sagar (see V. C. Joshi (ed), *Ram Mohan Roy and the process of Modernisation in India*. New Delhi, 1975, Sumit Sarkar, "The Complexities of Young Bengal" in *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 1974, No. 4 and Asok Sen, *Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar and His Elusive Milestones*, Occasional paper No. 1, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta). They have brought out the efforts of the constraints imposed upon by the colonial rule on the modernizing efforts of the 19th century reformers (see also K. N. Presidential Address, Section III, Indian History Congress, 36th Session, 1975). The Indian Society undergoing a process of transition from a feudal society to a stultified and dependent form of capitalism under colonial domination, our modernity remained stunted and distorted. The studies cited above deal only with Bengal. Unfortunately, we do not have similar and comparable works on Maharashtra, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, the level of our understanding of the contribution of Lokhitawadi, Mahatma Phule, Ranade, Swami Dayanand and Veeresalingam still remain at the adulatory and debunking stage.

In attempting a detailed analysis of the intellectual heritage of the 19th century, a major difficulty is the gap in our knowledge of the biographical details of the intellectuals. For instance, we do not know much about the formative influences on Ram Mohan, Akshay Kumar and Veerasalingam, to cite only one of the many areas of our ignorance about their lives. By and large, the 19th century intellectuals have not cared to write their autobiographies, a source which could have been extremely useful in understanding their minds. It is in this context that the *Autobiography of Dayanand Saraswati* edited with an introduction and explanatory notes by K. C. Yadav merits our attention.

Dayanand's *Autobiography* is not an autobiography in the real sense of the term. It consists of two general sketches of his life and a brief exposition of his "beliefs and disbeliefs". The first fragment is an account of Dayanand's early life, education and activities until 1856 which he wrote in Hindi for the *Theosophist*, a monthly journal of the Theosophical Society of India. The second is a narrative he had related to his friends and admirers in Poona on 27 August 1875. I wish the Editor had given a biographical sketch of the last phase of Dayanand's life, instead of giving a chronology of his life in the appendix "to supply the desideratum".

The first part of the *Autobiography* brings out Dayanand's scepticism about idolatry and quest for truth. His *Shivaratri* experience leading to an anti-idolatorous stance and the death of his sister resulting in "a series of long and sad meditation upon the instability of human life" give interesting insights into his personality and mental make up. However the argument that they were spontaneous reaction of a precocious boy does not sound very convincing. By now Dayanand had already learnt the *Vedas* (p. 13) and his "academic sweep extended to *Nighantu*, *Nirukta*, *Purvamimamsa* and other *Shashtras*" (p. 16). Unfortunately Dayanand does not tell us what he had learned from the *Vedas* and *Shastras* and how the knowledge acquired from them affected his attitudes and beliefs. In this context, I feel that Farquhar's suggestion about Jain influence could not be lightly dismissed (F. No. 18 p. 15). To my mind, the post-1875 Dayanand was not a continuation of the young boy who had decided "to save myself from the untold miseries of the dying

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moments", but the product of a transformation which he had obviously went through during the period of his wanderings, 1845-64. Again, the autobiographical fragments relating to this period do not enlighten us on this point. It is more in the nature of a list of places he had visited and the names of scholars he had met during his journey. However Dayanand's urge to ascertain the veracity of what he had read is very strongly expressed here, a quality sadly absent in his attitude towards the *Vedas* later on. While wandering on the banks of the Ganga, he saw a Corpse floating down the river. What followed is best described in Dayanand's own words: "I entered the river and brought out the dead body. I then dissected it with a large knife in the best manner I could. I took out the heart (kamala) and cutting it from the navel to the ribs examined it. I examined a portion of the head and neck too. The description given in the books did not tally at all with the actual details. I, therefore, tore the books to pieces and threw them into the river along with the corpse" (p. 38).

To the autobiographical fragments, Dr. Yadav has added an introduction, explanatory notes, four appendices and exhaustive bibliography. The introduction provides a general background to the *Autobiography*, a brief survey of socio-religious ideas of Dayanand and his contribution to the national awakening. The explanatory notes are informative, but some of them are superfluous, (for example, f, 40.7 in p. 12, f. no. 30 in p. 8) which could have been avoided. On the whole, the *Autobiography* is useful to scholars interested in the intellectual and social history of 19th century India. I hope that Dr. Yadav will follow up this by bringing out the writings of other reformers and intellectuals of the Punjab.

