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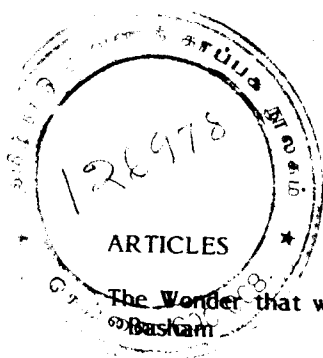
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A. L. BASHAM
Born in 1914 - Died on 27.1.1986

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THE WONDER THAT WAS A. L. BASHAM

WITH the death in Calcutta in January 1986 of Professor A. L. Basham, the world of Indology has lost a giant and the people of India a great and dear friend.

Students travelled from all over the world to study under him. He was the single most important teacher for understanding India for two generations and that impact will be felt for many more years. His contribution to Indology was enormous in many fields. He guided more Ph.D. students in Indian studies than any other scholar of his day. Well over a hundred theses on ancient Indian history, politics, archaeology, religion and culture were produced under his supervision. His book, "The Wonder that Was India", was the standard text in universities throughout the world and among the general public as well. He was a distinguished leader in the Asian academic and learned societies and served on many of their councils. He wrote numerous articles, hundreds of forewords to books and many hundreds more book reviews.

Born in the English countryside in 1914, Arthur Llewelyn Basham was proud of his rural origin. He identified himself with ordinary folk for whom he had genuine respect. He easily felt the sting of any words or actions which offended their sensitivity or dignity.

A distinguished American Professor of Hindi was once giving a lecture in a large auditorium of an American University. Dr. Basham was in the audience. "When speaking to servants and other inferiors," the speaker insisted, "one should not use the polite forms, but simply commands". Basham bristled. In a loud whisper easily heard for several rows, he growled, "He may be right from some points of view, but I thoroughly disapprove." Raising his voice louder, Basham announced:

"I always find that people appreciate polite speech and I intend to continue speaking to servants that way!" The lecturer paused and did not return to the subject again.

Praise for Gypsies

In his last years, Prof. Basham turned his attention to one of the most scorned of India's common people - the gypsies. He relished their harmless hoaxes and praised them as one of the most enduring and cohesive of India's contributions. Drawing on his extensive historical and linguistic abilities, he traced their migrations through Europe and compared their Romani words with Sanskrit, Greek and English. He denounced those who abused the gypsies, venting his strongest outrage against the Nazis who murdered them en masse without the slightest protest from world opinion.

Prof. Basham was a profound linguist and enjoyed speaking and learning several Indian languages. He was accomplished in Sanskrit and Pali, Bengali, Hindi and other Devnagari languages. He also knew several European languages, including Greek and Russian. Indeed, he began his career as a linguist before moving to the study of ancient India.

He was a pleasant iconoclast and delighted in debunking pompous and conventional theories. In his inaugural lecture as a professor of History at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, he deflated the occasion by observing that he saw no particular meaning to history and called it "an academic amusement". He disliked centralism and authoritarianism in all its forms. He debunked Vincent Smith's contention in the Oxford History of India that Indians were happy under centralised rules and asserted that there was no support for such a view.

"Bluff and good luck"

When a well-known Indian politician and philanthropist sponsored a major academic publication, Prof. Basham was

asked to review it. Noting the politician's photograph as the frontispiece, Basham dryly observed: "It is a pity that he could not have taken a lesson from Sir Christopher Wren and have allowed his work to stand as his monument rather than his photograph."

Whenever he was introduced to audiences with the usual superlatives, he was fond of beginning by saying that he had achieved his reputation "through bluff and a lot of good luck."

His first book, based on his Ph.D. thesis, was on the "History and Doctrines of the Ajivakas" - a book he wryly noted was still in stock in the first edition. His crowning achievement in writing was "The Wonder that Was India" - a book he authored to replace another scholar who was unable to do the writing. It was a multi-faceted, grand sweep of a great civilisation which Prof. Basham never ceased to admire. "The Wonder" went through nearly 15 editions and was translated into several languages. Dr. J. F. Leddy, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Windsor in Canada, called it "a benchmark of historical writing" and it was at least that. It became the standard text in courses on India around the world. Modelled in part on the pattern of his own teacher, Dr. L. D. Barnett's "Antiquities of India", Prof. Basham used his linguistic skills to break new ground in translations from the classical texts. In a flowing low-keyed style using primarily original texts and sources, Indian history became vibrant from the Indus valley civilisation through the medieval empires. But his interests were wider than history.

"The Wonder" provides insightful chapters on political ideas and institutions, society, religions of India, arts, language, literature and everyday life in villages and towns. The final chapter focussed on a theme to which he would always return - 'The World's Debt to India'. With the completion of "The Wonder that Was India" in 1954, A. L. Basham, at the age of 40, had established himself as one of the leading scholars in the field.

The flow of students became a continuous stream. Even after his retirement, he continued to supervise students and several were studying under him at the time of his death. The work of many of his students became standards in the field. They themselves exercised a profound influence on the course of Indology as well as academic studies in India.

His students include Prof. R. S. Sharma, former member of the UGC and author of important works on ancient Indian politics; Prof. Nema Bose, Vice-Chancellor of Visva Bharati University, and Romila Thapar of Jawaharlal Nehru University, widely known for her history of ancient India and study of Asoka. Scores more are heads of department in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Several are leading professors in American and Canadian universities. In West Asia, Israel, Europe, Mexico, South East Asia and Australia, his students are to be found.

Although most of his academic life was at two institutions - The School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London and the Australian National University in Canberra - Prof. Basham was invited to give courses in universities throughout the world. For several years he regularly taught at Benares Hindu University where both his students, Prof. A. K. Narain and Prof. Lallanji Gopal, had become heads of the Department of Ancient India. He taught at various American Universities, including the University of Wisconsin. Last year he was visiting professor at the University of Toronto in Canada.

Extraordinary

As an academic supervisor, he was truly extraordinary. Remarkable though his encyclopaedic knowledge of India was for his students, that was not his most impressive quality. They will remember him more for his boundless kindness and generosity. Every student thought he was Prof. Basham's favourite - and perhaps he or she was. Not through criticism, but through never-ending encouragement and confidence-building did he draw the best from them. Never was he too busy, to see one of his students or to go over their work making "suggestions" here and there, re-writing passages or providing references for footnotes. Even in their poorest work, he found something to praise.

In a tutorial he was offering on ancient Indian politics, a new student from South East Asia handed in her paper. It wasn't even typed. Prof. Basham looked it over and said nothing. It was obviously incomplete and of low standard. The girl and the class waited. Finally Basham held the paper up to the class. "This" he said, "is an example of beautiful handwriting. It is a pleasure to read a paper like this. You have the beginnings of some very interesting ideas. I look

forward to more of your papers." The girl was thrilled. She did produce better work in her next paper.

When he became President of the section on India for the 26th International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in 1964, an awkward young Indian scholar presented his paper to the audience of world Indologists. The paper was sadly deficient. It was roundly criticised by some of the leading Indologists of the country. Ignoring their remarks, Basham concluded the session observing to the student: "You have provided us with a most interesting paper which has stimulated some of the great scholars of this country to take notice of it. I encourage you to keep on with your good work." Later in the day, I asked him why he made such a remark on such an obviously poor paper. "Dear boy," he said gently, "that fellow will have enough people criticising him. A word of encouragement is always valued and harms no one." And so he believed and acted.

He was genuinely fond of his students and often carried around a list of all their names in his breast pocket years after they had become established. In turn, their affection for him was rich and abundant. They vied for the honour of his presence and savoured the quiet predictable kindness that he freely bestowed.

Larger message

Prof. Basham was a distinguished member of most of the leading academic societies in his field. He helped found the International Association of Buddhist Studies and only a few years ago organised a new international learned society in another area of deep personal interest - The International Association for the Study of Traditional Asian Medicine. But it was for the Royal Asiatic Society that he had the strongest attachment. For most of his academic life he was a Fellow, a member of the Council and contributed years of articles and book reviews. It was fitting that he should have spent his last year as Professor of Oriental Studies at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, designing an encyclopaedia of Indology.

It is trite to say that Prof. Basham's death at the age of 72 leaves a vacuum in Indology that cannot be filled - but it is so. His insight, integrity, kindness, generosity and knowledge gave him a rare place among scholars and among men.

He frequently closed his letters to friends saying, "ever affectionately yours". That I think, was his larger message to the people of India, his students, all who knew him and to those who feel this deep and overflowing sorrow.

J. W. Spellman

Courtesy: *The Hindu* - Who Was Who - February 10, 1986. Thanks are also due to Dr. Spellman for permission to reprint this memorial article.

Editor



IDEAS IN HISTORY*

B. Sheik Ali

FEW moments come in the life of a person when he feels how gracious others are, and how grateful he should be to those who shower on him an unsolicited honour, which he never imagined he deserved. I find myself today in an embarrassing position when my colleagues, despite my shortcomings, even to the extent of not being a regular participant in the historic sessions of this august body, elected me to the highest honour any historian in India could aspire after. Hence, it is my first duty to acknowledge with deepest sense of gratitude the honour you have done me in elevating me to the position of the General President of this Forty-Seventh Session of the Indian History Congress, here at Srinagar, in Kashmir.

This session is historic for more reasons than one. The Congress is meeting for the first time in Kashmir of enchanting beauty, the gift of God to India, the veritable paradise on earth with the protective umbrella of the roof of the world, to reflect and meditate on issues that have confronted man ever since he gained historical consciousness. Kashmir was perhaps at no time more significant to us than at present, as it stands at the cross-roads of forces that are shaping the destiny of nations, whether it is China or Russia or Afghanistan or Pakistan or India. To Indians in general and to historians in particular Kashmir offers the beacon light to resurgent India in terms of our secular values, composite culture, liberal outlook, communal harmony and national fervour. This is our show-piece to display the finest flowers of Indian renaissance which resisted the philosophy of two nation theory. This is the crucible to test the solidarity of our social structure, the solidity of our political institutions, and the profundity of our humanistic approach. Finally, Kashmir was the only region in our past that produced a historian of the order of Kalhana, the equal of whom is difficult to find in the pages of ancient India. Hence my special thanks

*Presidential address delivered at the Indian History Congress, 47th Session, October 7-9, 1986, at Kashmir University, Srinagar.

to those who conceived the idea of holding the Session in Kashmir, and more so to those who accepted the idea and braved the ordeal of hosting the Indian History Congress (IHC) Session, which has become a mighty affair.

We ought to feel happy that during its nearly half a century of existence IHC has rendered yeoman service in stirring the imagination of our scholars, stimulating them to take up scientific study of history, and in giving them a national direction to a rational presentation of our historical past. A new trend has emerged lately that the Presidential addresses are thematic, assuming the proportion of a mini volume and the character of a path-finder in a particular direction. The office of the General President of IHC imposes on itself one inexorable demand, in an otherwise undemanding office, namely an intensive home-work to produce an exhaustive and incisive address, which is perhaps carried home to be read at leisure, or referred to when necessity arises, but carefully written to break some ice in the frozen rigidities of historical scholarship. Following the same tradition, I have ventured to choose the theme of "Ideas in History" for my address, hoping it would be of some interest to all of us.

What I intend doing is to touch on the general trend of historical thought, and survey the march of ideas in history both in the Western World and in India. Obviously the discussion in respect of India is a little longer as it relates to both ancient, medieval and modern times. I have touched such topics as what the manner and matter of history should be; what the historical thought stands for; how are the historical principles applied and interpreted; what is the genesis of our ideas; how are these ideas come to be adopted; how do they influence other beliefs and actions; what tensions they create; what problems they generate; and what further new ideas they lead to. These are some of the issues linked to the historian and his craft. I wish to say something on them more in the spirit of provoking your thought than offering solutions to them. My sole purpose in undertaking this exercise is to indicate that a historian is a statesman of ideas as also a poet of the mind.

Let me start with a few general observations. History unites the objective side with the subjective. It comprehends what has happened with narration of what happened. This union of two functions is of higher order, which differentiates history from other sciences. Unlike in a study, say Physics, where the knowledge of the physical world alone is involved, in history we have four different meanings. It refers to a kind of knowledge, a kind of literature, an actual sequence of events in time and their cumulative impact on human behaviour, which may lead to progress we call civilisation. The point is that the law of nature is conditioned to a set plan, but in history there is greater complexity which exceeds that of nature. The cow grazes green grass today but gives white milk tomorrow. At least this phenomenon is constant in nature, but in history Brutus is friendly today but not tomorrow. Therefore we have not merely to narrate what has happened but also to comprehend why it happened, which is more difficult. Since the historian is both an investigator and a story-teller, he is both a scientist and a poet, thus uniting in himself the subjective and the objective.

Our complexity arises because of "ideas in history". The world is ruled by ideas. There are two groups of ideas, the practical and the philosophical. The man who makes history clubs them together to make the machine move towards progress. The man who writes history has to analyze these ideas and indicate their proportions which go to form the organic whole that constitutes history. Practical ideas get filtered through human will to result in realities. They are at the base of the happenings, and they influence human affairs. Such ideas as ecclesiastical or temporal supremacy, divine right of kings or the common will, colonialism or nationalism, socialism or individualism, controlled democracy or full liberty, have all been translated in history as practical ideas through human will. The Italians supported the totalitarian ideas of Mussolini as they seemed to satisfy their ego. These ideas lasted only as long as the Italians thought they were useful, and were scrapped when they felt they yielded negative results. In other words the thinking process of the Italians made history at a particular point of time, and these thoughts

were practical ideas which I am making as vital in history. It is the job of the historian to examine these ideas in depth, as does a computer when the stage of criticality is reached while splitting atoms.

Practical ideas alone do not make history. Mankind is betrayed by philosophical ideas as well. These are theoretical rather than practical. Their basis is not advantage or utility, but validity and correctness. Observe India's foreign policy. Alignment might have brought us more advantage from either of the blocks. Then we would not have made history; we would have been camp followers. Buddha renounced the throne, Socrates drank the cup of hemlock; Jesus went up the cross; Abraham Lincoln was shot dead, all because of ideas that did not seem practical at the time, but brought glory to them in history. Much of historical interpretation has leaned on philosophical ideas. Hegel's view of history, or of Spengler or of Toynbee, or of the Greek idea of fate, or of Gandhiji's experiment with truth (Satyagraha) or of the idea of progress in modern times, have all a philosophical base, which is significant in history.

If the historian is a man of intellectual vigour, he could do wonders with these ideas. He would reduce them to a pattern to yield some underlying truths. He would synthesise the data obtained through his ingenuity, industry and honesty which he would process to formulate a general principle. Analysis is like anatomy relating to details but synthesis is like physiology which gives us the picture of health. The historian has to synthesise his material about some concepts which govern the whole of it. "Synthesis breathes the spark of life into dead materials and makes it move as living bodies. It shows him the trend of the terrain, the significance of the valley or the mountain range". Synthesis is to a historian what a radar is to a navigator. Speaking of the historian's craft in ideas one could hardly ignore its significance.

Practical ideas are tested by their utility, and philosophical ideas by their validity. Practical ideas are subject to pragmatic tests, and evade synthesis. Philosophical ideas permit synthesis but evade pragmatic tests. The utility of Fascism soon faded away, but Croce's philosophy of the spirit

or Spengler's philosophy of imminence is hard to test. Therefore, what appears to be desirable is not the synthesis of the type of which meta historians like Hegel, Marx, Toynbee and others have done but the synthesis of the interpretative type such as of Charles Beard, who in his *THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION* synthesised the Civil War exposing the conflict between the old rural culture and the industrial culture of American life, bringing into focus the interplay of economic factors. This kind of history is being attempted in our country as well, but it has just begun, and has to go a long way before all our focal points are fully covered. Knowing the enormity of our canvas, the richness of our material and the variety of forces that interacted in our land, what we have done is meagre. If 200 years of American history could produce at least 16 different schools of interpretation, how much more variety a country of India's size, population, problems and periods could offer to the historians could well be imagined. I am not suggesting that we should imitate the Americans or follow the economic interpretation of Charles Beard, but only inviting the attention of my colleagues to reflect on the need for interpretative history.

The past is never before us except in our reflective spirit. It is we who first revive the past in our mind as a mental picture which becomes in history Asoka or Akbar. The gulf between the historian and his object is bridged, and it is done through a kind of thought which establishes a direct link between the historian's mind and the object of his study. The object must be such as could be revived in his mind. Einstein's theory of relativity cannot be revived in a historian's mind. All that could be revived is the general fact that Einstein has made a marvellous discovery. If atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima or Nagasaki, the structure of the bomb cannot be revived in a historian's mind, except the causes that preceded and the consequences that followed. This activity is purely mental, based of course on sources, and hence the point that ideas are central in history. Our history is rich or poor in proportion to the quality of our mental activity to use our sources to build either a hut or a mansion.

It is not necessary that a pre-established harmony should exist between the historian's mind and its object. What is

necessary is that the historian's thought must spring from the organic unity of historical experience. History writing is both a science and an art. The solid material of his craft, the sources, must be truthful, but its intelligent use is an art, which originates from the organic unity of his conscience. It is here that a historian becomes a path-finder, a Hegel, a Marx, a Kosambi or a Toynbee. Thucydides coming only thirteen years after Herodotus is a world apart from his predecessor. Material remains the same, but one is Guicardini, the reading of whose history is a torture and another is Macaulay whose history is a delight. The value of history would depend upon what kind of thinking has gone into it.

Thought is not the flow of consciousness, but a different kind of mental activity. The flow of consciousness is feeling which comes under psychology. You may feel cold in Kashmir, which is not a thought, but you wrap yourself in woollen, which is an act of thought. Your actual wrapping is not significant in history, but the idea to protect yourself certainly is. The peculiarity of thought is that it is not merely consciousness, but self-consciousness, that generates action. This action is revived in a historian's mind, and history takes shape. Historical thinking is quite different from other types of thinking. It is reflective in nature. Buddha thought before renouncing the world. It is his thought revived in our mind which is the subject matter of history, and not any of our thoughts to renounce the world. If we renounce nobody takes notice of it, but Buddha was in special circumstances of state responsibilities and his renunciation in respect of his position and the age has special meaning. In other words, the nature and the uniqueness of the idea together with its reflection, or reenactment in the historian's mind form an essential aspect of history. Historical thinking is something like trying to remember a forgotten name, when we demand from our memory to bring back what is forgotten. What we try to recall should be something extraordinary, worthy to be remembered.

Having said something what the matter of history should be, let me touch on a few more aspects that affect historian's craft. Ideas are fundamental in history. History would be affected from a writer's whole view of human destiny. An interpretation of historical material is merely a writer's

explanation of the significance of a series of events, an epoch or movement. It embodies his own philosophy of life. Hegel said that every epoch was inspired and dominated by a specific idea. Each idea affirmed as truth brings also with it an idea which denies its truth. The positive and the negative wrestle in a battle, and a new idea emerges. Then the cycle repeats itself. This is the concept of the thesis, antithesis and synthesis applied to historical events. This dialectic method was discarded later as a tool of understanding. But what matters most for us to remember is that history challenges its disciples to arrange the ever growing mass of facts in ever changing patterns, and thus offers limitless scope for keen insight into the subtle ingenuity of man to present a new drama of life from age to age.

Success in history writing is directly proportional to the intellectual power of the writer. It is the special glory of history that it touches the realm of ideas at more points than almost any other study. It responds to every new current of thought. When Darwin came out with his theory of natural selection, Bagehot was ready to show that in social institutions and in the animal kingdom the rule of the survival of the fittest was in operation. Each age was bound by a continuous force which prompts improvement and progress on the preceding age. An uninterrupted continuity of progress does exist in the world under which the weak go to the wall, and the strong prevail. Bagehot believed that a science of history was possible. Likewise, when Marx appeared on the scene, he brought about a radical change in the mind of the historians, who were ready to accept the interpretation that the mode of production in economic life primarily determined the general character of social, political and cultural processes. With every change in the mode of production, the entire superstructure of the society undergoes a change. There was a metamorphic change in the entire approach to history. Value was defined as labour crystallised. The term 'humanism' received new meaning: the assertion of human dignity the understanding that no value was greater than himself, the respect for the labour of man, the faith in his strength and intelligence to produce goods, and the recognition of those who actually produced the goods. Marxism claimed that it had established a link between humanism and the objective laws of social development. It tried to link humanism with science which aimed at the solution of concrete problems of social progress.

Thus Marx was the first to formulate the economic interpretation of history declaring the mode of production to be dominant factor in history. His followers inaugurated an era of monistic materialism. Lenin's MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM, Bukharin's emphasis on a technological interpretation of history, and Pokrovsky's monistic materialism preclude great men as determinants of events. They would only assert that great men have been facilitated by certain social conditions which made their rise possible, and that these conditions are in turn governed chiefly by economic factors.

Without going to examine the validity or otherwise of these views, my job is simply to assert what a radical turn ideas could give to historical thought. After 1914 frustration gripped mankind which felt that "social progress" was an empty phrase, and that march of man towards "better conditions" witnessed unprecedented slaughter of humanity. Not one but two world wars with depression in between offered no hope to mankind. The fashion of historical philosophies assumed cosmic character. The idea of the upward spring towards higher and better life was discarded, and history was reduced to a series of pulsations, to a kind of a swing and a counter-swing of the pendulum, and to a cycle of change in the fashion of summer, autums, winter and spring. Spengler's *DECLINE OF THE WEST*, Toynbee's *STUDY OF HISTORY*, Preto's *MIND AND SOCIETY* and Sorokin's *CULTURE AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS* were all efforts to explain the genesis, growth and decay of cultures. Toynbee has warned us of the possibility that the modern culture might disappear as did the Greek or the Roman or any other earlier culture. He has characterized the national State as obsolete, mistaken and even "criminal entity". He says that the militarism and despotism which it breeds is a threat to the whole future of mankind. He thinks that a world Government is inevitable, but its creation would require a revolution. Great moments of history, according to him, are not those when empires were built, but those when great religions, like Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, emerged on the scene.

Spengler too is of the same genre who struck the cosmic note. His work *DECLINE OF THE WEST* is one of the most influential, controversial and incisive works of modern times

in the realm of social sciences, pure philosophy and philosophy of history. To Spengler history offered a repetitive alternation of liberty and authority, the foxes and the lions. He examined the past in the search light of rise, growth and decay of cultures, and passed his verdict on the contemporary European culture, which he said was on the last leg of its journey. He came out with his cyclical view of history and the immutable law of nature. Cultures are not made to order but are whimsical which like wild flowers arise with superb aimlessness. Spengler's main philosophical presuppositions rest on Copernican system of history which consists in a dualistic division of reality or cosmic energy, into its two main aspects, the world as history and the world as nature. Nature is that shape or image in which the man of higher culture synthesises the impression of his senses. On the other hand, history is the image which the man of higher culture creates intuitively, instinctively and then rationally to comprehend the world around him in relation to his own life.

These two aspects of reality differ from each other along many lines and lead to different methods of cognition of the world as history and the world as nature. The world as history is a living potentiality with life and soul, in a state of incessant becoming, fulfilling an unique life-course or destiny, in the time process, passing from the past through the present to the future, never reversing its direction. On the other hand the world as nature is a realised actuality, a thing become, existing in space as a mechanically repeated necessity of cause and effect. In history there is form, rhythm, physiognomy and individuality but in nature there is only quantitative, timeless and mechanical uniformity. According to Spengler civilisation is the last phase of a culture under the pressure of organic law of nature. Each culture has its childhood, youth, manhood, oldage and decay. When the fire in the culture's soul dies it enters into its last phase, the civilisation. "They are a conclusion, death following life, rigidity following expansion; they are an end ... They are like a worn out giant of the primeval forest, thrust their branches towards the sky for hundreds or thousands of years, as we see them in China, India and in the Islamic world."

We may agree or not with his ideas but his analysis is fascinating in respect of the symptoms he presents of

the civilisation phase. (1) There is cosmopolitanism and megalopolis as against home, race, blood and fatherland. (2) Scientific irreligion or abstract dead metaphysics takes the place of sincere religion of the heart. (3) Bold matter-of-factness replaces reverence, tradition and respect for age. (4) International Society instead of 'my country' and 'my nation' leads to composite culture in which national identity is lost. (5) Natural rights instead of hard-earned rights, which make people lazy, leading to loss of liberty. (6) Money and abstract values in the place of fruitful earth and real values. (7) "Masses" instead of "folks" disturbing social solidarity and political structure. (8) Sex instead of motherhood, and individual family instead of joint family, resulting in broken marriages, broken hearts and broken homes. (9) Imperial expansion, urbanisation and internationalisation in the place of compact societies, national states and rural atmosphere. (10) Finally, the cult of bigness, lust for power and class struggle instead of equality, unity and social justice.

Whether such ideas supported early Nazism need not be discussed here, although Spengler sternly rejected the Nazi doctrine of race superiority. What is of interest to us are the flashes of insight they offer into historical problems, which belong not merely to the limbo of the past, but to the present as well. They excite new formula in experimental search for truth, which is the main domain of the historian. They intend to invite our attention not to the shallow forms of history, but to the higher region of the intellect. They demand from us a more profound treatment of history, which exactly is the issue I would like to highlight. Let us remember Ranke who said that shallow treatment of history would be visited by divine punishment.

We may notice from the foregoing that society betrays its character as a subject for science. Many have been led into the pursuit to detect the secret which would transform these odds and ends of philosophy into an intelligent pattern of harmonious and complete system. Intuitively many have attempted to find a short cut to resolve the mystery of causality in history. Scores of times the historian "must have dropped his pen to think how one short step, one sudden inspiration, would show all human knowledge, how in these thickest forests of history one corner turned, one faint trail struck would bring him on the high road of Science".

II

From the Renaissance period which inaugurated the era of enlightenment, there has been a radical change in our approach to history, which became secular, non-partisan, instructive and philosophical. Pragmatism entered into history which judged events according to their practical lessons or values. That led in its turn to the rise of the Utilitarian School of thought of Bolingbroke, Bentham, Mill and Macaulay. They held the view that the adoption of ethical principles in state policy was not as important as the intention to improve the conditions of the people. Rationalism was introduced even into the theological fields giving us a picture of history in which priests deceive, courtiers intrigue, monarchs enjoy and people suffer. History was brought back from the external to the internal. Not merely the physical but psychic factors received attention. Works dealing with wars, treaties and ceremonies were pushed to the archives for consultation on occasions as 'historical dictionaries'. True history was the discovery of what the society was in the past, its morals, manners, arts, crafts, literature, philosophy and institutions. History was rendered not only more 'interior' but also more broadened in space and time. India, China, and the Islamic world had been completely ignored, and they were not only brought back but also a more refined technique of criticism was applied to the value and authenticity of their records. Depth was given to history by examining the chain of ideas in the light of humanism, pragmatism and criticism.

The pursuit of ideas continued further in the direction of negating the trends of the earlier era. A romantic approach followed, which was a reaction to the rational and intellectual approach. The romanticists discarded reason, preferred imagination, and developed fanciful, picturesque, poetic, sentimental and extravagant concepts in history, which was quite characteristic of the age of Keats, Shelley and Byron. Rousseau's state of nature was a romantic idea. The old religious outlook, the old national customs, regional and local loyalties, old houses, cathedrals and castles, and the nostalgic history of singing again the old songs and dreaming again the old dreams, all came back. The life of chivalry, the crusades, the Gothic architecture and the romantic adventures seized the imagination

of the historian. A new kind of historical romance, the high priest of which was Sir Walter Scott, set a new fashion. Carlyle presented his great man theory. On the positive side, history was rendered more interesting, although more fanciful, injecting greater respect for national character and institutions. A union of philosophy took place with philology, and attempts were made to synthesise events into systems. Again, the idea that history was the teacher of virtue and prudence was discarded. To the question, what is the use of history, 'History' itself was the answer. The nineteenth century glorified itself as 'the century of history'. It humanised history and made it a centre of reality and thought.

The search for truth persisted. The pendulum swung again towards rationalism. The result was Positivism which said human knowledge could not go beyond human experience. It enquired into the processes of events, examined their intrinsic relations, traced their causal connections, and explained historical phenomena in terms of laws and principles. The Positivists felt that ideas in history touched overconsciousness at three points - the integrity of historical events, the unity of the narration, and the imminence of development. These three aspects divided thinkers into three different groups: the historians, the philologists and the philosophers. The historian was supposed to write history, the philologist, to supply him the data, and the philosopher, to draw proper conclusions from them.

The philosophers were the funny lot. They called themselves positivists, naturalists, sociologists, empiricists and critics. Others had worked from the conception of the end, they chose to work from the conception of the cause. Others had attempted a dynamic of history, they worked with a mechanic of history, which prompted them to christen history a 'Social Physics'. Others had relied on politics or economics, they swore by sociology, which itself was the product of their creation. They made sociology stand in the same relation to history, as did zoology to physiology, or chemistry to mineralogy. They jumped at statistics to fly high as science. Comte was the manipulator of all this game.

Comte, the high priest of Positivism, propounded his famous law of the three stages: the theological, the

metaphysical and the positive stage. In the first stage man resigned himself to God, in the second, to metaphysics, and in the third, to the discovery of relations that exist among phenomena. Positivism revealed that there was decreasing generality and increasing complexity in history. Comte believed that the true destination of both history and science was social progress, and that history should acquire right technique to reorganize society. In 1822 he published his plan to reorganize society which became the charter of positive philosophy. In that he discarded metaphysical idealities and prepared the ground for 'determined laws', which governed human societies, as the world of nature is governed by the physical laws. Through these determined laws history was to enable the State not only to govern better but also to predict the future. Comte desired to do for history what Newton had done for physics.

Thus the flow of ideas wrought wonders in Europe. This was promoted also by those who were struggling in other areas to liberate humanity from authority. Montesquieu's *SPIRIT OF THE LAWS* is largely historical in character. Its third part dealing with customs and manners depending upon climatic conditions is of great interest to history. It contains a number of new ways of interpreting history. Likewise, Voltaire did much to liberate history from the grip of supernatural elements. Hume and Gibbon reconstructed history under the brilliant light of reason. The tendency of the times, the tenor of public opinion, the spirit of the age, and not the actions of a single man, received attention. Adam Smith's *WEALTH OF NATIONS* had a powerful impact on history. He dealt a shattering blow at the whole aristocratic theory of history, and proved that history did not revolve either around lords or the clergy. The upper class - the king, noble, soldier, priest and statesman - all came under attack, and economic factors were shown as the central current of historical forces. Even wars were the product of economic factors, and that the principal forces which governed the life of man were production, market, labour, prices and raw material. Adam Smith cut a new path in interpretative history.

The French Revolution gave a new turn to history by its novel political ideas - political liberty, economic equality, social justice, democratic values, nationalist spirit and so on. The masses were pushed on the stage and they became the central focus of historical interest. No longer did divine right theory hold any sway. Along with the political and economic factor, the scientific temper of the 19th century had great impact on historical writing. It bewitched the historians so much as to make Bury declare, "History is a science, no less and no more". History had to keep up with the march of science. Not merely geography, sociology and economics but even biology, psychology and statistics were pressed into service. Thomas Buckle's *HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND* created a sensation. His plea that statistics be increasingly used to establish laws governing human action, which are governed by fixed and predictable rules, was quite in tune with the scientific temper of the age. His emphasis that climate, soil and food are at the base of intellectual progress was a shot in history's arm to claim itself as a baby of science. His conclusions such as people reared in harsh surroundings are tough minded, and that those brought up in sublime scenery are more imaginative excited the historians at the discovery of new tools of their craft.

Thus ideas gave multi-dimensions to history. Social history, cultural history, economic history, intellectual history were all there in the air dividing historians into various interpretative groups. Even literary form was used to explain the vital unity with the existing social conditions. The drama, the epic, the essay, the novel were all vividly studied to draw proper conclusions about the character and tastes of the people, and to know the demand in the market for those ideas. Cultural histories tracing social developments became quite popular.

