

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES

Vol. XI

1971-72

No. 4



THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES

AD 120617
RRM 1359
73.

2106



VOLUME XI

(1971-72)

NUMBER 4

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

35, THEATRE ROAD, CALCUTTA-17

Director : DR. S. P. SEN

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (1969-72)

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR (*Calcutta*).

MM. D. V. POTDAR (*Poona*).

DR. BISHESHWAR PRASAD (*Allahabad*).

DR. K. K. DATTA (*Patna*).

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (*Delhi*).

PRINCIPAL P. G. MAVLANKAR (*Ahmedabad*).

PROFESSOR NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE (*Delhi*).

DR. H. K. SHERWANI (*Hyderabad*).

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA (*Agra*).

DR. H. L. GUPTA (*Saugar*).

DR. K. K. PILLAY (*Madras*).

DR. P. C. GUPTA (*Visva-Bharati*).

DR. D. C. SARKAR (*Calcutta*).

DR. H. K. BARNUJARI (*Gauhati*).

DR. A. K. NARAIN (*Banaras*).

DR. V. D. RAO (*Kolhapur*).

DR. G. S. DIKSHIT (*Mysore*).

DR. GANDA SINGH (*Patiala*).

DR. V. G. HATALKAR (*Bombay*).

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES

ASO (11) U
RRM 1359
73

VOLUME XI

(1971-72)

NUMBER 4

EDITOR : S. P. SEN

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	183
IRISH NATIONALIST CRITICISM OF THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA (1880-1884) — <i>Dr. John V. Crangle</i>	189
AUTHORSHIP OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854 — <i>Dr. Prashanto K. Chatterjee</i>	195
THE SATAVAHANA RULERS AND MALWA — <i>Dr. Kailash Chand Jain</i>	202
HOYSALA INFLUENCE IN ANDHRADESA — <i>Dr. V. Yashoda Devi</i>	205
SOME ASPECTS OF MUGHAL ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS (Review Article) — <i>Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar</i>	211
CHATURSING BHOSLE : HIS ATTEMPT FOR THE RESTORATION OF SATARA'S SOVEREIGNTY — <i>S. S. Desai</i>	217
THE ASSASSINATION OF MATHABAR SINGH, PRIME MINISTER OF NEPAL (1845) — <i>S. G. Mishra</i>	223
A REPORT ON RESEARCH IN U.S.A. IN THE HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA — <i>Dr. V. D. Rao</i>	227
A REPORT ON THE ZETLAND COLLECTION (1917-1940) — <i>B. M. Sankhdher</i>	231
BOOK REVIEWS	233

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

35, THEATRE ROAD, CALCUTTA-17.

Annual Subscription: India—Rs. 20.00; U.S.A. & Canada—\$7.50; Other Countries—£ 2. 25

Advertisement Rates :

	(PER ISSUE)	(ANNUAL—4 ISSUES)
Back Cover—	Rs. 300	Rs. 1100
2nd or 3rd Cover—	Rs. 275	Rs. 1000
Full Page—	Rs. 200	Rs. 700
Half Page—	Rs. 125	Rs. 400

Cheques, Postal Orders and Money Orders are to be sent to

THE EDITOR,
THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
35, THEATRE ROAD, CALCUTTA-17.

Books for Review are to be sent in duplicate.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

Vol. XI

(1971-72)

No. 4

EDITORIAL

Dictionary of National Biography :

We are very happy to announce that the First Volume of the Dictionary of National Biography was officially released by the Director of the Institute of Historical Studies at a Press Conference at the Oberoi Inter-continental Hotel in New Delhi on 13th August. It was very well attended and all the important papers all over the country, as also the All-India Radio, gave a good coverage in recognition of the unique national importance of this monumental publication. While releasing the First Volume the Director stated that the next three volumes were also ready and would be released at an interval of three months each.

The Dictionary of National Biography was first undertaken about nine years ago. When one comes to the end of a long journey, there is a sense of relief and joy. We are particularly happy to be able to share our feeling of satisfaction with our readers all over the world.

The Dictionary of National Biography in four volumes is the first attempt of its kind in India on the lines of similar works in other countries. Its publication in 1972 is particularly appropriate as coinciding with the 25th

Anniversary of Indian Independence. On this happy occasion we offer, as the most befitting present to the nation, the Dictionary of National Biography, dedicated to the memory of all those Indians (and also foreigners who made India their home) who, working in different spheres of life, holding different ideas and following different methods, had contributed to the making of modern India. It is our sacred duty on this auspicious occasion to remind the new, post-independence generation of the debt of gratitude it owes to the earlier generations, whose labours and sacrifices have made possible all that we are enjoying to-day.

The period covered by the present Dictionary of National Biography is from 1800 to 1947. The period has been deliberately limited, to give it a distinctive character, which it really has in Indian history. In spite of the fact that history is a continuous process, nobody can deny that there is a great 'divide' between the 18th century and the 19th. New ideas and new forces appeared in the early part of the 19th century, which reached their fruition in 1947 with the achievement of independence. The year 1947 again is an important dividing line in modern Indian history, not only because of the parti-

tion of the country but also because of the newer ideas and forces which came to motivate the post-independence generation and the changed social, political and economic conditions which emerged in the new India.

However, as in other countries, we propose to make the Dictionary of National Biography a continuing work. After the publication of the present four volumes of the Dictionary, covering the period from 1800 to 1947, we propose to start work on the first twenty-five years after independence as a supplement, to bring the Dictionary up-to-date. Later supplements will also be brought out at regular intervals.

The Dictionary of National Biography includes people from all walks of life — politics, religious and social reforms, education, journalism, literature, science, law, business and industry, etc. — who had made some tangible contribution to national life from the beginning of the 19th century to the achievement of independence. For limitation of space and resources, however, one restricting factor has been followed, namely that the person to be included in the Dictionary must not only have achieved some reputation in his own sphere of work or profession but must also have made some contribution, either directly or indirectly, to the growth of national consciousness or development of society.

Since the period covered by the Dictionary of National Biography comes down to 1947, our perspective is naturally the whole of the undivided India as it stood before independence. Therefore, we have included many persons belonging to the areas which later came to be known as Pakistan and Bangladesh, and also those who migrated from India to Pakistan at the time of the partition or after. The reason for their inclusion is obvious and incontrovertible. There was no Pakistan or Bangladesh before 1947, and

those persons who ceased to be Indians in 1947 were as much Indians before 1947 as any body else. In the supplementary project, covering the period from 1947 to 1972, we shall, of course, confine ourselves to only those who belonged to the Indian Union.

Although modelled on similar works in other countries, the present DNB differs from others in one fundamental respect. It does not exclude persons who may be still living, if they are otherwise deserving of inclusion in the Dictionary. We are fully conscious that this departure from the normal practice is open to criticism from many quarters. But our explanation is clear. Since the present volume is intended as a grateful homage of the present generation to those illustrious men and women who have contributed to the making of modern India, it would not be fair to exclude any such person only on the ground that he is still in our midst. If anybody is worthy of esteem and gratitude, there is no harm in giving him his due even when he is alive instead of waiting till after his death.

The total number of biographical entries included in the 4 Volumes of the Dictionary of National Biography is nearly 1400. Very careful attention was paid to the selection of names. The lists for different States were first drawn up in 1964, and down to 1969 they were subjected to careful annual scrutiny and revision. We had sent up the lists every year to various persons belonging to different walks of life and representing a cross-section of public opinion. Following their suggestions the lists were revised several times, leaving out some of the names originally included and adding new ones. We are fully conscious that even our final list for the DNB is not likely to please everybody. Opinions differ so much that it is impossible to achieve unanimity in the selection of names. All that we can say is that we have done all that was humanly possible in the selection of names

or the DNB. If it still hurts some one that a particular name has been omitted or that a particular name has been included, we are helpless. In a matter like this it is impossible to please everyone.

In the Dictionary of National Biography Volumes the names have been put in strict alphabetical order, irrespective of State or region, community, religion and caste. For the purpose of the DNB everybody is an Indian and not a Punjabi or a Bengalee, a Hindu or a Muslim, a Brahmin or a Harijan. It is hoped that this arrangement of names of the makers of modern India will go a long way to promote a feeling of national integration among the present generation who need it very badly in the context of the current divisive forces.

The Dictionary of National Biography is being brought out in four volumes, each volume of nearly the same size. Volume I covers names from A to D; Volume II from E to L; Volume III from M to R; and Volume IV from S to Z. Each volume contains approximately 300 to 350 biographical sketches.

Biographical entries in the DNB are naturally of varying lengths according to the contribution made by an individual to national life. The length varies from a minimum of 600 words to a maximum of 2400 words, with two intermediate stages of 1000 and 1600 words.

One distinctive feature of the present Dictionary of National Biography is that at the end of each entry a selected bibliography has been given for the more serious readers. The bibliography includes published works, unpublished documents and private papers and also personal interviews of the Research Fellow and personal information of the Contributor who may have been closely associated with the person on whom he has written. In the bibliography we have given more empha-

sis on Indian language source material, e.g., biographies, general works, newspapers, literary works, pamphlets, etc in all the regional languages of India.

We have tried to observe uniformity of pattern as far as possible in respect of the biographical entries. We had issued a standard Material Collection Format to guide Research Fellows in the collection of bio-data and also detailed Instructions to Contributors laying down uniform guide-lines regarding the length and pattern of the biographical entries. But one should appreciate that when 32 Research Fellows have collected material in different States and regions and nearly 350 Contributors have written the biographical sketches, it is hardly possible to expect complete uniformity. While editing the biographical entries we have tried to maintain uniformity of pattern as far as possible, but we cannot claim that our attempt has been fully successful. Nor do we think it desirable to have rigid uniformity in all cases. After all, it is also necessary to preserve the distinctive style and character of an individual's writing. It makes the DNB more interesting and colourful.

The Dictionary of National Biography Project was undertaken about 9 years ago, in 1963-64. The first year was taken up by planning, setting up the necessary organisational machinery on an all-India basis, appointing and training Research Fellows in different States, drawing up tentative lists of names from different States to be included in the DNB, preparing guide-lines for collection of material and enlisting support and co-operation from Universities, Newspapers, Political Parties, Learned Associations, and the Central and State Governments.

The next five years were taken up by collecting biographical material. It was done by 32 Research Fellows in different States and regions working under the supervision of the

local University Professors. The Research Fellows evinced keen interest in their work, with a sense of dedication of which we are really proud.

The next two years were taken up by the writing of actual biographical entries on the basis of the material collected by the Research Fellows. The task was entrusted to nearly 350 Contributors all over the country. In order to ensure uniformity of treatment, elaborate instructions were issued to the Contributors indicating length, style, arrangement of material, nature of bibliography, etc. We are happy to note that the Contributors took their work with all seriousness, and in many cases they undertook additional labour to collect supplementary material. Of the 350 Contributors nearly 250 are professional historians drawn from all the major Universities. It is most gratifying that we could secure the kind co-operation of most of the well-known historians in the country. The remaining 100 Contributors have distinguished themselves in other spheres of life. They include Union and State Cabinet Ministers, Governors, High Court Judges, Ambassadors, leading figures of all the Political Parties in the country, Vice-Chancellors, journalists, lawyers, scientists, litterateurs, social workers, industrialists, etc. We are happy to note that these Contributors have fully justified their inclusion by bringing a freshness of approach and treatment which has enhanced the value of the DNB.

The ninth year was fully taken up by editing work. It was a most strenuous process. On the one hand, we wanted to preserve the distinctive character of an individual's writing, and on the other, we had to look to the needs of some basic uniformity. We take this opportunity to apologise to the Contributors for the changes made in their entries. We hope that they will kindly appreciate that these changes were necessitated by the edi-

torial duty of preserving uniformity and the over-all plan of the DNB Project.

Of the total Project cost in ten years, Rs. 8,50,000/-, we received about half from the Government of India and from all the State Governments. The balance was found from other sources, including the Institute's own resources.

From the short history given above it will be evident that the DNB Project has been completed in as short a time as one could expect for a Project of this magnitude and at a minimum cost to the nation. We feel happy about it.

The Dictionary of National Biography is meant not only for serious students of history but also for the general public. The style of writing, arrangement of facts and general approach to the subject are all intended to serve that purpose. We feel that everyone of the present generation, irrespective of his particular field of work, must know how modern India was created. It is a most fascinating study to see how different individuals or groups, working in different spheres of life, following different methods and motivated by different ideas, slowly built up the edifice of modern India, brick by brick, by their devotion, toil and sacrifice.

To the serious student of history, the Dictionary of National Biography will prove useful in two definite ways. First, it will serve as a concrete illustration book for general works on movements and forces in modern Indian history. Such works highlight the general trends in social and political developments and come to conclusions which are necessarily of a tentative nature. To check up and substantiate these general conclusions, it will prove most useful if one studies carefully the biographies of the individuals who played important roles in all the movements and contributed in a group to the social and political developments.

In the second place, the Dictionary of National Biography will help serious students to understand better some of the trends in modern Indian history and to assess the importance of different factors which went to the making of the modern society. For example, only a careful study of biographies of those who played the leading roles in the development of the society in the 19th century can provide the answer to the question, often asked, of how much western influence or revivalism went to the making of modern India. The biographical approach will also bring out the relation between social and religious reforms and political progress. It will further clarify the roles played by different groups, believing in different ideologies and applying different techniques of action, in either the social or political development of the country. One will then appreciate that no one particular group or ideology or technique could claim to be the single factor of progress. Neither violence nor non-violence, neither extremism nor moderation, neither social reform nor orthodoxy could claim the supreme virtue of making India what it is to-day.

A great change had come over in the period following partition and independence. New actors have appeared on the scene, with new ideas and methods of action. Perhaps, this was inevitable and also necessary. But though admitting the need for newer men and newer methods of action it would be most unfortunate if the older generations are forgotten and their contributions ignored. This is not, of course, an unfounded apprehension. One can hardly deny that among the post-independence generation memory of the early heroes and servants of the nation is fast fading out. Possibly, in another twenty-five years few would remember with admiration and respect Phadke or Kshudiram, Madam Cama or Bhagat Singh, Pheroze Shah Mehta or Surendra Nath Banerjee or even Dayanand or Vivekananda. It is to prevent such a

National disgrace and ingratitude that the present Dictionary of National Biography was planned and is brought out in the year of the 25th Anniversary of Indian independence. The object of the DNB is to emphasise to the new generation the invaluable contributions of the early pioneers and to keep alive their memory. Most appropriately the DNB is dedicated to the memory of those illustrious men and women who created modern India, as a grateful homage of the present generation.

Tenth Annual Conference :

The Tenth Annual Conference of the Institute of Historical Studies will be held at Kurukshetra (Haryana) from 28th to 31st October 1972 under the auspices of the Kurukshetra University.

The principal theme for this year's Conference is : Religious Reform Movements in India and their Social Contents. Nearly thirty movements have been selected covering ancient, medieval and modern periods. On each movement a paper will be presented and discussed.

The second theme for the Conference is : Sources of the History of Haryana (Ancient, Medieval and Modern Periods). About nine papers will be presented on this theme.

The first three days will be taken up for academic work. The fourth day will be set apart for excursions to places of historical importance.

Arrangements for accommodation and meals at Kurukshetra University will be made by the Local Secretary, Professor V. N. Datta, Head of the Department of History, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, Haryana.

The Railway authorities grant 'Single-Fare-Return-Journey' Concession to members of

the Institute attending the Conference, whose monthly income does not exceed Rs. 1,800/-. Membership Certificates will be issued from the Institute's office from the middle of September on payment of membership fee for 1972-73. Railway Concession will be available on production of the Membership Certificate.

The Institute's Conference is always attended by representatives of all the major Universities and learned institutions. This year too we expect an equally representative gathering. Those who want to attend the Conference and participate in the discussions are requested to kindly send intimation to the Institute's office at an early date.

IRISH NATIONALIST CRITICISM OF THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA (1880-1884)

DR. JOHN V. CRANGLE

(Allen University, Columbia, S.C., USA)

One aspect of the struggle of the Irish Nationalist Party¹ for self-government and the rights of the Irish people was the concern of a small segment of its parliamentary delegation for the plight of the people of India.

This concern became especially noticeable at the same time that the Irish Nationalists were involved in an extremely acrimonious contest with British authorities over Home Rule. Indeed, Irish complaints about conditions in India seem to have increased in proportion to the delegation's growing militancy over Irish grievances.

The general election of 1874 gave Ireland fifty-nine members in the British Parliament pledged to Home Rule.² This delegation, led by Isaac Butt,³ sought to secure self-government by moderate tactics.⁴ The plan failed to work, however, and Charles Stuart Parnell,⁵ who had developed into Butt's rival, stepped forward as an advocate of militant tactics.⁶

The conflict between the two factions came to a head in 1880 when Parnell challenged the established leadership of the Irish Nationalist delegation and was elected as its new leader.⁷ The consequent change in tactics was evident at once. The Parnellites turned to obstructionism in Parliament in an effort to disrupt deliberations to such an extent that the opponents of Home Rule would eventually give in.⁸

Violence in Ireland and obstructionism in

Parliament came to a head in the years 1881 and 1882. The Liberal ministry responded by jailing a number of Irish activists including Parnell and by suppressing the militant Land League in Ireland.⁹ The imprisonment of Parnell in the autumn of 1881 made matters worse. Furthermore, the expulsion of obstructionist Parnellites from Parliament in February, 1881, for their disorderly opposition to proposed legislation designed to coerce activism in Ireland, failed to end obstruction.¹⁰

An Anti-Rent Manifesto appeared on October 18, 1881, which asked tenant farmers in Ireland to pay no rent in protest. Signed by Parnell and several associates, the Manifesto provoked more disorder and outrages.¹¹ Parnellites continued their disturbances and finally on June 30, 1882, a large number of representatives¹² were suspended during debates on government's Crime Bill. Relations between Ireland and Britain were extremely tense, but the Parnellites would not capitulate.

Parnell's followers were looking for things to throw at the ministry. They bombarded the government with charges of all kinds, especially savoring those which reflected on the oppressiveness of British presence in various parts of the world. The advantage of digging up abuses in the Empire was that such exposés brought to light problems identical to those in Ireland. Further, dilution on the failings of the imperial administration was in accord with the resolution of the Home Rule Con-

ference that "the necessary policy for Irish Nationalists was to interfere in English affairs so long as English members interfered in Irish affairs."¹³

Of the fifty or so Parnellites in Parliament¹⁴ several took charge of the task of exposing British exploitation, maladministration, and abuses in India. Chief among them was Frank Hugh O'Donnell,¹⁵ a leading obstructionist and spokesman. O'Donnell's interest in the welfare of the Indian people is not easily understood. On the one hand, he realized the value of exposing maladministration in India as a means of drawing attention to Irish grievances. He also saw the advantage of muck-raking because the effort helped to harass the British and delay and obstruct the deliberations of Parliament. On the other hand, he protested in his account of the *History of the Irish Parliamentary Party* that he was genuinely concerned about the plight of the people of India and that he opposed the way in which the Parnellites exploited the valid grievances of the Indian masses for ulterior purposes.¹⁶ Though the evidence available as to O'Donnell's motivation is not conclusive, it appears to be the case that like most politicians his conscience and his political calculator worked in tandem. He was concerned about the plight of the victims of imperialism in India, but he also saw the political value of focusing on the situation as well.¹⁷

Another aspect of the Parnellite attack on conditions in India was the fact that the expulsion of sixteen Nationalist M.P.s on July 1, 1882, had forced the delegation to develop a new and less obvious form of obstructionism. Until the expulsion, they had relied upon the clumsy device of moving the adjournment of the House. Afterward, they realized that this device would no longer work and instead they decided to delay the work of Parliament by endless debate and by protracted scrutiny of all motions.¹⁸ An easy way of slowing and embarrassing the ministry was to bring for-

ward for discussion the perfectly justifiable grievances of the Indian people.

An open target for Parnellite marksmen was British financial exploitation of India. O'Donnell pointed out that Gladstone's ministry had conducted its 1880 election campaign in large part in opposition to Tory imperialism.¹⁹ Especially had Liberal candidates criticized Lord Lytton,²⁰ the Viceroy of India, for his role in fomenting a war against Afghanistan.²¹ Gladstone had charged at the time of the Afghan crisis that the behaviour of Lytton had placed Britain and India in grave danger of a general war with Russia²² and his colleagues in the Liberal Party unloosed an avalanche of criticism upon the Tories.²³ Yet it was this same group of British Liberals who, once ensconced in office, had squandered £5,828 of public funds to transport Lord Lytton from India to England after his removal from office. Such waste and hypocrisy was a "national disgrace," said O'Donnell, and the whole affair was "simply monstrous."²⁴

Indeed, he charged, the Liberal ministry was even more ostentatious in its treatment of imperial officials than the Tories had been. The treatment of Grant Duff,²⁵ on his new appointment in India, was so extravagant that O'Donnell lampooned him as "the most grandiloquent Lieutenant-Governor probably that was ever known." Duff's trip to India was a "costly progress" carried out at the expense of the people of India. India had become a "vast slave Empire," the Parnellite charged, which was forced to bear all sorts of financial burdens because it was unable to resist British impositions.²⁶

In 1883 the Liberal ministry was scrambling to find some means of paying the costs of its invasion of Egypt in the previous year. It finally hit upon the expedient of transferring the costs of the conflict to the revenues of India.²⁷ The Parnellites strongly denoun-

ced the proposal and reminded the Liberals of their opposition to a similar transfer scheme in 1879 when the Tories wanted to transfer the costs of the Afghan War to India. It was suggested by a Parnellite that other revenues should be tapped.²⁸ The Government's contention that the people of India had vital interest in the Egyptian War was emphatically denied. On the contrary, it was asserted, that the funds wasted on the aggression against Egypt could much better have been spent to improve the deplorable conditions in India.²⁹ During the debates the Irish Nationalist speakers were frequently heckled by Liberal M.P.s and Mr. O'Donnell remarked sardonically to the House of "Liberal hostility to the interests of India."³⁰

The imperial taxation system in India came in for heavy criticism as did the operations of the imperial administration. The Parnellites likened the land tax in India to the rents collected by absentee British landlords in Ireland.³¹ O'Donnell stated that his investigations showed that the administration was vitiated by nepotism and favouritism. Indians were not allowed to hold lucrative and important positions. Regardless of appropriate qualifications and training, native Indians were systematically excluded from all but menial posts.³² Consequently, many Indians were employed at jobs far below their abilities and training. This policy of unfair discrimination was intolerable, O'Donnell remarked, and cried out for reform.³³

Malfeasance, peculation, and official indifference came to the attention of Parliament through Parnellite efforts. The case of one Mr. Banerjea, a minor British administrative employee in India, who had been removed from the Indian Civil Service caused O'Donnell to inquire into the matter. When informed that Banerjea had been found guilty of fabricating figures in his account books in order to hide his neglect of duties, the Parnellite asked what punishment had been ad-

ministered and was informed by the ministry that Banerjea had been appointed as an honorary magistrate. O'Donnell then enquired mordantly,

Whether it was in accordance with the rules of the Government of India to place a man who had been found guilty of fraudulent conduct in the position of honorary magistrate.³⁴

Irish Nationalists concerned with abuses in India uncovered collusion between British business operations in India and imperial administrators. It was discovered that British officials in Madras were involved with a private concern called the Gold Mining Companies to such a degree that there was a serious conflict of interest. The Government initiated an investigation of the case, but O'Donnell warned that the official report was intended as a white-wash of the guilty persons. Indeed, it was suspected that the report had been prepared by the accused themselves. It was demanded that the Government conduct an honest inquiry into the matter.³⁵

Another area of administration which attracted the attention of both the Parnellites and the Radical Liberals³⁶ was that of public welfare in India. Public works projects, famine relief, and public health were all subject to criticism. The lack of adequate sanitation, the prevalence of disease, the inhumanity of jails and prisons, and the corruption of the courts were among the many evils debated by Parliament. Students of the imperial administration in India also found a great deal of waste related to the payment of British officials. All the while, of course, the Parnellites were hoping to coerce Gladstone and the Liberal Party into agreeing to Home Rule.

