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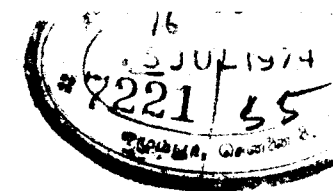
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EDITORIAL

Release of DNB Vol. III

We are happy to announce that Vol. III of the *Dictionary of National Biography* was released to the public officially by the Director of the Institute at a Press Conference in New Delhi at the Oberoi-Intercontinental Hotel on 20 May 1974. The Press Conference was very well attended and Newspapers all over the country gave a very good coverage.

For the information of our readers, we are giving below in extenso the speech delivered by Dr. S. P. Sen, the Director of the Institute, at the Press Conference, when releasing Vol. III of the DNB.

"Gentlemen of the Press, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this Press Conference on the occasion of the release of Vol. III of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a monumental Project, unique of its kind in India, undertaken by the Institute of Historical Studies, an all-India association of historians. About two years ago, in August 1972, I had the pleasure of meeting you at a Press Conference on the occasion of the release of Vol. I of the DNB. I had then explained to you the history, scope and character of the Project. Vol. II came out in July 1973 and

although I had wanted to share my joy with you at a Press Conference on that occasion, my ill-health prevented my coming to Delhi. I am happy, however, that Vol. III has been released in less than a year's time since the completion of Vol. II, and I am happier still to announce here that Vol. IV is also expected to be released by the end of July 1974. Only those who have an experience of bringing out such big volumes, of 550 to 600 pages each, will appreciate that it is a real achievement to complete printing of four such volumes in less than two years' time.

"Although I had given you in August 1972 a brief history of the DNB Project, I feel it will not be unnecessary or irrelevant if I speak again a few words on the subject to refresh your memory. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in four volumes, is the first of its kind in India and is based on the model of similar works in foreign countries. Our present DNB Project covers the period from 1800 to 1947 and includes the biographical sketches of about 1,400 Indians (and also some foreigners) who had contributed to the national life in any positive manner. Our selection of names is not confined to political figures only, but includes men who had made some tangible contribution to national life or social develop-

ment in any sphere of life. The Project is the result of nearly ten years of hard labour on the part of 35 Research Fellows who collected biographical material from all over India and over 400 Contributors who had written the actual biographical sketches, drawn not only from among professional historians but also from amongst those who had achieved eminence in other spheres. A cursory glance at the full list of Contributors given in each volume will convince anybody about the wide range from which the Contributors have been drawn. It is a truly national Project not only from the point of view of the names included but also from the point of view of the Contributors who had written the biographical sketches.

"Vol. I of the DNB which had been introduced to you in August 1972 contains the biographical sketches of names covering 'A' to 'D'. Vol. II which came out in July 1973 covers names from 'E' to 'L'. Vol. III which is now being presented covers names from 'M' to 'R', and Vol. IV which will complete the series and will come out in July will cover names from 'S' to 'Z'.

"I need not say anything about Vol. I which had already been introduced to you two years ago and had a very favourable response not only in academic circles but also from the general public. Both Vols. I and II had been reviewed well in the Press. But since Vol. II could not be officially presented to you at a Press Conference in July 1973 on account of my illness, I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words about this volume today. The volume contains nearly 300 biographical sketches and includes some of the most illustrious names in modern Indian history. Besides Mahatma Gandhi and Quaidi Azam Jinnah, Vol. II includes many other well-known names like V. V. Giri, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Fazl Hussain Khan, George and Pothon Joseph, Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Dayaram Gidoomal, Dr. Choithram Gidwani, G. K. Gokhale, Hari Singh

Gaur, Deshabandhu Gupta, Maithili Saran Gupta, Hali Altaf Hussain, Lala Hardayal, David Hare, Rev. James Long, B. G. Horniman, A. O. Hume, H. M. Hyndman, Sir Mohammed Iqbal, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Sir Jamshetji Jeejeebhoy, M. R. Jayakar, Laksmibai Rani of Jhansi, K. Kamaraj, P. V. Kane, D. K. Karve, Kavi Narinad, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib, B. G. Kher, Khizer Hayat Khan Tiwana, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, L. K. Kirloskar, J. B. Kripalani, H. N. Kunzru, G. Shankara Kurup (Mahakavi), Lala Lajpat Rai and many others. How impartial and independent our approach has been will be evident from the biographical sketch on M. A. Jinnah, which has been circulated among you this afternoon.

"In Vol. III of the DNB there are again many illustrious names in modern Indian history drawn from all walks of life. They include Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (written by Pandit H. N. Kunzru), Pandit Motilal Nehru (written by Shri B. R. Nanda), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (written by Shri Ajit Prasad Jain), Shrinati Sarojini Naidu (written by Mrs. Tara Ali Baig), Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa (written by Swami Lokeshwarananda), Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee (written by Shri Gopal Chandra Halder), Sir C. V. Raman (written by Dr. A. K. Chakravarty), Sir P. C. Ray (written by Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen), Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (written by Dr. (Mrs.) Roma Chowdhury), Raja Ravi Varma (written by Professor T. C. Shankara Menon), Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (written by Shri Morarji Desai), Vithalbhai Patel (written by Shri Dahyabhai Patel), M. N. Roy (written by Dr. G. D. Parikh), Raja Rammohun Roy (written by Dr. B. B. Majumdar), Dr. Rajendra Prasad (written by Shri Jagjivan Ram), C. Rajagopalachari (written by Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram), Raja Mahendra Pratap (written by Dr. M. S. Jain), Meera Behn (written by Dr. Sushila Nayar), Yusuf J. Meherally (written by Dr. V. G. Hatakar), Sir Phirozeshah Mehta (written by Dr. R.

Srinivasan), Sir Mirza Ismail (written by Dr. D. V. Gundappa), Mohanlal Mehta (Sopan) (written by Dr. U. M. Maniar), Haji Mohammad Mohsin (written by Dr. Abdus Subhan), Dr. B. S. Moonje (written by Shri G. V. Ketkar), Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee (written by Shri Balraj Madhok), E. V. Ramaswami Naicker (written by Dr. K. Rajayyan), E. M. S. Namboodiripad (written by Shri P. K. Gopalakrishnan), Dadabhai Naoroji (written by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao), Jai Prakash Narain (written by Shri Raghukul Tilak), K. F. Nariman (written by Shri G. V. Ketkar), Sister Nivedita (written by Prabrajika Mukti-prana), Bepin Chandra Pal (written by Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee), Govind Ballabh Pant (written by Shri Akhilesh Mishra), T. Prakasam (written by Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy), Munshi Prem Chand (written by Dr. Prabhakar Machhwe), M. C. Rajah (written by Dr. K. Rajayyan), R. S. Ruikar (written by Shri G. V. Raghavan) and many others.

"In the writing of the biographical entries, specially on the political figures, we have taken great care in avoiding a blind eulogy or biased criticism. We have tried to give each figure in the proper historical perspective in disregard of current political and social conditions which have vitiated the judgement of men. We are always conscious of the fact that the DNB volumes are not meant only for the readers of today or tomorrow but for those who may come fifty or a hundred years later. It is likely that we may be criticised in some interested circles for not having depicted their heroes as supermen. Our explanation is clear: we owe allegiance only to Clio and do not bother about criticisms which are motivated by personal considerations, group loyalties, party affiliations, etc. As an example of our impartial and independent approach, we are circulating copies of the biographical entry on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (*Editorial Addendum* only).

"After having given you an idea of the contents of Vol. III of the DNB, let me hope

that this volume will receive the same favourable response from the Press and the general public as the first two volumes. We feel that we have done our best and the three volumes represent the results of the collective scholarship of Indians. No doubt, we cannot please everybody and we are prepared to face criticisms from interested quarters.

"I beg your pardon to refer here to some of the unreasonable points of criticism levelled against the DNB Project. In one of the leading English newspapers of Calcutta, the reviewer virtually left aside the DNB volume and attacked the Editor of the volume in the most unworthy manner possible for a journalist. He was dissatisfied with everything in Vol. I and concluded his long review with a hope that the Government of India would reward the Editor of the DNB with a 'Padmabhusan'. The same paper had to publish a rejoinder from me, meeting the points of criticism one by one and concluding that I was perfectly satisfied with my hard earned University degrees and did not hanker for any State title. I further added that if ever an offer of 'Padmabhusan' came to me, I would gladly decline it and recommend the name of my journalist friend. In another leading English newspaper of New Delhi there was a criticism that we did not indicate in the Contents of Vol. I as to who had written on whom. The reviewer felt that the name of the writer would attract more attention than the name on whom he had written. Pardon me for stating here categorically that to the Editorial Board of the DNB it is the men whose biographical sketches are included who are more important than those who had written the biographical sketches. Our DNB is definitely not meant for those readers who attach more importance to the writers than to the men on whom they write. Then again from certain Societies we have received threatening letters for not having depicted their heroes in the light in which they are seen by their worshippers. Our explanation is clear: we are writing History and are not interested in the blind devotional

fervour of the followers of some of the leaders. As a matter of fact we treat all these points of criticism with total contempt. In the words of the famous German historian Niebuhr, we are prepared to say, "I have not knowingly, not without earnest investigation, written anything which is not true." Our DNB will be judged by the future generations and we do not bother about the partisan criticisms levelled against us at the present moment."

Nehru in Historical Perspective :

At the Press Conference Newspapermen naturally evinced great interest in the biographical entry on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The entry was written by Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, M.P. But although the entry was a good one and gave an unbiased assessment of Nehru as a man and as a statesman, in view of the special importance attached to the historic role of Pandit Nehru in pre-independence and post-independence periods, the Editorial Board felt it necessary to give a long *Editorial Addendum* at the end of the entry by Shri A. P. Jain. This was the only instance in the *Dictionary of National Biography* where a special *Editorial Addendum* had been given after a biographical entry on an individual. To make the objectives of this departure from the normal practice clear to our readers, we are giving below some extracts from the *Editorial Addendum*.

Moreover, since the *Editorial Addendum* on Nehru has created somewhat of a commotion in the Journalistic world, we propose to give in the next issue of the journal the whole biographical entry including the *Editorial Addendum* on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is too late for this particular number of the journal. Hence we have to confine ourselves to giving only a few extracts from the *Editorial Addendum* here.

"It is not possible to give within a short compass an adequate account of all aspects of the career and life of a personality like that of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Contributor of the

biographical sketch has, no doubt, done his best to focus attention on the salient aspects. But in view of the special importance attributed to Jawaharlal Nehru in the public life of pre-independent and independent India, we feel it necessary to add a few more paragraphs on some aspects of his life and career which have not been adequately dealt with by the Contributor. The views expressed in these paragraphs are those of the Editor and not of the Contributor.

"In recent times Nehru has been eulogised and raised to a unique position among India's freedom-fighters, next to, if not equal with, that of Mahatma Gandhi, not to speak of the earlier pioneers. The present adulation may be due to a variety of reasons. But in a work like the *Dictionary of National Biography* these considerations have no place, and it is necessary to view the life and career of Nehru in the proper perspective, as it would be viewed by later generations. It is not our object to belittle the greatness of Nehru in certain respects, but at the same time in a scholarly and impartial work like the *Dictionary of National Biography* one should attempt to assess the personality and career of Nehru in their proper proportions and not magnified unduly by sentimental effusions or present-day political conditions. It is with that object in view that the following few paragraphs have been added to the biographical sketch.

* * *

"This *Editorial Addendum* should not be misunderstood as an attempt to belittle the greatness of Jawaharlal Nehru but should be read in the spirit in which it has been written. History is a hard taskmaster and is no respecter of persons. For a historian the only ideal is to find out the truth about any personality or event, irrespective of current sentimentalism or other considerations. In an authoritative work like the *Dictionary of National Biography* we have tried to give an impartial assessment of Nehru's life and career in the true spirit of a devotee of Clio and in total disregard of present-day sentimental or political considerations."

LORD RIPON AND THE INDIA COUNCIL

DR. L. P. MATHUR

(University of Udaipur, Rajasthan)

Lord Derby, while introducing the Bill of 1858 for reorganising the administration of India in the Parliament of Great Britain, earnestly wished that "the Government of India must be, on the whole, carried out in India itself".¹ But in reality the Act of 1858 created an amazing complex and dual form of administration in India. In Lord Curzon's opinion the Government of India had two chiefs, the Secretary of State in England whom he called as the man at the desk and on the front bench there ; and the Viceroy, the man on the spot in India.² The English Cabinet of 1858 had foreseen that the Secretary of State would try to assume more influence and control over the matter relating to the administration of India than the Viceroy. They were also apprehensive of his trying to become independent of effective Parliamentary control. Hence a Council was constituted by the above Act to perform the duties of a watch dog over the Secretary of State. During the deliberations which took place in the British Parliament to discuss the Bill, Lord Stanley clearly defined the intention and desire of the Government of the United Kingdom by saying that "the object is, that the Council should have a moral influence and control, that the Minister's decision should be, as is practically now, final on all matters, but that all the members of the Council should be empowered to publicly and formally protest and if they disapprove of the course taken by the Minister, they may compel him to record the reason in writing".³ In the Act the Council was not allowed to initiate matters but was only entitled to offer its

opinion on questions referred to it by the Secretary of State. In matters relating to expenditure and loans the Secretary of State was, however, required to obtain the concurrence of a majority of the members of the Council of India.

In spite of the sincere desire of the Government of the United Kingdom it was soon felt that the influence and control of the Secretary of State over the Central and Local Government of India was much more than what was desired. By virtue of the position of the Secretary of State in the Cabinet and the Parliament such influence steadily grew with the course of time. With the gradual increase of the influence of the Secretary of State the Council of India also tried to make itself strong. However, much depended on the personality of the Secretary of State. Lord Cranbrooke, while in office, always managed to avoid an open breach with his Council. His successor, Duke of Argyll, also did not experience any difficulty in managing the Council.⁴ He even considered the Secretary of State to be absolutely supreme in financial matters also, as in his opinion he had the powers to overrule his Council whenever he thought it fit to do so. Thus normally speaking a Secretary of State could always rely on Cabinet support and found time to discharge his duties honestly and never experienced any difficulty with his Council. But even such a type of Secretary of State was successfully persuaded by the members of the Council to change his opinion. The members of the Council selected for appointment were always

retired and experienced persons from the Indian Civil Service and hence they could always claim to possess practical knowledge of the affairs of India. Therefore, the Secretary of State, who had no practical knowledge and did not have enough time to spare in order to acquaint himself with the details of the case, had no option but to agree to the wishes of the majority of his Council. This fact is clearly brought out in Lord Derby's reply to the Viceroy who had complained of increasing interference of the Council of India in day-to-day administration of British Dominion in India. While admitting the fact that the members of the Council aimed at a sort of independence,⁵ Lord Derby expressed his inability to overrule the opinions of the members of the Council as they possessed practical knowledge of the affairs of India. According to him, it was rather impossible for a man "who had not been in India pretending to set in his opinion in detail against such men".⁶ The inevitable result of such a situation was that the Government of India was subjected to undue interference, directly or indirectly, by the Council of India in administrative matters. It was, therefore, natural for every Viceroy to resent such an interference.

Lord Canning, the first Governor-General of India, complained to Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, about the attempts of the Council of India to interfere with or hamper indirectly the working of administration in India in order to emphasise the importance of the Council.⁷ After him Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook also brought this matter to the notice of the Secretary of State. Lord Lytton regarded the indirect interference of the India Council so serious that he expressed his concern over the growing lack of co-operation between the Home and Indian Governments. In his opinion the disposition of the Council was to reject summarily every proposal, however important or however trivial, which was sponsored by the Government of India. Lytton strongly felt that in the ordinary current details of its administration, a great govern-

ment, such as the Government of India, ought not to be subjected to the uncontrolled interference and inevitable veto of a distant and practically irresponsible setting in England.⁸ He requested the Secretary of State to put an end to the "coalesced stupidities" of his advisors.

In spite of his sharp ideological differences with his predecessor Ripon shared the feelings of Lytton about the undesirable attempt of the members of the India Council to assert themselves. It may be pointed out that Lytton was not so much adversely affected by the activities of the India Council as Ripon did. Lord Cranbrooke, the Secretary of State, in Lytton's period on account of his being an influential member of the Cabinet, was always firm in overruling the opinions of the members of the Council whenever they ventured to criticise the Viceroy's actions.⁹ But Hartington and Kimberley, the two Secretaries of State under whom Ripon worked, were not placed in such a strong position. Although both of them always assured Ripon of such a support, in actual practice it was never forthcoming. Hartington, who was easy-going, did not find much time to devote to the affairs of India on account of his being busy in the affairs of the Parliament and the politics of the day. This fact was candidly admitted by Hartington in one of his letters to Ripon. He had no hesitation in acknowledging that he knew very little about many decisions taken by him and that he was unfair to Ripon in many cases.¹⁰ Kimberley's position was more or less the same. His indecisiveness put Ripon in an embarrassing position on several occasions.

Apart from these factors there were other reasons which prompted the members of the India Council to oppose Ripon's policies and actions vigorously. The majority of these members were retired India Civilians who had no inclination to support the programme of Gladstone and his Liberal Party as they were conservative in their ideas and action. The zeal with which Ripon tried to pursue the

programme of the Liberals alarmed them. They were also perturbed in their minds about the doctrinaire assumptions of Lord Ripon. After some time the feelings of contempt expressed by Ripon towards the attitude of the Councillors also increased their displeasure towards them. Finally, the heat which the controversy of the Ilbert Bill had generated in India and England alienated a majority of the members of the India Council to such an extent that they, along with a sizable majority of senior European civil servants working in India, condemned him as a 'traitor' who had surrendered 'White' interests on grounds of sentiments only.¹¹ As a result of their determined opposition Kimberley, in the later period of Ripon's Viceroyalty in India, had to postpone the sanctioning of several proposals of Ripon which in the opinion of the Secretary of State were beneficial to the people of India.

During the first six months of his administration Ripon was preoccupied with the closing of the Second Afghan War. Although he had arrived in India as a staunch supporter of Lord Lawrence's policy he was always ready to act according to the exigencies of the situation. He, therefore, expressed his willingness to carry out a few compromises with the Forward School in territorial details. Thus on account of his adjusting nature he had no trouble with the India Office on this issue. Ripon was, however, not fully successful in convincing the Secretary of State and his Council about the necessity of having a direct talk with the Russian Government in order to define the spheres of British and Russian influence in Central Asia. The above difference of opinion had no effect on his relations with the India Office. As regards the policy followed by Ripon towards the Kingdom of Upper Burma and the Indian States Ripon was fortunate to get the approval of the Secretary of State. Thus in the domain of foreign policy Ripon had a smooth sailing. But in internal matters the Viceroy could not get adequate support from the members of the

India Council. To the contrary his relations with them were not cordial in the beginning and later on the Viceroy expressed bitterness over the fact that he was being let down by the home authorities.

