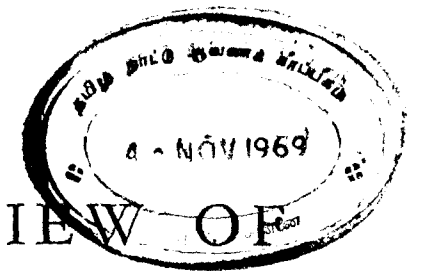


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VOLUME IX

(1969-70)



NUMBER 1

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CALCUTTA

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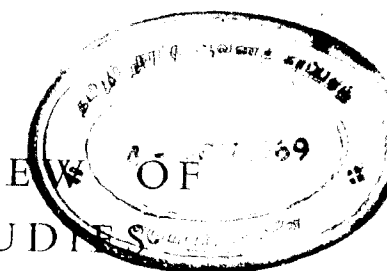
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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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No. 1

## EDITORIAL

### University Autonomy:

Quite a lot of noise is often made about the need to preserve University autonomy and the sacrosanct character of the University Campus. It is loudly proclaimed by most people, though not always from conviction, that if the Universities are to function according to their ideal objectives, they must be kept safe from all external interferences, particularly from the Government of the day which is constantly swayed by political forces. This is the professed view of educationists and non-educationists alike, by those who want to profit by such non-interference as also by those who want the Universities to be controlled by the dominant political party of the day. The Kothari Commission Report emphasised it, though in a rather confused way, as while upholding the principle of University autonomy, it also warned the Universities not to function in an idealistic academic world, in an ivory tower of isolation from the currents and cross-currents of the society at large. In the Convocation Addresses and in all periodical get-togethers of University chiefs, it is the current fashion to proclaim University autonomy, although many of them know very well that they would not have been there at all if the University autonomy had been real.

The principle of the sanctity of the University Campus is also often carried to an absurd

and ridiculous point, as if the inhabitants in the Campus have extra-territorial rights and enjoy immunity from the ordinary laws of the land. There might have been a plausible defence if the University authorities had the strength and the will to enforce discipline and to preserve peace in the Campus. Events in recent years all over the country have shown that both are lacking. In such a situation sanctity of the University Campus only means recognition of a class of privileged citizens who can riot with impunity. And in some cases, like the University of Calcutta, the Campus is interpreted as including a large part of the downtown. If an ordinary citizen commits a crime, he is dubbed as anti-social. But if it is done by a person who pays a few rupees at the University cash office, he is immune. In the name of understanding the youth and sympathising with their progressive and revolutionary ideals, the University authorities have always betrayed the most abject cowardice, unmindful of its effects on the University, the student community and the society at large. The main cause of this cowardice is the pull of political forces in the University administration, which, in fact, makes a complete mockery of the pretended principle of University autonomy. It would have been better for all concerned if this bluff of University autonomy had been called and ordinary laws had been enforced alike for students as for others.

What a hoax University autonomy is will be evident to anyone who makes a close study of University administration. Vice-Chancellors are often appointed or removed on political considerations, and that even where a so-called democratic process of selection is chosen. The democratic process of selection inevitably reflects the play of political forces outside the University. Elections to all the higher bodies of the University, like the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council, are held on the same party basis as elections to the legislature. Every political party has its finger in the University pie. Deliberations in the University bodies are conducted and decisions taken on the same party basis as in the legislature. Appointments to academic and administrative positions are quite often made, most naturally under the circumstances, on political considerations. Students' Unions function and fight as wings of the different political parties. To claim autonomy for Universities in this situation is as much ridiculous as to claim freedom of expression for newspapers wholly dependent on Government advertisements. Universities to-day are as much influenced by political forces and dependent on the dominant political group of the day as the Government itself. Any change in the party composition of the Government is reflected sooner or later in the University administration. And in the process most of the time is wasted on party manoeuvrings in the University bodies in which the Vice-Chancellors and other officials constantly jockey for positions to retain their jobs. University teachers take the cue from the administrators and group and regroup on political-cum-personal considerations. Many of them are more violently partisan than even those who have chosen politics as their profession.

In a situation like this any talk about University autonomy is just bluff or, worse still, self-deception. If would have been much better and University politics would have been more honest if political interference had been more openly admitted, accepted and asserted. If this had been done, there would have been less

scope for politics in University administration or academic life. Restricting the scope of politics in Universities would no doubt be dubbed as denial of democracy, but it would lead to cleaner University life. University administrators and teachers would know that nothing could be gained by political manoeuvrings, and the Government of the day would be more inclined to leave the academic world alone if it kept out of current politics. Unfortunately, there are few bold and outspoken educationists who would openly advocate the exclusion of politics from University life.

#### University Notes:

In the present number we are covering two Universities, Rabindra Bharati (Calcutta) and Bangalore. The Courses of Study at both are fairly comprehensive and well balanced. But at the Rabindra Bharati University there is curiously no paper on Ancient Indian History either for B.A. Honours or for M.A. Examination, although there are papers (for B.A. Honours) on Greece and Rome and Medieval Europe. For M.A. both Universities have one paper on regional history. At the Bangalore University there is one paper on Historical Method and Historiography. This is a very good choice, although unfortunately only a few Universities have yet thought it fit to introduce such a paper. We do feel that advanced students of history should have some basic training in historical methodology and should have some knowledge about different schools of historiography.

The rules for Ph.D. Degree at the Rabindra Bharati University follow the normal pattern—two years' research under a recognised Supervisor. At the Bangalore University the minimum period of research is three years. The rules also envisage a regular course of training as the candidate is required to pay an annual fee of Rs. 200/- for three years. Moreover, the research student is deemed almost as a whole-time student and he is not permitted to take up any other course of study or to prepare for any other Examination. Two other

things in the rules at the Bangalore University deserve notice: first the candidate may work, with proper permission, outside the University's territorial jurisdiction; and second, in case of a difference of opinion between two external examiners, there is provision for a third external examiner. As we had commented on other occasions, this is a good system, needed to ensure justice for the candidate.

#### Kashmir History Source Material:

The present number may in a sense be considered as Kashmir History Number. We are publishing six papers on the Source Material of Kashmir History read at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Institute held at Srinagar in October 1968. There are two papers on each of the three periods of history. It is to be hoped that the readers will find the whole collection to be informative and particularly useful to those who may want to take up work on some aspect of Kashmir History and are looking for proper clues. The first two papers, by Dr. D. K. Ghosh and Mr. F. M. Hasnain, give a detailed account of the Archival source material in Kashmir, New Delhi and London, and also indicate the fields which are still open for fruitful research. The history of Kashmir has not attracted as much attention from students of Indian history as it deserves. One of the main reasons was the difficulty in getting access to records which, for political reasons, were not thrown open to research students until recently when the rules were considerably relaxed. Now that the main hurdle has been removed, more and more students from other parts of India are likely to feel interested in Kashmir history and the present collection of papers will, it is hoped, prove immensely useful to them. If the response from those interested is encouraging enough, we may re-print the papers in a separate small publication.

#### Annual General Meeting:

The 8th Annual General Meeting of the Institute of Historical Studies was held on 21st

September 1969. The Annual Report presented by the Director (to be published in the *Quarterly Review* later) shows on one side the striking progress made by the Institute within eight years of its foundation and on the other the gravity of the financial problem confronting us, with mounting annual deficits. The accumulated deficit at the end of the financial year 1968-69 stood at a little over Rs. 10,000/-. It is necessary to find out ways and means to wipe off this deficit and to start on a clean slate from the new year, 1969-70. There is little possibility of getting public donations for this purpose and the prospect of getting a Government grant for wiping off past deficits is also not at all bright. Under the circumstances, the only way out is to appeal to our members and subscribers to purchase copies of the Institute's publications for themselves and also for the institutions with which they are connected. A good sale of our publications can easily wipe off the accumulated deficit and may even leave us a little surplus with which to continue our publication programme in future.

Our two publications, the *Indian Press* and *Studies in Modern Indian History: A Regional Survey* have received good reviews. We have in hand two more publication projects—*The Sino-Indian Border Question* and *Historians & Historiography in Modern India*.

#### Seventh Annual Conference:

Preparations are going on for the Seventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies, to be held at Bangalore from 4th to 7th November, 1969 under the auspices of the University of Bangalore. From the response received so far we expect about 250 scholars from different parts of India to attend the Conference. Most of the Universities and learned institutions have nominated delegates to the Conference. Twelve papers will be read on the *Sources of the History of Mysore* and about twenty-four papers will be read on *Historical Writings on the Indian Nationalist Movement*. The Conference programme will provide adequate time

for the presentation of the papers and for a detailed discussion on each paper.

We are happy to note that a large number of scholars from South India will be attending the Annual Conference at Bangalore. This is most encouraging, as normally few scholars from South India find it convenient to attend any Conference in the north. In view of our experience and with the object of getting adequate representation from South India, we shall try to hold our Annual Conference in alternate years in the north and in the south. Participation at academic all-India Conferences will prove to be one of the most effective ways of national integration.

#### **DNB Projects:**

Biographical entries for the Dictionary of National Biography Project are coming in from the Contributors with steady regularity. Two thirds of the entries have reached us already and

if we get the same co-operation from the Contributors as in the past we can reasonably expect to get the remaining entries by December. In such a large all-India Project some delay is unavoidable, but on the whole the progress has been as satisfactory as one could reasonably expect.

After December while preparing the final entries for the press we shall have a last check up of the names to be included in the DNB to make sure that no worthy name has been dropped through oversight. In a Project like this it is not of course possible to eliminate all criticisms about the choice of names, but every effort will be made to ensure proper standard according to the best judgement of the Editorial Advisory Board. For this purpose small advisory bodies will be set up in each region with local scholars as experts and their opinions will be sought while scrutinising the entries and preparing press copies. Even if it means delay by a few months, it will be worth it.

## **SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR\***

(Second half of the 19th century)

DR. D. K. GHOSE

(Burdwan University)

### **Introduction :**

An attempt to review the sources of Kashmir history during the latter half of the nineteenth century ought to be prefaced by an explanation of the method of periodisation followed in this article. If severely restricted to the fifty years of the second half, the history of Kashmir would inevitably suffer from a lack of unity. In other words, neither 1850 nor 1900 has any special significance in our history. Properly speaking, the modern history of Kashmir starts from 1846,—the year in which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was created as a result of a treaty—the treaty of Amritsar—concluded between the British-Indian Government and Gulab Singh of the Lahore Durbar. Though not a historical climacteric, 1905, rather than 1900, is likewise an important date, and in more than one sense at that. Gulab's grandson, Pratap Singh, who had earlier been superseded by a Council in the supposed interest of internal reforms, was partially restored to power as the ruler of the State in 1905. These reforms, designed to initiate a change both in the status and administration of Kashmir as a native state, were introduced at the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1885 and pushed through in the course of the next two decades. Ostensibly, the object was to transform Kashmir from a medieval into a modern state.

### **Nature of the source-material in general :**

There is no lack of original material for the construction of the history of Kashmir during the period under review. One may perhaps say it is legion. The most extensive source-material is in English, and as desired by the Director of the Institute, this paper deals with the English sources mainly. Source-materials in other languages have been referred to rather casually. In order of priority, Persian sources come next, as the materials in Urdu and Dogri are comparatively much less: indeed they are few and far between. The greater bulk of this huge material is of course in the shape of correspondence, but there also exists a large quantity of other types, such as Notes, Minutes and Memoranda, Diaries, Pamphlets, Speeches and Telegrams. Important Persian, Urdu, and Dogri materials, if journals be excepted, are histories written by contemporaries. At the beginning of the period, we have the sources mostly in the form of manuscripts, but with the lapse of time unpublished printed material becomes the vogue.

### **Classification :**

Sources of Kashmir history, whether in this country or in England, admit broadly speaking of a two-fold classification: first, unpublished original sources, which are the special preserve of British and Indian Record Offices; and secondly, original (but) published sources that lie scattered in different repositories. This

\* Paper read at the sixth annual conference of the Institute of Historical Studies held in Srinagar in October 1968. The author attended the conference as a delegate of the University of Burdwan, West Bengal.

is true of source-material not only in English, but also in Persian and other languages. From this, one may proceed to further classify the sources under a number of heads.

#### (A) Private Papers :

Of this category there are more than twenty in the British Record Offices and New Delhi Archives. It is not possible to give a whole list of these papers within the limited space of a seminar paper. In fine, all the Governors-General from Hardinge to Curzon had left their own collections. Some of these are small, some big ; especially the Lytton, Ripon, Dufferin, Lansdowne and Curzon Collections are extensive. Of the Secretaries of State, Lord Cross left a fine collection that enriches the India Office Library, now called the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, in London. It is noteworthy that of the papers of the Governors-General who ruled India during our period, all except the Hardinge Collection are available in the British Isles, some of them on microfilm. The originals of the Hardinge Papers are in the Library of McGill University in Montreal, Canada, but it is available to research scholars at the New Delhi Archives on microfilm. Of the other papers the following should be particularly mentioned :

*Ardagh Papers* : Correspondence and papers of Sir John Ardagh, Private Secretary to Lords Lansdowne and Elgin, 1888-94, The Public Record Office, London ;

*Henry Lawrence Papers* : Correspondence and papers of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, Resident at Lahore, 1847, and later Agent of the Governor-General and President of the Board of Administration of the Punjab, The Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London ;

*Lee-Warner Papers* : Papers of Sir William Lee-Warner, Indian Civil Service (1809-1895), Secretary in the Political and

Secret Department of the India Office (1895-1903), The Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London ;

and above all,

*Roberts Papers* : Correspondence and papers of Sir (afterwards Lord) Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of India, 1885-93, in the possession of the Army Museums Ogilby Trust, London.

(B) **Official Papers** : Official papers of different categories are being preserved in British and Indian Record Offices. I have had the opportunity of going through the files at the National Archives in New Delhi and the British Record Offices in London. Besides, there is very valuable material in the Kashmir State Archives in Srinagar. To dilate at length on every variety of material would be a tedious job. I shall therefore briefly name them here and later proceed to make a few personal observations.

Of the English records available in the British Isles, the greater bulk is in the Commonwealth Relations Office Library in London. Similar types of material are also there in the British Museum and Public Record Office in London, the Scottish Record Office at Edinburgh, and several other repositories.

#### Political and Secret Department Records :

Files of the Political and Secret Department which are preserved in the C.R.O. in London have been variously listed. When we were students, by far the most important of these records were a special group called the *Indian States Papers*. Confidential files on the Indian States, which were sent by the Government of India and were received in the Political and Secret Department between 1880 and 1902, were separated from others and treated as a special preserve. Research students were not permitted to consult them till 1960. There were various practical difficulties in obtaining these papers, but the author of the present

article was able, with the assistance of the officers of the C.R.O. Library, to consult all the relevant papers on Kashmir in 1961-62. Some time ago the Library authorities decided to put back these papers to their respective places in the original volumes (such as those of Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures from India), and I believe they are now far more easily available to research scholars. It requires little imagination to appreciate that these records are absolutely indispensable for any research in the modern history of Kashmir.

Other Political and/or Secret Department Papers bearing upon Kashmir and available at the India Office Library are :

- (a) Secret and Political Letters from Bengal and India, 1846-55, vols. 13-16 ;
- (b) Enclosures to Secret Letters received from India, 1846-60, vols. 103-75 ; continued as
- (c) Enclosures to Secret Letters from Madras and India, 1861-65, vol. 176 ;
- (d) Secret Letters and Enclosures from India and Madras, 1866-68, vols. 1-3 ; continued as
- (e) Secret Letters and Enclosures from India, 1869-74, vols. 4-19 ; continued as
- (f) Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures from India, 1875-95, vols. 1-83 ;
- (g) Collections to India Political Despatches, select vols. This series mostly contains important enclosures from the Government of India which were separated from the India letters, and formed the basis of replies by the Home Government to the Government of India. Presumably, they were preserved separately for quick reference and formulation of answers by the India Office.
- (h) Political and Secret Home Correspondence, 1885-95, vols. 69-162. These are mainly the correspondence between the I.O. and F.O. relative to Indian affairs. Necessarily, letters, notes and telegrams from the Government of India form the enclosures to such letters. Notes from the F.O. are also there. Important F.O.

papers, though not enclosed in this series, can be easily traced with the help of cross references to such papers in this series.

- (i) Political and Secret Demi-official Correspondence : First Series, vols. 1-7. These volumes contain d/o letters received in the Political and Secret Department with Minutes, Memoranda, Drafts and copies of letters sent. Second Series, vols. 1-4. These volumes contain copies of d/o letters sent out by the Political and Secret Department, and also copies of Minutes and Memoranda.
- (j) Political and Secret Memoranda, concerning Afghanistan, North-West and Northern frontiers (A Series) ; Central Asia (B Series) ; and Native States (D Series).
- (k) Political Letters to India, 1846-58, vols. 11-23.
- (l) Political Despatches to India, 1858-74, vols. 1-17.
- (m) Political and Secret Despatches to India, 1875-95, vols. 1-21. This series contains Minutes and Notes written at the India Office on letters received from the Government of India, and trace the preparation of despatches to India in their different stages including the final drafts which were eventually sent.
- (n) Political and Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1846-74, vols. 1-5.

#### Foreign Proceedings :

Next in importance to the Political and Secret Department papers are the Foreign Proceedings. As shown in the following classification, two varieties are of particular help to us.

- (a) India Political and Foreign Proceedings Select volumes of 1846 (Range 197), 1847 (Range 197-98), 1848 (Range 198), 1851 (Range 199), and 1852 (Range 200), continued as,

India Foreign Proceedings, divided into (i) Political, (ii) General, (iii) Frontier, (iv) External, and (v) Internal. Duplicate copies of these papers are also available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

- (b) Punjab Foreign Proceedings  
Some material from the B series may be found useful. This is possible where somewhat detailed summaries are given.

#### Foreign Office Papers :

These are at the Public Record Office in London, and may be utilised profitably with the help of cross-references obtained from Political and Secret Home Correspondence in the C.R.O. Particularly, F.O. 65 series would be extremely helpful to intending researchers.

#### War Office Records :

They effectively supplement the F.O. series. The following are useful for our purpose.

- W. O. 32/  
218. Mobilisation arrangements etc.  
263. N. W. Frontier etc.  
264. Afghan Defence etc.  
W. O. 33/  
46. N. W. Frontier Defence.  
49. Central Asia.

Similar other papers should be looked into.

#### National Archives of India :

Records available at the National Archives are the Foreign Department papers which have been variously described as Secret, Political, Frontier, General and Miscellaneous. These include Despatches, Minutes and Memoranda, Maps, Notes and Observations, and occasionally statistical data. Comments by the Departmental Officials, occasionally even of the Governor-General's, are also there. These are called keep-withs or K.Ws. Needless to say, these records are indispensable for research in the modern history of Kashmir.

Evidently, the official papers, just described,

constitute a huge mass. They provide the material for the main structure of Kashmir history during our period. The system of classification obtaining in the Indian Archives differs from that in the English Record Offices, but broadly speaking they are the same material, more or less. I may draw the attention of my audience to a special series in the National Archives of India, the Secret E series of the Foreign Department Proceedings, which were never sent to the Home Government except occasionally as enclosures to the Governor-General's despatches. These, like some of the papers mentioned above, would be essential for writing the history of Kashmir during our period.

#### Printed Published Sources :

Here again we have two broad categories as shown below. These materials are usually available in bound volumes, and may be consulted in Record Offices, big public libraries and some of the old Universities.

##### (A) Official :

Parliamentary Papers, Parliamentary Debates, India Government Records, Selections from the Punjab Government Records, Punjab Administration Reports, and other published sources of an official character, such as Treaties, Reports, Memoranda etc.

##### (B) Non-Official :

Pamphlets, Diaries, Travel Accounts etc. Contemporary histories written both in English and Persian also come under this category.

#### Newspapers and Periodicals :

These are yet another kind of printed material which should be considered very important for constructing the history of Kashmir during the period under review. They should therefore be looked into rather carefully. Of special value for our purpose are :

Amrita Bazar Patrika, Civil and Military Gazette, Englishman, Friend of India, Pioneer, Hindoo Patriot, and The Times, London.

Periodicals available in British and Indian libraries are likewise of immense importance. The following in the English language are specially recommended :

Asiatic Quarterly Review, Central Asian Review, Central Asiatic Journal, Journal of Asian Studies, and Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.

Of the periodicals in Indian languages I shall particularly refer to :

- (a) The Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir, Urdu weekly published from Lahore and edited by Pundit Hargopal Kaul Khasta during 1882-83. Critical of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's regime. Kharta was exiled by the Maharaja.
- (b) The Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore, Urdu weekly, established in 1881 by Pundit Mukand Ram Gurtu, and subsequently edited by his son Pundit Gopi Nath. Later on, it was converted into a daily. It stopped publication in the thirties of the present century.
- (c) The Kashmir Darpan, Allahabad. It was a bi-lingual monthly magazine in Urdu and Hindi, edited by Sir Tej Bahadur Sappu, 1898-1904.
- (d) The Hamdard-i-Hind, Lahore. An anti-Pratap journal edited by Pundit Sarab Dyal during 1894. It condemned Maharaja Pratap Singh and supported the rival party and the Council which superseded Pratap.

#### Extent and Dependability :

It is clear from the above discussion that source-material in English is by far the most extensive, particularly the official papers, both unpublished and published. Materials in Indian languages, whether here or in England,

are comparatively much less. In the absence of any other comparable bulk of source-material for our history we have to depend upon the official versions of it, notwithstanding that the lesser officials concerned with affairs in Kashmir, such as Agents and Residents, were oftener than not prejudiced against the local rulers and invariably suffered from a craze for power. Willynilly, their reports were often coloured by their personal bias and gave highly exaggerated accounts of events that occurred. Such material therefore has to be carefully compared with other sources for an objective history of Kashmir. For this purpose, i.e. checking official accounts, Private Papers and non-official published sources, as also Newspapers and Journals, all referred to above, would be extremely helpful.

#### Utilisation :

If source-materials for the modern history of Kashmir are many and varied, it is unfortunate that research works on the subject are practically negligible. Not that secondary works are not there ; on the contrary, there is quite a number of such accounts. But these are either contemporary histories, or travel accounts, or the like,—not indeed research publications. The only research works of merit on our period which have so far been published are two : K. M. Panikkar's *Gulab Singh or The Founding of the Kashmir State*, and J. G. Alder's *British India's Northern Frontier*, 1865-1895. The main authority on which Panikkar's life of Gulab Singh is based is the contemporary account entitled *Gulabnama*, written in Persian by Dewan Kirpa Ram, the Maharaja's Private Secretary. Though written in the flowery style of the Persian panegyrists, *Gulabnama* is nonetheless a remarkable historical document, as Kirpa Ram included in it many original records which were not available elsewhere. Panikkar also drew upon contemporary histories written by Englishmen who took part in the Punjab politics of the time. But if he had consulted the State Archives material in Srinagar, the value of his

work would have still further increased. Alder's book is based upon source-materials I have analysed above. It is a dependable work, but being on the northern frontiers it includes areas outside Kashmir. In other words, Kashmir history has been dealt with from 1865 to 1895 rather briefly. It covers only sixty pages,—approximately 1/6th of the entire volume.

Two other works, though in the nature of general summaries, are also somewhat based upon original source-materials. They are P.N.K. Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir*, and G.M.D. Sufi's *Kashir* in two volumes. Bamzai has enriched his work by utilising the Kashmir Government Records from the State Archives, while Sufi has considerably borrowed from Persian and Urdu manuscripts like *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* by Dewan Kirpa Ram and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Munshi Muhammad-ud-din Fauj, and also Administration, Census and Royal Commission Reports. These are commendable works, but still of the nature of general texts and therefore leave the scope for more intensive and critical studies. I shall crave the indulgence of my fellow delegates to refer to two London theses, still unpublished but very much on our period. The first by S. S. Bal of Chandigarh whose work bears upon the Punjab mainly includes occasional references to Kashmir as well. The second by the present speaker deals with Kashmir exclusively and covers more or less the period between 1846 and 1905. It is now awaiting publication under the title *Cashmere in Transition*, and some of it

has been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta.

#### **Problem of using the source-material :**

To conform to the pattern laid down by the Director of the Institute for the seminar papers, I shall conclude by briefly referring to the likely problems in handling the source-materials of Kashmir history. Frankly, there is none which may be considered insuperable or even difficult. Of course, when we were students Kashmir records were a forbidden fruit, and no one could pluck it. For reasons best known to the New Delhi Foreign Office, Kashmir records were closed to research workers about the year 1956. For more than ten years they were in that state, but in the last autumn they were again opened to readers and are now available without restrictions upto 1913. This, I hope, would facilitate intensive research in the modern period of the history of Kashmir, and before long we shall have useful publications in this important field of study. But an intending researcher, to be absolutely thorough, should learn the Persian, Urdu and Dogri languages. This is of course quite a job, but certainly worth attempting. Finally, a word of caution for the unwary. As already indicated, official records or official histories on Kashmir are not always above reproach. A critical scholar has therefore to be well on his guard, and whenever doubts occur he should check official accounts with other materials which indeed are available in plenty.

## **KASHMIR ARCHIVES**

FIDA MOHAMMAD HASSNAIN

(*State Archives, Srinagar*)

There are three Archival Repositories, at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar, which house records of the Government. The earliest document is dated 1724 A.D. but we do not have continued series upto 1847. It may be mentioned at the outset, that we do not possess any official records, except a few stray documents about the Mughals, the Afghans and the Sikhs who became our rulers after the fall of Yakub Shah Chak.

Most of these records are in the shape of files and of registers known as "Kitab Navisi Registers." They are in Persian, Urdu and English.

Whereas the British wanted to have a ring of buffer states around their much prized Indian dominion, they created the Jammu and Kashmir State by the sale of Kashmir to the Dogra Raja of Jammu by the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846. They also helped Gulab Singh in crushing the revolt of the Kashmiris. The creation of the Kashmir State is to be seen in the context of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia and the lengthening of the Russian shadow towards the north western frontiers of India. The Dogra rulers of Kashmir established their Records Repository at Jammu. These records went on gathering in volume and at present the majority of our records are housed in the State Archives Repository at Jammu.

The administration of Kashmir and Ladakh gave rise to the establishment of small departmental record rooms there as well as creation

of more and more records. The result had been, the eventual creation of separate Archival Repositories at Srinagar and Leh. Hence at present we have our records preserved in the three Repositories at Jammu, Srinagar and Leh. The records at Leh deal with the administration of the frontier illaqas, land revenue, trade with Central Asian Chiefships and Tibet and activities of the Moravian Mission and the British Joint Commissioners appointed to look after the British interests beyond the frontiers. The records at Srinagar are mostly provincial records. The records at Jammu are mainly records of the Chief Minister and his secretariat previously known as 'Daftar Diwani' and 'Saddar Daftar'. Besides these, Army Records and Political Department Records are also housed at Jammu. Settlement and Revenue records are housed in the Revenue and Settlement Record Rooms at Srinagar and Jammu and these are under the administrative control of the Revenue authorities.

Taken together we have preserved the following items of records and documents.

Individual documents in Turkish, Tibetan, Dogri, etc.

Persian records, 1724 to 1892.

Kitab Navisi Registers (Persian), 1847 to 1927.

Old (English) records, 1868 to 1921,

Private records of Maharaja Pratap Singh, 1835 to 1924.

State Department records (English), 1885 to 1924.

Vernacular records, 1889 to 1921.

Secretariat records, 1889 to 1965.

Council Proceedings, 1922 to 1926.

Military Records, 1922 to 1943.

His Highness orders, 1926 to 1943.

Council and Cabinet orders, 1943 to 1965.

Departmental Records, 1947 to 1965.

The State Archives Repositories at Jammu and Srinagar maintain two reference Libraries for use of administrators as well as research scholars. These Libraries house books on law, history, administration and other subjects. Besides these, all official reports and publications of the Government have also been collected. Reference books include all books published about Kashmir so far. Besides the above, the following are preserved for use of scholars.

1. Administration Reports, 1872 to 1965.
2. Jammu and Kashmir Gazette, 1889 to 1965.
3. Panjab Gazette, 1925 to 1934.
4. India Gazette, 1925 to 1955.
5. Census of India, 1891 to 1965.
6. Jammu and Kashmir Civil and Military Lists, 1893 to 1942.
7. Jammu and Kashmir Budgets, 1893 to 1967.
8. Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha Debates, 1934 to 1946.

The State Archives have organised a repository of maps at Srinagar. More than a thousand maps, handmade as well as printed, have been preserved in the Archives Repository at Srinagar. The Department has a manuscript library of

its own, which houses old and rare manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Kashmiri. These manuscripts deal with history, religion, literature and culture.

Persian records include some of the most rare and precious ones from the point of view of political and administrative history of the State. Regular series of Persian records pertaining to the Jammu and Kashmir start from 1847, but certain stray documents of the earlier period have found their way into the Kashmir archives. Some of these are:

(a) Pattas granted to Raja Drup Dev of Jammu and Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu by the Mughal Emperors, Mohamad Shah (1719-1748) and Shah Alam Sami (1760-1806).

(b) Patta regarding continuance of the payment of Zakat by Tibetan and Kashmiri traders and fixation of import of shawl wool by them. As is well known, Kashmir is famous for its shawls, and the finest shawls in the world are synonymous with the name of Kashmir. But it is curious that she has always imported the fleece derived from Asian species of mountain goats of Tibet and Central Asia. It was imported through the Treaty Road, which served as a means of commercial-cum-political penetration into Central Asia for the British. The appointment of various British Joint Commissioners for this road and the mission of Douglas Forsyth testify to the importance of this route.

(c) Treaty concluded with Lhasa by Wazir Hari Chand and Ratnu in 1842 is of special interest to scholars who are interested in the investigation of our national boundaries.

Persian records of post-1847 period are very important source material for the administration of the two Dogra Rulers, Gulab Singh

and Ranbir Singh (1816 to 1885). These throw abundant light on the creation of the Jammu and Kashmir State and subsequent suppression of the revolt of the Kashmiris. The British having sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar (1846), also helped him with military aid in occupying the territory and in suppressing the hilly chiefs of Uri, Muzaffarabad and Karnah.

Vernacular records and State Department records throw much light on the British policy in Kashmir. Ranbir Singh was encouraged by the British to subdue Baltistan, Gilgit and Chitral. Having subdued and brought under his sway the whole of Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit region, he tried to penetrate into Yarkhand. The British then came forward and put a stop to this policy. They wanted to post their own political agents in Srinagar, Gilgit and Leh. There is abundant material in our archives on the diplomacy of the British 'Forward School' on the north western frontiers. The British encouraged Ranbir Singh to spy on the Russians, for which the first Russian school was established at Srinagar and spies were sent into Russian territories.

The Private records of Pratap Singh show his miserable life due to the British intrigues in which his own brother Amar Singh was involved. The result was that the Maharaja was dethroned and the administration passed into the hands of the British Resident in Kashmir. It was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which came to the rescue of the Maharaja and its editor exposed the secrets of the British policy which led to the debate in the British Parliament and publication of the famous 'Condemned Unheard'.

Political records tell us about the administrative reforms introduced by the British Residents in Kashmir and works of public utility done by them. As Kashmir had acquired importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian strategy in Asia, the British constructed roads from Kohala to Srinagar and Srinagar to Gilgit

for military purposes. A British Agency was established at Gilgit.

The records about Gilgit and Chitral are very important. Gilgit became an important point in the defence of the British empire. It was from this place that affairs beyond the frontiers were investigated. It served the British in their venture to pressurise Afghanistan. It became a base for their expeditions to Chaprut and Chalt. The State assisted the British in their political missions to Central Asia by Col. Lockhart and Mortimer Durand, renowned for the Durand line. The above facts are borne out by numerous files in the State Archives.

Political records in the State Archives and C.I.D diaries are full of details about the history of Kashmiri freedom movement.

In order to encourage research, the Government has framed Historical Research Rules, by which all pre-1925 records have been thrown open to bona-fide research scholars. Besides this, search cases are being conducted and information is given to research institutions. In order to facilitate finding of documents, most of the records have been indexed upto 1950 and twenty-five Index Volumes are available for consultation. Up till now, only a few scholars have consulted these records. Some of the subjects on which researches have been conducted are:

Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-1857).

Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885).

British Policy towards Kashmir (1846-1921).

Constitutional Development in Kashmir (1857-1957).

Freedom Struggle in Kashmir. (1931 to 1947)

Development of Education in Kashmir.

With the establishment of the Post-graduate

department of History in the Kashmir University, more and more scholars are coming forward for consultation of records. Besides the Kashmir University, the Punjab University and the Delhi University have deputed their students for research to the Kashmir Archives. Still, I feel that there is vast scope for further research into the Kashmir archives. Very good work can be done on Ladakh and Baltistan. None has consulted or done any work on 'Kitab- nawisi' registers, which deal

with the day-to-day administration of Ranbir Singh (1857-1885).

It is gratifying to note that the Government is keen to reorganise the State Archives on the lines of the National Archives of India. What is particularly needed is the centralisation of all records repositories, which would remove the present difficulty of a scholar having to consult records in the three provincial repositories at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar.

## SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

(From Sultan Fatch Shah's reign, 1505 to the time of Amir Zaman Shah's fall in 1801)

PRINCIPAL M. SAIF-UD-DIN

(Sri Pratap College, Srinagar.)

Kashmir is perhaps the only part of India to possess a record of continuous and unbroken history from the very earliest period up to the present time. This excellent panorama of the valley, its traditions and fables, rise and fall of various kingdoms, the victories and defeats of the people and the cultural attainments have been very elaborately noted down by the sons of the soil.

The sources of the period can be discussed under four heads, namely:—

- (i) Contemporary literature.
- (ii) Archaeological evidence
- (iii) Accounts of foreign travellers and historians.
- (iv) Historical literature composed in recent times.

### (i) Contemporary Literature:

It was in 1587 that Akbar was able to conquer the valley and annex it with his vast empire in India. It was only after a strenuous and determined fight that the Mughals with their superior numbers and unlimited resources were able to plant their banner on the palace at Gojwara. The people of Kashmir, one and all, irrespective of caste or creed, fought the rising tide of the Mughal imperialism in the valley. The resistance offered by the Kashmiris

and the sacrifices made for preserving the freedom of the valley form a brilliant chapter in the annals of our State. Recently Prof. G. M. Hajini of S. P. College and myself wrote two detailed discourses describing the 52 years heroic resistance of Kashmiris against the Mughals and the same were published in the special issues of the *Pratap*, Magazine of S. P. College, Srinagar.

(a) The first important source of our information is the work of Pt. Shukka who has narrated the main events of Kashmir from 1512 to 1596. He has called his book as *Raj Tarangi*. Although the book had been composed in the second half of the 16th century yet its language and style is much inferior to the classical work of Kalhan. Shukka has described the arrival of emperor Akbar to Srinagar and how he was taken in a huge boat procession in the river Vitasta known now as Jhelum. Akbar entertained 80,000 citizens of Srinagar at Id-Gah Grounds to celebrate his victory in Kashmir. He ordered the construction of a massive wall around Hari-Parbat so that people could find employment and at the same time provide a protecting wall to Mughal troops against the attack of the local patriots.

(b) Earlier to Shukka's writing the important work *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haider Daulghat cannot be ignored. Mirza Haider was a cousin of Babar, the founder of Mughal dynasty in our country, who completed his chronicle within 17 years of Babar's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man and, in the latter parts, of a

contemporary intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the commentaries of Babar, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other and do honour to their age."

(c) Mirza Haider came to Kashmir when Shah Miri ruler, Fatch Shah, was the Sultan of Kashmir. Mirza Haider tried to make the State a part of Mughal Kingdom which was becoming extinct in India at that time on account of the rise of Sher-Shah Suri. Mirza interfered in local politics and was able to make Nazuk Shah a puppet in his hands. He had to pay dearly for it and he was killed by the patriotic Kashmiris along with his family at the battle of Wathur. His work discusses some important events at the time of the decline of Chak dynasty in Kashmir. Mirza Haider is perhaps the only invader of Kashmir who attacked the valley from its Northern pass of Sonamarg.

(d) *Baharistan-i-Shahi*: The book had been written in 1614 and is one of the most authentic history of Kashmir but unluckily its author is not yet known. It is one of the excellent books on the early history of Kashmir especially the Chak period. Recently an article about the book has been written which has been published in *Siraza*, an Urdu journal of J & K Cultural Academy.

(e) *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazal: The whole book is invaluable for the account of Akbar's reign and administrative system. It was first published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in three volumes. It is too famous a book to need any comment.

(f) *Akbar Nama* by Abul Fazal: Contains an excellent chapter on Kashmir, its earlier history, its religious places, and describes local fairs and festivals. The book is treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of rival books by Nizam-ud-Din and Badayuni and it brings the history on to a later date than they do.

(g) There are other important books composed during these times which throw a flood of light on the history of Kashmir. As these books are known all over the world I will only mention a few of them without my comments. Some of these books are: *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* of Badayuni; *Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizam-ud-Din; *Tarikh-i-Ferista* of Mohammad Qasim Ferishta; *Tuzki-Jahangiri* by Emperor Jahangir; *Wakaya-i-Azad Beg*; *Tatimma-i-Wakiat-i-Jahangir* by Mohammad Hadi; *Badshah Nama* of Kazwani; *Badshah Nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori; *Shah Jahan Nama* by Inayat Khan; *Alamgir Nama* of Mirza Mohd. Khan; *Masir-i-Alamgiri* of Mohd. Shah Mustaid Khan; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Mahmud Shaheen* of Mohd. Hasham Khafi Khan, etc. There are innumerable books written by foreigners during this period. These have been written from time to time by Portuguese and Dutch Missionaries, and English, French and German travellers who visited India during the Mughal period. Their works are published and translated in different languages.

(h) *Wakat-i-Kashmiri* by Mohammad Azam Dedimari (died 1765): In addition to political history the author has collected a good deal of information on the saints and poets of Kashmir. Numerous later works such as *Tazkarah-i-Ul-Hind*, *Hadaigul-Hanfia* and *Twarikh-i-Gouher-i-Alam*, etc. etc. derived material from Dedimari's work. It was published in 1886 in Lahore and its translation into Urdu by Munshi Ashraf Ali was published in Delhi in 1846.

(i) *Tarikh Kashmir* of Rais-ul-Mulk Malic Haider Chadura who accompanied Kashmir's last ruler Yousuf Shah Chak in exile. He became a grandee of the Mughal empire. The history is written in two parts, the first deals with the history of Kashmir and the second deal with the contemporary rulers of Khurasan and Turan. The Research Department of Kashmir has obtained a copy of it from a manuscript in England and is still unpublished. Its last recorded date falls in 1619.

(j) *Tarikh-i-Shahnama*: Under Dewan Sukhje

wan's (died 1765) Governorship of Kashmir a committee of seven eminent Persian scholars namely Sami, Naveed, Rajeh, Muteen, Taufique, Hassan and Shaique was commissioned to prepare a Compendium of Kashmir History but the Governor was murdered before the work could be completed. Only some fragments are available at present, e.g. Shaique's touching biographies of local Saints and Taufique's Chak period of History. Shaique's incomplete work in manuscript form is in the Research Department.

(k) *Labu-Tawarikh*, by Bahu-Din: It begins from ancient times and covers the history of Kashmir up to 1828. Its first part deals with Kashmir geography, the second describes the political history, and the third describes the Saints and Sufies of Kashmir. The microfilm copies of the first two parts have been obtained by the Research Department from England. The third part is missing so far.

(l) *Bagi-Sulaiman* by Mir Saadullah Shahabadi written in Persian verse carries our history up to the time of Afghan Governor Juma Khan (1787 to 1793). Its material on kings, ministers and saints is mostly derived from Dedimari's history. It is still unpublished and the manuscript is in the Research Department.

(m) *Tarikh-i-Moulvi Hidayat Ullah*: It is in fact a supplement to Dedimari and completes the chronicle up to Afghan Governor Juma Khan's rule. The author died in 1206 Hijri and the book has not been traced so far.

(n) *Nizam-ul-Waqia* by Nizam-ud-Din: It traces Kashmir history upto Dewan Kripa Ram's time who was Governor of Kashmir during Sikh Rule from 1827 to 1831. The author died in 1240 Hijri and there is only one copy of this history in the personal library of Mufti-i-Azam of Kashmir.

(o) *Tarikh-i-Hadi*, referred to by Peer Hassan Khuyhami and *Tahkikat-i-Amiri* written by Amir-ud-Din Pakhliwal (died 1865) are not traceable anywhere.

(p) *Wajeez-u-Tawarikh*—written by Mulla Abdul Nabi is an extremely concise book on the history of Kashmir and comes up to the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The manuscript of this book is in the J & K Research Department.

(q) *Gulzari-Kashmir* by Dewan Kripa Ram—It was written on the directive of Mr. Roberts, the then Judicial Commissioner of Punjab. It was published in 1871 and its style is akin to *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal. Its first published copy is in the S. P. Library, Srinagar. It deals with a variety of subjects such as Arts and Crafts, Products and Manufacture of Kashmir besides Political History.

(r) *Muntakhab-ul Tawarikh*—by Pt. Narayan Kaul Ajiz. It was written by the author on the initiative of Arif Khan, Mughal Governor of Kashmir from 1710 to 1711. Arif Khan had collected a number of manuscripts dealing with the earlier history of Kashmir and he offered them to "Ajiz" for coordinating and for writing a new history. Ajiz compared these histories with the history of Malik Chadura and thereby the book has lost much of its value. Its microfilm copy has been obtained by the Research Department from England.

(s) *Majmua-i-Tawarikh*, by Pt. Birbal Kachroo, in Persian, records the history of Kashmir from the earliest times up to 1835. It is an authentic work on Sikh Rule and the manuscript is in the Research Department Library at Srinagar.

(t) *Guldastai Kashmir*, in Urdu, has been written by Pt. Hargopal Kaul Khasta and published in 1883 in Lahore. The book has been written by the author mainly from the Hindu point of view and is therefore not very much dependable. Similar is the case with another work *Nigaristan-i-Kashmir* written by Qazi Zahoor-ul-Hassan Nazim in Urdu and published in Delhi in 1934. This book has been written from the Muslim point of view and it is also not a trustworthy book.

(u) *Tawarik-i-Hassan*, written by Peer Hasan Shah Khuhilhami in four volumes, is one of the finest and exhaustive accounts covering almost the entire gamut of our history from the first Kashmiri King Gonanda I to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Its Persian text has been published by the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir and the Urdu translation of one of its volumes dealing with political history has been done by Moulvi Ibrahim and published by Noor Mohammadi Press of Srinagar in 1961.

(v) *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, by Muhsin Fani, written perhaps in 1648, deals with various religions of the world. The book has been translated into many languages.

(w) There are numerous other works which though not exclusively dealing with the political history of Kashmir have a lot to say about Kashmir during the period under reference. *Asrar-ul-Abrar* by Hazrat Baba Daud Khaki (biography of Saints especially of Reshi order compiled in 1655). Two copies of the book are in the Library of J & K Research Department.

(i) *Fatuh-i-Kubriya* by Abdul Wahab Noori (died 1182 Hijri) describes biographies of Kashmir and Iranian Saints of Kubriya Order.

(ii) *Khawarik-u-Saalkeen*—written by Ahmad-Bini-Sabur in 1101 Hijri deals exclusively with saints of Kashmir.

(iii) *Khumsa-i-Bahaudin*—written by Bahaudin (died in 1248 Hijri) deals with five mystic orders. (Qadiri, Naqashbandi, Chisti, Suhrawardi and Reshi). These books throw a flood of light on the spiritual life of Kashmir. Manuscripts of (ii) and (iii) are in the Research Library.

(iv) *Panj Masnavi*—these are five Persian books on the natural beauty of Kashmir written by five Kashmiri authors named (1) Salim—died 1647, (2) Kalim—died 1652, (3) Mir Illahi—died 1653, (4) Ahsan—died 1663, (5) Khisali Harvi—date of death not known.

(x) *Akbar Nama*, by Hamidullah Islamabadi and its versified translation by Walab Parrey of Hajan in Kashmiri, remained proscribed during British Rule. It is one of the finest epics written by two Kashmiris in two languages (Persian and Kashmiri) depicting the defeat of the British and Sikh forces at the hands of the Afghans. Both the books have local touches pertaining to the Afghan period in the History of Kashmir.

(y) *Khulasat-ul-Tarikh*—by Mirza Saif-ud-Din. It is still unpublished and perhaps its one manuscript copy is with Mirza Kamal-ud-Din, ex-President, Municipality, Srinagar. Another copy is in the British Museum. Its Urdu translation is completed by Mirza Kamal-ud-Din this year.

(z) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*—written by Anand Ram Pahlwan in Persian—describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest period up to the beginning of Dogra rule in Kashmir.

#### (ii) Archaeological Evidence:

This source can be further divided into monumental (relating to buildings and monuments), epigraphic (relating to inscriptions) and numismatic (relating to coins) evidence.

There are a number of books which deal with the Mughal monuments, inscriptions as also the coins found in India and it would be simply useless to discuss them here as they are known the world over. I shall briefly refer to some of the books which have been written in Kashmir.

1. *Archaeological Remains in J & K State* written by Pt. Anand Kaul who was perhaps the first President of Srinagar Municipal Committee. The book has been published in a concise form but still discusses some of the monuments in a very lucid way.

2. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*—written by Pt. Ram Chandra Kak, ex-Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is an up-to-date,

lavishly illustrated and systematic treatise on the subject. It is very useful to the scholars who are interested in the wonderful architectural monuments of Kashmir.

3. *The Gardens of the Great Mughals*—written by Mrs. Villiers Stuart in 1913 and published in London. It is a fascinating and well illustrated treatise on a highly interesting subject. The book deals not only with the gardens built by the Great Mughals at Agra, Delhi and Lahore but also with those in Kashmir.

#### (iii). Accounts of Foreign Travellers & Historians:

1. "The first Europeans to visit Kashmir were Father Jerome Xavier, a Navarese of high birth, and Benoist De Gois who appeared at the court of Akbar and accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir. Their short sketches of Kashmir and its people were published in Antwerp in 1605" (Bamzai, *History of Kashmir*).

2. Francis Bernier wrote *Travels in India* in 1672. This book contains a number of letters concerning his journey to Kashmir along with Aurangzeb in 1665. Though Bernier's account is now centuries old, the book is still justly regarded as a classic amongst works relating to Kashmir. His portrayal of the habits and life of Kashmiris appears as real now as it was then. Bernier's is the only standard work on Kashmir of those issued before the 19th century and it is not only the best account we have of the visit of Mughal Emperor but also of the conditions of Kashmir in the latter half of the 17th century.

3. *Forster's Letters; a journey from Bengal to St. Petersburg*: This book offers a vivid account of the state of tyranny that prevailed in Kashmir during the Afghan time.

4. *Letters from India by Jacquemont, Victor* (published in London): Jacquemont's book is justly regarded a classic on the countries he visited such as India, Tibet and also Kashmir. It is a very interesting and informative book.

5. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces* by W. Moorecraft, published in London: Moorecraft visited Kashmir round about 1825. He has given us a general description of Kashmir and has narrated the political and economic set up prevailing in Kashmir then.

6. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Askardoo* by G. T. Vigne (Lond.): It is one of the most standard and important works on Kashmir.

7. *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* by Carl A. A. Hugel (Lond.): Hugel's book is also informative and interesting.

8. *35 years in the East* by F. M. Honiberger (London): This book also discusses Kashmir and is very important.

9. *Travel in India and Kashmir* by B. E. Schonberg (London): The Kashmir portion is slight as compared with the rest of the book but it is eminently readable.

10. *Jammu and Kashmir Territories* by Frederick Drew (London): A systematic work on the geography, topography, ethnology and languages of Jammu and Kashmir.

11. *Valley of Kashmir* by Walter Lawrence (London): It is an important work and also a comprehensive one. It is an authentic and illuminating record of the physical features of the valley, its flora and fauna, language, history, social customs and occupations of the people.

#### (IV.) Historical Literature Composed in Recent Times

Hundreds of books have recently been published in India and outside about the history of Kashmir. As the list of books is a very large one I will discuss only some of the very important works.

1. *Kashmir Past and Present* by Pt. Gwash Lal: It is a useful handy sketch and describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to present.

2. *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband: One of the best books of modern Kashmir written by the then British Resident in Kashmir. The practical information in the earlier chapters is now out of date, but the main text and the pictures make it a splendid work which merits careful perusal.

3. *Kashmir* by Dr. G.M. D. Sofi (2 Vols.) published in 1949: It is a comprehensive and voluminous record of the achievement of Kashmiris in all respects after the advent of Islam into the Valley.

4. *Twarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mohd Din Fauk, published at Lahore in Urdu: It is a good book on the geography, history and folk-lore of the valley.

5. *History of Freedom Movement in Kashmir* by P. N. Bazaz: It is also an exhaustive book on the history and culture of the people of the valley. It mainly discusses the struggle of the people of the valley against vested interests and such other elements.

6. *Inside Kashmir* by Prem Nath Bazaz: An informative work on the modern history of Kashmir and on the present educational, economic and political conditions.

7. *A History of Kashmir* by P. N. Kaul Bamzai: The book has been published recently (in 1962) and is a voluminous one.

It is an excellent book on the political, social and cultural history of Kashmir from the earliest time to the present age. Apart from the story of kings and rulers, it gives some account of the social, economic and cultural elements. It brings out a peculiar feature of Kashmiris and how their synthetic culture took shape.

8. *Kashmir under the Sultans* by Prof. Mohibul Hasan: It is a detailed book on the medieval history of Kashmir and discusses at length the rule of Shah Miri Sultans of Kashmir who ruled Kashmir from 1339 up to 1560. The Chak rulers have also been discussed by the author.

9. *Jammu and Kashmir State* by Pt. Anand Kaul: It is a short and a sketchy book on Kashmir describing mainly the political history of the state.

10. *History of India as told by its own Historians* by Elliot & Dawson, vol. 5 and 6: These volumes provide some material on the history of Kashmir which can prove helpful to a scholar who is interested in the history of Kashmir.

11. Information on the history of Kashmir from 1600 AD to 1800 AD can also be got from the Cambridge History of India edited by Sir Wolsley Haig and also from the relevant Imperial Gazetteer of India.

## MANUSCRIPTS SOURCE MATERIAL OF KASHMIR HISTORY OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD IN THE RESEARCH & PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT, JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

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The Mughal rule in Kashmir was established about the close of the 16th century A.D. No doubt this beautiful country had attracted the attention of the Mughals much earlier, but it was Akbar who annexed the valley through his two able commanders, Syed Mohammed Yusuf Rizvi and Qasim Khan Mir Bahri whose name is still alive in Kashmir in the shape of 'Mir Bahri'—a vast area in the Dal Lake. From that period onward the Mughal rule in Kashmir began. The exact year of Akbar's annexation of Kashmir, according to the chroniclers, is A.H. 994, corresponding with 1586 A.D. Faizi, the court poet of Akbar and elder brother of Shaikh Abul Fazal Allami, has celebrated this victory of Akbar in Kashmir by his famous *Kasida*, which is given in full in the *Akbarnama* or the Book of Akbar.

No doubt forty years earlier Kashmir was conquered by Mirza Haider Daughlat, the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, but it was entirely a passing phase. It, however, paved the way for other incursions into Kashmir, the most lasting and permanent of which was the establishment of Mughal rule in the country. It lasted for about 200 years. We are fortunate enough to have a complete record of Kashmir history during this period.

The first and foremost Ms. in this regard is *Muntukhabal-Tawarikh* by Hassan Beg Khaki Shirazi. The most part of his life was spent in Kashmir, but he died at Patna in A. H. 1051. According to Dr. Sufi the book was written in

A. H. 1019 in the reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir. This is a very important work relating to the Chaks and the early Mughal rulers of Kashmir. Besides one copy in the collection of M. Bhubar, C/o Aryana, Ibn Sina Street, Kabul, a defective copy is preserved in the Mss. Section of the Research and Publication Department, J. & K. Govt., Srinagar, Kashmir.

Another source material of Kashmir history for the above period is *Tarikh-i-Sayyid Ali*. This is also preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. The book is very highly spoken of by Pir Ghulam Hasan Khoihami, the author of the celebrated *Tarikh-i-Hassan* in four volumes. According to Dr. Sufi, one copy of the same was in possession of Late Mufti Mohammad Shah Sa'lat of Nowhatta, Srinagar.

*Baharistan-i-Shahi* is another source of Kashmir's history during the Mughal period. The work is by an anonymous hand and comes down to A. H. 1023 (A. D. 1614). It begins without any introduction, but is very important for both the Mughal and the pre-Mughal period of Kashmir history. A transcription of the same from the microfilm copy acquired from India Office, London, is preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

*Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Malik Haider is another important source material. The Ms. preserved in the Research Department contains the

history of Kashmir only and goes up to A. H. 1030=A.D. 1621 or in other words up to the 12th year of Jahangir's reign.

*Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Kaul 'Aziz is another history of importance. It was composed in A. H. 1122 or A. D. 1720. Some copies complete and incomplete of the same are preserved in the MSS. section of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar Kashmir. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Kaul 'Aziz is highly spoken of by Rue in his Catalogue of the Persian MSS.

*Waki'at-i-Kashmir* is another source of Kashmir history for the aforesaid period by Khwaja Muhammad 'Azam Didamarri. The work was begun in A. H. 1148 (A. D. 1735) and completed in A. H. 1160 (A. D. 1747), and dedicated to the Emperor Muhammad Shah. The chief object of the compiler was to supply especially biographical notes and extracts from the writings of principal Shaikhs and 'Ulemas and poets of Kashmir, which were entirely wanting in works previously written on Kashmir, and being more or less translations from the old Hindu work, *Rajatarangini*.

*Bagh-i-Sulaiman* is another source of Kashmir history for the period. It is a versified history of Kashmir, from the earliest times down to A. H. 1202=A.D. 1788. The work is very authentic for the later Mughals of Kashmir as it was composed in Juma Khan's reign, the Afghan Subedar of Kashmir. The author of the work is Mir Sadulla of Shahabad. Besides the political history of Kashmir, the work is an authentic record of Kashmir's saints and their sayings. Four defective copies of the same are preserved in the MSS. Library of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

*Majmu'-al Tawarikh* by Birbal Kacheroo is another source of later Mughal history in Kashmir. It was compiled in A. H. 1262=A.D. 1846, and is carried from the earliest times to the end of the last ruler of the Punjab

Sikhs in Kashmir. Various MSS. of the work are preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir. Besides the political history of Kashmir, it is an ample record of Kashmir Springs sacred to the Brahmins of this country.

*Khulasat-al-Tawarikh* by Mirza Saif-ud-Din is another source of Kashmir history for the Mughal period. It was compiled in 1862 and is authentic like the above three works. One copy of the work is preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.

*Wajiz-al-Tawarikh* is another work of note, and is a great source for later Mughal period in Kashmir. It was composed in A. H. 1274=A.D. 1857 by Mulla Abdul Nabi. Another work, though written at the close of 19th century A.D., *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Khalil Mirjanpuri, deserves mention. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* in four volumes and *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, may also be considered as source material of Kashmir History during the Mughal period.

We cannot ignore as source material for Kashmir's history during the Mughal period the following works which were written by non-Kashmiris and whose Mss. are preserved in the Research & Publication Department, Srinagar. These are *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Haider Doughlat. This work, although a special history of Jatah and Kashgher, is also a brief account of Kashmir. During the last stage of the work, the author was in Kashmir. A copy is preserved in the MSS. Section of the Research & Publication Department, Srinagar. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is the detailed memoirs of the author himself, which form the longest and the most important part of the work. The second Daftar of the work begins with Mirza Haider's birth and goes down to the 8th Rabi' A. H. 948 (A.D. 1541), that is to the battle by which Mirza Haider became ruler of Kashmir.

*Tarikh-i-Ferishta* and *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, respectively by Mohd. Qasim Ferishta and Munshi Sujjan Rai of Batala are also important source

material of Kashmir History during the Mughal period. Various excellent Mss. of these two works are preserved in the MSS Library of the Research and Publication Dept., Srinagar.

Besides these historical works, there are other sources of Kashmir's history in the Mughal period. These are *Tubfat-ul-Fakra* by Mulla Mohd. Murad Teng, *Khawariq-al-Salikeen*, *Tazkirah* of Mulla 'Ali Raina, *Fathal-i-Kubrawiyyah*, *Khamsa* of Mulla Baba-ul-Din Matto, and *Tazkerab Hadrat-i-Qadiriyya*. Although the works are of a biographical nature, they throw

a good deal of light on the social and economic conditions of Kashmir. The Mss. of all these works are preserved in the Research Dept.

Finally may be noted the great number of *Mothnawis* and long poems produced in Kashmir. These also throw much light on the Kashmir history during the Mughal period. Among these poems we can refer to the *Haftmoth-nawis* by seven poets who flourished in Kashmir in Mughal time. Although these poems contain mostly descriptions of the beautiful spots of Kashmir, there is much to interest the historians as well.

## SHARADA INSCRIPTIONS IN KASHMIR

### A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY

DR. B. K. DEAMBI

In the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D., we find in the Brahmi alphabet of North Western India a distinct development of a new alphabet which though agreeing in many respects with that used in the epigraphic and literary records of the 6th and the 7th centuries including the famous Gilgit Manuscripts, shows several essential differences in the forms of several characters. This alphabet is known as the Sharada alphabet. Though an alphabet of Kashmir par excellence, the Sharada has remained for several centuries a popular script of an extensive area of North Western India including Gandhara or the north western part of West Pakistan, Ladakh, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Panjab and Haryana. Nothing is known for certain with regard to the origin of the name of the alphabet, but this much is certain that it must have originated in Kashmir which from earliest times has been the principal seat of Sharada or the goddess of learning and has been named after her as Sharada-mandala or Sharada-Pitha.

The earliest known record in which the Sharada characters appear for the first time is a stone slab inscription discovered at the village Hund in the Attock district of West Pakistan. It is dated in Sam 168 which according to Shri D. R. Sahni refers to the Harsha era and corresponds to A.D. 774. On the basis of this inscription, the earliest use of the Sharada alphabet may be dated about c. 750 A.D. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and Panjab up to the 13th century A.D. when it was replaced by its descendant the Devashsha which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurmukhi and Takari. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is

confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Sharada alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Sharada epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. In all 98 inscriptions have been discovered so far, 12 in North Western Pakistan, 35 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 36 in Chamba, 2 in Kangra and 1 in Haryana.

On the basis of the Sharada characters used in these records, three successive stages of development of the Sharada alphabet can easily be discerned. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and the coins of 8th to 10th centuries, the 2nd by those of the 11-14th centuries and the third and the final by the epigraphic and the literary records of the 14th and the subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Sharada alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the latter half of the 8th century A.D., its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known until the 12th century A.D., when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakhshali in Peshawar district of West Pakistan. The manuscript which contains an important work on Mathematics bears no date but on palaeographic grounds it can be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

We may now make a brief mention of some important Sharada records of Kashmir and see what light they throw on the contemporary political and social conditions.

The two earliest Sharada epigraphic records discovered in Kashmir so far belong to the reign of Queen Didda. One of them is incised on the base of an image of the Bodhisatva Padmapani, preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, and the other is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Srinagar and now lying in the Lahore Museum. The former, which is dated in the year 65 in the reign of Queen Didda, records the consecration of a religious gift consisting of the image itself by the son of Rajanaka Bhima and the latter dated in the year 68 mentions a certain individual Dharmanka who gladdened his mother by charitable diggings (probably of wells, tanks etc.) and dedicated some charitable work, the nature of which is not traceable in the record, the text being lost at this place, to perpetuate her memory. The dates of the inscriptions probably refer to the Laukika era and correspond respectively to A.D. 989 and A.D. 992. Both these dates fall well within the reign of Queen Didda and thus attest to the correctness of Kalhana's chronology.

The point of some historical importance in the two records is the mention of Queen Didda with the masculine epithets of *deva* and *rajan*. These epithets for the Queen sound rather queer but they would show how she was looked upon by people of her times, more as a powerful king than as mere queen, apparently because of her energy, political acumen and essentially masculine traits of character which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness for more than half a century in very troubled times.

The two inscriptions, further, present a glaring picture of the religious tolerance as practised in ancient Kashmir. While the one which contains an invocation of Lord Vishnu in the beginning attests to the flourishing state of Vaisnavism in the Valley in the 10th century, the other furnishes evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the Valley about the same time. The predominant Brahmanic faith, however, appears to have exercised great influence on the contemporary Buddhist religion.

An evidence to this effect is furnished by the image of the Bodhisatva Padmapani referred to above which represents the Bodhisatva as wearing a sacred thread in the fashion of the Brahmans.

### Anantadeva—The Dacchan Stone Inscription

Our next inscription in date belongs to the reign of Anantadeva. It is incised on a big hard-grained granite boulder which was discovered by R. C. Kak at Decchan near Kishtwar. It is dated in the year 12 in the reign of Sri Nantadeva. This king appears to be identical with the king Ananta who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063. The year 12, presumably of the Laukika era, corresponds to A.D. 1036 which well falls within the reign of the king. The inscription does not provide any details about the king except the bare mention of his name. The find spot of the inscription would, however, show that Kishtwar lay within his empire. This seems all the more likely since Ananta's conquest of Chamba and Vallapura as recounted by Kalhana could not have been effected without the previous possession of Kishtwar which lay on the direct route to it.

This brief record is specially important as it furnishes evidence of the common man's active participation in the works of public utility even in the remote corners of ancient Kashmir. We learn that an individual named Mahimagupta constructed a bridge for the good of the people obviously at Decchan where the inscribed stone was found. The official who designed the bridge bore the designation *Karmapati*. The *Karmapati* is probably the same as Navakarmapati commonly met with in the inscriptions, and signifying an officer in charge of new constructions. In our case, he was probably an overseer or mistri to whom the execution of the construction of the bridge was entrusted.

### Jayasinha—S.P.S. Museum Inscriptions and the Arigom Stone Inscription

Our next inscription from Kashmir belongs

to the reign of king Jayasinha. It is preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar and is dated in the year 25 which referred to the Laukika era and corresponds to A.D. 1149. The epigraph records the re-consecration of something not recorded in the inscription but probably of some image or religious institution, by the son of a certain Bhattachagovind.

Except the bare mention of the name of Jayasinha, the inscription does not furnish any information of historical importance about him. He, however, seems to be identical with the king Simha mentioned in our next important inscription viz. the Arigom stone slab inscription of the (Laukika) year 73 corresponding to A.D. 1197 which contains an interesting information of the latter's having burnt a wooden shrine constructed by a certain Ramadeva to house an image of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara near Gangesvara temple. The identification seems all the more plausible since the burning of Arigom (ancient Hadigrama) in Jayasinha's reign is also referred to by Kalhana who attributes the burning of the town to Jayasinha's powerful minister Sujji. It would seem that the shrine was burnt along with the village itself.

For the history of religion in Kashmir, the Arigom inscription, now lying in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, is particularly important, as it furnishes evidence of the continued flourishing state of Buddhism in the valley even as late as the end of the 12th century. From this inscription as also from that of the reign of Queen Didda discussed above and of the reign of Rajadeva to be discussed below, we learn that the Mahayana school of Buddhism, which first introduced the concept of Bodhisatva in the Buddhist faith, had great following in the valley in the 10th and the subsequent centuries and the worship of the Bodhisatvas was prevalent. This is particularly significant since Kashmir had remained for long a great stronghold of the Sarvastivadins and the Vailhasikas.

Again, this well preserved epigraph from

Arigom contains an interesting information about the nature of the building material used in the valley in the 12th century. We learn that both wood and burnt bricks were used for architectural purposes, for, it is stated in the inscription that a certain Ramadeva constructed a shrine of burnt bricks in place of the wooden one which was burnt by king Simha i.e. Jayasinha.

#### **Paramanda-Deva—Tapar Stone Inscription**

Our next inscription incised on a huge stone lintel discovered from Tapar, ancient Pratapapura, and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, records the consecration of something not recorded in the inscription but probably of an image of a temple of which the huge inscribed lintel formed a part by a certain Gaga, son of Jagaraja in the year 33, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Asadha in the reign of Paramandadeva.

The mention of Paramandadeva as the ruling prince is of interest as a king of this name does not figure in the known list of the Kashmir rulers. The identification of Paramandadeva, as such, presents some difficulty. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigom stone slab inscription of 1197 A.D. referred to above, we may assign the inscription to the 12th century A.D. and refer the year 33 to the Laukika era, corresponding to A.D. 1157. According to Jonaraja, the king ruling at this time in Kashmir was Paramanuka, the son and successor of Jayasinha. It seems that Paramandadeva of our inscription is the same as Paramanuka of Jonaraja. Kalhana mentions Paramandi as a son of Jayasinha and it would seem that Paramandi, Paramandadeva and Paramanuka signify the same person.

#### **Rajadeva—The Bijbehara Stone Inscription**

A brief record belonging to the reign of king Rajadeva was discovered by John Marshall from the house of a Brahmin at Bijbehara during

his tour of the Valley in 1908-9. This epigraph merely mentions the name of Rajadeva as the ruling prince but does not tell anything of his reign. A brief account of his reign is, however, given by Jonaraja who describes him as the son and successor of Jagadeva and who ruled Kashmir from Laukika (42) 89 or A.D. 1213 to Laukika (43) 49 or A.D. 1236.

The inscription is dated in the year 58, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaisakha. The year 58, if, as usual referred to the Laukika era, corresponds to A.D. 1284 which, however, does not fall within the reign of Rajadeva. Marshall suggests that the date of the inscription should be referred to the Saka era which was also sometimes used in Kashmir. The date of the inscription would in this case correspond to Laukika (43) 12 Vaisakha S'5, ti. 7 which precedes the date of Rajadeva's death viz. Laukika (43) 12 Sra. Su Ti 11 as given by Jonaraja, by three months and four days.

This brief epigraph which is now lying in a private house in Srinagar records the consecration of Lokeshvara bhattaraka-mandalakam by Acarya Kamalasriya. The exact meaning of Lokeshvara bhattaraka mandalakam is doubtful. According to Vogel it may be the Tantric designation of a particular magical circle. The inscription is incised on a well polished square slab with a round disc at the top. It seems that this round disc is the mandalaka of the inscription. The term bhattaraka means a lord and Lokeshvara is the alternative form of Avalokitesvara, the name of famous Bodhisatva. The entire expression would thus mean the mandalaka consecrated in honour of lord Avalokitesvara. It would seem that mandalaka was a cult object used for the worship of Bodhisatvas and that it was the practice among the Buddhists of Kashmir to consecrate the same with the aim of earning spiritual merit.

#### **Shahab-U-Din—The Kotiher Inscription**

Our next important but unfortunately badly

damaged inscription was discovered from a well at Kotiher, ancient Kaptesvara, in the Anantnag district and is now lying in the Srinagar museum. It is incised on an oblong stone slab, the right hand lower corner of which is broken leading to the loss of a good portion of the inscription. The epigraph begins with an invocation of Lord Ganesa, the remover of all obstacles, and records the construction of some charitable work, probably a well from the wall of which the epigraph was discovered, by a certain lady named Jodha. By far the most important portion of the inscription is that which contains an eulogy of Shihab-u-Din who was the ruling king when the inscription was put up. This eulogy though purely conventional is of importance as it contains some interesting facts about Shihab-u-Din not known from the literary sources. The eulogy may briefly be summarised as follows:—

“In the sacred country of Kashmir, a land of prosperity, rules the king of kings Sahabadena, a scion of the house of Pandavas, scorched by the blazing fire of whose unrivalled prowess, the enemies repaired to the far off lands, whose fame spotless as the lustre of the thousand moons filled the four quarters, by hearing the high pitched deafening twang of whose powerful bow, the enemies ran away disarrayed, by whom was conquered the land of Madras.....” The rest of the text is damaged and badly carved in incorrect Sanskrit and it is difficult to make any sense out of the preserved portion.

Leaving aside the conventional portion of the praise, we notice two points in this eulogy which are important from historical points of view. First is the mention of Sahabadena or Shihab-u-Din as a scion of Pandava house. This apparently sounds queer for a Muhammadan king could hardly claim descent from the Pandavas. Kedar Nath Shastri opines that the Sultan took pride in being styled as a scion of the Pandavas as he wanted to link himself with the ancient lunar race of India to justify his family's accession to the throne of

Kashmir by supplanting the Hindu dynasty of the Valley. However, it seems more likely that the epithet is due to the pious wish on the part of the eulogiser to connect the great contemporary ruler to an illustrious and celebrated Kshatriya family of the past simply because of his greatness and prowess and without any specific consideration of the faith to which the Sultan adhered. The second important point in the above cited eulogy is Shihab-u-Din's victory over the Madras which is of great importance as the same is not mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles which otherwise give detailed account of the victories of the Sultan.

The Madras are an ancient Kshatriya tribe whose history dates back to the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature, they figure as a people who appear to have been divided into two sections viz. the Southern Madras who lived in the Panjab and the Northern Madras who probably lived, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kashmir, not distant from the Kambojas. In the Aitareya Brahmana, the Madras are mentioned as living beyond the Himalayas. In the Astadhyai, Madra-desa or the land of the Madras is mentioned as a janapada or a kingdom along with Kamboja, Gandhara etc. In the Mahabharata, the Madras are mentioned as allies of the Kauravas and their king Shalya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Madras are mentioned in the form of Madrakas as an autonomous frontier tribe "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance".

From these and several other references it seems that the country of the Madras lay in the Panjab. Its capital was Shakala or modern Sialkot which stood on the bank of the Apaga stream, identified with modern Aik, a small stream which has its rise in the Jammu hills and flows to the north east of Sialkot.

Shihab-u-din is credited with the conquest of a large number of countries and towns in

the Kashmir chronicles and it would seem that Shihab-u-din while annexing Gandhara, Western Panjab and some part of eastern Panjab including Susarmapura or Kot Kangra also traversed the central Panjab and conquered the Sialkot region or the Madra-desa as it was called then.

#### **Zain-ul-Abidin—The Khonamuh Inscription**

We next pass on to an inscription which is incised on a rectangular stone slab lying at the mouth of a stream at Bhuvaneshvari situated on a hillside  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles above the village of Khonamuh and visited on way to the pilgrimage to the famous tirtha of Harsheshvar or Harishvar. The record which has not been edited so far consists of ten lines written in verse with the exception of the date portion in the beginning which is in prose. It records the construction of a hermitage by a merchant named Purnaka at Khonamosa in the Kali year 4530 when Satisara was ruled by Jaya nolabadena son of Sakandara and Chindaka was the district officer at Khonamosa. It further states that at Bhuvanesa situated half a yojana below the shrine of god Harsheshvara where flows a celestial stream, remover of all sins, there came from the castle of king Jayapida, an ascetic named Gammatisodaka to practise penance. Having conquered Mara of powerful darkness he engaged himself in meditation wishing to attain that state of imperishableness which knows no fall and at the proper time he found the way to Siva by means of that meditation. The last part of the inscription mentions two individuals, Katha and Kanathaka, who stood there as witnesses and names the writer of the inscription as Gaggaka.

It will be seen that the king Jayanolabadena mentioned as the ruling prince when the record was set up is undoubtedly the famous Kashmir ruler Zain-ul-abidin who ruled from A.D. 1420 to 1470, who was the son of Sikandara, Sakandara of our inscription, who was the king of Kashmir from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1413.

The Kali year 4530 corresponds to the year 1428 of the Christian era which would show that the hermitage was built in the eighth regnal year of Zain-ul-abidin. The hermitage is no longer extant. There is an old mosque at Bhuvaneshvari but it cannot be said with certainty if this shrine represents the ancient hermitage.

The inscription is specially important as it contains some important place names like Satisara, Khanamosa and the castle of Jayapida. Satisara as is well known is the ancient name of Kashmir which according to a legend told at length in the Nilamat-purana was originally a lake known as Satisara. Khonamosa is the Khonamusa of the *Rajatarangini* which is the ancient name of the modern village of Khonamah situated 9 miles to the north east of Srinagar. Khonamuha is the famous birth place of Kashmiri poet Bilhana, author of *Vikramanka-devacharita* who enthusiastically sings the charms of his home village in his celebrated work and describes it as situated in the vicinity of Jayavana, modern Zewan, and famous for its grape and saffron cultivation. The mention of the castle of king Jayapida is of interest as it is also mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* where a full legend is told in connection with its construction by the said king who was a grandson of the famous king Lalitaditya. The castle was popularly known in Kalhana's times as 'Abhyantara Kota' or the inner castle. Prof. Buhler, during the course of his tour of the valley in 1875, traced the site of the castle near the village of Andar Koth situated on the Sumbal lake. It is also mentioned by Srivara at several places in his chronicle and his references together with our own would show that the place continued to be known in the 15th century by the name of Jayapidapura or Jayapida durga, the town or castle founded by Jayapida.

Another interesting feature of the record is the mention of district officer along with the ruling king. The term *deshadhipati* mentioned in the record signifies the lord of *desa* which like Vishaya is a territorial unit usually met

with in the copper plate inscriptions, corresponding to modern district or tehsil.

#### **Mohammad Shah—Hari Parbat Grave Stone Inscription**

Our next well known inscription is engraved on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-u-din at Hariparbat. This inscription is widely known and has been referred to by Hultzsh and Kielhorn and is also described briefly by Marshall in his tour report. The inscription which is accompanied by the Persian inscription in Arabic character, of the same content, commemorates the death of a certain Said Khan, son of Aibrahm who fell in the battle near Jistheudra mentioned as Takhta-gahi-sulaiman in the Persian inscription. The epigraph is dated in the year 60, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Sravana in the reign of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah is undoubtedly the Muslim king of this name who ruled over Kashmir at chequered intervals from 1484 to 1537 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds according to the calculations of Kielhorn to Friday, 9th July, 1484 A.D.

