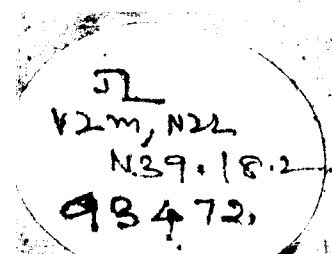


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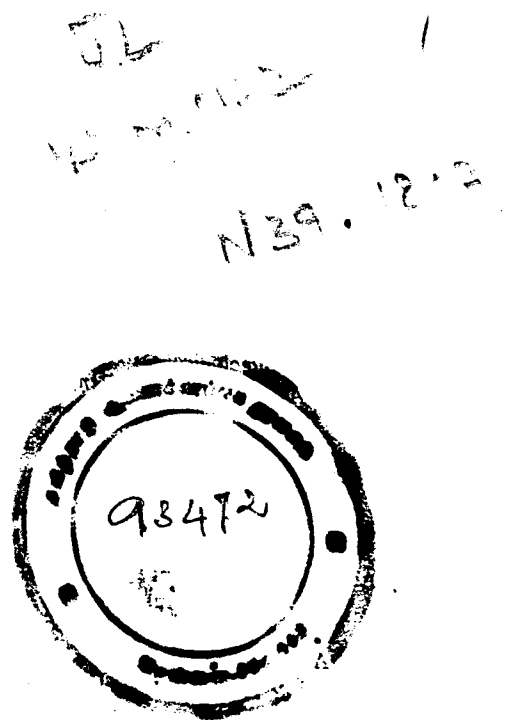
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Journal of Indian History

The Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras, (1801—1862)

By

G. S. WHITE,
Registrar of the High Court, Madras, (Retired).

At the Judge's entrance of the High Court, Madras, there has recently been erected a board on which are enscribed the names of the Chief Justices and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras ; in the Record room are the accumulated pleadings and judgments of the cases disposed off by them ; and in the Library are two volumes—known as Strange's Notes of Cases—and some further volumes of correspondence which give some idea of the problems decided by them. The object of this paper is to give some description of the Judges of the Court, a reference to the practice or procedure of the Court and to quote some of the cases disposed of by them.

In the year 1801, owing to the growth in extent and wealth of the Presidency, a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and two *Puisne* Judges, was established on Friday the 4th September, 1801. The Charter of the Supreme Court was brought out to India by Sir Henry Gwillim, who landed at Madras on the 26th July, 1801. The correspondence between the Supreme Court and Government with reference to the opening ceremony, is preserved in the High Court. In a letter of the 31st August 1801, from Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice, to the Right Honourable Lord Clive, the President of the Council, it is stated that the Judges "have fixed Wednesday next for the publication of the new Charter; and it is the intention to proceed soon after from the Chief Justice's to the Court House and being there assembled to qualify themselves pursuant to the directions in the instrument."

In his reply of the 2nd September, 1801, Lord Clive states that he has given orders that the publication of His Majesty's Charter shall be received with all due respect and that he has caused a Proclamation to be issued under the authority of Government, and a further letter of Lord Clive states that, in order that the same attention should be paid to the Supreme Court as was paid when the exemplification of the Charter of the Recorder's Court was presented to the Governor in Council

"All the Guards in the Fort will accordingly pay the highest military honours to the Supreme Court and a Royal Salute will be fired when the Proclamation is issued."

His Lordship (Lord Clive) appointed the time at about one o'clock for such purpose and said that he would be happy to assemble the Council in the Fort, should the Chief Justice and Judges wish to meet him in Council after the Judges had qualified themselves.

The Judges, however, declined to meet the Governor in Council, as proposed but arranged to send him an exemplification of the Charter immediately after it had been published. The Judges, accordingly, assembled and took their oaths of office. The Oaths of Office of the Chief Justice were taken before Sir Henry Gwillim and Sir Benjamin Sullivan, and the oaths of office of Sir Henry Gwillim and Sir Benjamin Sullivan were taken before the Chief Justice.

The original oaths of office of the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court are preserved in the Supreme Court record room in the High Court. They are much more elaborate than the declaration at present made by a Judge of the High Court before entering on his office. They consisted of three long oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, and a further declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. They remind one of the story of the man who repeated several times that he would die at the stake for the religion of his father, and on being asked, "What was your father's religion?" answered, "I don't exactly know, but it was something very solemn."

On the formation of the Supreme Court agreeable to the provisions of the Charter, the Royal Salute of 21 guns was fired from the walls of the Garrison, and the style, title and jurisdiction of the Court was afterwards proclaimed by the Sheriff of Madras with the usual solemnities.

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This dignified opening ceremony of the Supreme Court is a contrast to the opening ceremony of the Mayor's Court which took place on Thursday the 17th August, 1727, when the Charter of the Mayor's Court of Madras was put into execution and "the Mayor and Aldermen were sworn in with much ceremony after coming from the Fort in a grand procession of kettle drums and trumpets, dancing girls with country music, the Court attorneys on horseback, the Registrar, the Sheriff and others followed by the chief gentry of the town on horseback through Black Town and Peddu Naik's Pettah to the Company's garden, where the President and Council were met to receive them."

When one remembers that the "Court attorneys" mentioned in the above extract were "broken down merchants, ex-military men, and even chirurgeons (surgeons)" enough is said to indicate what this rabble was composed of. Lawyers there are in plenty, and as knowing as can be expected from broken down linen drapers and crack'd tradesmen, who seek their fortunes by their wits." [The Trade in India, by Charles Lockyer (1711)]. Not that the absence of qualified lawyers was looked upon as any disadvantage in the old days—indeed some cynics say that their absence was accountable for the speedy disposal of cases—for one authority states that in Bombay ten or twelve daises at the most puts a period to any suit, with good cause shewed to the contrary, so that there is no complaining in the streets; everyone, according to the meritts of their cause goes away satisfied and contented, and bless God for this happy establishment."

Having given an account of the opening ceremony of the Supreme Court a reference may now be made to the Judges thereof.

Sir Thomas Strange, (1801-1816). Sworn in 4th September 1801.

The first Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Strange, came out to India as Recorder of Madras in the year 1798. The Strange family was a very ancient Scottish one. The name was originally Strang, and Sir Thomas' father, Sir Robert Strange, came from Balcasky in Fifeshire but he was born at Kirkwall in the Orkneys in the year 1721. Sir Robert Strange was present at the battle of Culloden on 16th April, 1746: he was a staunch Jacobite, and a celebrated engraver. Sir Thomas Strange was born in London on 30th November, 1756, and was admitted to a King's scholarship at Westminster in the year 1770. He was elected to Christ Church, Oxford in 1774, matriculated on 1st June and graduated B.A. in

1778 and M.A. in 1782. At both school and college his chief competitor was Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester. (Lord Colchester who was, by his mothers' second marriage, half brother of Jeremy Bentham, the Philosopher and Jurist, was also an old Westminster. Colchester was Chief Secretary and Privy Seal for Ireland in 1801.) Thomas Strange entered Lincolns Inn as a law student in 1776. He received much friendly help from his mother's friend, Lord Mansfield. (William Murray Mansfield, 1st Earl of Mansfield (1705-1793), had also been educated at Westminster school and has always been recognised as the founder of English Mercantile Law). Thomas Strange was called to the Bar in the year 1785. Whether as a result of his own merit or on account of his friendship with persons of influence in the legal world, he was, when only 35 years of age and of about 4 years standing at the Bar, appointed in 1789 as Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. From this post he was recalled to England, knighted on 14th March, 1798, and appointed Recorder of Madras and embarked on his six months voyage to Madras in March, of the same year. Sir Thomas Strange brought with him to India the Charter of the Recorder's Court, Madras, and this Charter which is the foundation of the Courts of superior jurisdiction in Madras is still preserved and is to be seen in the chambers of the Chief Justice of Madras. It is rather startling to note that this Charter was, owing to Sir Thomas not being at his lodging in London, left by the Solicitor to the India Office in charge of the hotel porter! He arrived in Madras on 28th September, 1798. He, therefore, took about 6 months and 11 days on the voyage, *and all the time on full pay of £ 500 per annum*. Mr. Cecil Smith, the Accountant-General, is said to have fainted when the Pay Bill for £ 2,500 was presented!

According to Love's "Vestiges of Old Madras," the position in Madras on the arrival of Sir Thomas Strange was one requiring exceptional tact and firmness, the administration of justice by the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen being notoriously corrupt. He met with factious opposition, which he overcame by arranging (as the *Od Bailey*) that only one representative of the Aldermen should sit with him. Prior to his departure from England, Sir Thomas took the advice of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Rosslyn, (Alexander Wedderburn, first Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Chancellor 1793-1801) as to the form of proceedings to be adopted in establishing a course of proceedings under the Charter. Lord Rosslyn's advice to him was "to look neither to one side, nor to the other of Westminster Hall, but to keep substantial justice,

and that only in view." Sir Thomas, however, adopted the established forms of pleading according to the respective jurisdiction, including joinder and rejoinder, rebuter and sur-rebutter, and we even find our old fictitious legal friends "John Doe" and "Richard Roe" introduced. There are thus in the Supreme Court record room of the High Court many pleading in actions for ejectment with the title "John Doe. vs. Richard Roe"; and thus where Ramaswami wished to eject Muniswami from the former's property the action commenced in the names of "John Doe against Richard Roe"!

In the year 1801, in apprehension of an attack by the French, two Volunteer Battalions were raised in Madras; the Governor, Lord Clive, commanded one and the Chief Justice commanded the other. He used to drill his men every morning before the Court sat—and considering that the Court sat at 9 o'clock, he must have been an early riser!

Sir Thomas Strange did not, like most of the officials, reside in the Fort. He rented "Brodie Castle" at the Adyar from a Merchant, James Brodie, who was its builder and owner. It is fitting that this house, should after a period of over 100 years become the official residence of the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court. With the advent of carriages and motor cars the Fort is now reached in about half an hour; in the days of Sir Thomas Strange, when the ordinary method of conveyance was either by horseback or by palanquin it must have been a very tiring journey.

Sir Thomas Strange was a great Judge. He had the advantage of a sound and discriminating understanding, great application, an ardent love of literature in general and a special taste for juridical studies (Love's *Vestiges*). Before leaving India in 1816, he printed in Madras "Notes of Cases in the Recorder's and Supreme Courts of that Presidency". They may be regarded as the first Madras Law Reports. After retirement in London he published his book on Hindu Law. In the introduction to the 4th edition of the work, Mr. Mayne says "Sir Thomas Strange's treatise has done more than collecting authorities upon Hindu Law. It has settled the law. The references to original law books still appear at the foot of his pages, but it is rarely that any consult them. We rely unhesitatingly upon the assiduous accuracy which collected so many sources of information and the exquisite judgment which evolved an orderly system from conflicting opinions. Few will search for themselves through *Menu* or the *Mitacshara* when they can find its substance brought out in the masterly English of the

Chief Justice of Madras. Few will enquire into the rival views of Srichrishna or Yagnavalkya when the balance between them has been struck by a single mighty sentence of Sir Thomas Strange The Indian Courts are still governed as authoritatively by Sir Thomas Strange, as old Philosophers were by Plato and Aristotle". One of the leading Counsel at present practising at the Privy Council still treasures in his book-case a first edition of this work and tells how he quoted from it a few years ago at the hearing of an appeal before the Board and won his appeal.

Nor were Strange's activities confined to the law and to military duties. He was one of the founders of the Madras Caledonian Society (originally the Highland Society), and the introduction into Madras of bagpipes, quaichs, Scotch whisky, "sair heeds," and other things which the Scots love!

A question as to precedence was under discussion in 1813, when the Marquis of Hastings, then Lord Moira, was in Madras on his way to Calcutta, and is thus referred to in his Journal, under date September 12th: "Dined with the Governor. A contest was then raging for precedence between the daughters of peers and the wives of those who, from their station in the Company's service were held to have a superior local rank. As the affair had been referred to the Governor General in Council, I had not to give any opinion on it; and a hope which I was told had been entertained that I should indirectly decide the question by my choice of the lady whom I should hand out at this dinner was baffled by my adverting laughingly to the dispute while I gave one arm to Lady Hood (wife of Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, and Lord Seaforth's daughter) and the other to Lady Strange, wife of the Chief Justice" (Shaw, Predecessors of the High Court).

Three portraits of Sir Thomas Strange remain to perpetuate his memory; one was painted for Halifax, Nova Scotia, by Benjamin West, another portrait by Sir Martin Archer Shee is in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, the third, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P. R. A. is the first picture on the South-east corner of the Banqueting Hall, Madras. In Colonel Love's List of Pictures, Sir Thomas is described as having a strong resolute face, clean shaven, but for small whiskers, a good forehead rather bald on top, grey hair cut short, dark eyes glancing to the right, very dark eyebrows and a firm mouth. On his retirement there was difficulty in getting a passage to England. However, the Madras Government took upon itself to depute the "Larkins" an extra ship, for the accommodation of Sir Thomas Strange and his family, upon which

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they embarked for England in May, 1817. Sir Thomas had delivered over the Seal of the Court to his successor, Sir T. H. Newbolt on the 10th July preceding (Those were leisurely days when one could wait 10 months for a boat!). In 1818 he was created D. C. L. at Oxford, and he died at Saint Leonards on the 16th July, 1841.

Sir Henry Gwillim, (1801-1808), Sworn in 4th September 1801.

At the time of the establishment of the Supreme Court there was no 'pucca' Englishman on the Bench. Sir Thomas Strange was a Scotchman, Sir Benjamin Sullivan was undoubtedly an Irishman, and Sir Henry Gwillim, the 2nd puisne Judge, would appear to have been a Welshman. It is unfortunate that very little is known of the early life of Sir Henry Gwillim. It appears however from the records in the Middle Temple that he was the eldest son of John Gwillim of Hereford, Gent. that he was admitted to the Middle Temple on the 8th June 1780, and called to the Bar on the 9th February, 1787. He was married and his wife came out to India with him. She died at San Thome and her remains were deposited in the tomb at St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George. Before coming out to Madras he had edited Mathew Bacon's Abridgement of the Law—a sort of early attempt at an Encyclopedia Britanica—and in Madras his charges to the Grand Jury are stated to have been remarkable for their vigour. They certainly were—so vigorous that they ended in his downfall.

About the middle of the year 1805 Sir Thomas Strange went on a voyage to England. The reason for his voyage is said to have been illness caused by Sir Henry Gwillim's irritability. Sir Thomas Strange was absent for over 18 months. Sir Henry Gwillim officiated as Chief Justice during his absence and almost as soon as Sir Thomas had left the station quarrels broke out between Sir Henry and Lord William Bentinck, the President of the Council. On Sir Thomas Strange's return Gwillim wrote to him to say that in consequence of the indignity he had done him by departing for England without letting him know the objects of his journey, it was not in his power to return his visit; and secondly that he had during Sir Thomas' absence been treated by Government and every member of it with "uniform disrespect".

One cause of the quarrel between Gwillim and Bentinck was over a very trifling matter—a question of Church funds. The Chaplain of the Settlement had written to Bentinck about the administration of a certain charity, the funds of which had been mis-

applied. In the absence of the Chief Justice, Bentinck passed on the letter to Gwillim to ask him his opinion on it. He had, however, forgotten that the Judge had already given his opinion on it and got back a furious letter from him.

"Your Lordship seems to misunderstand the constitution of a British Court of Justice; the puisne Judges are not appointed, like young lords of certain boards, merely to write their names, and to register the orders of their President; nor was I sent here, my Lord, nor will I ever condescend, to act as underpart in the Supreme Court."

Then there was the question of additional staff for the Supreme Court. The letter to Government was, in the absence of the Chief Justice, signed by Gwillim and Sullivan alone. Government sent it back for authentication by the Chief Justice's signature.

But the real trouble began about a new Police force which in consequence of the Vellore Mutiny the Government had thought necessary to set up. Gwillim was furious about this but Bentinck, oblivious of the storm that was brewing sent Gwillim an official invitation to attend his annual breakfast on New Year's Day. Gwillim replied by asking if the sending of the invitation was a mistake of the native writer, and got a reply saying that the invitation was not conveyed through mistake but was for a public function. Gwillim stayed away from the breakfast but Sir Thomas Strange saw no reason to refuse.

But it was at the Sessions in January 1807 that the storm really broke. In addressing the Grand Jury Sir Henry Gwillim referred to the repeated insults offered to himself and to Sir Benjamin Sullivan by the Government and by the very ill-advised young gentleman at the head of it."

The speech created an extraordinary sensation. Bentinck applied to the Supreme Court at Calcutta for suspension of the Judge and to make an appeal to the Privy Council for his removal from the Bench. This was followed at the next Sessions by a further outburst by Sir Henry in a protest against appointing a military officer as head of the Police force. Gwillim said.

"I am surprised! I cannot suppress my indignation! Good God! and these outrages against the liberty of the subject to be sanctioned by a Bentinck! by one of that family so illustrious in the cause of Liberty! It is impossible. None of the noble blood of the Bentincks or Cavendishes can flow in the veins of this man.

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He must be some spurious changeling that has been palmed upon that noble family and contaminates it....."

The Grand Jury were so much impressed with the speech that they directed it to be printed. Bentinck and the Council forbade its publication.

Eventually the matter came before the Home Government and it recommended that Sir Henry Gwillim be recalled. He was accordingly recalled in 1808. He resigned on the 28th October, 1808.

Sir Henry Gwillim's character has been neatly summed up by Sir William Bentinck as follows :—

"Sir Henry Gwillim has something of the constitutional agitation of Holkar. He likes to make war upon his neighbours, not for the purpose of stealing their purse, but without an equally innocent intention against their good name" (The Countess of Minto—Lord Minto in India).

The same author mentions the intensity of Prickly Heat and says that the Placid Lord William Bentinck has been found Sprawling on a table on his back : and Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the Madras Judges, who is a Welshman and a fiery Briton in all senses, was discovered by a visitor rolling on his own floor, roaring like a Baited Bull."

He certainly was most unjudicial in his remarks as is evidenced by a reference in George Elers "Memoirs" where he says that during his stay in Madras he attended at the trial before Sir Henry Gwillim of Major Yeoman and Lieutenant Sands for murder of Captain Bell who fell in a duel with Lieutenant Sands, to whom Major Yeoman acted as second. The Jury were absent for about an hour. The accused are stated to have been "saved by the perseverance of a man named Hope, a very rich merchant, who kept a "European shop." The Jury with the exception of Hope wanted to bring in a verdict of "Guilty" but Hope brought the Jury over to his side and when the verdict of "Not Guilty was pronounced" a dead silence prevailed. It was really awful. I shall never forget Sir Henry Gwillim saying 'Not Guilty! a most merciful Jury!' 'Prisoners' he said, 'had you been found Guilty, you never would have seen the Sun rise again. You have had a most narrow escape of your lives. Let this be a lesson to you.'

The original cause of the trouble between Sir Henry Gwillim and Government may also have arisen from the Mandeville case. The copies of the correspondence between the Supreme Court and

Government over that matter are in the Supreme Court record preserved in the High Court and are very interesting reading.

A perusal of Sir Thomas Strange's account of what happened on this occasion shows that Sir Henry had every reason to feel offended with Government. Mr. (eydevant Colonel) Mandeville had been in the East India Company's service and was charged and convicted before a Court Martial at Seringapatam and sentenced to be cashiered for having been concerned in the embezzlement of the Company's stores. For considerations of indulgence, as there is reason to believe, the Government were in no hurry to send him home although he was brought to Madras and had been in custody for quite a long time for that purpose. While in Madras he persuaded those whom he consulted, that injustice had been done to him in consequence of false testimony given at the Court Martial by one Nallathambi and having been led to entertain an idea that, could he but succeed in convicting this person of perjury, he might get the sentence against himself reviewed, a criminal prosecution for this purpose was under consideration by his legal advisers. Eventually, however, a civil suit was filed by Mandeville against Nallathambi on the Equity side of the Court. Mandeville was at this time on board a ship in the Madras Roads. Shortly afterwards, the vessel in question being ready to sail, and Mandeville in custody, he was put on board when a Writ of Habeas Corpus was obtained from Sir Henry Gwillim and delivered to the Sheriff. An officer of the Sheriff went on board with it in the evening before she sailed and brought Mandeville on shore, leaving the Writ without any return made to it, in the hands of the Captain, as his voucher. It would appear that the Captain had otherwise refused to part with his prisoner. As soon as the boat with the Sheriff's officer on board had advanced a certain way in the direction of the ship, several shots were fired from one of the Fort guns, between the ship and the boat to compel the latter to return. To effect the same purpose of defeating the Writ, troops were stationed on the Beach, and considerable management was requisite on the Sheriff's officer, in conveying the prisoner finally in safety to the Judge's Garden: it was by this time late in the evening. As there was no formal return to the Writ there was again some delay but eventually Mandeville consented to remain in the Sheriff's custody until the morning.

As the party consisting of the Deputy Sheriff, his officer, Mandeville, his attorney and the Judge's clerk were retiring from the Judge's house across his garden, to dispose of Mandeville for the night, a military force was perceived waiting for him at the outer gate. The officer commanding rushed in and seized the pri-

soner calling to his assistance the Guard, by which an effectual rescue would have been made, if Sir Henry, having received intimation of what was passing, had not immediately come out and received him back into his own house.

There was an exchange of messages between Sir Henry Gwillim and the Town Major, which ended in the withdrawal of the Guard and the delivery of the prisoner to the Sheriff's custody.

Sir Henry, next day feeling himself both personally and officially insulted expected some satisfaction. The Town Major offered an apology, disavowing the act of his officer in entering the garden. Sir Henry was not however satisfied with the sort of channel through which the apology was offered and expected either a personal apology from the Town Major or an order of Government censuring the officer for what he had done.

As neither the Town Major nor Government were disposed to make any further advances, informations were taken on oath and the officer and non-commissioned officer were bound over to appear at the Sessions. Then the Town Major further aggravated matters by sending a letter to Government—which letter was 'sent freely into the world'—which made offensive remarks as to the character of Sir Henry Gwillim. Sir Thomas Strange took the next Sessions and in his charge to the Grand Jury made a great impression and they brought in a presentment for firing the Fort guns, upon which an indictment against the Town Major was framed and found. They also found an indictment, preferred by Sir Henry Gwillim, against the two officers for the outrage committed in his garden and also presented the letter as a scandalous libel against Sir Henry Gwillim. Eventually, all the accused pleaded Guilty and they were let off with nominal fines. This terminated the whole troublesome business.

Sir Thomas Strange in another letter says that "in the heat of the moment during the affair in the garden, Sir Henry Gwillim's temper worked upon, expressions were reported to Lord Clive, as having fallen from him, which appear to have given indelible offence. In repeating them to Sir Thomas Lord Clive qualified them with very strong epithets indeed."

Apparently a man of violent temper, he appears to have had the courage of his convictions and was much respected by the public. On his death on 12th September 1837 the Madras Herald said "His learning was deep and accurate, as an author his industry in

research was unwearied, as a Judge his integrity and independence were uncompromising."

After his return to England he wrote "Gwillim on Tithes" a collection of acts and records of Parliament with Reports of cases, argued and determined in the Courts of Law and equity respecting Tithes.

Sir Thomas Strange, though conscious of his failings, undoubtedly had a very high opinion of Sir Henry Gwillim for in a Judgment in a suit *The King v. Gahagan* he made the following observations in 1814 :—

"It is a point with me never to mention the name of Mr. Justice Gwillim but in terms of respect. He had a morbid temper, which he could not always controul; but he was one of the purest, and most honourable characters that ever stepped in Westminster Hall. His understanding was of the acutest kind—he never did anything in this place without the utmost reflection—and it was drawn from a mine of legal learning."

If the family of Sir Thomas Strange was an ancient and honourable one, the family of his colleague Sir Benjamin Sullivan was no less ancient and honourable. He was a direct descendant of one of the Kings of Ireland. Oliol Illum, King of Munster in the year 125 A.D., whose lineage, the Hibernian Chronicles date from Heber Fionn, one of the sons of Milesius.

Sir Benjamin Sullivan, (1801-1808), Sworn in 4th September 1801.

Mr. Benjamin Sullivan (it should be noted that the name is spelt with one l) was the eldest son of another Benjamin Sullivan of Dromeragh, Country Cork, Ireland, by his wife Bridget daughter of Paul Limric, D.D. and was an Irish Barrister who came to India with the intention of practising his profession in Calcutta. He had the good sense, however, to see that Madras was a better place. On his way to Calcutta, he halted at Fort St. George, where he was consulted by Mr. Whitehill on the legal aspects of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury on the death of Lord Pigot, who died at Guindy. Mr. Whitehill and his colleagues had every cause for alarm and Counsel's opinion, for later on he and three other members were fined £ 1000 each for their connection with the affair. Sullivan was first appointed Standing Counsel and subsequently Advocate General of Madras.

The town of Madras was in those days and until 1793 a Mayoralty, i.e., the administration connected with the scavenging,

watching and lighting of the town was looked after by the Mayor and Aldermen, and they also had judicial functions which they exercised in the Mayor's Court. In the year 1798 the Court of the Recorder had been established and for the purposes of jurisdiction of the Recorder's Court it became necessary to define the limits of the town of Madras, which was then restricted to Fort St. George, Black Town and possibly a few houses in the vicinity of the Fort, the Maidan and Choultry Plain, where St. George's Cathedral is now built. Benjamin Sullivan, as Advocate General, was entrusted with the task of defining the limits of the town for the purposes of the new Court's jurisdiction. Sullivan presumably said to himself "The lawyers must live; the larger the area of the jurisdiction of the Court, the greater will be the number of briefs which find their way to the Barrister's Brief bag."