Ripon had no desire to strain his relations with either the members of the India Council or with the Secretary of State. He, therefore, adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the lukewarm approach of Hartington, the Secretary of State, and the opposition of the members of the India Council on his proposals to pass the first Factory Act of India.¹² Although he was the pioneer in the field of factory legislation in India, he was himself not satisfied with his measure.

The conservative approach of the members of the Council soon became manifest to him when his proposal for the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, a retrograde measure passed during Lytton's administration, was under their consideration. Hartington found that out of the fifteen members of the Council thirteen voted for its repeal on the condition that Section 124A of their existing Act should be amended in such a manner as to make it workable.¹³ Although in his famous Midlothian campaign of 1880 Gladstone and his Liberal Party had promised to remove this gagging Act from the statutes as early as possible, Hartington privately advised Ripon to suspend the Act for one year.¹⁴ Ripon had no option but to agree to the advice of the Secretary of State.

An amendment to the Arms Act passed during Lytton's period was also an item in the manifesto of the Liberals. But Ripon failed in his attempts to get it amended in his period. For this failure Ripon can partly be blamed. As he was busy during the early months of his administration in solving the knotty problems of the Afghan War, he did not submit his proposals at that time. Perhaps in 1880 he would have got the sanction from the India Office as the Council was not

unfavourably inclined towards him. But by the time he proposed the amendments in 1882 the chance was lost. In view of the opposition of the majority of the members of the Council, Hartington, after remaining silent for one year, instructed Ripon not to proceed further with the proposed reform.¹⁵

In spite of the opposition of the members of the Council Ripon made a sincere attempt to reform the Tenancy Acts in Bengal and Oudh. At the time of his forwarding the Bengal Rent Bill Ripon had his own fears regarding the opposition of the members of the Council, but he sought to introduce his advocate into the body by trying to secure the support of Ashley Eden, a member of the Council, who, while as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had consented to his main proposal of attaching occupancy rights to land.¹⁶ But Ashley Eden seems to have changed his views after joining the India Council. He and other members of the Council opposed the proposals of Ripon on the subject. As a result of their opposition the Secretary of State had prolonged discussions with the Viceroy. Ultimately in the last year of his Viceroyalty Ripon reluctantly agreed to the suggestions of the Secretary of State. The Bill, after being referred to a Select Committee, was passed in his successor's reign with slight modifications.

The agitation carried out by the Zamindars against the Bengal Rent Bill frightened the Secretary of State and his Council. They, therefore, delayed the sanction of the proposals of the Lieutenant-Governor of Oudh, duly supported by Ripon, to amend the Oudh Tenancy Act although the Viceroy had specifically pointed out that he and the Lieutenant-Governor of Oudh did not anticipate any such opposition from the Talukdars of Oudh.¹⁷ As a result of the passive attitude of the India Office Ripon had to suffer disappointment in this respect also. Lord Dufferin, his successor, succeeded in fulfilling Ripon's wish by insisting on the need of such a legislation and the Bill proposed by Ripon was sanctioned by the

Secretary of State in 1886 with slight modifications.

Ripon's proposals to grant a larger share of participation in their government to Indians evoked a determined opposition from the members of the Council. They complained that before issuing so important a Resolution as that of May 1882 on the extension of local self-government Ripon had not consulted them beforehand. In his reply Ripon maintained that he had not framed any new policy but had simply followed Lord Mayo in this regard.¹⁸ In fact Ripon had advocated this reform as a further instalment to the measure passed by Mayo in 1871. The real reason of the displeasure of the members of the India Council was that a majority of them were alarmed at the doctrinaire assumptions which motivated Ripon's work in India.¹⁹

After overcoming this initial difficulty in getting the sanction of his proposals for the extension of local self-government, Ripon rightly anticipated that it would be an extremely difficult task to get the approval of the various measures proposed by the local governments in India on the lines advocated in the Resolution of May 1882. His fears came to be true. The Secretary of State objected to the proposal of providing for an elected Chairman in the first bill of local self-government submitted by the Central Provinces through the Viceroy. He supported Ashley Eden's view that the Magistrate should lead and not drive.²⁰ He also desired that the method of election of the members of the local Council should only be introduced in a few selected localities.²¹ The above objections of the Secretary of State were regarded by Ripon to be of so much importance that he expressed his willingness to resign.²² As a result of this strong attitude of Ripon, the Secretary of State bade a hasty retreat. Kimberley assured Ripon that he had no intention to go back on the assurances given by the Liberal leaders for giving a larger share to Indians in the management of their local affairs.²³ After this event Ripon did not experience much diffi-

culty in getting the sanction of the Secretary of State for the proposals of extension of local self-government in the Provinces.

Ripon had to face serious opposition from the members of the India Council over the Ilbert Bill. Although Ripon considered that the invidious distinction which existed between the European and Indian members of the Civil Service regarding their powers to try European and British subjects in the districts would have to be removed, in his opinion expressed in 1881 the change was by no means urgent to the administrative policy²⁴ of the Government of India. It is, therefore, clear that the Ilbert Bill was not a part of Ripon's policy of reform. In 1882 he, however, took up a bill commonly known as the Ilbert Bill, on the suggestion of Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Secretary of State, while giving his consent to the above Bill in December 1882, did not give the slightest indication to Ripon about the possibility of a European agitation against the Bill although he had received such a hint from Sir Henry Maine, a member of his Council.²⁵ In such circumstances Ripon was right in believing that the members of the India Council were not opposed to the measure. But when later on the members of the Council seriously objected to the proposals of the Bill and blamed him for precipitating the crisis, Ripon was surprised and pained over their attitude. He considered the attitude of Sir Ashley Eden as most unreasonable. It was rather strange that Ashley Eden, who as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had submitted the proposals to the Government of India, opposed the same after becoming the member of the India Council. The storm raised by the Anglo-Indian community, the opposition of the senior members of the Indian Civil Service, lack of firmness on the part of Kimberley, the apathy of Gladstone and his Cabinet and the determined opposition of a sizable majority of the members of the India Council left no option before Ripon but to accept a compromise on the issue.

The conservative approach of the members of the Council towards the policy of Ripon disappointed the liberal Viceroy to a great extent. He formed a very poor opinion about them. In his opinion the members of the Indian Council were completely out of touch with the realities in India due to their long stay in England. In a private letter to one of his friends Ripon rightly lamented that had he known earlier about the real situation in the India Office, he would not have joined the post of the Viceroy.²⁶ But a question may be asked why did he not resign when he knew about the reality? In his defence it may be said that he was a man of a compromising nature and felt that once he had joined the post he should make the best of the situation. Moreover, by the time he realised the difficulties of the situation his interest in the promotion of the welfare of the people of India had increased so much that he considered it inexpedient to leave the charge. In such a situation the only alternative before Ripon was to press the Home Government strongly for an overhaul of the machinery of the India Office, but again his reluctance to place his Party in an awkward position came in the way. He did not want to bring to surface the fact that both the Liberal Secretaries of State, under whom he had worked, were not devoting full attention to the affairs of India.

By not insisting upon a change in the system of the India Office Ripon left the problem unsolved. His successors, therefore, had to face a similar situation in their dealings with the Secretary of State. Even a strong Viceroy like Lord Curzon had to express an unfavourable opinion about the Council. He even considered that the Council was more hostile to him personally than to his predecessors.²⁷ In one of his despatches to the Secretary of State he gave specific instances in which the Council had objected to his proposals on trivial and unreasonable grounds, and thereby he tried to prove that there was a desire on the part of the members of the India Office to thwart and hamper him in his work.²⁸

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SHIV SENA—A CASE STUDY IN REGIONALISM IN INDIA*

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The Indian subcontinent was not a contiguous nation-state at any time in the history of India. The country spread from the river Oxus (to the north of Afghanistan) to Kanyakumari (the southernmost tip of India) and from Sindh to Assam. A number of rulers ruled over different parts of this vast area.

Neither the mighty Ashoka nor Akbar the Great ruled over the entire length and breadth of India. With the exception of the Maurya, the Gupta and the Mughal Empires, India always had a large number of independent and semi-independent states. Yet, the people were bound by a common culture. The advent of Islam did bring about a change, but it could not shake the foundations of the social structure. The boundaries of the states being ever-changing, a number of multi-lingual states arose. The people differed in customs, dress, eating habits, and language, yet a common undercurrent was clearly perceptible.

The people were loyal to individuals rather than to a region or a language. They fought each other on behalf of the rulers' domain.

Loyalty to a region or a language was seldom manifested. When Shahaji conquered Bangalore and Tanjavur, neither the Kannadigas nor the Tamilians looked upon it as an invasion of the Marathi-speaking people over the Kannada and the Tamil language groups.

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Shivaji looted Surat, but no one ever interpreted that he fleeced the Gujarati population. Even in the nineteenth century the Gaikwads, a Marathi-speaking dynasty, were accepted as rulers of Gujarat.¹

During India's struggle for Independence people belonging to different regions and speaking diverse languages stood together and fought shoulder to shoulder. A Marathi, Tilak, had a Gujarati Vitthalbhai Patel and a Kannadi Gangadharrao Deshpande as his close associates. Throughout the Gandhian period, very few, if any, remembered that the Mahatma was a Gujarati.

Unfortunately, most unknowingly the seeds of the present rampant regionalism were sown by the Lokamanya and the Mahatma. In the Congress-Democratic Party Manifesto, Tilak asked for "Readjustment of Provinces on linguistic basis."² While accepting the Presidency of the Indian Home Rule League Gandhiji issued a statement in which he advocated "a linguistic redistribution of the Provinces."³ This suggestion was accepted by the 1920 special Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress. In the new constitution of the Congress, adopted at the session, new provincial Congress Committees were created on a linguistic basis.

The demand remained dormant during the British rule. After independence the people were elated by the attainment of *Swaraj*. Within a short time the fissiparous tendencies

slowly emerged. Nehru attempted to stem the tide, but the swell of the upsurge was too great even for Jawaharlal Nehru.

The demand for a separate Telugu-speaking Province out of the old Madras Presidency, strengthened and hallowed by the martyrdom of Potti Sriramalu, forced the linguistic vivisection of India. The States Reorganisation Act of 1956 divided India into a number of linguistic regions. The match was struck, the die was cast. Almost overnight the people changed. They no longer considered themselves Indians but Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Kannadigas, etc. While determining the linguistic boundaries, certain areas were rightly or wrongly assigned to an adjacent different language area, thus planting the seeds of a language discord.

Bombay, the commercial capital of India, is geographically a part of Maharashtra. Bombay is inhabited by 45 per cent Maharashtrians, the remainder are from different areas of India, especially Gujarat. The trade and industry of Bombay are controlled, almost completely, by non-Maharashtrians. The vested interests opposed the inclusion of Bombay in a unilingual Maharashtra State. To satisfy them a greater bilingual State was created comprising of Gujarat and Maharashtra. This was the signal for a linguistic upsurge in both these States. The *Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad* and the *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti* (The Greater Gujarat People's Conference and the United Maharashtra Association) at once came into being.

In the General Elections of 1957 the *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti* captured a large number of seats from Maharashtra at the cost of the Congress Party. The subsequent bye-elections confirmed the anti-Congress trend in Maharashtra. It was almost certain that Maharashtra was moving away from the Congress. The Communists were not slow to take advantage of this opportunity. A shrewd statesman, Yeshwantrao Chavan, who was at

that time the Chief Minister of Bombay, correctly evaluated the situation. He briefed Nehru, who agreed to the formation of a separate State of Maharashtra with the city of Bombay as its capital (1960). The Maharashtra Congressmen could now boast that it was Yeshwantrao who brought the *Mangal Kalash* (the auspicious pot which is used on all auspicious occasions) of the State of Maharashtra. The Congress Party felt assured and their optimism was confirmed by the General Elections of 1962.

Though a separate State of Maharashtra was created, a slice of the southern area—Nipani, Belgaum and Karwar—was apportioned to Mysore. The Maharashtrians were disappointed. The old *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti*, from which the Jana Sangha and the Praja Socialist Party had walked out, was reconstituted as the *Sampoorna Maharashtra Samiti* (an association for the whole of Maharashtra). Through the columns of the *Maratha* (a Marathi language daily newspaper) Acharya Atre, the chief gun of the anti-Congress agitation, was pouring venom on what he called "the anti-Maharashtrian" attitude of the Maharashtra Congress Committee. But Atre was old. A new star was rising on the political horizon of Maharashtra.

Bal Thackeray, a cartoonist in the field of Marathi journalism, started a Punch-type weekly entitled the *Marmik*. His father, Keshav Sitaram Thackeray, popularly known as *Prabodhankar* Thackeray, had in the early twenties earned the reputation of a firebrand, because of his anti-Brahmin speeches and writings. Week after week Bal Thackeray appealed to the parochial feelings of the Maharashtrians. He began campaigning in a systematic manner. For a year and more he published a complete list of the executives of the leading corporations and business houses, with the names of the Maharashtrians in bold type, thus bringing to his readers' attention that there were very few, if any, Maharashtrians in the most prominent concerns. The

ist had a caption *Vacha ani swastha raha* (read and keep quiet). The satire in this caption was only too obvious. The following year, the publication of the list was continued with a new heading. It was *Vacha ani vichar kara* (read and think about it). The stupendous increase in the sales of the *Marmik* gave him an indication that he had the pulse of the people in his hand. With this support he declared in the beginning of 1966 that he would soon launch a campaign for the betterment of the Maharashtrians. He told the people that Bombay was in Maharashtra, but Maharashtra was not in Bombay. He focused the attention of the Maharashtrians on their miserable condition in the *urbis prima in Indis* (first city of India).

After the fall of the Peshwas and the taking over of the government of India by the British, the rank and file in Maharashtra remained in a backward condition. An average Maratha knew only two occupations: agriculture and warfare. His sword was no longer required to defend his country. He had either to return to the farm or to work as a menial servant. A small minority, the so-called advanced castes, learned English and occupied clerical positions under the British overlords. Trade and industry in the city of Bombay was almost entirely in the hands of the Parsees and the Gujaratis. Naturally, within a century or so Maharashtrians were pushed economically backwards. They were disconcerted over their plight. A small minority took to industry and trade to counteract their economic condition. But the attempt was so feeble that it could not solve their problems. As they had no money, they could not receive higher education, and as they did not have higher education their opportunities for employment were limited. They were thus caught in the midst of a vicious circle. Thackeray undertook the task of breaking this circle.

In the first quarter of 1966 he announced that he would begin an organization entitled

the SHIV SENA (Shiv stands for Shivaji, the popular Maratha hero who defeated the Muslims and established an independent Maratha State. His name is yet a rallying cry in Maharashtra. Sena means army. SHIV SENA means the Army of Shivaji).

He utilized the emotional appeal of Shivaji's name to incite the people to a militant parochialism. The SHIV SENA soon attracted a huge following. At the first rally of the SS on October 30, 1966, at the Shivaji Park, Bombay, about half a million people assembled to hear Thackeray. At another meeting, January 26, 1967, at the Kamgar Maidan, in the heart of the labour area of Bombay, again he attracted an audience of more than half a million people.¹ Since then the SS meetings, wherever they may be, have a large attendance.

In the meetings and through the *Marmik*, Thackeray enunciated his policy. He wanted the Maharashtrians who were scattered in different political parties to be united in a single organization, a solid phalanx. As the SS was an organisation restricted to Maharashtra only, he had no all-India problems to solve. Neither did he care for the sentiments of the people outside Maharashtra. He could, therefore, afford to take a clearcut pro-Maharashtrian stand. Because of the attitude of the Congress in the late fifties, of keeping Bombay out of Maharashtra, an average Maharashtrian was very much agitated by the injustice done to Maharashtra. Most Maharashtrians were of the opinion that their Province was treated as a Cinderella. The stepmotherly treatment given to them by Nehru's government had embittered them. They wanted to hit back but did not know how. Thackeray cashed in on these sentiments.

Thackeray's arguments may be summarized as follows: During the agitation launched by the *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti* for a separate State of Maharashtra, the Maharashtrians were united under the banner of the Samiti. For a time the political differences

were forgotten. Political parties standing at opposite poles like the Communist and the Jana Sangh came together with one common objective. Despite their knowledge of the Communist tactics in the different fronts that were organized all over the world, the non-Communists supported them for attaining a united State of Maharashtra. The State was formed, but without the inclusion of the southern Marathi-speaking territory. This was because, Thackeray argued, the party politicians sacrificed the good of Maharashtra for the solidarity of their respective parties. They cared more for the interests of their parties than for a united Maharashtra.

Thackeray looked upon the Communists as traitors. When the Chinese invaded India in 1962, the Communists described the Chinese army as the force of Liberation. Liberation, he asked, from whom and for whom? The Communists, according to Thackeray, were attached either to Moscow or to Peking, but not to India. Because of this policy, they would not allow a strong Maharashtra under the banner of anyone except the hammer and the sickle. A great battle was fought (the struggle of the people for the State of Maharashtra) and immense energy was generated, a number of martyrs sacrificed their lives; but because of party politics of the leaders, all this was in vain. Thackeray maintained that the SHIV SENA was neither interested in politics nor did he desire to be a leader. He was just a cartoonist, whose chief aim was to entertain the people on Sunday mornings with a fine readable cartoon weekly. The people liked him. They agreed with his views and started to correspond with him. In their letters they enumerated their grievances. Nearly 80 per cent of these complaints were against the South Indians, complaining about the terrorism practised by them, their kidnapping gangs and the beggar trouble in Bombay. He began to think about these complaints, he investigated the same and found that they were true to a great extent. He took the telephone directory and saw the names of the

Government and semi-Government officials. He discovered that most of them were South Indians.

He assembled a few of his friends. They discussed the whole matter, and a ghastly picture was painted. They found that the South Indians had organized a well-planned invasion of Maharashtra. They noted that there was not a single field where the South Indians were not visible. In Government offices, in private commercial corporations, in housing societies, in stores, in restaurants, in gambling dens, in bootlegging, on railway platforms, on the sidewalks, wherever one casts a glance, he sees the South Indians.

Then he and his associates pondered upon a panacea to cure these evils. A Maharashtrian was now an alien in his own land. He felt that an organization of the Maharashtrians was the only remedy. He, therefore, entreated the Maharashtrians to unite. "Let us unite", was his call to his fellow Maharashtrians. This organization was to be called the SHIV SENA. Its aim was to fight for the just rights of the Maharashtrians. Thackeray openly admitted his admiration of Hitler's nation-building ability.⁵ He pointed out to his followers that Hitler could resurrect Germany because of the monolithic structure of the Nazi Party. He was the Chief of the SS and his devotees were to give him unquestioned allegiance.