There can be no doubt that the battle referred to in the inscription is the same battle which was fought at Srinagar between the Sayyads and the Kashmiri nobles in the time of the minor king Muhammad Shah. The date of the inscription coincides with the date of the termination of the battle as given by Shrivara.

Saida Khan mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Said Khan described by Shrivara as one of the great soldiers who fought on the side of the Sayyids. Unfortunately, Shrivara gives no details about Saida Khan and the identification of his father Aibrahm is as such difficult. In the Persian inscription accompanying our epigraph, the name given is Ibrahim Shah. Marshall suggests that he may be identified with Ibrahim Shah Sharqui king of Jaunpur from A.D. 1401 to 1440, who along with his son Said Khan seems to have fled to

Kashmir on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodhi in 1474 A.D.

The two epigraphs furnish interesting evidence of the contemporary use of the Sharada and the Arabic scripts in the Valley during the Muhammadan period.

### The Zaji Nai Inscription

Our next interesting inscription is the Zaji Nai Inscription which was found by R. C. Kak at the southern extremity of a mountain glen called Zaji Nai near Wadwan. It is incised on a small lime stone block now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. Owing to the stone being broken into fragments and some fragments being lost, the exact purport of the inscription is difficult to ascertain. From the mention of such phrases as *asvapadam pratisthapitam*, *asvagaraksa* and from the occurrence of the figure of a horse at the bottom of the stone block, it may be presumed that the inscription records the erection of a stable for the protection of horses and cows or cattle in general. This inscription like the one discovered at Dacchan and referred to above, furnished another instance of the ancient Kashmiris' active interest in works of public utility. As is well known, the cattle were then as at present sent to the pastures at high mountain peaks for grazing in summer. They were exposed to the danger of being eaten up by the wild animals. As such the erection of a stable was a dire need which was fulfilled by a layman of this remote region, whose name is unfortunately not preserved in the epigraph.

Before winding up this note, it may be worthwhile to mention the sites of other inscriptions which have been discovered in the valley so far but which being fragmentary and sketchy in nature have not been included in the present study. These sites are: Lodu, Avantipura, Bijbehara, Wularhama, Martand, Digom or Kapal Mochan, Lasityal, Para-pura, Sogam, Ushkur and Kotisar. The inscription found at Ushkur near Baramula by Father De Ruyter, the then headmaster of the Church Mission School at Baramula, is now lying in the museum of the university of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. It is engraved on the upper left hand portion of a relief which bears the equestrian portrait of a warrior on horseback. Written in badly carved Sharada characters, I have not yet been able to decipher fully the inscription.

It is also worthy of note that though Kalhana explicitly states in his *Rajatarangini* that he studied all types of inscriptions recording grants of things, chiefly of land, for writing his chronicle, no copper plate inscription recording the grant of land has come to light so far. The absolute absence of the copper plate grants in the valley cannot but be severely felt by any student of Kashmir history and culture. However, it is hoped that with the conscious efforts of the authorities concerned and of the future scholars, many more inscriptions, particularly copper plate inscriptions, will come to light and many new facts about the past history of our beautiful valley will become known.

## SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

(10th—12th Century)

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The Indians, before the advent of the Muslims into India, did not maintain historical records almost as a rule. There was no system of maintaining archives and repositories. This scarcity in historical literature is aptly expressed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar: "We have to admit that the literary genius of India, so active and fertile in almost all conceivable branches of study, was not applied to chronicling the records of kings and fall of states and nations".<sup>1</sup> Again, "It is a well-known fact that with the single exception of *Rajatarangini* (History of Kashmir), there is no historical text in Sanskrit dealing with the whole or even parts of India".<sup>2</sup> But it should never mean that the sources for the study of the history and culture of Kashmir are very few and far between, though it is very unfortunate that scholars do not take the trouble of going beyond *Rajatarangini*.

The Greek, Chinese and indigenous records and accounts form a very important source of information for the period preceding tenth century A.D. For the period between tenth century to twelfth century, the sources may be divided into two broad categories: Muslim chronicles or Arabic literature and Kashmir chronicles.

### Muslim Chronicles:

Among the Muslim sources Al-Beruni's *India*, is a mine of information. It is trustworthy and most reliable on topography, routes, sacred places and customs and manners of the people. Stein is all praise for Al-Beruni's critical acumen

and laborious research and says that "he could look through the mountains".<sup>3</sup> Al-Beruni utilized his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjab (1017-30 A.D.) to collect information on Kashmir. In the first chapter of his book, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, he writes that Mahmud of Ghazna "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country (of India), and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions".<sup>4</sup> That was the reason, according to Al-Beruni, that Hindu sciences fled to places like Kashmir and Benares<sup>5</sup>. He refers to Kashmir as the high school of Hindu learning and repeatedly mentions Kashmiri authors. It appears that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kashmiri scholars<sup>6</sup>. He makes a particular mention of his Kashmiri informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracles of *Kudaishahr*, i.e. the Kaptesvara Tirtha. The way in which pilgrimage to this place was described to Al-Beruni, makes it quite certain that the narrators had personal experience of the Tirtha. The same holds good about his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of Sarada<sup>7</sup>. The details regarding a local Kashmiri festival and the anecdote about the propagation of the *Sisyahitavrtti* in Kashmir, could not have reached him but by verbal communication<sup>8</sup>. Al-Beruni also refers to Kashmiri almanac, which, in the opinion of Stein, could only be secured through Kashmiri Pandits.<sup>9</sup>

Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Beruni composed certain Sanskrit treatises and circulated them among the people of Kashmir,

This speaks of special relations which he had with Kashmir. He graphically narrates the rigid isolation of the Valley. Such a statement could only be possible when he had direct contacts with the people of the Valley<sup>10</sup>. There is much strength in Sir Mark Aurel Stein's opinion that Al-Beruni accompanied Mahmud of Ghazna in his unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir, which probably took place in 1021 A.D. It afforded him ample opportunities to acquaint himself with the topography of the region with local assistance<sup>11</sup>.

Al-Beruni's account of Kashmir is mainly contained in Chapter XVIII, which gives "various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and ocean"<sup>12</sup>. Fortunately, it is more detailed with regard to Kashmir.

Al-Beruni gives in broad outlines the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian water-shed and the Punjab plain. He refers to the pedestrian habits of the people and the use of *Palkis* by the nobles. The description is very precise and is corroborated by Kalhana. He further observes: "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong-hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people"<sup>13</sup>.

Al-Beruni gives a vivid picture of the Kashmir Valley. The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jhelam, which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry-boats". The climate of Kashmir, as described by Beruni, is far more exact than any other account available to us previous to the second quarter of the nineteenth century<sup>14</sup>.

Al-Beruni's account is not only scientific but the only detailed account available in regard to Kashmir for the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. His historical perspective, penetrating insight and deep understanding, could not be over-estimated. "He does not blindly accept", says Prof. Sachau, "the traditions of former ages; he wants to understand and criticise them. He wants to sift the wheat from the chaff, and he will discard everything that militates against the laws of nature and of reason"<sup>15</sup>.

*Muru'Ju-L Zaheb* of Al-Masudi is another Arabic work on India with a passing reference about Kashmir. He was a great traveller and an acute observer. He deservedly continues to be one of the most admired writers in Arabic. His book which was translated into English by Dr. Sprenger with the name "Meadows of Gold",<sup>16</sup> gives only that Kashmir is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate. The number of towns and villages is estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand<sup>17</sup>. This scanty detail by this well-travelled observer is due to habitual and physical seclusion of the people and the country in those days. He died in Egypt in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.).

*Nuzhatu-L Mushtak* of Al-Idrisi gives a brief reference about Kashmir. He was born at Centa, in Morocco, towards the close of the 11th century.<sup>18</sup>

#### Kashmir Chronicles:

The Kashmiri Saiva philosopher, literary critic and intellectual giant, Abhinavagupta, was born between 950 and 960 A.D. in a Brahmin family, which had migrated from Kanauj to Kashmir during the reign of King Lalitaditya. He was a prolific writer whose works cover a wide range of subjects—Dramaturgy, Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Philosophy of Poetry. His main contribution is to Saiva philosophy and his expositions are simply superb.

*Ksemaraja*, who flourished in the reign of Samgramaraja (1003-1028 A.D.), wrote many treatises such as *Shiva-Sutra-Vritti*, *Spandasandoha* and many commentaries on Tantras. The *Shiva-Sutra-Vritti* is important with regard to Saivism in Kashmir.

*Kshemendra*, rightly regarded as the doyen among the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir and among the Kashmiri chroniclers is the most useful authority. He was born on the Dal in the locality where the Nishat Bagh now stands, in the days of Ananta. Kshemendra's father, Prakashachandra, was a rich man but very learned and of generous temperament. The exact date of Kshemendra's birth is unknown but his literary career runs from 1037 to 1066 A.D. Kshemendra studied at the feet of several teachers but notable among them is Gangaka. His studies covered Hindu Law, Sanskrit grammar, politics, medicine, music and painting. He is said to be the author of many books, of which thirty-four are believed to be available.

Kalhana has criticised his *Nrpavali* for many errors and accuses him of "consistent carelessness"<sup>19</sup>. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, has discussed Kshemendra's *Brihalkathamangari* and other works at some length.

In *Samayamatrka*, one of Kshemendra's best poems, an attempt has been made to describe the snares of courtesans. It is a collection of stories, in which there is an interesting account of the wanderings of his heroine Kankali through the length and breadth of the Valley. Numerous places of her wandering are traceable on the map. These places have been described with local variations and colour, which make the rendering extremely interesting. In this poem we, for the first time, find mention of the Pir Panjal Pass (*Pancaladhara*) and its hospice (*matha*). We also get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade routes. It also mentions a Buddhist convent, the Krtiyasrama Vihar, where Kankali's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal.

Stein remarks "His works, composed in the

second and third quarter of the eleventh century, form important landmarks in several fields of Indian literature. Kshemendra seems to have had a genuine interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him"<sup>20</sup>.

Mankha, the fourth son of Veshovrata and grandson of Pandit Mammata, was a great poet of independent mind. Ruyyaka, the celebrated author of *Alankarasarvasva*, was the teacher of Mankha. Mankha rose to the post of the Director of Dharmarth and also became the Foreign Minister. Raja Sussala looked upon him as a great philosopher. Mankha was the contemporary of Kalhana. He wrote his first book *Shrikanthacharita* at the age of twenty-five, probably in 1039 A.D. The book, though brief, is similar in character to Bilhana's *Vikramanka-devacharita* in its description of Kashmir and Pravarapura. Jonaraja has written a commentary on this book which is very useful in explaining the points of local interest.

Bilhana, the poet, was senior to Kalhana in age. He was born in Khunamush or Khonamusa, six miles from Srinagar. His father, Jyeshtha Kalasha, was a learned Brahman and a specialist in Sanskrit grammar<sup>21</sup>. Finding no scope for his talents, he bade good bye to his native land at the tender age of sixteen in the reign of King Kalasha (1063-1089 A.D.)<sup>22</sup>. He visited important places in Northern India and travelled to the Deccan. He became famous as the court-poet of the Chalukya King Tribhuvanmalla Parmadi of the South. Bilhana is the author of *Vikramankadevacharita*, *Karna-Sundari Mala* and *Chaurapanchasika*.

In the last Canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramankadevacharita*, Bilhana vividly describes the beauties of the Kashmir Valley and its capital. The main importance of the poem consists in the exactitude of the topography. Prof. Buhler, during his tour of Kashmir in 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's birth place, the present village of Khunamoh, and verifying on the spot every point of the

description which Bilhana gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himalaya"<sup>23</sup>. As a poet his style and language is very lucid and enchanting.

The *Lokaprakasha* is a very useful dictionary (*kosh*) compiled through the efforts of many scholars including Kshemendra. It is particularly useful for the study of the social life and administrative structure. In Book II the name of Shahjahan finds mention, which suggests that some portion of the work was compiled as late as the seventeenth century A.D. The work represents a strange mixture of the usual dictionary and a practical handbook dealing with the various topics of administration and private life in Kashmir<sup>24</sup>. Stein praises its secular character and is grateful for the topographical details which it gives<sup>25</sup>.

The *Lokaprakasha* consists of four parts. The first part deals with the four principal castes and sixty sub-castes. It also gives the titles of the ministers and officers of the state. The second part, which seems to have been written during the Muslim period in Kashmir and up to the seventeenth century A.D., gives details about bills of exchange, bonds, commercial contracts, official orders and so forth. This part is the biggest and most important of all. The third part supplies us with a list of synonyms of different varieties of fish, birds and mice, and of salt, gold ornaments and gold coins. The fourth part begins with a satire on the Kayasthas (i.e. writers and physicians) and on Brahmins who had become Muslims. It also gives a list of the districts of Kashmir.

The *Lokaprakasha* supplies the earliest list of Kashmir Parganas. The Pargana list contains local names of ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. The only drawback of the work is that it is difficult to know exactly when the different sections were compiled.

*Mammata and Other Poets of the Period*: The beginning of the twelfth century A.D. saw

three celebrated scholars decorating the literary firmament of Kashmir. They are Mammata and his two brothers. Mammata was the second son of the scholar Jaiyata Bhatta, the eldest was Jaiyata and Urvata was the youngest. All the three brothers were noted litterateurs, but Mammata was the most distinguished of them all. His book *Kavya-Prakasha* on prosody is very valuable and is prescribed for higher examinations in Sanskrit language. Eighty-seven commentaries are known to have been written on the *Kavya-Prakasha* of which twenty-five are available. Mammata is said to be the maternal uncle of Harsha, the great poet-king of Kanauj. The *Shabda-Vyapar-Vichara* is another well-known work of Mammata on grammar in which the usage of words has been discussed.

The period under review has the rare distinction of having Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, "The River of Kings"—the most important source of the history of Kashmir. But the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of the *Rajatarangini*, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', 'the son of the great Kashmiri minister, "the illustrious Lord Canipaka"'. Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of *Rajatarangini* is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers to Shiva in his form of *Ardhanarishwar* representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja, the continuator author of *Rajatarangini*, has referred to Kalhana with the epithet "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomised in one word "eclecticism".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years

1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work shows that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A.D. 1112-20) makes it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell victim to his own lavishness and extravagance. After his murder, Kashmir, for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in its train.

Kalhana was gifted with a scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time, is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "callously prepared to welcome any change". His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings shows that he thoroughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negated all chances of patronage to the creative works of art: hence *Rajatarangini* was not written under the patronage of any king. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities. He considers only historians "worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past"—"and surpasses even the stream of nectar, ... and can place the past times before the eyes of men".

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had an intensive training in the Indian

rhetoric, the *Alankarshastra*, and had equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. All the known literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's works *Raghuvansha* and *Meghaduta* and Bilhana's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshacharita*, were read by him. Stein says: "His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional type and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhana was not a man of schools, absorbed in his Shastras".

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the *Rajatarangini*. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to his hereditary career closed on account of the unsettled political conditions of the country. So, the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from the ancient down to his own time. He was also inspired by regional patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that his countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions. Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of the King whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says: "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers".

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual characters and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Bana and Bilhana in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

The *Rajatarangini* is a class by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from

*Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-poets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applying their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature dabbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment, and *alamkarshastra*. The *Rajatarangini*, on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and present with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing the patron. The *Rajatarangini* not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three books (chapters) of the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of the King Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments: "When the great meet their end there arise stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur". King Meghavan's exploits have been described in such a fanciful manner, that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their time might not be believed, but for them these were eyewitnesses.

For the last two chapters of his book the main sources were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-country-men and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surprise that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends, who held key-posts in the politics of their times.

To give the details, *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary

merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections: -

1. Books I-III, are based on traditions.
2. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties he has made use of the works of earlier chroniclers who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.
3. For Books VII-VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eyewitness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of the *Rajatarangini* is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language or donned in fanciful imagery, of country Sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and he tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book had in the second and third sections not followed it to the letter. Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing the *Rajatarangini* sets a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalizing personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosia, 'while the latter immortalizes only the man who drinks it, the former all those whom it touches'. Kalhana was aware that his

work would not only achieve permanence, but would enliven all the actors as well as himself. He had another object also in view. He says "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for Kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". Kalhana expected that both good and bad kings would derive profit from his work. He was a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight into man's nature and his psychology. He says: "As in heaven the little clouds change shape, and take on the form of elephants, leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts—so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary".

The didactic feature of *Rajatarangini* may be traced to the selection of *Saula rasa* in sentiment of resignation. Here Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material prosperity and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man recoil on him by the strange hands of destiny. In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of *Dharma* or *Nitishastra*.

The *Rajatarangini* appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox *Rajniiti* (Statecraft), he had his own conception of good government. Explicitly or implicitly the *Rajatarangini* carries the idea that a strong king is the ideal king, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsel with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of the *Damars*, the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing the

*Rajatarangini* was that of inspiring the kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess, and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says "The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys its mother, but the ungrateful Kayasthas, when they become powerful, destroy everything". At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it: "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that kingdom, whose power has gone". Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

The *Rajatarangini* is a saga showing the force of *Karma*. Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, he reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the force of *Karma* shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force influencing the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the Gods often influence human affairs. Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also the *Rajatarangini* gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate or the Creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

The *Rajatarangini* interlinks the *Karma* of the kings with that of his subjects. Good kings arise through the merits of their subjects. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by Kalhana were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in the middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered

his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs, have been described as historical truths, which betrays his credulity. He has not separated historical legends from history. Similarly, Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgement in matters of chronology from an author who had started dating history from a legendary data of the coronation of Yudhishthira from the epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranaditya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was a general trend among Indians, so precisely described by Alberuni. "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for

information, and are at a loss, not knowing what to say they invariably take to true-telling".

The *Rajatarangini* also presents a contrast within itself its earlier part is more of a fiction, and the later part, that is early medieval part, is real history. It vividly describes the falling glory of Kashmir, palace intrigues, murders, sedition, civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of kings, royal families and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings".

Kalhana's work was continued by Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajabatta and Suka. The *Rajatarangini* has made Kalhana immortal but Kalhana himself was sure about the worth of his work.

Even the gods must die;  
But sovereign poetry remains,  
Stronger than death.

#### REFERENCES

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- <sup>2</sup>C. H. Philips, Ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, p. 13.
- <sup>3</sup>M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, p. 359 (II)
- <sup>4</sup>Edward Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, i. p. 22.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., i. p. 173.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., ii. p. 181.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., see note B, i. p. 37, 13.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., i. p. 135.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., i. p. 391.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid., Preface, p. xxiv; Prof. Sachau's Introduction, p. xx.
- <sup>11</sup>Stein, p. 360 (II)
- <sup>12</sup>Vide *Al-Beruni's India*.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 206.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 211.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., Preface, p. xxv.
- <sup>16</sup>The first part of the "Meadows of Gold" was translated into English by Dr. Sprenger, London, 1841. Also see the French trans. by MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1851.

- <sup>17</sup>Sprenger, I, 382.
- <sup>18</sup>A full translation of the whole work into French was published at Paris in 1836 and 1840 by M. Jaubert and from this Elliot translated some extracts into English.
- <sup>19</sup>U. N. Ghoshal, *The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir, The Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1942, p. 198.
- <sup>20</sup>Stein, II, 375.
- <sup>21</sup>Prof. Buhler, to whom we owe the discovery of Bilhana's chief work, has given in his Introduction an admirable analysis of the Sarga XVIII, as illustrating the poet's biography. For his description of contemporary Srinagar see pp. 7 ff.
- <sup>22</sup>*The Hindustan*, Srinagar, 14th and 21st September, 1941. Also see Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, pp. 153-158.
- <sup>23</sup>See Report, pp. 4ff.
- <sup>24</sup>Prof. A. Weber has published the extracts of the work in *Indische Studien*, pp. 289-412. Also see XVIII, 293, 300.
- <sup>25</sup>Stein, II, 376.

## UNIVERSITY NOTES

### 1. COURSES OF STUDY

#### Rabindra Bharati University (Calcutta)

Paper VII & VIII Either

#### B.A. (HONOURS) IN HISTORY.

- Paper I Medieval India
- Paper II History of Europe (1763 to 1939)
- Paper III Cultural History of Man
- Paper IV History of India
- Paper V History of India
- Paper VI History of Greece and Rome
- Paper VII Europe in the Middle Ages.
- Paper VIII Selected Period of British History

(a) Selected Period of Modern India (18th Century).

Or.

(b) Selected Period of Modern Europe (1871-1919)

#### Bangalore University

#### B.A. (HONOURS) IN HISTORY.

- Paper I History and Culture of India, up to 1707 A.D.
- Paper II World History up to 1500 A.D.
- Paper III History of Modern India, 1707 to 1950
- Paper IV World History, 1500—1947.
- Paper V History of Indian Political Thought and Institutions up to 1950 A.D.
- Paper VI British History since 1485.
- Paper VII Archaeology with special reference to India.
- Paper VIII Development of Modern Constitution.

#### M.A. IN HISTORY

- Paper I History of India from 1858 to 1947 (with special reference to Freedom Movement).
- Paper II Bengal in the 19th Century (with special reference to the Impact of Western Culture).
- Paper III History of Modern East Asia up to the mid-twentieth century.
- Paper IV History of Western Political Thought, beginning from Machiavelli.
- Paper V Constitutional History of England (1485 to 1901).

#### M.A. IN HISTORY

#### Part—I.

- Paper VI International Relations (since 1919).

- Paper I History of America.

|           |                                                                     |           |                                                |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------|
| Paper II  | British Constitutional History from 1485                            | Part —II  |                                                |
| Paper III | Indian National Movement and Constitutional Development, 1850-1950. | Paper I   | Historical Method and Historiography.          |
| Paper IV  | Social and Economic History of India.                               | Paper II  | China, Japan and South-East Asia, 1860-1960    |
|           |                                                                     | Paper III | History of Karnataka up to 1956.               |
|           |                                                                     | Paper IV  | History of International Affairs, (1600-1945). |

## II. RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

(Summarised from Official Regulations)

### Rabindra Bharati University (Calcutta)

#### DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY EXAMINATION

I Any Master of Arts of the Rabindra Bharati University or, subject to the sanction of the Executive Council, of any other University recognised by this University for this purpose, may apply to the Registrar for registration for the Ph. D. Degree in the subject in which he has obtained the Degree of Master of Arts, as the case may be, or in an allied subject.

II The applicant shall state in the application for registration his qualifications and indicate the subject, which he proposes to investigate. The application shall be supported by a certificate in a form to be prescribed by the Executive Council from the Head of the Department to which his subject relates.

III Every application shall be placed before a Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of the Faculty concerned, the Head of the Department in the particular subject and an expert in the subject to be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. The Executive Council shall grant the application for registration for the Ph.D. Degree after considering the recommendation of the said Committee.

IV On his application being granted, the applicant shall be registered and shall work for two years under a teacher appointed by the Executive Council for this purpose and prepare a thesis for the Degree. He may, within one year of his registration, be permitted to change the subject or scope of his research.

V The candidate for the Ph. D. Degree shall submit three typewritten copies of his thesis embodying the results of research and affording evidence of originality shown by him by the discovery of new facts or by a critical survey of facts or relations between facts discovered by others.

The candidate shall produce along with the thesis a certificate from the teacher under whom he has worked stating that he has fulfilled the requirements of the Ordinance relating to the nature and prescribed period of research work.

VI On completion of the thesis to the satisfaction of the teacher under whose guidance the candidate worked, the Executive Council shall refer it to a Board of three examiners including the teacher under whom he had worked.

If the thesis is approved by the Board of Examiners, they will furnish the Executive

Council with a report indicating in what respects the thesis affords evidence of originality.

VII After the thesis has been approved by the Board of Examiners, the candidate shall be asked to appear at an oral examination in respect of the subject of his thesis, to be held by at least two examiners, of whom, the teacher if any, under whom he worked will ordinarily be one.

The examiners may also ask him questions beyond the subject of the thesis in order to satisfy themselves that the candidate has adequate grounding in the particular branch of knowledge on which he has submitted his thesis.

If the examiners are satisfied with the oral examination, they shall submit a report to the Executive Council approving the work of the candidate.

If the candidate fails to satisfy the examiners at the oral examination, the Executive Council may on the recommendation of the examiners, permit him to appear again at the oral examination after six months.

VIII If the Executive Council, after considering the report of the Examiners is satisfied that the candidate is worthy of the Degree of Ph.D., it shall cause his name to be published with the title of the subject of his thesis.

### Bangalore University

#### DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY EXAMINATION

I A candidate may present himself for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy provided he had been awarded a degree of Master of Arts, of this University or any other recognised University in India or abroad.

A candidate who has obtained a Master's Degree in a subject different from the one in which he wishes to conduct the research for

the Ph. D Degree shall be eligible for provisional registration on the following conditions.

- (i) The candidate shall be required to undergo training for one year in teaching department of the University in which he wishes to obtain his Ph. D. Degree.
- (ii) A senior teacher of the department will supervise the work of the candidate. At the end of the year, the candidate's provisional registration will be confirmed after evaluation by the Head of Department in the subject in which the candidate wishes to obtain his Doctorate Degree.

A Master of Arts of this University may be permitted to work and prepare his thesis under recognised direction in any recognised Institution in or outside the University area.

A Master of Arts of any other recognised University is permitted to register for the Ph. D. Degree of this University provided that he works in a recognised Institution within the territorial jurisdiction of the Bangalore University, under a guide recognised by the University.

II A candidate working in the Bangalore University shall register his name for the Ph. D. Degree by paying a fee of Rs. 25/- at least three years in advance of the application of the thesis for the Ph. D. Degree. A candidate working in other recognised Institutions shall pay a Registration fee of Rs. 50/-.

Every candidate shall be required to pay to the Institution a fee of Rs. 200/- per annum for three years.

III All applications for registration for the Ph. D. Degree shall be forwarded through the Head of the Department of the subject concerned and Head of the Institution and shall be placed before the Ph. D. Degree Registration Committee consisting of the following :

1. Vice-Chancellor or his nominee,

2. Dean of the concerned Faculty.
3. Head of the Department falling within the purview of the concerned Faculty.

This Committee may coopt experts to the extent of four depending on the needs of the situation.

The Ph. D. Registration Committee shall meet twice a year in the months of February and August.

The Committee shall also recognise the guides and Institutions.

The guide working in an Institution other than the University Department shall satisfy the Ph. D. Registration Committee regarding the facilities and equipment available for carrying out the proposed research.

It shall be one of the duties of the Guides to submit to the Ph. D. Degree Registration Committee a brief report about the work of the candidate every six months of the period of Research under him.

Every candidate shall pursue a course of research for not less than three calendar years from the date of Registration.

- IV (i) A candidate after completion of the Research shall submit the thesis to the University in the months of January or July, three years after and within five years from the date of Registration.
- (ii) Continuation of Registration after five years may be permitted in exceptional cases only.
- (iii) However the 5-year limit does not apply to teachers of the University and colleges.
- (iv) A candidate may change the scheme of the subject or guide or Institution

within the period of his Registration with the approval of the Ph. D. Degree Registration Committee.

- (v) No candidate shall, without the previous permission of the Ph. D. Degree Registration Committee, join any other course of study or appear at any other examination conducted by the University or a public body.
- V (i) After the completion of the research a candidate shall submit along with his application for Ph. D. Degree three typed copies of his thesis accompanied by an examination fee of Rs. 200/-.
  - (ii) The thesis shall be accompanied by a declaration signed by the candidate that it has been composed by himself and a certificate that the subjectmatter of the same has not previously formed the basis of the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title.
- VI (i) The University Syndicate shall, in consultation with the Board of Studies concerned, appoint a Board of three Examiners, one of whom shall be the person under whom the candidate worked and the other two shall be external examiners. The Syndicate shall nominate the Chairman of the Board.
  - (ii) The Examiners shall send the reports directly to the Chairman. The Chairman will forward the individual reports of the Examiners with the consolidated recommendation of the Board of Examiners.
  - (iii) The Board of Examiners shall hold a Viva Voce Examination. If any of the external members of the Board of Examiners is outside India, members resident in India shall conduct the Viva Voce Examination.

- (iv) If there is a difference of opinion between the two external Examiners, a third examiner shall be appointed.

VII. The University Syndicate shall declare the results based on the report of the Board of Examiners.

VIII The whole thesis of the successful candidate or a part of it may be published by the University or by the

candidate with the permission of the University.

A thes's that has been rejected may be re-submitted with the prescribed fee after revision by the candidate under the supervision of the person who directed his research.

A candidate shall not ordinarily be permitted to submit the same thesis for the degree on more than two occasions.

### III. ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

#### Rabindra Bharati University

| Name                 | Subject                                    | Supervisor           |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Prajnananda Banerjee | Calcutta and its Hinterland (19th Century) | Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen. |
| Reena Chatterjee     | Dwarkanath Tagore and His Times.           | Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen. |

### IV. SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

#### Rabindra Bharati University

| Supervisor                                                                                          | Major Publications                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen, M.A., D.Phil., Head of the Department of History, Rabindra Bharati University. | Studies in Industrial Policy and Development of India (1859-1914) ; Economic Policy and Development of India (1848-1926) ; Edmund Burke on Indian Economy (Ed). |

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Bourbon Restoration** by GUILLAUME DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY, Institut Catholique de Paris and University of Notre Dame. Translated into English by Lynn M. Case, *University of Pennsylvania Press*, 1966. Pp 460 + Bibliography and Index.

"La Restauration" of Bertier de Sauvigny, published by Flammarion and Cie, Paris in 1955 has been acclaimed as the most extensive and thorough one-volume study of the Restoration period in France (1814-1830). The Society for French Historical Studies deserves our gratitude for having undertaken to translate this work, with a view to closing a gap in the English reading public's knowledge of a period in the history of France, which, contrary to general notions, contains enough points of interest.

The first impression that the work gives is that of a masterly synthesis, which combines extremely competent handling of varied and voluminous source materials, and a lucid and terse style. The reviewer regrets not having had access to the original, but the translation evokes throughout the renowned French "clarté".

Part I of the book, divided in seven chapters deals with the pressures leading to the First Restoration, its initial difficulties and blunders, and the harm done to it by the episode of the Hundred Days. Of particular interest in this part is the discussion on the role of an organised minority instituted in the Order of the Chevaliers de la Foi in reviving the royalist sentiment and providing it with a program of action. One gets the first glimpse of the personalities forming the new ruling elite, and cannot but agree with the author that the tremendous task of balancing the new social order with the old privileged classes fell upon mediocre princes

and a weak and heterogeneous governmental team. Moreover, the charter, a compromise, was not suited to the Cartesian approach of the French mind, bent upon clarifying those very obscurities which might have helped the process of necessary adjustments.

The tactless handling of situations irritated and provoked certain sections of the regime, specially the army. This accounted largely for the government's failure to cope with the renewed menace of Napoleon, which in its turn led to a Second Restoration under much worse conditions, and, thanks to the intrigues of Fouché, with an initial stain—that of being imposed on the nation against its will. All these were going to influence the course of events in the following years.

Part II (Chapters 8-13) deals with the reign of Louis XVIII proper. Its main attraction is the absorbing description of France adapting herself to a constitutional monarchy. The author, while paying full attention to the details of the "Second White Terror" launched by the notorious "Chambre Introuvable," also suggests that hope rather than resentment might have been at its base, as 197 out of 381 of the deputies in the chamber at the beginning of 1816 were of bourgeois origin; and 130 of them were below 45. This was the time when political parties were taking a more definite shape, emerging, as it were, by "a sort of biological process of cell division", the Ultra-Royalist group marked by the greatest cohesion. Amidst all the confusions, concessions which whetted the appetite of extremists on either side, instead of strengthening a stable centre, the country nonetheless saw its territory freed from foreign occupation, its finance steadied, and a successful Spanish policy greatly helping the Bourbon cause in France. The author has ably presented this phase as an encounter not only between

ideas but also as one between personalities. The reader would enjoy the portraits of Richelieu, the great Christian gentleman, Decazes playing his role well enough to become the spiritual son of the King or Chateaubriand, poet and diplomat.

Part III (Chapters 14-18) entitled French life during the Restoration presents a France of dull provincial life, setting of so many Balzac novels, of difficult journeys and slow communication, a France predominantly rural (72% of the country depending on agriculture), with slow mechanization of the textile industry—convalescence and consolidation rather than striking accomplishments marked this phase. It was a nation much younger than the France of mid 1950's—67% of the population having been below 40 in 1826. Demographic studies show the population of Paris as primarily made of influx from the north and north east zones traditionally oriented to the leftist parties which explains to some extent the pronounced leftist sentiment of Paris. The author does not deal with the Peasantry or the Bourgeoisie as classes—emphasizing the difficulty of doing so in view of significant regional and other variations. The Nobility and the industrial workers stand out more clearly according to him. One would find of special interest the attention drawn to the "complaint of the age"—the frustration of youth at being largely shut out from political and professional career. The economic structure being largely pre-industrial, the urban craft-workers enjoyed the pride of position, the "compagnonage" or the journeymen were the most important workers' organisation. But the horrors of initial factory system are also there, graphically described through statistics and eyewitness accounts. Pre-Hausseman Paris, outshining the post revolution Royal court, with its "vertical" social distinction—the various classes distinguished by the particular floors of the buildings occupied (has it changed much since?) is briefly attended to, in contrast with the life in the provinces.

Political life was characterized by institu-

tional stability, narrowness of political activity and an extreme centralization—a Napoleonic legacy which it was a serious mistake for the Royalists to accept, given the revolutionary tradition of Paris.

In the intellectual sphere one feels less constricted and can sense the throbbing pulse of a revitalized life. Freedom of expression, peace, foreign contacts, all contributed to a brilliant reawakening which showed itself in expansion of knowledge as well as in creation of a new aesthetics in literature and art. It is impossible to do justice to the immense output of this period; one can only mention such stalwarts as Guizot and Thierriy in history or the Utopian socialists. But for the contemporaries perhaps the greatest significance of the age was the victory of romanticism over classicism, Lamartine, Victor Hugo and Delacroix being the usherers of the new phase. The spiritual failure of the Restoration is reflected in the desertion of royalist cause by the Romantic school.

With Part IV (Chapters 19-23) we return to France still uneasy in her apprenticeship of constitutional government, throughout the reign of Charles X. The total failure of the new king to understand the point of view of the new generation of Frenchmen brought up during the revolution was obvious from the beginning, specially in his attempt to retain Villele. The opposition, impatient and partial, was ready to find fault at every step. In a growing atmosphere of misunderstanding, even the merits of the Indemnification Bill in removing the material barrier to a real national reconciliation was not recognised. Villele's overfondness for power and inability to realize the force of ideas and feelings led to the loss of royalist support. When he left in 1827, royalist position, steady in 1824, had become a matter of concern. The Martignac ministry which followed was never really liked by Charles X—it might have rallied the leftists only by providing for administrative reforms which it could not. Colourless, weak and homogeneous, it left the regime in a worse state—its weakness exposed the king to the

impact of unpopularity. By August 1829 king and his adviser were bent upon forming a ministry permitting them a monarchical interpretation of the Charter. Even without Polignac one could not rule with a liberal chamber so hostile to the government.

From the sweeping liberal victory of mid July 1830 to the final abdication of Charles X the story is well known. It is a story of mistake at every step, and of bourgeois apprehension of a republic brought about by a revolution which led to the Orleanist solution.

The author divides the responsibility between the king and the nation for the revolution which according to him was not at all inevitable. But were not the differences too deep seated to be erased merely by agreeing on certain policies? It is perhaps asking a little too much from a nation without any tradition of parliamentary government to be able to "reconcile monarchical tradition with the inevitable democratic evolution" a l'anglaise, under the circumstances sketched in the work? Failure to achieve this and the eviction of Charles X have according to the author deprived France of a principle of political authority, of national unity and social stability. The author has not dwelt on this, which is, however, the most controversial and provoking part of the conclusion.

INDRANI RAY (MRS.)

**India and the League of Nations** by D. N. VERMA. 350 + xii pp. Patna: Bharati Bhawan, 1968. Rs. 30.00.

In his doctoral dissertation approved by the Patna University, Dr. Verma has ably presented the role played by India in the League of Nations at a time when her identity was merged in the British Empire. Despite India's complete subordination to the British Government, she was accorded the original membership of the League of Nations. This created an anomalous situation since India was a dependency of Great Britain. The author, however, believes

that "it was a trick used by Britain to secure a collateral support in her struggle for leadership at Geneva by multiplying her voting strength." Despite this motive on the part of Great Britain, India's membership of the League gave her an opportunity to develop her international personality and also resulted in a remarkable spurt of activities in both national and international spheres. All the time, India strived to build up in the Assembly of the League an independent moral influence of her own, and she took an appreciable part in world affairs in the deliberations of the League Assembly. The author has contended that India successfully played her part in the League in such a manner "as to become a spokesman of the East and a crusader against racial discrimination." But it should be remembered in this connection that India's freedom to act according to her own wish was limited by the role assigned to her by the British Government. Moreover, since India's representatives to the League were nominated by the Secretary of State for India, they usually toed the lines laid down by the British Government on all vital issues of international policy even though these often went against the predominant opinion in India.

The author has pointed out significantly that although the Indian delegation to the League of Nations invariably included one of the rulers of the Indian Native States, the person concerned did not act as a separate representative of the Indian States, but of India as a whole. Efforts made by the Chamber of Princes to secure separate representation for the Native States in the League of Nations was not looked upon favourably by the Government of India. However, the very idea of nominating one of the delegates from among the rulers of the Indian Native States was wrong in principle for the Indian Native States were not members of the League, they did not contribute towards its expenses, and their rulers were not British subjects. They had, therefore, no right to represent British India. The author is substantially correct in concluding that "the attitude of the Indian people in general towards the

League was far from friendly or sympathetic." Despite the fact that Dr. Verma was unable to consult the records of the India Office Library in London, and the private papers of important personalities connected with the League, he has nevertheless made an elaborate study of India and the League of Nations that should prove useful to the serious students of modern history and international affairs.

TARUN CHANDRA BOSE

**A History of the Sikhs**, Vol. 2, 1839-1964 by KHUSHWANT SINGH. Princeton University Press, 1966. Price Rs. 75/-.

With the publication of the second volume, the author, Khushwant Singh, completes his projected history of the Sikhs. The first volume, published in 1963, dealt with the birth of Sikhism and the rise of the Sikhs to political dominance in the Punjab under the Misals and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, thus covering the period from 1469 to 1839. The present volume takes up the thread from the death of Ranjit Singh and comes down to the year 1964. Though an amplified version of the author's earlier work, *The Sikhs*, it is undoubtedly a welcome addition to the existing stock of historical literature concerning the Punjab. Written in a simple, direct and lucid style, the account has the refreshing charm of a story told with gusto. It is informative but concise, and nowhere boring. Copious footnotes, appendices (the first in particular), a bibliography and an index at the end greatly add to the utility of the work.

The book under review is divided into five parts each dealing with a definite phase in the evolution of the modern Punjab since the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Of these, the first part is concerned with the conflict with the English and the collapse of the Sikh kingdom. This portion is a judicious abridgement of the author's another work entitled "Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab".

As a narrative it is fascinating, but there is little discussion of the basic issues involved, such as the contradictions inherent in the Sikh polity and the compulsions of the foreign policy of the British Government. There are no doubt occasional references to these vital questions but they do not partake of the character of attempts to grapple with the issues. The same is true of the British act of annexation of the Punjab, which has been explained solely in terms of a single individual, Dalhousie's disbelief in half-measures.

The second part deals with the consolidation of British rule in the Punjab. The author is at great pains to enumerate the different measures undertaken by the new political masters to strengthen their grip on the country and to project themselves as the torchbearers of a better civilization. This policy of the British proved its usefulness during the days of the Revolt of 1857 when the Sikhs in large numbers came to their rescue and in fact saved India for them. This, however, is a superficial view which not only Khushwant Singh but almost all writers on the subject have expressed. It is indeed amazing that after describing the Sikh War of 1848-49 as a war of independence from the British yoke, our author conveniently forgets to trace how the national upsurge aroused by the late Anglo-Sikh conflict fared in the new situation emerging after the Annexation. Nor is he bothered to explain why so soon after the happenings of 1857 a powerful Kuka movement made its appearance aspiring to revive the Sikh glory of the past.

The third part of the book studies the religious and social movements born under the impact of the new conditions created by the British regime. These include the Nirankari, Namdhari, Radha Soami and Singh Sabha movements. In bringing out the general character and principles of these movements, the author has achieved a measure of success for which he deserves credit. But even here he has not been able to go much deeper than

the surface, so that the interplay of social forces, old and new, has almost completely escaped his notice. The advent of Western ideas and institutions under the British rule created a first-rate crisis for the Indian civilization. Here was a challenge which had to be met and was met, but the form or mode of response was itself a product of divergent pulls interlocked in a prolonged mutual struggle. Our author's treatment of the various movements fails to reveal full comprehension of the essential issues involved in this later-nineteenth-century situation.

The next part of the book deals with such topics as rural indebtedness, peasant agitation of 1907, World War I and its aftermath, Xenophobic Marxism, Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh point of view in the constitutional reforms. In a way, each one of these topics has been dealt with intelligently and there is much useful information furnished to the reader on the subjects concerned. But perhaps it would have been better if the writer, instead of giving them in isolation, had perceived and discussed them in the context of their inter-relationship. As such, each study is a self-contained unit and the particular part is a collection of more or less isolated or independent attempts. Moreover, here in the account of the author one searches in vain for the glorious part played by the Punjabis, the Sikhs in particular, in India's struggle for freedom. It may not be out of place to mention here that the number of the Punjabis who took part in the struggle for freedom has been estimated at over thirty thousand.

The fifth and last part of the book deals with the Sikh attitude towards World War II, their attitude towards the Muslim demand for Pakistan, their exodus from Western Punjab in 1947, their resettlement in India and their demand for a Sikh homeland after Independence. The most important point made by the writer in regard to the Pre-Independence period is that the Sikhs, being a hopeless minority almost wholly confined to the Punjab,

were confronted with the formidable problem of how to save themselves from being dominated by a permanent Muhammadan majority. In the beginning they endeavoured to dilute Muslim communalism by insistence with the Hindus on joint electorates. When special electorates and weightage for the Muslims became an established reality, they pleaded and struggled for similar concessions for themselves. In this they achieved a limited success only. Later on, the Muslims put forth the demand for a separate state to be carved out of the Indian subcontinent on the basis of their population. As this demand was a question of life and death for the Sikhs, they stoutly opposed it. Their own demand for a sovereign Sikh state or Khalistan subsequently was just an attempt to complicate the situation with a view to making the Pakistan demand difficult. They were well aware of the unfeasibility of a *Khalistan* and never staked their claim without mental reservations. In proof of this may be adduced the promptness with which they decided to throw in their lot with India in 1947 after the final decision was taken to divide the country to create Pakistan.

The above view of the author is reasonable and hence acceptable. But when he makes the statement that "The ideal of a Sovereign Sikh state has never been very far from the Sikh mind", implying thereby that even in the days of resistance to the Muslim League demand for Pakistan it was coveted by the Sikhs in the same way as Pakistan was by the Muslims, betrays a certain amount of confused thinking. It was only after Independence that the militant part of the Sikhs seriously began to entertain the idea of a Sikh state. Three factors were responsible for this new development: (i) the resettlement of Sikh migrants in East Punjab converted a good portion of it into a Sikh majority area; (ii) resurgent Hinduism posed a serious threat to Sikh culture; (iii) rise of demands all over the country for the reorganization of political India on the basis of language. The demand for a Sikh state, though natural and inevitable in the post-

partition situation, suffered from some communal overtones and has not been conceded up to now. The demand for a Punjabi Suba on the linguistic basis, was, however, secular, just and constitutional and it gathered momentum with the passage of years and was ultimately conceded in 1966. With the formation of a Punjabi Suba, the demand for a Sikh state within the framework of the Indian Union, has lost much of its force, though it is still endorsed by a section of the Akalis.

The book closes with a postscript listing the factors justifying the Sikh demand for a separate state. As noted earlier, the demand for a Punjabi Suba has since been conceded. But whether it leaves the author satisfied or otherwise is difficult to say, because he makes no distinction between a Punjabi Suba and a Sikh state. It is possible that the Punjabi Suba already conceded is also the Sikh state visualized by him. But it is also possible, and this is more likely, that the establishment of the Suba is for him merely a springboard for the achievement of a higher goal.

The book on the whole is very interesting and can be read with great advantage both by students of history and general readers.

FAUJA SINGH

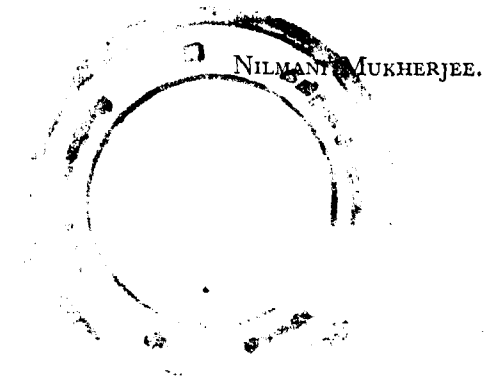
**Studies in Economic Policy and Development of India** by SUNIL KUMAR SEN, *Calcutta, Progressive Publishers*. 1966. pp. X, 239. Rs. 15/-.

The author has followed up his studies in industrial policy and development of India, 1858-1914 with the present volume dealing with the impact of Government policy on

India's economic growth between 1848 and 1926. The period under review is of crucial importance, because it coincides with the most significant phase of the development of capitalism in this country.

Broader in scope and wider in potential appeal than its title suggests, this book throws a good deal of light on the development of Indian economic institutions in general as these are reflected in government policy. It probes considerably more deeply into the background and logic of public investment than has hitherto been done. The role of Indian enterprise has been as soundly analysed as that of foreign enterprise. The author has also discussed in detail the problems relating to state control, tariff and financial policy. A chapter is devoted to a lucid exposition of the entangled questions of currency and banking. These are the major themes in the book, skilfully blended against a background of statistics.

The book rests on a great deal of detailed research and a vast knowledge of economic history, not only of India. Especially noteworthy is the author's keen appreciation of the interrelationship between the changes in government policy and the general economic and doctrinal shifts. On the whole, it is a very good book. Its lucidity heightens the impact of its findings, and it is valuable both as a contribution to our knowledge of the crucial role of public investment in India's economic development and as a record of the economic growth of our country during the period.



# LIBRARY AND RESEARCH NOTES

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(Continued from Previous number)

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SOUTH ASIA MICROFORM PROJECT

Annual Report

January 1969

The South Asia Microform Project was organised in 1967 after some years of work by members of the Association for Asian Studies, especially the South Asia Microform and Library Committee. Twenty-two institutions have joined SAMP so that a cooperative program of acquisitions can multiply the resources available to scholars they serve.

A committee, under the leadership of Professor Robert Eric Frykenberg, of the University of Wisconsin, was established to guide the project until its first year was safely past. Each member institution will have one representative on the continuing committee which will meet for the first time on March 26, 1969 (before the AAS meeting in Boston, March 28-30).

The work of the committee to date has fallen into two areas : to find materials now available for purchase to meet the needs of members, and to learn what resources can be filmed. Within the second category there comes another judgment to be made : the balancing of more accessible, therefore more easily and quickly to be filmed, materials ; against the more difficult to film, and perhaps more in danger of being lost to scholarship, files in more distant places. This latter point has received the largest part of the committee's concern to date.

Materials have been purchased for loan to members and a list is appended.

A major commitment of the committee's

energies has been the attempt to develop a system of priorities in newspaper backfiles for filming or purchase. At the present time SAMP is negotiating for a copy of THE STATE-MAN, hopefully the negative microfilm. Until the availability and the price of this title can be determined the committee will hold its funds to apply towards this purchase. Members will be advised when this decision can be made.

At this point it seems appropriate to remind members of SAMP that the committee is always eager to learn of their needs and of any appropriate research materials that may become available. Suggestions should be addressed to SAMP, at The Center for Research Libraries.

At the end of 1968 the financial status of SAMP was recorded in the following figures:

|                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Cash on hand    | \$18,376.44 |
| Invoice due     | \$ 2,302.00 |
| Balance on hand | \$16,074.44 |

This last amount, as noted above, is being held until the decision can be reached on the purchase of THE STATESMAN. (An application has been made for a matching HEW grant.)

At this stage of SAMP's existence there seem to be two major problems, of which the first will probably never be completely solved :

(1) Where is an adequate source of appropriate materials to meet SAMP's needs? Or, to phrase it another way, when will the committee be able to concentrate on selecting desirable materials from various sources, rather than on locating and developing such sources? The committee continues to explore two avenues of possibility for microphotography in the field. SAMP has a portable camera in India. Damage to the camera has, at least temporarily, prevented its being used. The Library of Congress is preparing a camera to send to New Delhi. It is reported that SAMP may be able to purchase a minimum of time on this new camera at intervals. A supply of raw film adequate to our needs must be supplied. The second avenue is to help local industry develop to our standards. At the present time this also may require the provision of raw film.

(2) When will SAMP's holdings be large enough to make membership intrinsically worthwhile to growing programs of South Asian studies? In the light of this question, the institutions pioneering in this venture are to be especially commended. Seeking only to serve their scholars, they have invested in the future. Optimum good can come from SAMP only when a body of material has been developed for broad research, and these members have been supportive in the period of accumulation, buoyed at times only by faith and hope. Two more "successful" years should see SAMP reach the desired level.

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#### Microfiche

|                                    |      |           |
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| Asiatic Researches (Calcutta)      | 1-20 | 1788-1839 |
| Bombay Branch of the               |      |           |

|                                                   |       |                        |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Royal Asiatic Society, Journal (Bombay)           | 1-26  | 1841-1923              |
| Bombay Literary Society, Transactions (Bombay)    | 1-3   | 1819-1823              |
| Calcutta Review (Calcutta) 1st Series             | 1-135 | 1844-1912              |
| 2nd Series                                        |       | 1913-1920              |
| East and West (Simla)                             | 1-21  | 1901-1921              |
| Economic Weekly (Bombay)                          | 1-16  | 1949-1964              |
| Madras Journal of Literature and Science (Madras) |       | 1833-1839<br>1848-1894 |
| Mookerjee's Magazine (Calcutta)                   | 1-5   | 1872-1876              |
| Poona Sarvajanic Sabha Quarterly Journal (Poona)  | 1-24  | 1878-1920              |
| Shama'a (Lacking v. 3)                            | 1-8   | 1920-1931              |

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|                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
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| Ceylon Observer (Colombo)   | 1941-1950 |

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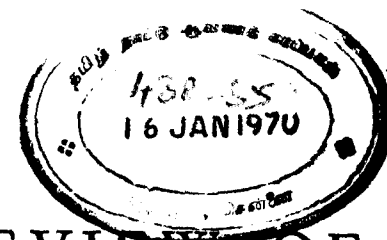
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NUMBER 2

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CALCUTTA

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21, KENDERDINE LANE, CALCUTTA-12

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EDITORIAL

Historical Records :

Old Government Records are of interest both to the administrators and to the historians. The administrators have to refer to these records from time to time to seek guidance from earlier decisions and the historians have also to refer to them as necessary source material for their professional work. No doubt, the records, being created in the Government departments and primarily for administrative purposes, have to be accepted as Government property. No doubt, on the other hand, that the conception of ownership in this case, with all its legal and social implications, is different from the commonly accepted view of property-ownership in most other cases. Whoever owns these records, that the historians have a special interest in them is a view which is accepted throughout the world. There may be variations in conventions and practices from country to country and from time to time, but there has never been, in any democratic country, a denial of the special claims of the historians on these records. Elaborate rules have been framed in many countries to adjust the claims of the two parties and to establish a workable rapport.

In the process of this adjustment there are two problems to be tackled. First, who should decide about weeding out non-current records; and second, what amount of freedom should be

given to the historians to use these records. Of the two, the second has received much greater attention, mainly because of the assertion of their rights by the historians. Thus in most countries well-defined rules have been framed about the extent to which the historians should be given access to Government records, with or without permission from the Department concerned, and with or without scrutiny of the notes taken from the records.

In India these rules have been considerably liberalised in recent years, although historians are not fully satisfied and continue their clamour for a larger share of the cake. Even admitting the needs and problems of the administration, there is certainly scope for further liberalisation of the rules, specially in respect of those categories of records for which departmental permission and scrutiny requirements are imposed. That there must be some restrictions with regard to some records is easily acceptable. But what is not so readily acceptable is an unimaginative use of official authority to shut out an unduly large area from the peering gaze of the historians. A little more commonsense, a little more imaginative use of discretion and a little more readiness to be of help to the historian, would go a long way to settle the question of adjustment of relationship between the two parties in a way which would neither jeopardise the administration nor unduly irritate the historian.

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THE EDITOR,  
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The Indian Historical Records Commission has been doing commendable work in trying to achieve this *rapprochement*. One could only wish that both sides had appreciated the work. In the case of the States, however, there is no such powerful agency to bring the two sides together. The Regional Records Survey Committees in the different States are much too weak and much too indifferent to the task. The result is that, rules regarding the use of records vary widely from State to State. The local scholars, Universities and research societies put up feeble protests from time to time which are totally ignored by the State administrators. To achieve a more satisfactory result, it is necessary either to strengthen the hands of the local Records Survey Committees and make them look more respectable and worth listening to in the eyes of the State administrators, or to create a co-ordination agency of historians, Universities and research societies to work out a satisfactory settlement with the State administration. They must be really interested and vigilant and at the same time conscious of the other man's point of view.

Of much greater importance is the first problem, namely, who should decide on the weeding out of records. The present position is that the Departmental officials exercise this authority at their own discretion (or indiscretion), basing their claim on the legal rights of ownership. While in general, the administrative Departments in the Central Government have exercised greater caution in the matter of weeding out old records, in the States, or in most of them, the picture is quite different. In most cases, the Departmental officials take the decision on their own (or may be on the advice of their clerks) to weed out and destroy what they consider to be useless papers. They do not understand that what is useless and space-consuming to them at the moment, may be of great interest to the historians. There is no body of experts whose advice is sought in the matter. Silently and unknown to the outside world, there goes on indiscriminate destruction of records in Government Departments in the

States in the name of making room for useful and current records.

Many research students, working in different State Archives on the 19th century and even on the early part of the 20th century, have bitterly complained about gaps in records resulting from the indiscriminate weeding out process. Many of them, coming to know of impending orders of destruction, have protested and pleaded against the measure but in vain. Recently our attention has been drawn by one such Research Fellow working on the Freedom Movement to the thoughtless destruction of records in the U.P. Government Secretariat. He particularly referred to a recent decision to weed out at least ten thousand files of the pre-independence period at the Lucknow Secretariat to make room for current records and he complained that although there are a full-fledged Archives Department, five Universities with eminent history scholars and several research institutions in U.P., the officials who decided on the weeding out of old records never thought it worthwhile to seek any expert advice about the selection of papers to be destroyed.

This is a sad state of affairs which is not confined to U.P. only but exists in many other States. We would strongly urge on the State Governments to eliminate the risk of indiscriminate destruction of old records by setting up a standing expert agency, consisting of the Departmental official concerned, the Director of State Archives, Heads of History Departments of local Universities and Heads of non-official historical societies. It would serve as a suitable 'machinery' for screening the records before carrying out the Departmental order for destruction. We are not quite sure whether this suggestion will commend itself to Government officials, most of whom are allergic to taking advice from non-official experts. As a last resort, it is necessary for local History scholars, History Departments of local Universities and other institutions of historical research to combine in putting the necessary pressure on the State Government. No improvement of the present

position can be hoped for without a constant vigilance on the part of those who love History.

#### Annual Conference:

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies was held at Bangalore from 4th to 7th November, under the auspices of the Bangalore University. Professor V.K.R.V. Rao, Union Education Minister, who had agreed to inaugurate the Conference, could not come on account of his official duties. It was very gracious of His Excellency Shri Dharma Vira, Governor of Mysore, to kindly agree to inaugurate the Conference. In his inaugural address on the 4th November, Shri Dharma Vira gave an inspiring call to historians to dedicate themselves to the task of reconstructing the country's history in the most truthful and objective manner. Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Poona University, presided over the Conference. In his short presidential address he dwelt on the varying conception of History in different periods and the problems faced by the present day historians. Shri K. R. Ramachandran, Vice-Chancellor of Bangalore University, welcomed the delegates on behalf of his University and expressed the hope that the deliberations at the Conference would give a new incentive to the development of historical studies in the State. Dr. S. P. Sen, Director of the Institute of Historical Studies, gave a short introductory speech on the activities of the Institute and the contributions made by it to the promotion of historical studies and research in India.

There were two principal themes of discussion at the Conference: *Sources of the History of Mysore (Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods)*, and *Historical Writings on the Indian Nationalist Movement*. On the first theme, ten papers were presented and discussed, mostly by well-known Mysorean scholars, four relating to the Ancient Period, three to the Medieval period and three to the Modern period. The papers brought out very ably the nature, extent and location of different types of source material, which are

available to reconstruct the history of Mysore. They will be published by the Institute in a separate volume.

On the second theme, there were fifteen papers presented and discussed, one relating to the Nationalist Movement in each state. The aim was to review critically historical writings on the Nationalist Movement produced so far, to examine the principal trends in such writings and to indicate the fields or aspects which yet remain to be covered. The papers were of a high standard, presented by eminent historians belonging to different Universities, and the discussions were mostly lively. These papers also will be published later in a separate volume.

About 150 scholars from all over India attended the Conference. Most of the Universities and research institutions sent delegates. The accommodation and other arrangements for the Conference were very satisfactory, for which we are thankful to Dr. K. Narasiah, the Local Secretary, the members of the History Department, Bangalore University, and the student volunteers. By all accounts the Conference was a grand success and its deliberations made a most useful contribution to historical studies. The local scholars who attended in large number expressed their appreciation of the value of the Conference in giving an incentive to serious historical studies and research in the State.

Lists of papers for the Conference are given below:

#### THEME: SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MYSORE (Ancient, Medieval & Modern Periods).

##### Papers by:

1. Dr. P. B. Desai (Karnatak University, Dharwar)
2. Dr. G. R. Rangaswamiah (University of Mysore)
3. Dr. H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy (Bangalore University)
4. Dr. R. S. Shivaganesha Murthy (University of Mysore)

5. Dr. K. K. Das Gupta (Calcutta University)
6. Dr. K. V. Ramesh (Dy. Superintending Epigraphist, Mysore)
7. Dr. B. Sheikh Ali (Mysore University)
8. Dr. K. N. V. Shastri (Bangalore)
9. Dr. K. R. Basavaraj (Karnatak University, Dharwar)
10. Dr. K. Narasiah (Bangalore University)

THEME: HISTORICAL WRITINGS ON THE  
INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

Papers by:

- |                 |                                                       |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Bengal:         | 1. Dr. B. B. Majumdar (Patna)                         |
|                 | 2. Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee (Visva-Bharati University) |
| Bihar:          | 3. Dr. J. C. Jha (Patna University)                   |
| Assam:          | 4. Professor K. N. Datta (Shillong)                   |
| Orissa:         | 5. Mr. S. C. De (Orissa State Archives)               |
| U.P.            | 6. Dr. Amba Prasad (Delhi University)                 |
| Rajasthan:      | 7. Dr. M. S. Jain (Rajasthan University)              |
| Gujarat:        | 8. Dr. V. K. Chavda (M. S. University, Baroda)        |
| Maharashtra:    | 9. Professor N. R. Phatak (Bombay)                    |
| Tamil Nadu:     | 10. Dr. N. Subrahmanian (Madras University)           |
| Andhra Pradesh: | 11. Dr. (Miss) Sarojini Regani (Osmania University)   |
| Kerala:         | 12. Professor P. Kunjikrishna Menon (Calicut)         |
| Goa:            | 13. Dr. V. T. Gune (Goa Archives)                     |
| Mysore:         | 14. Professor M. V. Krishna Rao (Bangalore)           |
|                 | 15. Professor T. T. Sharman (Bangalore)               |

University Notes :

In the present number we are publishing an account of the state of historical studies and research at the Marathwada University, Aurangabad, Maharashtra. There seems to be a

special emphasis on ancient history. It would be desirable to have a more diversified course of study for the M.A. Examination in History, with the addition of several more papers on countries and periods which cannot be left out without detriment to the commonly accepted M.A. standard. The rules for the Ph.D. degree are quite satisfactory and ensure proper screening before registration and sustained work on the part of the candidate after registration. We are happy to note that rules prescribe theses to be written in *English*. We are also happy to note that there is provision for reference to a third external examiner if there is a difference of opinion between the first two external examiners. As we had commented in some of the earlier issues, this provision ensures justice for the candidate. What, however, seems amusing in the rules is the provision that the examiners are to be selected from a panel of six, three from India and three from outside India. This insistence on foreign examiners is something difficult to understand. No doubt it exists in some of the older Universities (Calcutta, for example) but that does not make it easier for us to understand the rationality behind the practice.

**DNB Project :**

There is nothing much to report on the Dictionary of National Biography Project since the publication of our last number. The Project is progressing steadily and entries are coming in from Contributors quite regularly. Progress in this respect strictly according to **schedule**, cannot of course be expected in a Project like this, with 300 Contributors spread all over the country. We are, however, making every possible effort to keep as close to the schedule as one could hope for under the circumstances. We have already in our hands the major part of the entries and we are still hoping to complete the processing work by March 1970 or latest by the summer of 1970. It is a stupendous task and every caution has to be taken to ensure quality and authenticity, even if it means slight delay in the completion of the Project.

## THE IDEAL HISTORY M.A.

DR. FRANK D. VAN AALST

(University of Rajasthan, Jaipur)

The Education Minister in a recent speech to the Vice-Chancellors' Conference suggested that university syllabi should be standardized. One's first reaction is to scoff. But on second thought the proposal is a challenge to think through the essential components of a degree deserving the name, and raises the syllabus question above the petty local politics into which it tends to fall. History suffers perhaps even more than some other subjects because regionalism so easily becomes an issue as well. Readers of the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* are well aware of the diversity of the M.A. History syllabi. But many of the differences are on minor points. Is there a possibility of standardization? Whenever the question of changing the syllabus arises it is discovered that everyone agrees that changes are needed; but when specific changes are recommended someone has strong objections, usually arising from vested interests. This is perhaps because the discussion begins with specific problems rather than with principles. It is easier to agree on principles, and then there is also the possibility of agreeing on their application. Then the details can be seen in a proper perspective.

What is proposed in this article is to suggest a model on which a standardized M.A. could be constructed, allowing for some local variations. But before even the model can be constructed it is necessary to define certain crucial issues which must be faced in formulating any M.A. syllabus. Six will be mentioned. The first three are applicable to any M.A.; the second three to history in particular. From a discussion of these problems certain principles

can be formulated, and a model constructed. Only then is it proper to ask whether the details are still too difficult to work out. First the problems :

1. *The inflexibility of the eight-paper system.* In the present set-up introducing a new paper means to put aside an old one. This requires an exclusion of what former students have spent one-fourth of one year studying. Any change thus requires major surgery, and everyone wants to avoid that. So we resort to unimaginative tinkering, making minor changes in existing papers, hoping that bandages and patent medicines will keep the critically ill patient alive. Recently there has been serious discussion about major surgery: the introduction of the semester system. This is usually thought of as a device to force everyone to work the whole year, or at least more of it. But there is another much more important reason for adopting this system: it makes possible the abolition of the eight-paper scheme. It is not likely that the semester system will be applied on a wide scale in the near future. But it is almost certain to be applied eventually. Unfortunately some educators are so unimaginative as to think that existing papers would simply be divided in two. Such persons fail to see the opportunity that it provides for imaginative and radical change in the syllabus. The M.A. papers are very uneven. Some are so thin that they could easily be covered in half a year; other papers which it would be healthy to add to the syllabus could equally well be taught in half a year. The greatest advantage to the semester system is that it gives us *sixteen* papers to work with, and this

opens up all sorts of new possibilities. As admitted, the semester system is still a long way off for most universities. But what stops us from preparing for it? The main obstacle is the examination problem. But can't we have our sixteen papers anyway? For the time being they could simply be put in pairs and examined together in a single examination at the end of the year, as now. When the semester system is adopted, the syllabus would be all prepared. At least every educator should take the semester system into account in any changes being made in the syllabus from now on.

2. *The lack of specialized interest in most of the students.* It is an obvious and frustrating fact that most of our Master's degree candidates have no particular interest in the subject they are studying, and no intention of using the knowledge of the subject in their subsequent career. Whenever we think of improving the syllabus or upgrading it, we are confronted with this inert mass. For example, some study of methodology and theory of the discipline is desirable. But this presupposes more interest and more application than most of the students have. At the same time the M.A. classroom is also the end of formal education for the persons who do plan to base their career on what they are studying. There should be advanced courses for them, in methodology and in specialized and detailed study. Again, in the long run there is some possibility of major change. Pre-Ph.D. papers may be introduced, as an M. Litt. or Diploma course. But in the meantime why not simply provide alternatives for some papers designed to separate the general from the specialized student? This can be done even in the present syllabus, but would be easier in the sixteen-paper scheme.

3. *The sterility of post-graduate departments existing in isolation.* Interdepartmental co-operation and interdisciplinary study are generally considered advantageous, but again a final solution is in the unforeseeable future. And yet the direction can be seen, and there are

at least two easy possibilities for a beginning. One is where similar courses are already on the syllabus of two different departments—as for example papers in history of political thought in both History and Political Science departments. It is relatively easy to form a common syllabus for such papers and then to arrange time tables so that students from both departments can be taught together, even if they must for the time being be examined separately. There is a problem in deciding who should do the teaching; but even if neither side gives way and they compete for the honor, the students will learn much from the different approaches as they observe the tussle. The cross-fertilization both among students and teachers which this makes possible is an invaluable gain. Another possibility is to give the student the option of choosing one paper out of his sixteen in some subject related to his overall program in another department. English Literature students might take a paper in Literary Criticism in Hindi or Sanskrit; Sociology students a paper in Statistics, or Political Science students a paper in Public Administration. Each department could schedule papers most likely to be opted for by other departments' students at either an early or a late hour so as to be less likely to conflict with the core of the time tables of other departments.

4. *The predominant emphasis on Indian history.* Although it is understandable and even proper at this juncture that all students spend at least half of their time studying Indian history, it must at the same time be remembered that history at its most profound and most beneficial is a study of the 'other'. More than any other discipline History redeems man from parochialism. Any student of history should be well grounded in non-Indian history. The British-Indian solution was to study modern Europe plus one period of Indian history. It is true that a study of nineteenth century Europe is essential to understanding the modern world, but it is equally important for an educated man to know something more than the history of his own country plus modern Europe. East

Asia, West Asia, Africa and South America are also important. Also modern Russia and the United States deserve special attention. At the other extreme a good case can be made for regional history of India. Both an imperialist and a nationalist prejudice are still reflected in most M.A. syllabi. Again, it is unrealistic to expect much change in the predominance of Indian history. But it is an error to preclude the possibility of our students making any contribution to non-Indian history. A beginning can be made by providing for a secondary specialization in the history of another area of the world.

5. *The weakness of rigid periodization.* The division of Indian history into ancient, medieval and modern tends to overlook the significance of the periods of transition, which are so crucial to a proper understanding of any civilization. A false impression of discontinuity is fostered. To call the period from c. 1200 to c. 1740 the Medieval or Muslim period is to encourage a serious error. It implies that the Muslims were the exclusive factor in the history of the period. This is at best a half truth. It gives undue stress to political-military history, leaves out the history of much of south India, and falsely implies that ancient civilization and culture disappeared. Similarly in the modern period, to trace the rise and fall of the British as the theme of the period is to do great injustice to Indians who resisted their dominance, particularly in the early stages, and makes history the warped story of successive governor-generalships. To correct such errors the dates of all periods should overlap. The ancient period should continue at least up to c. 1200; the medieval should begin perhaps as far back as c. 700 and continue to the end of the eighteenth century. In a sixteen-paper system it might even be possible to have a joint paper where ancient and medieval students worked together on the period from about 700 to about 1200; or a joint medieval-modern paper on the eighteenth century. Also, as this scheme of periodization is a borrowed one, parallel to the western division into ancient, medieval

and modern, the study of related periods elsewhere is of great value. The ancient Indian student could learn much from the study of ancient China or Greece, and the medieval student from medieval Europe or of Islamic civilization in West Asia.

6. *The seeming irrelevance of history to contemporary problems.* The failure of historians to impress upon students the importance of their discipline in the crucial task of national development is a serious lack. If this continues there is justification in questioning whether the discipline should continue to occupy such an important place in the universities. The social sciences have a better claim. Because historians are reluctant to focus their minds on contemporary affairs, clinging to a pretense of objectivity by waiting for the issues to cool off (i.e. become irrelevant); because the story of modern India to the historian is the rise and fall of the British and this story ends with the gaining of independence; and because the social scientists have staked out their claim in post-independence studies—for these reasons the historian has failed to take independent India seriously. Consequently few people other than his colleagues take the historian seriously. This includes our students. They gather from the M.A. syllabus that history is only antiquarian. If we are convinced that history is of value in the Indian University and in the nation, we must reverse this trend by bringing our story up to the present. The student must be enabled to understand how the present came to be. This is not an easy task, and the problems of designing a history paper on contemporary India (say 1935 to 1965) are weighty. But the historian cannot forever act as though history stopped in 1947. The paper which would tackle this problem should be compulsory for all students.

These are some of the problems confronting the educationist. Some solutions have already been suggested. But before attempting a model syllabus let us enunciate the principles arising out of the above analysis, principles which must

be kept in mind when forming the syllabus. First is the overwhelming desirability of a sixteen-paper scheme. Second is the need to provide options in some papers designed to separate the specialized from the general student. Third is the need to re-establish the relevance of history in the popular mind. Fourth is the importance of breaking down the rigidity of departmental separation and historical periodization. Fifth is the advisability of making provision for a secondary specialization. And finally, the importance of planning ahead on the basis of a rational model. To apply these principles it is suggested that the sixteen papers be distributed as follows :

6 basic background papers :

- 2 19th century west
- 2 20th century world
- 2 contemporary India

6 basic Indian history (Ancient, Medieval or Modern)

- 3 political history
- 3 social, economic, intellectual, religious history
- 4 groups of options to make possible specialized papers and secondary specialization.

On this model, the four papers each for four semesters, could be as follows :

*Semester I*

- 1. Europe 1815-1900 or any part thereof.
- 2. International Relations 1900-1950.
- 3. India 1935-65 (a)
- 4. Methodology, or Regional History(a).

*Semester II*

- 5. French Revolution & Napoleon, or America 1865-1950, or Russia 1860-1950.
- 6. China & Japan 1840-1950, or West Asia 1815-1950.
- 7. India 1935-65 (b)
- 8. Political Thought, or Regional History (b), or Other Department Paper.

*Semester III*

- 9. India, Political (a)
- 10. India, Political (b)
- 11. India, Social, Economic, Intellectual (a)
- 12. Professor's specialization, or Essay, or Related Paper:

Ancient: Classical Greece or China, or Art & Architecture.

Medieval: Medieval Europe or Islamic Civilization, or Rajasthan, or Vijayanagar.

Modern: British Constitution, or Modern Africa or Maratha, or 19th Century Britain.

*Semester IV*

- 13. India, Political (c)
- 14. India, non Political (b)
- 15. India, non Political (c)
- 16. (Any second paper listed in 12).

This is only the beginning; the details of the syllabus for each paper are left. It is not the purpose of this paper to spell them out; it is rather intended to suggest the principles and the model. A few clarifications are still required. The model is designed so that the four papers of Semesters I & II, and III & IV can easily be paired to fit the present examination system. This will reduce the flexibility somewhat, but when the semester system is introduced the additional flexibility can readily be restored. It is obvious that every university could not provide all the papers listed. But it is now a common practice to list papers not actually being taught. But if one paper in each group is taught it will equally satisfy the principles. Also, this is related to the possibility of secondary specialization. If a university has someone to teach Chinese History for example, that would determine what was offered in papers 6 and 12, and make it possible for any student to take both of these papers and thus be well grounded in East Asian history. Similarly the presence of a teacher to take the paper in modern West Asia and Islamic civilization would make that emphasis possible. A European specialist could teach both Ancient Greece and Medieval Europe, etc. It is to be

noted that the fourth paper in each semester requires at least two options, one for the specialized student and one for the general. The students should be allowed free choice, but those considering teaching and/or research should be told that they are expected to take the more specialized option.

Perhaps to some these suggestions only complicate the matter ; nevertheless it is hoped that the main point is well taken : it is necessary to proceed rationally in the construction of a syllabus, and this requires the construction

of a model. Suggestions for a better model are welcome. Perhaps the most controversial point made is the inclusion of contemporary history, but this is considered by the writer the most important of all the suggestions made. It offers the historian the chance to prove his worth, to justify the teaching of history as a contribution to national development. In addition, serious discussion of the possibility of standardizing the M.A. History syllabus is important to insure the most economic use of resources in preparing high quality text books and teachers.