And so he defined the limits of the Court as follows :—The Southern limits should be the Southern bank of the St. Thome (now the Adyar) river, as far as the road leading to the Long Tank: that the limits should then be continued in a Northerly direction along the bank of the Long Tank and from thence along the bank to the Nungumbaukum Tank as far as the village of Chettopet upon the banks of the Poonamalle river, that the limits should be continued in the same direction to the village of Kilpaukum and Peramboor, and from the latter village to take an Eastern direction to the sea, so as to include the whole village of Tondiarpet. These are substantially the same limits as the limits of the ordinary original civil jurisdiction of the High Court until the year 1927, when the Mambalam extension was added.

It was after these limits had been defined that the lawyers and particularly Mr. Sullivan got a nasty shock: for the effect of the Proclamation was not only to extend the Court's limits, but also to extend the limits of assessment which the Justices of the Peace were empowered to levy by 33 Go. III. Cap. 52. In other words, property within the new limits became liable to Municipal taxes. Several lawyers appear to have owned houses at some distance from the Fort and they were strenuous in their objections to being assessed with Municipal taxes. Mr. Sullivan who was living in the house now known as "Sulivans Gardens" Teynampettah, was conspicuous amongst the objectors. He refused to pay the tax, and upon a warrant of distress being issued and the amount distrained he brought an action for trespass against the Justices. How long the suit was pending is not stated but the action was discontinued on Mr. (then Sir Benjamin) Sullivan's death by his executors. A

similar action brought by Mr. Compton, another lawyer (although not then a Barrister) was unsuccessful as it was decided that though the house in question had not been included till 1809, when the houses without the Fort and Black Town and within the limits of the new proclamation were for the first time assessed, the order did involve assessment as a consequence, however little in contemplation to such an extent either by the legislature originally or by the Government when the order was framed (*See Compton v. Gahagan, Strange's Notes of Cases*, p. 8). There would certainly seem to have been some grounds for Mr. Sullivan's objection to being assessed with Municipal taxes. It is pointed out in the above report that neither Sir Benjamin nor Mr. Compton derived any benefit from them, as the streets or roads in the vicinity of the houses for which they were assessed had never been cleansed, watched or repaired by means of the fund so raised. The scavengers were merely employed to cleanse the Black Town and the road or street, where his house was, was 200 yards away from his hedge.

In the year 1778, Benjamin Sullivan was appointed Standing Counsel to Government on a salary of 250 pagodas a month and his name is mentioned in 1779 as Advocate General, and also the fact that he had volunteered 25,000 pagodas for a piece of ground in the Mahratta Town Bankshalls extending from Gainer Stonehouse to Powder Mills. Lawyers must have made money quickly in those days as 25,000 pagodas represents about £ 5,800. His opinion was in 1781 taken as to the power of the President to evict householders from Hogshill against persons who were filching land from the Company. What was happening was that a person would fix upon a piece of Company's land he wished to possess and would lend a sum of money to poor people who were permitted to build their huts upon it on taking a promissory note and a mortgage of the ground as security for payment. When the time for payment expired, he would apply to the Mayor's Court for a Writ of Sequestration, which was granted on his swearing to the debt, and the ground was thereupon sold by the Sheriff and bought in for a trifle by the lender, or some of his associates, and the Mayor's Court bill of Sale was granted for the same. By these means possession had been taken of "large spots". Sullivan gave the opinion that it would be vain to stop such a sale, or to engage the Company in a suit, as the original grant of Madras and of its environs having been lost, or mislaid, the suit would only serve to expose their inability to support their title.

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In consideration of his being precluded from private practice his salary was doubled. In 1785 he was instructed to draw up a deed of incorporation of the Female Asylum.

The Directors in England had apparently shown great reluctance to sanctioning his appointment as Attorney General as he did not receive his regular Commission until 28th April 1786.

Very little information is available as to the work of Sir Benjamin Sullivan as a Judge of the Supreme Court. He was only a Judge of the Court for a few years, for in April, 1805 he embarked for Penang on account of indisposition. He returned from that trip in March 1806 and in May 1809 he resigned and died in November 1810. The vacancy on the Bench caused by the resignation of Sir Henry Gwillim does not appear to have been filled, but the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir Benjamin Sullivan was filled up immediately by the appointment of Mr. Francis MacNaughten on the 7th May 1809.

Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten (1810-1816), Sworn in 28th April, 1810.

Sir Benjamin Sullivan, as we have seen, came from Ireland. His successor, Sir Francis Macnaghten, also came from Ireland, but was of Scottish descent. He was the younger son of Edmund Macnaghten. Edmund Macnaghten of Beardeville, Country Antrim, was born in 1680 and was in Derry during the siege 1685-9. He married when he was 30 years old and had two sons and lived to see both of his sons come of age. The family of Macnaghten (or as it is spelt in Gaelic—MacNachten), originally came from Scotland and was one of great antiquity in the Western Highlands. They were styled Thanes of Loch Tay. In 1267, Alexander III granted to Gillichrist Macnaghten and his heirs the custody of the castle and island of Fraocheilean, on condition that he should rebuild it, and keep it for the reception of the King whenever he should visit it. His grandson Duncan, a faithful partisan of the cause of King Duncan, was one of the band that accompanied James Douglas in his attempt to deposit the heart of Robert Bruce at Jerusalem. Shane Dhu, the 3rd son of John and grandson of Sir Alexander Macnaghten, who fell at Flodden, went over to Ireland at the end of the 16th century with his kinsman, Sorley Roy Macdonnel, and was the lineal ancestor of Sir Francis Macnaghten, who on the death of his elder brother, Edmund Alexander Macnaghten, succeeded to the patrimonial estate of Beardeville and also succeeded in 1832 to the Chieftanship of the Clan Macnaghten.

Sir Francis Macnaghten assumed the additional name of Workman in the year 1823. He married Letitia, eldest daughter of Sir William Dunkin of Clogher, Bushmills, Co. Antrim. He had 6 sons and 11 daughters. Several of his sons were connected with India, one, Elliott Macnaghten, was a director and chairman of the East India Company, and another William Hay Macnaghten, was Registrar of the Court of Sudder Dewany Adalat, Bengal, and the author of the "Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law."

In the Supreme Court Correspondence (1800-1816) there is an extract from a general letter from England in the Public Department, dated 12th October, 1809:—

"We have received an official notification that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint Francis Macnaghten, Esquire, to be one of the Puisne Judges to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras in room of Sir Benjamin Sullivan, who has resigned the said office."

Sir Francis Macnaghten was a member of the English bar and was called in the year 1786. He took his seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court on the 28th April, 1810. A Special Court was held for this purpose and in the minute of the proceedings his Letters Patent are set out in full. He did not, however, remain in Madras for the whole of his service, as he was promoted to the Supreme Court of Bengal and vacated his seat at Madras and embarked for Calcutta on the 4th February, 1816. While in Calcutta he published a book entitled "Considerations on the Hindu Law as it is current in Bengal." The material for the two chapters on judicial proceedings was got from his son William Hay Macnaghten. He himself was their translator from the original Sanscrit and the subject had never before appeared in the English language. He took as a maxim on the title page the Latin maxim, "Misera est servitus ubi jus est vagum aut incertum." (4 Inst. 246) "Obedience is miserable where the law is vague and uncertain."

Those were days of fiery tempers, and Sir Francis Macnaghten's was no exception. Sir Henry Gwillim, as we have seen, quarrelled furiously with Lord Clive and Sir William Bentinck; in Bombay the Governor, the Honourable Mount Stewart Elphinstone sent a challenge to Sir Edmund West, the Chief Justice; while in Calcutta, Sir Francis Macnaghten is reputed to have sent a challenge to the Bishop of Calcutta to fight a duel!

Sir Francis was greatly affected by the death of his son William Ray Macnaghten, who was treacherously killed by Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, at an interview at Kabul on the 23rd December, 1841. William Hay Macnaghten was made a

Baronet in 1840. Sir Francis Macnaghten had been made a Baronet some 10 or 12 years previously. Sir Francis Macnaghten died on the 22nd November, 1843 in his 80th year, survived by sixteen of his family of six sons and eleven daughters. He was the founder of a distinguished legal family. His grandson was Lord Macnaghten, P.C., a Lord of Appeal in ordinary, and his great grandson is the Honourable Sir Malcolm Martin Macnaghten, a Judge of the High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division since 1928.

There is a portrait of Sir Francis Macnaghten, in red robes, in the High Court at Calcutta. It was painted in 1824 by George Chinnery.

Prior to his departure from Calcutta he was presented with an address by the Attorneys of the Supreme Court. He was also presented with an address by 'the most respectable Hindu gentlemen in Calcutta', and another by the principal Mahomedans, in which addresses reference was made to the pains which he had bestowed in making himself acquainted with their laws and institutions. "The integrity, wisdom and firmness which you have displayed in dispensing those laws in the spirit of British jurisprudence taught us to estimate aright the distinguished privileges we enjoy of being under the Crown of England." The Mahomedans craved leave to place this gem of prayer upon his head "So long as the heavens shall continue to revolve, may the Almighty plunge your enemies into the Abyss of adversity, and may he exalt your friends and well wishers to the pinnacle of prosperity."

Sir Henry Newbolt (1816-1820), Sworn in as a Puisne Judge, 2nd February 1811 and as Chief Justice, 10th July, 1816.

As stated above, Sir Thomas Strange was succeeded as Chief Justice by Sir John Henry Newbolt. Very little information is available about him except that he was appointed a puisne Judge on the 30th May 1810, and Chief Justice on 6th September 1815. There is an interesting note in *Madrasiana* which gives an account of the installation of Sir John Newbolt as Chief Justice. "Sir Thomas Strange wore the Court dress of the time of Louis XV, looked well, and behaved well; his bow (in which Englishmen so generally fail) was perfect, and his grimace perfect. Sir John, a less polished gentleman, was a little puzzled how to return the politeness; but he cut the matter short by a hasty nod to Sir Thomas, and a glance in the other direction, which said *quantum*

valeat; and besides, the Fort guns were now booming in that direction."

Although little information is available about Sir John Newbolt there is in the Supreme Court record room a copy of the *Madras Gazette* dated 29th December 1810 which announces the fact that he was married on board ship on his way out to India:—

"On board the Company's ship *Earl Spencer* off the Cape of Good Hope in September last, Sir John Newbolt, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, Madras, to Miss Blenkinlop."

And in the same newspaper is an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* dated 15th December, 1810:

"Accounts were received on Monday afternoon of the arrival at Saugor of the "*Earl Spencer*".....being the remaining ships of the June fleet. Passenger per *Earl Spencer* for Madras were, Lady Newbolt, Sir John Newbolt, Mr. Newbolt.....Mr. Demster Heming, Barrister."

Apparently, therefore, Sir John, having left England *without* a wife and arriving *with* one was anxious to impress upon Madras society that she was quite respectable!

Sir John lived at Mowbray's Gardens, then one of the finest houses in Madras and built by Mr. Mowbray, "a decayed London Merchant, who was sent out to Madras with the title of Accountant General; and of course with a "handsome salary." "A road leading to this house from Royapettah has since received his name, as Mowbrays Road; and the site of the house, by the side gate communicates with the proximate Mount Road, a little beyond the Cenotaph. The grounds may be from twenty to thirty acres, the Southern boundary being the Adyar river; not much of a river there, except in the monsoon season. The house is deposited near the crossing of diagonal lines, in a rhomboidal park. As a dwelling it is large, airy and commodious. A peculiarity is, that a small dome arises above the central hall, with open sides, above the roof; intended as a ventilator when great parties might assemble below." (MADRASIANA).

It is clear that the house referred to is what is now the Adyar Club, as the article mentions that the property was subsequently purchased by John Demonte Esq., and after his death vested in the Roman Catholic Bishop of San Thome.

According to "Madrasianna" the editor of the Madras Courier was Mr. C. H. Clay, Esq., "a young man, of handsome person, and

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of easy manners, and clerk to the Chief Justice, and Court Sealer. His legal associations were useful to him; he had the *entree* of good society, and was backed by military officers."

Again he says:—

"Appointments were curiously made in those days. A civil servant, in his own person, held three or more Translatorships to Government, of course drawing the stipends attached thereto; and was slyly complimented by another civil servant on his extensive knowledge of the native languages. His reply was, 'Awa mon, e noo no wie bit aboo any o em' which being translated from broad Scotch into English means 'Away man, I don't know a wee bit about any of them.'

Mr. Clay must also be responsible for the following account of a humorous suit tried by Newbolt C.J.—a criminal indictment for assault by Mr. Edward Moorat (the young Armenian millionaire) on Mr. Simon Aves of the same nation.

"The Advocate General, Sir Samuel Toller, who was never very powerful, was at least witty in professing his utter inability to divine how Mr. Moorat came to break plaintiff's head; surely he could not expect that it would pour forth gold pagodas. He regretted that a young gentleman of so much *worth* should expose himself to be treated like a common felon; which he took care to intimate was contrary to legal advice. However, he trusted that, in the judgment of the Bench, the plaintiff would maintain a due place, seeing that he did not seek Mr. Moorat's money, but to vindicate his honour. The petulant Gahagan was volubly indignant at Mr. Moorat being placed in the dock; poured forth tropes around the name of Simon, and Aves, a *rara aves* who did not want money! He might have had private recompence for his boyish frolic; or, if he must come into Court to clear his honour a civil suit for damages was the right course. The Judge, Sir John Newbolt, had his gravity a little tried. He, however, agreed with Counsel on both sides in regretting the course pursued; but since the course had been taken, he mulcted the defendant in the sum of one hundred star pagodas, or to be imprisoned till paid. Prisoner Moorat handed over to the Constable a Bank note for that amount, and on the door being opened, most of the legal profession ran to the dock to give him a sort of oration; Sir Samuel even vouchsafing a nod and smile."

"Oh! Plutus! potent idol! high and low, learned and unlearned, reverend or irreverant, bow down before thee!"

His wife's family was, however, much too highly connected and influential to allow him to remain in such a remote and unimportant place as Penang and so in 1815 he was appointed a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras. Upon his arrival in Madras he was magnificently feted by the then Registrar of the Supreme Court. It is thought that this gentleman was the originator in Madras of the form of invitation which is headed "To meet the Honourable Mr.....&c."; and this form of invitation to new-comers has been under suspicion ever since! Mr. Stanley was however proof against these flatteries, by a sort of mother-wit that never deserted him though of all men then living he was of the most credulous and infantile simplicity in common affairs of life.

He was appointed Chief Justice on the 17th May 1820, and continued to hold that office until 28th June 1825. Replying to a farewell address made by the Advocate General on his departure on 5th June 1825 "he returned thanks in an affectionate manner, observing that he quitted the Court and the profession with considerable regret after 18 years of active service in India. The effect of his address though counted in general terms is stated to have produced a strong impression on his hearers."

During the time he presided in the Supreme Court, he effected several important changes and corrected many abuses which had previously prevailed. The principal objects to which he directed his attention were the better protection of the suitor's money and the estates of deceased persons to whom the Registrar of the Court was the then Official Administrator. He was, however, of an extraordinary intellectual character. A learned and astute lawyer, an efficient advocate, and an admirable Judge; yet the moment he laid aside his forensic costume and stepped into private life, his absence of mind, his credulity, and his eccentricities made him the easy butt of everyone who had invention enough to execute a hoax. Thus during his voyage out to the East some of his fellow passengers "pulled his leg" by assuring him that, notwithstanding the abundance of poultry in India, not an egg was to be had there; and nothing could exceed his stare of surprise when he observed eggs placed upon the breakfast-table the day after his arrival. Everybody stared at him with equal surprise, when he was overheard gravely enquiring whether his hostess had imported her eggs from Europe; and that he had been informed that fowls did not lay their eggs in so hot a climate! He landed in India with his mind stuffed with such wild conceptions relative

to the country he was about to reside in, that, on a carriage with a pair of horses drawing up at his door, he lifted up his hands in astonishment as he had understood that all carriages in India were drawn by elephants.

It was during the time of Sir Edmund Stanley that a Registrar of the Supreme Court (possibly the one who gave the Garden party) made the fatal mistake of asking his Chief Justice to dinner. The incident is described by the Rev. William Taylor in his "Madrasiana" and the narrative given in these pages is, with slight alteration, his. The Registrar lived at Guindy in a house on the site of which the present Government House, Guindy is built. As well as being Registrar he was the legal representative of such liege subjects as chose to die, or could not help dying, intestate. A sort of Registrar and Administrator General combined. His master passion was for horses: and racing. To that end, probably, he removed so far from the Court; and so near the race-course. There was stabling for a number of horses, bought and kept at enormous expense; and as traditionally reported, a globe lamp was suspended in the midst of each horse stall. All went well until Sir Edmund Stanley was posted to Madras. Sir Edmund was an Arithmetician, as well as a lawyer; he had been Commissioner of Public Accounts in the Emerald Isle. In an unlucky hour, the Registrar invited him to dinner—the then customary way of hoodwinking a superior. Dinner in those days was at 3 p.m. After sitting at their wine, someone innocently, or maliciously (who can tell), proposed a visit to the host's stables. The move was made; and Sir Edmund Stanley with eyes awake next day calculated as to how all the aforesaid splendour could be supported by a limited salary, and a percentage of the estates—the only known source of income, as the Registrar did not otherwise practise in Court.

The result was soon told. A mandate issued directing the Registrar to make up his accounts; to present them at a public sitting; and to swear to them there. He accordingly came into Court, presented his accounts, fell down and expired. As a result Government were compelled to assume possession of Guindy Park as some indemnification for public losses, and it is said that when possession was taken it was found to be fully incumbered.

After his return to England Sir Edmund Stanley retired completely into private life and he died at Richmond, Surrey on April 28th 1843.

Sir Anthony Buller, not sworn in Madras.

"The ancient and Honourable house of Buller, from whom Sir Anthony Buller was descended, had been seated in Devon and Cornwall for many centuries." (41, Law Times, p. 626). He came from Pound in Devon and was the 5th son of John Buller of Morval, Cornwall (who was successively M.P. for Exeter, Launceston, and West Looes and one of the Lords of the Treasury), and was born on 26th July 1780. He was educated at Westminster, and was called to the Bar at Lincolns Inn in 1803, and was M.P. for West Looe 1812-1816, and was knighted by the Prince Regent at Carlton House on 23rd April 1818. He could only have been in Madras for a few months, as he was appointed a puisne Judge on the 6th September, 1815, and would have arrived in Madras about February 1816, and it is believed never took his seat on the Madras Bench, as he was removed to Bengal on the 10th April in the same year. He resigned from the Supreme Court, Bengal on 1st January 1827 and died at Marytavy Rectory, near Tavistock in June 1866.

*Sir Andrew George Cooper (1817-1821). Sworn in
26th January 1818.*

Sir Andrew George Cooper was appointed a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court on the 5th April, 1817. He was, prior to his appointment to Madras, Recorder of Prince of Wales Island from May 1816. He succeeded Sir Anthony Buller and took his seat on the Supreme Court bench on 15th April, 1817 and continued a puisne Judge until his death at Madras on the 30th August 1821, aged 44 years.

Probate of his will was granted by the Supreme Court to his brother, Captain Leonard Cooper who was in the Military Service of the East India Company, and to his widow Lady Cooper and his estate was sworn at one lakh of rupees. The Letters Patent of his appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court are preserved and framed in the room of the Chief Justice in the High Court. They are dated the 20th March in the 57th year of George III. The seal affixed to the Letters Patent—the Great Seal—is in good preservation and is of interest. His remains are deposited in St. George's Cathedral Cemetery, Madras. The monument bears a long Latin inscription.

(To be Continued).

Mahmud Gawan's Early Life and his Relations with Gilan

BY

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"It was in the year 856/-1453 that a merchant, 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd by name, already past the proverbial limit of forty years, sick of this world of jealousy and intrigue, a voluntary exile from the country of his birth and youth, landed at Dābōl¹ on the western coast of India in order to seek fortune in trade and commerce at Delhi, the cultural capital of India. But the Will of God was otherwise, and although Maḥmūd was later honoured with the honorific title of Malik't-tujār, 'the Prince of Merchants,' it was in other walks of life that he made his mark, becoming perhaps the only minister of the Deccan with a world reputation² and the mainstay of the Bahmani Kingdom.

1. Dabōl, modern Dabaul, in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency. It was one of the chief Indian ports in the fifteenth century, and seat of a province of the 'Adil Shāhī' Kingdom. It is now only a small town of 5,000 inhabitants. *Imp. Gaz. Vol. IX.*

2. We have letters exchanged between the Khwajah and such persons as Sultan Muḥammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Abū Sa'īd of the line of Timūr, and the kings of 'Irāq, and Egypt included in the collection Maḥmūd's letters, the Riāḍu'l-Inshā, referred to here as *Riāḍ*. The copy I have used is that of the famous Ḥabībganj library, so kindly lent to me by the owner, Nawāb Ṣadr Yār Jang Bahadur and is numbered 50/126. It might be noted that the name of the collection is not Riāḍu'l-adab but Riāḍu'l-i-Inshā. There is another collection in which are included letters exchanged between Maḥmūd and Muḥammad II, viz., the collection of the letters of the Sultans Muḥammad II and Bayezid II (B.M. Or., 61; Cat. of Pers. MSS. of the B.M., 394), themselves a part of Nishānji Aḥmad Faridūn's *Munsha'ātu's-Ṣalātin*. It is remarkable that the letter in the *Munsh.* (p. 44 b.) is absolutely identical with *Riāḍ*, 144, p. 215-217, which goes to prove the authenticity of the letters in the *Riāḍ*. 'Abdu'r Razzaq, Mātiāu's-Sa 'dain, Vol. II, B.M. Or. 1291, includes the *Khwajah* among the world-famed alumni of the Kingdom of Gilān. The *Matla'* was completed in 875/-1471, i.e., in the *Khwajah's* lifetime. Another contemporary of the *Khwajah*, Sakhāwī, includes him among the luminaries of the ninth century A.H., in his *Al-Ḍau'al-*

KHwājah 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd b. Jalāl'ud-dīn Muḥammad b. Khwājah Kamāl el-Gilānī was born at Qāwān, or in its more familiar form Gāwān, in the kingdom of Gilān on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in 813/1410-11.³ The **KHwājah's** family was one of the most aristocratic of Gilān, his ancestors having held high office and one of them having actually become ruler of Resht⁴ with the right of having his name mentioned in Friday

lāmi 'li ahl' al-qarni't-tasi' Qudsi Press, Cairo, 1355, Vol. X, 144-45 *Sakh.* lived, 1.3.831/30.1.1427-28.8.902/13.1.1496. Thus even in his lifetime Maḥmūd had acquired a world-wide reputation.

3. Maḥmūd born, 813/6.5.1410-24.4.1411. This is clear from the contemporary *Sakh.*, *op. cit.*, Ferishtah says that he was 78 at the time of his death on 5th Šafar 886/5.4.1481, so according to this he must have been born in 808/1405. This date is followed in 'Aziz Mirzā, *Stratu'l-Maḥmūd*, 3rd. ed., Budaun, 1927, by Sir Wolseley Haig, C.H.I., 420, who, however, only uses the Christian date and puts down the date of the **KHwājah's** death as being 78 on 5.4.1481. Wajahat Hussain, I. A. S. B., Vol. I, 1935, No. 2, p. 11, also follows Ferishtah. Ferishtah wrote in 1051/1641, i.e., nearly 150 years after the **KHwājah's** death, while Sakhāwī was a contemporary, and thus his knowledge is more direct. No doubt Sakhāwī incorporated an earlier life written by Syid 'Abdu'l-Karīm Hamadānī (not 'Sindi', as mentioned by Briggs, II, 511), but we do not know the worth of this work at all. Under these circumstances I am inclined to favour 813. *Sakh.* also gives the **KHwājah's** genealogy without, however, the first names of the father and the son; the name 'Imadu'd-dīn occurs in *Fer.*, while the father's first name, Jalāl'ud-dīn, is mentioned in *Matla'*, leaf 80. Sir Denison Ross, editor of 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Umar el-Makki's *Zafaru'l-waliḥ* ('An Arabic History of Gujarat'), Vol. I, London, 1910, Quotes *Sakh* on the **KHwājah**, p. 168, but wrongly spells Gilani گیلانی as Kidani

کيدانی *Burhānu'l-Ma'thir*, Delhi, 1936, p. 89, calls the **KHwāja**, Najmu'd-dīn, but I am not aware if this name has been mentioned elsewhere. The *Burhān* was written in 1000/1591.

4. Resht, a city on the Caspian Sea. *Fer.* has it from Hāji Muḥammad Qandhārī that one of Maḥmūd's ancestors was the king of Resht; but there seems no doubt that if any of his ancestors ruled Resht it was as an autonomous governor rather than as an independent king. In any case if there is any doubt on this point it should be removed by the statement of the **KHwājah** himself who says quite candidly in the introduction to the *Riād.*, that his ancestors were the wazirs of kings. As a matter of fact Gilān was conquered by Hulāgū in 1227 and formed into two small principalities separated by the Sufēd Rūd with capitals at Resht and Lahenjān and remained independent till 1527 when it was annexed to the Persian Empire in 1527; *Encyl. of Islam*, II., art. on Gilān. This division is corroborated in *Matla'* which also mentions that there was an inseparable bond of friendship between the rulers of the two parts to the extent that the laws of one kingdom were current in the other. He also says that the capital of Sultan 'Alāu'd-dīn, for whom Maḥmūd has a number of letters in the *Riād.*, was Fōmen, now a tiny village about twenty miles south-west of Resht.