K. N. Panikkar.

Jayasi Padmavati, Tulasidasadasi Nelanutala Parvati Krishnamurthy, Mulapeta, Nellore PP 360, 1976, Price Rs. 15.

Hindi is the language of the Indian Republic and it is gratifying to note that many works are being translated from Hindi into Telugu after the attainment of Independence in 1947. But the connection between Hindi and Telugu goes back to a century. About the year 1860 Rama Charita Manas, the immortal work of Goswami Tulsidas was translated into Telugu in the same metres as in the original by Manda Kameswara Kavi of Vijayanagaram Samastanam Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh (vide my work Vijayanagaram Samastanamu — Andhra Vangmaya Poshana— PP 70—80, 1963).

The present work under review Jayasi Padmavati by Srimati Nelanutala Parvati Krishnamurthy is a Telugu rendering of the Hindi work of the same name by Jayasi (1492—1542), one of the greatest poets in Hindi. This work was however known to the Hindi scholars only fifty two years ago and it was declared at once as the forerunner of Ramacharita Manas of Tulsidas.

The story of Padmavati is based on history. Allauddin Khalji, Sultan of Delhi, having heard about the beauty of Padmini, the Rajput Princess of Chittoud laid siege to the fort, but could only see her through a looking glass under the pretext of making peace with Bhimsingh, the husband and ruler of Chittoud; he managed to arrest him, and made him a prisoner in Delhi. Padmini, the devoted wife, got her husband released by indirect means. But this did not last long. Allauddin again invaded Chittoud and captured it, but only to see that all the Rajput ladies including Padmini perished in fire.

Basing on the historical episode, Jayasi the great poet changed the name of Bhimsingh as Ratnasena and Padmini as Padmavati. A love episode between them was developed, Padmavati became the Princess, daughter of the king Simhala. Ratnasena in the guise of a Yogi made a voyage to Simhala Dvipa to meet Padmavati about whom he heard through a parrot Hiramana. Thus the bare historical skeleton of a story was thesised into a human romantic episode, with full of flesh and blood i.e, as a superb Mahakavya in Avadhi Bhasha to cover over 57 parts (Khandas).

Jayasi is a great poet, philosopher and yogi. He introduced in this work the tenets of sūfi philosophy. Like Prabodhachandrodayamu in Sanskrit, Padmavati is allegorical in character. Chittoud is the body. Ratnasena is the Head (Siras). Simhala Dyipa is the heart (Hridaya). Padmavati is the light of Knowledge (Jnana Jyoti) and the Sultan Mohammad is Maya.

Jayasi is a master artist and Padmavati was written with lofty imagination, vivid descriptions and in an unimitable style. It is considered as a perfect work of Hindi Poetical Art.

It is therefore no easy task to render such a great allegorical classic like Padmavati into Telugu, but the present rendering of Srimati Parvati Krishnamurthy is so admirably executed that it appears as if the entire Hindi original is presented in Telugu.

The authoress is a master of Telugu Prose style. It is chaste, and clarity is its chief quality. It carries away the reader and will not make us to leave the book until it is finished. It exhibits the innate capacity of the authoress as a Poetess.

Srimati Parvati Krishnamurthy is already known to the Telugu Literary world through her work 'Ramacharitamritamu' a translation of Tulasi Ramayana. The opinions of competent scholars on this work bear testimony to the fact that it is the best of Tulsi Ramayana translations in Telugu Prose. The study of Ramacharita Manas has impressd her to such an extent that she styles herself as "Tulasidasa dasi" and fervant devotion to that work made her an adept in Hindi Language.

While women prose writers in Telugu are engaged now—adays in writing novels, and becoming affluent, Srimati Parvati Krishnamurthy is to be sincerely congratulated for the fact that with all her capacity as prose writer, she dedicated her life in writing and enriching Telugu Literature with devotional prose works.

The work deserves the widest publicity and popularity in Andhra Pradesh as it touches both the head and heart.

Kalaprapoorna, Acharya Nidadavole Venkatarao.

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Book Printing in India with special reference to the Contribution of European Scholars to Telugu (1746 - 1857): Dr. J. Mangamma; Bangorey Books, Nellore - A.P.: Hard Cover Rs. 75-00, Soft Cover Rs. 60-00.