## CURRENCY SYSTEM IN MEDIEVAL ORISSA

PINAKI RANJAN MAHAPATRA

Various species of coins of gold, silver and copper were in circulation in medieval Orissa. Cowries formed the lowest medium of exchange for ordinary transactions of the people. The coins current in Orissa in our period may broadly be divided into several categories e.g. (i) coins of Hindu Kings of Orissa (ii) Imperial coins, (iii) coins of other parts of India, (iv) foreign coins and (v) unidentified coins or coins of doubtful identification.

### (i) Coins of Hindu Kings of Orissa

Several kinds of gold and silver coins were current in Orissa during the Hindu period. Of the gold coins current in that period mention may be made of *madhas* and *ganda madhas* which were also sometimes called *niskas* and *ganda niskas* respectively. These were, however, not inscribed coins but pieces of gold of certain weight. The Ganga kings issued small pieces of gold called *fanams*. But we have no evidence of the Gajapati Kings issuing *fanams*. The *Gajapati pagoda* said to have been issued by the Gajapati Kings was really a south Indian coin. A silver coin named *tanka* was current in Orissa in the aforesaid period. But these *tankas* were not stamped coins but were pieces of silver of fixed weight<sup>1</sup>. We have no reference to indicate whether the coins of the Hindu period were in circulation after the conquest of Orissa by the Afghans and later on by the Mughals or not.

### (ii) Imperial coins.

By Imperial coins we mean coins issued by the Mughal Emperors either from the mints in Orissa or outside Orissa. As regards the number of mints in medieval Orissa R. D. Banerjee holds that the "Mughal mint at Cuttack continued to be the only mint in the

province till the end of the rule of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal over Orissa"<sup>1a</sup>. But besides Cuttack we find references to another mint at Jaleswar in Orissa during the period under review. Coins were struck at Jaleswar by Raja Mansingh after his victory over the Afghans in 1592.<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of C. R. Singhal Ilahi type silver rupees were struck here during the reign of Jahangir.<sup>3</sup> There was a proposal to establish a mint at Hariharpur. On becoming Diwan of Orissa Muhammad Hashim Khan<sup>4</sup> summoned the workers of the Cuttack mint to Hariharpur. But imperial sanction was necessary for the working of this mint. So Khan-i-Dauran, the Subahdar, wrote to him (1661) that if he had not got any permission from the Emperor to set up a mint at Hariharpur, the workers must be sent to Cuttack to their former work.<sup>5</sup> It is not known whether Imperial sanction was received. It seems, however, that the mints at Jaleswar and Hariharpur (if one was established at all) were of temporary nature while the mint at Cuttack was a permanent one. So, the aforesaid observation of R. D. Banerjee may be taken as partially correct.

Coins of different varieties, denominations and of different metals e.g. gold, silver and copper, were issued from the mint at Cuttack by the Mughal Emperors. Square coins both of gold and silver were issued from this mint in Akbar's reign and the reading Cuttack Banaras (Cuttack) has been suggested for a dam issued during his reign.<sup>6</sup> Some Ilahi-type<sup>7</sup> rupees of Jahangir were issued from this mint.<sup>8</sup> A gold coin bearing the date 1046 A.H. (1636 A.D.)<sup>9</sup> and the Kalima<sup>10</sup> Ilahi type silver coins of Shah Jahan were issued from this mint.<sup>11</sup>

From here was also issued silver rupee of 'Square areas' type during the reign of Shah Jahan.<sup>12</sup> Gold mohurs and silver rupees struck from here during Aurangzeb's reign have been found. A specimen of the copper coin issued during the latter's reign may be found in the collection of the Punjab Museum, Lahore.<sup>13</sup> A legal drachm<sup>14</sup> struck at Cuttack during the reign of Aurangzeb is in the British Museum.

Silver coins were struck there during the reign of Farrukhsiyar.<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Shah issued from this mint coins of both gold and silver.<sup>16</sup> Several species of silver coins issued from this mint during the reign of Ahmad Shah are known to exist.<sup>17</sup> Some quarter silver rupees were also issued from this mint during his reign.<sup>18</sup> Alamgir II and Shah Alam II also struck silver coins at Cuttack.<sup>19</sup>

An idea about the varieties of coins known to have been issued from the Cuttack mint during the reign of different Mughal Emperors may be gathered from the chart given below :

### Gold Coins (mohur)

| Name of the Emperor. | Mint where struck. |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Akbar                | Cuttack            |
| Shah Jahan           | "                  |
| Aurangzeb            | "                  |
| Muhammad Shah        | "                  |

### Silver Coins

#### A. Rupee

| Name of the Emperor. | Mint where struck. |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| Akbar                | Cuttack            |
| Jahangir             | "                  |
| Shah Jahan           | "                  |
| Aurangzeb            | "                  |
| Farrukhsiyar         | "                  |
| Muhammad Shah        | "                  |
| Ahmed Shah           | "                  |
| Alamgir II           | "                  |
| Shah Alam II         | "                  |

#### B. Legal drachm

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Aurangzeb | " |
|-----------|---|

### C. Quarter rupee

|            |         |
|------------|---------|
| Ahmed Shah | Cuttack |
|------------|---------|

### Copper coins

| Name of the Emperor | Mint where struck |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| Akbar               | Cuttack           |
| Aurangzeb           | "                 |

Besides the aforesaid coins, we have reference to some other coins of Mughal Emperors current in Orissa during the period concerned. The currency of a silver coin called 'any (ana)', 16 of which made one rupee, was noticed by John Marshall (1668-72) at Balasore. The aforesaid silver rupee was equal to 2s. 6d. Though in other places its value was not more than 2s. 3d.<sup>20</sup> The perennial scarcity of coins at Balasore owing to the extensive trade of the place, was perhaps the cause of such high rate of exchange there in comparison with other places.<sup>21</sup> John Marshall has said nothing regarding the identity of the aforesaid coins. But as the Mughal rupee of this period was equivalent to 2s. 3d.,<sup>22</sup> it is possible that the silver rupee referred to above was a Mughal rupee. John Marshall (1668-72) referred to the circulation in Orissa of "great (double, dabal)" pice and "little (Kachcha, light)" pice, the price of which also sometimes rose and fell. 30 pieces of the great pice made one rupee. All these pice were copper coins and were struck during the reign of Shah Jahan and other former Emperors.<sup>23</sup> But nothing is known about the mint or mints from which these coins were issued.

Alexander Hamilton (1708) referred to the circulation of *sicca* rupee<sup>24</sup> and *current* rupee<sup>25</sup> in Orissa. According to him the *sicca* rupee was 11 per cent better than the *current* rupee. One *sicca* rupee was equivalent to 2841 to 3000 cowries while one *current* rupee was equal to 2560 to 2880 cowries.<sup>26</sup> He also mentioned that a Mughal rupee in his period was equivalent to 2500 to 3000 cowries.<sup>27</sup> So, it is likely that the *sicca* rupee mentioned by

him was the newly coined Mughal rupee while the current rupee mentioned by him was a Mughal rupee, the value of which had fallen for being in circulation. Valentyn, the Dutch writer, pointed to three types of rupees e.g. *sicca*, *bazar* and *piet* rupee current at Pipli in the twenties of the eighteenth century. The *sicca* rupee was equivalent to 34 (2720 cowries), 35 (2800 cowries), 36 (2830 cowries), 37 (2960 cowries) *panis*<sup>27a</sup> of cowries while one *bazar* rupee was equal to 28 (2240 cowries), 29 (2320 cowries), 30 (2400 cowries), 31 (2480 cowries) *panis* of cowries. But he said nothing about the value of the *piet* rupee.<sup>28</sup> In 1728 the value of one Mughal rupee was 2720 to 2880 cowries.<sup>29</sup> As the *sicca* rupee referred to by Valentyn almost corresponded to the value of the Mughal rupee of that period, it is very probable that this *sicca* rupee was a newly coined Mughal rupee while the *bazar* rupee was also a Mughal rupee, the value of which had fallen owing to its having been in circulation for sometime. Nothing, however, can be said regarding the *piet* rupee.

### (iii) Coins of other parts of India.

A few coins coming from other parts of India, but not issued by the Mughal Emperors, were also in circulation in Orissa in this period. Of the coins of this category mention may be made of Madras and Arcot rupees.

**Madras Rupee :** This type of rupee was minted at the English East India Company's mint at Madras.<sup>30</sup>

**Arcot Rupee :** Arcot rupee was originally struck by the Nawabs of Arcot in the Madras Presidency. By 1740 the English, the French and the Dutch had obtained the privilege of coining this rupee and the rupees coined by these European nations were known as English, French and Dutch Arcots. The English coined such money at first at Madras and after the battle of Plassey at Dacca and Calcutta. The weight of these coins varied from 171 to 177

grains and contained 160 to 170 grains of pure silver.<sup>31</sup>

The English East India Company used the Madras and Arcot rupees to purchase goods at Balasore. In 1719, 8000 Madras rupees were sent from Bengal to Balasore for starting investment there.<sup>32</sup> In 1738 the authorities of the English East India Company in Calcutta decided to "send a sloop down to Balasore with a supply of two chests of Madras rupees as only those would pass there".<sup>33</sup> In response to the request from Balasore for supply of money the Council at Fort William supplied 6,000 Arcot rupees in October, 1748.<sup>34</sup>

### (iv) Foreign coins.

Several kinds of foreign coins e.g. *Rials of Eight* and *Dollars* were used by the English East India Company for their purchases in Orissa.

**Rial of Eight :** A Spanish silver coin. According to W. H. Moreland the *Rial of Eight* was generally equivalent to two rupees.<sup>35</sup> But in December, 1679 the merchants of Balasore declined to accept even Rs. 212 in exchange of 100 *Rials of Eight*.<sup>36</sup> In 1683 the English authorities at Fort St. George despatched six chests of *Rials of Eight* to Balasore for purchasing goods at the latter place.<sup>37</sup>

**Dollar :** A silver coin of U. S. A., Mexico, Singapore etc. Ten chests of Dollars were sent in August, 1684 from Fort St. George to the English factory at Balasore for facilitating purchases there.<sup>38</sup>

### (v) Unidentified coins.

In medieval Orissa some other coins were also current, but about their identifications very little is known. Captain Brookhaven, the English factor, referred in 1650 to the circulation of 'rupee Morces' at Balasore.<sup>39</sup> Yule's suggestion that it was a round rupee<sup>39a</sup> is not accepta-

ble to Sir William Foster.<sup>39b</sup> It is difficult to say anything definitely about its nature.

One significant aspect of the currency system of medieval India was that "coins were not at this period regarded as fixed standard of value but rather as a form of merchandise, of which the equivalent in other commodities depended upon the weight and the quantity of the coins tendered".<sup>40</sup> Thus in 1711 though the *siccas* coined at Cuttack and Murshidabad were of the same weight and fineness, the *siccas* of the former place passed at Hooghly at 2 or 3 per cent less value than the *siccas* of Murshidabad.<sup>41</sup>

One of the controversial aspects of the currency system of Orissa was whether the English had any mint in Orissa or not. Although the Emperor had the sole authority to issue coins, the *parwana* obtained by the English merchants in 1633 from Mutaqad Khan, the Nawab of Cuttack,<sup>42</sup> had a provision permitting the English to coin money.<sup>43</sup> But the reference to the provision regarding coining money is found only in the account of the *parwana* as given by William Bruton himself.<sup>44</sup> The same *parwana* which is also found in the English Factory Records<sup>44a</sup> and in a manuscript of the British Museum<sup>44b</sup> makes no mention of the provision regarding the power of coining money by the English. Sir William Foster thinks that William Bruton was mistaken in this respect.<sup>45</sup> But Sir William Foster's view cannot be taken to be correct as we have reference to the existence of a mint of the English at Balasore in the mid-seventeenth century. The English factors at Balasore in their letter to the factors at Madras (November 7, 1658) observed that "we have now a mint in Balasore"<sup>46</sup>. About a month later the Hooghly factors in their letter (December 3, 1658) reported to the Company about the threat by the Government of Balasore (Malik Beg) to close the mint there.<sup>47</sup> As Malik Beg was very oppressive and exacted from the English whatever presents he pleased,<sup>48</sup> this threat to close the mint might have been a device to

exact more presents or money from the English.

### Cowrie Currency

One important aspect of the currency system of medieval Orissa was the shortage of metallic currency. Hence cowrie, Hindi *Kauri* (*Kaudi*), Sanskrit *Kapardika*, the small white shell (*Cyprea Moneta*) was used as a medium of exchange.<sup>49</sup> The earliest evidence of the use of cowrie currency in Orissa is to be found in the account of Hiuen Tsang who visited Orissa in the 7th Century A.D. He mentioned that in Kong-u-To<sup>50</sup> "Cowrie shells" were used in "commercial transactions."<sup>51</sup> We find reference to the prevalence of cowrie currency in Orissa also during the reign of the Gajapati Kings.<sup>52</sup>

Even up to recent times the monetary tables and the subhankari method of arithmetic for calculating prices of articles and wages of persons that were prevalent in Orissa were based on cowrie currency. The terms *kada*, *ganda*, *budi*, *pan* etc. related to the cowrie currency current among the people of Orissa till the introduction of decimal coinage in 1957. These facts illustrate the popularity and long-term use of cowrie as a medium of exchange.<sup>53</sup>

Abul Fazl (1596-7) mentioned that in Orissa "money transactions are in Kauries which is a small white shell generally divided down the middle; it is found on the seashore."<sup>54</sup> John Marshall (1668-72) observed "all the small money is cowries."<sup>55</sup> Bowrey in the seventies of the seventeenth century found "cowries (all the moneys known to the ignorant Ourias)".<sup>56</sup> Cowrie was "the common pay" at Balasore, observed Walter Clavell, the English factor in 1676.<sup>57</sup> According to the *Khulasat* (1695-99) "bargaining takes place through the medium of the Kauri which is a small white shell of the ocean."<sup>58</sup> Alexander Hamilton found in 1708 that "cowries pass for money."<sup>59</sup> In 1790 Leckie, an Englishman, mentioned that "there is very little specie in gold and silver in circulation and the rents are paid in cowries."<sup>60</sup>

The payment of revenue in cowries was in vogue in Orissa till the beginning of the 19th Century.<sup>60a</sup>

There is no reference to the production of cowrie in Orissa. Ibn Batuta (1333-1346) made mention of the import of cowrie from the Maldiv Islands to Bengal<sup>60b</sup> and this continued in the later periods also as the foreign travellers of the period under review referred to the import of cowrie into Bengal and Orissa from the Maldiv Islands. Bowrey's observation that cowries were brought to Orissa from the Islands of Maldiv in the seventies of the seventeenth century finds corroboration from the diaries of Streynsham Master, the Agent of the English for the Bay factories,<sup>61</sup> and also from the account of Alexander Hamilton (1708).<sup>62</sup> At the Maldiv Islands cowries were collected from the sea and were kept under the earth for two or three years and then these were taken out and sold in exchange of rice, butter and cloth brought there by the ships from Balasore.<sup>63</sup> As regards the price of cowrie at the Maldives, it may be noted that 40 (3200 cowries) or 42 (3360 cowries) *pans*<sup>63a</sup> of cowries could be bought there for 6 or 7 annas in 1682.<sup>64</sup> Cowrie which was thus very cheap in the Maldives was sold at a high profit in Orissa. In the seventies of the seventeenth century the price of cowrie at Balasore varied between 36 *pans* (2880 cowries) to 42 *pans* (3360 cowries) for a rupee.<sup>65</sup>

This high profit in cowrie trade created rivalries between the Dutch and the English. The Dutch at Balasore carried on profitable trade in cowrie with the Maldiv merchants who frequented the port of Balasore for the purpose of trade. In 1740 the Maldiv king issued a *parwana* in favour of the Dutch. He ordered his subjects that "everyone who trades to this Balasore should always consign under the protection" of the Dutch factory there. The Dutch enjoyed this monopoly of trade from 1740 to 1772. After 1772 the English often interfered with this Dutch trade.<sup>66</sup>

The ratio of exchange between cowrie and the metallic currency varied at different periods. At the time of Purusottamadeva (1470-1497) 8 *Kahans* (10240 cowries) cowries were equivalent to one *tankah*.<sup>66a</sup> Abul Fazl (1596-7) mentioned that "four *kauries* make a *ganda*, five *gandas* a *budi*, four *budis* a *pan*, sixteen or according to some twenty *Pan*, a *khawan* (*kahan*) and ten *khawan*, a rupee."<sup>67</sup> Thus according to him one rupee was equivalent to 12800 or 16000 cowries. John Marshall (1668-72) recorded that four cowries made one *ganda*, five *gandas* one *budi*, four *budis* one *pan*, sixteen *pans* one *kahan* and at Balasore two *kahans* and five or six *pans* passed for one rupee.<sup>68</sup> Thus one rupee was equal to 2960 or 3040 cowries. He also stated that the value of cowrie fluctuated "according to the plenty or scarcity of them;" sometimes 36 *pans* (2880 cowries), 37 *pans* (2960 cowries), 38 *pans* (3040 cowries), 39 *pans* (3120 cowries), 40 *pans* (3200 cowries) for a rupee.<sup>69</sup> Thus a maximum of 11% variation in the value of cowrie has been recorded by him. But Sir Richard Carnac Temple observed that according to John Marshall the price of cowrie was sometimes 31 (2480 cowries), 37 (2960 cowries), 38 (3040 cowries), 40 (3200 cowries) *pans* for a rupee<sup>70</sup> and thus there was 22 % variation in the price of cowrie. While it is difficult to say if Marshall's report mentioned by Sir Richard Carnac Temple or the report cited above from Shafaat Ahmed Khan's edition is correct, it may be said that even in the case of Sir Richard Carnac Temple's observation being correct the variation in the price of cowrie would be 29% and not 22½% as has been mentioned by him. Bowrey in the seventies of the seventeenth century observed that not less than 3200 cowries passed for a rupee.<sup>71</sup> The value of cowrie in his time hardly rose and fell more than two *pans* in one rupee (i.e. 3360 cowries for a rupee) and that also at Balasore when ships laden with cowries from Maldiv Islands reached there.<sup>72</sup> So, according to Bowrey the value of cowrie could vary upto a maximum of 5%. Alexander Hamilton who visited Orissa in 1708 gave different rates of exchange on two different occasions in the

same year. At one time he observed that 80 cowries made one *pan* and 32 to 36 *pans* made one current rupee and one *sicca* rupee was 11% better than one current rupee. So, 2560 to 2880 cowries were equivalent to one current rupee and approximately 2841 to 3197 cowries made one *sicca* rupee.<sup>73</sup> On another occasion he mentioned 2500 to 3000 cowries making one rupee.<sup>74</sup> He has thus recorded 20% variation in the value of cowrie. In 1721 a ship laden with cowries arrived at Balasore and cowrie was sold there at the rate of 35 *pans* or 2800 cowries for a Madras rupee.<sup>75</sup> In 1726,

34 to 35 *pans* (2720 to 2800 cowries) of cowries were equivalent to one rupee.<sup>76</sup> 36 *pans* or 2880 cowries passed for a Madras rupee in 1741 at Balasore.<sup>77</sup> Again in 1743 cowries were bought there at 35 *pans* or 2800 cowries for a Madras rupee after the arrival of two cowrie ships from the Maldives.<sup>78</sup> In the beginning of the nineteenth century 5280 cowries passed for one rupee in Orissa.<sup>79</sup> These aforesaid facts regarding the ratio of exchange between cowrie and metallic currency may be stated in a tabular form as follows :—

|                                     | Rupee                            | Cowries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| During the reign of Purusottamadeva | 1 tankah                         | 10240                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Abul Fazl (1596-7)                  | 1 Rupee                          | 12800 or 16000                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Marshall (1668-72)                  | 1 rupee                          | 2960 or 3040. According to Shafaat Ahmed Khan's edition. Marshall also mentioned that the value of cowrie varied from 2880 to 3200 cowries i.e. variation in price was 11%. But according to Sir Richard Carnac Temple the price of cowrie during Marshall's time varied from 2480 to 3200 cowries i.e. variation in price was 29% |
| Bowrey (1669-1679)                  | 1 rupee                          | 3200 to 3360                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Alexander Hamilton (1708)           | 1 current rupee<br>1 sicca rupee | 2560 to 2880<br>2841 to 3197. Again he <sup>80</sup> mentioned that one rupee was equivalent to 2500 to 3000.                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1721                                | 1 Madras rupee                   | 2800                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1726                                | 1 rupee                          | 2720 to 2800                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1741                                | 1 Madras rupee                   | 2880                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1743                                | 1 Madras rupee                   | 2800                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Beginning of 19th century           | 1 rupee                          | 5280                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

Though we have no reference to the ratio of exchange between cowrie and metallic currency during the period from Abul Fazl to John Marshall i.e. 1596-97 to 1668-72, from a careful study of the above mentioned table it is evident that the value of cowrie rose to a great extent in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. This rise in the value of cowrie was perhaps due to greater demand for cowrie shells on account of its increased use as medium

of exchange owing to the shortage of metallic currency as well as decline of barter system, as has been discussed later on in this paper. But the supply did not increase considerably as a limited quantity of cowries were brought from the Maldives in exchange of rice, cloth and other necessities of life, which has been discussed in the Section dealing with foreign trade. The above table again shows a fall in the value of cowrie in the beginning of the

nineteenth century. This depreciation in the value of cowrie was certainly due to increased supply of cowrie shells after the Europeans had taken active interest in the cowrie trade in the second half of the eighteenth century as discussed above. Moreover, after 1807 when the British Government in Orissa declined to accept cowrie for payment of revenue, the demand for cowrie fell considerably and brought about a proportionate fall in its price also.<sup>81</sup>

### Bill of exchange

Owing to the shortage of currency and the risk of transport the use of the bill of exchange (*hundi*) was in vogue in medieval Orissa. In 1624 Shah Quli Khan<sup>82</sup> the appointed Governor of Orissa by the rebel prince Shah Jahan, wrote to Mirza Nathan<sup>83</sup> to send him five thousand cavalry and at the same time to let him know the amount spent in sending them to Orissa so that it might be paid by a bill of exchange.<sup>83</sup> Streyntsham Master asked in 1679 Vincent, the English factor who was at Hooghly, to supply money to Balasore factory by drawing bills of exchange upon the Kasimbazar factory in the case of non-availability of ready money.<sup>84</sup> In obedience to this instruction a bill was drawn on Kashimbazar factory for Rs. 7,000/-.<sup>85</sup> The Hooghly factors paid the bill of exchange for Rs. 6,000 received from Balasore in 1680.<sup>86</sup> In 1683 the English authorities at Hooghly, decided to accept Muttrassaw's<sup>87</sup> (Mathura-saw), a broker's bill on the merchants at Balasore for Rs. 50,000.<sup>88</sup> The Fort William authorities permitted Mr. Heath at Balasore to draw a bill of exchange of 8,000 Madras rupees on them in favour of Bhaghabat Pal in 1747-48 in order to carry on investment there.<sup>89</sup>

### Barter system

As the supply of metallic currency was not adequate, barter system *i.e.* exchange of goods for goods was prevalent in medieval Orissa. Walter Clavell, the English factor, in his account of trade at Balasore observed in 1676 that there the English "begun a trade of Barter,

first of goods and in the interloping times<sup>90</sup> a trade of Barter for money and goods, each Factor of the particular ships endeavouring to out do the other, whereby the whole was brought to a necessity of Driving this trade or at trade for ready money."<sup>91</sup> The aforesaid observation tends to show that the barter system gradually declined owing to the increase of competition in trade.

### Shroffs

In view of the circulation of various types of coins the service of the shroffs (money changers) became indispensable. They not only changed various types of money but exchanged bullion also for ready money. Cullean Paul (Kalyan Paul) was a shroff of "goods repute" at Balasore in the eighties of the seventeenth century.<sup>92</sup> The English often sold gold to the shroffs for having money for investment. Due to the inconvenience that the English had to face in coining money at Balasore the Kasimbazar factors proposed in 1677 to sell gold to the shroffs and to coin these in the name of the English in Cuttack.<sup>93</sup> The shroffs sometimes demanded much discount for changing bullion to money. So, the Hooghly factors advised Richard Edwards at Balasore in 1678 to sell *Rials of Eight* and gold at the highest rate to avoid the loss that would be incurred if sold to the shroffs.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes the Governors also acted as money changers and speculators. Considering the scarcity of money in 1675, Malik Kasim, the Governor of Balasore (here Governor means perhaps Faujdar) offered to the English "Rs. 200 for 240 weight of silver". But the English did not accept the offer.<sup>95</sup>

### System of Money lending

Money lending business was carried on in Orissa during the period concerned. William Bruton, the English merchant, stated in 1633 that the people lent money without any security. They "lend without witness or any sealing of writings, even upon their own words." But anybody denying his promise to repay back

the debt "hath the tops of his finger cut off."<sup>96</sup> This indicates the existence of a high sense of business morality and also accounts for the absence of any reference to the rate of interest in the case of borrowings by the native people of Orissa. We have, however, references to the

rate of interest in the case of borrowings of the English East India Company for investment. In 1650 James Bridgman made mention of three per cent interest per month.<sup>97</sup> In 1719 the English at Balasore borrowed money at one and half per cent interest per month.<sup>98</sup>

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- <sup>1</sup> P. Mukherjee *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, 153-158.
- <sup>2a</sup> R. D. Banerjee *History of Orissa* II, 88.
- <sup>2</sup> *Akbarnamah* ed. Beveridge, III, 940.
- <sup>3</sup> C. R. Singhal, *Mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi*, 5.
- <sup>4</sup> Muhammad Hashim Khan (March 1661-1663 dismissed).
- <sup>5</sup> Muraqat 146-147; J. Sarkar, *—Studies in Mughal India*, 222.
- <sup>6</sup> C. R. Singhal, *Mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi*, 1, 3; R. B. Whitehead *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, II, XCV.
- <sup>7</sup> In the thirtieth year of his reign Akbar initiated a change in his currency. He began to date his coins from the first year of his reign and he called this new era the *Ilahi* or Divine era. This *Ilahi* era was used by Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Murad Baksh often together with the Hijri date. (R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XX-XXI, XXVII.)
- <sup>8</sup> R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV.
- <sup>9</sup> C. R. Singhal, *Mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi*, 6; *"Bibliography of Indian coins"*, II 75; J. N. S. I. 1940, 128.
- <sup>10</sup> The *Kalima* is the Muhammedan profession of faith. It was inscribed on the coins of the Mughal Emperors. But from Aurangzeb's time the use of *Kalima* on the coins was dropped till again it was revived by Alamgir II (R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XX, XXII-XXIII.)
- <sup>11</sup> R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV; C. R. Singhal *"Bibliography of Indian Coins"*, II, 101; J. A. S. B. 1905 Numismatic Supplement V, 128.
- <sup>12</sup> C. R. Singhal, *"Bibliography of Indian coins"*, II, 69; J. A. S. B. 1893 Numismatic Supplement II, 245, R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV.
- <sup>13</sup> R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV, 268; C. R. Singhal *"Mint towns of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi"*, 7.
- <sup>14</sup> The legal drachms are square silver coins, though a round one is also known to exist and weighed about 46 grams. "Apparently they had some bearing on dowry and the Muhammedan Law and were struck by the intensely orthodox Aurangzeb" to facilitate the assessment of Zakat, which according to the Muhammedan Law, was paid by a person possessing property of the value of 200 dirhams (drachms). A coin of this type issued during Farrukhsiyar's reign is also known to exist. Coins of this type were issued from some half-dozen mints of which mention may be made of Allahabad, Lahore, Multan, Cuttack and Patna. (R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XXV-XXVII, 437).
- <sup>15</sup> R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV.
- <sup>16</sup> R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.*, II, XCV; C. R. Singhal *"Bibliography of Indian coins"*, II, 151; J.A.S.B., 1950, Numismatic Supplement, V, 131;
- <sup>17</sup> C. R. Singhal *"Bibliography of Indian Coins"*, II, 116; J.A.S.B. 1918 Numismatic Supplement XXXI, 341.
- <sup>18</sup> C. R. Singhal, *"Bibliography of Indian Coins"*, II, 138; J.A.S.B. 1918 Numismatic Supplement XLIII, 59.
- <sup>19</sup> Lanepoole, *"Catalogue of Muhammedan coins in the Bodleian Library"*, 43; M. K. Hossain *"Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors"*, 193; C. R. Singhal *"Bibliography of Indian Coins"*, II, 152.
- <sup>20</sup> Marshall, 415.
- <sup>21</sup> Jagadish Narayan Sarkar *"Medieval Orissa's Sea-ports—Balasore"* in J.B.O.R.S. 1950, 171.
- <sup>22</sup> W. H. Moreland *"India at the death of Akbar"*, 51-52.
- <sup>23</sup> Marshall, 416.
- <sup>24</sup> *Sicca* rupee: A term used to denote the newly coined rupees which were at batta over those worn or assumed to be worn by use. (Hobson-Jobson 834b-835a.)
- <sup>25</sup> *Current* rupee: *Current* or *Chalani* rupee "was not a coin but the money of account." One hundred *sicca* rupees which had been in circulation for two years were considered equivalent to 111 *current* rupees in value and were then called *sonaut* rupees. (J. C. Sinha *op. cit.*, 112-113, 112n).
- <sup>26</sup> Alexander Hamilton II, 171.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 193.
- <sup>28a</sup> Eighty cowries made one *pan*.
- <sup>28</sup> Valentyn V, part I, 179a.
- <sup>29</sup> M. M. Chakravarti *"Troy weights and general currency of ancient Orissa"* in J.A.S.B. 1892 Part I, 48.
- <sup>30</sup> J. C. Sinha *"Economic Annals of Bengal"*, 12-13.
- <sup>31</sup> J. C. Sinha *op. cit.*; 113n-114n;
- <sup>32</sup> K. K. Datta, *"Survey of India's Social Life and Economic condition in the 18th century 1707-1813"*, 235.
- <sup>33</sup> C. R. Wilson, *"Early Annals of the English in Bengal"*, III, 95.
- <sup>34</sup> S. Bhattacharya *"East India Company and the economy of Bengal"*, 124.
- <sup>35</sup> Letter from Fort William to the Court 19th November, 1748 Para 79; Letter from Fort William to the Court 10th August, 1749, para 22.
- <sup>36</sup> W. H. Moreland *"From Akbar to Aurangzeb"*, 330.
- <sup>37</sup> EFI 1678-84 New Series IV, 246.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.
- <sup>40</sup> EFI 1646-50, 333-334; Hedges III, CLXXXV.
- <sup>41a</sup> Hedges III, CLXXXVn.
- <sup>41b</sup> EFI 1646-50, 334n.
- <sup>42</sup> W. H. Moreland *"India at the death of Akbar"*, 55. S. S. Kulshreshtha also supports Moreland's view. (S. S. Kulshreshtha *"The Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals (1526-1707 A.D.)"*, 134.
- <sup>43</sup> Letter from Fort William to the Court, 7th January, 1711, para, 52.
- <sup>44</sup> Mutaqad Khan (1632-1641).
- <sup>45</sup> William Bruton in Osborne II, 275.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 275.
- <sup>47a</sup> EFI 1655-60, 411-412.
- <sup>47b</sup> Additional MS no. 24039,

- <sup>45</sup> EFI 1655-60, 412.  
<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 192.  
<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 407-408.  
<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, 192.  
<sup>49</sup> Hobson-Jobson 269a.  
<sup>50</sup> This place has been identified with Ganjam which was then supposed to be included in the province of Orissa (S. Beal "Si-yu-Ki Buddhist Records of the Western World", II, 206n).  
<sup>51</sup> S. Beal *op. cit.*, II, 207.  
<sup>52</sup> P. Mukherjee *op. cit.*, 157-158.  
<sup>53</sup> S. C. Dey "The cowrie currency in India" in O.H.R.J. April, 1952, 1-2.  
<sup>54</sup> *Ain ed. J & S*, II, 138.  
<sup>55</sup> Marshall, 415.  
<sup>56</sup> Bowrey, 200.  
<sup>57</sup> Master, II, 85.  
<sup>58</sup> *Khulasat* 32a; J. Sarkar "India of Aurangzib", 47.  
<sup>59</sup> Alexander Hamilton, I, 193.  
<sup>60</sup> *Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories*, 56.  
<sup>61a</sup> Radhakamal Mukherjee "The Economic History of India", 38.  
<sup>61b</sup> M. Husain "The Rehla of Ibn Batuta", 201.  
<sup>62</sup> Bowrey, 200; Master II, 236.  
<sup>63</sup> Alexander Hamilton I, 218.  
<sup>64</sup> Marshall, 415; Alexander Hamilton, I, 192-193.  
<sup>65a</sup> Eighty cowries made one *pan*.  
<sup>65b</sup> Instructions to Mr. Stanley for the Maldives from the Court, 20th September 1682. Letter Book No. 7 as quoted in Bowrey 218n-219n.  
<sup>66</sup> Marshall 415, 419; Bowrey 200, 219.  
<sup>67</sup> K. K. Datta "The Dutch Factory at Balasore and the Anglo-Dutch hostilities there in 1786-87" in PIHRC, Dec. 1942, 86, 88-89 based on two letters of Lawrence D'Costa, the Dutch Agent at Balasore to Issac Fittingh, Governor of the Council at Chinsura dated the 23rd October, 1787 and 10th October, 1788.  
<sup>68a</sup> M. M. Chakravarti "Troy weights and general currency of ancient Orissa" in JASB 1892 Part I, 48.  
<sup>68b</sup> This *tankah* was probably of the Bahmani kings and its weight was 165 grains of which 160 grams were pure silver. (M. M. Chakravarti *op. cit.*, JASB 1892 Part I, 48).  
<sup>69</sup> *Ain ed J & S* II, 138.  
<sup>70</sup> Marshall, 419.  
<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 415.  
<sup>72</sup> Bowrey 218n-219n.  
<sup>73</sup> D. C. Sarkar has followed Sir Richard Carnac Temple and has mentioned that sometimes 31, 37, 38 or 40 *pans* of cowries passed for a rupee i.e. the price of cowrie varied up to 22 % (D. C. Sarkar "Coinage during late medieval period" in J. N. S. I. 1945, 86).  
<sup>74</sup> Bowrey, 200.  
<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 219.  
<sup>76</sup> Alexander Hamilton II, 171.  
<sup>77</sup> *Ibid* I, 193.  
<sup>78</sup> C. R. Wilson "Early Annals of the English in Bengal", III, 347.  
<sup>79</sup> M. M. Chakravarti. "Troy weights and general currency of ancient Orissa" in JASB 1892 Part I, 48.  
<sup>80</sup> Letter from Fort William to the Court, 11th December, 1741 para, 118.  
<sup>81</sup> Letter from Fort William to the Court, 3rd February, 1743, para, 65.  
<sup>82</sup> Radhakamal Mukherjee *op. cit.*, 38.  
<sup>83</sup> Alexander Hamilton, however, did not mention if this rupee was current rupee or sicca rupee.  
<sup>84</sup> S. C. Dey "Cowrey currency in Orissa" in OHRJ 1952, 12-13 and "Cowrey currency in India" in OHRJ, 1952, 9-10.  
<sup>85</sup> Shah Quli khan is the title given to Muhammad Taqi Simsa. He served under prince Shah Jahan. He was deputed to lead the expedition against Kangra. Then he was appointed Faujdar of Malwa and commander of the garrison at Mandu. When prince Shah Jahan came to Orissa from Tellingana in 1624 he made Shah Quli Khan, the Governor of Orissa.  
<sup>86a</sup> Mirza Nathan was given the title Shitab Khan by Jahangir. He was a Mughal general and took leading part in all the campaigns in Bengal and Assam during the reign of Jahangir and also at the time when Shah Jahan rebelled and temporarily occupied Bengal. (Baharistan ed. Borah I, XVIII-XIX).  
<sup>86b</sup> Baharistan ed. Borah II, 744.  
<sup>87</sup> Master II, 296-297, 310.  
<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, II, 310.  
<sup>89</sup> Bengal and Madras Papers I, 3.  
<sup>90</sup> Referred to as Maturadas, Chief Merchant at Hooghly in English Factory Records (EFI 1678-84 New Series IV, 328).  
<sup>91</sup> Hedges II, 74.  
<sup>92</sup> Letter from Fort William to the Court 10th January 1747-48, Para 166, 169; K. K. Datta "India House Correspondence", 229.  
<sup>93</sup> This expression refers to the period after 1635 when the Courten Association acted as rival to the English East India Company in regard to trade in India. (Master II, 85n).  
<sup>94</sup> Master II, 85.  
<sup>95</sup> Bengal and Madras Papers I, 6, Sundry Book 1680-81, 53.  
<sup>96</sup> Sundry Book 1677-78, 5.  
<sup>97</sup> Bengal and Madras Papers, I, 87; Sundry Book 1677-78, 100.  
<sup>98</sup> EFI 1670-77, New Series, II, 391.  
<sup>99</sup> William Bruton in Osborne II, 278.  
<sup>100</sup> EFI 1646-50, 338.  
<sup>101</sup> C. R. Wilson "Early Annals of the English in Bengal", III, 158.

## BACKGROUND TO THE CORNWALLIS CODE

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"One of the greatest boons", observed Mr. Justice Vivian Bose recently, "that the English conferred on India was to introduce the Rule of Law into the land and to embed it so firmly into the lives of the people that its displacement seems unlikely in any foreseeable future."<sup>1</sup> This rule of law, however, evolved through a long process of interaction of indigenous and English systems of justice during the latter half of the eighteenth century. But no systematic and comprehensive study has so far been made on various aspects of law, judicial procedure and personnel under the early British rule resulting in the emergence of a modern judicial system in this country. Even the latest work, "Background to Indian Criminal Law" (published in 1963) by Dr. Tapas Kumar Banerjee has noted certain aspects of criminal law without any analysis of civil law and important judicial personnel. But the time has come to commence making a dispassionate appraisal of the effect of the impact of the British conceptions upon the development of law and administration in India. This is particularly necessary in view of the revolutionary changes made in the nature of the law, procedure and personnel in the Courts in recent times. These changes have been possible only because of the existence of a basic Code of law which, in all fairness it should be admitted, has not been the Indian Penal Code of 1860. The basic Code has been the Cornwallis Code, upon which is based the modern judicial system in this country.

An examination of this subject necessarily requires a close study of civil and criminal laws of the Hindus and Muslims prior to their modification by the English. For, in the

archival records very often names of different laws, particularly Muslim laws with Arabic names, are noted without any explanation of their implications. Besides, sometimes the name of a particular law has been spelled in various ways in the same page of a Proceedings volume. As a result, without a prior knowledge of indigenous laws it is practically impossible to understand the records in the Archives. Interesting informations are available from records like Bengal Revenue and Judicial Consultations, Commissioner of Law Suits Proceedings, Judicial Letters from and to Bengal etc. These archival records throw much light on different aspects of law, hitherto unknown, through several cases. These case-histories again are very often too much lengthy—sometimes a case covers as many as six large volumes. Obviously they may puzzle many because of their dryness, but they must be scrutinised carefully as each and every point in the course of hearing is necessary to the development of a case.

Records in the High Court too, are informative, but they are not systematically arranged so that sometimes it becomes difficult to get the complete picture of a case.

Besides these records, some rare contemporary pamphlets throw much light on important judicial personnel like the Vakils and the Jury. A close study of these sources reveal that the need of reform in the judicial administration of this country was slowly but steadily felt by the English rulers who introduced several Judicial Plans in Bengal. The climax was reached when Lord Cornwallis laid down the first Code of law in Bengal.

An understanding of this Code obviously requires at least a bird's eye view of the sources, conception and character of indigenous laws, both civil and criminal. Both Hindu and Muslim laws were profoundly founded upon revelation. The Hindus were guided by the *Sruti* constituting the *Veda* and the *Smriti* comprising the *Dharmashastra*. The *Dharmashastra* comprehends law in its usual sense and is generally understood as meaning exclusively forensic law and civil duties, which are considered by the Hindu lawyers under the distinct heads of private contest and forensic practice. The former comprehends law private and criminal, while the latter includes the forms of procedure, the rules of pleading, the law of evidence, adverse titles, oaths and ordeal. In case of the Muslims the *Quran* was regarded as the fountain-head and first authority of all laws, civil and criminal. Whenever the *Quran* was not found applicable to any particular case, recourse was had to the *Sunnah* (precept and example) or *Hadis* (sayings, tradition), that is, the oral law. The *Sunnah* and *Hadis* again were divided into two classes—the *Kads* (Holy) which were supposed to have been directly communicated to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel: and the *Nabawi* (prophetic) or those which were from the Prophet's own mouth. In addition to all these, there were two other sources of Muslim law: the *Ijma* (Concurrence) and the *Kiyas* (ratiocination). While *Ijma* was composed of the decisions of the companions of Muhammad (*Sahabah*), and the disciples of the companions (*Tabium*), the *Kiyas* consisted of analogical deductions derived from a comparison of the *Quran*, the *Sunnah* and the *Ijma*.

Originating in different sources and circumstances, Hindu civil laws differed in more than one respect from the civil laws of the Muslims. Without going into the details, it would be interesting here to refer to the conspicuous differences between Hindu and Muslim civil laws on the right of inheritance and succession. Muhammad Reza Khan himself was vocal on this point; "According to the Decrees of a

Bengalee Batta Charige (Bhattacharya), a Daughter who by our Laws would be entitled to a share of her Father's Estate is entirely rejected. The Divisions given to the several sons is more or less according to their Age. An adopted son is deemed by them a valid Heir & if a son & a Daughter are born of the same Mother, the one is allowed the whole Estate of their deceased Father, the other is totally deprived of any claim."<sup>2</sup> In one respect, however, Muslim law stood at par with Hindu law. This was in regard to the custom of primogeniture con-founded with law. According to this long established custom, upon the death of the father, his property entirely devolved to his eldest son or his next heir, to the exclusion of all other sons or relatives. This custom, known for a long time as 'Kulachara', was 'repugnant both to the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws' but came to be applied as law in its real sense.<sup>3</sup> However, this similarity between the Hindu and Muslim practices was conspicuously absent on the question of arbitration. In civil disputes the Hindus very often favoured and took recourse to the method of arbitration in settling their disputes. The village institutions like the panchayets very often settled their civil disputes by arbitration chosen by the parties themselves. This method was popular for a number of reasons. First, the law of Scriptures sometimes badly lacked the determining rule which could be found in the local customs and usages. Besides, the Quranic law supplied no rule for the decision of civil suits in which non-Muslims were involved. Even in matters of Quranic law precision was not maintained, because the profession of law was in the hands of persons, who derived their knowledge 'by inheritance' or possessed it 'by intuition, without any previous study or application'. Naturally the Hindus often settled their disputes by arbitration. But the method of arbitration was opposed to Islamic law, particularly in matters relating to inheritance and succession to landed property. This was made clear by Muhammad Reza Khan himself, in a lengthy memorial to the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad. Muhammad Reza Khan maintained

that disputes concerning inheritance, possession, hereditary property, purchase, assignments which were regulated and decided by the laws of the Scripture in the country should not be left to the arbitrators 'whose Judgements & Decrees may differ so widely from the peculiar Precepts of the Mussalman Faith'.<sup>4</sup>

In criminal affairs the law was the Muslim penal law. Considerable variety in interpretation of the law led to the development of a number of Schools of Jurisprudence, among which four were prominent. They were named after their founders, Abu Hanifa (Hanifites), Malik Ben Anas (Malikites), Muhammad Ash Shafi (Shafites) and Ahmed Ben Hanbal (Hanbalites). The criminal administration of the Mughals was guided by the principles of Abu Hanifa and two of his reputed disciples, Abu Yusuf and Muhammad. Out of their treatises and commentaries emerged the *Hidaya* and *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* both of which together formed the Muslim criminal law prevalent in Bengal. But in more than one instance the preceptor and his disciples differed from each other. As a result, every *Qazi* was at liberty to follow his own judgement in interpreting the law, being bound by no commentator's authority, not even by his own earlier interpretation of the law.

Besides this uncertainty of the law, the very conception of crime itself was contrary to the British conception. With exceptions, crime was considered to be a wrong done to the injured party, not an offence against the State, and punishment was regarded as the private right of the aggrieved party alone. "The fundamental difference between the Muhammadan Criminal Law and that of England", observed the Supreme Council, "consists in this. That by the former many crimes are considered as private injuries which by the latter are public offences."<sup>5</sup> This principle entitled individuals aggrieved to forgive or compound with the offender. There were cases where none of the relatives of a murdered person would come forward to prosecute the murderer, owing to

their ignorance of the crime, or more often owing to their fear of the murderer, and in such cases the offender could not be punished, although he could be kept in prison for an indefinite period—which was no less an evil—till some one would come forward to demand his punishment.

Besides, Muslim law confused 'sin' and 'crime'. It punished the violation of moral or religious principles which were injurious neither to the individual nor to the public, whereas it left other acts, which were detrimental to the public interest to be punished in the other world.

What was absurd, the principle on which the intention of a murderer was adjudged under the Muslim law was unsound—the test being the type of the instrument used to commit the offence. The absurdity of this principle was pointed out by Warren Hastings with reference to a contemporary case.<sup>6</sup> A man held the head of a child under water till she was suffocated, and took away her clothes and ornaments which she wore. As this deliberate murder was not committed with any sharp weapon, he was condemned to pay a fine of Rs. 3333-5-4 only. Such a practice, in the opinion of Hastings, was productive of two evils; on the one hand, decisions founded on such strange distinctions proved unequal and irregular; on the other, the offender hardly had any fear of a penalty which, he knew, could never be literally inflicted upon him.

In fact, these prominent characteristics of Muslim penal law were inherent in its four principles by which crime was punished. These principles were—*Qisas* or retaliation, *Diyut* or blood-money, *Huda* or defined punishment, *Tazir* and *Siyasa* or discretionary punishment.

*Qisas* or retaliation was due to the injured party; his heirs or representatives, for Wilful Homicide (*Qatl-i-Amd*) or severe bodily injury. The School of Abu Hanifa did not include the voluntary act of killing as Wilful Homicide

unless it was done with a deadly weapon. In case equal retaliation was not possible, compensation could be made in money, a form of retribution which, being the right of the 'wali' or heirs of the slain, could either be claimed or remitted by them. This was known as *Diyat* which was not applicable in cases of Homicide by Error ('*Kuth-i-Khula*'). *Qisas* was not applicable when the person slain was a descendant of the slayer. Further, *Qisas* being the right of the heir, it could not be awarded against a master for the murder of his slave, because the master was the only person entitled to demand it. Theoretically, the non-Muslims, living under the protection of the Muslim ruler, as *Zimmis*, were entitled to demand *Qisas*. But such a right was nullified by several rules. Homicide was, for instance, justifiable in the advancement of Islam against hostile infidels, in killing an apostate from the faith of Islam etc. The principle of *Qisas*, in the opinion of Hastings, was of 'barbarous construction'. He observed: "It is a law, which, if rigidly observed would put the life of every parent in the hands of his son."

The principle of *Huda* was applied to the fixed and immutable penalties prescribed by the law for certain offences—*Zina* (illicit intercourse), apostasy, theft, highway robbery and robbery with murder.<sup>7</sup> Apostasy was punishable by death. A married person committing adultery or fornication was to be stoned to death, while an unmarried person committing such a crime was to be scourged with a hundred stripes. False accusation of adultery and drinking were both punishable by eighty stripes. The punishment for theft was to cut off the right hand, but both hands and feet were to be mutilated for highway robbery. Robbery with murder was punishable by death, but in case of a simple robbery the right hand and the left foot were to be amputated. This punishment expected was to deprive the culprit of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner.<sup>8</sup> So it was very often applied and archival and other contemporary records contain numerous cases where the principle was effected. Only

one case would illustrate the horror and cruelty attached to the principle.<sup>9</sup> In 1789 a gang of fourteen dacoits were found guilty of burglary at Krishnagar and were tried at the Criminal Court at Salkia in Howrah. They were sentenced to loss of limbs. At 1 p.m. on Sunday, 15 February, 1789 they were brought out to undergo the sentence passed upon them, to the Sair Bazar, a little to the southward of the then Orphan House. One of the dacoits was extended upon his back, with a fillet or band covering his mouth, and tied at the back of his head, to prevent his cries being heard by the others, who were witnesses of the fate they themselves were to experience. He was then pinioned to the ground with only his right hand and left leg at liberty. This being done, the operator began to amputate the hand. It was performed with an instrument like a covering knife, not at a stroke, but by cutting and hacking round about the wrist, to find out the joint; and in about three minutes the hand was off. The same mode was observed in amputating the foot at the ankle joint. Both operations were completed within eight minutes only. After the hand and foot were off, the extremities of the wounded parts were dipped in boiling ghee. He was then left to his fate. The other thirteen criminals were next served in the same manner. The hands and feet of all the criminals were thrown into the river. Four of them died a little later mainly because of the influence of the sun on the wounded parts and want of care.

This principle of mutilation of limbs was sharply criticised by Hastings and Cornwallis. Hastings observed: "Mutilation, which is too common a sentence to the Muhamedan Courts, though it may deter others, yet renders the criminal a burthen of the public."<sup>10</sup> Cornwallis characterised the principle as 'cruel' and recommended for its abolition. But no less cruel and arbitrary principles were *Tazir* and *Siyasa*. These principles enabled the Sovereign to punish a criminal at his own discretion. It might be imprisonment, exile, exposure to public insult and scourging not exceeding thirty-nine stripes. In practice, the application of

the two principles of *Tazir* and *Siyasa* became arbitrary and uncertain. For, in any society there are few individuals who can be trusted with so wide a discretion.

These main principles of Muslim criminal law, when judged by modern standards of justice, were perhaps cruel and barbarous. In all fairness, however, it should be admitted that the Code of Hammurabi in Babylon and the Code of Draco in Greece were no less severe in their provisions. It should be admitted that Muslim legal system was on the whole mild, and it afforded opportunities to criminals to escape rather than suffer those punishments. This was particularly possible because of the principle of Evidence, with all its emphasis on Confession as the best evidence to secure conviction. To justify the conviction of Homicide, it was necessary to declare it to have been committed wilfully. A sentence of retaliation needed the positive testimony of two credible eye-witnesses. The testimony of women, slaves and non-Muslims was held insufficient in proving a charge of Wilful Homicide or other crimes punishable by *Qisas* or *Huda*. The Muslim law excluded the evidence of prosecutors and accomplices in cases of murder and a distinction was made by it, between the persons who committed a murder and those who assisted in the same. If the accused was a Muslim, the witness against him was to be necessarily a Muslim. No Muslim could be convicted on the evidence of a non-Muslim, but the latter could be punished on the evidence of a Muslim or any person of a different religion. What was peculiar, if the evidence failed to subject the offender to suffer death, the law did not acquit him and exempt him from punishment, but declared him convicted of murder and liable to confinement for life or for a term of years at the discretion of the Court.

What was worst of all, the contents of Muslim penal law were not known to the majority of the people, as the Hindus who formed the bulk of the population were ignorant of the language in which the law was written. In fact, this law

was suitable for a small, homogenous and primitive community, but was unsuitable for a vast cosmopolitan community. A change in the law was badly needed to suit the people. But unlike in other parts of the contemporary world, the Muslim rulers were apathetic towards any change in the outworn penal law of the country. The absence of a dynamic conception of law was at the root of all evils.

So the system continued and the Islamic institution of the Police officer called *Muhtasib* was to prevent breaches of law and act as censor of morals. In course of time were created town officials and rural Police agents. The former included the *Kotwal* and *Faujdar* while the latter were formed by the *paiks* or *chaukidars*. The latter came to be maintained mostly by the zemindars and farmers during the last days of the Mughals. As a consequence, the zemindars and farmers captured the reins of authority over the rural districts, while the Nawab's authority came to be restricted to the chief cities and towns.

After coming to power, the British could hardly ignore the defective administrative apparatus and the incongruities of Muslim law. Hence started a period of experiments through which attempts were made to remove the obscurities and harmonize the inconsistencies of the prevalent legal system. It is not feasible here to go through the forces and factors that led to the failure of Hastings to effect a sound administrative apparatus in Bengal. Nevertheless the failure of Hastings encouraged Cornwallis to adopt drastic steps for the foundation of a workable administrative system. The reports of several Judges and Magistrates made it clear to Cornwallis that 'the good of the community required' a change in the law and administrative set up of the country. On 3 December, 1790 he observed—"...if we cannot introduce a system of jurisprudence as perfect as might be wished, it is our interest as rulers of the country and a duty we owe to our subjects to see that the law as it exists is duly administered, that the evils resulting from the maladministration of

it, may not be superadded to those which are consequent of its inherent defects."<sup>11</sup> On November 17, 1790 Cornwallis was more clear to the Court of Directors—"Your possessions in this country cannot be said to be well-governed, nor the lives and property of your subjects to be secure, until the shocking abuses and the wretched administration of justice in the Faujdary department can be corrected."<sup>12</sup> So he effected several reforms during 1790-1792. All these were revised and incorporated into the Code on 1 May, 1793. It is not possible to go into the details of this Code. We will concentrate mainly on several aspects of law and important judicial personnel in the Courts.

The first and foremost need for a uniform judicial system, Cornwallis was aware, was the preservation of its sanctity. Before the promulgation of the Code, justice was associated with revenue and the requirements of revenue influenced and guided the administration of justice. It was admitted by Justice Anstruther that civil justice was "looked upon as accessory to the collection of revenue and as meriting attention only in so far as it was conducive to its security and its increase."<sup>13</sup> The system resulted in numerous difficulties which were pointed out by the preamble to Regulation II of the Code. The Collectors had to suspend their judicial functions whenever they were called upon to attend to the duties of revenue. Besides, the people who had been aggrieved by them in one capacity, could never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Moreover, the financial occupations of the Collectors equally disqualified them from administering the laws. In order to avoid these difficulties Reg. II separated justice from revenue. The Revenue Board was divested of its powers as a Court of Appeal. The Collectors were denied the authority of trying any cause related to revenue. All such causes were henceforward to be decided by the established Courts of justice. Thus direct control of justice by revenue authorities was now put to an end, although the executive still maintained some indirect control over justice through the 41st Regulation.

Copies of proceedings of the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Nizamat Adalat* were sent to England for their scrutiny by the Directors. But this system created difficulties and the Directors were not happy with the situation. Ultimately Reg. XVI of 1805 ensured a complete separation of justice from revenue and sanctity of justice was thus secured.

Sanctity of justice, however, could only be maintained by a thorough reform in the conception, content and character of the indigenous laws. For, it is law that not only controls but creates justice. Sec. 56 of Reg. IX abrogated the iniquitous principle of evidence whereby Muslim criminals could not be capitally convicted on the evidence of a non-Muslim. It was laid down—"The religious persuasions of witnesses shall not be considered as a bar to the conviction or condemnation of a prisoner". Disputes now could be tried only in the Courts. At the same time Reg. XI abrogated the custom of primogeniture and introduced several rules for succession to landed property. On the death of a proprietor of land without any Will and written or verbal declaration specifying the name of his successor and manner of his succession, all his successors were entitled to a share of his property. In such cases the successors were at liberty "to hold the property as a joint undivided estate". However, if one or more or all the sharers were desirous of having a separate possession of their respective shares, a division of the estate was to be made.

While the religious and customary conception of law were thus removed, the conception of crime too changed. Crime came to be regarded as a wrong against the public interest and could be tried, determined and punished in the Courts of law. Sec. 11, Reg. III enabled the people to sue against the Government and vice versa. At the same time the institution fee or a sum of money which had to be paid by the parties in Court on the institution of a suit, was abolished.

All these reforms, however, would have been

ineffective without the removal of the anomalies in indigenous laws. In civil affairs the Code of 1793 tried to rectify the drawbacks in laws on loans and interest. Muslim law forbids the taking of interest for the use of money, upon loans from one Muslim to another and has not regulated its rate, when allowed to be taken from a hostile infidel. With some exceptions, Hindu law, however, permits the taking of interest and has prescribed the rates to be received with or without a pledge of security. But the legal rates vary according to the caste or class of the borrower, as well as under other circumstances of time and place. A considerable difference also exists among the commentators on the Hindu law of contract. But it was necessary to prescribe a fixed and general rule for the limitation of interest. So in twelve sections Reg. XV of 1793 fixed the rates of interest on past and future loans. Without going into the details, it may be noted that the regulation obviously saved the common men from unjust rates of interest.

It was, however, in criminal law that the Code introduced conspicuous changes. This was particularly effected in several aspects of law on murder. Sec. 75 of Reg. IX laid down that the distinctions made by Yusuf, Muhammad and Abu Hanifa, as to the mode of committing murder would not be adhered to by the *Nizamat Adalat*. Only the intention of the criminal and not the manner or instrument in perpetrating a murder would determine the punishment. Sec. 55 of Reg. IX pointed out the circumstances which would no longer block the trial or condemnation of prisoners. Trial would not be suspended either on the refusal of the heir to prosecute, or on the immature age of the heir.

At the same time the Code of 1793 abolished the law of Mutilation of Limbs. This was recommended by all the Judges and Magistrates to Cornwallis. Law Mercer, the Magistrate of Burdwan, pointed out—"Experience evinces that it does not lessen criminality, and absolutely prevents reformation, by precluding the Delinquent from all possibility of exerting

honest means for his future support".<sup>14</sup> So Sec. LI of Reg. IX enacted in clear and categorical terms—"No criminal shall suffer the punishment of mutilation. If a prisoner shall be sentenced, in conformity to the *futwa* of the law officers, to lose two limbs, instead of being made to undergo such punishment, he shall be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for fourteen years; and if any prisoner shall be so sentenced, to lose one limb, he shall, in lieu of such punishment, be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for seven years".

While the conception and contents of indigenous laws underwent changes, it was not possible to shake off the old system altogether. Several aspects of Hindu and Muslim civil laws like succession, inheritance, marriage, caste and religious usages were maintained as 'reserved'.<sup>15</sup> It is striking to note that such 'reservation' was not made for other peoples like the Portuguese, Armenians, Parsis, Sikhs, Jains, Burmese and the Chinese who had settled down in India. They had their own peculiar laws and customs, many of which were more or less connected with their religious creeds. But all of them were excluded from the benefit of such laws in the new courts. In the Supreme Court at Calcutta a case appears to have been decided according to the Sikh law—*doe dem Kissan Chunder Shaw v. Baidam Beebee*<sup>16</sup>—but this was by reference to the Pandits; and this, to use Sir Edward H. East's own words, he being Chief Justice at the time: "The difficulty was gotten over, by considering the Sikhs as a sect of Gentoos or Hindoos, of whom they were a dissenting branch".<sup>17</sup> In a case submitted to the Advocate-General in February, 1799 by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*, Chief Justice Sir E. Perry recommended that foreign laws and customs, not Hindu and Muslim, should be ascertained by evidence. In practice, however, the Hindu usage, customs and laws relating to Gifts and Contracts were recognised and the Muslim law had been applied to a variety of cases which might be arranged under the heads of Inheritance, Sale, Pre-emption, Gift, Wills, Marriage,

Dower, Divorce, Parentage, Minority, Slavery, Endowments, Debts and Securities, Claims and judicial matters. No appeal seems to have been made to the Privy Council against any decision of the Courts based on Hindu and Muslim laws.

It was, however, on Muslim criminal law that the impact of the old system was conspicuously prominent. In the new Courts under the Code of 1793 the Hindu and Muslim law officers were to assist the European Judges by delivering their *fatwas* on various aspects of indigenous laws. As a result, the law officers could not be expected to bypass old laws altogether. Besides, the Code of 1793 allowed the law officers to deliver their *fatwas* according to the doctrines of Yusuf and Muhammad. Naturally old criminal law still influenced the penal administration of Bengal. Sec. LXXIV of Reg. IX laid down—"The sentences of the Court shall be regulated by the Muhamedan law, excepting in cases in which a deviation from it may be expressly directed by any Regulation passed by the Governor - General - in - Council". Old laws of *Qisas* and *Diyat* were allowed to operate with a few restrictions. When a prisoner was convicted of murder, the judges were to refer it to the heir of the slain. If the heir required the murderer to be punished with death, according to the law of *Qisas*, the judges were to pass sentence of death accordingly, transmitting all the proceedings held on the trial, with the *fatwa* of the law officers to the *Nizamat Adalat*. But if the heir required *Diyat* or pardoned the murderer, the judges were not to pass the sentence, but were to forward the record of the trial, including the *fatwa* of the law officers and the requisition of the heir, to the *Nizamat Adalat* and wait for the judgement of that Court. Under Sec. LXXVI of Reg. IX the *Nizamat Adalat* alone could sentence the murderer to suffer death. In some respects old laws operated in full swing. Thus a Wilful Homicide of the children and slaves by their parents and masters respectively were not punishable by death. Similarly,

Accidental Homicide was not punishable by death. Cases of robbery which were never infrequent, were administered with the lenient principles of Muslim law, unless attended with murder. In cases of Perjury or Subornation of Perjury, Muslim law did not prescribe any fixed penalty and left the punishment to be inflicted at discretion, under its provisions of *Tazir* and *Siyasa* by imprisonment and public ignominy. The Code of 1793 provided no adequate arrangement for the suppression of the crime so that the new Courts were virtually flooded with cases of Perjury. On one occasion on a trial of murder at Patna a Brahmin deliberately swore in the most solemn form and reported that two persons had been murdered. But strangely enough, these two persons were later on produced in the Court alive and unhurt.<sup>18</sup> As late as 1806 the Court of Directors had to admit that the laws enacted for the prevention of Perjury were not sufficient. They observed—"The crime of Perjury continues to prevail in all the Divisions and even increase to such a pitch as to baffle and perplex the Judicial proceedings of the Courts so that the judges receive all oral testimony with distrust and are frequently obliged to investigate the character of the witnesses more closely than that of the criminal".<sup>19</sup>

While thus introducing changes in the law, the Code of 1793 also laid down a definite pattern of procedure in the new Courts. Under the indigenous system during the rule of the Mughals the procedure was summary.<sup>20</sup> The *Qazi* as the judge was assisted by the *Mufti* and some other judicial officers. After hearing the parties, the *Mufti* was to point out the law applicable to a case and then the *Qazi* delivered the judgement. In case of the *Qazi's* disapproval of the *Mufti's* *fatwa*, a cause was sent to the *Nazim* for final judgement. The defect of this summary procedure was crowned by the lack of preservation of judicial proceedings.

The indigenous system of procedure was not familiar to the English. After their purchase of three villages of Calcutta, Govindapore and

Sutanuti in 1698, the English grew anxious to introduce English system of procedure in trials of English criminals. Some elements of English procedure were thus evident in the Mayor's Court. A complaint to the Court was to be made in writing. Next the Court was to issue a summons directing the Sheriff to arrange for the appearance of the defendant in the Court at a certain time. The Sheriff was empowered to use physical force in order to bring the defendant to the Court. Then the Court was to examine the cause of complaint, upon the oath of the witnesses. Depositions of these witnesses were to be taken in writing and in the open Court. After all these formalities, the Court could deliver the judgement. Appeal from the judgement of this Court could be made to the President of the Supreme Council or to the King-in-Council as the last resort.

The need of elaborating and revising the above broad pattern of English procedural system was felt by the English, particularly after the grant of Diwani in 1765. So the Company tried to chalk out a definite system of procedure in several Judicial Plans. Ultimately the Code of 1793 laid down a definite system of procedure in the new Courts. On the receipt of a complaint, a summons was to be issued to the defendant, who was to furnish security for his appearance in the Court, failing which he was thrown into the prison. The *Nazir* or Sheriff was to make a return on a fixed day. On the defendant's appearance, the Court was to fix a day to file his answer. The plaintiff was then to reply to the defendant's answer on the next Court day. This was followed by a rejoinder by the defendant and a supplementary plaint, if any, from both, to rectify omissions and mistakes. The Court then proceeded to the investigation of the case and the examination of witnesses. If a witness neglected or refused to attend the Court, he could be arrested or fined amounting to not more than Rs. 500/- only. The Court might award any reasonable expense incurred by witnesses in the course of attendance. The decree of the Court was to be executed by the

attachment and sale of the real or personal property of the defendant, or, if necessary, by his imprisonment, in which case the plaintiff had to pay a monthly allowance to the defendant at a rate varying from one to four annas per day according to his status in society. The Provincial Courts of Appeal too, were to maintain strict regularity in their proceedings and provide against erroneous judgements in the Courts of primary jurisdiction. The Courts of Appeal were authorised to report on the conduct of the district and city judges who could be suspended by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* on the basis of that report.

In criminal matters Cornwallis introduced new rules on judicial procedure on 3 December, 1790. The process in the trial was to be as follows—after the charge and evidence against the prisoner being examined, his defence or confession, if any, was heard and recorded. The *Qazi* and the *Mufti* then were to write the *fatwa* and attest it with seal and signature. If the *fatwa* so given, conformed to Muslim law under the new modifications, the Judges were to approve it, pass their sentence and issue the warrant to the Magistrate for execution. But the proceedings of all trials resulting in death sentences were to be transmitted to the *Nizamat Adalat* for a final judgement. In cases of differences of opinions among the judges, the opinion of the senior judge was to prevail. In case a criminal appeared a proper object for mercy, the *Nizamat Adalat* could recommend his case to the Governor-General-in-Council in whom lay the power of commuting punishments. This system of procedure was further elaborated by Reg. IX of the Code of 1793. In an enquiry of the charge preferred to him, the Magistrate was to follow several points. He was to ascertain and record the date of the commission of crime. He was also to note the prisoner's confession or confirmation of any former confession which was to be attested by witnesses. Such confessions were to be free and voluntary.

In order to maintain uniformity in proce-

dural matters, judicial proceedings were preserved. "To obviate injuries arising to public or private rights or property, by the loss, destruction, or removal of the records of the Courts of judicature; and with a view to facilitate reference to them", two Keepers of the records were appointed for the civil and criminal departments of each of the City and District Courts, the Provincial Courts of Appeal and the Superior Courts.<sup>21</sup> In each Court a diary of proceedings was to be maintained in Persian or Bengali language.

The new judicial procedure required a proper machinery. By Reg. II of 1793 the Collectors were deprived of all judicial powers. They were now no more than fiscal agents, while the District Courts were presided over by a new class of officers called Judges in civil affairs. From them appeal was to lie to four Provincial Courts of Appeal, situated, like the Criminal Courts, at Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. From them in the larger causes appeal lay to the Supreme Council in its capacity as a Court of *Sadar Diwani Adalat*. Over each of these Provincial Courts were three English Judges. And these judges, it was provided, were also to preside over the Criminal Courts of Circuit stationed at the same towns. The administration of justice, both civil and criminal, was therefore vested in the same hands. The system was defective as the two functions of a Judge and a Magistrate were virtually impossible for one man. As a result, the system posed a problem in future when the Judges and Magistrates were very often accused of negligency and malpractices in their duties. It will not be irrelevant to cite a few cases. In 1797 James Graham, Judge and Magistrate at Purnia, confined a party of Sikhs from the Punjab on a pilgrimage and without entering into any investigation required by the regulations, put them to work on the public roads. On this occasion the Supreme Council had to take note of this "irregularity of conduct on the part of Mr. Graham and remove him from his office".<sup>22</sup> On another occasion the Supreme Council had to take steps against J. B.

Smith, the Judge and Magistrate of the district of 24 Parganas.<sup>23</sup> The case was as follows - a person named Bircharan Dutt had been murdered at Kalighat. One Nandalal Mitra and others were charged by one Padmalochan Sarma with this crime of murder. But a strong prepossession entertained by the Magistrate against the information and character of the prosecutor had induced the Magistrate to omit a due investigation of the circumstances of the case. On this occasion the Supreme Council appointed Henry Strachey, an officer of the *Sadar Diwani* and *Nizamat Adalat*, to investigate into the case. From the enquiry of Strachey it appeared that even the ministerial officers of the Magistrate were guilty of gross malversation. "It appeared to the Court that the abuses practised by the officers, could not have existed, under the exertion of a proper degree of vigilance on the part of the Magistrate in the general discharge of his duty; so the Court recommended his suspension from his office".<sup>24</sup> The Supreme Council too, had to remove the Magistrate from his office. Such abuse of power by the Magistrates continued for almost a decade after the passing of the Code of 1793.

In order to ensure a prompt and easy justice to the people the Code of 1793 also created a class of low grade Judges among whom notable were the Registers and the Munsiffs. To each of the District Courts was appointed a Register who could try cases up to Rs. 200/- only.<sup>25</sup> The Registers were appointed from the junior branch of the European covenanted servants. Reg. XIII laid down in details their power and responsibilities in the new judicial system. They could try cases on *malguzary* land the annual produce of which did not exceed 200 sicca rupees in value. Similarly they were empowered to try and decide suits for *lakheraj* lands the produce of which did not exceed 20 sicca rupees per annum. While thus authorizing the Register to try suits, Reg. XIII however directed that the decrees passed by him could be effective only when the Judge countersigned the same. This restriction consequently

defeated the purpose of the Regulation. So in 1794 the Supreme Council had to decide that the Registers to the District and City Courts were to sit thrice a week for the trial of cases referable to them. Their decrees would be final in suits of personal property amounting to Rs. 25/- only. In all other suits too, unless appealed against within a limited time, their decrees would be final.

Like the Register the Munsiff too was a subordinate Judge although in some respects he was assigned the lowest grade in the new judiciary.<sup>26</sup> His office was not a new one; it originated in two letters of Edward Otto Eves, the Superintendent of the Murshidabad *Diwani Adalat* to the Supreme Council, dated 21 April and 30 June, 1780.<sup>27</sup> In his first letter he urged the establishment of an Inferior Court at Murshidabad for trial and determination of petty suits. To these Courts were to be appointed six Munsiffs under the Superintendent of the Court. In his second letter Eves emphasised the value of the Munsiff entertained at fixed salaries and bound by penal obligations and solemn oaths of office for trying petty disputes in Murshidabad. The letter enclosed a copy of several regulations for the Munsiffs. In the interest of "a due and speedy administration of justice" the decision of the Munsiffs must be final, but the Superintendent was to possess the power of reviving the cases, when necessary. All charges of corruption brought against the Munsiffs would be 'speedily as well as strictly investigated and punished'. This plan of Eves on the office of Munsiff was sanctioned by the Supreme Council.<sup>28</sup> The office of the Munsiff thus came into existence. The proceedings of the Committee of Revenue dated 17 August, 1781 contain a record of appointment of six Munsiffs on a salary of Rs. 50/- each in the *Diwani Adalat* of Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. On the recommendation of John Petrie, Judge of Calcutta *Diwani Adalat*, Munsiffs were appointed also at Calcutta. Thus the need of the Munsiffs was gradually felt by the Company and the Judicial Plan of 1787 laid

down powers and responsibilities of the Munsiffs. Finally the Code of 1793 made the office of Munsiff a part and parcel of the judiciary.<sup>29</sup> The Munsiff was one of the Native Commissioners, the other two being the Amin and the Salisan. Cornwallis had no faith in the ability of the Indians and so he allotted the lowest grade to them in the new judiciary. The Munsiffs could act both as a referee and an arbitrator. But his cognizance was strictly limited to suits of stationary or personal property of not more than fifty rupees in value.<sup>30</sup> He could impose a fine on any party, Vakil or witness for any disrespect shown in the discharge of his duties, but he could not enforce his own decision. That power of enforcing decision was vested exclusively in the District and City Courts. Thus the office virtually became ineffective under Cornwallis. What was worse, the Munsiffs with other Native Commissioners were granted no fixed salary, but only a little more than 6 per cent on the amount of all causes investigated by them or settled before them. Later on the importance of the Munsiff was realised by the Directors and the office was given its due position.

Among other judicial personnel, mention must be made of those who are still unknown to many. In this regard the role of the law officers like the Maulavies and the Pandits is significant and interesting; but no light has so far been thrown on them. The early English rulers had no knowledge in the laws and customs of the country. Naturally they had to take constant help of the law officers to expound the indigenous laws and practices. The Judicial Plan of 1772 made them officers of the Court on a monthly salary. Their need was gradually but steadily felt by the Company. On 17 June, 1777 G. C. Ducarel, the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, reported to the Supreme Council that in several cases he had no way but to call in the assistance of a Maulavi.<sup>31</sup> In his minute, delivered in connection with the famous Patna case, George Bogle, the Commissioner of Law Suits, candidly pointed out the importance of the law officers

in these words—"to give the Mussalman of this country the full advantage of being tried by their laws, it is necessary that the fact as well as the law be referred to their own Doctors, inasmuch as it requires a knowledge of the law to try the fact and to discover the points that are material to the cause and upon which the law turns; that one would naturally be of opinion that the Cauzee and Muftees, are better qualified to examine a Mussalman cause than Englishman".<sup>32</sup> It was because of the necessity of the law officers that several Judicial Plans of the Company laid down their power and responsibilities. Even in the Scheme of Justice prepared by Sir Elijah Impey, the 15th clause laid down that the Judge was to take the help of the Maulavi or Pandit in cases affecting the Muslims or Hindus respectively. The role of the law officers was taken into full consideration by the Code of 1793. The preamble to Reg. XII laid down—"It is essential to the due administration of justice, that the law officers in the Courts of Judicature should be held by men of integrity well versed in the laws and that they should be so constituted, as to render persons possessing the requisite qualifications, solicitous to obtain them and to afford every encouragement to such persons, when appointed, to continue to discharge their duty with uprightness". Reg. XII laid down terms and conditions for the office. The law officers were to be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council and were not removable but for incapacity. They were to be men of unblemished character with sufficient knowledge in the laws. Any charge of corruption against them could lead to their dismissal or suspension from service. Any vacancy occurring in the office of a law officer was to be filled by a person recommended by the Court concerned or by a person nominated by the Supreme Council. Thus the office of the law officers became a part and parcel of the new judiciary in Bengal. However, the officers could not be expected to do justice to their job as they were not allotted sufficient remuneration. The reports of the Judges and Magistrates of different Courts on 3 January,

1794 made one point clear while the Muslim law officers gave a fairly good account of themselves, their Hindu counterparts failed to impress the European Judges.<sup>33</sup> As the Sadar Diwani Adalat declared—"With respect to the present Hindu law officers, the Court observe that it is well known their opinions are not held in repute, and the records of the Court evince that when questions of law have arisen, they have with few exceptions been obliged to refer to other Pandits to answer them and that the decision of many causes has been protracted from the Courts' distrust of the competency of their own officers."<sup>34</sup> The prejudice and incompetence of the law officers can be explained in view of the newness of their judicial office, the smallness of their remuneration, the get-rich-quick atmosphere which the British adventurers had introduced into this country, the ignorance of the British Judges and the difficulties of detection. Moreover, the law officers were given no training for their judicial duties. Particularly, the Pandit was a religious teacher, a moralist or casuist rather than a lawyer. The Muslim law officers too, were never anxious to stay away from their own ideas which were allowed by the Code itself. The European Judge had to depend upon their *fatwa* in criminal cases. This would be clear from a report of Thomas Fortesque, Judge and Magistrate at Allahabad, dated 1 September, 1814—"In trials before the Court of Circuit the Judge is too much under the dominion of Muhamedan law officers, specially in point of fact, for although the Judge when he dissents, can refer the case to the Nizamut Adalat, yet generally speaking, the law officers decide upon the whole evidence."<sup>35</sup> The determining influence of the law officers thus continued in different Courts of India for more than a decade after the passing of the Code of 1793.