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sermons, and his descendants are said to have maintained their autonomy right up to the reign of Shah Tahmāsp Šafvī⁵ when the kingdom of Gilān was swallowed up by the regenerated Persian Empire. The **KHwājah** says that even in his youth he had "the firing ambition of seeing himself attain progress and high eminence in life";⁶ but although he had been brought up in an atmosphere of political rivalry, he was averse to shouldering the burden of ministership even in the petty state of Gilān.⁷

The **KHwājah** himself describes the reasons why he left Gilān. There were two men holding very high office there namely Hāji Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alī, the former being a minister of state and the latter the commander-in-chief of the state forces. Both of them had been protégés of the **KHwājah's** family and at least one of them, the minister, had been brought up by the **KHwājah** himself. Evidently on the death of his father, and taking advantage of his natural aversion to join petty intrigue in order to attain political power, the two men began to undermine the status and authority of the family which had been their haven, to the utter disgust of the **KHwājah** and his widowed mother.⁸ As a matter of fact it was at the instance of the old lady⁹—she must have been very old then—that 'Imādu'd-dīn Maḥmūd and his elder brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad both left Gilān. Shihābu'd-dīn¹⁰ went to Mecca but it appears that Maḥmūd did not accompany him, for in a letter to his brother he expresses his deep longing to visit "the high sill of the Holy Mecca".¹¹ During his wanderings the **KHwājah**, already a middle aged man with the prestige of family service to his credit was offered ministerships by the kings of **KH**urāsān and 'Irāq, but it was only natural that having scorned ministerial honours in his own country he should do likewise when offered them elsewhere.¹²

5. 1524-1576. It was this Tahmasp who was the Emperor Humāyūn's host during his wanderings.

6. *Riād.*, Intr., p. 6.

7. *Fer.*, *Riād.*, Intr., p. 6.

8. *Riād.*, vi, 34, to 'Alī el-Yezdī. The **KHwājah** is perfectly clear that he has nothing to say against the royal dynasty of the king, whom he regards as host patron as well as the patron of his family. But he says that the powers of the King "have been taken away in their entirety by a cotérie of oligarchs the chief among whom are Hāji Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alī".

9. *Fer.*

10. Shihābu'd-dīn's name occurs in a number of letter as 'Amīdu'l-mulk, eg., *Riād.*, lviii, iii b. He is mentioned as Shihābu'd-dīn in xi, 34.

11. *Riād.*, xiv, 42 b.

12. *Fer.*

We next find him at Cairo in 843/1439 where he met the *savant* SHaikh el-'Asqalānī, treading thence to Damascus.¹³ It was at these two places that he had occasion to make a study of the sciences which helped to make him a great *littérateur* and one who was sure to make a mark in every society in which he happened to move. In the meantime intrigues against his house continued at Gilān, his property sequestrated,¹⁴ and even SHam-su'd-dīn's son Muhammad, whom they had left at home, had to quit.¹⁵ It shows the stern resolve and will power of the man that, having already passed the middle age barrier he should choose a new career for himself, and we find him landing at Dābōl in 856/1453.¹⁶ He had heard of many saints and holy men then residing in the Deccan, specially of SHāh Muḥibbu'llāh son of SHāh Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī,¹⁷ and it was with the object of sitting at his feet that he wended his way to Bidar,¹⁸ the metropolis of the Deccan where 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad II was then reigning, intending to proceed to Delhi later, which, however, he never reached.

Before proceeding any further it would be well here to say something more of his family and of his continued interest in the land of his birth. He had three sons. One was KHwājah 'Abdu'l-lāh, and the two others were 'Alī, surnamed Maliku't-tujjar and the

13. *Sakh.*, *op. cit.*

14. This has been concluded from *Riād.*, xxii, 59, when the KHwājah asserts that everybody is well aware that all that Tāju'd-dīn son of Najmu'd-dīn had was really the KHwājah's property.

15. *Riād.*, xi, 36 b.

16. *Fer.* says that KHwājah was 43 when he landed in India so he must have arrived in India in 856/1453.

17. Ahmad Shāh Wali Bahmani had invited the saint Shah Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī to come to Deccan, but he made excuses and sent his grandson Mir Nūru'llāh who was created Maliku'l-Mashāikkh by the Bahmani king. When Shāh Ni'matu'llāh died in 834/1431, his son, Shāh Khalilu'llāh came to the Deccan with his family. His son Shāh Muḥibbu'llāh rose to distinction as the son-in-law of 'Alāu'd-dīn II and as a military commander, gaining the honorific epithet of *Ghāzī*. The family played rather a notorious part in Humāyūn Shāh's reign. *Fer.*

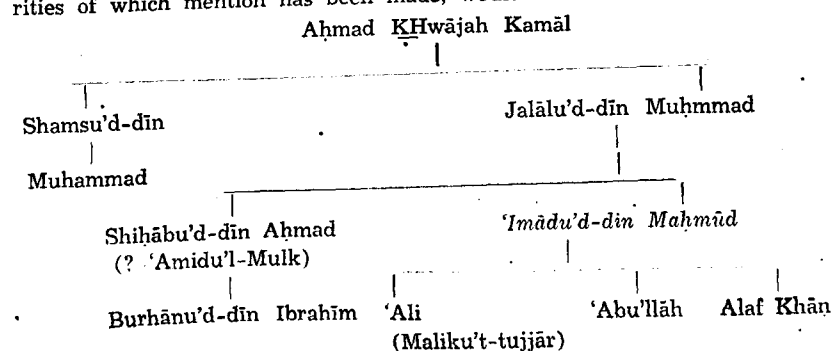
18. *Sakh.* seems to think that the capital of the Bahmanīs was at Gulbarga, and says that Mahmūd became the favourite of "Humāyūn Shāh of Gulbargā." Of course Gulbargā was 'owned' by the Bahmanīs, but the capital of the Kingdom had shifted to Bidar in 831/1427 and the great fort at Bidar completed in 836/1432.

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youngest Alaf KHān.¹⁹ There are letters to every one of these in Mahmūd's collection of letters, the *Riādu'l-Inshā*, from which it appeared that while the eldest 'Alī was already settled down in life, Alaf KHān was still very young. It so happened that once envoys arrived from Gilān in order to take Mahmūd's cousin, Muhammad with them, but the KHwājah was averse to sending him as the reins of government at Gilān were still in the hands of Hāji Muhammad and Syed 'Alī who had been the real cause of his own self-imposed exile.²⁰ He regards these two officials as the cause of all the ills of Gilān and predicts that they would pitch different parts of the land against each other. This was quite possible in a country which had the elements of disunion inherent in it, for ever since it became independant it had really been made up of two distinct states, although as one authority has it, there was a bond of friendship uniting the two parts to the extent that the orders of the rulers of one were accepted in the other.²¹

In spite of disappointments and heart-burnings he still had an affection for the land of his birth and wanted to maintain some kind of relations with it if possible. It was with this purpose that he sent his son 'Abdu'l-lāh to Gilān and wrote letters to the Sultan to take him under his protection. Evidently the party inimical to Mahmūd's interests were putting stumbling blocks in 'Abdu'l-lāh's

19. The KHwājah's House as depicted by his letters and by other authorities of which mention has been made, would be as follows:



We find in *Riād.*, letters to his brother, nephew as well as to his sons; there is a letter cxix, 190, in which he conveys his condolence to his son on the death of the latter's mother, his wife, and it is worded in such a way that the lady was not with him but at Gilān when she died.

20. *Riād.*, xi, 34.

21. *Matla'*, *op. cit.*

way, for instead of writing to the king just once or twice he had to repeat the identical request a number of times.²² 'Abdu'l-lāh, however, took to drinking and other bad habits and the father had to write not only to the King but also to 'some of the Ministers' who were sympathetic to his cause, and even to the ladies of the Royal House to see that he was brought back to his senses and made a useful member of society.²³ But somehow all this was of no avail, and we read of the arrival of 'Abdu'l-lāh at Dabol and the conferring of a robe of honour on him by the Bahmani King, the KHWājah's master.²⁴

The next son we meet is 'Alī, surname Maliku't-tujjār evidently after Maḥmūd had been raised to the dignity of KHWāja-i Jahān after the former incumbent of that title had been executed in 870/1465 a couple of years after the accession of Muḥammad Shāh II. There are two letters addressed to 'Alī in the whole of Riāḍu'l-Inshā, but one of these is full of the most erudite and thoughtful philosophy of the conduct of man if he wishes to succeed in life.²⁵ The letter reminds us of the advice given to the author of the Qābūs Nāmeḥ to his son if he wants to attain excellence in different walks of life.²⁶ It shows that the KHWājah had regard for his son 'Alī and thought that if he were to tread the right path he might attain high eminence and perhaps succeed him in honours as he did in his dignity as Maliku't-tujjār. But such is the punctilious care he has for the good of his son that he does not shut his eyes to the faults in 'Alī's character and while enumerating his high qualities and worth he says that all these are of little avail as the one quality of conceit *خود بینی* is enough to spoil his whole career.²⁷ All we know, however, is that this Maliku't-tujjār was in the service of the Bahmanis and was actually sent once on an expedition against Vijayanagar 'in order to conquer the forts belonging to that state'.²⁸

22. Thus *Riāḍ.*, vi. 20 b; vii, 24; lxi, 113 b; lxii, 117, etc.

23. *Riāḍ.*, xc, 148; xciii, 153; the letter to the ladies of the Royal House is cxxvi, 196 b.

24. *Riāḍ.*, xxxii, 10 b.

25. *Riāḍ.*, xxxv, 74; the letter is quoted *in extenso* in *Sirat.*, by Aziz Mirza. It will be dealt with fully later, in connection with Maḥmūd's thought.

26. Vide Sherwani, *Some precursors of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Tūsī*, Islamic Culture, 1934, p. 15.

27. *Riāḍ.*, cxi, 151.

28. *Riāḍ.*, lxxxvi, 141 b.

The last son we meet is Alaf KHWān whom the father rebukes for his lack of application to learning. It shows Maḥmūd's high standard in matter pertaining to dissemination of knowledge, a standard which produced the world-famed *Medresseh* and the fine library at Bīdar that the object of this reprimand should be a boy of just fifteen. Here it might be worth while to give the translation of a small portion of the letter in question in order to understand the KHWājah's psychological process:

"God be praised that a person who calls himself the son of this humble writer should not be able to express himself in the best style or to write in an excellent hand. Your should be absolutely certain that without attaining the highest accomplishments a man would have to descend to the deepest valleys of obscurity and forgetfulness and the demons of spiritual death would subdue the forces of whatever life there is in him. A son should be such that the marks of goodness and prosperity should be patent on the forehead of all his deeds and words, not one who would give preference to ignorance and playfulness on science and knowledge and should not be able to put down his thoughts accurately by the point of his pen."²⁹

Apart from the letters which the KHWājah wrote to his sons there are many letters written to his brother Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad who is sometimes addressed as 'Amīdu'l-mulk, and to his nephew Burhānu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm, and there is a letter 'to one of his relations' expressing his regret on the death of his cousin *ابن عمه* Saifu'l-mulk. He seems to have been very fond of his brother who has a goodly number of letters to his credit one of which was sent to him at Mecca after the death of Maḥmūd's patroness, the dowager Queen, Makhdūma-i Jahān which occurred in 877/1472.³⁰ It is not known whether he had been at Mecca all along since he left Gilān or whether he had returned after performing the pilgrimage and went back to Mecca, but it is certain that he came to India direct from the Holy Land for there is an intimate letter from Maḥmūd to him expressing his great delight on having an opportunity of meeting a dear brother whom he had not met for ever so long.³¹

29. *Riāḍ.*, lxxi, 128.

30. *Riāḍ.*, lviii, 111 b.

31. *Riāḍ.*, lxxiii, 130.

Apart from the letters addressed to his relations at Gilān there are quite a good number of letters in the *Riāḍ* addressed to Sultans of Gilān, especially to Sultan 'Alāu'd-dīn,³² on a number of subjects. In these letters he takes great pains to protest his homage and his great fidelity to the successors of the rulers who had been the patrons and well-wishers of his own forbears, and writes to 'a wazīr that the intrigues at Gilān were not the making of kings but of low-born persons.³³ But when the Sultan asks him to come and serve his erstwhile country he only replies that with all the kindness shown to him by the Bahmanī rulers, especially Humāyūn Shāh, he is in duty bound to serve the country of his adoption till his last breath. It might be interesting here to quote his own words:

"After I had left my home and was far from all my relations and friends God made me enter the service of the Kings of the line of Bahman, and the application of the ointment of their kindness entirely cured the wound of leaving all that I thought was mine. Time came when the late lamented Sultan, Humāyūn Shāh—may his Hereafter be better than his worldly life—went to the Beyond and his son Nizām Shāh—may his rule last for ever and ever—ascended the throne. As the pigeon of my life had the collar-mark of the kindness of Huma-y-un Shah engraved on it—it is now incumbent on me to serve the kingdom while my head is on my shoulders³⁴ and life is in my body, and till then I mean to keep to the path of servitude and the road of extreme loyalty."³⁵

In the letters he wrote to the Sultan of Gilān from the battlefields as well as in some other letters he recounts all the great work the Bahmanīs were doing to pacify the land and making it law-abiding, and takes the opportunity to enumerate the deeds of bravery and chivalry shown by the Bahmanī armies in the field.³⁶

32. Vide, *Matla'*, op. cit., which says that a complete genealogy of 'Alau'd-din would be found in the book entitled *Durratu't-tāj*, but unfortunately I have not been able to lay my hands on this book.

33. There are more than ten letters addressed to this Sultan of Gilān. The particular letter referred to is addressed to 'certain of nobles,' *Riāḍ*, cix, 172 b. Death of 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gilān, cxxxiv, 208.

34. This sentence is almost prophetic!

35. *Riāḍ*, xxi, 54 b.

36. There are many letters from the battlefields to the Sultan of Gilān in which Mahmūd gives minute details of the campaign; e.g., xiii, 38 b; xxxviii 82, and many others.

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On the death of 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gilān things do not seem to have been taking a happy shape. He left a number of sons, and as is the case in lands without a set order of succession there were fears of internecine feuds much as the Khwajah had predicted. He is true to his salt and writes 'to one of the potentates' meaning the successor of 'Alau'd-dīn, that he should see that there is a complete unity of purpose between him and his brothers "as the tree of mutual opposition does not bear any fruit except that of regret and repentance."³⁷ It is characteristic of him that he should write to the ruler as he would to one younger than himself, and the vein of these letters is totally different to those he penned to Sultan 'Alāu'd-dīn. While admonishing the new king as to how he should behave as a ruler, he says that it is incumbent on the princes as to how their ancestors fulfilled their duty with respect to the lands under their charge, to have the benefit of the advice of the learned and the wise in the country, to send only the best of their subjects to foreign potentates as ambassadors and to have the best men in the Civil Service. Further he says that the basis of the right to rule is the continued progress of the land, and a ruler who indulges in excess in hunting and drinking and wastes his time in kindred matters has no business to remain a king.³⁸ Wise thought, such as would make the government of any country a model for its neighbours and make for continued progress and strength both within and without. The Khwajah himself took great pains to convert words into deeds and tried his best to make the Bahmanī Sultanate one of the most respected states of India even in far off lands.

37. *Riāḍ*, cxxxv, 209.

38. *Riāḍ*, cxxxvi, 209 b.

Six Different Types of Ganesa Figures

By

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THE images of Gaṇeśa¹ which are here discussed and illustrated are now exhibited in the collection of "Bronzes" in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

The first image² of Gaṇeśa is cast in brass and is 6·5" in height and 4·5" in breadth (the entire cast). Gaṇeśa is represented as sitting in the cross-legged posture for meditation (*padmāsana*), on a lotus seat (*padma-āsana*), which is resting on a rectangular stand. Behind on the stand is a "toraṇa"³ surmounted by a *kalāśa*.⁴ Over this was held an umbrella as is indicated by a loop affixed at the back. He has 18 arms (the additional 16 springing up from the two main arms), and has his trunk towards the right. The point where it is again turned to the left is joined up with the main part of the trunk to form a circular receptacle (perhaps to hold some object?). Gaṇeśa wears a *kaṇḍamukṭa*, *hāra*, *sarpopavīta* (sacred thread in the shape of a serpent), which also covers the belly, and a lower garment. In his left lap is seated his Śakti, Lakṣmī dēvī, who is represented with two arms only; her right hand carries a *nīlotpala*(?) and the left a *cāmara*. Just near the left leg of the lotus-stool is a small rat eating a *modaka*.

1. Photographs are published here with the kind permission of Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

2. Fig. I.

3. After Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1923), pp. 105 and 108, though usually it is called a *prabhāvali*.

4. Coomaraswamy, *Ibid.*, calls this ornament, which appears on the images published by him (mainly from Gujarāt), a *caitya* and doubts if it is a vestige of Buddhist or Jaina influence. This name for the ornament seems to be improper. It is undoubtedly *kalāśa*, and is usually found on the images in Jain temples from Gujarāt. Most probably this *kalāśa*-type ornament is a result of the evolution of the triple umbrella marks found on Jain sculptures, which getting mixed up with the architectural ornament—*kalāśa*—took this shape. *Caitya*, however, would be a proper name for this ornament in Buddhist sculptures as explained by Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 191.

This image is remarkable for a number of reasons.

First, for the number of arms. Gaṇeśa in his representations as Vīra-Vighneśa or as Mahā-Gaṇapati is, at the most, endowed with 16 or 10 arms respectively⁵ but not more. Neither has a figure with more arms been published so far.⁶ This figure of Gaṇeśa has 18 arms and the emblems held by the hands are not in accordance with those prescribed in the case of a multi-handed Gaṇeśa.⁷ Here we have (beginning with the right hands from the top), 1 a pointed object held in the fist—perhaps a *śūla* (dagger now broken); 2 *paraśu* (axe); 3 radish;⁸ 4 *mūśala* (pestle) or *bāṇa* (arrow); 5 *gadā* (mace) or is it a kind of flower? 6 palm stretched out on the side (is it *daṇḍahasta*⁹ or *abhayamudra*?) ; 7 palm similarly stretched out but holds *akṣamāla* (rosary); 8 *triśūla* (trident); 9 *vajra* (thunder-bolt). The left hands have: 1 *abhayamudra*;¹⁰ 2 *dhanus* (bow); 3 *kalāśa* (water-vessel); 4 pomegranate(?); 5 *aṅkuśa* (elephant-goad); or *pāśa*; 6 book(?); 7 *aṅkuśa* again(?); 8 broken(?); 9 *bijorākaṁ* or *vigora* fruit (citron).¹¹

Secondly for the pose. The usual sitting pose for Gaṇeśa figures is *mahārājālīlā*; less frequently the *ardhapadmāsana* pose described in canonical texts.¹² But this figure is seated in a full *padmāsana*. Till now no sculpture either in stone or in bronze seated in this pose has been published from Indian collections.¹³

Thirdly, for its trunk. It is turned to the right. This is, however, not an absolutely unusual feature, for Gaṇeśa figures with trunks similarly treated are found.¹⁴

5. Cf. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pp. 52 and 55.

6. See *Ibid.*, and Getty, *Ganeśa*; also Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, and *Catalogue of the Collections in the Colombo Museum*; Ramachandran, *South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum*; Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*; Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*.

7. See Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 52 and 55.

8. See Getty, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 32.

9. This should properly be shown by the left hand.

10. Usually this is shown by one of the right hands.

11. See Getty, *op. cit.*, unnumbered page after the Introduction.

12. See Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 49 and pl. X, Fig. 1.

13. Even from outside India, Gaṇeśa figure in full *padmāsana* published so far is only one—a Four-headed Gaṇeśa from Indo-China (See Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. 27 and pls. 25-28 respectively), though a number of figures in partial *padmāsana* are known.

14. *Ibid.*, pls., II b; IV b; V b; XX b; XXXVI a; cf. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 48; (however he has not published a single image of this nature).

Fourthly, for the *kalāśa*-like ornament on the *torāṇa* of the stand. This suggests Jain influence, as an identical ornament is found on the images of the Jain Tirthankaras in the collection of the Museum. It is not improbable that the image belonged, originally, to the *garbha-gr̥ha* (shrine-chamber) of some Jain temple where it was worshipped along with other brass images, because Gaṇeśa is worshipped as a lord of auspicious events and remover of obstacles even by the Jains, and the ritual of establishing (*pratiṣṭhāpanavidhi*) his image is described at length in a Jain work called *Āchāradinakara*.¹⁵ According to this work an image of Gaṇeśa may be of several kinds—*prāsādashtha*, *pūjanīya*, *dhāraṇīya*, and *Vidyāgaṇeśa*; may be made of any metal including brass (*riti* or *riri*) but not of any other mixed metal, may have 18 or even 108 hands and may be seated in a *padmāsana*.¹⁶ Our image, it will be seen, has many of these features, viz., it is made of brass and has 18 hands. Further, (to cite archaeological evidence), an image of Gaṇeśa is usually placed either on the entrance gateway or on that of the shrine in a Jain temple.¹⁷ It may be pointed out here incidentally that this point—the place of Gaṇeśa in Jainism (literature¹⁸ and sculpture) has not been touched upon by Getty in her otherwise exhaustive work on Gaṇeśa.

Two other points may be noted. First, that though the Śakti of Gaṇeśa is seated on his left lap, as is the case with Śakti Gaṇapatis, she sits unsupported.

Second, this is one of the very rare cases in which the figure of Gaṇeśa is so well proportioned as this one. Artistically it does not look ugly but looks well modelled just because the belly is made proportionate to suit the *padmāsana*-pose of the figure.

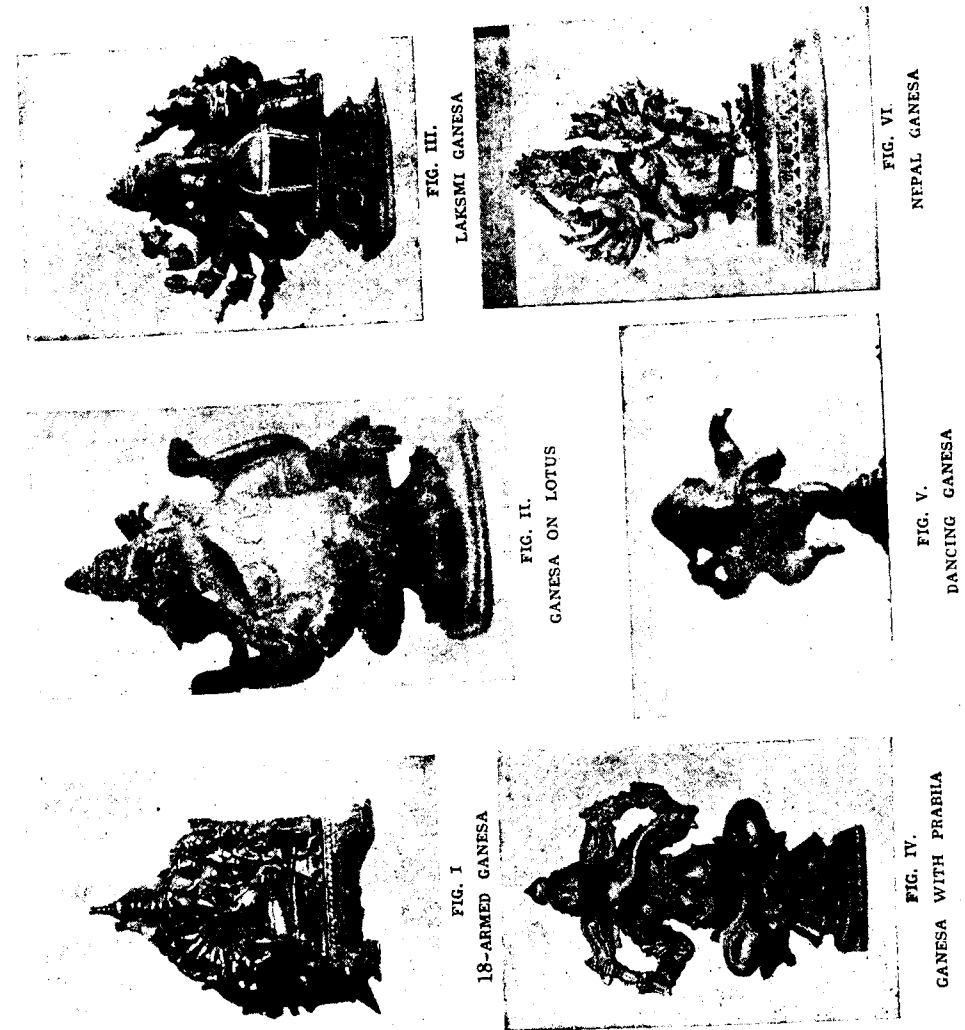
It is not known whence the figures came. The *kalāśa*-type ornament and other features point towards Gujarāt as its pro-

15. Published in two parts in the *Kharatara Gaccha Granthamāla*, No. 2 (A.D. 1922), p. 210. I am thankful to my friend, Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya for drawing my attention to this work.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

17. For instance, on the doorway of the *devakulikā* on the left of the principal entrance of the *sabhāmandapa* of the Jain temple at Sarotra, N. Gujarāt. See Burgess, *Archaeological Survey Western India*, Vol. IX, p. 100.