In his rather effusive - one might even say gushing - introduction, the publisher (Bangorey) says in one place that "Dr. Mangamma's work is a pioneering one in this field"; he says in another that "Evidently, subjects of this nature have not yet been seriously studied. They are neither adequately handled nor completely dealt with". Such opinions will astonish anyone who has done even desultory reading on this subject. This reviewer can name at least two books which deal with not merely writing in Telugu during the period with which Dr. Mangamma's book is concerned but, inevitably, the services of European Scholars to its development - their services as scholars and innovators in many ways. Sri Nidadavolu Venkata Rao Garu's "Andhra Vachana Vangmayamu" (published in 1954) contains as exhaustive a list of prose works in Telugu as one could wish for. Sri Venkata Rao Garu stresses the importance of printing and analyses the development of Telugu during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fact that the title for one of the sections in "Brownu Yugamu" should show clearly the importance he attaches to the contribution of Charles Philip Brown, "Telugu Sahityamu pai English Prabhavamu" by Sri Kottapalli Veerabhadra Rao Garu (1960) deals with the period under discussion in three very readable chapters - (a) Kraistava Matamu - Andhra Bhasha Sahityamulu (b) Paschatyula Bhasha Seva - Dani Prabhavamu (the first half of the 19th Century) and (c) Nati Vidyavantulu - Paschatya Vijnana Sanskritulu. A detailed treatment of "book-printing" seems to be beyond the scope of these two books.

Dr. Mangamma gives a brief account of the beginnings of printing and a rather more detailed account of its early history in India. The large volume of information she has gathered from many old books and journals gives an idea of the reading she must have done - anyone who goes through her book will learn something about the development of printing during the period she has dealt with. Some interesting pictures of old prints have been included.

A few dates which have been accepted since sometime are convincingly questioned. The appendices also give useful information but the technical side of printing is barely touched. This reviewer himself noticed the omission of some important books (for example, Enugula Viraswamayya's "Kasi Yatra Charitra"); and in a recent review of the book in "Bharati" April 1976, Sri N. Venkata Rao Garu gives a list of thirty four books left out by Dr Mangamma. He also points out that three printing presses in Madras have not been mentioned by her. One of them is the famous "Adi Saraswati Nilaya Mudrashara Sala" of Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu. It is interesting to find from "Book Printing" that the prices of books more than a century back varied from one anna to Rs. 40-00 and that nearly one hundred and twenty years ago a head - compositor's salary was Rs. 50-00 while those of other compositors varied from Rs. 30-00 to Rs. 8-00. Considering the general level of prices of English books in India, Rs. 75-00 for a hard - cover edition is not too high, and this reviewer honestly feels that "Bangorey" need not have been defensive about its printing.

Sivalenka Radhakrishna.

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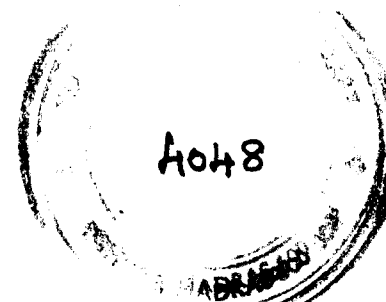