The journey of ideas in history thus took strange routes. From philosophy to interpretation, from interpretation to synthesis, from higher-ups to masses, from wars, battles and conquests to origin, growth, structure and activities of the society, from descriptive catalogue of events to physical, psychological, sociological, economic and intellectual analysis of vital factors, were all traversed in a manner to show that historical forces are organically connected one with the other

in a rational and permanent order. A new trend emerged in the writing of history. No history lacked a viewpoint or a thesis or a definite principle of synthesis. It may be a common place or obvious view, or it may be of great originality and insight, but it all rotated round a central idea. History without a thesis was regarded as man without backbone. Events in history were woven into some pattern. Some historical theses were non-controversial, but others were highly controversial. Marx's economic interpretation of history tips the scale in inviting heated debates. A thesis may sometimes rest upon new material which presents a new interpretation upon an old problem. Thus history is no longer subject to the attack that it lacks in ideas. It does contain great intellectual fervour. It has contributed much to every sector of human activity, and it has responded to every new current of thought.

III

I would be unfaithful to my salt if in the Indian History Congress I dwell long on western historical thought. It should be mentioned that among all the Indian deities Clio is the one that is most conspicuous by its absence. The weakest link in the brilliant record of ancient Indian scholarship is historical writing. If chronology is the eye of history, what comes from ancient past lacks sight. If history is the presentation of events in their correct perspective, Indians had no historical sense. What surprises us most is that in the midst of Vyasas and Valmikis, Paninis and Aryabhattachas, Dhanvantris and Sushrutas, Kautilyas and Kalidasas, Sankaras and Madhvas, why was a Comte, a Croce, a Spengler, a Toynbee, a Marx, a Gibbon or a Herodotus, not born? The only satisfaction we draw is the negative one. If history is philosophy in motion, Indians could never be excelled. If history is the growth of human mind, Indians surely have a history, although unwritten. If history is the reflection of the essence of human activity, our records are full of them, although they do not conform to the text book definition of history. There is a debate whether ancient Indians possessed historical consciousness or not. Perhaps it is safe to assert that they did possess historical sense, but it was all oriented to a different purpose

of obtaining mental peace, euphemistically called spiritual endeavours.

The point is the criterion or the angle with which we view the legacy of our ancients. If 'ideas in history' is our subject, our literature is so much flooded with ideas that there is nothing in it except ideas. History lies concealed underneath them, as if diamonds packed in a bag and not displayed on the neck. Our legends, myths, traditions, epics, puranas and ITIHASAS do contain so much of historical material that it is futile to say that our ancients lacked historical sense. Ancient Indians did not build historical mansions, but they cut the quarries, brought the material, chiselled the stuff, and drew the plans but did not erect the edifice. They left it for others to do. Those who discussed cosmic consciousness, felt it unnecessary to narrate ordinary events of this planet. Perhaps they thought that human affairs of the type of conflict, confusion, warfare, cheating, looting, change of fortune, rise and fall of dynasties, served no purpose in their scheme of higher intellect. Perhaps the pressing need such as of the Romans or the Arabs to make history justify imperial expansions did not exist with them. Perhaps, the basic philosophy of the people, the social structure of the time, intellectual leadership of the elite, and the psychology of the masses did not permit such an exercise as history writing. A society steeped in the thought that the ultimate purpose of life is liberation from the chain of births and deaths did not bother to think of history. Perhaps the elite were aware that history was Pandora's box whose opening might lead to unknown results, and disturb the entire social structure. That was exactly what happened in Europe on the eve of the French Revolution. The psychology of the people with their contentment, adjustment, compromise, lethargy and immobility did not permit the germination of historical seeds. Perhaps the lack of contact with the outside world, and their not knowing Herodotus or Livy, might have been a factor. Roman historiography emerged only after Rome conquered Greece. Arab historiography followed the Iranian traditions. Even Kalhana, the solitary luminary on our historical horizon, took to history, because he was in Kashmir exposed to the influences of China and the Islamic world. Whatever the reasons, our contribution to history was poor in the ancient past, although we did not lack 'ideas' even in that period.

Creative history suits the genius of the people. Others had placed genealogies in chronological order, we placed them in cosmic settings. Others narrate events after they occur, we mention them in advance as if we are predicting the future. Others take note of relative values, we concentrate on absolute values. Others indulge in narrative, expository and annalistic type of history, ours is argumentative, critical and dialectic dialogue. Perhaps it is in this dialectic dialogue that the truth will be perceived. If history is an X-ray apparatus that gives us an idea of the inner working of the mind, we have numerous such machines. Whether they are Hindu PURANAS, or Buddhist JATAKAS, or Jaina PRABHANDHAS, or Veerasaiva VACHANAS or Vaishnava BHAKTI songs, they are all replete not only with philosophy and ethics, but also with an urge for social change. They give us a fairly accurate account of the society with all its customs, manners and abuses, and they exhibit both the strong and weak points in every vital area. If Voltaire is right in saying that history is not the story of the kings, but the manners of the people, the mood of the age and the spirit of the time, we could claim that our ancients have not after all failed us even in the realm of history.

What we find in the literature of the past is the hard core of history, such as customs and manners, methods of warfare and art of Government, trade and commerce, farming and agriculture, philosophy and religion, education and learning, genealogy of the rulers and such other essential aspects that form the culture. Open the pages of RAMAYANA or MAHA-BHARATA, and you will have a glimpse of the pulsating life of the people. Yet this literature does contain incongruities. Macaulay was furious on knowing that our kings reigned for thirty thousand years, or that our geography was made up of 'oceans of treacle and seas of butter'. But Macaulay was not furious at Herodotus, who while tracing the origin of the Persian kings had mentioned the story of a vain king who was so proud of the beauty of his own queen that he wanted others to be jealous of him. Therefore, he hid his own minister to watch his queen going to bath; but the queen detected the stranger and passed her judgement that the minister should either face death or kill the king and marry her. Obviously, the latter choice was preferable and thus

the origin of the Iranian kings. This is also a story as improbable as that of 'seas of butter'; but the difference is that the Greeks said something that was possible, and Indians said something that was not. Megasthenes mentions in his *INDICA* that he had heard of the Indians having long ears, so long that they could be matched with those of an elephant, and were so wide that women used them for winnowing the grains. The point to note is that both Greece and India were very close to epic age, when imaginative faculty was at its peak. That proves my point that ideas form the substance and soul of history.

Our ancients had one more aspect of thinking which was unusual; mixing of true with false. What the Westerners say would either be right or wrong; but what we say is both right and wrong. Take the example of Aryabhatta's explanation of the lunar eclipse. Alberuni was amazed at the Indian scientist's knowledge of the alignment of the sun, moon and earth in a particular posture, but was shocked to find the same Aryabhatta saying that a heavenly dragon devoured the moon and hence the eclipse. Alberuni could not comprehend why a scientific fact be thus killed by a myth. But this is Indian psychology which is equally true in the domain of history. What the Europeans say might ultimately turn out to be either right or wrong, but what the Indians say would have an element of both right and wrong. One cannot deny the sharpness of Indian intellect, and this sharpness generates ideas.

Again, our ancients dwell more in the realm of the ideal than that of the real. All aspects of their creative genius whether art, architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry or drama are more idealistic than realistic. Hindu art revels in variety and complexity, and delights itself in rich decoration. Even the great secular epic, *RAMAYANA*, presents a possible picture from its second to sixth part, from Rama's exile to his return, but the last part in which mother earth consumes Sita is typical of Indian mind which is restless until it mixes something impossible with the possible. The anatomy of the human figure in Indian sculpture is yet another example. In Greek art human figures gain identity with real human beings, in Indian art they stand for the divine and hence lose proportions. This

spirit pervades every walk of life, and they are indicative of the rich variety of thought.

Our legacy at least in one area of history remains unsurpassed. Our ancients did not use paper or papyrus for writing history. They used more solid substance, copper or stone. We possess perhaps the world's largest collection of lithic inscriptions and copper plates. They are authentic documents on genealogy, chronology, origin of the dynasties, interstate relations, growth of ideas, and also on social, cultural, religious and economic conditions of the time. But one has to use them with great care, for they are no exception to Indian mentality. They trace the origin of many dynasties to the sun or the moon. They speak of mansions having golden gates. It is upto us to draw the inference that they are only speaking of the prosperity of the people.

The argument that ancient Hindu kings had no interest in history is also not correct. They did maintain in their courts officials called *SUTAS* whose business was to chronicle the events and keep track of the happenings around them. But their approach to events was also characteristic of the Indian attitude towards life where objectivity was at a discount. These writings cannot be compared to the chronicles either of medieval Europe or of the Delhi Sultans. Bana's *HARSHA CHARITA* was more a philosophical treatise than sober history. The same thing is true of Asvaghosha's *BUDDHA CHARITA* or Bilhana's *VIKRAMANKADEVA CHARITA*. But Kautilya's *ARTHASASTRA* belongs to a different class, which could be compared to Abul Fazal's *AIN-E-AKBARI*. *ARTHASASTRA* was compiled through the ingenious method of appointing village officials, who kept a record of everything that happened in the village, including its trade and agriculture, the number of inhabitants, their caste and profession, their age, their history, occupation, income and expenditure. This information was verified by other officials through their own intelligence. Thus quite modern idea of a demographic survey was known to ancient India.

The most important historical work written around 1148 A.D. is Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, a chronicle of Kashmir kings. Kashmir was the only region of the time which can boast of having a historian in the real sense of the term. Even this is an anthology of 8000 highly polished verses in

eight books. But we have to appreciate Kalhana's historical sense, when he says that a historian should 'make vivid before one's eyes pictures of bygone age'. He had an idea of the right sources for writing history, and critical mind what to accept and what to reject. He was aware of the purpose in undertaking his work, which was to be "useful for kings as a stimulant or as a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". He has dealt on the merits of benevolent monarchs and comes close to Plato's idea of philosopher King. He has touched on the drawbacks of feudalism, and has suggested reforms in the form of Government. He detests bureaucracy, calls it a stumbling block in the path of progress and he passed the most uncharitable remark about them. "The crab kills its father and the white ant destroys its mother, but the ungrateful KAYASTHA, when he becomes powerful, destroys everything". Who says Indians lacked novel ideas? Kalhana regarded himself primarily as a poet and only secondarily as a historian. He supports a strong Government; and seems to anticipate what Napoleon said later: "If the people call a king a kind man, his reign is a failure".

The SANGAM classics of the South are rich in historical material. They throw a flood of light on social, cultural, political and economic conditions of the time. The vast body of SANGAM literature was the product of a literary academy, which flourished under the patronage of the Pandyan rulers. Their age could be roughly between 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. The celebrated KURAL is also assigned to the Sangam age. They are all anthologies containing pearls of wisdom, but we can glean through them such mundane affairs also as wars, kings, institutions and administration.

Thus ancient Indian was full of ideas FOR history, if not ideas IN history. They have discussed causes, conditions, consequences and processes of events, without applying them to any region, period or personality. Long before Dionysius of Halicarnasus defined history as philosophy teaching by example, they had demonstrated fully its first part although not the second. The literature of the period is all about man, and all that concerns in history, but the whole thing is disjointed, isolated and incoherent, as if a jig-saw puzzle that needs arrangement and labour to put it right. Painstaking research may reveal that there is much more in it than meets

the eye. If history is the barometer to gauge a society's culture, and if culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs and such other capabilities acquired by man as a member of the society, then ancient India would stake a high place for history, although of a different sort. They had a rose garden but they did not pluck flowers for making a bouquet out of them.

IV

When we come to medieval period the position is entirely different. The establishment of Delhi Sultanate inaugurated a new era in historical thought. It presented a series of Indian chronicles, which according to Professor Dodwell were far superior to the English chronicles of medieval times. The Semetic people had a genius for history, and the Arabs evolved a technique of their own, called *isnad*, to check the veracity of every statement. The Arab contact with Greece, Rome and Iran further refined their historical taste. The Arabs were great travellers, and their contact with different cultures enabled them to broaden the scope of history. The illustrious example is Ibn-Khaldun, whose prolegomena has integrated the science of history with political philosophy. Sociologists have hailed him as the founder of social and economic interpretation of history, political scientists have ranked him with Aristotle, and Von Kremer calls him the greatest historian of culture.

By the time Muslims came to India they had already formulated their ideas on history. Unlike the Christian chronicles written by monks, the Muslim chronicles were written by laymen, by men of affairs, and by those who had witnessed the drama, and sometimes, taken part in it. Ideas marched from the mythological, theological and legendary phase of ancient India to a more secular, rational and authoritative phase under the Muslims. The chronicles are full of details following the pattern of Livy and Tacitus to thrill and amuse readers through an exceedingly polished style.

Although the Muslims had a passion for history, it did not figure high in their scheme of intellect. It was religion

and philosophy at the top. History was essential as a course for the education of the princes and nobles, and the historians found an honoured place in the court of the Sultans. History writing by Muslims in India did not conform to rigid pattern of Arab ISNAD but followed Iranian tradition of leaning on authority, on reporters, and on hearsay. The historian was a narrator and not a researcher. Happenings were presented without inquiring into causes, conditions and processes. The common man was neglected, and concentration was on higher-ups. Although laymen wrote history, religious hold on history was not altogether absent. God was held responsible for all that happened in history. God was seen working through individuals. The Muslim historical thought did not follow the MUTAZILLA school, which was extremely rational, but followed the ASHARITE school, which believed that the present followed the past, but not the outcome of the past. They further thought that there was no set pattern in history but a succession of divine acts, and that the events were shaping in a fashion whose design is best known only to God. Such ideas were close to Christian transcendentalism and Hindu fatalism. They did not believe in social forces acting upon one another to generate the seeds of history. The Islamic thought centred on the idea that all actions and events happened on their own because of the Divine Will, and not because of any modification, reaction or impact of any other event on them. Their ideas leaned heavily on providential theory. The Muslim historian was seated as if in the tail end of the train, from where he could get only the rear-view of the scene, and not the twists and turns of the track nor the direction of his journey, he just got an idea of the area he covered. History was theocratic to him, but not humanistic, it was purposeful and guided to him but not inter-related and progressive.

Despite these shortcomings, there was a positive side as well. The sheer number of history works produced is staggering. The very gist of them runs into eight volume of Elliot and Dowson. The Muslims gave to India a kind of literature that was not existing before. They were aware of the utility of history. Barni asserted, "My life has been spent in a minute examination of books.... I have not seen as many benefits in any other form of learning or practical activity as I have in the science of history". To Barni history was a means to strengthen reason and virtue, and a guide to foster progress and learning. Another positive factor was the adoption of

one single era, Hijra, throughout the Islamic world, which avoided the confusion of chronology. Even the Christian calendar counted sometimes with the nativity of Jesus, sometimes with his death, and sometimes with Easter, which was always a changing date. The position in India had been much worse with numerous eras, and hence one single uniform era was a forward step in historical writing.

Apart from history produced by professionals at the court, we have history from the Sufi saints, which is valuable in thought. This is very helpful to us for socio-religious movement of the times, and for the growth of intellectual ideas. The letters, the table-talk, the metaphysical and ethical discourses, the call to eschew sin and the advocacy of liberalism, throw a flood of light on intellectual history. We know that the BHAKTI movement levelled down the barriers of caste, creed and class, and took its stand on the bedrock of humanity. The Sufis did have a part in this movement. Their writings reflect the spiritual development of Muslim society in particular, and of the religious upsurge of Indian society in general. In Sufi literature we find three elements, pure history, pure fiction and pure ethics. The purpose is didactic; common man will understand better through parables, hence the fables and anecdotes, the morals needed to be superimposed on the existing society to reveal what was wanted and what was available - the frailties and the abuses, the strong and the weak points, hence pure history, the goal was higher knowledge, IRFAN, through a technique, TARIKHAT, for gaining the ultimate truth, HAQUIKAT, hence pure ethics. A part of this vast literature does contain pure history giving us an insight into the social structure of the time, the economic conditions of the people, the mood and tensions of the period, and the need for a change. It also indicates the influence of Islam on Hinduism, of Hinduism on Islam, of hopes and fears of a minority amidst a majority, and of the majority at the hands of a powerful minority, and the impact of Hindu customs, manners and ways of thought on Muslim society, and vice-versa. The Sufi literature based on love, service, brotherhood and equality had great effect on the lower section of the Indian society.

The Sufis produced three kinds of literature, books on pure mysticism, books on the lives of the saints and their

discourses called MALFUZAT. The last two have much historical significance, which indicate liberalism, eclecticism, egalitarianism and devotion. Most of the saints led the life of a common man, and sometimes accepted office. Shaikh Hamid-ud-din cultivated fallow land, and declined land grant offered to him by Iltutmish, Shaikh Hamid was a QAZI of Nagore. Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi had political ideas of his own, he was a revivalist opposed to the religious policy of Akbar, and he carried on correspondence with the political figures of the time. His letters indicate the inner working of a section of Muslims on issues of political nature.

What interests most to social history is the stuff served as table-talk of the Sufis, the MALFUZAT. They throw much light on the language and literature of the time, life and conditions of the people, and exhortations for better life. One of the Sufis warned, "If you fly in the air, you are a fly, if you walk over the water, you are a straw, but if you win a heart you are something". This pursuit of "something" is the key to the historical thought of the time. Hamid Qalandar in his KHAIR-UL-MAJALIS makes moving references to the famine of Muhammad-bin-Thughluq's time. The Sufi urged the saints to help the poor, to expose black-market, and to assist Government agencies in relief work. We get interesting sidelights on the character of the Sufi saints. Balban said of Qazi Minhaj-ud-din Siraj, the author of TABAQAT-I-NASIRI, that Siraj feared neither God nor the king, only his own conscience.

Yet another kind of very popular literature Muslims introduced in India was the WASIYATH-NAMAHS or the precepts of eminent rulers and statesmen to their successors. They were read with great interest by political thinkers. For example Balban advised his eldest son, Prince Muhammad: (1) Do not consider the task of ruling over people an ordinary or trifling affair. (2) The heart of a king reflects the glory of God, the heart refuses to reflect if it is impure. (3) He alone is a real king whose officers administer absolute justice and root out oppression. His own example would be followed by others. (4) Do not incur the displeasure of God by indulging in luxuries. (5) Kingship and bravery are twins. (6) Kingship is not possible without justice, beneficence, pomp, army and treasury. (7) Do not undertake a campaign where you

are not sure of success, Kingship cannot stand upon dishonour and humiliation, do not personally lead expeditions against lesser foe. (8) Keep the army, the subjects and the merchants happy. It is a long treatise on statecraft. It reminds us of what Thucydides had admonished long ago: Not every brave man wants war, justice is better than expediency, nemesis follows upon good fortune, love of fame often lures to destruction, and revenge though sweet is never successful. The East was as rich in ideas as the West.

Just to give an example of what sort of history Muslim historians wrote in India, I may bring up Ziauddin Barani. He puts his ideas into the mouth of someone else, adopting the method of dialogue in the true Tacitus style. This would make the narrative more dramatic. He has a philosophy of his own, and makes history illustrate the point that men cannot escape divine judgment. He sees the past as the battleground between good and evil, and men are combatants who get what they deserve. He treats history as a branch of theology; which he thought would open the eyes of man to God, and of the Sultan to his obligations. To Barani, as to Croce, history was higher than science and philosophy, as it was inspired literature based upon reality and experience. It is the strongest foundation of truth, opens us to the wisdom of the past, guides humanity in the right direction, excites reason and judgment, comforts us in our misfortunes and depressions, provokes respect for the righteous and contempt for the wicked, and thus fulfils the functions of both science and philosophy. We may safely say that Barani did not lack in ideas.

Thus Muslim historiography of the Sultanate period was a new experiment in India. It removed a lacuna long existing in the intellectual life of the country. It used the medium of both prose and poetry. It had free access to sources, as the historians were well-placed to observe the events, well paid to concentrate on writings, and well-versed to do the job. But they suffered from some disabilities as well. They adopted not the Arabic but the Persian style, highly embellished, didactic and subjective, ISNAD was discarded, mysticism gained the upper hand, subservience to the Sultan made them parasites, and edificatory narrative was the result.

More damaging was the effect in yet another field, which became more apparent only in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was the anxiety of these historians to depict the Sultans as the paragons of virtue, as pious and orthodox Muslims, as followers of SHARIAH, and as the propagators of Islam in India. This is far from true. Those sunk in wine and lost in abuses condemned in Islam could hardly be called 'paragons of virtue'. Their example, their policies, their way of life were more a hindrance to the spread of Islam, if Islam spread in India it might have been because of the positive effect of the Sufi movement and the negative aspect of the social structure in India. People would not love a fierce monarch like Alauddin, or an inconsistent one like Muhammad-bin-Thughluq, or an intolerant one like Firoz or a weakling like Kaiqubad. But the record of the Sufi saints from Nizamuddin Auliya to Shah Wali-ullah is a consistent record of liberalism, humanism, love, service and goodwill, which attracted the masses, mostly the down-trodden, to accept the new faith.

The motives of the historians in praising the Sultans appear to be three. First, it was the political necessity of the time which compelled the Sultans to use the historians for gaining the support of the Muslim nobles and the masses, who being religious desired to be assured that the Sultan was doing everything sanctioned in the Quran. Secondly, it was military necessity, for most of the Islamic victories of the past had been won in the name of religion, and religion being a sensitive point, an opium, it was fully exploited by the military leaders, who presented themselves to the soldiers as the divinely ordained souls for the glory of God. Thirdly, it was a legal and constitutional necessity, for in Islamic jurisprudence the head of the State was supposed to be a good, true and pious Muslim, whose sole business was to carry out the injunctions of Islam. Whether he was really a good Muslim or not, the historians always made him appear in that light, like the character certificates we issue to the students.

In reality Islam had undergone a radical change in India. From the theocracy of Arabia it had passed on to the monarchy of Persia. The finer element of the Orthodox Caliphate had disappeared. Pure Islamic political theory ended in 661 A.D.

itself when Muawiyah cheated Ali and sowed the seeds of personal monarchy, which took such deep roots that it was never uprooted to this day. But the successful political leaders camouflaged the masses under the cover that they were legally and constitutionally elected. This farce continued in India at every time of succession to the throne. A verdict on eligibility was required, and the historians did that job of assuring the Muslims that the Sultans had never foresaken the principles of Islam. In return the Sultans patronised the historians for declaring them as true Muslims, or else the ULEMA and the MUFTI would disqualify the ruler as unfit. Therefore, our medieval chronicles have to be studied with care. They are useful on information as to what happened but misleading on motives as to why it happened.

V

There is marked change in historical thought when we come to the Mughal period, a thorough transformation in treatment, in theme, in outlook and in technique. A new type of history dealing with the institutions of the people, the progress of civilisation and the growth of ideas emerged. We have now history straight from horse's mouth, the emperor's autobiographies. TUZUK-E-BABRI is a precious treasure, elegant in language, full and frank in judgment, encyclopaedic in information, and incisive on men and events. TUZUK-E-JEHANGIRI carries the confessions of the emperor, Jehangir, of his own follies and vices. A MULLAH like Abdul Qadir Badauni could pass scathing strictures on Akbar, and could go scot-free, something unheard of in medieval times. Abul Fazal came out with his magnum-opus which was a "complete compendium of the political, religious, social, commercial and agricultural institutions of a nation", so valuable as to be unique in the annals of history. Historical material sprang up like mushroom. General histories, official records, biographies, autobiographies, documents, correspondence, SANADS, FARMANS, coins, inscriptions, travellers' accounts, gazetteers, literary works, all inundated the land.

The crown of the glory should go to Abul Fazal for his AKBARNAMAH and to his patron, Akbar. Akbar saw in Abul Fazl to what height history could rise, and entrusted

to him the monumental task of presenting a truthful account of the happenings in the Empire. Abul Fazal, a genius in the arena of scholarship, politics, diplomacy and warfare, was most suited to the task. When the main work was completed in 1598 it created a sensation and Abul Fazal stood unrivalled. Apart from the four volumes on political history, the fifth one, *AIN-E-AKBARI*, dealing with the administrative machinery is most significant. It is a mine of information which gives us minutest details on the extent resources, conditions, population, industry, trade and commerce of the empire. Abul Fazal says that he compiled history with scrupulous regard for truth. He captured the mood of the liberal age, and depicted the manners of the people. He regarded history as 'a unique pearl of science' and it gained extra polish at his hands. Akbar needed a PRO for his policies and no one was more suited for the job than Abul Fazal; and Akbar needed a medium for publicity, and no medium was more suited than history. Abul Fazal believed in Akbar as saints believed in God, and hence his history is somewhat subjective. But this is only in respect of assessing Akbar, in all other respects it rises to great heights. If the highly ornate style of Abul Fazal and his adoration of Akbar are to be ignored, his works would rank as world classics in historical works. It is not like Firdausi's *SHAHNAMA* or Sadi's *GULISTAN* on the lips of those who know Persian, but a celebrated work of reference meant for serious study such as an authority on jurisprudence or an encyclopaedia, consulted when required, but not read for pleasure.

The idealism of Akbar was shattered in the pages of Badauni, a reactionary and a revivalist, but from the stand-point of ideas, a spokesman of a different view. He did not like Akbar's liberalism, eclecticism, religious policy, Rajput policy, patronage to all, *DIN-E-ILAH* and aversion to orthodox formalities, and hence he indulged in polemics. It was the personal rivalry with Abul Fazal, who had risen high. But Badauni stands for full, free and frank expression of his ideas which had not reconciled with the spirit of the age.

Despite so much progress we cannot say that the Mughal period anticipated the historical thought that followed in Europe in the post-Renaissance and Reformation period. Most of the Mughal historians had collected the material painstakingly,

utilised it intelligently and expressed their ideas effectively, but did not interpret the data meaningfully. They had no idea of the conditions and causes that produced the events; or any idea that everything that succeeds is the outcome of what precedes; or any idea that history is a process in which something fresh is created at every moment, or any idea that action always produces reaction, and that the two together will germinate the seeds of history. Although Ibn Khaldun had alerted our mind to the science of history and culture, no Muslim historian in India bothered to think on those lines. Didactic history intended to teach mankind how to lead a virtuous life was still persisting. Yet let us not be harsh on the Mughals. If we judge them by the historical thought of 18th and 19th century Europe, we would be committing the error of judging an age out of focus. The milieu of the Mughals was not supposed to produce a Voltaire, a Comte or a Marx. What is interesting is that even the princesses of the HAREM like Gulbadan Begum wrote history which is invaluable for insights into the psychology of higherups in the empire.

VI

With the advent of the Europeans in India, historical thought underwent a sea-change, not merely in approach, treatment and technique but also in the enormousness of historical production. Perhaps no other country is so rich in historical material as India from 1757 to 1947. An overseas commercial Company gaining political supremacy was anxious not only to retain power, but also to expand it. Consequently the subtle methods it adopted offer rich historical thought. Every policy was put down on paper, every opinion expressed in minutes, and every business transacted in despatches all of which have given us an insight into the entire psychology of the policy makers. Moreover, the establishment of British power witnessed great changes in several sectors of life. The socio-religious changes of the nineteenth century, the new ways of thinking and criticism, the promotion of science and arts, the introduction of large scale trade and industry, the quick means of transport and communication, and radical changes in legal, social, political and administrative set up generated unique ideas in India. As a counter to this, how the British

built up their power, how they killed Indian economy, how they damaged arts and crafts, how they disturbed social balance, exploited the resources of the land, and reduced the majority to poverty and destitution, set ablaze a new process of thinking in Indian mind, which led to national consciousness. This was a period of continuous warfare first for the Company's survival and then for supremacy and expansion. The attempt of the imperialists to use India as a pawn in their game of power-politics further excited the nationalists, who responded in a mighty way. It resulted in the Indian National Congress, in the establishment of which historical thought did have a share.

By the time the English came to India they had already formulated their historical ideas in the post Renaissance and enlightenment era. India offered them a rich field for the further growth of those ideas, and they went on here both making history and writing history. The soldier, the administrator, the scholar and even the merchant who came to India was saturated with historical notions. Broadly speaking they divided themselves into two schools of thought, the liberal and the conservative. Both schools agreed on the necessity to retain British power in India, but differed only in the art of Government in India. James Mill applied the utilitarian doctrines to India, and said that only enlightened despotism could reform the social weakness in Indian society. The second school of thought headed by Sir William Jones, Wilkins, Munro, Malcolm and Elphinston took a more favourable view of Indian society, and desired to effect changes with a sympathetic understanding of Indian institutions. A few other thoughts also emerged. Evangelicals like Shore and Grant backed by the missionaries wanted to bring about a change through conversion and education. Scholars like Lyall, Maine and Hunter took a philosophical view of the situation, and analysed the British rule in the light of the interaction of the Western and the Eastern forces. Historians of the order of P.E. Roberts, T.G.P. Spear, C.H. Phillips, Holden Furber and Professor Ballhatchet adopted Ranke's method of writing history through a careful and critical study of the sources.

When the British historians were wrestling with ideas to prove their point, the Indians were at first bewildered at the onslaught of the political and military offensive as also of the intellectual fervour. For more than a century the Indians watched the game as passive spectators, but almost fired by imagination, as a result of the renaissance inaugurated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, they competed with Western scholars to refute many of the theories which were regarded as unacceptable. The introduction of Western education and the flow of Western ideas excited among Indians keen interest in history which struck deep roots in the country, and produced far-reaching results in the political, cultural and social arena. The Indian response was at first defensive to the charges of the Western scholars who carried on a bitter attack on Indian culture and way of life. James Mill, Elliot, Dowson, Maine, Stephen, Wheeler were very vehement in their polemics. Not having any historical tradition of their own to match the Western techniques, the Indians were at first defensive, but soon realised that the best way to defend was to attack. Their response was in two ways. First, they plunged themselves to know well their own past, which resulted in the hunting for the sources, ransacking the repositories, learning of Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit, and understanding the essence of the Western historical thought. Secondly, armed with the new technique they proceeded to blast the Western attack. They asserted that the true history of India during the British period did not consist in the activities of the East India Company or the British Crown, but in the activities of India's own people. They formulated their own ideas on history, which stated that the real significance of history lies in the transformation of Indian society through the exertions of its own people.

The excitement of historical consciousness among the Indians led to some important results. It opened the vast vistas of India's hoary past with limitless variety and profundity of thought, which intoxicated the Indian mind with national pride and fervour. It dragged them into an argumentative and challenging mood with the Western critics. It served as an instrument for social reforms; a political device in the hands of the nationalists, a unifying force in the hands of some, and a divisive element in the hands of others. From the beginning Indological studies were regarded as a very powerful medium to assist the national cause. History was

increasingly pressed into service for political purposes. Swami Dayanand Saraswathi, Swamy Vivekananda, V.D. Savarkar, Mrs. Annie Besant, and a host of others felt that the moral, material and spiritual development of India in the past was higher than that of the contemporary West. K.P. Jayaswal thought that long before Europe built up democratic and self-governing institutions, India had known them and had practised them. He went to the extent of saying that the republican tribes in India knew parliamentary system, that the voting of grants was in vogue and that the king delivered the address from the throne to the assemblies. To refute the western argument that India was a conglomeration of diverse creeds and conflicting interests, R.K. Mookerji wrote *THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA*, in which was brought out the real unity amidst diversity. *A HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING AND MARITIME ACTIVITY* by the same author was intended to prove Indian interest in all walks of life. Rajnarayan Bose, Bhudev, Mukherji, Chandranath Basu, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and others felt that Indians would remain unrivalled in the realm of thought. India's greatness was shown even in science and technology, guns and artillery and even aeroplane in the Epic Age. The supporting evidence for this was no other than Hanuman's trip to Sri Lanka.

Although to fight for the righteous cause of freedom the use of history was understandable, its departure from balanced judgment and correct perspective led to certain harmful results. Unfortunately the wrong use of history at least in one area proved disastrous in the long run. Distortions of historical facts to refute the polemics of the West was different from giving a communal colour to our own history. The part played by the Turks, Afghans, Persians and the Mughals became a subject of "inspired accounts of the long-drawn struggles between the Rajputs and the Muslims, in which the Rajputs almost always came out with flying colours. Every Rajput became a hero and his rival was depicted as a devil". Latest researches reveal how subjective were the Western scholars of the type of Elliot, Dowson, Wilks, Wheeler, Lane-Poole and Vincent Smith, particularly in respect of the Muslim rule in India, and unfortunately our own brethren also fell into their trap. History became the wholesale shop to supply ideas to such retailers as dramatists, novelists, and poets who magnified the theme to create a situation when two brothers ran at the throat of each other.