18. Hemachandra's works, for instance, do not begin with an invocation to Gaṇeśa. Still Gaṇeśa is mentioned by him in his *Abhidānak(c)intāmaṇi*, ed. by Boehtlingk and Rieu (Petersburg, 1847), p. 35, as Heramba, Vighneśa, Paraśupāṇi, Vināyaka, etc.; see also *Abhidhānasamgraha*, Vol. II, p. 12.



venance where it was probably worshipped in a Jain temple or a household as a *dhāraṇīya mūrti* (portable image), and place it in about the 15th century A.D. or a century or two earlier.

The second image of Gaṇeśa is of bronze and is 4·5" in height and 3·2" in width.¹⁹ Gaṇeśa is shown seated on a conventional lotus, (which appears to be placed on a flat piece, though in reality the whole sculpture is cast in one piece), with his legs spread out and then folded in; he is driven on by his *Vāhana*, rat, which protrudes from the folded soles of Gaṇeśa's feet. Behind the *vāhana* is seen a hood of the cobra (with which Gaṇeśa is said to have tied his belly)²⁰ but which is not seen in this image because of a very bulging belly. The figure has 4 arms. The symbols in the upper two hands are missing; originally they were placed in the socket formed by the fingers and the thumb. The lower right hand carries 5 *modakas*—4 below and 1 above them—which Gaṇeśa is shown eating with his trunk. The other hand is in *varadamudrā*. There are the usual ornaments—crown, necklaces, etc., but there is nothing unusual about them. The trunk of Gaṇeśa is turned to the right, which, as was said above, is not common. Behind Gaṇeśa's head was a wavy *prabhā*, cast in one piece with the rest of the image, (which is so often met with in South Indian bronzes),²¹ but it is now mostly broken on the right side.

The only remarkable thing about this figure is its grotesque modelling of the legs and feet, and the placing of the rat in between the feet. So far no such figure of Gaṇeśa has been published.²²

From the general features of the figure, and particularly those of the *prabhā*, the figure may be called South Indian and seems to be about six hundred years old (c. 1300 A.D.).

The third image of Gaṇeśa is of bronze and measures 3·5". Gaṇeśa²³ is seated on a *padmāsana*, which rests on a flat piece. He

19. See Fig. II.

20. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.

21. See Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII; Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue, Boston Museum*, pl. LVIII.

22. Similar representation of the feet only is seen in figures from Nepal, Java and Borneo; See Getty, *op. cit.*, pls. 16c, 30, 31d, 32b and d, 33a, 34a; and for the position of the rat, *Ibid.*, pl. 13, b, c, d.

23. See Fig. III.

has 10 arms. In the right hands (from above) he bears a *cakra*²⁴, *triśūla*, broken tooth (?), lotus bud, and a pomegranate, in the left hands a *muśala* (?), *pāsa*, 3rd broken, 4th emblem is missing, and with the fifth hand supports his *Śakti*, who is seated on his left lap, and holds a lotus flower in her left hand, and with her right hand embraces Gaṇeśa. A water-vessel is carried in his trunk.

The shape of Gaṇeśa's belly is unusual. Its lower part is box-like, while the upper is round and bulging. Another peculiarity about this image is the silver-like lines on the belly of Gaṇeśa, other parts of the body and over all the ornaments. This is perhaps a result of long use of the image or of peculiar nature of the metal.

The figure is a specimen of Mahā or Lakṣmī-Gaṇapati. Most probably it hails from South India as the pointed *mukuta* and long *sārī*, touching the ankles of Gaṇeśa's *Śakti* show, and belongs to the Cola period (c. 1200-1300 A.D.).

The fourth image of Gaṇeśa²⁵ is of brass and measures 3·6". It has 4 hands which carry *paraśu*, broken tooth, *Śakti* (?) and *modaka* (shown as being eaten with the trunk). It is seated in its usual easy fashion on a *padma*, and almost behind it is shown its *vāhana*, rat. The *prabhā* is characteristic, and resembles those of Śiva figures cited before.²⁶ Evidently it comes from South India and may be placed in about the 15th century.

The fifth image²⁷ of Gaṇeśa is of some mixed metal, and measures 2·5". Unlike others, Gaṇeśa is shown dancing in a *tribhaṅga* pose, with his right leg lifted up and the left planted below on a conventional lotus. It has 4 hands. The upper right seems to carry a *paraśu*, the lower is indistinct but seems to be held in *abhaya mudrā*; the upper left is in *daṇḍahasta* pose; and the lower right seems to hold a *modaka*, which is being eaten with the trunk.

Nṛtta Gaṇeśa figures are rather rare²⁸.

24. Cf. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, Fig. 1, p. 64 and pl. XIII; Getty, *op. cit.*, pls. 7b and 14d. *Cakra* is usually found in the South Indian Gaṇeśa figures but rarely in those of the North.

25. See Fig. IV.

26. See Fig. II above and the reference thereunder.

27. See Fig. V.

28. Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, XVI; Getty, *op. cit.*, pls. 7a, b, 22; Cf. A figure of Krishna dancing, Gangoly, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIV; Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, pl. I.

The sixth image of Gaṇeśa²⁹ comes from Nepal and is, as will be shown below, a specimen of Nālandā or Pāla art. It is cast in bronze and measures 10·2". Gaṇeśa is standing, facing the full front; his left leg is placed on the central raised up part of a lotus, while the right leg is placed on the back of a rat (which is also facing the full front).³⁰ He has 18 arms which are arranged in the shape of a *prabhāvalī*, whose width is about 6". In the right hands (beginning from above) he holds a *hala*, a *khoṭaka*, a *khaḍga*, *paraśu*, *kalāśa* (?) *biṣṇakam*, *varadamudrā*, *damaru*, and *modakas*; in the left hands *khēṭaka*, *ghaṇṭā*, *muśala* or *danta*, *pāsa*, *dhanuḥ*, *kapāla* (?),³¹ *triśūla* and a *nīlotpala*. (This hand also appears in the act of supporting Gaṇeśa's *Śakti*). The trunk of Gaṇeśa as compared with those of others is very small, and only slightly turned to the left.

Among the ornaments are a fan-like crown (with a feather plume (?) stuck in it), wristlets, an *uttariya* (upper garment) thrown round the neck, its two ends falling on either arm in front, and spread out below in beautiful curves, a *dhōti* (a lower garment), touching the ankles, its loose end in between the legs in front. A long serpent is thrown round the neck.

In front and within the lowest left arm of Gaṇeśa stands his *Śakti* (5·6" in height), facing the right with her legs crossed. She wears a crown with a plume (?), and has an *uttariya vastra* like and treated similarly as that of Gaṇeśa. But for this the upper part is without any dress; her lower garment goes right up to the ankles, while its loose end falls in between the legs in front in the shape of a fan. She has two arms; the right, hanging down, as in *varadahasta*, has some object in the hand which is indistinct; the left bears a lotus bud (?).

Both the figures stand on an oval conventionalised *padmāsana* (7·3" in length, 2" in height, about 3" in width).

The image of Gaṇeśa resembles, as regards the pose and the dress, some of the published images of this deity from Nepal as cited above but differs from them in a few respects, e.g., it has a

29. See Fig. VI.

30. For a similar pose see Getty, *op. cit.*, pls. 17c, 19 (Nepalese Heramba with *Śakti* standing on lion and rat) and 34.

31. This and the following symbol would suggest, according to Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40, that Gaṇeśa is here represented as Śiva's son.

greater number of arms, a lotus as stand for one leg and has a different position for his *Śakti*.

The Gaṇeśa and his *Śakti* are very artistically modelled. By a great restraint the former is shorn off of his crudeness; it is not his trunk nor belly that draws our attention but his entire self. The latter (the *Śakti*) has delicacy, sharpness and refinement—all characteristics of *Pāla* figures.³²

Cotton Industry in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa During the Early Nineteenth Century

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Bengal mainly an industrial region.

"BENGAL with the adjacent allied provinces," says William Milburn, "far exceeds the other Presidencies in population, wealth and rich productions for commerce, and is the attractive centre of the British power in the East".¹ Of the various industries which flourished in these regions, the manufacture of cotton cloths was by far the most important. Bengal cotton piece-goods were noted abroad alike for their singular beauty and endless variety, and down to the first decade of the nineteenth century, they were extensively shipped to all parts of the world.² They were in constant demand all over India, the island of Ceylon, the coast of Sumatra, the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, Pegu, Penang, Malacca, Batavia, Manila and China; in the various European countries and America, in the Maldiva and Laccadive islands, Mozambique and other parts on the east coast of Africa, New South Wales, Cape of Good Hope, St Helena, etc.³

Three stages in the cotton industry.

A commodity which commanded such a wide market must have required innumerable hands to manufacture it. There were usually three stages which had to be gone through in the making of piece goods from cotton. The first consisted in freeing the cotton from the seeds and in beating it with an instrument so as to make it fit for being spun. Generally the same women who span, also cleansed the cotton and beat it with the instrument.⁴ But in Bihar

32. Cf. French, *The Art of the Pala Empire*, figures of Tārā, pls. XIV and XVI and Avalokiteśvara, pl. XV.

1. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 111.

2. The total value of piece-goods exported from the Bengal Presidency to all parts of the world in 1805 was sic-rs. 118,49,670. Vide Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 150.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112, 129, 130, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, and 221.

4. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 960.

the greater part of beating was done by a class of people, known as Dhunarus or Dhuniyas.⁵ They had no capital and were in general "most abandoned drunkards."⁶ But when they chose to be sober, they made large profits, i.e., from four to eight annas a day.⁷

Cotton spinning.

Spinning which formed the second stage in this industry, employed the largest number of workers. To clothe the indigenous population as well as to meet the demands of the world market, an enormous quantity of thread would be required by the weavers. Nearly every household in the village had a spinning wheel, but in most cases, the number of spinning wheels would be larger. All the women of the household used to spin at their leisure hours, and persons of the highest as well as the lowest castes span. "Women of all castes," remarks a contemporary writer, "prepare the cotton thread for the weaver, spinning the thread on a piece of wire, or a very thin rod of iron with a ball of clay at one end, this they turn round with the left hand, and supply the cotton with the right. The thread is often wound upon a stick or pole and sold to the merchants or weavers. For the coarser thread, the women make use of a wheel, very similar to the English spinster, though upon a smaller construction."⁸ The greater part of the women of course span a few hours in the afternoon. But there were many who span the whole day. The business required little capital, for in many cases the spinners received advances from the weavers for the thread. A large number of women could support their family with the money obtained by selling the thread, thus spun.⁹ The mistress of a family sometimes earned "as much as from seven to ten shillings a week by spinning cotton."¹⁰

According to the estimate formed by Buchanan from the statements of the spinners, in the district of Shahabad alone, the num-

5. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, p. 647; *Shahabad Report*, pp. 408-9; *Purneah Report*, p. 536.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 93.

9. Vide the application of a woman spinner in the *Samāchārdarpan* of 5th January, 1828.

10. Ward, *op. cit.*

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ber of women employed in this useful industry, was about 159,500, and the annual average produce of each woman's labour was nearly eight rupees.¹¹ The whole value of the thread was in round numbers, 12,50,000 rupees.¹² "The total value of the raw material including the cost of beating," he observes, "was on the same authority stated to be in round numbers 10,14,000 rupees; so that the average annual gain of each spinner amounts only to be about 1½ rs. while the women of Patna and Behar who spin only on an average 7 rs. 2 annas 8 pice, have a profit of 3¼ rs."¹³ The quantity of thread spun according to the statement of the weavers would be much less. But Buchanan is prepared to accept the statement of the spinners and reject that of the weavers as "miserably underrated."¹⁴

In the district of Bhagalpur, the number of women employed in spinning was estimated at about 160,000.¹⁵ But the total quantity of thread spun in that district was worth 792,600 rupees, and the average quantity spun by every woman was worth 6 rupees, 9 annas and 4 pice.¹⁶ This would employ only about 71,450 women. In the district of Purnea, the thread spun was worth about 13,00,000 rupees.¹⁷ Buchanan, however, is of opinion that more than 13,00,000 rupees worth of yarn was woven and that more raw material was used. In the district of Dinajpur, the thread spun was estimated at 11,60,000 rupees.¹⁸

These statements, both as to the number of persons employed in spinning and the quantity of yarn produced, may not have been accurate, but the fact remains that the making of cotton thread was a very thriving occupation, giving employment to more than a lac of people in each district.

Cotton weaving.

Weaving which formed the third stage in the cotton industry was, unlike spinning, usually confined to a particular caste among the Hindus and a particular section among the Muhammadans. In

11. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, pp. 408-9.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, pp.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Buchanan, *Purneah Report*, pp. 543-44.

18. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 975.

almost every village there were weavers who were supplied with thread by the women spinners of the village, to whom the weavers very often made advances for the required quantity of yarn. The contemporary writer Ward makes the following observations regarding them. "These Shoodrus are numerous in Bengal, yet except in their own business they are said to be very ignorant. Their loom is in substance the same as the English, though much more simple and imperfect."¹⁹ The women also sometimes helped the men in their work of weaving. We are told by Buchanan that "a great number both of the low Hindu and Muhammadan farmers" had a loom in their house, and "both men and women" worked at it during their leisure and made coarse cloth.²⁰

The capital required by the weaver was very small. A loom, costing about two rupees and a half, sticks for warping and a wheel for winding worth two annas, a shop costing four rupees, and yarn for two ready money pieces about five rupees in value, constituted all the capital.²¹ Sometimes weaving was done by hired labour.²² A person hired to weave in Dinajpur could make three pieces a month and could earn two rupees and four annas at the rate of two annas a rupee in their face value.²³ The total profit of the weavers in Dinajpur, according to Buchanan, was 574,000 rupees a year.²⁴

In the district of Shahabad there were according to the estimate received by Buchanan, 7025 houses of weavers who worked in cotton alone and who had 7,950 looms.²⁵ Each weaver in that district made goods to the value of a little less than seventy eight rupees and six annas while in the districts of Patna and Gaya "the average acknowledged was rather more than 103 rs."²⁶ The total profit of the weavers in Shahabad amounted to 164,996 rupees a year.²⁷ The average annual gain of each weaver in that district would be nearly twenty eight rupees and twelve annas whereas in Patna and Gaya it was acknowledged to be twenty eight rupees

19. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

20. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, pp. 974-75.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 973-74. The total capital required was thus 11 rupees and 10 annas.

22. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, pp. 973-74.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 975.

25. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, p. 411.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

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and four annas."²⁸ Buchanan is of opinion that the weavers made more than double of what they stated. The total quantity of cloth woven in Shahabad according to the statement of the weavers was worth 642,400 rupees a year.²⁹

In the district of Dinajpur, the weavers of cotton cloths numbered 6212 houses with 7279 looms.³⁰ The value of cloth woven by each loom was about 114 rupees and a man and his wife could by their joint labour make a profit of thirty two rupees a year.³¹ The whole cotton cloth woven in that district amounted to 16,74,000 rupees.³²

In the district of Purnea, about 3,500 looms were engaged in the time of Buchanan in making finer goods, and of these 2,400 were "wrought by men who could weave such goods as the Company would receive."³³ The total value of cloth made by these 3,500 looms has been stated to be 5,06,000 rupees.³⁴ About 10,000 looms were employed on coarse goods of which the value was 10,89,500 rupees.³⁵ Each loom in that district made cloth to the value of 109 rupees a year.³⁶ "The reason of so small an amount," says Buchanan, "is alleged to be the uncommon sloth of the people."

Judging from the value of cloth woven in the several districts referred to above, we can imagine what an enormous quantity of goods must have been manufactured in the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the early years of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as a writer, puts it, the cotton manufacture was of more importance, was more thriving, and was less liable to fluctuation than any other industry of Bengal. It is true that the average annual gain of a weaver was not very high and generally varied from twenty-five to thirty rupees. But that was because the total profit arising from this industry throughout the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was distributed among hundreds of thousands of persons. The average annual income of a spinner was much less because the number of spinners was much wider.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 408-9.

30. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, pp. 975-76.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Buchanan, *Purneah Report*, p. 542.

34. *Ibid.* pp. 543-44.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

Dying of cotton cloths.

A good proportion of the cotton cloths woven, were coloured by the indigenous dyers whose number was by no means inconsiderable. Dying of the woven fabrics was therefore an important industry. At Maldah there were twenty-five houses of dyers.³⁷ They used indigo and lac as the dying materials. In the districts of Patna and Gaya there were four classes of dyers, known severally as Rungres, Nilgur, Achfurosh, and Golalsaz.³⁸ The first class used various colours, the second dyed with the indigo alone, the third used the root of the morinda while the fourth generally limited their operations to lac.³⁹ The Rungres were widely employed in the province of Bihar and earned fairly good wages. Buchanan has noted the methods which were employed by the dyers in preparing the several kinds of dyes.⁴⁰

Flowering of cotton cloths.

Another important business connected with the cotton manufacture was the flowering of cotton cloth with the needle. It gave a good deal of employment to the Muhammadan women of Maldah, but we are informed by Buchanan that the needle was never used by the Hindus.⁴¹ The women who worked at this industry were called Butadars.⁴² In the town of Maldah there were some five hundred families which were employed in this business.⁴³ The Company's factory at English Bazar had previously employed a large number of women and given them three to four rupees for flowering a piece twenty cubits by two.⁴⁴ Buchanan tells us that these women were anxious for the factory work as the employment was regular. They were also largely employed by the private merchants for this purpose, but their demand was rather irregular.⁴⁵ The business of flowering cloth was also carried on in other districts, but to a limited extent.⁴⁶

37. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 963.

38. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 649-50.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 977.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 977-78.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. Buchanan, *Purneah Report*, p. 544.

Important centres of cotton manufacture.

We have seen that the manufacture of cotton goods was carried on in almost every village. This was the case so far as coarse cloths were concerned. As for the finer goods, there were important centres where they were localized. In Bengal, there were quite a number of these centres such as Santipur, Gurup, Haripal, Barahanagar, Chandrakona, Dacca, Rajbalhat, Krishnadebpur, Kirpai, Radhanagar, Maldah and Harial.⁴⁷

The different centres were noted for the different kinds of cloth. At Santipur, and Dacca muslins were made which sold at a hundred rupees a piece. "Persons with whom I have conversed on the subject," observes Ward, "say that at two places in Bengal, Sonarga and Vikrumpōōru, muslins are made by a few families, so exceedingly fine that four months are required to weave one piece, which sells at four or five hundred rupees".⁴⁸ At Maldah and its vicinity there were about one hundred twenty houses of weavers who made thin muslin (malmal) and turbans, and were the only persons in the district who wove these kinds of cloth.⁴⁹ We are informed that they had from one to seven looms in each house and the total number of looms was about 360. Most of them used to receive advances for the malmals either from the Company's factory, or from the private merchants of Calcutta and Murshidabad. The whole amount of advances may be said to have been about 50,000 rupees.⁵⁰ Many of the pieces which were rejected by the factory were sold for ready money, "at nearly the same rate which the Company gave for the best pieces".⁵¹

Outside Maldah there were nearly 6000 families of weavers with 8000 looms.⁵² Some of them were employed by the different subordinate agents belonging to the Company's factories at English Bazar and Rangpur.⁵³ Buchanan tells us that the number of weavers receiving advances from the Company's factories had decreased. But although the weavers suffered from not receiving the advances to which they had long been accustomed, and "which had enabled many to be involved in debt" there was no want of

47. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

48. *Ibid.*; B. N. Banerji, *Sambādpātre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. 2, p. 244.

49. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 973.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, p. 975.

53. *Ibid.*

*employment among them and on an average each loom could earn not less than four rupees a month.⁵⁴

Company's factories and the system of advances.

The East India Company had factories at Santipur, Perua, Dwarhatta, Khirpai, Radhanagar, Ghatal, Dacca, Maldah; Jungipur, Cossimbazar, Harial, Belkuchi, Nabadwip, Rampur-Boalia; Sonargaon, Chandrakona, Sonamukhi, and other places where advances were made to the weavers who in a given time made cloths according to order.⁵⁵ From the Dacca factory, we are informed by Taylor cloths to the value of more than thirteen lacs of rupees were exported abroad in the year 1793.⁵⁶ "At Shantipur," according to Ward, "the purchases in some years, amount to twelve or fifteen lacs; At Maldu to nearly the same sum, and at other places to six or twelve lacs".⁵⁷

In the district of Shahabad, the Company had four factories subordinate to the factory at Patna, three at Arrah, Dumraon and Sasaram for the purchase of cloth and one at Sahar for bleaching.⁵⁸ In the districts of Patna and Gaya, by far the greater part of the cotton weavers were employed in making coarse cloths for country use, but a good many worked at finer goods for exportation. The Company had three factories dependent on Patna, and five subordinate to the other three.⁵⁹ Of the system of advances made by the Company, Buchanan gives the following account. "Further it would appear, that the system of advances, and a good deal of the fine cloth is made on advance, produces its usual consequences, and the workmen becoming indolent, do not make to a greater value than they do when working at coarse goods for ready money sale. . . . Previous to the time of Mr. Brown, lately commercial agent at Patna, a gentleman, whom the natives call Belver (Barbar) had entered into engagements with 2,200 of the best weavers in the country round Jahanabad. . . . Each man on becoming bound (Āsāmi) to the Company received two rupees and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as the Company required; and no other advance has ever been made by the

54. *Ibid.*

55. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

56. *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture of Dacca.*

57. Ward, *op. cit.*

58. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, p. 411.

59. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 652-53.

commercial residents. The agent orders each man to make a number of pieces of such or such goods and he is paid for each on its delivery, according to the price stated in the tables. This shows clearly that the system of advances is totally unnecessary but it is here pursued by all the native dealers, as keeping the workmen in a state of dependnece little better, if so good, as slavery."⁶⁰

Private factories.

The Indian merchants also had a large number of factories in the country. "Bengal merchants," observes Ward, "have numerous cloth factories in different parts of the country, and some employ annually 20,000, others 50,000, others a lack, and others two or three lacks of roopees in the purchase of cloths."⁶¹ In the Patna and Gaya districts there were, in the time of Buchanan, twenty-two houses of Indian merchants who dealt in cotton goods.⁶² The private merchants, from Calcutta and Murshidabad used to make considerable advances to the weavers in other districts.⁶³ But the system of advances was by no means beneficial to the weavers and often rendered them necessitous, for when they received no advances, they had not so much as would enable them to buy thread.⁶⁴

Kinds of cotton cloths.

Numerous different kinds of cloths were manufactured by the weavers in the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were distinguished by various names according to the fabrics and the places where they were made. Milburn has mentioned ninety different kinds of piece goods which were exported from Bengal to Great Britain.⁶⁵ The names of the principal kinds and the places where they were made are given below.

(a) The various kinds of plain muslins distinguished "according to the fineness and to the closeness of their texture" were chiefly manufactured in the district of Dacca.⁶⁶ A kind of plain white muslin known by the name of *Tanjeb* was fabricated in the

60. *Ibid.*

61. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

62. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 652-53.

63. Buchanan, *Purneah Report*, pp. 542-53.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 221.

66. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

neighbourhood of Maldah.⁶⁷ The pieces were 4 cubits long and 2 or 2¼ cubits broad and sold at six to nine rupees.

(b) Flowered, striped or chequered muslins were also principally made at and in the neighbourhood of Dacca. Indeed the manufacture of the finest kinds of thin muslin was practically confined to that district, particularly to two centres, Sonargaon and Bikrampur.⁶⁸ Another important centre of muslin manufacture was Santipur. Muslins of Dacca and Santipur sometimes sold at three or four hundred rupees a piece. "The ingenuity of the Hindus in this branch of manufacture" according to Ward, was "wonderful".⁶⁹

(c) Some muslins were also made in the Patna and Midnapore districts.⁷⁰ And coarse muslins in the shape of turbans, handkerchiefs etc., were fabricated in almost every district.

Under the general name of calicoes were included various kinds of cloths such as the following.

(a) *Khasas* were largely manufactured in North Bengal, especially in that part of the country which is situated between the Mahananda and the Ichhamati.⁷¹ They were also made at Patna, Harial and Purnea.⁷²

(b) *Baftas* were chiefly made at Lakhpur in the south-east corner of Bengal, round about Maldah, in Birbhum and also in the districts of Patna and Chittagong.⁷³

(c) *Sanas* or *Sannoos* were the chief fabric of Orissa; some were made in the district of Midnapore but the principal centre of this manufacture was Balasore.⁷⁴

(d) *Doorias* were principally made at Chandrakona, Dacca, Santipur and Haripal.⁷⁵

67. Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 975.

68. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

69. *Ibid.* "The people of Dacca are specially competent to make muslin. The making of thread in particular is wonderful. Young women spin with the takuā (small iron rod) upto the time when the dew remains on the ground. This thread is so fine that it cannot be spun at sunrise." Vide *Sambādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. 2, p. 244

70. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 221.

71. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

72. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

73. *Ibid.*; Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

74. *Ibid.*, Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

75. *Ibid.*

(e) *Garhas* were the manufacture of Birbhum.⁷⁶

Various other kinds of cloths were manufactured both for country use and for exportation. The following are some of the most important kinds that were made.