In February, 1967, the Fourth General Elections took place in India. The Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee decided to take advantage of the anti-Communist stance of the SS. Krishna Menon, whom the B.P.C.C. had refused the Congress ticket, opposed the Congress candidate from north Bombay for the Parliamentary seat. Menon was supported by the Communists and all other leftist groups. S. K. Patil, the Congress Party boss of Bombay, asked for SS help in defeating Menon. S. A. Dange (the founder of the C.P.I., one of the chief accused in the Meerut

Conspiracy Case), and Acharya Atre.⁶ Thackeray was only too glad to oblige. He formed a front to assist S. G. Barve (the Congress candidate against Krishna Menon). Patil supplied the SS with a large number of trucks to transport the SS men from place to place. They disrupted Communist meetings in a systematic manner. They obtained entrance to these meetings by carrying the Communist Party flags. Once they had obtained entrance, they burned the flags, threw them on the stage, setting it ablaze, and beat the Communists with the flag poles.

The SS hostility towards the Communists need not be explained in detail. The Communist movements are identified throughout the world as international. It is easy to interpret the international attitude of the Communists as an anti-national one. Perhaps, the SS hatred for Communists is a direct outcome of their ultra-national attitude.

Barve, being a Maharashtrian, the SS could also exploit the slogan "Maharashtra for Maharashtrians". Menon was characterized as an outsider. Both the weapons employed against Menon succeeded to a great extent and Barve was elected, but he died soon after the election. The B.P.C.C. gave a ticket for the by-election, caused by his death, to his sister, Mrs. Tarabai Sapre. Menon again stood for the by-election against Tarabai. Once again the SS attacked him with their standard weapons.⁷ Barve had been well-known in Maharashtra as an able civil servant and later on as a Minister of Finance. His sister was a perfect nonentity. Her election to the Parliament, defeating Menon, was an achievement of the SS. Of course, it may be admitted, that her relation to Barve was also a factor contributing to her success. By the middle of 1967 the SS was a power to reckon with, a position created by the B.P.C.C., if not, at least recognized by the Congress Government of Maharashtra. At an anniversary function of the *Marmik*, the weekly mouthpiece of the SS, Vasantao Naik, the Congress Chief

Minister of Maharashtra, and Vasantao Dada Patil, the President of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, were present as guests of honour.⁸ Their presence certainly added to the respectability of the SS.

By the end of 1969, the Congress Party was split into two—the ruling group and the organizational wing. Vasantao Naik and Yeshwantrao Chavan (then, the Home Minister, at present the Finance Minister of the Government of India) belong to the ruling side, while S. K. Patil is perhaps the mouthpiece of the organizational part. Mr. Wandrekar, a Municipal Councillor representing the ruling Congress Party, charged the B.P.C.C. with the creation of the SS. He further specifically accused S. K. Patil of encouraging the SS during the General Elections of 1967.⁹

Recently S. K. Patil hit back by stating that "the SS is a legitimate or illegitimate child of Chavan and V. P. Naik." He also denied that he had taken the help of the SS to defeat Menon. According to him, the SS wanted to defeat Menon. He had no business to ask the SS to stop its anti-Menon propaganda.¹⁰

These charges and counter-charges make it crystal-clear that the unprecedented popularity of the SS was to an extent due to the support given to it by the Congress.

The SS was started with a demand for more jobs for the Maharashtrians. Thackeray claimed that it was not parochial to ask for employment for Maharashtrians in Maharashtra. He ridiculed platitudes such as "man does not live by bread alone..." It may be true, he argued, but it is also true that a man cannot live without bread. The SS wanted economic stability for the Maharashtrians so that they could contribute to the well-being of their community. This demand caught hold of the so-called lower economic classes and they flocked to the SS banner. Thus the unemployment amongst Maharashtrians in Bombay gave an opportunity to the SS to

champion their cause. A movement like this which asks for more jobs for the sons of the soil has a strong appeal for the people who are desperate and have nothing to lose by joining it if money was forthcoming from any source.

In the selection of the party flag Thackeray showed his imagination and played upon the sentiments of the people. The *Bhagava Zenda* (*Bhagava* is a red orange colour; it denotes renunciation, and *Zenda* means flag. This was the flag of Shivaji) was adopted as the flag of the SHIV SENA. Every Maharashtrian has deep respect for the flag of Shivaji. To an extent this esteem has been transferred to the SS flag.

By the middle of 1967, Thackeray espoused the popular cause and reiterated the demand for Belgaum and Karwar for Maharashtra. The separation of these areas from Maharashtra was a sore point with the people. They were very glad to find the SS championing their cause. Thackeray was now a hero in the eyes of the people. The SS chief gave a warning to the Government of India that unless Belgaum and Karwar were immediately annexed to Maharashtra, the SS would carry on a whirlwind campaign. This demand was its main plank when it emerged as a political party in the Municipal elections in 1968.

The SS fought the elections to the Thana (a part of northern Bombay Parliamentary seat from which Menon was defeated) Municipal Council in its first attempt to capture political power. It succeeded by winning 55 per cent of the total number of seats. Within a couple of months, in March 1968, elections were held to the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The SS chief declared that the SS flag would be hoisted on the corporation after the elections.

The gigantic organization and the well-planned propaganda of the SS in the elections showed that it must have had a sound financial backing. Now who could be the sponsors of

the SS? Yeshwantrao Chavan, the Union Home Minister, admitted in Parliament that the SS was backed by Big Business.¹¹ During the controversy about the inclusion of the city of Bombay in Maharashtra, Big Business had strongly opposed it and had incited the non-Maharashtrians against the *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti*. These very bankers and financiers now supported the SS which was vehement in its insistence upon getting Belgaum and Karwar for Maharashtra. This was neither a volteface nor a newly born love for Maharashtra. The capitalistic society was quite logical. The SHIV SENA was vehemently anti-Communist. It was attempting to separate the Maharashtrian working class from the general trade union movement in Bombay. If they had succeeded, the working class movement would be weakened beyond repair. This is exactly what the corporate structure desired. This explained the vast expenditure incurred by the SS in the Bombay Municipal Elections.

It is pertinent to note at this stage the change in the direction of the attack made by the Maharashtrians. During the early days of the *Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti* the Maharashtrians were insisting on the inclusion of the city of Bombay in Maharashtra. The Gujarati Community which had invested millions in Bombay was adamant in its opposition to the demand. The clash led to the creation of anti-Gujarati sentiments among the Maharashtrians. After the attainment of the State of Maharashtra with the city of Bombay as its capital, this sentiment was very much softened. The Maharashtrians soon realized that it would be suicidal to alienate a business community like the Gujaratis. To drive out the Gujaratis from Bombay would mean the exit of the Gujarati capital from Bombay, which would have meant a serious loss to the economy of an infant State. A matter-of-fact person, such as the Chief of the SS, selected the South Indians as his target. The Maharashtrians not being capitalists, were not the rivals of the Gujaratis. But the South Indians were depriving the Maharashtrians of the jobs

which a middle class Maharashtrian wished to have for himself. Hence the direction of the attack changed from the Gujaratis to the South Indians.

In the Bombay Corporation Elections of 1968 out of a total of one hundred and forty seats, the Congress, which emerged as the strongest individual party, captured sixty-seven seats but polled only 29 per cent of the votes cast. The SS in its debut won forty seats but secured 31 per cent of the votes. The *Sampoorna Maharashtra Samiti*, which was established for the inclusion of Belgaum and Karwar in Maharashtra, made a very poor showing. It gained only five seats, polling 12 per cent of the votes.¹² The complete debacle of the *Samiti* could be easily explained. By championing the cause of Belgaum and Karwar by the SS the wind was taken out of the sails of the *Samiti*. Again, the *Samiti* being a conglomeration of the leftist parties, who had all-India status, could not take as acute a pro-Maharashtrian stand as the SS could. Moreover, because of the leftist leanings of the *Samiti* the SS could condemn it as a fellow-traveller of the Communists.

One noticeable factor in the splendid victory of the SS stands out prominently. While the *Samiti* leaders' average age was sixty, the SS leaders' age averaged between thirty and forty.

The SS leadership come from the ranks. The chief is a cartoonist and editor of a Marathi weekly. Its leader in the Bombay Municipal Corporation runs a coaching class for preparing the students for the lower examinations of the University of Bombay. Most of the SS members in the Bombay Municipal Corporations are not able to understand the agenda in English. Even the agenda in Marathi—the regional language of Maharashtra—has to be explained to them by the leaders. Most of the leaders from the different areas come from the frustrated youth in the localities.

Since the days of the Mughals, the Maha-

rashtrians have a sort of persecution complex. The frustration which has resulted in the emergence of the associations like the SS cannot be dismissed as a mere passing phase. It is, however, too early to say whether the SS could reach the higher level of Maharashtrian nationalism.

Elated by their successes in Thana and Bombay the SS fought the Poona (about 120 miles to the southeast of Bombay) and Nasik (about 120 miles to the northeast of Bombay) Municipal elections. In Poona it could win only one seat. At Nasik the SS contested seven seats and lost all. All the seven candidates forfeited their deposit.¹³ The SS victory in Thana and Bombay and the routing in Poona and Nasik is understandable. In Bombay the Maharashtrians belong to the exploited class while the exploiters are the non-Maharashtrians, hence a call of "Maharashtra in danger" could be given and received. In Poona and Nasik the Maharashtrians are both the exploiters and the exploited; therefore, the rallying cry was ineffective.

The failure in Poona and Nasik rather than damping hardened the spirit of the Shiv *Sainiks* (soldiers). They now took a more militant attitude. The hawkers in Bombay belong predominantly to the non-Maharashtrian class. The SS organized a mammoth procession to demonstrate against them. At a number of places there was a clash between the demonstrators and the hawkers which resulted in arson and looting. The police failed to provide protection to the hawkers and spectators. When the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (a party in Madras which won a large majority of seats in the 1967 General Elections with a regional platform of Madras for the Tamilians) youths in Madras halted the showing of Hindi films in Madras, Thackeray retaliated by stopping all the films produced in Madras, from being shown in Bombay. The film exhibitors at once ran to Thackeray and apologised to him. He allowed the films to be shown on a condition that the proprietors

should display a banner in their picture houses that the films were shown with the "permission of the Shiv Sena".¹⁴

The Government of Maharashtra was a silent observer. It was evident both to the public at large and to the SS men that Thackeray had the power to translate his words into action. Dilip Kumar, the idol of the moviegoers, was reported to have made a remark against Maharashtra in Madras. Thackeray at once declared a ban on every film in which he had acted. The great idol flew to Bombay and immediately went to the house of the SS Chief to explain his conduct. On receiving his submission, the Chief was 'kind enough' to raise the ban.

The attitude of the theatre owners certainly displays a sense of fear and panic. They were charged with cowardice by a few people, but that was wrong. Evidently they were not prepared to enter into political wranglings and lose their daily income. The Opposition parties in the Maharashtra Legislature severely criticised the Government for its inability to protect the theatre proprietors. The fact was that the theatre owners did not want the Government to intervene and make it a political issue. They found it convenient to settle the issue with the SS Chief directly. The episode, however, reveals the nadir reached by the Congress Government's prestige in Bombay.

In the beginning of 1969, the SS Chief issued an ultimatum to the Central Government. It was told that no Central Minister would be allowed to enter Bombay till Belgaum and Karwar were annexed to Maharashtra. On February 8, 1969, Morarji Desai, the then Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, visited Bombay. The SS decided to resist his entry right from the moment his plane landed in Bombay. They tried to confront his car. In the melee that ensued two SS men were injured. This was a signal for a general uprising in Bombay. For two days a serious riot engulfed the city. The cry of *Maharashtra*

for the Maharashtrians echoed throughout the city. The *goondas* (anti-social elements) took advantage and a large number of stores were looted. The police had to open fire, in which a few persons were killed and a large number were injured. The situation could be controlled only after the SS Chief and two of his associates were arrested and detained.¹⁵

Such episodes substantiate the charges hurled by the Congress critics that the Bombay and Maharashtra Congress sympathized with the SS activities for diverse reasons. The B.P.C.C. backed the SS for its anti-Communist stand while the M.P.C.C. supported its demand for Belgaum and Karwar. Whatever the reasons may be, it is crystal-clear that the Government of Maharashtra was unwilling or unable to take a more definite stand against the SHIV SENA. After the February riots Yeshwantrao Chavan, the then Union Home Minister and the uncrowned king of Maharashtra, denounced in Parliament the SHIV SENA as a fascist organization.¹⁶ The Maharashtra Government detained Thackeray and two of his colleagues in jail for over two months. Yet, it is evident that the Congress Government had a warm spot for the SS for its anti-left attitude. The Chief Minister of Bombay openly declared in the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly that he would not fight the opposition's battle with the SHIV SENA.¹⁷ Jubilant over the support that they received from the rank and file and the luke-warm attitude of the Maharashtra Government, the SS is continually gaining ground. The SS Chief announced that he would not permit the Communists to hold a meeting in Bombay.¹⁸ He gave a call for Bombay *bandh* (closed) on March 3, 1970, to express the indignation of the Maharashtrians against the unsettled border dispute. The *bandh* was a complete success, not only in Bombay but also in a number of other cities in Maharashtra. The Muslim area in Bombay, which was never closed even during the *hartals* (moratorium) in the heydays of the Independence Movement, were completely closed on March 3.

Thackeray was so pleased by his success that he said, "This has once again shown how fearlessly and unitedly Maharashtra rises in revolt against injustice." In a patronizing attitude he called off the *bandh* at 8 p.m., four hours before the scheduled time and permitted the stores to reopen and the buses to run. During that day a few taxis were allowed to ply to carry the sick to the hospital and the women, children and old men from the railway stations to the city. The taxis could, however, move with a permit from the SS office and not the Government of Maharashtra.¹⁹ What does this show? Who is ruling Maharashtra? The answer is obvious.

The SS was established on June 19, 1966.²⁰ Within less than six months, it could muster such a large following that it could stage a spectacular rally at the Shivaji Park, Bombay. The SS does not have a constitution. During the election to the Bombay Municipal Corporation in March, 1968, it gave a fine display of a well-knit organization. The monolithic structure of its command had at its disposal a vast man-power and almost unlimited funds. Wherefrom the funds came? What was the amount? No one knows, except, of course, the Chief and his close associates.

How do we account for this incomparable onward march? This type of momentum for movement was seen when Tilak started his Home Rule League or when Gandhi launched the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920 and the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. Of course, the response to the Quit India call was extraordinary. But the campaigns of the Lokamanya and the Mahatma were aimed against an alien power that was keeping India in subjection much against the expressed wishes of the Indians. Could we compare them with what is being done by the SS in Maharashtra today? Does it mean that the feelings of the Maharashtrians against the South Indians are as strong as were the emotions of the Indians against the foreign rulers? If so, is it not a very dangerous sign

of the shape of things to come?

It is true that in the early days of the SS it was used by the Congress to win the elections. It is also true that the Congress found in it a handy tool to strike at the *Sampoorna Maharashtra Samiti* which had grown as the principal challenger to the Congress. The Congress also found in it an ally to beat the left forces in Maharashtra. The leaders of the Congress-dominated Indian National Trade Union Congress, a few top men of the Swatantra Party from Bombay and even the Congress for Cultural Freedom have expressed their sympathy for the cause espoused by the SS.²¹ But what can we gain by apportioning the blame? The issue is there and it has to be faced squarely and boldly. The task must be looked upon as most urgent and very important. If grass is allowed to grow under our feet it might be too late.

Already the SS Chief is using more and more assertive language. At a recent meeting of the *Chitrapat Shakha* (movie branch) of the SS he told the Marathi movie producers, "tell me when you have a movie ready and a theatre is not available. I will get you the theatre. I will not tell you how."²²

The Shiva Sena has now enlarged its circle of activity. Now the Muslims in Maharashtra are told that if they wish to live in Maharashtra, they must live as loyal citizens; if not, they should quit. In the first week of March, 1970, the SS men attacked Muslim localities in Thana, Bhiwandi, Mahad and Ratnagiri (all these areas are within a radius of a hundred miles from Bombay). In the Maharashtra Assembly the leader of the Opposition charged that the police did not give protection to the victims. He was quite specific when he said that the Government of Maharashtra was conniving at the SS activities.²³

Quite a few persons have now understood the evil effects of the linguistic re-distribution of India, but the door to go back is closed. It

is very difficult, if not impossible, for any person to make a case for re-drawing the map of India. No political party dare to accept this platform, for the one who takes it will be banished by the people from politics. Imitation has been looked upon as the best form of flattery. If so, the SS has cause to be proud, for it was followed by the Gopal Sena in Kerala, Lachit Sena in Assam, Kannad Sena in Mysore, Akal Sena in the Punjab, Subhas Sena in West Bengal and the Tamil Army in Madras. These are all regional chauvinistic organizations. In addition there are the Hindu Sena, the Muslim Sena, the Christian Sena and the Bhim (named after Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the great leader of the untouchables) Sena founded to serve the sectarian interests.

During the General Elections of 1972, a large number of young SS men contested the Assembly seats from Girgaum (a predominantly Maharashtrian locality) in south Bombay. It would be very wrong from this result to run to the conclusion that the SS has lost its influence. The 1972 General Elections were held within three months of the spectacular Indian victory over Pakistan. A grateful nation gave credit for the success of the Indian arms to the leadership of Indira Gandhi and her ruling Congress Party. The Congress crashed in this sense of gratitude on the election day and swept the polls.

There is no reason to believe that the nation will continue to be in the same mood for a long time. With the worsening economic condition the people in Maharashtra may look elsewhere for a haven. Such are the times which are generally exploited by the chauvinistic group. Nationalism may give way to parochialism. Once again we may come from "India for the Indians" to "Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians." Very recently in a labour conflict in the Godrej Factory in Bombay, the SS exhibited its power and proved that it is far from being in a dormant stage.²⁴

What then is the remedy? The Communists

in their usual manner of oversimplification have diagnosed the disease as the handiwork of the Tatas and Birlas and, of course, the American Consulate in Bombay.²⁵ They have a "red" cure also. Let me quote S. G. Sardesai, the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the C.P.I.: "Our Party and the SSP represent the main militant working-class movement in Bombay. Let us close our ranks to fight for the economic demands of the workers and defend their multilingual unity and we can unleash a force in the city that will give a new hope and confidence to the Marathi youth in the city, inspire his faith in the multilingual unity of the toilers and make him realise that not one of his problems is to be solved by pitting himself against his southern brother."²⁶

A reasoning like this is not only wrong, but also very much self-deceptive. It may be that the SS in its early stage received support from the frustrated and unemployed Marathi youth in Bombay, but the magnitude of its influence today is not based on only their support. The middle-class Maharashtrian is the real backbone of the SS. Even those who are well-placed in life, who are holding high positions in the public and/or private sector, are the admirers of the SS.

Perhaps the cause of it may be more deep-rooted than what a casual observer can trace. We may have to find it in the annals of history. Since Shivaji (1630-1680) till the death of Tilak (1920) Maharashtra was in the forefront of every political activity in India. During the nineteenth century, side by side with Bengal, Maharashtra took a leading part in the social reform movement. After the passing away of Tilak and the advent of Gandhiji, Maharashtra lost its leadership in the Indian political arena. The strong criticism of Gandhiji and his ideals by some of the Maharashtrians may be traced to their hurt ego.