This is not to say that the Muslims were not guilty. They would hardly resist the temptation to retaliate, and being less sober became more virulent. History became a battlefield where both Hindus and Muslims, fought to establish the superiority of their own culture, ignoring the areas of their common interest. Historical consciousness was misused to harm each other. Rana Pratap, Shivaji and Ranjit Singh were heroes to some, Mahmud of Ghazni, Firoze and Aurangzeb, to others. In Prussia history under Hegel and Ranke had unified a divided country, in India history proved a source to divide a united country. History, if well-used, is a blessing; if misused, spells disaster.

Historical ideas in India in the first half of 20th century bears analogy to the European thought of the Romanticists era, when emotions and sentiments played the vital role, and history was written not on the basis of reason but of instinct. It became a pistol in a child's hand, who did not know when to use it, and against whom. It was forgotten that patriotism was a virtue, but history was a science, and that the two should not be confounded. Objectivity suffered enormously. British achievements were downgraded. Clive's victory at Panipat was attributed to treachery, Sikh defeat to bribery and Maratha collapse to internal dissensions. One has to remember that history is not so simplistic as to explain an entire phenomenon through a single factor, nor is it to be explained with a particular motive. Research was directed by the nationalists to find out the pitfalls of the British such as economic exploitation, impoverishment of India, neglect of Indian trade and industry, top heavy centralisation, enormous expenditure on the army, military exploits outside the country, and numerous other errors of omission and commission, but no mention was made to give them credit for the political unification of the land, uniformity of administration, introduction of Western science, arts and technology, opening of the country through roads, canals and railways, adopting a rational famine policy, introducing local self-government or maintaining communal harmony and peace throughout the land. A fair historian should censure for the wrong but give credit for the good. What happened in India was that in the court of events history was not seen seated on the judge's chair, but was lost in the advocate's gallery.

Such of those nationalists who realised the harmful effects of alienating the Muslims from the national cause attempted to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity through an over-zealous effort of minimising the differences and magnifying the areas of agreement. Here the British became the scape goat and the villains of the piece. The entire history of Muslim rule in India was shown as a period when there was no Hindu-Muslim problem. The point to note is that historians were divided into different camps or schools of thought. There was the extremist school of Rajanarain Bose, Chandranath Basu, A.C. Das, K.P. Jayaswal, V.D. Savarkar and others who asserted Hindu superiority over others. The second represented the nationalist school of Major D. Basu, A.C. Majumdar, C.Y. Chintamani and Surendranath Banerjee, who exposed the economic exploitation of India by the British. It should also be said to the credit of Indian scholarship that there was a Ranke type of history as well which was represented by such scholars as Jadunath Sarkar, R.G. Bhandarkar, Rayachaudhri, Shafat Ahmed Khan and others.

VII

Historical ideas as gleaned in the pages of Western scholars on India present bewildering variety. James Mill belongs to a dominant school of thought who exercised a powerful influence on the writing of history in the subsequent period. An utilitarian philosopher who used history for his pet theory of pragmatic approach, he condemned both Hindus and Muslims, not to glorify the British, but to indicate the primary responsibility of the Government which was to improve the conditions of the people. Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, Colebrooke and Prinsep were orientalist who thought that the Hindus had reached a high degree of civilization. Elphinstone also took a more favourable view of Indian society. He created an atmosphere for history-writing in India, when Grant Duff completed his *HISTORY OF THE MAHARATTAS* and James Todd his *THE ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHANS*, which stirred the imagination of the people.

Apart from the liberal, conservative and utilitarian schools of thought, there was the edificatory character of,

the British rule. W.W. Hunter was the high priest whose *HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA*, *IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA* and *Rulers of India* series set the fashion. Vincent Smith carried things to the extreme, who would see in Akbar only "a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy". Smith shuddered to imagine what India, "would be again if the hands of the benevolent despotism, which now holds her in its iron grasp, should be withdrawn". It is a pity that Smith was not alive to see the day when India became the architect of the Commonwealth and presented to the British Crown its brightest jewel. Moreland set the pace for economic history of India, and analysed the revenue and agrarian system during the Muslim period. He was also the first to indicate the primacy of economics in human life, and suggested for India controlled economy where the State could regulate all production, consumption and distribution. He judged the prosperity of a country by two factors. One is whether any encouragement for production exists or not, and the other, whether equitable distribution of wealth is possible in that society or not. He acknowledged that India of Akbar's times was more advanced than Western Europe.

One more significant feature of Western historiography in the realm of ideas is the philosophic trend, by which certain historians attempted to examine Indian issues in the light of current European thought. These historians, such as Henry Maine, James F. Stephen and Alfred Lyall, who carried from India finest element of Indian intellectual life of the past interacted with the political philosophy of the times of Europe, and tried to offer solutions to political issues, which were causing increasing tension. They belonged to a genuine liberal group of intellectuals, who believed that the rise of British power in India was the result of sudden accidental factors and not of fraud, greed or aggression. Their main aim was to suggest that the British rule was to be viewed as the fruit of logical and historical causes, that Sanskrit was a member of the Aryan family of languages, that the village community in India was a legacy of the Aryan institution, that India was a repository of ancient languages, usages and philosophy, and that India could be of great help in understanding Europe of the distant past. These thinkers were trying to show that both the English and the Indians had a common parentage, that they belonged to the same Aryan stock, and that they were bound by a spiritual relationship, which was centuries

old, unlike the political relationship of the recent times. They further thought that in the race for progress, India ceased subsequently to keep pace, and that the Europeans first through the Greeks, then the Romans, the Germans, the French and finally the English maintained a steady progress. The English were in India, argued the philosopher historians, to pass on the benefits of this progress. "We did not create it. We deserve no special credit for it... But we have received it, and as we have received it so we shall pass it on".

In their analysis of this historicism, they put a question why the Aryans in India did not excite the concept of nationalism in the East, whereas they did it in the West. They answered that the caste rigidities in India stood in the way. Hunter in his *ANNALS OF RURAL BENGAL* brought out the theory that the Brahmanical class threw all manual labour on to the lowest caste and itself became so weak as to permit more vigorous people to invade and dominate over them. Wheeler said that India failed to develop national sentiments because of the tyranny of brahminical priesthood which destroyed political loyalties, promoted religious hold, and facilitated foreign attack.

Alfred Lyall's analysis as to why India succumbed to frequent foreign attacks was not so much the disunity that prevailed at the time but the failure to develop any other form of Government except despotism. Whereas Greece experimented with such forms of Governments as monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, plutocracy, democracy, tyranny and dictatorship, India knew no other form of Government than monarchy. All Governments in India tended to be unwieldy, top-heavy, over-centralized and dependent upon the military leader. With his fall, the whole structure would come down. The State did not establish a powerful ecclesiastical order which could be a balancing force. Whereas Rome had crushed all primitive religions in Europe in the interest of Christianity, and Islam had done that in the Middle East in the interest of Islam, no such attempt was made even when the Muslims gained political ascendancy in India. Finally, Lyall explained that the British conquest of India lay in the logic of history, for ever since Alexander the Great there had been a steady push of the Westerners towards the East, whether they were the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Crusaders, the Turks,

the Afghans or the Mughals. The other nations to join the race later were the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. Lyall built up the theory of perennial contest between the East and the West.

Lyall drew certain other lessons from history. Over-centralized Governments were sure to fall. The British were reaching soon that point. Any number of roads, canals, railways and telegraphs would not prevent the doom. Therefore, he recommended decentralization and commended Ripon's idea of local self-government. For the same reasons of larger imperial interest, he desired to retain the princely states as a balancing force, as a citadel of conservatism that might stem the tide of liberal forces. No more writing on the wall was required than what happened in 1857 as a result of Dalhousie's policy. Could we say that in the context of the present situation in Free India, Lyall's plea for decentralization has some meaning? Any way, Lyall said that the British had to learn from Akbar who had annexed only that much as to make his power paramount, but Aurangzeb committed the folly of expanding too much, which he could not consolidate and that resulted in the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

A few other interesting ideas were set forth by these thinkers. Sir James Stephen in his *LIBERTY, EQUALITY FRATERNITY* argued that the modern democratic state was neither a heaven of liberty nor of equality but an "all-powerful despotism in the hands of a gifted-minority", that the Englishman who was unwilling to share power with his next-door neighbour, Ireland, would be much more unwilling to quit India. He felt that the modern state was militarily so strong that people were forced to be submissive, that military strength and economic power of the State left no choice to the people except to settle their differences through counting of heads rather than breaking of heads, and that the ideal of happiness was not a constant concept but a fluctuating one from time to time. The conclusions drawn by Stephen were that the British record in India was morally correct, scientifically sound and politically justified. The justification was based, not on race, culture, language or outlook but on authority and military force required to rule over India in order to implement the ideal of happiness. To obtain material prosperity, a price

had to be paid. Law and order, peace and economic growth, science and arts, would be conferred on Indians, if liberty was not demanded. But the ideal of happiness the Indians envisaged coincided with the liberal views of such thinkers as John Bright who thought that the British who preached liberty at home should practice that in India.

Thus ideas have offered a great challenge to the philosophical minds in order to explain the events of the past. Among the Indian historians Professor Muhammad Habib was at pains to explain the main currents of Central Asian thrust on India. He says that our medieval Indian History should be regarded neither as military nor as foreign rule but as an urban revolution carried out in northern India by the Ghorian Turks who were on the borders of India, not strictly outside the geographical limits of the country; and that the political change was merely the substitution of the Ghorian Turks for the "Thakurs" as the governing class. This change of Government led to the enfranchisement of the Indian city workers who were liberated from age old bondage. In spite of the persisting attacks of the Mongols for three generations they could not succeed in reducing India, although elsewhere in Asia and Europe they had reduced every culture to the ground. Like Frederick J. Turner of American historiography, Professor Habib makes the frontier theory a determinant in history. He believed that by studying masses of men rather than ruling elite, we could get the spirit of history. "In the march of mankind it is the masses - the worker and the peasant - that count most". Professor Habib should also be remembered for a new interpretation, which kept sentiments under control. It needed great courage before 1947 for a Muslim to say in respect of Mahmud of Ghazni, "Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader... It is easy to twist one's conscience, and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives".

Among others who have been bold enough to strike an unconventional path in the jungle of historical thought, mention may be made of H.C. Raychaudhuri, who warned the historians that neither the wand of the magician nor the trick of the conjurer could lift the veil of darkness that shrouded the past unless a sincere attempt was made to collect

every bit of relevant data of incontrovertible nature. He did not think that AHIMSA was a very helpful concept in history. It led to disastrous consequences in the case of the Mauryan Empire and also of the Gupta Empire. Raychaudhuri calls Asoka a misguided idealist, primarily responsible for the decay of the Empire. At the time of the Greek menace, what was needed, according to Raychaudhuri, was the calibre of a Porus or Chandragupta, but Asoka was a dreamer, although a great and noble kind. "Asoka's attempt to end war met with the same fate as the similar endeavour of President Wilson".

VIII

Thus the world of ideas has become radically plural in history. It has gained much from varied sources, pursued in varied ways, yielding varied results. But there is some relation in them, all being the attempts to know the unknown. A question could be asked what wisdom could we hope to get from such an enterprise? What do we get out of the integration of these ideas? The answer may be that it would tell us how man understands his past, how the world has come to be what it is today. "World history is the progress of the consciousness of freedom - a progress whose necessity it is our business to comprehend". Nations emerge from obscurity, seek to impose themselves on others, and vanish. It is the business of history not only to say what has happened but also to grasp the rationality of the entire process. Ideas have made history a new science of intense intellectual pursuit. From the Renaissance period it has gone on adding new dimensions to its activity, although the classical and the medieval periods too did not lack ideas. Herodotus and Thucydides were at their best dealing with contemporary issues. History was at the service of theology in the medieval world, and theology itself had high wings to soar in the imaginary world of its own. St. Augustine gave a religious twist to history, which could not stand the test of Renaissance humanism. History developed rhetoric and literature, forged its links with political philosophy, with political economy, with natural science, with sociological studies, with psychology, with jurisprudence, thus widening its net to know what worthwhile things man is doing in the world. Ideas in history help us

to understand what man finds in the world, and how the whole thing he sees is brought about. It is the glory of history that it touches the world of ideas wherever they exist.

My purpose would be served if I bring home to my colleagues the immensity and the universality of our discipline which is coterminous with nature. We may agree with Spengler that reality has only two aspects, the world as history and the world as nature. This devolves on us a great challenge to comprehend its meaning, and to develop the capacity to see all things purely as objects of understanding. We should rise to that pitch where a few pages of history could give more insight into the human mind than many volumes of metaphysics. We should make history a 'major industry' which could satisfy the current social needs, whether of an administrator or a statesman, or a playwright, or a novelist, or a journalist or a social scientist. Cicero was right in saying, "Not to know what took place before you were born is to remain for-ever a child". Ideas in history rush to the aid of any activity, whether founding a new nation, or justifying a legal code, or explaining a cultural change, or examining a new theory or advocating a revolution. History gives depth to your thoughts.

Many a time thoughts reach sublime heights to teach humanity even inconvenient truth. As for example Woodrow Wilson's remark: "Nations are renewed from bottom, not from the top. Everything I know of history, every bit of experience and observation has confirmed me in the conviction that the real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experience of ordinary men. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life courses, like the natural growth of a great tree from the soil, up through the trunk, into the branches, to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is as great and only as great as her rank and file." This refutes the theory of great men as the moving spirit in history. Ideas present before us an exciting picture of the march of men across the centuries, and the multitudes of human beings trying to pass on to us a better life than their own. The world of ideas depict the great drama of life in which characters of all types are ever engaged in

a fight to win the battle between right and wrong. A historian is not a photographer holding a camera, but a painter lost in his skill to produce a MONA LISA, hence history is necessarily subjective and individual, and hence my refrain that a historian is a statesman of ideas and a poet of the mind.

History is the reflection of the genius of a people which results in labour that builds the cultural heritage of mankind. In this process ideas become the pulsating current which gives life to history, whose chronicle is more for contemplation on causes, conditions, character, nature and effects of the events. The advances of invention, varieties of economic organisation, the experiments in Governments, the aspirations of the religions, the patterns of the social change, the panorama of morals and manners, the masterpieces of art, literature, philosophy and science, all are the products of man's mind, which deserve greater attention in history. Creative historiography would emerge when we try to synthesise the unity of human life in perceiving that behind the political, social, economic or cultural factors, there is a spark or flash that forms the genesis of our history. It is a filtering process in search of the ultimate cause, and we land ourselves on "ideas". Institutions, adventures and ways are but the vehicles of the same motivating force which takes us to strange lands.

If we analyse why Egyptian, Babylonian or Assyrian cultures are dead, and Indian culture is still alive and dynamic, we would find that creative cross fertilisation of ideas is still strong in India. I would illustrate my point by taking only one leaf from our most recent history. In the post-independence era a super craftsman in ideas conceived of a policy whereby India, neither commanding the military power of America nor the economic strength of Russia would command the respect of both, and act as the most decisive factor in world affairs. A new concept of balancing force, deeply rooted in the middle path of Buddha, a sort of neutrality, not the passive role of Switzerland, but the active push of the non-aligned, a third alternative not to barter away one's self respect by joining either of the military blocks, and a pillar of moral strength which supports right causes by adopting peaceful yet effective means, were all the brain-waves of one great soul, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the leader who brought glory to India.

The greatness of India is that it has not been averse to absorb ideas from any quarter, which get fertilised in its rich tradition of assimilation. Culturally, India has been reinvigorated by mental contact with the West from Alexander's time, with the Middle East from the rise of Islam and with Europe from the time of Vasco da Gama. Spiritually - the area of its supreme pride - it has kept the dynamo of its churning thoughts rotating from the time of Mohenjo-daro to Gandhiji. Open the pages of the UPANISHADS or GEETHA or GEETHANJALI, you will be struck by the wonder of ideas. Go to Taj or Puri temple or Golden temple, you would be amazed by the richness of ideas. What are our Shankaras, Madhavas, Kabirs, Tulsidas, Guru Nanak, Shah Wali-Ullah or Arvind Ghosh, if they are not a powerhouse of ideas? Socially, a fabric of diverse strands is woven into a unique pattern by the inner urge to find unity in diversity - a concept of deep significance to India. Politically, the battle of Krukshetra in ideas has gone on through the ages, and at no time so intensively as at present, to retain integrity and solidarity, unity and harmony - ideas that decide the destiny of a nation. Economically, the passage of India from feudalism and medievalism to modernism and the marvel of science, have all been the result of the new magic of progressive ideas which is our goal.

Before the end of the century, let us all hope and pray, India will doubtless be among the powers of the earth in invention and industry, in wealth and trade, and in knowledge and wisdom to teach humanity "the tolerance and the gentleness of the mature mind; the quiet content of unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying, pacifying love for all living things". Let this be the 'idea' or the message to the nation of the Kashmir Session of the Indian History Congress.

DRAVIDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT POLYNESIA

Clyde Ahmad Winters

E. J. HANDY, the leading Oceanic ethnologist of the 1930's, hypothesized that the Polynesians resulted from two 'waves of migration', the first had 'Indian Brahmanical culture' and the second coming from 'Dynastic Indo-Malaysian culture'.¹ The originators of these civilizations were Proto-Dravidians of India and Southern China.

Bellwood is positive that the original home of the Austronesian group was southern China and Southeast Asia.² All of their domesticated plants and animals first came from this area.³

The ancestors of the Austronesian speakers were probably participants in the Yangshan and Longshanoid cultures. These people had pottery, domesticated cattle and pigs, grain and writing.⁴

These early southern Chinese were predominantly of Yueh origin. The Yueh were probably the first settlers of Melanesia. In Melanesia they developed a distinctive stamped and incised pottery: *Lapita* (culture), and expanded eastward across the Pacific 3500 years ago. The Yueh group was predominantly Blacks (of Manding and Dravidian origin). The decline in pottery making in Polynesia after 500 BC probably resulted from the expansion of classical mongoloids from Annam and Indonesia, and Yi tribes from Eastern China, eastward across the Pacific.

The Yueh were the founders of China's ancient civilizations including the Shang and Xia dynasties.⁵ The forerunner

of Shang and Xia was the Longshan culture. The **san dai** (three major dynasties) of China were Xia, Shang and Zhou. An old saying among the Zhou said that "The rituals/or rules/ of the three Dynasties are one... the Yin (Shang) inherited their rituals/or rules/from the Xia".

The first Emperor of China was Fuxi/Fuhi (2953-2838); he is described as "woolly haired and black". In the **Shu Zhing/** Shu Chiang the Xia are called **li-min** 'black people'.

The Xia are believed to have belonged to the Erlitou culture. The founder of the Xia dynasty was Emperor Yu. The Yueh tribes are descendant from the founders of the Xia dynasty. Many members of the Yueh tribe spoke Proto-Dravidian and Manding Languages.⁶

The Chinese historical text claims that Xia was outlined by the Yi, Lo, Yellow and Zhi rivers. In this geographical area the Erlitou culture was predominant. The dates for Erlitou are 2030-1530 BC. The Erlitou culture is characterized by bronze vessels of the **chueh** type, jades, and palace foundations.

The Xia dynasty was located in Henan and Shaanxi. According to the **Ku ben Zhu Shu Zhi Nien**, "The Xia Dynasty) from Yu to Zhieh had seventeen kings.... and lasted 471 years".

Early Shang and Xia were closely related. They both shared elements from the Longshanoid and Erlitou cultures. For example, the Taosi ruins, a Longshan site between the Fenhe and Changshan ranges, is considered a middle and late Xia period site. The people of Xia were of the Yueh ethnic group.

The geographical center of Xia was in the Songshan mountains. The Yueh of Xia were great sailors. Cities communicated with each other by sailing along rivers and canals that connected the Xia towns.

The capital of Xia is believed to have been located in the Gaocheng area. The name of the capital of Xia was

Yangcheng. In the **Bamboo Annals**, it is said that "Among the descendants of Xia, Yu resided at Yangcheng". Most researchers believe that the legendary Xia capital of Yangcheng is the Wang Cheng Gang mound near the Wudu river.

The Yueh peoples of Xia and Shang had two major totems. The totem of the Manding speaking Yuehs was the snake and/or lizard (dragon). The Dravidian Yueh people had the bird and/or peasant as their totem.⁷

The Yueh were also called Yuehchih or Kuishuang (Kushana). In ancient times the Yuehchih controlled Central Asia and much of China until the first century BC. In the **Pali Chronicles**, the **Ramayana** and **Matsya**, the Yuehchih were called **Yakshas** or **Kosar**. Although the Yueh of North China established Xia, according to the **Yi Xia Dong Xi Shuo** by Fu Ssumein, the Shang were united with the Yueh of south-west China.

The name Kuishuang (Kushana) for the Yuehchih points to a western origin for some of the Yueh peoples. This is an historical reality because the Proto-Dravidians began their migrations across Asia from Iran. According to Col. Rawlinson, much of Iran was called **Kushiva** in the cuneiform script. During the Kassite period of Iran, the people were called **Kashshu**. The Kassite language is closely related to the Dravidian group.

The Elamites were known as the 'people of the bow'. The Elamites spoke a language closely related to both Dravidian and Manding.

The name of the Elamites is interesting because it suggests that the founders of Shang were related to the ancient inhabitants of Elam. The founders of Shang are called Yi. Yi means 'Great Bow-man'. The symbol for Yi is translated as **Tagung**. This character has two parts: **ta** 'great' and **gung** 'a bow'.⁸ The name Yi, and similarity in the name **Kuishuang** (Kushana) and **Kashshu** highlight the archaeological evidence pointing to a Western origin for many elements of ancient Chinese civilization.⁹

The original Shang also came from the West. The Chinese point to the Kunlun mountains as a source for the Shang.¹⁰ This is interesting. **Kunlun** was a general term used up to the Tang Dynasty for Asiatic and African negroes.¹¹ This would explain the name **li-chiang** (Black Chiang) for the Shang. This suggests that the Kunlun range was an ancient stronghold of the Yueh tribes before they colonized much of China.

The Zhou called the Shang, **li-min** (black people). The Zhou were the first Hua or Han rulers of China. In the **Zhou Li**, the Zhou claimed that the Shang had 'black and oily skin'.¹² The negroid origin of the Shang is supported by a Zhou bronze inscription (c.771 BC), which observes that:

"King/ Wu (son of king Wen) conquered Shang on the morning of the day/jia zi. Having seized the (Shang) ding-couldrons, and vanquished the **dark** (Shang) king."

In the Shang poem **Xuan Niao**, we read that "Heaven bade the **dark** bird/To come down and bear Shang."¹³ According to the **Yin Ben Zhi**, the founding ancestor of Shang was Xieh, a member of the Tzu clan. Here we read that: "Yin's Xieh, his mother, was Chien Ti, a daughter of Yu Jung shih....Three persons went to take a bath. They saw that a **black** bird dropped an egg. Chien Ti took and devoured it, became impregnated, and gave birth to Xieh. Xieh grew up, and assisted Yu (the founder of Xia) in his work to control the flood, with success."¹⁴

The use of the black bird for the founder of Shang, may mean that it was a totem of one of the Proto-Dravidian tribes of southern China. Chien Ti was probably a Yi girl (thus the name Yin-Shang for the Shang dynasty) that married a royal member of the **Black bird** (Yueh) clan. The study of crania from Yin-Anyang indicates that the two main racial groups of late Shang were negroids and classical Mongoloids (like the Austronesian speaking mongoloids).¹⁵

As you know, the peasant was an early totem for some Dravidian tribes of Kosar origin. It is interesting to note that we find bird myths such as this one mainly centralized on the coast of China.¹⁶

Many members of the Yueh tribe which founded Xia spoke Tamil or Manding. The totem for many of the Xia was a bird. The Yueh originally lived in Iran as mentioned earlier,¹⁷ from here they migrated to China.

The founder of Xia was Yu, who was assisted by Xieh of Shang. Yu was a regulator of floods and storing water for agricultural purposes.¹⁸ The Chinese traditions about Xieh working with Yu may relate to the first period when the Yi and Yueh groups became organized into a loose confederation of city states located on high ground near rivers and streams.

The majority of the ancestors of the Lapita culture bearers were descendants of the coastal Yueh (of the bird clan) who supported the first Shang Dynasty and Xia. The Shang were divided into two dynastic groups. The first Shang dynasty was predominately negroid (Dravidian) based at Bo (Po), the second dynasty based at Anyang was led by classical mongoloids (Yin). The Yin or Yi made their capital at Anyang; they ruled for the last 273 years of Shang.

The Dravidian Shang were called **li-Chiang** (Black Chiang). The Shang civilization was born on the Pacific seaboard.¹⁹ This view is supported by the fact that such Shang innovations as **hangtu** (pounded earth structures), turtlesHELLS, tomb construction, bone carvings and jade originated along the Pacific seaboard.²⁰ In addition southern **Nao** (bronzes) and Shang bronzes are identical.²¹ This along with 'black bird' myths, associated with Shang which are also found on the coast, indicate analogy.

When the Yin moved Shang to Anyang, the Chiang-li, lived in Chiang Fang, a country to the west of Yin-Shang.²² The Yi and Yueh engaged in many wars. For example the Xia people were often in conflict with the Yi groups.²³ These Yi tribes slowly conquered the Xia city-states until they became Yin-Shang.

Under the Yi, the Chiang people were made into slaves. The Chiang people were often referred to as **Ta Chiang** 'many

Chiang', they were the agricultural workers and artisans of Yin-Shang. These Yueh people were also used in Yin-Shang ancestral rites as sacrifice victims according to the oracle bone inscriptions. The difference between the populations of Xia (Yueh) and Yin-Shang (Yi) would support Ting Shan's hypothesis that the founders of the *san dai* were of different ethnic groups.²⁴ The cultures of Xia, Shang and Zhou probably remained constant because there was a carry over of the Xia culture traits by both the Yi and Hua when they founded their own empires and made slaves of the *li-min* (i.e., Dravidian and Manding speaking people).

This would explain the passage in the *Li Zhi*, which says that "the regulations of the Three dynasties are the same and all the people follow them". Confucius is quoted in the *Wei Zheng* (The Confucian Analects) as saying that "the Yin Dynasty followed the regulations of the Xia, wherein it took from or added to them may be known; the Zhou Dynasty followed the regulations of the Yin; wherein it took from or added to them may be known".²⁵

After the fall of the Yin-Shang, the Yueh people were forced out of the north by the Zhou, into Shandong, Zhejiang, Fujian, Jiangxu and Guangdong. Later they spread into Anhui and Henan.²⁶

After the fall of Shang many Dravidians of north China took their ships and began to search the Pacific for new homelands. Many of the Pacific Islands as far as Japan were occupied by Proto-Dravidians by 1000 BC.²⁷ Thus the classical mongoloids mainly settled the Philippines and Indonesia which were sparsely populated by Negro and Negrito tribes after the fall of Shang.

The Proto-Melanesians were mainly a mixed group of Yueh tribesmen. It was more than likely that it was the Yueh people that spread the negroid type throughout much of the Pacific and Lapita culture.

This theory of an early Yueh migration to Polynesia would explain the stone images of the Necker Islands, published

by Kirch, which shows negroid features and are different from classic Hawaiian anthropomorphic figures in stone or wood.²⁸ In addition there is a unique relief carving from Moanalua Valley, O'ahu, now in the Bishop Museum that resembles the Fu Tzu/Fu Hao inscription without the Fu element.²⁹ As mentioned earlier, Tzu is the clan name of the Shang.

Thus the migration of the Yin-Shang southeastward after the fall of Shang to Zhou may have forced the Yueh below the Yellow river, from the mainland on to the Pacific Islands. Other Yueh tribes were absorbed by the Yi tribes. This would explain the bird myths along China's eastern coastal region and in Polynesia. The bird-egg motif is also found in Polynesia, where *Tangaroa Maui*, the creator god, had a similar birth to that of Xieh, founder of Shang.³⁰

The second Dravidian migration to the Pacific Islands took place from the Yunnan area. Ancient Yunnan had many diverse ethnic groups living in the province which was called *Gandhara* upto the late 13th century. The multi-ethnic character of Yunnan's inhabitants is evident from the various ethnic groups depicted on the bronze vessels from a Dien tomb from Shih Zhaishan, Yunnan.³¹

The Yueh dominated trade in Yunnan and the Yue empire in Zhou times. In the *Zhu Shu Ji Nian* (The Bamboo Annals), there is mention of the arrival of an ambassador and trading parties from *Tayao* in Yunnan during the Zhou dynasty. These ambassadors gave the King Zheng Wang a monkey that was called *kudang*.³² *Kudang* is the Dravidian term for monkey.

The Yueh of Yunnan, built their empire on the Changjian (Yangtze) and Mekong rivers. It was in the area of Lake Dian, not far from North Vietnam, that Dongson culture originated.

The Dravidian speakers of Dongson were called Yakshas, Kosar or Kamboja.³³ According to Indian records, by 500 BC the Yaksha were in possession of the land facing Sri Lanka.³⁴

The spread of the Dravidian speaking Yueh tribes from South India to China at this early date would explain the

use of the same pointed butt axes from Brahmasiri in India to Southeast Asia.³⁵ In addition, by this time the South Indian adzes were distributed across Polynesia and Japan.³⁶

Another Proto-Dravidian group from Southeast Asia were the Kamboja.³⁷ Other elements in Yunnan spoke an aspect of the Manding language; they were also part of the Yuehchih confederation that formerly lived in Gansu, before they were forced southward by the Hua (Chinese) tribes after 125 BC.

K.C. Chang has suggested that people influenced by the Longshan culture took civilization to Thailand.³⁸ He believes that Longshan culture reached the Red river and the Mekong headwaters and spread throughout Southeast Asia.

Members of the Yueh tribe as they carried the Longshan culture into Thailand may have founded culture at Phung Nguyen and settled Ban Chiang after 2500 BC. At Phung Nguyen settlers cultivated rice, and practiced animal husbandry between 2500-1800 BC. The oldest skeletal remains found in this area are negroid.

The Yueh also settled Ban Na Di, which dates to 1400 BC. From 500 BC up until the beginning of the Christian era we find sudden changes in the pottery; this suggests the arrival of an alien population of classical mongoloid type.

The Dong-son bronze culture originated in Yunnan. Dong-son style bronzes have been found in burials at Anning and Zhiengchuan near lake Dien. In addition the Yunnan sites of Shihzhaishan, Taizishan and Lizhiashan parallel the classical Dong-son sites of the Tonkin Gulf, common styles include bronze kettles, bronze axes, bronze weapons, cattle, peacocks and common decorative motifs.

The Dong-son culture bearers encouraged the migration of the second wave of classical mongoloids from Indonesia to Polynesia. This group probably began to occupy Polynesia after 200 BC.

The Dong-son culture extended from 800-111 BC. Between 500 BC and 1000 AD Dravidian elements began to spread across the Pacific. During this early metals period Southeast Asian Islanders, Taiwanese and Philippine Islanders shared ceramic styles and practiced jar burials.³⁹ The carnelian beads used in the metal age burials were of Indian origin.⁴⁰ In addition metal age sites in the Sunda Islands of Dong-son and Western Melanesia show affinities.⁴¹ This indicates that Dravidians were trading and colonizing Islands in the Pacific during this period.

The Yueh people were soon being pressured by the Qin (255-206 BC) rulers. The major Yueh states before the rise of Qin were Yue-Wu and Ba-Shu. The Yue-Wu states are part of the 'geometric impressed pottery culture' of South China. The Yue-Wu empire was conquered by the Chinese King Weiwang of the Chu State. This culture extended from the South China Sea to Taiwan.

The Ba-Shu state was established in the southwest in Sichuan and the Dian state of Yunnan. The people of Ba were referred to as southern Man. They may represent the ancestors of the Baiman, Puman and Wuman.⁴² The Shu people were Manding and Dravidian speaking Yueh tribesmen descended from the Yueh tribes which founded Xia.