Plate I



Plate II

P. 8

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Plate III



Plate IV

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Plate V



Plate VI

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Plate VII



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Plate IX



Plate X

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Plate XII

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Plate XIV

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Plate XV



Plate XVI

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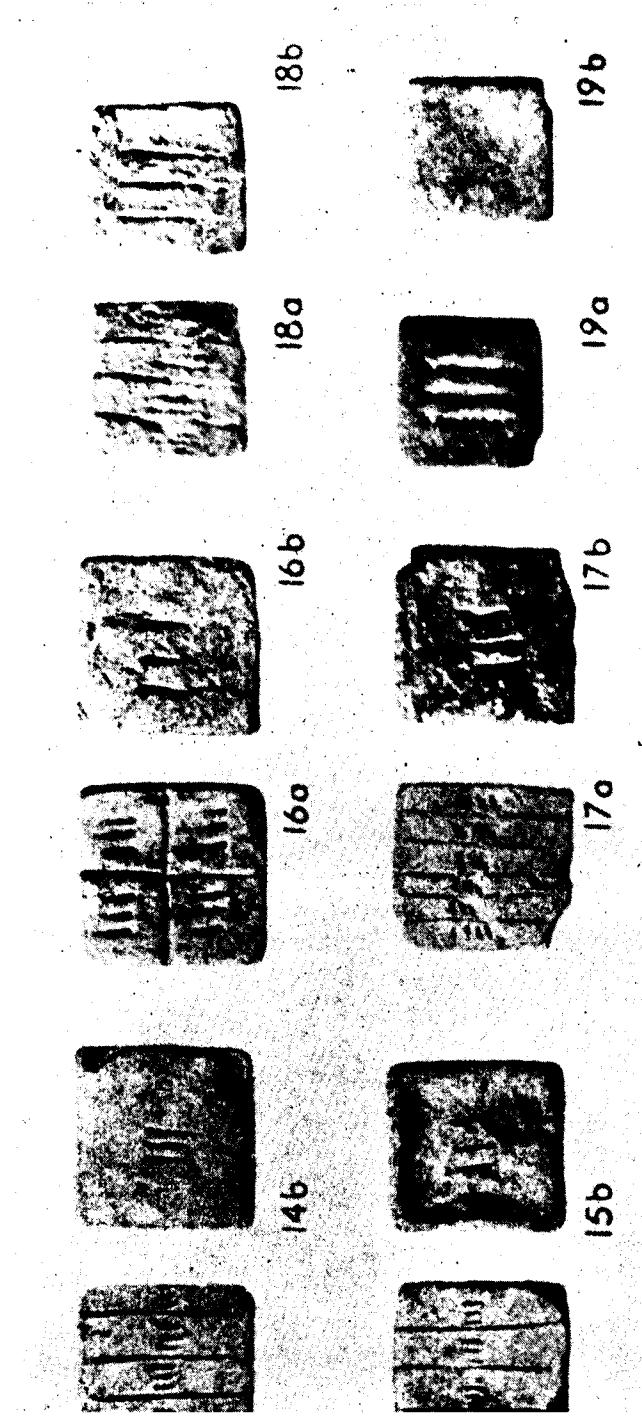


Plate I

(Terracotta Weights) Ranga Mahal P. 19

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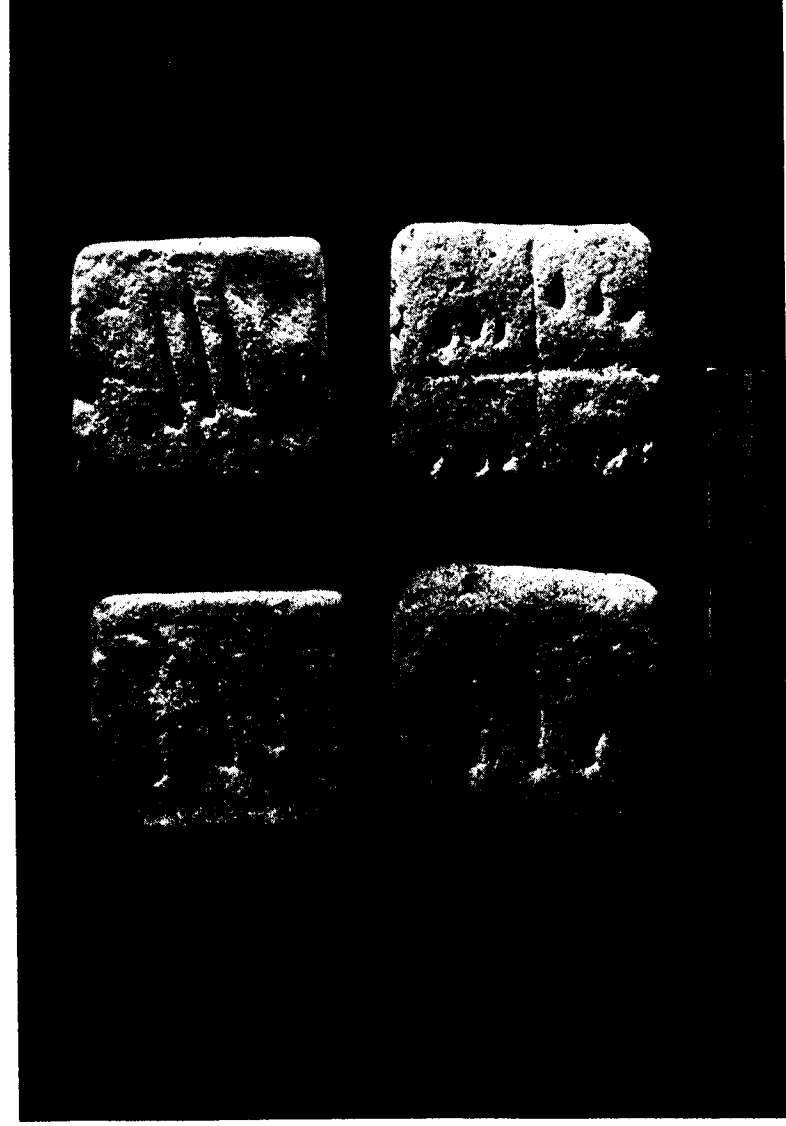