The linguistic re-distribution of the States left them still more embittered. The refusal of New Delhi to recognise their right to Bom-

bay added fuel to the fire. A section believed, rightly or wrongly, that the Central Government treated Maharashtra in a stepmotherly manner. A movement like the SS could easily grow out of this sense of frustration. The

only solution, therefore, is for the leaders to ease the tension and create a sense of confidence. Will they or can they do it? Time alone will answer this question.

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THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA

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The north-east frontier of India is the home of a number of hill tribes. In view of the great importance of this frontier today, it is worthwhile to have an idea of what the tribal society was like during the days of British administration. Considering the slow pace of change in a tribal society, we may reasonably assume that the picture which emerges in the present article is not entirely without relevance today. Although at places we are compelled to supplement our information from a few works published after 1947, our data are mainly derived from the accounts left by British officers. Most of them were not trained anthropologists. Consequently, their accounts often suffer from both inadequacy and inaccuracy. But in spite of such defects, these are indispensable for our purpose and a judicious use of these accounts gives us a broad idea of the tribal society in the pre-1947 days. It should, however, be noted here that research in this field even after 1947 has left much to be desired.

The main tribal groups dealt with here are the Monpas, Akas, Daflas, Apa Tanis, Abors, Gallongs and Mishmis. We do not know how far these tribal divisions are found to be objective today. But in the past they were known to have lived in some given areas on the frontier and as yet we have not been told of any major tribal divisions that cut across these rough geographical divisions. Moreover, there do not seem to have been marriage relations between these major tribal groups, or if they at all existed they must have been very limited.

Although these tribes were different from each other in many respects, they had some broad affinities. Generally speaking they had a Mongoloid origin. Most of them have stories of migration from outside to their present homeland. Almost all the tribes were divided into clans. Clan exogamy and tribal endogamy were the usual practices of the day. There were class divisions in some tribes which were sometimes rigid, especially when the slaves were concerned. Excepting the Monpas of Tawang, their religion was animistic. The Monpas were more or less Buddhists of the Tibetan variety. With a few exceptions, these tribes practised shifting cultivation of the slash-and-burn type called *jhum*. And the political system which they had was, except in Tawang, hardly more than mere village organization. Though village headmen are known to have existed, the authority of a chief seems to have varied from tribe to tribe and possibly largely depended on the personality and wealth of the chief.

The Monpas—the westernmost tribe—lived in Tawang, an area of about 2,000 sq. miles. Tawang is wedged in between Bhutan in the west and the country of the Akas in the east. To the south it is skirted by the Assam plains, while in the north it is separated from Tibet by the Himalayan range. The upper section of Tawang lies north of the Se La range—so called after its most important pass. Conditions in Tawang varied in important respects, north and south of the range.

It is not clearly known whether the Monpas

north of the Se La range formed one or more groups. But south of the range several groups have been mentioned. J. P. Mills, Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas and States, who visited the area in 1945, refers to the following groups living south of the Se La : the Sherdukpens of Rupa and Shergaon, the Northern Monpas of Dirang Dzong in the Dirang Chu Valley, the Southern Monpas of Kalaktang in the south, and the Eastern Monpas of But, Rahung, Kudam and Khona.¹ These names were, however, rarely used during the period under study. One rather comes across repeatedly the names of three groups of Bhutias living in this area. They were the Charduar Bhutias, Thebengia Bhutias and Kuriapara Duar Bhutias. But no group bearing any of these names is known to exist today. These seem to have been misnomers by which groups of Monpas had been known to the Assamese in the plains and were later used by the British also.

The Sherdukpens are the only group in the whole of Tawang about whose life and society some detailed information is available. Their principal villages were Senthui and Thongthui, commonly known in the plains as Shergaon and Rupa respectively. The Thongs and Chhaos were the two main classes of the Sherdukpen society. According to a Sherdukpen tradition, the Thongs—the higher class—were the descendants of a common ancestor, Japtang Bura, who had come from the north with a large retinue of porters and servants. The Chhaos—the lower class—were the descendants of the porters and servants. These two classes were exogamous and each class was divided into a number of exogamous clans. There were close relations between the two classes and there were no restrictions on inter-dining between them. There does not seem to have been any difference in their ways of life, nor was there any demarcation of areas for the classes within the village.²

The administration which prevailed in Tawang was certainly something more than

mere village or tribal organization as was to be found among the tribes living further east. But Tawang administration was not uniform everywhere in the area, particularly south of the Se La range. North of the range it was carried out by a council of six called the *Trukdri*. Although four members of this council represented the famous Tawang monastery, the two remaining members were two representatives of Tsona Dzong, which was a centre of Tibetan administration, north of what is today called the McMahon Line. The presence of the latter on the council suggests a degree of influence of Tsona Dzong in the administration; but there can be no doubt that the administration was dominated by the Tawang monastery. Pandit Nain Singh—an intrepid Indian explorer in the employ of the Survey of India—who travelled in 1874-75 from Ladakh to Assam through Tibet and Tawang, believed that the Tawang monastery was independent of both Tsona Dzong and Lhasa. South of the Se La the Tawang monastery used to send monk representatives to Dirang Dzong in the Dirang Chu Valley and Taklung Dzong near Kalaktang; they looked after the interests of the Tawang monastery in these areas.³

We do not know what was the character of village organization in Tawang. The only thing that we know is that the villages were probably loosely governed by headmen called the *jouri*, subordinate to the higher authorities. In the Sherdukpen area Rupa and Shergaon seem to have been ruled by a council of seven headmen who, in early times, were called the *Sath Rajas*. Every villager could attend the council and in village affairs each man had a vote.⁴

East of the Monpas live the Akas who call themselves Hrusso. The name Aka, given to them by the plains people, meant 'painted' in Assamese and seems to have been used because of their custom of painting the face with a mixture of pine-resin and charcoal. The Akas are said to believe that in early times they

lived in the plains from where they were driven out by Krishna and Balaram.⁵ The two main clans of the Akas, the Kutsun and Kovatsun, have been known in the plains for a long time as the Hazarikhoas and Kapaschors respectively.⁶ The Akas practised clan exogamy and tribal endogamy. The slaves of the Akas, called the *Khulo*, were not integrated in society. They formed a separate class outside it. Even the remote descendants of a slave could hardly hope to get rid of the stigma of slavery.⁷

Since early times the Akas had a chief for at least each of the two main clans—the Kutsun and Kovatsun. This chief was called *Raja*. Village affairs were settled in open council and matters concerning the whole tribe were settled by a council consisting probably of the representatives of different villages. Every free man had the right of speech and lots were cast in cases of doubt.⁸ It is not clear to us what was the relation between the Raja and the village council. Perhaps he influenced the council decisions to a considerable extent.

East of the Akas live the Daflas who call themselves Bangni—a word which simply means 'man'.⁹ They live mainly in the valleys of a number of rivers and tributaries which finally flow into the Subansiri. The Daflas have for a long time been in a state of flux which has led to frequent migrations from one to another area, particularly to a north to south movement. The causes of these migrations are not yet known.¹⁰

The Daflas were divided into three groups of clans who were considered to be the descendants of a common legendary ancestor. Each group was subdivided into phratries and exogamous clans.¹¹ Though tribal genealogy, language, religion and material culture suggested that the Daflas were a homogeneous people, a closer examination revealed that they were the product of a fusion of at least two different ethnic groups. The majority of the Daflas were marked by Palaeo-Mongoloid

features—a round, flat face with a broad, snub nose, high cheek bones, eyes lying in flat sockets, comparatively short, stocky stature, and a yellow-brownish skin complexion. Very different from this type, though fewer in number, were those who had an oblong face, a prominent, often hooked nose, deep-set eyes, comparatively high stature and ruddy complexion. The first type was found mostly among the Daflas of lower social status while the second among the leading families. The Dafla society was divided in early times into two classes—the higher class called the *Gute* and the lower, the *Guchi*. But this class division was largely blurred afterwards. Such was the flexibility of the Dafla society that children of slaves, by virtue of talent and initiative, could in time acquire wealth and become free men of good social status. A hereditary slave class was unknown in the Dafla society.¹² This flexibility was probably largely due to the frequent migrations among the Daflas which tended to obscure an individual's humble social origin.

There was no tribal organization worth the name among the Daflas. No village headman or tribal elders exercised authority over the entire village. A Dafla village was not a social or political unit. The real unit was the household comprising several families living together. Feuds took place not between one village and another but between one household and another. Even members of the same clan did not necessarily always act together. Feuds between clan members were not unusual.¹³

Unique in many respects among the tribes of this frontier were the Apa Tanis who, almost surrounded by the Daflas, lived in a single valley of about twenty square miles drained by a small river called the Kele. The people depended on a meticulous system of irrigation and exploitation of all the available arable land, the like of which did not exist anywhere in the neighbourhood. In spite of being surrounded by the Daflas, the Apa Tanis' ways of life and their awareness of a

basic distinction with their neighbours set them apart from the Daflas. In sharp contrast with the Dafla villages where the population was in continuous flux and where a Dafla might at any moment sever his connection with the village of his birth and migrate elsewhere, the Apa Tani villages presented a picture of singular stability. The Apa Tanis believed that their ancestors had migrated to the valley many generations ago, and their descendants had been living there since then.¹⁴

Ethnically the Apa Tanis were akin to the Daflas. The same fusion of two different ethnic groups was noticeable among them as was found among the Daflas, with this difference that the non-Palaeo-Mongoloid type was more frequent among the Apa Tanis than among the Daflas. This ethnic distinction was reflected in the horizontal division of the Apa Tani society into two classes—the *mite* or the higher and the *mura* or the lower class. The Palaeo-Mongoloid type was predominant in the *mura* class, and the other type in the *mite* class. This class distinction was rigid and neither wealth, nor prowess, nor wisdom could alter it. The two classes were exogamous. The Apa Tanis believed that originally all the *mura* were slaves of the *mite*.¹⁵

An Apa Tani village consisted of a number of clans and a clan was a very real social unit, the members of which acted in a complete solidarity. The village was thus not a compact unit, though it was far more close-knit than a Dafla village which was just a loose collection of households. Although the Apa Tani village lacked a centralized authority, the village affairs were conducted in an informal manner by a council of clan representatives or *buliang*. The *buliang* were not village headmen vested with any supreme authority. Their duty was to uphold the tribal law by arbitrating in matters of public interest according to the customs of the tribe, but their verdict was not binding. However, the Apa Tanis did not allow any dispute to go too far and cause wide-spread violence. Having lived together in a small

area for generations and evolved a prosperous and stable life in sharp contrast with that of their neighbours, the Apa Tanis knew too well the value of peaceful coexistence.¹⁶

East of the Daflas lived the Abors who nowadays prefer to call themselves Adis. Of the various interpretations of the origin of the name Abor, the most likely one is that it was originally an Assamese word which meant unruly, hostile, independent or savage. Broadly speaking, the Abor country is bounded by the Subansiri on the west, the Dibang on the east, the Himalayan range on the north and the Assam plains on the south. Almost through the middle of the Abor country runs the Dihang which is called the Tsangpo in Tibet.

The Abors were divided into different groups, such as, Padam, Minyong, Pangi, Shimong and others. Each group was again subdivided into clans and sub-clans. The clans and sub-clans were exogamous. The Abor society did not allow any marital or sexual relation between a free member of the society and a slave or *mipak*. But if such a relation was proved, the society could recognize it as a marriage by downgrading the free partner to the status of a *mipak*. Dunbar held that the rule once a slave always a slave had very few exceptions among the Abors.¹⁷

Neither the clan nor the tribe but the village was the only political unit among the Abors. The village affairs were conducted by the village council called the *kebang*. The members were chosen on their personal merits. Some of them were *gams* (headmen) who represented particular clans, while others did not represent any clans but were selected for their influence and debating powers. Usually each clan had one *gam* of its own, but cases of clans having more than one or none were not uncommon. Though the *kebang* managed all matters of common interest, Dunbar points out that it was only the voice of the leading *gam* which carried real weight in the community.¹⁸

Early writers on the Abor country hardly

drew any distinction between the Abors and the Gallongs. Even as late as 1960 Sachin Roy, in his excellent work on the Abors, mentioned the Gallongs as one of the Abor groups. But in 1915 Dunbar clearly distinguished the Gallongs from the Abors. The recent monograph of L. R. N. Srivastava is the first attempt to give us a comprehensive idea of the different aspects of the Gallongs as a separate tribe. The Gallong area is roughly bordered by the Abors in the east, the Daflas in the west, the Abors in the north and the Assam plains in the south. The Siyom is the biggest river in the Gallong area.¹⁹ The village council was the highest organization in a Gallong village to which all cases of common interest were referred. The council's decision was binding on the parties concerned.²⁰

To the east of the Abors lived the Mishmis of the Dibang and Lohit regions. They were divided into three broad groups: the Idus (of whom the Bebejiyas of the Ithun Valley were regarded as a sub-group) of the Dibang Valley, and the Taraons or Taroans (also called the Tains) and the Kamans of the Lohit Valley. They were called by the plainsmen Chulikatas, Digarus and Mijus, respectively. Since the Dibang and the Lohit are geographically two distinct areas, we shall study the tribes of these areas separately.

The Dibang basin lying east of the Dihang is the homeland of the Idus. The principal rivers here are the Dibang (or Tallan as the Idus call it), its tributaries and the Sisseri. The Idus have legends of migration which suggest that they came to their present habitat from the north.²¹ But Mills is of the opinion that they migrated from Burma.²² The Idus were divided into a number of exogamous clans. They did not have social classes based on birth, wealth or occupation. There was, however, a social difference between a free man and a slave and intermarriage was forbidden between the two.²³ The Idus had practically no tribal organization worth the name. The co-operative spirit of the Abors or Apa Tanis was absent

among them.

The Lohit Valley lying south-east of the Dibang is the homeland of the Digarus and Mijus. The main river of the valley is the Lohit, and its principal tributaries are the Tidding, Delei and Dou. The Mijus live on the upper reaches of the Lohit and the Digarus live to the west of them on the lower reaches. According to Mills, most of the Mijus claimed to have come from the Kachin country. He also thinks that the Idus represent an early wave of migration from Burma and that the Digarus—the first Mishmi immigrants in the Lohit Valley—broke away from the Idus about five hundred years ago and migrated to the Lohit basin. The Mijus entered the Lohit Valley after the Digarus. To substantiate his view Mills points out that the Digaru language is almost identical with that of the Idus, while the Miju language is different from the Digaru. But the Mijus and Digarus are not different in appearance, have the same habits and customs, and share a common culture which differs considerably from that of the Idus. Also the division between them is not sharp. Intermarriage between the two groups is common.²⁴

Mills believes that there were people of a reasonably large number in the Lohit Valley even before the arrival of the Mishmis. He calls them 'aboriginals' to distinguish them from the Mishmi immigrants. On the arrival of the Mishmis there was an ethnic and cultural fusion of the two groups.²⁵

The Mishmis of the Lohit, like the Idus, had hardly any village organization, and in this respect the Mishmis did not seem to be different from the Daflas, with whom, as we have seen, the household rather than the village was the true unit of the society. The Mishmi village was only a loose collection of houses without village chiefs. However, men of wealth and personality tended naturally to acquire influence in the community. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century one comes across names of such chiefs as Mazanon,

Dagresson and Tungnu.

It now remains for us to examine a question of vital importance. It is about the ethnic origin of the tribes. We have seen that the people of this frontier themselves have legends of migration to their present homeland. The question, therefore, arises about the location of their earlier home. As we have seen, some of the traditions of migration, current among the hillmen, seem to indicate that they came from the north across the Himalaya. But on the basis of these legends it is hard to build a uniform theory of migration from the north, across the Himalaya, since these legends do not always point to migrations from Tibet. For instance, the Akas claim migration from the plains, the Lohit Mishmis from Burma, and in the case of many Dafla clans it is not clear to us from available information whether they trace their origin to or across the Himalaya. However, an objective study of the problem can hardly rely on the tribal legends alone. A scientific approach in this respect should take into account evidence of cultural and other affinities between these people on the one hand and the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions on the other, from where they may reasonably be assumed to have migrated. We shall first take up the Monpas of Tawang separately. Next we shall deal with the other tribes as a whole.

The problem of the ethnic origin of the Monpas has been complicated by the predominance of Tibetan influence on their life. This fact has tended to obscure that, strictly speaking, they were Bhutanese and not Tibetan in origin. In 1875 Nain Singh was the first man to bring reliable and first-hand information about Tawang. He found that the Monpas resembled the Bhutanese and differed from the Tibetans in language, dress, manners and appearance. When in 1913 Captain F. M. Bailey, of the Political Department under the Government of India, visited Tawang on his way back to India after his travels in Tibet, he found that in customs, language, dress and method of

building, the Monpas resembled more the people of Bhutan and Sikkim than those of Tibet. He found the Monpas inhabiting even the upper part of the Nyamjang Valley, north of what is now the McMahon Line. The findings of both Nain Singh and Bailey about the similarities between the Monpas and the Bhutanese were confirmed many years later in the military report on Assam, published in 1931. It says, "Their [i.e., the Monpas'] language, houses, bridges, etc., are Bhutanese in type; they may therefore have a common origin with the eastern Bhutanese".²⁶

Besides the similarities between the Monpas and the Bhutanese, indicating a possible Bhutanese origin of the former, the Monpas in some areas of Tawang seem to have tribal blood in them. In their facial appearance "there are distinct traces of the admixture of, if not of descent from, a primitive eastern Himalayan hill tribe". Cultural evidence also points to the same fact. The Sherdukpens and Eastern Monpas were found to speak the same language. Although the Sherdukpens were Buddhists like the Tibetans and the Eastern Monpas, like the other tribes to the east, animists, Mills believed that originally the former also were animists and the two decidedly belonged to the same stock.²⁷ Tibetan influence, lacking in the life of the Eastern Monpas but pervasive in that of the Sherdukpens, thus seems to have been superimposed along with Buddhism on the native culture of the Monpas who were non-Tibetan in origin. Therefore the present Tibetan influence in Monpa life cannot by itself be an unquestionable evidence of the Monpas' supposed Tibetan origin. It is highly likely that the Monpas—an originally non-Tibetan people—were exposed to Tibetan influence from the north which seems to have grown weaker as it travelled south and east of the Se La. This influence may well have first originated with the Tibetan traders who passed through Tawang on their visits to the Assam plains every winter.