The Famine Relief Fund was exposed as "one of those playthings with which Indian officials amuse themselves..." while playing

the role of benefactors of the people of India. It was alleged that famine was prevalent in India because rack-renting land lords in the subcontinent, as in Ireland, exploited the peasantry and stunted agricultural initiative and progress.³⁷

Filth, disease and malnutrition were laid at the doorstep of the administration. Thousands died from poor food, neglect, disease, and filth. The jails of India were so poorly run that inmates experienced a mortality rate of 341 per 1000 annually. The condition of Indian soldiers in the imperial military was little better, it was alleged, and Sepoys died in droves.³⁸

The exploitation of Indian labor was a glaring abuse. Long hours, low wages, and deplorable working conditions were commonplace in India as they were in Britain. The British showed little concern for native labor because they regarded dark-skinned peoples as innately inferior.³⁹ British attitudes toward Indian coolies and Irish peasants were similar. Examples of labor exploitation were easy to find. Conditions on the Assam Tea plantations were deplorable, members of the Parnellite delegation learned. Long hours, back-breaking labor, shabby housing, and poor food resulted in heavy mortality among plantation workers.⁴⁰

The mismanagement and neglect in India's large cities invited Irish attention. The outbreak of cholera in Bombay was due to the fact that imperial officials had neglected to take steps to clean up the filth of the city. No quarantine was established and the epidemic carried off some five hundred victims

in the city and large numbers in Calcutta and Madras as well.⁴¹

It was charged by a Parnellite that in the cities of Calcutta and Madras "there was a complete absence of the most elementary sanitary precautions." Disease raged unchecked. Smallpox killed hundreds in Madras every week. The imperial administration in India was so indifferent to the welfare of the masses, O'Donnell stated, that "every kind of abomination is still allowed to accumulate within a short distance of Government House." The reports of the Army Sanitation Commission on India provided evidence that everything in India — food, clothing, and drink — was contaminated with filth and disease. O'Donnell charged that the Government of India had ignored public health measures to such a degree that the mortality rate in Indian cities had risen to shocking levels.⁴²

There were many other speeches as well as numbers of magazine articles and reports on the plight of the people of India under British rule. These critical materials pointed out the failings of the imperial administration and the fact that Britain had focused its attention on expansion, war-making, and international affairs in southern Asia rather than upon the economic development and social amelioration of the subcontinent. Britain had allowed the East India Company to govern far too long and, even when London took control belatedly in 1858, it had failed to deal with many old and difficult problems. The Parnellites had considerable ulterior motivation in probing the imperial administration of India, but their criticisms pointed to many genuine evils which cried out for attention.

REFERENCES

1. The Home Rule Party, founded in 1870, sought an independent Irish Parliament, that is, Home Rule. The Home Rule Association defined its objectives at its 1870 Organizational meeting as, "To obtain for

our country the right and privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland." Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and His Party, 1880-1890* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 66.

2. The unexpected success of the Home Rule movement in the 1874 elections caused the movement to gain considerable momentum and membership. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70; and Patrick S. O'Hegarty, *A History of Ireland Under the Union, 1801-1922*. (London: Methuen, 1952), p. 472.
3. Isaac Butt (1813-1879) was a Professor of Political Science at Dublin University from 1836 to 1852. Entering Parliament in 1852 as a Tory, he sympathized with the rising sentiment of Irish nationalism. A lawyer, he defended Fenians and Young Irelanders in court. He led the Home Rule faction in Parliament from 1871 to 1879. *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, pp. 545-546. See also David Thornley, *Isaac Butt and Home Rule* (London: MacGibbon, 1954).
4. O'Hegarty, p. 472.
5. Charles Stuart Parnell (1846-1891) inherited a family hatred for England and a sympathy for the Irish Nationalists. Entering Parliament in 1875, he sought to reorganize the Irish delegation so as to consolidate support for Home Rule or independence. His efforts met with success and in 1880 he took over the leadership of the Irish Nationalist faction. For tactical purposes he adopted obstruction, a tactic which had been pioneered by Frank Hugh O'Donnell and O'Connor Power in the late 1870's. He reached the apex of his career in the 1880's when he was jailed by government authorities and also briefly suspended from Parliament. His implication in the infamous O'Shea divorce case deprived him of his leadership just before his death. *DNB*, XV, pp. 322-342.
6. Butt feared the radicalism of the Fenians and clung to constitutional methods. His failures discredited his tactics among most Nationalists. O'Brien, pp. 120-121.
7. Twenty-three Irish M.P.'s in the Home Rule faction voted for Parnell and eighteen voted against him. Among his supporters were several men who spoke out against imperial abuses in India — O'Kelly, Biggar, T. P. O'Connor, Wh. H. Sullivan, and Mahon. Thomas Power O'Connor, *The Parnell Movement: with a sketch of Irish Parties from 1843*. (New York: Benziger Bros., 1886), p. 372.
8. O'Brien, pp. 234-235.
9. The Cabinet Council ordered the arrest of Parnell and the order was carried out on October 13, 1881. Several Parnellites including Sexton and Kelly were also jailed as were many members of the Land League. The League was suppressed on October 18, 1881. *Annual Register* (1881), Vol. 123, p. 192.
10. Opponents of coercion expelled as contumacious members on February 25, 1881 included: Biggar, Leamy, T. P. O'Connor, O'Gorman Mahon, T. D. Sullivan, and O'Connor Power and others. O'Connor, *Parnell Movement*, p. 441.
11. O'Hegarty, p. 506.
12. The Chairman named the following for "obstruction" on June 30, 1882: Biggar, Callan, Commins, Dillon, Leamy, T. P. O'Connor, F. H. O'Donnell, Parnell, Richard Power, and Sullivan, and others. The following day they were expelled. *Annual Register* (1882), Vol. 124, p. 104, and O'Connor, *Parnell Movement*, pp. 491-492.
13. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, *A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party*. (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, 1910), I, p. 245.
14. The strength of the Parnellite faction in 1881 was fifty-one out of an Irish delegation totalling 102. *Annual Register* (1881), Vol. 123, p. 22.
15. Frank Hugh O'Donnell (d. 1927) was a man of education and ability who struggled hard to become the leader of the Irish Nationalist delegation. He regarded himself as the rightful leader of the movement, but was unable to muster the kind of support received by Parnell. He pioneered the tactic of obstruction in protest against the ineffectual tactics of Butt and eventually joined with Biggar and Parnell in ousting Butt. He had a genuine humanitarian sense which caused him to denounce various abuses. O'Connor, *Parnell Movement*, pp. 271-272, 491; and O'Hegarty, pp. 509, 513.
16. O'Donnell, II, pp. 260-261.
17. It should be borne in mind that O'Donnell had pioneered obstructionism and that he had backed the famous resolution of the Home Rule Conference which pledged the Irish Nationalist delegation to interfere in British Affairs until such time as Britain conceded Home Rule. *Ibid.*, I, p. 245.
18. O'Brien, p. 83.
19. Liberal candidates railed against Tory imperialism during the campaign because of the costs, dangers, and immorality of expansionism. See, for example, Liberal speeches in *The Manchester Guardian*, November 13, 1878, p. 6; and November 15, 1878, p. 6; and November 20, 1878, p. 8.
20. Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, (1831-1891) held minor diplomatic posts before becoming Viceroy of India during the period 1876-1880. He was well known for his erratic behaviour and bad judgement. His rash provocation of war with Afghanistan was not the consequence of orders from London, but rather was a consequence of his own recklessness. After the fall of the Tory ministry he was removed, but later became Ambassador to Paris. *DNB*, XXI, pp. 387-392.
21. The Afghan War began in 1878 and ended in 1879. It was complicated and protracted in spite of the fact that British troops easily defeated the enemy.
22. *The Times* (London), November 1, 1878, pp. 8-9.
23. Joseph Chamberlain ridiculed Lord Beaconsfield's grandiose claims in the Near East and Afghanistan. *Annual Register* (1878), Vol. 120, p. 192. Wilfrid Lawson, a minor Liberal, likened Tory expansionism to the "bastard imperialism" of the late Empire of Louis Napoleon III, while his confrère Peter Rylands branded the government's policy as "worthy of the French Empire in its worst days." *The Manchester Guardian*, November 19, 1878, p. 8; and *ibid.*, November 20, 1878, p. 8.
24. *Hansard*, III, 276, March 1, 1883, p. 1158.

25. Grant Duff (Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone), (1829-1906) was educated at Oxford and was elected to Parliament as a Liberal in 1857. He became an authority on British foreign and imperial policy and administration. He was undersecretary of state for India (1868-1874) and Governor of Madras (1881-1886). *DNB*, Second Supplement, II, pp. 150-151.
26. *Hansard*, III, 276, March 1, 1883, p. 1158.
27. The transfer proposal was known as the Stanhope Resolution. *Hansard*, III, 279, May 8, 1883, p. 301.
28. The proposed amendment read, "add the words, 'and this House regrets the decision arrived at by Her Majesty's Government to cast a further burden upon the revenues of India... on account of the military expedition to Egypt.'" *Hansard*, III, 279, May 8, 1883, p. 306.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
31. *Hansard*, III 265, August 18, 1881, pp. 678-680.
32. The statutory civil service systematically refused to admit Indians to the higher services since the latter were monopolized by Europeans. In 1885 the Indian Congress Party protested British discrimination against Indian applicants. See H. Verney Lovett, "The Development of the Services," Chapter XX, in H. H. Dodwell, (ed.), *India, 1858-1918*. Vol. V. in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*. (6 vols.; Cambridge; University Press, 1950), pp. 355-356.
33. *Hansard*, III, 276, March 1, 1883, p. 1158; and *ibid.*, 279, May 7, 1883, p. 36.
34. *Ibid.*, 280, June 14, 1883, pp. 548-549.
35. *Ibid.*, 282, July 26, 1883, p. 536.
36. The Radical Liberals criticized conditions in India for several reasons. First of all, Radicalism by its very nature opposed exploitation and neglect on humanitarian and religious grounds. Many Radicals were religious non-conformists and vigorous proponents of reform in both England and the Empire. Secondly, Gladstone's intervention in Egypt alienated some Radicals who felt that the Liberal Party had been seduced by imperialism. See William Harris, *A History of the Radical Party in Parliament*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1885), pp. 376-377.
37. *Hansard*, III, 265, August 22, 1881, pp. 678-680.
38. *Ibid.*, III, 265, August 18, 1881, pp. 216-217.
39. Percival Spear, *India*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 306-307.
40. *Hansard*, III, 276, March 1, 1883, p. 1158.
41. *Ibid.*, III, 289, June 24, 1884, pp. 1237-1239.
42. The cities of Calcutta and Madras were infamous for their filth and disease. Both cities were so filthy that public drains were clogged with garbage and animal carcasses rotted in the streets. Even human corpses remain unburied and decaying. See J. H. Lindsay, "Local Self-Government," Chapter XXVIII, in Dodwell, pp. 523-527. *Hansard*, III, 289, June 26, 1884, pp. 1414-1416.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854

DR. PRASHANTO K. CHATTERJEE

(Burdwan University)

In the educational history of modern India, the importance of the 1854 despatch¹ cannot be exaggerated. Bentinck's² famous Resolution of 1835, in deciding to impart western education through the English medium, registered merely a transient victory for the Anglicists. While the Court of Directors left open the question of the medium of instruction,³ statistics revealed that, despite greater governmental assistance and better prospect of public service, English schools made less headway than vernacular ones.⁴ Moreover, no uniformity could be achieved among the different parts of India. While in Bombay Presidency vernacular education was steadily extending up to 1854, the scheme of vernacular schools adopted by the Council of Education in Bengal (1844) did not succeed.⁵ The 1854 despatch provided a much-needed blue-print of education for all India, recommending promotion of general and practical knowledge, integrated from indigenous education at the lowest level to the university at the highest, all this under governmental control and aid.

Contemporaries heartily welcomed the despatch, for right reasons at that. It was loudly approved in the British House of Commons. Sir Charles Wood, President of the India Board, was thrilled at the prospects of 'immortality', along with Lord Dalhousie (the then Governor-General of India), as renovators of India.⁶ James Oliphant, Chairman of the Court of Directors, hailed the despatch as 'grand', liberal and in the right direction.⁷ Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, later to become a member of Lord Palmerston's⁸ Cabinets, considered the despatch to be 'very important'

and opening 'a new line of policy'.⁹ In India it was generally received with great applause; Dalhousie opined that the 'great' despatch was far more comprehensive than the Local or Supreme Governments could propose.¹⁰ Sir F. J. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, felt 'proud' to have a share in carrying out a scheme of so 'immense importance'.¹¹ Later, scholars joined the chorus of praise. A. Mayhew thought that the despatch 'finally determined the organisation of education in India',¹² and Dr. Eric Stokes, the Cambridge historian, considers it to provide 'the framework of a complete educational system'.¹³

What, then, was the subject-matter of this much-applauded despatch? It set forth as its aim the promotion of general European knowledge, since this was useful to the people and would advance British material interests; but the medium of instruction would be English or vernacular languages according as circumstances required.¹⁴ For the systematic superintendence and direction of extended educational efforts, a Government department in each Presidency and Lieutenant-Governorship was envisaged, superseding the old Boards and Councils, and also an adequate system of inspection.¹⁵ Universities were recommended in the three Presidencies, holding examinations and conferring degrees on students from their affiliated institutions, which included private, missionary, Government, professional and Oriental colleges. Professorships in law, civil engineering, vernaculars and classics were authorised to be attached to the universities.¹⁶ Scholarships were to be instituted to

encourage students from English-medium, Anglo-vernacular, vernacular and indigenous schools. To supplement direct Government schools, grants-in-aid were proposed for all others, including female, which imparted secular education, allowed Government inspection and exacted fees from pupils.¹⁷ The necessity of schools for training schoolmasters was underlined, and Government support in establishing medical and civil engineering colleges promised.¹⁸ The despatch's secular tone was reinforced by permitting instruction in the Bible only voluntarily and out of school hours, and excluding religious subjects from degree-examinations.¹⁹

It is a pity that a subject such as this should have escaped the attention of researchers for more than a century and misconceptions regarding the despatch's authorship should persist to this day. A careful analysis would reveal five different views on the authorship issue. Algernon West,²⁰ followed by Bernard Mallet forty years later,²¹ opined that T. G. Baring — then the private secretary to Wood and later to become Viceroy of India as Lord Northbrook — drew up the despatch under Wood's directions. George Smith ascribed it to Dr. Alexander Duff, the famous missionary: "... Duff's handiwork can be traced not only in the definite orders, but in the very style of... the great educational charter".²² William Lee-Warner conferred on Wood and Dalhousie equally "the honours of devising the comprehensive system of education for India".²³ A modern historian, B.T. McGully,²⁴ hazarded a merely intelligent guess in attributing the despatch to John Stuart Mill, the eminent philosopher, who was then an Assistant to the Examiner of India Correspondence at India House, but without perhaps knowing that he worked in the Political Department. But far the most popular is the Wood thesis, which was first formulated by Argyll²⁵ without caring to go through original papers. It found favour with historians working in other fields²⁶ who uncritically accepted a

plausible theory, and has recently been set forth by Dr. R. J. Moore who finds it possible to definitively pronounce on the document as "Wood's Education Despatch" on the basis of unpublished materials.²⁷ The present article will show that the despatch was the outcome of a collaborative effort in which ideas of many people contributed and that the credit for authorship should go not merely to Wood but to others as well, all this on the foundation of available official and private manuscript sources.

An examination of the authorship question necessitates a brief reference to the usual mechanism of policy-making under the system of double government introduced in 1784. In general administration, the usual procedure was for the departmental heads, under instructions from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, to frame 'previous communications' for perusal by the India Board. The Court then shaped them into 'drafts' for approval by the appropriate Committee, the Directors, and finally the Board. At the end of this progress, the 'draft' became a 'despatch' for transmission to India. The Board rarely initiated policy, except when it felt that something should be formulated and the Court had failed to do it within fourteen days.²⁸ The making of the 1854 despatch represented a deviation from the accepted constitutional practice. Since the Court sent their 'previous communication' to the Board only informally, it must be said that the famous despatch began its official life at the Board but without the requisite constitutional justification, leaving the Directors and their Committee to play the Board's usual constitutional role, that of review and examination

In August 1853, Wood was a good deal at sea on Education and requested Dalhousie to enlighten him about it. The favourite theory seemed to be to extend to India the system of grants-in-aid which had been introduced in England. In the report of the Lords

committee, it found support from Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, and Charles Trevelyan, who as Political Secretary to the Indian Government had opposed the Orientalists in the Anglo-Oriental controversy in the 'thirties'. The former wished to introduce grants-in-aid for adequately inspected and secular schools, while the latter pleaded for its extension to vernacular and English schools.²⁹ But Wood thought that grants-in-aid would almost entirely go to missionary schools, and this would be 'too partial'.³⁰ In November, Wood did not yet see his way regarding village schools, and also on how to embark on 'so gigantic an undertaking' as assisting and inspecting them. Meanwhile, Sir J. C. Melvill, secretary to the East India Company, was busy framing something on education. He had conveyed to Wood his anxiety for any light which could be thrown on the subject, and accordingly the latter had forwarded to him³¹ the 'Notes on Education in India' prepared by J. C. Marshman, sometime editor of *The Friend of India*. Marshman's notes anticipated several major points of the Education Despatch. They envisaged grants-in-aid to secular and state-inspected English and vernacular schools, contemplated universities (with affiliated colleges) for annual examination and classification of students, duly stressed the necessity of teacher-training schools and emphasised the "importance of giving instruction to the great body of the people through their mother-tongue".³²

The Company's efforts crystallized as the 'proposed' previous communication,³³ which bore the name of Edmund D. Bourdillon, a clerk in the department of Examiner of India Correspondence at India House, who had presumably drafted it under directions from Melvill. Prepared probably in consultation with Marshman's notes, the proposed previous communication was yet more comprehensive than the latter and contained most of the essential features of the final despatch. It emphasised the importance of imparting

'useful', 'practical' and 'general' education to Indians and called for curtailed expenditure on classical education. While stressing useful English education, it envisaged Government maintenance of superior vernacular schools and assistance to village schools on the model of North-West Provinces.³⁴ To secure greater efficiency to the extended educational plans, it contemplated superintendence of public instruction by Government officers charged exclusively with that duty, and a regular system of inspection.³⁵ It would apply grant-in-aid to schools of all denominations imparting useful secular education. Scholarships would be multiplied and made available to all schools and colleges, including Government institutions.³⁶ Attention was directed to the need for normal schools for training teachers, medical colleges, and civil engineering institutions for public works.³⁷ To crown all, a Public Board would examine candidates from various institutions, forming the nucleus for a future university on the general plan of London. "A university would not involve much more than a change of name".³⁸ Voicing the current utilitarian idea, it was stated that the Government's contemplated increase in educational expenditure would eventually be a measure of real economy by producing an increased supply of educated Indians for employment which worked out cheaper than employing Europeans.³⁹ Dr. Moore does not seem to do justice to Bourdillon's paper, neglecting to discuss it in detail and lightly dismissing it as being "starkly deficient in its appreciation of the place of an education programme within general policy". The paper went further than Marshman's notes in envisaging Government superintendence over education and extensive award of scholarships and in highlighting the necessity of medical and civil engineering education. Anyway, the foregoing discussion makes it difficult to accept Dr. Moore's view that "these early papers (meaning Marshman's and Bourdillon's papers) give but a pale promise of the grand scheme"⁴⁰.

In the middle of December, Baring sent on to Wood an 'Education paper' of 'enormous length', which contained the information the former had collected on Education and also included his 'resumé of arguments pro and con'.⁴¹ With Bourdillon's and Baring's papers ready at hand, Wood thought of London as a model for the proposed Indian universities—which would meet all the Indian difficulties and affiliate colleges of all denominations. But actually, this insistence on the affiliating university is traceable to Marshman's notes which Wood had received in about the middle of November, and not to the proposed previous communication which did not envisage immediately setting up a university! Wood, however, went further than Marshman in wishing to attach to the university "lectures on particular subjects, e.g., law, civil engineering, or any branch for which no good training body exists". His greatest difficulty and doubt concerned the proposed grants-in-aid system, which was not impossible, and the possibility of voluntary Bible classes in Government schools, which he would negative. Till nearly the end of January 1854 Wood was interested to hear privately from India on education.⁴²

At this stage, Wood received Duff's memorandum,⁴³ which shows close affinity with the final despatch. It stressed the necessity for normal schools, qualified inspectors and vernacular education, without which "more than nine-tenths of any people must be left untaught altogether". Duff's memorandum dispelled Wood's doubts by strengthening the case for grants-in-aid to schools communicating useful secular knowledge through English or vernaculars, and asking for voluntary Bible teaching in extra-school hours in response to the necessity for Government's strict neutrality regarding Education. Further, it reiterated emphatically Marshman's idea of affiliating universities holding examinations and conferring degrees, and suggested instituting Professorships not only for law and

civil engineering but also the leading vernaculars and Indian classics, "because such an appointment would reconcile natives to the withdrawal of Government aid from the present Sanskrit and Arabic colleges". It was for the first time that this memorandum had come forward with recommendations on Bible teaching and university professorships, both of which were incorporated in the final despatch.