According to a Chinese legend, Huangdi or the Yellow Emperor had his son Changyi marry a woman from Shushanshi. Their son was Gaoyang, who was known as Diku or Emperor Kun. His branch descendants became enfeoffed at Shu and continued in the ranks of hou and bo throughout the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties.⁴³

The diversity of ethnic groups in Ba-Shu is made evident in the Buckle ornament with a ritual scene from tomb No.24, at Lijishan in Jiangchuan.⁴⁴

The Ba state was centered in the area of Chengdu, Sichuan. The Shu state was separated from the central plains by Qin and Ba.

The Ba-Shu made ordinary earthen pit graves and boat coffins. They worked in bronze and had their own writing. The artifacts from Dapona resemble the bronzes from Lake Dian, a centre of the Dong-son.

Yunnan was also the homeland of the Chinese bronze drums. The Ba-Shu probably played a role in the distribution of these drums over Indonesia.⁴⁶ As early as the 5th century BC, these bronze drums were introduced into Malaysia, Java and northern Vietnam.

Both the people of Ba and Shu had a highly developed boat technology and were known as great seamen.

After the Yue, Ba, and Shu were defeated by Qin, the Yueh peoples fled to the southwest and into Annam. During the Han Dynasty the fragmented 'states' of the Yueh people, not included in Qin, were nominally incorporated into the Han empire.

The southward migration of the Yueh peoples after 250 BC probably contributed to the second migration wave of Dravidian people to the Polynesian area. But most of the Yueh tribesmen fled to India, rather than the Pacific.⁴⁷

The earlier presence of Yueh tribesmen in the Pacific Islands explains the affinity between Austronesian on the one hand, and Dravidian and Manding languages on the other. This would support J. Fraser's view that races from India had settled Polynesia and influenced Hawaiian art.⁴⁸ S.P. Smith, in 1898, recognized a South Indian influence in Polynesia as well. In addition, J.R. Francisco is sure many Tagalog terms were borrowed from Tamil. The Dravidian influence in the Philippines and Indonesia may also result from the Yueh migrations to Annam due to wars with the Qin and Han armies.

A comparison of Melanesian, Dravidian, Manding and Polynesian/Austronesian languages shows considerable cognation in the area of culture and kinship terms. (Fig. 1) A review of this material indicates that the speakers of these languages

lived in dwellings established in sedentary villages, led by chiefs and/or holy men. They hunted with the bow and arrow, made pottery and possessed writing. In addition, they share the terms for fish, domesticated animals and root and grain crops, the deity, and major topographical features.

In addition, an examination of toponyms in China, south-east Asia, South India and Polynesia show many affinities.⁴⁹ (See Fig. 2) All of this material, historical, archaeological and linguistic, indicates the validity of the two migration wave theory of Handy, and his findings of an "Indian" influence on Polynesia. The Indian influence results from the fact that many Yueh tribesmen spoke an aspect of Tamil, and helped in the rise of South Indian civilization.⁵⁰

In summation the historical and archaeological evidence supports Handy's two wave migration hypothesis. The first wave of Proto-Dravidians to the Pacific were the Yueh people. The Yueh probably introduced the Lapita culture, since many of the Longshan people used incised red pottery.

The second wave of Dravidians from mainland Asia, to settle in the Pacific, came from Yunnan and Annam. These Dravidians were the Kosar (Kushana) of Indian tradition who were forced out of Yunnan by the Hua, and in Annam by the Thai. Following this migration to the Pacific, most Proto-Dravidians migrated into South India where they were known as Tamil speakers. The classical mongoloids who also settled Polynesia after 500 BC were heavily influenced by the Dravidians of the Shu and Dong-son cultures.

Figure 1 : Comparison of Dravidian, Manding and Polynesian Terms

English	Melanesian	Polynesian	Dravidian	Manding
holy man, chief		*datu, tu'i	tūyan	tu
canoe, boat		*qaban	kalam, kappal	kulu
deity		ku	ko	ku
high chief, lord		mana	mannan	mansa
write		*surat	caru	sēwe
house	apar, pal	*balay	gibu, pura	bō, bu
iron, tongs			irumpu	bara
of Blacksmith		*bari	bey, benni	bē
to weed, cultivate		*babaw	kuni	ku
yam		*qubi	kayal, karai	bake, yege
fish, fillet	ige	ika	barani, parani	bara
vessel	pora, bora	bara-bora	akal, takaji	daga
pot	taga	taga	pakari, pagari	byā, byē
arrow	fana, pana	fana, pana	goonde, koodi	konga, guṅga
ox, cattle	kede	*talun	nātu	dugu, dā
fallow land		*tanem	telil	dā
to plant, sow	kānā		kan	ka, kan
land, place	gure-wa		kuṅru	kuru
mountain		*wasu	ori	wuru
dog		*qumah	kalji	ka
garden, field		taga-ta	keṭtan	tyē
man	ta	papa	appan	baba
father	babi	ma	amma	ma
mother	ma			

Figure 2 : South Indian and Pacific Place Names
[Toponyms collected by Varnos - Toth Bator]

Tamilnad	Solomon Is.	N. Guinea	Japan	Philippines
Adagal	Adagige		Adako	
Alanad	Arabala		Ara	
Attapad	A'ta		Ata	
Bagur	Buga		Baga	
Devara	Deva	Deva	Dewamori	
Doda, Dodda	Doda		Dogamori	
Kalavara	Kalivara		Karawari	
Kambanur	Kambona		Kamibun	
Kanavai	Kanaang		Kanamagari	
Karai	Karay		Karaizawa	karay
Karangali	Kalán		Karannai	
Kari	Kari		Kari	
Kayan	Kajan		Kayano	Kajan
Killiyannur	Kili		Kirihata	
Kota	Kuta		Kota	
Maida	Majda		Maida	Majda
Madarpakram	Madiar		Magari	Madiar
Makurti	Maghona		Makura	
Marakal	Marararó		Maru	
Palavar	Paragát		Parasan	Paragat
Saidapet	Sizajda		Saida	Szajda
Sitarampet	Szita		Sitaura	
Suvarnavati	Szuaba		Suvara	
Talakalla	Talakali		Taraku	
Tura	Turi		Turi, Turu	
Urakam	Uragáj		Urakani	
Urigam	Uri		Urikari, Urimako	

There are ten common prefixes for these toponyms: **Ada, Kana, kara, karu, szu, tala, tom** and **vara**. The suffixes are very interesting, because they indicate city or market, i.e., **ur, vara, and ra**.⁵¹

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THE BHUYAN LAND-LORDS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ECONOMY OF MEDIEVAL ASSAM

D. Nath

THE term **Bhuyan** comes from the Sanskrit word **Bhau-mika**, meaning a 'land-lord' which is equivalent to the Persian word **Zamindar**.¹ The Bhuyans are common to both Assam and Bengal and in both countries they are usually referred to as **Bāra Bhuyans** - meaning the twelve land-lords, although the term **Bāra** does not mean that their number should necessarily be twelve. They rose to political power, taking advantage of the then contemporary political situation of their respective regions.² In Assam, for example, there was a loss of centralised authority after the death of Sandhya (c.1250-1270), who fought the Muslim invaders led by Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yuz-Bak Tughril Khan in A.D. 1255/56; and it appears that the Bhuyans began exercising their independent powers from about the close of the 13th century. Of course, their political status varied according to the nature of the government at the centre. If a ruler at the centre could exercise his sovereign power over the region, the Bhuyans owed him their allegiance, but they used to behave as independent lords whenever the central authority grew weak.

Some of the Bhuyans used to style themselves kings (**Rājā**), whereas some others assumed titles like **Kshatriya Samājapati**.³ The powerful among them again distinguished themselves as **Bar** (big or great) Bhuyans, reducing the petty ones to the status of **Chota** (small) Bhuyans. The **Riyas-us-Salatin** makes mention of the Kamata chieftains or Bhuyans like Rup Narain, Mal Kunwar, Gasa Lakhan, and Lachmi Narain calling them **Rājās**.⁴ In the account of Buchanon Hamilton also, there is a reference to one Harup Narayon as the king of Kamata who is said to have been the son of Mal Kongyar and grandson of Sada-Lukhyon.⁵ It is possible that Buchanon

mistook Harup Narayon (Narayan) for the king of Kamrup, although in reality he was only a Bhuyan. It is also possible that, soon after the return of Ala-ud-din Hussain Shah from Kamata, his son Daniyal, who was appointed governor of the conquered country, had to face a rebellion organised by the local Bhuyans, led most probably by Harup Narayon. The Bhuyans were most certainly joined by the local tribal chiefs like Bisu. As a result of this united resistance, Daniyal and his men were killed and the Muslim government installed in Kamata was overthrown. The Bhuyans now again began ruling the country as independent chiefs. According to K.L. Barua, this "state of things could not naturally continue for a long time. Ultimately a leader appeared who raised his head above all the other petty chiefs and gradually subjugated them all. This was Bisu, the son of Hariya Mandal, who subsequently became king and assumed the name of Biswa Singha."⁶

Biswa Singha organised the Bodo tribes of the region under his own banner. These tribes might have felt their lives insecure under the pressure of repeated Muslim invasions from the west and the oppression of the Bhuyans from inside the region. They also found that the Bhuyans, despite their advance in civilization and superior military strength, were always at war with one another and were making no attempts to set up a stable government. These tribes, therefore, began to look for a leader from among themselves who would be able to protect their interests. They met the man in Bisu, who may have fought Ala-ud-din Hussain Shah or his government in Kamrup under the leadership of the Bhuyans. He may have had knowledge of the military tactics of these latter and combined in himself skill and organizing capacity with political foresight.

By thus organising the tribal strength and winning their allegiance, Biswa Singha entered into an alliance with the Bhuyans. The *Darrang Rāj Vamśāvali* gives a list of the Bhuyans contested by the Koch king Bisu.⁷ J.P. Wade's *An Account of Assam*⁸ records how the Bhuyans, who had earlier fought the Muslims along with Biswa Singha, became later a stumbling block on his way to power. It mentions one Narain Bhuyan as exclaiming: "Biswa, who was till recently a cow-herd, who made you Biswa Singha (i.e., a king)? If you do value

your safety, attend on me in person without delay."⁹ The Bhuyans could not tolerate the rise of a tribal chief in the person of Biswa Singha. And it should be noted that, even though this land-lord class was subjugated by the Koch king, he failed to root it out, and throughout the Koch administration in the 16th-17th centuries the Bhuyan institution remained a state within a state.

It is usually believed that the Bhuyans were of a Hindu caste. But in the *Darrang Rāj Vamśāvali* as well as in Persian sources like the *Akbarnama* and the *Ain-i-Akbari*, there are references to Brahmin and Muslim Bhuyans respectively.¹⁰ This further confirms that the Bhuyans were a class rather than a caste. It appears that, taking advantage of the political unrest in the country, any person having large tracts of land and resources like arms could establish himself as a Bhuyan. In the western Brahmaputra valley, the most influential persons who had both land and military resources were usually the Kayasthas who monopolised the high offices in the administration of ancient Assam and the Kalitas who monopolised trade and commerce. Hence the Assam Bhuyans are mostly from these two castes.

According to the *Gurucharitas*,¹¹ the institution of *Bāra Bhuyans* of Assam originated from the establishment of the seven Kayastha families by Kamesvara Durlabhnarayan (c.1330-1350), following his treaty with Gaudesvara Dharma-nārāyan (c.1325-1330). These seven Kayasthas,¹² among whom was Chandivara, the great-great-grandfather of Śaṅkaradeva, the propagator of the Neo-Vaishnavite movement in Assam, were subsequently joined by five other Kayastha families from Gauda¹³ so that their total number increased to twelve. But this statement is not supported by epigraphic evidence recorded in the *Raut-Kuchi Grant*, Śaka 1251 (A.D. 1329) of Purushottam Das who was a very powerful Bhuyan. The grant records that a thousand swordsmen always marched before Basudev, Purushottam's grandfather who was also the right-hand man of the king (Indranārāyana). The grant further records that Purushottam, "on account of his great wealth was matchless..... By dint of the valour of his arms and heroism he had defeated the rival kings and obtained the glory of sovereignty."¹⁴ This indicates that not only Purushottam

Das, who made donation of a village in the present district of Kamrup to a Brahmin, was a leading Bhuyan, but his grandfather was also a powerful land-lord. From this it becomes clear that there were Bhuyans long before the immigration of the abovementioned twelve Bhuyans from Gauda in about A.D. 1330. King Biswa Singha is said to have fought against a large number of Bhuyans. But it was evidently against the indigenous Bhuyans that he had to launch his initial struggle. The *Gurucharitas* clearly inform us that the emigrant Bhuyans, who had been established by Durlabhnārāyan first at Lenge-maguri to protect his kingdom from the inroads of the Bhutiyas, were later shifted by him to Tembuwani in the eastern part of the present district of Nowgong. From Tembuwani these Bhuyans emigrated first to Alipukhuri and then to Bardowa.¹⁵ If at all Biswa Singha fought against these immigrant Bhuyans as well, then this was definitely after he had consolidated himself in his position as an independent king.

One of the peculiar characteristics of these Bhuyans was that they "were independent of each other within their own domain but were in the habit of joining their forces whenever they were threatened by any common enemy."¹⁶ This also shows that the Bhuyans formed a specific class who had a common interest among themselves for the protection of which they used to fight unitedly when the situation so demanded.

The Bhuyans played a dominant role in the economy of medieval Assam. It was due to their advanced culture that they knew the secret of success and were thus ahead of the local tribes who then populated the whole of the Brahmaputra valley.

As we have already stated, the Bhuyans always profited from the weakness of the central government to carve out dominions for themselves. And it was only when a strong ruler came to power that they acknowledged his suzerainty, but retaining their autonomous status. They reclaimed waste

lands and settled new villages over which they exercised their lordship. They had their own armed forces and exercised their political authority over their estate. Thus the Bhuyans resembled more or less the autonomous chiefs of Mughal India than its zamindars. As pointed out by Prof. Irfan Habib, the zamindar's right over land was called 'proprietary', but that of the chief's was something superior to zamindar's. The latter originated independently of the existing imperial power, and a claim to a share in the total produce of the soil by the state was different from the land revenue collected by it.¹⁷

The Bhuyans were usually men of letters and had knowledge of the scriptures. This was why some of them who migrated from other lands were gifted with lands by the kings of 14th-15th century Assam.¹⁸ Besides, they also claimed virgin lands and thus extended their territories. Thus the Bhuyans became masters of extensive tracts so that they could independently gift these to the Brahmins along with men and materials. As pointed out earlier, one Purushottam Das, a grandson of a Bhuyan, granted a village to a Brahmin in the present Kamrup district of Assam.¹⁹ According to Prof. Amalendu Guha, the assumption of the titles like **Bhuyan, Giri, Rai, Khan, and Dalai**, etc. suggests that "they represented not merely a status group but also a class of armed land-controllers."²⁰ It was again due to their superior cultural achievements that they had knowledge of high-yielding transplanted rice cultivation, and that with the help of their slaves and servants they cultivated their estates without break. It was at their initiative that cultivation of transplanted **sali** variety of rice made gradual progress in the lower Brahmaputra valley, while the same variety was being developed in the upper Assam region at the hands of the Ahoms. This was a tribe that belonged to the Shan race who ruled over Assam for a period of six hundred years.

The peasantry of the estates of the Bhuyans, besides constituting their military forces, served also as permanent cultivators. The Bhuyans had a large number of cows, slaves and servants. The family of Sankaradev is said to have had thirty pairs of bullocks and one hundred and twenty cows.²¹ It was certain that these land-lords hardly allowed their

peasantry to live above the poverty line. The payment of the king's share and the maintenance of the army involved huge expenditure, a burden which had to be borne by the tillers of the soil. Under such conditions, the statement of early writers like K.L. Barua that the rule of the Bhuyans "was just and mild" and that their rule "cannot be regarded as a period of anarchy"²² can hardly be justified.

The Assam-Bhuyans were also expert in trade and other enterprises. Building roads and communications for their convenience was undertaken. The village of the Bhuyans of Nowgong is still known as **Ali-Pukhuri**, meaning 'the site of tanks and embankments for flood control'. The **Kathaguru Charita**, a medieval Vaishnava biographical work, records how the Bhuyans of Nowgong built the embankment along the river Tambuwani for protection of villages and to create facilities for transplanted cultivation.²³ There is evidence in the same work that it was thanks to their initiative that commercial intercourse developed between upper and lower Assam and among the kingdoms of the present northern and the north-eastern states.²⁴ They also undertook industrial and manufacturing works. The saint Sankaradev himself was appointed by the great Koch king Naranarayan (1540-1587), on account of his proficiency, as the **Gomasta** or head of the administration of the weaving industries at Tantikuchi in the present Kamrup district of Assam.²⁵

The above analysis shows that the strong political role that the Bhuyans played in medieval Assam was due to their economic strength. It may be noted here that one Chandivar Bhuyan, the great-great grandfather of Sankaradev, commanded 80 shields,²⁶ and a thousand swordsmen always accompanied the Bhuyan Basudev.²⁷ The kings of this period not only had regard for them for their strength, but failed to uproot these people when they tried to do so. Although the Koch kings established their suzerainty over the Bhuyans of Lower Brahmaputra valley, it was not easy for them to ignore or alienate them; and the Bhuyans flourished throughout the Ahom-Koch rule in Assam.

The living standard of the big Bhuyans was similar to that of the nobility. Most of them apparently lived in the countryside and formed the local gentry.

The appearance of the Bhuyan land-lords in Assam helped in the feudalisation of society. With the slaves, servants and the peasant labourers at the bottom, the Bhuyans formed a class of lords similar to the feudal lords just below the kings. With their economic and military strength they suppressed and oppressed the lower echelons and at the same time served the military needs of the powerful kings when called upon to do so.

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**TIBET ON THE IMPERIAL CHESSBOARD :
A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHIC SURVEY (C.1924-84)***

Parshotam Mehra

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LONG before the trauma of the March 1959 Rebellion in Lhasa followed by the flight of the 14th Dalai Lama with a vast conclave of his lamas and people in train, interest in Tibet and its affairs had been of an abiding nature, undimmed over the many centuries before the now fast-fading twentieth. It has always been the great Shangri-la, the forbidden land of mystery and snow, of high adventure. The scenario has changed perceptibly over the past quarter of a century but excitement and concern over development does not seem to abate. News-wise the Dalai Lama's activities evoke a lot of interest, both in India and abroad. Periodic visits of some of his counsellors to Beijing and one has been in the offing for a while - and onwards to the land of their birth and faith, as also active speculation about his own eventual return to his people, after a firm understanding with the Chinese, continue to occupy an important place in newspapers and the media. No wonder the subject evokes and generates lively empathy as well as bouts of research activity leading often-times to scholarly works of no mean merit.

Starting with Charles Bell's authoritative **Tibet, Past and Present** (1924), three excellent studies appeared. One was his own, **Portrait of the Dalai Lama** (1946), a glowing tribute to a warm and close relationship which the British Political Officer, so knowledgeable about the language, religion and people of Tibet,** developed with its then ruler, the

* A revised and expanded version of a paper prepared for the Centre for Rural and Industrial Research.

** Bell's **English-Tibetan Dictionary**, first published in 1905 remains to-date 'the best practical guide' to the spoken language; his **People of Tibet** (1928) and **Religion of Tibet** (1931) are still rated high. pp. 1, 1a, 2-7, 7a and 8-18.

13th Dalai Lama. Based on his first-hand acquaintance with the country and its polity - Bell was for a few years administrator of the Chumbi valley under the terms of the Lhasa Convention of 1904 and later stayed for a whole year (1920-21) in the Tibetan capital as a personal guest of the Dalai Lama - its pages evocative of an era in Tibet's history when the country functioned more or less as an independent entity, China's theoretical protestations to the contrary notwithstanding.

Nearly a decade later appeared B.J. Gould's *The Jewel in the Lotus* (1957), the title a literal translation of the all-too-familiar and ubiquitous Tibetan mantram, 'Om Mani Padme Hum'. Like Bell before him, Basil Gould was India's Political officer in Sikkim and had an intimate knowledge of the Tibetan landscape, both physical as well as metaphysical. Unlike Bell who far from being tall was at once thin and wiry, Gould, large, well-built and almost elephantine in proportions had a shrewd grasp of men and things. Bell's years in and around Lhasa belong to the hey-day of the 13th Dalai Lama, Gould's to its aftermath. It was a difficult, unenviable legacy. For even at the best of times, the hiatus that inevitably yawned between the departure of one incarnation of Chenrezi and the re-appearance, in human form, of his spiritual successor, is filled by all kinds of men with their base intrigue and low cunning. In the present case it was further complicated by a bold Kuomintang Chinese initiative to stage a come back, the more violent in as much as the Great 13th had managed, in a most adroit manner, to keep both China and the Chinese at bay. And this despite his own far from happy relations with his great spiritual (and political) rival, the Panchen Lama who, fearing for the worst, had left (1923) his seat of authority at Tashilhunpo to seek shelter among his Kuomintang supporters.

Gould's account, written with great feeling and perception, re-captures that decade of flux and uncertainty which separates the death of the 13th Dalai Lama and the discovery and installation (1940) of his successor, the incumbent 14th. It was a great event; in ceremonies marking it, Gould had participated and deputised for his government. In between, he had visited Lhasa more than once, and after 1936, stationed a British presence there in the person of H.E. Richardson. The latter eventually succeeded Gould and, in turn, handed

over (1950) to independent India's own corps of distinguished diplomats.

Richardson's *Tibet and Its History* (1962) is like Bell's masterly, authoritative, written with insight, sympathy and understanding. As a first-hand witness to all that took place in Lhasa to the very eve of the Communist Chinese 'liberation' of the country, his work is invaluable. More, to the extent he was a master of the language and a shrewd observer of the political landscape who scrupulously kept his distance and never got too deeply involved, Richardson's book has an imprint of magisterial dignity if also its concomitant aloofness.

In sharp contrast is Heinrich Harrer's excellent *Seven Years in Tibet* (1957). A mountaineer with great fascination for unknown lands and peoples, Harrer trudged his way to holy Lhasa as a runaway from British India's prison camp at Dehra Dun. As one who came to know Tibet and the Tibetans at the grass roots level, Harrer was completely at home in Lhasa and made himself useful in numerous ways. Among others he was sought by the child Dalai Lama, the 14th, to whom as a tutor and companion of sorts he gave an exposure to the world outside Tibet's constrained confines. His book which was first published more than a quarter century ago has run into any number of editions and translations. It is a vivid, animated conceptualisation of an ethos and a people so remarkably insular with all their fascinating mumbo-jumbo of religious rites and colourful ceremonies before the Han Chinese swooped down on them, marching in to reclaim their self-proclaimed patrimony. One may add, if in parenthesis, that Harrer's more recent *Return to Tibet* (1984) is, in sharp contrast, a keen disappointment. The 'new' Tibet evokes little interest, less enthusiasm either in the author or in his readers.

II

With the disappearance of 'old' Tibet, there has come about a virtual sea-change over the landscape and, inevitably, on the works it now provokes. Lhasa is a well-nigh closed

book and the old caravan route across the Nathu la and the Chumbi valley through Gyantse and over the turquoise-blue Yamdok Tso, a thing of the past, evocative of an age and an era that is dead and gone. India's diplomatic, later (after 1954) consular, representation at Lhasa has been non-existent for over a quarter century now. The Dalai Lama himself and his vast retinue of counsellors and 'ministers' and nearly 100,000 laity, followed him into exile. How soon, if at all, he and his people will return to their land of birth and faith is any one's guess contingent upon a host of factors and forces that are difficult to presage.

In the new political climate that prevails in Sino-Indian relations, with its regional and global ramifications, Tibet and its southern frontier with the sub-continent has assumed an importance and a relevance it had rarely known before. In the event, a hark-back to the Sino-Indian armed conflict of 1962 becomes imperative if only to underline the significance of a closer, and more objective, assessment of the two issues highlighted above : Tibet and India's land frontier with (Tibet's) China.

A pioneering and in many ways perceptive study of Britain's relationship with China in the context of high Asia was Alastair Lamb's **Britain and Chinese Central Asia** (1960). Its sub-title, 'The Road to Lhasa, 1767 to 1905', summed up the main thrust of Lamb's thesis: a detailed historical survey, it rested on a solid sub-stratum of archival sources at the India Office Library and the Public Record Office in London.

Not long after came Peter Fleming's **Bayonets to Lhasa** (1961). No two studies could be so varied in genre: Lamb's prosaic but thoroughly researched; Peter Fleming's somewhat loose on facts but written in good journalese with great verve and feeling. Fleming took up the theme of the penultimate chapter in Lamb, on Curzon and the expedition to Lhasa. With pardonable exaggeration, he highly dramatised an episode that did not lack in all that makes for an exciting climax. In sum, it was a popular version of Younghusband's march to Lhasa under the aegis of a pushful Curzon who was openly at odds with his political masters in Whitehall.

Parshotam Mehra's **The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation** (1968) was more in consonance with Lamb, less with Fleming: being essentially an academic exercise that sought to place the expedition to Lhasa in its proper historical perspective. This called for a good understanding both of Tibet and its then powerful potentate, the 13th Dalai Lama and of Curzon with his obsessive Russophobia, close relationship with Younghusband whom he had known earlier and mounting tensions with his political bosses in London whom he distrusted and who, in turn, cordially returned the compliment. Based on archival sources and the private papers of the principal dramatis personae it sought to achieve a comprehensive perception of an important watershed in the history of British India's relations with Tibet, and China.

III

As the sixties which opened with the trauma of the Sino-Indian border conflict in the Himalayas wore on, the focus of attention gradually shifted to a study of the long and sprawling land frontier between Tibet and its southern neighbour, now openly challenged.

A slender but useful monograph by Lamb, **The Origins of the Disputed Boundaries** (1962) was followed by his more detailed study of **The McMahon Line** (1966), in two solid volumes. Resting on a thorough and careful research into archival sources in London, Lamb came close to suggesting that the ill-begotten McMahon line lacked validity, and even in 1914, was sought to be forced upon a recalcitrant Chinese regime in Peking. Shortly afterwards, Dorothy Woodman whose standing as a geographer and journalist knew few peers came out with a large and comprehensive study, **The Himalayan Frontiers** (1969) which, besides the McMahon Line, embraced the Ladakh frontier as well. To an extent she endeavoured to rectify some of the errors of omission and commission into which Lamb had strayed. She had the additional advantage of direct access to source material outside London and, thanks to her life-long partnership with Kingsley Martin, was close to the corridors of power in New Delhi and not unreceptive to some of its nuances.

Just about then had appeared Tsepon W D Shakabpa's **Tibet : A Political History** (1967). This was important if only in that its author, a one time highly placed official of the Tibetan government, had been a witness to some of the events he now sought to present to a wider audience. In fact, Shakabpa's was the first authentic account of how Tibet had viewed events concerning her about which the world outside had been furnished different versions by everyone except one of its own nationals. It was like a blast of fresh air in a milieu that had known only the well-worn, familiar themes of the Chinese or the British or an odd outsider.

In 1974 appeared Parshotam Mehra's large, one volume study, **The McMahon Line and After**. It sought an objective assessment of events leading to the Simla conference, where the McMahon Line was drawn, and its aftermath. Broadly it took up the threads after Younghusband left Lhasa with the controversial convention in his pocket and brought it down to the eve of China's 'liberation' in the aftermath of the 14th Dalai Lama's accession to power and authority in the Tibetan capital. Mehra's study had an edge over Lamb's in so far as it had ransacked every scrap of archival evidence available in New Delhi in addition to what London offered. Besides, in surveying the post-1914 decades, long after McMahon and his peers in Peking and Lhasa had left the scene, a certain in-depth understanding of events relating to the eastern frontier had become possible.

A couple of years later appeared Parshotam Mehra's slender, a little less than 100-paged, **Tibetan Polity, 1904-37**. Part of the prestigious Asiatische Forschungen series, and based on his 1973 lectures at the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft in the University of Bonn, the monograph was an attempt at plotting a graph as it were of the personal rivalries - with their profound ramifications both in India and China - between Tibet's supreme incarnate lamas. For sure, the sub-title: 'the conflict between the 13th Dalai Lama and the 9th Panchen Lama, a case study', neatly summed up the contents. These not merely highlighted the important landmarks in the history of Tibet, of which the Lamas' far from high-minded quarrels furnished the inevitable warp and woof. More, it also provided rich background material for

a proper understanding of the contemporary scene: the far from happy relationship that evolved between the 14th Dalai Lama and the 10th Panchen.

A more recent study, D P Choudhury's **The North East Frontier of India, 1865-1914** (1978) undertaken as a doctoral thesis in London has offered a detailed analysis of the manner in which the McMahon Line came to be drawn. With a sharper, indeed exclusive focus on the frontier it has endeavoured to fill in some gaps, in evidence as well as presentation, left by both Lamb as well as Mehra. Without perhaps meaning to do so, Choudhury yet offers a well-nigh complete vindication of New Delhi's present stance on the McMahon line and to that extent must have proved less than comfortable for Peking.

IV

Premen Addy's **Tibet on the Imperial Chessboard** (1984) is **not**, as the author heavily underlines, about frontiers. Its principal objective, as the sub-title, 'The Making of British Policy towards Lhasa, 1899-1925', clearly shows, is policy as it came to be formulated by the British in that quarter century from Curzon as India's Viceroy and Governor-General (1899-1905) to his subsequent incarnation as HM's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1919-24). It is a tidy chunk of 25 years that mark an important turning point in the history of Tibet in the larger whole of contemporary events.

To start with, one is struck by the book's felicity of expression: its sentences well-chiselled with an acute eye for a good turn of phrase; its paragraphs neatly composed. This is the more remarkable in that works of historical scholarship, for most part, make for dull, sluggish reading. In refreshing contrast, Addy's is well-turned and not only excites the reader's curiosity but also sustains his continued interest as the narrative progresses. Nor should this be a matter of surprise in the present context for the author is a journalist to boot.

Addy's chapters nonetheless are large, outsize, bulky. The introduction which runs into 20 pages and the epilogue, a little more than twice in bulk, apart, they vary in length between 90 (Chapter III), 82 (Chapter V), 74 (Chapter IV) and 38 (Chapter II) odd pages of close print. A large, unwieldy chapter has the disadvantage that a reader, barring a few compulsive ones, somewhere in the middle or even earlier tends to lose track of his whereabouts. Rudderless, he is apt to forget where he started or which direction he is heading. A more rational arrangement from the reader's, and no doubt the author's point of view, is to have smaller, manageable, 15-20 page chapters so that the threads are always well in hand, the focus sharp and distinct and the sense of direction unmistakable.

The ground which Addy covers is by now familiar and indeed well-beaten having been traversed up and down among others by authors listed in the preceding paragraphs - Bell, Gould, Richardson, Lamb, Peter Fleming, Mehra, Dorothy Woodman, Choudhury. It is necessary to mention this if only to underline that the author has drawn on material that is known and has been explored, and used, earlier. To be sure, Addy has unearthed no new piles, made no fresh discoveries, brought to light no hidden, hitherto inaccessible, evidence.

To say all this, however, is not to unsay that his presentation has a certain freshness about it. It is tempting to draw upon it here and there not so much to highlight well-worn arguments and familiar citations but to savour something of the larger whole that this work spells out. Thus talking of British India's initial interest and involvement in Tibet's politics, Addy emphasises that frontier busy-bodies:

Strove to underline the fact that southern Tibet, including Lhasa the capital, its chief trade routes, and its rich agricultural lands, was in geographical proximity to India... that this area of Tibet... lay within the commercial orbit of India. Together with the overall strategic value of the Tibetan plateau as a buffer it made their interest in the politics of Lhasa, at least in their own eyes, a matter of legitimate concern (p.17).

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Later underscoring how important a role **Indians** played in the exploration of the Tibetan landmass, towards the last quarter of the 19th century, and yet how shamelessly neglected they were by their imperial masters, Addy cites with approval the outstanding American scholar-diplomat W.W. Rockhill's considered view that if:

any British explorer had done one-third of what Nain Singh, Lama Ugyen Gyatso, Sarat Chandra Das or Kishan Singh (alias A.K.) accomplished, medals, decorations, lucrative offices and professional promotions, freedom of cities and every form of lionizing would have been his (p.43).