The tribesmen east of the Monpas, in spite of their mutual differences, belong to one broad

culture pattern which has far greater affinity with that of the hillmen living south of the Brahmaputra than with that of the Tibetans. The Himalaya seems to form a cultural divide. The differences between the two cultures on either side of the Himalaya are all too obvious. To the north of the Himalaya Tibetans live in houses built of stone and wood, dress in elaborate woollen clothes covering the entire body and wear felt hats and boots. To the south the tribesmen live in bamboo huts and their dress consists of short jackets with loin cloth for men and skirt for women, leaving the thighs, legs and feet bare. While permanent religious structures are a rarity in the south, they abound plentifully in the north in the shape of Buddhist monasteries, *manes*, *chor-tens* and *kakalings*. In the south the priests are not distinguished from the laity. In the north they are the most privileged class and are conspicuous in their red or yellow robes. The Tibetans are Buddhists while the tribesmen in the south are animists. Tibetan craftsmen excel in the manufacture of wooden articles. The tribesmen in the south are possessed of great skill in cane and bamboo work. In all these important aspects in which the tribesmen differ from the Tibetans, they resemble closely the people of the trans-Brah-

maputra hills. We may therefore reasonably assume that the Brahmaputra was never in early times a culture-barrier; tribesmen could freely move from the one to the other side of the river in what may be termed a continuous tribal world stretching across the river and the plains. And it was only subsequently that this continuity was broken. The reason for this change may well have been the establishment of organized States in the valley which broke the continuous tribal world into two. What then is the value of the tribal legends of migration from the north? Perhaps we can best answer this question as Furer Haimendorf has done in the case of the Apa Tanis. Dismissing the suggestion of the Apa Tanis' Tibetan origin and pointing out their close affinities with the trans-Brahmaputra Nagas, he says, "these memories [i.e., Apa Tani legends of migration from the north] can only relate to the last stages of a population movement which may well have changed its course more than once". The Tibetan attitude towards these tribesmen also suggests that they were not of the Tibetan stock. Bailey says that the common Tibetan name for these tribesmen is Lopa. And according to him, "The term Lopa meant to the Tibetans what barbarian meant to the Greeks".²⁸

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JAINA METAL IMAGES

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The Jaina metal images form an important branch of Indian sculptural art. They are very important from the religious and artistic points of view. They are of many varieties. The inscriptions, wherever found, help us in dating the images and tracing the stages which metal-art underwent in different periods. Sometimes they furnish us important information about the donors. The small size of many of them may lead us to think that they were meant for being carried in processions on some auspicious days so that the people, who could not or did not visit temples, might have an opportunity of beholding the sacred images, and of, thus, attaining religious merit. Indirectly, this process also helped in attracting the mob towards Jainism. It is also worth noting that the images of Rishabhanatha and Parshvanatha form the major part of the totality.

Early Images :

From Samayasundra it is learnt that the Maurya king Samprati installed golden images of Padmaprabha and Parshvanatha in the Jaina temple of Ghanaghani.¹ But, the time of Samayasundra is the seventeenth century, and hence our hesitation in accepting his view. Besides, some scholars are of the opinion that one bronze of Parshvanatha, standing in the Kayotasarga pose (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) belongs to about 100 B.C. or so.² But, its exact date is still disputable and, therefore, it is better to dispense with it here. A few Jaina metal images,³ found

from Chausa (Bihar), and now preserved in the Patna Museum, are said to be of the Kushana period, but their case is also controvertible.

Images of the Gupta Period (c. 4th A.D.-c. 7th A.D.) :

The earliest known Jaina metal image⁴ of the Gupta period is found from Akota (Gujarat). It is a standing image of Rishabhanatha; its head offers an excellent study of a Yogi in the *dhyana-mudra* (meditative posture), with eyes half-closed. It seems to have been inspired by the Sultanganj Buddha. The same site has yielded some more images. Amongst them the images⁵ of Jivantaswami and Sarasvati (both in the Baroda Museum) are important from iconographical point of view. Yaksha and Ambika⁶ appearing on a bronze of Rishabhanatha are specially noteworthy.

Five bronzes (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) have been found from Valabhi.⁷ They are all standing and beautiful to look at. One of them has a halo. The standing image of Rishabhanatha from Vasantagarh (Rajasthan) is, perhaps, the first dated specimen (*samvat* 744, A.D. 687).⁸ A few more bronzes⁹ are reported to have been found from the same site. Mahudi (Gujarat) has yielded one large and two small images.¹⁰ Stylistically, they seem to have derived their inspiration from the Nalanda Buddhist bronzes. Two metal sculptures¹¹ in the Simandhara

temple, Ahmedabad, and three standing bronze figures¹² in Bhinmal (Rajasthan) also deserve mention.

One bronze of standing Bahubali¹³ is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It shows the acme of Jaina art in metal. All the details about it are quite precise. It may well be compared with the images of Badami and Aihole caves. All the Jaina metal images of this period are in 'classical idiom' culminating in the delicacy of execution, discipline of body, completeness of detachment, conquest of mind, serenity of face, elegance of inner feelings and excellence of meditative expression.

Images of the early mediaeval and the mediaeval period (c. 8th A.D.-c. 16th A.D.):

During the early mediaeval and the mediaeval period a large number of Jaina images were cast in metal. West India, as a whole, remained the chief centre of activities in metal-casting. Madhya Pradesh, east India and south India produced Jaina metal images during this period, perhaps, for the first time. Bhinmal yielded three images of this period.¹⁴ In style and technique they are allied to Vasantgarh bronzes. Some Jaina metal images have been obtained from Pur and Sigoli (both in Bhilwara District, Rajasthan).¹⁵

No fewer than 1,050 images¹⁶ (now deposited in an underground vault of Chintamani temple, Bikaner) have been reported from Achalgarh. Almost all of them are consummate pieces of workmanship. In the Chaumikhaji temple of the same place, there are eleven big images,¹⁷ each weighing about 51.87 or 53.28 quintals. These images are, perhaps, the weightiest of the metal images in the world. In spite of their massiveness and ponderosity, there is nothing of 'artistic boredom'. Contrariwise, they automatically arrest the attention of the visitors, and let them ruminate over the glamour, intrinsic charm, and spiritual calmness they have about them.

In the temple of Chaudharis at Jaipur there is an image of Chauvisi.¹⁸ It has its own uniqueness. Another Jaina temple of the same place has a metal image¹⁹ in the shape of a plate, in the centre of which is exhibited Nandishvaradvipa. From figure No. 67 on plate XXIV in U.P. Shah's 'Studies in Jaina Art', we come to know of a *sahasrakuta*²⁰ sculpture in bronze at Patan. A pair of seated inscribed images (now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta) have, further, been found from Rajasthan.²¹ Two images, which stylistically seem to have been made in Rajasthan, are at present in the National Museum, Delhi.²² One is of Mahavira; it is flanked by two attendants. The next one is of Anatanatha. It is in the fashion of Buddhist images in the *dharma-chakra-pravartana-mudra* (posture of turning the Wheel of Law). The importance of this image is still great in view of the fact that the Tirthankara Anatanatha is rarely cast in metal or even cut in stone. Two bronzes are in Surat²³. One is of Samavasarana, and another of Panchmeru. Both of them show excellent workmanship. Akota has also yielded metal images of this period.²⁴ A hoard of bronzes of Jaina Tirthankaras and gods of Jaina pantheon have been obtained from Ghoga, District Bhavnagar (Gujarat).²⁵ They are of the first water. Chahardi in Khandesh has revealed an excellent big bronze of *Chauvisi* (now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).²⁶ There is, however, a controversy about it among the scholars. Some take it to be of Neminatha, and others of Rishabhanatha. The possible probability is in favour of its being that of Rishabhanatha.

Some more images, have, probably, been obtained from west India, and are, now, in the National Museum, Delhi.²⁷ Amongst them, mention may be made of the images of Parshvanatha, Tri-Tirthaka of Parshvanatha, Pancha-Tirthaka of Parshvanatha and Chakreshvari. All these images possess a fascinating appeal, and are important, not only for their iconographical study, but also for the various phases

of Jaina art in metal that developed and flourished for centuries in that part of the country. It is to be noted that the Jaina metal images, found all over west India, are mostly related to the miniature painting of western school which flourished during this period.²⁸

A few Jaina bronzes (now in the Nagpur Museum) have been brought to light from Rajnakin Khinkhini in Murtijapur District (Madhya Pradesh).²⁹ These images are of the finest excellence. Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh) is also known to yield a few images.³⁰ There may be many other places in Madhya Pradesh, from where a number of Jaina metal images may be found. But a complete survey has yet to be made in this direction. Jaina metal images are also known from Paharpur, East Bengal, and the Sundarbans, West Bengal.³¹

A bronze³² of standing Rishabhanatha (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), found from Kakatpur, District Puri, Orissa, is of immense value. Another metal specimen,³³ representing Rishabhanatha and Mahavira on a single pedestal (now in the British Museum, London), also coming probably from Orissa, is a masterpiece of casting images in metal. Chandankiari (Manbhum, Bihar) has brought to light some Jaina metal images.³⁴ Amongst them, the image of Parshvanatha is specially mentionable. Chausa too is known to have yielded images of this period.³⁵ Though somewhat crude, they are, yet, remarkable for their facial expression.

An image of seated Parshvanatha (now in the British Museum, London)³⁶ hails, probably, from Deccan. It is of bewitching beauty. A few Jaina bronzes (now in the State Museum, Hyderabad) have been found in Bapatla, District Guntur.³⁷ The Jaina metal images are also known from some places of Madras and Mysore.³⁸ One image of a Jaina goddess found from Mysore is in the Captain Jones

Museum, London.³⁹ One Nokkayya Setti, the Pattanasvami (Lord Mayor) of the king Vira Shantaradeva, is known to have installed many images of Jaina gods, in gold, silver, and other fine metal in south India.⁴⁰

A general survey of the Jaina metal images of this period will make it clear that the artist sometimes followed old style, sometimes new, and that sometimes he made his creation a fusion of the two-Old and New. However, the general trend of the artists seems to have been one of making their pieces of art a thing of beauty. Some images of the mediaeval period, however, show exhaustion of spirit that went into the making of early images. The Jaina metal idols, built during the subsequent periods, hardly have any aesthetic significance or novelty about them.

Technique :

The methods of casting images in metal are two. According to one method, the object to be cast is modelled in wax, and the wax model is next wrapped in thick coatings of soft clay applied in several layers. When sufficiently dry, few more coatings of clay mixed with husk are again applied over it. When dry again, the wax model is melted away by the application of heat, and molten metal amalgam is poured in the vacuum left in the mould. After the amalgam has set and cooled, the clay mould is removed. The figure is next chased and chiselled for the final finish. This process is evidently suitable for making solid images in metal.

In another method, befitting for making hollow images, the wax model is worked over and around an inner stump of husk and other combinations. The husk remains within the mould when the wax is melted out. The molten amalgam finds its way in the crevices between the inner stump and the sides of the mould, encasing the stump all around.

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VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE IN OLD TRIPURA

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The attainment of independence in 1947 and the democratisation of governments at the Centre and in the States could not fully satisfy the people of India. To them it appeared, after a few years, that the functional shape of the governments had remained unchanged, ridden with red-tape and centralisation of powers in the hands of Government officials. The Government realised this and in 1957 a study team on Community Development and National Extension Scheme, headed by Balvantray Mehta, was appointed to suggest measures for the purpose of achieving greater speed and a more active participation of the common people in the community development schemes. The Study Team recommended the setting up of elected and organically linked democratic bodies at the village, block and district level and the entrusting of all planning and developmental activities to these bodies. This recommendation was accepted in 1958, and in 1959 India embarked on the experiment of democratic decentralisation. Thus came the Panchayati Raj.

The aim behind the Panchayati Raj is clear. It is to achieve people's participation in solving people's problems. But the concept of the Panchayati Raj is not new to the Indians. In ancient India there were indigenous democratic institutions of almost the same nature such as *Sabha* and *Samiti* in which people would participate to solve their own problems. Even in modern India the existence of village self-governing institutions among our tribal

brethren has been pointed out by sociological researches.

The object of this dissertation is to describe the ancient pattern of village self-administration among certain tribes of Tripura and modern changes therein. Since no serious and scientific study covering all the aspects of culture of the tribes of Tripura has yet been carried out, it is only against that general canvas that the nature of the specific aspect of village self-administration can be understood and its importance appreciated.

According to the Census Report of India, 1961, only 31.53% of the total population of Tripura is tribal. In Tripura there are 19 officially recognised tribes. They are Tippera, Rieng, Jamatia, Noatia, Kuki, Garo, Halam, Uchai, Lushai, Chaimal, Chakma, Mog, Oraon, Munda, Bhil, Santal, Khasia, Lepcha and Bhutia.

Out of these nineteen communities, the first ten tribes can be roughly grouped together, as they are closely related to one another from the cultural and ethnic standpoints. They have close approximation to what is known as the Mongoloid ethnic type. They belong to the Bodo-group of the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic sub-family. The principal occupation of these communities is a crude type of agriculture. They have been traditionally practising slash-and-burn method of cultivation commonly known as *jhum*. During winter a hill-slope is selected for cultivation. Plants, bushes, bamboo and other undergrowth are cut, felled and left

to dry. Shortly before the rains set in, the dry leaves are set on fire. Fire kills the weeds and insects and the ashes work as natural fertilisers. Then they set aside the half-burnt logs, and then gangs of men and women dig holes in the ground with a stroke of bill-hook, put a mixture of seeds in the holes and cover them with soil by pressing it down with the toes. The seeds sprout after the rains. Seeds of paddy, melon, brinjal, cucumber, bean, gourd, ginger, turmeric, pepper, pumpkin, yam, arum, jute, etc.—all these are sowed into the *jhum* field. Thus, the *jhum* cultivation supplies almost all the varieties of food article. What is more, it produces cotton for weaving clothes. After the harvesting, the land is left fallow for a number of years to recover its fertility and during this period cultivation is shifted to another freshly cleared hillside. *Jhuming* is a wasteful, unprofitable and harmful method.

The food of these people consists of boiled rice, vegetable curry, rice-beer, fish and the meat of pig, fowl, deer, goat, etc. Dry fish is used in almost all curries. Country liquor is recklessly used as alcoholic drink. Tobacco is also smoked by all, irrespective of age and sex. Milk is nauseating to them. They supplement their *jhum* crops by gathering roots, tubers, wild fruits and vegetables and by fishing and hunting. The average family possesses only one *Nok* (house) which serves all essential purposes. Their houses are skilfully constructed on a raised platform about 7 ft. high, supported by stakes. In dress, they are very simple. The common means of acquiring a wife are elopement and service.

They worship numerous gods and deities, each ruling over forest, water, path, *jhum*field, homestead, village, wine, cotton and rice. They feel themselves constantly threatened by demons, witches and invisible spirits who, they apprehend, sometimes bring crop failure, drought, heavy shower, illness and death. The traditional religious belief of these people is not based on any sound and subtle philo-

sophy. They do not think of religion and magic separately. Success in hunting, bumper crops in *jhum*, and cure of disease depend upon the accurate utterance of spells and observation of rites.

Among these tribes the local group is the village. The most striking feature of these tribal villages is their location. The bamboo and thatch huts stand on top of steep hills near some stream or spring. In olden days when inter-tribal clashes and depredations of wild animals were of frequent occurrence, the primary consideration for such a selection of a village site was to make it difficult to reach. Their villages were composed of a number of closely built huts. Within a radius of, say, four or five miles of forest lands, one would see a village composed of about one hundred or more families. In the past at every village there used to be a dormitory where the bachelors of the village slept and had their recreation and training. The traditional villages were compact and homogeneous. They were named after the first chief of the village or sometimes after the name of the rivulet by the side of which the village stood. The villagers did not differ from one another in dress, livelihood, food habits, beliefs and customs, training, household belongings and homestead pattern. Every village would be administered by a council of elders. It is on this aspect (village self-administration) that the following discussion will be devoted. Since nothing is found in writing on this aspect and every information has to be gathered from the memory of the old, illiterate villagers, my collection may not be exhaustive; yet, I am sure, it is representative enough to deduce conclusions from. In any way, for the sake of convenience, only four tribes and one sub-tribe have been selected. These are Tippera, Rieng, Jamatia, Noatia and Khakloo.

The Tipperas are the largest and till recently were the ruling tribe in Tripura. The Census Report of India, 1961, enumerated 189,799 souls belonging to this tribe. They are

distributed over all the ten subdivisions of Tripura. Each Tippera village was self-governing. Women had no share in the government; they could not even set foot in the *Chaudhuri Noksar* (Council Room). Every male of the village, reaching the age of reason, was by right an active member of the Council. The designation of the chief varies from village to village. In some villages, he is called *Chaudhuri*, while in others, he is called *Sardar*. In any way, the terms *Chaudhuri* and *Sardar* are indiscriminately used. The members who would constitute the Council are given below with their individual functions:

1. Chaudhuri/Sardar—Chief of the village; heads the administration and judicial matters; distributes *jhum*-fields; collects taxes; entertains guests and public officials, etc.
2. Karbari—Secretary to the Chief: assists the Chief in all matters; supervises the work of the village administration; takes charge of the Chief in his absence.
3. Khandal—peon-cum-sepoy; informs the villagers of any Council meeting; distributes liquor, betel-leaves, and tobacco in any meeting or festival; arrests the accused and produces him before the Chief; executes the order of punishment; and after all, runs the errands of the Chief and his Secretary.

The Riengs are the second largest tribe in Tripura. They numbered 56,597 in the Census Report of 1961. It is claimed that long before the migration of the Tipperas to this tract, the Riengs were the ruling tribe in Tripura. They had the traditions of an organically linked three-tier administrative set-up at the village, Zone and State level. At the village level there were the following officers:—

1. Chaudhuri—Chief of the village.

2. Karbari—Secretary and Minister to the Chief.
3. Daoa—Messenger.

Next comes the Zonal Council. For administrative convenience, they made an artificial division of the territory of Tripura on the basis of three rivers, namely, the Muhuri river in the south, the Gomti in the centre and the Khowai in the north-east. Three chiefs used to be selected for these three zones. Such a chief would be called *Huklai Chaudhuri*. He would maintain inter-village communication and unity within his respective jurisdiction. He was the link between village administration and central administration. He was also a member of the central administrative body. The village chief would receive advice and information from the *Huklai Chaudhuri*. Inter-village disputes and clashes, if there were any, used to be settled by the *Huklai Chaudhuri*. The *Huklai Chaudhuri's* court was the second appellate court.

The third and the highest administrative-cum-judicial body headed by *Kachka* consisted of a large number of members. The following are the designations of some of those officials:—

1. Kachka—chief of the entire Rieng community.
2. Chapia—minister.
3. Chapia kha—minister.
4. Huklai Chaudhuri—zonal chief.
5. Chheng krak—chief of the army.
6. Akchai—priest.
7. Vaidya—physician.
8. Yag sunga—
9. Dalai—
10. Darkalai—
11. Bhandari—treasurer and store-keeper.
12. Khang kalem—tax collector.
13. Hazra—
14. De-hazra—
15. Karma—
16. Dharia—
17. Daoa—messenger.
18. Kanda—bodyguard to the chief.

19. Duguria—bandparty-manager.
20. Muria—
21. Musa-nai—dance-master.
22. Rica-nai—musician.
23. Som-nai—cook.
24. Su-nai—fluteplayer.
25. Bau-nai—organiser of feasts.

They were
permanent
officials.