By April, Wood boasted of a draft despatch 'nearly ready' on 'education generally'.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the Court of Directors must have received Dalhousie's scheme of general vernacular education for the whole of North-West Provinces⁴⁵; but Dalhousie later complained that the court had never acknowledged receipt of this scheme⁴⁶. Anyway, with Bourdillon's, Marshman's and Duff's papers before them, the Board prepared the Draft, even though there was no occasion for exercise of the Board's limited power of initiative in non-secret matters. Wood acknowledged that the 'excellent' Draft on Education was chiefly Baring's 'handiwork', of which Oliphant thought 'highly' and for which the late Lord Northbrook deserved 'infinitely credit'.⁴⁷ With Wood's general directions,⁴⁸ Baring drew up the first draft, which was nothing but a synthesis of ideas originating from Duff, Marshman and Bourdillon. The revised draft⁴⁹ gave prominence to female education which appeared now but was merely a re-affirmation of an earlier Court's despatch (dated 9 November 1853 No. 71) pledging support to such education in answer to Dalhousie's minute of 26 May 1853. The emphasis on female education certainly followed from Dalhousie's achievements in this regard which included his obtaining the Director sanction to his proposal of Government takeover of the female school in Calcutta following the death of its founder Drinkwater Bethune, then President of the Bengal Council of Education. But Dr. Moore⁵⁰ wrongly traces the final despatch's paragraph 83 to

male education to Dalhousie's despatch of February 1854, which merely conveyed thanks for the Court's support to the Governor-General's proposal on Bethune school and whose request for waiving of school fees was explicitly rejected in paragraph 83 that extended to female schools the principle of grants-in-aid with its necessary corollary of levy of school fees.⁵¹

Anyway the revised draft underwent some alterations, including Director H. T. Prinsep's which suppressed some echoes of the 'Anglicist' viewpoint, Wood's, which emphasised his policy of encouraging lower education by Scholarships, and Perry's,⁵² which deleted the provision on voluntary Bible classes in Government schools. With these changes, in late May the Draft went before the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, which comprised the Company's present and future Chairman like Oliphant, Elliot Macnaghten, Ross Mangles and Frederick Currie and Directors of Prinsep's and Henry Willock's standing. The Committee approved the grand Education Scheme⁵³ and merely improved certain passages.⁵⁴ Wood then altered paragraph 35, indicating a greater readiness to institute a university in Madras.⁴⁵ The Court deliberated on the Draft for the greater part of June and effected changes, stressing the desirability of extending grants-in-aid to missionary schools for instructing ignorant and uncivilised tribal folks.⁵⁵ The Board's secretary, T. N. Redington, erased this and made other alterations, which appeared to be either improvements in arrangement or advisable to prevent any misapprehension regarding some points and did not at all affect the despatch's general purport.⁵⁶ On 12 July 1854, the Court signed the Draft as altered.

The preceding discussion will have made it amply clear that the much-controverted

Education Despatch of 1854 was a product of Baring's labours, with instructions from Wood, who drew his ideas from Marshman, Bourdillon and Duff, except on female education which was Dalhousie's favourite subject.⁵⁷ The Despatch contained much that was being conceived or under experiment in India. Dalhousie had anticipated the idea of a university by recommending (in early May 1854) a 'large' proposal for a general college in Calcutta, open to all creeds, and embracing instruction in arts, medicine, law and civil engineering, which was 'long' and 'grievously' wanted and was in all but name a university.⁵⁸ It is very likely that the scheme for the Calcutta Presidency College reached the Court at a time when the draft despatch was nearly ready for transmission to India; but Dr. Moore, relying solely on a private letter of Dalhousie,⁵⁹ wrongly concludes that "The papers concerning... a Presidency College were still in India".⁶⁰ By June, Dalhousie was ready with a scheme for vernacular education in the Punjab in continuation of the one already submitted for the North-West Provinces; a similar proposal for Bengal was also in contemplation.⁶¹ Besides, as Sir Cecil Beadon, home secretary to the Government of India, pointed out, schools offering scholarships did already exist in Bengal, and the current prohibition on religious subjects forming part of the examination curricula in Bengal was being strongly resented by the conductors of missionary schools.⁶² One may conclude that the famous Education Despatch looks more like codification than origination, and that the laurels should be shared by Marshman, Bourdillon, Duff, Baring and Wood, if not also Dalhousie (since Indian developments were given due recognition) or even Lieutenant-Governor James Thomason for his success with vernacular education experiment in eight districts of the North-West Provinces.⁶³

REFERENCES

1. Public Despatch to Ind. No. 49 of 19 July 1854. I am grateful to Dr. Percival Spear of Cambridge Univ. who allowed me freedom to develop my views.
2. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839): Governor-General of Ind. 1828-35.
3. Court's Despatch of 20 Jan. 1841. See J. A. Richey,

- Selections from Educational Records*, Pt. II (Calcutta 1922).
4. Out of a state expenditure of about £90,000, only £13,000 was spent on vernacular education. But whereas English colleges and schools together drew 8657 students, vernacular schools taught 19718 pupils. See paper entitled 'Education', WP (abbreviation for Wood Papers) 12; India Office Library, London. Further, Governor-General Hardinge's Resolution (10 Oct. 1844) promised to give preference in public employment to candidates educated in the 'institutions thus established' (Richey op. cit.).
 5. "Memorandum of Improvements in the Administration of India during the last thirty years", London 1858; British Museum, London.
 6. Wood's statement on Education, 8 Aug. 1854; Wood to Dalhousie 9 Aug. 1854, WP LB (abbr. for Letter Book) V.
 7. Oliphant to Dalhousie 8 June 1854, DP (abbr. for Dalhousie Papers) 66; Scottish Record Office, Edin. B. 1784; Brit. P.M. 1855-8, 1859-65; D. 1865.
 8. B. 1784; Brit. P.M. 1855-8, 1859-65; D. 1865.
 9. C. C. Lewis to Wood 21 June 1854, HP (abbr. for Hickleton Papers) 121; in custody of the Earl of Halifax, Garrowby, Yorks.
 10. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Sept. 1854, DP 63; Minute by Dalhousie dated 28 Feb. 1856, PP (abbr. for Parliamentary Papers) 1856 vol. XLV, Cambridge Univ. Library.
 11. Halliday to Wood 18 Sept. 1854, WP 24.
 12. *The Education of India* (London 1926), p. 294 (footnote 1 to p. 62).
 13. *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxf. 1959), p. 252.
 14. Pars. 4, 6-8, 10, 11-14 of the Despatch; Vol. 87 of Orig. Drafts of Despatches to Bengal and Ind., Ind. Office Library, London.
 15. Pars. 17, 18.
 16. Pars. 24, 25, 27, 28, 30-32, 37.
 17. Pars. 42-46, 53, 54, 56, 83.
 18. Pars. 67, 68, 79, 80.
 19. Pars. 28, 84.
 20. *Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs 1859-66* (London 1867), p. 126.
 21. *Thomas George Baring, Earl of Northbrook* (London 1908), p. 58.
 22. *The Life of Alexander Duff* (London 1899), p. 267.
 23. *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie* (London 1904), Vol. II, pp. 206-209.
 24. *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York 1940), pp. 135-8.
 25. 8th Duke of Argyll, *India under Dalhousie and Canning* (London 1865), p. 66.
 26. W. W. Hunter (*The Marquess of Dalhousie*, Oxf. 1890, p. 208), in effect gave Wood all the merit for the authorship; M. MacLagan, "*Clemency*" *Canning* (London 1962), p. 274; T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-70* (Princeton 1965), p. 24; R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. X entitled *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* (Bombay 1965), p. 49.
 27. "The Composition of Charles Wood's Education Despatch", *Engl. Hist. Review*, LXXX (1965), pp. 70-85, especially p. 71, 85.
 28. Evidence of J. C. Melvill and J. S. Mill before Select Parl. Inquiry Committees on 6 May & 22 June 1852, pp. 1852-3 Vol. XXX; C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834* (Manchester 1961), Ch. L.
 29. See Paper entitled "Points submitted to the consideration of Govt. in the memorial of Church Missio-

- nary Society, presented to Lord Aberdeen and Sir Charles Wood by his Lordship's desire in May 1853 — upon which points it is now desirable to learn the intentions of India Board", WP 25.
30. Wood to Dalhousie 19 Aug. 1853, WP LB III. Dr. Metcalf (op. cit., p. 129) is totally wrong in suggesting that "the new system (i.e. grant-in-aid system) appealed to them (i.e. Wood and Dalhousie) precisely because it would enable them to take the fullest advantage of missionary activity in the field of education".
31. Wood to Marshman 22 Nov. 1853, WP LB IV. At this time Duff also wondered about how grants-in-aid could best be applied (Duff to Wood 2 Nov. 1853, HP 181).
32. Notes dated Brighton 12 Nov. 1853, WP 25.
33. "India Public Department Promotion of General Education in India", "Proposed P. C. from East India House", WP 12.
34. Pars. 9, 10, 12, 13, 15-17.
35. Pars. 32, 23.
36. Pars. 21, 25.
37. Pars. 23, 27.
38. Par. 29.
39. Par. 26.
40. Moore, op. cit., p. 73.
41. T. G. Baring to Wood 14 Dec. 1853, HP 54 A; Undated paper 'Education', WP 12.
42. Wood to Elphinstone 9, 24 Jan. 1854, WP LB IV.
43. "Brief memorandum on Government Education, India, for Charles Wood President, Board of Control" Edinburgh dated 25 Jan. 1854; WP 25.
44. Wood to Dalhousie 24 Apr. 1854, WP LB V.
45. Home Letter to Court of Directors No. 79 dated 4 Nov. 1853, enclosing Dalhousie's Minute of 25 Oct. 1853; DP 32.
46. Dalhousie to Wood 13 June, 4 Aug. 1854, DP 63.
47. Oliphant to Wood 28 May, 6 Nov. 1854, HP 68.
48. This is surmised from an unsigned paper 'annexed' to 'Education Draft First Copy' (WP 12).
49. "Education in India. Second copy revised. Copy sent to Macaulay, Prinsep, Perry, Marshman" (WP 12).
50. Moore, op. cit., p. 77.
51. The Court's Public Despatch No. 53 of 26 July 1854 explicitly rejected Dalhousie's proposal for waiving school fees.
52. Sir Thos Erskine Perry (1806-82): M.P. 1854-9; had been C. J., Bombay Supreme Court, 1847-52.
53. "Confidential No. 2. India House. Alterations in Committee" (WP 12); Draft placed before Committee on 30 May 1854 and returned altered on 7 June (Committee Minutes Vol. 8); Oliphant to Dalhousie 8 June 1854, DP 66.
54. "Confidential No. 3 revised (duplicate sent to East India House 12 June)", WP 12; Oliphant to Wood 12 June 1854, HP 68 ('alterations' acknowledged).
55. "No. 4 Confidential. As sent up in draft from East India House", WP 12; Draft 585 placed before the Court on 7 June and approved on 28 June, Vol. 8 of orig. Draft Letters to Ind. and Bengal.
56. Orig. Draft Letters to Ind. & Bengal, *ibid.*; "No. Draft as sent up by Court. Alterations made to Board in red ink", WP 12; Redington to Melvill 10 July 1854, Board of Control Letter Book Vol. 1.
57. With Bethune's death (1851), Dalhousie resolved to maintain the Calcutta female school. Even when the Court had decided to defray the cost, he requested to be allowed to bear the expense himself until his departure from India (Letter to Court, 3 Feb. 1854).
58. Letter to Court of Directors No. 29 of 5 May 185

59. Dalhousie to Wood 13 June 1854, DP 63.
60. Moore, op. cit., p. 76.
61. Home Letter to Court of Directors No. 88 of 20 Oct. 1854, enclosing Minutes by Dalhousie (6 June), Dorin (13 June), Low (14 June), Grant (12 Oct.) — PP 1857-8 Vol. XLII; Dalhousie to Wood 17 Nov. 1853, 13 June 1854, DP 62, 63.
62. Note by C. Beadon on Confidential Education Draft on Native Education in India, WP 25.

63. Thompson's plan (Apr. 1848) was to set up Hulka-bandee or circle schools, expense of which would be shared equally by Government and landowners. The Court's Despatch of 5 Oct. 1849 (No. 14) sanctioned this plan.

Note :—Official manuscript sources, used in this study, were all consulted at the India Office Library, London.

THE SATAVAHANA RULERS AND MALWA

DR. KAILASH CHAND JAIN

(Vikram University, Ujjain),

The early Satavahana rulers seem to have exercised some sort of control over the territory now called Malwa.¹ With the rise of the power of the Western Kshatrapas, their hold somehow weakened. There started a struggle between the Satavahanas and the Sakas which continued from time to time for generations for the occupation of Malwa, a place of great strategic and commercial importance. As a result of this struggle both the powers suffered, and they gradually disappeared.

From the statement of the *Puranas*,² it is known that Simuka of the Andhra race not only destroyed the Kanvayanas but also whatever was left of the power of the Sungas. This incident seems to have taken place in the third quarter of the first century B.C. Simuka of the *Puranas* may be identified with *Raja* Simuka Satavahana mentioned in the Nanaghat inscription.³ There is no independent evidence of the rule of the Andhras over Magadha. It seems reasonable that the region, which Simuka conquered from the Kanvas and the Sungas included also Eastern Malwa. The Sungas are known to have ruled over this region with their capital Vidisa in the first century B.C.

The Puranic account of Simuka's success against the Sungas and Kanvas in Malwa is also confirmed by the numismatic and epigraphical evidences. The discovery of certain oldest known coins of the so called 'Malwa fabric' described by Rapson⁴ with the legend '*Rano Siri Satasa*' suggest that the Malwa region was within the sphere of early Sata-

vahana influence. Such coins have been also discovered in the Telangana region and in the Nevasa excavation.⁵ On the obverse of these coins, there is a figure of the elephant and a symbolical representation of river with fishes, and on the reverse there is a Ujjayini symbol. These coins were probably issued by Satavahana, the founder of the dynasty. Such a coin type of the early ruler Aja or Aji⁶ has been discovered, and he may be identified with Apilaka of the Satavahana dynasty mentioned in the *Puranas*.

The Satavahana occupation of Malwa may be proved even by the epigraphical evidence.⁷ A votive inscription found on the southern gateway of the great stupa at Sanchi records a gift of Vasisthiputra Ananda, the foreman of artisans of king Satakarni. The king, whose name points to his descent from the Satavahana lineage, is usually identified with Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscription, and also the third ruler of this name mentioned in the *Puranas*. It is also possible that the Sanchi record can hardly be regarded as proof of the Satavahana occupation of Malwa as the chief artisan of Satakarni may have visited the monastery on pilgrimage.

The period of more than a century that seems to have intervened between the reign of Simuka Satavahana and that of Gautamiputra Satakarni witnessed the temporary eclipse of the Satavahana power owing to the encroachment of the Sakas who came from east Iran and settled in the lower Sindhu Valley before the end of the first century B.C.

From the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (70-80 A.D.), it is known that Sopara and Kalayana which were ruled by Saraganus came into the possession of Sandares. Here Saraganus and Sandares stand for Satakarni and Sakas respectively.

Nahapana, a Saka ruler of Kshaharata family whose ascertained dates range between 119 and 125 A.D., assumed the title of '*Rajan*'⁸ and this title was not borne by his predecessor Bhumaka. He seems to have been ruling practically as an independent king. He was Kshatrappa in the Saka year 41 (119 A.D.)⁹ and Mahakshatrappa in the Saka year 46 (125 A.D.).¹⁰ On some of his reverse type of silver coins, there is a tree with large leaves within railing.¹¹ This seems to connect it with a coinage which is attributed to the Satavahana kings. All this evidence points to the expansion of the power of Nahapana at the cost of the Satavahanas.

Soon after, as the Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni's inscriptions in the Nasik and Poona Districts show how Nahapana's Viceroy Rishabhadatta was ousted by him from those regions. The large hoard of Nahapana's coins discovered at Jogalthembi in Nasik district reveals that the Satavahana king captured the Satrap's treasury and re-struck the latter's coins for circulation. On the silver coins of Nahapana re-struck by Gautamiputra Satakarni, we find Nahapana's bust re-struck by a six arched hill and on the reverse Ujjaini symbol of the Satavahanas. After conquering Malwa from Nahapana, Gautamiputra issued the current local types of coins particularly for the convenience of the people such as homo-figure, Elephant and Lion, and Svastika between the taurine symbols.¹²

Gautamiputra Satakarni could not retain Malwa under his possession for a long time and he had to surrender Malwa and other territories which were originally conquered

from Nahapana to Chashtana and Rudradaman of the Kardamaka family of the Sakas. On the earlier coins¹³ of Chashtana, he is called a 'Kshatrappa' and on later issues a 'Mahakshatrappa'. Further, we know that the early coins of Chashtana bear the type crescent and star to which a hill was added later. As the hill is intimately associated with the issues of the Satavahanas, it signifies some extension of Chashtana's power at the expense of the Satavahanas. From the Junagarh inscription¹⁴ dated 150 A.D., it is known that Rudradaman defeated Satakarni, Lord of Dakshinapatha and conquered many countries including Malwa. Rudradaman further claims to have twice defeated Satakarni whom he did not destroy as he was a near relative. Here Satakarni is no other than Gautamiputra Satakarni. That Vasisthiputra was the son-in-law of Rudradaman is clear from the Kanheri inscription.¹⁵

The next great Satavahana ruler was Yajna Satakarni (174-203 A.D.) who also extended his empire at the cost of the Sakas. He took the advantage of the struggle between Jivadaman and Rudrasinha I. It is also possible that against the Sakas, he might have helped the Abhira ruler Isvaradatta who became Mahakshatrappa and issued the coins¹⁶ during the regnal years 1 and 2.

After the death of Yajna, the Satavahana empire seems to have been split up into a number of separate principalities under different princes of the royal blood. Andhrapatha passed to the Ikshvakus before the middle of the third century. Ikshvaku king Virapurushadatta probably married Rudra Bhattarika described as a daughter of Maharaja of Ujjain. The Maharaja of Ujjain at this time was Rudrasena II who became Mahakshatrappa in 255 A.D. and ruled for 22 years.

V. V. Mirashi¹⁷ advocated a theory that a Saka dynasty of Mahishmati founded by

Mana was ruling between 250 and 450 A.D. The coins of Mana of the types of Elephant, Lion and Svastika have been found in the south. These coins may be attributed to Saka Mana of the Mahisha dynasty of the *Puranas*.¹⁸ It seems that first, he was a feudatory or officer of the late Satavahana ruler, but afterwards he became independent and issued his own coins. He had evidently a fairly extensive dominion, for he is one of the few kings of the historic period to be named in the *Puranas*. The family name Mahisha points to his connection with Mahishmati

now identified with modern Mandhato or Maheshwar on the Narmada.

It is difficult to agree with the views of Mirashi. The ruler, to whom these coins are attributed, was ruling only in the south and not in Mahishmati because no coins of such a ruler have been discovered in Malwa. Actually, D.C. Sircar¹⁹ is right in attributing these coins to Chutukula who enjoyed the official designation 'Mahasenapati'. It appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Satavahana power was fast declining.

REFERENCES

1. Malwa comprises the whole of Western Madhya Pradesh surrounded by the Vindhyas in the south, Sagar-Damoh Plateau and Bundelkhand in the east, Guna Shivpuri region and Rajasthan in the north and Gujarat and Aravallis in the West. The limits are 21°50' N and 24°30' N and 74°30' E—80°81' E, covering an area of 26437 square miles.
2. *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.
3. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V, p. 60.
4. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. XCii.
5. *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, p. 3.
6. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. XCiv.
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, II, No. 190.
8. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. xic.
9. *Select Inscriptions*, by D. C. Sircar, p. 164.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
11. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. cix.
12. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V, p. 25.
13. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, pp. cxiii-cxvi.
14. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.
15. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, V, p. 78; *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, p. 273.
16. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*, pp. 124-125.
17. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1946, 34 ff.
18. Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.
19. *El.*, XXXV, pp. 69-78.

HOYSALA INFLUENCE IN ANDHRADESA

DR. (MRS.) V. YASODA DEVI

(S. V. University, Tirupati)

I

The Hoysalas were a great power in medieval Deccan and South India, coming in between the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Rayas of Vijayanagar. Contemporaneous with the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas, and the Pandyas, the Hoysalas, in the early stages of their policy of political expansion, came to loggerheads with the Chalukyas, Cholas and their loyal supporters, namely the Telugu Cholas of Nellore and Hemavati in Andhradesa, whereas during the later stages they had conflicts with the Kakatiyas. Finally the role of the Hoysalas in obstructing the spread of Muslim power to the south of the Vindhyas is memorable. The western part of Andhradesa, that is, Rayalasima, had come under the Hoysala influence during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries.

II

Of the several minor dynasties in Andhradesa in medieval period the Velanadu Chodas and the Telugu Chodas were powerful, the former in the northern and coastal area and the latter in the western and southern territory. The Telugu Cholas of Nellore (A.D. 1100-1350) were the predominant of the several Telugu Chola dynasties e.g. Pottapi, Eruva, Kandur and Hemavati. The dynasty consisted of a dozen rulers and at times their power expanded, not only over the major part of Andhradesa, but beyond into the Hoysala, Telugu Pallava and Chola kingdoms. Nominally subordinate to the Cholas in the early stage and the Kakatiyas during later stages,

but practically independent, these Cholas of Nellore had a significant role in the political history of South India.¹

Tikka I (A.D. 1209-1248), son of Manumasiddha II (A.D. 1198-1205), succeeded Tammusiddha (A.D. 1205-1209) on the throne. The most powerful of the Nellore Cholas, Tikka I also known as Tirukalatti and Gandagopala, whose significant military exploits attest his manifold capacities as a warrior and administrator, had a reign of forty years. He had his own coinage and the coins Gandagopala madai and Gandagopala pudu madai are known from inscriptions.²

Narasimha II (till 1238-39 A.D.) and Virasomesvara (A.D. 1234-53), the Hoysala emperors, were contemporaneous with Tikka Gandagopala. Tikka came into conflict with them, siding with the Cholas, on account of the differences between the Cholas and the Hoysalas on their Pandyan policy,³ and won more victories over them. Tikka's first expedition into the Hoysala territory was undertaken and accomplished by A.D. 1231, the date of his occupation of Kanchi. For, in his record at little Conjeevaram⁴ of the reign of Rajaraja III (dated A.D. 1231 and the 15th regnal year) Tikka Gandagopala is described as "Cataclysmic fire to the ocean, i.e., Kalyanapuri (the capital of the Chalukyas) and the supreme lord of Vikramasimhapuri (i.e., Nellore)." This speaks for the primacy of Kalyani in this period and the victory enhanced the prestige and power of Tikka I. Encouraged by this success, Tikka I, in

A.D. 1239 after an interval of eight years, led another expedition against the Hoysalas, which proved more fateful in its results. A record⁵ from Jambai (south Arcot District), with date A.D. 1239 and 23rd year of Rajaraja III, says that in Chittirai of that year, Nayanar Gandagopala was pleased to go out (for fight), having stabbed Vallaladevan, and proceeded to (?) Senbai. The inscription stops there abruptly. The fight was a victory for the Telugu Cholas, as the events of the expedition show — the killing of the Hoysala ruler, Vallaladeva. The victim of Tikka was Narasimha II Vallaladeva, the suffix Vallala has been generally applied to Hoysala rulers in general, after the glorious Ballala II. So Tikka Gandagopala invaded the Hoysala kingdom, and was opposed by the enemy under king Narasimha, who was killed in the battle that followed. The site of the battle is not known. Then Tikka proceeded to Jambai, where he must have won further victories, not mentioned in the record. This expedition of Tikka brought on its heels the Hoysala expedition on the Telugu Chola kingdom.