(a) Fine pieces of cloth ornamented at the ends with the flattened gold and silver wire and known as *Badla* were considerably manufactured in the Patna and Gaya districts. "The *Badla* made at Patna" says Buchanan, "is too fine for the purpose, and is only used for making lace or thread for embroidery....."⁷⁷

(b) Some coarse cloths known as *Gezis* and *Gezinas* were woven in almost every district.⁷⁸

(c) Pack-thread was woven into sack cloth in many places and especially in the northern frontier of Bengal where it was used as clothing by the mountaineers.⁷⁹

(d) A sort of cotton canvas was made in the neighbourhood of Patna, and flannel "well-woven but ill-fulled" was made at Patna and some other places.⁸⁰

(e) In Shahabad a kind of cloth known as *Gora* was made for exportation. It was of a thick close fabric. The pieces were of different sizes, those exported by the Company being 30 cubits by 1½ cubits.⁸¹

(f) The weavers of Futwa in the Patna district wove a kind of cotton diaper called *Khes* which was used by the Indians as dress, and by the Europeans for table linen.⁸²

(g) The chief seat of Chintz manufacture was Patna. "Most of the chintz" remarks Buchanan, "is exceedingly coarse and is taken by the Portuguese and Americans; nor is the finest equal to what comes from Lucknow or the city of Calcutta, much less to what is made in Europe".⁸³ Outside Patna most of the chintz-makers worked entirely for country use.⁸⁴ The manufacturers of

76. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

77. *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, p. 655.

78. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, p. 412.

82. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 651-52.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 655-56.

84. *Ibid.*

neighbourhood of Maldah.⁶⁷ The pieces were 4 cubits long and 2 or 2¼ cubits broad and sold at six to nine rupees.

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75. *Ibid.*

(e) *Garhas* were the manufacture of Birbhum.⁷⁶

Various other kinds of cloths were manufactured both for country use and for exportation. The following are some of the most important kinds that were made.

(a) Fine pieces of cloth ornamented at the ends with the flattened gold and silver wire and known as *Badla* were considerably manufactured in the Patna and Gaya districts. "The *Badla* made at Patna" says Buchanan, "is too fine for the purpose, and is only used for making lace or thread for embroidery....."⁷⁷

(b) Some coarse cloths known as *Gezis* and *Gezinas* were woven in almost every district.⁷⁸

(c) Pack-thread was woven into sack cloth in many places and especially in the northern frontier of Bengal where it was used as clothing by the mountaineers.⁷⁹

(d) A sort of cotton canvas was made in the neighbourhood of Patna, and flannel "well-woven but ill-fulled" was made at Patna and some other places.⁸⁰

(e) In Shahabad a kind of cloth known as *Gora* was made for exportation. It was of a thick close fabric. The pieces were of different sizes, those exported by the Company being 30 cubits by 1¾ cubits.⁸¹

(f) The weavers of Futwa in the Patna district wove a kind of cotton diaper called *Khes* which was used by the Indians as dress, and by the Europeans for table linen.⁸²

(g) The chief seat of Chintz manufacture was Patna. "Most of the chintz" remarks Buchanan, "is exceedingly coarse and is taken by the Portuguese and Americans; nor is the finest equal to what comes from Lucknow or the city of Calcutta, much less to what is made in Europe".⁸³ Outside Patna most of the chintz-makers worked entirely for country use.⁸⁴ The manufacturers of

76. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

77. *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, p. 655.

78. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, p. 412.

82. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 651-52.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 655-56.

84. *Ibid.*

this kind had no regular employment but when they worked they could make a profit of five to six rupees a month.⁸⁵

(h) Cotton Carpets were largely made in almost every district but particularly at Purnea and in the Patna and Gaya districts.⁸⁶

Oppression on the cotton manufacturers.

During the closing years of the eighteenth century and, to a less extent, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the cotton manufacturers were subjected to a kind of forced labour by landlords and persons of authority. The weavers of road-side villages were compelled to act as labourers for carrying the goods of travellers. This abusive practice, which is frequently mentioned by Buchanan, was resorted to, on account of the great scarcity of non-agricultural labour in the country. "It must be observed", says Buchanan, "that in these districts the weavers were bound to act as porters for conveying the goods of travellers; and when any person of rank or authority calls upon the Zemindar for such, the weavers are still required to perform this office."⁸⁷ This must have proved a severe strain on them, and sometimes the whole body of weavers left their villages and settled in some more out-of-the-way places. Important villages were rendered practically depopulated on account of this forced emigration.⁸⁸

Trade in cotton piece-goods (1793-1813).

Previous to the renewal of the Charter in 1793, the trade in cotton piece-goods had remained almost entirely in the hands of the East India Company. But the Charter Act of that year provided that the Company should allow three thousand tons of shipping annually to the private merchants for their trade in the East.⁸⁹ As a result of this enactment, a considerable proportion of the trade in Bengal piece-goods passed into the hands of these private traders. In 1798 Lord Wellesley, in order to prevent a great part of the Indian trade from drifting into foreign channels, provided for the

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*, p. 656; *Purneah Report*, p. 544.

87. *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, p. 654.

88. The Village of Bycantpore, once a flourishing centre of cotton manufacture in the Patna district, was practically depopulated in this way. Vide Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Journal*, p. 4.

89. Sandeman, *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, Vol. IV, pp. 37-40.

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use of India-built shipping by the free merchants of Calcutta for carrying cargoes to Great Britain. This measure had the inevitable consequence of stimulating the growth of private trade.⁹⁰ Naturally the Company had henceforward to face a serious competition arising from the interference of the private traders, and their trade in the staple article of cotton piece-goods suffered a good deal. The following statement of the quantities of piece-goods exported from the Bengal Presidency and sold on account of the Company and also on account of the private traders in privilege would show the gradually increasing tendency of this private trade.⁹¹

Year.	COMPANY.		INDIVIDUAL.	
	Quantity.	Sale Value.	Quantity.	Sale Value.
1797	350,329	£ 648,756	136,761	£151,942
1798	723,127	£1,219,818	127,810	£182,594
1799	784,615	£1,056,840	242,597	£278,839
1800	1,129,501	£1,406,879	304,530	£317,828
1801	838,712	£1,179,447	396,444	£379,569
1802	437,862	£ 660,019	1,252,503	£960,864
1803	623,641	£ 672,031	1,085,739	£865,209
1804	960,971	£ 917,562	979,199	£526,968
1805	174,321	£ 142,157	320,727	£193,665
(March sale)				
1806	609,696	£ 482,919	209,497	£129,055

From the foregoing account it would also appear that during the period from 1797 to 1806, there was a marked decline in the sale value of the Company's cotton goods except for the years 1798-1801. The maximum sale of £ 1,406,879 in 1800 was due to the passing of the Warehousing Act of 1799. The Act provided

90. "The employment of ships built in India between this port and that of London, is no longer merely a question of expediency or of liberal commercial policy; the deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage, for the service of the present season in order to secure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your investment, and to fulfil your legal obligations". (Letter to the Court of Directors, Sept. 30th, 1800—Owen, *Wellesley Despatches*, p. 702).

91. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 222.

that piece-goods were to be warehoused on importation, on payment of a duty of 2½ per cent on calicoes and 7½ per cent on muslins and were allowed to be exported free from further duties; if meant for home consumption additional duties were to be paid by the purchaser on taking them out of the warehouses.⁹² It is to be noted, however, that the augmented quantity of goods imported into England during these years were chiefly meant for re-exportation and not for the English market.⁹³ In 1802, the sale value of the Company's piece-goods fell to £660,019, and to the rest of the period it went on decreasing.

If the Company's piece-goods trade suffered a decline during the period, it was not wholly due to the Charter Act of 1793 or to the measures taken by Lord Wellesley. Other circumstances of the period were no less responsible for this decline. From 1793, England was constantly in a state of warfare. The war in particular, largely affected the export trade to Hamburg, Lisbon and Portugal and hence the sudden fall in the Company's sales of piece-goods from 1802.⁹⁴ Besides, the rapid increase of British manufactures towards the end of the eighteenth century had much to do with the falling off in the demand for Indian goods in Great Britain. The competition of the private traders, however, made confusion worse confounded. The excessive imports of these individual merchants caused a depreciation of the articles imported, and a considerable variation in the price level.⁹⁵ Loud complaints were heard from various quarters against the conduct of the private traders and their agents. The Board of Trade in Madras, in a letter to the Governor in Council, dated the 9th of April, 1803, made the following observations which would equally apply to Bengal. "The two prominent evils" they wrote, "of which we have had cause to complain, are the great difficulties occasioned by the interference of the private agents in the provision of the Company's investments, and the ruinous debasement of the fabrics, both proceeding from a competition at a particular juncture, that admits of no delay, and consequently obliges them to purchase whatever they can procure, however inferior in its quality, of which urgent necessity, the manufacturer is perfectly aware, and scruples not to avail

92. *Ibid.*

93. Hamilton, *Trade Relations between England and India*, p. 177.

94. *Ibid.*

95. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

himself to the utmost, by vending a debased manufacture, made up of the advances he has received from the treasure of the factory".⁹⁶

Nevertheless those evils had to be borne with because the individual traders were deemed to play an important part. When the Company were unable to afford the necessary funds for the provision of goods for the European market, the deficiency might be supplied by these private traders. Of the propriety, therefore, of admitting them to supply this deficiency there could be no question. In a letter to the Secret Committee, dated the 9th of April, 1801, Lord Wellesley wrote "In order to guard against the evils which might attend a sudden and considerable reduction of the Indian investment, the advances for which issued throughout the country, furnish ultimately a resource for the payment of the land revenues, and by withholding of which, difficulties might occur in realizing the revenues, it had been found necessary to afford the public an assurance that the arrangement adopted in the last year by the Order in Council of the 19th September, 1800, for allowing the export of goods to England on private ships, would be continued in the ensuing season."⁹⁷ In a letter, dated the 25th March, 1802, the Board of Control suggested "that his Lordship be informed, in reply to his letter, that the Company perfectly agree in the sentiments contained in his letter, in regard to the evil consequences that are likely to ensue, when the Company's investment is much curtailed, if the public were not allowed to fill the chasm. The class of manufacturers, as therein remarked, is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the state; otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabrics be debased, valuable branches of manufacture, now supported by the Company, wholly abandoned or materially reduced, and the country suffer from the diminution of that supply of specie, which is now regularly afforded through the channel of the Company's advances. We were glad to find that the Governor-General in Council had taken care to prevent the operation of those evils, or to alleviate their effects; and that with this view, it was deemed necessary to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant, in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufactures which could not proceed from the Company's funds."⁹⁸

96. Quoted in Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 227.

97. Quoted in Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 227.

98. Quoted in Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. 2, p. 227.

Rapid decline of Bengal cotton manufacture after 1813.

During the period of twenty years following the Charter Act of 1793, the textile fabrics of England improved a great deal. Already the cotton manufacturers of Manchester had clamoured for the imposition of a protective duty against the importation of piece-goods from India, and now they were all the more anxious to push their manufactures to the different foreign markets. Towards the closing years of the period therefore, there was a persistent cry for the complete opening up of the East India commerce to private enterprise.

The Charter Act of 1813 brought about the desired result. The Act by granting freedom of commerce, enabled the British manufacturers to flood the Indian markets with their machine-wrought articles.⁹⁹ The general peace which soon took effect, moreover, brought with it important consequences. The whole of the British tonnage employed during the war for various purposes, were now left free and were rapidly employed by their owners in conveying cargoes to India and the East.¹⁰⁰ The result was that during the following years there was a wonderful increase in the importation of cotton cloths from Great Britain into Bengal. Correspondingly, there was a rapid fall in the export of Bengal piece-goods to Great Britain. In the first year of the free trade i.e. in 1813-14, the total importation of cotton goods from Great Britain into Bengal was worth 91,835 rs.¹⁰¹ In 1817-18, their value rose to 11,20,909 rupees.¹⁰² In 1822-23, there was the maximum importation of 65,77,279 rupees.¹⁰³ Thereafter, there was a decline in the importation. But from 1829-30, it again showed an upward trend, in which year the value of cotton goods imported was 50,61,861 rupees.¹⁰⁴

99. Q. In what articles has the trade much increased since the renewal of the Company's Charter?

Ans. Principally in cotton manufactures.

(Evidence of Bracken, 24th March, 1832—Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of E. I. C., II, Finance and Accounts—Part I).

100. Desh-u-Lubun Ocharik, Letter to the Author of "A view of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonization of India", pp. 9-15.

101. Vide Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of E.I.C., II—Finance, p. 516.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

The effect of the free trade was to facilitate the importation of manufactured goods from other countries also, particularly North America. The United States brought into the Bengal market "a portion of those excessive supplies of British manufactured goods which inundated their own markets immediately after the restoration of peace".¹⁰⁵ As time went on, they improved their own manufactures and gradually pushed a considerable proportion of their cotton piece-goods to Bengal.¹⁰⁶

As regards the export of Bengal manufactures to Great Britain, the downward trend of this trade would appear from the following accounts. In the year 1813-14, seven lacs of pieces of cotton manufactures were shipped from Bengal to Great Britain the value of which was 46 lacs.¹⁰⁷ In 1818-19, four and a half lacs of pieces only were exported, amounting to not more than 21 lacs of rupees in value.¹⁰⁸ The fall continued ever afterwards, and in the year 1827-28, the value of piece-goods exported to Great Britain hardly exceeded three lacs of rupees, being confined to some of the finer fabrics.¹⁰⁹ Thus by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Bengal had practically lost the most valuable market for her cotton-goods in the world.

The decline of the Bengal piece-goods trade, as far as the loss of the British market was concerned, was accelerated by the imposition of high tariff duties by Parliament.¹¹⁰ But outside Great Britain, the situation was no better. In the foreign markets, England became an active rival of India. Bengal piece-goods were rapidly supplanted by British manufactures in the various Euro-

105. Prinsep, *Remarks on the External Commerce and Exchanges of Bengal*, pp. 39-40.

106. The value of American cotton piece-goods imported in 1829-30 was sic. rs. 39,325; in 1832-35 it reached sic. rs. 102,874; and in 1837-39, sic. rs. 1,14,141. The average annual increase since 1834-35 was 92 p.c. Vide Bell, *A Comparative view of the External Commerce of Bengal, during the years, 1836-37 and 1837-38*, pp. xvii-xviii.

107. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*, pp. 65-66.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Upon plain muslins and muslins and calicoes flowered or stitched the duty rose from 18 p.c. before 1797 to more than 30 p.c. *ad valorem* in 1800 and 37½ p.c. *ad valorem* in 1823. Upon plain white calicoes and dimities, the duty rose from about 40 p.c. before 1797 to about 60 p.c. in 1800 and to 67½ p.c. in 1823.

pean markets.¹¹¹ The Bengal manufacturer was able to retain the Asiatic and American markets for sometime longer. Before long, however, the British manufacturer succeeded in driving him out even from these markets.¹¹² By the year 1827-28, there was hardly any country in the world, to which Bengal piece-goods were sent, where the demand for Bengal manufactures had not been replaced by a request for the British plain and printed goods except Java, where singularly enough, the demand for Bengal piece-goods continued steady upto that period.¹¹³ The total export of Bengal piece-goods to all parts of the world, which had, previous to 1813-14, amounted to nearly two crores of rupees, slightly exceeded five lacs in the year 1838-39.¹¹⁴

From the industrial point of view, the loss of the foreign market by the Indian manufacturers was highly to be deplored. But what was still more deplorable was the losing of their home market. Foreign manufactured goods were preferred by the people of Bengal themselves for their low prices, although they were distinctly inferior to the produce of their own looms in fineness, texture and durability.¹¹⁵ Indeed the business of the weavers in Bengal and the adjacent provinces was ruined on account of this increasing preference for foreign goods. Important centres of cotton manufacture turned to be mere shadows of what they once had been.¹¹⁶ Speaking of the decline of Dacca, Bishop Heber remarks; "Dacca.....is, as I supposed, merely the wreck of its ancient

111. Bengal manufactures were practically driven out by British manufactures from Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburg, etc. The export to Portugal which had previously been very considerable diminished in 1827-28 to little more than one lac of rupees. Vide Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

112. By 1827-28, cotton piece-goods exported from Bengal had sunk to a trifling amount in Pegu, Penang and the Eastward, Sumatra, Manila, New South Wales, Ceylon, Coast of Coromandal and Malabar, Maldiva, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, etc. Vide Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, and 98. The export to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs declined from 16 lacs to 5 lacs of rupees (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 96).

113. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*, p. 89.

114. The exact value was 530,121 rupees. Vide Wilkinson, *A Comparative View of the External Commerce of Bengal during the years 1837-38 and 1838-39*, p. 22.

115. Desh-u-Lubun Ocharik, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.

116. Prior to 1801, the advance made by the Company and the private merchants at Dacca for cloth had exceeded 25 lacs. In 1813 the ordinary merchants' dealing amounted to 205,950 rupees while the Company's dealing hardly exceeded that sum. In 1817 the Company's factory was abolished. Vide *Sambādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. 2, p. 244.

grandeur. Its trade is reduced to the sixtieth part of what it was, and all its splendid buildings.....factories and churches of the Dutch, French and Portuguese nations are sunk into ruin and overgrown with jungle."¹¹⁷ "The cotton produced in this country," he adds, "is mostly sent to England raw, and the manufactures of England are preferred by the people of Dacca themselves for their cheapness."¹¹⁸ In respect of the finest kinds of thin muslin, Dacca continued to hold its place as a centre of production for sometime longer, and as late as 1836, Ure wrote, "yarn continues to be spun and muslins to be manufactured at Dacca to which European ingenuity affords no parallel."¹¹⁹ But the market for these goods must have been very small.

Decline of the spinning industry.

If the weavers were hard hit by the introduction of foreign manufactures into the country, the condition of the spinners became worse still. The decline of the piece-goods trade affected the spinners along with the weavers. Nevertheless as late as 1824-25 the spinners did not feel the loss so keenly.¹²⁰ From the following year, however, there was a large importation of cotton twist from Great Britain. The value of the thread imported that year into Calcutta, was 81,145 rupees.¹²¹ In 1826-27, it rose to 809,502 rupees.¹²² During the years 1827-1828 and 1829, the total quantity of cotton twist imported into Calcutta, according to Bracken, a witness examined before the Commons Committee in 1832, was worth seven million rupees.¹²³ Besides England, other countries also began to send their yarn to Bengal.¹²⁴ The total quantity imported from all countries in 1838-39 was 70,87,393 lbs. and its value was 55,83,809 rupees.¹²⁵

117. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. I, p. 185.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain*, p. 54.

120. Vide the application of a woman spinner in the *Samāchār-Darpan* of 5th January, 1828.

121. Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of E.I.C.—II—Finance, p. 516.

122. *Ibid.*

123. Martin, *The Political, Commercial and Financial Condition of the Anglo-Eastern Empire in 1832*, p. 126.

124. Cotton twist was imported from Great Britain, France, Bombay, Cape, China, Singapore, Ceylon and Madras. Wilkinson, *A Comparative view of the External Commerce of Bengal during the years 1837-38 and 1838-39*, p. i.

125. *Ibid.*

The increased importation of foreign yarn into the market, soon annihilated the business of the spinners in Bengal.¹²⁶ Their preposterously low prices became an object of attraction to the weavers, and no more request was made to the spinners for the country thread. The introduction of this commodity affected not simply a "handful of old women" as Crawford and others would lead us to believe. It meant that a very large portion of the population of Bengal, and the adjacent provinces, numbering about two millions, and "utterly unfit for agricultural or any other means of support" were deprived of their wonted bread. "But if we calculate that a seer or two pounds of cotton thread" observes a contemporary writer, "pays to the aged, the weak or the decrepit about 5 annas for the task of twisting it, we shall find that the quantity exported in 1827 must have deprived such aged, and decrepit of earning to the amount of half a crore of rupees".¹²⁷

In a despatch from the India House, dated the 3rd September, 1828, the Court of Directors declared that they were at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in Bengal and Madras, "because through the invention of power-looms, the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and price."¹²⁸ "Cotton piece-goods" wrote the Governor-General in 1832, "for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus for ever lost. The Dacca muslins celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated from the same cause; nor is the silk trade likely long to escape equal ruin. . . . The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the Report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting a gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution, productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce."¹²⁹

126. *Samāchār-darpan*, 5th January, 1828.

127. *Desh-u-Lubun Ocharik*, op. cit., pp. 22-24.

128. Minute of Governor-General, 30th May, 1832—General Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of E.I.C., p. 275.

129. *Ibid.*

"Sehwan-Glorious of Yore"

By

C. L. MARIWALLA, B.A.,

EVERY thing has its own time, so has every place its Golden Age of Grandeur. But when that time is past, often, the hoary age of time casts a thick coating of dullness over the once brilliant. But History hinders not our recording the glory that was! Sind, the little province in the west of this vast continent of our, has many places which enjoyed their day in the long past but now flourish no more. Alore and Nerankot, Pat and Bham-bhore, Mohan-jodaro and Kahu-jo-daro are but a few names. Sehwan, standing near the Lakki Pass, in Central Sind, has its own past and an enviable past as such. Today it seems a haunted place, and the Geographical Journal records the sad fact that more than half the present population of Sehwan consists of beggars. But it does not mean that the days of her glory are unknown to the world. Its prosperous state has been known to the world since the days of the Hindu Raj and long before the Macedonians invested the country, right up to the days of the Talpurs. "When our rule began the place declined in its scale of Prosperity," so wrote Burton. It has been for a time the capital of the province, then more than three times its present dimensions. The well-known and reknowned ascetic Raja Bharat-Hari resided here. Sehwan throughout these centuries has enjoyed an importance of its own. Along with Shikarpur and Tatta it has been the central market place of the province. It also enjoyed strategic importance till the river Indus foresook it in the last century. Sehwan has much interesting to recall, by way of its past glory and grandeur. It is situated on an eminence at the verge of a swamp. Its antiquity has attracted much attention and Mr. Smythe, the author of the *Gazeteer* of the Province of Sind, is forced to remark 'that there is no town in all Sind still surviving, which can be traced back so far as Sehwan'. Dr. Kennedy remarks in this connection, "The ruins of Sehwan form by far the most important relic of antiquity; in fact with the old fort of Bakkar, the only spot worth visiting to gratify curiosity of this kind, in all Sind."

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Sehwan has undergone many modifications in its name. It has been plausibly identified with Sindimona, so says the

Gazeteer. And it is believed by some that it was here that Sombos the king of the hillmen was defeated by Alexander the Macedonian conqueror. But Dr. Kennedy differs in his views. He has, with all the acuteness of a historian, tried to prove and successfully so, that Sehwan cannot be the place, as Vincent Smith thinks, where Alexander defeated King Sambos. The popular belief that Alexander camped in the fort of Sehwan and got it repaired, may be true. Sehwan bears other names that have their justification. Todd in his *Rajasthan* identifies Sehwan with Shivistan or Siwistan meaning the abode of Lord Shiva, thus giving us a clue that it had existed in the Hindu period. Sehwan was the seat of Raja Bharat Hari during the reign of his brother Vikramaditya, Chandragupta II. Further the fort of Sehwan is popularly called the Kafir Killa, thus meaning, that it existed long before the Mohammadan conquest of Sind. History records the fact that Sehwan was one of the chief places taken by the Mohammadans, while conquering Sind. All these facts show that Sehwan definitely belongs to the Hindu period.

We have pointed out previously that the river Indus flowed near by the town. "Sehwan was almost surrounded by water and commanding the Lakki Pass, it was a place that every invader was bound to seize and to keep hold of, if he wished to be sure of his position." Sehwan, occupying such a strategic position, was the Capital of a Province from the days of Raja Bharat-Hari in the Hindu period right up to the conquest of Sind by Md. Kasim in the 8th Century A.D. "While Sind was subject to the emperors at Delhi, Sehwan or Siwistan, as it was known in those days, appears to have been generally the seat of a Governor." The early rulers had realized that Sehwan commanded a key position in the centre of Sind and therefore they got erected here, a massive fort. The ruins of the fort are still visible, though the workmanship of the original builders is lost to the world, due to "being cut up by wind and rain, rent by yawning sun-cracks and occasionally mined by the seekers of Gold, Silver and ready-made building material." The retaining walls have disappeared. "The rains of countless monsoons have furrowed and gorged the sides, until now it is practically a shapeless, honey-combed mass," so wrote the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey 1895-96. As to when the fort was built there is a difference of opinion between tradition and historical facts. There is a tradition at Sehwan that this fort was built by Alexander the Great. But there is much other evidence to show that the fort had existed before Alexander came

to India and it may only be conjectured that he might have got it repaired to suit his army requirements. The considered opinion of Dr. Kennedy and Mr. Burton is that the arches of the fort and other peculiarities are indisputably oriental and not Grecian. Burton says, "It cannot, I humbly opine, be of Grecian origin for two reasons; the arches are Asiatic and the broken bits of man's handiwork scattered about in its entrials are purely oriental." The same writer laughingly remarks that if Greek coins have been found here, it is not a proof that the structure is Grecian. "Coins may have travelled not Greece." The Fort is popularly known as "Kaffir Killa" giving us a clue that "it was built by the infidels before Allah delivered them to the sword of the prophet." Its massive brick-work like that of Kalankote near Thata points to the conclusion that it clearly belongs to the days of the Hindu Rule. The Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey in 1895-96 wrote "In the bottom of some of the gorges may be found a few of the very old style bricks which date back to the beginning of the Christian Era." Hence it may be ascertained that the fort at Sehwan belongs to the days of the Hindu Rule. The fort seems to have been regularly repaired by the residing rulers since it shows regular signs of over-hauling. On a thorough examination of the fort we find traces of bastions and circular towers at the four corners of the fort. Captain Dalhousie writing in 1839 bears testimony to this fact. Here at the top sat the guard keeping a ceaseless watch of the approach of the enemy. Inside the fort there are visible signs of pucca brick made walls and wells. It may be, here was the abode of the princes of yore. It is certainly saddening to remark that while those intoxicated youths made merry, they never thought of a day when their palaces would ring with the yells of wild animals! Such is the irony of fate. Writers of history are in unison that the fort has undergone regular repairs and there is positive proof of its over-hauling in the Mohammadan period. The whole dilapidated mass is surrounded by broken walls round which gnarled pipals and knotty shrubs of huge growth have coiled their snake-like roots. And in the early dawn you should be sure of hearing the nightingale sing the grandeur she has known.