While the Cornwallis Code could not but take note of the importance of the law officers, it also created a class of professional lawyers or Vakils. In my paper on "The Vakils in the early British Judiciary in Bengal", read

at the 27th session of the Indian History Congress at Allahabad, I have tried to give an idea of the Vakils during early British rule in this country. Revolutionary changes have been made in the office of Vakil in recent times, but the fact must not be overlooked that the base was laid down by the Code of Cornwallis. In the early years of the British rule, there was no institution of Vakil in the modern sense of the term. During that period the Vakils were individuals without any legal education and also without any establishment of their own. Such an individual might be an employee, a neighbour or even a servant of the man accused or defendant in a cause. As a result, corruption and delay marked the judicial process. European lawyers, introduced by the Supreme Court, further worsened the situation. They took opportunity of the ignorance of the indigenous people in English laws and customs. But this was not all. The lawyers badly lacked the virtues of advocacy in its modern sense. This would be clear from the following version in an anonymous pamphlet—"The advocates dare not suffer an objection, or whisper a complaint. In the persons of Mr. F—and Mr. Lawrence they have perceived the consequence of attempting it;—I mean such brutal language and brow-beating from the bench, as I presume is unknown in Westminster Hall, and would not be endured in any other place".<sup>36</sup>

The Company could not remain indifferent to the situation and laid down provisions on Vakils in several Judicial Plans. The effects of the provisions became more than apparent from the reports of the Judges and Magistrates to the Supreme Council in early 1793. Two points were quite clear from these reports. First, miserable economic position of the Vakils made the office unattractive to men of talents. Secondly, the Vakils were ordinary individuals without sufficient knowledge in laws and regulations of the country. The Company grew anxious to get rid of the situation and created a class of professional lawyers in Reg. VII of the Code of 1793. Thirty-nine clauses of this

Regulation laid down the power and position, character and capacity of the lawyers. Appointed by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*, they were given sanads admitting them as pleaders and specifying their names, dates of appointment and the names of Courts to which they were admitted. Prior to their practice, they had to take and subscribe an oath promising to discharge their duties honestly and efficiently. They were selected from the students in the Muhammedan College at Calcutta and the Hindu College at Benares. In a suit a pleader was to be engaged by a party by presenting him four annas as a retainer which would preclude him from being employed in the same cause elsewhere. The party was next to execute to him a *Vakultnamah*, nominating him a pleader in the cause and authorizing him to prosecute or defend the plaint or appeal. He was to receive a fixed percentage on the amount sued for and this was paid only when a decision was passed in the cause. If a pleader died even when the hearing was on, his heirs were not entitled to any fee, which was to be paid to the pleader who brought the cause to a decision. Subject to dismissal, the pleaders were not to accept any reward from their clients. However, they could not be dismissed from their offices but for incapacity or misconduct.

Besides these Vakils in general, there were the Vakils of the Government, appointed by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*.<sup>37</sup> They were to take an oath to discharge their duties honestly and were given sanads. They were subject to all terms and conditions of the private Vakils. They were paid in the same manner as in the case of their counterparts in private capacity. They were to undertake all causes which they might be directed to plead by orders of the Government.

Thus was created a class of professional lawyers, although any individual could plead his own case without the help of the private pleaders. The Supreme Council was confident of the success of the new class of lawyers. As

it wrote to the Directors on 6 March, 1793 — "From the knowledge of the Laws and Regulations which these Vakils in a course of time acquire, the best arguments for and against every cause will be stated to the Judges, and every unjust and erroneous judgement will be exposed by them in the appeal to the higher Courts".<sup>38</sup> It is striking to note, however, that the Council took no note of the miserable economic condition of the Vakils, both private and Government. On 30 May, 1794 six Vakils of the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* submitted to the Government—"We have subsisted ourselves to the present period by taking up loans, having confidence in Government, but now we are reduced to the greatest distress from the pressing demands of our creditors who insist on payment and we are in extreme alarm for our credit and reputation, not seeing the prospect of any remedy".<sup>39</sup> Ultimately the Government had to allot a fixed salary to its Vakils. But the condition of the private Vakils remained unchanged for a long time, resulting in their incompetence and corruption. This may be illustrated by a case.<sup>40</sup> In 1798 an Indian being desirous to file a suit in a Court, applied to an attorney, who informed him that he was already engaged on behalf of his opponent. However, he recommended him to one of his friends who would undertake his cause with equal readiness and ability and gave him a note of recommendation to him. The cautious Indian carried the note to a person who could read English, and found it to contain the following admonition—"Dear—, I have killed my hog, do you kill yours". The hint was not lost though the admonition lost its aim. The parties compromised their dispute, and the lawyers lost their fees. Such cases were not infrequent in the post-Cornwallis period and it took a long time to place the office of private Vakils on a sound footing.

The Cornwallis Code contained no provision on the Jury which, however, came to be applied only to criminal causes. In 1772 the British inhabitants of Calcutta applied to the Government to extend the service of the Jury even to

civil causes<sup>41</sup>. But the appeal was not granted and the Jury were summoned only in criminal causes. The establishment of the Supreme Court at Calcutta made the summoning of the Jury a common feature of the Judiciary. In the well-known Nandkumar case as well as in many other cases the Jury were summoned.

During the early years of the British rule indigenous people were excluded from the Jury and Europeans from all walks of life were summoned to the Jury. The Company's servants very often felt disturbed by the frequent call of the Judges to serve on the Jury. Thus on one occasion the members of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue informed the Supreme Council that much of their departmental business had been impeded by the absence of the majority of the members of the committee to serve on the Jury at the Quarter-sessions and Assizes.<sup>42</sup> By the 1780's the Jury were very often summoned. A contemporary pamphlet pointed out—"The European inhabitants of Calcutta are, by this time, sufficiently numerous to relieve one another in the duty of Jurymen. At least there are idlers enough in this town for the ordinary business of the Court. In causes of greater magnitude special Juries may be summoned".<sup>43</sup> In 1808 J. Leith recommended the application of the Jury to both civil and criminal causes.<sup>44</sup> The Jury thus were gaining popularity and marked the evolution of the modern system of justice in this country.

A proper administration of justice, Cornwallis was aware, largely depended on a sound Police organization. So Reg.s XXII and XXIII of the Code tried to create a workable Police system. The Police were placed under the exclusive charge of officers appointed by the Government. Landholders and farmers were prohibited from maintaining Police establishment. The Magistrates were to divide their respective Districts into police Jurisdictions. Each jurisdiction was to cover an area of ten 'coss' square which was placed under a Daroga or a Superintendent. The Darogas were

appointed by the Magistrates and were irremovable but for incapacity or misconduct. They were authorized to apprehend all criminals and were to be assisted by the rural Police like the *chaukidars*, *dussadhas*, *pasbans* etc. The rural police were subject to the orders of the Daroga, but their payment was in the hands of the Zemindars. The cities were divided into wards and were to be guarded by the Darogas who were under the immediate inspection and subject to the authority of the Kotwal of each city. Reg. XXIII laid down arrangements for the remuneration of the Police. Without entering into the details, it is sufficient to point out that the remuneration of the Police was not adequate.

This Police organization suffered from serious drawbacks, a few of which only can be noted here. The Police of Cornwallis had no root in the people. Unlike the system under the Mughals, the new Police did not act as a link between the ruler and the ruled. The control of the zemindars over the rural Police was designed to enlist their cooperation with the Darogas. But that was a half-hearted measure. The rural Police could not be expected to cooperate with the Magistrates and the Darogas while they had always to depend upon their overlords for remuneration. Besides, the large scale resumption of the lands of the pykes etc., both by the Government at the time of the Permanent Settlement and by the zemindars led the people to a life of robbery and plunder for a subsistence. Thus what ought to constitute the great strength of the Police, was in fact turned against it. What was more distressing, the Darogas were vested with extensive powers, but their poor remuneration hardly enabled them to maintain the dignity of their office. Naturally a sharp defiance of the regulations and extortion of money from the people became the regular practice of the Darogas in the post-Cornwallis period. Thus on one occasion James Grant, the Magistrate of Rajshahi, wrote on the violations of regulations by Assud Ulla, Daroga of Jaffarganze.<sup>45</sup> The Daroga was accused by

one Rahmut Ulla with having seized and detained his boat for a month. The Daroga confessed his guilt and was suspended. On this occasion the Magistrate commented—"The Darogas are entrusted with very responsible offices in which they are exposed to great temptations, and without a very strict and direct control, and in cases of misconduct or disobedience, summary and exemplary punishment, the object of their appointment will be perverted, and they may become of injury to the country, while deputed to afford it a protection."<sup>46</sup>

Obviously thus the system of Cornwallis was not an unmixed blessing. Several defective aspects of old Muslim laws were allowed to operate. The paraphernalia of the new judicial procedure made justice expensive. No attempt was made to educate the people in Regulations. Nothing was done to relieve the poverty of the private Vakils. No provision was laid down on the application of the Jury both in civil and criminal causes. Ill-paid police, instead of becoming true custodians of law and order, became disturbers of peace themselves. Above all, the new system was designed for the indigenous people who, however, were denied an active and important role in the same.

These drawbacks in the new system were not unknown to the Supreme Council. But, as they wrote to the Directors—".....the system however deliberately planned cannot be expected to be destitute of defects. The defects will be corrected by such Regulations as experience may suggest."<sup>47</sup> True, the Code of 1793 only laid down the base of a sound modern judiciary in Bengal and thereby paved the path of the Indian Penal Code in 1860. It removed several incongruities of Muslim law and at the same time introduced a definite pattern of judicial procedure. By separating justice from revenue, the Code of 1793 also reduced the executive control over justice to a minimum. It also tried to ensure individual liberty and private property through

a hierarchy of Courts. The people were granted the rare privilege of suing against the Government and vice versa. Thanks to the Code of 1793, it created the professional class of lawyers in this country and was responsible for the introduction of many new offices like the Keeper of records, the Sheriff and many others. Truly observed Wellesley later—“Subject to the common imperfection of every human institution, this system of laws is approved

by practical experience (the surest test of human legislation), and contains ‘an active principle of continual revision, which affords the best security for progressive amendment.’<sup>248</sup> Revolutionary changes have been effected over the system of Cornwallis so that a modern system of judiciary has now been possible in this country. Viewed in this light, the Code of 1793 may be characterised as the very bedrock of modern Indian judicial system.

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## THE STRATEGY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

### A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

SHARU S. RANGNEKAR

In the drama of history, the role for a conqueror is that of a ‘hero’ or a ‘villain’. Many of the controversial figures amongst the conquerors have the doubtful distinction of playing the roles of heroes as well as villains in different depictions of their careers. One of the foremost amongst them is Alexander the Great.

The task accomplished by Alexander has dazzled historians through ages. Considering his young age, short span of career, limited resources, and the vast area he covered in the days of almost primitive communications, his achievements are simply stupendous.

Attempts have been made to attribute the achievements to various reasons—ranging from ‘divinity’ of Alexander to chance and luck.\* Except in extreme cases, the explanations emphasize the ‘strategy’ of Alexander.

In this paper, it is proposed to study the strategy of Alexander in the main encounters of his career—the campaigns against Tyre, Darius, Spitamenes, and Porus. The approach has been comparative : by comparison with the strategy of his direct adversaries as well as with that of comparable conquerors through history.

#### Definition of ‘Strategy’ :

Although man has been fighting wars since times known, the science of war—the military science—has been developed systematically only in the last two centuries.<sup>1</sup> The technical terms of this science have not yet attained

universality and are found to have been used in different connotations in different treatments. Consequently, it is necessary to define as clearly as possible the principal terms used in this paper.

The term ‘strategy’ is used to cover all the moves made in a campaign. Strategy is considered in two broad groups : moves on the battlefield are termed ‘field-strategy’, while the moves ‘off’ the battlefield i.e., the moves relating to the overall conduct of the campaign (as different from that of particular battles) are said to comprise ‘grand strategy’.

The distinction between field-strategy and grand strategy is by no means a sharp one. In aspects like communications, there is a considerable overlap. Furthermore, since results of battles have important implications on the grand strategy, and vice versa, the interaction between the field-strategy and the grand strategy is an important aspect of the study of strategy.

However, operationally, it is advantageous to distinguish between field-strategy and grand strategy, even though in some aspects the distinction may be subjective to a certain extent. Generally, the field-strategy in a campaign changes appreciably from battle to battle; changes in the grand strategy are relatively slower. Furthermore, grand strategy is operative in a wider field and may have, relatively, far-reaching effects—not only on the course of the campaign, but also on the course of subsequent history. A failure of the grand strategy ultimately leads to failure of the campaign—in spite of successes in battles. In fact, it

\*The word ‘Sikandar’ (Indian version of ‘Alexander’) is synonymous with ‘lucky’ in many Indian languages.

is possible to win every battle and yet to lose the war; this was nearly the experience of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, whose campaign in the Deccan from 1681 to 1707 A.D. ended disastrously in the death of the Emperor and ruin of his empire—although he was never defeated on the battlefield.<sup>2</sup>

### Field Strategy :

Field-strategy may be analysed in three major aspects : first, the army—the principal tool of field-strategy ; second, the nature of command over the army ; and third, the field-craft—actual movement of the army in the field of battle.

The main points of comparison with respect to army are : its (numerical) strength, composition, equipment, and quality. Flexibility and coordination are the main features of army command. Use of terrain, order and differential intensity of attack, and use of 'surprise' are the most significant components of field-craft.

### Grand Strategy :

Morale of the army is the most important factor in the grand strategy. In the words of Napoleon : "the moral is to the physical as three to one".<sup>3</sup> The arithmetic proportion is a subjective evaluation ; yet, the emphasis on morale is most appropriate. The remarkable difference in the resistance offered by the German and the Italian troops at the final stage of the Second World War underlines the importance of morale. The recent Israel-Arab war has also demonstrated the importance of morale.

Prestige and status of the leader have strong influence on the morale. Especially, at the time of Alexander this was a vital aspect, since the organization was centered on the leader. The leader-centered organisation also emphasises the importance of the personal safety of the leader. In the battle of Cunaxa

(401 B. C.), the army of Cyrus defeated the army of Artaxerxes ; but Cyrus was killed in the battle and the campaign was doomed.<sup>4</sup>

In ancient times, when the leader was expected to lead the army in person on the battlefield, the prestige and safety of the leader could be conflicting.

Control of communications is another important factor in grand strategy. Communication and supply break-down has converted many a triumphant army into a dismal rout—the fate of Napoleon in Russia is an outstanding example.

In this context, attaining and maintaining congenial relations with the people in territories traversed becomes more and more significant as the scope of the campaign increases. Satisfactory 'public relations' facilitate supply and communications, reduce resistance to consolidation, and enhance the morale of the army. Even a passive resistance by the conquered people can multiply the difficulties of supply and communication and can wreck the nerves of the conquering army. To advance in spite of active resistance in the conquered people has proved disastrous time and again, the latest example being that of the German army in Russia in the Second World War.

The significance of the ultimate goal of a campaign to the various levels in the army is also a determinant of the morale. Morale of the U. S. army in the Korean and Vietnam Wars suffered appreciably due to a feeling of irrelevance of the war, i.e., a feeling of fighting 'somebody else's war'.

### Interaction :

The interaction between the field-strategy and the grand strategy has been noted before. The preceding discussion of the field-strategy and grand strategy also shows the interaction and feedback with respect to the various factors

of the strategies. In fact, there is no completely independent variable in the field of strategy.

This interaction makes the learning ability highly significant. The leader with a greater learning ability will make suitable modifications in his strategies earlier than his adversary and thus may gain a significant advantage over the adversary. Even 'not making the same mistake' can be a valuable attribute, since in the case of war, history has often repeated itself.

### Factors of Comparison :

The important factors brought out in the discussion of strategies form the basis of the comparative analysis in the subsequent sections. Attempt has been made to quantify the relative strength in each of these factors by using a three unit ordinal scale : good (xxx), fair (xx), and poor (x). There is essentially an element of subjective evaluation in this approach. However, such an evaluation—or interpretation—can help in the understanding of the military science (or for that matter, any social science) and has a definite place by the side of the objective data.

### CAMPAIGN AGAINST TYRE<sup>5</sup>

#### Importance :

The siege of Tyre (332 B. C.) occupies a prominent position in the campaigns of Alexander in various aspects. It has strategic importance for the subsequent campaigns ; as Alexander addressed his army officers : ".....an expedition to Egypt will not be safe for us, so long as the Persians retain the sovereignty of the sea ; nor is it a safe course, both for other reasons, and especially looking at the state of matters in Greece, for us to pursue Darius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre itself in doubtful allegiance..... If Tyre were captured, the whole of Phoenicia would be in our possession, and the fleet of the Phoenicians, which is the most numerous

and the best in the Persian navy, would in all probability come over to us....."<sup>6</sup>

Conduct of the siege stresses the imagination and learning ability of Alexander. It was indeed a battle of wits with an adversary well-versed in siege-defence tactics and Alexander came out the winner. To cite an example : The Tyrians made near approach to the island impossible by dropping rocks into the sea. Alexander brought up merchant ships to sweep off the obstacles ; the Tyrian warships attacked them and cut their anchor-cables. He covered the sweepers with warships. Tyrian divers cut the cables under water. Then he anchored the sweepers by chains ; the Tyrians had no reply, and Alexander got the rocks out.<sup>7</sup>

CHART No. 1

#### Alexander vs. Tyre

| Strategy Factor                      | Alexander | Tyre |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------|
| <b>A. Field-strategy</b>             |           |      |
| (a) Army                             |           |      |
| (i) Strength                         | xxx       | xx   |
| (ii) Composition                     | xxx       | xxx  |
| (iii) Equipment                      | xxx       | xxx  |
| (iv) Quality                         | xxx       | xxx  |
| (b) Army Command                     |           |      |
| Co-ordination                        | xxx       | xxx  |
| (c) Field-craft                      |           |      |
| (i) Use of terrain                   | xx        | xxx  |
| (ii) Plan of attack                  | xxx       | xx   |
| <b>B. Grand Strategy</b>             |           |      |
| (a) Morale of Army                   | xxx       | xxx  |
| (b) Leader                           |           |      |
| (i) Prestige & Status                | xxx       | xxx  |
| (ii) Personal safety                 | x         | xx   |
| (c) Communications                   |           |      |
| (i) Necessity*                       | — xx      | —xxx |
| (ii) Control                         | xxx       | x    |
| (d) 'Public Relations'               | xxx       | xx   |
| (e) Significance of 'Ultimate Goal'  | xxx       | xxx  |
| <b>C. Interaction &amp; Feedback</b> |           |      |
| Learning ability                     | xxx       | xx   |
| Total Points                         | 37        | 32   |

\*The points for 'Necessity of Communications' are considered negative, since higher necessity is an adverse factor.

Capturing of Tyre in seven months—a city considered impregnable, since it stood a siege by Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years<sup>8</sup>—enhanced the prestige of Alexander and boosted the morale of his army. Strategically, an important risk in the subsequent campaigns against Egypt and Darius was removed.

Comparison of Strategies :

Comparison between Alexander and the garrison of Tyre regarding the more significant strategy factors is given in Chart No. 1. The overall position shows distinct advantage in favour of Alexander. In the ultimate analysis, the comparison shows that the advantage of terrain to the Tyrians was neutralised by superior plan of attack and that the more favourable position of Alexander with respect to the strength of army, communications, and learning ability were the deciding factors.

Importance :

Campaign against Darius was an inheritance for Alexander. The campaign was a Panhellenic war of revenge—which Isocrates

had preached.<sup>10</sup> Conquering the empire of Darius was the greatest feat of Alexander's career. The campaign had far-reaching effects not only on the political history, but also on the course of culture, economic and social structures, science, and philosophy.

CHART No. 2

Alexander vs. Darius: Comparison with respect to Grand Strategy & Interaction

| Strategy Factor                   | Alexander | Darius |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| A. Grand Strategy                 |           |        |
| (a) Morale of Army                | xxx       | xx     |
| (b) Leader                        |           |        |
| (i) Prestige & Status             | xxx       | x      |
| (ii) Personal safety              | x         | xxx    |
| (c) Communications                |           |        |
| (i) Necessity                     | xxx       | x      |
| (ii) Control                      | xx        | xx     |
| (d) 'Public Relations'            | xxx       | x      |
| (e) Significance of Ultimate Goal | xxx       | xxx    |
| B. Interaction & Feedback         |           |        |
| Learning ability                  | xxx       | xx     |
| Total Points                      | 15        | 13     |

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DARIUS<sup>9</sup>

CHART No. 3

Alexander vs. Darius : Comparison with respect to Field-strategy

| Strategy Factor               | Battle of Issus |        | Battle of Gaugamela |        |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
|                               | Alexander       | Darius | Alexander           | Darius |
| A. Army                       |                 |        |                     |        |
| (i) Numerical Strength        | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | xxx    |
| (ii) Composition Balance      | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | x      |
| Special arm                   | ...             | ...    | xx                  | xxx    |
| (iii) Equipment               | ...             | ...    | xx                  | x      |
| (iv) Quality Infantry Cavalry | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | xxx    |
| Cavalry                       | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | x      |
| B. Army Command               |                 |        |                     |        |
| (i) Flexibility               | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | xxx    |
| (ii) Co-ordination            | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | x      |
| C. Field-craft                |                 |        |                     |        |
| (i) Use of terrain            | ...             | ...    | x                   | xxx    |
| (ii) Plan of attack           | ...             | ...    | xxx                 | xx     |
| Total Points                  | 27              | 21     | 28                  | 20     |

Comparison of Strategies :

Strategy is a dynamic concept ; consequently, comparison over an appreciable period (the campaign against Darius lasted over 3 years) should take into consideration the changes during the period. This is particularly important for the field-strategy, which may change considerably from battle to battle.

The campaign against Darius, therefore, has been analysed in two ways. The grand strategies and interactions—in which changes had been relatively minor—have been compared on overall campaign basis (Chart No. 2). The field-strategies have been compared separately for the Battle of Issus and the Battle of Gaugamela (Chart No. 3) which mark the opening and closing stages of the campaign.

In each of the comparisons, Alexander has an appreciable overall advantage. His personal prestige and his policy of establishing cordial 'public relations' were his strongest points against Darius. In the latter respect, his policy excels in comparison with most of the other conquerors of history. Like Alexander, Napoleon and Hitler were received as liberators at the opening stages of their campaigns. However, unlike Alexander, they soon alienated the conquered people and eventually were vanquished as tyrants. A similar example is found in Indian history ; Bajirao I (1720-40) extended the rule of the Marathas from Western India up to Delhi by preaching the ideal of a Hindu Empire. His successors, however, lost the sympathy of other Hindus by callous behaviour and soon lost their empire.<sup>11</sup>

The habit of Alexander to lead his army personally and to take part in active combat contributed considerably to his prestige. However, considering the campaign would have been totally lost at the death of Alexander, this policy has to be taken as a weak point in his strategy. On the other hand, Darius carried his concern for personal safety too far and withdrew from the field in both the battles when they were at the critical stage, thus precipitating his own defeat.

Alexander's army was well-balanced between infantry and cavalry. Persian cavalry was comparable, but their infantry was weak. This weakness was accentuated after the battle of Issus in which the Persian infantry was largely destroyed and the main body of Greek mercenaries under Amyntas left the Persians being disgusted with the cowardice of Darius. This proved an irreversible change for the Persians and they were left without adequate defensive base that is provided by a strong infantry. Consequently, a reverse at any wing of the army quickly deteriorated into a rout—in spite of a favourable position of the other wing.

The special arm of Alexander's army was the Hypaspists—light armed infantry—which acted as a link between the faster moving cavalry and the slower moving phalanx. This 'hinge' maintained an unbroken front and protected the flanks.<sup>12</sup> The action of the Hypaspists protected the phalanx in both the battles. Persians had no special arm at Issus. They tried to use elephants and scythed chariots at Gaugamela ; however, their own horses were not accustomed to elephants and the chariot-drivers were poorly trained. Consequently, the use of these special arms did little damage to Alexander.

Alexander's army command was balanced in flexibility and co-ordination. Each commander was free to take decisions within the general plan of action. Persian army command showed poor co-ordination and could not take advantage of partial successes of some of the commanders at various stages of battle.

Thus, better balance in army and army command, superior infantry, effective special arm, and better plan of attack proved decisive in favour of Alexander in both the battles. From Issus to Gaugamela, the Persians deteriorated—rather than improved—in field-strategy in comparison to Alexander.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SPITAMENES<sup>13</sup>

CHART No. 4

Alexander vs. Spitamenes

| Strategy Factor                   | Beginning of the Campaign |     | End of the Campaign |     |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
|                                   | A.                        | S.  | A.                  | S.  |
| A. Field-Strategy                 |                           |     |                     |     |
| (a) Army                          |                           |     |                     |     |
| (i) Strength                      | xxx                       | xx  | xxx                 | x   |
| (ii) Equipment                    | xxx                       | xx  | xxx                 | x   |
| (iii) Quality Overall             | xxx                       | x   | xxx                 | x   |
| Light cavalry                     | x                         | xx  | xx                  | x   |
| (b) Army Command                  | xx                        | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| (c) Field-craft                   |                           |     |                     |     |
| (i) Use of terrain                | xx                        | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| (ii) Plan of attack               | xx                        | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| B. Grand Strategy                 |                           |     |                     |     |
| (a) Morale of Army                | xxx                       | xx  | xxx                 | x   |
| (b) Prestige & Status of Leader   | xxx                       | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| (c) Communications—               |                           |     |                     |     |
| (i) Necessity                     | —xxx                      | —xx | —xxx                | —xx |
| (ii) Control                      | x                         | x   | xx                  | x   |
| (d) ‘Public Relations’            | xx                        | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| (e) Significance of Ultimate Goal | xxx                       | xxx | xxx                 | xxx |
| C. Interaction & Feedback         |                           |     |                     |     |
| Learning process                  | xxx                       | xx  | xxx                 | xx  |
| Total Points                      | 28                        | 28  | 34                  | 24  |

Importance :

The campaign against Spitamenes marks the last stage of conquest of the Persian Empire and is generally regarded as an extension of the campaign against Darius. However, from the viewpoint of studying strategy, the campaign against Spitamenes forms a class by itself. In this campaign Alexander had to face a national war and a national leader who used the most appropriate strategy and proved himself the best opponent Alexander ever met.<sup>14</sup>

Comparison of Strategies :

Chart No. 4 shows the comparison at two stages of the campaign : beginning and the end.

At the beginning of the campaign, Spitamenes neutralised the advantage of Alexander's army in strength, equipment, and overall quality by using superior field-craft—full use of the terrain, desert or ‘Parthian’ tactics of combat and use of light cavalry. Alexander's commanders had no adequate answer to these strategies and were repeatedly defeated.

However, Alexander had an excellent learning ability. He countered the strategies of Spitamenes by covering the country with a network of fortified posts and garrisons and thus severely reduced the destructive power and the field of influence of Spitamenes. Furthermore, he developed a fairly strong light cavalry to match that of Spitamenes.

On the other hand, the army of Spitamenes deteriorated in morale, strength, and equipment by the end of the campaign. At last, Coenus — one of Alexander's commanders—who had mastered the tactics of Spitamenes, defeated him so decisively that his demoralised followers murdered him and thus ended the campaign which had lasted for almost three years (330-328 B. C.).

The effective use of desert war tactics against Alexander shows that if such tactics were used earlier, the progress of Alexander would have been considerably hampered—if not altogether stopped. In fact, at the very beginning of Alexander's campaigns such a plan was proposed. In 334 B.C. one of the commanders of Darius, Memnon, proposed to retire before Alexander and waste the country—the ‘scorch-earth’ policy. However, the local satrap Arsites refused to allow his satrapy to be laid waste and consequently the plan was never tried.<sup>15</sup>

Alexander's excellent public relations in Eastern Persia and his liberal policy towards Persian commanders helped Alexander in localising the uprising of Spitamenes ; if the fire had swept over the entire Persia, that might have been the funeral of Alexander.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PORUS<sup>16</sup>

Importance :

Campaign against Porus is the last major campaign of Alexander. The campaign is remarkable in three aspects. Firstly, for the first time in Alexander's career, the morale of his army was deteriorating. Secondly, he was faced with an efficient use of elephants, so that he could not use his cavalry to break the enemy-lines—a tactics which was mainly responsible for 15 out of his total 22 victories in battles. Lastly, this was the only campaign in which he won the battle, but lost the war.

Comparison of Strategies :

Chart No. 5 compares the more significant

strategy factors. Alexander had an advantage in having more balanced army with better equipment and more flexible command. With his superior plan of attack and use of muddy battle-field unfavourable to the archers of Porus—he more than neutralised the advantage of special arm—elephants—that Porus had. This superiority in the field-strategy won him the battle.

However, he had serious deficiencies in his grand strategy. Up to the conquest of Persia, his army could sympathise with his goal. But when the campaign in India got into full swing, ‘they did not know what they were doing or where they were going ; they wanted to go home.’<sup>17</sup> The army had lost significance of his goals. This had a serious effect on the morale of his army, and contributed to the overall deficiency of his grand strategy. Ultimately, he had to abandon the campaign in spite of victory in battles.

Conclusion

The analysis in the preceding sections brings out some of the most significant aspects of Alexander's strategy—which probably form the ‘key’ to his success. Regarding field-strategy, his army in its quality, equipment, and balance at least equalled—and often surpassed—the army of his adversaries. His army command had an excellent balance between flexibility and co-ordination. It is by no means a chance occurrence that most of Alexander's deputies proved themselves to be able generals and administrators after his death. This contrasts favourably with the deputies of Napoleon. A substantial part of Alexander's success is due to his unusually able army command.

However, it is in the grand strategy and learning ability that Alexander proved his personal excellence. A special mention is appropriate to his ‘public relations’ policy. Instead of treating the conquered people—the Persians in particular—as ‘barbarians’, he treated them as almost equals and tried to achieve an integration of the Greek and the

Oriental cultures. This policy won him rich dividends in the form of public co-operation and facilitated the extension of his campaign to that vast area. Similarly, his personality had a great influence in maintaining the high morale of his army.

CHART NO. 5  
Alexander vs. Porus

| Strategy Factor                   | Alexander | Porus |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------|
| A. Field-strategy                 |           |       |
| (a) Army—                         |           |       |
| (i) Strength                      | xxx       | xxx   |
| (ii) Composition                  |           |       |
| Balance                           | xxx       | xx    |
| Special arm                       | —         | xxx   |
| (iii) Equipment                   | xxx       | xx    |
| (iv) Quality                      |           |       |
| Cavalry                           | xxx       | xxx   |
| Infantry                          | xxx       | x     |
| (b) Army Command                  |           |       |
| (i) Flexibility                   | xxx       | x     |
| (ii) Co-ordination                | xxx       | xxx   |
| (c) Field-craft                   |           |       |
| (i) Use of terrain                | xxx       | xx    |
| (ii) Plan of attack               | xxx       | xx    |
| B. Grand Strategy                 |           |       |
| (a) Morale of Army                | xx        | xxx   |
| (b) Leader                        |           |       |
| (i) Prestige & Status             | xxx       | xxx   |
| (ii) Personal safety              | x         | x     |
| (c) Communications                |           |       |
| (i) Necessity                     | — xxx     | — x   |
| (ii) Control                      | xx        | xxx   |
| (d) 'Public Relations'            | xxx       | xx    |
| (e) Significance of Ultimate Goal | x         | xxx   |
| C. Interaction & Feedback         |           |       |
| Learning ability                  | xxx       | xx    |
| Total Points                      | 39        | 38    |

This paper has been an experiment in comparative analysis of strategies with an attempt to quantify some of the most significant factors. Work in this direction can lead to a better evaluation of the strategies used in the various ages and may contribute to the understanding of 'progress' in this field through the course of history.

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<sup>2</sup>R. C. Majumdar & Others, *An Advanced History of India*, pp. 504-7; 523-6.  
<sup>3</sup>B.H.L. Hart, *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*, p. 24.  
<sup>4</sup>J.F.C. Fuller, *A Military History of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 81.  
<sup>5</sup>Comparison in this section is based on Arrian, *Anabasis*, II, xv-xxiv and W. W. Tarn, *Alexander The Great*, I, pp. 37-40; II, pp. 286-7.  
<sup>6</sup>Arrian, II, xvii.  
<sup>7</sup>*Ibid*, II, xxi and Tarn, I, p. 39.  
<sup>8</sup>Tarn, I, p. 37.  
<sup>9</sup>Comparisons in this section are based on Arrian, II, vi-xi; III, viii-xvi; Tarn, I, pp. 24-28 & 45-51; II, pp. 135-169, 171-9, & 182-190; and Fuller, I, pp. 87-107.  
<sup>10</sup>Tarn, I, p. 8.  
<sup>11</sup>Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-7.  
<sup>12</sup>Fuller, I, p. 98; and Wright, I, p. 581.  
<sup>13</sup>Comparison in this section is based on Arrian, IV, iii-vi & xvi-xvii; and Tarn, I, pp. 68-73.  
<sup>14</sup>Tarn, I, p. 67.  
<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, I, p. 16.  
<sup>16</sup>Comparison in this section is based on Arrian, V, viii-xix; Tarn, I, pp. 92-6 & II, pp. 190-8; Hart, *op.cit.*, p. 41; and Majumdar, pp. 66-7.  
<sup>17</sup>Tarn, I, pp. 98-9.

UNIVERSITY NOTES

Marathwada University, Aurangabad (Maharashtra)

I. COURSES OF STUDY

M. A. EXAMINATION IN HISTORY

Part I

Compulsory Group :

- Paper I Ancient India upto A.D. 320 (History, Ideas and Institutions).  
Paper II Maratha History from A.D. 1630 to A.D. 1818 (with special reference to source material).

Or

Ancient Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Inconography.

Optional Group :

- Paper I Ancient India from A.D. 320 to A.D. 1200 (History, Ideas and Institutions).  
Paper II A History of South-east Asia (from early centuries A.D. to modern times, with special emphasis on the 20th century).

Or

Epigraphy and Numismatics.

Part II

Compulsory Group :

- Paper I History of Modern Europe from A.D. 1789 to A. D. 1960.

Paper II A History of East Asia (mainly 20th century with special emphasis on Communist China and Post-war Japan).

Optional Group :

- Paper I Mughal India from A.D. 1526 to A.D. 1707; Or Modern India from A.D. 1857 to A.D. 1950; Or Historiography.  
Paper II Political and Economic History of U. S. A. from A.D. 1901 onwards; Or International Relations from A.D. 1919 to A.D. 1960.

II. RULES FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PH. D.)

I. The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy shall be conferred on a candidate who has

- (a) Taken the Master's degree by papers of this University or of any other University recognised by this University as equivalent thereto, in the first or second division.  
(b) Pursued advanced study and research, for not less than two academic years.  
(c) A teacher of this University who possesses a Master's Degree by research of a statutory University recognised by this University.

II. No candidate shall be permitted to register for the Ph.D. Degree Course unless the teacher under whom the candidate proposes to work is satisfied with the competence of the student to do research. The competence of the student shall be determined by the Guide only after proper scrutiny which may include a *viva-voce* and a written test.

A teacher in the University or in an affiliated college, or any other person recognised by the University as such who satisfies the qualifications laid down above, may supplicate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy independently after completing five years of teaching in the University or teaching degree classes in one of the affiliated colleges.

III. (a) Applications for registration shall be made in the prescribed form, through the Head of the Department concerned, if any, to the Registrar of the University.

(b) Registration of candidates shall be made by the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of the Committee for Advanced Study and Research, which shall consist of the following members :—

(1) The Vice-Chancellor.

(2) The Head of the Department concerned,

Or

In the absence of the Head of the Department, an expert in the subject concerned, appointed by the Vice-Chancellor,

(3) The Guiding Teacher, if any.

(c) Registration of the candidate shall be granted after an interview and/or written and oral test of the

candidate's general competence in his field of study.

(d) Registration of candidates shall be made only in the months of July and December each year.

IV. (a) A candidate will be required to pursue advanced study and research under a guiding teacher either in the University or in any Research Institution recognised for this purpose by the University, for at least two academic years.

(b) The maximum time limit for the submission of a thesis for a full-time Research student shall ordinarily be *four* years from the date of registration, and for a part time student employed in an educational institution, *six* years from the date of registration.

V. A candidate shall be required to be present in the University in accordance with the instructions of the guiding teacher, who will keep a record of work and attendance and will report on the progress of his research to the Registrar at the end of each term.

No candidate who is registered for the Ph.D. shall be allowed to put in attendance for, or appear at any other examination (of this or any other University) or any competitive service examination.

A candidate shall pay such registration and tuition fees as may be prescribed in this behalf, provided that teachers of the University shall be exempted from payment of the prescribed fees.

VI. Two months before submitting his thesis, the candidate shall forward to the Registrar, through his guiding teacher, a statement giving the title and a synopsis of the thesis, with a fee of Rs. 100/-. The thesis may be

submitted at any time during the year and shall be forwarded by the candidate through his guiding teacher.

A candidate shall, on the completion of his work, submit to the Registrar :—

(i) A certificate signed by the guiding teacher, if any, that his work and progress have been satisfactory and that, in the opinion of the guiding teacher, the thesis may be submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(ii) Three copies of the thesis, which must be a contribution to knowledge, either because of the discovery of new facts or because of a fresh approach towards the interpretation of facts or theories ; it should show clear evidence of the candidate's scholarship, originality and capacity for critical examination, judgement and method. It must also be satisfactory from the point of view of organization and style, and must be suitable for publication, if necessary.

VII. The thesis shall be written in English.

A candidate may utilize for his thesis the contents of any work which he may have already published on the subject ; provided that he shall indicate in a written statement accompanying the thesis any work which has been so utilised but he shall not submit in whole, or in part, any work for which a degree has been conferred on him by this or any other University.

VIII. (i) The guiding teacher shall suggest the names of experts—

Three from India and three from outside India—in the subject for the consideration of the Committee for Advanced Study and Research, along with the synopsis of the candidate.

(ii) The Committee for Advanced Study and Research shall recommend for the approval of the Executive Council, the

names of three experts to examine the thesis, one of whom shall be the guiding teacher and the other two shall be from outside the University.

IX. (a) The Examiners shall value the thesis independently and send their reports separately to the Registrar.

(b) On a favourable report being made on the thesis by the Referees, the candidate will be required to appear before the Referees at his own expenses for a *viva-voce*, unless the two External Referees specifically opine that no oral test is necessary. If, however, one of the External Referees does not recommend the *viva-voce* and the other does, the latter along with the Internal Referee shall conduct the *viva-voce*.

(c) The Executive Council shall accept the thesis on the unanimous report of all the Referees.

(d) In case the thesis is not approved and recommended for award of degree of Ph. D. by two of the three Referees, the thesis shall be rejected and the candidate shall rewrite and submit the same.

(e) In case the thesis is not approved and recommended by one of the two External Referees, the Executive Council shall appoint another Referee to examine the same on the recommendation of the Committee for Advanced Study and Research.

(f) The names of the Referees shall not be made known to each other.

X. A candidate whose thesis is referred back to him for revision may be permitted to resubmit his thesis after revision, within a period of one year from the date on which it is referred back to him.

### III ENROLMENT FOR RESEARCH DEGREES

| <i>Name</i>          | <i>Subject</i>                                                                                          | <i>Supervisor</i> |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Shri P. R. Deo       | Temples of Marathwada                                                                                   | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Shri B. K. Padalkar  | The Iconography of the Brahmanical Sculptures of Ellora                                                 | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Shri S. G. Deshpande | Kingship in Ancient India                                                                               | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Shri B. M. Patodekar | Impact of Buddhism outside India                                                                        | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Mrs Champakalakshmi  | Society and Culture in Deccan from 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D.                                                | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Sri B. R. Kamble     | Caste, Ritualism and Abstract Philosophy in Pre-Buddhist India.                                         | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Shri A. M. Deshpande | Indo-Pakistani Relations during the period 1947-1962 (Since Partition upto Sino-Indian Dispute in 1962) | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |
| Shri T. V. Pathy     | Political and Cultural Life in Marathwada during the Rashtrakuta Regime                                 | Dr. R. S. Gupte   |

### IV SUPERVISION OF RESEARCH WORK

#### *Recognised Supervisor.*

Dr. R. S. Gupte, M.A., Ph. D.,  
Professor & Head of the Department of  
History

#### *Major Publications.*

Ajanta, Ellora, and Aurangabad Caves  
The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures of  
Ellora.  
The Art and Architecture of Aihole

### V. DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH SCHEME

Dr. R. S. Gupte has been working on a Research Project on the 'Art of the Chalukyas' after joining the University in 1962. He has already published a research monograph on 'The Art and Architecture of Aihole'. He is now working on the 'Art and Architecture of Badami', which will be completed in June 1969.

The Department has recently undertaken another Project. This Project will cover the five districts of Marathwada which are within the jurisdiction of the University. This will be

primarily concerned with the art and the antiquities of the five districts.

### VI. COMMENTS BY SUPERVISOR

DR. R. S. GUPTA

*Professor & Head of the Department of History,  
Marathwada University (Maharashtra)*

We have so far concentrated on the Art & Architecture of the region. We shall continue our interest in these studies. The three books I have written so far, have been the

result of our interest in the art and antiquities of this region. From now on, however, we propose to concentrate on Area Studies Programme in (i) South East Asia and (ii) East Asia. We shall approach the University Grants Commission for assistance to develop this programme in course of time. We shall also add a number of papers in the M. A. syllabus and try to develop a Ph.D. programme in this area.

One Lecturer in the Department, Shri N. G. Bhaware, is specialising in Maratha and American History; another Lecturer is specialising in Numismatics and Epigraphy. We shortly propose to have a Reader with South-east Asia specialisation. We hope to develop the Area Studies Programme in the coming years.

Our main problem is in respect of availability of books and original material. It is difficult to obtain new titles. Aurangabad does not have even a single decent bookshop like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi etc. This makes it difficult to obtain new books. The library takes at least six months to get books tick-marked in catalogues received from Publishers and Booksellers. Many times books published in U. S. A., and U. K. cannot be obtained in this country. This is specially so with area studies. It is very difficult to develop a good library on China, Japan and Southeast Asia. Most of the books are printed in U. S. A. and U. K. and are not easily obtained in this country. Universities have also no foreign exchange to buy these books.

Many times, students who register have little aptitude for research. Most of the students work on their thesis only occasionally and take long time in completing their work. Most college teachers who register do not take their registration seriously. During the academic session, they have no time for research. During vacations they have time, but they choose to spend the time in assessing examination papers to earn money. Students in this area need more guidance in most cases. Many times they have difficulty with the English language. Most students find it difficult to express themselves in English. Many times there is a lack of capacity for logical thinking and analysis.

Hitherto, each Department was given a Research Project Grant. This was a good system. Since two years, however, the University requires that each Department should defend its Project before a Committee of some members of the Syndicate. This is not a committee of experts, but of laymen. Their considerations in most cases are non-academic.

Heads of Departments should be allowed to order books for the library. This will enable libraries (i) to develop faster; (ii) more funds should be made available for journals; (iii) more funds for Research Projects of the Department; (iv) publication grants for the research monographs of the Department; (v) some time limit should be fixed within which students must complete their Ph. D. thesis.

### THESIS PRESENTED

**Lucknow University  
HISTORY OF VATSA**

DR. SHASHI KANT

The aim and scope of the present study is to reconstruct the political and cultural history of the Vatsa Janapad of ancient India from the earliest times to about the middle of the 13th century A.D., on the basis of the archaeological and literary evidence available.

The Vatsa Janapada was situated in the

Madhyadesa of Bharatavarsha, with its capital at Kausambi (mod. Kosam in the Allahabad district) on the northern bank of the Yamuna. On the basis of the political map of India in the 6th century B.C. as known from the Buddhist and Jain sources and the dramas of Bhasa, it may be inferred that it lay along the banks of the Yamuna in the lower Ganga-Yamuna

Doab extending westward up to the Pandu-Ganga and Sengar-Yamuna junctions, and eastward up to the Sangam itself, bounded on the north by the Ganga, on the east by the Karamnasa, on the south by the Son and on the west by the Ken, and covering parts of the modern districts of Kanpur, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Banda, Mirzapur, Varanasi, Ghazipur and Rewari, between the parallels of lat. 24° 4' and 26° 2' N. and long 80° and 81° E. It was surrounded by the Janapadas of Kosala, Kasi, Magadha, Anga, Kalinga, Chedi, Avanti, Kuru and Pañchala, in a rather cyclic order, and was well connected with important political and trade centres of ancient India through highways and inland waterways.

Nearly a hundred sites of historical importance have already been brought to light as a result of explorations during the past one hundred years or so, and they have yielded sufficient material to enable reconstruction of the ancient history of the region. Kausambi and Bhita have responded most generously to the spade of the excavator and have proved to be rich mines of valuable information.

The ancient sites discovered so far, suggest that this region formed one of the earliest habitats of man and saw the successive evolution of Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic civilisations in India. Its Chalcolithic people were in frequent communication with their counterparts in Western India. It appears from the traditional accounts that Vatsa was under the Kasi Kingdom for the most part in the times of yore. The archaeological evidence brought forth at Kausambi seems to suggest that the Aryan tribe of the Vasas should have settled here within a century or two prior to the Mahabharata War which took place in the 15th century B.C.

On the destruction of Hastinapur, the Kuru King Nishakshu, sixth in descent from Parikshit, shifted his capital to Kausambi in c. 13th-12th century B.C., and henceforth twenty-three more Kuru kings ruled from Kausambi till

it was absorbed in the Magadha empire. Of them, Samika II and his son Udayana lived in the 6th century B.C.

Bits of information about the personality and performances of Udayana can be gleaned from the classical Sanskrit literature as well as from the sectarian literature of the Jains, Buddhists and Brahmins. His romance with Vasavadatta, the daughter of King Pradyota of Avanti, finds a popular echo in the ancient Indian literature. Udayana seems to have ascended the throne in c. 555 B.C. The regrouping of the then existing states began swiftly thereafter and within a decade or so, an all-powerful Magadha emerged to the east, and an equally powerful Avanti to the west, of Vatsa. His marriage with the sister of King Darsaka of Magadha, suggests that he lived through the reign of Ajatasatru. The excavations at Kausambi have revealed that the rampart and the palace were rebuilt during his time.

The Kuru king of Vatsa seems to have been made a vassal by Mahanandin in c. 467 B.C. whose son Mahapadma in 424 B.C. even ended the vassalage and made Vatsa a province of the Magadha empire. Under the Mauryas the defences of the city and palace of Kausambi seem to have been rebuilt on the pattern laid down by Kautilya. The edicts of Asoka suggest that officers of the rank of Mahamatra held the charge of the city of Kausambi and possibly his second queen Karuvaki had made that city her residence.

The Maurya empire began to disintegrate soon after the death of Asoka in c. 236 B.C. The Pataliputra and Ujjayini branches seem to have united under Samprati for some time but on his death they again tore asunder and it gave an opportunity to some of the servant of the empire to assert their independence, e.g. at Mathura, Ahichhatra, Kausambi and Yugsala, or to gain in influence, as did the Senapati in Vidisa and the Sachiva in Vidarbha. A correlation of the different traditions and

numismatic evidence suggests that the Satavahanas were the successors of the Mauryas in the Suvarnagiri province and the Sungas, in the Ujjayini province, while the Kanvas succeeded the Sungas in the Vidisa region, and that these successors of the Maurya empire had hardly anything to do with Pataliputra and Kausambi. Cogent evidence is yet to be found to connect the rulers with *mitra*-ending names known from coins from Mathura, Ahichhatra, Ayodhya and Kausambi, with the Sungas.

The independent kingdom of Kausambi, seems to have been founded by Sudeva in c. 219 B.C. on the death of Samprati. Twenty-eight rulers, known from coins and inscriptions, seem to have ruled this kingdom in the post-Samprati and pre-Kanishka period. Of them, Bahasatimita, possibly a prince of the Mathura house, was the most important as he, in league with the king of Ahichhatra who was his maternal grandfather, ended the Maurya dynasty in Pataliputra and also seized Kausambi from the successor of Sudeva early in the 2nd century B.C. Another important ruler was Rajamitra who lived in the 1st century B.C. and performed seven Soma sacrifices possibly including the Purushamedha on the Syenachiti the remains of which have been uncovered at Kausambi.

The Kushana king Kanishka I appears to have led a campaign of conquest in the east soon after his accession in 78 A.D. and encamped for some time in Kausambi, but early in Huvishka's reign, by the year 40 (A.D. 118), Asvaghosha seems to have asserted his independence in the Kausambi-Varanasi area. A decade or so later, Bhimasena from the Baghelkhand tract replaced Asvaghosha. Bhimasena's descendants, the so-called Magha kings, then held sway over Kausambi and the region around till the close of the 3rd century A.D. Thereafter the Naga king Ganendra of Padmavati appears to have held sway for some time, and finally, Sri Rudra or Rudradeva occupied it on the eve of the Aryavarta Wars waged by Samudragupta in c. 330 A.D.

After its conquest by Samudragupta, Kausambi and the region around continued to be a part of the Gupta empire till the last days of the empire except for the brief spell of devastation by Toramana Huna. After the finishing off of the Gupta power by Yasodharmam, the destiny of this region was linked with that of the masters of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) and successively, the Maukharis, Harsha, Yasovarman, the Ayudhas, the Garjara-Pratiharas and the Gahadavalas held sway over it. The intrusions of Muktapida from Kashmir in the time of Yasovarman, and of the Kalachuris and the Palas in the interregnum between the Pratiharas and the Gahadavalas, were short-lived. After the Gahadavala power had been finished by the Turks towards the close of the 12th century A.D., the fight was continued by the Ranaika chiefs with their strongholds at Kara and near Kausambi till 1248 A.D. when the region finally passed into the hands of the Turkish Sultan of Delhi. The region around Kalinjar continued to be a part of the Chandella kingdom since its seizure by Yasovarman in the second quarter of the 10th century A.D.

There is sufficient literary and archaeological evidence to show the important part played by the Vatsa region in shaping the major religious systems of India, as also bearing on the worship of Mother Goddess, Yaksha and Naga. After Nishakshu had shifted to Kausambi, a sort of academy of Vedic learning seems to have been set up there, and Proti Kausurubinda Audalaki, a Vedic teacher, possibly belonged to it. An unmistakable evidence about the prevalence of sacrificial ritualism at Kausambi has been found in the shape of a Syenachiti used for performing the Purushamedha towards the beginning of the Christian era. The mogaliths at Kotia also seem to remind of some sacrificial rites. There is also evidence of syncretism between Vedic ritualism and Saivism, as well as of association of Saivism with the Naga cult, and one of the oldest lingams comes from Bhita. The Vaishnava remains at Garhwa provide interesting evidence of syncretism between Vaishnavism

and Śāktism, between the cults of Rāma and Krishna, and between Vaishnavism and Buddhism.

Kauśāmbī finds much mention in the Jain traditional accounts, and some of the important events in Mahāvira's life also refer to that city. The place was frequented by the Jain teachers in the post-Mahāvira period, and it also seems to have been connected with the early literary activity of the Jains.

The Buddha had spent three rainy seasons in the Vatsa region, and some of his important discourses were delivered here. The Kauśāmbī monks were also the cause of several important rules of monastic discipline. The Ghositārāma at Kauśāmbī continued to be an important centre of Buddhism for about one thousand years since the days of the Buddha; its ruins have been excavated in the 1950's. Besides Kauśāmbī, Bhita, Decriya, Mankuar, Ahraura, Bharhut and Bandhogarh also appear to have been important centres of Buddhism.

With the help of the stone implements, pottery, and miscellaneous clay, stone, metal, bone and shell objects, brought to light so far, the growth of civilisation can be traced in this region and the cultural strains detected to our own times. Kauśāmbī and Sahajāti (Bhita) were the main trade centres, and the trade was well organised through different categories of traders and guilds of artisans and producers. The Śreshthis occupied an important position. The affairs of guilds and of cities and villages were regulated through corporate bodies, with which official functionaries were only occasionally associated. The usual male attire consisted of a dhoti, scarf and turban, but the warriors wore tunic of tight-buttoned coat and long boots. The women wore sari, a garment to cover the upper part, and a veil over the head. They also bedecked the different parts of their body with various items of jewellery, and were form-conscious, fond of cosmetics and refined in tastes. Life was generally gay, and the cities

were beautifully planned and full of merchandise, edibles and entertainments.

The gradual evolution of the city defence-complex from the middle of the 2nd mill. B.C. to the middle of the 1st mill. A.D., may be observed at Kauśāmbī as a result of the excavations of the rampart. The fort at Kara and the hillfort at Kalinjar are the typical examples of the post-Gupta fort architecture. The excavations at Kauśāmbī have also revealed the evolution of the palace-complex in ancient India. The excavations at Kosam and Bhita also throw interesting side-light on building of private and public houses and market places. The stupas uncovered in the Ghositārāma and the one at Bharhut, provide typical examples of the Buddhist stupas. The plan of the Ghositārāma uncovered during the excavations at Kauśāmbī shows a gradual evolution for over one thousand years and is the earliest most complete and preserved picture of a Buddhist monastic establishment. Among the typical examples of rock-cut architecture may be noted the Jain nishidyā at Pabhosa datable early in the 2nd century B.C., the Buddhist cave-dwellings at Bandhogarh relating to the 2nd century A.D., and the Śaiva shrine (Nilakantha Temple) at Kalinjar dating back to the Gupta period but finished in 1090 A.D. The typical examples of masonry temples are furnished by the Vaishnava temple at Garhwa and the Śaiva temples at Barha Kotra and near Mau, all datable in the 12th-13th centuries A.D.

Of the sculptures, the Asokan pillars marked with lustrous polish are the earliest. The wide assortment of sculptures includes Jain Āyāgapatta, āsanapatta and images, Buddhist productions at Bharhut, tablet of homage, Bodhisatva images and Buddha images, Śiva lingams and images of Śiva-Pārvatī, and images of Vishnu and his incarnations, and of the Trinity of Gods, as well as the Krishna legends in relief, besides some miscellaneous objects of interest.

The terracottas, both figurines in round and

mouldings in relief on plaques, have been found in large numbers, belonging to c. 1000 B.C. —A.D. 1000, mostly from Kosam and Bhita. They provide a fine mirror of society, and show a gradual evolution of the technique of clay modelling from early hand-made to mould-made and finally to hand-made with natural mouldings.

Ornaments were made of copper, bronze, gold, shell, glass, semi-precious stones and precious stones, but not of silver, as the available objects seem to suggest. A wide variety of ornaments were used by both men and women. Beads, which were used for various purposes, were made of shell, glass, coral, carnelian, topaz, agate, lapis-lazuli and gold, and were sometimes painted by means of a chemical process.

The coins found in the region include punch-marked coins of silver and copper, uninscribed cast coins, coins bearing the name of the city or a trade guild, and those bearing the name of a ruler. The names of most of the rulers of the post-Aśoka and pre-Kanishka period, as also of the post-Kanishka and pre-Samudragupta period, are known only from these coins.

The seals and scalings of clay, semi-precious stone, metal and ivory have also been found in large numbers, often inscribed with the name of the owner and bearing certain symbols in the field. They range in time from c. 3rd century B.C. to 10th century A.D. and include religious, corporate, official and private seals which throw important sidelight on the political and cultural history.

More than a hundred inscriptions have also been found, dating from c. 260 B.C. to 1248 A.D., and they help solve many a problem in the history of not only Vatsa, but of India generally. The Ahraura Edict of Asoka has made it possible to correctly interpret his Minor Rock Edict I. His Schism Edict corroborates the literary accounts about his patronage of Buddhism. The Pabhosa Cave inscriptions of Ashāḍhasena throw valuable light on the post-Aśoka history of Northern India. The Yūpa inscription of Rajamitra indicates the performer of the Purushamedha at Kauśāmbī. The Allahabad *prasasti* of Samudragupta is the only full account of that ruler's achievements. The inscription of Uddaladevi provides a most welcome clue to the identification of Rana Dalki-wo-malki of the Muslim chroniclers. Lastly, the copper-plate grant of Lakshmana provides an interesting instance of the use of the Gāhaḍavāla era.

Taken as a whole, the Vatsa Janapada with its amazing variety of evidence, its pivotal position in political developments which were vital in shaping the political history of ancient India due to its peculiar geographical situation, its contribution to the growth of Indian religions, and its continuous efforts at enriching the cultural facets of Indian life from the very dawn of civilization to the last days of our period under study, holds a place in Indian history which can be called distinguished and can well be envied by some of the other ancient Janapadas.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Trygve R. Tholfsen: Historical Thinking. An Introduction** (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 328 pp. Paper.

It is exhilarating and a bit disappointing to read a book which one wished to have written oneself. Such was this reviewer's experience with this book. Here is a history of the discipline of history worthy of the name. The standard works of Barnes and Thompson are only chronicles, and Collingwood continually imposes his thoughts on the past rather than re-enacting it. Tholfsen's work is strongest where others have been weakest.

The introduction is a solid definition of the historical mode of thought: the interplay between particularity and diversity, between continuity and change, and the centrality of the dimension of time. It is a definition which few historians would even try to question and yet is specific enough to clearly distinguish history as a separate intellectual discipline. In the following seven chapters the author provides a history of the way this discipline grew to its late nineteenth century maturity. Thucydides provides the key to "Greek Rationalism and History"; and the author introduces the reader to the Greek historian's *The Peloponnesian War* in a sympathetic fashion which makes it possible for the reader to understand Thucydides' intentions without trying to make him a modern historian. The chapter on the Old Testament reflects a knowledge of the latest Biblical scholarship and traces the stages in the development of Jewish historical consciousness. It is perhaps the best summary of the subject available for the non-specialist.

The chapter on Christian and Renaissance thought is a bit lacking in focus. But the study of Voltaire is again superb. Tholfsen is clearly

sympathetic with Enlightenment ideas, and borders on trying to clear the 18th century of the charge of being anti-historical. But he substantiates his position and demonstrates the importance of Voltaire in the development of historiography. He then turns to Herder and the beginnings of historicism. To explain Herder, Tholfsen stresses the German thinker's criticism of Enlightenment ideas, and then weakly defines historicism entirely in terms of emphasis on the particular. This is not a wholly adequate definition, but it does serve to point out its difference from the generalizing tendency of the Enlightenment. Tholfsen's handling of these two opposing views best illustrates his mastery of the discipline he is describing. He insists that 19th century 'history' is a creative combination of the views of the Enlightenment and its critics. He sees 19th century historiography as something new, but with a historical development traceable back to the obviously conflicting ideas of the Old Testament and Greece, and more recently German metaphysics and French rationalism.

The author then accomplishes another *tour de force* in his chapter on Ranke. Because his students mainly caught Ranke's method without its underlying ideas, and because Ranke wrote little about his philosophical presuppositions, he has seldom been adequately represented. But Tholfsen has provided an excellent introduction to this great historian. The book is worth purchasing for this chapter alone. Here Tholfsen's main point is that despite his "romantic idealism" Ranke still believed that his task as historian was to present the past "as it actually was"; and even though he handled each minor fact with care, he still strove for a universal history. Then in a surprising and profound manner Tholfsen adds a full chapter on the French scholar Fustel de Coulanges.

Here he demonstrates that in spite of his claim to be a positivist, Fustel also saw facts in their interrelatedness and stressed the importance of ideas. In this way 'history' came to its maturity as these two historians, claiming different ideologies, wrote similar histories. British historians are conspicuous by their absence.

In the final four chapters Thølfson unfortunately abandons the historical approach, and this weakens the work. The chapter "Theories of Historical Knowledge" is an adequate simple introduction to contemporary discussion, but it properly comes at the end, not at the beginning of the 20th century developments. The two chapters "The Historical Approach" and "Historical Analysis" do not clearly make separate points. The final chapter on "The French Revolution as a Historical Problem" is adequate. But in these chapters Thølfson uses an interesting method. Each point he makes is illustrated with a brief review of a major recent work of history. His chapter on the French Revolution is an analysis of the contribution of Lefebvre. These introductions to contemporary works are of considerable value even if no larger purpose is served.

This is a book for historians. Its chief value is that it makes us aware of the history of the profession to which we belong, and if history has any value, it should make the reader a better historian.

FRANK D. VAN ALST

**The History of Indian Famines and Development of Famine Policy 1858-1918** by HARI SHANKAR SRIVASTAVA. Foreword by Bisheshwar Prasad (Agra, Sri Ram Mehra & Co. 1968 pp. 9+X+417).

Despite the fact that famines have been a great influence on Indian economy, the subject has not attracted many investigators on the academic level. A. Loveday's *The History and Economics of Indian Famines* appeared as early as 1914. Recently Dr. B. M. Bhatia has covered the

field very adequately, although his work is more in the nature of analysis of economic conditions. Dr. Srivastava's present book, whose publication seems to have been unavoidably delayed, discusses the subject from the historical and administrative point of view; and as such, it may be read as a companion volume to Dr. Bhatia's work. Both approaches seem to be necessary for a proper understanding of the subject.

Dr. Srivastava's book, primarily based on archival material and official publications, is a very thorough study of Indian famines whose frequent visitations in the second half of the 19th century caused widespread suffering and exercised many official and non-official minds. The author has critically examined the relations of Indian famines with the government's policy regarding land revenue, forests, co-operative societies, loans and advances for agricultural improvements, railways, irrigation and agriculture. The famine problem has not been discussed as in a vacuum. It has been studied in its natural, political, social as well as economic contexts. Dr. Srivastava refutes the familiar explanation of Indian famines as the consequence of over-population; he shows that food was available even in famine-stricken areas, but the peasants had little money to buy it. The Government still stuck to the policy of *Laissez-faire* and refused to interfere in private trade. The author has critically discussed the effects produced by famines. The evolution of the Indian Famine Codes and the Famine Insurance Fund have been carefully studied, perhaps for the first time. The influence of the recommendations of the Indian Famine Commissions on the general evolution of the administrative and economic policy of the government has been analysed. The book contains six coloured maps, illustrating the visitations of famines in different regions, and these certainly help the reader. Altogether the book is a welcome addition to a neglected branch of Indian economic history.

NILMANI MUKHERJEE.

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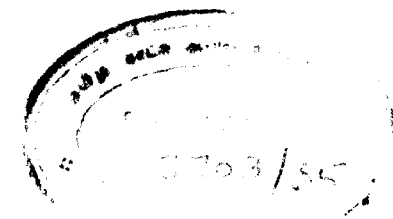
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## THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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### EDITORIAL

#### Indian Education Foundation :

About two years ago when some foreign Education Foundations operating in India came under a cloud of suspicion, the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament that it was the intention of the Government to establish an Indian Education Foundation so as not to leave completely stranded the numerous institutions in the country which had been receiving aid from foreign Foundations. During the heated and prolonged controversy in Parliament all sorts of wild charges were hurled not only against the foreign Foundations but also against the institutions receiving aid from them. One thing that clearly emerged from the controversy was the admission of the Government about its own responsibility in the affair. The Home Minister declared unequivocally that grants had been made to the knowledge of, and with the permission of, the Union Ministry concerned. In the heat of the controversy this point was missed by many at the time and is likely to be overlooked in future, but this is the most vital point in judging the motives and activities of institutions which had received funds from foreign Foundations.

Since the grants were made with the permission of the Government, the institutions

receiving the grants naturally concluded that there was nothing doubtful about the transaction. If the Government of India did not know anything about the undesirable character of the Fund-source, as alleged, no institution, small or large, could be expected to have greater knowledge about it. The Government did not accept the wild charges made against these institutions. On the other hand, it admitted its own responsibility to enable these institutions to carry on their projects threatened by the sudden cut-off of the Foundation grants. It was in this context that the Prime Minister had made the statement in Parliament about the setting up of an Indian Education Foundation, primarily to help those institutions and projects which had been receiving aid from foreign Foundations now suddenly cut off. At the time it came as a most cheerful news to these unfortunate institutions struggling against the sudden crisis in their budgets.

Nearly two years have passed since then. The controversy about foreign Education Foundations has died down. The wild charges against fund-receiving institutions are also not heard any more. There are occasional cries of 'foreign agents' raised from interested motives, either personal or ideological, but they are not, nor intended to be,

taken seriously. The most tragic outcome of the controversy, however, is that people have completely forgotten about the problems and difficulties of those unfortunate institutions whose finances had been totally dislocated by the abrupt termination of aid. Many of them have been doing good work. Many of them have taken on hand long-term projects in which they have made remarkable progress even with shoe string budgets. The value of their work, from the national point of view, is not a whit less than anything done in Government-sponsored and Government-managed undertakings. But nobody seems interested to know how these institutions are getting along, how they are managing to continue their projects with badly depleted funds.

The aid-receiving institutions fall into different categories, Universities, semi-Governmental organisations and small research societies (registered under Act XXI of 1860). The Universities are not much adversely affected, they can get additional funds from the U.G.C. The semi-Governmental organisations are not much affected either as their projects can be fitted in with some Plan item or other. Totally abandoned on the street are the small registered societies, for whose fate no tears are shed. There seems to be a sort of feeling that these institutions are no public responsibility but are to be maintained by private subscriptions or membership fees. If the members cannot manage to run the institution with their own funds, they might as well close down without any detriment to the educational and cultural progress of the nation. This feeling springs from a strange conviction that anything worth doing must be done in a Government-sponsored and Government-managed institution. Anything undertaken outside a Government Department is not worth serious consideration. Such a conviction is all the more amusing in view of the actual performance in nearly all Government-sponsored and Government-

managed Projects, specially in relation to the cost involved.

It is time, however, that the Government should pay some attention to the smaller research societies which have been doing good work with a small external aid but which have been suddenly left high and dry by the termination of the aid. They have struggled along for two years in the hope that the proposed Indian Foundation would be set up soon and would come to their rescue. Unfortunately, no serious effort has been made in this direction so far and there is no indication that the Foundation will be at all set up. The difficulties of the Government, both financial and administrative, in setting up a large Education Foundation are not of course to be minimised. But at the same time unless some speedy action is taken to save them, many of these smaller institutions will have to close down, leaving incomplete many useful projects in the midway. It would mean not only wastage of money on the projects abandoned incomplete but a strangling of small research institutions built up by enterprise, hard work and devotion. The disappearance of such institutions will be a most regrettable national loss.

To save the situation speedy and imaginative action on the part of the Government is needed. The proposed Education Foundation may take a long time in being given a concrete shape. In the meanwhile the Government should take immediate steps to assess the progress and quality of work of the smaller institutions and their financial needs and should extend financial assistance on an ad hoc basis for a few years pending the establishment of the proposed Foundation. It is not argued that the Government should blindly maintain the same quantum of assistance as had been received from a foreign Foundation earlier in every case. The quantum of assistance may be fixed on the basis of need and performance. But what is urgently required is that some-

thing must be done, and done quickly, to save smaller research institutions serving the nation from a sudden and undeserved collapse. We can only hope that the Government will act with imagination and speed and will not be trammelled by traditional bureaucratic procrastination.

#### **Indian Historical Records Commission :**

The 40th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in Madras from 18th to 21st February. Professor V.K.R.V. Rao, Union Minister of Education, inaugurated the Session. It was attended by nearly 50 members from all over the country.

At the Business Meetings there was the usual demand from historian-scholars for further relaxation of Archival restrictions. At the National Archives rules had been considerably relaxed in recent years, throwing open in a general way all pre-Independence records. But this privilege is hedged round with severe restrictions regarding confidential records of several Ministries even though they may be more than half a century old. The historian-scholars pressed their point as hard as possible, but whether their demand will make any impact on the Ministries concerned is not that certain. One must admit that there are some sensitive areas, the records relating to which cannot be thrown open indiscriminately under a general blanket rule. Most historians appreciate that, but what they really want is a more imaginative use of the restrictions and not a total sealing-off of valuable source material. There is much room for improvement in the application of 'scrutiny' rules also and there is little reason to keep research scholars waiting for their notes for months together.

The second demand of the historian-members at the Session was for uniformity of Archival rules in the different States. This is a most reasonable demand and nothing stands in the way of its acceptance except

administrative inertia in the States and a bureaucratic suspicion of the historian's profession. At present Archival rules differ very widely from State to State, which proves quite exasperating to scholars who may have to work in different State Archives. It would be most desirable if all the State Governments could be persuaded to adopt the same rules regarding access to records as now obtain at the National Archives. Nobody would claim that from the point of view of national security State records are of a more combustible nature than those preserved in the National Archives.

One important decision from the point of view of research at University level taken at the Session was that copies of all theses in the field of modern Indian history approved for the Ph.D. degree at any Indian University must be compulsorily preserved at the National Archives. In principle this is a good move and is a partial acceptance of the views expressed in these Editorial Columns in Vol. 1 No. 4. It will help new research students in their investigation and avoid duplication of work. It will also help maintain the standard of doctoral dissertations by making the Universities cautious in the interest of their own reputation. Unfortunately, the proposal, as it was adopted, may not prove acceptable to many Universities. The scope of the resolution should not have been confined to theses in modern Indian history only but should have been widened, at least for University's administrative convenience, to cover all theses in history. The restriction about the period was no doubt motivated by the desire to have the National Archives as the repository of such theses, the Archives not being considered as a suitable repository for theses on ancient and medieval periods. This problem could have been easily solved by making the National Library, as much a Government of India concern as the National Archives, the repository of all theses in history.

**DNB Project :**

The Dictionary of National Biography Project has been maintaining its steady progress. We have received nearly 70% of entries from Contributors. This is of course not as much progress as we had hoped for, but then in a Project like this one must not expect strict adherence to schedule. When we have to depend on 350 Contributors from all parts of the country, some delay or upsetting of programme is inevitable. On the whole, however, the Contributors have been very considerate and helpful. Just in a few cases the Contributors regretted their inability and new allotments had to be made. But we are still hopeful of getting all the entries by the end of June. A last minute checking up of names and making additions, if necessary, will be done after all the present entries are received. This will be done in consultation with representatives of various professions in different States. It is not of course possible to satisfy everybody about the selection of names, but we want to be as careful and thorough as possible.

We are very glad to report the following additions to our list of Contributors from among political figures :

1. Shri Hitendra Desai, Chief Minister of Gujarat.
2. Shri V. P. Naik, Chief Minister of Maharashtra.
3. Shri M. D. Chaudhari, Education Minister of Maharashtra.
4. Shri S. K. Wankhede, Finance Minister of Maharashtra.

It is really gratifying to note that most of the State Chief Ministers are actively co-operating with our Project as Contributors. It is a very happy recognition of the national importance of the D.N.B. Project.

In our effort to raise additional funds from State Governments to the extent of Rs. 1,50,000/-, we have been able to raise only half the amount. We are, however, hopeful of raising the balance in the course of the next financial year, 1970-71.

## THE CONVERSION OF LORD RIPON—CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, GRANDMASTER OF THE ENGLISH FREEMASONS, AND GLADSTONIAN STATESMAN—IN 1874

DR. A. F. DENHOLM  
(*University of Adelaide*)

Lord Ripon's reception into the Catholic Church early in September 1874 caused a minor sensation in the world of politics, and a howl of no popery protest in the non-Catholic press. Ripon's conversion took London society and even his closest friends by surprise. Victorians had long accustomed themselves to the steady drift of ritualists and Puseyites to Rome, but were puzzled when this wealthy nobleman,<sup>1</sup> evangelical Anglican, ex-Christian Socialist friend of F. D. Maurice, and Grand Master of the English Freemasons, was received into the Catholic Church on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin on September 8, 1874.