In August 1240, Somesvara, son and successor of Narasimha II, led an expedition against Tikka as seen from Hoysala inscriptions⁶ in the Mysore state, the immediate cause being obviously the fall of his father at the hands of Tikka. Contemporary literature and inscriptions prove that Tikka was victorious in this defensive war, and vanquished Somesvara and the Hoysala armies. Tikkana Somayaji says⁷ that Tikka defeated Karnataka Somesa i.e., Hoysala Virasomesvara. Ketana,⁸ another poet, mentions that Tikka ended the pride of the king of Karnataka i.e., Somesvara. In withstanding the Hoysala king, Tikka was also fighting on behalf of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III whose enemy Somesvara was. The Nandalur inscription⁹ dated A.D. 1257 records that king Tikka of Nellore captured Kanchi and defeated Somesvara at Champapuri i.e., Jambai or Sen-

bai of records of an earlier date in Tamil. The identification of Somesvara with Somesvara IV¹⁰ of the Chalukyas of Kalyani is untenable on chronological grounds. The Nandalur inscription thus supplies the place of battle between Somesvara and Tikka. The Hoysala expedition into the Telugu Chola kingdom was a failure. Lakumaya, who invaded Kurumalur and in the ensuing battle whose horses were captured by Tikka¹¹, was possibly a Hoysala general.

Tikka I thus played a very prominent part in the Chola-Hoysala struggle and carried on his activities over the extensive area from the Godavari to the southern Pennar.¹² He reinstalled Rajaraja III in his place and assumed the title Cholathepanacharya.¹³ In these wars, Appaya Dandanayaka and his son Samudra Gopaya Dandanayaka, the two able generals, at the instance of Narasimha II released Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1257) from prison at Sendamangalam under the control of Kadava Kopperunjingadeva and restored him to his throne.¹⁴ They had an active role on the Hoysala side; whereas the ancestors of the Reddis of Kondavidu, in the service of Tikka I, also participated in these campaigns, defeated the two generals and appropriated their titles, besides assuming titles implying their victories over them. Appaya and Gopaya were rewarded with the grant of a village (A.D. 1233)¹⁵ by Narasimha II for their exploits over Kopperunjinga. Gopaya bore the titles Dandinagopa, after his paternal uncle Mahapradhani Dandinagopa, and Jagadobbaganda (i.e., the sole hero of the world), as seen from his record,¹⁶ at Conjeevaram dated in the 15th year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1231). The generals continued in the service of Somesvara. The Reddi titles are Appayagoppaya disapatta, Jaganobbaganda and Dandenagava, first occurring in the Chimakurti copper plate grant¹⁷ of A.D. 1335, and later records and literature. Appayagopayadisapatta suggests Reddi victory over Appaya and Gopaya, two individuals, or

Gopaya, son of Appaya. In A.D. 1240, Gopaya Dandanayaka was at Kanchi¹⁸ and gifted a lamp to Arulalaperumal Temple at Kanchi in the 24th year of Rajaraja III, thus acknowledging Chola supremacy. Possibly about this time the Reddi generals of Tikka Gandagopala defeated the Hoysala general and assumed their titles, as proud privilege of the victor, according to the custom of the age. Thus, the Hoysala titles travelled to the coastal Andhradesa, and were preserved, by the Reddis of Kondavidu (in the 14th and 15th centuries) in their records and literature as the rich heritage from their valiant forefathers, the conquerors of the generals of Narasimha II and Virasomesvara.

III

The Hoysala domination in Rayalasima is seen from a series of records since the time of Ballala II to the close of the age of Ballala III, the last great ruler of the dynasty. That part of Rayalasima, now covered by Chittoor and Anantapur Districts, loyal to the Chalukya Cholas had to submit to the Chalukyas of Kalyani and subsequently to the Hoysalas by force of circumstances. Vishnuvardhana I (1108-1142), the successor of Ballala I (A.D. 1102-1108), had a reign of thirty-four years, a period of great military activity "with schemes for enlargement of Hoysala dominions,"¹⁹ which were promoted. The period falls into two divisions—(1) from 1108 to 1128, the most attractive period of Hoysala expansion; (2) from 1128 to 1142 driving hard and fiercely to retain his new conquests. During the first period, victorious over the Cholas, having taken Talaka from them, he proceeded to Kanchi, having taken on the way Kolar and Nangali, and also probably Koyattur, 15 miles north-east of Nangali, identified with Laddigam (Chittoor district). Between Nangali and Koyattur, he probably defeated the forces led by the chiefs of the Lada family which had been ruling for half a century independently over the region including

and stretching eastwards from Punganur. Subsequent Hoysala inscriptions refer to them under the name "Lala". Vishnuvardhana claims to have captured Teriyur, between the Pinakini and its tributary Jayamangali about 4½ miles from Hindupur during his campaign of A.D. 1117 against the Telugu Cholas of Henjeru²⁰ (Hemavati).

After Vishnuvardhana returned from his southern campaign from Kanchi up to Ramesvaram, he took to subjugation of the Chola ruler of Henjeru and Nidugal, Irumgola Chola, with his territories lying mainly between the rivers Vedavati and Pinakini, and he drew his revenue from the lands dependent on the watersheds of these two rivers, now under Hoysala control. Through his territories, the Sirenad nayakas had invaded the Hoysalanad, three years earlier. "Despite his Chola name, he was an adherent of the Chalukyas", and he had an interest in working Hoysala schemes. Vishnuvardhana had to march to Henjeru, 95 miles to the north-west of Kolar, through the territories newly added to his kingdom, and he took on the way the town of Sadali. Irumgola opposed him in the battle field, but he quickly put him to flight and took Budali, Roddam and Vallur, and Tereyur, either on march to Roddam, or on the route back to Talakad. Vishnuvardhana assumed the title—"scatterer of Henjeru, grim elephant in breaking down the plantain garden, the spears of Irumgola and trampler upon Roddam."²¹ Budali was a prize of some importance and Roddam, the second town in the kingdom and a bright jewel in the Chola crown fell with considerable effect. Irumgola submitted and thus saved his territory to the west of the Pinakini from being ravaged. As he continued to be feudatory of the Chalukyas, probably he was left in peace in return for an indemnity. His descendants continued hostility towards the Hoysalas and friendship with the Chalukyas. In A.D. 1131, Vishnuvardhana called himself the destroyer of the ghats and Roddam.²²

Narasimha I's ((A.D. 1142-1162) thirty years of rule was a period of "feebleness, inadequacy and failure" and most inglorious in Hoysala annals. In A.D. 1146 and 1147 cow-harrying occurred and Govideva of Huli-yeru on behalf of the Hoysalas fought against a foe, possibly a Chola of Henjeru, against whom a Hoysala force was sent in A.D. 1149 and with whom he seems to have contracted a marriage alliance by A.D. 1160. Narasimha claims to have conquered several countries, of which Magadha and Lala refer to the close neighbours and colleagues, "the effete dynasties known as Bana and Lada".²³ As Narasimha's achievements were almost entirely negative in character, the reign of his son and successor stands out in striking contrast. His reign was an introduction and provocation for the dramatic revival under Ballala II. "Ballala II (1173-1218) is outstanding among the Hoysala kings in several respects."

Several Hoysala records show that Ballala II came into conflict with the Telugu Cholas of Hemavati. A record dated A.D. 1177 at Huli-yeru shows that the Cholas had to be fought at some distance from his capital. The inscription²⁴ at Parigi (Hindupur Taluk), at a distance of 13 miles from Roddam, dated December A.D. 1178, shows that the authority of Ballala II was firmly established in the country of Chola Mallideva. Ballala's records (about A.D. 1180) said that Ballala satisfied himself by accepting the submission of the Chola who had been ruling since the death of Irumgola, "the elongated kingdom which had Henjeru as the capital and Nidugal as the chief fortress."²⁵ For, in December A.D. 1179, Mallideva Chola, in spite of his recent defeat at the hands of Chandugi, and allegiance to the Hoysala, recognised the supremacy of the Chalukya emperor. In 1181, the Hoysala king made a show of force to discourage the Chola adherents on the edge and below the Ghats. Between 1181 and 1189, along with several ruling families the Cholas

of Henjeru became insubordinate to Chalukya Somesvara IV. In A.D. 1192 Ballala II in his eastward campaign subdued Haluva i.e., Halvi (in Adoni Tq) 2 miles to the south of the Tungabhadra and Manuve (i.e., Manvi, 5 miles to the north of the river in Raichur district), and Devadurge, 8 miles to the south of the Krishna, and if so, located in the kingdom of the Henjeru Cholas.²⁶ Manuve and Haluve possessed hill forts, and protected on both sides of the Tungabhadra, the fertile lands between that river and the Hagari; and these were the outposts of the Kuntala country in the east, for the frontier with Telingana has its south-west extremity there and so that region has double significance. For Vithalabhunatha, a general of Prataparudra, claimed to have taken Adavani, Tumbulam (due north of Adoni), Manuva and Haluva. Possibly Ballala II had entered Tumbulam, at a short distance from Haluva, to suppress Jaitugi Sevuna who attempted to take it, as seen from a record there. In A.D. 1218, the Chola made efforts to protect his dominions from a possible attack by Isvaradeva Sinda of Belugutti and exclude the Hoysala. Ballala visited him at Nidugal (1218). He fortified Nidugal, connected it with Hane and occupied some villages previously lost to Ballala II. The fortifications remained untouched till 1276 when Irumgola by his conduct forced the Hoysala to crush the Chola family. Then they came under Sevuna rule, for there is a gap in the Chola inscriptions between A.D. 1218 and 1248 and Yadava Simhana bore the title "scatterer of the Cola king." In the reign of Narasimha II (A.D. 1218-1235), the Hoysala activity was against the Telugu Cholas of Nellore, dealt with already. Somesvara (A.D. 1236-1247), son and successor of Narasimha II, continued the war with Tikka I of Nellore. His reign was tragic, for he had occasions of self-congratulation and bitter humiliation. In the reign of Ramanatha (A.D. 1257-1295) there was a civil war between him and Narasimha III. In the latter part of the reign,

Ramanatha's rule was confined to the region corresponding to central and southern parts of Kolar district and northern and eastern portions of Bangalore district. There is one exception at Punganur²⁷ (Chittoor District) 10 miles from Nangali, as stated in an inscription (A.D. 1295) of Viraramanathadeva, the Hoysala king. It mentions Vamanavanan Kuttapperumal; probably a Bana chieftain of the area. Ballala III (A.D. 1291-1342), at the age of twenty-eight, inherited a weak empire, and his reign was the longest of the reigns of the dynasty, and he for all purposes was the last of the line. "His youth, middle age, senility and death epitomise in a remarkable way the last efforts and collapse of the Hoysala dynasty."²⁸ Ballala reunited the kingdom (A.D. 1301-1303) and came into conflict with Kampiladeva by A.D. 1320, defeated him, proceeded to Doravadi, 10 miles south of Kampili, and to keep a close watch on the north-east, he occupied Penugonda; and there in September 1320, his son-in-law or sister's son Macheya Dannayaka ruled on his behalf. As Penugonda is a few miles to the east of Roddam, possibly Ballala eclipsed the power of the Chola of Nidugal, the enemy of the Hoysalas for many years. This Hoysala outpost at Penugonda aroused the jealousy of some local chiefs who were giving trouble to Macheya Nayaka from time to time. There is a record²⁹ (A.D. 1321) of Ballala III at Sirivaram (Hindupur Taluk). Earlier, his record³⁰ (A.D. 1323) at Taunepalle (Hindupur Taluk) in the reign of Viraballala III mentions Mahapradhana Aiya Macheya Dannayaka making a gift of land in Maduvukuntayahalli in Ramadinadu. In A.D. 1324 Macheya was involved in difficulties, but was victorious in battle, for an epigraph³² at Sirivaram (A.D. 1324) records his victory over Racheya Nayaka of Tumbeyakallu, obviously a local chieftain, and the death of Ajapa, the son of Dhimgoda of Sirivara in the fight. Macheya continued to rule at Penugonda till A.D. 1328, for a record³³ of that year at Kodigepalle (Hindupur Taluk) mentions him as

Mahapradhana Macheya Dannayaka, ruling at the Nelavidu of Penugonda, and making gift of village Banganu to Nageya Gauda, a chieftain.

Macheya Dannayaka was succeeded by Isvara Dannayaka at Penugonda, for in a record³⁴ (A.D. 1340) at Sanjivarayanipalle (Hindupur Taluk) of Ballala III, mentions Isvara making the gift of the village Valagalakumteyahalli to Gopa Gavunda, son of Chavaka Bamma Gavunda. By A.D. 1349 Gangideva Dannayaka, son of Aliya Macheya Dannayaka, was ruling at Penugonda, as seen from a record³⁵ at Sangamapalle (Hindupur Taluk). In Nidugallurajya, Gangeya Nayaka of Holakal was ruling in A.D. 1340 as seen from a record³⁶ of Ballala III at Kumdurpi (Kalyanadurg Taluk) and his son Chikka Bammayanayaka excavated a tank called Hampeyadone in Kundurpe. The Serajammanahalli record³⁷ (Madaksira Taluk) of the reign of Ballala III (undated) mentions the gift by various communities in Madhuvadi in Nidugallunadu. A general Dama making a gift to a temple at Henjeru, in Sirinadu, in the reign of Vira Ballala III is mentioned in a record at Hemavati³⁸ (Madaksira Taluk).

IV

Thus, we see the Hoysalas in hostile relations with several petty dynasties in western Andhra country since the time of Vishnuvardhana I and their policy of expansion and imposition of their suzerainty over them e.g. the Telugu Cholas of Hemavati whose records³⁹ are found in large numbers at Konakondla, Eradukera, etc. in Anantapur district. Their conflicts with the Telugu Cholas of Nellore in the coastal Andhra area started from the time of Narasimha II and continued till the reign of Ballala III. Hoysala hold on the Cholas of Hemavati is somewhat realistic and in the reign of Ballala III Penugonda was the headquarters of a Hoysala viceroyalty with control over the Henjeru Cholas.

145000

REFERENCES

1. V. Yasoda Devi: The History of Andhra country (1000-1500) Subsidiary Dynasties. — J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 23, p. 68.
2. S.I.I. VII 506; A.R. 1919, 207; Journal of Numismatic Society of India, (Banaras) Vol. 30 (1968) No. 16. V. Yasoda Devi: Coin terms in Andhradesa Inscriptions.
3. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: The Colas II-I p. 200.
4. 446 of 1919; A. R. 1920 para 55.
5. 439 of 1937; A. R. 1938 II Para 42; S.I.I. VII App. p. 80.
6. E. C. VI Kd. 100; S.I.I. XII App-D. p. 180.
7. Niravachanottara Ramayana I v. 34.
8. Dasakumara Charitra IV 16-24.
9. 580 of 1907; A.R. 1908 p. 71.
10. K. Viresalingam: Lives of Telugu Poets I p. 112.
11. J. A. H. R. S. Vol. 23 p. 90.
12. Nellore Gazeteer p. 94.
13. Tikkana: Nirvachanottara Ramayana I v. 34; Ketana: Dasakumaracharitra; M. S. Sarma: The History of the Reddi kingdoms, (1948), Waltair, p. 61.
14. Tiruvendipuram record (A.D. 1231 and 15th year of the Rajaraja III. E.I. VII pp. 160 ff; epigraph (A.D. 1233) in Gubbi Taluk (Tunkur District), E.C. XII Gb. record at Conjeevaram (A.D. 1231 and 15th year of Rajaraja III — 404 of 1919).
15. E. C. XII Gb. 45.
16. 404 of 1919; 617 of 1919; 404, 611, 612, 615 of 1919 — all at Conjeevaram.
17. E. I. XXI pp. 267-273; V. Yasoda Devi: The Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajamundry (MS) Appendix.
18. 615 of 1919.
19. J. Duncon M. Derret: The Hoysalas (1957) p. 44.
20. Ibid. p. 51.
21. Ibid. p. 53.
22. Ibid. p. 63.
23. Ibid. p. 74.
24. S. I. I. IX 318.
25. S. I. I. IX 359; 729 of 1917.
26. L. Duncon M. Derret: The Hoysalas p. 93.
27. 210 of 1931-32.
28. J. Duncon M. Derrett: The Hoysalas p. 143.
29. S. I. I. X. 354.
30. Ibid. 353.
31. Ibid. 355.
32. Ibid. 356.
33. Ibid. 357.
34. Ibid. 358.
35. 791 of 1917.
36. S. I. I. IX 359.
37. 729 of 1917.
38. S. I. I. VI 588: 122 of 1899.
39. J. A. H. R. S. 24 p. 59.

SOME ASPECTS OF MUGHAL ARCHITECTURAL DECORATIONS*

A REVIEW ARTICLE

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

(Jadavpur University)

The study of archaeology and fine arts in medieval India has attracted the attention of numerous scholars of different nationalities, British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Danish, German, Russian and Indian, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To mention a few: A. Cunningham (1865-77), J. Ferguson (1854-76), H. H. Cole (1872-85), T. H. Thorton (1873), Stephen Carr (1876), N. Simakoff (1883), F. S. Growse (1883), A. Fuhrer (1889-91), G. Le Bon (1893), W. Griggs (1896), S. M. Latif (1892-96) and Maindron (1898), concerned exclusively with the 19th century. Covering both 19th and 20th centuries were J. Burgess (1896-1905), H. Cousens (1897-1958), and E. W. Smith (1894-1909). In the present century we have F. Sarre (1901), E. Barnes (1902), H. C. Fanshawe (1902), Olfusen (1904), H. G. Keene, (1905), M. Moinuddin (1905, 1924), H. C. Hearn (1906), H. Saladin (1907), V. A. Smith (1911), R. N. Munshi (1911), E. B. Havell (1903-24), M. Zafar Hasan (1916-22), A. H. Longhurst (1917), G. T. Rivoira (1918), F. Wetzel (1918), J. Ph. Vogel (1916-20), E. La Roche (1921), H. Sharp (1921), O. U. Niedermayer (1924), P. Brown (1924-68), E. H. Hankin (1925), E. T. Richmond (1926), Sir John Marshall (1902-30), M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, A.

Coomaraswamy (1923), O. C. Gangoly (1954), A. Goswami (1953) and S. K. Saraswati.

Dr. R. Nath has chosen as the theme of his work only a special aspect, viz., colour decoration in Mughal architecture. The book under review is a part of the thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree by the Agra University in 1969. It deals with the architectural colour decoration in the Mughal monuments at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi in vogue from Akbar to Shah Jahan. The learned author has attempted to trace the historical background of the gorgeous decorative aspects, interpret the obscure techniques and styles, define the colourfulness in Mughal architecture and to salvage a few great masterpieces like the Chini-ka-Rauza and the Shish Mahal from oblivion.

Besides the preface, the main body of the text comprises four chapters. Chapter I (Introduction, pp. 1-4) analyses the general factors contributing to the aesthetic qualities of architecture: environmental (e.g., the site, elevation etc.) and structural devices; purely decorative means like carving on specific colour schemes (glazed tiling; Mosaic, inlay and glass mosaic; stucco and architectural painting). A significant and striking feature of the book is that the author throughout has attempted to study his subject in proper historical perspective in the background of earlier Indian or even Asian or European art tradi-

* REVIEW ARTICLE: **Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture** by DR. R. NATH, M.A., Ph.D., Department of History, Agra College, Agra, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., Bombay-1. First published, 1970, pp. 80 + xii, 67 plates. Rs. 47/-.

tions. As he observed, "The Mughal decorative arts thus can only be studied in relation to their historical background, and not as isolated phenomena" (p. 4).

Chapter II deals with glazed-tile decoration (pp. 5-22). Here the author has first explained how this art grew up and then proceeded to refer to its use in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, ancient Persia and Islamic Iran. Its use increased after the 11th century and it became the characteristic feature of the Islamic architecture of Iran. Two distinct styles developed — the tessellated or mosaic style and the square-tile style (as in Masjid i Shah (1616) and the mosque of Shaikh Lutfullah (1619) at Ispahan). During the 14th and 15th centuries glazed tiles came to be used in Egypt, Syria, Iran, Khurasan, Central Asia and India, and the worker came to be called *Kashisaz* (from Kashan or Kash or glass) and the tile Kashi or Qashi. The Blue Mosque at Tabriz of Jahan Shah (1437-68) is 'a masterpiece of glazed architectural decoration' (Goddard), while Timur's tomb at Samarkand is another example.

Glazed tiling was introduced into India in the early centuries of the Christian era, but it was confined only to Sind and Bengal (e.g. Gaur) and had a Hindu tinge distinct from the Islamic. The author goes on to explain the factors which determined the adoption of glazed tile decoration by the Muslim rulers in India (p. 11). Contact with the Arabs and the Persians and lack of stone and wood made Multan (from 12th century) and Sind (14th to 19th centuries) centres of glazed tiling, besides carved brick work and hard baked red terracotta (cf. tomb of Ruknuddin or Rukn i Alam at Multan, c. 14th century; Jami masjid at Thatta, 17th century). The potters (*Kashigar*) of Halla, 35 miles from Hyderabad, were experts in tile work (*Kashi-kari*) following Persian technique. The process of preparation is described by the author in some detail, which reflects his vast knowledge of

various stones, minerals and chemicals. Some of the technical terms mentioned in the monograph of Ustad Ali Mohammad of Teheran (p. 13) might perhaps have been explained by the author for the benefit of laymen. In the Delhi Sultanate glazed tiling was used by Alauddin Khalji (cf. *Idgah* at Rapri) and by the Lodis (cf. tomb of Sikandar, and of Khwaja Khizr etc.). Sometimes the tiles were inscribed in Arabic. Strikingly enough, glazed tiles were used on stone surfaces in the Man Mandir (Chitra Mandir according to Cunningham) by the Tomara Raja Man Singh of Gwalior (1486-1516) and their lustre has withstood 450 years. This illustrates the Indian artisans' capacity of absorption and adaptation of exotic modes. Other pre-Mughal examples of glazed tiling are the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, the madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar, and at Mandu (Jami masjid and Jahaz Mahal).

The hundred years from Akbar to Shahjahan (1556 to 1658) constitute the heyday of Mughal glazed tiling. The Mughal artisans adopted this Islamic (Persian) decorative motif and blended it with Hindu architectural traditions. It was used under Akbar on stone as well as brick e.g., the Khairul Manzil mosque (1652), tomb of Shamsuddin Atagah Khan, (c. 1567), Nili Chhatri (1566) at Delhi, Jodhbai Palace roof at Fatehpur Sikri, and the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra fort.