How precisely did Curzon's advent on the Indian scene early in January 1899, bring the Tibetan imbroglio to the fore needs no emphasising except in so far as forces and factors outside of Tibet had assumed threatening proportions:

That there was a perceptible increase in tension between the two Powers (viz. India and Tibet) since the Sikkim crisis of 1886-1890 is undeniable; but the unresolved problems of a hundred years might have lain dormant for yet a while. It was, however, the threatened disintegration of China, and the uncompromising attitude of Russia, that brought Anglo-Tibetan relations to a boil (p.53).

V

Not long after he took office, Curzon found himself out of step with his former colleagues in the British Cabinet and not only on the question of Tibet. Differences in approach led to growing mistrust and a certain lack of cordiality between Calcutta and Whitehall. Essentially, Curzon looked upon himself as the custodian of India's highest interests, as he viewed them, and it was Britain's bounden duty to uphold, vindicate and, if necessary, fight for them. By the time he wrote his

celebrated despatch of 8 January 1903 on forcing China to negotiate on Tibet, the Viceroy:

was not sure that politicians in London knew much about India, appreciated its true significance in the maintenance of British supremacy in the world or cared deeply about Indian interests. He resented the casual, off-hand manner in which India was treated... The tone of the Viceroy's letters betrayed a feeling of injured pride... relations between India and the Home authorities continued to simmer; the tension only broken by the increasingly frequent thunderclaps of argument and recrimination (p.58).

It is important to underline this not only in the larger whole of the tragedy that was to overshadow Curzon's tenure as Viceroy but also in the limited context of the genesis of Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa. It was plain as a pikestaff that the British government were less than enthusiastic about a 'peaceful' commercial mission forcing its way into Tibet to negotiate with the representatives of a hostile regime in Lhasa and the notoriously recalcitrant Chinese who in their dealings with the Dalai Lama and his government found themselves increasingly out on a limbo as it were. As George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, confessed, his colleagues were difficult to persuade:

They evidently, looking at Great Britain's interests in other parts of the world, were very reluctant to give their acquiescence to any movement which, even though it might succeed in the locality where it was initiated, would raise in other parts of the world international complications and embarrassments, or lead to Russia retaliating in other parts of Asia, where her influence and material forces are stronger than our own (p.95).

Curzon, a little less than sure about a frontal assault, used considerable guile, and the Chinese Amban, unwittingly, played into his hands, in proposing a meeting at Khambajong,

inside Tibet. This was bad, and tragic enough. What was worse was that a weak and unsuspecting Cabinet swallowed it without fully weighing the consequences. As Addy has it:

The die was cast. An incursion into Khambajong was to become the first step on the road to Lhasa. Strong and masterful, the Viceroy had... succeeded in presenting the Home Government with an apparent *fait accompli* (p. 99).

From Khambajong to Gyantse was but a logical step. Curzon was unashamed in parading the 'hostility' of the lamas, the 'threat' they posed to Indian security, the unobtrusive 'arming and drilling of Tibetan troops' on which allegedly the Tsarist agents were engaged in a big way. In sum, the danger was real and Curzon's chosen path the one and only way out of a difficult situation. Brodrick, his one-time pal and close confidant who had by now succeeded the mild and suave George Hamilton, sounded a note of warning. 'The Cabinet', he wrote (November 1904), 'was most unfriendly to any advance into the Chumbi Valley, and will unquestionably want to know where we are going to stop'. Balfour who had succeeded Salisbury as Prime Minister was in deep anguish. 'I suppose', he confided in Brodrick, 'we must assent to George Curzon's suggestion... but I do so reluctantly'.

That is where the tragedy of Curzon's Tibetan - and why Tibetan - policy lay. It dragged an unwilling, vacillating, hesitant Cabinet into situations which normally, and against their better judgment, they would fain have avoided. In the result, they were a little less certain of his discretion, a little less happy about the purposes to which his great mind and will were bent. No wonder in the final act of dictating terms to the Tibetans in the Dalai Lama's golden Potala both the Commissioner as well as his liege lord and master suffered a grave reverse. In the result the imperious Curzon's Tibetan policy became, in Addy's apt phrase, HMG's 'sacrificial pawn' and led to nothing better than the 'debris of broken friendships, of injured reputations, and the bigger disappointment of Viceregal triumph denied'.

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VI

In the wake of Curzon's well-nigh mortal disappointment, and defeat, there followed years of gradual retreat from what was viewed as an untenable position. Nonetheless it was necessary that China adhere to the terms of the modified Lhasa convention; equally that the Tsarist regime itself become a party to the overall settlement in regard to Tibet's new political status. In terms of HMG's - and a new Liberal regime had taken over in Britain about the time Curzon repaired home in a miasma of bitter public controversies and sharp personal innuendo - new imperatives and a more pliant Viceroy, much of what India had gained in Tibet, at considerable sacrifice in men and money, was slowly, but steadily, nibbled away. The adhesion agreement (1906) itself was a considerable concession to Chinese intransigence : in the event, Peking regained its well-nigh lost position in the land of the lama not by its own exertions as by British surrender in the very moment of their great triumph. Much the same held true in regard to Russian gains - the hands off policy which the British now proclaimed in terms of the Anglo-Russian *entente* (1907) was made possible by a sacrifice of Indian susceptibilities at the altar of purely extraneous considerations.

For the record, even Minto did not accept the change without a whimper of protest remarkable in that his new master in Whitehall was, not unlike Curzon, overbearing in temperament and almost impossible to deal with. For Morley now openly charged the Viceroy with falling into his predecessor's grooves. 'The other day', he confided, 'one of your (Minto's) Tibetan despatches - with a dreadful reek of the old policy about it - almost provoked me to an extremely unofficial explosion. Happily it was followed by a more reasonable performance'. Nor was that all. The Viceroy's advisers, Morley charged,

wear blinkers and forget the complex intrigues, rival interests, and, if you like diabolic machinations that make up international politics for a vast sprawling Empire like ours, exposing more vulnerable surface than any Empire the world ever saw (p. 180).

In brief, during his 5-year tenure at the India Office, Morley in conjunction with Grey sketched out the contours of his new Tibetan policy which, in essence, was to be regulated within the prescribed limits of commercial privileges centred upon the three trade marts of Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok. Nor was British interest to extend strictly beyond the southern slopes of the Himalayas. This would have been ideal if Peking too had reciprocated in terms both of the letter and spirit of the compacts to which it had pledged its word. To the extent China violated them with such shame-faced brazenness as to drive away the Dalai Lama into the arms of the very power he had earlier so sedulously spurned, Morley's failure was patent. The answer to Tibet's dilemma, it was now clear, 'lay not merely in a self-denying ordinance by British India alone'.

Addy's penultimate chapter deals with the Simla Conference and the McMahon Line. His principal concern, as should be evident, is not in delineating the outlines of the new frontier in the north-east except in a peripheral manner. Nonetheless his observations on the validity of the line and China's repudiation thereof are of interest. 'While it would be unwise', he affirms,

to regard the McMahon Line as sacrosanct, particularly as it was never demarcated on the ground, it was, subject to adjustments of a secondary nature, a frontier which was both fair, from an ethnic point of view, and strategically sound. The Tawang tract was absorbed principally for strategic reasons - which might have violated the letter of the Anglo-Russian convention, but... the transgression was surely a minor one, more so as the Russians by permitting their arms to pass from Mongolia into Tibet were already in breach of this accord (p. 284).

As for Lhasa's later (1940) contention that the 1914 transfer of this tract was made only 'on the understanding that the British would help rid them of the Chinese and win international recognition of their country's sovereignty', the author finds it less than convincing:

It is difficult to believe that the Tibetans, who had conducted themselves so shrewdly at the Simla conference, would have ceded such a large and valuable piece of territory for no positive return (p. 283).

Crewe, then at the India Office, and no babe in the woods, was not undeceived by Peking's tactics in repudiating their plenipotentiary's signatures. It was, he confided in Grey: 'Very much a la Chinoise - I suppose after long experience of them one learns what is the proper blend of cajolery and brutality required in order to get anything done, unless one goes mad in the process of acquiring this knowledge'.

As for India's 'deviousness' in negotiating a settlement with Tibet behind Peking's back

such deviousness has to be set against the formidable difficulties of negotiating with the Chinese. Neither in attitude nor in her demands did China once display a degree of moderation that might have shown British fears in India to be groundless. Not content with the free hand Morley allowed her in Tibet, she was soon reaching out for territory and influence in the southern reaches of the Himalayas. And to each British attempt to reach a reasonable accommodation successive Chinese governments responded with endless procrastination and prevarication. Had they been concerned primarily with the needs of security they could have obtained a good line of defence in the Tibetan marches. Jordan's belief, though firmly held, that territorial concessions in that area would have won Peking's assent to the rest of the Simla convention, was backed by little or no evidence... China was primarily interested in her rights in Tibet and less concerned with the limits of Tibetan territory (p. 290).

That is where this interesting, and by no means unimportant study draws to a close. For Addy's last chapter, 'An Epilogue: the Imperial Dilemma', is in the nature more of a retrospect than prospect. True, he talks of Bell and

his 1920-21 stay at Lhasa as a guest of the 13th Dalai Lama as also of the new British approach in supplying Tibet some arms and ammunition as well as providing training facilities. But, in retrospect, Bell and his policy in the early twenties turned out to be not so much in the nature of a watershed, as Addy would have us believe, but that of a distinct departure, a one-time exception. Not long after Bell had left these shores, Tibet reverted to its traditional state of inertia; the much-trumpeted 'new' Tibet dying still-born in the womb! The ammunition rusted away in dingy dungeons; the drill-sergeants were spirited away and the Gyantse school, where Tibet's new rulers were to be groomed, shut down even before it had started. New Delhi behaved no better. By 1934, it had forgotten not only Bell and his policies but also the contours of its eastern frontier! For the McMahon Line itself had been buried far deep into oblivion; its resurrection was a long drawn-out if also painful operation.

VII

Two major lacunae in this study are easy to pin-point. At the outset it is a little less than clear as to the sort of audience to which the author is catering. If it is the lay, intelligent reader, he may be well-advised to chop his narrative into half its present length taking away a lot of citations and foot-notes in the bargain. If it is the sophisticated scholar, and the researcher and the academician, he should make chapters III ('Curzon and the Road to Lhasa') and V ('In Quest of Policy: The Simla Conference and the McMahon Line') more meaty, comprehensive. As of now, it would seem, he is sailing in two boats and it is not quite clear if either of his clients is happy with the end-product.

Another major limitation is Addy's exclusive dependence on India Office/Foreign Office records in London, for there is no evidence whatsoever that he either worked on or made use of the holdings at the National Archives in New Delhi. The London records are useful no doubt but present, at best, only one side of the story. What got to India Office and, through it, to the Foreign Office from Calcutta/Simla/Delhi

was the finished product, the Government of India's formal, if colourless, despatches, its dull memoranda. How the policy it laid down came to be formulated in terms of the debate and discussion, the conflict and contention - and not only in the Foreign Department - it provoked, is conspicuous by its absence in these pages. On paper it took the form of any number of notes, demi-official letters, emendations all the way from the lower rungs of the bureaucracy through the experts - the explorers, surveyors, men on the spot - to the higher echelons and, not unoften, the very top itself. This was, in fact, as important as, if not more important than, the end-product that was mailed home. The full picture would thus emerge if the two sides, the one here in India and the other in Whitehall, were deftly dovetailed into each other. To the extent the author has denied himself access to this rich storehouse of knowledge, his work, it would seem, suffers from a crippling handicap.

There are a few errors of omission, and commission in an avoidably flabby, padded bibliography. Thus oddly Addy lists among the 'unpublished theses' (p. 361) two of the university of London which have, in fact, been published a long time ago: K. Mojumdar's 'Political Relations between India and Nepal' as **Political Relations between India and Nepal, 1877-1923** (1973) and D.P. Choudhry's already noticed 'British Policy on the North East Frontier of India' as **The North East Frontier of India, 1865-1914** (1978). Two other useful studies have escaped the author's notice: Suchita Ghosh's **Tibet in Sino-Indian Relations, 1899-1914** (1977) and H.K. Barpujari's **From the Inner Line to the McMahon Line** (1982). A few errors came my way too. The title of this reviewer's 1968 London published book is **The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation** and not **The Younghusband Mission** (p. 356). Again 'Aksai Chin' (pp. 1-22) is the title of a paper by G.F. Hudson who has also edited **St. Anthony's Papers No.14**; the bibliography erroneously listing it as G F Husdon, **The Aksai China, St. Anthony's Paper, No. 14**.

These nonetheless are minor irritants in a work of considerable merit. For what Addy has done is to portray, in vivid detail, a tangled skein wherein the story of Tibet's

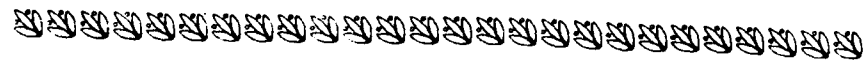
happy-unhappy past in the opening 25-odd years of this century is revealed in all its starkness as rival imperialisms jostle with each other in the battles of the Great Game in the heart of high Asia. Its relevance today derives largely from the fact that some of the basic issues he highlights are still unresolved: how precisely to fit Tibet into the larger whole of a Chinese polity where Indian interest stems, as in Morley's days, from a firm conviction of honest neutrality or scrupulous non-interference, **provided** it could be assured of a peaceful northern neighbour. In more ways than one the border conflagration of 1962 stemmed from the Chinese attempt, in the wake of their 'liberation' of Tibet, to militarise a vast empty landmass, a process which sharply upset the internal balance and sent danger signals across the Himalayas. In the result, it was not only Tibet and the Tibetans who were rudely shaken but also New Delhi which had to bear the brunt of a completely misplaced faith in the bona fides of a professedly peaceful Chinese neighbour.

To the extent Beijing can restore confidence in the Dalai Lama and his people and assure New Delhi that 1962 was an aberration, there may well be a meaningful retracing of steps. The Tibetan ruler may yet wend his way home and New Delhi accept a reasonable boundary settlement that assures it of inviolability of its land frontiers. Sadly some of the hectic to-ings and fro-ings of the Dalai Lama's emissaries have, as of date, made no headway nor yet have seven rounds of New Delhi-Beijing talks, spread over nearly four years, yielded any tangible results.



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PRIVILEGES OF THE GUILDS IN MEDIAEVAL ĀNDRADĒŚA

P. Chenna Reddy

THE guilds played, in ancient and mediaeval India, a very important role in ensuring economic prosperity. The origin of the guilds may be traced back to the Vedic period.¹ It is referred to in the ancient literary works by several terms such as *kula*, *śrēṇi*, *pūga*, *jāti*, *vrāta*, *saṁgha*, *samudāya*, *samūha*, *parishat*, *sambhūya-sannuthana*, *varga*, *sārtha*, *naigama*, etc.² The guilds may be broadly classified into two types, viz., trade or merchant guilds and craft or professional guilds. Much more important than the craft guilds were the merchant guilds. They served as a catalyst in the process of shaping the economic life of the country. The *Pekkaṇḍru*, *Nakharamu*, *Pāṇchānamvāru*, *Teliki-vēvuru*, *Kāmpulu*, *Sālevaru* etc. were some of the prominent guilds of the period under our survey (mediaeval period). These guilds not only enjoyed certain privileges viz., banners, flags and seals, *prasaṁtis*, corporate property etc. but also received substantial assistance from the ruling kings like the Eastern Chāḷukyas, the Kākatiyas, the Reddis and the Rayas of Vijayanagara.

(a) Banners, flags and seals

The practice of guilds having banners bearing the emblems and the implements of their crafts is a very ancient one. In an interesting passage the *Harivaṁśa*, describing a wrestling match between Kṛishṇa and the followers of Kāṁsa, makes special mention, among the pavilions for visitors at the arena, of the pavilions built for the different guilds, and says that these pavilions, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners bearing on them their respective implements and emblems.³ An inscription at Nagardhan in the Nagpur district, belonging to the seventh century A.D., refers to a guild of elephant riders and gives the name of its president and the 12 members of the Executive Committee. The Assembly

of the guild made a request to the ruler to make a grant of land on their behalf, and it is worthy of note that the copper plate recording the grant bears the seal of the guild - a goad - showing its status and importance.⁴ Some of the guilds in ancient India did enjoy this privilege.⁵

In common with the trade guilds in ancient India, the trade guilds in mediaeval Āndhradēśa also maintained their banners and flags and even had gods of their own. About **Nakharamu** and **Pekkandru** and their respective sign or weapon used by them, Prof. Narasimha Rao observes: "Members of the **Nakharamu** being traders and having to go on long trips across the country, often through insecure regions, provided themselves, like the **Pekkandru**, with professional armed guards. In addition to this necessary precaution, the members of the **Nakharamu**, like the **Pekkandru**, must have received training in the use of at least one kind of weapons with which to arm themselves while on the move. In the case of the members of **Pekkandru** the weapon was the staff or the **Danda**. They even assumed the title '**Dandāyudha-hasthulu**'. On this analogy it may be assumed that the weapon which the members of the **Nakharamu** learned to use with skill and carried with them on their business trips might have been the **Nakharamu**, a weapon probably shaped like the **Nakha** (claw). Hence perhaps the collective name of this trading community, **Nakharamu**."⁶

The **Pāñchānamvāru** was the next important guild in the mediaeval Āndhradēśa. **Pāñchānana** means the lion. It is possible that this guild had a banner bearing the emblem of a lion.⁷

The other important guild is the guild of cultivators or agriculturists. It is normally referred to in the inscriptions of the Āndhra region as 'the **Kāmpulu**'. But in the Southern districts of the Āndhra region, adjacent to the present Tamil-nāḍu region, this guild is found referred to in the inscriptions as '**Chitramēli Perīyanattār**'.* The members of this guild

***Chitramēli** means in Tamil "Plough share" and **Chitramēli Perīyanattār** means members of the agricultural guild. Cf. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Madras 1955, p. 397.

had their own banners and symbols. T.V. Mahalingam has observed in this connection: "It is of interest to note that some of the slabs or stones or plates on which their inscriptions are inscribed contain the sketches of the plough along with other figures such as the bull, serpent, drum, **pūrṇa-kumbham**, etc. Besides, some villages also came to be named either after the plough or the **Chitramēli** organisation itself. For instance, the village of **Mēdikurti** is referred to as **Mēdikurū** in Tamil as also Telugu."⁸

The guilds maintained their separate identity by establishing their own gods (tutelary) and temples. For example the members of the **Nakharamu** guild worshipped the god **Nagarēśvara**. The venue of the '**dharma-sabha**' of this guild was the **mukha-maṇḍapa** of the **Nagarēśvarasvāmi** temple.⁹ It is known from an inscription found at **Pērūr** dated A.D. 1119 that Telugu members of this guild offered their worship to the god Telugu **Nakharēśvara** whereas the Tamil merchants to the god **Arava Nakharēśvara**.¹⁰ It is evident from this that the guilds in the mediaeval South Āndhradēśa maintained their regional distinctiveness.

The **Pāñchānamvāru**, in conformity with the practice of the times, instituted deities named after their collective designation such as **Akkasālēśvara**¹¹ of **Akkaśālis** (Goldsmiths)¹² or after one of the important implements of the craft connected with cultivation (**Kamata**): **Kamathēśvara**.¹³

It is known from the **Manuvāṁśa-purāṇa** that the **Teliki-vēvuru** (oil-millers) were the worshippers of god **Mallikārjuna** of **Bezawada**.¹⁴ It is known from the inscriptions found in the **Karnāṭaka** region that the members of the guild of oil-millers constructed a temple and endowed the god with the name **Telligēśvara** indicating their association.

The expression, '**Gālēya-Three-Hundred**', is found in some of the Kanarese inscriptions of **Āndhra Pradesh**. P.B. Desai says that **Gālēya-Three-Hundred** was named evidently after the Kannada term **Gāḷa**, meaning a plough.¹⁵ This refers to

the guild of agriculturists. They worshipped the god Gāṇēś-varasvāmi.

The guild of *Sālevāru* or *Dharma-sāliya-janulu* are found referred to in some of the inscriptions of our period. The *Matthewāḍa* inscription refers to the institution of god *Sālēśvara* in the name of *Sāliya-janulu*.¹⁶ Thus the god *Sālēśvara* was the tutelary deity of the *sālevāru* or weavers. It is known from *Vaiśya Purāṇamu* that *Vāsavikanya* was the tutelary deity of the *Vaiśya* community.¹⁷

(b) *Prasāstis*

Another feature of these trade and craft guilds was that they had their elaborate and high sounding *prasāstis* (eulogy). They might have adopted these *prasāstis* in order to increase their social acceptability, economic stability, political prominence and above all to command respect from the public. Some of the *prasāstis* adopted by the guilds of our period are noted here.

The *prasāsti* of the *Vīrabalanjas* (which includes *Pekkandru Nānādēśi*, etc.) is recorded in many inscriptions of our period.¹⁸ Some of the important titles and epithets enjoyed by the members of this guild are as follows: *Samastha-bhuvanajana-vikhyātulu* (well-known in all the worlds), *Manukula-pavitrulu* (ornaments of the *kula* of Manu), *Ajāta-sāstrulu-samastamitrulu* (friends of all and enemies of none), *Samasta-dvija-guru-devata-bhakta-marga-tatparulu* (devoted themselves to the worship of Brahmins, gurus and gods), *Ahichchatra-vinirghātaru* (Emigrants from Ahichchatra), *Haya-gaj āmbara-dhana-dhānya-samruddhulu* (abundantly possessed of horses, elephants, gold, grain, etc.), *Dandāyudha-hasthulu* (who were armed with staves), *Visuddha-garuḍa-dhvaja-virājītulu* (who were distinguished by the pure Eagle banner), *Vīrabalanja-dharma pratipālakulu* (the upholders of the *Vīrabalanja-dharma*), etc. One of the inscriptions styles them as *Raṇaranga-rāmulu*, *Vitarana-Karnulu*, *Tyāga-balindrulu*, etc.¹⁹ They were very famous in *Pākanḍu*-21000, *Vengi*-6000 and *Hanamkoṇḍa*. This

is supported by the title they assumed, viz., *Pākanāṁḍu-Iruvaivokkaveyimtini Vengi-matāruvēlaku-Anamkoṇḍa-pattāṇamnnaku-pramukhulu*.²⁰

The *Pāñchānamvāru*, like many of the organised functional groups of the time, had a *Prasāsti* of their own. It describes them as *Samastadēvatānistarakulu* (the Devotees of all Gods), *Tribhuvana-nirmitā-dharulu* (The supporters of all the three worlds), *Śrīparvata-alamkāṛulu* (The ornaments of the *Śrī Parvata*) *Anamta-sabda-śāstra-purāṇa-paravaṇagambhīrulu* (well-versed in grammar, purana, etc.), *Dhira-dhīrōttaranarulu* (The brave among the brave), *Jagaddhīta-karanulu* (Workers in the interests of the Universe), *Sarva-jana-purushardhayuktulu* (observers of the four purushardhas, purushardhas being *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kama* and *Koksha* connected with the people), etc.²¹

The *Teliki-vēvuru* or the guild of oil-millers had *prasasti* their own. They were described as *Yama-niyama-dharma-parāyanulu*, *Bhāgavati-labdha-varaprasādulu* (the recipients of the grace from the goddess *Bhāgavati*), *Gurudēva-pādārādhakulu* (the worshippers of the feet of the gurus), *Brahmasambhava-Paulasthyakula Manuvamshōdbhavalu* (they sprang from the lords of the progeny of Manu, the son of *Brahma*), *Kaṅkāpura*, *Gajapurādhinayākulu*, *Ayōdhyāpuravreśvara-bhṛtyulu* (they were the lords of *Kaṅkāpura*, *Gajāpura* and the servants of the lords of *Ayodhya*), *Sahasra-śākhānvaya-gōtras* (of the one thousand *gōtras*), *Bezawāda-śāśanulu* (the rulers of *Bezawāda*), *Bezawāda Mallikārjunadēvadivya śrī padmārādhakulu* (devoted to the lotus feet of God *Mallikārjuna*), *Chalukya-rajya-mūlasthambhāyamanulu* (they came to be regarded as the main supporters of the kingdom of *Chalukyas*).²²

The guild of agriculturists also had their own *prasāsti*. It is evident from this *prasāsti* that this guild was essentially a rural organisation which depended upon land and its production. It runs as follows:²³

Śrīmatām Bhūmi-putrānām Śrīmad gō-kshīra-jīvanam
Sarvalōka-hitam-nyāyāy chitramēlaya śāśanam

**Jiyatām jagatam etāt pālanam rāshṭra pośhanam
Śāsanam bhūmi putrānam chāturvarṇa-kula-ōdbhavam.***

These **prasaśtis** are valuable guides for us to know the origin, original home, the virtues of the members, religious affiliations, banners and flags, corporate property, philanthropy, military feats, administrative powers, privileges, trade activities, **samaya-dharma**, etc. of the trade and craft guilds of the period.

(c) **Corporate property**

The guilds maintained corporate property or the property owned collectively by the members of the guild. This is evident from their **prasaśtis** and the gifts and donations made by these guilds. As T.S.N. Murthy has truly observed: "One of the features of the mediaeval Andhra village economy was the rapid growth in **samaya** (guild) property mainly in the form of land. It was received by the **samaya** as a remuneration for its collective service to the ruler; or as a purchased commodity, or in the case of cultivator's **samaya** new lands were brought under cultivation by way of deforestation."²⁴ A record from Panchadharala registers the sale of land by the **Pāṁchālulu** and **Nāyilu** of that place to a certain Buddhasāni.²⁵ An epigraph from Vishakhapatnam, dated Saka 1013, records that **Nagaramu-12** of Vishakhapatnam made over to certain **Mālamaṇḍala Mātama**, by an inscriptional deed (**śāśana-patramu**) a suburban area called **Perumpalli** with exemption from a number of specified taxes in that area.²⁶ The residential area which it granted to **Mātama** must, have belonged to the **Nagaramu**, indicating that extensive properties were owned by the merchant guilds, which they could dispose of as they liked best.²⁷

The corporate nature of the property of the guilds is well brought out by the inscriptions of the guild of **Telikis**.

*Approximate English translation - Let this **Śāśanam** issued by Gollas (shepherds) and the people sprung from the fourth class of the cultivator's guild prosper.

An epigraph from Zuzzūru registers the gift of land to a temple by five members of the **Teliki-vevuru** community.²⁸ Two epigraphs from Mukhalingam, registering cash gifts for lamps in the local temple, state that they were entrusted to the care of the **Telikis** of Baṇḍinigrāma and Chōḍagaṅga-pemta respectively.²⁹ It is thus evident from the above information that there are instances where the **Teliki-vevuru** made a collective gift of land and also instances where they collectively undertook to maintain lamps for which cash and land gifts were made.³⁰ The land that was collectively gifted must have belonged to the corporate land.³¹

It is not difficult to determine the resources of the corporate property.³² Surely, an important source were the voluntary contributions made by the members of the guild. It is known from the inscriptions that the guild had the power to levy certain duties or contributions on its members.³³ Secondly, the guild acting as a bank received deposits in cash and kind when it contracted to discharge a particular responsibility, and naturally enough, they derived some profit from this transaction. Lastly, members of the public, including royal personages,³⁴ invested their money in these guilds, capital which the guilds naturally employed in promoting their own trades and crafts.

Incidentally, an important piece of information supplied by the guild of the **Telikis** is that where the management of a gift was entrusted by the donor to the collective care of the **Telikis**, the latter undertook to discharge the responsibility of investing the cash in some productive enterprise or lending it at interest if the grant was in cash or cultivating the land in case the grant was landed property, and collecting the profit or interest or yield thereof and fulfilling the object for which the grant was made.

In order to be able to discharge this undertaking the guild must have been properly organized with an Executive Committee to carry out its obligations and look after its interests.

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TRADE AND DIPLOMACY IN EASTERN TURKISTAN

1864 - 1878

B. G. Gill

EASTERN Turkistan was one of the outlying province of Imperial China, mainly consisting of Yarkand and Khotan. The Chinese had annexed these provinces in the middle of the eighteenth century and by skillfully availing of the quarrel of the native princes made themselves masters of the whole region. The Khojas, the ousted ruling party, made several attempts to regain its power, leading to the country's eventual emancipation from foreign rule. As a result, in the course of the nineteenth century, China began to lose its hold on the region. Yakoob Beg, a Kokandi adventurer who had risen from low birth to a position in the army of the Khan of Kokand, made a successful bid to free the country. In 1863 he entered Kashgar and gained the support of its people. The following year he captured its fort; in 1865 Yarkand, a city of great significance, fell into his hands and in 1867 he made himself master of Khotan. These successes paved the way to his independence and he was invested with the title of 'Atalik Ghazi' - the Champion Father - by the Amir of Bokhara in 1866, a fitting reward for his courageous campaigns.¹

Owing to its vital geo-political set up with common frontiers with China, Russia and British India, Eastern Turkistan became a centre of attraction and debate in Central Asia.

This country of 4,65,000 sq. miles consisted mainly of three districts of Semipalantinsk, Syr Dariya and Zaratshan with only one third of its population as settled inhabitants. The country though thinly populated was rich in natural resources with gold, silver, silk and wool produced in unlimited quantities. Khotan was particularly productive in silk and fruits. A variety of minerals and metals like jade, sulphur, copper, lead, emerald, touchstone, etc. were found in the neighbouring hills.

With ample natural resources and great potentiality for trade, Turkistan was bound to attract the attention both of England and Russia. For some time both these powers silently watched the dramatic upheavals taking place on the political scene of this country. But neither could be sure of the life span of the new government, a kaleidoscopic character of all Central Asian countries, and did not recognize its rule for nearly half a decade.² To their utter surprise, however, they found that despite the perpetual threats from all sides, Yakoob Beg was consolidating his rule in Eastern Turkistan. By 1868 both the Russians and the English became alive to the advantages arising from trade with the country and started making vigorous attempts to woo Yakoob Beg. The new Kingdom gained importance in Central Asian politics while its trade was becoming an issue of weighty consideration.

The realization dawned upon Russia that this freshly independent country could affect its vital interests in the transit trade with China which had to pass through it. Besides, direct trade with this country in itself was no less significant. Moreover, the strategic position of this State as a neighbour of British India and the fear of adverse influence its Muslim population could have on the fellow Muslims in the part of Turkistan under its occupation were factors powerful enough for Russia to recognize its suzerainty. In like manner, the British who had equally realized its strategic significance and commercial potential began making overtures towards its ruler. The interests of the two powers were bound to clash. The Russian forward moves in Central Asia in 1860's gave rise to the apprehension that it might swallow Kashgar itself, an unpalatable circumstance bringing Russian military presence at the door step of India, threatening its defence.

The British on their part started making adjustments for facilitating free trade traffic within their reach. In 1864 itself Kashmir Government was induced to change the old system of duties by weight to an *ad valorem* rate. Thus the rates came down considerably, as for instance on piece goods from 30 per cent to 8 per cent and on tea from 78 per cent to 12 per cent. These were rates spread over from the Punjab to Kashmir. At the same time another beneficial reform was uniform transit duty of 5 per cent on goods going to Leh.

This placed traders to Yarkand by Srinagar and Leh in a fiscal position equal to that of those trading with Bokhara by Peshawar.³

In July 1866, however, it was brought to light that in actual practice there was hardly any reduction in duties except for a few privileged who could lodge complaints with the Government.⁴ Finally the duties which could not be reduced to 2.5 per cent as suggested by Cayley, Resident at Ladakh, were fixed at 5 per cent.

This trade between Kashmir and the neighbouring states was largely carried by trading agents of the Kashmir Government. Certain sums of money were loaned to them from Government sources on which they paid moderate rates of interest and they were allotted a large share of the profit. There were many of these agents employed at Yarkand.⁵ This system no doubt adversely affected general trade.