Ripon was the son of Viscount Goderich, Prime Minister in 1827-1828, and was born at 10, Downing Street during his father's brief tenure of that office. On the elevation of his father to the Earldom of Ripon in 1833 he took the junior title, and was known as Lord Goderich until the deaths of both his father and uncle in 1859 when he succeeded to both titles and became Earl de Grey and Ripon. Goderich was educated entirely at his mother's home, Nocton in Lincolnshire, and brought up in a strict evangelical environment imposed by his devout mother. He neither attended school nor university but read widely in the well stocked libraries at Nocton, and the other family home Studley Royal, near Ripon. He entered public life in 1848 and soon became a keen supporter of F. D. Maurice and the Christian Socialist movement established in that revolutionary year. In the

next few years Goderich was particularly active sponsoring cooperative associations of workmen. Elected as M. P. for Hull in 1852 and for Huddersfield the next year he acquired a reputation as a firebrand radical and even a republican. He claimed to be a socialist, and regarded himself as "pre-eminently the working class member".<sup>2</sup> Throughout the 1850s he associated himself with demands for reform in the civil service and the army, as well as for legislation extending further the principles of limited liability to cooperative societies. He formed around himself a small coterie of like minded radicals which were known as the "Goderichites", and at one time he was considered as a future "advanced" Liberal Prime Minister. He took office under Palmerston in 1859 and gained valuable administrative experience at the War and India Offices, and he joined the cabinet in 1863 as Secretary for War. Though no longer the ardent radical he steadily urged reforms upon the army, and was particularly successful in improving educational and medical facilities for soldiers. In his three years at the War Office something of the stigma of the criminal was removed from the occupation of the soldier. In 1868 he became Lord President of the Council in Gladstone's first administration, and was largely responsible for the safe passage of the Education Act of 1870, many of whose provisions were the fruits of a friendship with W. E. Forster dating back to his Christian Socialist days. In 1871 he headed the British Commission that went to

the United States to negotiate the "Alabama" and other claims arising from the civil war period. His conciliatory approach to these negotiations were partly responsible for their successful outcome and the settlement of the dispute by arbitration. For his efforts he was rewarded with a marquise though he kept the Ripon title. He served Gladstone well in the House of Lords with its entrenched conservative majority especially with the difficult Irish legislation and the Ballot Bill, but he resigned in the summer of 1873 ostensibly on the grounds of disagreement with the government's proposals to extend the suffrage to the countries. In fact it was more of an excuse, for by this time he was already grappling with a spiritual crisis which engaged his attention until his reception into the Church almost exactly a year later.

Though Ripon himself claimed that God had been leading him "during these last four or five years"<sup>3</sup> to a realisation that the Catholic Church was the only true one, none of his friends seem to have been aware of his spiritual torment. So well guarded was his secret that Ripon felt obliged to write to a number of his near friends and political colleagues, Tom Hughes, Sir Arthur Helps, Lords Aberdare, Halifax, Wolverton, Kimberley and Carnarvon as well as to Gladstone informing them of his decision. It is certain that Ripon had consulted at least one prominent Anglican clergyman for in his reply to Ripon's letter, Dean Liddon, a leading High Churchman, said: "Before opening your letter I had a sad foreboding as to the probable character of its contents", and later "I deplore my own unskilfulness or other and graver shortcomings, which have prevented my helping you through your difficulties".<sup>4</sup> Lord Acton on the other hand admitted being taken by surprise, and in a letter to him in October Gladstone said: "My belief is that no friend was in the slightest degree aware of Ripon's intentions. He is an excellent fellow . . . at least he has been: may it all continue".<sup>5</sup>

This last comment of Gladstone's is most revealing in the light of the Ultramontane controversy following his publication of an article on "Ritualism and Ritual" in the *Contemporary Review* in October 1874, but it had special import for Ripon's political future for in the context of this controversy Gladstone had adopted views which placed a large question mark against the civil loyalty of Catholics since the promulgation of Papal Infallibility.

Until this time Ripon had made a successful career as a politician, diplomat and administrator, and though he resigned as Lord President of Gladstone's Council in 1873 neither he, nor the Liberal Party leaders considered his public career at an end. In fact after 25 years in public life, his knowledge and experience would lead him to expect many future years of high office. This was now clearly in jeopardy. *The Times* made a vicious attack upon him<sup>6</sup> which is worth quoting at some length as it attempted to discredit Ripon's career to date, and to ensure that he never held political office again. It admitted that he was "no ordinary convert", and commented upon his early Christian Socialism: "It is such a pleasant romance for a man who knows that in the ordinary course of things he will be in the undisputed possession of fifty thousand a year to imagine himself at the level with ordinary mortals. A little experience of life, however, dissipates this romantic tendency, and Lord Ripon soon settled down into a sober Liberal, exemplary in his submission to the control of successive leaders." His work on the "Alabama" negotiations was grudgingly acknowledged, and it was admitted that his leadership of the freemasons "is an evidence of the social consideration which he commands, and his great wealth renders him an important member of the Party to which he belongs, and of any association to which he may attach himself". The editorial then makes its main point: "His sympathies have, at least in action, been

given to the party of progress and enlightenment, and he would have been regarded until yesterday as a valuable member of the Liberal Party. This is the man who in the full strength of his powers has renounced his mental and moral freedom". The consequences of this action, *The Times* said, were clear: "A statesman who becomes a convert to Roman Catholicism forfeits at once the confidence of the English people. Such a step involves a complete abandonment of any claim to political or even social influence in the nation at large, and can only be regarded as betraying an irreparable weakness of character. To become a Roman Catholic and remain a thorough Englishman are — it cannot be disguised — almost incompatible conditions". Coming from *The Times* this view was unpleasant enough but when it appeared that it was shared by none other than Gladstone himself Ripon's future looked bleak indeed, and confirmed his own first assessment that his conversion would demand the sacrifice of his political career. The replies that Ripon received from his friends to his own letters informing them of his decision are marked by their sympathy and understanding, and none suggest that his public career was in jeopardy, but there is no record of Gladstone's letter. It has been suggested that there was a letter which was so hurtful that Ripon destroyed it.<sup>7</sup> However Gladstone's attitude was made public enough by the publication in October of his article in the *Contemporary Review* attacking the church for adopting old and violent methods, for rejecting modern thought, and more particularly in claiming that no one could become a convert "without renouncing his mental and moral freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another".<sup>8</sup> There followed an exchange of letters between Ripon and Gladstone during October with the result that Ripon established that Gladstone did not consider that he personally would be short of civil loyalty and duty, but on the general issue Gladstone would not budge.<sup>9</sup> In fact he

went further and wrote a tract specifically dealing with this problem. This was entitled "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance". Before publishing it Gladstone consulted Lord Acton who tried to dissuade him from doing so. It is not necessary here to examine this tract in detail, but its argument summarised by Acton was as follows: "You (that is Catholics) got emancipated by declaring yourselves good subjects and decent people in 1826. But you also declared for the same purpose, that you disbelieved Infallibility. This declaration has become false. What proof have we that the other is still true".<sup>10</sup> Acton argued vainly against publication on the grounds that it amounted to "demand of the Catholics security against political ultramontaniam under the pain of losing their claim to Liberal, to national respect and support — in reality under pain of a tremendous No Popery cry".<sup>11</sup> It is clear that Gladstone felt very strongly on this matter, and no less clear that in spite of private assurances to Ripon, he regarded Catholics as suspect Englishmen.<sup>12</sup> Gladstone's conviction rested on his profound belief that there was a plot of European dimensions to restore the temporal power of the Church. In a letter to Granville early in November he explained why he had sent the manuscript of his tract off to the publishers. "My proper and main motive has been this: the conviction I have that they (Roman Catholics) are waiting, in one vast conspiracy, for an opportunity to direct European war to the re-establishment by force of the temporal power . . . I desire in homely language to do the little in my power to put a spoke in their wheel . . . the priest party will be furious; the moderate men only embarrassed if they are too timid to do their duty. My wish is to help them in doing it. In this category Ripon may stand".<sup>13</sup> Both Gladstone and Granville realised that this publication would alienate Liberal Roman Catholic voters even further than the Irish measures had done, and in his reply Granville admitted that

"as a party question it will of course set the whole of the Catholics against us (including Ripon), of whose openness to reason on religious questions, I have given up all hope".<sup>11</sup>

Granville was wrong — Ripon did not take up the cudgels on behalf of his new co-religionists, neither did he drift into Acton's "Old Catholic" position. He did however take Manning's advice and maintain "a little while of silence and patience",<sup>12</sup> and it was perhaps this that had frustrated Granville. In fact this "little while" amounted to almost four years for although Ripon took a prominent part in the education controversy in 1876 on behalf of Catholic schools, it was not until 1878 that he again entered the inner circle of Liberal Party leaders.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile he contended himself with travel abroad, the domestic pleasures of Nocton and Studley Royal, and the study of religion and politics. For the first time since the early 1850s when he had written a revolutionary tract for the Christian Socialists called "The Duty of the Age" in which he argued that democracy and Christianity were inseparable, Ripon committed his thoughts to paper. A paper he wrote for the 1878 Cooperative Congress and an article on the problems of International Morality were the fruits of these four years of introspective study, and then heralded his return to active political life. They reaffirmed Ripon's support for the cooperative movement as an agent of social amelioration and committed him even further to the tenets of Gladstonian Liberalism especially after the Bulgarian Atrocities affair when Ripon resisted all attempts by the hierarchy to woo him to the pro-Disraeli and anti-Russian line.<sup>14</sup> He became a confirmed opponent of Disraelian jingoism in all its forms. In the course of these four years of quiet contemplation and study Ripon came painstakingly to the conclusion that in spite of the Syllabus Errorum and the Vatican Council there was no conflict between his new religious allegiance and his old political beliefs. On the contrary he found that both his

social and political philosophies were strengthened by his spiritual calm and certainty.

The first of these excursions into print was a presidential address<sup>15</sup> he gave to the Co-operative Congress in April 1878. It is an indication of his continued interest in the cooperative movement, and a recognition of his services to it that he should have been chosen president of the Congress in 1878. Ripon's greatest contribution to cooperation lay in his activities in the House of Commons in the 1850s attempting to modify the laws of partnership on behalf of the cooperative societies. Various minor concessions were granted but Ripon's crowning achievement was the part he played in the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1862, for this act allowed cooperatives to hold land, to invest in one another and extended to them the full advantages of limited liability. It was virtually a charter to expand, and the rapid development of cooperative enterprise immediately thereafter was directly the result of this legislation. Ripon though appreciating the value of the retail stores was chiefly interested in producers cooperatives, and in the 1860s he had taken part in promoting a number of new profit sharing associations. Though most of these met with as little success as the old Christian Socialist experiments, some 15 productive societies mainly in the light metal industries in the midlands still survived in the 1880s. It was then for these services to cooperation over nearly 30 years that Ripon took the chair at the annual meeting of delegates on Easter Monday 1878.

In his speech, Ripon turned to his favourite cooperative theme. He chided the assembly for over emphasizing consumer cooperation at the expense of the producer societies. He argued that the efforts of the Christian Socialists had been dedicated to providing the worker with the full fruits of his labour for "the claim of the producer to have his full benefit out of the profits of a productive un-

dertaking seemed to us to be a moral claim, whereas the claim of the consumer in respect to cooperative stores appeared to us to be a claim of advantage." He urged that they should establish more producer cooperatives immediately to enable the working people to get the fullest benefit from their labour. There was no time to lose for the poverty in the large towns was crying out for remedy. "There are men", he said "stirred to anger by the condition of the poorest class in our large towns, and I am bound to say that no man can know anything of what that condition is, particularly in London, and complain that men should become impatient of the further continuance of such a state of things". This was a timely reminder to the advocates of retail cooperation, many of whom were drawn from the skilled workers not to forget their less fortunate brethren. Many were reluctant to sink money into productive co-operative experiments, and were quite content to continue with the proved business reliability of the stores which provided them with cheap goods but which did little to remedy the conditions of work of the poor.

Ripon then turned to the wider issues of cooperation. He claimed that whereas strikes and lockouts and other forms of industrial action were essentially divisive, leading to social tensions and industrial war, "cooperation, applied in its largest sense as an industrial partnership between the capitalist and the workman, had greater aims: It is to unite, and not separate, to combine for one common object, not to organise opposing armies". He explained why he continued to support the movement: "I do not hold up cooperation as a panacea to cure all evils. I believe in no panaceas of this kind. I do not believe it will make men moral though I acknowledge that it affords them opportunities for moral training. I do not expect that it will absorb all other forms of industrial organisation, though I think it probable that it will in many ways penetrate them with its

main principle. I look for no magical results from its advance, though its spread seems to me to be fraught with undoubted political benefits. But what I do say is that to whatever extent, and under whatever circumstances it is applied whether by the individual owner of capital in relation with those who labour for him, or by the cooperative store with those who deal with it, or by the association for production with all who take part in its operation, cooperation tends to bind men together, to give them common instead of conflicting interests". Cooperation he concluded was "a Cause which bears witness once more to the great fact which is the key of so many puzzles and the solution of so many problems — that the only sound foundation upon which any human relations — political, social, or industrial — can rest is that on which they have been placed by God himself, the foundation of mutual duty and mutual help." It was just this "mutual duty and mutual help" which lay at the root of Ripon's social philosophy. He was still essentially a Christian Socialist.

During 1878 Ripon was once again taking part in Liberal Party consultations at the highest level through his friendship with several leading Liberal peers especially Lords Kimberley, Northbrook and Aberdare. Since Gladstone's resignation as leader of the party in January 1875 this obstacle in the way of his political advancement had been removed. It was however Disraeli's conduct of foreign and in particular imperial affairs which encouraged Ripon to return to active politics, and which prompted him to write "Some Thoughts on International Morality" for the *Month* early in 1879. The European events of the 1870s confirmed Ripon in his view that the strident nationalism of both Italy and Germany was a menace to European liberalism generally and an example to be strenuously avoided in Britain. In this article Ripon attempted to place his liberal convictions on Christian foundations, whilst at the

same time condemning the new imperialist and blood and iron policies of the age as a reversion to pagan statecraft. He claimed that in pagan times the aggrandisement of the state was man's highest aspiration, for all virtues were embodied in the state. What he saw in contemporary Europe was a return to this simple but immoral notion. He admitted that national aggrandisement had many attractions for ambitious sovereigns and ministers, as well as for the "vulgar and rowdy elements which exist in every country".<sup>10</sup> Immoral statecraft was all too prevalent and Napoleon III and Bismarck were cited as recent examples. Ripon now suggested that this was on the increase in Britain: "it is now considered enough, in too many quarters, to say that such and such measures are required to increase the influence of the country, or to give additional security against possible future dangers, in order to cause all doubts or questionings as to their justice or morality to be ridiculed as the follies of weakminded and contemptible persons". However well suited such Machiavellian practices were for Pagan times they will not do for Christian states, because for the Christian man or nation "all earthly advantage, influence, power, wealth, though in their proper places may be lawful objects of pursuit, are each and all of them strictly subordinate and not supreme". He then reached the crux of his argument: "The Christian ideal of civil government must surely be the promotion of the highest well being of the people, but even this great end is not to be pursued without regard to the claims of others, and a Christian nation ought ever to be distinguished by its scrupulous respect for the rights of its neighbours, and its just consideration of their interests". He argued that the Christians' patriotism was wider than the pagans'; "he rejoices to see his country great and powerful, and respected . . . but above all things he desires that she should be famous in the world for her love of justice, and her strict good faith". Having outlined the basic tenets

of his own beliefs he adds two practical riders. To put considerations of policy and force before considerations of right was not only wrong, but folly as well, for "higher wisdom" has it that in the long run material force is the weakest, and that solid foundations can only be laid "in justice alone". Secondly, Catholics especially should reject nationalist aggression and chauvinism because "they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by aggression; they have in these days no commanding influence with the governments of the world; their only hope of preserving the freedom of the Church, and a just regard for her independence, lies in the maintenance of a strong general love of justice and a scrupulous respect for the rights of others".

Ripon's social and political philosophy characterised by these commitments to a brotherly insistence on mutual obligation, and a recognition of the rights of others was reinforced by his conversion. Unlike many converts he neither took shelter in cosy conservatism, nor did he allow himself the luxury of withdrawal from public life altogether. Instead, and perhaps a little to his surprise, he found after four years study and reflection, that this philosophy was given new strength and purpose. Through the universal agency of the Church all men could be bound more closely in mutual respect and tolerance. By his conversion Ripon broke the bounds of his Anglican and Masonic insularity, and in an age threatened increasingly by the disruptive forces of nationalism, imperialism and Marxism, he sought to restate an old truth — that men of all conditions can be brought together in the love of Christ through his universal Church.

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12. Gladstone later modified his views when the *Contemporary Review* article was re-edited for Gladstone's *Gleanings* Vol. VI.
13. A. Ramm (Ed.) *The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville 1868-1876*. London 1952. Letter 995. This was written after the protracted correspondence with Ripon.
14. *Ibid.* Letter 996.
15. See Wolf *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 295.
16. By 1880 Gladstone's views had sufficiently mellowed to offer Ripon the Viceroyalty of India — a post requiring the maximum loyalty to the throne. This was accepted and Ripon spent four years in India earning for himself the title of "the best loved viceroy" for his efforts to improve the conditions of life for the Indian population. Ripon later served under Gladstone as Colonial Secretary. He supported Home Rule, opposed the Boer War, and the Liberal imperialists, and took office as leader of the Liberals in the Lords in 1906. He remained a radical to the end supporting Lloyd George's plan for old age pensions, and corresponding with cooperators in the last year of his life (1909). He lived an exemplary Catholic life, and held the office of President of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul from 1890 until his death.
17. In December 1876 Manning had asked Lord Denbigh to secure Ripon's agreement to a place on a pro-Turk committee "on Catholic grounds". See R. T. Shannon *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*. London 1963, p. 194. The only other leading Catholic layman against the pro-Turk party was Ambrose Philipps de Lisle.
18. Report of the Cooperative Congress 1878, First Day. This address was later published as an article by the *Month* in July 1879.
19. *Month* February 1879; Lord Ripon "Some Thoughts on International Morality".

## INCISED PAINTING IN MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE

DR. R. NATH

The Mughal court from Akbar to Shah Jehan gave patronage to almost all methods of architectural painting as is depicted in the monuments of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. There we meet with specimens of encaustic, fresco-buono, fresco-secco and stucco-lustro techniques. Marble as well as plaster surfaces have been used for these paintings. Sometimes the art was directed into strange channels. At Khwabgah Fatehpur Sikri, for example, we meet with an unknown method of painting. While in the interior of this building the pigments are of the thinness of a paper, the floral patterns painted on the exterior columns of the uppermost storey have no 'intonaco' or background whatsoever. The stone surface has directly received the colour—chiefly chocolate—and has completely absorbed it so much so that the colour has no separate entity at all. In this process the artist dexterously utilised the white natural spots of the stone to represent flowers or other features with slight additions. The complete absence of the intonaco on the columns of Khwabgah is indicative of an ingenious development of the technique and make this painting a superb work of art. It confirms Abul Fazl's statement that "the mixture of colours has especially been improved. The picture thus received a hitherto unknown finish."<sup>1</sup> It is neither fresco nor tempera but something else, the execution of which did not require any plaster background. These are neither water-colours, which could not have survived on the exterior columns always exposed to sun and rain, nor encaustic because they do not contain the resultant lustre or a trace of it. The true nature of the colours used hereon has not been ascertained and

remains a mystery like so many other features of the Mughal art.

While so many complicated methods and a wide variety of colours—with an almost invariable overcoat of costly gilding—were used in mural painting under the court patronage, the contemporary folk-art developed on extremely simple lines. It was mostly incised or 'intaglio', and was composed of two simple colours—a white used on a dark red background. The former was obtained from 'safeda' and the latter from 'hirmich', the common and cheap country pigments which are in use in the folk-art from ancient times. Most probably it was executed on the tempera or the 'fresco-buono' method. It has first been used, almost on an experimental basis, at the Tomb of Akbar, at Sikandra, in the three open chambers on the backside of the western false gateway. Highly conventionalised florals and arabesques have been used. The art proved to be as beautiful and as stable as was the complicated encaustic painting of the vestibule. The simplicity of the pigments used, the success of the technique with which it could be executed and the lucid aesthetic impression which moved the beholder led the court artists of mural painting to adopt it on an elaborate scale with some of their own colours at the Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah.

Under this technique a thin layer of colour-pigment has been laid over the white plaster surface. A floral or conventional design is then drawn on the colour surface, according to which the colour is scraped off, thus exposing the white plaster, only through the

scraped-off design. It is thus 'incised painting' which ensures a delicate play of light and shade and is as beautiful as the incised stucco. It has chiefly been used at the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah on the borders of the alcoves, along with the guldastas and on ceilings.

The Mughal 'Incised Painting' resembles the Italian Sgraffito work to an extent, though the former did not necessarily derive the inspiration from the latter. In all probability it was developed independently by the Mughal painters, who through a long course of architectural embellishment with the help of plaster and colours might have themselves devised it. W. H. Nicholls did not correctly compare the two arts—the Italian Sgraffito and the Mughal incised painting, the examples of which were probably not known to him.<sup>2</sup> The Mughal incised painting is much different from the incised stucco art in technique as well as in material. It is much simpler, being mostly composed of two colours only, one of which is almost invariably the white of the entire plaster surface.

Its most developed stage is noticeable at the Taj-Mahal, in the Mosque and the Meh-mankhana, distributed in highly conventionalised patterns along their whole interiors from dados to the ceilings. Here again only two colours have been used, a hirmichi red on a white background which is allowed to appear magnificently through the scraped off leaves, flowers and the outlines (Plates IV & V). The tiny curves of white thus blossom exuberantly on a red ground—the portions of the background have thus artistically been brought to the foreground and the foreground recedes into background. It is not believable that such great effect and aesthetic impression could be obtained, on such a large scale, only by the use of these two simple colours. It has been made possible by the technique, the motifs and above all the artists' skill to distribute the designs judiciously and

harmoniously; all three aspects of the art deserve the credit of the exquisite effect of this architectural decor. The walls glitter as they do at the Shish-Mahal; the principle of light and shade has been utilised to work wonders. Obviously a plain painting could not have brought about this miracle of artistic expression.

That the folk-art composed of essentially Indian pigments like 'safeda' and 'hirmich' has been employed in such a great monument of the Grand Mughals, and that too with such great emphasis, is as much illustrative of the Mughal love of the beautiful as of the patronage which was unprejudicedly accorded to a common form of art. It represented the popular side of the Imperial regime; the Mughals had accommodated themselves head and soul in the Indian environments. They wore Indian dresses, ate Indian dishes. They observed Jharokha-darshan and Tula-dan; they celebrated Diwali, Holi, Rakshabandhan and Dasehra, the popular institutions of the Indian masses. They performed tilak. They gave considerable impetus to Indian music, literature, arts and architecture. They did not despise the cultural side of their people; instead, they accorded due cognizance to it and, if it was conducive to their artistic ideals and did not infringe on their political aspirations, liberally patronised it. They helped it to survive far more constructively than our national government has done since Independence.

### REFERENCES

1. 'Ain-i-Akhari' Vol. I (Blochmann) (Calcutta, 1873) p. 107.
2. Cf. A.S.E. Annual Report 1903-4, pp. 25-26. "The incised plaster work commonly found in Mughal buildings in inscriptions and medallions reminds one of the sgraffito work of Italy... But the Mughals obtained the coloured ground of their sgraffito by painting in the colour after the surface of the plaster had been carved, while the Italian method consists in laying a distinct layer of coloured plaster on the wall, covering the coloured coat with a skimming coat and then cutting and scraping away the skimming coat so as to show the colour underneath. Thus while the Italian sgraffito lends itself to a broad treatment owing to the difficulty of laying the diff-

erent colours of the colour coat in such a manner that the right colour will appear in exactly the right place when the skinning coat is scraped away, by the Mughal method patterns involving a most intricate arrangement of colours can be worked. The advantages of the Italian method are twofold, first because when once the sgraffito is executed it is much more lasting and can be washed and cleaned; secondly

because the restrictions on the design which the process entails are conducive to a broader and more harmonious effect, while the speckled appearance and glaring contrasts of colour which the Mughals sometimes produced—as for instance, in the vestibule of Akbar's tomb at Sikandrah—are rendered impossible." He thus alludes only to the examples of the Mughal incised stucco.

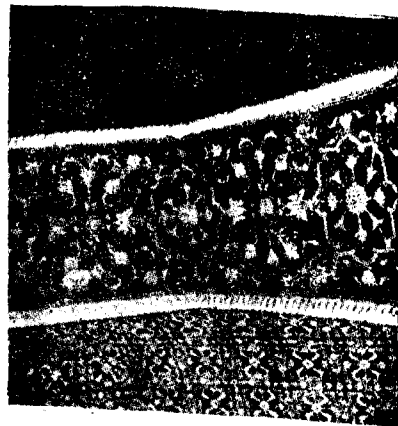


PLATE IV



PLATE V

## \* AKBAR : HIS INHERITANCE AND INSTITUTIONS\*

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

(Jadavpur University)

Humayun, a very incorrect judge of men and policy, happened to be a true prophet as regards his son's future greatness. For Akbar became great alike in victories of war and of peace and the fragrance of his fame spread like that of the musk-pod distributed at his birth by his then fortune-forsaken father. A multiple personality, Akbar has attracted a galaxy of writers, Indian and foreign, during the last 427 years. Among contemporaries, Akbar's earliest notable chronicler, Haji Muhammad Arif Qandahari (*Tarikh-i Akbar Shahi*) is not so well-known as Abul Fazl, Badaoni and Nizamuddin but his work is invaluable. Abul Fazl, the first official historiographer of the Empire, wrote the *Akbarnamah* in his laboratory of history, as a projection of Akbar's mind. His *Ain-i-Akbari* is incomplete as a picture of administrative and social conditions no doubt, but nevertheless it is invaluable for studying Akbar's reign. Abul Fazl used history to buttress a certain religio-political ideology. On the other hand, Badaoni (*Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*) reflected the orthodox Sunni mind with an anti-Akbar bias. Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*) was a matter-of-fact non-committal writer. Besides these we have Shaikh Alhaddad Faizi Sarhindi (*Akbarnama*), Mutamid Khan (*Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*), Yahaya bin Abdul Latif (*Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*), Inayatullah (*Takmil-i-Akbarnama*), Abdul Haq (*Tarikh-i-Haqqi*), Asad Beg (*Waqaya or Halat Asad Beg*). Then there were a few

Jain writers like Shanti Chandra (*Kripas Kosh*), and European writers like the Jesuit Father Anthony Monserrate (*Mongolicae Legionis Commentarius*) and others.

Among modern writers there are biographers, monographists and general historians who have assessed Akbar's place in history. The first modern biographer of Akbar was the German Count Von Noer (Vol. I, 1880, Vol. 2, posthumous, 1885), whose assessment deserves to be quoted even now : "Akbar was great as a general, as a statesman creative and . . . unsurpassed, as a practical exponent of genuine humanity." Next comes G. B. Malle-son (1890), who regarded Akbar as "one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation's trouble . . .". V. A. Smith, third in order, wrote the first scientific work based on research more than fifty years ago (1917). To him Akbar was "a born king of men" with a secure "claim to rank as one of the greatest sovereigns known to history . . .". To Laurence Binyon (1932), author of a small but engrossing work, Akbar's "ultimate ambition was to solder India into unity". H. G. Wells, considering Akbar to be "one of the hinges of history", ranks him next to Asoka. But to Dr. R. P. Tripathi Akbar was "the greatest king which historic India had ever had". Dr. (Mrs.), K. Antonova has written 'Mughal India of the period of Akbar' (1950). During the last decade there have been three works on Akbar, including those by J. M. Shelat (2 vols., 1959) and S. R. Sharma (Akbar the Great, 1960). The latest to fall in, Dr. A. L. Srivastava, is also the most comprehensive writer in mo-

\* A Review Article : Dr. A. L. Srivastava—*Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, Evolution of Administration (1556-1605); 1967, Shivalal Agarwala & Co., Agra; pp. i-xx + 373; Rs. 20/-.

der times, planning on a wide canvas, indefatigable in his search for sources, and skilful in handling the wealth of materials and in general execution. He has planned a 3 volume work on Akbar, of which the first and the second volumes have been published in 1962 and 1967 respectively. He has pointed out the defects of V. A. Smith and utilised some new sources, not at all used by the former, in Persian, Rajasthani, Sanskrit and Jain sources, in Hindi and Urdu.

The book under review is the second volume of Akbar for which the author was given an honorarium by the University Grants Commission. It seeks, in a sense, to develop the basic idea of the first volume (p. 530), that Akbar is "truly our national king". In a passage reminding us of the ideas of Binyon and Tripathi, quoted above, the author propounds his central theme forcefully as follows: "This volume reveals Akbar's conscious, willing and successful experiment in administering a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural community for the common good of all." . . . Akbar had to face more complex problems than any former Hindu statesman . . . Akbar's experiment demanded much more than the age-long Hindu experience of religious tolerance and equality: it was reinforced by his own faith in social and economic justice and respect for human personality. His experiment belied the deep-rooted Islamic belief that political stability was impossible without religious uniformity." (p. viii).

It attempts a critical review of the evolution of Akbar's administration in its different aspects. It is essentially a study of Akbar's inheritance and institutions. In considering Akbar's inheritance and background we have to take into account the following factors. The first is the world of his Central Asian ancestors, Mongol and Turkish. The second is the world of Islam, the conception of one religion, one law, one caliph within the

empire, served by an administrative and military system, with Roman, Byzantine and Persian elements. Thirdly, one has to consider the world of Persia, then the most civilized country in Asia. The question of Persian influence was a paradox. There was subordinate alliance with Persia (under Babur and Humayun) but political rivalry for Kandahar (under Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan). Nevertheless Persian culture percolated into India. The Mughal Court was essentially Persian in outlook. Akbar's mother was the daughter of a Persian scholar, while his tutor was another scholar of Persia, Abdul Latif. The fourth factor is the world of India, which as Babur said, was 'quite a different world from our countries,' — the traditional India with her long history of absorption and assimilation of foreigners, — unable to absorb the Muslims like previous foreign invaders and immigrants, yet seeking to assimilate them, influencing and being influenced by them, — and with her age-old administrative system and culture. The conception of the King as *Kalasya Karanam*, the creator of the age, coming down from the ancient times, was a strong creative force in that age. The Rajputs who served as the vanguard of India's resistance against the foreign Turks and later on as enemies of the Afghans, could be turned into allies of the Mughals.

The age in which Akbar lived was one of political, religious and social ferment. In the political field there was the struggle for power between the Mughals and the Afghans and so Akbar utilised the Afghan-Rajput rivalry, so manifest during 1526-56, to serve his political ends. In society and religion, medieval reformation movements, Vaishnavism and Sufism created a great ferment, while the Mahdvi and Roshniya movements represented orthodox movements within Islam.

What was the reaction of these formative factors on Akbar's institutions and policy? Akbar was 'not only the child of his century,

but its best replica'. Instead of resting the State on a religious base, he made his statecraft over-ride the considerations of religion. In fact Akbar's liberalism and secularism can be explained only in the light of the background of these forces. Akbar's theory of kingship, as delineated by Abul Fazl in his preface to the *Ain i Akbari*, can be understood in the background of Turko-Mongol ideas, the Muslim and Hindu conceptions of kingship. It was Akbar who transformed the base of Muslim sovereignty in India from sand to solid stone. How? Not alone by conquests, to some extent by organisation, civil and military, but mostly by idealistic reorientation of policy, which emphasized the moral mission of Mughal kingship. Thus Abul Fazl's ideal king is a Perfect Man (*Insan-i-Kamil*), who does not believe in racial superiority or lineage, and who possesses 'paternal love towards his subjects', and 'a large heart', and 'must be above religious differences', who follows inquiry and is not led by authority, whose reign inaugurates universal peace (*sulh-i-kul*), as he is not 'mother to some and step-mother to others'. The benefits of such a moral rule are described by Abul Fazl in words which may well be compared to Lord Acton's views on the advantages of polynational states: 'by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people became fused into one body.'

This explains why the author has traced the evolution of administrative institutions from ancient India onwards, noticing the Central Asian, Islamic and Persian elements. The author emphasises the difference between ancient India and medieval India and seeks to interpret Akbar's administrative policy as an attempt at synthesis. In every chapter he has thus indicated the process of fusion or clash of indigenous and foreign institutions and usages, emphasized the administrative continuity in the country and assessed Akbar's contributions in each field of administration, civil and military. Dr. Srivastava writes that

the Muslim rulers adopted most old institutions, that no medieval ruler was original in administrative and revenue matters and that all, including Sher Shah and Akbar, were indebted to their Indian predecessors. (p. vii).

This study of the administrative system of Akbar alone is also a very useful contribution to the growing literature on the administrative organisation of the Mughal empire, because it was Akbar who laid down the basis of that organisation. Mughal policy or aspects thereof have been studied by several writers, including general historians and biographers of the Mughal emperors, some of whom have already been noted. But the present work on Akbar's administrative system and its evolution has this merit and advantage that it goes to the roots of Akbar's institutions, civil and military. It enables the reader not only to survey the superstructure but also to examine the formulations of the Mughal administrative system. This helps a better understanding of the system as well as of the various elements which constituted the synthesising mortar in Akbar's imperial edifice. It is again a very useful supplement and a corrective to the standard works on Mughal administration, e.g. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, P. Saran's *Provincial Government of the Mughal*, Ibn Hasan's *Central Structure of the Empire*, Sri Ram Sharma's *Mughal Government and Administration*, S. A. Q. Husaini's *Administration under the Mughals*, Moreland's *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, and I. H. Qureshi's *The Administration of the Mughal Empire* (1966).

The book contains sixteen chapters. In Chapter I (Theory of Kingship), Dr. Srivastava has very clearly explained Akbar's theory of kingship with reference to the previous background. After analysing the Hindu conception of kingship, he has elucidated the

Islamic theory of sovereignty. He has shown that as this set up a monopoly of citizenship for the Muslims and relegated the non-Muslims to the degraded position of *jaziya*-payers, it became unpopular in India. He analyses Hindu theory, Islamic theory, the theory of Delhi Sultan as being the vassal of the Caliph and then vicar of God, the Afghan theory of tribal monarchy and the Turko-Mongol theory. The author then explains that the legacy which Akbar inherited, ideological and administrative, was highly embarrassing and concludes that Akbar's theory of sovereignty was born not out of copy-book maxims but of the stern facts and realities of life. As early as 1567 the Islamic theory was replaced by a secular one. In 1579 the power of the Muslim clergy was abolished. The theory of divine origin was formulated, similar to the Rajput theory of solar and lunar descent, Mongol theory of descent from Light and the Persian belief in royal fortune being linked up with the Sun. Religious and secular authority came to be united in the person of the King to remove strife and confusion in the body politic. Much of this discussion may also be found in R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration and Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* and Ibn Hasan's *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*. But Dr. Srivastava has emphasized on Akbar's conception of a world government in the 16th century (p. 20) and on the essentially Indian character of Akbar's kingship. He says that Akbar's despotism was not only enlightened despotism of the type of Frederick the Great but it was essentially idealistic, i.e. benevolent despotism.

In Chapter II (The Central Government : Akbar & State Business) also the author first elaborates how the king used to discharge his duties in ancient India and in the Sultanate period (when the ideal was to establish religious uniformity in the state). Akbar gradually discarded the predominantly Muslim obligations of the ruler and emphasized two

duties, *viz.*, protection of the people, irrespective of race, caste and creed and establishment of complete religious toleration and equality of status of all religions (as elucidated in a letter to Shah Abbas of Persia in 1594). Abul Fazl aptly observes : "The success of the three branches of the government, and the fulfilment of the wishes of the subjects, whether great or small, depend upon the manner in which a king spends his time". Akbar's routine of disposing of state business, formulated in 1578, and covering more than ten hours a day, approaches the Mauryan maxim that the king's time was for the people. It set an ideal for his successors to follow. But with the change in the personal equation there was a change in the manner and spirit of its implementation.

While in England the right of direct petitioning by the subjects to the Sovereign was only secured after the Glorious Revolution, the Mughal Emperors granted the privilege to their subjects out of their sweet will. Personal contact of the people with the King was established by certain special institutions devised by Akbar in India. The first was *Jharoka i darshan*, when the Emperor used to appear every morning before his subjects who could then and there present their petitions for justice tied up to the string let loose from the palace balcony. This combined Hindu elements with the Persian example of a string of justice and had a deep constitutional and administrative significance in that age when the life of the sovereign alone stood between the people and anarchy. The other occasions were the meetings known as *Diwan i am*, *Diwan i Khas*, and *Anjuman i dado dibish* (assemblies for granting monetary assistance). All this enabled the Emperor to act as the "people's head in social matters."

Further, in those days the State had to be its own producer and there were imperial *karkhanas* or workshops where various arti-

cles for the Court, army and imperial household were manufactured. Similar *karkhanas* also existed as early as the days of Firuz Tughluq. Shamsi Siraj Afif, Abul Fazl, Bernier and others have left graphic accounts of these *karkhanas*, which continued throughout the heyday of the Empire. Akbar devoted regular attention not only to these but also to the animals, — elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, etc., which played an important part in the imperial paraphernalia as well as military organisation of the empire. There were again night assemblies with confidential advisers on matters of administrative consultation or academic and religious interest. Justice was administered on Thursdays by the Emperor.

Akbar was the first medieval ruler to lay down definite institutions and rules of state business. The creation of such an elaborate machinery through which the King functioned personally day and night was, "Akbar's great contribution to the building up and consolidation of medieval Indian polity." (p. 39). Abul Fazl and Monserrate has graphically described how the king was accessible to his people and how he used to create opportunities for social meetings for amusement. All this meant very hard work for Akbar. Dr. Srivastava thus concludes in a significant passage that Akbar's system was "a sixteenth century alternative to a constitutional monarchy" in which a cabinet of ministers enjoyed *de facto* authority.

Chapter III (The Central Government : History & Functions of Ministers) contains matters already discussed by R. P. Tripathi and Ibn Hasan. Our author, however, after referring to the council of ministers and the *mantri parishad* in ancient India, and the four ministers of the Delhi Sultans including Wazir (finance minister, prime minister) tells us that Akbar began with two ministers, the *Vakil* and the *Sadr* and then raised the number to four, by adding *diwan* or *wazir*

(finance minister) and *Mir Bakshi* (army minister) and that his advisory council numbered 20. The author then discusses the functions and powers of the Muslim *Wazir* in theory and in the Delhi Sultanate and the grand wazir (or *Vakil*) of the Mughals. The author then briefly traces the activities of the respective incumbents of these four posts, *viz.*, (i) *Vakil*, (ii) *Diwan* or *Wazir*, (iii) *Mir Bakshi*, and (iv) *Sadr*. He has made a highly significant observation, *viz.*, Akbar's policy of checks and balances, contrary to the views of Muslim jurists, helped to make the ministers interdependent and themselves dependent on the Emperor.

Certain points, however, do not appear to be quite clear. Both the words *Vakil* and *Wazir* have been equated with the prime minister. (pp. 84). It is well known that the *Vakil* was superior in status but the *Wazir* was more powerful, and that the word *Vakil i mutlaq* means the representative of the King and is different from the *Wazir* (or prime minister), while the *Diwan* is merely the finance minister. When did these differentiations appear, if not under Akbar? It has, again, to be emphasized that in the field of central government Akbar's reign marked the disintegration of the Vikalat and also the Wizarat, the Emperor being his own Prime Minister, and all others being only his advisers, nothing more.

Chapter IV deals with the Imperial Household and the Secretariat. (a) The former, not technically a department of state, was administered as such, under the personal supervision of Akbar. The reader would like to know when the office of the Khan i Saman or Mir i Saman of later times was created. It consisted of the harem, the imperial kitchen including the *abdar khana* (or drinking water), the wardrobe, the *farrash khana* (for camping purposes). There was a school for Akbar's sons and grandsons, who could be punished by their tutors. The imperial library

consisted of 24,000 mss. There were fancy bazars, hunting department, *naqqar khana* (or music gallery). There were more than 100 royal *karkhanas* or workshops, manufactories of various goods. (b) The Secretariat consisted of the offices of the ministers and their staff. Details for *farmans* (royal orders) and seals are next given. Details about the hospital, attached to the palace, might perhaps have been included under the household rather than under the Secretariat. This chapter is based entirely on *Ain i Akbari* and Monserrate and a few references from *Akbarnama*.

Chapter V (Provincial Administration) contains an account of political divisions in ancient India and under the Delhi Sultanate. We are told that (i) "most of the primary territorial and administrative divisions in the times of Babur, Humayun and Sher Shah and even during the early years of Akbar's reign were large districts and not provinces properly so called." But Sher Shah did have some powerful governorship as in the Punjab, Malwa and Ajmer; (ii) till 1575 Akbar continued the previous dual system of territorial divisions, districts and provinces; (iii) the uniform *Karori* system (1575-80) failed and was replaced by the division of the empire into 12 provinces in 1580 and 15 provinces in 1586. The account of these provinces (extent, area, districts, etc.) is a summary of the *Ain i Akbari*. In this chapter the author has refuted some of the views of Dr. P. Saran (as given in his *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, 70-71), viz., (a) that there were two types of provinces, regular provinces, under direct rule and the subordinate states because the subordinate states ruled by Indian chiefs were officially described as *sarkars* (districts) or even parganas; (b) the distinction between major and minor provinces, the former including senior and junior grades; (c) the *qazi* and *mir adl* were one and the same officer (Saran, 17th, 347-9).

The author then examines the various officers in the province, — the governor, *diwan*, *bakhshi* cum *waqinavis*, *sadr* cum *qazi*, *mir adl*, *mufti*, *kotwal*, *amin*. It is not clear why the office of *mir bahr wa barr* has been sandwiched between the *sadr* cum *qazi* and *mir adl*.

The account of the ways and means of the central government controlling the provincial government is interesting but there is nothing new here :

- (i) the distinction between the Nizamat and the Diwani, an adaptation of an Abbasid and Egyptian principle followed by the Delhi Sultans also, as well as the *bakhshi* being the provincial newswriter;
- (ii) periodical transfers of officers;
- (iii) punishments of officers for neglect, inefficiency, oppression or injustice;
- (iv) espionage;
- (v) frequent imperial tours;
- (vi) occasional visitations of enquiry.

The author has, however, rightly emphasised on the system of checks and balances which served the purpose well.

In Chapter VI (District and Local Administration), the author has shown that the Delhi Sultans inherited the well-defined district administration from the Hindus but called the districts *shiqqs*. Sher Shah was the first medieval ruler to reorganise the district administration on a uniform pattern. So Akbar cannot claim the credit of being original. But certainly he is entitled to praise for further improving the district and pargana administration. It had two wings, the executive (*buzur*) and the revenue (*mal*) but the division was not watertight, the *faujdar* also helping in the collection of revenue. The functions of the four main district, pargana and city officers, — *faujdar*, *kotwal*, *qazi* and *amalguzar* (besides *bitikchi* and *khazanadar*)

are described on the basis of *Ain* and *Mirat i Ahmadi* and Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*. But for the village administration under Akbar, the author has quoted no original source. The author has given the interesting information that there were 124 districts in the Mughal empire excluding Ahmadnagar (c. 1600 A.D.), thereby correcting the vague estimate of Dr. Saran. He has also corrected Saran's misconception that cultivators paying the entire revenue were paid 2% as the headmen were paid 2½% commission by the collector after the realisation of the full rental.

Public Finance has been dealt with in three chapters : Chapter VII (Public Finance : Receipts from Sources other than Land Revenue); Chapter VIII (Public Finance : Assessment and Collection of Land Revenue); and Chapter IX (Public Finance : Expenditure and Coinage). It is, however, not clear why Land Revenue, which was the principal source of revenue, has been dealt with in the second chapter. Dr. Srivastava first explains the main principles of taxation in ancient India and under the Delhi Sultans. He has clearly explained (Ch. VII) that the classification of taxes as religious and secular made by Muslim jurists did not suit conditions in medieval India. He also differs from Dr. I. H. Qureshi's view of *jaziya* (pp. 147-8). Our author holds that Akbar's fiscal theory was not only different from the Islamic theory but an antithesis of it, derived from Hindu works, and "a direct corollary of his theory of kingship." Continuance of some taxes abolished by different rulers (including Akbar) illustrates the practical limitations of sovereignty in medieval India.

In Chapter VIII Dr. Srivastava has pointed out the continuity of land revenue system from ancient times. The Arabs and the Delhi Sultans made a compromise between the Hindu and the Islamic systems, in nomenclature of land, its assessment, modes of payment (though the rate of demand increased)

and also as regards assignments. Sher Shah first introduced a schedule of grain rates as State demand, based on average produce and it was adopted by Akbar up to 1567. But Akbar demanded revenue in cash which caused great difficulties. Akbar's successive revenue experiments are then described. Our author has differed from the interpretations of Qureshi, Moreland and Habib in certain respects. He has outlined the *Zabti* system in the final form and opined that the controversial *nasaq* was not a system of assessment at all but a part of procedure applied to *zabt* and *batai* systems. Perhaps a detailed discussion of land ownership and jagirdari system would have been very helpful.

Chapter IX entitled Public Finance (Expenditure) and Coinage supplies the interesting and fresh information that the imperial budget was introduced from 1562. The treasury was organised and the institutions of the empire were divided into three units : the household, army and government, though it has been pointed out that there was no distinction between the civil and the military.

The description of Akbar's currency is preceded by that in ancient India and under the Delhi Sultans. The author's observation that Akbar's silver rupee, adopted by the English East India Company, "is the basis of Indian currency of today" has to be taken with caution after the introduction of the metric system and complete absence of the silver rupee in circulation at present. The reviewer also feels that the coinage deserved a separate chapter.

Chapter X (Army : Mansabdari System) gives for the first time a clear account of Akbar's military organisation. His military system was essentially Turkish in origin but incorporated Mongol, Chinese and Tartar elements. It would have been helpful if these various elements had been analysed. Akbar is said to have continued his Turko-Mongol

inheritance for some ten years. The first change was made in 1566 over the question of fixing the quota of troops to be maintained by the officers. The cavalry men were divided into three classes. In 1573 the branding system was reintroduced but it is difficult to agree with the view that the system had worked successfully under Alauddin and Sher Shah. The year also witnessed introduction of the mansabdari system on a decimal basis but it took time to crystallise. The author has thrown new light on the highly controversial question of *zat* and *suwar* ranks. After discussing the views of scholars on this question, he concludes on the basis of Badauni that only the *zat* rank remained in operation till 1595 and that the *suwar* rank was introduced in 1594 or 1595 on account of the failure of the *mansabdars* to fulfil their *zat* requirements. Its object was to check corruption. We now learn that the *mansabdars* were divided into 65 grades and not 33 as mentioned by Smith. The chapter describes the details of the mansabdari-system, analyses the constituent branches of the army, cavalry, infantry, artillery and elephants. Cavalry was the most important element. Neither infantry nor artillery was properly emphasized. Even the efficiency of cavalry was adversely affected by false musters even in the most palmy days of the empire. The chapter also attempts to form an estimate of the numerical strength of the army, and analyses the strength and weakness of the army and lastly the mode of warfare followed by Akbar. No real navy was created even by Akbar, but the reasons for this have not been explained.

Chapter XI (Public Services) which starts from the Sultanate period, states how Akbar reorganised the pre-existing loose organisation of the services and brought about a "synthesis between the Mughal system and the Indian experience". The exact meaning of this synthesis is, however, not made clear. The composition of public services under Babur and Humayun is stated to be defective

as being heterogeneous and hence not national. But Akbar, we are told, found a safeguard of royal power in a heterogeneous public service. The absence of distinction between the military and the civil service (p. 255) perhaps required a fuller discussion. There is no discussion of the jagirdari system. One would, however, endorse the author's estimate: "Akbar's statesmanship was responsible for converting a body of foreign selfish adventurers into a broad-based and well-knit bureaucratic imperial service, loyal to the sovereign and devoted to the well-being of the empire." (p. 262).

Chapter XII (Law & Justice : Police & Jails) deals with controversial topics. After describing the sources and character of Islamic jurisprudence and the inability of the Delhi Sultans to enforce Muslim law on the Hindus, the author observes : "Akbar was the first medieval Indian ruler of Delhi to repeal the discriminatory laws in Muslim judicial system against the non-Muslims so as to place the latter on a par with the Muslims as citizens of the state." (p. 267). The process took 24 years or more. The author differs from Ibn Hasan's view that Akbar's policy did not affect the Muslim judicial system and says that Akbar did introduce some vital changes in the personal laws of the Muslims, especially regarding marriage. He attempted "to create a common religio-social legal system as far as it was practicable in the sixteenth century" (p. 269-70) and to extend the scope of common law, which restricted the scope of Muslim jurisprudence.

One would, however, have wished a clearer classification of courts and a clearer exposition of the relative position of the *Qazi* and the *Sadr* and the *Qazi* and the *Mir Adl*.

The author has thrown new light on jails about which not much is known. But the description of the police system should have

been more detailed and included its working in practice.

Chapter XIII deals with Education, Intelligence Service and Public Works. The information regarding education is interesting and throws light on one line of government activity but it may be considered whether this should have been included in a book on evolution of administration or on cultural activity. Incidentally it may be noted that even Akbar did not encourage printing presses. The inclusion of intelligence service in this chapter seems somewhat incongruous. The reviewer feels that it deserves a separate chapter. Famines and famine policy require a more detailed discussion.

The subject matter of Chapter XIV (Religious Policy) has already been discussed by the author in vol. I of the present work and this chapter is admittedly a resume of the main conclusions of that volume. The author feels that "no history of Akbar's administration can be complete without an account of his religious policy." He rightly concludes that this was "a policy of religious equality, not merely of toleration." But the author has not discussed the effect of Akbar's religious policy. This may be studied from three different angles. Firstly, Akbar's religious policy, as reflected in the *Din-i-Ilahi*, and political policy, marking a deviation from the orthodox path, helped to stimulate national integration. On the other hand it was followed by, among other factors, the growth of an orthodox reaction, championed by Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Mujaddid-i-Afi Sani*, — a reaction which gradually spiralled up under Jahangir and Shahjahan and submerged Akbaride liberalism under Aurangzeb, notwithstanding the short-lived and eclectic liberalism of Dara. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that many Muslim students used to be pupils of Hindu teachers in the temple-schools of Benares, Multan and some other centres, showing the extent of the cultural

fusion among the Hindus and Muslims and thereby of social mobility among the masses. This was one of the major factors which prompted Aurangzeb's order of temple destruction of 1669.

The contents of previous chapters might suggest that Akbar's ideal of kingship was national. True, but it was something more. Chapter XV deals with Akbar's policy towards the Indian States. His imperialism in Northern India implied the annexation of all Muslim States. In the Deccan this implied, besides political unification, the expulsion of the Portuguese. But Akbar also dreamt of universal kingship. He had an extra-Indian policy in which he had the ambition to conquer Persia, Central Asia, Anatolia and even Arabia and considered the Ottoman Sultan as his greatest rival. V. A. Smith has not mentioned it at all. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, however, referred to this briefly in his *Rise & Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Our author has discussed this fully in Chapter XVI (Foreign Policy).

The book is marked throughout by lucidity of expression and simplicity of style. One may, however, be permitted to point out that there is scope for re-arrangement of the contents of some chapters, as noted earlier. It is not clear why the two chapters XV (Indian States) and XVI (Foreign Policy) dealing with political history and policy have been included in this work, which, as the author himself mentions, deals with "Evolution of Administration". One would also have wished, in a work of this kind, a more detailed discussion of the original sources in the bibliography for better enlightenment of the numerous readers. True, there is a critical bibliography in Vol. I, but for Vol. II an assessment of their intrinsic value or defects for a study of administrative institutions is needed. The bibliography does not mention some works though these are included in the list of abbreviations. The map should have

been drawn more accurately. Topography and nomenclature leave much to be desired. The only mountain indicated is the Hindukush but it is shown only below Badakshan. Its length has been cut down. Neither the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Satpuras and the Rajmahal hills, nor Ahmadnagar, Asirgarh, Broach, Patna, and Rajmahal have been shown. The provincial boundaries have not been clearly drawn. The boundaries of Bengal anticipate the conquests of Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan nearly a century later. Tirhut has been shown as a town. It would have been helpful if the provinces had been numbered and dates of conquest (or organisation) indicated against each.

The reviewer thinks that the value of this book would have been increased if it contained a chapter on the influence of Akbar's administration on society, economy and cul-

ture of the age. True, this is indicated in one aspect or the other, in various scattered portions of his book. But the reviewer ventures to point out that this requires detailed discussion in one place for a fuller and more integrated picture. One would also have wished an estimate of Akbar's administrative system based on a comparative assessment of contemporary Mughal, Persian and European Systems. Perhaps these aspects are reserved for inclusion in Vol. III of the proposed work.

On the whole the book under review is an outstanding exposition of the foundations and the principles of government of, and administrative organisation under, Akbar in the background of the various formative influences and forces then at work. It is not likely to be superseded in the near future unless new material is unearthed.

## AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ROADS FROM KABUL TO CALCUTTA DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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Kabul, now the capital of Afghanistan, was, during the seventeenth and the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the capital of the most coveted Kabul province of the Mughal Indian Empire. Calcutta, from the close of the seventeenth century, started to emerge as a trading post on the banks of the Hooghly river encompassing the three villages of Sutanati, Govindapur and Kalikata, eventually to rival out Murshidabad as the capital of Bengal and to become the seat of the British Indian Government for exactly one hundred and thirty eight years before New Delhi was proclaimed the capital of British India in 1912 A.D. Kabul owing to its strategic location, even in the ancient times, as we find references in the Vedas, usefully served as a great commercial mart and a valuable transport centre justifying its command over all the passes from the north through the Hindu Kush and from the south through Kandahar and Gardez. As has been vouched for by the contemporary itinerants, an uninterrupted and traversable highway ran 'from the Indus to the Jamuna and the Ganges' reaching 'Palibothra' (Patna), as early as the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

This road link was straightened, stretched, branched out and levelled with 'Kankar', potsherds or tiles at specific points, in the subsequent years, by the various governing authorities corresponding to the increasing commercial, military, and social needs of the people. Thus we find, as a result of the current re-

search, a widespread network of the regularly flowing roads and pathways connecting the north-west to the north-east of the sub-continent, bifurcating frequently and divergently to pass through the numerous commercial, military, political and pilgrim centres enroute, during the period under review. The economic historians writing about this period have so far made very little attempt to base their researches, pertaining to the nature and extent of the commercial activity in India, on the actual road conditions, which is rather unfortunate and has led to several wrong conclusions and inadvertent but exasperating distortion of historical facts. To remedy this state, a systematic and scientific study of the pliable land and water routes based on the contemporary sources is urgently needed. Such an attempt has been made in the present article, and for an easy comprehension the roads from Kabul to Calcutta have been broadly classified into five sections as given below :

1. Kabul to Delhi
  - (a) *via* Ambala and Panipat (73)
  - (b) *via* Ambala and Hansi (90)
  - (c) *via* Ambala, Saharanpur (287) and Meerut (320)
2. Delhi to Lucknow
  - (a) *via* Meerut, Moradabad (300) and Shahjahanpur (398)

- (b) *via* Anupshahr (357), Barcilly (306) and Shahjahanpur (398)
  - (c) *via* Koil and Farrukhabad (346)
  - (d) *via* Agra, Sikandra (124) and Kanpur (393)
3. Lucknow to Varanasi
    - (a) *via* Rae Bareilly (435) and Allahabad (140)
    - (b) *via* Sultanpur (425) and Jaunpur
    - (c) *via* Faizabad (407) and Jaunpur
  4. Delhi to Varanasi
    - (a) *via* Agra, Sikandra (124) and Allahabad (140)
    - (b) *via* Agra (115), Kalpi and Rewa (163)
  5. Varanasi to Calcutta
    - (a) *via* Ghazipur (174), Patna, Rajmahal (203) and Plassey (212)
    - (b) *via* Sasaram (184), Burdwan and Tribeni (278)

Babur traversed and described a part of the route in his autobiography in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Jahangir, the fourth Mughal Emperor, journeyed on the so-called 'Shahi Sarak' or the Royal Road from Agra to Kabul in pursuit of the rebel prince Khurram in 1606-7. In 1610 Finch made a business tour from Agra to Lahore and in 1614 Steel and Crowther journeyed along the same route. In the year 1617 whereas Marshall travelled from Hooghly to Patna, the Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar proceeded from Patna to Allahabad. De Laet a renowned Flemish geographer, in 1630's, compiled a record of the road-stages including those from Kabul to Allahabad. Mundy travelled from Patna to Agra in 1632, and after eight years, Manrique undertook 'the twenty-one days journey' from Agra to Lahore. Tavernier recorded the stages of Kabul through Patna in the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1738-39 Nadir Shah marched on to Delhi from Kabul

journeying through the 'Shahi Sarak'. Rai Chatar Man Kayath, the author of the 'Chahar Gulshan' (1759 A.D.) has left an elaborate account of the road stages from Kabul to Patna. Captain Allan Macpherson an army officer of British East India Company, marched with his brigade from Monghyr to Dinapore (Feb. 1771), Arrah to Varanasi *via* Buxar (March 1772), and Dinapore to Jaunpur *via* Kanpur. His brother, Captain John Macpherson, proceeded with his battalion of sepoys from Berhampore to Dinapore (June 1778), and Dinapore to Varanasi *via* Sasaram (1779).

Malet and his company, in 1785, travelled by road upto Kanpur on their eastbound route from Agra to Calcutta. Major James Rennell, the leading British geographer, in his 'Bengal Atlas' (1779) and 'Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan' (1782) and Pere Joseph Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit missionary, in his three-volume work entitled "Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde", have left a valuable account of some of the roads from Kabul to Calcutta. In 1795 Thomas Twining, accompanied by a Roman priest, undertook an adventurous journey from Fatehgarh to Delhi (Nov. 1794), and Kanpur to Varanasi *via* Lucknow and Faizabad (Jan. 1795). Upto Faizabad his route corresponds to that indicated by Rennell in Map No. 10 but from thereon to Jaunpur he traversed a different road passing through Tanda. Mrs. A. Deane journeyed from Calcutta to Agra *via* Allahabad and Kanpur in June 1805. Charles Ramuo Forrest, during the first decade of the nineteenth century went from Calcutta to Lucknow *via* Etawah and Kanpur, and finally, Victor Jacquemont, a French scientist, traversed the highway from Calcutta leading to Delhi through 'Benares, Bundelkand and Agra' in 1829-30. From Varanasi to Sikandra he went *via* Rewa and Kalpi.<sup>2</sup>

Given below are (i) the road-stages, their original names preceded by the source indi-

cation within brackets and the inverted comas, for e.g. — (Fin. — 'Zagdelec', Tieff. — 'djagdail') means the names of this particular stage are spelt as above in the accounts of William Finch and Joseph Tieffenthaler; identical spellings by different authors have been omitted; (ii) the current names of the identified stages as given in the latest quarter-inch sheets of the Indian Atlas and those of the United States Army Map Service, followed by the numbers (occasionally) from the attached Map; the reference numbers are separately indicated; (iii) the relative distances and direction of the identified stages, for e.g. — Barikab, 8 m. se. Jagdalak — means Jagdalak is 8 miles south east of Barikab; (iv) the names of the unidentified stages are given within the inverted comas followed by the source indication, and marks of interrogation.

#### I.a. *Kabul to Delhi via Ambala and Panipat* (73)

The road passed through Bugrami, 6m. e. of Kabul (Bn., Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G.), 4m. e. Butkhak (Bn., Fin. — 'Butta Cauke', D.L., C.G., Tieff.), 'Khoord Kabul Pass' — Bn., Tuz., C.G., Tieff.? 10m. s.s.e. Khak-i-Jabar (C.G.), 5m. e. Tezin (C.G., Tieff. — 'Tesi'), 'Sar dahana' — C.G. & 'Sher Dahan' — Tieff.? 10m. nne. Barikab (Bn., Tuz. — 'Abi barik', Fin., D.L., Tav.), 'Barang-badehat' — C.G.? 8m. se. Jagdalak (Bn., Tuz., Fin. — 'Zagdelec', D.L., C.G., Tieff. — 'Djagdail') 13m. se. Surkhab (Bn., Tuz., Fin., D.L., Tieff.), 'Malik Ali' — C.G.? 20m. se. Gandamak (Bn., Fin., C.G., D.L., Tieff.), 5m. e. Neemla (Fin., Tav., Tieff.), 33m. ene. Jalalabad (Bn., Fin., D.L., C.G., Tieff.), 8m. ese. Mian Ali Boghan (Fin., D.L., Tav., C.G.), 14m. ese. Bareekab (Bn., Fin., D.L., Nadir), 11m. ese. Bassole, 9m. e. Khoord Khyber (Bn., Tuz., Nadir), 4m. ese. Loe Dakka (Tuz., Fin., D.L., Tav. — 'Taka', C.G., Tieff. — 'Dega'), 8m. ssw. Landi Khana (C.G.,

Tieff.), 13m. ese. Ali Masjid (Bn., Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., Tieff.), 10m. e. Jamrud (Tuz., C.G., Tieff. — 'Djamrod'), 11m. e. Peshawar (Bn., Tuz., Fin., D.L. — 'Pishore', Tav., Nadir, C.G., Tieff.), 5m. e. dacf. Jugra (Tieff. — 'Juigusar'), 24m. e. Nowshera (Tav., Tieff.), 6m. e. Akora (C.G., Tieff.), 1½m. e. Isori Kuz (C.G. — 'Qasari'), 6m. ese. Narai (Tieff. — 'Neri'), 3½m. s. Khairabad (C.G.), 5m. sse. Attock (Bn., Tuz., Fin., D.L., Tieff., Nadir, Tav., C.G.).

Madrota 9m. e. of Attock (C.G., Tieff.), 'Dingaron' — Tieff.? 38m. ese. of Attock, Hasan Abdal (Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., Tieff. — 'Hassanabdal'), 14m. se. Sang Jani (Hug. — 'Janika Sang'), 'Kalapani' — Tuz. — Fin. — D.L. — Tav. — C.G. — Tieff.? 'Hazira' — C.G.? 14m. ese. Rawal Pindi (Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G. & Tieff. — 'Roulpendi'), 'Laskari' — C.G.? 12m. se. Riwayat (D.L., Tav. — 'Roupate', C.G., Tieff.), 5m. ese. Manikiala (Hug.), 42m. se. of Riwayat, Bishan Daur (Hug. — 'Bisentaur'), 'Khar' — Tuz.? 'Pakka' — Tuz. — Fin. — D.L. — C.G. — Tieff.? 'Makerli' — Hug.? 'Mahsa', 'Khurda Jalal' — C.G.? 'Serai Djelal Khan' — Tieff.? 11m. se. Khukha (C.G. — 'Chokuha', Tieff.), 5m. s. of Dina, Rohtas (Tuz., Fin., D.L., Tieff.), 9m. ese. Jhelum (Tieff.), 2½m. sse. Sarai Alamgir (Tav., C.G.), 3½m. sse. Kariala (Tav. — 'Keraly', C.G.), 6m. se. Kharian (C.G. — 'Kinari'), 12m. se. Khwaspur (Tuz., Fin., D.L. — 'Khowaspur', C.G., Tieff., Hug.), 21m. se. Gujrat (Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., Tieff. — 'Guzara'), 9½m. sse. Wazirabad (Tav. — 'Zerabad', Nadir, C.G., Tieff., Hug.), 9m. sse. Ghakhar (Fin. — 'Chumaguckur', D.L., C.G., Tieff. — 'Ghakkar China'), 'Hafizabad' — Tav.? 18m. sse. Eminabad (Fin., D.L., Tav. — 'Imiabad', C.G., Tieff.), 'Guseraoli' — Hug.? 3½m. e. Chandali (Tuz. — 'Chandala'), 'Shah Daula Pul' — C.G. & 'Schahdolatpol' — Tieff.? 9m. sse. Nangal Sadhan (Hug. — 'Nangel'), 14m. s. Shahdara (C.G., Tieff., Hug.), 'Jahangirpur', 'Harhar' — Tuz.? 5m. sse. Lahore (Tuz., Fin., D.L., Tav., C.G., Nadir, Tieff.).

Lahore (on the right bank of the Ravi river), 'Shahganj'-C.G.? 23m. esc. Hushiar Nagar (C.G.), 5m. s. Serai Amanat Khan (St. & Cr., Tav.-'Menat-Khan', C.G., Tieff.), 11m. esc. Naruddin (C.G., Tieff.), 7½m. esc. Naurangabad (C.G.), 'Chiurmal'-St. & Cr.? 8m. esc. Fatchabad (Fin., D.L., Tav.-'Faty-Abad', C.G. & Tieff.), 8m. se. Sultanpur (Tuz., Fin., St. & Cr., D.L. C.G., Tieff.), 'Sarai Qazi Ali'-Tuz.? 'Sara-Dakan'-Tav. & 'Dakhni'-C.G.? 26m. se. Nakodar (Fin., St. & Cr., D.L., C.G., Tieff.), 8m. e. Nurmahal (C.G.), 12m. esc. Phillaur (Fin.-'Pullocque Saray', St. & Cr., D.L., Tav., C.G., Tieff.-'Poulhoar'), 8m. sse. Ludhiana (C.G., RRB, Tieff.), 13m. esc. Duraha (Fin.-'Dorapy', St. & Cr.-'Doratia', D.L.-'Dorapa', Tav., C.G., RRB), 14m. esc. Khanna (C.G.-'Kunha Ka 'Serai', RRB.), 14m. esc. Sirhind (Bn., Fin., St. & Cr.-'Sinan', D.L.-'Syrina', Man.-'Siry-nam', Tav.-'Serinde', Nadir, C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 'Hollowa Saray'-Fin., 'Holloway'-D.L. & 'Aluwa'-C.G.? 19m. esc. Rajpura (Nadir, C.G., Tieff.), 16m. esc. Ambala (Bn., Fin., D.L., Nadir, C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 'Mogoll Sera'-St. & Cr. and 'Sera Mogul'-Tav.? 13m. s. Shahabad (Bn., Tuz., Fin., St. & Cr., D.L., Tav., Nadir, C.G., Tieff.), 16m. s. Thanesar (Fin., St. & Cr., D.L., Man., Nadir, C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 'Serai Azimabad'-Nadir, 'Azimabad'-C.G. & 'Asamabad'-Tieff.? 39m. sse. of Ambala, Tirawari (Tav., C.G.-'Taraori'), 7½m. sse. Karnal (Tuz., Fin.-'Carnall', St. & Cr., D.L., Tav.-'Sera Crindal', Nadir, C.G., RRB.; Tieff.), 10m. s. Gharaunda (C.G.), 10m. s. Panipat (Bn., Tuz., Fin., St. & Cr.-'Pampatte', C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 'Cullvower', 'Bunira'-St. & Cr.? 10m. sse. Samalkha (C.G.), 8m. se. Ganaur (Fin.-'Gonoware', D.L., Tav.-'Ginenaour', C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 8m. s. Sonapat (C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 20m. sse. Narela (Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., RRB., Tieff.), 9m. sse. Badli (C.G., RRB.), 7m. sse. Delhi (Bn., Tuz., Fin., St. & Cr., D.L., Man., Tav., Nadir, C.G., RRB, Tieff.).<sup>3</sup>

1b. *Kabul to Delhi via Ambala and Hansi* ((90))

The stages of this road have been recorded by Rennell in his Road Book. Those from Kabul to Karnal (70) are given in route 1a. from Karnal to Delhi *via* Hansi the road ran through Ghognipur ('Gogrypore') 3m. ssw. of Karnal, 7½m. ssw. Gagsina ('Gugseena'), 3m. ssw. Munak ('Moonak'), 5m. ssw. Dharamgarh ('Durmohar'), 3m. ssw. Qawi ('Kuwee'), 7m. wsw. Safidon ('Suffeedun'), 16m. wsw. Singhana ('Singana'), 'Chuppar', 'Kutnour tank'-? 15m. wsw. Manoharpur ('Manoharpore'), 'Hybulpore'-? 5½m. wsw. Jind ('Jheend'), 7m. wsw. Bhaini ('Bhun-ny'), 10m. wsw. Madha ('Madha'), 7½m. wsw. Sisai ('Sisace'), 6m. ssw. Hansi ('Hansee'), 18½m. se. Dhanana (Dhanna'), 'Sungooa'-? 8½m. ene. Maham ('Mahiem'), 6m. esc. Kharakhara ('Khurkhurra'), 4½m. e. Madina ('Madina'), 11m. esc. Rohtak, 5m. se. Pahrawar ('Purohar'), 13m. esc. Karaur ('Khiree'), 'Bailour'-? 'Khuthoree'-? 'Sumailah'-? 'Soputah'-? 11m. se. Rohad ('Rohud'), 4m. s. Mandautni ('Mundhou-tee'), 7m. e. Bahadurgurh ('Bahadorgurr'), 6m. e. Mundka ('Monka'), 2m. e. Nangloi ('Langlooe'), 8½m. e. Delhi.<sup>4</sup>

1c. *Kabul to Delhi via Ambala, Saharanpur* (287) & Meerut (320)

The study of this route is mainly based on Rennell's account. Important stages from Ambala are Bara Khoda 3m. esc. of Ambala ('Khoda'), 9m. esc. Saha, Kalpee, Polou-tha? 4½m. esc. Mulana ('Mailanuh'), 'Sirsgum'? 4m. esc. Dhin ('Dheen'), 4m. w. dacf from Bhambauli is Mustafabad, 'Gurhee'? 4m. e. dacf Bhambauli ('Bamoal'), 3m. esc. Khera, 2½m. esc. of Khera and 12m. esc. of Dhin is jagadheri-285-('Jagadree'), 3m. esc. Buriya ('Booreea'), 'Rajghat'? 6m. esc. Dumjhera ('Dhoomjara'), 2m. esc. Chilkhana, 1m. sse. Patni, 8m. sse. Saharanpur-287-('Scharunpore').

'Sheikpore', 'Kusmapore'? 5m. sse. Lakh-naur ('Laknow'), 2½m. sse. Khajurwala ('Khudjowara'), 2m. s. Nagal, 1m. s. Sadha-ransar ('Sewdiensul'), 'Piri', 'Kurunja'? 9½m. sse. Deoband-314- ('Deobun'), 7m. s. Ro-hana, 6½m. s. Sherpur ('Surmut'), 2m. s. Muzzaffarnagar-316- (Muzufnagar'), 2m. s. Sujru ('Soojerah'), 7m. s. Husainpur Bupara ('Bhopera'), 3m. s. Bhainsi ('Beinsi'), 1½m. s. Khatauli-318- ('Kutowly'), 'Bangy'- 4½m. s. Dadri ('Dadry'), 'Kullurdee'? 7m. s. Daurala, 'Khord'? 7m. s. Meerut-320- ('Meerut').

'Boorhira'? 13m. sw. Begamabad 349 (Begumabad) 6m. sw. Muradnagar ('Morad-nugur'), 8½m. sw. Farrukhnagar-347- ('Fur-rucknugur'), Gokulpore'? 6m. sw. Shahdara ('Shahderah'), 3½m. w. across 'Jumna' river Delhi.<sup>5</sup>

2a. *Delhi to Lucknow via Meerut, Moorada-bad* (300) and *Shahjahanpur* (398)

Route from Delhi to Meerut is described in part 1c. Study is based on Rennell's map X in the Bengal Atlas and Captain Macpher-son's travels. The road from Meerut went *via* 'Goaree'? 'Ruslah'? 11m. e. Khajuri ('Khijoree'), 3m. e. Parichhatgarh ('Parchit-gur'), 3m. e. Khatki ('Khatgee'), 3m. e. Narangpur ('Norungpore'), 2m. se. Asifa-bad ('Aspabad'), 9m. ene. Sherpur-352- ('Sherbatpur'), 7m. esc. Bachhraon ('But-chrowun'), 'Bungwanpore'? 'Sirkrah'? 'Go-undee'? 14½m. e. Amroha-354- ('Amrooa'), 18m. esc. Moradabad-300-, 10m. e. Mundha Pande ('Moonda'), 5m. e. Rampur-301- ('Rampore'), 9m. sse. Naugawan ('Nia-gham'), 'Azeedpore'? 'Moghurpore'? 5m. sse. Kamora ('Kumoorah'), 'Saharpore'? 2m. sse. Dunganpur ('Doogunpore'), 9m. sse. Dhaneli-303- ('Dirhally'), 3m. sse. Mirganj ('Meergunge'), 'Nagra'? 18m. sse. Bhitaura-305- ('Betoora'), 2m. se. Parsakhera ('Poo-sakhera'), 8m. sse. Bareilly.

'Terriah'? 14m. sse. Faridpur-307- ('Furrid-pour'), 6m. sse. Tisua ('Tessuah'), 8m. sse.