The main features of glazed tiling during Jahangir's time were : (i) their use in upper parts of structures, — domes, cupolas, friezes, parapets, battlements, etc. (e.g., Akbar's tomb at Sikandra), (ii) complicated and difficult use of tessellated or mosaic tiles, (iii) use on stone surfaces or with stone bands, (iv) sparing use to produce a mixed effect (p. 16). The colour scheme (red sandstone combined with blue and orange tiling) was very pleasing. The author has approvingly written about Jahangir : "His broader outlook and liberal, almost secular, approach to the artisti-

motifs made his style almost national in character." (Ibid).

Like Sind, the Punjab was an important centre of glazed ware production. Proximity to Persia and geology made Lahore a school of tile-workers who produced some masterpieces in this art, e.g., the tombs of Shah Must ('Sabz Gumbaz', *temp.* Akbar) and of Farid Pakkiwala (1621).

The reign of Shahjahan witnessed the most brilliant examples of glazed tile decoration with increasing Persian influence (due to the pre-eminence of Mirza Ghyas Beg in the court). Marble replaced red sandstone, and inlay and mosaic supplanted sculpture as a matter of course. Brick was increasingly used with glazed tiles as associated decoration. Some representative examples of tile work at Lahore were the tombs of Jahangir (1627), Asaf Khan (1635), the mosque of Dai Anaga (1635), Chauburji gate (1646), Gulabi Bagh gate (1655), Shalimar Bagh, the finest being Wazir Khan's mosque (1634) with its remarkable colour scheme and fresco painting. While the author has referred to the decreasing spirit of toleration and decreasing use of Hindu architectural devices, he has also given a remarkable proof of the Indianisation of the Mughals, namely the fact that during the third decade of the 17th century tile-pictures of men (essentially Hindu) and animals were executed on the fort walls of Lahore on a much larger scale than those in Man Mandir (Gwalior) which is unprecedented in any Islamic monument in India, being against the prescriptions of canon law. Vogel thinks that such gigantic decoration was 'the most faithful translation of the Persian art on Indian soil' and 'lasting monument of the Mughals'. Differing from Carlleyle and E. W. Smith, our author holds that the tomb of Shahjahan's wazir, Mulla Shukrulla Shirazi (or Afzal Khan Allami), called Chini-ka-Rauza, is another remarkable illustration of the glazed and tessellated tile decoration, which covers

its whole exterior. The author disagrees with E. W. Smith and holds that geometrical lattice patterns did not come from China through Persia but from Arabia and Persia (and Samarkand). However, he agrees with E. W. Smith and Carlleyle that it ranks among the best monuments of its type in the world (pp. 18-22).

In Chapter III (pp. 23-41), dealing with mosaic inlay and glass-mosaic, the author first explains the term 'mosaic' and then traces its earliest examples to Chaldea. Next he shows its use by the Greeks, the Romans, the early Christians and the Byzantines. This decorative art came to be widely used in secular and religious architecture in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, Iraq and parts of Persia and Northern Africa. It was adopted and revived by the Arabs. Under them and their Turkish and Persian successors it spread from Spain to India.

Glass mosaic (*fusaisa*) decorations at Mecca, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cordova and Egypt are attributed to Byzantine, Syrian and Egyptian artisans. After the establishment of the Abbasid dynasty in 750, Sassanian and Iranian influences replaced Byzantine traditions and hence glazed tiling (inherited from Babylonia and Assyria, more suited to open spaces and less expensive) and brilliant stucco now supplanted the expensive and time-absorbing mosaic art, used in dark or dimly lit interiors, though the latter did not die out and survived in Asia Minor.

Mosaic in tiles inspired mosaic in stone. The Hindu artist of the early Islamic period adopted variegated stone pieces for mosaic, e.g., in Alai Darwaza and tomb of Tughluq Shah, both at Delhi, and also in various buildings in Dhar and Mandu during approximately 150 years (1405-1569). Two styles of stone mosaic developed in India : the tessellated style, by assembling square or rectangular, differently coloured stone pieces; and the in-

laid mosaic, by putting stones in sockets in red sandstone or marble slabs. The most important contribution of the author is that he has criticized the views of Fergusson, Percy Brown, V. Smith and disproved the alleged Italian origin of Mughal inlay. The 'Orpheus and his Lute' panel in the Diwan i Am, Delhi, representing Florentine art (*pietra dura*) has led European scholars to think that Italian *pietra dura* was introduced in Mughal architecture by Florentine artists led by Austin (or Augustin of Bordeaux). In fact these were imported (pp. 34-36). Names of Indian workmen have been given with their place and pay. The various examples given of mosaic inlay, — the tomb in Ashrafi Mahal, Mandu (1450); Chaumukhi Jain temple, Ranpur, Jodhpur State (15th c.); the Qila i Kuhna mosque (1542), tombs of Humayun (1565) and of Atgah Khan; Akbar's buildings, Delhi Darwaza of Agra fort (1566), the Jahangiri Mahal there, the Jami masjid at Fatehpur Sikri (best example), Buland Darwaza; the tomb of Salim Chishti, tomb of Akbar at Sikandra (1605-12) (exhibiting both styles), the fully developed tomb of Itmad ud Daulah at Agra, — all disprove the theory that mosaic inlay was introduced by foreigners during the reign of Shahjahan.

With Shahjahan's adoption of white marble in preference to red sandstone, new artistic values, norms and decorations came to be introduced. The red sandstone of Diwan i Am at Agra and Delhi was stuccoed over with white shell-plaster, ivory polished, appearing like white marble, a Rajput craftsmanship.

Other examples of inlay work were the Diwan-i-Khas, Rang Mahal, and Shah Burj in Delhi, and some marble pavillions at Agra (the Musamman Burj, Diwan i Khas and the Taj Mahal). In the Taj, borrowing largely from the Diwan i khas, inlay work is more profuse but in the background of plain surfaces and carved designs.

Glass mosaic as the best form of interior decoration was introduced into India under Shahjahan. It was used in the Shishr Mahal palaces in the forts of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. It creates a sense of ethereal beauty and wonder. The glass pieces were imported from Aleppo (Haleb).

The concluding Chapter IV (pp. 42-63) deals with stucco and architectural painting. Mural painting has been found in Spain and some parts of India, Egypt, Thebes, Crete, Assyria and Babylonia and Persia and used by the Greeks and the Etruscans either for depicting pre-historic hunting scenes, for funerary purposes or for decorating palaces and temples. Landscape painting was introduced by the Alexandrian school in Egypt. Roman painting was a funerary and residential and secular art. Examples of this art, though buried under volcanic ashes in Pompeii were not damaged because of the combined use of the stucco-lustro and encaustic methods as distinct from fresco-buono and fresco-secco methods. Mural painting was generally neglected under the Byzantines.

Islamic art largely borrowed from these as well as Sassanid traditions (e.g., at Samarra, 9th century A.D.). Though glazed tiling came to be increasingly used from 11th century A.D., mural painting continued (e.g., at Alhambra at Granada in Spain), sometimes along with stucco (e.g., Masjid i Jami at Ispahan and the Palace of Ala Qapi, 1586-1629). Miniature painting (e.g., in mss.) was centred in Tabriz, Shiraz and Baghdad.

While glazed tiling and mosaic were introduced into India by the Islamic artisans, stucco and painting were long ago known to the Indians. Secular at first it was adopted for religious purposes. Centuries of evolution (from pre-historic times, through the *Upanishads*, the *Pitakas*, the *Sutras*, the epics, the *Silpa-sastras*, the *Vastu vidya* and the *Pratima vigyan*, literary references, the *Arthasastra*,

the *Kamasutra*, and the *Samaranganasutra-dhara*) brought the canons of painting (technique, use of materials etc.) to perfection and spread to China and other countries with the spread of Buddhism. Of all examples of ancient Indian painting found in Ajanta, Bagh, Badami, Sittannavasal, Panamalai, Tanjore, Ellora, Kanchi, Lepakshi and Mandu, the best were in Ajanta ('acclaimed as the greatest record of painting in the East' by Brown). The most appropriate background for painting was supplied by stucco (plaster). Rowland's theory of the Iranian origin of stucco has been rejected because of its 'earlier mention in ancient literary works' and of some positive examples (pp. 52-3).

The Muslim conquerors of India had to depend on local artisans who decorated the early Islamic monuments by carving and chiselling. Colour decoration came under more settled conditions. Mongol invasions in Central Asia, Persia and Iraq drove Islamic builders to Delhi and they resorted to glazed tiling and painting. Painting was increasingly used for interior decoration from the 15th century (e.g. at Bidar); stucco and painting were used in Moth Ki Masjid in Delhi (1505), Humayun's mosque at Agra (1530), Sher Mandal in Purana Qila (1540-5), and in Bijapur (Gagan Mahal, c. 1560).

Under Akbar there was a revival, re-interpretation and revolution in the art of painting. Its form and character changed. With extended use in exterior as well as interior decoration it became more impressive and graceful. The older (miniature, portraiture and architectural) traditions of artists of Kashmir, Rajputana and Gujarat, combined with the numerous decorative patterns of Islamic (mainly Iranian) artists (geometrical, floral, inscriptional etc.) under the Emperor's interest, patronage and inspiring motive force. Fatehpur Sikri (c. 1570-1) contained some masterpieces. The Khwabgah Palace has beautiful painted murals with a synthesis of

Indian and Persian motifs. The Mariam Zamani Palace (*Sonehra Makan* or *Rangin Mahal*), 'the most profusely painted secular mansion' of Akbar, is an indigenous development reflecting Persian inspiration and Indian (Ajanta, Bagh and Gujrat) environmental background. The Jodhbai Palace used painting and stucco, the latter inseparably associated with painting. All forms of decorative art (plastic carving, glazed colour, inlay and mosaic and painting) in different designs, floral and conventional, have been heaped on the Jami Masjid of Fatehpur Sikri, which, according to V. A. Smith, 'ranks amongst the finest of the ecclesiastical buildings in India'. Again, the tomb of Salim Chisti contains profuse and exquisite paintings (e.g. *Kalash* and *guldasta*, floral and inscriptional patterns) which, in the opinion of the author, belong to the reign of Jahangir or even of Shah Jahan. This tomb appears more like that of a king than of an ascetic (p. 57).

Traces of painting survived in the Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra fort over stone surfaces or in painted stucco work. Some of the panels of the carvo-intaglio or the incised stucco work here can, according to the author, 'easily be compared with the best in the Alhambra (Spain) and the Mosque of Ibn Tulun (Egypt)' (p. 57). The best examples of painting in stucco-relief mural decoration are in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, especially in its Southern vestibule.

The tomb of Itmad ud Daulah, which marks the transition from red sandstone to white marble, is not only 'a masterpiece of inlay and mosaic decoration', but also famous for its painting and stucco work, both relief and incised, depicting Persian motifs as well as Chinese cloud forms.

Shahjahan's preference for the white marble led him to reconstruct some red sandstone buildings of Akbar with marble or shell-plaster. With marble were associated inlay,

carving and precise and brilliant painting. Best surviving examples are stucco in relief and fresco painting in Lahore fort and Jharokha in Diwan-i-Am. Painting and incised stucco are better in Wazir Khan's mosque (1634) in Lahore with interior painting and glazed tiling outside. The Diwan i Khas at Delhi contains remains of painting and stucco with their original grace and splendour. The original ceiling of silver, probably executed by Augustin (Austin) of Bordeaux was peeled by invaders while colour have been defaced. The original coating of shell-plaster, an ancient Taxilan art, inherited by Rajputana craftsmen, having worn out, the Diwan i Am with its red sandstone stands apart from the rest of the buildings.

The best example of gold work on white marble, praised by Abdul Hamid Lahori, is in the mural painting in the Khas Mahal in Agra fort, with gold and blue colours on a lac back ground. Musamman Burj has painting associated with inlay and carving (carvo-relievo) while the Shish Mahal has painting on marble. Examples of the stucco relief are in the Burj of Shahjahani Mahal (more important than painting) and the second storey of the Auguri Bagh and the Machchi Bhavan (between the brackets). The Chini-Ka-Rauza at Agra has glazed tiling outside and painting inside reflecting Persian motifs and Indian traditions. The most perfect examples of incised painting (by scraping) resembling (but not borrowing from) the Italian Sgraffito work, tried for the first time in the Itmad ud daula, are in the mosque and an-

nexes of the Taj Mahal. That 'such a brilliant and aesthetic effect could have been obtained by the use of only two simple colours' is due to 'the technique, the motifs and, above all, the artist's skill in distributing the designs judiciously.' (p. 62). The author holds that the Moti Masjid in Agra, where no colour decoration has been used, occupies a position definitely ahead of that of the Taj, as the 'aesthetic effect has been obtained by structural features only'. At the end the author has discussed the technique of preparing the Mughal intonaco and the pigments, holding that 'the Mughal painter used the same old indigencous colours of the ancient Hindus' (p. 63).

This brief review highlights the main features and conclusions of the book. Its value is heightened by the inclusion of a glossary explaining the technical terms. But the glossary contains some illustrations only but many more require to be illustrated. Diacritical marks should have been given in the text. A few printing mistakes have crept in e.g., Kashinaaz (p. 10), area (?) of 24000 ft. (p. 17), Mir Adil (p. 18), Diwan i Kull (p. 19). But these are minor points. The printing and the get up of the book are quite good. The plates are excellent and some of them superb. Considering these the price does not seem to be high. If the author is to be congratulated on his first class contribution to medieval Indian art, which is remarkable in conception, approach and execution, the publishers deserve our sincere thanks for making such a work available to readers.

CHATURSING BHOSLE: HIS ATTEMPT FOR THE RESTORATION OF SATARA'S SOVEREIGNTY

S. S. DESAI

(Shivaji University, Kolhapur)

Chatursing Bhosle was the younger brother of Shahu II, the nominal King of Satara, a figurehead. It is not known when he was born, but according to the available source he was eight years junior to his brother King Shahu II. It is a well known fact that after the death of Shahu I the Peshwas became the virtual rulers of the Maratha Empire, Satara the capital of the Maratha Kingdom lost its former importance and the status of the Chhatrapatis was reduced to that of figureheads. They were pensioned off and were lost in oblivion only to be remembered on the occasion of the Peshwa's investiture. In the autocratic regime of Nana Fadnis the Rajas of Satara led a life of captivity. They had no freedom to move beyond the limits of Satara town. They had to live a frugal life within the meagre amount which the Poona Darbar used to pay them.¹ They were to be dependent for everything on the Poona Darbar, even for a new flag. For instance, the private secretary to the Chhatrapati of Satara wrote to Poona in 1794-95 :

"There are no camels here for domestic work, they have died long back. We have to carry luggage on elephants' back, but they too are tired and useless for transport. There are no camels in town."²

"The Raja has no good steeds for riding. He is a good rider, but due to the want of good steeds at present he has stopped riding. So please send some good horses.

"A flag which was made two years back out of the cloth sent from Poona is already torn. A new flag is necessary on the occasion of Dassera. Please send a piece of cloth enough for a flag and two Patkas.

"The sons of Maharaja are fond of horses and elephants. But there are no ponies and elephants here, which are useful for them. Please send ponies and elephants."

It seems that the requirements of the household of the Satara Raja were seldom met, for such requests were made very often to the Poona Darbar from the Raja's family.

Such was the pitiable condition of the Chhatrapatis of Satara, when the power of the Peshwas was at its zenith. Chatursingh was brought up in this environment, as he was putting up with his brother King Shahu II. He must have nurtured in his heart a feeling of ill-will against the oppressors of his family, and must have sworn to wage a war of restoration of Satara's sovereignty. After the tragic end of Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, Poona was plunged into a grave political crisis. A war of attrition began between Nana Fadnis and Bajirao II, in which the latter came out victorious. As Nana Fadnis was a sworn enemy of Raghoba dada, the father of Bajirao II, the latter lost no time in taking revenge on the enemy of his father.

When Nana Fadnis was in power, in order to control the Chhatrapatis of Satara he had

acquired the fort of Satara, along with the forts of Pratapgad, Raigad, Lohgad, etc. After his fall he fled from Poona. Bajirao soon after wrote to the Chhatrapati of Satara to seize the fort of Satara and detain Nana's men.³

Chhatrapati Shahu II in consultation with Chaturising and his advisors acted according to the instructions of Bajirao II. He confined Baburao Apte, the Karkun of Nana Fadnis, and seized the fort of Satara.

The long-cherished goal of becoming free from the control of Poona was about to be realized. Maharaja Shahu II and Chaturising sought to consolidate their gains. After the capture of the fort of Satara they liberated the town of Satara and its surroundings.

Bajirao II had instigated the King of Satara against Nana Fadnis, not to restore the sovereignty of Satara but for his personal gains. But, when he received news of the capture of Satara town by the forces of the Chhatrapati he became alarmed. He at once ordered his general Madhavrao Rastia to march against Satara, in order to impress upon the Chhatrapati and his followers that the Peshwa was strong enough to put down the Chhatrapati's attempt for Satara's liberation.

Madhavrao Rastia arrived at Satara with a considerable force and artillery. He sent an ultimatum to the Chhatrapati to vacate the town of Satara and hand over to him the fort of Satara.

While Madhavrao Rastia was on his way to Satara, an ambassador sent by the Chhatrapati of Satara to Poona was busy with political negotiations. He was pleading before Bajirao to grant Chhatrapati his rightful freedom. He met Daulatrao Sindhia and Sarjarao Ghatge and put before them Chhatrapati's grievances. As Daulatrao Sindhia was a per-

sonal friend of Bajirao II and had no allegiance to the Chhatrapatis of Satara, he was lukewarm towards the Chhatrapati's demands. But Sarjarao Ghatge who hailed from Kagal and had affinities with the Chhatrapatis, promised help and tried within his limits.

In the meanwhile the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was also sympathetic towards the demands of Chhatrapati Shahu II, as both of them were in the same boat. The Chhatrapati of Satara, relying upon the promised help of Sarjarao Ghatge and the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, decided to defy Madhavrao Rastia. He ordered him to leave Satara for good or face retaliatory measures.⁴

Madhavrao Rastia had read Chhatrapati's mind as soon as he had arrived in Satara. He was in touch with Bajirao II and had apprised him of what was happening in Satara. As he felt himself unable to restore the Peshwa's rule in Satara single-handed he asked Bajirao to free Parashram Bhau Patwardhan from detention and send him to Satara. Bajirao had to accept the advice. Parashram Bhau Patwardhan was a seasoned general and a veteran of many battles. He arrived in Satara and collected a considerable force. As the rainy season was at its height and the river Krishna was in spate, the Chhatrapati and his brother Chaturising considered themselves secure. They neglected to take any precautionary measures. One day a Brahmin priest came to see Parashram Bhau Patwardhan in his camp near Satara and told him that he knew a place on the Krishna which was fordable even in high spate. Parashram Bhau knew the topography of Satara region very well. He visited the place and at nightfall crossed the river with ten thousand men. The Chhatrapati of Satara and Chaturising Bhosle were caught unawares. They had at their disposal scarcely two thousand and five hundred men. But in spite of Parashram Bhau's numerical strength Chaturising Bhosle put up a stubborn

resistance. Yellogi Mohite, the trusted C. in C. of Chhatrapati, was killed and Koostaba Raje and Durgaji Raje Mahadik were seriously wounded. Sonaji Mohite refused to retreat, he made a dashing charge against Madhavrao Rastia but was cut to pieces.⁵

After the defeat of Chhatrapati's army Madhavrao Rastia bombarded the town of Satara and plundered it. On June 26, 1798, Chhatrapati Shahu II sent a letter to Bajirao protesting against Rastia's atrocities,⁶ in which he said :

"So far now not a single Peshwa had the temerity to insult the Chhatrapati. . . . Madhavrao Rastia bombarded the town for about three hours. He didn't spare even the palace. . . ."

Just as Rastia's, the army of Parashram Bhau also plundered the town of Satara and villages adjoining to it.⁷

Chhatrapati's protest fell on deaf ears. Bajirao ordered the attachment of property belonging to the followers of Chhatrapati. But once his objective was achieved, he had no hesitation in disowning Rastia's actions. In 1802 when Rastia fell into the ill-grace of Bajirao, he was arrested for his atrocities in Satara, his property at Poona and Wai was attached and he was incarcerated in the fort of Raigad.⁸

The Raja of Kolhapur who had promised military help to the Chhatrapati of Satara moved towards Satara with a strong contingent, but at Karad he was obstructed by the Pratinidhi under instructions from Poona. While the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was facing the force of the Pratinidhi, the Chhatrapati of Satara and Chaturising Bhosle were defeated by Parashram Bhau Patwardhan and Madhavrao Rastia. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur retreated hurriedly from Karad. Chaturising Bhosle and his handful of

intrepid followers succeeded in joining the Kolhapur army. Madhavrao Rastia followed them closely. Chaturising and his followers combined with the reinforcement from Kolhapur made a surprise attack on their pursuers and trounced them severely. A body of Parashram Bhau's army was also badly mauled by Chaturising.⁹

Chaturising was not satisfied with these petty victories, he wanted to wipe out the defeat of Satara. Soon he got the opportunity he wanted. He received an intelligence report that Madhavrao Rastia was away from Satara to Wai. Rastia's army was encamped at the foot of the fort of Satara. They had some pieces of artillery with them. Chaturising led six hundred men through the hills and valleys and made a surprise attack on the camp of Rastia. They charged furiously and captured the enemy guns. They left Rastia's camp ablaze and retired to the hills.

It was a great military feat, by which Chaturising Bhosle earned respect and credit from the Maratha soldiers.¹⁰ He had no funds to support an army but due to his perseverance people came to offer him their services voluntarily. He kept Rastia's seven thousand men in motion between the rivers Nira and Warna. Sometimes he was defeated, but he never surrendered. On one occasion he was surrounded by five thousand of Rastia's men. He made a dashing charge through the enemy force and got away with half of his men. This daring escape won him admiration throughout Maharashtra. The peasantry began to see in him an embodiment of the spirit of freedom and liberty.¹¹

It has already been noted that Sarjarao Ghatge had promised help to the Chhatrapati of Satara. As he was a friend of Bajirao he must have tried to bring about reconciliation between Chaturising and Bajirao, for in the year 1801 Chaturising is to be found in Poona for about four months. He had meetings with Bajirao, but he was not successful

in his mission. He closely studied Bajirao's day to day life and was disgusted with him. He left Poona in the midst of Dassera and made his way towards Bijapur.