History has many instances on record of the siege of this fort. Raja Chach, after usurping the throne of Sind, went on a tour of his dominions. He had to face acute opposition at the hands of Mattah, the Governor of Sehwan, but eventually Chach succeeded and the fort passed into his hands. Once again in the early years of the 8th century A.D. Md. Kasim invaded the country and laid

siege to the fort of Sehwan. Bachera, the nephew of the ruling Monarch, Dahar, commanded the fort. The population was Buddhist and hence they were reluctant to fight, and the fort of Sehwan was ceded to Islam without opposition. During the Moghul rule Sehwan was the scene of offence several times. Humayun having lost India on the banks of the Ganges ran for his life followed by Sher Shah. He came to Sind in 1541 to consolidate his position. After leaving Charbagh near Bakkar, he came down to Pat and had his love affair. Thence "the fugitive emperor Humayun made a determined attempt to get the possession of Sehwan, but it was strongly fortified and defied him." It was taken by Akbar after a seven-months investment and was dismantled. Once again it became the scene of action when Aurangzeb and Dara contested the throne of Delhi. Dara, the beloved son of his father, having been defeated by his own brother Aurangzeb, near the Capital had come down to Lahore to make a fresh and determined bid for the throne. But soon he fled. Hot pursuit of his brother's blood-hounds did not afford Dara to think for a moment whether he was bound, till he was closed up by his enemies near Sehwan. Here his position became definitely disappointing and the final doom loomed large in the camp of his followers. In the small bed of the Indus near Sehwan he was surrounded by his blood-thirsty enemies. On the left bank of the Indus he was faced with heavy guns mounted on the Bastions of the Sehwan fort, under the personal supervision of Md. Saleh Targhan, the Killadar; on the other side Shikan Khan was coming at the head of a powerful and large army. It was no time for effecting a retreat since on the other side Shaik Mir was coming in hot haste to blockade the fugitive prince. It seemed the flame of life was getting extinguished. It was pretty exhausted. At this time Nature came to rescue. A storm broke out. It suddenly became dark and in that hour of trial Dara was saved. His fleet was carried away by the wind to a place of safety. Thus Dara was detained to witness further humiliation and pain before he was finally released from this mundane world. And thus Sehwan was saved from the sin of murder of a pious sufi like Dara. As late as the 18th century Nadir Shah, after the sack of Delhi, while on his way back to his native land, dropped in Sind; and during that time, Sehwan was ransacked by the invader's army and the well-known Seth Naomal Hotchand Bhojwani, the first Indian C.S.I. complains in his memoirs that their Kothi then situated at Sehwan was completely destroyed and all their saved sovereigns, secretly concealed in the beams supporting the walls of their house were made away with by the army.

The general view obtained from the fort has fascinated many a traveller. The evening light cast on the fast flowing Indus in the distance, gives a colour and glory not their own to the valley through which the Indus flows. The moonlight adds to the already fascinating and picturesque view. On one side in the dark green valley a magical line of silver grey passes through it, giving it a pleasantness rarely wrought, and on the other side tall black mountains of Lakki cast darkening shades of pang and pain. Thus a picture of infinite awe and pleasure is afforded to the naked eye, the picture of pleasure and pain so blended as to produce the sum total—life.

Another spot worth visiting at Sehwan is what is known as Yak Thambe or a structure standing on a single pillar. It is really a cave in a rock, standing on a single pillar of that rocky stone. It is believed that Lal Shah Baz Kalandar, to whom we shall soon refer, had first occupied this, as his abode, before he entered and earned for himself a shrine that none has so far secured in all Sind. The suggestion of Dr. Cousins that this cave is a relic of the bygone stone age, when no families existed, has no formidable argument to support it. The cave is pretty dark and warm. Above this spot is an octagonal stand of well baked bricks. On the four alternate sides stand four poles which seem to be like the holders of a sha-miana. This place has a commanding view. It is said to have been used by the rulers for reviewing their troops. It has remained in excellent repair. In recent times, it is believed, it was made use of as an evening resort where the royal descendants might well enjoy their hookahs.

Sehwan had certainly declined from its earlier glory by the 13th century. But it rose to distinction, once again, by becoming the resting place of "one of the greatest of all saints who have bequeathed their monies to Sind" namely, Lal Shah Baz Kalandar. A mausoleum stands in the heart of the town wherein lie the remains of this great one. He is so much venerated for his piety that the compiler of the Gazetteer of the province of Sind is at a loss to find out as to who originally built the tomb of this holy man. He writes, "It would be difficult to say who built his tomb, for almost every pious ruler of Sind or Sehwan has contributed something to it." Burton writes about the tomb thus, "This quadrangle with a dome and lantern is the honoured tomb of Usman-i-Merwandi popularly called Kalandar Lal Shah Baz or the Red falcon of Merwandi, his natal province. He owes his curious ecclesiastical titles, solely to his own exertions. The mausoleum is

one of the seven wonders of the Sindian world for magnitude as well as magnificance." In order to reach the tomb, you must go bare footed, and cross two big courts. Then appears a hall in front of you with doors of beaten silver. The tomb inside the hall is well covered and cloistered as is the vogue in the orient. In comparison to the airy Christian Cathedral this tomb is dark. Incense ever burns there and "Khak" is ever offered to the devotee or the visitor as his recompense for the offering made at the tomb. The facade of the hall is of coloured mosaic glazed tiles and puts on a very picturesque appearance. The shrine is sacred both to the Hindu and the Muslim. To the Muslims because he was "Lall Saeen" and to the Hindu because he believes him to be the reincarnation of Raja Bharat-Hari and due to the tradition that Raja Bharat-Hari's Samadhi was at the same spot. Lal Shah Baz is said to have died in 1350 A.D. The first dome was erected by the Governor of the place, Malik Ikhatiar-uddin, by the order of Emperor Feroz Taghlak in 1356. Mirza Jani Beg Targhan is credited with having built a larger tomb to which additions were made by his son Mirza Ghazi Beg. But the mausoleum was not completed till 1639 when Nawab Din-Darkhan paved the courtyard with glazed stone. The lofty facade of tiles is the gift of Gulam Shah Kalhora. The silver on the doors of the Shrine are the gift of Mir Karamali Khan, as are also the posts and the balustrade of the Canopy over the tomb. There is an Al-Bazar in the mausoleum. Al-Bazar has this peculiarity that there are several similar arches circularly situated around a dome and once you have entered and closed the door, it becomes pretty stiff to find out the door, as soon as you have gone round the circle of the dome.

A fair is annually held on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of the month of Shahban, in honour of the saint. On this occasion Sehwan attracts not less than half a lakh of people from Sind and its western provinces. On each of the three days, offerings from the three corners of the town are carried on the head of the eldest of the family living in the quarter, including a costly cover of brocade, and brought to the tomb of the Saint. They are then ceremoniously offered to the Saint. On the first day the Sayads take the honour. On the second and the best day the great Honour is conferred by tradition on the family of the Meranis, who are Hindus. On this day the fair is in full swing, and the town presents a galla appearance. The last day's honour is conferred on the Kanugas—Hindus—living in the 3rd end of the town.

At the extreme end of the Shroff Bazar on the fort-side stands the house of a Saint. Outside the house there is a lamp-post of wood. This pole is thickly covered with date-fibre ropes such as are used in Charpoys. It is a local tradition that those who suffer from lingering fever can be cured of their ailment, if they tie to the post a piece of rope from the Charpoy on which they sleep. The post is believed to be centurian and is still well patronised.

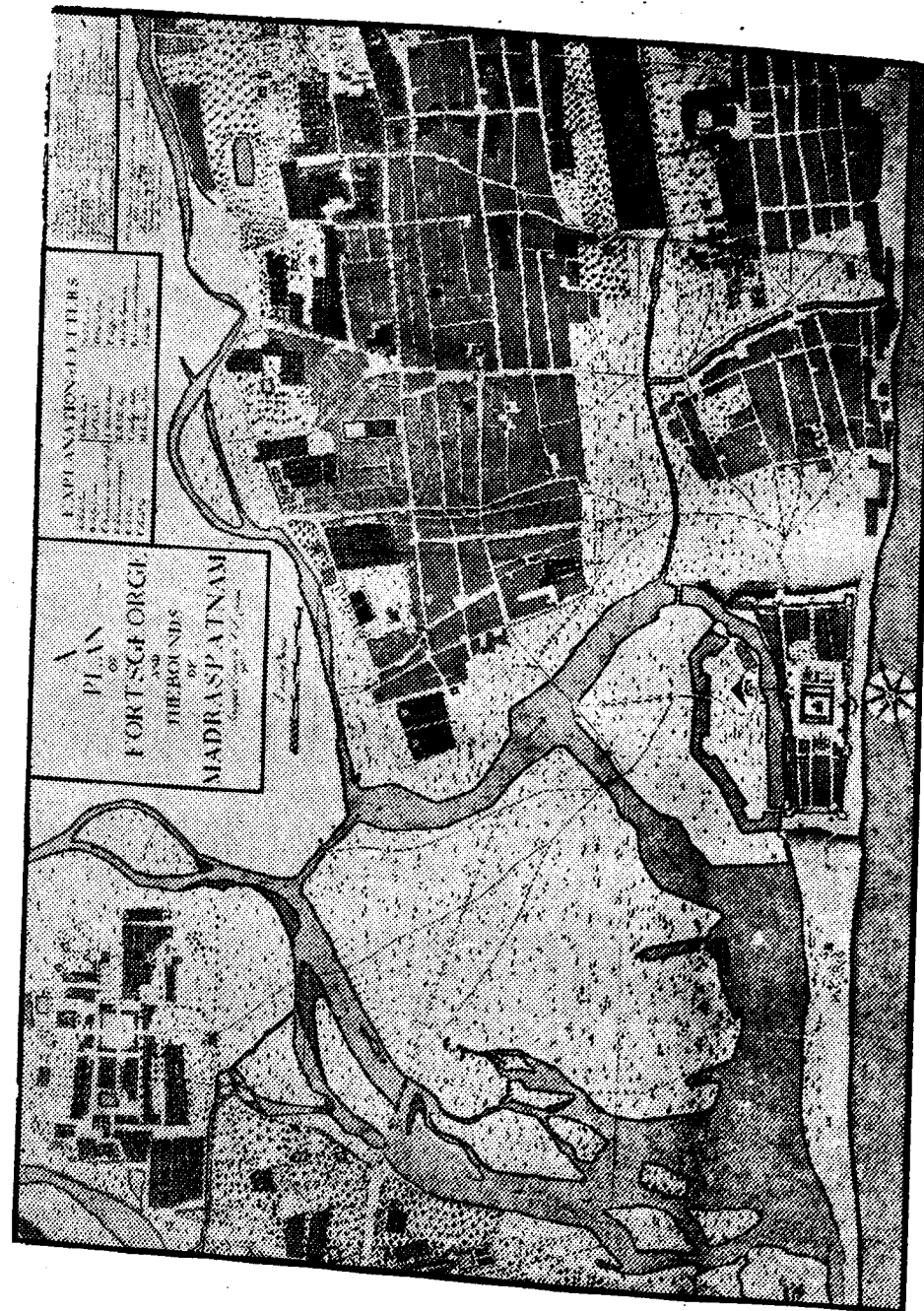
Sehwan town at present is practically in ruins and most of the houses hardly enjoy an inmate. This is mainly due to the Government's decision to create out of an unimportant place like Dadu, a district, leaving behind the claims of this industrial and central market-place of Sind. Sehwan has produced many an illustrious son, chief among them being Abdul Fazul and Mula Faizi—two jewels of Akber's Court. During the last century arose Dalpat, a sufi of great repute. To-day many sons of the soil enjoy good Government posts and private jobs.

To sum up, Sehwan has enjoyed its best time but still it does not lie buried and unknown like Mohan-jo-daro. It still attracts thousands every year inspite of its dilapidated condition.

Editorial

THE MADRAS TERCENTENARY

It is on a date in the month of August, probably the 22nd, that Francis Day, the Agent of the English East India Company at Armagon received a charter from Damarla Venkata, the minister of the Vijayanagar emperor Venkatapatiraya, and governor of the province named after Wandiwash. This Damarla Venkata was the son of Channamanayaka, who rendered yeoman service to the great emperor Venkatapatiraya in overthrowing the rebel Lingamanayaka of Vellore, and who was appointed in consequence to the government of the conquered province. Venkata was the minister of the empire and had for his province the government of Wandiwash, which included all the territory from Pulicat southwards to almost Cuddalore. He had a younger brother holding a subordinate government under him, in charge of the territory under Poonamalli. The names of these two brothers figure in connection with the foundation of Madras. What is now the town of Madras has grown to its present dimensions from a native town, which was founded by the second of these brothers in honour of their father Channappa. Hence the name Channapatnam given to it. The foundation could not have been without the knowledge of the elder brother, the governor of the bigger province and the minister of the empire. It is clearly defined in the literature bearing on the subject that the town was founded with the ostensible object of preventing the violation of imperial territory by the two trading companies of the Dutch and the Portuguese. The Dutch had their headquarters and factory at Pulicat, which they had founded on the basis of a charter granted to them by the great Venkatapatiraya in a stretch of country, which formed a part of the jaghir belonging to one of his queens, sometime about 1606 and had been occupied almost from 1610. The Portuguese had a factory at San Thome, a far older place, but had come into the possession of the Portuguese early in the 16th century. Between these two companies there was constant hostility, which was not merely commercial, but was much more national and religious, the commercial hostility not being an insignificant factor. They were given to quarrelling constantly and fighting against each other both on the sea and on the shore. To prevent them from violating the land territory, and if possible even to control their quarrels over the sea



—By Courtesy of the "Hindu".

littoral, the town was ostensibly founded. But the foundation however failed to meet the latter end satisfactorily for one thing. When the quarrels between these and the establishment of factories elsewhere proved detrimental to the commercial interests of Madras, its trade suffered, and for the manufacturing industries in the interior no port offered a sufficiently satisfactory outlet for commerce. It would certainly be a matter of great convenience indeed to the government of the locality if they could get the co-operation of one of the European companies the superiority of whose ships to the Indian sea-going craft was well acknowledged. The safety of the sea littoral would be assured, the town itself would remain unmolested even from the sea, and the interior trade finding an outlet on the sea coast, would be promoted. Among the other consequences the revenue resources of the province and the empire would find substantial betterment. It is these ideas that dominated the mind of Venkatapati, and his brother who showed considerable personal interest, and offered great inducements to the English to come and settle in the port of Madras. The town of Channapatnam was there. There seems to have been a smaller town to the south of it going by the name Madraspatnam as well. A piece of land to the south of it, very near to the mouth of the Kuvam which in those days seems to have been more navigable than it is now, was lying useless and water-logged and went by the name, far from complimentary, jackal mound (Tam. *Nari-mēdu*) was fixed upon as a suitable site for a fort close to the sea. The nayak agreed to build it in the first instance. That indeed was the foundation of Fort St. George.

The foundation of Fort St. George is not to be considered as an isolated act. It seems to have been merely the completion of what was done to found or build a town in the locality where the arrival of shipping close to the shore was possible. The town of Channapattinam was founded with a view to safeguarding the region between Pulicat and St. Thome from the constant acts of hostility between the Dutch and the Portuguese which destroyed security of life and the peaceful prosecution of trade. Even after the foundation of the town, the protection of the sea littoral left something to be desired, and the foundation of Fort St. George was obviously intended to remove that defect by planting between the two trading companies of the Portuguese and the Dutch, the English Company which could utilise its shipping as against those of either for the purpose of defending the coast. This idea in the governors of the locality is made clear in the actual conditions imposed and the facilities offered for the building of Fort St. George. Whatever

doubts there may be in the general statement of the terms is made clear by an explanatory letter which was written home by Mr. Cogan and confirmed by the communication received from Damarla Venkata by the Company. Madras therefore was intended not to be Fort St. George alone, but a full town of Madras, of which Fort St. George provided the fortified sea approach for the safety of the shipping and the protection of sea-going trade. If, from this basis of fact, we could proceed to find out what exactly may have been the ulterior motives for the establishment of this town, we shall see plainly that Madras was intended to become ultimately a town of importance well placed on the coast with a flourishing sea-going trade, and provision for the protection of commerce by a fortified centre in it, so that in case even of internal disturbance the governor could find a strong fortified place to retire into. A study of the history of the next half century makes it quite clear that, under conceivable circumstances, Madras might have become at least an alternative capital, if not the capital of the empire of Vijayanagar. The antagonisms created within, the unsuccessful effort that the emperor was driven to make not merely against the enemies, but against the disloyalty and hostility of those whose unstinted support he was entitled to count upon, made it impossible. What the Hindu empire failed to do, circumstances of history drove the Muhammadan local rulers of Arcot into doing on experience that Madras could afford protection where their own capitals failed. It is the Nawab of Arcot who changed his capital from Arcot to Madras, and it wellnigh became the British capital when the Government of Arcot had to be taken over by the British government. It might have been the Capital of the British Government of India, but for the vicissitudes of history which transferred the centre of importance of the East India Company to Calcutta as a result of the East India Company's quarrel with the Nawab of Bengal, and the later wars against the Nawab of Bengal and the Mughal Emperor ultimately. Under more fortunate historical circumstances, it might easily have become even the capital of the Vijayanagar empire, but it was not destined to be.

RANJIT SINGH CENTENARY

The hundredth year of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the lion of Lahore, sometimes called the lion of the Punjab, is this year 1939. The Maharaja died on the 27th of June 1839. It is in the fitness of things that the event should be celebrated, as Ranjit Singh undoubtedly was the builder of the kingdom of Lahore, which con-

tinues now as the British province of the Punjab to-day. The centenary movement is headed by the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and it is in the fitness of things that the Sikh holy centre of Amritsar and the premier Sikh institution should thus associate themselves with the movement. About fifteen scholars, most of them Sikhs, have contributed each one a paper or papers on some aspect or other of the career of the great Maharaja. The work thus compiled is a small volume of a little over 250 pages and provides a very interesting volume *on the maker of the Punjab*. Most of the papers have been written from original sources and exhibit the career of the Maharaja in all its varied fulness.

The life career of the Maharaja was cast in the period 1780 to 1839, a period falling well within the period of anarchy, and just at the emergence of the country as a whole from out of that great anarchy. Ranjit Singh was born in 1780, and came to the throne in his tenth year in succession to his father, who was a petty, though valiant, chieftain of one of the twelve Sikh *Misals* into which the whole of the Sikh population of the districts of the Punjab in their possession were alike divided. The father was fighting on valiantly to bring about the union of all the Sikhs in one national body. He was cut off in the course of this laudable work, and could be succeeded by this lad of ten, whose mother had to accept the regency. Young as he was and unlettered through life, Ranjit Singh showed all round a clear vision and a remarkable capacity for understanding alike his own power and the limitations to which that power was subjected by the circumstances of his time. The territory of the north-west perhaps, a somewhat more extended Punjab, had been in the throes of a conflict which changed its character as circumstances changed. That was the centre of the Sikhs, and operations against them were undertaken by the Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, and there was constant war. When after the death of Badahur Shah, feeble Mughal emperors succeeded, the territory offered an open field for the conquering enterprise of the Afghan chieftains from the west one after the other. The invasion of Nadir Shah and the operations of Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successors harried the country, and left it in the possession of a number of Muhammadan chieftains and the twelve Sikh Misals, more or less with conflicting interests and furnishing constant causes of internal quarrel among themselves. It is the absorption of the Abdali empire, and the quarrels among the successors of Ahmad Shah Abdali that opened the way for the enterprise of Ranjit Singh. The Sikh territory under their chieftains lay scattered over the whole of the Punjab, and some of the

more important misals were on this side of the Sutlej constituting the Phulkian states, some of them foundations under Abdali patronage. The territory of the twelve Misals were within the boundaries of the Punjab proper extending from the Sutlej on to Lahore, interspersed with a number of Muhammadan states as well. The Punjab therefore was, in one word in the condition of South India after the authority of the Vijayanagar empire had disappeared, and the only authority known happened to be that of the various Poligars who came into possession of territory, not their own. They squatted upon other people's lands, and used the military power that they had for making good their position to begin with. By a calculated process of careful operations and clever adaption to the changing circumstances, Ranjit Singh succeeded in bringing all the Sikh territory in the Punjab under his control first of all; and then, reducing one after the other the Muhammadan chieftains in the intervening territory, the Raja advanced at the third stage further beyond this sphere to bring the country between Lahore and the frontier under his control. He succeeded in this enterprise entirely. It was not alone the military prowess of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh that achieved this, but the magnificently generous policy of Ranjit Singh that contributed much more largely to the building up of this united state. He certainly attacked and conquered the various petty chieftains coming within the sphere of his operations; but he showed a generosity to the conquered very remarkable for the times and circumstances, which made the discomfited chieftains feel that they still had a position and could live under Ranjit Singh without loss of dignity or prestige. The vanquished chieftains were always provided with *jaghirs*, and an assured income which would admit of their maintaining their prestige to a great extent. The territory which he took over from them, he arranged gradually to be brought into an administration, where his own personal influence went a long way towards contributing to the welfare and happiness of the people. By a carefully adjusted process of bringing the various Sikh *jaghirdars* under his authority at the head of their own forces, creating a new regular army of his own in all arms, and by providing them the discipline and organisation to make them efficient and modern both in organisation and equipment, he built up for himself a military power which could stand its ground even as against the full resources of the British, while simultaneously he built up an administration on the broad basis of watchful protection of the people and fostering their sense of property and pride.



MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH
—adopted from Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume.

It was then for him to decide where exactly he was to cry halt in this career of expansion. The genius of Ranjit Singh shows itself most clearly in this. The Mahrattas were the only Indian power that could think of holding its own on equal terms with the rising British power. While still struggling to build his own state, he discovered that the Mahratta power had been effectively shattered, and it was only the Holkar who after being defeated fled into his territory and offered to join forces with Ranjit Singh against the British. Ranjit Singh grasped it clearly that it would be a losing game to throw in his lot with the Mahratta and commit himself to a policy which might ultimately end in his power being destroyed. He managed cleverly putting off doing anything like that. The possibility of an invasion from the side of Russia a few years later set up a new activity in the north-west of India both inside and outside of the frontiers, in which Ranjit Singh has had to play his part. He had to come into some kind of a definite relationship with the British in India and put himself in a position against the contingency of resisting the invaders from the north-west. It was in this connection that he had definitely to forego a chance of uniting all the Sikhs together by letting the Phulkian states remain under the protection of the British, so that a term was set to his expansion along the course of the river Sutlej. He accepted that position, and extended his territory along the north-west, which remained more or less in a chaotic condition by extending the western borders to include within his territory what was Multan, the Deras, and Peshwar. His next objective was to carry the boundaries further west to the Hindukush if it were possible and to extend the southern frontier to include within his territory the whole of what was the government of Multan and extend into Sind so as ultimately to absorb it into one united kingdom. In this southern enterprise the British came in the way, as they did in the eastern. Ranjit Singh had to remain content with having to let Sind remain under the protection of the British which gave them at the same time the navigation of the Indus for purposes of trade. He had a lively recollection of these setbacks in the career of expansion; but he realised at the same time the prudence of his remaining content with that, having regard to the strength of the British power, and the imprudence of making enemies of them. By adopting a cautious policy in regard to his neighbours and by prudent consolidation of his territory and power within, he built up the powerful Punjab kingdom respected by the British, feared by the Afghans across the border, and offering promise of a permanence of position, for which we must go back only to the Mauryan days

for a parallel. It was a remarkable career, the tragic misfortune of which was that Ranjit Singh was not destined to leave behind a successor who could by pursuing his own policy with the same prudence and forethought, might have continued the state as an independent Indian kingdom.

It is in the fitness of things that the Centenary of the death of the builder of the kingdom of the Punjab should be celebrated, and the manner of celebration adopted is just the most suitable. Though small in bulk, the volume of essays gives a conspectus of the career of the ruler, which in many particulars correct previous errors and presents a reliable account of the extraordinary career of Ranjit Singh.

SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY'S REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Readers of the Journal of India History would have known already that the great archaeological expert Sir Leonard Woolley was invited by the Government of India to tour India with a view to study the progress of the work of archaeology in the country and submit to the Government a report of his findings. The report since submitted to Government, and published by the Government of India is, as was to be expected from such a high authority, a very interesting and illuminating document, and deserves to be studied by those interested in Indian archaeology. Sir Leonard was asked to tender his advice in regard to the following points:— (1) indication of the most suitable sites for exploration; (2) the best methods and agencies for fruitful development of this work, bringing into consideration the possibility of non-official agencies even; (3) the third item requested information as to the best method of training for archaeological officers and their selection for exploration work. In addition; (4) he was also asked to tender such other advice as occurred to him in addition to these three in regard to the general work of the department. Sir Leonard made as good a study as possible of the work of the department since its inauguration, and has recorded his findings in the report. He is of the opinion that the work of the department has suffered a set back since the retirement of Sir John Marshall from the headship of the department, and is of the opinion that this set back is not due to financial stringency alone. In fact he does not regard lack of money as even the principal reason of this set back. He would rather find it due to the lack of training and experience

in the staff. He emphasises the need for specialisation within the department for the three main branches of work, (1) conservation of monuments; (2) exploration and (3) museums, as these are of different characters and could not be expected to be developed to the requisite degree of specialisation in the same individual. He finds fault with the methods of policy so far adopted in respect of the conservation of monuments, in the fact that in ordering conservation of monuments covering large areas, such as those at Taxila, the attempt at conserving the whole area of a town, the first drawback is that further exploration on the site is by this made impossible. Conservation can only be the foundation outline of the site, and not very much more. This precludes the possibility of further exploration on the site in lower levels, and this is, from the point of view of archaeological studies, certainly a drawback. There is the further disadvantage that, when a large number of places covering large areas are ordered to be conserved, it must necessarily take up a very substantial portion of the funds of the department sanctioned for archaeology without a corresponding advantage. What Sir Leonard suggests is that the monuments to be conserved perhaps should be fewer and the area of each single monument should be very much less extensive and very strictly limited. Once the exploration is carried through carefully, and the necessary photographing, etc., have been done on the work and made available in permanent form in published reports, the need for conserving whole extensive sites would really seem to be unnecessary.

He is secondly of the opinion that the training of the officers of the department is inadequate and the staff of the department, as it is at present, he considers is hardly in a position to give the requisite training. While he is satisfied that the members of the staff are doing the best possible in the circumstances, the need for training in specialised work is urgent and could not be given in the department itself. He suggests the appointment of a special adviser from abroad for a term of five years, leaving the department otherwise unchanged. As a second step he recommends studentships to chosen members of the staff or even new entrants during the period of training either in India or abroad. While he considers the department adequately provided for conservation work, the staff is not equal to the requirements of the department on the exploration work. This is surprising as several of the officers took part in the work during the last generation. Further in choosing sites for exploration, he insists, quite rightly, that the choice must be such as to admit of correlation of results in respect of periods

as well as areas. It would not do to choose a site and go on doing the exploration work there for years on the same site and carrying it to exhaustion over one particular layer of it. Of course, he is right in insisting that this exploration work should be carried on, not in one period, but over different periods from the earliest, in fact the stone age, to the historical periods. Simultaneously he would also arrange to conduct exploration in the north and south, and perhaps also in distant localities, east and west, for comparison. As it is, the work of the department has so far been going on in a few sites for long, and the recognised methods of conservation have to a very great extent shut off further exploration on the areas. With a view to making this part of the work of the department more efficient, he would insist upon a general archaeological preliminary survey and study of archaeological sites, which may turn out to be valuable for Indian archaeology generally for one thing. Further than this, there also should develop a special branch of the department for proto-historic studies, which had remained almost neglected so far. He has valuable suggestion to make on the excavation work to be conducted by non-official agencies. He suggests a number of modifications to the existing law, which seem sound. In this branch, he recommends both an increase of the staff and would provide the means for training, and would recommend specialisation among the officers.

In regard to the work of the museums, he supports the condemnation of the work of Indian museums in the report of Markham and Hargreaves. We are entirely in agreement with him in respect of the particular remarks he makes concerning the two museums in Delhi, the Central Asian and the general one in the Records Office. The defects that he points out were felt definitely when we visited these in the December of 1937. Sir Leonard's remarks confirm that the defect was not due to our eyes, but which is inherent in the arrangements. The suggestion he makes in regard to the reduction in the number of museums seems certainly sound. The museums at sites of excavation may be comparatively small and merely typical of the articles unearthed. But these must be organised and exhibited systematically in the Indian museum at Calcutta and in the main provincial museums which ought to offer the facilities for the study of these. Thus provided for study, those that visit the sites would certainly be in a better position to appreciate the work if they had the material for studying in detail in the museums in Calcutta, or Bombay or Madras or other provincial headquarters. Each of these museums must have a special place allotted for the excavation work conducted in the various localities,

so that a serious student engaged in the study might study the reports published by the department with the exhibits arranged in some organic order. While admitting the defects pointed out as being there, we might still doubt whether the appointment of a special adviser for a term of years from outside would bring about the improvement that is expected. While visits to important sites where great exploration work had been carried on already would be of immense value to archaeologists already acquainted with the nature of Indian archaeology and archaeological work to some extent, a new comer coming to India with the whole of his experience outside India may perhaps not prove quite so efficient to meet the need; and this applies with far greater force in respect of the work of museums. Visit by curators of museums, or prospective curators with some experience already of museum work, to first-class museums in Europe would be of far greater use for meeting the need than any one special adviser, however great his talents and experience.

The suggestions of Sir Leonard on the budgetary aspects seem worthy of serious consideration by the Government. His remarks on the utility and the desirability of the maintenance of an archaeological Department and the doing of sound archaeological work deserve the most earnest consideration, and that could not be done except with a very substantial budget provided from year to year. Of course, the budgeted provisions will have to be utilised with the greatest judgment and the severest economy possible. We think that visits of investigation by experienced archaeologists like Sir Leonard for short periods at intervals would certainly be of immense value. The appointment of an adviser suggested may not prove to be quite so efficient to meet the purpose, and may perhaps seem a reflection upon the work of the department, which may prove to be not deserved.

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

We are publishing with this issue of the journal a draft syllabus for a comprehensive History of India contemplated by the Indian History Congress. The syllabus is intended merely to indicate the scope and act as a guide to writers. It should not be taken that it indicates anything more than that, much less the actual character of the history that is contemplated. With the Cambridge History before us, a mere political history would be, as would readily be conceded, a mere waste of effort. This ought to be a

cultural History of India, political history certainly forming an essential part. Many of the problems connected with the study of Indian History are still in the stage of discussion, and several of them have reached a stage of study which might admit of presentation to the public. It ought to be a fuller history than the Cambridge History; and the details in regard to this, and the actual character of the work when it should be produced are matters which would come in for later discussion. The syllabus given here should therefore be taken to be nothing more than a mere syllabus indicative of the scope of the work and of the topics to be dealt with in particular volumes. Suggestions and criticisms from interested readers of the Journal of Indian History would certainly be welcome.

Reviews

THREE MEN OF DESTINY By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., (C. Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons).

This is a work by Mr. Panchapakesa Ayyar, who in the midst of his heavy judicial work has found time to indulge the pleasure of writing a historical novel on the model of Sir Walter Scott. He is not altogether new to the job, having already published one on the subject of Baladitya. Of course, the characteristic feature of a work like this, which is really the most difficult part of the work to succeed in, is to write out a romance looking like truth, particularly where historical characters are concerned. This novel deals with three characters of the first importance in Indian History, namely, Alexander the Great, Chandragupta and Chanakya. The subject is undoubtedly an interesting one and readily admits of the treatment given to it, the more so, as there is the drama Mudarakshasa bearing upon the matter. While there may be some little that one might learn from the drama, the novel has to satisfy requirements of a far other character than perhaps the drama. In any case, there is an attempt at delineating the history of the invasion of Alexander, and the foundation of the Mauryan empire. In the treatment of a subject like this, of course, the writer is allowed certain liberties consistently with the production of a story which looks like the actual history of these characters and the events reproduced sufficiently closely to make the reader feel some doubt whether it is really a history of these people or a romance.

In this difficult task, we may say that the author has achieved a very considerable degree of success. He shows complete acquaintance with the details of the history of the period, and of the particular characters as far as the materials so far made available could take us. The shaping of the story is certainly the author's own. He has given us the story of these epoch-making characters delineating them on the whole in a character fairly true to life. Of course, being a historical romance, the author has a considerable amount of freedom in giving the story as he pleases. The interest of the story would have been perhaps more sustained if the author in certain of his chapters had not gone too far into letting people report as if they were presenting official reports to an official superior. We might mention the chapter bearing on the sea-going trade, etc., of the country where the admiral of the fleet gives the

account. It should have been very much better for the purpose that the author has in view if he had brought out the material of the narration a little less formally, and far more in the way of a familiar colloquy between a number of suitable characters. This criticism can well apply in respect of a number more of chapters in the course of the work. There are also other chapters where the story is told perhaps very much more on the lines of history, without being actually history. We are not saying this to find fault with the work, but to indicate where exactly improvement would be possible. We also notice some small blemishes of language here and there, which of course, would get rectification in the usual course. We may state it in conclusion, however that Mr. Panchapaksa Ayyar has succeeded, on the whole, in producing a readable account of the historical characters with a very considerable amount of verisimilitude to history itself. The author deserves to be congratulated on so much success that he has achieved in what is a pioneer effort in Indian literature.

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE.—Being letters which passed between some of the Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables; Volume VI, 1781-5. Imperial Record Department. Delhi; Manager of Publications (1938). Pp. xvii, 441 and xxvii.

This is the sixth volume of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence and brings the political and diplomatic correspondence of the Governor-General of Bengal down to the close of the administration of Warren Hastings early in 1785, the previous periods of the administration of Hastings having been covered by volumes 4 and 5 of the series. This volume gives good glimpses of the administrative and diplomatic skill of Warren Hastings displayed in the face of difficulties and distractions proceeding from the complex relations of the British power with the Raja of Benares, with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, with the Nawab of Arcot, with the Marathas and with the Sultans of Mysore. All the protracted negotiations with regard to the treaty that ended the first Maratha war are revealed in the letters. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh is, naturally enough, given a most important place in the correspondence; and Beniram Pandit, the agent of Mudhoji Bhonsle of Berar, who was very helpful to the Governor-General in the critical situation in which he was placed in the Chait Singh crisis in Benares is fully seen in his pro-English leanings. It was the friendly attitude of the Raja of Berar that was highly helpful to the English in the suc-

cessful termination of the war with the Marathas, and we are told in letter No. 82 that the Ruler of Nagpur and his Diwan had always the interests and advantages of the English foremost in their hearts, but that they were helpless on account of their existing engagements with the Peshwa.

In the early days of the war, Haidar Ali sent his *vakil* to Najaf Khan at Delhi with a view to obtaining an Imperial *sanad* for himself for the subah of the Deccan and promised, that, in return, he would place all his resources at the disposal of the Mughal Court. The Nawab of Arcot was, as usual, violently clamorous that the Madras Government did not pay heed to his advice; and we find, in his letter of March 14, 1781, the contention put forward that, if Tanjore had been left in his possession, the English at Madras would not have been so depressed as they were for troops and money; but, on the contrary, they would have got every assistance from him. His son, Amiru'l Umarah, who was then evidently at cross purposes with him, suggested that the taluk of Tinnevely should be given over to the Dutch; this proposal strikes the reader as being very strange in view of the determination of both the Nawab and the English that it was advisable, indeed even essential, that the Dutch should be precluded from gaining any great influence in the Carnatic. The Nawab appealed to the Governor-General for a permanent treaty recognising him as the hereditary ruler of the Carnatic and of Balaghat and empowering him to manage all his domestic and political affairs, without any outside interference, i.e., from the Madras Government. He offered to disburse the expenses of ten battalions of disciplined troops which, after the operations should be over, would be employed in the settlement of the country.

In a paper of January 10, 1782, handed by Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad to Mr. Hollond, the Resident at his court of the Madras Government, we read of the Nizam's scheme for a partition of Haidar Ali's territories in case they should fall into the hands of the allies. It was suggested therein that a large proportion of the districts of the Mysore Sultan should be returned to their respective original owners and that those possessions of Haidar which lay in the subah of Bijapur should be partitioned among the allies, including Seringapatam, Sunda, Melur and the sea-ports.

As usual, when Nawab Muhammad Ali wrote personally and directly to the Governor-General, the Madras Governor did not like it and particularly the proposal to have a Resident representative of the Bengal Government over the head of the Madras

Council, and protested vigorously against the acceptance of such a proposal. The Nawab, however, succeeded in getting Mr. Sullivan appointed as the Company's Resident at his court. This was vigorously opposed by Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, who was anxious that the Nawab should not have any direct dealings at all with the Bengal Government; and after some time, Mr. Sullivan was directed to advise the Nawab to come to an understanding with the Governor of Madras. Besides this, there was a great deal of trouble over the payment of troops garrisoned in various places in the Carnatic and over the method and manner of the collection and disbursement of the revenues, which were to be done by the Governor under the Treaty of December 1781. Warren Hastings went so far as to suggest to Lord Macartney, in January 1783, that in order to protect the dignity and honour of the Nawab, who was "the first prince of this Empire" and had secured repeated assurances of protection and support from King George III, he should be given back the management of those districts which had been taken by the English and also those territories which might be recovered hereafter from the Sultan of Mysore.

Macartney's attitude towards the Nawab was one of prejudiced and persistent enmity; and his relations with Hastings grew consequently strained, particularly when after the conclusion of the Treaty of Salbai with the Marathas, the Madras Council entered into negotiations with Tipu Sultan who had succeeded his father recently and proposed terms of peace (April 1783). The Nawab urged the Governor-General that the *faineant* Raja of Mysore should be brought out of his prison and installed on his ancestral *musnud* and intimated that Macartney was engaged in secret negotiations with the agent of Tipu, who had been specially and secretly got down to Madras and that he himself was not unaware of the motives and proceedings of this secret conference. The Nawab indeed contended that the Raja of Tanjore had actually sent his agent to the ruler of Mysore inviting him to march on the Fort of Tanjore itself assuring him of his support and also that Lord Macartney had made the counter-charge that the Nawab's son Amiru'l Umarah was in secret alliance with the French. Lord Macartney was further accused by the Nawab of having sent word to him that if he withdrew all his previous allegations against himself, he would willingly move the Company to grant all his wishes. This information greatly put out the Governor-General who saw that Lord Macartney's secret negotiations with Tipu would run counter to and frustrate all his plans for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

But, fortunately, there was no danger of Tipu agreeing to any compromise with Macartney. The final circumstances under which Macartney concluded the Treaty of Mangalore in spite of Hastings' firm stand that no peace should be made with him unless he first relinquished all English territories in his possession and released all the prisoners of war, were considered too humiliating to be acceptable; while Muhammad Ali complained that, in that treaty with Tipu, he himself was not included as an ally of the Company and this omission might result in the seizure of his country by Lord Macartney under some pretext or other. The Governor-General saw the justice of the Nawab's contention and promised that before the ratification of the treaty should be made, his name would be inserted, and his rights acknowledged in it as the Nawab of the Carnatic (May 11, 1784). But Lord Macartney, to whom this request of the Governor-General was communicated, refused to comply as it might render Tipu unwilling to ratify the treaty at all. The Nawab suggested that Lord Macartney's insubordination should be promptly and vigorously condemned by the Governor-General, who, he asserted, was to be his sincere supporter; but Hastings had to retire to England before he could take any firm and decisive action in the matter.

Apart from this interesting subject of Nawab Muhammad Ali's relations with the English and the country powers, a number of letters included in this volume refer to Hastings' visit to Benares and his deposition of Chait Singh and to the matter of the spoliation of the treasures of Begams of Oudh. In this latter affairs we read that the Governor-General's instructions were that "until the Nawab has seized the treasure of the Begams and has established his own power and authority over their *jaghirs*, he should not grant any subsistence allowance to his near relations or their dependents. Further we read: "Even when the occasion comes, the Nawab should avoid extravagance in fixing these grants lest it might occasion those difficulties which he had already experienced; nor should he permit his relations to take undue advantages of his generosity."

As a result of this spoliation of the Begam's treasures, the Nawab Vizier claimed that there should always be maintained an irreducible minimum in the items of his court expenditure and that his other unavoidable expenses should also be provided for, before the dues to the Company should be adjusted. The debts to the Company could not be completely discharged even now; and the Nawab was further dissatisfied with the harsh conditions im-

posed on him by the treaty of Chunar. Hastings deputed Major Palmer, his confidential agent, to confer with Nawab's minister, Haidar Beg Khan, who was advised to arrange for the complete repayment of the Nawab's debt to the Company and also blamed for every misfortune and calamity that had befallen the Nawab's Government. The Nawab himself remonstrated that he was being treated badly and wrote to Hastings, in his letter of August 23, 1782, that in the circumstances he would prefer to be summoned to Calcutta relinquishing his rule and that he would stay at the British capital till he should be delivered from all difficulties. Bristow who became the new Resident at Lucknow, declared that an officer should be appointed to control the Nawab's personal and household expenses, and adopted, as the introduction to the volume says, a domineering and masterful attitude in all his relations with the Nawab. We learn that the Nawabi was threatened at the time with rumours of a Sikh invasion. Bristow was ever ready to hear grievances against the Nawab's government and wished to have them decided in a court of inquiry of his creation. He threatened Haidar Beg Khan with dire consequences for alleged disloyalty on his part towards the Governor-General and declared that "his professions of obedience and submission will not avail if (his own) repeated instructions are not carried out." At last, after a great deal of useless wrangling between Bristow on one side and Haidar Beg Khan and the Nawab on the other, Hastings was persuaded to order the Resident and his Assistant to return to Calcutta and to accept the securities provided by the Nawab's bankers for the payment of all arrears due to the Company. Hastings was further induced to visit Lucknow and help in the settlement of the revenue demands to be made from the amils of the Nawabi for five years; in his letter of August 25, 1784, Asafu'd Daulah thanked the Governor-General for his unstinted efforts to restore him to his former authority," in consequence of which a general feeling of security now prevails throughout his dominion." It was when Hastings was at Lucknow that he was invited by Jahandar Shah the Shahzada of Delhi, to free his father, Shah Alam, from the hands of his prisoners. Hastings indeed sent Major Browne after some delay, on a mission to the Mughal court and requested Mahadji Sindia to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and his son. The Sindia, however, contrived to seize power in Delhi for himself by getting Afrasiab Khan who was the chief noble at the Delhi court, assassinated and seizing the command of his own army. Sindia was now all supreme in Delhi (November 1784). It was now that the Mughal prince urged upon the Governor-General to

order the English troops to cross the Ganges and requested that even if he could not come personally, he might ask the Nawab Vizier of Oudh to do his business for him. Sir J. N. Sarkar in his paper on 'The Mission of James Browne to the Delhi Court (1783-85)', read before the last session of the Indian Historical Records Commission explains clearly the object of Hastings in sending this mission and says that Browne did nothing, but acted in contravention of his original instructions, setting the English and Mahadji by the ears.

The whole volume is marked by a detailed notice of the contents of important letters, while the introduction serves as a very useful summary arranged, under principal headings, of the contents of the letters. As has been suggested elsewhere, Dr. S. N. Sen, the scholarly Keeper of the Imperial Records, will be doing a great service to the world of historical scholarship by hastening the continuation of this series of Calendar volumes so as to cover the period of rule of Cornwallis and of Shore and bring up the narrative to the regime of Wellesley.

C.S.S.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL AMELIORATION OF WOMEN IN PRE-MUTINY INDIA. By Kalinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Mouat Medalist, Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna. Printed and Published by the Patna Law Press, Patna, Pages xxx, 1-162 and I-XXXI.

This small book is a valuable contribution to the historical literature bearing on the uplift and status of women in the days before the Mutiny. It thus deals with a topic that has not been attempted in any detail before and makes use of contemporary sources both official and otherwise. It first takes up the topic of female education in the 18th century and discusses the condition of women succinctly; and then we are told by the author that there were frequent instances of women to be found even in that epoch who were not only literate but could compose poetry and write well. Laudable attempts were made by Christian missionaries for the spread of female education in the early decades of the 19th century and we read of such indefatigable workers in the cause, like Miss Coke and Mr. Carey and such Indian leaders like the Rev. K. M. Banerji, Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, Debendra Nath Tagore and Babu Ram Gopal Ghose. At the close of 1850, there were as many as 354 day-schools and 91 boarding schools for women, maintained in the land by missionary effort. It is claimed that the

Hindu Balika Vidyalaya started in May 1840 at Calcutta, marked a turning point in the history of female education.

The beginning of the widow remarriage movement goes back to the times of Raja Ram Mohan Rai. Pandit Iswara Chandar was the great reformer of modern Bengal in this direction. In Bombay the movement began as early as in Bengal. A chapter is devoted to Sati and its abolition attempted even by the Mughal Emperors of the 17th century. Records in abundance show that the Sati sacrifices were borne with courage and fortitude in most cases. There were three kinds of forces, which by their combination made possible the abolition of the Sati rites. Dr. Datta traces the efforts of the Company's Government in Bengal in detail towards this abolition, as well as the endeavours made by the judicial tribunals. Lord William Bentinck's activities and the counter activities of the orthodox section of Hindu society are traced. An appendix gives details as to the statistics of cases of Sati about the year 1815 in British India. A bibliography which is both informing and extensive, is added at the end. The documentation is intensive and comprehensive. The book itself is a valuable piece of research in one of the more obscure sides of the life of the people, and we congratulate the author on his neat and clear treatment and attractive presentation.

C.S.S.

BAJI RAO II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY 1793-1818.

By Pratual G. Gupta, M.A., (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond) Oxford University Press, 1939. Pages xii and 219.

This thesis aims at sketching the political history of Baji Rao II, the son of the ill-fated Raghunath Rao, who ascended the *musnud* of Poona on the tragic death of his son, Savai Madhava Rao. The narrative opens, after a short introduction, with the events at Poona that led to this unfortunate event and to the accession of Baji Rao on a wave of temporary popularity created largely by the miserable plan adopted by Nana Fadnavis for the enthronement of a son who should be adopted by the dead Peshwa's widow. The influence of the Nana was shortly to disappear amidst clouds, but the friendship between Baji Rao and Sindia that led to the decline of the Nana did not last long. The events in the early years of Baji Rao's rule form a most confusing chapter of Maratha history; and Dr. Gupta is positive that Sindia was bound to fail where the Nana could not succeed.

The subsequent invasion by the Holkar and the rapid march of events to the Treaty of Bassein meant the emergence of a new Peshwa directed by British opinion and backed by British bayonets,—a new feature of the Maratha polity in which the confederation's Chief was free from the control of his own vassals, but had to depend upon an external imperial power. The war that was the consequence of the treaty was something more than one of defensive alliance. Much of the controversy that has formerly raged round the interpretation of the treaty has now died. But it gave the British Government unquestionable supremacy over the Maratha states and paved the way for an Indian Empire.

The Peshwa did not feel the full implications of his new position. He was more anxious to establish his own effective control over internal affairs and in 1807 we are told that his kingdom had attained a tranquillity that it had not known for years. We do not gather much from this book about the doings of the members of the Maratha confederacy during the critical years 1803-1804. The more powerful Maratha Sardars of the Deccan refused to contribute their contingents to the army of the Peshwa sent to help the British and there was the positive rebellion of the Pratinidhi, which assumed some serious proportion. Mountstuart Elphinstone became the resident in 1811 and was immediately troubled with the vexed question of the Southern Jaghirdars. Peace was however made with the Raja of Kolhapur which was a triumph for the Company. Everywhere there was a suspicion about the Peshwa in the matter of the unfortunate incident of the sudden and suspicious death of Kharsedji Modi who was the Company's *vakil* at the Poona Durbar and contrived to become the Subadar of the Karnatak of the Peshwa also. The affair of Gangadhar Sastri is interpreted by Dr. Gupta as one in which the view of Grant-Duff should not be entirely relied on; nor was it a matter in which Trimbakji whom Elphinstone accuses of having been "the principal instigator of the atrocity" on the basis of "incontrovertible circumstantial evidence", could have been anything more than a sharer in the crime. The Resident at Baroda and the Bombay Government suspected the court of the Gaekwar itself as having had a hand in the affair. Elphinstone was so much prejudiced against Trimbakji and his political influence that he desired his imprisonment and believed in his complicity in the Shastri's murder, but the author asks pertinently and very justly "why the historian should ignore the probability that the originators of this plot were to be found not at the Peshwa's but at the Gaekwar's court."

There is now a new theory based on letter written apparently by Trimbakji, which is accepted by Mr. Sardesai as solving the mystery of his escape from prison and showing that the Shastri had been murdered by the Holkar; but this view is not accepted by the writer. Baji Rao's attitude deceived only Malcolm and nobody else. Elphinstone's system of espionage kept him well informed about the movements of the Peshwa which included a plan for corrupting the British troops. But even the astute Elphinstone did not correctly gauge the influence exercised over Baji Rao by Bapu Gokhale just on the eve of the outbreak of war 1818. The terms offered to Baji Rao after the war had been the subject of much controversy. It was only Munro that had a good word about the Peshwa. In one of his letters to Malcolm he wrote thus: 'I have heard that the allowance of eight lakhs has been deemed too large, as the use of such a sum might be converted to dangerous purposes. There can be no difficulty, surely in preventing his intriguing with the money' by the appointment of an officer 'to disburse the cash . . . When men's minds begin to cool a little, and Baji Rao's treachery to be forgotten, they will not think eight lacks of rupees too much for the fallen head of the Mahratta Empire.' Munro expresses the same opinion to Elphinstone and added that the pension "may be too much for Baji Rao to receive but not for John Company Bahadur to give." At the end an analysis is made at Baji Rao's character and of the inconsistency that marked it. He was an ordinary man with but moderate talents placed in the most difficult circumstances and sharing many of the virtues and vices of his surroundings. Even a far superior person could not have arrested the decay of the Maratha power; and perhaps Baji Rao got more blame than he deserved, because he was the last representative of the declining power.