It is likely that there might have been some more members in the Central Council. In the absence of an exhaustive list, the relative position of the officials could not be ascertained. Neither has it been possible to ascertain the duties of all the above officials. Under such circumstances, the designations of the above officials have been arranged arbitrarily and not according to protocol. It has been reported by some old Rieng people that formerly *Kachka* was the chief as well as the King of this tract. After the defeat of the Riengs at the hands of the Tipperas, *Kachka* was superseded by *Roy*, a yes-man of the Tipperas to whom the *Kachka* became the deputy.

The Jamatias are the third largest tribe in Tripura. According to the Census Report of 1961, the Jamatia population figure is 24,359. Prior to 1931, they were enumerated together with all other Tripura-Kshatriyas (i.e., the Tipperas, Noatias and the Riengs). One remarkable feature in the community life of the Jamatias is that all of them are out and out Hindus. They follow Vaishnavism, a Hindu sectarian cult. Vaishnavism has brought almost a revolutionary change in their life. It has taught them a strong sense of cleanliness, discipline, morality, purity and sobriety, and, what is more, a noble philosophy of love. Before their conversion to Vaishnavism, they would waste their earnings mostly in drinks and feasts. However, they no more lead the life of feast or fast.

The Jamatias have a well-developed system of village administration. Each village has its chief who is assisted by other officials. The chief is called *Chaudhuri*. *Chaudhuri-nok* (Chaudhuri's house) is the place where all

meetings are held. The Council usually sits in the evening when everybody returns home after day's work in the field. More than one sitting is hardly required to settle a dispute. Verbal notices are early served to the parties in dispute and to the villagers by the *Chaudhuri* through his subordinate, *Khandal*.

The members who constitute the Council at present are only three in number, namely, one *Chaudhuri* and two *Khandals*. The *Chaudhuri* has administrative and judicial powers. He is to entertain public guests and officials. He is the chief spokesman of the village. It is through him that the village speaks. In all other tribal villages there is a Secretary to the Chief; the Tipperas and the Riengs call him *Karbari*, the Noatias and the Khakloos call him *Dabem*. It is probable that in the Jamatia village council also there was a similar post, though at present it is nowhere found. Nevertheless, the Chief is assisted by two *Khandals* who act as peon-cum-sepoy to the Chief. To assist the *Khandals* sometimes one person is selected occasionally. He is called *Pushni*.

The *Chaudhuri* and the *Khandals* are selected for a term of one year. There is no fixed date for selection. Every year two or three days before the *Mailuma puja* (i.e., Lakshmi puja, goddess of wealth) usually selection of the members of the village council is held in October. Some of the Jamatia villages select their officials before the *Chaitra-Sankranti* (March-April).

Though the Jamatia village is locally autonomous, it is associated with all the Jamatia villages in Tripura in a larger entity under the supervision of *Hada Akra*. *Hada* means community, and *Akra* means senior man; so *Hada Akra* means senior man or head of the Jamatia community. Formerly, there was only one headman over this community. Now there are two *Hada Akras* for two zones. This is due to certain factors, such as, development in the means of communication, deforesta-

tion, growth of population and dispersion of Jamatia population and their settlement in far off places.

The post of *Hada Akra* is not hereditary. New *Hada Akra* is selected every year on a suitable day in the month of Agrayayan (Nov.-Dec.). Before the date of selection, all the village chiefs are informed and invited to be present in the ceremony on the appointed day. The venue of selection changes every year. Each year a new Jamatia village within the zone is selected, so that every Jamatia village round the zone gets the pleasure of the ceremony. It enhances unity. The expenditure of the ceremony is rationally shared by all the households of the village. Though the term of office of the *Hada Akra* is one year, he may be re-selected for subsequent years provided he enjoys the confidence of the people and his health and wealth permit.

The village chief acts as the subordinate to the zonal *Hada Akra*. The latter acts as the highest and appellate court. When a plaintiff is not satisfied with the verdict of the chief of his village, he seeks oral permission to appeal to the court of *Hada Akra*. When a number of appeals are registered in a village, the *Hada Akra* is asked to settle up those appeals. His verdict is final. Thus he acts not only as the highest and appellate court but also as a mobile court with supreme power.

To assist the *Hada Akra* in summoning the parties and villagers, one helper is temporarily appointed. This helper, called *Piyakda*, is given three or four rupees for the service rendered by him. Whenever the *Hada Akra* comes to a village to settle the appeals, he is to sit in the house of the village chief, and pay one rupee and one bottle of rice-beer to the chief as a token of rent for the room.

The Noatia community having a population of 16,010 according to the Census Report of 1961, is closely allied to the Tipperas. They are distributed over the three districts of

Tripura. In addition to this figure, there are a sizeable number of Noatias in Bangladesh, Arakan and the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. In the distant past many Noatia people had settled down in East Bengal and the Hill Tracts of Chittagong where they imitated the Bengalees and Mogs in many respects. Within the Noatia tribe there are many groupings. The following are the names of some of these groups:

Keoa, Gabem, Tongbai, Mongbai, Gorjan, Gaigera, Deindra, Naitoong, Fatoong, Anukiya.

The Noatia village council is called *Kachari*. It is usually composed of a few elderly villagers, reputed for their integrity, personality and impartiality. The functions of the *Kachari* are judicial and administrative in nature. But since the Noatias, due probably to inter-tribal clashes, got dispersed to different tracts and passed through many trials and tribulations and came in contact with the people of different racial stocks, it is but natural that the Council-members and their designations vary from village to village.

In Amarapur, in Reima Surma which is a place very near to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, the members who constitute the Council have the following respective designations and functions:

1. Roaja—chief.
2. Dabem—secretary to the chief.
3. Taimang—senior member of the village: advises the chief and others, cites references to past cases and incidents whenever necessary.
4. Amagri—peon.

A somewhat different system of the Noatia village council has been found at the village *Takma chheda* in the Belonia subdivision. At this village the following members constitute the Council:

1. Chaudhuri—chief.

2. Dabem—secretary to the chief.
3. Khandal—peon-cum-sepoy.

Whereas at Reima Surma the chief is called *Roaja*, at Takma Chheda he is known as *Chaudhuri*. At both the villages, the designation for the secretary to the chief is the same. But at Reima Surma there is the post of *Taimang* which is unknown to the Noatias of Takma Chheda. The post of the peon is known as *Amagri* at Reima Surma, at Takma Chheda he is called *Khandal*.

Since the present Noatia culture greatly varies from village to village, and it will be out of place here to note all the variations, it is convenient for the sake of this study to select a single locality and to discuss the practices relevant to their Village Council. For the present purpose, Reima Surma is selected, because it is overwhelmingly a tribal area.

Here the installation ceremony of a new chief is held after the harvest of *jhum* crops in the month of Kartick (Oct.-Nov.) when every household has a fresh stock of foodgrains, and the clear autumnal weather brings relief and zest for life. On the day for *Mamita* (ceremony for first eating the new rice of the year) or on any suitable day the Council members are selected. In the meeting the discussion is initiated by the outgoing *Roaja*. Somebody proposes a name and others usually accept it. Election by secret ballot or by raising the hands is not in practice in their Council elections. Four seats are set apart beforehand. After selection, the officials sit on those seats; the *Roaja* sits in the middle. The *Roaja* and the *Dabem* are entitled to wear turbans as insignia. The *Achai* (priest) garlands the new members, pours *tui kathar* (holy water) on their heads, incenses the room and worships two benevolent deities: *Sukundrai* and *Mukundrai*, jointly known as Katharog (holy deities) seeking supernatural blessing for the members of the Council and especially for the *Roaja*. The *Achai* chants the following on this occasion:

Tini uttarmum thangai, dakshinmum
thangai,
Maium sakani na khagai, karaisakani na
khagai,
Man klaijag tham, jnan klaijag tham,
Eim khuntam bai, eim maitam bai josh
baregai,
Tam thum ani khuktai ya.
Iswar Mahadevni khuktai.

Freely translated it means:

Today let your name spread northward
and southward,
Mounting an elephant you move, riding a
horse you run,
Let your position be enhanced, let your
knowledge widen,
Let there be abundance of cotton and
paddy in the village,
Let the prestige of the village be enhanced,
What I spit is not a mere spit,
But the blessing of God Mahadev.

The *Khakloos* constitute a small tribal community in Tripura; but nowhere we find any mention of them. The cause lies in their claim as belonging to the Tippera tribe. So the Census Reports also did not separately enumerate them. However, at present the *Khakloos* have all the characteristic traits of a tribe.

The *Khakloo* people have had a well-organised body for the administration of justice at the village level. It was the Council of elderly persons of the village, of which the *Roaja* was the chief, assisted by a number of members with different functions and designations. The members who would constitute the Council are mentioned below with their individual functions:

1. *Roaja*—chief of the village: heads the administration and judicial matters, helps the poor families of the village, entertains the public officials and guests.
2. *Dabem*—secretary to the chief: assists

the chief.

3. *Morchi*—sepoy: arrests the accused and executes corporal punishment to the criminal.
4. *Sunga*—prosecutor: questions the parties in dispute and clearly explains before the Council the grievances of the parties.
5. *Tarchai* — peon-cum-watchman: informs the village about any meeting and calls the members to attend it; distributes tobacco, country-liquor, betel-leaves in any meeting or festival.

The members are selected for a term of one year. But they are usually allowed to continue in their office for subsequent years provided they enjoy the confidence of the people and their health and wealth permit. At the end of every year in the month of Chaitra (March-April) before the *Gareiya* festival, the question of selection of new officials, or the retention of the previous year's officials for the next year is discussed.

Aged persons having the qualities of integrity of character, personality and wealth are honoured with the posts of *Roaja* and *Dabem*. Simple, sincere and obedient type of persons are selected as *Morchi* and *Tarchai*. And those who have to their credit sweet tongue, oratorical skill and knowledge about tribal customs are suitable for the post of *Sunga*. As soon as the Chief is selected, he is entitled to wear a turban as the symbol of the post, and he is garlanded in the meeting and holy water is sprinkled on his head. In return, he too has to honour the villagers; for this, he customarily gives Rs. 5/- to the people; the *Dabem* gives Rs. 2.50; the *Morchi* Rs. 1.25; the *Sunga* Re. 1/-; and the *Tarchai* fifty paise. This money is spent on the spot in drinking and smoking. In addition, the *Roaja* and the *Dabem* are to separately entertain the villagers with feast.

All the traditional tribal village councils in Tripura have certain features in common.

They all derived their authority from antiquity and traditions. The sanctions behind them are both customary and supernatural. There are some communities which offer a worship to the benevolent deities after the selection of the Council members. The main objective of the worship is to observe whether the deities favour the newly elected Chief. If in the omen the priest observes the dissent of the deities, then they nullify the selection and select another who is also to face the same trial of Providence.

In each tribal community there are at least two sets of administration: one at the village level and the other over the entire tribe. The lower level of administration at the village is run by the village chief and his subordinates; while the upper level of administration is headed by the Chief of the entire tribe. Though a tribal village is locally autonomous, it is associated with other villages inhabited by the people of the same tribe under the higher leadership of the tribal chief who coordinates among the villages of his own tribe and formulates policy for the entire tribe. But the Tippera tribal chief somehow attained the position of the Monarch of the territory of Tripura and thereby his office became hereditary. So he combined in himself the dual responsibility of Tippera tribal chieftainship and monarchy of the Tripura State.

The titles and honours were not hereditary, but related to the office that a person held. One enjoyed the honour and privileges of his office during the tenure of office. None but the office-bearer was entitled to add the title of honour to his name.

These Councils are the chief vehicles of rural self-administration and expression of the people's will. Bribe, demagogism and party politics have no role to play in the selection of the members of the Council. On the other hand, the suitability of a person for a particular post is observed from close quarters. In this sense, these Councils may be called democratic.

But they are not sovereign bodies. They owe their allegiance to the king of Tripura and pay their taxes to him. In this respect, they differ from the Adi village councils¹ of Arunachal which were, until the extension of the British administration to NEFA, autonomous and sovereign democratic bodies.

During the Durga Puja each year, the Maharaja of Tripura used to invite all the tribal chiefs at Agartala. They were treated and entertained as state guests. On the day of the Dasera festival the king used to entertain them with a grand feast called *Asa Hasam Bhojan*. On that day the king used to meet them at a friendly conference. This elaborate invitation and entertainment served socio-political and administrative purposes. Through this, the tactful Maharaja tried to win the confidence of the belligerent tribes and thereby minimised the threat of regicide.

Election, in the modern sense of the term, is not held to constitute the Council. The members are selected by the consensus of opinion of the villagers. The term of their office is one year. Usually in the month of Chaitra (March-April) one formal meeting is held for the selection or reselection of the members to the Council. The retention of the Chief in his former position sometimes depended on a mere coincidence. If the village enjoyed peace and prosperity and was free from any epidemic and crop failure during the tenure of office of any Chief, he was deemed to be lucky and his office auspicious. Popular enthusiasm would force the extension of the term of his office even against his wish.

Any sane man, unless he is excommunicated, can attend and express his opinion in the Council meeting and be a member of the Council. Women are not allowed to be members or to attend the Council's meeting. In addition to the selected officials, there is, in every village, a priest-cum-exorcist. He is called *Achai* or *Akchai* or *Ojhai*. Every

village grants certain special privileges to the Chief.

In the past, the main functions of the village council were the settlement of disputes, trial of cases, distribution of hill-slopes for shifting cultivation, organisation of communal ceremonies and sacrifices for the peace and prosperity of the settlement, looking after the defence of the village, helping the poor and sick of the village, collection of government taxes and assisting the government officials on tour. Nowadays, the Council is cooperating with the government officials in the execution of welfare schemes.

A village assembly is convened usually in the evening at the courtyard of the Chief to settle disputes and for other purposes. Minor offences and torts are privately settled. But serious crimes cannot be compounded and these must be placed before the Council. Customarily the affected person or family informs the peon of the matter. The latter, in turn, informs the Secretary who fixes a suitable date in consultation with the Chief. The peon announces the date and summons the parties. In the meeting the Chief or his Secretary opens the discussion and asks the parties to explain their cases. The matter is then thrown for general discussion. Besides close questioning, supernatural means are sometimes used to detect the culprit.

The problem of false witness and perjury hardly arises before the Council because of the general simplicity, truthfulness and scrupulousness of the people and also because it is difficult in the compact village to hide anything stolen without someone finding it out. The ins and outs of every family are known to every other family. Yet there are persons who deny the allegations against them, furnish false evidence and plead their innocence. In such cases, the Council resorts to a system of oath and ordeals (*semai*). The parties in dispute take oath in the name of *Motai Kotarma* (goddess Kali at Udaipur) or *Chaudda Devta* (fourteen gods and goddesses at old Agartala). Everybody

would fearfully believe in the accuracy and infallibility of the ordeals. When, again, a plaintiff does not get justice from the Council for his genuine complaint, he can appeal to the government, but he hardly does this. Instead, he seeks an appeal to a deity through sacrifices.

A man having adulterous relation with the wife of another man is severely punished. Pardon is disgraceful. Clan-incest is also very seriously dealt with. An example is cited here from a Noatia village to illustrate how cases of adultery are tried and punishment executed. In a case of adultery, if the girl is found guilty, a cat is made to enter into her lower garment and then the garment is seamed on all sides so that the cat cannot come out. The cat is then beaten with a whip. Beating irritates the cat to scratch her thigh and private parts. Beating continues until blood drops on the ground. Where the boy is found guilty for a tolerable adultery, the affected girl is called to bstride and the adulterer is directed to creep between her legs for a number of times. This ends the matter. But where the boy is held for an intolerable and incestuous crime, the adulterer is fined and publicly humiliated. They believe that such an adulterer infuriates the village deity and profanes the village. So, in addition to corporal punishment, the adulterer must sacrifice the healthiest pig of the village to pacify the deity and purify the village with the blood of the animal. The adulterer must pay a reasonable price for the pig to the owner, if the pig does not belong to him. With the blood of the pig the courtyard of the *Roaja* is washed to purify the village. Intestines of the pig and a little drum are hung on his neck, a bamboo cage for chicken is placed over his back and his face besmeared with soot in an uneven and irregular manner. Then the adulterer is to go from door to door beating the tiny drum. Hearing the sound of the drum, women come out and ask the cause of his wretched condition. He narrates the affair in brief. The women beat him with a broom. In this way he gets beating from every house.

The young men and the children of the village follow him, jeering at him all the way. He is to put up with all this humiliation silently. At last he comes back to the *Kachari* and his punishment ends. In the meantime, others cook the pig and the meeting ends with a feast. This punishment is called *Pada digri phirok*.

Disputes generally arise out of theft, breach of taboo, assault, injury, non-payment of bride-price, seduction of girls, elopement of girls against the consent of their parents, non-cooperation in community activities and so on. Tribal customary laws impose such punishments as whipping, deportation, excommunication, slaving, mutilation, fines, restitution and death, etc. In the Noatia community, the maximum fine that can be imposed is 5 times of twenty rupees+5 rupees+5 times of a half-rupee+5 annas and 5 paises=Rs. 100/-+5/-+2.50/-+.30+.05=Rs. 107.85.

At present, the tribal village council in Tripura is in a decaying stage; it has lost much of its hold. The prestige and position of the Chief have gone down. The special privileges to which the former Chiefs were entitled are no longer allowed. The young men dare to defy the Chief. But if the Chief happens to be a man of strong personality, unquestionable integrity and honour, he gets a scope to wield his power and influence over a greater area (a revenue village or even a Gaon Sabha) than his traditional village council. Many tribal villages are now going without any village council. Many young villagers do not exactly know what their traditional village council was. The oath and ordeals are losing their hold.

This change is not, however, an unrelated happening. It is neither an abrupt nor a sporadic change. It is related to the other changes in tribal life. The total fabric of tribal life in Tripura as elsewhere is in a stage of transition. Jhum cultivation is being replaced by plough cultivation. They no longer lack the concept of private property in land. They have entered into a complicated system of

money economy. Whereas in the past *jhuming* was the only means of livelihood, today hundreds of occupations are open to them. Now there are administrative officers, doctors, engineers and professors among them.

Changes in the material culture have brought about changes in the social, political, religious and psychological aspects of their culture. They are abandoning the practice of erecting houses on raised platforms and are imitating the pattern of building houses on the ground as practised by the dwellers of plain lands. They are no longer selecting high hill-tops as sites for their villages. The village is losing its integrity, homogeneity and compactness. The area of the village has been expanded by the government for administrative purposes. The small tribal village has been absorbed by the larger revenue villages of the government. The administrative responsibility of the village has been shifted from the Chief to such State agencies as the police, statutory panchayat, B.D.O. and S.D.O. The present political consciousness of these people includes a concept of loyalty to the Government of India. The Tripura tribal society has become receptive enough to understand and appreciate twentieth century ideas and institutions. So the socio-psychological and physical environment in which the ancient village council functioned has been passing through a stage of transition.

The factors and forces which are bringing about these changes are known to every one. Spread of education, improvement in the means of communication, welfare activities of the Government, special privileges for the people, contact with the people of the rest of India (mostly Bengalees), activities of the Hindu and Christian missionaries and political parties—these are some of the factors.