When Yeshvantrao Holkar invaded Poona, in order to avenge the dastardly murder of his brother Vithoji Holkar, and Bajirao fled Poona to Bassein to seek the help of the English, Chatursing shed bitter tears. He felt that the days of the Maratha Kingdom were numbered, as the English had entered Maratha polity as the saviours of the Peshwa. After a careful study of the fast deteriorating situation Chatursing made up his mind to try to save the patrimony of his ancestors from extinction. Leaving his family in the care of his brother King Shahu, Chatursing left for Burhanpur in order to see the Sindhia. At Sindkhed he called on Sirdar Jagadevrao Jadhav, the scion of the well-known Jadhav family. He discussed with him the current political situation. But Jagadevrao Jadhav was not in a position to help him, as he was a man of limited resources. Chatursing proceeded to Burhanpur on the eve of the battle of Assaye. Daulatrao Sindhia called on him in his tent on August 10, 1803. On the previous day the Marathas had declared war on the English. Chatursing, true to the bellicose spirit of the Marathas, expressed his willingness to participate in the war. He fought valiantly in the battle of Assaye side by side with his friend Yeshvantrao Ghorpade. He made a herculean effort to turn the tide of battle against the English.¹² But the Marathas had lost the initiative from the beginning and lost. Chatursing had the mortification to see the mighty Sirdars like Sindhia and Holkar routed by a small army of the English.

After the war Chatursing left for Nagpur to see Raghuji Bhosle, who in recognition of his valour and patriotism, granted him an allowance of fifteen thousand rupees per month. He was at Nagpur for about ten months, but at the request of Daulatrao

Sindhia he left for Saugar where Sindhia's army was encamping. In the month of May 1805 a conference of military leaders like Daulatrao Sindhia, Yeshvantrao Holkar, Amirkhan Pindari, Karim Khan and others was held on the banks of the river Chambal, to draw up future plans of action. Sarjarao Ghatge also attended the conference. Chatursing made a fervent appeal at the conference to make a united effort to drive out the English. He reminded them of their pledge to render help to the Chhatrapati of Satara to attain his freedom from the dominance of Poona. He knew that Daulatrao Sindhia could not do much but he had faith in Yeshvantrao Holkar, as he had scored some victories against the English. He went along with him to Ajmer and sent his emissaries to Lord Lake, the C. in C. of the English army at Delhi. Then he went to Bharatpur to see the Jat leaders. Afterwards he left for Delhi to call upon General Lake and Mr. Malcolm in person. The British would have accommodated him by granting him a *Jagir*, but he was not a person to be bought over by such offers. He wanted English help not for personal gains but for the restoration of Satara's rights.

As the mission of Delhi was not successful, Chatursing repaired to Pushkar in 1806 to see Yeshvantrao Holkar. At Pushkar he met Raja Mansing of Jodhpur. From Pushkar he went to Jaipur to see Raja Jagatsing, who received him cordially. When the Rana of Udaipur came to know that Chatursing was in Jaipur, he sent an invitation to him to visit Udaipur.

But this was an aimless errand which resulted in nothing, for the potentates of Rajasthan were not inclined to help the wandering prince. With a falling heart Chatursing returned to Mandasor. At Ujjain bad news was waiting for him, his brother Chhatrapati Shahu had expired and his wife and children were kept under detention by

the order of Bajirao. It came as a thunderbolt upon the unlucky prince. Chatursing thought that it was all finished. The restoration of Satara's sovereignty was a reverie, a day-dream. But he was an eternal dreamer, a man of action. Now his only ray of hope was Yeshvantrao Holkar, whom he went to see in January 1809. But the interview could not take place, as Yeshvantrao Holkar was in a state of lunacy. It was a severer blow to Chatursing than even the death of his brother King Shahu. He had with him many trusted followers like Bapu Kanho, Vyasrao Dabir, Malharrao Chitnis and others. In consultation with them Chatursing made up his mind to return to Maharashtra and try his fortune there. In July 1809 the party left Ujjain on their way back to Satara. At Dhar they were stranded for about two years due to the political turmoil. In the meantime Bajirao had appointed his valet Trimbakji Dengla as the administrator of Satara. As his men were on the trail of Chatursing, they informed him that he along with his followers was on the way to Satara. The perfidious Dengla anticipated troubles for his lord, Bajirao. He made a plan to trap Chatursing and accordingly sent a letter to him requesting him to come over to Satara. He promised him that Bajirao was keen to accommodate him there. Without any suspicion Chatursing relied upon Dengla's promise. He arrived at Baroda in 1810 where he met Gangadhar Shastri, the Divan of Baroda. He discussed with him regarding Baroda's help. Shastri told him in unequivocal terms that the Durbar was not in a position to promise help to him without the consent of the British Resident at Baroda. Chatursing, once again disappointed, left Baroda for Maharashtra. The treacherous Dengla was waiting for him at Nasik, where he received him with open arms. After the ceremony of Belbhandar, a dinner party was arranged by Trimbakji in his tent in honour of Chatursing.

On the fateful night of February 2, 1811

Chatursing along with his followers arrived in the tent of Trimbakji Dengla, on the banks of the river Girna. He was accompanied by Raje Raghunathrao Gujar, Bapu Fadnis, Apaji Ingle, Gopalrao Nyayadhis, Apabhat Puntambekar and his two brothers, Babaji Keshav Padlikar and Ladakhan Jamadar, in all eleven people. Trimbakji was to receive them at the gate of his camp. But he did not turn up, instead some of his men were waiting for the guests at the gate of the camp. As soon as they saw the party they suddenly encircled them and took them prisoners.¹³ When Bajirao received the news of Chatursing's capture he made a trip to Nasik in May 1811 only to ascertain whether the captured man was Chatursing or not. When he was satisfied about the identity, he ordered that Chatursing be sent to the fort of Raigad. The other prisoners were sent to different forts. Thus ended the turbulent career of an intrepid and perseverant man, who waged a one man's war against the Peshwas to restore the sovereign rights of the Chhatrapati of Satara, and to avenge the insults and humiliations heaped upon him and his family.

Chatursing lay rotting in the dungeon of the fort of Kangori near Raigad till the eclipse of the Maratha empire. But the myth of Chatursing Bhosle did not end so quickly. Many attempts for his release were made by his faithful followers. Rumours spread that he had escaped from the prison, and a pretender by name Chatursingh Gosavi took to forage collecting some desperadoes. He captured many important forts like Prachitgad, Vasantgad, etc. and appealed to the followers of Chhatrapati to take to arms against the usurpers of his sovereign rights. However, Bapu Gokhale, the new C. in C. of Bajirao, after many strenuous efforts, succeeded in putting down the uprising led by the pretender. Chatursing died in the fort of Kangori on 15th April, 1818. His ashes were sent to Benares by Raja Pratapsing along with the ashes of his father, the late Raja Shahu II.¹⁴

REFERENCES

1. *Marathi Riyasat*, Uttar Vibhag-3, pp 513-14 — by G. S. Sardesai.
2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 41, No. 2, edited by G. S. Sardesai.
3. *Aitibhasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 10, p. 5046, edited by V. V. Khare. *History of the Marathas* Vol. III, p. 111, by Grant Duff.
4. *Aitibhasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 10, p. 5409, edited by V. V. Khare; *History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 111, by Grant Duff.
5. *Peshwaichi Akher* (Bakhar), edited by G. K. Chandorkar.
6. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 41, No. 4, edited by G. S. Sardesai.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 6.
8. *Peshwaichi Akher*, edited by G. C. Chandorkar.
9. *Aitibhasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 10, p. 5572-73; *History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 129-30.
10. *Aitibhasik Lekh Sangraha*, Vol. 10, p. 5650.
11. *Marathi Riyasat*, Uttar Vibhag-3, p. 515; *History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 268.
12. *Marathi Riyasat*, Uttar Vibhag-3, p. 116.
13. *History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, p. 268; *Marathi Riyasat*, Uttar Vibhag-3, p. 518; *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 42, Nos. 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49.
14. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 42, No. 2

THE ASSASSINATION OF MATHABAR SINGH, PRIME MINISTER OF NEPAL (1845)

S. G. MISHRA

(Bhagalpur University)

Prithvi Narayan Shah, the King of Gorkha and a crafty politician, succeeded in conquering the whole of Nepal by 1769, and establishing a central government at Kathmandu. After his death in 1775, a long series of minorities left the child king in the dreadful hands of an uncle or of a mother or of a minister interested in prolonging the child's complete exhaustion by precocious debaucheries.¹ The Prime Minister became the Mayor of the Palace. Two families, the Thapas and the Pandays, fought for power. After the murder of Damodar Pandey, Bhim Sen Thapa was appointed the Prime Minister of Nepal in 1804. But his power began to wane after 1833. The first wife of Rajendra Vikram Shah, the King,² was associated with the Pandays, and the second with the Thapas. Mathabar Singh, the chief of the army, was the nephew of Bhim Sen Thapa. As Bhim Sen's star was declining, the fate of Mathabar Singh was not bright. In the spring of 1837 Mathabar Singh was dismissed from the Gorkha Government. After this event, along with the Prime Minister, Mathabar was arrested and put in prison. But later Bhim Sen was released, and with him Mathabar also was set free.

After this unhappy episode, Mathabar Singh planned to go to India for personal safety. He got the desired opportunity in 1839, and in March of that year he left Kathmandu under the ostensible pretext of catching elephants in the Terai jungles. He went down to the plains and from there proceeded to

Lahore. The English doubted his sincerity. He was heard to remark : "The English and the Muslims had united, it was for the Hindus to look to themselves".³ So he was arrested by the English but was soon released.

In the meanwhile, the court politics at Kathmandu had taken an ugly turn. Bhim Sen was the first victim of this conspiracy. The Thapas were ousted from the government. At that time General Mathabar Singh had been living in voluntary exile in India on Rs. 1,000/- as a pension from the British Government. After Bhim Sen, Ranjung Pandey had been appointed as the Prime Minister of Nepal, but he was also dismissed by the end of 1840. Then Fateh Jung Chautria was appointed the Prime Minister in 1841. The administrative machinery had completely broken down due to the frequent changes in the Ministry and to the internal conflict in the Durbar. The King,⁴ though completely weak, insisted on interfering in every department of the government. There was also acute difference between the Rani and the Heir-Apparent. The King was not in a position to control the Heir-Apparent. Therefore the Chiefs wanted that the youngest and the sole surviving Rani should be invested with full power as the Regent. The King agreed, and in January 1843 invested Rani Lakshmi Devi with full political rights.⁵ Fateh Jung continued as the Prime Minister. The Rani had her own motive. She wanted to set aside her two step-children, the Heir-Apparent and his brother, and secure the Crown to the elder of her two sons. For this

task, she decided to reinstate the Thapas. She thought that her object might be fulfilled if Mathabar Singh was appointed as Premier.

At this crisis, the King also became desirous for the return of Mathabar Singh Thapa. He sent an intimation to him that his return to Nepal in the unsettled state of affairs would secure his own advancement and also tend to the welfare of the State. Mathabar Singh was willing but had some hesitation also. In the end he left his settled and peaceful life in India and proceeded towards Kathmandu. He stopped at the Indian frontier for some time, watching the fluctuations of palace intrigues, until his adherents in Nepal considered it safe and advisable for him to appear at the capital.⁶ On the 17th April 1843, he entered Kathmandu. On the 12th September, he was nominated to the Premiership, with the full concurrence of all the Chiefs.

Thus the table was turned. The Pandeys were overthrown and the Thapas were again in the saddle. But Mathabar hardly knew that he would not be able to enjoy power for long. His ambition pushed him to complete ruin. Soon he picked up a quarrel with the royal family. Political power was divided in three hands, in the King, the Queen and the Heir-Apparent. Mathabar Singh declared that he could not carry on business with both father and son, adding that he was being pushed in four directions — by the Maharaja, the Heir-Apparent, the Maharani and the British Government. If he acted against the Maharaja, it would be called ingratitude; if he acted against the Heir-Apparent, it would draw down his wrath from which the Maharaja would not protect him; while the Rani was anxious for herself and her two sons, and the attitude of the British Government was unpredictable. The court politics had virtually destroyed the administrative machinery. According to Lawrence, there were three parties at this time in Nepal, the King himself, his Heir-Apparent (the eldest son of the late first

queen) and the surviving second queen. Henry Lawrence called them: "Mr. Nepal, Master Nepal and Mrs. Nepal." They passed their time in violent and unnatural intrigue against each other. It is probable that Mrs. Nepal and Master Nepal hoped to find in Mathabar Singh an able partisan, while Mr. Nepal's sole object was to lure an enemy into his power. Mathabar had the talent, courage and vindictiveness of his uncle and had his uncle's murder to revenge."

On the first of January 1844, a commotion took place amongst the soldiers, induced by Mathabar Singh, and 1500 of his adherents surrounded the palace and clamorously demanded that there should be but one ruler in Nepal. The King quietened them under the pretext that he would abdicate the next day in favour of his son. Early in the morning the King called a Durbar at which many Chiefs were present, but Mathabar Singh did not come to attend. He sent information that he was detained as a prisoner by the troops, who wished the King to come among them and redress their grievances. They wanted one master, and as they had for the first time a General at their head since the death of Bhim Sen, they must have "all else as in his time."⁸ This unwise stand of Mathabar was not liked either by the King or by the courtiers. He was accused of arrogating to himself supreme power in the State.

In order to arrest the declining political condition of the realm, it was proposed by some chiefs that both Mathabar and the Heir-Apparent should be confined and the best of the other three princes be raised to the *Gadi* under the regency of the Rani. On the 4th December 1844, the Maharaja and the Heir-Apparent accompanied by the Maharani and her sons and attended by the Minister, the Principal Chiefs and, above all, the troops, left Kathmandu for the Terai. On arrival at Hetora, the Prince told his father that as he had not fulfilled 'his oft-repeated promise'

of abdicating in his favour, he would now proceed to Benares with the chief and troops. Finding the situation beyond control, the Maharaja feigned acquiescence to the demands of the Prince, who was in future to issue all orders and to share the *Gaddi* with him. Kaju Jung Bahadur, nephew of the Minister, was despatched to Kathmandu, to inform the British representative that the Prince had been elected Maharajadhiraj and that the chiefs and the Army had sworn allegiance to him."

This development was not in the interest of Mathabar Singh. The Heir-Apparent had no training at all to run the administration. He had no strength of character. Mathabar ought to have taken this into consideration. But he did not do that, and fell into the grave error of attempting the same dangerous line of policy which had undermined his uncle Bhim Sen's authority and had led to his downfall in 1839.¹⁰

At the *punjance* or annual renewal of service, Mathabar Singh was reappointed to the premiership on 4th January, 1845. A *Khillut* of honour was conferred on him, and the Maharaja in acknowledgement of his past services and as a mark of his confidence in his future zeal, named him Minister for life, an unheard of proceeding in Nepal, where all appointments were annually renewed.¹¹ The Maharaja on this occasion, with his usual cunning and dissimulation, threw a veil over his treacherous designs, by loading with favour and honour his intended victim.

Within a short space of time, Mathabar had annoyed the King and the Queen for different reasons. Mathabar had been secretly anxious to induce the King to abdicate in favour of Surendra Vir Vikram Shah, the Heir-Apparent. This unwise action of Mathabar annoyed Gagan Singh¹² as well as the Queen. Mathabar knew both father and son well and calculated that he could control the

youthful extravagances of the prince more easily than he could the cowardly, cunning and vacillating King.¹³ After his return from Hetora, Mathabar had taken a firm decision as to which of the three rival powers at the court — the King, the Queen and the Heir-Apparent — he should support against the other two. The King had mistrusted him all along, the Queen found that she was mistaken in her estimate of Mathabar's character, who was too loyal and high-minded a statesman to be capable of perpetrating an act of treason and gross injustice.

It is a sad reflection on the character of Mathabar Singh that he could not grasp the real political situation in the court, being the nephew of Bhim Sen Thapa. He had seen with his own eyes the tragic and cruel end of Bhim Sen. But it seems that he did not learn at all by these events. He advocated at Hetora the voluntary abdication of the King in favour of the Heir-Apparent. This short-sightedness on his part not only caused his downfall and his death, but also disturbed the political situation in the country, which due to other factors helped the rise of Jung Bahadur. After his return from Hetora, the King and the Queen began to distrust him and decided to get rid of him. In order to dupe Mathabar Singh he was publicly invested by the King as Minister for life, on the 4th January 1845. The 'Lal Mohar' was issued by the Raja which was authenticated by the red impression of his hand. The 'Lal Mohar' ran in this way: "I promise, so long as you continue to carry on affairs with fidelity, neither I nor any of my family will ever discharge you from the office of the Minister."¹⁴

By his appointment to the office of the Prime Minister for life, Mathabar Singh appeared to be very powerful. But still he was apprehensive that some calamities might befall him. Hence he tried for the consolidation of his power. On the 26th February 1845 he told the Resident that every Minister since

the days of Prithvi Narayan had met with a violent, death, "but he hoped that he should escape."

But fate willed otherwise. Mathabar Singh's calculation was not right. The King and the Queen had both decided to remove him. The King did not know that he would be a cipher in the hands of the Queen and her paramour Gagan Singh. Thus Mathabar fell a victim to their conspiracy. On the night of the 17th May, only four months after being appointed a life-long Prime Minister, he was summoned to the palace at 11 P.M. on the pretence that the Rani had fallen and seriously hurt herself.¹⁵ This was a ruse. Maharani Lakshmi Devi and Gagan Singh had entered into a conspiracy, keeping the King, Rajendra Vir Vikram Shah, in the background, to kill Mathabar Singh. The midnight was approaching. Mathabar Singh should have suspected a ruse. He knew it fully that the court politics was of a very low type. He was also aware that he was not liked by the King and the Queen, "the white tigress of the realm". Though he had full knowledge of the situation, he did not take necessary precautions. He should have made adequate arrangement at least for his personal safety. But he did not do it either. He proceeded to the palace, unarmed, accompanied by his maternal uncle, Kagi Dul Keshwar Pandey, and by Captain Shumsher Bahadur. At the foot of the stairs,

both of them were stopped and the Minister was allowed to proceed to a room adjoining the Rani's where the Maharaja was standing. As he advanced, the first shot was fired and several others in rapid succession from behind a trellis screen where the assassins were stationed. One bullet entered his head and two or more his body.¹⁶ When the first shot was fired, the Minister fell at the feet of the Maharaja and begged for mercy for his mother and children; but as he spoke, some one struck him from behind. As his hands were stretched out in supplication, one of the attendants cut him with a sword across the wrists. The body was then lowered into the street from a window with an elephant rope and before daylight was dragged along the ground to Pashupati for cremation.¹⁷ The road for two miles was sprinkled with the blood that trickled from the corpse.¹⁸

Thus Mathabar Singh paid a heavy price for his poor knowledge of the intrigues of the Durbar. It was his duty to take a proper stock of the situation at the Durbar before leaving Simla for Kathmandu. Secondly, he should not have antagonised both the King and the Queen, "The white tigress" of the realm wanted to utilise him for her black design. But Mathabar did not agree to stoop so low. The result was that the "white tigress" engineered a secret conspiracy to murder him.

REFERENCES

1. Levi, S., *History of Nepal*, p. 29.
2. The King of Nepal.
3. Foreign Secret Consultations, 18 Jan. 1841, p. 74.
4. Surendra Vir Vikram Shah.
5. Oldfield, H. A., *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 329.
6. Foreign Political Consultations, 11 Nov. 1853, p. 28.
7. Edwardes B. Henry, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 327.
8. Foreign Political Consultations, 11 Nov. 1853, p. 31.
9. Ibid, p. 35.
10. Ibid, p. 36.
11. Ibid, p. 37.
12. A servant of the harem and a paramour of the Queen.
13. Oldfield, H. A., *Sketches from Nepal*, p. 341.
14. Secret Consultations, 21 Feb. 1845, p. 113.
15. Foreign Political Consultations, 11 Nov. 1853, p. 39.
16. Ibid, p. 39.
17. Oldfield, H. A., *Sketches from Nepal*, p. 346.
18. Nicholette Papers, p. 39.

A REPORT ON RESEARCH IN U.S.A. IN THE HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA

DR. VASANT D. RAO

(Fisk University, U.S.A.)

Since India attained independence quite a few American scholars have turned their attention to the study of Indian history and culture. Soon was founded the Association for Asian Studies whose members meet once a year at an important university town. A number of papers concerning Asia are read and discussed. The Association also runs a journal entitled the *Journal of Asian Studies*. India was one of the main topics for discussion in the early days of the Association. Later on more importance was given to the programme on the Far East. The American scholars interested in the study of India thus found little scope in the AAS.

In the meanwhile the American Institute of Indian Studies and the American Studies Research Centre enabled a number of Americans to make more specialised studies on India. They began to study the different Indian regions too. In course of time they began to form smaller groups outside the AAS. In 1965 the American specialists about Bengal formed a small group and met in a group conference. They were followed by the Punjab specialists. Dr. Eleanor Zelliot, Dr. Richard Tucker and others who had been to Bombay and various other parts of Maharashtra formed the Maharashtra Study Group in 1969.

The first meeting of the Maharashtra Study Group was held at the University of Chicago, Chicago, on June 6-8, 1969. The theme for discussion was "PATTERNS OF

CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA". The papers presented could be grouped as follows :

1. *Social* :
Eleanor Zelliot : The roots of mass social protest; Mahars and Non-Brahmins in the village.
Richard Tucker : Changing patterns of social authority in Brahman society.
Mohan Limaye : Journalism and social reform, with emphasis on Agarkar.
2. *Socio-economic* :
Narendra Wagle : Change and conflict within the Guad Saraswat Community.
Maureen Patterson : Trends in occupational dispersion among Chitpavan Brahmanas.
3. *Literature & Journalism* :
Mahadeo Apte : Trends in Marathi Journalism, Lokahitawadi and Chiplunkar.
Pramode Kale : From Epic to Polemic, Marathi drama and theatre in a period of social change.
B. G. Gokhale : S. M. Paranjape and the *Kal*, the nationalist reinterpretation of the past.
4. *Economics* :
Alan Heston : The impact of cotton and wheat exports on Deccan agriculture, 1860-1900.

John Roberts : The changing circumstances of sardars and inamdars.

5. *Politics :*

Richard Cashman : The mobilization of mass political support : Tilak.

Gordon Johnson : The interaction of Maharashtrian and national politics.

It may be noted that out of the twelve scholars who presented papers, five were Maharashtrians. They naturally had the advantage of knowing the source language. This explains the fact that all the three papers on literature and journalism were by the Maharashtrians.

The University of Massachusetts hosted the second meeting at Amherst on July 22-24, 1970. This was called "1970 CONFERENCE ON BOMBAY CITY". The city of Bombay being a cosmopolitan area a number of non-Maharashtrian Indians besides a few Americans could contribute papers. A few others acted as discussants. A large number of papers on the socio-economic condition shows the recognition of Bombay as the commercial capital of India.

1. *The Labor Force of Bombay :*

Pravin Visaria : The Level and Pattern of Work Participation in Greater Bombay.

K. E. Vaidyanathan : Work Force in Greater Bombay, Social and Demographic Characteristics.

Alan Heston : Some Aspects of the Growth of the Labour Force in Bombay — 1864-1961.

2. *Effects of Migration :*

D. P. Apte : Socio-Economic Life at the Village End of Migrants to Bombay City, A Case Study of Village Mithbaon.

K. C. Acharian : Social and Economic

Assimilation of Migrants in Greater Bombay.