By 1868 the direct trade with Eastern Turkistan gathered momentum when Yakoob Beg himself took the initiative and sent a semi-official messenger to the Punjab with a view to open trade without intermediaries. R.B. Shaw, the British Agent at Ladakh, in a similar move went to Eastern Turkistan in December the same year.⁶

Further to assess the dimensions of the transactions, a trade fair, the first of its kind, was held at Palampur in 1869.⁷ As a result, it was observed that Yarkandi traders flocked in large number to venture in the fresh markets of the Punjab. They had brought along with them raw silk, silk piece goods, gold, drugs, wool, carpets and ponies all worth Rs. 1,28,159 in exchange for Indian piece goods and tea besides some other products.⁸

The success of the fair provided an incentive to open further negotiations with the Kashmir Government to secure this promising channel of trade. Since the whole of this trade route passed through Kashmir, the Maharaja was persuaded to agree to the free flow of goods. The route via Kashmir

was preferred to that of Kulu, for it was open during a larger part of the year and was connected with Eastern Turkistan by an entrepot of great repute at Leh, the capital of Ladakh, an outlying province of Kashmir. Later, however, the road via Changachenmo was preferred thanks to the facilities of grazing and water supply no less than trading marts throughout its course.⁹

A trade treaty was signed in April, 1870, under whose terms all transit dues on goods passing between British India and Turkistan were abolished and Joint Commissioners were appointed, one each by the British Government and the Kashmir State, to reside at Leh. These Commissioners were given powers to arrange for the convenience of merchants on the trade route, to settle their disputes and to exercise certain magisterial jurisdiction.¹⁰ Trade was thus accelerated on official level for the first time and was watched and warded.

Yakoob Beg had now consolidated his position and the Viceroy thought that the times were propitious to push the commercial contacts still further. In a letter to Yakoob Beg dated 4th April, 1870 the Viceroy wrote: "..... I have arranged for the opening of a free trade route through the territories of the Maharaja of Cashmere who is a feudatory of the British Crown. On this road complete arrangements will be made for the protection of the lives and property of travellers. No duties of imports of any kind will be levied on goods passing on this road, so that merchandize will come and go between India and your country at no greater cost than that of carriage".¹¹

Accordingly, an officer was sent along with the envoy of Yakoob Beg who had come to India to assess the future prospects. The cumulative effect of the above moves was that the trade, which dated back only to 1867, increased sevenfold by 1871. It was now hoped that trade would be carried on not only with Eastern Turkistan but also with the vast regions to the East including the Northern provinces of Western China.¹² Encouraging this hope was the report of the British Ambassador from St. Peterburgh (July 13, 1870) that Yakoob Beg would appear to have treated with "scant justice" some Russian traders who visited Kashgar and the

former's confidence that the advice, which the ruler of Yarkand would doubtlessly receive from Forsyth, envoy to Kashgar, as to the expediency of encouraging commercial relations with his neighbours, may be accepted which would prevent any cause being given in future for similar complaints.¹³ Russian losses were doubtless British gains. Although separated from Kashgar dominions by a distance of some 1,100 miles, the English were not deterred by the difficulties of the road but exerted themselves to their utmost to convert Kashgar and Yarkand into English markets.

The main exports from Eastern Turkistan were confined only to three or four articles, the most important of which was *charas*. This intoxicating drug was grown on the borders of every field in Yarkand and was exported to the Punjab where the demand for it, owing to its fine quality, was very high. *Charas* in India yielded profits as high as 200 per cent.¹⁴ The next major import to India was that of Pashm, the fine underfleece of the goat from which shawls were woven. This was brought from Turfan and was famous as "Turfani wool", one of the most valuable fabrics.¹⁵ Earlier the wool trade was a monopoly of Kashmir Government. In 1867, however, the traders were informed that it had ceased to be a state monopoly and that they were at liberty to export the shawl wool by any route they pleased. Thus a few Yarkand merchants carried their wool through Kulu to the markets of the Punjab.¹

Gold, which came next, was found in large quantities in the province of Khotan. Though it was found in twenty-two places, not more than five of them were regularly worked. It was imported in the shape of bars, coins and gold dust. Its import rose from Rs. 3,939 in 1867 to Rs. 85,899 in 1871, and further to Rs. 1,49,498 in 1873.¹⁷ This was about 40 per cent of the total imports from the country.

Raw silk which was a staple was yet another major import to India. It was not very popular at first and not more than 127 mounds were imported into the Punjab. Though it was later discovered to be of excellent quality, it was not relished by Indian merchants on account of its uncoated fibre. They preferred instead the fine silk of Bokhara. But the demand for this silk went high in Europe where its rich though hard

fibre was processed further to turn it into a very fine quality of silk.¹⁸ Trade in this item later on flourished due to its abundant supply and ever expanding market in Europe. The profit earned was never less than 50 per cent and it soared at times to 200 per cent.¹⁹ Yarkandi mules, ponies and horses were equally in demand as well as medicinal herbs like **gular pattar**, **toranjbeen** and **gharikoon**.²⁰

The exports from India were many but not as high in value as the imports. They were mainly cotton piece goods, arms and ammunition, tea, indigo, pepper, ginger, honey and opium.²¹ Out of the whole lot of exports the "Bazazi" or cotton piece goods were most popular. There were exports of 486 **maunds** amounting to Rs. 85,000 in 1870. Common calicoes, coloured calicoes, muslin plain and figured, long cloth, prints and chintzes were preferred for lining of **Chogas** (robes) and other articles of dress.²² The craze for Indian and English piece goods could be judged from the fact that the cheap though home spun cotton was exported to Ladakh from where it went on to Tibet, finding a ready market there, as it suited the standard of the inhabitants. The cheap and expensive fabrics going in opposite direction was observed by the British Joint Commissioners in 1874 who wrote:

"It is strange that on the road between Ladakh and Turkistan two streams of cotton goods should be flowing in opposite directions. The cheap kind manufactured in Yarkand finds an increasing sale in the Ladakh market for use in Tibet while it is met on the way by English cotton fabrics of more expensive quality going to Yarkand."²³

The demand for costly textiles was sharply rising each year. For four years between 1870 and 1873 it had almost quadrupled and stood at the following figures.²⁴

Export of piece goods to Eastern Turkistan	
Year	Amount value in Rupees
1870	59,085
1871	61,337
1872	1,00,415
1873	1,91,200

The next important item of export was tea. One of the basic necessities of the inhabitants, it was earlier supplied by China. With the advent, however, of Yakoob Beg all ties were snapped with the celestial empire.²⁵ The demand for tea found a ready market for Indian planters, especially for Kangra teas which were better in quality and more favourably placed being nearest to their markets. The only handicap was that the Yarkand traders could not deal directly in tea trade. Most of the planters were Englishmen and they did not want to turn into general merchants. Furthermore they demanded cash for their teas whereas the traders of Eastern Turkistan adhered to the system of barter.²⁶ It was here that the traders of Amritsar appeared on the scene and secured all teas from the Kangra planters and sent them to Central Asia. Thus Amritsar was a regular haunt of the Yarkandi traders.²⁷

In the initial years it was only the Yarkand traders who came to the Punjab to exchange their commodities with Indian ones.²⁸ They were an enterprising race who were prepared to undergo any hazards if large profits were gained at the end of the journey. The British envoy to Yarkand appreciated these admirable qualities of the inhabitants in 1874. He remarked:

"They are industrious, peaceful and as a rule remarkably intelligent and very energetic and would be quick to appreciate and adopt all the advantages afforded by European science".²⁹

An identical view was expressed by H. Mason, member of Manchester Chamber of Commerce, who described them as:

"..... an industrious and commercial population anxious to have access to our manufactures".³⁰

The trade was carried on through three routes. The first through Afghanistan and Badakshan, the second through Kashmir, Gilgit, Yaseen and the Pamir, and the third through Ladakh and over the Karakoram mountains.³¹ The traders

always preferred the route via Ladakh though it was comparatively more tough. This was due to the fact that they were taxed only once and that too moderately on this route.³² The traders, who had to carry their own grain for beasts, did not mind undergoing these minor inconveniences so long as they were free from heavy impositions.³³ Thus Ladakh though not a paradise was not looked down upon with disfavour. The following table shows how the goods could be more cheaply conveyed through Ladakh than via Peshawar and Bokhara. The calculations are per horse load of three maunds.³⁴

Haulage expense to Yarkand

	Via Peshawar value in Rs.	Via Ladakh value in Rs.
Duties	77	24
Carriage	51	66
Total	<u>128</u>	<u>90</u>

Thus the traffic on Ladakh route increased every year. The main attraction for the traders of India to make long and hazardous journeys to that country was the high prices realized for their products. The large margin of their profits could be imagined from the prices of the goods prevailing in India, the prices for the same after reaching Eastern Turkistan, and vice versa. It can be assessed from the following table.³⁵

Imports from Eastern Turkistan

Commodity	Prices in Turkistan Amount in Rs.	Prices in the Punjab Amt.in Rs.
1. Charas per pound	20 to 30	60 to 80
2. Gold dust per tola	14-0-0	15-8-0
3. Gold coins	5-0-0	5-0-0
4. Peshm per maund	40 to 50	100 to 120
5. Raw silk per maund	160 to 200	240 to 300

Exports to Eastern Turkistan

Commodity	Prices in Turkistan Amount in Rs.	Prices in the Punjab - Amt.Rs.
1. Sugar per maund	14-0-0	50-0-0
2. Honey "	8-0-0	40-0-0
3. Pepper "	30-0-0	70-0-0
4. Ginger "	8-0-0	25-0-0
5. Tea (Green) "	80-0-0	150-0-0
6. Indigo "	80-0-0	150-0-0
7. Opium "	280-0-0	415-0-0
8. Brocade "	55 to 100-0-0	100 to 150-0-0
9. Muslin per thān	3-0-0	5-0-0

With Russia fast establishing its authority in Central Asian Khanates, the British had all the more reason to give serious thought to this particular state whose trade they could wrest and thus tilt the balance of Central Asian politics in their favour. Neither could Russia remain indifferent seeing that the British were carrying on a flourishing trade with this state and were making great endeavours not only to monopolize the markets of Eastern Turkistan but to exclude it therefrom. *The Turkistan Gazette* noted with regret the increase of English influence over this area year by year at the expense of Russia.³⁶ It further observed: "we can hardly suppose that the English Government is actuated in this by a consideration of trade profits alone ... The comparison of the free importation of the English goods into Kashgar with the difficulties and dangers our trade caravans experience in Kashgar is very curious. And yet Yakoob Beg is our immediate neighbour; it is not for England, we should imagine, but for Russia to monopolize those markets".³⁷

Thus the necessity of securing a footing in Kashgar was seriously thought of by Russia. A further irritant was the British mission of 1870 under Forsyth, though it could not achieve its purpose owing to Yakoob Beg's preoccupation

with war with Tunganis at Urmachi.³⁸ In consequence the Russians despatched a mission to Kashgar under Colonel Baron Kaulbars in June 1872. The result was that Russia was successful in establishing a firmer hold over Eastern Turkistan than Great Britain, leading to the conclusion of a treaty in June 1872. Russia was granted the privilege of trading in the dominions of Yakoob Beg without harassment and subject to a maximum import duty of 2.5 per cent *ad valorem*.³⁹ But the demand for the appointment of commercial agents in the country was rejected. Yakoob Beg agreed only to the opening of two depots for mercantile purposes.⁴⁰ Such meagre concessions left Russia with little hope of future prospects. It was thoroughly disenchanted when it was realized that the treaty in actual fact was nothing more than a sham, as no good feelings could spring between the two countries. Yakoob Beg had no faith in Russian profession of friendship. All the same, he put no obstructions in the way of such Russian traders as were Asiatics, but refused absolutely to allow European subjects of Russia to enter his territories. On the arrival of such European Russian merchants, succeeding in finding their way to Yarkand, their goods were seized and owners were sent back to their country after being duly compensated.⁴¹ The obvious reason for this discrimination was the supposed dread of intrigue on their part.

Although Russia was successful only in striking a deal on paper, the British were shaken out of their complaisance. Unlike Lord Lawrence who was extremely distrustful of the sincerity of Yakoob Beg, Lord Northbrook found him more reliable and was all set to build firm relations with him.⁴² Northbrook wrote with much enthusiasm to the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State, about the arrival of Beg's ambassador at Calcutta and conveyed the desire of the ruler to enter into treaty relations with the British. It seems that Northbrook had already made up his mind and was only informing the Duke about his plan of action. He wrote:

"In the commercial treaty he wished us to enter into.... one of his requests is that an envoy of ours should accompany him on his return to Kashgar. I'll select Forsyth....."⁴³

This clear and definite selection of T.D. Forsyth makes it obvious that Northbrook was resolved to enter into negotiations with Yakoob Beg. On the latter's part, his enthusiasm could be ascribed to a sense of fear of Russia being allayed by the Viceroy's gesture. The British too had no doubt in their mind of Russia's intentions to monopolize commerce in Central Asia by wresting differential duties which would inevitably exclude all others from the scene.

All these factors finally promoted the British mission of 1873 which reached Kashgar in December of that year. Unlike that of 1872, this mission successfully concluded a commercial treaty in February 1874. The treaty which was signed by Forsyth included a large number of concessions for both the sides. Accordingly, the merchants of both the countries were to enjoy the privilege of moving freely in all parts of each other's dominions. All imports into India were duty free while import duty of only 2 1/2 per cent *ad valorem* was levied on goods entering Eastern Turkistan. By Article 6 of the treaty the British gained an edge over Russia. It stipulated that the British Government was at liberty to appoint a representative at the court of Yakoob Beg to engage commercial agents in any of the towns of Eastern Turkistan. The British Indian subjects were free to purchase, sell or hire land, houses or depots for merchandise purposes within the dominions. In case of emergency all the cases of the British Indian merchants were to be decided in the presence of the British representative at the court of the Amir.⁴⁴ Thus the British subjects enjoyed full freedom of trade as well as security within the dominions of Yakoob Beg, a privilege which was refused to their Russian counterpart.

The homecoming of Forsyth, following the treaty negotiations, was no less than a celebration. The British ego had been boosted and they had been successful in gaining an upper hand in the markets of Eastern Turkistan vis-a-vis Russia. If Russia was having a lion's share in the rest of Central Asian Khanates, the British genuinely thought that here was a place for them, right in the heart of Central Asia, a place more crucial so far as its geopolitical importance was concerned, a state rich in material resources and worthy of commercial

transactions. For the time being they were right, for the trade rested exclusively in their hands.

The British in their effort to retain monopoly of this branch of trade introduced the 'Central Asian Trading Company' in 1874. This Company, for the first time under the enterprising directions of its manager T. Russell, tried an experimental despatch of a caravan to Yarkand with goods worth Rs.3,00,000.⁴⁵ There is however no further reference to the activities of this Company. It would seem that there were no more trips, as Russell on his return disclosed that trade was entirely in the hands of the ruler and there were no direct dealings with the merchants or the people. Further the British traders who went were wholly ignorant of the value and nature of the goods they bartered for their own.⁴⁶

The British were so successful in Turkistan markets that the Russians were totally defeated. The craze both for Indian and English piece goods was so great that Russians started stamping their goods so as to induce the belief of their English origin.⁴⁷ Cotton piece goods had become almost one-third of the total imports of that country. The aggregate value of the latter for the first three years 1869-1871 was Rs.2,52,787 which in the next three years 1872-75 shot up to Rs.5,99,295.⁴⁸ Another factor that boosted the trade was the closing of Almaty market with China, which resulted in a heavy rush for Indian teas especially that of Kangra. Tea was as important to a Yarkandi as bread to an Indian or opium to a Chinaman.

But decline set in soon enough. Yakoob Beg understood the value of conserving the natural resources and the need of a stable currency in the progress of a nation. In 1874 he put rigorous restrictions on the export of gold in any form and a mint was established at Kashgar for the national currency.⁴⁹ But the British on the whole continued to thrive on the factor that Yakool Beg was more inclined towards them than towards the Russians or the Chinese.

But once Russia realized that it had no rapport with Yakoob Beg, it turned towards China with whom it enjoyed

closer ties since the trade treaty of 1869.⁵⁰ While the English were pampering Yakoob Beg, Russia was backing China to recover its lost glory with the result that the Chinese army moved westward in 1877 and won the preliminary encounters at Manas and Urmachi. Before, however, the decisive battle was fought, Yakoob Beg, who personified independent Eastern Turkistan, was killed. The Chinese had thus no difficulties in grabbing these territories and lost no time in imposing their rule once more,⁵¹ while the British who had successfully wooed Yakoob Beg were now replaced by Russia, which thereafter slowly but surely through its shrewd diplomatic moves monopolized the markets of Eastern Turkistan.

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BOOK REVIEWS

KEYNOTE. By J. R. D. Tata, Bombay : Tata Press Ltd., 1986, xviii + 155 pp., Price Rs. 95/-.

ONE learns that the Tata Crest, designed originally by the great Jamsetji, founder of the clan as we know it, and later re-designed by the author of the book under review, carries three Avestan words 'Humata', 'Hukhta' and 'Hvarshta', meaning respectively, 'Good Thoughts', 'Good Words', and 'Good Deeds'. J.R.D. Tata, at eighty-two happily still going strong, cannot be kept out of any Victorian-style docketing of 'Eminent Indians'. A team of ranking publicists have almost reverentially selected and edited his speeches and company statements in this deliciously produced volume. There are in it, of course, no profundities; besides, Mr. Tata who is doubtless a sophisticated man but with no pretentiousness makes no claim to them. But he may rest assured that most readers, offered by him "the option either to put away the book or to turn the page and read on", will choose the latter course.

In spite of certain, historically evolved, arcane propensities, the role of Parsis in Indian life has been remarkable, sometimes even luminous. There was a time, during the late seventies and early eighties of the 19th century when imperial dignitaries seriously contemplated transfer of British India's capital from Calcutta to Bombay, the former being in British eyes too often cantankerous and prone to what the Japanese ruling class used once to describe as "dangerous thoughts" while Bombay was supposedly sedate. "Loyalty", it was thought, was a function of "affluence" which, as far as the 'natives' were concerned, was more evident in Bombay than in Calcutta. "Have you ever seen a lean and thin Parsee?", one British pro-consul exclaimed, expecting corpulence (in the rhetorical, if not also in the physical sense of the word) to introduce and affirm acquiescence in authority, however alien to the soil it might be. However, it must have been love for the land where his remote ancestors had found not just a refuge but a home that had led Jamsetji Tata pioneer into steel-making and scientific research in India. It was this love that, in modest measure, J.R.D. has inherited, which redeems even what he writes as an unrepentant spokesman of the possessing

classes in India. As Jawaharlal Nehru once exclaimed in regard to 'enlightened liberals', for such people "the Bastille has not fallen" and they imagine that when abysses appear in socio-economic life they can be jumped over in several leisurely and limited evolutionary leaps!

It is good to read of the young JRD's ache (not too stinging then) for India's freedom when in the early thirties our people were astir, for he must have known such things as that Dadabhai Naoroji, acclaimed as Father of Indian Nationalism, had not only spoken of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 as "our Magna Carta", to remain "engraven on our hearts" (vide speech as Congress President, Calcutta 1886), every Indian child needing "to commit it to memory as it lisps its mother tongue", but had also in 1893, from the same platform in Lahore, averred that "the greatest question before you, the question of questions, is the poverty of India". This great man, an honest Anglophil, wrote also a classic of his time, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, where he expounded that "the former rulers (of India) were like butchers hacking here and there, but the English with their scientific scalpel cut to the very heart, and yet there is no wound to be seen, and soon the plaster of the high talk of civilisation, progress and what not, conceals the wound". With such forbears, JRD and so many others like him, often strong on the stronger side when Britain kept us under its heel, could not help the conviction that freedom for a country like ours was a 'must', especially when in spite of entrepreneurial excellence our people were kept virtually in 'planned backwardness' and as little more than a predominantly agrarian adjunct to Britain's 'metropolitan economy'.

JRD has a pleasant, self-deprecating manner and even more, a sense of fun that makes light of his own real feats - heading for decades the country's largest industrial complex, helping powerfully to eradicate the feudal trappings (still existent) of Indian business activity, pioneering air transport development, advancing perceptively scientific, specially atomic, investigation facilities, playing the role of a discerning patron of the arts, thus attaining, in spite of his remoteness from the life of the commonality, almost the status of a legend in his life-time. He is allergic, of course (to put it

mildly) not only to communism - if he was not "le bourgeois gentil homme" (he will not, one hopes, resent the appellation) - he would perhaps have said in the blunt Yankee manner that "the only good Communist is a dead Communist" - but also to Socialism, to which hypocritically or otherwise people in public life pay verbal court, Socialism which was once the shining (or was it 'shiny'?) armour of his former aide, Minoo Masani, whose formulation of "the Mixed Economy" warmed the cockles of bourgeois hearts and remains the basis of the 'philosophy', if it can be so called, of the late unlamented Swatantra Party and its multiform successors in today's politics. A review like the present does not require re-butting (if that was intended) of JRD's honest-to-goodness, non-pro-vocative championship of the private sector as against the Jawaharlal concept of the public sector in "the commanding heights" of India's economy. One wonders why with his clarity of vision (how else could he fly so well when nearly eighty!) JRD does not see history's writing on the wall, does not perceive that, though still not denuded of all resilience, capitalism on a world scale, reliant on war preparations and neo-colonialist devices of exploitation, is doomed eventually and it is not satisfying to one's conscience that in the long run we are all dead and should therefore concentrate on short-run objectives. Like the Jail doctor, under British law, having to certify that the condemned killer was 'fit for execution', history, according to its laws of social development, has certified capitalism to be similarly 'fit for execution'. That the executioners do not appear ready yet should be little consolation to men of foresight.

JRD Tata has not written a polemic, nor should a review of his book turn, in its own perverse way, a counter-polemic. It remains only to say that in a time of many unsavoury happenings a book like *Keynote*, produced beautifully, urbane, flavoured with wit and suggestive also occasionally of wisdom, the *expose*, within its self-enclosed limitations, of a civilized mind, by no means free of the *parti pris* of the author's class but redolent of an unforced liberalism is a pleasureable event. How delicious it is to find (p. 62) JRD wondering what exactly is meant when he is thought of as one "possessed of a tremendous concentration of economic power". He is, as his book shows, a cultivated and pleasant person and would perhaps break into a smile if told with scriptural irony: "if the

light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

Hiren Mukerjee

RATNAKARA'S HARAVIJAYA : AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SANSKRIT COURT EPIC. By David Smith, Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1985, 317 pp., Price Rs. 200/-.

THE book under review is a study of Haravijaya, longest of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya (50 cantos and 4351 verses) but not much recognised. This Mahākāvya has not received its meed of appreciation because of its length, monotonous discussions and also because it comes after the recognised Mahākāvyas.

Mahākāvya, as a literary form, suffers from certain disadvantages because of its very nature. Still the famous five Mahākāvyas have received encomiums because of the profundity of thought and mastery over language which is common to all, though each one of them has its individual excellences and even blemishes.

Haravijaya has not been recognised as a good example of Mahākāvya by critics, particularly the Western ones. It has been called 'a real monster', 'utterly lacking in proportion'. David Smith, the author of the present work, obviously feels that this is an uncharitable view of Haravijaya and in this he is in the good company of Raj Shekhar, the famous playwright and politician.

The book has a wider canvass than a mere study of Haravijaya. The first 3 chapters deal with Mahākāvya in general. The three specific topics are 'History of Court Epic', 'Poetics and Court Epic' and 'The Role of Mahākāvya in Society'. It is in this background that a detailed study of Haravijaya is attempted. In the first chapter, the general nature of Mahākāvya is discussed. It is interesting to note that the author regards the Harshacharita of Bāṇa, though in prose as a Kāvya. It is in fact Ratnākara's professed model. Amongst the Mahākāvyas, Harshacharita and Gaudvaho are specially selected

as historical poems to which Haravijaya is likened. In the second chapter, the author's point that poetry is the result of the creative genius, the raw material, while Poetics represents the structure of rules, definite categories, is generally accepted. Here he studies two features of Poetics, Figures of speech, aesthetic emotions and their place in Mahākāvya. His treatment of Rasa is detailed and authentic. Amongst the orientalist and the aestheticians, the former are accorded a higher position, and the plea of the author to give a due place to Ālankārikas deserves a serious thought. The third chapter deals with the sociology of Kāvya. For obvious reasons, it is limited to court life. A point made by the author that Kāvya, like rituals, provides through eulogy a sense of security, deserves a special mention. Rest of the observations in the chapter need not have been laboured upon. Some of the discussion in fact is elementary, e.g., that Kāvya is an independent force in its own right needs no proof. Chapter four is more relevant because it presents Ratnākara's view of his own work. It is looking at the poem through the poet's eyes. Here Bāṇa is the model and may be Ratnākara considers himself a second Bāṇa even with the blemishes like the excessive fondness for shlesha. The chapter on structure of Haravijaya is in a sense self-defeating because it gives enough material to justify the recognised weaknesses of this Mahākāvya like utter lack of proportion, and ordinary conventional descriptions. The author's comments on Architecture, Music in relation to Kāvya have an interest but not much relevance to the main theme. The remaining chapters only show how deeply the author has studied Haravijaya. The chapter on symbols is of interest to the readers. The complaint that symbols have little place in Kāvya is examined here and the view that frozen conventions of Kāvya are in fact its powerful symbols or can be made so by the poet's emphatic usages can be accepted. The three symbols - working of nature, pure white form and tension between opposites - are well argued and authenticated.

If the intention of the author was to introduce Mahākāvya as a form to readers, point out its characteristics and give a summary of Haravijaya, he has succeeded. The author's deep study of Mahākāvyas, his knowledge of allied disciplines, are evident. The quotations and references to co-workers in the field speak of his scholarship. If the intention, however, is to persuade the readers to accord a prominent place to

Haravijaya as a Mahākāvya, the effort, I am afraid, is not successful.

S. N. Gajendragadkar

STRATEGIES OF BRITISH INDIA, BRITAIN, IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN - 1798-1850. By M.E. Yapp, Oxford University Press, 682 pp., Price Rs. 230/-.

TIBET ON THE IMPERIAL CHESSBOARD : THE MAKING OF BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS LHASA, 1899-1927. By Premen Addy, Academic Publishers, Calcutta, 1985, 364 pp., Price Rs. 150/-.

THIS much-awaited volume from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, harps on a familiar theme : the formation and execution of British policies beyond the celebrated north-west frontier. It is a record of the triangular contest between the India and the Foreign Offices and the Government of India for precedence in policy-making in response to the waggly frontier of a capricious Russian empire. The impulses and motivations behind the 'unauthorised' over reaction of the reluctant and diffident men-on-the-spot, quite quixotic in their remarkable loneliness at distant imperial outposts, have been unfolded and heard earlier as well. The present work represents the quintessence of the School's quest for a tangible explanation of that Great Game which was enthusiastically conducted for more than two centuries.

Yapp's study begins in 1798, when a French-sponsored Afghan invasion of India threatened to destabilise British strategy. It terminates in 1849 with the annexation of the Punjab which brought the frontier of the Indian empire in direct contact with the political boundary of Afghanistan. Persia played the central role between 1798 and 1838 in British attempts to hammer out a viable strategic system in the area. The object was a Persian buffer, and in search of it, the British politicals for a while hummed a lilting Persian lullaby. Initially, they wavered between an Afghan alliance as advocated by Harford Jones from Baghdad and a pro-Persian demonstration, italicised by the controversial Mehdi Ali Khan from Bushire.

The Persian approbation was, however, only a flash in the pan. Internal rivalry among politicals, the delusive impression of the missions of John Malcolm, at once brilliant and impractical, the introduction of a fresh element in the imperial diplomacy with a major surgery across Persia's northern boundary by the Cossack army, the unpredictable nature of Russia's designs and an inflated Persian ego conspired against the projected alliance. The Government of India grumbled and growled and became nervy at Persia's natural susceptibilities with regard to the gigantic northern neighbour which was no longer a naive spectator with quaint innocence. Wellington, Ellenborough, George Tucker, James Fraser and Henry Ellis were experts operating either from London or from Teheran. They sought a cheap bargain, muddled the situation, muffed up the opportunity, undervalued the pride of the Persian court, fought with the Shah's advisers, tumbled into a mucilaginous situation and, finally, were outwitted by Simonich, the insidious ambassador from St. Petersburg. It was reserved for John McNeill to wrap up the prospect of a second Persian honeymoon as the Shah moved into Herat egged on by the wily Russian.

As the Persian overtures yielded a still-born child, British diplomacy was obliged to turn towards a more seductive partner in Afghanistan. Minto picked up the thread where McNeill had left. But the French bogey was still alive and the mission of Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kabul reflected the uncanny uncertainties of Minto's delightfully eclectic diplomatic demeanour. The hangover of the Persian alliance, the complications in Sind and the phlegmatic disposition of a strained Foreign Office harassed a confused Elphinstone, whose lavish munificence earned for himself the fame of a legendary *Hatum Tai*. Paradoxically, the British advances were repudiated by the Afghan for their niggling parsimony. From the day of its ratification, the treaty of 1809 remained a dead letter.

British attention was focussed on Afghanistan once again, when in 1830 Herat, Kandahar, Kabul, Ghazni, Jalalabad and Peshawar became the seats of various Barakzai rulers. Slowly but surely the Punjab had been moving within British strategic considerations. The mission of Charles Metcalfe to Lahore resulted in fury and consternation. As Ranjit Singh

crossed the Sutlej, Metcalfe, then meandering like Mary's lamb, was instructed to put on the role of the 'Hound of Heaven'. By the treaty of Amritsar, Ranjit was tamed and the British frontier was pushed upto the Sutlej with advanced posts all along. One of those outposts was the Residency at Cutch and another was that of Ludhiana.

Henry Pottinger, Alexander Burnes, David Ochterlony, James Todd and Edward Colebrooke, the vigilant pro-consuls of the empire, acquired for the Indus frontier a romantic aura as a possible boundary of British India, Russophobia, the political creed of expansionists in India, received a fresh spurt, Bentinck absorbed it, Ellenborough nursed it; Alexander Burnes and Arthur Conolly in their missions reaffirmed it. "If Russia is to control one end of the Oxus", they claimed, "we should have the other." The failure of the Russians at Khiva had rendered a counter attack on Balkh superfluous. The high line had to be maintained, nevertheless. Tension heightened and pressure was intensified in what appears in Yapp's narration as merely a game of bluff.

But the tragedy was that an inefficient Auckland proved hopelessly inadequate to appreciate the nuances of the diplomacy of brinkmanship and hastened to goad a "circumspect" British political community in India into a disastrous adventure. The fiasco of the First Afghan War, the annexation of Sind and of the Punjab followed in quick succession. The book has a strikingly easy flow. It is both informative and densely documented. Every political and administrator with any Afghan or Persian charge has been assessed adequately and placed in his proper position.

It is fairly well-known, however, that imperialism as extreme nationalism and as a phenomenon of power politics has been influencing researchers ever since William Langer described British imperialism as basically a projection of nationalism beyond the boundaries of Europe. Hannah Arendt grafted on to this analysis some evidence of racist ideologies and anti-liberal feelings. George Lichtheim, while accepting the proposition, stressed the manipulating power of the economic groups interested in imperial expansion. David Fieldhouse took a similar view. Modern imperialism, he held forcefully,

was the product of mass hysteria which eventually developed into a more grotesque form of fascism. Capitalists were content, it has been maintained, to invest in economically sound projects anywhere but it is the politicians who felt irresistibly drawn to a nationalist hysteria. R. Robinson and J. Gallagher reinforced the thesis by interpreting the official policy of Victorian imperialism chiefly in terms of power politics and strategy.

Winfried Baumgart, while explaining imperialism as "the uninterrupted continuation of Cabinet politics," reluctantly acknowledged that 'economic-industrial' and 'demographic' factors accentuated it. Thus the worldwide process of expansion leading to the scramble for Africa has been explained away as a political and diplomatic phenomenon. The much-maligned capitalist, it is emphasised, watched the development from the side screen but did not participate either as an active actor or as an energetic prompter. He is merely an incidental beneficiary of a fierce political competition.