Miranpur Katra ('Cuttera'), 6½m. sse. Tilhar ('Tilhara'), 9m. se. Rai Khera ('Naggera'), 4m. sse. Shahjahanpur-398- ('Shahjehan-pore'), 3m. se. Ahmadpur ('Amudgunge'), 'Chingowry'? 15½m. s. (of Shahjahanpur) Shahabad-399- ('Shahabad', Mac.-'Shawha-bad'), 'Naggera'? 'Sidony'? 16½m. sse. Jag-dispur-400- ('Jugdispour', Mac.), 7m. s. Sandi-374- ('Sundy', Mac.-'Sandi'), 4½m. sse. Durgaganj, 4½m. se. Bilgram-375- ('Bel-gram'), 7m. Pandra-376- ('Pipparah'), 6m. sse. Mallanwan ('Mallyne'), 4½m. sse. Sul-tanpur-377- ('Sultangunge'), Bangarmau-378- (Ren., Mac.), Ren.-'Usud'? 5m. esc. Mustafa-bad ('Mooskabad'), 4½m. esc. Takia-379- (Ren.-'Tackyserai', Mac.-'Tekeeah'), 3½m. esc. Bari Thana ('Taunna'), 4m. esc. Asiwan-380- ('Assewan', Mac.), 7m. esc. Sarai ('Sukulserai'), 8m. e. Mohan-381- ('Mo-hun'), 'Vizierpore'? 10½m. ene. Alamnagar ('Allumnuggur'), 3½m. e. Lucknow.<sup>6</sup>

2b. *Delhi to Lucknow via Anupshahr* (357) and *Bareilly* (306)

Major stages on this road as marked by Rennell in his Bengal Atlas are Patparganj 5m. sse. of Delhi, 7m. sse. Sarai Sadr-355- ('Sudder Ka Seray'), 'Coolerah'? 8m. esc. Surajpur ('Seerejpore'), 20m. esc. (of Patpar-ganj) Ghorri Bachhera-356- ('Gory'), 7½m. e. Sikandarabad ('Sikandra'), Bulandshahr-324-, 35m. e. (of Sikandarabad), Anupshahr-357- ('Anopesheer'), 'Secunderpore'? 7m. esc. dacf Rajpura-361- ('Rajepour'), 'Gura-hao'? 13m. ene. dacf (or 22m. ene. by road) Sadatbari-362- ('Shazadbary'), 7½m. esc. dacf. Islamnagar ('Islamnagar'), 14m. e. Bisauli-364- ('Bissowah'), 9m. e. Paipal-365- ('Pay-tally'), 6m. esc. Aonla-366- ('Owlah'), 6½m. nne. Aliganj-367- ('Allygunge'), 'Rampora'? and 8m. ene. Bareilly. The road from Bareilly to Shahjanpur and Lucknow is described in section 2a. of the present text.<sup>7</sup>

2c. *Delhi to Lucknow via Koil* (330) and *Farrukhabad* (346)

According to Rennell the road to Lucknow

via Koil & Farrukhabad, from Sikandrabad (Stages from Delhi to Sikandrabad are given in section 2b.) went *via* 'Boorah'? 'Koondū'? Chola 9m. se. (of Sikandrabad)-325-('Chaula'), 7m. se. Khurja-326-('Koorjah'), 3m. see. Mirpur ('Meerpore'), Kissunpore? 2½m. s. dacf. Dasehra Kherli-327-('Dusserah'), 'Husunpore'? 'Munce'? 14½m. see. Sonna-328-, 14m. se. Aligarh-329-, 1½m. w. Koil ('Coel'), 15m. ese. Kaurjaganj-339-('Coriah-gunge'), 6m. ene. dacf. Derai-340-('Dense-rai'), 'Shahgurra'? 16m. ese. dacf. Kasganj-341-('Kassgunge'), 11m. e. Sahawar-342-('Sahoar'), 'Loharoo'? From Patiali (12m. se. of Sahawar) 'Pattiar' there were two roads joining it with Farrukhabad (i) *via* Kiamganj 23m. ese. (of Patiali)-344-('Cayemgunge'), 20m. se. Farrukhabad. (ii) Rani Damar ('Roodown'), 4½m. e. of Patiali, 19m. ese. Mou ('Mow'), 5m. ese. Shamsabad-345-('Shumshinabad'), 3m. se. Raushanabad ('Rushinabad'), 9m. se. Farrukhabad.

There were two roads marked from Farrukhabad to Takia (379). Main stages of the northern road were Salempur 6m. e. of Farrukhabad-371-('Sellinagur'), 8m. ene. Siwaijpur ('Shabadpour'), 7m. ese. Barwan ('Berrom'), 9m. se. Sandi-374-. The remaining stages are described in section 2a. above.

The second or the southern road went *via* Yakutganj 4½m. sse. of Farrukhabad ('Yacoutganj'), 10m. sse. Khudaganj-384-('Codagunge'), 9m. se. Jalalabad-385-('Jelalabad'), 'Cussumcore'? 9m. ese. Kannauj-386-1('Cannouge'), 3m. se. Mianganj-387-('Mindygaut'), 'Malowpour'? 23m. se. Takia. From Takia to Lucknow stages are indicated in section 2a. above.<sup>8</sup>

## 2d. Delhi to Lucknow via Agra, Sikandra (124), and Kanpur (393)

This was mainly a commercial 'highway' frequented by caravans and merchants from 16th to 18th century as indicated in the itinerary accounts of Babur, Jahangir, Finch, Steel

& Crowther, De Laet, Mundy, Manrique, Tavernier, Marshall, Chatarman (the author of 'Chahar Gulshan'), Malet, Rennell, Tieffenthaler, Twining, A. Deane and Jacquemont.

The important stages of halt *enroute* were: Delhi (Bn., Tuz., Fin., St. & Cr. D.L., Mund., Man., Tav., Mar., C. G., Ren., Tieff., Tw., Jaq.), 'Mhirumnugar'-Ren? 16m. s. (*via* Mahrauli) Tughlakabad (Bn., Ren., Tieff.), 2½m. e. Badarpur (Tav.-'Badelpoora', C.G.), 'Serai of Khwajah Bakhtawar Khan'-C.G.? 19m. s. (of Delhi) Faridabad-100-(Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., Ren., Tieff., Jaq.), 6m. s. Ballabgarh (C.G., Ren.), 2m. ssw. Jhar Senti (Ren.), 2½m. ssw. Sikri-101-(C.G., Ren., Jaq.), 3m. s. Pirthala (C.G., Ren.), 2m. sse. Baghlauli (C.G., Ren.), 5m. sse. Palwal-102-(Tuz., Fin., St. C., Tav., C.G., Ren., Tieff.), 6m. s. Bamnikhera-103-(C.G., Ren., Jaq.), 'Matrol' 'Tumusra'-Ren.? 'Mitnaul'-C.G.? 5m. s. Khataila (C.G., Ren.), 4m. e. Banchari (C.G., Ren.), 3m. sse. Hodal-104-(Tuz., Fin., D.L., C.G., Ren., Tieff., Jaq.), 5m. sse. Kothan (Tav.-'Cotki-Sera', Ren.), 4m. sse. Kosi-105-(C.G., Ren.), 4m. se. Deotana (C.G., Ren.), 3½m. sse. Chhata (St. C., C.G., Tieff., Jaq.), 6m. sse. Akbarpur-106- (Fin., D.L., C.G., Ren.), 2m. sse. Chaumuhan (Ren., Tieff.), 3m. sse. Jait-107-(Ren., Jaq.), 'Alecpur'-Ren.- 8m. se. Mathura-108-(Tuz., St. C., C.G., Ren., Tieff., Jaq.).

Twining and his party while going from Agra to Delhi in November 1794 journeyed up to Mathura following the road described as above, stopping *enroute* at Farah ('Pearah'). From Mathura they chose not to travel "along the old road on the western bank" but travelled *via* the Eastern route across the Yamuna river as advised by the 'Bamins' (priests) for security consideration. Thus we have an evidence of another road from Delhi to Mathura existing during the 18th century, punctuated with halting places at Alwalpur

('Allur'), 34m. sse. of Delhi, 18m. se. across the Yamuna Tappali-109-('Tappel'), 15m. sse. Nohjhil-110-('Nan'), 17m. s. Mat-III-('Moth'), 10m. s. Mathura.<sup>9</sup>

'Boutta Sarac'-St. C.? 4m. s. (of Mathura) Aurangabad (C.G., Ren., Tieff.), 'Vara'-Ren.? 'Jhandipore'-C.G., 'Tschandipour'-Tieff.? 2½m. dacf. s. Koela (C.G.), 3m. s. (of Aurangabad) Bad (Fin., D.L.), 8m. sse. Farah-118-(C.G., Ren., Jaq.), 10m. sse. Run-kuta-114-(Fin., D.L., Tieff., Jaq.), 'Ganughat'-C.J., Ren., Tieff.? 5m. ese. Sikandra (Tav., C.G., Tieff., Jaq.), 5m. ese. Agra-115-(Bn., Tuz., Fin., St. C., D.L., Mund., Man., Tav., Mar., C.G., Ren., Tieff., Jaq.).

Agra, 'Doura'-Ren.? 13m. ene. Itimadpur (D.L., Mund., Tav., Mal., Ren., Tieff., Jaq., Deane), 2m. e. Muhammadabad (Mund.), 'Kuzrutpore', 'Rajhatul'-Ren.? 'Begum Sur-ray'-Mar.? 28m. e. Firozabad-116-(Mund., Tav., Mar., C.G., Mal., Ren., Tieff., A.D., Jaq.), 5m. ese. Makhanpur (Mal., Ren., Tieff.), 12m. ese. (of Firozabad) Shikohabad-117-(Mund., Mar., C.G., Mal., A.D., Jaq., Ren.), 'Serail Morlider'-Tav., 'Murli-dhar ka Serai'-Ren. Tieff.? 18m. se. Mithepur-118- (Ren., Tieff.), 7m. se. Jaswant Nagar (Mund., Mal., Ren., Tieff., Jaq., Forrest), 10m. se. Etawah-120-(Mund., D.L., Tav., Mar., C.G., Mar., Ren., Tieff., Jaq., Forrest), 5m. se. Serai Ekdil (Ren., Tieff.), 'Astpura', 'Imckna'-Ren.? 8m. se. Bakewar-121-(Mund., Ren., Tieff., Jaq.)<sup>10</sup>, 6½m. se. Serai Anantram (Ren., Tieff.), 'Chan-pore'-Ren.? 11m. se. (of Bakewar) Sarai Ajitmal-112-(Mund., Tav., Mar., Mal., Ren., Tieff.), 1½m. sse. Shahpur (Ren.), 13½m. se. (of S. Ajitmal) Auramal) Auraiya-123-(Mal., Ren., Tieff.), 'Mulowly'-Ren.? 10m. se. Sikandra-124-(Mund., Tav., Mal., Ren., Jaq.), Sachendi-392-, Kanpur-393-.

In January 1795, Twining and his party travelled from Kanpur to Lucknow and marked the following places *enroute* 'Miswassy' pro-

bably Awastin? 7½m. ne. of Kanpur, 9m. ne. (of Kanpur) Unnao ('Annow') describing it as a 'ruins of a considerable village', 5m. ne. Rampur ('Ramgunge'), Moatgunge 'a considerable manufacturing of brasspots and other domestic utensils'? 'Viziergunge'? Lucknow-396.<sup>11</sup>

## 3a. Lucknow to Varanasi via Rae Bareilly (435) & Allahabad (140)

The research of this road up to Allahabad is based primarily on Rennell's survey and that of Allahabad through Varanasi on the travel-and road-accounts of Mundy, Manrique, Tavernier, Marshall, R. Chatarman, Malet, Rennell, Tieffenthaler, Deane and Forrest.

Lucknow, 'Jelalabad'? 14m. s. dacf. Sis-saindi-431-('Sesserry'), 'Beniahgunge'? 11m. se. Sadauli ('Sodouly'), 6m. ese. dacf. Tilen-da-432-('Tollendy'), 7m. sse. Hardej-433-('Hardei'), 6m. s. Kothwara-434-('Cutwara'), 7m. sse. Rae Bareilly-435- 7m. s. Bhaon ('Bahar'), 5m. s. Jagatpur-436-(Jagatpour), 11m. s. Mustafabad-437-(Mustaphabad), 7m. se. Bahadurganj-438-(Bahadergunge), 6m. se. Manikpur-439-(Manickpour), 6½m. ese. Barai ('Burhai'), 'Singhore'? 15m. se. Mansurabad-440- (Mussurabad), 14m. ese. Phaphamau ('Papa-mow'), 5m. s. Allahabad (Mund., Man., Tav., Mar., R. Chn., Mal., Ren., Tieff., A.D., Forrest).<sup>12</sup>

Jhusi 1m. east of Tribeni (Ren., Tieff.), 5m. e. (of Allahabad) Serai Inayat-141-(Ren.), 4m. ese. Hanumanganj (C.G.), 17m. ese. (of Allahabad) Saidabad (Tav., Ren., Tieff., A.D.), 5m. ese. Handia-142-(Mund., Mar., Ren., Tieff.), 'Oude', 'Mandu Singh'-Ren.? 'Howmull Surrey'-Mar.? 12m. se. Serai Judges (Mund., Tav., Tieff.), 'Waidgunge'-RBA? 16m. ese. (of Handia) Gopiganj-143-(Ren., Tieff., A.D.), 8m. ese. Aunrai-144-(Mund.), 'Ossnow', 'Lalkhan Serai-

Ren.? 11m. ese. Maharajanj (Ren., Tieff.), 3½m. e. Sarai Babu (Mund., Tav.), 13m. ese. (of Saidabad) Uj Mungarha (Tieff., 'Ooj-ke-Chauki'), 17½m. ese. (of Handia) Taman-chabad-145- (Ren., Tieff.), A.D., 4m. ene. Mirza Murad (Mar., Ren., Tieff.), Sarai Mohan-146- (Mund., Ren., Tieff.), 12m. ene. Varanasi (Mund., Mar., Tav., Man., Ren., Tieff., A.D.).<sup>13</sup>

3b. *Lucknow to Varanasi via Sultanpur (425) and Jaunpur*

The road as followed by Rennell and Macpherson (up to Sultanpur) went via Gosainganj-419-14m. ese. of Lucknow ('Gos-saungunge'), 3m. ese. Amethi-420- (Ren.), 16m. se. Haidergarh-421- (Ren., Mac.), 10m. se. Inhauna-422- (Ren., Mac.), 9m. ese. Jagdispur-423- (Ren., Mac.), 'Cundua Ka nulla'-Mac.? 5m. se. Gaura ('Goorah'), 19m. se. Daudpur-424- (Ren., Mac.), 7m. ese. Hasanpur (Ren., Mac.), 6m. ese. Sultanpur-425-, 7½m. se. Tikri-427-, 9m. Pakri ('Pop-pergaut'), 'Pertabpour'? 17m. se. Sonawul-428-, 13m. sse. Singramau-429-, 'Gosaypour'? 15m. se. Bakhsha-430-, 8m. se. Jaunpur, 'Nassurabad'? 10m. sse. Jalalpur-449-, 8m. sse. Phulpur-450-, 2½m. sse. Pidra ('Pinney-rah'), 9m. sse. Harahua-451-, 6m. ese. Shiva-pur, 2m. s. Benares or Varanasi.<sup>14</sup>

3c. *Lucknow to Varanasi via Faizabad (407) and Jaunpur*

As described by James Rennell the road from Lucknow to Jaunpur *via* Faizapur ran through 'Sollargunge'? 'Hallapour'?, 19m. ene. Nawabganj-401-, 9m. e. Safdargunge-402-, 'Noorgunge'? 12½m. ese. Daryabad-403- (Ren., Tav.), 4m. se. Rasulpur-404- ('Hoorsapur'), 10m. dacf ese. Hayatnagar-405- 'Baigumunge'? 23m. ese. Faizabad-407- (Ren., Tav.), 9m. se. Jaial-ud-dinnagar-408- (Ren., Tav.), 13½m. se. Amsin-409-, Itifatganj-410-, Tanda-411-, 12m. sse. (of Amsin) Akbarpur-412- 14m. dacf e. Barauna-

413-, Jalalpur-414-, 11m. wsw. (of Barauna) Surharpur-415-, 7m. dacf sse. Pawal, Arghu-pur-416-, Shahganj-417-, 'Bassalatgunge'? 'Bandy'? 15m. sw. Sarai Kheta ('Ketah'), 6m. s. Lapri-418-, 9m. s. Jaunpur ('Jion-pour'). Main stages from Jaunpur to Varanasi are described in section 3b.<sup>15</sup>

A clearly marked road ran across from North at Faizabad to South at Allahabad connecting the three Lucknow-Varanasi 'highways' and serving as the significant military-cum-commercial route during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The noted stages enroute were: Bhadarsa-452- 9m. s. of Faizabad, 'Aminagunge'? 10½m. s. Paroma-453-, 8m. s. Dihsarwa-454-, 8m. ssw. Sultanpur-425-, 7m. s. Narayanpur, 3m. sw. Piparpur-455-, 2m. s. Agresar, 9m. s. Gonda, 5m. s. Roopapur-457-, 3m. ssw. Mehdunnee Ka Kutra Bazar, 'Laalgunge'? 13m. ssw. Siwan-458-, 9½m. s. Hajiganj, 4m. s. dacf Phaphamau-459-, 6m. s. Allahabad.<sup>15a</sup>

The road connecting Allahabad and Jaunpur continued, as today, *via* Jhusi 5m. e. of Allahabad, 13½m. ne. Phulpur-441-, 15m. ne. Panwara, 7m. e. Machhlishahr-443-, 'Sie-rage'? 18m. ene. Jaunpur-444-,<sup>16</sup> the stages from Jaunpur to Varanasi are described in section 3b.

4a. *Delhi to Varanasi via Agra, Sikandra (124) and Allahabad (140)*

This road was a part of the most frequented highway running across the north of India, well studded by resthouses, wells, 'Kosminars', (distance indicators), 'dak chaukies' (postal centers) and market towns at regularly marked distances. According to the contemporary accounts the road was fairly well maintained and 'convenient for traveling'. The stages from Delhi to Sikandra are described in section 2.d., and from Allahabad, to Varanasi in section 3.a. walpur

From Sikandra to Allahabad it went *via* 5m. se. Rajpur (Mar., C.G., Ren., Jaq.), 9½m. se. (of Sikandra) Shahjahanpur (Tieff.), 16m. se. Bhognipur-125- (Mund., Mar., Ren., Tieff.), Chaparghata-126-, (D.L., Mund., Ren.), 10m. ese. Musanagar (Ren., Tieff.), 12m. e. Ghatampur-127- (Mund., Mar., Ren., Tieff.), 12m. ese. Jahanabad (Ren., Tieff.), 13m. ese. Kora-128- (Mund., C.G., Ren., Tieff.), 'Busgoha'-Ren.? 10m. ese. Khajuha (Ren., Tieff.), 4m. ese. Bindki-129- (Mund., Ren., Tieff.), 'Burweishabad' Ren.? 7m. ese. Kunwarpur (Ren.), 1m. se. Serai Shahzada (Ren.), 4m. ese. Kurain (Ren., Tieff.), 'Aboonugur'-Ren. & Tieff.? 4m. se. Fatehpur-130- (Mund., Mar., Ren., Tieff., A.D.), 'Belinda'-Ren. & Tieff.? 8m. ese. Haswa-131- (Ren., Tieff.), 'Noboust Serai'-Ren. and 'Nobasta'-Tieff.?

From Haswa to Allahabad there were two roads (1) Haswa, 9m. ese. Hathgaon-132- (Mund., Tav., Mar., C.G., Ren., Tieff., A.D.), 'Munda-Ke Serai' & 'Tschobe'-Tieff.? 'Kuzeeana', 'Chobika Serai', 'Dawadpur' and 'Joota'-Ren.? 'Apphoy-co Sarai'-Mund.? 22m. se. Kara (Mund., Ren., Tieff., A.D.), 5m. ese. dacf Shahzadpur-133- (Mund., Mar., C.G., Ren., Tieff.), 'Kakerabad'-Ren.? 'Konkerabad'-A.D.? 'Aurengabad'-Tav.? 15m. ese. Alam Chand (Mund., Mar., Ren., Tieff.), 7m. ese. dacf Fatehpur-134-, 14m. ese. Kashia (Tieff.), 15m. ese. Pur Mufti (Tieff.), 10m. ese. Allahabad. (2) Haswa, 2m. sse. Aswan Sangaon (Ren.), 4m. se. Aurai (Ren.), 4½m. sse. Naraini (Ren.), 'Mungulpowrah'-Ren.? 3m. se. Baraichi (Ren.), 1m. se. Bijaipour (Ren.), 3½m. se. Pauli (Ren.), 'Dareahpour'-Ren.? 3m. ese. dact Bhafsawan (Ren.), 2m. ese. Birdaulpour (Ren.), 3m. se. Dhata-137- (Ren.), 3m. sse. dacf Ajrauli (Ren.), 'Ouno'-Ren.? 3m. ese. dacf Bharsawan (Ren.), 2m. e. dacf Tewa (Ren.), 'Muccompour'-Ren.? 3m. ese. dacf Danpur (Ren.), 3½m. e. Karari-138- (Ren.), 'Senuro'-Ren.? 4m. ese. But Bandhuri (Ren.), 2m. se. Meo-hrar Khas (Ren.), 'Emmilee'-Ren.? 6m. ese. Diha

(Ren.-'Couteah'), 'Maccompour'-Ren.? 5m. ese. Akbarpur-139- (Ren.), 2m. n. dacf Begampur Khas (Ren.), 1½m. e. Bhogwatpur (Ren.), 'Bahomabad' & 'Mouteram'-Ren.? 7m. e. Allahabad.

Route No. (2) from Haswa to Allahabad apparently fell into disuse in the nineteenth century mainly due to the reduced importance of the commercial centres like Haswa, Naraini, Dhata and Karari, thus, evidently, traffic was channelled through Route No. (1) which later on was macadamized whereas Route No. (2) exists to-day in the shape of a continued cart track with portions of metalled road. This metalled road from Fatehpur to Allahabad goes *via* Shahzadpur, Mitthepur and Alam Chand running 1m., 2m., and 3m. north of Haswa, Sangaon and Aurai respectively.<sup>17</sup>

4b. *Delhi to Varanasi via Sikandra (124) Kalpi and Rewa (163)*

For Delhi-Sikandra road description see section 2.d. Jacquemont went from Sikandra to Varanasi *via* Kalpi and Rewa and marked the following stages enroute. Sikandra, 5m. se. Rajpour, 15m. sse. Kalpi, 9m. sse. Babina-148-, 10m. ese. Kurara, 9m. s. Bharwa-150- ('Beevrona'), 12m. sse. Sisolar-151- ('Sursolar'), 14m. sse. dacf Banda-152-, 11m. sse. Girwan, 19m. sse. Pangara-153-, 14m. s. (via Naraini) Kalinjar-154-, 13m. se. dacf Singpur-155-, 'Naya Saya'? 12m. ssw. Panna-156-, 12m. sse. Kakarati-147-, 8m. se. Lohargaon-158-, ene. Nagod-159-, 11m. e. Sohawal-160-, 15m. e. (via Satna) Durjanpur-161- ('Duzonnepour'), 'Puttrahaut'? 8m. e. Rampur-162-, 15m. ene. Rewa-163-, 10m. ene. Raipur-164-, 8½m. ne. Misngawah-165-, 21m. e. Mauganj-166-, 'Kutkurry'? 15m. ne. Honumana-167-, 10m. nne. Katra-168-, 14m. ne. Laigarj-169-, 16m. ne. Mirzapur-170-, 29m. ene. Serai Mohan-146, 6m. ene. Varanasi ('Benares').<sup>18</sup>

5a. *Varanasi to Calcutta via Ghazipur*  
(174), *Patna & Plassey* (212).

This was the most important northern overland link with Bengal bearing a large traffic for trade, military and pilgrimage purposes, traversable throughout the year and well equipped with numerous amenities for easy travel. The stages have been recorded by Tavernier, Marshall, Rai Chatarman, Allan & John Macpherson, Malet, Rennell, Forrest, Deane and Jacquemont.

Chaubepur 9m. ne. (of Varanasi)-172- (Mac., A.D.), 1½m. ene. dacf Gaura (Ren.), 2½m. ne. (of Choubepur) Chandrauti (Ren.), 2½m. nne. Kaithi (Ren.), 4m. ne. Saidpur (Mac.-'Saaidpore', Ren.-'Siedabad', A.D.-'Sidepoore'), 'Ramtowasher' & 'Roteria'-Ren.? 4m. ne. Bhitri-173- (Ren.-'Beteru'), 8m. e. (of Saidpur)? 4m. ne. Bhitri-173- (Ren.-'Beteru'), 8m. e. (of Saidpur) Naisara (Mac.-'Nisera', A.D.-'Niah Serai'), 11m. ene. (of Saidpur) Nandganj (Ren.), 10m. ene. Ghazipur-174- (C.G., Mac., Ren., A.D., Forrest), 'Eatewa'? 2m. (of Ghauspur) Saraia (Mac.-'Bulaky Surai'), 7½m. e. (of Ghazipur) Ghauspur (Mac.-), 3m. e. Muhammadabad (Mac., Ren., A.D.), 'Rainny-pore'-Mac.? 13m. ese. Narainpur (Ren.-'Narun'), 2m. ne. Buxar-176- (C.G., Mac., Ren., A.D.).<sup>19</sup>

5½m. se. dacf Boksa (Ren.-'Buxah'), 8m. e. (of Buxar) Bhojpur (Mac., A.D.), 3m. ese. Dumraon (Ren.), 'Nuaru'-Ren.? 10m. ene. Barhampur (Ren.), 4m. e. Rani Sagar-177- (C.G., Mac., Ren.), 5m. e. Belauthi (Ren.-'Billongtee'), 12m. ese. Gajrajganj (Ren.), 14½m. se. (of Ranisagar) Bishoon-poor (Ren.), 'Purinder Serai'-Mac.? 7m. e. Arrah-178- (Mac., Ren., A.D.), 6m. ene. Giddha (Ren.), 'Deanlly'? 8m. e. (of Arrah) Koelwar (Mac.), 5m. ne. Maner (Ren., A.D.), 6m. e. Sherpur (Ren.-'Seerpore'), 4m. e. Dinapore-179- (Mac., Ren., A.D.),

8m. e. Bankipore (Mac., Ren.), 3m. e. Patna (Mac., Ren., A.D.).

Lohanipore 3m. e. of Patna (Mac.), 5m. se. Fatwa-190- (Mar., Ren., A.D.), 5m. e. Baikatpur (Mar., Mac., Ren., A.D.), 5m. se. dacf Mossimpur (Mar.-'Mosingpur', Ren.), 'Rynasseray'-Mac.? 10m. ese. Athmalgola (Mar., Ren.-'Sautmole Comertalla', A.D.), 'Mogul Parah'-Semmya'-Niabiga'? 22m. e. (of Baikatpur) Masumganj (Mac.), 10m. e. (of Athmalgola) Barh-191- (Mar., Mac., Ren.), 'Chundy'-Mac.? 6m. e. Punarakh (Mar.-'Cundaureck', Ren.), 6m. ese. Mekra-192- (Mar., Mac.), 5m. se. Mor (Mar., Ren., Deane-'Moor Ki Choky'), 4m. se. Mokameh (Mar.-'Muckeya'), 3½m. ese. Hathidah (Mar.-'Hatchedo'), 2m. sse. Maranchi (Mar.-'Merasse'), 10m. se. (of Mor) Dumra-193- (Mar.-'Dunira', Ren.), 4½m. s. Jaitpore-194- (Mar.-'Jentea', Ren.), 24m. sse. (of Mekra) Lachhmipur (Mac.), 7m. e. dacf Ramchandarpur (Ren.-'Rampore'), 5½m. dacf ene. Surajgarha (Mar., Mac., Ren.), 9m. ene. Baha Chauki (Mar.-'Bohay Suray'), 11m. ene. Sibkund-196- (Mar.-'Sibcoon'), 'Jemalpore'-Ren.? 1½m. e. Pun-sara (Ren.), 7m. ene. Monghyr-197- (Tav., Mar., Mac., Mal., Ren., A.D., Forrest).<sup>20</sup>

Nouagarhi (Mar.), 'Janguira'-Tav., Ren.? 10m. se. Kalyanpur (Mar.), 8m. e. Sultanganj-199- (Ren.), 'Champerpore'-Ren.? 3m. e. Masih (Mar.), 12m. e. (of Sultanganj)-200- (Tav., Ren., A.D., Forrest), 18m. nne. Colgong-201- (Mar.-'Colgaut', Mac., A.D., Forrest), 'Shahabad' & 'Gungaper-Forrest', 10m. e. Pealapur (Mar., Ren., saud'-Ren.? 20m. e. Sakrigali Ghat-202- (Mac., Ren., Forrest-'Sicre Gully Pass'), 16m. s. Rajmahal-203- (Mar., Ren., A.D., Forrest), 6m. s. Udhua-204- (Ren.-'Ouda-nulla', A.D., Forrest), 11m. sse. dacf Farakka-205- (Mac.-'Furakabad', Ren.), 'Banniappore' & 'Downapore'? 19m. sse. Suti-206- (Mac., Ren., A.D.), 13m. se. Khamra-207- (Mac., Ren., A.D.), 'Rannee'-Ren.?

10m. se. Dewan Sarai-208- (Ren.), 'Bominca'-Ren.? 14m. s. Murshidabad (Mar., Mac., Ren., A.D.), 6m. s. Berhampore-210- (Mac., Ren.)<sup>21</sup>, 11m. s. Burwa (Ren., Forrest-'Burrah'), 15m. s. Dadpur-211- (Mar., Ren.), 6m. s. Plassey-212- (Mar., Mal., Ren., A.D., Forrest).

There were two roads from Plassey to Calcutta (1) *via* Ranaghat-217-, (2) *via* Tribeni-278.

(1) Panighata-213-5m. sse. (of Plassey) (Ren.-'Pangotta'), 7m. sse. Bikrampur-214- (Ren.), 10m. s. Rukunpur-215- (Ren.-'Rock-pore'), 20m. sse. Krishnagar-216- (Ren., A.D.), 'Gowry' & 'Baraset'-Ren.? 16m. s. Ranaghat (Ren.), 7m. s. Chakdaha-218- (Ren.), 'Burrye'-Ren.? 25m. s. Baraset-219- (Ren.), 7m. ssw. Dum Dum-220-, 7m. ssw. Calcutta.

(2) Agradwip 13m. e. dacf (of Plassey)-221- (Mar.-'Agdea', Ren., Forrest-'Augha-deep'), 3m. e. dacf Patali-222- (Ren.), 'Beltully'-Ren.? 20m. sse. Samudragarh-223- (Mar., Ren.), 8m. s. Kalna-224- (Ren., Forrest), 'Ambooah'-Ren. & 'Ambooah'-Forrest? 8m. sse. Panchpara (Ren.-'In-churra'), 6m. se. Nasarai (Ren., Forrest), 2½m. s. Tribeni-278- (Ren., Jaq.), 3m. ssw. Bandel (Ren.), 1m. s. Hooghly-279- (Ren., Forrest, Jaq.), 1m. s. Chinsura (Ren., Jaq.), 2m. s. Chandernagore (Ren., Forrest, Jaq.), 4m. s. Gaurhatti (Ren., Forrest, Jaq.), 'Digum'-Ren.? 'Pulta Ghaut'-Forrest? 4½m. s. Serampore-280- (Ren.), 'Aunbigur'-Ren.? 8m. s. Bally-281- (Ren.), 'Solky'-Ren.? 8m. s. Calcutta.<sup>22</sup>

5b. *Varanasi to Calcutta via Sasaram*  
(184) and *Tribeni* (278)

This route had a greater historical significance than commercial. Built by stages chiefly corresponding to the growing military need of connecting the regional forts and

fortresses erected on the Buddhist 'Viharas' (monasteries) by the Muslim invaders, the road gained considerable importance in the seventeenth century as a result of the rapid eastward expansion of the Mughal Indian Empire. But due to the rugged mountainous terrain of the area traversed by its central middle section, and for the want of an unbroken chain of commercial centres throughout its length, the road from Sasaram (184) to Ragunathpur (259) ran tortuously, thus, it was less frequented by merchant groups who, normally, preferred to use the north highway (5.a.). The current study is based on the itinerary notes of Mundy, Marshall, Tavernier, Macpherson, Tieffenthaler and the maps of James Rennell.

Varanasi, 1m. ese. Bahadurpur (Mund., Tav.-'Baterpour'), 7m. ese. Mughal Serai (Mund., Mar., Mac., Ren.), 7½m. ese. Chandauli-180- (Ren.), 'Bugwanpore'-Ren.? 6m. e. Said Raja (Tav.-'Satragy Sera', Mar.-'Sydraca Surrey', C.G., Mac., Tieff., Jaq.), 12m. ese. Sawath-181- (Mund., Ren.), 19m. ese. Mohania-182- (Mund., Tav., Mar., Ren., Jaq.), 'Rampura'-Ren.? 14m. se. Jahanabad-183- (Mund., Mar., Ren., Jaq.), 3m. ese. Khurmabad (Mund., Tav., Mac., Ren.), 16m. ese. (of Jahanabad) Sasaram-184- (Man., Mund., Tav., Mar., Mac., Ren., Jaq.).

There were two road links from Sasaram to Hazaribagh -247- (1) *via* Sherghati (231) (2) *via* Gaya (237). (1) Sasaram, gm. ese. Dahaur (Ren.), 15m. ese. dacf (of Sasaram) Inglis -225 (Jaq. -'Hinguelisse'), 4m. nw. dacf (of Siris) Kochar (Ren. -'Codjery'), 10m. se. (of Dahaur) Siris -226- (Ren.), 8m. se. Khaira (Ren.), 5m. se. and 13m. sse. (of Inglis) Aurangabad -227- (Ren., Jaq.), 6½m. sse. Deo -228- (Ren.), 'Persoya'-Ren.? 14m. se. (of Aurangabad) Madanpur -229- (Jaq.), 12m. ese. dacf (of Deo) Baratanr -230- (Ren. -'Beltiarah'), 3m. ese. Delaho (Ren.), 'Ambah Carr'-Ren.? 15m. ese. (of

Madanpur) Sherghati -231- (Ren., Jaq.), 'Tallabigha' -Ren. ? 26m. sse. Chatra -242- (Ren.), 9m. nne. Kade -241- (Ren. -'Kondy'), 9m. ssw. dacf Dahuri -243- (Ren.), Hazaribagh -247- (Jaq.). (2) Sasaram, 13½m. e. Darihat (Ren.), 7m. ne. Harriergunge (Ren.), 1½ m. e. Daudnagar -186- (Tav. Ren.), 'Pallypour' -Ren. ? 'Aganoore Ca Sara' -Mund., 'Aganour Surry' -Mar. ? ( ), 16m. ese. Goh -232- (Ren.), 3½m. e. Berka -233- (Ren.), 3m. ese. dacf Sinduari -234- (Ren.), 8m. ese. Tekari -235- (Ren.), 6m. se. Panchampur (Ren.), 4m. ese. Amraha -236- (Ren.), 4½m. e. Gaya -237- (Ren.), 5m. sse. Pipra -238- (Ren. -'Pawah'), 9m. s. dacf Lakhaipour -239- (Ren.), 7m. s. Massaundha (Ren.), 4m. sse. Danua -240- (Ren. -'Dumra', Jaq. -'Dunghye'), 9½m. se. Chaithi -244- (Jaq.), 8m. ese. Purhara -245- (Jaq.), 9m. sse. Champadih -246- (Jaq. -'Kutcamsandy'), 13m. s. Hazaribagh.

From Hazaribagh to Raghunathpur (259) the road passed through Muckoond -248- 2m. ene. (of Hazaribagh) (Ren.), 28m. se. Digwar -249- (Jaq.), 35m. s. (of Muckoondgunge) Ramgarh -250- (Ren.), 10m. ene. Chitarpur -251- (Ren. -'Cootra', Jaq. -'Tchitaur'), 7m. ene. Sutri -252- (Ren., 7m. e. Petarbai -253- (Ren.), 'Gomeah' -Jaq. ? 'Bozeri-Adda' -Jaq. ? 12m. ene. (of Chitarpur) Ambadih -254- (Jaq. -'Anggouali'), 'Perani' -Jaq. ? 2m. e. Chas -255- (Ren., Jaq.), 7m. ese. Tiara (Ren.), 'Radanagra' -'Naranpur' -'Conwoah' -Ren. ? 2m. nne. dacf Sabra (Ren.), 9½m. ese. (of Chas) Chandra -256- (Jaq.), 3m. se. Chandan Kiari -257- (Jaq.), 'Amtchattar' -Jaq. ? 8m. ese. (of Sabra) Behra (Ren.), 'Omchatter' -'Purseah' -Ren. ? 4½m. ne. dacf Poradih (Ren.), 8m. e. Dubra -258- (Jaq.), 6m. se. dacf (of Poradih) Dhanara (Ren.), 10m. ese. Raghunathpur -259- (Ren., Jaq.).

There were four different roads connecting Raghunathpur and Burdwan (1) *via* Bishnu-

pur -273- (2) *via* Sonamukhi (268) (3) *via* Silampur (267) (4) *via* Mankur (264):

(1) *via* Bishnupur: Raghunathpur, 6m. sse. dacf Gognabad (Ren.), 4m. sse. dacf Sutrabai -270- (Ren.), 'Dowchor' -'Notungra' -Ren. ? 15m. ese. dacf Chhatna -271- (Ren.), 'Duidgong' -Ren. ? 7m. se. Bankura -272- 'Tcreah' -'Rajhaut' -Ren. ? 15m. se. Ajodhya (Ren. -'Oondah'), 3m. se. Ramsagar (Ren.), 2½m. se. Bishnupur -273- (Ren.), 3m. e. dacf Gosainpur -274- (Ren.), 10m. ne. dacf Balsi (Ren.), 6m. e. Ihdas -275- (Ren.), 4m. ene. Dubrajhati (Ren.), 'Currimpour' -Ren. ? 8m. ene. dacf Maulapar (Ren. -'Moor'), 'Souton' -Ren. ? 3m. e. Burdwan (Ren., Jaq.).

(2) *via* Sonamukhi: Raghunathpur -259-, 7m. e. Shaltora (Ren.), 9m. e. Sattora (Ren.), 4m. ese. Dhatla (Ren.), 3½m. ese. Kusthalia -266- (Ren. -'Costilla'), 6½m. se. Gangajalghati (Ren.), 3m. e. Bankdaha (Ren.), 'Sitilla' -Ren. ? 10m. ese. Hat Ashuria (Ren.), 'Joypurah' -Ren. ? 9m. se. dacf Sonamukhi -268- (Ren.), 3m. se. Benshe (Ren.), 2m. se. Dhansimla (Ren.), 7m. ese. Krishnagar -269- (Ren.), 3m. ese. Betur (Ren.), 5m. se. Ihdas -275-. Roadstages from Ihdas to Burdwan are given in route (1) *via* Bishnupur.

(3) *via* Silampur: Raghunathpur to Kusthalia (266) see route (2). Mejia (Ren.) 7m. ne. (of Kusthalia), 'Serampour' -Ren. ? 10m. ese. dacf Pursha (Ren. -'Poorsura'), 6m. se. dacf Nadiha (Ren.), 'Nowparah' -Ren. ? 8m. se. dacf Silampur -267- (Ren.), 'Futtapour' -'Comerbond' -'Locker' -Ren. ? 12m. se. dacf Gopalpour (Ren.), 5m. sse. Goghagram (Ren. -'Gogong'), 'Daudpour' -Ren. ? 'Belcoss' -Ren. ? 14m. e. dacf Burdwan (Ren., Jaq.).

(4) *via* Didnagar: Raghunathpur, 5m. e. dacf Beru (Jaq.), 2m. ne. Brindabanpur (Jaq.), 2m. ene. dacf Lalgur (Jaq.), 'Kotaldi' -Jaq. ? 2m. ene. Muraddi (Jaq.), 6m. ese. dacf Tiluri -260- (Jaq.), 2½m. ne. Tentula-

rali (Jaq.), 4m. ese. dacf Matukbani (Jaq.), 'Tchouabaria' -Jaq. ? 2m. e. dacf Kendana (Jaq.), 'Kastora' -'Hadgaon' -Jaq. ? 8m. ene. (via Mejia) Raniganj -261- (Jaq.), 6½m. ne. dacf Egara (Jaq.), 'Commerbazar' -'Ronai' -'Mongulpour' -'Poreischia' -Jaq. ? 1m. ne. Chhora -262- (Jaq.), 3m. ese. Ukhya (Jaq.), 2m. s. Ichhapur (Jaq.), 'Bidjouparrar' -Jaq. ? 4m. se. dacf Mahish Khapuri (Jaq.), 'Panrdeh' -'Harribazar' -'Kalgandje' -Jaq. ? 4m. ese. Arra -263- (Jaq.), 2m. se. Gopalpur (Jaq.), 1½m. se. Bendra (Jaq.), 2m. se. Birudiha (Jaq.), 2m. ese. Kaksa (Jaq. -'Kankchah'), 'Peraal' -'Kotah' -'Manrou' -Jaq. ? 8½m. ese. Mankur -264- (Jaq.), 3m. e. Jamtara (Jaq.), 'Souhata' -'Oveirampur' -Jaq. ? 6m. e. Didnagar -265- (Jaq.), 'Huldy' ? 18m. se. Burdwan (Ren., Jaq.), 'Pyowrah' -Ren. ? 'Didbad' -Jaq. ? 7m. sse. Barsol (Ren., Jaq.), 'Dullabazar' -Ren. ? 8m. e. Memari -276- (Ren.), 'Chaultcundy' -Ren. ? 'Tchotekand' -Jaq. ? 8m. se. Bainchi (Ren.), 5m. se. Pandua -277- (Ren., Jaq.), 5m. se. Chaparai (Ren.), 4m. sse. Tribeni (278). Tribeni to Calcutta route is given in the last section of route 5a.<sup>23</sup>

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7. RBA X; IAS 53-H, -L, -P.
8. RBA X; IAS 53-H, 54-I, NG44-I.
9. This so called 'eastern' route from Delhi to Mathura, at present continues to Mat through a direct cart track. The main metalled road going to Sikri & Hodal run 3½m., 14m., 8m. east of Alwalpur, Tap-pali, Nohjhil and Mat.
10. From Bakewar to Sikandra Jaq. went *via* Dalenagar and Kariapur.
11. IAS 53-H, -L, 54-E, -J, -N, 63-B; USAMS NH 43-16, NG 44-1, -2, -6.
12. Rennell's Maps of 1778-80; USAMS NG 44-6, -7, -11. The present direct metalled road from Lucknow to Allahabad runs 4½m. west, 1m. west, 3m. east and 3m. east of Sissandi, Sidauli, Tilenda, and Hardoi respectively; and along the stages mentioned above from Kothwara to Allahabad.
13. IAS 63-G, -K, -O; USAMS NG 44-12.
14. RBA X; USAM NG 446, -11, -12.
15. RBA X; USAMS NG 44-6, -8, -12.
- 15a. RBA X; USAMS NG 44-7, -11; IAS 88. At present there is a direct unmetalled road from Faizabad to Allahabad running through the stages indicated in in the Rennell's Road Map.
16. RBA X; USAMS NG 44-11, -12, -6, -8. The present main metalled road from Nawabganj (401) to Faizabad passes through Ramsanehigat (26°48' Lat., 81° 32½' Long.) 6m. south of Daryabad (403).

17. Route No. 2 — RBA XIII; USAMS NG 44-6, -10, -11.
  18. Jag. v. 1, pp. 332-433; USAMS NG 44-6, -10, -11, -12, -14, -15.
  19. Mac., p. 382; USAMS NG 45-9, -13, NG 44-16, -12; IAS 63-0, 72-D, -C, -G. The present direct unmetalled road from Daudnagar to Patna runs *via* Aghur, Arwal, Saidabad, Naubatpore, Phulwari and Patna.
  20. Mac., pp. 59-63; USAMS NG 45-9, -10. From Lachmipur to Monghyr the stages indicated in Allan Macpherson's journal are as follows: Nawabganj 12m. ese of Lachmipur ('Nabobganj') 14m. ne. Mednipur ('Mednychowky'), 4½m. e. Singhia ('Singianulla'), 4½m. nns. Monghyr.
  21. Between Sakrigali Ghat and Rajmahal, both Rennell and Forrest mention a place called 'Mussaw' which may be identified as Musaha (IAS 103) located in Lat. 25° 9½' N. and long. 87° 50'E.
  22. IAS 63-0, 72-C, -G, -O, -P, 78-D, 79-A, -B.
  23. Rennell's Map Of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; Jag. v.1, pp 268-317; USAMS NF 45-7, -3, -2, -1, NG 45-13, -9, NG 44-16, -12.
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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Muhammed Quli Qutb Shah: Founder of Haidarabad** by H. K. SHERWANI; (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, pp. 146. Rs. 16/-)

Any work from the pen of Professor Harun Khan Sherwani deserves serious consideration at the hands of the scholars as well as students of Medieval India. The book under review is a collection of a number of articles contributed from time to time by the learned author. They have now been pieced together with the object of presenting a vivid picture of the life and times of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. That Professor Sherwani has admirably succeeded in his plan admits of no doubt. He has succinctly brought out the composite character of culture which developed in the Middle Ages in the Deccan, in general and in the kingdom of Golkunda in particular. He has rightly stressed that early Urdu which is hardly distinguishable from the contemporary Hindi had its birth in the Qutb Shahi kingdom. His analysis of the literary trends brings into bold relief the catholic outlook of the Qutb Shah as much as of his subjects. His description of the Golkunda architecture is refreshing and informative. The entire book is replete with references to original authorities which place the author's conclusions beyond doubt and which reveal the depth of his scholarship.

There are, however, a few blemishes which can not go unnoticed. The first relates to the plan of the book. Its deliberate object is to gloss over the political failures of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah by giving greater importance to his cultural achievements. Secondly, the chapter on "the advent of the Mughals in the Deccan" appears to be out of context

with the rest of the book. It could have easily been omitted.

Professor Sherwani has dismissed Faizi's version about the courtesan Bhagnati after whom the town of Golkunda was named as Bhagnagar. He prefers Tavernier's statement that the town was named Bhagnagar or "a town of gardens". But it is difficult to agree with the learned Professor's conclusion for several reasons. Firstly, Faizi is confirmed by Nizamuddin Ahmad, a sober and painstaking historian. Secondly, Ferishta gives the same version and he could claim a fairly intimate knowledge of the history of the Deccan. Thirdly, where is the guarantee that Tavernier meant what the learned Professor has concluded. In fact, Tavernier remarks, "Bhagnagar is then the town which they commonly call Golkunda, and it was commenced by the great grandfather of the king who reigns at present, at the request of one of his wives whom he loved passionately and whose name was Nagar. It was previously only a pleasure resort, where the king had beautiful gardens, and his wife often telling him that, on account of the river, the spot was suitable for building a palace and a town. He at length caused the foundation to be laid and desired that it should bear the name of his wife, calling it Bhagnagar i.e., the garden of Nagar". Evidently while describing the current tradition the traveller has failed to understand the meaning of Bhagnagar and he has confounded the word *Bhag* with *Bagh*. But he mainly confirms the version of Faizi. Thirdly, the intense religious nature of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, on the author's own admission, was joined to loose character. Therefore his passion for a woman can not be ruled out.

Finally, the learned Professor's arguments in support of this contention are purely negative.

But the book as a whole is a very useful contribution to the history of Golkunda.

BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA

**Panipat: 1761** by the late T. S. SHEJAWALKAR, Hindi translation by B. S. Bhargava, (published by M. Saran Bhargava, Kutcheri Road, Ajmer, Price Rs. 13.50).

The first decade of the nineteenth century was the springtime of research in Maratha history. Rajwade burst on the world of scholarship in 1898 with his first volume of *Marathyanche Itihasachi Sadhanen*. Till his death in 1926 he continued to publish volume after volume of source material of Marathi Records. Each volume carried a brilliant introduction and probed deep into the problems of social organization, politics, linguistics, poetics, etc. Other research scholars followed the pattern. Vasudeo Sastri Khare began publishing the Patwardhan Daftar and Parasnis the Menavali Daftar of Nana Phadnis. Sardesai prepared a narrative of Maratha history basing his story on the sources brought out by the research scholars. The Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal was established in 1913 to organise the work.

This was a time of hope and it was felt that the publication of sources would lead to a scientific, objective, study of Maratha history. This hope has been belied. Propagandists and mountebanks have invaded the field and are turning out rubbish. At the University level, however, some useful work has been done. Among the few who interested themselves in genuine research in Maratha history after the race of the giants was dead and gone was Shejwalkar. A good though somewhat erratic scholar, in 1925 he wrote an introduction to Sardesai's *Balaji Baji Rao*

*Peshwa*; his friends and admirers thought of this as a brilliant piece of writing. In 1939 Shejwalkar was appointed by his admirers Reader in Maratha history at the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute. Seven years after his appointment came his magnum opus — his monograph on the battle of Panipat, of which the present is a Hindi version done by Dr. B. S. Bhargava. There is no doubt that the translator has done his work in a competent manner.

What Shejwalkar does in his book, is to explain developments in Maratha politics from 1750 to 1761. According to him it was inevitable that these should lead to a clash of arms in which the Marathas found themselves isolated. He compliments the Maratha Commander Sadashiv Rao Bhau, for taking his stand of India for Indians. He says that but for the laxity and dishonesty of Govind Pant Bunde, Bhau might have succeeded in defeating the enemy. All these conclusions are untenable. Bunde was a Revenue officer, and it was too much to expect him to hold against the veterans of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Doab. Again, Bhau's stand of India for Indians was a desperate cry which went unheeded. The Maratha generals in their aggression in Hindustan from 1741 to 1758 had alienated almost all Hindustani Chiefs — Rajput, Jat and Bunde Rajas and Muslim Nawabs and it was too much to expect them to forget the Maratha ravages of a quarter century. The Rajputs and Jats sat on the fence, while Muslim rulers made common cause with the invader. Bhau, a brave man, became a victim and scapegoat of wrong policies pursued by Maratha generals in north India and acquiesced in by the Peshwa. Bhau's generalship was also defective; no general allows his line of communication to be severed. Bhau by leaving Delhi and going over to Kunjpura, gave Abdali the opportunity to cross behind the Maratha army and to entrap it. From October 15th, 1760 to January 14th, 1761 the Maratha army was surrounded at

Panipat and starved. When it gave battle on 14th January, it was a famished army trying to break out, but was defeated and slaughtered. This strategy is again emphasised by Shejwalkar, but on account of his study of the terrain he is able to give considerable details.

The policy of translating books from the English language must be decided from a broad perspective. *Panipat: 1761*, is after all a scholar's book and it is open to doubt that when the book is available in English, if the Hindi translation was necessary. The present reviewer thinks that only classics need be translated.

V. G. DIGHE

**The Indian Awakening And Bengal** by DR. NEMAI SADHAN BOSE; Firma K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY, 6/1/A, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta, 1969. Second Edition pp. 297 + Appendix, Select Bibliography and Index. Price Rs. 21/-.

The book appeared first in 1960. Many of the chapters of the earlier edition have been largely re-written in this second edition to bring within their ambit the results of recent research. This volume presents a balanced and unbiased account of all the principal movements of the period from 1800 to 1911, which was an epoch-making period in the history of Bengal.

In the background the author has analysed ten main features of the later half of the 18th century, popularly called the dark ages and the new forces which helped to bring about a transformation in Bengal. He could not fully subscribe to the views of Dr. R. C. Majumdar who stated that though in eighteenth century Bengal there was no rancour or ill-feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims, yet in all vital matters affecting the culture they lived in 'two water-tight compartments' and it is not, therefore, correct to say that a new

culture was formed by the fusion of the two. The author boldly asserts that there was a genial current of mutual harmony and toleration among them. He observes: "this mutual cultural influence and the existing amity between the ordinary people of both the communities was one of the redeeming features of an otherwise dark and gloomy period".

The author also believes that the seeds of Renaissance were sown even before Rammohun's settlement in Calcutta. The ground was already made fertile by the activities of many heterodox religious groups and sects, the Christian Missionaries, the Asiatic Society and the Fort William College. Just at that time Rammohun appeared as the inaugurator of the Modern Age in India and he paved a new way for the future generation of Indians to follow. The third chapter is devoted to a detailed and critical analysis of Rammohun's varied interests and activities. According to the author: "All the principal movements of the nineteenth century — social, religious, political, educational or otherwise either originated from him or were deeply indebted to him. None of these movements can be studied without a reference to the part played by him."

The fourth chapter deals with conservative reaction and the role of Young Bengal. The challenge thrown by Rammohun was accepted by the Orthodox Hindus, most of whom were rich and influential. They condemned Rammohun for preaching monotheism, denouncing image worship and Puranic cult and starting agitation for the abolition of Sati. The conservatives defended everything that passed as Hinduism. The main object of the conservatives was to save the country from the disintegrating forces that were at work. Anyway, they were not completely devoid of realistic and modernistic outlook. Some of the conservatives did not hesitate to welcome western education and to condemn some of the dreadful prevailing customs. For this

reason, at a later period, the conservatives made a joint front with others to safeguard the rights and privileges of the people. The author reminds us of the positive role of the conservatives. The analysis also challenges many of the commonly held notions about the Derozians.

Chapter V deals with the introduction and growth of Western education, which was, according to the author, the most important factor in the Indian awakening. In this connection the author has thrown enough light on the general condition of education in 18th century Bengal, the provision made by the Charter Act of 1813, the role of the Hindu College, activities of the Missionaries, the Anglicist-Orientalist Controversy, the Reports of Adam (1835, 1836 and 1838), the establishment of Universities and the measures adopted by the Government from time to time. Of course, the Government was mainly concerned with the interests of the upper and middle classes. Actually English became the medium of instruction. The Vernacular education was completely neglected. As a result of this policy the English educated Indians lost contact with the vast masses. In fact, they formed an isolated class in the community. That pattern remained intact throughout the period of British rule in India. But the Muslims felt no urge for English education.

Naturally, they remained backward and it "contained the germs of separatism and lent the Indian awakening of the nineteenth century a predominantly Hindu character". From this chapter one would get a clear idea about the glaring defects of the Government's educational policy. At the same time the author also keeps his readers aware of the beneficial aspect of English education. It is his opinion that "Western education largely fulfilled the expectations of Indian reformers who kept their faith in it and its good effects".

The author has devoted a whole chapter (VI) of 35 pages to explain the contributions of the Christian missionaries, the Brahma-Samaj and the Hindu Awakening. This is followed by a chapter (VII) on Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda. At the end of the nineteenth century religious differences gradually began to wane and Hinduism got a new colour which drew the admiration of the world. This phase was characterised as neo-Hinduism, Ramakrishna was its prophet. Vivekananda undertook the responsibility to spread Ramakrishna's gospel throughout the world. This was the time when political issues agitated the minds of the people. The author rightly observes: "the new age inaugurated by Raja Rammohun Roy, in a sense, reached its climax during Swami Vivekananda's lifetime". Both of them accepted the Vedanta, preached patriotism and dreamt of a new India embracing all, irrespective of sectarian, religious or other differences. These three basic similarities in the ideas of the two great leaders of Indian awakening were pointed out by Swamiji himself.

Chapter VIII gives a detailed account of all the social reform movements with special reference to the role of Vidyasagar. Chapter IX describes at considerable length the growth of political consciousness, the history of the British Indian Association, the attitude of the educated Bengalees to the rising of 1857, the significance of the Indigo Agitation, the Hindu Mela, the Indian Association, the Ilbert Bill Controversy, the Indian National Congress, the growth of Extremism, the Swadeshi Movement and the Muslim mind. The last chapter deals with the contributions of Bengali literature right from the time of Rammohun to Rabindranath.

The Appendix contains a short account of some public organizations, Bengali newspapers and journals. There is a useful select Bibliography. The index is quite useful.

For the serious student of nineteenth century Bengal the book can be well recommended for its evident mark of scholarship and research.

AMALENDU DE

**Asian And African Studies in Czechoslovakia** compiled under the editorial guidance of MIROSLAV OPLT, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute. Preface by JAROSLAV PRUSEK. Printed in Moscow, 1967 pp. 167. Price not mentioned.

It is really gratifying to note that a small country like Czechoslovakia has a surprisingly long and rich tradition of Asian and African Studies. The reader will get a comprehensive idea about it from the book under review. It was written by a group of Orientalists headed by Miroslav Oplt. Though the Czechs and the Slovaks came in contact with the reflections of Oriental thinking and literature as early as the Middle Ages, the interest in the cultures of the East acquired more specific forms only from the late 18th century. This was the time when the Czechoslovak people entered the stage of their national awakening. For successfully organising the national resistance movement against the oppressive conditions of the Hapsburg monarchy, the patriots and scholars drew inspiration from the roots of their national life and cultural traditions as well as from the outside world. Thus the interest in Africa and Asia and their cultures was closely linked with the national, cultural and political revival in Czechoslovakia.

Just at the initial stage the scholars directed their attention to India. This process started with the arrival of a learned Czech missionary, Karel Prikryl (1718-1785) at Goa and the West Coast of India in the middle of the 18th Century. For many years he taught at the local Jesuit college. He thoroughly studied the life and customs of the local

population and their language. He came back with some of his manuscripts, of which only two have been preserved — one on the Konkani language and another on the Tamil language. This led to a further study of Indian Sanskrit. The scholars were struck by the similarity between all Slavonic languages and the Indian languages of Indo-European origin. In the beginning of the 18th Century learned treatises were written on ancient Indian literature and India in general.

The foundations of Indology were laid by August Schleicher (1821-1868), Josef Zubaty (1855-1931) and Alfred Ludwig (1837-1912). They were renowned Sanskrit scholars and specialists in comparative linguistics. By the end of the nineteenth century the Rigveda hymns, the Hitopadesha fables, parts of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the poems of Kalidas and other famous Sanskrit works were translated into Czech. It is interesting to note that Professor Alois Vanicek (1825-1883), a renowned Sanskrit scholar, prepared a manuscript on Indian terminology in the natural sciences.

Thereafter the fields of Indology were enriched by Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937), Vincence Lesny (1882-1953) and Otakar Pertold (1884-1965). Their contributions inaugurated the stage of maturity of Czechoslovak Indology. Lesny and Pertold drew the attention of their students to Modern India. Many of them specialised in modern Indian philology and history. Really Czechoslovakia can today boast of her specialists and scholars almost in all the major Indian languages and literature.

The reader of the book would also get a detailed account of the activities of the Czech and Slovak scholars and specialists on Hebraic and related studies, Egyptology, Cuneiform studies, African studies, Arabic studies, Iranian and Turkic studies, studies of the culture of the Soviet East, South East

Asian studies, Sinology, Tibetan and Mongolian studies, Korean studies and Japanese studies. The centres of learning for Asian and African studies are also discussed in detail. This is a book of considerable importance for all those interested in Oriental cultures.

AMALENDU DE.

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## INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES ANNUAL REPORT (1968-69)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I present the Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Studies for the year 1968-69. It has been a year of steady progress and expansion. With the close of the year 1968-69 the Institute stepped into its ninth year. It is gratifying to note how within eight years of its small beginning the Institute could establish its position as one of the leading all-India academic organisations. For this the credit goes wholly to the members, friends and well-wishers of the Institute.

#### Membership :

During the year under review the membership increased considerably but this was partly offset by the dropping out of a large number. It is rather unfortunate that while about 70 new members are admitted every year, nearly 50 old members drop out. It is something which deserves our serious consideration. While welcoming new members we must pay attention to retain the old members and stop the annual drop out. A large floating membership is not a healthy sign for any academic institution. I also take this opportunity to appeal to our existing members to approach their colleagues personally and make more vigorous efforts to enrol new members. Without such personal efforts our membership drive from time to time is not likely to produce much tangible result.

#### Constitutional Amendments :

In order to check floating membership and also to ensure the maintenance of the all-India character of the organisation, two im-

portant constitutional amendments were adopted during the year under review. The first provided that only those who had been members for 3 consecutive years including the year of election, would be eligible to vote or to stand for election. The second provided that not more than half of the total members of the Executive Committee could be from any one State.

#### Election :

Under Rule 3 Clause (ii) of the Constitution election of the Director and 20 members of the Executive Committee was held in March 1969. The following were duly elected for a period of 3 years :

Director : Dr. S. P. Sen

#### Members of the Executive Committee :

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MM. D. V. Potdar (Poona)  
Dr. Bisheswar Prasad (Bhagalpur)  
Dr. K. K. Datta (Patna)  
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Dr. G. S. Dikshit (Mysore)  
Dr. Ganda Singh (Patiala)  
Dr. V. G. Hatakhar (Bombay)

I take this opportunity to offer our heartiest thanks to the Election Commissioner, Dr. Bimal Kanti Majumdar, for the kind trouble he had taken in conducting the election. I also want to record here my sense of deep appreciation and gratitude to the outgoing members of the Executive Committee for their valuable services to the Institute and their unstinted co-operation to me.

#### Meetings :

During the year under review fewer discussion meetings could be held than in previous years. This was due to various factors over which we had no control. There were only 5 meetings. Dr. Henry Ferguson (Director, Educational Resources Centre, New Delhi) spoke on *Indian History Text-Books for Foreign Students*; Dr. Joseph E. Schwartzberg (University of Minnesota) on *Historical Atlas Project*; Dr. Ashin Das Gupta (Presidency College, Calcutta) on *The Decline of Surat (1700-1750)*; Dr. Miloslav Krasa (Oriental Institute, Prague) on *Studies in Indian History in Czechoslovakia* and Dr. A. L. Basham (Australian National University, Canberra) on *The Background to the Rise of Buddhism*. The meetings were well-attended and the discussions lively. The talks will be published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* in due course.

#### Annual Conference :

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Institute was held at Srinagar (Kashmir) from 7th to 12th October 1968 under the auspices of the University of Jammu & Kashmir. Shri Bhagwan Sahay, Governor of Jammu & Kashmir, inaugurated the Conference. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the eminent historian, was to have presided over the Conference. But unfortunately, he could not attend on account of bad weather and cancellation of Air flights to Srinagar. It was a great disappointment to all. In the absence of Dr.

Majumdar, Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potdar presided over the Conference.

The principal theme for discussion at the Conference was *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*. It was the first time that a serious attempt was made to review the writings of Indian historians in the 19th and 20th centuries and to trace the evolution of Indian historical thought and methodology. About thirty papers were read on most of the eminent Indian historians. Papers were also invited on a few more historians, and although they did not reach us in time, they will be included in the Proceedings Volume, to be published under the title, *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*. The volume will prove to be most useful to all students of Indian history and will encourage further detailed studies in the evolution of Indian historiography.

Another theme for discussion at the Conference was *Sources of the History of Kashmir* (ancient, medieval and modern periods). Eight papers were read in this section. They will be published in a separate volume. There was a third or miscellaneous section in which seven papers were read, mostly on historiography and source material.

The Conference was attended by about 250 scholars from different parts of India and many of the major Universities and Government institutions sent official delegates. The Railway authorities had granted single-fare-return-journey concession to members of the Institute attending the Conference. The academic part of the Conference programme was highly successful. There was a lively discussion on each paper and most of the participants evinced a serious interest.

#### Journal :

*The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* maintained its record of progress during the year under review. There was no arrear in publication and all the four numbers of Volume VIII were brought out. The quality

of papers published had earned appreciation in academic circles. There was also a marked increase in the number of subscribers, both Indian and foreign. It is gratifying to note that the *Quarterly Review* has the largest circulation among Indian historical journals.

#### Library :

The Institute's Library specialises in historical journals and has most of the well-known historical journals of the world. Some additions had been made to the collection of books, pamphlets, reports, etc. in our library. For lack of funds, however, we could not build up a good general library on history. I take this opportunity to appeal to the Government and the generous public for funds to enlarge the scope of our library and to equip it with important reference books on history for the benefit of Research Students.

#### Research Service Bureau :

The Research Service Bureau maintained its activity during the year under review. The main task of the Bureau is to help scholars both Indian and foreign with services of Research Assistants for the collection of material for their Project. During the year under review the Bureau undertook assistance to the Oriental Institute, Prague, Czechoslovakia, and to a West German scholar to collect historical data. To make the Research Service Bureau more active and useful, we need additional funds and we hope that the Government and the U.G.C. will come to our assistance.

#### Publication :

One major publication was brought out during the year under review, *Studies in Modern Indian History : A Regional Survey*. It is a collection of papers presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Institute held at Patiala in December, 1967. The main ob-

jects of the volume are, first, to give a comprehensive account of the historical literature produced on modern India and second, to indicate fields and aspects which yet await the historians' attention. It is the first attempt of its kind and will prove useful to all serious students of modern Indian history who want to know how much has been achieved by their professional comrades and how much yet remains to be attempted.

The volume is priced at Rs. 25/- but members are allowed a discount of 20%. I take this opportunity to appeal to all members to help our publication scheme by purchasing a copy of each publication and also by ordering copies on behalf of their respective institutions.

#### Dictionary of National Biography Project :

During the year under review an important organisational change was made. In place of several Boards and Committees with ill-defined powers and functions, there was constituted one small Editorial Advisory Committee of four members, one for each zone — North, South, East and West, with the Director as the Editor and Coordinator. This change was introduced in the interest of economy and smooth functioning of the Project.

The DNB Project maintained very satisfactory progress during 1968-69. Biographical material files had been sent out to Contributors to help them in writing the biographical entries. The list of Contributors is really most impressive. There are more than 200 professional historians and other scholars, well known in academic circles all over the country. They have been drawn from practically all the Universities and other Research Centres in India. Besides this professional group, there are about 100 highly distinguished public figures, including Union and State Cabinet Ministers, most of the State Chief Ministers, leading members of Parliament belonging to all political parties, High Court Judges, eminent journalists, top-rank-

ing literary figures and industrialists. We have every reason to feel gratified about this wide co-operation from all sections. I take this opportunity to offer our grateful thanks to the Contributors for their kind co-operation.

The following pattern of biographical entry for the DNB was laid down by the Editorial Board.

*Section (i) : Personal and Family Details :*

Date and place of birth — parents, relatives — family background, social status, religion, caste etc., economic status — marriage, date, name of wife, family background of wife.

*Section (ii) : Early Life :*

Education — travels — influences on mind and character (men, books, associations, etc.)

*Section (iii) : Career History :*

History of the entire career from the time of reaching adulthood till death (or till 1969 for persons still alive), to be given in a narrative and chronological form, including positions held and honours received.

In the case of a writer or a poet, an account of his principal works will be given as in a standard history of literature.

*Section (iv) : Personality :*

Ideas and attitudes towards different issues — social reforms, religion, education, nationalism, economic problems, regionalism, etc.

Appearance, dress, manners and mode of life (austere, ostentatious, quiet, heroic, bohemian, etc.).

*Section (v) : General Estimate :*

An assessment of his position, views and contribution to society, with particular refer-

ence to the promotion of national consciousness.

The entry will be in a narrative form, with full connected sentences and attention to literary style. A select bibliography will be given at the end of each entry. All possible indications will be given for cross references.

I am happy to report that most of the Contributors have kept to the time schedule in spite of their heavy pressure of work. During the year under review we received about half the total number of entries (1250). If this rate of progress is maintained, we may expect to have all the entries in our hands by the end of 1969. The three volumes of the DNB (800-850 pages each) will then be made ready for the press by the middle of 1970 at the latest.

*Finances :*

*(i) General :*

So far as the general finances of the Institute are concerned, the position is getting worse every year with mounting deficits. The following figures will show how the total deficit increased from year to year.

|         |           |
|---------|-----------|
| 1962-63 | 111.27    |
| 1963-64 | 586.98    |
| 1964-65 | 1,405.10  |
| 1965-66 | 2,584.67  |
| 1966-67 | 2,127.63  |
| 1967-68 | 6,247.63  |
| 1968-69 | 10,155.10 |

I draw the attention of the members to this rather alarming situation and seek their kind help in devising means not only to wipe off the accumulated deficit, but also to maintain a balanced budget in future. I appeal to them to be more energetic in enrolling new members and particularly a number of Life Members. I would specially urge our members to help the finances of the Institute by purchasing copies of our publications and ordering for copies on behalf of their respective institutions.

The financial position has been gravely affected by the discontinuance of Foundation grants. We have to raise additional funds of Rs. 10,000/- a year to fill this gap in income if we are to maintain the existing activities. In view of the good constructive work being done by the Institute for the benefit of history scholars all over the country, it will be most unfortunate if the Institute is forced to stop some of its activities for lack of financial resources. We hope, the Government of India and State Governments will come to our assistance and enable us with suitable recurring grants not only to maintain our existing activities, but also to undertake new ones. No academic society with extensive activities can continue merely on membership fees without any external financial assistance.

*(ii) Dictionary Project :*

In a long term Project like this it is very difficult, almost impossible, to calculate the cost accurately several years in advance. There are so many factors to upset all careful calculations. Budget estimates have thus to be revised from time to time. According to the latest estimate, the total cost including publication of the DNB Volumes, will go up to Rs. 6,58,000/-, but even this estimate is liable to be revised by the time we are ready to send the volumes to the press. In spite of very generous financial assistance from the Government of India, we have yet to raise about Rs. 1,50,000/-. We have appealed to all the

State Governments for assistance and we hope to raise at least Rs. 1,00,000/- from the State Governments. The balance we shall try to raise from public donations. Although the prospect is not gloomy, uncertainty still persists. If the position does not clear up by December, it will necessarily have a depressing effect on the progress of the DNB Project.

*Conclusion :*

Before concluding the Annual Report, on behalf of the Institute of Historical Studies, I offer our sincerest thanks to the Asia Foundation, the Government of India, the Governments of Mysore, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Himachal Pradesh and the Deccan Herald, Bangalore, for their kind financial assistance, and also to the Universities, learned societies, and scholars, who had offered us their helpful co-operation in the *Dictionary of National Biography Project*. I am also thankful to the press for giving publicity to our work. I also take this opportunity to offer our thanks to the members of the Executive Committee and the Editorial Advisory Committee and to all the members and well-wishers of the Institute for their kind and active interest.

August 12, 1969  
Calcutta.

S. P. SEN,  
Director.

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I, S. P. Sen, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

February 26, 1970.

Sd/- S. P. Sen

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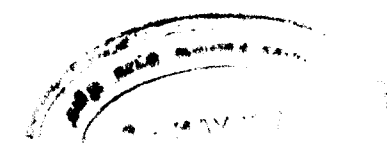
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## THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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## EDITORIAL

### Communal Riots and History Text Books:

Politicians and administrators have a peculiar habit of not admitting their own responsibility for unfortunate mob violence and trying to throw the responsibility on to others, who may not be even remotely connected with it. It is most regrettable that communal violence erupts from time to time and causes much suffering to innocent people. The Government and all political parties condemn such outbreaks, express sympathy for those affected, and make a show of trying to find out the root causes. But there the matter ends after each communal violence. The drama is repeated after the next outbreak somewhere else.

No serious attempt has been made during the last two decades of the post-Independence period to study the problem in all its complicated and far-reaching aspects and to find out the real factors which provoke such periodical outbreaks. Even the reports of the

Enquiry Commissions, which touch only the surface of the problem, are quietly shelved, and nothing more is heard about them as soon as the tension subsides. Perhaps, politicians and administrators know too well where the responsibility lies and in order to avoid embarrassment, they silently drop the curtain.

While quietly shirking their own responsibility for the unfortunate occurrences, both politicians and administrators, in their eagerness to find out a scape-goat, are inclined to throw the blame on historians and history text books. According to them, the historians are a bad lot, unworthy of their profession. They deliberately distort History in an attempt to fan communal hatred. History text-books, as taught in schools and colleges, give a false version of the past in an attempt to keep up bitter memories and animosity between the two major communities. Curb the freedom of the historians, ban the existing text-books, and re-write history in a new

light with a view to bring about cordial relations among different communities, and then there will be no more communal violence.

Any sensible person will, however, admit that this supposed role of the historians and history text-books is much too facile an explanation for a deep-seated social, economic and political malady. After all, in a country where the vast majority is illiterate, it can hardly be said that those who break heads and burn huts were inspired by reading history text-books. Neither the memory of religious persecution under this or that foreign ruler, nor the memory of the victorious sword of a foreign conqueror many centuries ago is really at the root of the present day communal outbreaks. The roots lie elsewhere. But the inclination of the politicians and administrators is to catch hold of the historians and to teach them how to write better history.

There is a regrettable move in this direction after the latest violent outbreaks in Gujarat and Maharashtra. There is a serious proposal to scrutinise history text-books and to remove whatever references there may be to unpleasant things and events in the past. The Government will then prescribe what to write and what not to write. Historians are unpatriotic and anti-national and, therefore, the administrators must undertake the task of disciplining them in the national interest.

Such a move cannot but be considered as an unmerited condemnation of the historians class. Not that all members of this profession are equally conscientious and have done their job in the most ideal manner. But which profession in the country can lay claim to be hundred percent ideal from the performance

of its members? Indian historians have, on the whole, done their work well. There are a few who have been influenced by regional, communal or linguistic prejudices. But their writings are mostly confined to research monographs, and serious students of history have the intelligence to evaluate them. Such open prejudices are rarely to be found in school or college text-books. Where so many facts have to be cramped in a small space, there is hardly any scope for sermonising on the basis of communal or regional prejudices. There may be slight variations of emphasis, but these can hardly be considered as major sources of communal or regional tensions.

If the Government is serious about reviewing historical writings from the point of view of their worth as history, there will not be much objection from the historians, except that the historians might grumble why similar reviews should not be made in other fields as well. But the historians will certainly object if the review work is entrusted to politicians and administrators, with a small sprinkling of historians chosen by the Government of the day. If there is suspicion about the role of historians and history text-books in the periodical communal outbreaks, the historians would be glad to remove the suspicion by an impartial review of their historical writings and by pointing out those writings which are wanting in their worth as history.

But such a review must be done by historians themselves, without the interference of politicians and administrators. Let a widely representative committee be formed of historians drawn from different universities, research institutes and all-India historical associations. Let the members be drawn from all the States, all the communities and all the age groups. Such a committee would be far more competent to do the reviewing work in a thorough and impartial manner than a

Government appointed body, dominated by administrators and politicians.