N. Y. Gore and T. C. Vanjani : Population Projections for the Bombay Metropolitan Area, 1961-1981.

3. *City and Hinterland :*

Gopal S. Kulkarni : Industrial Decentralization in Maharashtra (Bombay), Aspects of Community Cost.

Ellen McDonald Gumperz : Bombay-Hinterland Relationships in the 19th Century, Changes in the Role of Mofussil Cities.

Bryan Sharpe : Bombay Teachers and the Cultural Role of Cities.

Manas Chatterji : Some Comments on the Strategy for Metropolitan Development in India with Emphasis on Bombay.

4. *Politics and Economics :*

Richard K. Newman : The Textile Strikes of 1928-29 and the Development of the Kamgar Union.

Gauri-Vrinda Govind Mudholkar : The Significance of Socio-economic Factors for the Development of Entrepreneurship in the Bombay Cotton Textile Industry Before World War I.

Richard Cashman : Projected Research on Bombay Municipal Politics, An Election Study, 1873-1947.

John P. Haithcox : The Politics of Shiv-Sena of Bombay.

5. *Politics and Ecology :*

Allen Casy : Temperance Movement in Bombay City, 1880 to 1920 : A Study of Politics and Native Elites.

Surinder K. Mehta : Some Aspects of the Ecology of Greater Bombay.

A. Mitra : Bombay City and Distances in Maharashtra (tentative).

I could not attend the meeting, neither did I get a chance to read the papers. It is, there-

fore, unfair to the participants to discuss the presentations. I may yet be permitted to make a few general observations.

A few of the papers tried to cover too large a span of time. For instance, a person talked about some aspects of the growth of labour force in Bombay covering a period of about hundred years. Another spoke about his projected research on Bombay Municipal politics, an election study from 1873 to 1947. A third desired to study the temperance movement in Bombay for a period of forty years. Such papers are bound to be of a survey type. It is not possible for a person to do full justice to the topic if he wishes to cover so large a span.

As against these, papers like the study of textiles strikes during 1928-29 and population projection, 1961-1981 were effective. If a person wishes to study an event or an area in Maharashtra, it would not be wrong to expect him to give a comprehensive account of the topic under research. The paper on the Shiv Sena shows the observations of an American scholar on the politics of the Shiv Sena.

The third meeting was held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 7-9, 1971. A number of papers were presented and discussed. I was present at this session and was very much impressed by the interest shown in the history of Maharashtra by the American scholars. The papers were grouped as under :

1. *Local Politics :*

Marry Carras; Political Science, Rockford College : Factionalism at state and district level in Maharashtra.

Michael Metelits; History, Berkeley : Deccan municipalities in late 19th century.

Neil Rabitoy; History, Calif State College, Los Angeles : Administrative policy and social change in Southern Gujarat.

Donald Rosenthal; Political Science, SUNY, Buffalo : Local Political leadership and state policy-making in Maharashtra.

2. *Militant Politics in Maharashtra :*

Walter Andersen; Political Science, University of Chicago.

Richard Cashman; History, University of Rochester : The Martial Tradition of Maharashtra.

Vasant D. Rao; Utah State University, Logan : Tilak's Attitude Towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

3. *Social Change :*

Frank Conlon; History, University of Washington, Seattle : The Role of Voluntary Associations in the Urbanization of the Saraswat Brahmins.

Ellen Gumperz : Elite Recruitment in 19th century Maharashtra.

Winifred Handler; Ann Arbor, Michigan : Commercial Network in Mid-19th century Bombay, 1849-1870.

Richard Tucker; History, Oakland University : Phule and the Brahmins.

Theodore Wright Jr.; Political Science, SUNY, Albany : Daudi Bohra Reform Movement.

In Absentia

Gail Omvedt; Sociology, Berkeley : Non-Brahmin Movement in the 1920's.

4. *Religious Groups :*

Paul Courtright; Religion, Williams College : The Ganesh Festival in Maharashtra : A Study in Hindu Public celebration.

Carl Gussin; Sociology, Wisconsin State University : Bene Israel.

Charles Pain; University of Minnesota : Datta Worship.

John Stanley; Religion, Lawrence University :

Spirit Possession and Exorcism.

5. *Linguistics* :

Susan Andres; Linguistics, University of Michigan : Gondi.

Rocky Miranda; Linguistics, University of Minnesota : Contrastive Analysis of Konkani and Marathi.

6. *Literature* :

Mahdeo Apte; Sociology, Duke University : Marathi Humor — its significance for anthropological studies.

Peter Hook; Linguistics, University of Michigan : Use of Hindi and English loan words in the speech of members of a Bombay gang as depicted in Bhau Padhye's novel, *Vasunaka*.

Aman Momin; Foreign Service Institute, Department of State : Rural Marathi life as depicted in short stories.

Third meeting at Minneapolis was a small group which seemed to be interested in studying Maharashtra. Yet I was sorry to note that very few had made an attempt to study Marathi, the source language. A few restricted their observations to a small town which they had visited during a tour of India.

As we know, the English language press in Maharashtra does little justice to the news about Maharashtra. The truth about the social and political movements in Maharashtra could be had only through the Marathi newspapers and journals. A paper on the factionalism at State and district level in Maharashtra written after meeting a few individuals is bound to be a little off the mark. A writer about Deccan municipalities in the late 19th century has to read their minutes.

A person wrote about the policy making and local leadership after talking with a few persons in the southern Maratha districts.

The papers of Phule and the RSS showed that the writers had taken pains to collect information. After spending some time with the Daudi Bohras, a good paper was presented about the reform movement amongst them. A paper on the Ganesh festival in Poona was restricted only to a small area and the writer did justice to the work undertaken. He also knows Marathi. The Datta worship was described in a paper based mainly on the biography of Nrishimha Saraswati.

In the field of literature, the Marathi scholars contributed very fine papers. An attempt to trace and discuss English loan words in *Vasunaka* was also a fair success. Yet it was pointed out that it was the author who felt that they were used by the Bombay gang. It was hazardous to run to the conclusion that it was the common language of the Bombay gang, unless their utterances were recorded on a tape.

Of all the sections, the one on the linguistics was the best. All the three discussed the structure of Marathi in a masterly manner.

With all the shortcomings, it is certainly praiseworthy that the American young scholars should take to the study of different aspects of Maharashtra. Dr. Eleanor Zelliot, Dr. Richard Tucker, Dr. Pramod, Dr. Mrs. Pratibha Kale, Dr. Mahadeo Apte among others are the ones who organised this group. With the help of a few people from the different areas in Maharashtra this group can certainly contribute to a great extent to unfolding in English the story of Maharashtra.

A REPORT ON THE ZETLAND COLLECTION (1917-1940)

(Acquired by the National Archives of India
from the India Office Library, London)

B. M. SANKHDHER

(National Archives of India, New Delhi)

Mahatma Gandhi's emergence on the political scene in India was viewed by the British government with profound dismay and concern. For the achievement of his objectives, of which self-rule for India was the foremost, Mahatma Gandhi, like a seasoned statesman, changed his tactics every now and then. To understand the Mahatma became almost a challenge not only to his own followers and friends but also to the "white bureaucrats." After the Congress declaration of full-independence for India as its goal, the "arch politician", as the British officials described Gandhi, moved out of the Sabarmati Ashram with his select band of followers. He reached Dandi and made salt from the sea-water, which under the existing laws of the time was illegal and an open defiance. This was a unique political experiment; an experiment which has hardly any parallel in history. It had an extraordinary effect on the people, who now made defiance and disobedience of authority as a disciplined and well-thought-out course of action. For the British administration in India it was a bolt from the blue. In a private letter to Lord Linlithgow, the Governor General and Viceroy of India, Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, wrote on November 8, 1938 :

"Gandhi... is back in his sphinxlike mood and evidently presents as great an enigma to friends and foes alike as ever he did. So far

as the recent international crisis is concerned one would have supposed that he should have seen in Neville Chamberlain an outstanding exponent of the cult of non-violence. Nevertheless, I cannot help feeling that, whether or not he would admit it, he shared some of the disappointment which Subhas Bose and Nehru clearly experienced at the Prime Minister's achievement in warding off a war which they had been confidently foretelling and from which they undoubtedly hoped to garner a rich political harvest. This opportunity having slipped his grasp it may well be that he is taking stock of the position in India and that he does not find it to his liking."

Obviously, Lord Zetland misunderstood the whole situation and the working of Gandhi's mind. And therefore he was soon confronted with perhaps the greatest embarrassment of his term as Secretary of State for India, when in 1940, Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast unto death for the realisation of his objectives. Gandhi's fast was a danger. It was pregnant with the possibilities of a tremendous friendly response in all the sovereign nations of the world. The "Qaide Azam", therefore, was the sole hope, for the British. In a private letter to Lord Linlithgow, Lord Zetland wrote on April 24, 1940 :

"We should certainly be faced with a very

embarrassing situation; for a fast unto death by Gandhi for the freedom of his people would provide spectacular material for propaganda in such countries as America, and it is as well that you and I should try to come to some decision as to the line which we should take if we are faced with so embarrassing a development. Gandhi's good friend "Qaide Azam" would doubtless applaud the idea of such a fast and would no doubt urge that it should be allowed to proceed to its allotted end!"

Lord Zetland and Lord Linlithgow succeeded in taking a collective decision. They also succeeded in creating a cleavage between the Mahatma and his good friend Mohammad Ali Jinnah. But obviously, as the later developments showed, they erred. They also erred collectively and individually in understanding the greatest enigma of the Indian National Movement, viz. Gandhi. Sir Stafford Cripps Mission proved a failure and the Government was soon confronted with a great challenge, viz. the Quit India Movement.

The Zetland Collection, which has recently been acquired by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, from the India Office Library, London, in microfilm, provides an interesting insight into the working of the British mind vis-a-vis the Indian National Movement. Communal Award, terrorism in Bengal, Civil Disobedience Movement, Constitutional changes in India, Indian States and the question of federation, the Pakistan scheme, M. A. Jinnah and the Muslim League, Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death, hunger-strike in Bihar, the Rowlatt Act, and Surendranath Banerjea's deputation to the Governor of Bengal, etc. have been discussed at length in Lord Zetland's correspondence

with Lord Linlithgow, Austen Chamberlain, E. Montagu, Lord Willingdon and Lord Brabourne. Subjects such as Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship of the Indian National Congress, earthquakes in Baluchistan, John Gunther's visit to India, Sir Firoz Khan Noon's attitude towards military training for the Indians, M. R. Jayakar's refusal of a knighthood, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer's memorandum on disturbances in Indian States, the Hindu Mahasabha, Local Self-Government, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's views on Quetta, administration of Afghanistan and Burma etc. have been treated frankly in this collection. Lord Zetland Collection also comprises correspondence of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. M. N. Saha and other Indian scholars on Foundation of an Indian academy, 1932-1934. Sir N. N. Sarkar's short tracts: "Is the Communal Decision an Arbitral Award"; and "A Note on Bengal Terrorism and Bengal Finances" are particularly notable in view of Sir N. N. Sarkar's close association with the British Indian Association and the Indian Association of Calcutta, two organisations which played a memorable role in India's struggle for freedom.

Lord Zetland served as Governor of Bengal from 1917 to 1922, and it is interesting to find in the collection under review, Lord Zetland's views on various aspects of his administration of Bengal, in his two recollections entitled "My Bengal Diary". These recollections cover the period 1917 to 1922 and are known by his former title as Lord Ronaldshay's Diaries.

The Collection covers a period of twenty-four years from 1917 to 1940 and comprises nine microfilm rolls.

BOOK REVIEWS

On Rammohan Roy by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1972; pp. 67. Price : Rs. 12.00.

Dr. Majumdar's monograph *On Rammohan Roy* is a collection of lectures which he delivered at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, as Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar Memorial lectures in February, 1972. In two extremely analytical and thought-provoking lectures Dr. Majumdar has given his considered opinion as a historian on (i) the date of the birth of Raja Rammohan Roy, and (ii) the Raja's contributions to the Renaissance in Bengal in the nineteenth century.

The first lecture deals with a topic which has acquired some current importance in view of the fact that the year 1972 has been accepted by the Government of India as the bicentenary of the birth of Raja Rammohan Roy. Dr. Majumdar has discussed threadbare, on the basis of all available documentary evidences, the respective claims of the two theories referring the birth of Rammohan to 1772 and 1774 A.D. (though he has not forgotten to mention that there were other theories about Rammohan's date of birth even during his life time), and has come to the conclusion that unless some strikingly new evidence such as the lost horoscope of Rammohan is made available, the student of history should adhere to the view that Rammohan was born, in all probability, in 1774 A.D. Dr. Majumdar has advanced his arguments in such a cogent and convincing manner that it is almost impossible for any unbiased person to differ from him.

The second lecture is, however, more con-

troversial, and that is why it evoked at the time of the original delivery so much interest among scholars as well as the cultured elite and led to such a spate of discussion on the platform and in the press. Dr. Majumdar gives his reader no chance to misunderstand or misinterpret him. He describes Rammohan as "one of the most outstanding personalities of the 19th Century, not only in Bengal but in the whole of India," a man endowed with "a robust intellect and a high degree of rational thinking which enabled him to rise above current beliefs and prejudices and extend his vision to a distant horizon far beyond the general conception of the time." Rammohan's fame rests, according to the author, on his lifelong crusade against idolatry, strenuous attempts to abolish the cruel rite of *Sati*, the encouragement given to Western education, enrichment of Bengali prose literature, journalistic endeavours in both Bengali and Persian, constitutional fight for the freedom of the press and improvement of the system of trial by jury, and bold presentation of the case of India before the British Parliament. But, at the same time, Dr. Majumdar contends that various myths and legends have grown around the great personality of Rammohan during the last two centuries, and that it is obligatory for the historian to separate the truth from the fiction. The legends are, according to the author, the views held by some people including professional historians that Rammohan was the founder of the Hindu College, the creator of Bengali prose literature, the first in the field of Bengali journalism, the father of Indian nationalism and a persistent champion of all attempts at social reform. Dr. Majumdar has concluded after a very careful study of con-

temporary records that Rammohan had nothing to do with the foundation of the Hindu College, and that the story of his being associated in any way with this project gained currency only in the thirties of the 19th century; that he did not originate the movement for the abolition of *Sati*, though "it is impossible to minimise the importance of the great role played by Rammohan in the anti-*Sati* movement"; that he was not an advocate of the remarriage of Hindu widows, though a supporter of the more permissive *Saita* form of marriage, as sanctioned by the *Tantras*; that he was neither the creator of Bengali prose literature nor, strictly speaking, the pioneer in the field of Bengali journalism; and, finally, that he was more an internationalist than a nationalist who believed that (in Rammohan's own words) India required "many more years of English domination," and appreciated the great service(?) rendered by the indigo-planters to the people of our country.

Dr. Majumdar's conclusions will surely be challenged by numerous votaries of Rammohan in our country, and the author himself knows it only too well. But it will be very hard to contradict the facts cited by him or to ignore the force of his arguments, particularly those with regard to the foundation of the Hindu College, the creation of Bengali prose literature and the pioneering of Bengali journalism. The reviewer fully agrees with his concluding remarks that "Rammohan Roy did not create the New Age, but he was one of the greatest representatives of that age and reflected in himself many distinguished features that heralded Renaissance in Bengal." The Asiatic Society may well consider the proposition of publishing a Bengali translation of this book at a cheaper price than the English original so that more people may be acquainted with this highly important but controversial subject.

AMITABHA MUKHERJEE

Tipu Sultan's Mysore: An Economic Study by Dr. M. H. Gopal, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1971. Rs. 20.00. PP I-V and 112.

This excellent little volume by one of our leading authorities on Indian Public Finance is an economic study of Tipu Sultan's Mysore (1780-1800). It is a prelude to his already published study of Mysore's finances in the first thirty years of the Nineteenth Century. It consists of five essays, all published earlier and based mostly on contemporary British records. They deal with the Probable Revenue of Tipu's Kingdom, Commercial Policy, Military Expenditure, Financial Administration, Overall Financial Position including a consideration of Tipu's policies in respect of Land Revenue, Irrigation, Education, Prohibition, Religious Endowments, Currency and Banking.

Wilk's statement based on contemporary popular judgment, that Hyder was born to build an empire and Tipu to lose one, is sustained in different parts of these essays. Tipu's consistent opposition to the British has bred two kinds of opposite views. The pseudo-nationalists consider him as one of the freedom fighters. For the same reason viz. his inveterate hatred of the British, early British writers have exaggerated his defects. The present author lets the contemporary records speak for themselves, and from these it is clear that Tipu's intentions were good, but these could not be translated into practice because he was a bad administrator.

The genius of Hyder established a simple and despotic monarchy in which every department possessed regularity and system. He conferred every employment of trust and consequence on men raised from obscurity and discouraged all pretensions derived from high birth and this practice produced a government with vigour hitherto unexampled in India (p. 63).

Tipu was different; says one of his officers in 1790, "Since Tippoo assumed the government, the revenues have diminished greatly, in consequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the *hamauldaries* (amildars) all the Brahmans and others of the Hindu cast, who were well-versed in country business, and put Musslmen in their places" (p. 84).

A Muslim historian emphasises the same point, "The officials appointed to posts requiring deep knowledge and great patience could scarcely read and write". Hyder had wisely made Marathi and Kannada the media of administration. Tipu introduced Persian as the medium of accounts in the revenue department, probably to help his Muslim officers and perhaps to Persianise Mysore (p. 72).

In his first essay, entitled Probable Revenue of the Kingdom, the author says that in 1792 when Tipu's territories were to be partitioned between him and his conquerors viz. the British, the Nizam and the Marathas, he undervalued the territories which were to remain with him and overvalued those which he had to cede to his enemies. Our author calculated on the basis of other independent estimates that the undervaluation was 50% and overvaluation was about 25%. On this basis he arrives at a figure of Rs. 2,90,23,200 as the real revenue of Mysore (p. 6). And from another type of calculation he arrives at a figure close to it viz. Rs. 3,69,25,000 in another place (p. 93). He also calculates the military expenditure in 1792-93 at 61.3 lakhs and in 1798 at 68.8 lakhs.

Our author has studied Tipu's commercial policy from two points — his attitude towards foreign merchants and the trading activities of his Government. Tipu extended his hand of friendship to the merchants from America to China. Tipu's government monopolised the trade in some articles which constituted the chief commercial resources of Mysore, for

example, sandalwood, betelnut, pepper and cardamoms. He established factories or depots for their sale from Arabia to China. His government competed with private merchants both in retail and wholesale trade — foreign as well as indigenous. Just as depots were established abroad, in the same way they were established in every Taluk. These shops failed. The author concludes that the Sultan was a bad businessman in spite of his good intentions to encourage internal and foreign trade.

Tipu was no Aurangzeb, but he was also no Akbar. He no doubt appointed Muslims in large numbers. But he gave endowments to Hindu religious institutions, whether because he was superstitious or believed that their prayers would help him to win against his enemies or due to real religious belief. In such a complex character as that of Tipu it is difficult to divine what his real motives were. Though he favoured Muslims, his regulations were intended to benefit all. But his lack of vigour in putting down corrupt officers and his complete preoccupation with war or war preparations lessened much of the good which should have resulted from his wise regulations. In spite of all these reservations, his Kingdom was an oasis in the midst of the desolation caused by the maladministration in the dominions of the Nizam, the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Marathas or even the East India Company. The world of Indian historical scholarship is beholden to the author for putting Tipu's administration in its correct perspective and it looks forward to the promised publication of the records relating to Tipu and his immediate successor in Mysore (1780-1830).

G. S. DIKSHIT

Partners in Freedom and True Muslims by Peter Hardy, pp. 63. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series), 1970.

This short monograph seeks to analyse the political thought of some Muslim scholars (ulemas) and tries to trace them to earlier Islamic tradition. The ulemas were seized with the problem of the future role of the Islamic Divine law in modern Muslim society in India. The author has traced the emergence of the growth of the 'ijma'. The ideal of a universal order had never lost its hold upon the imagination of the Muslims.

The author has based his analysis mainly on the ideas propounded by Maulana Azad and the Jamayyat-ul-ulema-i-Hind. It has been pointed out that the introduction of constitutional changes during the first two decades of the 20th century compelled the Muslim ulemas to make an attempt to guide the community in its political functions. It tried to tenaciously preserve the 'divinely-instituted' character of the community. The unity of the Muslim 'umma' was religious and legal and not political and constitutional. The ulemas, particularly Azad, emphasized that the Islamic community centre was the Khalifa and Imam as the successor of the Prophet. They wanted to retain the leadership of the Muslim masses in a free undivided India and wanted to base their claim to authority on a Muslim public opinion expressed through Jamayyat-ul-ulema-i-Hind.

The author has rightly put forth the view that the 'nationalist' ulemas were nationalist only in the sense that they wanted India to be free from British control. In truth, as more and more Muslims would have been educated in the 'nationalist' ulema style, it would only have served the Muslims to become aloof and different from their fellow-countrymen. The author would have done well to focuss attention on the role of Maulana Muhammad Ali in bringing the educated youth under the influence of the ulema.

The pamphlet contains in the end a brief note on the persons and movements mention-

ed in the text. The printing and get up of the book is good.

M. S. JAIN

The Ta'rikh-i-Bangala-i-Mahabtajangi of Yusuf 'Ali' Khan (Persian Text), Edited with Notes and Introduction by Dr. Abdus Subhan, Department of Persian, Maulana Azad College, Calcutta, with a foreword by Prof. A. J. Arberry, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Work No. 291, Issue No. 1590, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 204 + 47 + xvi. price Rs. 25/-.

Medieval India has numerous manuscript source materials regarding its history and culture. Most of these are, however, not within the easy reach of scholars. A student of the period has to be a linguist. This constitutes a baffling problem to many. Of course there are translations of many mss. but these are not always dependable or complete. Yet the historians of the period have often to depend on such defective translations for their labours, with imaginable consequences. Again, there may be several copies of the same mss. Since copying is done by fallible scribes with different degrees of attainments, these copies differ in calligraphy, in contents and other details, while omissions and mistakes invariably creep in. Mistakes in the use of *dots* might transform the merciful (*maharam*) into a criminal (*mujrim*). Hence editing, emendation and collation of all available texts, scattered in different places, become indispensable pre-requisites of accurate and proper use of a particular source. In the present work under review Dr. Abdus Subhan has edited the text of a very important source material in Persian for the reign of Alivardi. In a valuable introduction the editor has first pointed out the importance of the mid-eighteenth century and of the reign of Alivardi. Then he proceeds on to explain the importance of the work as that of an eye-witness, based on personal knowledge and observation,

The present work, which earned the D.Phil. degree for Dr. Subhan, was undertaken by him as R. G. Casey Research Fellow for Islamic Studies in the Asiatic Society about 15 years ago and it took 5 years to complete it. In the preparation of the text of the *Ta'rikh-i-Bangala-i-Mahabatjangi*, a biography of Nawab Alivardi, completed at Allahabad in 1177/1763-4, Dr. Subhan has rendered a valuable service to the cause of scholarship by collating "six different manuscripts which comprise almost all the extant copies of the work known so far" (Preface). Some of these he has consulted in original (e.g. the Asiatic Society and Patna University copies) and others in photostat copies (e.g., British Museum, Edinburgh University, Reza Library, Rampur, and Salar Jung, Hyderabad copies). He has examined the main features of these copies. Of these the British Museum one is stated to be the most complete copy and it has two other copies, while to the Edinburgh University copy (with the most exquisite calligraphy) the Salar Jung copy bears a remarkable similarity.