From the early 20th century Tripura has been undergoing a continuous process of change; and these changes have also been distinctly noticeable. Some enlightened persons of Tripura demanded the setting up of a popular assembly and responsible government

and reorganisation of village self-administration. In addition to the popular demand, the Government of British India put pressure upon the King for a written constitution and codified laws. At that time Maharaja Bir Bikram (1923-47) was the monarch of Tripura. Conceding their demands, the enlightened monarch made a proclamation in 1929 and assured the people of taking certain reformatory measures, one of which was the establishment of village unions or *Mondalis* of the agricultural population as basic territorial units with powers of administration of local affairs, including collection of taxes, and judicial powers for trial of petty cases, both civil and criminal. In the same year, the Maharaja granted a code of rules and regulations known as *Tripur-Kshatriya Samaj Sankranta Niyamabali* (rules relating to the Tripur-Kshatriyas).

According to the new regulations, a number of tribal villages were grouped together and placed under a *Gramya Mondali* (village union). Naturally, the jurisdiction of the *Gramya Mondali* was much wider than that of a traditional tribal village council. Though the *Gramya Mondali* was a statutory body, while the ancient village council was purely customary, yet the statutory union was weaker than the customary one. Since the statutory village union was composed of a very large area, there remained very little scope for those who were in the seat of justice to come to know all the relevant information and points of a dispute. So there arose greater scope for false witnesses and suppression of facts. Again, whereas in the olden days, strong clan loyalty would put the village council in trouble to find out the actual culprit, under the new system village loyalty cropped up and created similar troubles. Moreover, the statutory village union was undemocratic in composition, for, the members of the new body were not selected by the villagers. They used to be nominated by the Maharaja. However, the functional character of the new body was democratic; in that decision used to be taken on the basis of

the opinion of the majority. Yet there was another defect in the statutory village union scheme. The scheme did not include within its scope all the tribal communities of Tripura. The scheme was specifically meant for the Tripur-Kshatriya Samaj. Even in that limited scope, the Noatias, Jamatias and the Riangs were left out.

Altogether 25 *Gramya Mondalis*, consisting of 161 members, were set up in the maiden attempt of reorganising the traditional village council. After six months 11 new *Mondalis* were set up and thus the number of village unions was raised to 36 and that of members from 161 to 244. In 1932 the number of village unions was raised to 50; the number of members for each village union was fixed at 9; and under each village union 10 volunteers were nominated. Every *Gramya Mondali* was presented a sword by the Maharaja.

Above the village unions, a *Kendriya Sabha* (Central Committee) was appointed. The seat of the Sabha was at the ground floor of the palace at Agartala. The Sabha consisted of the following 12 members:

1. Bhagaban ch. Deb Barman Thakur
2. Har ch. Deb Barman Thakur
3. Kusum ch. Deb Barman Thakur
4. Ishan ch. Deb Barman Thakur
5. Jamini mohan Deb Barman Thakur
6. Syamacharan Deb Barman Thakur
7. Ramkumar Deb Barman Thakur
8. Nabin ch. Deb Barman Thakur
9. Lalitmohan Deb Barman Thakur
10. Basanta kr. Deb Barman Thakur
11. Rajaram Deb Barman Thakur
12. Rebatimohan Deb Barman Thakur.

Rebatimohan Thakur was appointed as Secretary. The quorum of the Central Committee was seven and that of the village union was a bare majority. The term of office of all the committees, central or rural, was three years. The Central Committee would function as the Second Appellate Court.

Anybody seeking justice from it must pay Rs. 5/- as court fee. Appeals from the second Appellate Court would come to the Maharaja for final verdict. To aid and advise the king in any matter relating to the Tripur-Kshatriya Samaj a central advisory council was appointed. The first Advisory Council consisted of the following members:

1. Bhagaban ch. Deb Barman Thakur
2. Har ch. Deb Barman Thakur
3. Rebatimohan Deb Barman Thakur

The Central Committee was given both judicial and legislative powers. It was empowered not only to function as the second Appellate Court, but also to function as a reformatory body, to amend, alter, prohibit or preserve any customary rules in Tripur-Kshatriya Samaj and to introduce new rules. The Maharaja was a devout Kshatriya and he empowered the Committee to introduce *Kshatriya-achar* Kshatriya rites and practices) uniformly among all the local people of Tripura. Bir Bikram successfully did it and thereby contained the sweeping spread of Christianity. From a socio-historical standpoint all these attempts by the monarch of Tripura indicate a positive change, a qualitative advancement in the notion of law and order. As the government intensively enlarged its activities and strengthened its authority, it felt concerned to bring under its jurisdiction much that was, from time immemorial, in the hands of the village councils and to codify and to introduce a uniform code of social behaviour, and to replace varying customs of individual communities. By now the state administration developed an urge to take up the function of maintaining law and order even in the interior villages and thus gradually started taking interest in the affairs of the village society.

In 1947 India attained independence, but Tripura lost her most popular and enlightened king. Bir Bikram was succeeded by the young Prince Kirit Bikram. At such an unfortunate moment, the danger of aggression from the

newly born State of Pakistan became imminent. So Tripura soon merged with the Indian Union in 1949.

After the demise of Bir Bikram the royal family was left with no able personality to guide the villagers in their social life, and to keep alive the statutory village unions. The members of the central committee sought their own way. By this time the activities of the Communist Party of India in the hilly areas of Tripura were intensified. This Party criticised the statutory unions, caused their dissolution and set up alternative bodies in and around the capital town of Agartala. At this period the statutory village unions and the Central Committee no longer got any State patronage and so died a natural death. In course of time, the village unions set up by the C.P.I. also disappeared.

At last in 1961 the new Panchayat Raj has been introduced by the Tripura administration throughout the entire territory of Tripura after the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947.

Society changes with the passage of time and every society has an inherent capacity to accept and to absorb new ideas and institutions. The tribal village council in Tripura has almost totally disappeared and the Panchayat Raj has occupied its place. We should not lament over it; and the villagers have already spontaneously accepted the new Panchayat Raj. The 'National Park' theory of some anthropologists is a retrogressive formula. Verrier Elwin's Philosophy for NEFA² in which he advocated the preservation of tribal culture has been criticised as the philosophy of stagnation. It is true that justice in the traditional village council was quick, inexpensive, and comprehensive to the common people and that the council was largely a democratic body; it was also probably a fact that in olden days crime and punishment would often assume a communal or clan character. Sometimes justice would be out of proportion. Therefore, it may be presumed that a revival of the tribal village council is likely to foster a narrow tribal loyalty which would, in turn, interfere with the process of national integration.

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FEW HISTORICAL FACTORS FOR UNTOUCHABILITY

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In the Rigvedic period caste system did not exist. The word "Varna" in the Rigveda was a distinguishing mark between the Aryans and non-Aryans. In fact hereditary caste system was absent during this period. It is very much clear from the following hymn of the Rigveda :

A bard am I, my dad's a leech,
Mammy lays corn upon the stones
striving for wealth, with varied plans we
follow our desires like kine, flow Indu
flow for India's sake.

Rv. IX. 112.3

In the words of Dr. P. Mitra¹ "The Aryans were fair-complexioned, they introduced in India the ideas of racialism and colour. Their sense of fair complexion, along with their right to receive sacred knowledge, led to a distinction between the Aryan and the non-Aryan, twice-born and once-born, which was the beginning of the caste system." There is much weight in the statement. As Aryan culture expanded, schools of aboriginal sorcerer and medicine men managed to obtain a footing in Brahmanic order, just as aboriginal chiefs were assimilated to the warrior class. Dr. A. L. Basham² observed that the proto-Hinduism of the Harappa culture was assimilated to the Aryan faith. These factors must have contributed to the origin and growth of the caste system in India during the later part of the Rigvedic period. It is true that in the early Rigvedic period caste system was unknown, but such social conditions might have been present which became the basis of such development afterwards.

If the Aryans were conquerors, the distinction between the conqueror and the conquered led to the great division between the twice-born and the once-born, that is the Sudras. It appears that the Sudra class was formed with the then primitive inhabitants who took service under the lordship of the Aryans. There is one point which I would like to mention at this place ; though it is not directly connected with my paper. Of course, I do not want to open the Aryan problem, but I would like to quote Will Durant³ : "These Aryans were rather immigrants than conquerors. But they brought with them strong physiques, a hearty appetite in both solids and liquids, ready brutality, a skill and courage in war, which soon gave them mastery of Northern India They wanted land and pasture for their cattle, their word for war said nothing about national honour, but simply meant a desire for more cows !" If these Aryans were foreigners, the factor for the evolution of untouchability was automatically there. Will Durant says that property was the mother and war was the father of the State. I believe that property and war were responsible for the origin and growth of untouchability also.

The Aryans always tried to keep the Sudras away from their community. They feared that their own community might be polluted with the introduction of low blood. They had a sense of superiority over the native population. Hence the untouchability owes its origin to the activities for the preservation of the Aryan culture.

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In the Vedas there is no reference to the question of untouchability. There are instances where better condition of the lowest class has been reflected. In the Atharva-veda⁴ we find that blessings had been invoked for both, the Aryans and the Sudras. In the Purush Sukta of the Rigveda, the four *varnas* are related to the limbs of the Creator. Sudra servant in the Aryan family would be treated as a family member. Apastamba⁵ allowed a Sudra to cook food under the superintendence of the Aryans. Sudras were treated with courtesy. Gautama⁶ recognised mechanical arts to be practised by the Sudras. Though kingship was hereditary and confined to the Kshatriyas, Sudra kings were not unknown. "In some quarters it has rightly been held that the Upanishadas and the Puranas were either produced in the Vratya region or have been greatly influenced by the Vratya sources."⁷

There may be some reference of kindness towards the Sudras in the Dharmasastras, but it goes without saying that the condition of the Sudras, who are now untouchables, became worst during this period. Baudhayan and Gautama mentioned a long list of untouchables in their Dharma Sutras. Many factors contributed to it. Class interest, racial hatred and social customs led to the growth of untouchability. There were two forms of untouchability—temporary pollution and permanent pollution. In the case of former temporarily impure person could regain his purity by observing certain purificatory rites. Chandals and others like them were impure by their birth. There was no question of moving away from it. Manu⁸ condemned them for their uncivilised habitation and hateful work. As the Varnashram Dharma gained solidity, the untouchables had no right to education. They were deprived of all sorts of knowledge and culture. Their main duty was to serve the three Varnas.

The A. Br.⁹ described the Sudra as the servant of another, to be expelled at will, to be slain at will. The Sutra literature claimed

the inferiority of the Sudra in various respects. Gautama¹⁰ prescribed a very harsh punishment for the Sudra who criminally assaulted a twice-born. Apastamba-Dharma Sutra¹¹ says: "A Sudra who assumes a position equal in conversation on the road, on a couch, in sitting, shall be flogged." Paraskar Grihya Sutra¹² recommended the marriage of a Sudra woman with any member of the other three castes. Gautama Grihya Sutra¹³ highly condemned the union of the Aryan woman with a Sudra. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas through a mutual compromise gained their interest to the largest extent. The Vaisya, though twice-born, were reduced to the position almost equal to the rank of the Sudras. Panchavimsa Brahman¹⁴ remarked that even a rich Sudra was no other than a servant, with the duty of washing the feet of his superiors. According to Manu¹⁵ even in legal matters preference should be given in order of the superiority of castes. The Mahabharata¹⁶ denied the ownership of property on the part of a Sudra.

The thorough-going recognition that men are not the same and that there is a hierarchy of classes, each with its separate duties and distinctive ways of life, is one of the most striking features of ancient Indian Sociology. In general this concept has held its ground from the end of the Rigvedic period to the present day. By the end of the Rigvedic period the fourfold division of the society was regarded as divinely ordained. The Brahmanic texts were written by the Brahmins and from the Brahmanic point of view. So it is not surprising that they claim the utmost honour for the priestly class. As the rigidity of Brahmanic observances increased, groups which refused to accept it fell to the rank of Sudra or untouchables. A. L. Basham¹⁷ remarked: "Persons born illegitimately, even when of pure high class blood, were officially counted as Sudras."

Numerous groups of untouchables are mentioned. Chief of these groups was the Chandals. The Chandal was not allowed to live in the Aryan town or village. His main task was

cremation of corpses and execution of criminals. By the time of the Guptas the Chandals had become so strictly untouchable that they were forced to strike a wooden clapper on entering a town.

The untouchables included hunters, leather workers, fishermen, butchers, executioners, gravediggers, sweepers, etc., and those who sold liquors. Another class of untouchable was the "Mleccha", the word commonly used for foreign barbarians. From these facts it appears that conduct was also one of the most

important factors for untouchability. It is an interesting point to note that by the beginning of the Christian era the untouchables themselves had developed a caste hierarchy and had their own outcastes.

Jeannine Auboyer¹⁸ remarked: "In probably no other civilization has religion been so intimately bound up not only with the conduct of public affairs but also with human behaviour. In ancient India it constituted the very basis of the social structure and the foundation of the Indian community."

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

(Second Instalment)

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To set the record straight, let me begin with a serious omission I made in my first report about the founders of the Maharashtra Studies Group in the U.S.A. It was Professor Maureen L. P. Patterson who pioneered the Maharashtra studies in U.S.A. beginning in 1952 at Pennsylvania with her M.A. thesis on *Brahman-Brahmanetarvad*. She was one of those who organized the first informal meeting of the scholars interested in studying the various aspects of Maharashtra culture at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in March 1968. Professor Patterson presented there a paper entitled "Chitpavan Brahman Family Deities." The scholars who met at Philadelphia called themselves Maharashtra Mandal. Out of their deliberations was born the Maharashtra Studies Group which had its first meeting at Chicago in June 1969. An account of this meeting is given in my first report.

I may also add that Maureen Patterson worked with the late Professor D. R. Gadgil and the late Professor Iravati Karve when they visited the States in 1951. She was in Poona from 1953 to 1955 doing research on anti-Brahmanism through Marathi materials. For this purpose she learnt Marathi and analyzed the various *Kula-vrittantas* (family accounts). She was perhaps the first to recognize that the knowledge of Marathi language is a must for

everyone who wishes to study the history and culture of Maharashtra. This is more so for those who wish to learn about the social and religious aspects of the Maharashtra culture.

The English language press in India under the British was to a great extent an Anglo-Indian press. Very little, if any, information about the social life appeared in that press. Hence to study the Indian society a student has to read the books and newspapers in the regional languages. The nineteenth century European scholars understood very well this position. Most of them learnt the language of a region about which they wished to write. With the present trend towards "instant" scholarship, some of the modern writers run to publication, basing their research only on the English books and newspapers. The sooner this heinous practice is given up the better it will be for modern historical research.

Let me now turn to the next two meetings of the Maharashtra Studies Group.

The fourth meeting was held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 5-7, 1972. The following papers were presented :

- B. G. Gokhale, "Buddhism in Maharashtra, 6th to 8th Centuries, A.D."
- Eleanor Zelliott, "Eknath : Brahmin Poet of the Masses".
- John Stanley, "Somavati Amavasya in the Khandoba Cult".

Michael Pearson, "Economic Elites in Portuguese India, 16th to 17th Centuries".

Stuart Gordon, "State Formation Under the Marathas : 18th Century Malwa".

G. Z. Refai, "George Oxinden and Bombay : A Preamble to British Imperial Ideas, 1662-69".

Chandra Mudaliar, "The Non-Brahmin Movement in Kolhapur under Shahu Maharaj".

Gail Omvedt, "Non-Brahmins and Communists in Bombay in the 1920's".

Anthony Carter, "Political Stratification and Unstable Alliances in Rural Western Maharashtra".

Donald Attwood, "Patronage Politics and Agricultural Development".

John Robertson, "Political Recruitment at the Zilla Parishad Level".

Gopal Kulkarni, "Planning Processes in the Maharashtra Government".

B. D. Kale, "A Century of Urbanization in Maharashtra, 1872-1971".

Karen Freedman, "Social Stratification in Urban Bombay".

Robert Wirsing, "The Role of Voluntary Associations in City Politics : the Case of Nagpur".

Surinder Mehta, "Patterns of Residence of Social and Economic Groups in Cities Mainly of Maharashtra".

Indira Junghare, "Given Names in Maharashtra".

Sharad Gupte, "Reflexivization in Marathi".

Vasant Khokle, "A Componential Analysis of Kinship Terminology of Maharashtra Deshastha Brahmins".

Vasant D. Rao, "Tilak and the Muslims : A Reassessment".

Michael Rosse, "Music and Musicians in Twentieth Century Maharashtra".

Gokhale is a Pali scholar. His paper was based on original sources. Eleanor Zelliott has been learning Marathi for some time. She is trying to translate and edit the *abhangas* of

Eknath, the saint-poet of Maharashtra. Stanley has visited Jejuri and Pali, the two of the holy places of the deity Khandoba. He had a movie too of the celebrations when the no-moon day falls on a Monday.

For writing about Portuguese India, one must know Portuguese and Konkani. Again the span of time attempted to be covered by Michael Pearson was very long. It is very difficult to discuss the state formation in eighteenth-century Malwa without a thorough study of *Shindeshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane and Maheshwar Darbarchi Batamipatre*.

Refai, Mudaliar and Gail Omvedt gave informative and interpretative papers. Gail knows Marathi to an extent and could use original sources. Carter, Attwood and Robertson had moved in Maharashtra for some time. They based their papers on their local contacts.

Kulkarni and Kale traced very ably the planning process and urbanization. Karen Freedman's paper on social stratification gave a good sociological analysis. The influence of an elite class in the city politics was examined in a case study by Robert Wirsing. Junghare, Gupte and Khokle presented papers on Marathi linguistics.

In my paper I have attempted to prove that the anti-Tilak stance of certain Muslim leaders was an after-thought. During the life time of Tilak, no Muslim, worth a note, looked upon him as a "Hindu" leader. After the Pakistan resolution was passed at Lahore in 1940, the Muslim League began to fetch for every stick to beat the Hindus. Tilak as a revivalist was an outcome of that search.

The fifth meeting was held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on April 27-29, 1973. The papers presented there were :

- Vasant D. Rao : "Emancipation of Hindu Women in the 19th Century Maharashtra".

*For the First Instalment, see *QRHS*, Vol. XI, No. 4, 1971-72.

Michael D. Matelits : "Political Use of Communal Tensions : Hindu-Muslim Riots at Yeola, 1893".

Jayashree B. Gokhale : "The *Mahratta* and Nationalism in Maharashtra".

Richard Tucker : "The Racial Factor in Early Maharashtra Nationalism".

Mary Ktzenstein : "Shiva Sena in Bombay".

Neil Rabitoy : "Expediency versus Ryotwari : Reality of the Land Revenue system in Bombay Presidency, 1812-1818."

F. Bruce Robinson : "Resistance and Revolt in Maharashtra prior to 1880".

Stewart N. Gordon : "Land and Economic Mobility in the *Maratha Empire*" (he meant Malwa only).