In Central Asia, the same thesis maintains even a marginal economic gain was hardly available. in this land of "stones and scoundrels", distinguished by a low level of economic life and an unsophisticated consumption pattern, it has been emphasised, the attempt to locate a potential market was merely a political ballyhood of historians. Our author goes one step forward. He characterises the so-called cry for self-defence as a fancied vision. India, he claims, was neither threatened by the expanding waves of Russian army led by impetuous generals in search of glory nor would the Government of India have wished to move forward unless it felt intensely piqued. Yapp holds that while London was preoccupied with Europe, Calcutta was bogged down in internal security measures.

By means of a somewhat curious logical system, Yapp has concluded that the ever fluctuating frontier of British India served both as a pawn in European chess-board and a stick to beat the internal disorders and rebellions. There were unquiet spirits and there was no lack of adventurous men on the frontier to keep the pot boiling. But economically, Central Asia was a penny-ha-penny affair and no one was prepared to burn one's fingers despite the memoranda, papers

and despatches written by experts and governors dwelling on the economic potentialities of the Oxus, the desirability of underselling Russian tea and the necessity of opening the channel of communication into Central Asia through Sinkiang via Leh, Gilgit and Chitral, or through the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia or through Kabul and Kandahar.

Yapp acknowledges that the prospects of a Central Asian market had excited the imagination of Alexander Burnes, Ellenborough and also of Auckland. But he would ignore the fact that it was the commercial pressure that had been working quite ostensibly for making the port of Karachi, Manchester's point of entry into Central Asia. C.H. Davies, T.D. Forsyth, William Murray and the Palampur tea industry laboured for the promotion of this interest. Richard Temple, a governor of Bombay, has left behind enormous material on this issue. Lumley's paper on the promotion of tea trade was placed before the parliament as a command paper. There was no dearth of intermediary trading community apart from the Hindu merchants and financiers of Shiharpur and Multan extending their business as far as Bokhara, Samarkand and Khiva.

The prospect of an expanding market was neither official doodles nor a commercial doodad kept buried in files to accumulate dust. When one reads through Elphinstone's *Caubul*, A. Burnes' travelogue of Bokhara in three volumes, Moorcroft's travel diaries, R.H. Davies's report on the trade and resources of the north-west frontier, H.W. Bellew's works on the ethnology of greater Afghanistan, J. Biddulph's volumes on the tribes of Hindukush, the caravan journeys of J.P. Ferrier through Turkestan, J. Wood's report on the source of Amu Daria and those innumerable memoranda on Central Asia and Afghanistan in the holdings of the political and secret department of the India Office, one gets instinctively involved in the economic dimension of the Great Game. One invariably concludes that it was not yet another example of absent-minded expansion on the part of frontier men.

But Yapp, like many others, has, in his superior wisdom, decided to turn a blind eye to all these. He is content in judging these articulate material interests of expansion as an embarrassment because like Palmerston he would like

to define India merely as a pawn in European diplomatic game. This according to him, was the representative view of all the Foreign Secretaries. The President of the Board of Control, he maintains, had to perform an onerous duty of an ungrudging mediator between a bellicose and mercurial Government of India, a receptive and indulgent Court of Directors and a circumspect, prudent, and even squeamish Government of Britain.

There were also ambitious politicians, he adds, who took their assignment at the India Board as a despised stepping stone; there were others whose confirmed mediocrity enabled them to occupy the post as innocuous incumbents of no consequence and there were still some others who considered their charge far too seriously to foreglimpse the future. Governor-Generals differed in quality and in interests: the 'rationality' of Auckland, the 'intuitiveness' of Ellenborough, the 'confidence' of Wellesley, the 'insecurity' of Hardinge, the 'silliness' of Minto and the 'genius' of Dalhousie have been described. And despite their sharp and asymmetrical characteristics, Yapp underlines, they were all equally keen in favour of drawing a favourable resonance from Britain. The commander-in-chief, he continues, was singularly ineffective and other members of the Government were primarily concerned with revenue and political matters. Of the Governors, those of Bengal and Madras had little interests in problems concerning the north-west. And the Governor of Bombay, preoccupied in Persian Gulf and Sind, did not have any conception of the frame of reference of India's foreign and defence policies.

Thus, by a process of elimination Yapp highlights the significant role of the men-on-the spot - the politicals, envoys, Residents, agents and military commanders - having the monopoly of information. Yapp pushes them forward to occupy prominent places in the foreground. These were the men who made and marred the various issues of war and peace of a flamboyant empire.

Yapp's is an eloquent study of the impulses of these sportive frontier men forcing the hands of the reluctant imperialists at home. As a result, despite this laboured exercise

in a bulky volume Central Asia continues to remain a dimly lit parabola of historical research hushed up in verbiage and romantic sentiments.

PREMEN Addy's volume administers a singular corrective to the distorted perspective. This is not a monograph on frontiers but a study on British imperial policy. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia is its central theme and the principal focus of interest is the Hermit kingdom of Tibet. Endowed with an extensive ethnological frontier, governed by the combination of a hierarchical church commanding enormous landed property and a small but sturdy nobility and served by a vast but suppliant peasantry lingering on the borders of life and death, Tibet provided over the years absorbing interests and seductive attractions for adventurers, explorers, militarists, mystics and historians alike. Its cultural and religious affinity with India, its dominant position in the Himalayan state-system, its definite though decaying contacts with an anaemic China and its distinctive geographical location between an energetic and restless British India and a sure and certain Russian Central Asia turned this sleepy tableland into a cockpit of international rivalry. As a consequence, Tibet formed along with the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan a fiercely contested zone of conflicting interests. Intricacies of European diplomacy, issues emanating from the uneasiness of a spasmodic China, the ingenious search by an industrial British for a potential market, the political inferences of the apparently innocuous geographical explorations and the frothy and fervid fervour of the men-on-the-spot comfortably coalesced in the so-called Tibetan question. Premen Addy's volume on this much furrowed but little cultivated area seeks to present an interesting pattern. The author's style is lucid and analytical while his wide canvas is piquantly rewarding. His probings into the nuances of imperial policies are commendable and the result has been quite rewarding. Along with Alister Lamb's *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, G.J. Alder's *British India's Northern Frontier*, R.L. Greeve's *Persia and the Defence of India*, and P.L. Mehra's *The Younghusband Mission*, Addy's volume should find a significant place on the shelf of selected books on modern Central Asia.

Against a neat and synoptic historical setting and a telling introduction Addy opens his account by delineating the hesitant British initiatives under an astute Warren Hastings operating through an intrepid Hindu trader, Purangir Gossain and under the supervision of a determined Scotman, George Bogle distinguished by his humourless sincerity. The primary objective of these initial contacts with the Panchan Lama was to open the wicket-gate of China and to revive the celebrated, albeit shadowy, silk route. During the first half of the 19th century, the Company's political influence was extended to Nepal and Bhutan. With the expansion of British informal rule over Kashmir and Ladhak, Tibet began to feel the pulsating pressure of the fluctuating Red Line. When in response, China sought to strengthen her control and nobility by promoting the insatiable addiction of its clergy and Chinese for the exotic aroma of the special brand of Chinese brick-tea, the British planters in their counter-move prepared themselves to overwhelm the tea thirst of the Tibetans by stimulating the supply of Indian tea. The annexation of Darjeeling intensified the storm in the Tibetan tea cup and Russian bear borrowed a Chinese chopstick to stir the fluid situation. An imperious Curzon brought with him a new spirit of envigorated imperial consciousness. Impatient, encyclopaedic and almost a 'Conservative Calvinist', the new viceroy forced the issues to a crisis and an enigmatic Younghusband was commissioned to move on the Lhasa to organise a long awaited Tibetan tea-party.

It had become axiomatic in British imperial policy that to expect a 'barbarous' country between two civilised nations to retain its independence was as ludicrous as to ask an egg to stand on its ends. This was an universal imperial consensus. Curzon had little parliamentary hangup and it was resolutely maintained by official India that Mr. paget, M.P. with his indiscreet inquisitiveness had no business to interfere with the imperial high policies. In consonance with this imperial accord, Curzon decided to espy an inflated Russian design in Tibet and its ominous shadows across the Himalayas. It may be flippant to consider that Curzon's motives were contorted by an overriding desire for personal glory. A tense atmosphere was nevertheless generated in Calcutta with the assistance of a crafty Bhutanese wakil, the legendary Sarat

Chandra Das, and a devious official propaganda dwelling on the various ramifications of a possible Russian invasion. Curzon's letter to Dalai Lama was returned acknowledged and a second provocative communication was followed by a phased programme of intervention. As a mighty proconsul of the empire, Curzon had made up his mind to draw the maximum advantage of the wrath of the incensed John Bull rebuffed by a 'semi-civilised' entity in a so-called no-man's land. Initially, the home government was disposed to favour a forward policy and its attendant pressure tactics. The excitement in London was, however, ephemeral thanks to the considerations of its global strategy. The military ascendancy of Germany, the rise of Japan in Eastern politics, the complications of the Boer War and the diplomatic isolation of Britain engineered feelings of diffidence, despondency and apprehension and they underlined the need for circumspection. Curzon could not quite comprehend the nuances of the European diplomatic syndrome from the glittering viceregal camp. He chaffed, argued, sent off blood and thunder memoranda and, finally, decided to force the hands of the hesitant home government.

The cautious steps advocated by the Secretary of State from London to his dear friend in India were candid: "The truth is that if there was two more of you in other parts of the British Empire occupying big posts, the machine would not be manageable ... although I quite admit that there are occasions on which we ought to risk everything for the attainment of our object we cannot afford to adopt a truculent and intolerant tone upon every difference which may arise." This belated circumspection on the part of the Home government was conditioned by the desperate nature of British interests and the manner in which they touched the aspirations of almost every power. Thus while Calcutta continued to manipulate local situation with deft officials, London devoted itself to circumscribing the Viceroy's impulsive initiatives. A Russian alliance seemed more attractive to the hesitant administration in Britain than a whipped-up Russophobia. The Viceroy's Tibetan policy was accordingly sacrificed at the altar of the Triple Entente with equanimity. Strikingly enough, in every aspect of the imperial policy the Home government had begun to find itself at variance with the Viceroy. While Curzon considered it an evidence of weakness and humiliation to allow unarmed shepherds to graze their

flocks every year across the territory of the Raj, London opted to wink at the unfortunate poaching for the sake of diplomatic convenience. From Calcutta, Germany seemed a distant land having little imperial concern and the Viceroy decided to use large-scale maps in order to highlight the problems of Central Asia. In contrast, Russia was viewed from London as a weak state mined by revolution and having legitimate interests in Tibet and Afghanistan. She was considered as a mischievous, though not quite dangerous, contender requiring constant and careful watchfulness but no vengeful apprehensions. Germany, on the contrary, with its increasing militarism and regimentation loomed large on the official horizon and it unmistakably offered ominous possibilities for the future. "I cannot conceive why we should object Russia going where it will", Salisbury quipped with characteristic indifference to the Viceroy's sensibility, "provided we are not excluded from there too". Curzon sheered at the Home government's misguided priorities, scoffed at the 'foolish' Boer War, entertained misgivings about the Foreign Office's 'unreal' commitments for Chinese integrity and expressed his vehement passions against its morbid inclinations to walk into discomfiting risks in Egypt, Persia, Morocco and elsewhere. These diverse shades of imperial prescriptions and policies have been so sensitively woven by the author that one is left with an unmistakable image of a flamboyant Viceroy initially encouraged by the Home government but subsequently held back by his own erstwhile friends in London. Brodrick, in particular, emerges in the study as an embodiment of timidity pendulating between two extremes and in the bargain, double-crossing his 'chum' in India. The chief concern of British policy in London during the period following Curzon's viceroyalty was to ensure Chinese adhesion to the Lhasa treaty. The occasion was considered particularly opportune owing to Russia's exhaustion after the war with Japan and with Peking's expressed desire to regain her foothold in Tibet. Morley, the Secretary of State, was the architect of the policy at the London-end, while a stolid Minto, vexed by his own mediocrity, precariously held his own at the sticky wicket in India. Morley was desirous to come to terms with Russia and St. Petersburg reciprocated sincerely his sentiments. The lonely Viceroy in Calcutta continued to grumble, moan, whine and demur as he doubted the honour of Russian pronouncements and apprehended a possible Russo-Japanese compact in the Far East. The crafty Panchan Lama almost seduced

a flustered Minto to offer him a protective British umbrella. Coordination between London and Calcutta was at its lowest ebb. While Morley giggled in his wicked joy as the Chinese army moved into Tibet, Minto raised his hands in sheer disgust and cried out in vain against the arrival of the Chinese wolves amidst the Tibetan lambs. Morley ignored Minto's impetuosity and prescribed sedatives to the discomposd India administration. He scornfully rejected the word 'prestige' in diplomatic usage and urged him to watch cheerfully the 'Tibetan Game' being played out ruthlessly between the two Oriental contenders with the prospect of much bloodshed and cruelty. In fact, little option was left for Minto and his officials who felt obliged to devote themselves to a futile attempt to measure the lengthening Chinese shadows over the Himalayas. Hardinge, an able but not a brilliant mind, and a practical diplomat but not a far-sighted statesman, was Morley's inevitable choice as Minto's successor. The new Viceroy had already entered heart and soul into the spirit of the refashioned diplomacy in the context of a German ascendancy. In India, however, a different continental vision, projected so admirably by Curzon, had become the accepted official creed with all its local flavour and nuances and before long Hardinge became, despite himself, its enthusiastic convert. The geographical and ethnological features of Upper Assam began to re-appear in the maps of Indian Foreign Department in high relief. Lancelot Hare kept alive the mysterious Chinese bagaboo and the diverse implications of an endemic Russophobia. The search for a strategic frontier became an essential thrust of a revised Indian case. It was once again a repeat performance of a monotonous story of a cautious administrator turning into a restless spirit under the pressure of imperial impulses, frontier psychology and above all, the attractions of material interests. In this exciting account of imperial expansion Premen Addy has combined a remarkable historical insight and an intense devotion to authentic documentation. His extensive imperial canvas, his lively style, his command over the institutions and traditions of Tibet, his appreciation of imperialism as a world phenomenon and his sardonic sense of humour provide the *mis en scene* of the study having a compelling impact on the readers. Your reviewer has no hesitation in recommending the work to both the lay readers and specialists as a satisfying experience.

Suhash Chakravarty

CASTE, CONFLICT & IDEOLOGY. Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India. By Rosalind O'Hanlon, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press [published in India in association with Orient Longmans Ltd., Hyderabad], 1985, 326 pp., Price Rs. 150/-.

THE most significant event of the twentieth century India is her liberation from the foreign yoke after a long and unique struggle spearheaded by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Besides this great movement which had its origins in the nineteenth century, there were also other movements with their origins in the nineteenth century itself which may be described as protest movements in the social and religious fields. One of these - the non-Brahmin movement - was a movement of all other castes against the Brahmins. It had its origins in the nineteenth century Western India. The major factor responsible for creating this clash between Brahmins and non-Brahmins was the awareness and consciousness created by some progressive non-Brahmins such as Jyotirao Phule under the impact of English education, the activities of the Christian missionaries, and the British rule itself.

There have been several studies on the rise and growth of this phenomenon in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Mention may be made of studies by Eugene Irschick, Marguerite Ross Barnett, Gail Omvedt, Kavalekar and others. What emerges from these studies is that the non-Brahmin movement was not just an ideological upheaval but more prominently it developed into a socio-political conflict between Brahmins who were the protagonists of the age-old oppressive and unjust caste hierarchies and the non-Brahmins, though there was an ideological element involved in it. The study under review is an attempt as the author claims, to explore and analyse "in detail the actual content of ideology, the ideas and arguments that non-Brahmins themselves put forward to rally popular support to their belief in the oppressiveness of Brahmanic religious values, and the evil effects of the latter upon the lower castes in the nineteenth century", (p. 10). The author assumes that such an examination of the actual content of the non-Brahmin ideas preferably from the original Marathi sources, would be more helpful in understanding 'the real

origins of non Brahmin politics and ideology', rather than a study of "the ready-made set of political and economic interests supposed to have been the real force behind them". This is the hypothesis which is tested in the course of the study. The major part of this study is "devoted to detailed exposition of the ideas and arguments of the first leader and most influential theoretician of the movement of lower caste protest in nineteenth century Maharashtra, Mahatma Jotirao Phule". To this extent the present study consists mainly of an examination and presentation of the ideology and thought-process of Mahatma Jotirao Phule, even though it forms the sub-title of this book. Caste, Conflict and Ideology provide only the general frame within which the study is set.

The book under review was originally the author's Ph.D. thesis on Mahatma Phule and low caste protest for which she received her Ph.D. in 1982. In pursuing her field of special interest Dr. O'Hanlon, who is now Smuts Fellow in Commonwealth Studies at the Centre for South Asian Studies in Cambridge, is working on a history of the non-Brahmin and low caste movements in Maharashtra after Phule's death. The author is well-equipped to undertake such projects with her specialising in modern Indian History and Anthropology. Her knowledge of the Marathi language has enabled her to make a first-hand study of the original sources in Marathi which are indispensable for such an undertaking.

The book is organised into six parts delineating the broad areas of study with their sub-areas under each part. In a brief introduction the author discusses the problem of low caste protest in nineteenth century Western India and explains the scope and objectives of her study and the hypothesis for the study is formulated and explained. She also poses the problem of the factors that might have contributed to the origin of a new ideology that came to be developed by Phule. How far the larger social forces of which they may not have been aware all along contributed to the formulation of a new ideology? How these objective conditions were incorporated into a larger ideological scheme, and why these and not others, should suddenly have assumed a new

importance? (p. 11). Phule's own ideas of newly acquired Brahmin power that was used to protect the orthodox religious power or to aggrandise their material condition is worth examining. The author, after posing these questions proceeds to examine the area of social structure from which Phule's movement arose.

In part 2 of the book the religion and society under British rule is presented in which the process of transformation of the meaning of 'Maratha' in popular usage from a loose group of all Marathi-speakers or a small elite of powerful families "to a very broad social category in which almost every social group working on the land could claim inclusion" (p. 48). This had a new appeal and significance in so far as it helped them to claim for a greater share in education, government jobs, and other social benefits. The effectiveness of this changed perception became more pronounced and useful in establishing a 'Maratha identity' which had everything to do with the emergence of the non-Brahmin ideology. The author has examined the crisis of cultural legitimacy in terms of the structure and content of the Christian missionary polemics and of the Hindu reformers themselves. She has tried to establish the fact that the missionary work in Maharashtra during the period was responsible for bringing into existence of 'a small but vocal group of Hindu social reformers'. (p. 85). The missionary effort also succeeded in 'conveying in their arguments an implicit idea of the proper relationships between scriptural writings, religious hierarchy, and the individual believer'. (p. 86). This idea was developed out of a pattern of relationship within the Christian belief itself. It created a new feeling in the Hindu reformers that Hinduism was unsatisfactory as it denied access to the basic divine relations to a large section of its believers. The impact was not confined to Western India alone, but spread to other parts of the country, giving rise to movements such as the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the Arya Samaj in northern India. The rise and growth of religious reform opinion in Western India has been analysed here with a view to an "understanding of the ideological origin of what these movements saw as their major tasks, and of the awkwardness that attended many of their efforts".

Part 3 of the book introduces the reader to the emergence of a distinctive radical voice through Jotirao Phule and his circle of student radicals in the mid-nineteenth century Western India. Phule belonged to the Mali caste, who were gardeners by profession. It was classified as Shudra in the four-fold Varna Scheme. The environment in the family, school and the local community which was heterogeneous, created in him and his friends new ideas of social reform and religious radicalism. It is stated by his biographers that Phule and his friends "are said to have been fired with ideas of liberating their country from foreign rule by their reading of the lives of Shivaji and George Washington, and the work of Thomas Paine, and by the influence of anti-British Brahman" (p. 110). Phule and his friends had believed that the key to a fundamental change in social attitudes lay in education. So he opened a School for the girls of the low and untouchables castes in Pune and was himself teaching in the school. He formed later a society for increasing education amongst Mahars, Mangs, and others. We see in this effort of Phule and his society of friends the emergence of Phule's own distinctive form of radicalism as it amounted to extricating the lower castes who were "sunk deep in ignorance and misery, arising from want of education and intercourse with society in general" (p. 119).

The author discusses in detail the content and impact of Phule's efforts through his plays and books such as the *Third Eye* and *Setkarancha Asida* (The Cultivator's Whip-chord) etc., to create a social identity for the lower castes which constitutes the subject matter of part 4 of the book under review. Phule also through his major works such as *Shivajicha Pavada* (1869), *Brāhmanānche Kasāba* (1869) and *Gulāmgiri* (1879) tried to expose the exploitation of the ignorant and illiterate peasant cultivators by the Brahmins who came to acquire special power under the British rule over the masses of lower caste Hindus, and the way in which the British Government had allowed real power to slip from its hands into those of the high caste administrative and professional elite which served it. (p.137). Phule's strategy was to provide an ideological basis on which a potential popular following could be brought about to reject the conventional Hindu religious hierarchies. He was able to harness the impetus of an upward social mobility by arguing that all lower castes

could rightfully call themselves Kshatriya. Such an attempt was helpful in projecting Maharashtra's warriors and cultivators as the real stuff of the society, and such an identity existed in the midst of familiar institutions and traditions. In his ballad on Shivaji, Phule tried to assimilate the central episode of Maharashtra's history the much longer tradition with social leadership by the Maratha-Kunbi caste grouping, bringing together the warrior and the cultivator traditions, which constitute an integral part of Maharashtra's culture. This was the alternative Phule provided "as an ideological rival to what he saw as Brahmin-centred interpretations of culture and modes of social leadership" (p.186). He provided an alternative model for the coming non-Brahmin leadership.

In part 5 of the book the discussion centres round the position of the lower caste community in contemporary society, highlighting the need for religious emancipation of the low caste people. Phule was very much opposed to the employment of Brahmin priests for the performance of religious ceremonies and stressed the need of the former to perform their own ceremonies. His desire for independence in religion formed one of the main impulses behind the formation of the Satya-shodhak Samaj in 1873. Incidentally, we see a repetition of the same strategy in the protest programmes launched by Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy Naiker in Madras Presidency during the 20th century through his Self-Respect Movement and the Self-Respect Marriages performed without a Brahmin priest.

There is an interesting discussion in Chapter 12 about Phule's vision of human rights based on the principle of a pre-social human equality. The author says that "in developing these ideas, Phule drew heavily upon the work of Thomas Paine, whose work was very popular in the radical circles in which Phule moved..." (p. 193). But it could also have developed as part of his own conception of God as the all powerful Parameshwara and the Jaganiyanta as indicated in the introduction to his work *Slavery*, praying Him for the redemption of the Shudras from mental slavery by rooting out the Brahmin element. Phule's own analysis of the nature of Brahmin power is clearly brought out in Chapter 13. It is necessary to point out at this juncture that Phule's interest in writing his works

was not a literary one, but of presenting the problem of lower castes exploitation by the Brahmins who had acquired extraordinary religious and political power, and the hollowness of their claim to be their religious guides.

There is a fairly lengthy discussion in Chapter 14 on the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth-Seeking Society) and its activities during the 1870s towards bringing about religious reform.

Part 6 of the book constitutes the most crucial part of the study in which the author discusses how Phule laid the foundation for the rise of non-Brahmin movement later and its ideological bases. Phule was conscious of the lack of organisational infrastructure to mobilise the Shudra communities and enlist co-operation among them. With this objective in view, he entered the Pune Municipality as member of a committee. He gave evidence before the Hunter Commission demanding greater resources for primary education which, he said, should be made compulsory upto the age of twelve. Phule also extended the activities of the Satyashodhak Samaj to rural areas which brought him closer to the problems of the Kunbi cultivators, and it was at this point that Phule shifted his emphasis from caste to class character of the rural society and started pleading for greater support for all classes, particularly for the care of the *Shetakari* cultivators who were the creators and sustainers of the Maharashtrian society. The author rightly perceives the implications of this shift when she states: "His (Phule's) speeches and writings in this period constituted one of the most elaborate and minutely observed pieces of social reporting of agricultural life in Bombay Presidency. Cumulatively ... it provided a criterion of social value concerning the distribution of social and economic resources in society, and drew attention to the injustice of a community that reserved its greatest rewards for those farthest from the productive process." (p. 257). With this, Phule established himself as the real spokesman of the rural cultivating community and this was one of the precious ideological prizes that he could win. In fact, his analysis of the problem was original and provided a different view of the causes of rural poverty and the role of the government in removing it. In his work *Slavery* and the *Cultivators' Whip-Chord* we see Phule finally emerging as the true leader of the depressed and the exploited.

In Chapter 16, the activities and the problems of the Satyashodhak Samaj during the 1880s have been discussed. It brought together all non-Brahmins on the basis of the original problems of the society, and Phule's drawing closer together with Maharashtra's cultivators provided him with an ideological impulse. Phule succeeded in bringing together different groups with divergent opinions, ideas and symbols. This divergence provided strength to the movement rather than weakening it, because they were all agreed on one point viz., the extreme inequality in Maharashtrian society. The crippling poverty of the large backward masses groping in the dark without education was aggravated by the harmful social customs. These backwards or *Magasalela* were in dire need for special aid and support from the British Government and the demands of the *Magasalela* became the key-word in the vocabularies of the non-Brahmins. The author points out the manner in which this caste-class identity i.e., all lower castes being also backward in all respects, got converted into mere benevolent reformism. It was rather unfortunate that this caste-class identity was not pushed to its logical end, though it was a pointer to a division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, as the belief was that all advanced in society were mostly Brahmins. In the Satyashodhak Samaj there arose differences of opinion as to the culpability of the Brahmins for the backwardness of the non-Brahmins. There were differences arising out of Maratha identity and Kshatriya status also. Phule's own stand on this issue has been examined in detail. These differences notwithstanding, the unifying force was the non-Brahmin ideology itself. "What all groups within the movement shared was", says the author, "the same basic notion of opposition of measurement against a standard attained by other castes, but not by themselves. This gave rise to a pervasive issue of practical inequalities in society, and came to form the dynamic of non-Brahmin ideology". (p. 277). This also meant that declared rivals and opponents were willing to work together, and more important than this consequence was "the emergence of a consistent and vocal opposition to the Indian National Congress, in which all non-Brahmin groups joined" (p. 277). One finds it rather difficult to agree with this statement in toto because the Indian National Congress, though elitist in the beginning, did not remain so except during its formative years. Nevertheless, such apprehensions were expressed in a huge public

meeting held at Pune in 1880, attended by non-Brahmins of all shades of opinion.

In the final chapter of the book which is an epilogue, the author draws her conclusions and establishes her hypothesis "that caste, ethnic, and other group identities are not something static and primordial, but are the constructions of human action, and are subject to change as their broader social environment changes. It is here that the elites - the political leaders and ideologues have access to ideas and education, and relative leisure and affluence to pursue and perform their crucial task." (p. 305) It is difficult to classify Jotiba Phule under such an elite category. Nevertheless, he brought about and created the conditions for a radical social transformation by mobilising the non-Brahmin groups. The author also takes up another important question whether we can explain on this basis the growth of caste-based institutions which occurred in all the three Presidencies towards the end of the nineteenth century. She considers and rejects the generalisations drawn by persons like David Washbrook on the growth of caste associations in the Madras Presidency from the late 1880s, wherein the caste unity or mobilisation appears either as an ad-hoc device for vote-catching or policy expediency of the British. To her, what is most striking is "their (caste based institutions) strong root, not in traditional caste antagonisms, but in the loyalties, symbols and identities that were central to traditional popular culture and their use of these traditional elements, given a strong new political twist to forge a new common identity for the lower castes". (p. 307) The author, of course, takes note of the services rendered by non-Brahmin polemicists in explaining it as a real social phenomenon. If we project this observation to cover the nature of caste-politics during the 20th century, particularly at present, the findings of David Washbrook seem to be more realistic, as we see today expediency and self-interest of castes gaining an upper hand over traditional identities and ideologies.

One may not agree with all the formulations and conclusions of the author. But the book under review is an excellent scholarly endeavour to present the philosophy and activities of that leader of the low caste groups, Mahatma Joti Phule,

whom no less a person than Dr. B. R. Ambedkar called "the greatest Shudra of Modern India" while dedicating his work *Who Are the Shudras?* to Phule's memory. The study is based on original sources in Marathi which has enhanced its authenticity. It is a must for all students of caste institutions, politics and leadership in India. The book is well produced with a meaningful jacket and carries a useful bibliographical note and an exhaustive bibliography.

A. M. Rajasekhariah

AWADH IN REVOLT 1857-1858 : A STUDY OF POPULAR RESISTANCE. By Rudrangshu Mukherjee, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1984, 219 pp., Rs. 110/-.

IN the eighteenth century as the Mughal Empire declined as a centralising force, successor states and regional points of loyalty emerged. Awadh was one of the largest of these and formed the nucleus of Indian revolt against British rule in 1857.

Rudrangshu Mukherjee has, in a fascinating manner, probed aspects of the 1857 revolt that have not hitherto been clearly brought out. He starts with the pre-annexation situation in Awadh, describing in detail the agrarian set up in Awadh, and tries to show how it was causally linked with the revolt when the general populace-Talukdars and peasants-fought together against a common foe. He has brought out the practical cooperation that existed in the rural society between the different strata and how this formed the strength of pre-annexation Awadh society.

In the first chapter he has shown in detail the early Awadh society. Founded in 1722 by Sadat Khan, an Iranian adventurer, Awadh was patterned on the Moghul Empire. Land was the main source of revenue and agriculture in this very rich Indo-Gangetic region yielded ample surplus wealth. The author describes in detail the four types of land-holdings in Awadh. The Khalsa lands were, as in moghul times, the crown estates, which had begun to decline in the beginning of the nineteenth century due to the corruption of the

chakladars (rent collectors) supervising these estates. The Huzoor Tehsil represented those who paid their dues directly to the treasury through their own agents. This system was very popular, as it did not give the chakladars any power to harass them. The *Ijara* system was the system of farming out the land revenue to contractors and was the most usurious. The disastrous consequences of this system are well-known and the author has illustrated it with interesting cases.

The final type of land holding was the *Amani* or trust management system. No amount was fixed and the collecting official was required to pay into the treasury all that he could collect. This did not succeed as self-interest was the motive of the collector who extracted as much as possible and paid as less as possible into the treasury. The author has given interesting examples of how the *nazims* (chakladar) functioned by describing the details of the district of Sultanpur. The land though rich did not pay as much to the treasury, as the corruption, rack-renting and extortion of the collectors brought about a decline in revenue to the state.

Operating below this world of *nazims* and *chakladars* were the local landlords who were the real mainstay, as Mukherjee maintains, of the state. Most of these local 'structures' were Rajputs who had through time migrated to this region and acquired land by various means such as gifts, service tenures, occupation by superior power, and by auction.

The Talukdars were the actual power in the countryside and could be looked upon as '*imperium in imperio*'. They enjoyed an independent right to a share of the produce and extracted various dues, and controlled law and order through their own militia much like the European feudal lords. The Talukdar (Raja) pooled resources with the peasant, but actually appropriated the surplus, after the process of 'sharing'. Each and everyone was assured of his share from the 'grain heap', and thus every villager was ensured of his proportion of the income. The method of crop sharing was vouchsafed a minimum for providing every one in the estate with subsistence, satisfied the 'subsistence ethics' of the peasantry. This established

a system of natural cooperation and a sense of common welfare and created what the author calls a 'moral economy' in the countryside. The peasant got his grain, protection and help for his family needs from the Raja and he on his part tilled the soil, paid his dues and gave unflinching loyalty to the Raja.

This system led to prosperity in the land and, as described by contemporary British administrators, the peasant looked 'happy' and estates were 'admirably cultivated'. There was an unquestioned reliance on each other and neither could afford to alienate the other. More than 60% of the area of Awadh was under the Talukdars, and it appears they cultivated the best land in Awadh and contributed 90% of the revenue.

It is interesting to note that contrary to the classical feudal system, the peasants would seem to have had usufructuary rights as brought out by Mukherjee. The author concludes thereby that 'some degree of permanency of occupancy' was accepted in parts of Awadh. But he also brings out a form of 'bonded' labour which existed at the time, though it seems to have been restricted to a small section of the 'lowest' castes.