The titles of the mss. differ, e.g., *Ahwal i 'Alivardi Khan* (As. Soc.), *Ta'rikh i 'Alivardi Khan Mahabatjang* (Edinburgh), *Ta'rikh i Ilahvardi Khan Mahabatjang* (Patna), *Ahwal i Mahabatjang* (Hyderabad), *Ta'rikh i Bangala Mahabatjangi*, *Ta'rikh Illahvardi Khan Mahabatjang Nazim i Suba i Bangala* (Br. Museum). Our author has chosen the first British Museum title with some change. Where the copies differed he has adopted the readings he considered most appropriate, indicating the differences in the footnotes.

Curiously no copy gives the author's name, but everybody, following Rev. J. H. Hindley, agrees that Yusuf Ali Khan was the author. Its confirmation is given in the *Siyar ul Muta'akherin* by Ghulam Husain Tabatabai. But Dr. Subhan has given further proofs, yielded by Yusuf Ali's other works: *Tazkira* of

Persian poet (Murshidabad, 1184/1770-1), where he refers to Alivardi's interest in poetical works and to his intention of writing a separate book on Alivardi, and *Hadiqat us Safa*, a compendium of general history from earliest times to 1173/1759.

Our editor has discussed the author as a man of letters and historian, the style of the work and the use of the work by later historians, — contemporary and modern. He has shown the indebtedness of the 18th century historian Ghulam Husain to Yusuf Ali, particularly the Maratha invasion and Afghan rebellions (pp. 33-42). Among modern authors using Yusuf Ali he has mentioned Jonathan Scott, Sir H. Elliot, Dr. K. K. Datta and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. He has stated that mistakes and inaccuracies abound in the translations made by earlier translators, like Scott Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Arthur Hughes, and that he rectified the error of Charles Rieu, Cataloguer of Persian Mss., British Museum, who has inadvertently described Shujaudaulah as the successor of Alivardi.

It must, however, be borne in mind that Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who took upon himself the herculean task of making source materials of medieval India accessible to and usable by scholars in original and translation, referred to the authenticity of the present work in his translation of it in *Bengal Nawabs*. Dr. K. K. Datta also pointed out that the work gives many new facts and dates not found in other contemporary works. The present editor agrees with these views and has referred to some of these events, adding: "Neither the *Ta'rikh-i-Bangala* of Salimullah nor the *Muzaffarnamah* of Karam Ali nor the *Riyadu'l-Salatin* of Ghulam Husain Salim provide even half the materials given by Yusuf 'Ali." (pp. 3-4). Yusuf Ali's family connections enabled him to know the truth about contemporary events. He was the son-in-law of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and his father Ghulam Ali Khan was intimate and a loyal companion

of Alivardi, who usurped the throne by defeating and killing the Nawab. Yusuf Ali had to adjust himself to the changed situation. But even in that age when everybody consulted the oracle of self-interest, he never sacrificed his historical judgment or impartiality, says the editor (p. 4), and in this he towers above other chroniclers. It is, however, difficult to agree with the editor's view exonerating Alivardi from "the charge of being ungrateful and treacherous" (p. 6) in the light of Yusuf Ali's judgment.

Most mss. of the work end even before the death of Alivardi. However, it is a revelation to learn from Dr. Subhan that the British Museum copy is the only one to deal in its concluding portion with the history of Nawab Sirajuddaulah and the death of Raja Janaki Ram and the appointment of Raja Ram Narain. It is, therefore, really unique. It is also significant in another respect. It is generally held that there is no confirmation of the Black Hole story in contemporary Indian sources. But this British Museum copy distinctly refers to the incident. True, this mss. absolves Siraj of all responsibility for it, but strangely enough the number of Englishmen dumped there is given here as 200, which is even higher than that given by Holwell. This is not supported by critical estimates of modern historians. The other interesting bits of new information are : (1) the terms of an agreement between Siraj and Mir Jafar, (2) 'Abdul Hadi Khan, commander-in-chief of Siraj's army, gave 40 lakhs of rupees to Siraj for paying arrears of pay and distribution, and (3) Yusuf Ali had planned to write a history of Mir Qasim also.

Printing and get up of the book are excellent. There are, however, a few printing mistakes besides those noted in the errata : e.g., p. 27 (A.H. 1759/A.D. 1173), p. 43 (Elliott in place of Elliot), etc. However, the present work will occupy an honoured place amongst the other works of the Bibliotheca

Indica Series. The scholarly world will eagerly await the English translation of the work which the author is preparing.

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

Indo-Iran Relations : Cultural Aspects

by Dr. N. S. Gorekar, with a foreword by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung and introduction by R. K. Karanjia. Sindhu Publications (P) Bombay, 1970. pp 211. Price : Rs. 35-00.

When the people of Iran were going to rejoice themselves with grand celebrations in their country : "2500 years of the Foundation of Monarchy," this volume appeared a few months before the ceremonial occasion. That Dr. Gorekar made a timely attempt of surveying "Indo-Iran Relations" at that significant juncture would be welcomed by all scholars interested in the field. More wisely, he confined his study to cultural aspects, for, that is the real canvas on which human activity can be painted in pleasant colours. Dr. Gorekar, being a competent philologist, has devoted especial care to examine the intellectual response of the Indians towards Perso-Arabic vocabulary. In order to point out the structural changes undergone in the various languages of India as a result of the impact of Persian the author has utilized a bulk of material which was not possible without exceptional assiduity and insight.

The Persianised Turks brought into India a fully developed culture and in large measure succeeded in creating a revolution of taste in this country. The administration was reorganised on an improved and elaborate scale; and so many new idioms gained currency among the common people. An eagerness to adopt new fashion in dress and manners, in the style of buildings, and on the whole, in making life more delightful further influenced local terminology and tone. Dr. Gorekar, by arduous scrutiny of different regional tongues, has endeavoured to reveal

that Indian society possessed a considerable flexibility in adapting itself to new ways.

Apart from contradicting the myth that Hindu society was immutable or that Hinduism tended to be insular, there is interesting evidence in the chapters of the book to indicate the process of cultural synthesis that took place in India down to the 19th century. The teachings of Persian philosophers found their reflection in the social and intellectual attitudes of the Muslims and in turn stimulated the Hindus to render their literary classics into the popular language of the time. The chapters on Biographical Dictionaries, Hindu patronage, and Persian poetry bear extensive information about Hindu men of letters who contributed to Persian literature.

In the last chapter, "Devanagari Orthography," Dr. Gorekar indulges in erudite demonstration of how Urdu can be conveniently written in Devanagari script in the larger interest of national unity. And this idea has been supported by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung also in his foreword. But, despite these scholarly and expedient suggestions, if the majority of Muslims think otherwise in matters exclusively related to them, may be personal law or language, it would be in the still larger interest of democracy not to press them against their will. The new generation of Muslims is quite proficient in Hindi and for practical purpose they shall ever read it in future; therefore it would be a generous gesture if Urdu were allowed to be written as such in Perso-Arabic script. In multi-racial and plural societies, if democratic ways of life were to succeed, the minorities must be guaranteed to preserve their regional and racial cultures.

Still more, there are remarks in the book : "Indian climate and its healthy atmosphere" (p. 162) which may incite a Nirad Chaudhuri to raise a protest.

SYED NABI HADI

Tarabalkaleen Kagadpatre, (Historical Correspondence for the period of Tarabai) Vol. II (1721-1749) edited by Dr. A. G. Pawar, Shivaji Vidyapeeth Aitihasik Granthamala, Kolhapur, 1970.

Dr. A. G. Pawar, deserves congratulations for having brought out the second volume of *Tarabalkaleen Kagadpatre* so soon after the publication of the first volume.

The most important document in this volume, and which has been published for the first time, is the partition deed of the estate of Ramchandrapant Amatya (No. 19). In the first instance, it helps us to solve, though not finally, the question of the date of the death of the veteran Maratha minister. Sardesai, in his "New History of the Marathas", Vol. II, p. 30, relying on a sanad issued by Rajasbai, mother of Sambhaji II, suggests 1726 as the year of the death of Ramchandrapant. According to the date of this partition deed, it is clear that he must have died before May 25, 1723. Secondly, what is more important, the graphic description of the articles listed in this partition deed throws light on the social and economic conditions of the time. The separate list of books in the name of Ramchandrapant's wife shows that ladies in the noble families of that period could read.

Another useful document (No. 3) supplies us information about the construction of the sea-fort of Sindhu-durg at Malwan. The foundation was laid by Shivaji himself on November 25, 1664. The document further informs us about the atrocities committed by the Mughals in the region during Sambhaji's reign. It also refers to the spread of the epidemic of cholera in the place during the reign of Rajaram.

An interesting story is related about the reinstallation of the image of the famous deity of Mahalaxmi at Kolhapur (No. 21). The idol had been removed from the temple

and kept in the house of the priest during the period of political disturbances. The deity appeared in a dream before the priest and expressed the desire to be reinstalled in the temple. Accordingly, by the orders of Sambhaji II, Sidhoji Hindurao Ghorpade reinstalled the deity in the temple on September 27, 1715. Sambhaji now bestows the right of chief priesthood of the goddess Shri Mahalaxmi upon Narhariphat Savgaonkar and makes in his favour grants of land with the rights of *chauthai* for the proper worship of the deity.

Equally interesting information is available about some of the high officials and other dignitaries at the Court of King Sambhaji of Kolhapur. Document No. 128 is an order of appointment as Nyayadhis to Chinto Mahadev, a protégé of Sambhaji's queen Jijabai. Chinto Mahadev is awarded an annual salary of 5000 chakar hons (Rs. 10,000) and a 'watan' for maintaining an army. Queen Jijabai stands surety for him. Another high official Shrikaracharya Panditrao is eulogised for his great learning (No. 138). He met all the arguments of the Pandits who visited the Court of Rajaram for debates on various Hindu Scriptures. No. 181 mentions how the royal astrologer Bal Joshi had predicted the exact date of the fall of a place (Shirel) which was besieged by the troops of Sambhaji II. When the prediction came true, the King bestowed upon him the 'Sarjyotishi' watan in the state as a reward. The document also furnishes information of a social nature.

A curious document (No. 134) throws light on a matter of customary law. A woman of loose character named Godi, hailing from the Konkan, lived an evil life at a place called Tarale. She was brought before the court and the charges were proved. The woman was, thereupon, declared as a royal property and sold as a slave to Dwarkoji Yadav, the chief officer in charge of the queens' apartments, for performing menial duties in his house.

An account of the historic family of the Ghatges of Kagal is furnished by document No. 178.

We learn that people in those times also had recourse to bribes and such other means to establish false claims (No. 95).

It appears that there were no exclusive areas reserved for residential purposes for Hindus and Muslims in the holy city of Karvir, Kolhapur (No. 113).

Sambhaji II regards the services of Antaji Trimal by conferring on him the Saradesh Kulkarni 'watan' of Arale taluka (No. 20). Antaji Trimal was one of the three ring-leaders behind the revolution in the royal palace in 1714, the revolution which terminated in the dethronement of Shivaji II. Antaji also enjoyed the Saradesh Kulkarni and the Sara Deshpande 'watans' of Havoli taluka (Nos. 107, 158 and 159).

We also learn that the rate of interest at that time was five per cent per month (Nos. 60, 72, 119 & 142).

There is no mention of outstanding political events in this volume though there are references to minor political events like the siege of Panhala (No. 32), the siege of Samangad (Nos. 9 and 189), the march of the Nizam's army (No. 132), and the incursions of Chandrasen Jadav (No. 36) and Udaji Chavan (No. 51).

The student of Maratha history will find as much material for his research in this volume as in the previous one.

V. G. HATAKAR

The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Bhabru Edict of Asoka, A Critical Study, by Dr. Shashi Kant, Delhi, 1971, pp 85, bibliography, appendices and 18 plates; price Rs. 30/-.

The book under review is a re-editing of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela of Kalinga and the Bhabru Edict of the Maurya emperor Asoka with some fresh observations here and there. The selection of these two epigraphs is significant enough. The Hathigumpha inscription, which is regarded as one of the most perplexing of historical documents in India, throws light on Jainism, while the Bhabru inscription gives an insight into the history of Buddhism and Asoka's relations with the Buddhist Church. In the introduction the author has given an account of the discovery and decipherment of the H. inscription and an English translation with restorations and explanatory of his own. As to the date of the inscription, the author is inclined to believe that the years — 103, 113 and 165 mentioned in the inscription, are in the Mahavira Era which is said to have started from October 15, 527 B.C. 'The date of the instant inscriptions', the writer argues, 'which was recorded in the 13th regnal year of Kharavela, should be circa 172 B.C. or M.E. 355'. An attempt has been made to prove the typically Jain character of the inscription by referring to certain terms which are in accord with the Jain concept. Referring to Kharavela's extensive military campaigns, the author pleads for Kharavela's more rightful claim to the glory given to Samudragupta who came more than 500 years after. An account of the socio-political conditions in Kharavela's time, describing fairs and festivals, polygamy, four-fold army, navy and political alliances or confederacies has been carefully incorporated.

In the Bhabru Edict of Asoka the author has tried with some success to identify the passages of the Buddhist scripture and says that the variants in reading do not make any difference in meaning except in the case of *Magadhe* and *Magadhani* in Line I. The author seems to hold the view that the Schism Edicts and the Bhabru Edict were issued at the same time, — the object of both being to pre-

vent Schism in the Buddhist Sangha and that the Bhabru Edict was educative and the Schism Edicts were punitive in character. The Bhabru Edict has set at rest the controversy about Asoka's conversion to Buddhism and the instant epigraphs show Asoka as 'a diligent Buddhist'.

Two maps showing (1) the extent of Kharavela's empire and his wide military expeditions and (2) Asoka Maurya's Empire and a bibliography have added no doubt to the value of the book. The get-up is good but the price a bit high. We hope the book will be useful to students and scholars alike.

B. K. MAJUMDAR

A History of Africa (1918-1967) Published by Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1968.

Readers have recently been acquainted with a new book on African history. In a way the book sums up materials by different scholars and it reveals painstaking investigations by them.

African scenes present complex problems to the readers. Materials on African history are scattered and difficult to collect. The authors working on the history of the Continent tackled a very difficult job to systematise and generalise the materials on the modern history of Africa.

The book presents only the major developments of different African countries since 1918. Tremendous historical changes took place within the countries of Africa since the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Revolution unfolded before the African people a clear revolutionary perspective. The national liberation struggles were intensified as a result of the influence exerted by the ideas of the October Socialist Revolution.

Interesting factual materials with regard to the state of African economy and political

problems of the Continent have been revealed in this book. Tremendous historical changes within the African countries have turned this Continent into one of the centres of world national liberation movements.

Colonial powers were in complete control of the African countries until the Second World War. Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt were the only countries that had the status of sovereign states. The South African government was — and still is — ruled by the white, who follow the policy of Apartheid and oppress the majority Africans. The national bourgeoisie and intellectuals organised the liberation movement in various parts of Africa. These movements swept the entire Continent before the Second World War.

The Second World War left an imprint on the Continent. There was a flow of foreign capital in many parts of the Continent in the post-War period. As a result industries developed. Trade Union movements spread in many countries. The working class has been

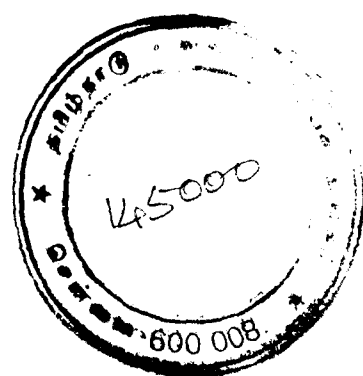
playing a vital role in the socio-economic development of the Continent.

Communist parties and intellectuals began to play a vital part in the liberation struggles, which swept the Continent and since 1950 many independent States came into existence. Independent African countries are taking important steps to eliminate their age-old backwardness and strengthen their economic and political independence. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are rendering effective assistance to many independent States of Africa in the implementation of their economic development plans.

Many African States are now following the policy of neutrality and non-alignment in their foreign affairs. They also advocate peace and peaceful coexistence.

The book is a comprehensive and up-to-date study of the Continent and is likely to be a popular one among students and general readers.

AMBIKA KUNDU



1172 - 1

FELLOWS OF THE INSTITUTE

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| DR. B. K. APTE (Nagpur) | DR. G. M. MORAES (Goa) |
| PROFESSOR M. ARA (Tokyo) | PROFESSOR H. NAKAMURA (Tokyo) |
| *DR. M. AROKIASWAMY (Madras) | DR. K. A. NIZAMI (Aligarh) |
| DR. K. A. BALLHATCHET (London) | DR. P. N. OJHA (Ranchi) |
| *PROFESSOR V. BALABUSHEVICH (Moscow) | DR. G. C. PANDEY (Jaipur) |
| DR. A. C. BANERJEE (Calcutta) | DR. RICHARD L. PARK (Michigan) |
| *DR. J. N. BANERJEE (Calcutta) | DR. C. H. PHILIPS (London) |
| DR. H. K. BARPUJARI (Gauhati) | DR. K. K. PILLAY (Madras) |
| DR. A. L. BASHAM (Canberra) | MM. D. V. POTDAR (Poona) |
| PROFESSOR O. P. BHATNAGAR (Allahabad) | DR. AMBA PRASAD (Delhi) |
| PROFESSOR N. K. BOSE (Calcutta) | DR. BISHESHWAR PRASAD (Allahabad) |
| PROFESSOR WILLIAM N. BROWN (Pennsylvania) | DR. S. N. PRASAD (Delhi) |
| DR. SUDHAKAR CHATTOPADHYAYA (Visva-Bharati) | DR. K. RAJAYYAN (Madurai) |
| DR. S. B. CHAUDHURY (Burdwan) | DR. O. RAMACHANDRAIYA (Waltair) |
| DR. ROBERT I. CRANE (Syracuse, U.S.A.) | DR. R. NARASIMHA RAO (Hyderabad) |
| DR. M. N. DAS (Utkal) | DR. M. RAMA RAO (Tirupati) |
| DR. K. K. DATTA (Patna) | DR. V. D. RAO (Nashville, U.S.A.) |
| DR. C. C. DAVIES (Oxford) | DR. V. N. HARI RAO, (Tirupati) |
| DR. V. G. DIGHE (Bombay) | DR. N. R. RAY (Delhi) |
| DR. G. S. DIKSHIT (Karnatak) | DR. SHIBNARAYAN RAY (Australia) |
| DR. V. N. DATTA (Kurukshetra) | DR. T. RAY CHOUDHURY (Delhi) |
| PROFESSOR J. FILLIOZAT (Paris) | DR. V. M. REDDI (Tirupati) |
| DR. HOLDEN FURBER (Pennsylvania) | *PROFESSOR L. RENOU (Paris) |
| PROFESSOR G. A. GALLAGHER (Oxford) | DR. DIETMAR ROTHERMUND (Heidelberg) |
| DR. D. K. GHOSE (Burdwan) | DR. N. K. SAHU (Sambalpur) |
| *DR. H. R. GHOSHAL (Bihar) | DR. B. P. SAKSENA (Allahabad) |
| *DR. U. N. GHOSHAL (Calcutta) | DR. PARAMATMA SARAN (Hyderabad) |
| DR. KRISTOF GLAMANN (Copenhagen) | DR. J. N. SARKAR (Jadavpur) |
| DR. S. GOPAL (New Delhi) | DR. B. C. SEN (Calcutta) |
| DR. H. L. GUPTA (Saugor) | DR. S. P. SEN (Calcutta) |
| DR. P. C. GUPTA (Visva-Bharati) | DR. DASARATH SHARMA (Jodhpur) |
| PROFESSOR MOHIBBUL HASAN (Kashmir) | DR. G. N. SHARMA (Jaipur) |
| DR. S. NURUL HASAN (Aligarh) | DR. R. S. SHARMA (Patna) |
| DR. V. G. HATANKAR (Bombay) | DR. H. K. SHERWANI (Hyderabad) |
| DR. P. M. JOSHI (Poona) | DR. M. SHESADRI (Mysore) |
| DR. M. KRASA (Prague) | DR. B. P. SINHA (Patna) |
| DR. A. KRISHNASWAMI (Annamalai) | DR. D. P. SINHA (North Bengal) |
| DR. A. R. KULKARNI (Poona) | DR. FAUJA SINGH (Patiala) |
| DR. K. S. LAL (Delhi) | DR. GANDA SINGH (Patiala) |
| PROFESSOR D. A. LOW (Sussex) | DR. H. L. SINGH (Banaras) |
| DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM (Madras) | DR. D. C. SIRCAR (Calcutta) |
| DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR (Calcutta) | DR. T. G. P. SPEAR (Cambridge) |
| PROFESSOR TORU MATSUI (Tokyo) | DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA (Agra) |
| DR. P. L. MEHRA (Chandigarh) | DR. H. S. SRIVASTAVA (Gorakhpur) |
| DR. V. V. MIRASHI (Nagpur) | DR. N. SUBRAMANIAN (Madurai) |
| B. B. MISRA (Delhi) | |

(Ind. deceased.)

A Monumental Publication

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

- ★ Contains biographical sketches of about 1400 Indians (and also foreigners who made India their home) who had achieved eminence from 1800 to 1947 in any sphere of work — politics, education, social and religious reforms, literature, science, journalism, law, administration, industry etc.
- ★ This monumental work is the first of its kind in India, on the lines of the Dictionary of National Biography in foreign countries.
- ★ DNB is being published in 4 Volumes of approximately 550 pages each, the size of the page being 24 × 18 cm. (Double-Crown), with two columns per page. It is being printed in one of the best presses in India, and the quality of production will conform to the best international standard.
- ★ Vol. I covers biographical sketches from A to D; Vol. II from E to L; Vol. III from M to R; and Vol. IV from S to Z.

Price for Full Set of 4 Volumes :

India — Rs. 400/-, (Postage Extra).

Foreign Sale — U.S. \$ 80 or its equivalent in any foreign currency.
(Postage Extra)

Vol. I came out in August 1972; Vol. II will be out in December 1972, Vol. III in March 1973, and Vol. IV in June 1973.

Special Discount of 10% if full amount is paid in advance by December 1972.

For registering your order, please write to :

Registrar,
Institute of Historical Studies,
35, Theatre Road,
Calcutta-17 (India)