Keith R. Sipe : "Preindustrial Urbanization Along the Maharashtra Coast".

Narendra K. Wagle : "Historiography in the 18th Century Maharashtra-*Charyuganchi Bakhar* and *Parashuram Chari-tra*".

J. M. Stanley : "The Khandoba Cult".

Mohan Limaya : "Archetypal Symbolism in *Sakharam Binder*".

Indira Y. Junghare : "Relative Clauses in Marathi".

Eleanor Zelliot : "Two Bibliographies".

Vasant S. Khokle : "Comments on the Nature of the Modi Script".

Gopal S. Kulkarni : "Small Market Centers in Kolhapur District".

Colin McAndrews : "The Bombay Twin-City, Feasibility and Alternatives".

Jayant K. Lele : "Theory and Practice of Democratic Practice in Maharashtra".

Charlotte Stablein : "Newspaper Growth in Maharashtra".

My paper was based on original Marathi sources, a large number of which have not

been so far utilized by any one writing in English. Michael Matchits had spent a year in India. He studied about the 1893 Yeola (Nasik district) riots mainly from English sources. A chip of an old block, Jayashree Gokhale, discussed in her paper (she could not attend the session) the part played by Tilak's *Mahratta* (the English language weekly) in the Indian national movement during 1881-1891. Richard Tucker had not written his paper. It seemed that he was simply thinking aloud about the racial factor in Maharashtra nationalism.

Northern Maharashtra and Southern Gujarat is the field of study of Neil Rabitoy. His study pertained to 1812-1818, before the Bombay Presidency in its true form was created. Bruce Robinson discussed among other events the rebellion of Vasudev Balwant Phadke. Stanley carried further his old study about the Khandoba cult, basing his research on the *Khandoba Mahatmya*.

About the economic condition, Keith Sipe's paper on pre-industrial urbanization and Gopal Kulkarni's research about the small markets in Kolhapur district deserve special mention. Jayant Lele presented a well-studied review about the difference between theory and practice in the working of democracy in Maharashtra.

Narendra Wagle discussed the place of *Bakhars* in Marathi historiography.

The number of papers and the average attendance were very encouraging. It showed the interest evinced by the American scholars in the regional history of India. B. G. Gokhale, the Secretary of the MSG, is making efforts to publish a volume of a few select papers under the title *Maharashtra Studies*.

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Toynbee's Study of History, By Dr. A. Krishnaswami, Annamalainagar. 1972, pp. 262, Price Rs. 25/-.

Arnold J. Toynbee's ten-volume masterpiece, *A Study of History*, rightly regarded as one of the most stimulating and thought-provoking studies of our age, has already found a masterly epitome in the West in the two-volume abridgement of D. C. Somervell who, while appreciably condensing the original work, has carefully preserved every step of Toynbee's argument and even his methods, arrangement, and, as far as possible, his very words. At the end of his second volume Somervell has also given the hurried reader, under the title of "Argument", a forty-page summary of his abridgement which has been acclaimed by Toynbee himself as "in some ways, the dearest piece" of the former's work. Dr. Krishnaswami's *Introduction*, though not comparable in any way with Somervell's brilliant abridgement, will serve the purpose of those readers whose curiosity will not be satisfied by Somervell's "Argument" but who have no time to go through nearly one thousand pages of his two volumes. In a handy work of 262 pages Dr. Krishnaswami has tried to acquaint his readers with Toynbee's spiritual interpretation of history and his scholarly exposition of the growth, break-down and disintegration of different human societies or civilizations. Written in a simple, lucid style, the book will be helpful to the students of the Indian Colleges and Universities as well as the educated laymen, not familiar with Toynbee's monumental work. The writer has, however, made no attempt to refute, criticize or question any of Toynbee's arguments or conclusions (including his contention that the Western society is the only one surviving civilization that is not manifestly in disintegration and that this

is largely due to the continually progressive role of the Christian Church) which evidently appear to him as flawless. How far this will be appreciated by advanced students and research scholars to whose needs the work is also supposed to cater is, to say the least, very doubtful. There are also occasional careless mistakes and the printing is not so good.

AMITABHA MUKHERJEE

Woman in Early Buddhist Literature, By Meena Talim, M.A., Ph.D., University of Bombay, 1972, pp. 217, with a foreword by I. B. Horner, an index and a bibliography. Price Rs. 30/-.

This little volume strikes a new path in that it seeks to show the position of women as depicted exclusively in early Buddhist literature. The book consists of six chapters, viz.,

- Chapter I—Buddhist nuns and disciplinary rules.
- Chapter II—Life of the Bhikkhuni in the Sangha and Society.
- Chapter III—Woman's contributions to the development of the Life of the Bodhisattva with special reference to Gotama, the Buddha.
- Chapter IV—The Buddhist woman in various domestic phases.
- Chapter V—Social environment.
- Chapter VI—Woman in contemporary literature.

Chapter I deals with the ideal of asceticism, a feature common to all the three religious systems in Ancient India, and also the types of women who chose to renounce the world

to join the Buddhist order. Chapter II gives a detailed description of the life lived by Buddhist nuns and the disciplinary rules they had to go through to be worthy of their station in life. Chapter III summarises the contributions of women to the development of the life of Bodhisattva (potential Buddha) with special reference to Gotama, the Buddha.

The writer has selected relevant examples of women from the Jataka stories who either elevated Bodhisattva or degraded him. Courtesans, dancers and musicians also contributed a good deal to the achievement of Gotama.

Chapter IV describes the role of women in domestic spheres.

In Chapter V is found a full and illuminating pen-picture of the social environment. The author ably contends that the concept of beauty was highly developed in ascetic Buddhist society. She has proved by means of a graph that the conception of beauty went on developing with the progress of society from the time of the *Nikayas* to that of *Mahajana* (p. 170).

Chapter VI treats of women in contemporary Brahmanical and Jain literature, as also in foreign accounts from Megasthenes and Strabo to Fa-hien.

Referring to the position of women in the time of Asoka, the author reasonably concludes that the Rock literature (archaeological Sources of Ancient Buddhist History) 'supplements Buddhist and non-Buddhist books and other records, and confirms that the woman at the time of Asoka no longer enjoyed the same free and healthy atmosphere, which is evident in the earlier books of the Pali literature' (p. 217).

The publication evinces the author's patient labour and faithful adherence to the original sources. The get-up and printing are good.

The price is a bit high. Any way, it is a useful contribution to the literature on the subject.

B. K. MAJUMDAR

Religion in Andhra, By B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, published by the author, Tripurasundari, Guntur, 1973. pp. 11 + 346 + 16. Price Rs. 25/-.

This work, a doctoral thesis of the Karnatak University, Dharwar (1969-70) claims to be a survey of Religious developments in Andhra from early times up to A.D. 1325. Prof. G. S. Dikshit in his preface assures us of the courage, unbiassed and impartial nature of the author in his treatment of the subject, the first comprehensive account of its kind.

The volume is divided into four books each with several sections and has seven appendices, eight plates and a map showing religious centres in Andhradesa. In Book I, in four sections, the author deals with the principal sources, the land and its people, their racial affinities, early beliefs and practices and the spread of Brahminism. Book II traces the fortunes of Buddhism in Andhradesa, the rise of early schools, the emergence of Mahayanism and Vajrayanism, and the decline of and absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism. Book III deals with the rise and expansion of Jainism in Andhradesa with royal patronage and popular support, its tenets in practice and final decline. In Book IV is found the evolution of Hinduism as a syncretic religion from Vedic ritualism into Puranic theism, Bhagavatism and division into Vaishnavism and Saivism, their mass appeal through caste system, the Temple and the Matha and the Kakatiyas' attempt at sectarian harmony to invigorate political unity, which was their achievement. The Appendices enumerate the Vedic sacrifices performed by Sri Satyakama, the several Jataka stories popular in the country, the text

the Indrapalanagara plates of Vishnukun- n Govindavarma, the discussion on the entity of Bhadanta (Siddha) Nagarjuna of iggayapet inscription with Acharya Nagar- na, the divisions in Jain sangha in Andhra- sa, the sutras, sakhas, and Gotras of Andhra rahmins and finally extracts from Malka- ram inscription of Rudramba.

In the Brahminical literary sources, accord- ing to the author, the Sutras of Apastamba prove the Aryanisation of Andhradesa by the 3rd Century B.C. The dearth of Telugu sources till the 10th century was perhaps due to the predominance of Brahminism and Sanskrit language. Among the Buddhist literary sources, in Suttanipata, the story of Jambhavi, a contemporary of Buddha, attests the advent of Buddhism into Andhradesa, the Athavathu refers to the role of the Andhras in the third Buddhist council, Mahavathu deals with changes in Buddhism introduced by the chaityakas, while Prajnaparamita literature and Manjusri Mulakalpa throw light on life in the viharas in Andhradesa. As for the Jain literary sources, *Kalyanakaraka* by Ugraditya (A.D. 800) was composed in the monastery at Ramatirtham (Vizagapatam district), while *Yasastilaka champu* of Somadeva (A.D. 945) was from Vemulavada Karimnagar District).

Inscriptions beginning with Asokan edicts at Yerragudi, Rajulamandagiri and Amara- vati and those at Nagarjunakonda and Jag- ayyapet mark the expansion of Buddhism in Andhradesa, in the forms of Hinayana, Maha- yana and Vajrayana and the popularity of Bodhisattva doctrine. The Guntupalli inscrip- tion of Kharavela proves the entry of Jainism into Andhradesa from Kalinga and not from Karnataka as hitherto had been supposed, while the Ikshvaku inscriptions refer to the compromise of devotionism with ritualism, the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and their successors, the Eastern Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas, reveal the social reorganisation on caste basis, the rift into sects and Mathas,

e.g., Kalamukha, Pasupata, Mahavrata and Golakimatha. As for archaeological sources, the excavations and monuments at Amara- vati, Nagarjunakonda and Salihundam and sculptures on them depict the growth of Bud- dhism, development of sects and efforts at harmony and take the beginnings of construc- tion of Hindu temples in the country to A.D. 270.

The geographical position of Andhradesa between the north and the south facilitated its early contacts with both the regions as is clear from the routes: (1) through Kalinga to Sravasti; and (2) via Mulaka, Vidarbha and Avanti. The Nagas and the Yakshas, among the pre-Historic races in Andhradesa, figure in the sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, while Nagaloka corresponded to the region at the mouth of the Krishna. The Naga importance in Andhradesa is found amply symbolised in the significant emblem of the Andhra University conceived, designed and executed by Kavuta Sri Rama Sastri and his two sons Ram Mohan Sastri and Anand Mohan Sastri. In his brief resume of the political history of Andhradesa, the author has men- tioned the names of several dynasties in an indifferent way and the Banas of Hemavati among them. There are Nolambapallavas and Telugu Cholas of Hemavati but not Banas.

The advent of Vedic religion into Andhra- desa through Agastya "the Vasco da Gama of Aryan imperialism in India" and the establish- ment of the Ikshvaku Kingdom of Vijayapuri in the wake of Rama's exploits are quite prob- able. With the expansion of Brahminism came Apastamba's Sutras for regulating social prac- tices and Vedic rituals. The Buddhist sites from Salihundam in the north, Gosty in the west to Bhattiprolu in the east attest the expansion of Buddhism in Andhradesa and it had a glorious career for a thousand years (400 B.C.-A.D. 600). The adventurous Andhras carried Buddha Dharma to far off lands, appropriately called Maha Andhra, that is

Greater Andhra, by earlier writers, e.g., Dr. M. Rama Rao.

While tradition has it that Buddha visited Andhradesa by the time of Asoka, Sriparvata Nagarjunakonda was hailed as a celebrated Mahayanatirtha as Buddhagaya to Theravadians. Among the several schools of Buddhism—Theravada and Mahasanghika, Sarvastivada, Mahishaka, Chaityaka, Salla, i.e., Purvasalla (Sriparvata) and Aparasalla (Dhanyakataka), Bahusrutiya and Sammitiya, the author shows that Mahayanism was a natural development of Chaityaka and Mahasanghika practices in the Krishna Valley, Nagarjuna was considered the author of two hundred works of which Suhrullekha, Itsing claims to have seen while children were committing to memory. Prajnaparamitasutra tika figures among his works. His successor was Aryadeva. Among other causes. Vajrayana Buddhism, the admission of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu, e.g., the conception of Buddha as a Mahapurusha in a sculpture at Alampur and the advent of Kumārila, Sankara and Mallikarjuna pandits accelerated the decline and collapse of Buddhism. But Buddha worship continued till the close of the 12th century as seen from the epigraphs of the Kotas of Amaravati and Kondapadumatis of Nadendla (vide the reviewer's *History of Andhradesa* (1000-1500 A.D.) *Subsidiary Dynasties*, a D.Litt thesis of the Madras University (1948) published in the journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, Volumes 18 to 27 both inclusive).

Jainism came into Andhradesa earlier than Buddhism and lived longer and enjoyed popularity from the 7th to the 13th century A.D. The celebrated teachers Kondakundacharya and Simhanandi and the Yapaniya Jainism hailed from Andhradesa. The division of the Jains into the Svetambaras and the Digambaras, the exodus of the Jains from Tamil Nadu due to persecution, among other causes, spread Jainism. The worship in Jain temples was similar to the worship in Hindu temples. But the decline of Jainism was due to its con-

licts with the Saivas who persecuted the Jains, destroyed their temples and raised Hindu temples on the ruins. A sculpture at Pudur (near Gadwal in Mahboobnagar district) depicts Ganapatideva's persecution of the Jains. Kollipaka (in Nalgonda District) the largest Jain centre in Andhradesa was destroyed by Rajendra Chola and Rajendra I, the Chola emperors. Jainism lingered on in Penu-gonda and Adoni till the Muslim invasions.

As for Hinduism, the Smarta movement attempted at the synthesis of the three schools of Karma, Bhakti and Jnana, which culminated in Sankara's Vendantism (9th Century A.D.). While Kumarila Bhatta introduced the concept of Moksha in the Mimamsa system and worship of Panchayatana, Sankara systemetised Smarta religion and founded the Hindu ascetic order with five Mathas. Karmamarga yielded to Bhaktimarga and Puranic religion with four purusharthas became popular. To achieve the purusharthas, vratas, pilgrimage to tirthas or Kshetras, gifts to Brahmins and temples, mathas and satras were prescribed. The Vaishnava movement with Bhakti as the central theme culminated in Ramanuja (A.D. 1100) and was continued by Madhvacharya. On parallel lines Panditaradhya developed Saivism. Ramanuja attempted to make Srivaishnavism as a bridge between Vaikhana and Pancharatra but it came to be divided into Vadagalai and Tengalai. Tirupati was the centre of his activities and Srikurmai, Simhachalam, Srikakulam, Ahobilam, etc., were Vaishnava Kshetras in Andhradesa. Viravaishnavism in Palnad developed under Brahmanayadu, on the model of Sri Vaishnavism of Ramanuja, spread among lower classes. By interpreting 'Kulampru' as applied to the war of Palnad (A.D. 1176-1185), as battle for caste, the author has given a communal twist to his whole thesis for that meaning is farfetched and it is crystal clear that it is a civil war between the two branches of the Haihayas of the same Kula for sovereignty and is often compared to the Mahabharata War. It was not the battle of

one caste against another, but within a single caste.

Saivism is the oldest and the most powerful religion in Andhradesa as seen from references to Banalingam at Gudimallam and Srisailem. The Pasupata, Kalamukha, Kapalika, Siddha, Sakta and Virasaiva sects prevailed in the land. The Aradhya form of Virasaivism was popular among Brahmins, for it did not give up the recitation of the Gayatri and the wearing of Yajnopavita, both discarded by Basava. The author has traced the growth of the temple as an institution since the Chalukya period by the celebration of numerous festivals, e.g., Brahmotsavams at Tirupati and Tirunallu in Srikakulam. Its importance was great in the age of the Reddis and the Rayas. The Mathas, along with the temples served as the centres of learning and diffusion of education, e.g., Golakimatha, Bikshavrittimatha at Srisailem. Sectarian harmony is depicted in the Peddamudiyam sculpture. In the conclusion, the author emphasises the communal twist mentioned above saying that the Kakatiyas' upholding of the caste system led to the multiplication of sub-castes which undermined social solidarity and led to the conflicts between the Velamas and the Reddis in the Palnad war which subsequently made the resistance against the Muslims weak and led to the occupation of the country including the capital Andhranagari. Thereby he attempted to project modern concept of communalism into the medieval age. The work teems with errors in printing.

V. YASODA DEVI

The Topographical List of the Brihat-Samhita : J. F. Fleet, I.C.S.; Edited by Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., Semushi, 42/1A, Sarat Bose Road, Calcutta-20, 1973, pp. 112, Price Rs. 12/-.

The Topographical List of Varahamihira's Brihat-Samhita, compiled first by Dr. Fleet and published in the pages of the *Indian*

Antiquary, XXII (1893), p. 169f, and now edited by Dr. K. K. Dasgupta of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, with "further readings" and additional notes and annotations in the light of modern research, has at last removed a long felt want. As is well-known, the Brihat-Samhita is one of the most important source-books for Ancient Indian History, Geography and Culture. The configuration of Bharatvarsha as conceived in Chapter XIV (Kurva-Vibhaga) is like that of a Kurva (Tortoise). The country is divided into nine parts (Vargas) in conformity with the ten points of the compass and assigned the jana-padas to these nine divisions. Varahamihira's definition of Madhyadesha or Middle Country or Arya-Varta of early times is not very clear, and according to different texts and different scholars, its limits differ. Its "eastern limits varied in different ages, other boundaries remaining more or less the same" (p. 61 fn).

In a short but learned introduction the editor has ably discussed the importance, merits, inaccuracies and misconceptions of the Brihat-Samhita, and observes that his object is 'to make a start, in order that when the lists of other books have been treated in the same way and all have been compared, we may then be in a position to put all the materials together and arrive at some consolidated and satisfactory results'. This will be the best way for preparing an accurate Map of India. Dr. Dasgupta has also given a fine life-sketch of Dr. J. F. Fleet and his unique contributions to Indological Studies. Another feature of this little volume is that the editor has taken care to insert, in addition to the Divisional list, a variety of names of peoples, countries and things not mentioned in Chapter XIV.

The publication, we do hope, will be of incalculable value to students of Ancient Indian Geography. A map illustrating the topography of the Brihat-Samhita is extremely useful. The get-up is good and the price is moderate. We wish the book the wide publicity it deserves.

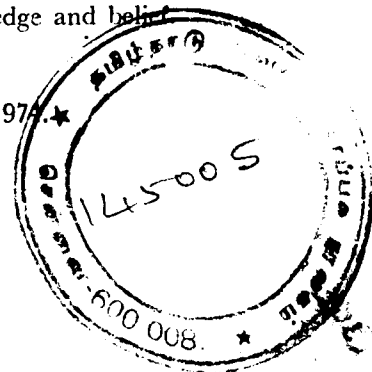
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