In conclusion, from the side of historians it must be asserted with all the strength at our command that our objective is to present the past as it really was, with all its bright and dark hues. We are not interested in presenting a distorted view to suit present day social and political conditions and with the object (however laudable) of helping the creation of a particular pattern of future social and political order. Let politicians and administrators do their work conscientiously and leave historians to their own job.

#### Discussion Meetings:

Since our last number four Discussion Meetings were held, Professor David Kopf, (Senior Research Fellow, American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta) spoke on *British Orientalism and Bengal Renaissance*; Dr. Prashanta Kumar Chatterjee (Burdwan University) on the *Education Despatch of 1854*; Mrs. Geraldine Forbes (American Institute of Indian Studies, Calcutta) on *Positivism in Bengal: A Report on Research in Progress*; and Dr. Nilmoni Mukherjee (University of Calcutta) on the *History of the Calcutta Port*. All the four talks were very interesting, followed by lively discussions. The talks will be published in the *Quarterly Review* in due course.

It is a matter of regret that our Discussion Meetings in recent days are not as well-attended as they used to be in the past. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that conditions in the city are frequently disturbed and communications disrupted. Let us hope that normal conditions will be restored soon and then we shall have the same well-attended Discussion Meetings as before. We take this opportunity, however, to request our members in Calcutta to kindly attend the Discussion Meetings more regularly and make them

more fruitful by participating in the discussions.

#### DNB Project:

The Dictionary of National Biography Project has been making good progress. We have been getting a steady flow of biographical entries from the contributors. We have also been sending regular reminders to those from whom entries are yet due. We are thankful to the contributors for their kind co-operation. We fully appreciate how difficult it is for them to complete our assignment in the midst of their own heavy pressure of work. We expect to get all the entries on the old list by July or August.

While making a final review of the names to be included in the DNB, the Editorial Advisory Board came to the conclusion, after elucidating opinions from various sections all over the country, that nearly 100 more names should be included to make the Dictionary of National Biography complete, representative and worthy of its name as the first pioneer venture of its kind in India. We took the opinions of politicians, including Ministers, belonging to all political parties, prominent journalists, educationists, literary figures etc., and had to decide, in the interest of the reputation of the Dictionary of National Biography, to include about 100 more names from different States.

This addition to the number will naturally affect our time schedule. But we are trying our best to cover these additional names in the shortest possible time. Biographical entries on these names are expected to be completed by September or October and we shall be able to make the volumes ready for the press by the end of the year.

For raising the additional funds needed,

we are launching a country-wide appeal. We are glad to report that this appeal has been signed by 18 leading Members of Parliament, belonging to different political parties — Congress(R), Congress(O), Swatantra, Jan Sangh, CPI, CPI(M), SSP, PSP and DMK. It will surely prove how much the national importance of the DNB Project is appreciated by all, irrespective of political parties and State divisions. Such wide national support is really most gratifying and is a great encouragement to us in our work.

## FOOD AND FOOD HABITS IN MUGHAL INDIA

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In Mughal India identical food habits did not prevail among the various castes, communities and provinces. The Portuguese traveller Sebastian Manrique, who visited India during Shahjahan's reign, found the Bengalees both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. They, however, refrained from taking the flesh of cow or ox or tame pig. Some meat-eaters avoided taking eggs or chicken. The vegetarians among them did not eat vegetables of red colour.<sup>1</sup>

A much earlier traveller, Ralph Fitch (1583-91), an Englishman, is of the view that the majority of the Gujratis and Bengalees were vegetarians.<sup>2</sup>

De Laet, a Dutchman, who based his account on Pelsaert's has remarked that in Gujarat, members of the same family had different food habits. They were both vegetarians and non-vegetarians, although the latter did not slaughter the animals themselves. There were individuals who took the flesh only of certain particular animals. Some relished only fish.<sup>3</sup>

Bernier, who was at Aurangzeb's court during the first twelve years of that monarch's reign, records that in Kāshmir, hardly ten per cent of the troops took non-vegetarian food.<sup>4</sup>

Ovington, the English traveller, who came to India in 1689, found the Hindus of Surat both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. The latter among them had preference for differ-

ent kinds of animals, although none took beef.<sup>5</sup>

In the south, the Hindus were generally vegetarians.<sup>6</sup>

Herbert, who visited India in the first part of the 17th century, found the Brāhmins strictly vegetarians.<sup>7</sup> The same was true of the Malabar Brahmins who ate neither flesh nor fish nor any other living creature.<sup>8</sup> Dellon, Manucci and William Hedges recorded events in the second half of the 17th century. Dellon, the French physician, who was in south India from 1669 to 1676, found the Brahmin priests eating nothing that had life. They lived upon milk and fruits and cereals.<sup>9</sup> Manucci has recorded that among the Hindus, Brahmins, ascetics and monks and persons devoted to learning, refrained from non-vegetarian meals.<sup>10</sup> According to William Hedges, all the Brahmins did not avoid the use of animal flesh. There were both vegetarian and non-vegetarian Brahmins. Those belonging to the former category were 'very severe' in their diet and habits and ate 'nothing that had life in it.'<sup>11</sup>

The Khatris usually avoided animal food and preferred a diet of rice, wheat and butter. There were, however, persons among them who were less strict in their food habits and took mutton.<sup>12</sup> The Rajputs in general were fond of fish and flesh of goats and chicken.<sup>13</sup> They also drank wine. They relished even hog's flesh.<sup>14</sup> They, however, regard-

ed it as an 'unpardonable offence' to kill a cow or eat beef or veal.<sup>15</sup>

The Hindus belonging to the merchant class, termed by the foreign travellers as Banians, ate no flesh of any kind.<sup>16</sup> They had the same food habits as the Brahmins.<sup>17</sup> This evidence of Robert Coverte (1610) and of V. Dellon (1669-76) has been corroborated by other travellers. According to the Dutchman Linschoten (1583-89), the Banians (Jains) of Cambay took neither flesh nor eggs. They even avoided radishes, onions and garlic.<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Withington (1612-16) remarked that the Banians of Sind did not kill any living creatures nor did they take animal flesh.<sup>19</sup> Another English traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, who wrote his account of India during the closing years of Jahangir's reign, remarks: 'They (Banians) are indeed merciful, grieving to see other people as hard-hearted as to feed upon Fish, Flesh, Raddish, Onions, Garlick, and such things as either have life or resemblance of blood. They for their parts will not kill so much as a Louse, a Flea, a Kokoroch or the like'.<sup>20</sup>

Some unscrupulous persons, however, could exploit this sentiment of the Banians and play upon their feelings and extort from them money. The Italian traveller Careri (1695) noticed a 'rogue' doing this in Surat. He held a hen in one hand and a knife in another and threatened to kill the former unless the Hindu shopkeepers parted with some money.<sup>21</sup>

The Dutch factor, Francis Pelsaert, who lived in Agra for seven years towards the end of Jahangir's reign found the artisans mostly vegetarians subsisting only on *khichri*.<sup>22</sup> The German aristocrat traveller, Count Mandelslo confirms this statement.<sup>23</sup> According to another observer of the second part of the 17th century, the Hindu artisans were both vegetarians and non-vegetarians. Some of these 'Mechanicks' will and some of them will not

eat flesh or fish, but none of them will eat the flesh of cows, and oxen, or calves.<sup>24</sup>

Besides the main classes, there were infinite numbers of other castes among the Hindus who did not observe the same austerity of life as the Brahmins and the Banians. Some of them relished fish, others ate all sorts of meat except beef.<sup>25</sup>

The slaves and the tillers of soil were regarded by some as the lowest classes in society who eked out a precarious existence. These people made no distinction of 'Meats and Drinks', though they had full reverence for the cow and therefore never 'touched beef'.<sup>26</sup>

Glanus, however, observed that the poorest people among them, 'the slaves who work almost day and night', 'eat nothing endued with life', 'no Fish or Flesh'. Their 'superstition is such, that however great their hunger may be, they choose rather to dye, than to eat either Fish or Flesh'. Their food usually consisted of rice.<sup>27</sup>

According to Linschoten, the Deccanis ate all sorts of things except knife, flesh of hogs and buffaloes and fish. They regarded cow as holy.<sup>28</sup> The Canarese who lived on tilling and fishing, ate all kinds of things except kine, oren, buffaloes, hogs and chicken.<sup>29</sup> The staple food of the people of Malabar was rice and they also took flesh, fish, fruits, milk and eggs.<sup>30</sup> There were a number of Abyssinians and Arabs serving in merchant ships that sailed from Goa to China, Japan, Malacca, Ormuz and other places in the Orient. They dressed their own food which was cooked in water with salt fish.<sup>31</sup>

The foreign travellers who visited India during the Mughal period were amazed to view the super-abundance and cheapness of commodities in the *bazars* and markets in the various cities of the country.

The Englishman Robert Coverte who came here in 1610, found the soil of the country fertile for wheat and barley, although rice was 'most cultivated and eaten quite through India'.<sup>32</sup> On his way from Surat to Agra he went through many towns where he came across markets or *bazars* full of rice, wheat, beans, peas, motte' (*moth*), besides so many other commodities. He saw such markets in 'Natherberry',<sup>33</sup> 'Basman',<sup>34</sup> 'Mertha'<sup>35</sup> and Ajmer.<sup>36</sup> He writes that in Agra there were four *bazars* or markets 'every day in the week' where there was a 'great store of all things to be bought and sold' at a very reasonable rate' including birds and animals whose flesh was used for eating.<sup>37</sup> He found there great store of game such as pheasants, partridges, doves, quails, mallard, 'and of all other sorts of fowl in great plenty'.<sup>38</sup>

William Bruton travelled in Bengal in 1632 and found there abundance of rice, wheat and sugar, butter and oil, fish, flesh and fowl, vegetables and fruits.<sup>39</sup>

The Portuguese Sebastian Manrique, a friar of the order of St. Augustine, toured Bengal from 1629 to 1637. He came across abundant crops of wheat and rice. His eyes met with numerous vegetables and varieties of oils. The rice, particularly the scented variety of *jirsal* or *jhili sayali* appeared to him far superior to that produced in Europe. He was surprised to see that this profusion of foodstuffs was obtainable at very low prices.<sup>40</sup>

While going through Orissa in 1640, he and his party were plentifully supplied with rice, ghee and food made with milk, at very cheap price. In many cities of this province they found abundance of rice, vegetables, sugar, ghee and many kinds of oil.<sup>41</sup>

In 1643, he happened to be in the city of Lahore when Emperor Shahjahan was camping there. He was amazed to see the super-abundance of eatables in the improvised

shops set up in the temporary tents put up there in honour of the royal visit to the city. These shops were full of the roast flesh of various domestic and wild animals and large spits of winged creatures such as fowls, capons, chickens, young pigeons quails and doves etc. There were other varieties of meat being sold in household utensils of brass metals kept in these stalls. Among these the principal dish was rice cooked in various ways and also Persian *pulao*. He also saw there a number of dishes to suit the palate of vegetarians, like simple boiled rice and different kinds of vegetables and also three varieties of bread. What struck him most was the low prices for which these eatables could be purchased.<sup>42</sup>

Captain Alexander Hamilton was in India and the East Indies for a considerably long period (1688-1723). He found in India 'Plenty of Wheat, as good as any in Europe, and some Peas, and French Beans.... They have several Species of Lagumen; but those of Doll are most in use..... They have also store of Wild Fowl'.<sup>43</sup> Writing about Surat, he says, 'They have excellent Beef, Mutton and Fowl daily exposed to Sale in the city, reasonably cheap'.<sup>44</sup> In Orissa he found plenty of game, fish and fowl.<sup>45</sup>

India in the 17th century was not only known for the abundance and cheapness of these commodities, but also for their great surplus and resultant export to various countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. We get a fairly good account of the export of these foodstuffs like wheat, rice, sugar, butter, ginger, nutmegs, different varieties of pickles and preserves in the records of the East India Company. In May 1617, an English employee of the East India Company stationed at Isphahan in Persia wrote to the Surat factors: 'I have been required by the king's treasurer and minion (favourite) Lalbegg, to write into India, for these underwritten toys and necessities of the king's use, which we desire

you fail not to send. . . . .’ Among the commodities required were 400 maunds of green ginger, conserved with sugar; 100 maunds *zirsayali* or *jilsayali* rice ‘for the king’s own diet’; preserved ‘corumboll’, marabolins, tamarinds, and mangoes; green pepper preserved in vinegar; nutmegs in confection; green cocoanuts, ‘halila’, pine-apples etc.<sup>46</sup>

#### Vegetarian Meals

Among the vegetarian dishes cooked in the royal kitchen of Akbar, Abul Fazl has mentioned the following :—

1. *Zardbiranj*. It was made of rice, sugar-candy and *ghee*. It could be prepared with or without almonds, pistachio, *kishmish*, saffron, ginger, cinnamon and cardamoms.
2. *Khushke*. It was a dish of simple rice without *ghee* and any other ingredient, though it was saltish.
3. *Sheerbrinj* was prepared from ground-wheat and *ghee* and spices and salt.
4. *Chikbee* was made of paste of ground-wheat and one-tenth of *ghee* along with spices and salt.
5. *Badanjan*. Cocoanut, *ghee*, onions and spices went into the preparation of this dish.
6. *Pabet* was prepared from skinned pulses like *mung*, *mash* and lentils, *ghee* and spices.
7. *Sag* was a very natural dish made of spinach, fennel, *ghee* and spices.
8. *Halwa* was pudding prepared from wheat flour, sugar-candy and *ghee*.
9. *Khichri* was also a regular dish in Akbar’s kitchen. It was made as today from split *mung*, rice and *ghee*.<sup>47</sup>

*Khichri* was a common dish with the people in India. It was made of ‘green pulse’ mixed with rice, cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture evaporated, and was eaten hot with butter.<sup>48</sup> In Bengal *khichri* was relished by the common people. It was made of two parts of rice and one of lentils or *mung dal*. It was regarded very digestible and useful for the sick. To give it ‘body’, they added *ghee*.<sup>49</sup> It was flavoured with a little spice, chopped onions and the like.<sup>50</sup> On festive occasions, the Bengalis ate Gujarati *khichri* containing almonds, raisins, cloves, nutmegs, mace, cardamoms and cinnamon and pepper. Prepared in this manner, it became a rich and costly dish.<sup>51</sup> Hamilton found this common food of the Indians pleasant and nourishing and ‘that which the famous Aurangzeb most delighted to eat’. It could be eaten with *achar* or salt fish.<sup>52</sup> Ovington thought *khichri* to be very ‘strengthening.’ European sailors used to take it once or twice in the week and termed those days as ‘Banian Days’.<sup>53</sup>

Deep-fried things like puris, kachoris, lachais, besides rice, pulses, vegetables, sweets and fruits formed the menu in rich people’s houses. During banquets and feasts, a large variety of sweets, fresh and dry fruits, were served. The contemporary Hindi poets like Sur Das, Jayasi, Chaturbhuj Das and Kumbhank Das have furnished us with the detailed items served on such occasions. Papars, vadis, pickles and preserves were essential parts of the meals of the people in general.<sup>54</sup> *Ghee* was used in abundance in cooking and frying and so also oil in certain cases.

The people in general had two chief meals at noon and night, and two breakfasts, one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon. Some people preferred to take their evening meals before the sunset.<sup>55</sup> Covert observed the Hindus of Surat eating twice a day.<sup>56</sup> In hot weather they would like to change their

meal times to 8 or 9 in the morning and to 4 or 5 in the evening. Then they took something late in the night as well.<sup>57</sup>

The morning breakfast was termed as *kalewa* or *kaleya*<sup>58</sup> or *mangalbhoj*.<sup>59</sup> It consisted of a variety of fruits and sweets, besides bread and butter, milk or curd.<sup>60</sup> They had a preference at breakfast time for the bread made of mixed wheat and gram flour.<sup>61</sup>

The affluent people enjoyed a rich luncheon consisting of a large variety of eatables spread over a different number of items. Sur Das has made a detailed mention of the vegetables cooked and fruits taken at this principal meal of the Indians during his days.<sup>62</sup>

The afternoon breakfast was known as *chhak*<sup>63</sup> and included, among other items, fried things, fruits, honey and curd.<sup>64</sup> *Chhak* was served in *donas* or plates of *palasha* trees.<sup>65</sup>

Dinner was known by the name of *biyari*<sup>66</sup> *byaru*<sup>67</sup> or *biyaru*.<sup>68</sup> Those who could afford, had rich dinner comprising many vegetables, fruits and sweets.<sup>69</sup>

The staple food of the people in Mughal India consisted of wheat and rice, kabuli and black gram, millet and barley. Linseed, fenugreek, mustard seed were also used. None of them with the exception of rice cost more than 6 to 12 *dams* per modern maund. Kabuli gram cost 16 *dams* a maund.<sup>70</sup> The Muslims ‘fed ordinarily upon this, we mean rice but no flesh therewith’, says a letter written in the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>71</sup>

Rice was available in India in abundance. The *Ain* has mentioned the following kinds of rice found in India at the end of the 16th century :

*Shali mushkin* (unhusked); <sup>^</sup>*sukhdas*;

*donabprasad*; *sanzirah*; *shakar-chini* (sugar candy); *derzirah*; *jenjan*; *dekar*; *zarhi*; *sathe*.

Malik Mohammad Jayasi who wrote his *Padmavat* in 1540, has referred to a number of different varieties of rice found in India at that time. They were :

*Rajbhog*; *Rani kajar*; *jhinwa*; *radua*; *daud khani*; *kapur kant*; *lenjuri*; *ritusari*; *madhukar*; *dibuala*; *zari*; *ghrit kandaun*; *kunwar vilas*; *ramras*; *sanguni*; *begari*; *padhini*; *garhban*; *badhan*; *jadhan*; *sansar tilak*; *khand chila rajhans*; *bansa bhaunwari*; *rup manjari*; *ketki* and *bigauri*.<sup>72</sup> The rice mentioned in these varieties used to be straight, long and thin.<sup>73</sup>

*Tame* and *durra* were two other sorts of rice in Jahangir’s time.<sup>74</sup>

Writing about the reign of Shahjahan, the Portuguese traveller Sebastian Manrique, found the Indian rice far superior to the one available in Europe, particularly the scented variety known as ‘*jirsa*’ (from *zira*, the cumin-seed). It had an extraordinary fineness and delicacy of flavour and retained its fragrance after it had been cooked.<sup>75</sup> A special variety of rice known as ‘*gilsvali*’, which the Editor of the book ‘*Letters Received*, Vol. V,’ has translated as ‘*jhili-siyali*’, i.e. the rice grown in a swamp, was procured by the English from India and sent to Persia as a present to the king there.<sup>76</sup> Probably it was the same variety as referred to by Manrique. The English merchants sent even the ordinary varieties of rice from India to England.

*Kodon* was a kind of wild rice and *sawan* was the unhusked rice eaten by the poor people.<sup>77</sup>

Unlike Jayasi, Tulsi Das, a contemporary of Akbar, has not made a detailed mention of the kinds of rice served at marriage feasts.

He is content to make a general remark that a variety of rice was served to the guests.<sup>78</sup>

A very early example of the use of the word paddy is found in a letter written by an English factor Thomas Mills who pitched his tent on 5.11.1623 near Masulipatam.<sup>79</sup>

The price of the best quality of rice ranged between 80 to 110 *dams* per maund (or 32 pounds) during Akbar's time and ordinary rice like *dekar* and *zarhi* was available at about 50 *dams* per maund.<sup>80</sup> In Surat the price of rice in 1609 was one quintal per rial (one rial being equal to 4s 6d and one rupee equal to 2s 3d) and in 1632, 100 pounds for one rial.<sup>81</sup> In 1659, rice cost in Qasimbazar 30 seers per rupee and in Hugli one rupee a maund.<sup>82</sup>

For making *chapatis*, flour of wheat, gram and barley was used. *Maida* (fine flour) and gram flour cost 22 *dams* per maund in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign.<sup>83</sup>

Among the vegetables given in the *Ain* are: radishes; carrots; cabbage; fennel; *kachnar* (*bambinia variegata*) flowers, sorrel, mint, wild carrot, red spinach, palwal (*trichosanthes dioica* plant), gourd, bean, pyth, *kerala* (bitter gourd), *kakora*, *kachalu*, *chachendra*, *suran*, *singhara*, *salak*, *pindalu*, *siyala*, and *kesru*. Among the *sags* were spinach, *chaulai*, fennugreek and *bathua*.<sup>84</sup>

Onions, garlic and ginger were available in large quantities at exceedingly cheap rates and were invariably used in all vegetable preparations. Onions and garlic cost 40 *dams* per maund, cabbage 20 *dams*, mint and spinach 16 and 10 *dams* respectively. Other items of vegetables were available at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 *dams* per maund.<sup>85</sup>

At a banquet given by Asaf Khan in November 1617 to Sir Thomas Roe, 'potatoes excellently well dressed' were served.<sup>86</sup> Ac-

cording to Sir George Watt this is the first mention of the ordinary potato in connection with India, if, however, Edward Terry was not referring to sweet potato which was so common in India.<sup>87</sup> Sweet potatoes were known as *yams* or *ratalus* and were served to elephants in Goa.<sup>88</sup> Later on, in the sixties of the 17th century, the Indian potatoes, along with sugar-cane and other plants and roots were being regularly sent to St. Helena for plantation.<sup>89</sup>

Everywhere in India Terry found good roots as carrots and potatoes. They had onions, garlic and choice herbs for salad. In the south ginger was grown in abundance.<sup>90</sup>

Ovington remarked: 'The Banians feed plentifully upon cucumber as we do on apples.'<sup>91</sup>

In Surat they grew carrots, turnips, radishes, cabbage, peas and beans. There were many herbs used for salad there.<sup>92</sup>

The Brahmins, monks and ascetics used to content themselves with a meal of boiled whey.<sup>93</sup> The vegetarian diet of the common rice, mixed with vegetables and curd and people used to be *dalbhat* (rice mixed with pulses and ghee), bread along with *papar*, *mongri* and *vadi*.<sup>94</sup> Their occasional sweet dish was *kbir*.<sup>95</sup>

Ovington has a word of praise for the Hindus in view of their preference for vegetable diet. Because of their 'abstemious' diet (which to them was so natural), the Hindus, according to him, kept a comely and proportionate body and lived a long life. The simple and meatless food made their thoughts 'quick and nimble', their 'comprehension of things' easier. This 'religious abstinence' developed other rare qualities in them. It engendered in them a spirit of fearlessness. They gave up passion for the transitory things of the world. This habit of life 'set their spirits upon the

wings, ready without reluctance to quit this life' and made the majority among them 'pass as comfortably into the invisible world as they would like a journey from their own kingdom into another country'.<sup>96</sup>

The Hindus, according to the same authority, could never be tempted, either for the delicacy of food, or for 'prevention of either sickness or death', to indulge in 'so enormous an offence as the tasting of flesh'. They enjoyed with innocence a diet of milk, rice and vegetables and other green things which Nature afforded in plenty.<sup>97</sup>

The tenderness of the Hindus towards the mute animals had made India, according to Ovington, 'of all the regions of the Earth', the only Public Theatre of Justice and Tenderness to Brutes and all living creatures'.<sup>98</sup>

On the other hand, he condemns the Christians for their gluttony and 'Voracious Appetite'. He did not view with approbation the habit of the Europeans of heaping whole 'Bisks (a rich soup or potage, made by boiling down birds etc.)', of fish and other birds upon their tables and sacrificing large number of animals simply to satisfy their hunger.<sup>99</sup>

#### Non-Vegetarian Diet

In the list of animals whose flesh was eaten by the people, Abul Fazl has mentioned Deshmundy, Afghani, Indian and Kashmiri sheep; and also goats.<sup>100</sup> Jayasi has referred to the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, mountain deer, chital, sambhar and hares.<sup>101</sup> According to Linschoten, there was a great store of cattle in Akbar's time. Oxen, kine, sheep, goats, hogs and other animals were found in great quantity and at cheap rates. Oxen were as a rule not slaughtered for eating. Mutton was forbidden to the sick, but not the pork. The sheep were fat and yielded much flesh, even in the tail. Buffalo's meat was not good to eat, though the poor did use it. The country was full of wild boars, hares and harts.<sup>102</sup>

Coerte who visited India in 1610 found the people enjoying hunting as a pastime and for this purpose went to jungles and the 'commons'.<sup>103</sup> The jungles abounded in red deer, fallow deer, elkes, antelopes and hares and the people used to go there regularly for hunting.<sup>104</sup> Another traveller of the reign of Jahangir found the meat here ample and cheap. Sheep and goats and deer and other game were plentiful. The supply was large and cheap. Buffaloes were freely killed, although the slaughter of cows and oxen was forbidden by Jahangir 'on pain of death'. He had done this, says Pelsaert, to please the Hindu Rajas who regarded these animals as sacred. The rich Hindus, according to him, used to bribe the Emperor or some particular governor to issue a general order forbidding fishing and sale of meat and fish in the market on several days. Such orders, he testifies, caused inconvenience to the people in general and not to the rich who could slaughter animals daily in their own houses.<sup>105</sup>

Hamilton found a large number of deer and antelopes in Orissa in Aurangzeb's reign. No hunting of these animals was allowed in the jungles near Jagannath Puri.<sup>106</sup>

Among the birds of flesh the *Ain* has included partridges, quails, cranes, bustard, doves, larks, (*lawar*), *boodneh*, *karwank*, and geese.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to the above, Jayasi has mentioned the names of pigeons, *panduk* (a brown coloured bird of pigeon family), *kheba* (a kind of partridge), *gudru* (like quail), *usakhgeri* (a small sparrow), *haril*, *sohan* sparrow, *pidda* sparrow, wild fowl, *nakta* (a sort of duck), *ledi* (a small water fowl) and *son* and *silara* (kinds of ducks).<sup>108</sup>

Coerte found in India excellent hawks and 'great store of game', such as pheasants, partridges, doves, quails, mullard and all sorts of fowl.<sup>109</sup> Pelsaert also testifies to the

availability of a number of birds as fowls, geese and ducks.<sup>110</sup>

Dr. John Fryer who left India in 1681, saw in the lakes and ponds of Surat peculiar brands of geese, solom, cranes, or *saras* and also wild fowls.<sup>111</sup> Alexander Hamilton found in Surat a number of birds used for eating as 'paddy-bird', 'corn-bird', partridges, fowls, wild geese, ducks, 'teal', several sorts of 'turtle-doves', both 'beautiful and well tasted'.<sup>112</sup>

Malik Mohammad Jayasi has referred to a variety of fish eaten in India in the middle of the 16th century. They were: *rabu*, *chelhua*, *padhin*, *sendha*, *singhala*, *tangani*, *moyai*, *singi*, *mongari*, *nariya*, *bboth*, *bamb* and *hangur*.<sup>113</sup>

According to Linschoten, fish in India was plentiful and 'some very pleasant and sweete'. The best fish was known by the names of 'Mordexiin', 'Pampano', and 'Tatiingo'. Another excellent kind of fish was 'Piexe Serra' which was cut in round pieces and could 'last long in ships when sent abroad. 'Carriil' (or curry) was a preparation made of rice and fish, tasted well, and was in daily use by the people. Shads, soles, 'garne-ton' were other kinds of fish available. The last one was the 'best and greatest', that Linschoten ever saw. A dozen of them could make a good meal. 'Crabs and crevishes' were 'verie good and marvellous great'. There were also 'muskles' and 'such like shell fishes' of many sorts and oysters in Cochín. Fish was in plenty in the Indian rivers and in the sea along the coast and quite cheap. A fish known by the Portuguese as 'Tubaron' or 'Hayen' was dangerous and devoured people fishing for pearls in the sea.<sup>114</sup>

The English factors in Qasimbazar used to enjoy *bilsba* fish or fish sable.<sup>115</sup>

In the *Padmavat*, there is a detailed des-

cription of the cooking of fish. They were cut, washed with curd four times, put into a cloth and thoroughly rinsed so that all the water came out of them. Then small pieces of them were made and fried in oil and fenugreek. To make it savoury, spices were added. Many kinds of fish *bharti* were also prepared. Another preparation was made by frying the eggs of the fish in *ghee* separately.<sup>116</sup>

The Hindi poet Vrinda has referred to the eating of fish which made the eater very thirsty subsequently.<sup>117</sup>

During Akbar's time mutton was available at 65 *dams* and flesh of goats at 52 *dams* per *maund*.<sup>118</sup> In Bengal an ox or a cow was available for one *lari*.<sup>119</sup>

Sir Thomas Roe complains that in 1616, Ajmer was as costly as London and one sheep cost Rs. 3½.<sup>120</sup> Six years earlier, the price of sheep or goat at Agra was only 2 shillings and so that of a hog. One ox cost two dollars.<sup>121</sup>

A cow in Shahjahan's time in Bengal cost 3 or 4 rials.<sup>122</sup>

The *Ain* has given the prices of birds as well. A quail cost three and a dove four *dams*, *lawā* and *boodneh* were available at one *dam* each and other birds mentioned in the *Ain* (p. 22 above) at about 20 *dams* each.<sup>123</sup> In Jahangir's time near Surat one hen cost 3 half-pence and 16 eggs could be purchased for one penny.<sup>124</sup> In Agra one hen cost 2 pence in 1610.<sup>125</sup>

#### Ghee and Butter

Ghee and butter were important items of food in India, used abundantly by the people.<sup>126</sup> Ghee was used for frying vegetables and meat, *puris* and *kachauris*, for the preparation of sweets<sup>127</sup> and applied to chapatis<sup>128</sup> or cakes of wheat-flour. It was

used in khichri.<sup>129</sup> For the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes prepared in the royal kitchen, large quantity of ghee was always used.<sup>130</sup> Manrique and his companions were once 'supplied plentifully' with rice, ghee and other articles prepared from milk.<sup>131</sup> Ghee was mixed with brown sugar and eaten at meal times.<sup>132</sup> Bhikari Das has referred to the use of ghee<sup>133</sup> and so have other Hindi writers. For the young married people consumption of ghee was regarded as essential.<sup>134</sup> Manrique found horses of value being fed on mung, mixed with ghee and sugar.<sup>135</sup> In Orissa, as in other places, plenty of ghee was available.<sup>136</sup>

Mughal Emperors used to order the purchase of ghee from different places in large quantities. In the days of Aurangzeb, parties of officials at the head of armies were sent for this purpose when the Emperor was in the south. There are copious references to this fact in the Jaipur Newsletters.<sup>137</sup>

The factors of the East India Company used to buy butter from different places for use and export as it was available in abundance. They purchased it from Ankleshwar,<sup>138</sup> Baroda,<sup>139</sup> Sind<sup>140</sup> and other parts of India in dubbas or martabans covered with coir to prevent breakage. In the beginning of the thirties of the 17th century, the price of butter in Baroda was 1½ seers per *mahmudi*<sup>141</sup> (silver coin worth 12 pence). In January, 1632, it was selling at 25 to 30 *mahmudis* per *maund*.<sup>142</sup>

#### Oil

Oil was used for cooking purposes.<sup>143</sup> Fish was fried in oil.<sup>144</sup> Sesame oil cost 80 *dams* per *maund* (32 pounds) in Akbar's time.<sup>145</sup> Cocoanut oil was used in many places for cooking meals as to-day. In Daman people made use of it to 'dress fish'.<sup>146</sup> The East India Company sent oil, along with butter, candles, pulses and rice and other provisions from India to Gombroon for the consump-

tion of their factors there.<sup>147</sup> We find a reference to an oil mill belonging to the Nayak of Surat.<sup>148</sup>

#### Sweets

Because of the abundance of milk, *ghee* and sugar in the country, a variety of sweets were prepared.<sup>149</sup> There were three sorts of sugar available in the country, white, brown and black. Sugar candy was yet another kind. Besides other places, Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar were especially known for the production of white sugar. The price of white powdered sugar in Ahmadabad in 1613 was two rupees per *maund* (of 32 pounds).<sup>150</sup> Brown sugar was prepared not only from sugar cane, but from the juice of cocoanut tree also. The latter was known as *jagree*<sup>151</sup> and was available in such abundance that it was given even to horses.<sup>152</sup> It was not much esteemed as white sugar was available in large quantity.<sup>153</sup> There is a reference also to the availability of black sugar in the country.<sup>154</sup>

Sugar was shipped abroad in large quantities. The English, the Dutch and the Portuguese carried on a flourishing trade in sugar and sugar candy. There are copious references in the records of the East India Company to the internal and external trade in this important commodity.<sup>155</sup> Trade in sugar with China was very profitable to the East India Company.<sup>156</sup>

The contemporary Hindi poets have referred to the availability of a variety of sweets in the country. Some of them were: *laddu*, *laddu bundi*, *laddu nukti*, *jalebi*, *shakarpara*, *malpura*, *andarsa*, *khajuri*, *ghebar*, *tingari*, *kauri*, *gondpak*, *gindori*, *ghuja*, *ilaichipak*, *amarti*, *pheni*, *peda*, *sira*, *lapsi*, *pethapak* and so on.<sup>157</sup>

Foreign travellers found the shops in the bazars of the various cities visited by them full of sweets. Bowrey remarked that their

sweets were well known.<sup>158</sup> Manrique saw in Bengal 'many kinds of lacteus food and of sweetmeats prepared in their own way, for they have a great abundance of sugar in those parts'.<sup>159</sup> He was surprised to find 'huge amounts of foodstuffs and dainties of all sorts' in the 'numerous *Bazars or markets*' in the country. 'Entire streets could be seen wholly occupied by skilled sweet-meat-makers who proved their skill by offering wonderful sweets, scented dainties of all kinds which would stimulate the most jaded appetite to gluttony'.<sup>160</sup> Goa was known for its excellent sweets.<sup>161</sup>

#### Curd

Curd has been an integral part of meals in an Indian family. It was usually taken at lunch time. Curd was milk turned thick after coagulating it with rennet, known as *jaman*.<sup>162</sup> Curd mixed with boiled rice and sugar made a sweet dish which was described very effective against 'Fevers and Fluxes, the prevailing Distempers of India'.<sup>163</sup> To get butter, curd was churned in an earthen pot known as *mathani*. After removing butter, the whey<sup>164</sup> was used for drinking.

The cowherds took rice and curd on *pattals* along with vegetables and *sikhran*<sup>165</sup> which was a preparation made of curd, sugar, copra and saffron.<sup>166</sup> Rice cooked with curd, sugar or salt was made into a dish termed as *mahera*.<sup>167</sup> Another use was of curd mixed in *pakori* made of gram-flour which was deep-fried in *ghee*. It was called *raita-pakori*. At breakfast they took butter mixed in curd and sugar-candy.<sup>168</sup>

#### Spices

It could never be regarded possible to cook food in an Indian home without spices, of which the various items were : saffron, cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon, cumin-seed, round pepper, green pepper, dry and green ginger, coriander-seed, black-seed, aniseed, turmeric, carraway or ajwain, fenegreek,

assafoetida, mustard-seed and of course salt.<sup>169</sup> Pepper was of different sorts, black and white, long and green. The black pepper was in common use in India and was also exported to 'all places in the world'. The white and long variety was also sent to places outside India.<sup>170</sup> Cardamom was grown in Malabar and was in common use in India and was also sent abroad.<sup>171</sup> It was also used against a 'stinking breath'.<sup>172</sup> Ginger was abundantly grown in many parts of India and the best quality was exported to other countries.<sup>173</sup> The *Ain*<sup>174</sup> has given the detailed prices of these items of spices during Akbar's period and we get the prices in Jahangir's time from the '*Letters Received by the East India Company*'.<sup>175</sup>

#### Pickles and Conserves and Sauces

Indians were very fond of pickles and preserves.<sup>176</sup> The *Ain* has mentioned all the items which used to be pickled. They were : quinces, apples, currants, or *kishmish*, cashew-nuts, cocoanuts, apricots, onions, garlic, *sejneh*, keryl-flowers, *sooren* roots, mustard, *turai*, cucumber, gourd, *kachalu* and radish-pods.<sup>177</sup>

In Goa they made use of green pepper when they pickled it in vinegar and salt.<sup>178</sup> Ginger was also pickled and used as salad.<sup>179</sup> The same was true of green cloves and nutmegs.<sup>180</sup>

During the end of the 16th century the prices of pickled quinces, apples, currants cost 8 or 9 dams per seer, pickled cashew-nuts cost two dams per seer and all other kinds of pickles were available at  $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1 dam per seer.<sup>181</sup>

Similarly they made preserves of various fruits and roots and spices. Mango was conserved in sugar as today and was sent abroad. Green pepper, green cloves, nutmegs and other fruits were also conserved.<sup>182</sup> The factors of the East India Company used to pur-

chase these preserves in large quantity and send them abroad. They preserved these preserves in *dabbas* of hides and in *martabans* (jars) protected by coir.<sup>183</sup>

In 1615, the prices of the preserves in Cambay were : ginger green at Rs. 2, 27 pice per maund; mirabolan @ Rs. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per maund; mangoes @ Rs. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  per maund and bel fruit @ Rs. 5 per maund.<sup>184</sup>

Tamarind had a very strong and sharp taste and was considered the best sauce in the country. While making use of it they crushed it through the fingers. When mixed in rice or meat, tamarind gave a sharp taste. Tamarind was salted and sent to Portugal, Arabia, Persia and other countries.<sup>185</sup>

#### Preparations of Meals

The common people cooked their meals with a fire made of cow-dung and camel-dung and firewood.<sup>186</sup> In the country, however, there was scarcity of trees causing the dearth of firewood which sold at 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  pice per pound. As the people in general could not afford to spend so much, they burned cowdung, mixed with straw and dried in the sun, as it was done in contemporary Holland.<sup>187</sup>

They made their bread up in cakes and baked it on small iron hearths. To the bread they applied *ghee* or cheese.<sup>188</sup>

In the royal kitchen of Akbar the largest kind of bread known as *nan* was baked in an oven. It was made of 10 seers of *maida* (fine

wheat-flour), 5 seers of cow's milk, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  seers of *ghee*, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  seer of salt. Even the smallest *nan* could be made of these ingredients. From one seer of wheat flour about 15 breads could be made. Another kind known as *chapati* was made from wheat flour on an iron plate. The *chapatis* thus prepared were brought to the dining table hot and fresh.<sup>189</sup>

Bread was also termed as *roti*<sup>190</sup> and *phulka*<sup>191</sup> as is the custom even today. For breakfast, bread made from gram flour was preferred and was called as *misi roti*.<sup>192</sup>

In the *bazars* of Lahore during Shahjahan's time, the Portuguese traveller Sebastian Manrique found three kinds of *chapatis* or flat cakes. They were *apas*, *curchas* and *roghani*. *Apas* actually was the Tamil name for *chapati*. It formed the usual bread of the ordinary and poor people and was made from wheat flour. This bread was baked on iron plates or clay dishes which were put upon live embers. The second kind of bread *Curchas*, was the white good bread used by the rich people and more refined classes. The third sort was *Roghani*, very fine, delicate in taste and flavour and made from wheat flour and the purest *ghee*. Yet another kind was *Mithi Roghani*, which contained much *ghee* and also sugar.<sup>193</sup>

Among the utensils used in the kitchen, were tawa,<sup>194</sup> platts, patilas, katoras, bowls, and kathori.<sup>195</sup>

The common people cooked their meals in earthen vessels.<sup>196</sup>

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- <sup>2</sup> Early Travels in India, pp. 13; 18; 19; 25.
- <sup>3</sup> The Empire of the Great Mogol, p. 86.
- <sup>4</sup> Bernier, (Constable), p. 381.
- <sup>5</sup> A Voyage to Surat, p. 219.
- <sup>6</sup> Indian Travels of Thevenot, p. 114.
- <sup>7</sup> Herbert's Travels, p. 51.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 221.

- <sup>9</sup> A Voyage to the East Indies, p. 45.
- <sup>10</sup> Storia, III, p. 45.
- <sup>11</sup> Diary of William Hedges, II, p. 311.
- <sup>12</sup> Relsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 76.
- <sup>13</sup> Diary of William Hedges, II, p. 341.
- <sup>14</sup> Herbert's Journal, p. 56.
- <sup>15</sup> Diary of William Hedges, II, p. 341.
- <sup>16</sup> Diary of William Hedges, II, p. 311.

- <sup>17</sup> Covert: A True and almost incredible Report, p. 239; Dellon: A Voyage to the East, p. 45.
- <sup>18</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 254.
- <sup>19</sup> Early Travels in India, p. 218.
- <sup>20</sup> Thomas Herbert: Some Years Travels, p. 52.
- <sup>21</sup> Indian Travels of Careri, p. 165.
- <sup>22</sup> Jahangir's India, p. 60.
- <sup>23</sup> Mandelslo's Travels, p. 64.
- <sup>24</sup> Diary of William Hedges, II, p. 314.
- <sup>25</sup> Dellon: A Voyage to East Indies, p. 46.
- This view is confirmed by Edward Terry (1616-19). See Early Travels, p. 296.
- <sup>26</sup> William Hedges, II, p. 314.
- <sup>27</sup> Gianius, pp. 168-69.
- <sup>28</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 257.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 260.
- <sup>30</sup> Churchill: A Collection of Voyages & Travels, II, p. 221.
- <sup>31</sup> Linschoten, II, p. 266.
- <sup>32</sup> Rebert Covert: A True and a most incredible Report, p. 239.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 250.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 252.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 256.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 254.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 255.
- <sup>39</sup> William Bruton: News from the East Indies, pp. 271, 276, 277.
- <sup>40</sup> Travels of Sebastian Manrique, 1629-43, I, p. 54.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid. II, p. 105.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 187-188.
- <sup>43</sup> Alexander Hamilton, New Account of the East Indies, I, p. 161.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 380.
- <sup>46</sup> Letters Received, Vol. IV, 1617, p. 235.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 44.
- <sup>48</sup> Pelsaert, pp. 60-61.
- According to De Laet, it was made of peas (mung) and rice and eaten hot in the evening with butter poured over it. (De Laet, p. 89). Mandelslo writes: 'They made 'kitsery' of beans pounded and rice which they boiled together in water till the water was consumed and to this they added a little melted butter. (Mandelslo, p. 64).
- <sup>49</sup> Manrique, I, p. 65.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> Hamilton, I, p. 161.
- <sup>53</sup> A Voyage to Surat, p. 183.
- <sup>54</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-1213; Parmananda Das, 111-113 etc.
- <sup>55</sup> De Laet, p. 86.
- <sup>56</sup> Covert, p. 157.
- <sup>57</sup> A Voyage to Surat, pp. 184-85.
- <sup>58</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-183; 211-212; 810; Chaturbhujdas, 140, Parmananda Das, 608; 611; Govinda Das, 232.
- <sup>59</sup> Parmananda Das, 616.
- <sup>60</sup> The following were the sweets and fruits served: milk; butter, curd, *amrit pakori*, *jalebi*, *khurma*, *ghutia*; *shakarpara*, *laddu*, *malpura*, *andarasa*, *khajuri*; Sur Sagar, *khari*; *chironji*; raisins; almonds; 10-183; pistachio; copra; banana; mango; apricot; cashewnuts. Sur Sagar: 10-211; 212; 810, water-melon; dry date; *pheni*; etc. Ibid. Also Sur Sagar, 801; 826; 829-30; 1428.
- <sup>61</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-1213.
- <sup>62</sup> The items included: *kachauri*; *luchai*; *lapti*; butter, *khichhri*, milk; ghee; honey; dry fruits; among vegetables were *turai*; *vag*; *chulai*; *hathua*; *kunda*; *ratadu*; along with *papir-radi*, lemon, ginger and pickles; also mung pulse and grams. Sur Sagar-1213; Parmananda Das, 111-113.
- <sup>63</sup> Sur Sagar, 1-244; 10-1083; 1085 Rs. 1089; Vyasa, 1/709; Parmananda Das, 642 Rs. 644; Kumbhan Das, 175.
- <sup>64</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-456.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid, 1083; 844; Parmananda Das, 643.
- <sup>66</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-844.
- <sup>67</sup> Parmananda Das, 705; Chaturbhuj Das, 283.
- <sup>68</sup> Govind Das, 393.
- <sup>69</sup> They were: *besanpur*; *sukhpuri*; *luchai*; *khbir*; ghee; *gindori*; *tingari*; gondpak; *ilaichi pak*; *pheni*; *andarasa*; *lapti*; *pethapak*; *jalebi*; *gajhar*; *amriti*; *khari*; raisin; copra almonds; *chirari*—Sur Sagar, 10-226; 227; 396. Among the vegetables were: *chulai*; among pulses were: *mung*; *mash*; lentil & rice.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 45.
- <sup>71</sup> Letters Received by the East India Company, 1602-13, p. 108.
- <sup>72</sup> Padmavat, 544.
- <sup>73</sup> Padmavat, 344.
- <sup>74</sup> Letters Received, 1602-13, p. 108.
- <sup>75</sup> Manrique, I, p. 54.
- <sup>76</sup> Letters Received, V, 1617, p. 235.
- <sup>77</sup> Sudama Charit, 13.
- <sup>78</sup> Kavitali, Sundar Kand, Chhand, 23; 24; Gitavali, Balkand, Pada, 32.
- <sup>79</sup> Eng. Factories, 1622-30, p. 313.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 45.
- <sup>81</sup> Letters Received, 1602-13, p. 31.
- <sup>82</sup> English Factories in India, 1655-60, pp. 291-92.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 45.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>86</sup> Early Travels in India, p. 297.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid., Op. Cit.
- <sup>88</sup> Manucci, IV, p. 151.
- <sup>89</sup> English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 273.
- <sup>90</sup> Early Travels in India, p. 297.
- <sup>91</sup> A Voyage to Surat, p. 180.
- <sup>92</sup> Fryer, p. 297.
- <sup>93</sup> Manucci, II, p. 42.
- <sup>94</sup> Sudama Charit, 59.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup> A Voyage to Surat, p. 187.
- <sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 178-179.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 175.
- <sup>99</sup> pp. 178-179.
- <sup>100</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>101</sup> Padmavat, 41.
- <sup>102</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 300.
- <sup>103</sup> Covert, Voyages & Travels, pp. 255-56.
- <sup>104</sup> Early Travels in India, p. 296.
- <sup>105</sup> Pelsaert, p. 49.
- <sup>106</sup> Hamilton, I, p. 380.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>108</sup> Padmavat, 542.
- <sup>109</sup> Covert, Voyages & Travels, pp. 255-56.
- <sup>110</sup> Pelsaert, p. 49.
- <sup>111</sup> Fryer, I, p. 298.
- <sup>112</sup> Hamilton, I, p. 380.
- <sup>113</sup> Padmavat, 542.
- <sup>114</sup> Linschoten, II, pp. 11-12.
- <sup>115</sup> English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 278.
- <sup>116</sup> Padmavat, 547.
- <sup>117</sup> Vrinda Satsai, 442.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>119</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 94.
- <sup>120</sup> Letters Received, IV, 1616, p. 20.

- <sup>121</sup> Covert, p. 250.
- <sup>122</sup> Manrique, I, p. 55.
- <sup>123</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>124</sup> Covert, p. 250.
- <sup>125</sup> Covert, p. 254.
- <sup>126</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>127</sup> Vyas, 3/17.
- <sup>128</sup> Bernier (Constable), p. 381.
- <sup>129</sup> Manrique, I, p. 25.
- <sup>130</sup> *Ain*, Text, pp. 41, 43, 44.
- <sup>131</sup> Manrique, II, p. 102.
- <sup>132</sup> Rahiman Lalitya, 167.
- <sup>133</sup> Bhikari Das, II, 21/27.
- <sup>134</sup> A Voyage to Surat.
- <sup>135</sup> Manrique, II, p. 102.
- <sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 25.
- <sup>137</sup> Jaipur Newsletters, 27.9.1681; 21.6.1694; 10th Feb., 5th April, 1705; 16th and 27th Jan., 1st Feb., and 1st April, 1705.
- <sup>138</sup> English Factories, 1618-21, p. 121.
- <sup>139</sup> Ibid., 1630-33, p. 70.
- <sup>140</sup> 1634-36, p. 127;
- <sup>141</sup> Ibid., 1630-33, p. 70.
- <sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 196.
- <sup>143</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-1213.
- <sup>144</sup> Padmavat, 547.
- <sup>145</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>146</sup> Indian Travels of Careri, p. 160.
- <sup>147</sup> English Factories in India, 1634-36, pp. 119; 127; 1642-43, p.
- <sup>148</sup> English Factories, 1651-54, p. 343.
- <sup>149</sup> Della Valle, p. 135.
- <sup>150</sup> Letters Received, 1602-13, p. 306; Linschoten, I, p. 95.
- <sup>151</sup> Linschoten, II, pp. 50; 56.
- <sup>152</sup> Manrique, II, p. 102; Covert, p. 252.
- <sup>153</sup> Linschoten, II, p. 50.
- <sup>154</sup> The Voyages of James Lancaster, p. 198.
- <sup>155</sup> English Factories in India, 1631-33, p. 240.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibid., 1630-33, p. 240.
- <sup>157</sup> Sur Sagar, 10-183; 226; 227; 396; Parmananda Das, 705; 707; Padmavat, 586; Sudhanidhi, 253;
- Vyas, 5/741.
- <sup>158</sup> Bowrey, 192.
- <sup>159</sup> Manrique, I, p. 25.
- <sup>160</sup> Ibid., II, p. 156.
- <sup>161</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 301.
- <sup>162</sup> Bihari Ratnakar, 144.
- <sup>163</sup> Ovington, p. 183.
- <sup>164</sup> Padmavat, 152; Bihari Ratnakar, 144; Varinda Satsai, 104.
- <sup>165</sup> Chhitsuwami, 77.
- <sup>166</sup> Kumbhan Das, 175.
- <sup>167</sup> Sur Sagar, 10. 12-13.
- <sup>168</sup> Chaturbhuj Das, 140.
- <sup>169</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 48.
- <sup>170</sup> Linschoten, II, p. 72.
- <sup>171</sup> Linschoten, II, p. 86.
- <sup>172</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 79.
- <sup>174</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 50.
- <sup>175</sup> Letters Received, 1602-13, p. 31.
- <sup>176</sup> Chaturbhuj Das, 140; Kumbhan Das, 175.
- <sup>177</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 50.
- <sup>178</sup> Linschoten, II, p. 75.
- <sup>179</sup> Ibid., II, p. 78.
- <sup>180</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 84-85.
- <sup>181</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 50.
- <sup>182</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 50.
- <sup>183</sup> English Factories, 1622-23; 1624-29; De Laet, p. 96.
- <sup>184</sup> Letters Received, III, 1615, p. 41.
- <sup>185</sup> Linschoten, II, pp. 119-20.
- <sup>186</sup> Bernier, p. 368.
- <sup>187</sup> Pelsaert, p. 48.
- <sup>188</sup> Early Travels in India, p. 296.
- <sup>189</sup> *Ain*, Text, p. 44.
- <sup>190</sup> Kumbhan Das, 175.
- <sup>191</sup> Parmananda Das, 613.
- <sup>192</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>193</sup> Manrique, II, p. 188.
- <sup>194</sup> Sudama Charit, 13.
- <sup>195</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>196</sup> Linschoten, I, p. 226.

## PAINTING IN THE SILPASASTRA

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It is only in the closing years of the last century that the Western scholars began to recognise India's role in the field of fine arts. Earlier it was believed that whatever artistic products India had to her credit were all manufactured for purposes other than aesthetic and thus were described as belonging to the category of applied or industrial arts. The reason for such an attitude on their part is not far to seek. "The West regarded art from only one point of view — the Western point of view. Unless a picture or a piece of sculpture conformed to the academic canons of the West, it was not a work of art but an Oriental 'curio'." And as the Indian artists of ancient and medieval ages had notions and concepts entirely different from those of the Western canons, and relied solely on those of their own, they failed to satisfy the test of the Western connoisseurs.

Since then, however, Western art historians have changed their attitude, and an overall acceptance of the artistic culture of the Orient is no longer wanting. Careful studies of the Japanese and Chinese paintings, along with their canons, enabled them to have a proper understanding of the Oriental arts for the first time. As regards Indian painting, discoveries of the Buddhist wall paintings and the Jain manuscript miniatures, along with products of the Rajput and Mughal schools of painting succeeded in establishing its claim in the field and, thanks to the endeavours of a number of scholars, headed by Havell, Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch, several strong points of Indian painters became known to and to some extent accepted by their Western counter-

parts. Nevertheless, the aesthetic as well as technical points of view of the classical painters of India are yet to be fully appreciated by all; and this deficiency in the study of Indian painting is chiefly due to a lack of proper utilisation of the Indian canonical texts that preserve invaluable information regarding the science and technique of painting, and even reflect its scope, purpose and criteria.

Fortunately, a band of scholars, namely, Ramraj, P. K. Acharya, Gopinath Rao, Ganapati Sastri, Coomaraswamy, Kramrisch, Sivaramamurti, J. N. Banerjee and others, brought to light a considerable number of Silpa texts. Although most of the texts so far discovered concern chiefly with architecture, it is interesting to note that many of them contain sections on sculpture and painting too. This is perhaps for the reason that to an Indian these three visual arts were inseparable. "Buildings, whether secular or religious, required decoration with sculptures and paintings, and the figures of such sculptures and paintings were to be proportionate to and becoming of the buildings wherein these were to be placed." Hence, for this inseparable relation between painting and architecture, it will be necessary to take into consideration the antiquity of the Vastusastra, i.e., the science of architecture, in order to trace the earliest possible existence of the canons of Indian painting.

'As in the cases of other branches of Indian learning, the first Acharyas — who promulgated the Vastusastras together with the

Silpasastras (and the Chitravidya) — were all figures of hoary antiquity'. The teachers of Vastusastras are numbered in different texts as eighteen, twentyfive, thirtytwo etc. If we take into consideration one of these lists, say, for example, that of the Matsya Purana (ch. 255, v. 4 off) we get the following names : Bhṛigu, Atri, Vasishtha, Visvakarma, Maya, Narada, Nagnajit, Visalaksha, Purandara, Brahma, Kumara, Nandisa, Saunaka, Garga, Vasudeva, Aniruddha, Sukra and Brihaspati. Obviously some of these Acharyas are mythical, some others may even be suspected as fictitious; nevertheless, the list includes at least a few names, such as, Visvakarma, Maya, Narada, Nagnajit etc., whose traditions were carried down to a comparatively late period and we are fortunate in having in our possession a few texts associated with their names.

Although the origin of Indian Silpasastra may be traced to a remote past, the canonical texts, chiefly dealt with in the present context, are of considerable late dates, belonging to the period between the 6th and the 16th century A.D. Among the texts the *nudharmottara*, *Samarangana-Sutradhara*, *Aparajitaprichchha* and *Silparatna* are Silpasastras, while the *Abhilasitartha Chintamani* or *Manasollasa* is a book of encyclopaedic character. Besides, several lesser known texts, such as, *Sivatattvaratnakara*, *Isanasiva-gurudeva paddhati*, *Kāsyapasilpa*, *Naradiya Silpa* etc. also contain chapters on painting. Being full of "paribhasha", or regional words once used by the artists, these texts are difficult to understand; and the situation has further been worsened by copyists' errors. So it has rightly been observed by Coomaraswamy that : "the mastery of Silpa texts will have to be acquired gradually : existing dictionaries offer little help, and often worse than none" (J.A.O.S.; Vol.-52, 1932, p. 13).

In spite of such difficulties a careful study of the *Chitralakshanas* i.e. the canons of

painting is essential for a proper appraisal of Indian painting. And this is specially needed for the reason that despite a general acceptance, Indian painting is still suffering at the hands of those critics who are ignorant of the fact that Indian painters had to follow criteria, which were different in many aspects from those by which they are guided. In fact, so long as the study of the canons would be neglected, the appreciation of ancient and medieval Indian paintings would be partial and incomplete.

In defining the scope of painting it has emphatically been stated in the *Silparatna* that representation of all static and moving objects of the three worlds is the aim of a painter. This view has also been shared by the *Vishnudharmottara* which describes in one of its chapters, *Rupanirmana*, different types of men, such as, country people, the nobility, courtesans, artisans, wrestlers, soldiers etc. in movements, habits and features peculiar to their class. Further, the chapter contains laws for the proper delineations of landscapes, mountainscapes, seascapes, city-life, market places, warfields etc. So the canonical evidence raises doubt regarding the parochial notion that Indian art exhausted with religious themes, and instead, leads us to believe that Indian painters dealt with the entire gamut of life and nature.

Existence of different types of painting, apparently to meet the divergent requirements of the people, has been testified by the canons. Although their classifications, found in different texts, are far from clear, a close scrutiny would show that despite the use of divergent terminology in different contexts, the statements of the authorities are seldom contradictory. According to the *Manasollasa*, paintings are of five types : *viddha*, *a-viddha*, *bhaya*, *rasa* and *dhuli*; whereas *Srikumara* enumerates three types of painting in the *Silparatna*, namely, *rasachitra*, *dhulichitra* and *chitra proper*. Obviously, the *rasa* and *dhuli*-

chitras are common in both the texts and they imply, no doubt, the use of moist colour (as in alimpana chitra) and powdered colour (as in Rongoli Chitras of Western India) respectively, and seem to be paintings of a temporary character. Permanent types of paintings are to be done on cloth, wooden plaques, and walls. Again, the viddha type of the Manasollasa may be equated with the chitra proper of the Silparatna, for in both the cases verisimilitude has been emphasised by identical expressions (*sadrisya likhyate yattu darpane-prativimbavat*); and, to note further, this type seems to have been mentioned as *satya*, i.e. true to nature, in the Vishnudharmottara among its four types of paintings, the other three being Nagara, Vainika, and Misra. At least Nagara and possibly Vainika signify paintings of secular character whose enjoyment is frequently found referred to in the Sanskrit dramas. Mention of art-galleries found in the Ramayana, the Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa, and also in a Silpa text namely, Nandiyasilpanam, emphasises the importance of painting in the life of the cultured people. Hence it is not without reason that Vatsyayana gives the fourth place to Chitravidya in the list of sixty-four kalas or arts. The authors of the Vishnudharmottara and Samarangana-Sutradhara are of the opinion that painting is to be placed in the front rank along all the art forms. (*Kalanam pravaram chitram : V. D.; Chitram hi sarvasilpanam-mukham : S. S.*). The Vishnudharmottara states that the science of painting can give Dharma, Kama, Artha and Moksha, i.e. the four goals (*Chaturvargas*) of the Hindu life; and in whatever house a painting is placed, brings good to that house.

Indian painters were not satisfied in copying nature in toto. They were, on the contrary, prone to depict objects in the standardised or, if we like to say, idealised forms. For human forms the canons prescribe five types of men, namely, Hamsa, Bhadra, Malavya, Ruchaka, and Sasaka, each of them

distinct from the others by the characteristics of its colour, size and behaviour. Similarly, three types of elephants and two types of horses are noted on the basis of their place of birth. The canons enjoin specific rules regarding the proportion of each type of human and animal forms with the help of tala measure (a relative measure equal to the palm of a man), as for example, Hamsa type of man should be of Uttama Navatala measure (i.e. consisting of 108 angulas in height).

A competent answer to the complicated problems of representing human figures in different poses may also be found in the canons. With the help of, and in relation to, one central line (*Brahmasutra*) and two side lines (*Pakshasutras*), imagined as drawn vertically on a frontally posed standing figure, different views of a figure, such as, frontal, profile, three-quarter etc. are envisaged and they are termed as *riju*, *ardhariju*, *sachi*, *ardhakshi*, and *Bhittaka*. Similar prescriptions regarding the dorsal or back views with identical terms are found in an agama text, viz : *Amsumadbhedagama*.

Apart from these compositional and representational aspects the canons are no less important for the consideration of the data that they furnish with the materials used and methods adopted in the execution of painting. Even, if the canons are evaluated from this technical point of view, they are comparable with the fourteenth century Italian treatise on painting by Cennini.

Of the materials, colour receives the best attention in the Silpa texts. The Vishnudharmottara speaks of five primary colours (*suddhavarana*) namely, red, white, yellow, black and green (elsewhere blue). But Bharata in the *Natyasastra* mentions only four, namely, white, blue, yellow and red. The latter list of four pure or primary colours, exceeding the Western list by the

addition of white, became popular in Indian literature. The Manasollasa contains the most valuable chapter on mixed colours (*misra-varnas*). It is enjoined in the text that the primary colours are to be mixed by the experienced painter to get the required shades and tones. The canons not only mention the names of two or three colours that are to be mixed to get the desired one, but even prescribe their respective proportions. Further, the materials from which colours are to be obtained (*ranga-dravyas*) are also noted along with the method of exacting the colours from such materials. The canons discussed both mineral and vegetable sources, and among the mineral colours gold, silver, copper and iron are mentioned.

The canons note also the implements used in painting along with the methods of their preparation; and they include crayon (*varnika*), brush (*lekhani*), style (*tinduka*) etc. The Samarangana Sutradhara give a variety of five fold brushes (73, 12-21), each of them having a distinctive shape of the point. According to the Manasollasa, brush should be of three types — *sthula* (broad), *madhya* (medium) and *sukshma* (fine). It is prescribed that the first one is for applying flat colours, the second for drawing out line and the last to give the finishing touches in minute lines.

Elaborate discussions are found in the canons on the technique of the preparation of back-grounds on which paintings are to be done. In this context we get sub-headings like *kudyabhumi-bandhana* i.e. preparation of the back-ground for paintings on walls, *pattabhumi-vandhana*, i.e. preparation of the back-ground for the paintings on cloths and *patabhumi-vandhana*, i.e. the preparation of the back-ground for the paintings on wooden plaques. A close study of the technique involved in the preparation of wall-paintings reveals that Indian murals were in fact tempera paintings and they were unlike the

European frescoes, known as *fresco buon*. The actual wall paintings found at Ajanta and Bagh testify to this. Further, the character of the adhesives, sometimes known as *vajra-lepa* and prepared from the boiled skin of a buffalo, used for binding the colours on the bases, also throws light on the point.

Two extremely significant verses, though corrupt, are found in the Samarangana Sutradhara. They contain eight-fold stages that are to be followed by a painter in the course of delineating a good picture. These valuable verses have been emended by Coomaraswamy and they read :

varnika prathamam tesham dvitiam  
bhumi bandhanani  
tritiyam rekhakarmani  
chaturtham lakshanam bhavet  
panchamin  
karshakarma syat shasthani syad vartana-  
kramah.  
saptaman lakhakarmanam dvikakarma  
tathastamam  
(S. S. LXXI, 14, 15)

So the eight stages involved in a painting seem to be the (preparation of) brush (*varnika*), preparation of the ground (*bhumi-bandhana*), outlining (*rekhakarma* or *karmani*), delineation of iconographic (or characteristic?) details (*lakshana*), colouring (*karsha-karma* or by emending *varnakarma*), plastic shading (*vartanakarma*), corrections or erasures (*lekhakarana*) and second or final outline (*dvikakarma*). These eightfold stages, no doubt, help us in having a better understanding of Indian painting. The role of lines, applied in an early stage and also during finishing touches, is already known to all beholders of Indian painting. But the import of *vartana*, i.e. shading, mentioned as the sixth limb in the above verses, is a quality generally overlooked, although but for this it would have been impossible for the classical painters to vie with their contemporary sculp-

tors. Application of this technique is apparent in the paintings of Ajanta and Bagh for effecting plasticity in human and animal forms. As regards the technique of *varṭana*, three-fold treatments are prescribed in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, namely, *patraja* (i.e. by cross-lines), *alhairika* (i.e. by hatching) and *vinduja* (i.e. by dots). The *Manasollasa* also refers to this point by advising "lay on the pigments so that each figure (*rupa*) flowers (*sphuṭa*) appropriately; light or bright (*ujjvala*) colours are to be placed in the prominent (*pronnata*) area and dark (*syamala*) in the receding (*niman*) ones (162). In monochrome (*eka-varṇa*) painting differentiation of light and dark (*taratamya*) and colour should descend from the high light (*ujjvala*) to deep darkness (*ghana-syamala*).

Coomaraswamy, citing a para in the *Attasālīnī* (para 229, pts. ed., p. 64), has shown that *Vattana* and *Ujjotana* occur together at the end of a short list of steps in the procedure of painting, and according to him, it is hardly possible to interpret this *Ujjotana* otherwise than as "adding high light". There can scarcely be any doubt that "*Vartana*" implies "shading", not of course a shading intended to reproduce effects of light and shade, as found in the Western painting; but that kind of shading of receding areas which produces an effect of roundness or relief, as found at Ajanta, and also surviving in a limited way in the early Rajput painting.

The well known device of foreshortening is also noted in the canons. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara* '*kshaya*' and '*siddhi*' are referred to as one of the merits of painting (Ch. 41, 9, and also Ch. 39). The other merits noted in the text are: pose (*sthana*) proportion (*pramana*), extent of back-ground (*bhu-lamba*), sweetness (*madhuratvam*) and resemblance (*sadrisya*). The importance of the last quality i.e. resemblance, has been emphasised more than once. Elsewhere outline (*rekha*), shading (*varṭana*), adornment (*bhushana*) and colour (*varṇa*) are regarded as the accessories for the enjoyment of people

of different categories. It is said that "Masters praise the outline; connoisseurs the shading; women desire the ornaments; the common man the richness in colour. Mindful of this, the painter should carry out the work so that it may be appreciated by every one". These injunctions of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* tally, to a great extent, with the famous *shadanga* or six-limbs of Indian Painting enumerated by *Yasodhara* in his commentary on *Vatsyayana*. At least resemblance (*Sadrisya*), proportion (*pramana*), colour (*Varna* and *Varnikabhanga*) and sweetness (*madhuratva* and *lavanya*) are the points found in both the authorities.

Almost a similar view is expressed in the *Manasollasa* regarding the qualities of a painting in the context of defining the essential attainments of accomplished painters. It states that "only those painters who are fully initiated in the visualisation of the theme and experts at the line, adept in the execution, skilled at designs of *patras*, dexterous at colours and master of delineations" can execute painting full of *rasas* and *rasadrishtis*, sentiments and emotions, to satisfy the royal pleasure. This mastery over all aspects of painting was rare no doubt; and it is noted in the *Samarangana Sutrādharma* that "one understands the meaning of the canons, and the other practises the art; (and who understands the *Sastra* knows little of the work, while who works knows nothing of the *Sastra*;) and he is to be esteemed as a great painter in whom the combination of the two is found".

To conclude, Indian painting has certain distinctive characteristics of its own; and for a proper understanding of the art, a critical study of the canons, found scattered in different *Silpa* texts and general literature, would be of immense help. The Indian point of view regarding painting is yet to be fully realised, and, no doubt, a careful study of the canons would help us in having a penetration into the very basis, so to say, of the structure of Indian painting.

## THE PERSIAN RECORDS IN THE TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES

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The Persian Records in the Tamil Nadu Archives consist of records transferred from the Office of the Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends and the records of the Office of the Receiver of Carnatic property.

The records of the Carnatic Sirkar kept in boxes, almirahs and cloth wrappers were originally dumped in a room on the northside of the square building adjoining the Palace, called the Humayun Mahal. In the Durbar these two collections were known as the 'old and the new'. The old records related to the times of the Nabobs Wallajah and Oomdut-ul-Umrah Bahadurs and continued under the charge of the Carnatic Commissioners till the final close of that Commission, when they were returned to the Durbar in cartloads, the greater part in such utter confusion that no attempt was ever made to arrange them. With the exception of a few records which had some arrangement and retained in boxes, the entire mass consisted of disordered documents in the form of *cadjans* and paper writings gathered in heaps in cloth wrappers and piled one above the other at one end of the building. So useless were they deemed that in the late Nabob's (Ghulam Muhammad Ghouse) time many cartloads of them were sold as waste paper. But as it was not certain then what legal proceedings might be taken in future, it was considered advisable to retain every document to prevent litigants asserting that any record had been destroyed which could have been of use to them. The Arcot

out-station records which were lodged in 1860 consisted principally of *cadjans* received in an irreparable condition. The new records, as they were known then in the Durbar, consisted of the accumulations since Azeem-ud-dowla Bahadur's accession in 1801. They were kept in order and their careful retention seemed indispensable as many relevant portions of them had been in daily use for the various requirements of the Court and the work of Government. They were arranged well for easy access. The records continued to be under the immediate care of the Agency. It was considered that so long as Government records were retained, occasional searches of them would be required or should be provided for in order to reply to petitions or to meet references from Government or Officers of the Government. To meet these requirements the office establishment of the Chepauk Agent and Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends was rearranged.<sup>1</sup>

When the question of centralisation<sup>2</sup> of all ancient records in a Central building was taken up, the Paymaster, Carnatic Stipends, Madras, agreed to transfer all the old Persian records which extended to the period 1857 and the actual transfer to this office took place in 1912. The Persian records comprise (as per the latest figures) 492 bundles and 418 volumes. The *dufters* (bundles wrapped in cloth) contain mostly loose documents of Octavo size. Most of the records seem to have been written in 'Khatti-Shi-Kasta' and in old

Dakhni which were in vogue in Madras some decades ago, of which the first is difficult to decipher. A rough list of the contents of 171 volumes and 116 bundles was prepared during the time of Dodwell by Thiru Gazanfur Hussain Saheb, one of the Muhammadan Clerks who knew Persian. According to his assessment, these records related to the period 1684-1826. These records include correspondence with the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and with the French, the Dutch, and the native powers. They also consist of grants and purwanahs of the Nabob. They also deal with private matters. A few of them were also translated by the Clerk who retired in 1923. Some of them were exhibited during the Exhibition of historical records in 1924. An abstract contents at the Session of the I.H.R.C. were also prepared by a Munshi attached to the Persian Translator's Office. In November 1923, Mr. J. B. Brown (D.S. Finance) suggested that a Pundit with knowledge of both Persian and Hindustani should be appointed in Madras Record Office in the vacancy of the retired Muhammadan Clerk. The Indian Historical Records Commission at its 6th Session held in Madras in January 1924 recommended the appointment of a Persian-knowing Assistant to examine and classify the Carnatic Records (Resolution IX). Attempts were made to get a Persian Pandit and the vacancy was advertised in the Fort St. George Gazette. But no suitable candidate was found. It was considered that the records required a thorough scrutiny by a Persian-knowing officer, well acquainted with the history of the Carnatic wars, as a clerk with the knowledge of Persian, left to himself, was not likely to have sufficient discrimination to classify the records before any attempt at translating them. The idea was to compare the list after it was prepared with Country Correspondence Volumes and to judge what records should be translated in full and what in abstract and to print such documents of historical value among them.<sup>3</sup>

The Indian Historical Records Commission in pursuance of Resolution III passed by the Research and Publication Committee at its 28th meeting held at Trivandrum in December 1958 requested that the Archives Libraries, Museum and other institutions in India should compile and publish catalogues of Persian documents in their custody. The Government of Madras therefore decided that the Persian records available in this Archives including the 13 items available with the Museum be listed and catalogued and entrusted the work to Mr. Hyder Ali Khan, who was then Assistant Professor of Urdu, Presidency College, Madras, who attended to this work part-time with the assistance of one Urdu Clerk in 1959. At the request of the Assistant Professor, the appointment of two Munshis was also sanctioned by the Government in December 1960.<sup>4</sup> The listing was completed in 1966. But the scrutiny of the list by the Professor was continued for some more time. Of the 492 bundles and 418 volumes, 4 bundles and 3 volumes were not listed as they were found to be unfit for mending or listing.<sup>5</sup> From the list it is seen that the records contain letters, farmans, agreements, accounts, service particulars of officials and all categories of subordinate officers, who served under the Nawabs. There is also a diary of Nawab Wallajah which was being maintained by his most trusted Munshi, Kishanchand. This diary known as "Siaha" (term in Persian for Diary) covers only a period of about 2 years ending with February 1785 although Nawab Wallajah lived ten years thereafter. It gives full particulars about the interviews granted by the Nawab to the visiting dignitaries — Mr. Wynch, Governor of Madras, Mr. Stracey, Councillor, Mr. Patterson Personal Attendant to the King of England, Ali Zaman Khan, a representative of Hyder Ali and similar details of his administration. It also gives a clear insight into his character and personality. The records contain, among other things, the correspondence carried on by the Nawab of Arcot with

other Country Powers, with the Governors of Madras and Bombay and with the French and Dutch authorities. They also seem to relate to the grants and parwanas of the Nawab and claims against his properties. They contain information about the Tanjore war, the activities of Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan Wallajah I and his successors Umdut-ul-Umra Wallajah II, Azeem-ud-Dowlah Wallajah III, Azeem Jah Wallajah IV and Nawab Ghulam Ghouse Khan Wallajah V. The end of the Nawab's dynasty came in 1856 when Ghulam Ghouse Khan Wallajah V died without any male issue. Although his uncle Prince Azeem Jah was the Prince Regent during his minority, he was recognised by the East India Company as the Prince of Arcot, but not as the Nawab of Carnatic. The Nawabs since the days of Wallajah III were entitled to one fifth share of the revenue collected during each Fasli and the East India Company acted as their Agents. But Prince Azeem Jah was denied even this share, as well as the pomp and power usually associated with the office of the Nawab of Carnatic. He had to be content with a mere pension of Rs. 12,000/- per month. He was however permitted to maintain a bodyguard of his own and the firing of guns on ceremonial occasions. The qualities and relationship of Nawab Wallajah I with the British as portrayed in the Persian Records is given below.<sup>6</sup>

The Nawab was always true to his words and was the most faithful ally of the East India Company. It was unfortunate that his sincerity towards the British was not reciprocated. As a man, he had a majestic appearance; as a ruler he was kind to his subjects and noble towards even his foes. Robert Clive spoke highly of the Nawab in London and paid glowing tributes about his sincerity towards the British. When the French, who were a constant source of irritation, were subdued, he did not bear any ill-feeling

against them but treated them kindly. Major Law, the Governor of Pondicherry, had respect and regard for him. A few instances may be narrated to show the nobility of his character.<sup>7</sup>

When the Nawab defeated the Tanjore Rajah he gave strict instructions to his son, Amir-ul-Umra and Asim Khan, his trusted official, that the Rajah's family should be treated with utmost respect. He also ordered that the jewels and clothes of the ladies should be returned to them. He sent his pranam to Mathaji, probably the Rajah's mother, and instructed his officers to attend to her comforts. His own brother Nazeebullah Khan defied his authority. The Nawab took an army and besieged the Fort. Nazeebullah fled from the place, but later on he was arrested and brought before the Nawab in chains. The Nawab could not bear this sight and he immediately ordered for the removal of the chains and set him free. The Nawab's brother-in-law Khairuddin Khan was also a constant source of trouble to him. Once he entered the Nawab's room during night with a sword to murder him. Luckily the Nawab was not there. Later on he was arrested and the Nawab pardoned him after admonishing him severely. If at all the Nawab was severe, it was against Muhammad Yusuf Khan, a distinguished Indian Officer. Yusuf Khan showed great ability as an administrator and his Governorship of Madurai proved an astounding success. He was regular in his remittances of revenue to the Nawab but he regarded himself as the servant of the Company and not of the Nawab. The Nawab could not tolerate this insolence and hated him. The Nawab took up the matter with the English who informed him that he was responsible to the Nawab and as such he should obtain his consent if he wished to renew his right over the rents. He offered to rent the country for 9 lakhs of rupees, nearly double of the previous sum, to which the

Nawab did not agree. Yusuf Khan was thus let down by the English and deceived by the Nawab. In the struggle that followed one of his French officers, Marchand, conspired against him and handed him over to Major Campbell, the Commander of the English Forces. He was immediately delivered over to the Nawab who lost no time in hanging him.<sup>8</sup>

The Nawab respected all the religions. Most of his trusted officials were Hindus. His most trusted friend was Rajah Periyar Bahadur, the Contractor of Muhammadpur (Arcot).