The accurate and matter of fact narrative of the author flows smoothly but does not lack the necessary features of giving extracts and references from original sources and of discussing impartially the views and conclusions arrived at in the course of the treatment.

C. S. S.

ANCIENT INDIA. HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA FOR 1,000 YEARS IN FOUR VOLUMES. (From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.). By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. & S. Shashikant & Co., Baroda. Pages 444.

The first volume was reviewed in the *Journal of Indian History* in the August number of 1938, and we have now pleasure in

expressing our opinion of the second volume, recently issued. It contains an account of the Mauryan dynasty and of the religious faith of its rulers and is inter-woven with sketches of Mahavira and Buddha, both of whom were held to be contemporaries throughout almost the whole of their lives in the 6th century B.C. The second chapter deals with the coinage of the land and most of the coins are shown to have distinctive signs which related to the Jaina religion. All the foreign kings who ruled in India after Nahapana, irrespective of their being masters of Avanti or not, had their portrait heads embossed on their coins. The Mahavira era was normally used not only in rock inscriptions but in coins also. After an elaborate treatment giving very scholarly and recondite information about the coins of the times which are arranged in a descriptive roll, we get a discussion on, and the explanation of, the religious signs in them which are held to be, in most cases, Jaina. Also we read that as the Pahlavi script resembled the Kharoshthi script very closely and as there was a great similarity between the Greek script and the Kharoshthi, an amount of confusion has ensued leading to the belief that some Parthian rulers were Yavanas and some Yavanas were Sakas and so on.

Regarding the account of the Mauryan dynasty, Dr. Shah tries to fix a characteristic chronological datum which he hopes will be acceptable in the case of all the Maurya kings, whose total duration, he fixes at 177 years from about 381 B.C. to 204 B.C.; and the actual origin of the dynasty is put down as being about 381 B.C. when Chandragupta established himself as petty chieftain. He came to the throne of Magadha in 372; and perhaps he ruled till about 357 B.C., and lived on for twelve years after abdicating the throne. When Alexander the Great invaded India Sandrecottus was the most important contemporary ruler. This personage could not have been Chandragupta who is postulated to have lived nearly 30 years before that time. Thus the so-called Greek synchronism between the Indian Sandrecyptus or Sandrecottus and Alexander and Seleucus is not accepted; and this is the basic point from which the treatment of Mauryan chronology may be held to start. Chanakya who was an elder contemporary of Chandragupta is held to have lived on even to the reign of Bindusara and to have died at the age of 82. Several reasons are given that Chandragupta could not be identified with Sandrecottus. A full chapter is devoted to Chanakya, and it is held that his other title Kautalya is not derived from his Gotra descent, but is due to the profession of the Chanakya family. *Kautalya* is derived from the profession

of the Chanakya family. Chanakya is held also to be a Jain. When the famine which raged in the kingdom was over and Chandragupta's reign took a prosperous turn, Chanakya who had made arrangements for the improvement of the State, began to work out rules and regulations which ultimately culminated in the Artha Sastra, the date of its composition being fixed by Dr. Shah as A.M. 160-68, B.C. 367-59. Chapter VI is prefaced with an examination of the contents and comparative value of the Artha Sastra doctrines, and treats of Bindusara's life and of Chanakya's death. Dr. Shah further says that there is the probability of truth in the tradition that Chanakya spent his last days at Sukla Thirtha on the banks of the Narmada near Jabulpore which was near the place of the attainment of *Kaivalya* of the twelfth Thirthankara, Vasupujya.

In the next chapter we are taken on to the invasions of Alexander the Great, who met Sandrecottus and of Seleucus. Dr. Shah says that the narrative of Sandrecottus's relations with the Greek invaders fit in exactly with the events that took place in the life of Asoka. Asoka therefore is held to have been the centre and principal factor of the rebellions in the Punjab that occurred against the Greek rule in the years following Alexander's invasion and to have repulsed Seleucus every time that he invaded the country and ultimately to have married his daughter during the 26th year of his reign.

In Part IV which is the second part of this volume, we have got an exhaustive account of Asokavardhana whose rule is fixed as extending from 330 B.C. to about 289 B.C. Asoka was a Jaina before his marriage with Queen Tisarakṣita which took place shortly before his coronation ceremony. But he did not have much faith in Buddhism till some miracle revived his zeal for that religion comparatively late in his reign. The third Buddhistic œcumenical conference of Buddhism was held at Pataliputra in B.C. 313 by Asoka; and it was then that he perhaps got the title of Dharmasoka and began his activities for the spread of that religion. Asoka abdicated the throne in favour of the infant child of his favourite son, Kunala who had been blinded by a palace plot. He named the prince Priyadarsin, which is thus held to be a proper name and not an epithet—and himself acted as regent for the boy-king for the next fourteen years. Thus not merely that Sandrecottus should not be identified with Chandragupta, but only with Asoka, but also these Asoka and Priyadarsin were not the names of one and the same individual, and were, in reality

those of two successive rulers of the dynasty is the contention of our author. Asoka retired from the regency when Priyadarsin came of age. He had also appointed Dasaratha, another grandson of his, as the next heir to the throne till he changed his mind when Priyadarsin was born. It was Priyadarsin that changed the seat of the imperial government to Avanti, dividing that province into two parts. It was he that should be credited with the conquest of all the regions between the borders of India and the kingdom of the Seleucids in Western Asia and sent ambassadors to the Yavana rulers of the Eastern Mediterranean. He spread Jainism, invaded Nepal, conquered Tibet and Khotan and subdued all the territory to the south of Mount Meru. Dr. Shah claims that Priyadarsin's reign lasted from B.C. 290 to 236. He was a staunch Jain and his daughter Charumati, so much associated with Nepal in tradition became after her widowhood a Jaina nun. Priyadarsin got the rock edicts engraved with a definite purpose, about the 26th year of his reign. Not merely Priyadarsin himself, but Chandragupta, Chanakya and Kharavela are also held to be followers of Jainism; and all the rock and pillar edicts should be put to the credit of Priyadarsin and to his zeal for the propagation of the Jaina faith. His philanthropic and humanitarian activities are also to be explained from this same point of view. The empire under Priyadarsin had about twenty-two provinces with the centre in Ujjaini—Avanti. The spots where the rock edicts and minor rock edicts are found are shown by Dr. Shah to have some close association with Jaina religious tradition, while it is held that the sites of the pillars are at places, where Mahavira had to undergo physical persecution and hardship. The *stupas* were erected in memory of various monks. Dharmasoka was a title that belonged to nobody else but Priyadarsin, whereas the atrocities perpetrated by Asoka earned for him the name Chandasoka; while Kalasoka is regarded as some interpolation. Jalauka is held to be a son of Priyadarsin who ruled over Kashmir and Gandhara.

Lastly, Dr. Shah analyses the factors that led to the sudden decline of the Mauryan empire and finds that among them the most important were the dissensions among the members of the royal family and religious persecution by the successors of Priyadarsin, of those who were devotees of the Vedic religion. He also traces the exact extent of every territory ruled by the four Emperors, Chandragupta, Bindusara, Asokavardhana and Priyadarsin respectively, and gives a detailed chronology on the basis of his calculations equating B.C. dates with A.M. dates, in the case of important events in the history of the land. The boldness of his

Justice Sir Lionel Leach of Madras), Leith Castle, Admiralty House, the Ice House (in which actually hard blocks of cold ice were once kept for preservation and which now is the Widows' Home); by Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar—the city Pagodas—Kapaleswar Temple in Mylapore, Parthasarathi and Tholasinga Temples in Triplicane, the Chennakesava Temple and Chennai Mallikeswara Temple, the Kandaswamy Temple, the Kachaleswar Temple, etc., embodiments of Hindu religion and thought.

Religion, Art, Education and Music in Madras are dealt with by Rev. Manohan, Rev. Warren, The Rt. Rev. Mgr. P. Thomas, Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Dr. P. J. Thomas, Dr. Kunhan Raja, Prof. P. Sambamurty and others in a series of most illuminating articles.

Mr. K. P. Viswanatha Iyer, in a very illuminating article on Journalism in Madras, points out that newspapers in Madras had their origin in the needs of the small but growing European Colony of the Presidency and was also influenced by the foreign Christian Missions. He observes that modern journalism in Madras is really a by-product of politics. Special place is given to the "aristocratic" *Madras Mail* founded in 1867. "The founding of *The Hindu* is a landmark in the history of journalism in Madras; its growth with that of Indian newspapers in other Provinces marks the growth of Indian Nationalism."

How many people in Madras would be able to answer questions regarding the origin and significance of several place-names in Madras? The Mount Road, Choultry Plain, Pudupakkam, the Thousand Lights, the Cornwallis Cenotaph, Teynampet, Egmore—Prof. V. Rangacharya floodlights them admirably.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri deals with the beginnings of British Justice in Madras; Dr. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar with the history of medical relief in Madras—two most important aspects of Civic and National Life.

The trading and commercial aspects of civic life in Madras are ably portrayed by Mr. C. G. Armstrong, Mr. H. H. Chapman, The Hon'ble Mr. M. C. T. M. Chidambaram Chettiar, Mr. G. H. Hodgson, Mr. Venkateswara Sastrulu and others who write with personal knowledge and considerable literary flair.

Mr. Venkataswamy Naidu, the Mayor of Madras, tells the reader some interesting details about ancient families and personalities in Madras.

Where so much is excellent it is indeed a herculean task to make any special mention. The reader must be left to wander in the fields of history and research that are thrown open to him and discover for himself the vast treasures of knowledge and information, with an assurance that the Treasure Trove Act does not apply to him in the circumstances of the case. As observed by Mr. Glyn Barlow in his little treatise on the story of Madras: "The story of Madras is the story of no mean city. The greatest charm of Madras lies in its history. It was at Chandragiri that the British Empire in India was *begotten*, it was at Madras that the British Empire was *born*."

R. N. AINGAR, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

KĀŚYAPASAMHITĀ OR VRDDHAJĪVAKĪYA TANTRA by Vrddhajivaka and revised by Vātsya, with an introduction by Nepal Rajguru Pandit Hemraj Sarma; edited by Vaidya Jadavji Trikamji Acharya, Bombay and Somanath Sarma of Nepal—Nepal Sanskrit Series No. 1.—Published by Jadavji Trikamji Acharya, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

A work bearing the name of *Kāśyapa Samhita* was published just six years ago by Śrī Yatirāja Sampatkumāraswāmi (of Melkote, Mysore State) on the basis of three manuscripts—one obtained through the priest of the sacred temple at Melkote (Tirunārāyaṇapuram), another found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and the third, found among the manuscript-collections of the Adyar Library, The Theosophical Society, Madras. This is a work based on the management of Serpents and cures of poisoning by Serpent-bites. It is stated to be the same as the one included in the list of the 108 works of the Pāñcarātra Āgama School of worship; and the explanation for including in that list a work which would now be regarded as a Medical work on Toxicology, is that a considerable part of the work deals with the invocation of Garuḍa Pañcākṣarī and other Mantras intended to ward off serpents and counteract poisoning by their bites; and that the worship of Garuda as the Vāhana of Viṣṇu was an appropriate subject for inclusion among the works of the Pāñcarātra School of worship. Though the work under Review bears the same name, viz., *Kāśyapa Samhita* as the work referred to above, it is entirely a different publication altogether. It purports to be a work on a special division of Ayurveda viz.:—*Kaumāra-*

Bhṛtya (Management of children and their illnesses) but, really, it is an Ayurvedic classic dealing with Medicine as a whole and in all its eight divisions (*Aṣṭāṅga*). The arrangement of the work—which is partly in verse and partly in prose—is strikingly similar to the arrangement found in another well-known Ayurvedic classic, viz., *Caraka Saṁhita*. The original seems to be a work of 200 chapters arranged under nine Divisions or *sthānas*, viz: *Sūtra* (30), *Nidāna* (8), *Vimāna* (8), *Śarīra* (8), *Indriya* (12); *Cikitsā* (30), *Siddhi* (12) and *Khila* (80); but, in the work under review, as many as 127 chapters are missing so that what is published is only about a third of the whole work; and even in this, there are many gaps throughout, which the Editors have not been able to fill in. They had apparently only one palm-leaf manuscript for their original; and even in this, the first available leaf was the 29th and the last 264th, so that 28 leaves in the beginning and an unknown number in the end are missing. We are not told how or where the manuscript was secured; one earnestly hopes, however, that a diligent search among the many available collections of Sanskrit manuscripts in India, Europe and America may enable the earnest searcher to bring to light other manuscripts of the *Samhita* so that the many gaps of the present edition may be filled in and the missing two-thirds of the Text restored. It is stated that the original *Samhita* of Kasyapa contained one lakh of granthas in one thousand *sūktās*; but, as with the present *Caraka Samhitā* which is stated to be a redaction by Caraka of Agniveśa's summary (*Agniveśa Tantra*) of the original teaching of Ātreya Punarvasu, the work under review is stated to be a redaction by Vātsya of Vṛddhajīvaka's summary (*Vṛddhajīvakiya Tantra*) of the original teaching of Marīci Kaśyapa. There are a number of passages, as, for example, verses beginning with 41 on page 202 which are strikingly similar to verses found in *Caraka Samhitā*. There seems to be no mention here of either Caraka or Suśruta, the famous fathers of Ayurveda. From this and certain other considerations, it is possible to argue that the date of the work under review is probably somewhere about the second century B.C., and anterior, in any case, to the dates of Caraka and Suśruta; but the data available are too meagre to be definite or certain on this question.

The Upodghāta or the introduction of Sanskrit written by Pandit Hemraj Sarma (Nepal Raj Guru) is a veritable mine of very valuable information on many topics, ancient and modern, related to Ayurveda. It is obviously the work of an erudite scholar deeply versed in ancient traditional learning as well as in

modern methods of approach to the study of our ancient classics. The work of editing has been in the able hands of Pandit Somanatha Śarma of Nepal and Vaidya Jadvi Trikamji Acharya of Bombay, the learned Editor of *Caraka Samhita*, *Suśruta Samhita* and a number of other Ayurvedic works which would have probably never seen the light of day but for the devoted labours of Acārya Yadhava Sarma, well-known all over India for his many services in the cause of Ayurveda.

Sanskrit Scholars in general and Ayurvedic Scholars in particular, are under a deep debt of obligation to the learned Pandits Hemraj Sarma, Yadava Śarma and Somanath Sarma for unearthing and editing this rare and hitherto unknown classic of Ayurveda. It forms the first publication in a new series—The Nepal Sanskrit Series or as the title-page poetically puts it, it is the first stabaka (bunch) in the literary wreath known as Nepala Samskrta Granthamālā; and is appropriately dedicated to the great patron of learning, His Highness, Maharaja Rudra Samsher Jung Bahadur Rāna, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION by M. K. Varadarajan, pp. xi-292. Oxford University Press, 1933. Price 12sh. 6d.

The All-India Federation has been before the public for the past ten years, and the Government of India Act, 1935, envisaged a federal constitution for the country. As a result of that the Indian Princes and their administrators were called upon to make up their minds on the question of their acceding to the Federation. The Princes met in conferences, appointed expert committees to examine the implications of their acceding to the Federation, and were hesitant in giving their consent to accede. Since it is not possible for a State to secede from the Federation once it has acceded to it, it was necessary for the Princes to assess correctly their gains and losses by taking that bold step. Therefore this timely book under review is not only of much academic interest, but having been written from the point of view of the Indian States it should have been a welcome publication to the Princes of India inasmuch as it tries to give a lead to them and contains some strong opinions as to the right solution of some of the knotty problems facing them. The author has clear ideas

about the implications of the accession of the States to the Federation, and he shows how the interests of the States might be safeguarded by specific provisions in their respective Instruments of Accession.

The book deals with the place of the Indian States in the new Federal Constitution. Mr. M. K. Varadarajan first traces the evolution of federalism in India till it was finally embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. To safeguard the interests of the States the author suggests some reservations that might be made in their Instruments of Accession. Among them mention may be made of the suggestion that the Princes may nominate as their representatives to the Federal Legislature only officials of the State, over whom by reason of their position full control could be exercised, so that the representatives may not vote in the Federal legislature quite against the mandates of their respective rulers. This suggestion is in our opinion quite inopportune at a time when there is a growing and genuine demand not only for popular institutions in the Indian States but also for the election of members to the Federal Legislature.

Mr. Varadarajan then examines the financial implications of the accession of the States to the Federation. In this section he deals not only with the question of Federal Finance but also with questions like Tributes and cash contributions, ceded territories, privileges and immunities besides cantonments and civil stations. The author feels that in financial matters also the States may insist on some reservations. Among them are (1) Preservation for the States the revenue accruing to them from the corporation tax when it comes to be levied by the Federation, (2) Provision for the settlement of disputes as to the amount of contribution levied in lieu of surcharge on income-tax and (3) Provision for exempting the States from the payment of the emergency surcharge on income-tax obtaining in British India at the time of the inauguration of Federation. Mr. Varadarajan takes care to discuss the claims of Mysore in all these matters. He strongly pleads for the retention by Mysore of the proceeds of an export duty on gold, the abolition of tribute levied from the State, and the retrocession of the Civil and Military Station at Bangalore to the Maharajah of the State. The author's presentation of the case of Mysore has been marked throughout by close and logical reasoning.

In estimating the net gains the States will have by acceding to the Federation Mr. Varadarajan thinks that though by so doing

the States will participate in the larger political life of India and promote the cause of Indian unity and Indian nationalism, judged in terms of money they would be paying a heavy price for it. But it deserves to be noted that questions of this kind are to be examined from a larger point of view. The influence of the Indian States in the administration of the country should also be taken into account.

In the last chapter the author discusses the relations of the Paramount Power with the Indian States. He feels that the extent of paramountcy exercised differs with individual States and seriously observes, though with some humour behind it that "its interferences range over the entire sphere of State activity and may extend from forcing a ruler to accept a Dewan or Chief Executive Officer of its own choice to directing the ruler to nominate an efficient butcher for supplying good meat to the Residency."

In a book of this kind one would have expected the author to say something about the future of the Chamber of Princes which, according to some thinkers, should go with the inauguration of Federation, for if Federation should come, it will take over much of the work done by the Chamber and hence there may not be any need for its existence.

Mr. Varadarajan's book is a very useful publication. Lord Lothian has contributed a preface to the work which gives added value to it.

T. V. M.

Select Contents

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. LIX, 1939, Part I.

Alexander's Plans by W. W. Tarn, deeming it to be untenable that the principal plan of Alexander was for the conquest of the Mediterranean basin; and that after he quitted the Punjab he made no more conquests, but turned his thoughts to exploration instead; and his projects of exploration turned easily into projects of conquest. There is no evidence for Alexander's ideas of unlimited conquests and a little against them.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XI, Part II.

Dhyani Buddhas and Bodhisattvas by V. S. Agrawala, suggesting that a corpus of all the Buddha figures in the Muttra Museum can help the solution of some of the knottiest problems of Buddhist iconography.

Humayun's Flight to Lahore (1540 A.D.) by S. K. Banerji.

An Unknown Sealing at the Sarnath Museum by M. M. Nagar—the legend Dhamaha of the sealing seems to be a contraction of Dharma chakra and perhaps the site of the Dhamek stupa is the site of the Lord Buddha's first sermon.

Some Aspects of the Administration of Oudh under Asafudaula (1775-97) by P. Basu.

A Forgotten English Expedition against Prithvi Narayanan by N. L. Chatterji—unearthing the first English expedition to Nepal in 1767.

New Sculptures from Mathura by V. S. Agrawala—The Maholi Bodhisattva statue offers a link to strengthen the Yaksha-Bodhisattva formula of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Lord Minto's Expedition to Java (1811) by S. N. Das Gupta—The reduction of Java put an end to the last vestiges of the French power in the East.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1939, Part III.

Hand-list of Islamic Manuscripts acquired by the India Office Library, 1936-38 by A. J. Arberry, (Nos. 4558-4633).

Three Mandæan Phylacteries transliterated and translated by E. S. Drower, (helping the knowing of the Mandaic language).

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Fragmenta Græca in litteris arabicis, I. Palladios and Aristotle by R. Wabzer, (traces of Aristotelian dialogues in unpublished Arabic authors).

The Ayyubid Feudalism by A. N. Poliak, (peculiar to the Saracenic Kingdom which put an end to the expansion of the Franks in Syria and showing different traits from the feudal system of the Mamluks.)

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Magic and Miracle in Jaina Literature by Kalipada Mitra.

Rudra-Siva as an agricultural deity by N. Chaudhuri.

The Soma plant by Jogish Chandra Roy.

The Silk Trade of Patna in the early seventeenth century by J. N. Sarkar, M.A.

The Kolis in the Maratha Empire by R. N. Saletore.

Sane Political Aphorisms and Views of the Marathas by Y. G. Kanetkar.

Vārakari the foremost Vaishnava Sect of Maharashtra by B. Upadhyaya.

Two Rare Images of a Buddhist Tantric Deity by H. D. Sankalia (of Padmanarttesvara, god dancing over a lotus, one of the forms of Avalokitesvara).

The Watson Museum Plates of Dharasena II (of the Maitraka house of Valabhi) by A. S. Gadre.

Dakshinamurthi in the Subrahmanya Temple at Kannanur by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam and K. Venkataranga Raju.

Epic Studies by J. Przyluski.

The Lost Bhowal Copper-plate of Lakshmanasena by H. N. Randle (identified with one discovered by the writer in the India Office Library and resembling the Mādhainagar inscription) and giving the title of Parama Narasimha to Lakshmanasena.

The Final Defeat of Mihirakula by B. Upadhyaya (assigned to a date between 525 and 552 A.D.).

A Note on the Kēsari Grant of Satrubhanja by D. C. Sircar. *Pūrṇapravēśā* (1934) and the *Maḷavas* (1937) by G. Bose.

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Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terracotta Figurines by C. C. Das Gupta—a pioneer summary of ancient Indian terracotta figurines on the model of Prof. H. C. Das Gupta's Bibliography of Pre-historic Indian Antiquities (Jour. Pro. As. Soc. Bengal, N. S. Vol. XXVII, 1931).

Kānā-dorki, a sedentary game prevalent in U. P. by C. C. Das Gupta.

Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs by M. B. Emeneau, an account of the Coorgs in Mercara, Virajpet and Malknad; and of father-ships prevalent among them.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June 1939. Vol. XXV, Part II.

Notes on two Hoards of Silver Punch-Marked Coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machhuatoli by E. H. C. Walsh. The Coins of the Ramna hoard do not bear the Mauryan mark on the reverse some of the Machhuatoli hoard bear the distinctive Mauryan mark subsequently stamped on the reverse. The practice of stamping an obverse mark of smaller size on the reverse of a coin of a different area to authorise its circulation in the area represented by that obverse mark was already prevalent in pre-Mauryan times. The six-armed symbol and the sun found on all pre-Mauryan coins of the five-mark group system is difficult to explain in its origin.

Some Unpublished Letters relating to Anglo-Nepalese relations in the beginning of the 19th century by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta—culled from the distinct record-rooms of Bihar, some documents furnish significant details about the early relations between the English and the Gurkhas—Letters now acquired by the B & O Research Society, refer to the arrival of some deputies from Nepal at Patna in 1802 to pay respects to the Governor-General.

Pramānavārttikavṛitti edited by the Rev. R. Sāṅkrtyāyana.

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Burmese Proverbs: A Supplement to Existing Collections by Kin Maung Lat.

Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam by S. H. Taqizadeh.

The Average Man in Early Islam by A. S. Tritton.

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A Jewish Source on Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest by Bernard Lewis.

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Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma by Nihar-Ranjan Ray.

Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Barat by D. P. Ghosh.

Pilgrimage to Greater India, Brhattara, Bharater, Pujaparvan, Kamboja, Campa, Malay, Suvarnavipa.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. VII, No. 2.

Pre-Historic Culture in Assam by K. L. Barua.

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Were There Indian Colonists from Assam in Indo-China by K. L. Barua.

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Shinto the National Religion of Japan by Savitri Devi.

Siam in New Asia by Anil K. Mookerjee.

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Fifty Years of the Japanese Constitution by Dr. Takeki Osatake.

The Hindustan Review, June 1939.

The Political Crisis in Japan by Mr. K. R. Chatterjee.

Some Curiosities of History by Sukumar Haldar, B.A., P.C.S., (Retired).

The Indian Press in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries Mr. S. K. Ghatak, M.A., B.L.,

A Historical Review of the Gold Standard by Prof. Harbans Lal, M.A.

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The Teachings of the Buddha by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

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Adil Shahi Epigraphy in the Deccan by B. D. Verma.

India's Struggle with the Great Depression (1929-33) by
S. K. Mazumdar.
The Age of Reform 1815-1870.
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The Antiquity of the Hindu-Nose-Ornament called "Nath" by
P. K. Gode, M.A.
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Immediate Disciples and Early Followers of Madhava.
Chapter I. The Svamis of the Udipi Mutts by B. N. Krishna-
murti Sarma, M.A.
A Detailed Exposition of the Nagari, Gujarati and Modi
Scripts by H. R. Kapadia, M.A.

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Report of the Gilgit Excavation in 1933 by M. S. Kaul Shastri,
M.A., M.O.L.
India and Old Ceylon by V. Srinivasan, M.A., A.I.I.B.
The History of the Visnukundins by K. S. Vaidynathan, B.A.
The End of Morari Rao of Gooty (1776 A.D.) by
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blishment of Troops, etc., by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph. D.

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M. B. Pitawalla.
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through Sind by G. R. G. Shipp.
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