On the whole, there existed a close 'inter-relatedness' between the Raja and his subordinates, and it is from this that the Talukdar came to occupy a crucial and strong position in the countryside, which constituted a base for united action in times of danger to the community.

In the second chapter, Mukherjee describes the process of annexation and summary settlement. The British motive for annexation was greed for more revenue and a desire to possess the best land in the northern plains. They were also moved by the strategic purpose of having a continuous area under them from Delhi to Calcutta. The Nawab had been thoroughly emasculated by the subsidiary alliance which had left him powerless. Like all other princes, he had become a mere 'cipher' and a puppet in British hands. To accuse him therefore of 'not governing' is a travesty. The subsidiary

alliance destroyed all spirit of independence and sense of dignity of the Nawab. The British had firmly clapped their 'imperium' over this state after Buxar, and had perfected their techniques of take-over of power directly and indirectly. Delhousie in fact was now just waiting for the 'cherry' to drop into his mouth. Paramountcy combined with usage had conferred on the British Government a power which could not be resisted. It was the judge of what it could do or could not do, it decided what it pleased and its decisions were to be regarded as statements of law which could override or cancel out even contractual obligations.

It was absurd, therefore, for Indian princes to claim sovereignty. The British clearly showed that no ruler of an Indian State could be an 'equal' and so was it with Awadh. In spite of reports of a contented happy people, given by its own administrators such as Sleeman, Outram and Elliot, Awadh was unjustly annexed. The chapter deals mainly with the revenue settlement which the British enforced on Awadh. As in many other places, they did not really understand the local land tenures and customs. The village zamindar was wrongly considered by them as the hereditary owner of land and rights were transferred to him. This completely upset the structure of the countryside. It expropriated the Talukdars and all the structures dependent on them as well as the close interrelationship that had existed as described earlier. It resulted in the impoverishment and indebtedness of the common peasant, who was deprived of crop sharing, protection and patronage and was overassessed. The 'moral economy' of the rural world received a shock. The peasant had no protection now in times of hardship such as crop failure or family emergencies. The Talukdars holdings were relieved of their and they were summarily dispossessed of their rights. The settlement and its results have been very well documented and detailed tabulations and accompanying maps help to grasp the problems very clearly. The settlement produced abroad consensus of grievances against the 'firangi Raj'. Everything was taken in the worst possible sense. It alienated the people by not only removing their beloved ruler, but by taking away their economic subsistence to a large degree.

The next two chapters describe the revolt and result of 1857-58. The author has fully documented the pattern

of the spread of the Mutiny starting with Meerut and tracing its course down the Ganga till the soldiers reached Lucknow or May 30, 1857. At this stage, the local population becomes involved. As soon as Lucknow fell to the rebels, the people in the countryside entered into the fight. They lost confidence in British power, so that even the civil officers deserted and went over to the rebels. The former Talukdars, their peasant followers and other officials became part of the revolt. All were imbued with hatred against and distrust of the British. The common bond of the Talukdars with the peasant brought all together. Everywhere we find a common pattern of destruction of property, of jails, looting of British possessions, and bloodlust against the British. The rebellion defused itself along the Ganges in a chain reaction. After the British recaptured Lucknow in September 1857, the movement spread into the countryside where the common people more or less took over the revolt.

Mukherjee has described in detail this aspect of the revolt, which has really not been touched upon so far in detail. He has brought out through official documents, figures and tables, the manner and extent of the participation of the general public. The fact that the sepoys were really 'peasants in uniform' is clearly brought out and he shows how the revolt was transformed into a war of the people. A new kind of leadership was created by the Talukdars and nawabi bureaucracy who joined the rebels. The British at this stage were desperate and had no hope of winning back Awadh. They reported that every village from Kanpur to Lucknow was held by the rebels. Mukherjee describes lucidly the desperate courage, commitment to the cause, the tenacity and spirit of the people.

The fall of Delhi in September 1857 made Lucknow extremely important. The British had been able to capture the Residency, but could not stay in Lucknow and left it. This gave an impetus for greater effort and movement by the rebels.

In spite of this, by March 1858 the British reinforced their positions and were marching on Lucknow. Ultimately it all ended, as is well known, in the defeat of Indians in March 1858. Mukherjee brings out another interesting fact -

that the revolt had not run its course with the fall of Lucknow, but had dispersed into the countryside. Only after Ford Clyde overran Baiswara at the end of November 1858, was the British authority restored. Till then the momentum of the rebellion had been maintained.

The last chapter probes the organisation and ideology of the rebels. Here are found the causes of their defeat and the success of the British. Birjis Qadr was crowned King of Awadh and his mother the regent. But Begum Hazrat Mahal's authority was circumscribed by the authority of the Mughal Emperor. The latter's orders were to be obeyed as final. The army also kept control over the regency and many times this created friction between the two authorities. In the beginning no Talukdar was on either the executive body or the military cell. Later they were, it seems, included. The administrative arrangements were loose and precarious and internal dissensions surfaced early between the royal authority and Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah who stood out as another centre of authority. There was also an element of suspicion, rivalry and tension between the Begum's camp and the sepoys. However, in spite of these dissensions all attempts were made by the Begum to maintain a semblance of order and organisation.

The greatest hurdle came in the form of financial constraints. Within a short time the treasury was empty and there was no money to pay the soldiers. At first, the Talukdars and traders came forward to help, but later even this source dried up. Then it was each for himself. Rebel troops and their leaders started looting and plundering even villages. Obviously all these acts were self-defeating and in spite of the superiority of numbers, the involvement of the population and general enthusiasm, the rebellion could not succeed. The author does not go into this aspect of the problem in any depth; in fact it seems he has tried to bypass the whole issue.

Analysing the motives and ideology of the revolt, Mukherjee pinpoints religion and restoration. The preservation of religion was definitely a major factor of the revolt, as has been amply written about. The rebels were convinced that

the British wished to deprive the Hindus and Muslims of their religion and convert all to Christianity. Propaganda and rumour were rife on this score and Mukherjee gives a fairly detailed account of this. Fortunately no major divisive issues came up between Hindus and Muslims despite the British attempts. The rebellion emphasised Hindu-Muslim co-existence and every proclamation of Bahadur Shah and the Begum mentions the Hindus and Muslims in the same breath.

Another important theme of the revolt had been the restoration of pre-annexation position. As already described, the British had destroyed the main basis of social and economic life of Awadh by their policies. The same action and reaction had also taken place in other areas under British rule too. The British, as the author shows, had undermined this traditional world of lineage, lordship, patronage, services and deference, which were primordial Indian loyalties. The British had, according to the rebels, destroyed their traditional world and cherished values. Their struggle had been in part to re-establish the traditional order.

Rudrangshu Mukherjee has done thorough research and used original material hitherto unexplored. He has made an excellent plea for looking at the revolt in a new light and focussed on the role of the common people in general. However, it would have been instructive if he had cared to analyse the various reasons for the defeat of the rebels and the methods by which the British succeeded. The book is definitely an important contribution to the literature of 1857.

Mani Kamerkar



NOTES AND QUERIES

Panjim, Goa During the Last Sixty-six Years

IT was on the 16th November, 1920 that I stepped into Panjim for the first time in order to join the Lyceum. How I found the city then and its development thereafter is what I wish to record in this article. At the outset, however, let me quote here what Denis L. Coftineau de Kloguen said of Panjim a century earlier in his *History of Goa*. Writing in 1829 he said:-

"Pangi, the residence of the Viceroy, or Governor, ever since the administration of Emanuel Saldanha de Albuquerque, Count of Ega, who governed Portuguese India from 1758 to 1765, as we have said, is now a very handsome town, about three miles west of Goa; all the houses well-built, and having generally one story above the ground floor, are always kept white and clean, and have the doors and window frames painted green, and several of them have balconies; the streets are pretty broad, and some are paved; the Viceroy's palace is close to the water, and it is no higher than the other houses, and has not much external appearance; but it is large and has very fine rooms in the inside, both for the lodging of the Governor, and for the different public offices; the other public buildings, are a large and fine church, with good revenues, the custom-house, barracks, and a gaol; the number of communicants in the parish amounts to 2000 and the number of strangers, including Hindus and Muslims, is supposed to be 6000; so that the whole population may amount to about 9000, besides the troops."

In the twenties of the 20th century the city of Panjim extended from east to west along the river from the Ponte de Linhares or Patto to Campal; and on the southern side, from the Portais or **Manoss** to Santa Inez, including a part of the Altinho. The most busy part of the town was the area which extends from the Palace of Adil Khan to the Hotel Mandovi, and the most interesting area were the premises of the Customs and the port. At present the Customs premises show a complete transformation to the extent of losing its original identity and beauty. Till the late thirties of the present century the Customs premises extended along the river from the office of V.S. Dempo Ltd. to the western wall of the still existing part of the compound of the Customs. Then the premises were enclosed with a high masonry wall fitted with thick and beautiful railings in its eastern part. Along the Rua Vasco da Gama it was intercepted by a graceful banyan-tree which was always crowded with swarms of crows and sparrows which nestled on it and on the grain sweepings scattered in the Customs yard.

Inside the enclosure, there were four zinc sheds, one of which was used for outdoor services of the staff who inspected the luggage of the passengers coming from Bombay by steamers. Every morning in the dry season a team of three or four custom officers, clad in white, and the khaki liveried personnel of **Guarda Fiscal** were seen there checking the baggage of the passengers. There was also a Post Office at the south-east corner of the enclosure, functioning only during the Bombay steamers' calls at the port. At the edge of the Custom yard and opposite the gate of the Custom house projected a wooden dock for the steamers coming from Bombay and the country-crafts hailing from different parts of India and abroad.

In the early twenties the wooden dock was only a few metres long hardly covering the length of a country-craft. Later on, in the thirties, to meet the growing needs of larger vessels, the Government decided to extend the dock and invited engineers from the Bombay Steam Navigation Company to supply the plan. When the engineers were working out the plan for the extension of the dock, Joseph F.X. deSouza (father

of the present writer) who was at that time Assistant Agent of that Company, warned that when the proposed extension would be made it would divert the currents and silt the western portion of the river and thus make it difficult for the steamers to enter the port. The engineers agreed, but the work was carried out and soon the results followed. Nevertheless, with the subsequent improvements of the wharf, which now extends to a considerable length on both the sides, the requirements were met of the modern larger vessels calling at the port, while the silting can be removed by the modern technical methods of dredging.

Steamer Services

Next to the custom enclosure there was a **dharamsala** for the passengers in transit to Bombay. In the decades which preceded the World War II there were two steamer services during the dry season from September 2 to May 30 between Bombay and Panjim, calling at the intermediate ports of the Coast of Konkan; one was run by the Bombay Steam Navigation Company whose ships called at the port of Panjim daily, and the other by the Indian Co-operative Society whose boats plied twice a week. There was keen competition between these two navigation companies, which was all to the advantage of the public. In the early twenties their fares were Rs. 2-8as. (Rs.2.50) for the lower deck; Rs.5-12as. (Rs.5.75) for the upper deck, and Rs.15/- for cabin. The earlier steamers were comparatively small but efficient in their service. *Lilavati*, *Satyavati*, *Jayanti*, etc., of the B.S.N.Co. were followed by *Dipavati*, *Chandravati*, *Prabhavati*, etc., and St. Francis Xavier and St. Tucaram of the I.C.N.S. were succeeded by *Boa Viagem* and *Tilak*. By an irony of fate, in course of time the rivals - St. Tucaram, *Jayanti* and M.V. *Dipavati* - were fated to end their career going to the bottom. There also appeared on the scene somewhere in the thirties a third navigation company - the Ratnagar Navigation Company - with its ship '*Ratnagiri*' calling at the port of Panjim on Thursdays.

The Bombay steamers used to arrive at Panjim early in the morning and depart at 10.00 a.m. Their repeated whistling cheered the city which eagerly responded to their call.

Crowds of people of all callings rushed to the port area with curiosity and concern. Peripatetic business men bustled during the four hours of the port activity. Bankers, hawkers, brokers, newsmen, lottery-vendors, coolies, coach-men, taxi-drivers, boatmen, etc., vied with one another in pushing their wares and services.

The first part of the forenoon, however, was not the only spell of the port activity. What followed was no less spectacular, consisting as it did in unloading of the maritime cargo and the clearing of merchandise. Panjim bore a large share in the import and export trade of the Territory. The custom premises were always full of heaps of corn, sugar, pulses and other commodities. Most of the goods were brought by numerous country-crafts hailing from different parts of India and abroad. Almost every day in the dry season one could see fleets of vessels, big and small, crowding the creek. Particularly at night, the river presented a delightful spectacle - studded with glowing lights sparkling amidst the rippling waters of the river!

From the custom enclosure to the P.W.D.

Beyond the *Dharamsala*, there stretched a park with a beautiful lawn and beds of garden plants with benches for the public. There stood also a bandstand where the military band played in the evening once or twice a week. The Palace of Adil Khan, flanking the river, commanded the prospect of the panoramic border of Bardes. To patrol the Palace as it were, there was a man-of-war, *Canhoneira SADO*, shifting from its place and position in the river as the tide moved in and out.

Proceeding along the edge of the bank, one came across the office of the '*Navegacao Fluvial*' which consisted at the time of a couple of rooms with a platform in between. The present Navigation Office building and the park in front of it were built in the late forties. In those days the jetty had attached to it a square wooden floating dock which was often fastened to steam launches to carry motor vehicles, etc. across the river. The fare for carrying a motor car was Rs. 10.

Further, in front of the *Pensao imperial*, there stood two stables for victorias (horse carriages), and a little further the *Raparticao das Obras Publicas (P.W.D.)* and its workshop shed by the side of the river. The Post Office building which stands opposite the General Post Office sprang up somewhere in the twenties; and the bust of Dr. Miguel Caitano Dias was transferred from the Central in the thirties. In front of the *Navegacao Fluvial*, the place now occupied by the park was the motor-stand, and close by in the place now occupied by the oil pump there stood a wooden cabin, which was then a barber's shop (*Barbearia Central*) and another similar construction where a restaurant was run by one Mr. Martins.

River Navigation Services

The river navigation services have always been most important for the life of the city. Since its early days, the Goa Government had held the river navigation under its own control and carried out the transport service by employing half-a-dozen steam-launches. It ran an hourly Panjim-Betim-Verem launch service at moderate fares which in the early twenties were 4-1/2 pies from Panjim to Betim and 6 pies from Panjim to Verem. The floating dock used for carrying motor vehicles was later in the thirties substituted by the hull of the *canhoneira SADO* which was dismantled. The launch service, however, could not cope with the volume of the traffic, most of which was handled by private carriers at more than double the fares. Exorbitant fares were often extorted by the boatmen, especially from the passengers hurrying to catch the Bombay steamers.

This state of things continued till the late thirties when with the improved finances at his command, thanks to the rigorous parsimony practised by his predecessors, Governor-General Joao Carlos Craveiro Lopes, who took charge of the office in 1929, could apply his mind to the transport problem. The popular idea at this time was to link all the talukas with bridges, and accordingly tenders were invited for construction of bridges across the Mandovi, the Zuari

and the Daman Ganga. The Borim bridge and the ill-fated bridge of Daman were a result of this demand. But the project and preparation for bridges across the Zuari and the Mandovi were never proceeded with. In actual fact there was a plan of suspension bridge, submitted by Phatak & Co. of Bombay, which was estimated to cost seven lakhs. Later it came to light that one of the reasons for the neglect of the projects was the objection raised by some vested interests - house owners of Panjim - who feared that the construction of a bridge across the Mandovi at the chosen spot would induce the tenants to move to the other side of the river and their houses would be devalued.

Anyhow, a way was found to minimise the transport difficulties across the Mandovi, and a couple of ferry-boats and motor-vessels were imported to accelerate the river transport. The story behind this acceleration is that one day the Governor-General Craveiro Lopes returning from Sanquelim had to wait at Betim for some time for the launch to cross the river. In the meantime a boatman started cursing and swearing in Konkani vehemently at the Governor and his suite. The Governor, who had learned Konkani during the time in Goa before while serving as Police Commandant, took note of the behaviour of the boatman and to teach a lesson to all boatmen went to charge extortionate fares decided to introduce the ferry-boat service.

Inside the City

On the western side of the custom enclosure there were some grain shops belonging to Gujaratis, and since that side of the river was occupied by oar-boats and sails, the place was called "Cais de Gujires". Along the Rua Vasco da Gama the row of buildings from the Palace of Adil Khan to the Banco Nacional Ultramarino has remained unchanged, the only addition being the statue of Abbe Faria, the Goan founder of Braidism, which was erected somewhere in the thirties. The building of Banco Nacional Ultramarino was constructed in 1924 and was at that time the most luxurious building in the city. Further, in the corner of the Hotel Mandovi, there stood the first five-storeyed building in the Territory, the terraced house of the P.W.D. engineer Assa Castelo Branco.

It was the first of its kind in Goa. That house was followed in order by some shops of Gujaratis and a house of a Luso-Indian gentleman by name Vidigal. The building in which the Central Library is now housed, reaching the office of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, was then occupied by the Lyceum till the thirties. Beyond that building lay the Municipal Market, and behind it on the south were the Artillery Quarters. In the market there were many shady mango trees and most of the wares were displayed in open air. There was a weekly fair in the market on Wednesdays, which added to the business activity of the place. In the military quarters military exercises were held together with horse training. The Quartel-General building was erected in the late twenties, and the new Municipal Market near the Hospital was built some time in the thirties and the Praca do Comercio in the forties.

The Campal which, I was told was planned by the Governor-General Engineer Joachim Machado, extended in 1920 a little beyond the Central Jail which stood like a fort on the site of the present Military Hospital. The Campal was a residential area with dwellings built on the cottage pattern. Besides the Central Jail, the Central Hospital and the Institute Pasteur were the only Government buildings in that area. The old Maternity Hospital came up in the late twenties and the statue of Francisco Luis Gomes was erected in 1932, though its foundation stone was laid by the Governor-General J.C. Craveiro Lopes in 1929, the year of the birth centenary of this Goan genius.

The second row of buildings along the Rua Afonso d'Albuquerque has remained almost unchanged but for the three storeyed Casa Damodar (which has replaced the original one-storeyed structure) and the reconstruction of some others in the fifties. Nor has there been change, east and west, of the Municipal Garden, with the exception of the present establishment of Velho & Filhos on the east and the corner house on the north-west which were rebuilt with multiple storeys. Till the fifties the house of Carmo Vaz in the middle of the western row was the only two storeyed building in Panjim. And on the southern side of the Municipal gardens, there stood the imposing building with portico of the old Municipal Corporation of the city, the celebrated Senado de Goa.

Further on, the Corte de Oiteiro and the Fr. Agnelo Road (old Rua Almirante Reis) have remained almost the same. The Altinho was crowned with the lone Bishop's House, while a little below was the solitary stately edifice, Recolhimento da N. Sra. da Serra, which is now houses the All-India Radio and a Nursing Home. At the other end on the eastern side the Lyceum was shifted to the three buildings which came up some time in the thirties. The urbanization of the Altinho and the western part of the city and its extension till Mira-Mar are the achievements of the last four decades.

Educational and Cultural Activities

Panjim has always been an educational centre ever since it was made the capital of the Territory. Besides the Medical School or College, which is the oldest institution of the kind in the whole of Asia, and the Pharmacy course which was ministered in it, the highest educational institutes in the Territory were centred in Panjim. Though these educational institutions were limited in number and grade, they excelled in the quality of education and efficiency of training and served the times well. There were the Liceu Central, the Escola Normal, the Escola Nacional do Sexo Feminino, the Instituto Commercial, the Escola Tecnica and the Academia de Musica, which trained large number of students of both the sexes hailing from different parts of the Territory. Besides the Government educational institutions, there were also private schools and tutorial institutes which coached the students in Lyceum courses.

The Portuguese educational system and programmes differed in some aspects from those of British India. Unlike in the rest of India where the syllabuses of English education were adapted with due modifications to the need of the Indian students, the Portuguese adopted in this Territory the same educational programmes and methods as in Europe. So the education in this Territory was entirely on Western pattern which, though it had its inconvenience, also had its advantages in shaping the Goan personality by lending it a Western and cosmopolitan character. The student life had a charm of its own. There was an academic and democratic spirit prevailing among the students and the professors with discipline and liberty going hand in hand.

Later on in the thirties with the growing demand for English education in this Territory and the establishment of High Schools - People's High School and Progress High School - to meet it, there opened another educational avenue, and still later after the liberation the multiplication of several colleges raised the educational status of the city.

Side by side with educational work, these educational and other institutions were instrumental in raising the cultural level of the Territory. Conferences, concerts and lectures were the order of the day, promoted by them and held in their premises. The Instituto Vasco da Gama, now Menezes Braganza is a century old cultural institution, having its own library and journal and holding occasionally cultural conferences and lectures. It was reorganized in 1929 by the then President of the Institute, the Hon'ble Antonio Floriano de Noronha, the Chief Justice. Besides, the press greatly helped in keeping up the cultural tone of the town. The local journals and magazines engaged the attention of the readers with interesting topics. They were not only vehicles of news and comments and mature opinion of elders, but they also provided the forum for the youth for cultural exercise. In particular the leading dailies of Panjim - "O Herald", "Heraldo" and "Diario da Noite" - added to the zest of the city life, rousing the literary, cultural, scientific and political interest of the people and keeping alive the flame of intellectual activity while spicy polemics on various topics, which was characteristic of Goan journalism in the earlier days, sharpened the mind. It was indeed in the twenties and thirties (republican era) that the Goan Press, most active and full of zest, genuinely expressed the public sentiment.

Further, exhibitions, which are devices to gauge and encourage the progress in a particular branch of human activity, were not infrequent in Panjim, the throbbing heart of the cultural activities of the Territory. Exhibitions of various kinds always figured in the programmes of the town and were organized from time to time by the Government and semi-Government institutions. And it was significant that more often than not the exhibitions of different things, both natural and artificial, held in Panjim, revealed a high standard of proficiency in art and the quality of the natural products.

Most memorable of these exhibitions was the Industrial Exhibition held in 1922 in the building now occupied by judicial courts. It was most skilfully organized and displayed the best that the Territory's Nature, Art and Genius had produced.

Amenities

In the twenties and thirties there were only three or four hotels in the city, of which only the Hotel Aliado and the Hotel Central (Mesquita) have come down to the present day. The Hotel Republica and the Hotel Central supplied ample accommodation and were most popular. The former was situated to the west of the Fazenda (Treasury) and was run by Salvador Rebelo. Later it occupied the adjoining building as well. The Hotel Central, commonly known as Hotel Mesquita, was housed in the building next to the Custom House on the west. Run by Teodoro Mesquita, it had a branch at Campal where the paying guests were lodged. Besides, there were inns or rest-houses (pousadas), such as those of Cosme Matias Menezes by the side of Drogaria Cosme Matias Menezes and of Mr. Felicio on the eastern side of the Custom House. The *pousada* of Felicio and the Hotel Nacional on the upper storey which was run by one Mr. Noronha, commonly known as '*Cholo*', mostly catered to the passengers coming from Bombay by ships.

The most popular wine shops and bars of those days were the Salon of Xabi, the Casa Uniao, Jose Caetano Jorge & Filhos, which were in a row of buildings beginning with the Custom House; Heitor Peres and Lourenco Caetano along the Rua Afonso d'Albuquerque; Velho & Filhos, Coelho & Cia., and Jasso on the eastern side of the Municipal Garden; Damaceno at the Rua 31 de Janeiro; and Bento Miguel Fernandes at the place where it stands to this day.

The luxury shops of that time were of Christovam Fernandes, now occupied by the shop of Gurudas Timblo; Armazem Gonsalves Potyot, now succeeded by Eloy Sequeira, both at the Rua Afonso d'Albuquerque; and Maganlal Canji and Eugenio de Melo abreast of Velho & Filhos opposite the Municipal Garden. The book-sellers were Casa Luso-Francesa where

is now Agencia Continental along the Rua Afonso d'Albuquerque; Livraria Academica, Arthur Viegas, and Livraria Altino Coelho, opposite the Municipal Garden.

Indeed, hotels, bars and *Khannavolis* and cold drink stalls were the only caterers to the visitors to the city and the thirsty and weary city-dwellers during the outdoor life. There were no cafes or tea-shops in Goa in those days. It was somewhere in 1931 that the Cafe Central was opened by the Gaitonde brothers at the corner of the present Jesuit House, opposite the Municipal Garden. It was perhaps the first establishment of the kind in Goa, which added a new gastronomic taste and habit of calling at the cafes and tea-shops; now, the common rendezvous.

Of course in those days the life in the town was not so comfortable as it is now. The roads were not tarred and though they were watered twice a day by cart-barrel tankers, the gust of wind, the trotting of the hoofs of victoria-horses and the exhausts of the motor-vehicles raised clouds of dust soiling the walls of the buildings and often blinding the pedestrians. Yet, the vehicles, particularly the victorias, which abounded in the city, were posh and showed surprising decency. The carriages were tidy and comfortable and the horses well-groomed. In fact, in those days I was surprised to note that the tidyness and luxury of Panjim victorias contrasted with the unkempt horse-carriages of Bombay.

As to the motor vehicles, however, there were few in the first decades of this century. The first motor-car was reported to have been imported for the Patriarch in 1909. The Governor-General was provided with a spacious blue FIAT hooded touring car and a greay CHANDLER. Besides, in the twenties the Obras Publicas (P.W.D.) had an OVERLAND car, and there were about half-a-dozen private cars, and about 30 taxis and buses in the town. It was also then that the "*Comissao de Melhoramentos de Mormugao*" (Mormugao Improvement Trust) was established and provided with a number of cars and buses for public service. Ford and Chevrolet were the common brands of cars in Goa, and their prices varied between Rs. 2,400 and Rs. 3,500. Citroien, Whippet,

Fiat, Studebaker and a host of other brands soon appeared on the roads. The total number of motor vehicles registered in Goa was in 1921 below 100; in 1924 about 300, and in 1930, 1940. Most of the cars were bought second hand from Bombay and paid a fixed import duty of Rs.223 per vehicle irrespective of their value including even brand new ones. Occasional motorcades delighted the city!

There was in the early days an interesting vehicle borne by four sturdy men - **the machila** - which was used by some well-to-do folks of those times. With the gradual rise in the number of motor vehicles, the bullock-coach and the horse-victoria were no longer to be seen on the roads in the forties. During the early years there were no such amenities of life as we enjoy today, but people were accustomed to their way of life and had little to grudge it. Their needs were Providentially met while they lived a natural life.

Drawbacks

Electricity and Water Supply: These two commodities have ever been scarce and unsatisfactory in the town. Nevertheless, already in the early twenties there was a power-house at Boca de Vaca lighting the streets and business houses of the town. But for some reason or other that power-house, which was run by a Parsi firm, was soon closed, and again kerosine oil lamps and **petromaxes** began to light the streets. Later on, however, in the thirties the Government established the Autonomous Services of Electricity and ever since the city has been lit with electric light. So also the water supply has ever been a problem defying solution. In the early days the two fountains - **Fonte Phoenix** and **Fonte Boca de Vaca** - and four or five wells, such as, the **Poco de Mocadao**, the **Poco de Padeiro**, the **Poco do Bispo**, were the water sources of the city. Besides, the city got the supply of water from Banguinim, which was carried by boats and supplied by carts to the city.

Till lately sanitation left much to be desired in the city which was infested by mosquitoes, mice and rats. Due to want of proper drainage and sanitary arrangements, mosquitoes thrived in the city. In the early twenties once or twice

bubonic plague threatened the town. Dead mice were being found here and there and they were suspected to be pestilent. In the absence of sewerage system the '**latas petroleiras**' (refuse tins) polluted the atmosphere with foul smells. It was only in the forties that the Governor-General Jose Cabral took the initiative of introducing the sewerage system in the city.

Life in the city

According to the census of that time the population of Panjim was 24,000, consisting of Indians, 'descendentes' (Luso-Indians) and Europeans. Most of the people lived in the wards of Fountainhas (Mollo) and Boca de Vaca. All the area behind the Central Hospital till the fountain Boca de Vaca was a rural area covered with palm-groves and hamlets. Though the World War I had just ended in 1918, life was not so expensive as it is today. Almost everything was available at comparatively moderate rates and people seemed to live a reasonably contented life. Whether rich or poor, the citizens of Goa presented a decent appearance and were contented, enjoying life in their own way. Everyone was conscious of his position in society and behaved decently and becomingly. While those who were fairly favoured by fortune could afford to enjoy better amenities, others were not lacking in spirit of life, and all were seen adding to the animation of the city. Particularly in the evenings, it was a pleasure to see everybody outdoors strolling about, riding bicycles, driving in open-hooded touring cars and victorias, or relaxing in public gardens. Once or twice a week the military band played at the bandstand of the Municipal Garden or at the one which formerly stood near the Palace of Adil Khan. Also, every Sunday and Government holidays at 8 o'clock in the morning and 6.00 p.m. the military police regiments marched with their band to and fro the Palace of Adil Khan to hoist and lower the Portuguese Republican flag.

Though in those days the Territory was under foreign rule people enjoyed ample freedom and were conscious of their moral and civic rights and responsibilities. It will be interesting to note that in the early twenties there were in Panjim besides the High Court and the Administrative

Tribunal, two judicial courts - one civil and other criminal - with widest competence and jurisdiction. But soon, within a few years, the criminal court was closed for want of sufficient work, which showed a considerable decline in the incidence of crime at that time, in contrast with the present situation in the Territory where courts of all kinds are multiplying in almost every taluka and yet they cannot cope with the ever-increasing volume of work.

Indeed, those were the days when real democracy prevailed in Goa and everyone was conscious of his rights and responsibilities and lived in an orderly and disciplined democracy which would shame the modern mobocracy and social insecurity which holds life in tragic suspense. On the whole, an atmosphere of peace and reasonable contentment reigned in the territory. The pace of life was slow but free from unwelcome frictions leading to disturbance of peace. Generally speaking, the relations between the upper classes and the humbler ones were not far from being cordial; there were good feeling and understanding between them.

Panjim has made a considerable progress in several aspects in the last sixty-five years. It has expanded from east to west and from north to south to a considerable extent and acquired the features of a modern city with huge buildings. However, its modern architecture is not in keeping with the original pattern of the city and the natural setting of the panoramic slopes on both the sides of the river. Nevertheless, though the city has lost some of its old good values it has acquired new ones as it caters to the new needs of life. Its gradual growth represented the balance of needs and financial possibilities of improvement. Whenever a need arose and finance was available something was done in the way of improvement. The stages of the growth of the city coincided with the occurrence of needs and concurrence of funds.

In the last forty-five years the development of the city has been the result of the Government, semi-Government and private enterprises. There was a time when the Santa Casa de Misericordia de Goa undertook the construction of houses in the town and also gave loans to private entrepreneurs for building houses in Goa. Later on Government started

raising buildings through its institution DOCMET, and subsequently through the **Junta de Comercio Externo**. After the Liberation the rapid increase of population and business activity in the city called for massive building enterprises with abundance of capitals from various sources, private and public. And now the bridge across the River Mandovi at the eastern end of the city (which was inaugurated on the 14th November, 1970, and is being rebuilt after its collapse on 5-7-1986) has opened the prospects of the expansion of the city towards the east, and is it not predictable that the fields around and beyond the new bus-stand will be covered with sky scrapers in the next sixty-six years?

Robert de Souza

NOTE: It is regretted that Mr. B.T. Ranadive's learned review of **The Sole Spokesman, Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan** by Ayesha Jalal should have appeared in our last issue (**India Past and Present**, Vol.III, No.1 [June 1986], pp. 144-152) without the imprint.

We apologise to the publishers for the omission and supply the details:

Place of Publication: Cambridge,
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Special Indian editions of **The Sole Spokesman : Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan** by Ayesha Jalal and **Peasants and Imperial Rule : Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency 1850-1935** by Neil Charlesworth, reviewed on pages 144 and 156 respectively in **India Past and Present**, Vol.III, No.1 1986 have been published in India by Orient Longman Ltd. The special Indian edition is priced at Rs.150/- each.



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