When it was reported to the Nawab that some sepoys attempted to enter a temple at Tiruvarur and that some British soldiers entered a Hindu temple at Trichinopoly Fort and removed the idol, he grew furious and ordered that religious places should be respected and tradition of the places of worship should be maintained and that the idol should be traced and restored to the temple. The Nawab respected Sadhus and believed in astrology. He evinced great interest in the welfare of the people and built a big hospital where poor people were given free medical aid. He opened Langar Khanas (Feeding houses for the poor) and food was freely distributed to the destitutes and disabled persons. The Nawab had great regard for the Syeds, who were the descendants of the great Prophet. He set apart a sum of Rs. 12,000/- every year for being distributed to the Syeds. He had his own permanent staff stationed at Mecca for the distribution of charities to the poor. He provided carpets and lights to the Masjid-k-Navari, the first mosque built by Prophet Mohammad and Rouza-i-Nabi, the tomb of the Prophet at Medina. He also supplied a ladder (Sullam) covered with gold and silver at Mecca during Haj to enable the pilgrims to climb and get into the precincts of the Kaba. There are numerous letters in Arabic language received by the Nawab from Mecca and Medina eulogising the Nawab's

charities and praying for his welfare. On the death of Amir-ul-Umra, although the charities were continued, they became limited. The Nawab purchased two ships, *Safinatullah* and *Safinatun Nabi*, for commerce and trade but they were mainly utilised for the Haj pilgrims of the Carnatic for their safe and comfortable voyage to Mecca and Medina. The Nawab's charitable disposition caused much wastage of expenditure and was not conducive to the stability of the country's finances. He was so lavish that very often he found it difficult to pay the wages and salaries of those working under him. Almost all the mosques in the Carnatic were maintained either directly by him or by the large endowments created by him.<sup>9</sup>

The Nawab was extremely loyal to the King of England and the Britishers in India. He had implicit faith in them and guarded himself against the influence of any agency other than the British. He used to communicate matters of importance concerning India and its people to the Governor of Madras or any high ranking Britisher who happened to see him. He valued most their suggestions and took care to satisfy them. He took great pains to earn the goodwill of the King of England and his Parliament. The Admiral of the British ship "Wester" brought a letter to the Nawab from the King of England in which the King reiterated his friendship with the Nawab stating that their friendship would grow from generation to generation. The Nawab overwhelmed with joy immediately arranged for a grand durbar to receive it. He distributed presents and held a dinner for the Governor and his entourage. His anxiety to keep the cordial relationship with the Britishers and to earn the favour of the King was so great that he hired some Britishers to go to England and keep on praising the Nawab. In the last decade of the Nawab's career he began to lose faith in the Britishers and frequently complained to the King against the atrocities of the Gover-

nors and to the Governors against the high-handedness of the British officers and soldiers. His protests to the King of England against the demand by the British of all payments in silver and gold and consequent shortage of gold currency in India fell on deaf ears. Thus the Nawab was subjected to British machinations for which he was ill-prepared.<sup>10</sup>

The Nawab had to deal with the following Governors of Madras : Thomas Saunders, George Pigot, Alexander Wynch and John Holland. There is only one letter written by Thomas Saunders to the Nawab in 1754 (in the Persian Records) in which his attention was drawn to certain bad elements in the Service of the East India Company, who were making use of his name to gain monetary favours from the Nawab. The Nawab's relationship with Pigot was good in the beginning. Pigot informed the Nawab in his letter dated 15-9-1760 that a British Fleet and a British Army were arriving at the Madras Port to protect him from his enemies. Further correspondence reveals that Pigot was interfering too much with the day to day administration of the Nawab. He found fault with the Nawab's extravagance and instructed him to curtail his domestic expenditure and to observe strict economy in all branches of his establishment. The Nawab was forced to appoint Charles Bouchier and James Alexander as his financial advisers. This position enabled these two Britishers to know most of the secrets of the Nawab and they had no hesitation to pass on these secrets to the officials of the East India Company. Thus they gained an upper hand in the Nawab's administration. But George Pigot was careful enough not to strain his relationship with the Nawab and as a matter of fact exhibited his kindness and regard for the Nawab by presenting a watch to the Nawab's wife which was considered a novelty in those days. The Nawab in turn presented ivory beads to Mrs. Pigot. After becoming Lord Pigot he was so puffed up with his status that he

looked down upon the Nawab as a subordinate. Robert Palk sent a strong force in 1763 under the command of Major Edward Campbell to protect the Fort at Tirunelveli from the Polygars of Tirupatur who revolted against the Nawab. It was during his period (Palk's) that through the good offices of Lord Clive, the Nawab was recognised as the Subedar of the Carnatic and all the titles which his father bore were conferred on him. In addition, he was conferred the title of 'Admiral Hind' (The Amir of India). Captain Fitzgerald, a British Army Officer, wrote a letter (6-5-1765) to the Nawab informing him that he had in mind a scheme to put down the frequent revolts of the Polygars and to keep them under control. But there is nothing in the records to show what the scheme was and whether it was put to test. Charles Bouchier was first appointed as adviser to the Nawab before he was made the Governor of Madras. It was during the period of Alexander Wynch that the Nawab's powers were curtailed to the maximum possible extent. This was mainly due to the fact that the Nawab's arrears to the East India Company increased and a number of districts came under the control of the British for non-payment of arrears. The Nawab could not retrench the British Army, on account of the growing powers of the Marathas, the rebellious nature of the Polygars and the constant threat of attack by Hyder Ali. Mr. Stracey, Secretary to the Governor, was very cunning in manipulating the Nawab's accounts to the maximum advantage of the East India Company. Once the Nawab refused to accept the accounts and demanded the account books to be produced to him for scrutiny (Nawab's diary 30-5-1773). Nothing further is known. There was also a controversy between them about the control of the Army. The need for maintaining a diary by the Nawab during this period was perhaps due to the fact that his oral statements were very often misconstrued and his acts misrepresented. John Holland sat tight on the

Nawab for the settlement of the large arrears due from him (his letter dt. 22-2-1789). He began to complain against the Nawab's officers and was most bitter against the Assistant Amil of Vellore. The Nawab in his turn accused the Company's Officers. John Holland in his letter dated 10-4-1789 to the Nawab pointed out the necessity for curtailing his domestic expenditure with a view to liquidating his debts. It was evident that the problem of the Polygars was kept alive by the British so that the Nawab might not reduce the strength of the British Army. John Holland put a stop to the Nawab's customary collection of revenues from the Jagirs of the Vellore Fort and instructed the ryots to pay the taxes to the Fort authorities since the Vellore Fort was under British control. The Nawab in his letter dt. 11-4-1789 pleaded against this unreasonable instruction but John Holland never heeded. With the constitution of the Board of Revenue and framing of rules for the collection of Revenue (letter to Nawab dt. 7-8-1790 and Nawab's letter dated 10-8-1790), the Nawab practically became powerless. He lost his beloved son Amir-ul-Umra Madatul Mulk in 1790 and he himself died on 13-10-1795 on account of a wound in his toe which became septic. Apart from the public debts, he also incurred huge private debts through the Company's servants and private money lenders. His chief money lenders at the beginning were Teekamdass, Goverdhan Das and a few other North Indians. Later on, he switched over his borrowings to European money lenders at a very high rate of interest, chief among them being John Pybus, John Call, James Bouchier, Dr Meghan, Robert Storey and George Milton.<sup>11</sup>

#### Record of the Receiver of the Carnatic Property

They consist of 50 volumes and 48 bundles. In 1880 the post of the Receiver of the Carnatic property was abolished and the records were sent to the Secretariat. A catalogue

(typed) was prepared. The 34 bundles of Cadjan records formed part of these records. A rough list of these 34 bundles is given below.

#### Bundles

- 1-17 Mathud Bagh amani sale proceeds, 1821, 1825-28, 1835, 1839-40, 1845-46, 1848-53, 1855
- 18-23 Imarath accounts, 1822-40, 1836, 1842-44, 1851-55, 1855
- 24 Hydur Bagh Accounts, 1817, 1857-58
- 25 Ledger, 1842
- 26 Ameer Bagh amani account, 1847
- 27 Kaleel Navaz's (Nawab's agent at Trichy) own lands Revenue Accounts
- 28 Maramath Accounts of certain gardens 1853
- 29 Amani accounts, 1855
- 30 Sundry Accounts pertaining to individuals
- 31-34 Loose leaves that cannot be identified (These probably fill the gaps in the foregoing items)

The Cadjan contains accounts kept in Tamil and pertains to the first part of the last century. During that period, the Nawab of the Carnatic possessed considerable properties at several outstations in the presidency. At Trichinopoly in particular, the property consisted of gardens, choultries, mosques, bazars and villages, producing an annual revenue of Rs. 11,398. The Cadjan in question contains accounts relating to Mathud Bagh, Ameer Bagh, Hydur Bagh, Ingu Madoo Garden, Saiyyid Ali Garden etc. names which occur in the Trichinopoly property. There are besides incidental references in it to Ponnumalai (Golden Rock), Theppakolam and other localities in or about Trichinopoly. From these circumstances it may safely be inferred that these Cadjan documents relate to the Carnatic Sirkar's property at Trichinopoly during the first part of the 19th century. It is probable that these

documents were removed to the Chepauk Palace, some time about 1860 along with the other Sirkar records at the outstations. The receiver of the Carnatic property must have then utilised them in connection with the conduct of the suits regarding Carnatic property. On the termination of his work in 1880 he must have transferred them to the Government Record Office. (There is a G.O. directing this transfer). The Cadjans in question are mere accounts regarding collection of revenues, sale proceeds of gardens &c. They are rarely referred to. It was therefore stored along with other Carnatic records. In 1913 during Mr. Dodwell's time the question about their destruction was taken up. It was then decided that they might be stored along with the other records of the Carnatic Receiver until they were declared utterly worthless by some competent authority. As to other records which are in English and Persian, opinion was expressed already that they should not be destroyed.<sup>12</sup>

It may be stated in this connection that the Persian Records in the Collector's Office, Kurnool, were listed previously in 1940 by the office of Persian and Hindustani Translator to Government in consultation with this Archives.<sup>13</sup>

At the instance of the Board of Revenue, instructions were issued to the Persian and Hindustani Translator to Government to arrange for the preparation of an inventory of the old Urdu and Persian records in the Kurnool Collectorate Office. The Persian and Hindustani Translator reported that most of the records were torn in places and were in a decaying condition which was likely to become worse unless the records were mended first. He also reported that many of the papers were written in a broken hand which is not now current in Madras and cannot easily be deciphered. It was therefore suggested that the work might be entrusted to Madras Record Office. The Madras Record

Office inspected the Records at the Senior Translator's Office and suggested that they could be listed there itself as no Urdu or Persian knowing person was available in Madras Record Office. As for listing it was suggested, where it was definitely known that a particular volume, file or bundle wholly related to a particular subject which was considered unimportant and not worth preserving there was no necessity to list every document in it. A detailed list was required only in the case of those records relating to important subjects and worth preserving. A preliminary general list under General Readings was considered sufficient in the first instance for elimination. A detailed list was considered absolutely necessary in the case of the more important papers which seemed to possess any historical or administrative value. The detailed inventory was to be prepared after the Curator had indicated on the rough preliminary list as to what are important and what unimportant so that the detailed list may contain only the really important records.

Most of the records were written in 'Khatti Shi Kasta' difficult to decipher and in a language which is not now current in the Madras City. Even the so called Urdu documents were not in modern Urdu but in the old Dakhni which was in vogue in Madras some decades ago. The preliminary lists prepared by the Translator's office were scrutinised by the Curator and the papers were found to contain information about the grant, payment, enhancement etc. of Pensions and death reports of Pensioners, keeping of arms and weapons, investigation of Crimes and punishments to Criminals, currency notes, Jaghirs, such as Thimmapur, Banganapallee, Venkatapur etc., annual grants, boundary disputes, manufacture of salt, articles for the London Exhibition, imparting of English Education to the Nabob, Md. Anver Khan's services in the war against Tippu, marriages and religious ceremonies amongst Muhammadan Com-

munity, traffic in children, Census, Postal system etc. Papers to be retained were marked (R) in the list and the rest were destroyed in Madras Record Office. The retained records (marked R) were then despatched to Kurnool with the lists<sup>14</sup>

#### Persian Records from Pudukkottai Durbar

The Pudukkottai Durbar possessed some old letters in Persian which had been written to former rulers of the State by Governors and military officers of the East India Company and the Raja was pleased to part with them if they were required either for the Victoria Memorial Hall or any institution in Madras.\* 43 letters addressed to the former Rajas of Pudukkottai, 18 being from Governors of Madras and 25 from the Military Officers of the Company were got translated by the Persian and Hindustani Translator.

| * From Governors of Madras |   | From Military Officers |                                   |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Thomas Saunders            | 2 | Major Lawrence         | 4                                 |
| George Pigot               | 8 | Lt. Clive              | 3                                 |
| Charles Bouchier           | 1 | Lt. Smith              | 2                                 |
| Lord Pigot                 | 1 | Captain Smith          | 3                                 |
| Charles Smith              | 1 | General Eyre           |                                   |
| Lord Macartney             | 1 | Coote                  | 5                                 |
| Lord Clive                 | 4 | Col. J. W. Pears       | 1                                 |
|                            |   | Col. Fullerton         | 1                                 |
|                            |   | Col. Stewart           | 3                                 |
|                            |   | Col. Brown             | 3 (2 letters on the same subject) |
|                            |   |                        | 25                                |
|                            |   |                        | 18 + 25 = 43.                     |

The letters were considered to be very interesting as throwing side-lights on the history of the times and the dealings of the Governors of Madras and Military Officers with the Rajah Tondiman of Pudukkottai between the years 1752 and 1799. Some of the letters, especially those from Sir Eyre Coote, were written on minute scraps of paper the object of which was considered to be to enable the messengers to conceal the letters in their ears or nostrils in those troublesome

days. The durability of the paper and the ink used was considered to be worthy of note.

The letters contain information about the attack on Trichinopoly by the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans and the measures taken to check them, the friendly relationship of the Raja of Pudukkottai (Wajih Raghunath Tondiman Jio) with the generous Nawab Anwaruddin, the qualities of the Raja of Mysore as portrayed by Thomas Saunders, Governor of Madras, the help rendered by the Raja to Muhammad Mahfuz Khan in punishing the Poligars of Tinnevely; the qualities of Captain Clive as portrayed by George Pigot, Governor of Madras, the siege of the Fort of Wandiwash, the efforts of George Pigot to settle the differences between the Rajas of Pudukkottai and Tanjore and Manaji Rao, the defeat of the French near Tanjore by the Raja of Tanjore in co-operation with the army of the Pudukkottai Raja and that of Trichinopoly, the attack of the French on the Fort of Chinnapatam, arrest of M. Bussy, capture of the Fort of Chetput by the British, the siege of Arcot, arrival of ships of the King of England, the loyalty of the Raja of Pudukkottai to the British in not accepting the offers of Napoleon by betraying the British, the defeat of the French at Balaghat, the capture of refractory Poligars of Pandalam Muriji (Sic), suppression of disturbances at Sivaganga, the success of the French in 1754, presentation of a pair of idols to the Pudukkottai Raja by Major Lawrence, the battle between the English and the French on the High Seas close to Danwambin (illegible) and the defeat of the French, distribution of sugar by the Raja to show his happiness and pleasure on the safe return of Lt. Smith, the defeat of the French ships bound for Pondicherry by the British ships, terrific condition in Pondicherry that people had to eat crows, kites, asses and snakes, the defeat of the French at Moatpalam near Porto Novo, the conquest of the Fort of Tirupattur by General Sir Eyre Coote and the flight of

the French from the battle field of Conjeeveram, the defeat of Tippu Sultan by the English etc.<sup>15</sup>

Of the 43 letters 19\* were retained by the Government of India for handing them over to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial and the remaining 24 letters were returned to Madras Government. These letters were forwarded to the Government Museum for being kept as curious relics in a special case in the Hall of the Connemara Public Library.<sup>16</sup>

| * GOVERNORS      |   | MILITARY OFFICERS |         |
|------------------|---|-------------------|---------|
| Thomas Saunders  | 2 | Major Lawrence    | 2       |
| George Pigot     | 3 | Capt. Smith       | 3       |
| Charles Bouchier | 1 | Sir Eyre Coote    | 5       |
| Lord Clive       | 1 | Col. Brown        | 2       |
|                  | 7 |                   | 12 = 19 |

#### Persian Letters found in the Agency Records of Tanjore

The Agency Records in Tanjore were found to include some 54 letters in Persian bearing dates prior to 1800 as follows.<sup>17</sup>

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| Letters of 1778 | 10 |
| " 1779          | 15 |
| " 1780          | 14 |
| " 1782          | 8  |
|                 | 2  |
| Dates not known | 5  |
|                 | 54 |

These letters were got translated by the Persian and Hindustani Translator to Government and it was found that in some cases original covers did not enclose their own letters and in a few others, two letters were found, making a total of 57 documents in lieu of 54 as follows :

|                                                                              |    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| From Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras, to the Maharaja Tuljaji of Tanjore. |    |    |
| in 1778                                                                      | .. | 22 |
| in 1779                                                                      | .. | 13 |
| in 1780                                                                      | .. | 5  |

From John Whitehill, Governor of Madras, to the Maharaja Tuljaji of Tanjore.

|         |    |   |
|---------|----|---|
| in 1780 | .. | 3 |
| in 1781 | .. | 5 |

From Charles Smith, Governor of Madras, to the Maharaja Tuljaji of Tanjore in 1781.

From Hugh Ellis, Governor of Madras, to the Maharaja Sharfuji of Tanjore in 1814.

From Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, to the Maharaja Sharfuji of Tanjore in 1820.

From Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India, to the Maharaja Sharfuji of Tanjore in 1824.

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The letters contain references to Thomas Rumbold's request to the Raja to conduct his correspondence in Persian as he considered that it was not advisable to correspond in Marathi. They also refer to the occupation of Nagore taluks by the Company, dispute among the Company's servants, Nagore Jagir affairs, dispute against the people of Negapatam, Nagore Sanad, the claim of French officers at Pondicherry to the island near Nagore, trust money, Thomas Rumbold's proposed visit to Tanjore and its cancellation, request for reinstating Narup Pandit Dabir, Governor's displeasure in the Rajah's not accepting his proposal to organize his affairs, diversion of the course of a small canal at Mannargudi, Alinagar Canal water, Mr. Huddleston's appointment as Resident of Nagore, Thomas Rumbold's leaving for England, John Whitehill's succession, appointment of Captain Thomas Brace as the

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head of the Infantry and Militia at Tanjore, military forces at Tanjore, duty on piece-goods, payments to the Paymaster at Tanjore, Hyder Naick, assumption of Charles Smith, dismissal of Thomas Rumbold, appointments of Lord George Macartney, Hugh Elliot and Sir Thomas Munro, Victory achieved by the British army at Rangoon etc.<sup>18</sup> The documents were kept in safe custody in the Madras Record Office<sup>19</sup>

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3. G.O. No. 469, Public, dated 15-6-1907.
4. R. Dis. No. 398/33 dated 24-2-1934.
5. G.O. No. 672 Finance, dated 26-9-1928.
6. G.O. No. 160 " " 25-2-1929.
7. G.O. No. 56 " " 20-1-1925.
8. G.O. No. 670 " " 26-9-1928.
9. G.O. No. 158 " " 25-2-1929.
10. G.O. No. 162 " " 25-2-1929.
11. G.O. No. 440 " " 10-6-1929.
12. G.O. No. 980 " " 12-11-1923.
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15. G.O. No. 1981, Public, dated 14-12-60 in R. Dis. 4372/60.
16. R. Dis. No. 6152/66.
17. List of contents of Persian Records.
18. List of contents of Persian Records.
19. List of contents of Persian Records.
20. List of contents of Persian Records.
21. List of contents of Persian Records.
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30. G.O. 242, Public, dated 29-3-1906.
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32. G.O. 816, Public, 13-11-1906.
33. G.O. 788, Public, 8-10-1907.
34. (S.A. No. 501).

## THE CAUSE OF LUSHAI RISING 1891-92 : AN UNKNOWN EPISODE OF OUR NORTH EAST FRONTIER

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The Lushais live in the North East Frontier of India, "The Chin Lushai country is said to extend between latitude 21° and 24° north and longitudes 92° and 94° east, to be bound on the north by Manipur and Cachar (Assam), on the east and south by Burma, and on the west by Arakan and Chittagong Hill Tracts (Pakistan), being some 260 miles in length with a maximum breadth of about 120 miles".<sup>1</sup> With the annexation of Cachar in 1832 the British came into conflict with the Lushais. The Lushai Chiefs were independent and the Lushai country was annexed to the British Empire in 1892. According to the report of the officers of the East India Company the wild Lushai tribes committed frequent raids upon British territory causing plunder and murder. They also carried away many heads including those of many British officers as prize. The Lushai raids affected the tea-interest of the English in Cachar. To check the wild Lushai Chiefs, the British Government sent several expeditions into the Lushai country. In 1844 Capt. Blackwood with a detachment penetrated into the heart of the Lushai land. In 1850 Lt. Colonel Lister at the head of an expeditionary force punished the offending Lushai Chiefs. In 1871-72 the British Government with firm determination sent two columns, one through Cachar side and the other through Chittagong side into the Lushai Hills. The Cachar column was led by General Bouchier and the Chittagong column was led by General Brownlow. Lord Robert who later on became the Commander-in-Chief of India

also took part in this expedition. In this expedition the Lushais were very severely dealt with. After this expedition, forced labour was imposed and the Lushai Chiefs were to supply the coolies. These coolies were used by the British Government for construction work in the Lushai country. The policy of the British Government — even after the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, was not the annexation of the Lushai country. This policy was the outcome of military strategy. The Government wanted to use the country of the wild Lushais as a buffer state between the Burmese and British territories. But after the annexation of Upper Burma (1886) this policy was given up and the Lushai land was annexed in 1892. The freedom-loving Lushais made their last attempt to resist the British imperialism in 1891-92.

### *Cause of the Lushai Rising (1892)*

Major L. W. Shakespeare in his *History of Assam Rifles* gives us a faint sketch and a vague idea about the cause of the rising of 1891-92. What he says is also the belief of the other civil and military officers of the then British Government.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Shakespeare writes "...in March 1892 trouble arose in the northern area where a coalition of Lushai chiefs objecting to requisitions for labour which they flatly refused to supply..."<sup>3</sup> The refusal to supply the forced labour was the only cause of the rising according to Shakespeare, and this view was accepted by the Governor-General in Council in 1891. The rising was ruthlessly suppressed. The British

officers who knew the real fact, did not disclose it. But after five years the real cause of the rising became known to the Lt. Governor of Bengal and the concealment of the facts made the Governor angry. The fact is this: Mr. Murray was the Political Officer of the South Lushai Hills and Mr. Taylor was the Superintendent of Police. Both the officers enjoyed extraordinary powers as the head of a non-scheduled frontier district. These two officers were morally depraved persons. Mr. Murray demanded from the Lushai Chief, Jacopa, two beautiful Lushai girls for himself and Mr. Taylor. It shocked the morality sense of the Lushais. The imposition of forced labour already made the Lushais sullen and this immoral proposal made the Lushai chiefs bold enough to resist the English. Mr. Murray, when he found his demands not supplied with, threatened the chief Jacopa, that in case of failure to supply the girls, he would forcibly snatch away the wife of the chief i.e. the queen. From the records<sup>4</sup> it appears that both Mr. Murray and the Lushai chief Jacopa were friendly till the former threatened to force the latter's wife. All the Lushai chiefs formed a coalition against the English. Mr. Murray wanted to inflict severe punishment on the Lushai community, and personally headed a battalion to destroy the food-stocks of Jacopa's village. He burnt the granaries but when he was returning he was attacked and he narrowly escaped death. The English garrison was completely routed by the Lushais. Fresh detachments from Chittagong and Cachar came and suppressed the revolt. In the battle Mr. Taylor lost his life.

The British officers concealed Mr. Murray's responsibility in this rising. But after five years when the Bengal Government came to know of his responsibility he was punished. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Lt. Governor and an authority on Eastern Frontier, unequivocally termed Mr. Murray's demand for the Lushai girls as the principal cause of the

rising. Mr. Murray appealed to the Secretary of State but without success. Mr. J. P. Hewlet, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, stated... "Sir Alexander Mackenzie, has after a careful consideration of the evidence taken by Major Shakespeare in March last (1895) in the trial of Jacopa arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Murray's disgraceful conduct making through his interpreter a demand for two Lushai girls for himself and Mr. Taylor was the principal cause of the outbreak, and his Honour's decision that he must revert to the Bengal Police is based on the ground that his conduct led to the loss of valuable lives and caused an immense amount of expenditure and suffering. The Governor General in Council entirely concurs with the Lt. Governor in holding that it is intolerable that an officer in Mr. Murray's position, conducting delicate tribal negotiations should behave as he did, and his Excellency in Council is not prepared to say that the order passed by His Honour the Lt. Governor was not justified by Mr. Murray's acts."<sup>5</sup>

Before taking the decision the Lt. Governor collected all the necessary evidence but the British officers attempted to minimize the offence of Mr. Murray. In his evidence Mr. Oldham, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division, formerly Commissioner, Chittagong Division, stated "that the outbreak at Jacopa's village on the 13th February, 1891, was not in any way due to Mr. Murray's attempt to procure village girls... it was, I believe, solely due to Mr. Murray's demand for coolies and it was precisely parallel in its origin and character to the attack on Mr. Maccable at Lal bura's on the 17th March, 1892."<sup>6</sup> But Mr. Oldham admits that Mr. Murray as Superintendent of Police in Darjeeling proved himself to be a man of depraved character. The purport of his evidence was that Mr. Murray was an efficient administrator although his moral character was not high.

The letter of Mr. C. W. Bolton, Officiating Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department (vide Political Proceedings, Government of Bengal, Sept. 1896, No. 3) clears the point. "Shakespeare" admits twice that Jacopa was probably under the impression that Mr. Murray had threatened to take his wife. It is indeed, only in view of the facts now brought to light that the outbreak becomes really intelligible, for it is clear that Jacopa had sworn friendship with Major Shakespeare, and that his first reception of Mr. Murray was by that officer's own showing, extremely friendly. The facts that coolies were supplied to the number of 59 by Jacopa, that only 30 or 40 more were required, and that Jacopa at first undertook to supply coolies, seem to show that there was *something more than the coolie question at issue*."<sup>7a</sup>

It is to be remembered in this connection that the Lushai chiefs like Jacopa and Dacopa were independent Chiefs of Lushai Hills. The offensive policy and misconduct of the British Political Officer irritated them. The outbreak was the outcome of the high-handedness and brutality of Mr. Murray. From the time of the East India Company it was the policy of the British Government to appoint the best officers in charge of the frontier districts. Mr. Edgar (later Sir John Edgar, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bengal) was appointed the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar and Major T. H. Lewin was the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. These frontier officers were almost independent and in fact, they formulated the frontier policy of the Government. The approved policy of the Government was the policy of conciliation. But Mr. Murray on his own initiative departed from the accepted policy and for his arrogance complicated the Lushai problem. His responsibility as a bad diplomat cannot be overlooked. Lushai Hills region even now is the most disconnected area

in Assam and in those days there was not a single all-weather road in that country. All the military officers after the expeditions recommended the construction of roads. Lt. Colonel Lister recommended a Kookie Levy to collect information and to keep a watch over the Lushais of British and Manipur territories.<sup>8</sup> It was on the repeated insistence of Major Lewin and Mr. Edgar that the Government decided to construct a road in the Lushai Hills. It was impossible to send coolies into such a dangerous area. So, Mr. Edgar made a peaceful settlement with the Lushai chiefs to supply the coolies. The settlement proved unsuccessful. After the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72, the Lushai Chiefs were compelled to supply the forced labour. The Lushai Chiefs never accepted this imposition willingly but the fear of further expeditions compelled them to acquiesce. The British officers, like Major J. Shakespeare, Major Lewin and Mr. Edgar always induced the chiefs to supply coolies for their own benefit. "The roads and bridges would help the Lushais" — Mr. Edgar used to tell them and the predecessors of Mr. Murray never misbehaved with them and respected the independent status of the Lushai Chiefs.

The Lushais disliked to work as coolies for the English for various reasons. First, it affected their independent status. Secondly, the Lushai Chiefs fully realised the military importance of the road connecting Chittagong with Cachar. They could not forget the march of the Chittagong column and Cachar column into their country. In fact, the completion of the road from one to the other end of the Lushai Hills was the indispensable preliminary for the annexation of Lushai Hills into British dominion. The Lushais knew very well that, not only punitive expeditions would follow through this road but it would also invite their political subjugation. So the stubborn resistance of the Lushais to the coolie question was not wholly unjustified. But this idea of resistance could not be

come an integrated political principle — because of the shrewd diplomacy of the British Government. The frontier officers followed the policy of divide and rule, and very often set one Lushai tribe against another. The Lushai Chiefs knew their weakness. So they could not stand united against the English on that particular issue. The letter of Mr. C. W. Bolton, Officiating Chief Secretary of the Bengal Government, makes it clear that the chief Jacopa agreed to supply the coolies and

that he supplied about two thirds of the requisite number. But soon the Lushai problem took a serious turn when arrogant Mr. Murray threatened the Chief of taking away his wife. The immoral proposal of procuring girls and the subsequent threat of Mr. Murray of forcible abduction of one Lushai Rani, excited the sentiments of the tribals and the different Chiefs formed a coalition to resist the British Officer's unwholesome demand."

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5. Proceedings of the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Political Department. Sept. 1896, No. 1.
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- 7a. Shakespeare — The Superintendent of Lushai Hills. After the annexation of the Lushai country both the South Lushai Hills District and North Lushai Hills District were amalgamated into one Lushai Hills District and Major Shakespeare was made its Superintendent. He tried the case of Dacopa in 1895. The Lushais are now known as Mizos and their country as Mizo Hills.
8. Woodthorpe's Lushai Expedition — Chapter I, Kukies and Lushais are for all practical purposes the same tribal people of Lushai land. The people of Sylhet called them as Kukies whereas the people of Cachar called them Lushais.
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## REGIONAL INDIVIDUALITY OF MAHARASHTRA

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A proper understanding of any particular region demands the knowledge of its cultural traits in addition to its geographical extent. The geographical outline of a region as seen in a map is generally representative of boundaries of administrative units, large or small, constituted to suit the convenience of the particular agency ruling it. In fact, it is the consciousness of linguistic and cultural unity in the minds of its inhabitants which must be treated as an infallible criterion to mark out the individuality of a region. But political history shows us that neither the peculiarities of subculture nor the variety of vernacular languages has been considered as a basis for such a division of the land. Love of the people for their native language helps a good deal to nourish their sense of cultural unity that goes to develop consciousness of their regional individuality. And as such linguistic consideration claims top priority when one has to think about any region, whether Andhra or Karnatak, Maharashtra or Gujarat.

An historical survey of the extent of Maharashtra on the basis of its regional language and sense of cultural unity among the speakers of Marathi from the available evidence, inscriptional and literary, may prove interesting.

Maharashtra occupies the central region in India. This situation has exposed it to the danger of invasions from the North as well as from the South, but this very position has helped it to be a recipient of what is best in both the cultures, Aryan and Dravidian. The

culture of Maharashtra, therefore, is a product of the fusion of both the trends. The social life of Maharashtra has been affected in some measure by the change of hands in power and its politics. But the impact of culture recognises no difference, racial, religious or political. The land occupied by its language, Maharashtri and later Marathi, has more or less remained the same though its political boundaries have varied from time to time.

#### Antiquity

In ancient times rivers marked natural boundary lines of a country. The early Jains and Buddhists have maintained that Maharashtra was a country lying between the rivers Godavari and Krishna.<sup>1</sup> But it is known that sometimes rivers happen to change their courses. Such a change must be taken into account while speaking of the expanse of a country. Archaeologists tell us that the course of the Godavari was quite different in pre-historic times from what it is now. They have dated the existence of places like Gangawadi, Nasik etc. back to about 3 or 4 lakhs of years B.C.<sup>2</sup> The surroundings of Sangamner have yielded them evidence of copper age and many objects found at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur give a fair idea of cultural life some two thousand years ago. The part of the Deccan which includes all these sites was called Dandakaranya in olden days and has come to be known as Maharashtra since the mediaeval period of Indian history.

It will be worthwhile to cast a glance at the early references to Maharashtra before it

took a definite shape. We learn from the 12th chapter of the *Mahavamsa* that Moggaliputta Tissa had sent propagators of Buddhism to the southern countries like Maharashtra and Aparānta in addition to Mahisamandala, Vanavāsa, Suvarṇabhūmi, Yonṇa etc.<sup>3</sup> According to Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Maharattha was a tract of land south of Narmada extending up to North Kanara. Though the *Mahavamsa* was written in the 6th century A.D. the date of Moggaliputta Tissa goes back to the 3rd century B.C. It is clear from his edicts that the Emperor Asoka also had commissioned Buddhist missionaries to expound Buddhist doctrines in Rastika, Petanika and Aparanta regions roughly corresponding to Maharashtra, Paithan and Konkan respectively. The text of *Samantapasadika* relates that the Sthavira by name Yonaka Dhammarakkhita expounded the *Aggikhandhupama-Suttanta-Katha* to accomplish his task in Aparantaka, while Thera Mahadhammarakkhita brought 84,000 persons of Maharattha country on the path of Mokkha by his masterly exposition of *Maha-Narada-Kassapa-Jataka-Katha* and 13,000 of them were initiated to *Pravrajya* at his hands. This information is corroborated by *Mahavamsa* and supported by *Dipavamsa*.<sup>4</sup> The *Nidana-Katha* in Jataka literature records that a Maharatthiya whose name was Jatila made a gift of clothes to a Buddhist Sangha.<sup>5</sup> And lastly, the Nanaghat cave inscription of Naganika belonging to the first century B.C. refers to Vedisiri, the King of Maharathis, as the lord of Dakṣiṇapatha.<sup>6</sup> These references should suffice for us to infer that the term Maharattha or Maharashtra as the name of a country was familiar to the people of India at least three centuries before the Christian Era.

### Linguistic Regions

Maharashtri, the language of Maharashtra, had attained high status among other contemporary Prakrit languages of India like Magadhi of Magadha, Shauraseni of Shurasena, Paishachi of the Pishacha country etc.

Vararuci, the oldest grammarian of Prakrit language, belonging to the first century after Christ, had given first preference in his *Prakrit Prakasha* to Maharashtri. He deals with its grammar in great detail and records only the salient features of the other Prakrit languages one by one referring to Maharashtra for general rules with a remark "*Sesam maharashtrivat*". This acceptance of the grammar of Maharashtri as a norm by Vararuci points to a possibility of his being an inhabitant of Maharashtra.

Names of different Prakrit languages mentioned in *Prakrit Prakasha* and the lands in which they were spoken are indicative of the various regions of India, before the Christian Era.

After Christ the earliest inscriptional reference to Maharashtra appears in a pillar edict of Shridhara Varma (365 A.D.) found at Erana (Saugar District) in which Satyanaga, the general of Shridhara Varma calls himself a Maharashtrian. *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira (505 A.D.) uses the word "mahārāstrāḥ" which is explained in the commentary of Bhattopala as "*maharashtra dese yi nivasanti*." *Brihatsamhita* and Utpala Tika enlist countries south of Aryavarta as *Surastra*, *Maharashtra*, *Sindhu*, *Sauvira*, *Sudrabhira*, *Dravida*, etc.<sup>7</sup>

It is from the 7th century A.D. onwards that we get more information about Maharashtra and its culture. The Aihole inscription, composed by a Jain poet Ravikirti and dated 634 A.D., gives us some idea of the expanse of Maharashtra when it states that Pulakesi II was the lord of the three Maharashtrakas which included 99 thousand villages and towns. We are not sure, however, as to which these three Maharashtrakas were. In the same century Yuan Chwang records the area of Maharashtra to be 6000 li i.e. about 360 miles.<sup>8</sup> The information given by Yuan Chwang leads us to say that the land covered

by Vidarbha and Konkan today was not included in Maharashtra in the 7th century A.D.

### Early Cultural Traits

Sanghadasagani, a Jain monk, has written a *Bhasya* on *Brihat-Kalpasastra* in this very century. His references to Maharashtra are worthy of consideration from the social and cultural points of view. The Jain code of religious rules imposes stern restrictions on the conduct of a monk and prescribes strong punishment for violation of the same.<sup>9</sup> But this *Bhasya* on *Brihatkalpasutra* and Curnis on *Nisitha*, *Acaranga* and *Dasa-Vaikalika Sutras* suggest some amendments and introduce a few exceptions to mitigate the strictness of certain rules to let a monk adjust himself with natural circumstances and social customs of the land.

A Jain monk normally ought to wear scanty clothes just to cover the body without any choice of new or fine cloth. In the course of explaining prohibition of wearing 'Kritsna' garment<sup>10</sup> the monk is advised to use, as an exception, a full length blanket (*Nilakambala*) in winter while on tour in Maharashtra and an umbrella in Konkan to protect himself from heavy rain.<sup>11</sup> Likewise the monk could take food with a *kalpapala* in Maharashtra<sup>12</sup> and was allowed to eat flowers, fruits and rice gruel (*pejja*) in Konkan.<sup>13</sup> The policy of the Jains to accommodate themselves with the customs of the people and climatic conditions went so far as to permit a monk to take non-vegetarian food in Sind.<sup>14</sup>

In the course of his *Bhasya*, Sanghadasagani makes observations about certain features peculiar to regions like Lata, Maharashtra, Konkan and Karnata naming them specifically. He records that the festival of *Giriyaajna* was common to Konkan and Lata countries,<sup>15</sup> but "*Kolluya parampara*" was peculiar to Maharashtra.<sup>16</sup> The term is explained as meaning a method of carrying a burden from hand to hand in a chain. In his

*Kamasutra*<sup>17</sup> Vatsyayana has noted peculiar habits and nature of women from different regions all over India. This information shows that in the 7th century A.D. each region was distinctly known from the other with its specific characteristics and geographical extent.

### Language

The language current in Maharashtra was the chief Prakrit medium for literary composition in the 7th century A.D. It is obvious from its famous definition by Dandin "*maharashtrasrayam bhasam prakristam prakritam viduh*". Maharashtri Prakrit as spoken by the people was popularly known as "*Marabatta Desi bhasa*". It was utilized by the poet Kouhala in 800 A.D. to compose his long narrative poem *Lilavati* intended to entertain the common female folk of his native country. This urge on the part of Kouhala to employ in his literary composition the spoken language of his land for the benefit of the common man ignorant of Sanskrit may be regarded as an outburst of regional individuality. This period in general may be accepted as the starting point in the development of individual characteristics of different regions all over India. It marks the beginning of an age of all-side awakening after the decline of the Gupta Empire when almost everywhere regional egoism found its expression through the local language.

### Area

The famous dramatist Rajashekhara who thrived a century after Kouhala was highly proud of Maharashtra. His wife was born in the noble Chauhan family and his great-grandfather Akalajalada has been referred to with reverence as "*Maharashtra Cudamani*". Rajashekhara describes the countries of Vidarbha and Kuntala in his play called *Balaramayana*.<sup>18</sup> On the strength of a dialogue between Rama and Sugriva on their way from Lanka to Ayodhya it may be inferred that Maharashtra as known to Raja-

shekara lay just north of Karnataka. The King of Kuntala was one of those who assembled together for Sita-Svayamvara. His epithet *Maharattha Varittha*, the lord of Maharashtra, shows that Kuntala-desa was a part and parcel of Maharashtra in the days of Rajashekhara, the 10th century A.D. Kuntala-desa approximately covered the tract of land in the basin of Krishna river now known as Kolhapur, Satara, Sholapur, etc.

Maharashtra is referred to in *Brahma*, *Markandeya* and some other Puranas. *Vayu Purana* and a commentary written in the 13th century A.D. on Kamasutra VI, 5-29<sup>19</sup> mention Narmada as its northern limit. But as the dates of the Puranas are a controversial problem they are better left out of consideration here.

#### Early Administrative Divisions

A very authentic record of evidence regarding the administrative units of a country is found in inscriptions and copper-plate grants of its rulers. From this source of information we find that the region of Maharashtra was divided into many units, large and small, known as Rastra, Visaya, Mandala, Kampana, Bhukti, etc. We get an idea of the land covered by some of them. These units are to be accepted only in a very general way, without being particular about the area and boundaries of each for want of proper information and identification. It is, however, necessary to recount division of this region under different dynasties which ruled it since the 7th century A.D.

In the 7th century A.D. Chalukya Pulakesi II extended his kingdom up to the Narmada. His capital was somewhere near Nasik according to Yuan Chwang who refers to Pulakesi as the lord of Maharashtra. Pulakesi's kingdom included the Visayas called Aparanta (Northern Konkan), Ciprarulana (Chiplun-Ratnagiri), Goparashtra (Baglana Nasik), Karahataka (Karhad), Konkana

(Sangamesvara in Ratnagiri Dist.), Palayatthana (Phaltan), and Samagiri (Dist. Purandara). Rashtrakuta records mention the Visayas: Alktaka (Alata) Bahula (Pacora Taluka), Karahataka (Karhad), Nisikka, Punaka (Poona), Srimala (Sirvala near Bhore) and Manaka (Mana) Murumba (Dist. Akola) both from Vidarbha. Besides these Pratisthana (Paithan) and Rasiyana (in Ahmednagar dist.) were the two Bhuktis. Karahataka Visaya under the Chalukyas of Kalyani included the portion of land now covered by Vite, Tasgaon, Kharkundi along with some part of Miraj, Sangali and Athani. Another Visaya called Pratyandaka was formed of a large part of Phaltan and Wai Taluka. Mirinja was an independent unit in the surroundings of modern Miraj.

The most important feudatory family governing over Konkan and Kolhapur for a very long time was that of the Shilaharas. Their dominion covered Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts and some parts south of them. Their Puri Konkan Mandala included the following Visayas: Cikhalada (Mangao, Dist. Kolaba), Mahiri-hara (Murbad, Dist. Thana), Panada (Pena, Kolaba), Satsasthi (Salsette), Cipaluna, Malad, Khajjana (?) Mandaraja (?), Sthanaka (Thana), Varakuta (Vadala, Thana), and Puri (Gharapuri) in addition to Cemuli (Chaul), Krishnagiri (Kanheri) and Surparaka (Sopara). The Shilaharas of Kolhapur had in their kingdom the region of Kolhapur, Kurundawada, Miraj, Satara and some parts of Belgaum District. Maharashtri was the language common to all the territories mentioned above.

Coming to the Yadavas we find that the units Rashtra, Visaya and Mandala vanished, giving place to the larger unit called Desa and the smaller one known as Kampana, Bhukti being completely out of the picture. The different Desas forming part of the Yadava kingdom were: Amra, Kheta, Kolhapura, Mana, Sangama, Seuna, Vajrakara,

Varadatata, Venugrama and Konkan and Karahataka 2000.

#### Variability of Administrative Units

Generally it is assumed that the divisions Rastra, Visaya and Bhukti resemble the modern units of province, district and taluka, grama—the same as village—being the smallest unit. As a matter of fact, one cannot say which one of Rastra, Visaya and Mandala was larger than the other without reference to the rulers who made use of them. The Satavahanas considered Visaya to be larger than Rastra but with the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas Rastra was a larger unit than Visaya. In some cases they recognise a unit equal in size to a Rastra as a Mandala. In the course of time these words appear to be so loosely used by the people that occasionally a village is called a Rastra and a Bhukti like Pratisthana is termed as *Pranta* in Marathi literature. Pratisthana Bhukti was so small as to include only twelve villages but a larger Bhukti could contain even five hundred of them. The same thing holds good for Visaya. Karahataka Visaya covered ten thousand villages in the year 768 A.D. but three centuries later (in 1054 A.D.) it shrank so much as to hold only four thousand villages. Yet its customary designation "Visaya" continued to be in use at least for three hundred years. On the contrary the division which was known as Nasik "Visaya" in one inscription came to be designated as a "Desa" in another, issued just thirty years later. And the same region of Puri Konkan was alternately referred to as Desa, Mahadesa, Mandala and Konkan 1400 in different inscriptions of the Shilaharas. In view of these facts it is never safe to make any general statement about the size of any unit on the strength of its name which may prove misleading. The Yadavas partly removed this difficulty by naming their major administrative division as 'Desa' and minor as 'Kampana'.<sup>20</sup>

#### Under the Yadavas

The sovereign power of the Yadavas of Deogiri has proved itself to be of great importance in the cultural history of Maharashtra. Contributions of Sanskrit scholars have been most valuable in the fields of Jyotisha, Dharmashastra and Sangita. Bhaskaracharya was the source of inspiration for five or six generations of Jyotishkas. Seminaries were opened for the study of astronomy and astrology. Shripatibhatta from Vidarbha, wrote his *Jyotisaratnamala* with a commentary in Marathi to independently deal for the first time with *Muhurta* which later came to be treated as a separate Skandha in Jyotishashastra. Hemadri's work on *Dharmashastra* has commanded high esteem in Telangana while Apararkatika on Yajnavalka Smriti has its influence in Kashmir.

*Sangita Ratnakara* of Sharangadeva (1247 A.D.) is a landmark in the development of Indian music. This is the most noteworthy cultural contribution of Maharashtra. This epochmaking treatise has been regarded as the source of modern trends in music in the north as well as in the South. There was already an independent tradition of music in Maharashtra of the 13th century. The names like *Gopala Nayak*, *Damodar Pandit*, *Namadeva*, *Jnanesvara* etc. bear ample evidence for it. *Sangita-Ratnakara* discusses the theory and practice of music current during the days of its author. It is written in Sanskrit but a number of regional words have been used as technical terms. Later Parsvadeva has surpassed Sharangadeva in adopting Deshi material in his *Sangita Samayasara*. This inevitable inclusion of regional words in the flow of Sanskrit-writing of these competent scholars reflects their confidence in the capacity of local words to convey new concepts in scientific exposition of music. The regional element has helped a good deal to enrich the terminology of Indian Music.

Marathi, the regional language of Maharashtra, had gained enough maturity and gathered sufficient strength to become a medium of literary expression. The language rapidly prospered with literary compositions of Mukundaraja, Chakradhara, Jñanesvara and others. The spontaneous outburst of Jñanesvara while delivering discourses on *Bhagavadgita* made people aware of the extreme tenderness, great force and infinite capacity of their mother tongue. They already knew its simplicity and homeliness from the utterances of Chakradhara. Chakradhara and Jñanesvara were the founders of the two major devotional cults well known as Mahanubhava and Varakari. The coming into existence of these religious cults marks another salient feature of the Yadava regime as they have played an important role in moulding the life of the Maharashtrians. The cultural life of mediaeval India was predominated by religion. Consequently, the influence and efficiency of the regional religious cults have been primarily responsible for the enrichment of vernacular languages and development of individual characteristics giving shape to regional culture. The egoism in Maharashtra must be understood in this light.

Marathi was rarely used by the earlier rulers in their inscribed grants though it was the chief language of communication. The Yadava sovereigns patronised Marathi at their courts, issued copperplate grants wholly composed in Marathi, which acquired the status of a royal language. With fresh realisation of its capacity, esteem for Marathi surged high in the minds of poets like Jñanesvara, Narendra, Narayana Vyasa etc. who gave free expression to their confidence through the mother tongue. Pride for the language did not fail to create attachment for its land. Chakradhara, because of his love for the land and language, circumscribed the field for spreading his doctrine to coincide with the boundaries of Marathi.

### Definite Extent

Chakradhara was continually travelling all over Maharashtra to the end of his life. His itinerary is recorded in a Mahanubhava text called *Sthanapotbi* in minute details. *Sthanapotbi*, therefore, is a rich mine of geographical information about Maharashtra in the 13th Century A.D. Chakradhara used to move from village to village on foot. And such names of towns and villages, rivers and hills, as he came across in the course of his movement have been recorded with relative direction and distance in the *Sthanapotbi*. He was particular in not walking a step on the Kanada and Telangana land. The movement of Chakradhara, according to this text, covered the districts of Amaravati, Akola, Buldhana, Nagpur, Bhandra and Chanda in Vidarbha, Aurangabad, Nanded, Bidar in Marathwada including a small portion of Adilabad district and Khandesh (East and West), Nasik, Ahmednagar and Phaltan in the former province of Bombay. It must be observed here Chakradhara's visit to some places in the Adilabad district indicates prevalence of Marathi language there.

Looking to the geographical extent of Maharashtra from the find-spots of inscriptions in the Marathi language it may be said that it included Balaghat, Chanda, Khandesh, Thana Goa, Belgaum, Poona, Nagar, Satara, Sholapur, Nasik and Osmanabad districts together with the former States of Bhore, Miraj, Modhol etc.<sup>21</sup>

This expanse of Maharashtra outlined from the findspots of inscriptions remarkably agrees with its linguistic or rather dialectal divisions mentioned in *Mahabhasya* on the first sutra of *Acarapatha* of the Mahanubhavas. It states that Marathi language spread all over Berar down to the south of Phaltan covering a part of Kuntal desa. It divides Maharashtra into five different "Khandas" according to major dialects of Marathi as : (1) South of Phaltan wherever

Marathi is spoken, (2) from Phaltan to the end of Balaghat, (3) the banks of Godavari, (4) from Godavari to Mehenkar Ghat and (5) the entire Varhada.<sup>22</sup> This leaves no doubt that the people here regarded Maharashtra to be co-extensive with the area of Marathi as a spoken language. This division on the basis of dialects was purely for cultural purpose.

While various dialects differing a little from one another were the means of communication of the common-man, literary compositions of the learned were cultivating a standard literary form commonly understood by all.

Love of the people for the motherland is voiced when authors like Chakradhara, Jñanesvara, Tryambakaraj, Eknath, Dasopant, Munisantosh and others sing of her merits. The regional pride of Muktesvara goes to the extent of regarding Maharashtra as the lord of all the Rashtras.

### Dark Period

By the end of the first decade of the 14th century the Sultan of Delhi seized the entire kingdom of the Yadavas spread over the largest area when Ramadevarao was ruling. Muslim officers appointed by the Sultan for administration of the newly acquired land in the Deccan were striving to rule as independent kings. Among them were the Bahmanis who had influenced the history of Maharashtra. The Bahmani kingdom, founded at Gulbarga in 1347 A.D. by Hasan Gangu, spread over almost the whole of Maharashtra, from Narmada to Krishna and from Sahyadri to the forest of Gondvan and Telangan. Khandesh lay on its border; but later a large part of it was captured by Yusuf, the Subedar of Daulatabad. A portion of land including Dabhol, Chaul in Konkan, and Wai, Kolhapur in Desha came under Bahmani control in the reign of Mahmudshah II. In

1485 A.D. this kingdom broke into five separate pieces, three of which have mattered in the political life of Maharashtra. They are known to the Marathas as Adilshahi of Bijapur, Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and Imadshahi of Varhada. Baridshahi of Bidar included a part of Marathwada.

The Bahmanis did not harass their Hindu subjects, but they were particular about keeping able Hindu officers away from occupying high posts at their court. Muslim families grew prosperous and rose high in status due to royal patronage for want of which Hindu nobles gradually lost political importance in their own land. Enormous in number, Muslim missionaries from the north were making assaults one after the other for the spread of Sufi cult and Muslim culture in the Deccan. Bahmanis supported them considerably. A net-work of the Sufi Avaliyas spread itself from Gulbarga and Golkonda in the East to Pena and Poona in the West.<sup>23</sup> They erected their Dargas and influenced the life of the people all over Maharashtra. The impact of Muslims on the culture and language of the Hindus was apparent even in the days of the Peshwas.

The Maratha soldier who scarcely had any scope to prove his mettle under the Bahmanis found good opportunity at the courts of Nizamshah and Adilshah who were always mutually vying for power and domination. A number of Maratha families came to the forefront in the political game. Loyalty to the king and to the state, the highly praised virtues of the Maratha, kept all the noblemen engaged in protecting the prestige of their master and made them sensitive to their personal position and name of the family. Maratha noblemen in the employment of hostile rulers of Ahmednagar and Bijapur fought amongst themselves as enemies. Political ambition and growing hostility made them blunt to the sense of unity. This deplorable lack of unity and absence of confidence to

rule independently kept them away from the idea of building up a separate kingdom of Hindus.

About a century and a half after the decline of the Yadavas had been a dark period in the political and cultural life of Maharashtra. Within fifty years of political domination of the Muslims in the Deccan almost all Hindu kingdoms came to an end and with them their military activities. The span of social life shrank automatically with the loss of support from the state. No exponent of Hindu religion worth the name could influence the people. Consequently, the spread of religion became almost ineffective. Inspiration for literary creation also seems to have abated. No outstanding event in any field is visible during this dark period.

### Awakening

It is only in the 16th century that the religious and literary lead of Eknath has been responsible for the general awakening of the people at large in times before Shivaji. The credit of reviving religion and culture in Maharashtra goes largely to him. Eknath started a new age in the history of Marathi literature widening its scope and introducing variety in the mode of expression. He accepted the narrative form, themes from every day life and use of all the poetic sentiments. His compositions enlightened the learned and entertained the laymen. Songs composed by Eknath known as Gavalans, Garuds and Bharuds are very much popular with the common man even to this day. His *Bhavartha Ramayana* presents a vivid picture of the contemporary society. Eknath has repeatedly tried to impress on the mind of his readers that Rama was striving hard to rescue the religion in danger and protected the cows and Brahmins. A keen observer may not fail to see that the compositions of Eknath and Muktesvara have cultivated the ground in Maratha country which proved helpful to Shivaji, the *Gobrah-*

*manaprasadipalaka*, in securing the cooperation of brave Marathas for the foundation of Hindavi Rajya.

### Maratha Power

Hinduism, suppressed for nearly three centuries by political bondage, exclusion from administration and legal repression, found its saviour in Shivaji. He was the first Maratha to challenge Adilshah and the Sultan of Delhi to gain independence and prestige. Shivaji succeeded in bringing together the Maratha Sardars in the service of Muslim rulers in the Deccan for building up a nation. His success in moulding them into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and destiny, infused new life into the Marathas.

Ramdas, the preceptor of Shivaji, was grieved to see the Marathas converted to Islam, their political suppression and their finding refuge with the Portuguese which had seriously affected the land. He, therefore, stressed the need of uniting all the Maratha people in order to promote "*Maharashtra Dharma*".<sup>21</sup> There may be a difference of opinion about the meaning of this term but that it had regional significance is beyond doubt. Another expression indicative of regional feeling was "*Maharashtra Rajya*" which was current for sometime in the same period.

The kingdom of Shivaji spread over Konkan from Surat to Goa and a small part east of Sahyadri. He wrested Kolhapur, Belgaum and Dharwar districts from the noblemen of Bijapur, but the remaining Marathi land was completely with the Muslims.<sup>22</sup> The southern part was divided between Nizamshah and Adilshah while Varhad, Khandesh and Aurangabad were the three subahs forming a part of the Mughal Empire. The strip of entire Konkan and the part called Maval, originally separate, were permanently merged into Maharashtra, but the land round Paithan and Deogiri remained with the Muslim rulers

to their last. Nevertheless, the cultural activity started by Jnanesvara and revived by Eknath continued without a break at places like Paithan, Beed, Nanded, etc. in the Nizam's dominion.

Varhad was governed by the Bhosale family of Nagpur when the Peshwas were ruling from Poona. Bhosales never realised that the land they governed was a part and parcel of the Maratha kingdom, consequently they did not recognise the need of forming a united front of the Marathas to fight and expel the foreign foe from the land. Battles between the Nizam and the Peshwa were fought by the Maratha armies on the opposite sides as before.

The Peshwas came from Konkan; though they were ruling over the Maratha kingdom they could not completely become one with the concept of Desha. Shivaji had aimed at establishing an independent kingdom of the Hindus and ambitiously exerted for its expansion. The Peshwas, on the other hand, cherished a desire successfully to carry on the administration of the Mughal Empire in India. This serious difference in their attitudes could not but tell on the political history and life in general of Maharashtra.

### British Rule

Quick in locating holes in political situations, the British availed themselves of every opportunity to grasp control of the land on the strength of their trade and subsidiary system. The British Government divided India into various provinces for administrative purpose. Each province was made up of different districts which in turn were subdivided in talukas. Their formation of provinces followed no principles, whether political, geographical, historical or linguistic. The Bombay province was made up of districts speaking Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi and Kanarese. But the Marathi-speaking Berar formed a sepa-

rate unit while the five districts of Marathwada were in the Nizam's dominion. This lack of any principle was felt by the British since Lord Curzon. Lord Hardinge was of the opinion that race and language should serve as a criterion for the reconstitution of Indian provinces. This view was supported by the Joint Parliamentary Board appointed for Montague Chelmsford Reforms, and by the Simon Commission. It had become clear to them that a single homogeneous unit would help smooth administration with increased efficiency. On attaining provincial autonomy the legislative council of the Central Provinces passed a bill in 1938 to create a separate province of Maha-Vidarbha on the basis of language. But it could not be brought into effect on account of the Second World War. Since complete independence of India in 1947, the problem of linguistic provinces gained considerable importance in the eyes of the Central administration.

Apart from the steps taken by the Government, if we cast a glance at the reaction of the people to this problem we find that the leaders of Maharashtra were engaged in discussing the question of nationalism as early as the middle of the 19th century A.D. Jambhekar, Lokahitawadi, Chiplunkar, Tilak, and Agarkar may have differed from one another in their notions about the exact connotation of the term, but each one of them has done his best to arouse the spirit of nationalism in the minds of the people. Lokmanya Tilak voiced the demand of linguistic provinces in the manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party in 1918 when it was discussed quite at length. The Indian National Congress for the first time in 1921 constituted linguistic provinces for convenience of its own working, but even here Maharashtra remained divided into four parts. The Report of the Nehru Committee (1928)<sup>23</sup> also gave priority to language as a basis for reconstitution of provinces recommending, in addition, consideration to geographical and economic circum-

tances of each province. The Marathi Sahitya Sammelan held at Belgaum in 1946 passed a resolution demanding Samyukta Maharashtra and a few months later an institution called Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad began to function. The map of Maharashtra prepared by this Parishad includes the present state of Maharashtra. The only portions excluded from it are the Belgaum district and the region of the Dangs.

### Review

In retrospect we see that though the history of some places in Maharashtra goes back to at least 4 lakhs of years, the regional characteristics of Maharashtra came to be felt only in the 7th Century A.D. and the consciousness of its individuality and the increasing pride of the natives for the region find free expression in the 13th Century A.D. for the first time. The entire land of Marathi language was never under any one political control after the Yadavas. Konkan, originally an independent country, was annexed to the Yadava empire in the 13th century and had been merged into Maharashtra in the 17th century. The Mahanubhavas have clearly shown cultural and linguistic unity of Vidarbha, Marathwada and Maharashtra (in Bombay province) which continues to this day, but these

parts remained politically divided until recently. Many social and cultural aspects of life historically go back to the Yadava period. With Chakradhara and Jnanesvara at the head, religio-cultural centres were in Vidarbha and Marathwada from 12th to 16th century. But they shifted to Poona and Satara districts in the 17th century when Tukaram and Ramdas had a strong influence on the people. The tenets of Bhagavata Dharma as preached by Jnanesvara, Maharashtra Dharma stressed by Ramdas and the emulous tradition of the brave Marathas, these three taken together served as the source of inspiration for the progress of the Nationalist movement started in the 19th century. As the linguistic, social and cultural unity of the people went on solidifying, regional egoism became sharper day by day. Consciousness of regional individuality and sense of National integrity was so heightened as to culminate in the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra on linguistic principle and acquisition of the same.

The present state of Maharashtra includes all the Marathi region the vague outline of which was visualised by the Mahanubhavas in the 13th century A.D. with the addition of Konkan and Kolhapur.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Gandhi: Theory and Practice: Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance'** Edited by DR. S. C. BISWAS. Published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. 1969. Pp. xvi + 635. Price Rs. 60/-. £ 7, \$ 22.00.

The Indian Institute of Advanced Study has been responsible for organizing a number of seminars where the discussions have been of a high quality. The Director, Professor Niharranjan Ray, has chosen the subjects well and has been concerned mostly with problems of great contemporary significance, whether they lie in the field of political thought, social action, religions, science, literature or the Arts. The present volume which forms the eleventh in the series of Transactions is devoted to the following subject: *Gandhi: Theory and Practice: Social Impact And Contemporary Relevance*. A seminar on this subject was held on October 13 to October 26, 1968. The task of editing was entrusted to Dr. S. C. Biswas and has indeed been done with great care and efficiency.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I contains the Introductory and Inaugural Addresses, Part II consists of Papers which have been classified into the following Sections:

General; Gandhi on Social Cohesion and Social Change; Gandhi's Economic Ideas and their implementation; Gandhi's Political Ideas and Movements: and lastly Gandhi's Legacy and Contemporary Relevance.

Part III of the book contains a record of discussions on each of the Sections presented in Part II.

Prof. Niharranjan Ray apparently took great care in choosing participants from as wide a range as possible. They included Economists, Social Scientists, Journalists, people from the Liberal Arts, etc. Among participants we also find the names of members of the Communist Party of India, of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and others not having any particular commitment. It was wise to choose men from a varied range of intellectual disciplines and of political affiliation. The result has been of great interest and also of great value. It is unfortunate that some of the overseas delegates like George E. G. Catlin or Gene Sharp, Ethel Mannin were not able to come, but this did not very much weaken the seminar because it was illuminated by lively discussions of a high order from those who came.

It would be difficult to refer to all the outstanding papers which have been printed in this book of more than 600 pages. But we can draw particular attention to some of the papers because they present an original, and sometimes a very unorthodox view of what Gandhi stood for.

Shri T. K. Mahadevan's Paper strikes a new note when he tries to show that the root of Gandhi's life and action lies in his concept of Truth; and this was derived from orthodox Hindu traditions rather than from Gandhi's readings or contacts with the West. Dr. Margaret Chatterjee tries to emphasize Gandhi's conception of collective action, the point which is often overlooked by his admirers in the West. In the West the appeal of Gandhi has more been as an individual who stands out in opposition to the submergence to which the personality of man has

been subjected by recent developments in western technology and industrial organization. In India, Gandhiji's special contribution was, however, in the direction of collective action in which he tried to involve common men and women and raised them through progressive collective action into higher reaches of institutional and personal change.

Gandhiji's economic and political ideas have also been presented from different points of view, and a fine comparison has been made between Gandhi and Marx by Professor A. K. Das Gupta, Director of the A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies. Dr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya has tried to present and analyse Gandhi's concept of Freedom and his attitude towards political power. The concept of power has also been subjected to critical examination by Professor V. V. Ramana Murli and Shri Mohit Sen.

Among some of the other papers we find the comparison between what Gandhi did in India as well as what is happening in the Arab World or in the American Negro experiment in non-violent protest.

On the whole, one can say without hesitation that this publication of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study is undoubtedly one of the best which has been published during the celebration of the Gandhi Centenary. The Institute and its Director deserve our special congratulation on this account.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**The Military Despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General** by DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, being an English translation of the HAFT ANJUMAN of Munshi Udairaj alias Tale'yar Khan (Benares Ms. 53b-93b). Published by Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta 1969. 158 pp. Price Rs. 20/-.

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, who had the rare honour of being a disciple of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, has followed his guru in choosing Aurangzeb's military exploits as the subject of his studies. In the choice of his viewpoint, however, he deviated from his teacher. Instead of studying Mughal history at its centre, the Imperial Court, he investigated into the system at a lower level, that of Aurangzeb's generals. The study of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, commander of Aurangzeb's army in the Deccan, does not only offer a rare insight into military thinking of seventeenth century India, but significantly adds to our understanding of Mughal rule and policy. It allows some additional glimpses into the history of Shivaji.

The author has combined three scattered articles of his on the subject, written between the years 1964 and 1966, and his translation of the *Haft Anjuman* by Munshi Udairaj (from the Benares manuscript) published between 1962 and 1966 in *Bengal, Past and Present*, into one book. In the first part, the introduction, the author relates the story of the manuscript of the *Haft Anjuman*, the relationship between Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Shivaji, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur and the recall of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and his death. The second part forms the annotated translation of the *Haft Anjuman* with despatches relating to the capture of Purandar (section A), the Bijapur campaign (section B), Jai Singh's policy towards Shivaji (section C), preparations for the invasion of Bijapur (section D) and the campaign in Bijapur (section E). In the appendix, the author provides "military and administrative details gleaned from the despatches" and an "identification of some place names."

Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's despatches to his imperial master Aurangzeb deal with the conduct of his military campaign against Shivaji and Bijapur. They inform about the capture

and occupation of the Maratha forts, like Purandar and others, the composition of forces, the significance of artillery, the remuneration of the fighting men, problems of logistics and other matters of a military nature. They are in themselves very informative, adding to our image of seventeenth century India. Yet the subjects touched upon by the despatches and Sarkar's elucidating comments transgress the purely military field. They deal to a large extent with the connection between military affairs and politics, in particular with the relationship between imperial rule and an army commander's decisions in far-off theatres of war, and with the interplay of diplomacy and military expediency. One of the difficulties, and indeed a "great handicap for the Mughal Empire" in those days, proved to be an inadequate system of communication (p. 13). Such a state of affairs compelled Aurangzeb to delegate power and invest Jai Singh with "absolute authority" in his military operations against Bijapur (p. 27), and when the Bijapur campaign ended in disaster (p. 28), he did not hesitate to recall his general and make him the scapegoat of failure, a step which meets with the moral condemnation of the author, who comments: "It was an irony of fate that the person ordering the campaign [i.e. Aurangzeb] should so shamefacedly shift his responsibility on to the shoulders of his agent." (p. 35). The incongruity of imperial rule and generalship, i.e. the total dependence of Jai Singh on the emperor's orders and his total independence in conducting the campaign, naturally led to confusion and might explain the failure, at least to some extent. The army, infested by corruption and subversive activity (p. 34), seems indeed to have been ill-prepared for the ambitious task Aurangzeb had set it. Whether Jai Singh, therefore, can be completely exempted from his share of responsibility for the military disaster, does not seem to be as certain as the author thinks.

The extent to which war and diplomacy were intertwined becomes obvious in Jai Singh's campaign against Shivaji, the ingenious leader of the Marathas. Whereas Aurangzeb would have liked to see Shivaji deprived of all power and possessions after his surrender of Purandar, Jai Singh held it unwise to think in terms of total victory and revenge, and pleaded with his imperial master to allow Shivaji to keep twelve forts and his territory; the surrender of twenty three forts would enable the Mughals to keep the Maratha leader sufficiently under control (pp. 12 ff.). Jai Singh planned to use an alliance with the beaten Marathas for his subsequent difficult campaign against Bijapur. Such a policy alone raises Jai Singh far above the ordinary general who is used to see his duties in military terms only. The statescraft reflected in Jai Singh's action, rare with statesmen and hardly existing among the military profession, is of the kind exercised by Bismarck who persuaded his royal master not to give vent to his feeling of revenge and humiliate his Austrian adversary by marching triumphantly into Vienna, but to think in terms of the future when Prussia and Germany would need Austria as an ally. The author has this in mind when he states: "In ultimate analysis, however, the art of war is nothing but a mental process, nothing but an outcome of reflection and resolution." (p. 135).

That actual war was, even in the seventeenth century, much more than just a battle fought between contending armies which left the people unaffected, but that it was a matter of economics as well, has been illustrated at various places (cf. pp. 31, 53, 80 f., 137 and 145). The *Haft Anjuman* is indeed of considerable interest not only to the so-called military historian, but also to the economic historian. In the words of the author and translator: "The despatches make definite mention of the immense harm which warfare caused to economic life, — decline of revenue

due to flight of peasants, depopulation and unsettled conditions." (pp. 144 f.).

Some minor points of criticism only. It might have been worthwhile to standardize the writing of a few names: Golkonda or Golkunda, Udiraj or Udairaj, Taleyar or Tale'yar. The map to illustrate Jai Singh's campaigns in the Deccan is well drawn up, but one would have liked to have it somewhat larger. And finally: why is there no No. 1 in the list of place-names in the index to the map?

All in all, the author and translator has done a significant service to mediaeval Indian historiography by taking upon himself the arduous task of digging out the *Haft Anjuman* from its dusty archival place, rendering it into English and thus making it available to further historical research. His explanations and comments are most illustrative and greatly help to put this seventeenth century document into its proper perspective. In his effort, the author has followed the path of his teacher Sir Jadunath Sarkar and has fittingly dedicated his book to the memory of this great Indian historian.

J. H. VOIGT

**Kingdom of the Punjab, 1839-45,** by BARKAT RAI CHOPRA, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur 1969, pp. xx + 497.

The brief span of less than seven years between the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 and the first war of his successors with the British in 1845-46 has attracted the serious attention of historians rather recently. Dr Barkat Rai Chopra's substantial volume on this important phase of the history of the Punjab is easily the most scholarly monograph to appear on the subject. Originally a doctoral thesis, this work is based largely on contemporary source material, consisting

chiefly of official correspondence and news-letters and diaries in English and Persian. The author has consulted also a large number of Persian chronicles and some *parwanahs* and *sanads*, besides the accounts of travellers and later writers. The book is well indexed and contains several reproductions of contemporary paintings as well as some interesting and useful appendices.

The *Kingdom of the Punjab* consists of twelve chapters. The first, as a point of departure, depicts briefly the condition of the Punjab at the time of Ranjit Singh's death. The last, as a befitting conclusion, contains the author's observations on the decline of the power of the rulers of the Punjab. The history of this decline itself is given in ten chapters of over four hundred well annotated pages. The first three of these ten chapters are devoted to the reign of Kharak Singh, to Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh and to "the interregnum" of Mai Chand Kaur. Six chapters are given to the reigns of Sher Singh and Dalip Singh, marking the significant stages of these two reigns between which is interposed a chapter on the "punishment of the regicides". The mere mention of this chapterization may suggest that the author's main concern is with political history.

Indeed, Dr Chopra deals with only the political history of the Punjab from 1839 to 1943. Political history is not the whole of history and a "kingdom" need not be equated simply with political events. But we may judge the author of the *Kingdom of the Punjab* for what he has attempted to do and not by what he has chosen not to. Dr. Chopra claims that he has presented "bare facts, as gleaned from dependable and irrefutable sources". It may be readily conceded that his political narrative has a solid factual basis and this surely is the most commendable part of his work. Dr Chopra believes that he has allowed the facts "to speak for themselves and to tell their own story". But every work-

ing historian who is aware of his task knows that facts do not speak for themselves; they are made to speak by the historian's choice; and the very choice of a fact involves a certain judgment about its significance. In any case, Dr Chopra has included many a fact of relative insignificance in his narrative and this indiscrimination in choice militates against proper emphasis. Also, Dr Chopra does not attempt to relate individual actions to either the political idiom or the institutional framework of the times and this results

in a certain amount of lack in depth. There is no need of mentioning minor shortcomings, for hardly any work is free from minor blemishes.

The solid merit of Dr Chopra's *Kingdom of the Punjab* far outweighs its limitations and minor shortcomings. This work should be indispensable for every serious student of the history of the Punjab.

J. S. GREWAL

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