Plate II

Terracotta Weights ; Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa P. 19 & 20

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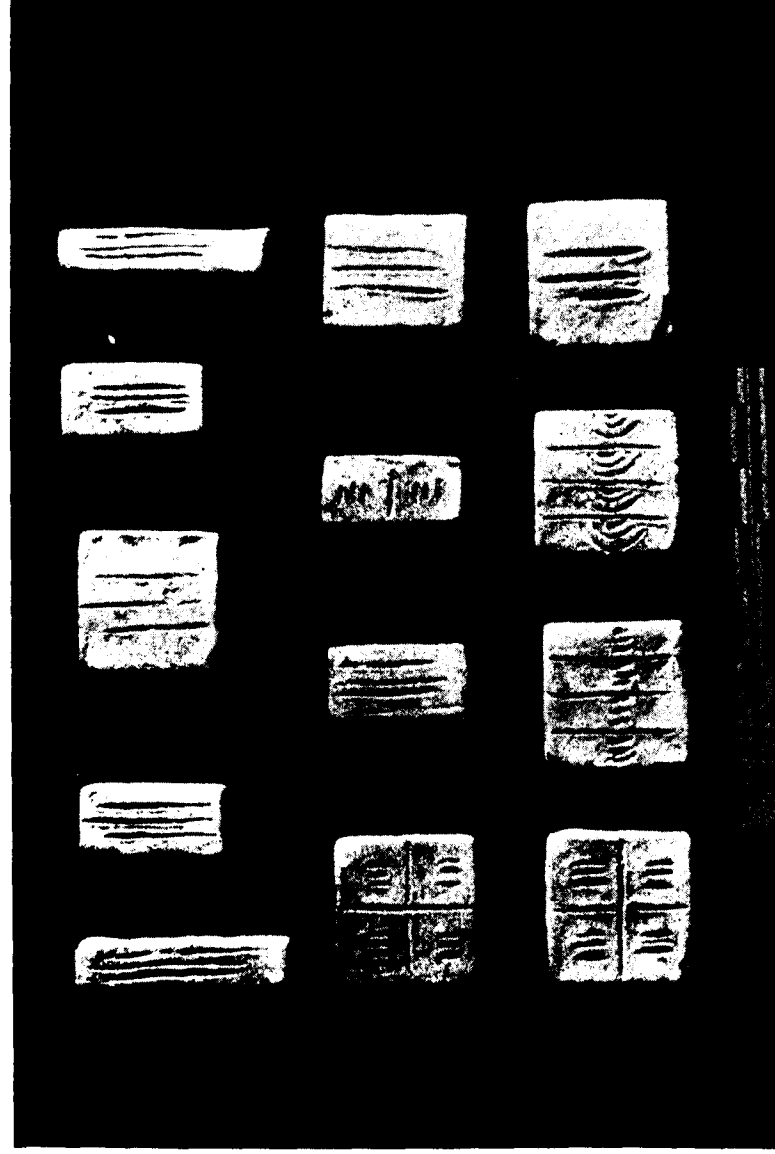


Plate III

Terracotta Weights ; Songhol - Punjab P. 20

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Plate I

Paintings of Narasimha at Ahobilam. P. 72

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Presiding Deities of Rettai - Tirupati P. 72

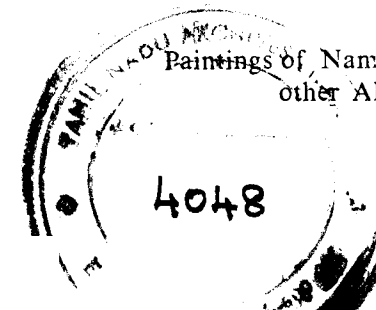
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Plate III

Paintings of Nammalvar in the Centre and
other Alwars. P. 72

A Itihas IV, i.



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